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The Chocolate Makers and the "Abyss of Hell": Race, Empire and the Role of Visual Propaganda in the Anglo-Portuguese Controversy surrounding Labour Coercion in the "Cocoa Islands" (1901 - 1917)

David Glyn Evans

Tese de Doutoramento em
Línguas, Literaturas e Culturas

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11 de Julho de 2022

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Abstract

The dissertation focuses on the scandal surrounding the use of coerced labour in the contract-labour system which was thriving in the Portuguese West African colonies at the beginning of the twentieth century, notably in the cocoa plantations of the equatorial islands of São Tomé and Príncipe in the Gulf of Guinea. The controversy, which for long periods received almost weekly coverage in both the Portuguese and British press, came to a climax in 1909, with a famous boycott on the purchase of Portuguese cacao by the British chocolate manufacturing firms of Cadbury, Rowntree and Fry and their German associates, Stollwerck, which was never to be withdrawn. Despite a three-year suspension on the import of labour from Angola to the so-called "cocoa islands" and the introduction of regular repatriation of the contract-labourers after the fall of the Monarchy in 1910, the British humanitarian campaign continued both in Parliament and the Press, and would in fact intensify in 1912 against the backdrop of supposedly secret Anglo-German negotiations to carve up the Portuguese African colonies. Previous writings on the "Slave-Grown Cocoa Controversy" have tended to place their emphasis on the British humanitarian campaign whilst underestimating the opposition in Portugal against the system and ignoring, to a certain extent, the hidden agendas of virtually all of those who played a part in the controversy. In this study I try to set the record straight and show how what was essentially a question of human rights was often pragmatically exploited to support less altruistic objectives, both in Britain and in Portugal. The study draws upon Government reports, statements and diplomatic correspondence referring to the question of contract labour in S. Tomé and Príncipe, relevant central and colonial legislation,

contemporary articles, news items and illustrations from both Portuguese and Foreign periodicals, and doctrinal works, pamphlets and literature illustrating the prevailing attitudes of the time regarding contract labour and the treatment of the indigenous peoples of the Portuguese colonies. Amongst the hitherto unexploited resources which enrich the plethora of material on the controversy and are examined here in detail for the first time are contemporary photographs, picture postcards, advertisements, lantern slides and documentary films which played a significant role in reinforcing racist attitudes and influencing public opinion in the controversy.

Resumo

A presente dissertação aborda o escândalo associado ao emprego de mão-de-obra coagida, sistema, esse, que estava generalizado nas colónias de África Ocidental Portuguesa no início do século vinte, nomeadamente nas roças de cacau de São Tomé e Príncipe. A controvérsia, que, durante muito tempo, teve referências quase semanais na imprensa portuguesa e britânica atingiu o seu auge em 1909, com o conhecido boicote à compra de cacau português imposto pelos chocolateiros britânicos Cadbury, Rowntree e Fry e os seus associados alemães, Stollwerck, que nunca viria a ser levantado. Apesar da suspensão, durante três anos, do recrutamento e importação de trabalhadores angolanos para as chamadas "ilhas do cacao", e a sua repatriação sistemática depois da queda da Monarquia, a campanha humanitária britânica prosseguiu no Parlamento e a Imprensa, intensificando-se até 1912, perante o cenário de negociações anglo-alemães, supostamente secretas, que se destinavam a redistribuição das colónias portuguesas em África. Os anteriores estudos acerca do chamado "Cacau Escravo" deram ênfase à campanha humanitária britânica, ao mesmo tempo subvalorizando a oposição em Portugal contra o sistema de contratação de mão-de-obra e tratando de forma sumária os principais objectivos, muitas vezes escondidos, de quase todos os protagonistas da disputa. Este estudo representa uma tentativa de corrigir o que tem sido a narrativa predominante e de mostrar como uma questão, essencialmente do foro dos direitos humanos, foi explorada de forma pragmática para obter resultados menos altruístas, tanto na Grã-Bretanha como em Portugal. O estudo baseia-se em relatórios e declarações governativos, correspondência diplomática acerca do trabalho contratado em S.Tomé e Príncipe, legislação nacional e colonial acerca da mão-de-obra indígena, artigos, referências e ilustrações de periódicos portugueses e estrangeiros, e artigos de opinião, panfletos e obras

de ficcão que exemplificam as atitudes contemporâneas acerca de mão-de-obra contratada e o tratamento das comunidades indígenas das colónias portuguesas de África. Entre as fontes que foram examinadas em pormenor pela primeira vez aqui, enriquecendo o já substancial corpo de matéria de investigação, contam-se fotografias, bilhetes-postais ilustrados, anúncios, "slides" de lanterna mágica e filmes documentários que influenciaram a opinião pública na controvérsia e desempenharam um papel significativo no reforço de atitudes racistas.

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Preamble

Choice of Subject and Approach

At the end of the nineteen-eighties the British Council in Portugal was invited by the Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Príncipe, Celestino Rocha da Costa, to carry out an independent review of the teaching of English in his country's secondary schools. Invited to draw up the report, I had only a short time to prepare and my background knowledge of the country was limited, but I was fortunate to be able to accompany a group of Portuguese teacher-trainers who were providing pedagogical support to their colleagues in São Tomé as part of an ongoing programme of cooperation jointly supervised by the Ministries of Education of Portugal and São Tomé and Príncipe.[1]

I spent two weeks in São Tomé but was unfortunately prevented by lack of transport from travelling to the island of Príncipe as I had planned. In addition to meetings with representatives of the Ministry of Education of São Tomé and Príncipe and members of the diplomatic staff of the Portuguese Embassy, I was privileged to be introduced to several distinguished authors, including Conceição Lima and Albertino Bragança and the late Alda do Espírito Santo, who were generous with their time and gave me valuable insight into the culture of the islands and their recent history. I toured the island of São Tomé, made several visits to schools, had interviews with local teachers and was taken to see the better-known roças, including Monte Café, Agostinho Neto [2] and Água-Izé.

Many years later, whilst casting around for a suitable topic for this dissertation, I picked up James Duffy's pioneering study on the controversy over the use of coerced labour in the Portuguese African colonies, which I had taken with me on the flight to São Tomé in the hope of learning something of the colonial history of the islands. I realised then that it was a subject which could well be revisited and one which would draw upon my interest in Anglo-Portuguese relations. [3] The final decision to go ahead with the project was taken

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[1] With the support of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.
[2] formerly Roça Rio de Ouro.
[3] James Duffy confesses in the preface to his influential book *A Question of Slavery.* that his **"presentation of the Portuguese case"** was **"thin"** due to **the absence of "more varied and richer sources"** to which he had gained access. Equally concerning is his admission, in the chapter on "Labour from Angola", that his analysis of the period after Nevinson's account in 1905 was cursory and incomplete**: "At this point the**

during the period of preliminary research, when I came across all five of the Parliamentary White Papers on the contract-labour controversy in a Copenhagen bookshop and realised they would allow me to carry out a more comprehensive analysis of the period following the boycott than had been attempted in previous studies. In view of the impressive range of contemporary resource material and posterior published work on the controversy I decided then to limit my principal focus on the period from the time that Cadbury Bros. admitted they had become aware that a labour problem existed on the islands until the British Foreign Secretary Balfour recommended that purchases should be resumed - a period of sixteen years in which both countries underwent profound social and political changes and fought side by side in a devastating war.

It was only after much of the fundamental historical research had been completed, and, indeed, after the formal submission of the project, that I decided to follow the suggestion of the external member of the jury, Prof. Teresa Malafaia, to expand the scope of my research to cover contemporary pictorial evidence, samples of which I had shown in my presentation. I had only a limited idea, at the time, of the abundance of visual material which existed, much less of the sophisticated way it had been exploited to influence public opinion, and none whatsoever of the investment of time and energy which would be required to do justice to the wealth of available source materials.

I am extremely grateful to my Supervisor Prof. Gabriela Gândara Terenas for her support and patience throughout, particularly in view of the time which has proved necessary to complete the additional research and writing. Prof. Filipe Furtado's experience and advice was also invaluable during the earlier phases of planning and research. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank all of the specialist staff of the many archives I consulted who were kind enough to provide professional advice and assistance. Though impossible to name them all, it would be amiss not to recognise the invaluable support provided by Lucy McCann at the Rhodes Library, Oxford, Ana Canas at the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino and Joaquim Pais de Brito at the Museu de Etnografia in Lisbon.

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controversy becomes exceedingly complicated and for the remainder of the chapter I shall give only a selected progression of events." *A Question of Slavery.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. : 1967, pref.v He adds that he intended to develop **" the full story of the final phase of the Anglo-Portuguese controversy"** in another volume, a project which he appears to have abandoned. Idem. p.186, note 35. (my bold). Duffy's cursory dismissal of the far-reaching events which followed the relaunch of the British humanitarian campaign in 1912 as "a shouting match" is perhaps unsurprising, therefore. Idem, p.212. This perfunctory designation has sadly gained further currency by being repeated in later studies.

The comparative and integrated approach I have employed falls under the broad umbrella of Anglo-Portuguese Studies but inevitably touches upon theoretical domains which have been subject to exhaustive research and debate by specialists in other areas such as Postcolonial and Visual Studies.[4] Although references to the work of academic theorists are frequent throughout, the principal aim of the present dissertation is not to re-examine the theoretical frameworks which have become consolidated over recent decades but rather to throw new light upon a controversy which has already been the focus of much scholarship and debate.

The selection of data was based on a timeline first established by exhaustive scrutiny of two national newspapers, *O Século* and *The Times,* which traversed the whole period and carried frequent references to the controversy.[5] Using the timeline as a guide, as much relevant material as possible was gathered from archives in both Britain and Portugal, drawing upon contemporary evidence of all kinds, including government and diplomatic papers, private correspondence, literary works and visual materials. During this preliminary period of research, I did my utmost to keep an open mind on the subject and to avoid, as far as possible, the temptation to follow the conclusions reached by previous academic studies. It will transpire from the text, however, that, even before setting out on this project, I tended towards an essentially materialist view of the phenomena of empire and the colonial exploitation of labour.

I have opted to present all of the many quotations in the original form as the actual language employed often reveals almost as much about attitudes and perceptions as the views expressed, an aspect which is of particular relevance in the field of Anglo-Portuguese Studies. I owe a debt of gratitude to my late friend, Landeg White - poet, translator of Camões and author of influential works on African Studies - for his endorsement of this option and his encouragement regarding certain other issues of style and presentation. [6]

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[4] The term postcolonial is is used here without the hyphen to specify the area of academic studies which deals with the social, cultural and political legacy of colonialism and its impact up to the present day.

[5] I am indebted to my friend and former colleague Teresa Branco for her constant encouragement during the period of preliminary research in which many hours were spent in the appropriately nicknamed "sala de micro-ondas" or microprint room at the National Library in Lisbon.

[6] Wherever possible, the original spelling has been preserved in names and quotations throughout the whole of this dissertation. Consequently, for instance, the name of the assassinated heir to the throne is shown as

Divided into two sections, the dissertation offers an essentially chronological account and historical analysis of the controversy, followed by an attempt to assess how visual materials were exploited to justify and reinforce the opposing narratives. Confronted by the issues raised by the use of photographs at a time when photographic evidence was widely considered to be incontrovertible, I found it necessary to look back and examine how photography had been exploited, in the decades preceding the period under study, to reinforce pre-existing racial stereotypes and promote colonial objectives, concentrating my research and analysis as far as possible, on southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies in particular.

The photographs of African plantation workers which appear in this study are a tragic reminder that the dispute was ultimately about real people whose voices were never heard. As Henry Nevinson wrote, with the acerbic frankness that was a trademark of his prose, they sacrificed their lives " in order that chocolate creams may be cheap".

D. Luiz Filippe, in its original form. The name São Tomé is frequently used to signify both islands. I have chosen to use Times New Roman script for clarity in both the body of the text and the footnotes.

Chapter 1. A Gathering Storm

1.1 Early rumblings

Có San Thomé
Curi o'n bund'i ó cu nhinguira
Cá curi o'n bund'i ó cu pita

Em S.Tomé
Há porta para entrar
Não há porta p´ra sair [7]

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the international controversy over slave labour in the Portuguese West African colonies continued to smoulder ominously, as it had for almost a generation after the Conference of Berlin.[8] The anti-slavery campaign, which reached its climax in the first decade of the new century, pitted an unlikely and dissonant chorus of British philanthropists, Portuguese freemasons, Angolan settlers and Protestant missionaries of several nationalities against the planters of São Tomé and Príncipe and successive Portuguese administrations. It would lead, in 1909, to a celebrated boycott of Portuguese cacao imposed by the British chocolate manufacturers Cadbury's, Rowntree's and Fry's and their German associates, Stollwerck Bros., which despite the British Government's recommendations and the chocolate-makers' assurances, would never be withdrawn.[9]

For decades, scores of men and women, often carrying children, many of whom had fallen foul of local "sobas" or chiefs or had been captured in raids against other ethno-linguistic

[7] Angolan labourers' chant from São Tomé. (Kimbundo). Translation by António Francisco Nogueira in A.F. Nogueira. *A Ilha de S. Thome: A Questão Bancaria no Ultramar e o Nosso Problema Colonial.* Typ. do Jornal "As Colonias Portuguezas". Lisboa: 1893, p.97. A rough translation would be: "In S.Tomé there is a way in, but no way out."
[8] Also known as the West Africa Conference. From November 15th 1884 to February 26th 1885.
[9] Cadbury Bros. wrote to Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour on April 19th 1917 saying that they would lift the boycott on Portuguese cacao but would continue to purchase their raw material from the Gold Coast, which, in essence, meant that nothing had changed. See Copy of letter. CP 250/5. Cadbury Papers, Univ. Birmingham.

communities, had been purchased, exchanged or otherwise wrested from their captors by intermediaries and marched hundreds of miles from the far interior of Angola to the Atlantic ports of Luanda, Benguela and Novo Redondo (Sumbe).[10]

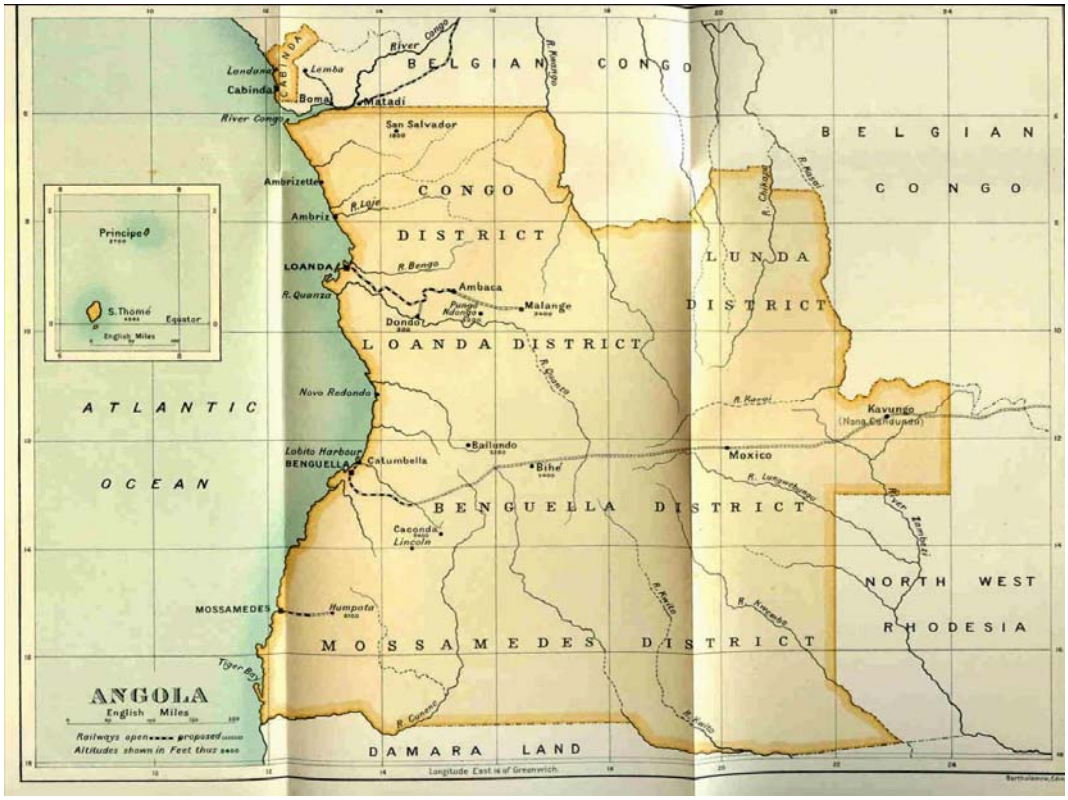


Figure 1.1 Map of Angola from William Cadbury's *Labour in Portuguese West Africa*. 1910. Endpiece.

The survivors of the march, sometimes little more than half the number who had started the journey, were brought before a magistrate when they reached the coast and declared, often silently, that they had come of their own free will, undertaking to render any service the planters might require in exchange for food and clothing and unspecified monthly wages. Few of them understood a single word of what was being said by the "Curador" or magistrate, or by the priest who later baptised them. And fewer, if any, expected to return from the place they knew of as "Okalunga" [sic] or "the Abyss of Hell".[11] They

[10] In fact, as Vellut notes, at the turn of the twentieth century, the frequency and volume of the shipment of captives or slaves approximated to the numbers which were seen at the height of the Atlantic slave-trade in the late 1700s. Jean-Luc Vellut. "Garenganze-Bié-Benguela and Beyond: The Cycle of Rubber and Slaves at the Turn of the Twentieth Century." In "A Scholar for All Seasons. Jill Dias 1948-2008." *Portuguese Studies Review* 19 (1-2) 2011, p.148.

[11] "Okalunga" was British journalist Henry Nevinson's rendering of the Kimbundu word for "ocean" or "the threshold of no return": "[…] Okalunga - a name which the natives use equally for hell or the abyss of death, the abyss of the sea and for San Thomé." Henry W. Nevinson."The Slave-Trade of To-day", *Harper's*

were then dressed in striped or checked cotton uniforms with tin cylinders round their necks, and openly transported to the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe on the decks of regular passenger vessels.[12] In the official parlance, they were now no longer captives or slaves but "serviçais", or contract labourers.

The contract-labour system had developed in response to legislation introduced after the Marquês Sá da Bandeira's [13] enlightened but tardy decree of April 29th 1858,[14] which had established the same date twenty years on as the last day of slavery in Portugal's African colonies. [15] As the day of abolition approached, however, there was a growing realisation in Portuguese political circles that in other parts of the world, such as Trinidad, abolition had brought vastly diminished returns to the plantation owners instead of the prosperity predicted by humanitarian campaigners. The image of the "hard-working black man", which had been propagated by the enthusiastic proponents of abolition, had begun to give way to the notion of the "indolent native" of their adversaries. [16] Sadly, such discredit, albeit tempered by Sá da Bandeira´s fervent and unfaltering belief in abolition, led, in 1875, to concessions in the new legislation [17] which, whilst abolishing the status

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Monthly Magazine, 112. Part V. "Down to the Coast", p.121. See also Henry W. Nevinson. Ch. XIII. "A Land of Slavery" in *Fire of Life.* Nisbet and Gollancz, London: 1935, p.165.

[12] Nevinson, writing many years later, reserves his fiercest irony for this transformation: "Dressed like tomfools in brilliant cheap clothes and caps, with the white-man's Ju-Ju of disc and cylinder hung about them, the slaves were then marched back to their courtyards or direct to the ship. They had been «redeemed» or «ransomed» by the paternal Government and the pitiless farce was over." Henry W. Nevinson. "The Cocoa Islands" Op.cit. 1935 p.172. The cylinders contained the identification and origin of the "serviçais" and the discs their destination on the cocoa islands.

[13] Bernardo de Sá Nogueira de Figueiredo, Marquês de Sá da Bandeira (1795-1876). Military officer, liberal politician and freemason, he served as Prime Minister on five occasions. Sá da Bandeira was the most prominent and persistent defender of the abolition of slavery in Portugal and its overseas territories.

[14] This was not the first antislavery legislation to be introduced in Portugal, however. In 1761, during the reign of D. José I, the Marquês de Pombal had prohibited the import of slaves into Portugal whilst allowing the trade to its colonies to continue unchecked. In real terms, the decree changed the lives of a comparatively small number of domestic slaves as the vast majority were destined for Brazil.

[15] The slave trade was discussed at international level for the first time at the Congress of Vienna, which took place from September 1814 to June 1815. On February 8th 1815 the Congress condemned the trade as inconsistent with human rights and liberty. Portugal signed a bilateral agreement with Britain to limit the slave trade to slaves captured south of the Equator and to allow the Portuguese flag to be used only for the transport of slaves to its own colonies, whilst receiving the sum of £300,000 from Britain to end slavery by 1830. Two years after the Congress of Vienna, Portugal recognised Britain's right to inspect and search merchant vessels for slaves and on December 10th 1836, Portugal issued a decree, inspired by the Marquês Sá da Bandeira, prohibiting the export of slaves from any of its possessions. Angola, Mozambique and Brazil opposed.

[16] See João Pedro Marques. "Uma cosmética demorada: as Cortes portuguesas face ao problema da escravidão (1836-1875)", in *Análise Social*, 158/159, 2001, pp. 231-3.

[17] It was not without opposition. For example, Joachim John Monteiro, a British-born mining engineer and naturalist, of Portuguese ancestry, who spent 18 years in Angola (1858-1876) developing a concession at Bembe for the Western African Malachite Copper Mines Company, was reluctant to see the benefits [for the European] of slavery disappear: "It is a pity that philanthropy should blindly put so sudden a stop to a

of "liberto" or freedman and declaring the former slaves entirely free, reserved State jurisdiction over them until April 29th, 1878.



Figure 1.2 Bernardo de Sá Nogueira de Figueiredo, 1st Marquês de Sá da Bandeira

In São Tomé and Príncipe, however, the Governor, Gregório José de Almeida, was obliged to abolish compulsory labour on November 8th 1875, after peaceful but ominous demonstrations of three to four thousand "libertos" on the two preceding days.[18] In a study of the islands first published a decade later, António Nogueira estimated that 6000 "libertos" had abandoned the plantations immediately after abolition, many finding refuge in the forests in the interior of the islands. [19] Nogueira, who had spent a substantial part of his professional career as a bank manager in São Tomé, [20] went on to relate that the coffee planters had to look elsewhere for labour and were obliged to resort to bank loans to cover the far more costly employment of "kruboys" from the Grain Coast who would only accept two-year contracts. [21] Recognising that such initiatives were no more

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custom that has existed from time immemorial, and of which the evils are, in a country like Angola, exceedingly slight… **Let slavery be abolished by all means, but only in the most gradual manner, and in proportion to the industrial and moral advancement of the race**". Joachim John Monteiro. *Angola and the River Congo.* Macmillan, London: 1875, vol. 2, p.42. (my bold)

[18] "Em S.Thomé não se esperou que decorresse o praso[sic] de um anno disposto na lei. Os libertos, nas vesperas de liberdade completa, nullamente preparados para a comprehenderem e agradecerem, e seguindo os perniciosos exemplos e conselhos da parte livre da população, escoria abjecta e viciosa que tem sido um embaraço serio para a exploração agricola da ilha, começaram a revoltar-se contra os patrões e entregar-se a excessos de toda a ordem." Lopo Vaz de Sampayo e Mello. *Politica Indigena: Questões Coloniais.* Magalhães & Moniz, Porto: 1910, p.305.

[19] A. F. Nogueira. Op.cit. 1893, p.120 (First published in *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia*, 5º Serie. No.7, Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa: 1885, without the preface by Oliveira Martins.)

[20] Nogueira was appointed manager of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino in São Tomé in 1881 after spending the previous 25 years in Angola, twelve of which in Moçamedes (now Namibe).

[21] Present-day Liberia. "Grain" refers to the spice known as Guinea pepper. Nogueira also comments on the short-lived treaty signed in 1885 between colonial officials from São Tomé and the King of Dahomey,

than stop-gap measures, Nogueira, like many others at the time, argued that "the native" could only be "regenerated" by work and candidly advocated that the solution to the labour problems of the islands lay with Angolan "serviçais" who were easy to handle and did not require repatriation:

> Depois de todas as experiencias feitas o serviçal de Angola, especialmente o de alguns dos seus districtos, é preferivel ao qualquer outro ponto da costa, e na vasta zona ou hinterland que nos foi reconhecida pelo ultimo tratado com a Inglaterra, no interior d'aquella provincia, podêmos recrutar todos os braços de que precisarmos para alli e para S. Thomé e Príncipe. Sobre ter as condições de robustez necessarias o serviçal de Angola tem a qualidade muito apreciavel de ser docil, e não se repatria. [22]

Not everyone in Portugal shared Nogueira's permissive view of labour recruitment, however. The radical Lisbon newspapers *A Marselheza* [23] and *A Vanguarda,*[24] for example, denounced the contract labour system in a coordinated attack on Government indifference, sixty years to the day after the supposed abolition of slavery in the Portuguese colonies.

The *Marselheza* was first to advance with the accusation :

> A escravatura, que foi abolida nas nossas colónias em 10 de dez. 1836, ainda hoje é um facto. Dois terços da população de Portugal ignora-o. E, todavia, não há uma única pessoa que tenha ido a Angola, que o não haja reconhecido.[...] Quem primeiro escravisa o negro é a familia. Os paes ou os tios veem vendel-os aos europeus nos aviados do interior, d'envolta com o café, a borracha e o coconote.[...] O commerciante, primeiro comprador, armazena os no seu quintal, até que um contractador de serviçaes os contracte. Esta ridícula cerimónia, que se faz sempre no meio de tão grande como justificada hilariedade, obriga o negro a prestar os seus

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under which a total of seven hundred captives of the King, who would otherwise have been decapitated, were brought to the plantations as freemen on three-year contracts. Dahomey - formerly Benin - was declared a Portuguese protectorate between 1885 and 1887. In this way two hundred of the King's condemned slaves were "rescued" each year. See James Duffy. Op.cit : 1967, p.97.

[22] A.F. Nogueira. Op. cit., 1893, pp. 96-97.

[23] *A Marselheza* (1896-1898) was a truculent republican daily newspaper edited by João Chagas (1863-1925), which proudly claimed "O supplemento da *«Marselheza»* é o jornal de maior circulação […] em todo o Governo Civil." Despite its ephemeral existence, it is justly remembered today for its weekly supplement, with its irreverent caricatures by the brilliant republican artist and illustrator Tomás Leal da Câmara. João Chagas later became Prime Minister in the first Constitutional Government of the Republic.

[24] *A Vanguarda* (1891-1911 and 1913-1929), a radical republican daily, was edited by Sebastião Magalhães Lima during its most influential period before the fall of the Monarchy. Magalhães Lima was elected Grand Master of the Grande Oriente Lusitano Unido in 1907, an office which he would occupy until his death in December 1928. In the same year, in Edinburgh, the highest degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite was conferred upon him, an honour which would prove to be of great value in his diplomatic initiatives on behalf of the republican opposition and later, after the fall of the Monarchy, on behalf of the new regime.

> serviços por cinco annos, o máximo que a lei permite, e o preto faz uma cruz com a mão agarrada pela do contractador.[...] Cada um recebe no acto de embarque uma tanga, uma carapuça, e uma esteira onde dormem.[25]

And reiterating the *Marselheza*'s vehement protest almost word for word, the following day's *Vanguarda* went on to describe the final stages of the system:

> [...]A exportação é feita pelos vapores da E.N. Navegação e em condições degradantes.[...] Como os pobres negros nem sequer subir sabem pelas escadas de bordo são içados em canastras de carvão e por meio de guincho. Edificante tudo isso! Terminado o prazo do contracto, os 5 annos da lei, o negro fica outra vez acorrentado ao alugador ou comprador porque quase sempre o preto não tem conhecimento das formas do contracto, e porque embrutecido, não tem vontade própria. É isso o que se passa em Angola. Uma vergonha a que é preciso pôr termo. [26]

Though directed primarily against the monarchist regime itself, the protest also confirmed that the high ideals which had inspired Sá de Bandeira's brave attempts to abolish slavery were still alive.

Two years later, Ladislau Batalha, one of the most militant socialist writers of his day,[27] published a condemnation of Portuguese colonial practises in his book *Pátria e Conversão - Verdades Amargas*. Batalha, who had also lived in Angola and the Cape Verde Islands, wrote from personal experience of his time in the Curator's office in São Tomé, immediately after the emancipation of "libertos", alleging that anyone who had spent time in Portuguese West Africa was aware that slavery continued under a different name:

> Em 1876, quando já a escravatura era abolida de facto e de direito em toda a África, ainda no interior de Angola os portugueses compravam e vendiam escravos, sendo as próprias

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[25] *A Marselheza.* December 9th 1896. The two articles were republished under the heading "Casos Curiosos de Escravatura" in *O Economista Portuguez.* No. 203, May 1st 1910, p. 321.
[26] "A Escravatura em Angola." *A Vanguarda*. December 10th 1896, p.2.
[27] Ladislau Batalha (1856-1939) Socialist, traveller, journalist, essayist and novelist. Batalha was one of the organisers of the revolt in the Navy which contributed to the overthrow of the Monarchy on October 5th 1910.
"Nesses anos, o socialista Ladislau Batalha não podia deixar de expressar a corrente anarco-socialista do Movimento Operário Português, tanto mais que colaborara com o célebre dirigente operário António Ernesto Dias da Silva. Nessa época, o movimento socialista era uma amálgama de tendências várias onde dificilmente se descortinava o federalismo republicano, o anarquismo e o alvor dum marxismo ainda insípido e representado pelo seu amigo Azedo Gneco." In Jacinto Rodrigues. "A Visão Antropológico do Colonialismo Português e o Olhar Singular de Ladislau Batalha" in *Trabalho Forçado Africano: Experiências Coloniais Comparadas*. Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto (Coord). Campo de Letras Ed., Porto: 2006, p. 533.

> autoridades, até chefes de concelho, às vezes, os que realizavam tão odiosas transacções ou as toleravam dentro da área da sua jurisdição, mascarando-as com o nome de resgate. "É inútil negar ou contestar. Os africanistas todos o sabem e eu próprio o observei nas minhas longas peregrinações através do continente. [28]

That same year, Joachim Júdice Biker, a future Governor of the West African colonies of Guiné and the Cape Verde Is., chose the pages of an influential periodical for colonial specialists to denounce the vicissitudes of the system, in a manifestation of distaste for the thick-skinned pragmatism of the times:

> O serviçal não [é livre]; é um preto selvagem desconhecendo a nossa língua, e, se emigra para S.Thomé, não é por sua livre vontade, mas sim porque é obrigado [...] Os commerciantes de Benguella e Novo Redondo resgatam aos sobas do interior os escravos de que elles se querem desfazer (em geral prisoneiros das guerras que entre si fazem) e quando recebem alguma encommenda de braços para S. Thomé, são estes os pretos resgatados que comparecem perante o curador para se contractarem como serviçaes. Que valor podem ter estes contractos, se os pretos, desconhecendo as nossas leis e a nossa língua, não sabem que garantias lhes dá aquele contracto? [29]

Biker went on to affirm that despite the five-year contract period, to that day not a single "serviçal" had returned home. He alleged that the labourers actually worked an average of eleven and a half hours a day and that their daily rations were totally inadequate, expressing the view that such conditions contributed to the abnormally high death rate on the islands. An even more serious allegation was that the "serviçal" could not complain to the "Curador" [30] of ill treatment, as he was entitled to do under the law, because of his ignorance of the language, and that should he do so he would never exhibit the marks of the lash because offenders were thrown into the cell that existed on many of the "roças", until the scars of corporal punishment had disappeared. It was a disturbing accusation, coming, as it did, from a respected naval officer. [31] A month or so later, António José de

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[28] Ladislau Batalha. *Pátria e Conversão - verdades amargas*. Biblioteca Socialista dos Anjos, Typografia da Empresa Editora, Lisboa: 1898, p.25.
[29] Júdice Biker. "Ilha de S. Thomé." *Revista Portugueza Colonial e Maritima.* No. 3, January 20th 1898, pp. 238-241 and No. 4, February 20th 1898, pp. 307-312. N.B. Satre gives the date of the article erroneously as 1903. Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit. 2005, p.87. See also: "Projecto Bicker sobre trabalho indigena (Angola) (1898)," Sec. do Estado Marinha e Ultramar, Gab. do Ministro, Cx. 2546-49, Anos 1881-1911, AHU.
[30] A labour inspector with the powers of a magistrate.
[31] Joachim Pedro Júdice Biker (1867-1926) A naval officer and colonial administrator, Júdice Biker was Governor of Guiné from 1901-3 and of Cape Verde from 1911-1915. Biker also served twice, for short periods, as Minister for the Colonies (Navy and Overseas Territories) during the First Republic. Despite his liberal views Biker made himself unpopular when he became the first Governor of Cape Verde after the proclamation of the Republic. The Capeverdian nationalist poet Eugénio Tavares wrote: "[...] Biker impôs,

Almeida, a future President of the Republic, added his own protest in an article in *O Paiz*, stating that "servicais" were bought and sold like cattle. [32]

As the century came to a close, it would have been clear to anyone who took an interest in such matters that two opposing camps were vying for ideological supremacy in this bitter debate over human rights. Placing pragmatism before altruism, the predominant faction argued that the indigenous people of the African colonies were a resource to be freely exploited - supposedly for their own good,[33] whilst a persistent and vociferous minority, inspired by higher ideals, was ready to admit that coercion was a thing of the past.

The controversy in Portugal over the question of forced labour, which had been temporarily overshadowed at the beginning of the nineties by the dispute with Britain over territorial hegemony in South-Central Africa, had come to the fore once again due to the growing impatience of republican activists towards the inertia of the Monarchy, further aggravated by the notorious prosperity of certain of the São Tomé planters [34] and their indifference to the complaints of the Angolan "fazendeiros".

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de novo, as manigâncias monárquicas. [...] Tudo isso porém, perfeitamente natural: porque, afinal, Marinha de Campos é um republicano, e Biker não pode ainda deixar de ser realista, mas um realista nocivo, que, nesta província, prejudica o prestígio da República, pondo em acção as práticas monárquicas mais absurdas."*A Voz de Cabo Verde* no.75. January 20th 1913. Quoted in José António Nobre Marques Guimarães.*"O Nativismo em Eugénio Tavares"* www.eugéniotavares.org (Accessed 19/2/2017).

[32] António José de Almeida (1866-1929), Physician, politician, freemason, editor of the *Alma Nacional* and *República* newspapers. Almeida was employed as a plantation doctor on Roça Boa Entrada from July 1st 1901 until leaving São Tomé for good in 1904. The founder of the Partido Republicano Evolucionista in 1912, he served as the sixth President of the Portuguese Republic between 1919 and 1923. The article was reproduced in the *Economista Portuguez* on March 27th 1898, p.377.

[33] Marnoco e Sousa, for example, in his lectures at the turn of the century on the legislation applicable to the indigenous peoples of the colonies, was critical of what he considered to be antiquated liberal ideas: "A assimilição dos indígenas aos habitantes da metrópole não se pode [...] admitir. **As teorias superficiais do século XVIII, atribuindo a todos os homens uma mentalidade absolutamente semelhante**, ou pelo menos julgando-os susceptíveis de a possuir depois de uma breve educação, e admitindo um tipo único superior de civilização que se tornava necessário implantar por toda a parte, levaram a substituir as instituições indígenas pelas nossas leis. **Foi este o critério que orientou a colonização nos tres primeiros quartéis do século XIX, com as mais graves consequências para os resultados da obra colonial**". José Ferreira Marnoco e Sousa. *A Administração Colonial : Preleccões feitas ao curso do anno juridico do anno de 1905-1906.* Texto policopiado. Quoted in Marcello Caetano coord. *Antólogia Colonial Portuguesa.* Agência Geral do Ultramar, Lisboa: 1946, p.99. (my bold)

[34] "[…] For the most part they live in Lisbon, enjoying themselves on the product of the cocoa tree and the lives of men and women." Henry W. Nevinson. *A Modern Slavery.* Harper and Bros. New York: 1906 p.189. The planter Francisco Mantero, for instance, acquired the Quinta das Conchas in Lisbon and the neighbouring properties of Quinta dos Lilases and Quinta dos Ulmeiros, where he built a magnificent mansion which served as his Lisbon residence from 1897 to 1927. See José Mantas; Paula Miranda ; Judite Calisto; Ilda Frias. *Monografia do Lumiar*, Ed. Junta da Freguesia do Lumiar, Lisboa: 2003, pp.115 -121.

Over the last ten years of the nineteenth century the islands had enjoyed a four-fold increase in cocoa production due to the rising European and American demand for drinking chocolate. Even more remarkably, the export value of cocoa had soared from a modest £67,000 to a previously unimaginable total of £1,000,000 over virtually the same period. [35] Contrasting with this exponential growth, the number of imported plantation labourers or "non-natives", as they were then officially known, scarcely more than doubled from 16,000 to 35,533 between 1895 and 1909.[36]

Fifteen times the value of cocoa was being produced by only twice as many hands. And although some mechanisation, including narrow-gauge railways and cocoa-drying equipment had begun to be introduced on the larger plantations, little had changed as far as the recruitment and organisation of labour was concerned.

It was quite obvious that several of the planters were amassing considerable fortunes whilst alleging that they were unable to pay proper wages or significantly improve working conditions. Furthermore, the criticisms of those who opposed the system were reinforced by official statistics showing that the death-rate amongst the labourers was devastating, particularly on the island of Príncipe, [37] which meant that in certain years, over three thousand Angolans were forced to leave their homes for the cocoa islands, most of them merely to take the place of those who had died. [38]

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[35] About £110 million today. This refers to the period between 1888 and 1905.

[36] For the figures on the increase in cocoa production see Henrique Monteiro de Mendonça. *The Boa Entrada Plantations. S.Thomé West Africa. "La Perle des Colonies Portugaises"* translated from the original Portuguese by J.A.Wyllie FRGS. Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, Edinburgh and London: 1907. For the increase in numbers of "serviçais" see Nuno Alves Morgado."Contribuição para o estudo do problema demográfico de S. Tomé e Príncipe." Sep. *Garcia da Horta*. Revista JMGIU. Lisboa: 1957.

[37] "The heavy general mortality of the island [Príncipe] in certain years e.g. 1902 and 1903, when it reached 22.1 and 20.7 per cent would scarcely be conceivable in the absence of some epidemic disease of a high degree of virulence." B.F.Bruto da Costa et al. *Sleeping Sickness: A record of four year's war against it in the Island of Príncipe.*Trans.by J.A.Wyllie F.R.G.S. Bailliere, Tindall & Cox. London: 1916, p.4.

[38] Estimates vary considerably but according to Clarence-Smith, about 70,000 Africans were transported to the cocoa islands in the period between 1880 and 1908, the vast majority from Angolan ports. See W.G. Clarence-Smith. "Labour conditions in the plantations of São Tomé and Príncipe 1875-1914." *Slavery and Abolition* vol. 14, 1993, p.149. This figure would seem to agree broadly with the contemporary estimate made by Consul Horatio Mackie at Luanda and conveyed in a dispatch to the FO in January 1910, which gave a total of 67,000 Angolan contract labourers exported to the cocoa islands over the previous twenty years, not including children under the age of twelve. See Consul H. Mackie to Sir Edward Grey. November 30th 1910. FO 367/186, 1505/10. The figure given by the *Diário de Notícias* on November 4th 1904, which was based on official statistics, was a total of 55,869 "serviçais" exported from Angola to São Tomé and Príncipe in the 25 years between 1876 and 1900. A broad consensus, therefore, points towards an average of between 2500 and 3000 labourers a year, increasing substantially towards the end of the century.

In an attempt to solve the chronic shortage of labour in the colonies, new legislation was published on November 9th 1899, obliging all African natives to procure employment. Drawn up by a commission led by António Ennes [39] under the supervision of the Minister for the Colonies, Eduardo Villaça, the provisions were based to a considerable extent upon British colonial practice and legislation. [40] Rejecting more liberal views in favour of a tougher, pragmatic approach towards the exploitation of African labour, Ennes had previously summed up his thinking on the matter in the following terms:

> Abolidos os crimes e horrores da escravidão, os interesses económicos recomendavam ao legislador que diligenciasse aproveitar e conservar os hábitos de trabalho que ela impunha aos negros, embora proibisse, para os conservar e aproveitar, o emprego dos meios por que tais hábitos haviam sido impostos. Converter um escravo em homem livre era um benefício para ele e para a Sociedade, mas deixar transformar um trabalhador em vadio depreciava esse benefício.[41]

And pointing the finger of blame for the situation at liberal legislation which, in his view, had allowed Africans to return to a state of unproductive primitivism, he added:

> O que se fez porém? Por medo de que as práticas do regime abolido lhe sobrevivessem, elaboraram-se leis e regulamentos encimados por uma espécie de declaração dos direitos dos negros, que lhes dizia textualmente: **de ora avante ninguém tem obrigação de trabalhar**[...] o pavor da escravatura, o frenesi de opor às doutrinas dos seus defensores, rasgadas proclamações liberais e humanitárias, saltaram por cima do Código e da Moral, do bom senso e das necessidades económicas para ensinarem ao negro que tinha a **liberdade** de continuar a viver no estado selvagem pois que tal é a necessária consequência da liberdade de **não trabalhar**, deixada a quem só pelo trabalho pode entrar no grémio da civilização" [42]

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[39] António Ennes (1848-1901) freemason, journalist, politician and colonial administrator. For a short period after the British "Ultimatum" he served as Minister for the Overseas Territories (Marinha e Ultramar) in the government of General João Abreu e Sousa. He is best remembered, however, for his capable performance as Royal Commissioner in Mozambique (Commissário Régio) in 1891 and 1894.

[40] See Anon. *Regulamento do trabalho dos indígenas aprovado por decreto de 9 de Novembro de 1899*. Imp. Nacional. Lisboa: 1900. Following the example of the 1894 Glen Grey Act in the Cape Province, the new legislation established that all natives of the Portuguese colonies had the moral and legal obligation to seek to better themselves through paid employment, though they were free, in theory, to choose the way to comply with this obligation. See also Anon. *O Trabalho Indígena nas Colónias Portuguesas. Memoria Justificativa*. Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa: 1906. The legislation would be reviewed in 1911 and again in 1914 but retained the obligation for Africans to seek paid employment. Major changes to the law would only be introduced in 1928.

[41] António Ennes. *Moçambique. Relatório apresentado ao Governo.* (first published by the Sociedade de Geografia, Lisboa in 1893) 3ª. Edição. Agência Geral das Colónias, Lisboa: 1946, pp.70-71.

[42] Idem, Ibidem.

Opinions on the new legislation diverged. Arthur Nightingale, then H.M Consul at Boma in the Congo,[43] reported optimistically to the Foreign Office, arguing that the new dispositions would bring the benefits of civilisation to "the natives" by compelling "many thousands […] to work who at present live in wretched grass huts, existing on manioc roots, rats and such-like vermin." Nightingale added that "It would greatly benefit the black man himself, he would become healthier in his habits and would learn to know the power of money and the benefits to be derived from his labours, he would learn to dress himself in decent clothes." [44]

Writing with the benefit of hindsight a decade later, however, the Portuguese colonial specialist Sampayo e Mello scathingly criticised the punitive aspects of the decree, whilst reserving a modicum of praise for the "noble" intentions of the lawmakers:

> Na elaboração d'este decreto fundou-se o legislador na necessidade real de obter braços para o trabalho, e no ideal nobre da regeneração moral e social do preto pelo trabalho.[...] Quatro são as categorias, ou formas diferentes de trabalho que que a lei estabelece: trabalho obrigatório por contracto livre; trabalho obrigatório por contracto regulamentado; trabalho compellido; e trabalho correcional. Isto é, o trabalho para o indígena começa por ser uma obrigação exagerada, passa a ser uma coacção cuja justificação elles nunca podem vir a comprehender, e termina por constituir uma penalidade que vae até o despropositado castigo de trezentos dias de trabalho correccional, aggravado ainda com a disposição iníqua que manda dias uteis de trabalho, o que pode representar para o indigena alguns annos de captiveiro.[...]Uma das disposições do decreto que mais condemnavel se nos antolha, é a que permitte a utilisação do trabalho obrigatório, compellido e correccional no serviço de particulares.[45]

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[43] Arthur Nightingale (1859-1914?). Consul Nightingale was expected to cover the French Congo and the Cameroons in addition to the Belgian Congo, whilst keeping an eye on Angola as well.

[44] Anon. [Arthur Nightingale], Foreign Office. *Diplomatic and Consular Reports. Trade of Province of Angola for 1899.* No. 2555. Cd. 429-13 [Feb. 1901] pp.6-7.
Clarence-Smith describes António Ennes' experiments in Mozambique and the new legislation as ringing in a new era in Portuguese colonial rule, which, however, would only be fully implemented with the advent of the Republic: "[...] International pressures on Portugal had grown as a result of the controversy over São Tomé labour, and **a new class of bourgeois realists was consolidating its power in Portugal**. For these new men, slavery was inefficient and impolitic, but free labour was an impossibility given the limited capital resources of Portugal. **Forced and tax-induced labour appeared as the only possible alternatives to slavery,** and Antonio Enes began to campaign for this as early as the 1890s. But although forced labour was decreed in 1899 for the whole empire and hut tax was introduced in Angola in 1907, **it was not till the republican revolution of 1910 that these measures were enforced systematically."** W. G. Clarence-Smith "Slavery in Coastal Southern Angola, 1875-1913." *Journal of Southern African Studies,* Vol. 2, No. 2. April 1976, p.221. (my bold)

[45] Lopo Vaz de Sampayo e Mello. Op.cit 1910, pp.271-2. Sampayo e Mello (1883-1949) Naval officer and specialist in colonial affairs. Despite his openly monarchist sympathies he served the Republic and was

In real terms, the apparently innocuous clause which allowed the use of convicts as labourers on private enterprises, was, in the case of those sent to São Tomé and Príncipe, equivalent to a life sentence of hard labour.

Speaking at the National Colonial Congress of 1901, Paulo Cancella, the President of the Centro Colonial de Lisboa, criticised the state of abandon in which the islands had been left by successive Governments whilst offering suggestions as to how the dearth of labour for the plantations might be solved:

> Tres foram os meios indicados pelo Centro Colonial para aquisição de serviçaes [...] O primeiro consistia em estabelecer em S.Thomé um depósito de prisioneiros da guerra [...] **Mandados para S.Thomé seriam ali utilizados nos trabalhos das obras publicas, e quando nellas não fossem precisos podiam ser cedidos aos agricultores por um certo numero de annos, pagando elles ao Governo as despesa de transporte.[...]** O segundo era de facilitar aos agricultores a acquisição de serviçaes na Guiné [...]o sr. Judice Bicker, illustre Governador de Guiné, já pôde conseguir o mandar de alguns vadios para S.Thomé que se tornaram bons serviçaes[46] [...] O terceiro era o de nos auxiliar a contratar serviçaes na África Oriental.[47]

Under further legislation enacted in 1903, which was considered exemplary by certain contemporary observers, [48] the validity of five-year contracts for Angolan importees to São Tomé and Príncipe was reconfirmed and the initial two-year period of lower wages was abolished.[49]

According to the new law, labourers committed, before the representative of the authorities, to a nominal nine-hour working day with a two-hour rest period, on all days except "those sanctified by religion". Newly-contracted labourers were to be paid a

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later in charge of the Courses in Ethnography and Indigenous Policy at the Escola Colonial between 1926 and his retirement in 1942. He also founded the *Revista de Estudos Coloniais*.

[46] Notwithstanding his views on the treatment of contract labourers in São Tomé and Príncipe, [see note 32] Júdice Bicker was praised at the Congresso Colonial for having helped to alleviate the labour crisis by sending convicted criminals to the islands when Governor of Portuguese Guinea.

[47] J. Paulo Monteiro Cancella. Congresso Colonial Nacional. Conferencias Preliminares. *Impressões de uma Viagem ás Ilhas de S.Thomé e Príncipe.* Imprensa Nacional. Lisboa : 1902, pp. 30-31.(my bold)

[48] For instance, Sir Harry Johnston, the famous British colonial administrator, quotes at length the Portuguese legislation on African labour of 1903 in the prestigious *Journal of the Royal African Society*. See Harry H. Johnston. "Recent Portuguese Legislation on the Negro Labour Question in Portuguese Africa." *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 3, No. 10. January 1904, pp. 166-172. On the other hand, articles in the radical Lisbon newspaper *A Vanguarda* were fiercely critical of the new legislation.

[49] Lower wages were justified, it was argued, because the contract labourers took some time to adapt to their new working conditions. Clarence-Smith notes, however, that wages remained "markedly lower" than wages for indentured labourers in British West Africa. See W.G. Clarence-Smith. *Slaves, peasants and capitalists in southern Angola 1840-1926*. CUP. Cambridge: 1993, p.152.

monthly wage of 2500 reis for men and 1800 reis for women and upon recontracting, they would be entitled to a 10% increase in pay. [50] The "serviçaes", as they were then called, were also entitled to complain about working conditions or cruel punishment to a government-appointed "curador " or labour inspector who was charged with protecting their interests. A labour recruitment agency (A Junta Central de Trabalho e Emigração para a Província de S.Thomé) was established, with a majority of its members being elected by the planters and the remainder appointed by the Government. Additionally, a local committee was to be set up in São Tomé, with a representative in Príncipe, to ensure that the regulations were observed, supervise a repatriation fund based on deductions from the labourers' pay, and grant authorisations to labour recruitment agents.

The measures were timely. On April 3rd 1903, six months after D. Carlos' State Visit to Britain, Edward VII began a reciprocal visit to Portugal in an atmosphere of relative détente,[51] whilst, that same Spring, William Cadbury sailed for Lisbon to investigate rumours concerning the survival of slavery in the so-called "cocoa islands", which then supplied almost a quarter of the raw material for the British chocolate manufacturers.

The stumbling block of the whole affair had never been the legislation, however, which was relatively liberal for the day, but its implementation on the ground. In June 1903, shortly after the new regulations had been introduced, Júlio Henriques, the Director of the Coimbra Botanical Gardens, visited the plantations of São Tomé and Príncipe and witnessed the contract labour system at work. His well-informed and profusely-illustrated scientific account, which, remarkably, was only published years later when the anti-slavery campaign was on the wane, offers an assessment of labour conditions and practises, tempered by several years of hindsight. Whilst underlining the fact that the estate managers exercised virtually total authority over the daily lives of the labourers,

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[50] A farm labourer then earned from 160 reis a day in poorer districts of Portugal increasing to as much as 450 or 500 reis in richer or more politically active districts. A factory worker earned between 400 and 600 reis a day. See Pedro Ramos de Almeida. Op.cit. 1979 (Século XX), p.53.

[51] Note, for instance, the markedly condescending report in *The Times* of the King's first official State visit after his coronation. It refers to the "vast crowds" filling the Praça do Comércio: "acclaiming not only the Royal representative of an ancient political alliance, but a personal friend […]", adding that "[…] the more influential circles in Portugal are frankly Anglophile by reason and conviction. Not only are they satisfied that England does not menace them, but they have learned to believe that England, and England alone, can and will protect them against the encroachments of a certain other power which, as they believe, covet their colonial inheritance. In South Africa, **Portuguese and British interests notwithstanding the bickerings of 1889-1892**, **are now at least recognized by public opinion in Portugal, as well as by the two Governments, as being virtually identical**[…]" In "Latest intelligence.The King at Lisbon. Hearty Reception." *The Times* April 3rd 1903, p.3. (my bold)

Henriques describes the anti-slavery campaign as essentially unfounded and comments favourably on the labourers' housing and food and their treatment in general.

Contrasting with this assessment, however, Henriques relates that in 1903, in open contradiction of the law, work actually went on for 365 days a year with only a short rest on Sundays. The daily routine of the plantation workers was invariably the same. At daybreak the bell rang for inspection and those who were sick were examined. The labourers then lined up before the manager's residence to greet him with a hearty "bom dia, patrão", before splitting up into groups accompanied by European overseers known as "homens do mato", who led them off to their place of work. At this point in his narrative, he recalls witnessing a long, silent line of labourers walking slowly off to work along the coast opposite the beach at Angra de S. João where he stood, commenting: "Quantos com saudade se recordariam do sertão angolense, onde tinham nascido!" The day ended with the labourers returning to the plantation's headquarters, each bringing firewood, forage for the livestock or bunches of oil-palm dates. They were lined up and inspected once again "para ver se algum fugiu" and after the customary chorus of "boa noite patrão" they returned to their barrack-style housing to eat and rest. [52]

To a casual observer little would have appeared to have changed since the new legislation had been approved. Indeed, as well-meaning as the legislators' intentions undoubtedly were, and despite successive attempts to discipline labour practices, only a semblance of legality was maintained on many of the plantations, and before 1908, half a century after Sá da Bandeira's ground-breaking legislation, no Angolan "serviçal" had ever returned home from São Tomé and Príncipe.

The survival in the Portuguese African colonies of a system similar to slavery was well-known by this time to philanthropists and anti-slavery campaigners. Reports of slave raiding in Angola and the export of labourers to the islands had been reaching the British Foreign Office since the eighteen-eighties, when the first Protestant missions had set up

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[52] Júlio Henriques "A Ilha de S. Tomé sob o ponto de vista histórico-natural e agrícola", in *Boletim da Sociedade Broteriana*, 27, Coimbra: 1917, p.122. Henriques, who led the Coimbra University Expedition of 1903 to the islands, though complimentary regarding the labourers' housing and food and the hospital facilities, comments, on more than one occasion, on their attempts to escape: "**não é raro também dar-se a fuga dos serviçais.** Para não serem presos no caminho levam qualquer coisa roubada na roça onde viviam, que lhes serve para mostrar que vão cumprir ordem que lhes foi dada.[...]" He goes on to say that: "**na roça o administrador (o patrão) é tudo. É êle quem faz e desfaz os casamentos, quem julga os delitos e determina os castigos, quem resolve os casos familiares.**" Idem. p.120. (my bold)

in the north of the colony. Friction had soon broken out between the Portuguese authorities and Protestant missionaries, who were seen by many settlers as potential trouble-makers, and reports of rivalry between the established Roman Catholic and the newly-founded Protestant missions did not take long to find their way into the British press. Unremarkably, such reports were quick to surface whenever there were international debates or disputes concerning the borders of colonial possessions in Africa.

In 1884, for instance, the Rev. William Holman Bentley of the Baptist Missionary Society, who had been in the Congo for five years, lambasted the Portuguese colonial administration in letters to *The Times*, the *Daily News* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, [53] whilst the Catholic writer and Liberal member of Parliament, William Cornwallis Cartwright, chose the pages of the *Fortnightly Review* [54] to accuse the BMS of jealousy of Roman Catholic dominance in the Portuguese territories, at the same time as he defended the contract-labour system and argued against the Anti-Slavery Society's allegations that Portugal was unfit to put forward claims to the Congo due to its human rights record.[55]

Additional credibility was brought to missionary accusations by recent accounts from British travellers and explorers. In the previous year, for instance, the controversy had reached the general public through the publication of the Earl of Mayo's book *De Rebus Africanis* which opposed Portugal's claims in the Congo,[56] whilst the celebrated explorer Henry Morton Stanley, who had written in 1878 to the Secretary of the American Slavery Society affirming that "the Portuguese African provinces were governed by men motivated by humanitarian sentiments as sincere as those of Englishmen or Americans", [57] had quickly changed his tune, and in late 1884, now in the employ of Leopold II, the

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[53] William Holman Bentley (1855-1905). Bentley's articles came out in the British press on April 13th and 14th, 1884. See James Duffy. Op.cit 1967, p.119. See also W.H. Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, 2 vols. Fleming Revell, New York: 1900, and H. Margo Bentley, *W. Holman Bentley: The Life and Labours of a Congo Pioneer.* Religious Tract Society, London: 1907.

[54] William Cornwallis Cartwright (1825-1915).The article "The Congo Treaty" responding to Bentley's allegations, was published in the *Fortnightly Review* on June 13th 1884, pp. 88-107. Cartwright saw no distinction between the contract-labour system and coolie labour in the British Colonies. Idem. p.120.

[55] See Anon. *Memorandum concerning the Portuguese rights and pretensions to sovereignty on the West Coast of Africa, with appendix exhibiting anti-slavery aspect of the Congo Question.* British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, London: 1883. The pamphlet argues against Portugal's claims to the Congo, principally from the humanitarian viewpoint.

[56] Earl of Mayo. (1851-1927) *De Rebus Africanis. The claims of Portugal to the Congo and adjacent littoral with remarks on the French annexation.* W.H. Allen & Co., London: 1883.

[57] H.M. Stanley. *Letter to Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society*. May 11th 1878. See Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, *Stanley's first opinions: Portugal and the slave trade.* Geographical Society of Lisbon. Printing Offices of Christovão Rodrigues, Lisbon: 1883. Chapter 3.2 of this thesis offers an

King of Belgium, he severely criticised Portuguese cruelty in Africa at anti-slavery meetings in Manchester and London, clearly with the aim of influencing the outcome of the Berlin Conference of the Colonial Powers which would meet, in November of the same year, under the watchful eye of the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck.[58]



Figure 1.3 Draner. "Découpage de l'Afrique à la conférence de Berlin." Journal *l'Illustration*. 1885.

On February 26th 1885, by the Berlin General Act, Britain, Portugal and thirteen other nations, including the USA and Belgium, committed themselves to suppressing every form of the slave trade, especially in the Congo Basin and in the interior of Central Africa whilst establishing the principle of "Effective Occupation". At the same time the Conference recognised King Leopold's sovereignty over much of the Congo, a decision that most of those present would rue in the years to come.[59]

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explanation for Stanley's short-lived gratitude to the Portuguese authorities. James Duffy quotes Stanley's words at the Jubilee Meeting held at Manchester's Free Trade Hall in late 1884, where he called the possibility of Portuguese rule in the Congo Basin as "the chance of a great misfortune", whilst hoping that Europe "would judge wisely at the forthcoming Conference". See James Duffy. Op.cit 1967, pp.121-122.

[58] The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, signed in February 1884 but never ratified, granted Portugal control over Angola up to Cabinda, whilst the Berlin Conference, convened principally to avert the threat of a European dispute by preparing the peaceful partition of Africa, met in November of the same year.

Figure 1.3 Draner's caricature shows Bismarck, knife in hand, ready to divide the African "cake" between himself and representatives of the awaiting colonial powers. Draner was the nom-de-plume of the Belgian painter, illustrator and cartoonist Jules Jean Georges Renard (1833-1926).

[59] See Chapter 4.2 of this dissertation.

British humanitarian agitation also increased in the run-up to the Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference, which took place over an eight-month period in 1889-90. Meetings against slavery in the Portuguese African territories were held by the Anti-Slavery Society in April and May of 1888, notably in Edinburgh and Manchester, and Portugal began to awaken to the fact that it would have to do more to defend itself against accusations which were becoming more frequent and better supported. In March of the following year, the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa appointed a committee to set up an Anti-Slavery League under the patronage of the King of Portugal, which included the explorer Serpa Pinto, the former Foreign Secretary Barbosa du Bocage, and the serving Foreign Secretary, Barros Gomes. Although boasting a list of distinguished personalities who would pledge their support to Cardinal Lavigerie's anti-slavery campaign,[60] the committee's hands were bound from the outset and it soon became apparent that despite their best intentions, the efforts of its members would inevitably peter out into empty platitudes.[61]

Proof that the Portuguese Government, too, was fully aware of what was at stake at the Brussels Conference was demonstrated by the high-level composition of its delegation, which included Jaime Batalha Reis, the Consul at Newcastle; the explorer Hermenegildo Capelo; Henrique de Macedo, the Minister in Brussels; and the former Governor of Mozambique, Augusto Castilho. [62] The delegation presented a paper to the Conference

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[60] On November 20th 1890, in the wake of the Brussels Conference, Pope Leo XIII released his encyclical *Catholicae Ecclesiae,* addressed to Catholic missionaries in Africa, whilst appointing Cardinal Lavigerie as his special envoy to Africa. On Lavigerie's Campaign see M.G Alexis. *La traite des negres et la croisade africaine.* imp. et lib. H. Dessain. Liege: 1894. See also Lavigerie. *L'esclavage africain. Conferences de Son Eminence le Cardinal Lavigerie, Primat d'Afrique, à Paris, à Londres et à Bruxelles avec avant-propos par Louis Delmer, secretaire du comité antiesclavagiste de Bruxelles.*Ad. Hoste, imp. Gand: 1891. For more on the Brussels General Act, see Suzanne Miers. *Britain and the Ending of the Slave Trade.* Longman, London: 1975, particularly pp. 346-363.

[61] See Sociedade Portugueza contra a Escravatura. *Estatutos da Sociedade Portugueza contra a Escravatura.* Typographia Portugueza, Lisboa : 1889. A sarcastic comment by a senior civil servant on the letter written to the FO by George Petre, the British Minister in Lisbon, announcing the formation of the Society, ran as follows: **"They have discovered that the suppression of slavery is the traditional policy of Portugal. They have no sense of the ridiculous".** Petre to FO. March 28th 1889. FO 84/1965. Quoted in James Duffy Op.cit. 1967, p.94. (my bold). On December 30th 1902, the BFASS wrote to the Portuguese Minister in London enquiring if the Portuguese Antislavery Society still existed, with the aim of exchanging correspondence on the subject of slavery in Portuguese West Africa. A lengthy reply eventually came, in February 1903, from Manuel Gorjão, the Minister for the Colonies, quoting Portugal's "irreprehensible" historical record and the recently introduced labour legislation for the colony. (Labour decree of January 29th 1903.) Idem. p.175.

[62] Significantly, Portugal was only invited to take part on September 29th 1889, a fortnight before the Conference began.

which argued Portugal's case from the historical and ethical viewpoint, concluding, with astounding self-deception:

> All the indigenous people of Africa have been definitely [sic] emancipated there by our laws, and they have come to enjoy the same rights, advantages, and privileges as citizens of the metropolis. [63]

On July 2nd 1890 Portugal became one of the seventeen signatories in Brussels to the agreement to put an end to slavery in Africa and regulate the traffic and sale of alcohol and arms. Discussions at the Conference were overshadowed by the aftermath of the confrontation between Britain and Portugal regarding their spheres of influence in South-Central Africa. The diplomatic duel had come to a head with the British "Ultimatum" of January 10th 1890, which effectively put an end to Portugal's aspirations to create a direct link between its possessions in the West and East of the continent. The fracas led to a public outcry, rioting in Oporto and several other cities, and the fall of two Portuguese Governments. [64] On August 20th 1890 an agreement was signed between Portugal and Britain to define the frontiers of Angola and Mozambique and in the following year Portugal abdicated from claims on large swathes of Africa between the two territories. The "carve-up" was finally consummated on June 11th 1891, with the signing of an Anglo-Portuguese Treaty.[65] What was seen my many in Portugal as an act of national humiliation inflicted upon it by its "ancient ally" would leave bitter resentment and distrust in the collective memory of the nation for many years to come, as Bordallo Pinheiro's caricature, published ten years later, eloquently displays. [66]

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[63] Ministério da Marinha. *Memoria acerca da Extincção da Escravidão e do Trafico de Escravatura no Território Portuguez.* Typographia Castro a Irmao. Lisboa: 1889, p.35 Presented to the Brussels Conference as *"Memoire sur 1'Abolition de I'Esclavage et de la Traité des Noirs sur la Territoire Portugais.* On the Government's vindication James Duffy comments sarcastically: **"Perhaps no modern nation has used the historical past with such feeling (and generally with so little success) to explain the continuity of its present policies. The Memoire was a noble example of this genre of Portuguese literature."** James Duffy. Op.cit 1967, pp.127-8.(my bold)

[64] The first republican deputies for many years were elected to Parliament in the aftermath of the "Ultimatum". Representing Lisbon, they included Elias Garcia, Latino Coelho and Manuel de Arriaga.

[65] The British Government was loath to intervene at first but was finally convinced by the arguments of the British South Africa Company, which had been founded by Cecil Rhodes in 1889.

[66] **Figure 1.4** *"Banquete de antropophagos"* in *A Paródia*. Ano 1, No. 9, March 14th 1900, pp. 68-69. Raphael Bordallo Pinheiro (1846-1905) had famously designed a John Bull spittoon at the time of the "Ultimatum" and his drawing here shows that feelings in Portugal were still running high ten years later. John Bull is standing next to Cecil Rhodes, observing, from a safe distance, a black man being devoured by black cannibals with familiar faces under the shadow of the biblical "*Bezerro de Oiro*" or "Golden Calf." The key to the caricature is the paper on which the words "Nyassa" and Zambezia" are written. By 1891 one third of Mozambique had been effectively handed over to three British companies, the Mozambique



Figure 1.4 "Banquete de antropophagos". Caricature by Raphael Bordallo Pinheiro in *A Paródia.* 1900

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, and despite the gathering clouds, the contract-labour question had not yet become a "cause célèbre" in Britain, notwithstanding frequent criticism in the publications of the two British anti-slavery societies [67] and denunciations of slave-raiding by British and American missionaries of several non-conformist persuasions. And although many better-informed Britons would have read David Livingstone's reports of his journeys in Central Africa [68] or Cdr. Verney Lovett

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Company, the Zambezi Company and the Niassa Company. The border of priests with their traditional *"saturno"* hats and colonial administrators with their pith helmets was a reminder of the unholy alliance between the clergy and colonial enterprise in the exploitation of the indigenous peoples of Africa.

[67] The two societies were the Aborigines Protection Society (APS), founded in 1837, and the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (BFASS), founded in 1839. They merged in 1909 after the death of H.R.Fox Bourne, the Organising Secretary of the APS. Articles on the issue of "Portuguese Slavery" at the turn of the century, included: "Portugal and the Slave Trade." The *Anti-Slavery Reporter*: Jan.1895, p.12; "Nominal Freedom, but Real Slavery." The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* Aug-Oct.1897, p.213; "In Darkest Africa.The Phil-African Liberators League." The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* Mar.-June 1898, p.116; "Treatment of Natives in Portuguese Africa." The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* Nov.1900, p.161; "The Slave Trade in Portuguese Africa." The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* Jan. 1901, p.17.
The journal of the APS -*The Aborigine´s Friend*, offered articles on "Abuses in Portuguese Africa" in its editions of July and November 1902. Whilst actively lobbying the Government on Portuguese labour practises in Africa, and using friends of the APS in Parliament to keep the issue alive, Fox Bourne left much of the publishing initiative to the BFASS, returning to the question only in 1908 with an overview in the form of a 67-page pamphlet entitled *Slave traffic in Portuguese Africa: An account of slave-raiding and slave-trading in Angola and of slavery in the islands of San Thomé and Príncipe.* Aborigines' Protection Society. P.S. King and son, London: 1908.

[68] David Livingstone. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa. Including a Sketch of Sixteen Years residence in the Interior of Africa and a Journey from the Cape of Good Hope to Loanda on the West Coast, Thence across the Continent, down the River Zambesi.* John Murray, London: 1857.

Cameron's account of his coast-to-coast crossing [69], and a privileged few may have been familiar with Winwood Reade's *Savage Africa*,[70] Lord Mayo's *De Rebus Africanis,* [71] Joachim John Monteiro's *Angola and the River Congo*, [72] or Serpa Pinto's *How I crossed Africa*, [73] all of which refer to slave caravans and slave trading in Angola, such works had already acquired the status of historical accounts by the beginning of the twentieth century, and much of the righteous indignation which had been provoked a generation before had been shelved along with the explorers' testimonies.

The issue of labour recruitment for São Tomé was, however, still sufficiently alive in 1897 to be mentioned in François Coillard's *On the Threshold of Central Africa,* an account of twenty years missionary work amongst the people of the Barotse*,*[74] and to even greater effect by the remarkable British explorer and ethnographer Mary Kingsley in her *Travels in West Africa,* who commented on the employment of "kruboys" in São Tomé and Príncipe, and the dilatory tactics of the planters:

> For the Kruboy, "Panier", as he calls the "Spaniard" is a name of horror worse even than "Portugee", although he holds " God made white man and God made black man, but dem debil make Portugee," and he also remembers an unfortunate affair that occurred some years ago now, in connection with coffee-growing. A number of Krumen engaged themselves for

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[69] "The Government of Portugal cannot·be cognisant of the atrocities committed by men claiming to be her subjects." Cdr. Verney Lovett Cameron. *Across Africa.* 2 vols. Bernhard Tauchnitz. Leipzig: 1877, pp. 387-388. Cameron (1844-1894) became famous due to his claim to being the first European explorer to cross Equatorial Africa from coast to coast (from Zanzibar to Benguella in 1873-1875). As a Royal Navy officer he had been employed in the suppression of the East African slave trade.

[70] William Winwood Reade. *Savage Africa: Being the Narrative of a Tour in Equatorial, South-Eastern and North-Western Africa, with notes on the habits of the gorilla; on the existence of unicorns and tailed men; on the slave trade; on the origin, character, and capabilities of the Negro and on the future civilization of Western Africa.* Smith, Elder and Co., London: 1863. The title speaks for itself.

[71] Written after a one year journey around West Africa with Harry H. Johnston, the report was critical of the São Tomé labour system and Portugal's claims to the Congo: "At Catumbella the natives are brought down by agents from the interior, the agents stating that they are natives freed from slavery which they were in to their own chiefs; in fact, they are only bought from the chiefs, the retail price being about £7 cash. […] That this is virtual slavery cannot be denied… None of them ever see Africa again. They suffer very much from home-sickness, and go to San Thomé only to work and die. These are the bare unvarnished facts." Earl of Mayo. Op.cit 1883, p.25.

[72] Joachim John Monteiro. Op.cit. 1875.

[73] Major Serpa Pinto, Alfred Elwes Trans. *How I crossed Africa: From the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, through Unknown Countries; Discovery of the Great Zambesi Affluents, &c.* 2 vols. Lipincott and co. Philadelphia: 1881. Alexandre de Serpa Pinto (1846-1900) was a Portuguese military officer and explorer. On January 18th 1878 Serpa Pinto had passed through Bié and later informed Andrade Corvo that a 12-14 year old boy could be exchanged for an ox, and that slavery was widespread. Serpa Pinto's letters, which are held at Lisbon's Sociedade de Geografia, offer further evidence of the slave trade on the Bihé plateau- *Cartas Particulares do Explorador Serpa Pinto -1878*.

[74] François Coillard. *On the Threshold of Central Africa. A Record of Twenty Years pioneering amongst the Barotsi of the Upper Zambezi.* Hodder and Stoughton, London: 1897.

> a two year's term of labour on the Island of San Thomé, and when they arrived there, they were set to work on the coffee plantations by the Portuguese. […] But when their moons were all complete, instead of being sent home to "We country" they were put off from time to time; and month after month went by and they were still on San Thomé, and still hoeing. At last the home sick men, in despair of ever getting free, started off secretly in ones and twos to try to get to "We country" across hundreds of miles of the storm-haunted Atlantic in small canoes and with next to no provisions. The result was a tragedy […] [75]

Kingsley was careful to stress her conviction that the owners of the plantations had no intention of forcing the labourers to stay on indefinitely and that she had been assured by her Portuguese friends that they were merely being detained until replacements arrived. She added that she had seen "too much of the Portuguese in Africa to believe that they would in a wholesale way, be cruel to natives", she confessed candidly that she was also "not in the least surprised that the poor Krumen took the Portuguese «logo» and «amanhã» for Eternity itself, for I have frequently done so."

The following year H.M. Consul Arthur Nightingale arrived in Luanda with a watching brief on the movement of contract labour between Angola and São Tomé. Nightingale's report, which was presented to Parliament at the end of 1902, provided official statistics showing that the overall mortality in the two islands was in the order of ten percent at the end of the century, with even more disastrous figures for the island of Príncipe, where sleeping sickness was rife. [76] Other significant causes of death were identified as being directly linked to the lack of sanitary provision and the promiscuous living conditions on the plantations.[77] Nightingale soon reached the conclusion that the labour drain to São Tomé would ruin Angola and he described it as "Slavery in its worst phase […] under the farsical title of contract labour." [78] However, despite the sounds of alarm coming from

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[75] Mary Kingsley (1862-1900) British explorer and ethnologist. *Travels in West Africa, Congo Francais, Corisco and Cameroons.* MacMillan and Co. London: 1897. Quotation from 2nd edition 1898, Ch. II *Fernando Po and the Bubis,* pp. 41-2.

[76] Anon. [Arthur Nightingale] *Portugal. Report on Trade and Commerce of the Province of St. Thomé and Príncipe.* No. 2922 Diplomatic and Consular Reports. Cd.786-266. HMSO, London: 1902. From the summary of "Mortality among the Servicaes on the Island of Príncipe from November 12th 1900 to November 12th 1901". Nightingale calculated that 20.67% of the island's contract labourers - a total of 867 out of 4.193, had died during the period.
In 1900, out of a total population of 42,103, 21,136 were "serviçaes" and 19,150 natives of the islands. See Augusto Nascimento in Pedro Cardoso. *Atlas da lusofonia: São Tomé e Príncipe*. Prefácio. Lisboa: 2008.

[77] The death rate for children born on the plantations was horrendous, reaching 25% in several years.

[78] Arthur Nightingale, H.M. Consul in Luanda, to F.O. June 20th 1902. FO 2/640. Quoted in James Duffy. Op. Cit 1967, pp. 179-180 and Pedro Ramos de Almeida. *História do Colonialismo Português em África : Cronologia* - Século XX. Estampa, Lisboa: 1978-1979, p.20.

the Anti-Slavery Societies and several sources on the ground, the Foreign Office had determined, at least for the time being, that labour in the cocoa islands was Portugal's business and that it was better left alone.[79]

Over the ensuing period Consul Nightingale's regular reports to Lord Lansdowne, the Foreign Secretary,[80] offered further evidence in support of his earlier allegations. Virtually all of the consul's information was second-hand, however, coming from foreign traders or Protestant missionaries who had witnessed the passage of Ovimbundu trade caravans through the interior of the colony. Nightingale was careful, however, to include any written reports as enclosures to his own correspondence.[81] One such account, sent from Humpata, in mid-1902, by W. J. Chapman to the superintendent of the West African Telegraph Office in Luanda, declared that just before he left Bié a caravan of 300 people had arrived and he was told 500 more had died on the march.[82]

Expressing his growing frustration, Nightingale later reported that when the Governor-General of Angola had tried to stop the export of labourers to São Tomé, as a result of the Bailundo Revolt, the planters lobby had forced Lisbon to withdraw the restrictions. [83] In a second letter, written shortly afterwards, he hinted that British intervention might be required: "My private opinion is that the slave-trade in Angola will not be abolished until some strong influence from outside is is brought to bear on the matter".[84] In a further despatch in May 1904, Nightingale expressed despair regarding the failure of the new

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[79] The issue was only discussed by the F.O. again in 1902, at the insistence of H.R.Fox Bourne, the Organising Secretary of the Aborigine´s Protection Society. See Glyn Stone "The Foreign Office and Forced Labour in Portuguese West Africa 1894-1914" in Hamilton and Salmon eds. *Slavery, Diplomacy and Empire: Britain and the Suppression of the Slave Trade 1807-1975.* Brighton: 2009, pp.166-167.

[80] Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, fifth Marquess of Lansdowne (1845-1927). Foreign Secretary, 1900-1905. A firm imperialist like his successor Edward Grey, he served in both Liberal and Conservative Governments.

[81] For example, the Brethren missionary, Dr.Walter Fisher, wrote from Kavungu: "the Ovimbundo still continue their wretched slave traffic", whilst an unidentified collector for the British Museum protested that the trade routes were "strewn with skeletons and corpses in every state of decomposition", many of whom had died of hunger or had been "brutally murdered". In Consul Arthur Nightingale to FO. June 20th 1902. FO 2/640. Quoted in Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit. 2005, p.49.

[82] Chapman's letter was quoted in Nightingale to FO. August 2nd 1902. FO 2/640. William James Chapman was the son of the famous South African explorer James Chapman and one of the original 'Trek Boers' who moved away from British rule in the Cape region and eventually settled in southern Angola in the early 1880's. He was involved in the rubber trade but also in cattle ranching, gold mining and road building. He later attempted to convince the Humpata Boer settlers to claim British nationality in order to resist Portuguese administrative pressure. See W.G. Clarence-Smith *Slaves, Peasants and Capitalists in Southern Angola 1840-1926.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 1979, pp. 51-52. Also William Chapman. *Reminiscences: Including an Account of the Trek Boers into Angola and of their Sojourn during the Forty-eight Years they struggled in that Country under Portuguese Rule.* Protea Book House, Pretoria: 2010.

[83] Consul Arthur Nightingale to FO. June 20th 1902. FO 2/640.

[84] Consul Arthur Nightingale to FO. July 8th 1902. Idem.

legislation [85] to bring about an improvement in the situation: "[…] these elaborate decrees are nothing but a cloak to slave traffic", he protested, arguing that the problem, as always, derived not from the laws and regulations but from the difficulty of enforcing them. [86] If contracts were shorter and the wages better, he suggested, some migration might be voluntary but such changes were inconceivable as long as the planters' lobby continued to exert an overwhelming influence over the powers-that-be in Lisbon. [87]

If at British Government level it was not considered opportune to intervene in the matter, in humanitarian circles the indignation surrounding the issue of forced labour in Portuguese Africa was overshadowed by the atrocity stories emerging from the ironically-named Congo Free State. So much so, in fact, that the full gravity of the situation in Angola and São Tomé would only be brought to the attention of the wider public in the United States and Britain by a series of sensational eye-witness accounts of the "slave route" and the island plantations under the unequivocal heading "A New Slave-Trade", which appeared, at the end of 1905 and the beginning of 1906, in the popular American illustrated monthly, *Harper's Magazine*.[88] Written by the celebrated British journalist Henry Woodd Nevinson, [89] who had made a name for himself with his vivid reports from the front in the second Boer War, the articles triggered off an international controversy which caused embarassment not just to the São Tomé planters and the Portuguese Government but to the British chocolate manufacturers who purchased much of the islands' high-quality cocoa, and to the Foreign Office itself, which had other priorities as far as Portugal was concerned. Without exception, all would have preferred a speedy and discreet solution to the question.

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[85] Referring to the legislation introduced as a direct result of the Bailundo Revolt and Massano de Amorim's recommendations. For more on the Bailundo Revolt and its links to labour recruitment for São Tomé and Príncipe see the following section of this chapter.

[86] Nightingale, Boma, to Lansdowne FO, May 5th 1904. FO63/1447. See Glyn Stone. Op.cit. 2009, p.169

[87] Idem. See James Duffy. Op.cit 1967, p.181.

[88] Henry Nevinson. "A New Slave Trade." *Harper's Monthly Magazine.* August 1905 to February 1906. Lt. Col. J.A.Wyllie, the champion of the planters' case in the British Press, affirmed that Nevinson's visit to São Tomé had been no more than a "hurried run ashore, 26th June to 1st July, [1905] during trans-shipment to the north-bound mailboat by which he was a passenger". See Wyllie's letter to the Editor of the *Yorkshire Observer*. 20th June 1911, under the heading "Indentured Labour in Portuguese Territories." Also quoted in Francis Mantero. Trans. John Alfred Wyllie. *Portuguese Planters and British Humanitarians: the Case for S.Thomé.* Redacção da Reforma, Lisbon: 1911, p.167.

[89] Henry Woodd Nevinson (1856-1941) was a British war correspondent, an investigative journalist and an active supporter of several progressive causes including women's suffrage. A recent biography covers the many remarkable episodes of Nevinson's life: Angela V. John. *War Journalism and the Shaping of the Twentieth Century. The Life and Times of Henry Nevinson.* I.B.Tauris, London: 2006.

Opposition to the contract-labour system was not, however, confined to the accusations of missionaries, travellers and philanthropic activists from abroad, as Nevinson would soon discover on his arrival in Luanda, in December 1904.

1.2 Portuguese opposition to the contract-labour system at the turn of the Twentieth Century

Nulo será o extrangeiro arregânho
No dia em que francamente recrutada,
Repatriados com o salário ganho,
A mão da obra á ilha fôr voltada. [90]

Although voices had been raised against the contract-labour system in the Portuguese press during the final years of the nineteenth century and the labour drain to the cocoa islands had already become a controversial issue in both Lisbon and Luanda several years before Nevinson's exposé, such internal protests rarely seemed to reach the ears of philanthropic organisations in Britain, unlike those of supposedly "reliable eye-witnesses" of other nationalities, particularly those of Anglo-Saxon origin.[91] Local

[90] Juvenal Marinho Paiva de Carvalho. *A Ilha do Príncipe (Descritivo Histórico) 500 quadras alexandrinas em verso rima.* Imprensa Moderna Ltda., Porto: 1928, verse 210, p.39. Juvenal Marinho's verses offer a revealing testimony of life on the plantations based on his experiences when working on the *Esperança* plantation on the island of Príncipe, in the first years of the twentieth century. See Chapter 2.4 of this dissertation for more on this first-hand account.

[91] Most of the reports on slavery in Portuguese West Africa received by the British Anti-Slavery Societies came from missionaries returning on leave or British colonial officials or engineers who had come across slave caravans on their travels across central Africa. At the turn of the century both societies, but particularly the Aborigine's Protection Society, were merely active lobbies and no longer mass pressure groups, as Kenneth Nworah emphasises. This meant they were understaffed and had to depend upon reports which were hard to verify and occasionally exaggerated or untrue: "**At times, enthusiasm could outrun knowledge and credibility was given to every colonial information however hare-brained**. Moreover, the policy of not releasing the names of the Society's correspondents, inspite of repeated demands by the Colonial Office, helped to convince that office that much of its evidence was fabricated. And it was this lack of accurate intelligence, more than anything, which seriously militated against the work of the Society."(my bold). Kenneth D. Nworah "The Aborigines' Protection Society, 1889-1909: A Pressure-Group in Colonial Polic*y.*" *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines,* Vol. 5, No. 1. 1971, p.86.

opposition to the system was strong, however, when the British journalist arrived in Angola.

Labour for Angolan agriculture, which had always been in short supply, had dwindled still further due to the disastrous effects of sleeping sickness, whilst the falling prices of wild rubber on the international markets meant that the number of Ovimbundu trading caravans from the interior to the ports of Catumbela and Benguela had diminished significantly, leading to a consequent drop in the number of captive bearers reaching the coast .[92] With demand far exceeding supply, the cost of labour recruitment had reached an all-time high, leaving the more prosperous "roçeiros" of the cocoa islands virtually alone in the market for Angolan labourers.[93]

Nevinson neatly summed up the dire economic situation in a dispatch from the Angolan capital:

> Brazil has driven out Angola coffee. San Thomé has driven out the cocoa. The Congo is driving out the rubber, and the sugar-cane is only grown for the rum the natives drink [...] Many of the old plantations have come to grief.[...] Some have been sold for a song. None is prosperous; but people still think that if only contract labour were cheaper and more plentiful, prosperity would return. As it is they see all the best labour draughted off [sic] to the rich island of San Thomé, never to return [...] [94]

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[92] "By 1896 rubber had become the single most important export product in Angola. […] Export levels reached a peak of almost 4,000 tons in 1899, fell sharply to about 1,500 tons in 1902 and then recovered until 1913, when European imports from Southeast Asia began devaluating African rubber[...]" Jelmer Vos. "The Economics of the Kwango Rubber Trade, c.1900." *Angola on the Move: Transport Routes, Communication, and History*. Berlin: 24th-26th September 2003, p.2. Many of the bearers were captives and were ultimately destined to become contract-labourers, either in Angola or the cocoa islands.

[93] A letter from a correspondent in Novo Redondo in the August 11th, 1902 edition of the Lisbon newspaper *A Época* (the mouthpiece of the Regenerador party) attributes the uprising of the Ovimbundu peoples at Bailundo to the negative repercussions of fall in the price of rubber and **the consequent increase in the price of the "cabeça de alcatrão"**, [a depreciative term for black Africans] destined for São Tomé. See James Duffy, Op. Cit 1967, p.177 and Pedro Ramos de Almeida Op.cit. (Século XX) 1979, p.21.(my bold)

[94] Henry W. Nevinson. Reproduced in *A Modern Slavery* (1906) Schocken, New York: 1968, p.26. [Excerpt written in December 1904.] H.M. Consul Arthur Nightingale, writing from Boma to the Foreign Office two years later, confirms Nevinson's analysis: "[…] Coffee had gone down to a miserable price in the European markets; very little barter trade was coming in to the different trading centres in the interior; there was a scarcity of money among the natives and consequently a smaller demand for the cane rum manufactured by the planters, who found themselves stocked with a large quantity of that article without being able to realise their capital. The Angola planters could not therefore pay the high price for a "serviçal" that the São Thomé man offered, and consequently found themselves very much handicapped in obtaining labour for their plantations." Nightingale to FO July 28th 1906. FO 367/18, 28370. [Nightingale's report is included in an article written by Maciel Morais Santos. "Um episódio do slave cocoa. O Relatório Nightingale de 1906." In *Estudos em Homenagem a Luis António de Oliveira Ramos* vol. 3. FLUP. Porto: 2006.]

Describing the sense of "disquiet" which prevailed in Luanda in the face of international allegations regarding the persistence of slavery, Nevinson recognised that many Portuguese people were opposed to the contract labour system:

> The Portuguese are quite as sensitive and kindly as other people. Many do not like to think that the "serviçaes" or "contrahidos"[sic], as they are called, are, in fact, hardly to be distinguished from the slaves of the cruel old times. Still more do not like to hear the most favoured province of the Portuguese Empire described by foreigners as a slave state. There is a strong feeling about it in Portugal also, I believe, and here in Angola it is the chief subject of conversation and politics.[95]

Although the local opposition Nevinson encountered was driven primarily by the negative repercussions on the local economy of the export of labourers to the cocoa islands, part of the discomfort felt by the incipient bourgeoisie of Luanda was inspired by humanitarian ideals, just as it was in "metropolitan" Portugal, revealing the survival of the progressive ideas which had inspired reformers in the first half of the nineteenth century [96] and had been kept alive by liberal-minded freemasons and other enlightened activists. Nevinson recalls that a local newspaper acted as a rallying point for those who were against the system:

> A little newspaper appears occasionally in Luanda (A Defeza de Angola) in which the shame of the whole system is exposed, at all events with courage. The paper is not popular with the official or governing classes. No courageous newspaper ever can be ; for the official person is born with a hatred of reform, because reform means trouble. But the paper is read nonetheless.[97]

The *Defeza de Angola* had been founded in 1903 by a masonic association, the Grémio Português de Luanda, and was equipped with its own printing press, which had been proudly "purchased by public subscription". [98] The driving force behind the twice-weekly paper was the journalist and politician José Pinto de Macedo, an eloquent adversary of the monarchist regime, [99] who had first attracted the attention of colonial specialists, early

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[95] Henry W.Nevinson. Op.cit (1906)1968, p.27.
[96] See, for instance Sebastião Xavier Botelho (1768-1840) *Escravatura, benefícios que podem provir às nossas possessões d'Africa da prohibição daquelle trafico.*Typ. de J. B. Morando, Lisboa: 1840.
[97] Nevinson. Op.cit (1906)1968, p.27.
[98] *A Defeza de Angola: libertando pela paz, egualando pela justiça, progredindo pela autonomia*. Luanda: 1903-1907. Followed by the *Voz de Angola.* Luanda: 1908-1911.
[99] José Pinto de Macedo. (1876-1948) Journalist and Politician. A revolutionary republican and socialist in his student days at the Escola Superior do Comércio, Macedo later adopted a more moderate stance in support of consumer cooperativism and a form of confederal autonomy for the African colonies,

on in his professional career, through his articles in the *Revista Portugueza Colonial e Marítima,* [100] and a paper on the neglected resources of the colonies which he presented at the National Colonial Congress in 1901. [101] In fact, Macedo's influence was already visible in the conclusions of the Colonial Congress, which embraced, if cautiously, the idea of greater colonial autonomy, which he would later advocate more explicitly in his study of the administration of Angola. [102]

José de Macedo had been recommended to the Grémio in Luanda by the leading freemason and republican activist Sebastião Magalhães Lima, the editor of the progressive Lisbon newspaper *Vanguarda*,[103] to which Macedo was a regular contributor on colonial affairs.[104] Although far from alone in its campaign,[105] under Magalhães Lima's leadership the *Vanguarda* soon became one of the most outspoken voices against the system of labour recruitment for São Tomé and Príncipe, whilst, in Luanda, Macedo's "courageous little newspaper" *"A Defeza",* would sustain its barrage of criticism against the inertia of central government until the end of 1907 when it was succeeded by the

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maintaining, however, his anticlerical convictions and republican sympathies. In 1901, when editor of the Lisbon republican newspaper *A Lucta,* Macedo served a four-month prison sentence on the charge of being an anarchist. José de Macedo was initiated into freemasonry in Angola, significantly with the masonic name of Benoit Malon, and on returning to Lisbon in 1907 he joined the Solidariedade lodge, founded in the previous year by his mentor Magalhães Lima. In addition to Benoit Malon, José de Macedo was influenced by the writing of Alexis de Tocqueville.

[100] In one of his articles Macedo insists upon education as the key to the citizenship of Africans. José de Macedo, "A Educação do Negro" *Revista Portugueza Colonial e Marítima*, Quarto Anno, 1900-1901, 1º semestre, Livraria Ferin, Lisboa, pp. 287-297.

[101] The First National Colonial Congress was held from December 2nd to 5th 1901, under the auspices of the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa and the patronage of D. Carlos I. An eight-point motion was presented by Eduardo da Costa, a disciple and co-worker of António Ennes, which recognised the need for decentralisation and greater administrative and financial autonomy of the Colonies as well as separate legislation for Europeans and Africans. Amongst the many other points approved were the maintenance of indigenous institutions of a feudal nature which were not in breach of morals or justice and measures designed to imbue the natives with the notion of territorial property and the obligation to work. Francisco Mantero, a leading São Tomé planter, who would play a central role in the slave-grown cocoa" controversy, was charged with the report on indigenous labour, taking advantage of the opportunity to suggest that the vagrancy legislation (*Repressão de Vadiagem*) in force in Angola should be extended to São Tomé, essentially to provide an additional source of local labour.

[102] See José de Macedo. *As nossas riquezas coloniais. Memória apresentado por José de Macedo.* Col. Congresso Colonial Nacional, Lisbon: 1901. See also Jorge Borges de Macedo's preface to the second edition of *Autonomia de Angola*. IICT. Lisbon: 1988. Macedo's study on Angola was first published in 1910: *Autonomia de Angola : estudos de administração colonial.* Tipografia Leiria, Lisboa: 1910.

[103] *A Vanguarda* (Lisbon: 1891-1911)

[104] José de Macedo, *Autonomia de Angola*, *Estudo de Administração Colonial*, Typographia Leiria, Lisboa: 1910, pp. 162-165.

[105] Other pro-republican newspapers and periodicals participated actively in the campaign against the contract labour system, notably the *Economista Português* (1904-1911) edited at the time by Augusto Soares; *A Lucta* (1906-1935) ed. Brito Camacho; *O Mundo* (1900-1936) ed. França Borges; and, somewhat ambivalently, *O Século* (1880-1977) ed. Silva Graça; and, after the boycott, *A Capital* (1910-1938) ed. Manuel Guimarães.

weekly *Voz de Angola* edited by the no-less-militant Júlio Lobato,[106] which proudly retained the same progressive banner as its predecessor - "libertando pela paz, egualando pela justiça, progredindo pela autonomia." [107]

On arriving in Luanda in early March 1903, [108] Macedo began giving evening classes at the Associação Commercial and immediately adjusted his own anti-monarchist and humanitarian agenda to embrace the urgent grievances of the Angolan tradesmen and "fazendeiros".[109] Macedo´s newspaper campaign came up against those who, directly or indirectly, drew benefits from the contract labour system, and as one of the most visible members of the republican and humanitarian lobby he faced strong opposition, even in Luanda, itself. In his long essay in favour of decentralised government of the colony, entitled *Autonomia de Angola,* Macedo hints briefly at the difficulties he encountered due to the *Defeza's* campaign against what, unequivocally, he terms "slavery":

> O jornal que dirigia, Defeza de Angola, atacava energicamente **a escravatura** que se fazia no interior e no Sul e os governadores, um tanto perturbados com a nossa campanha, começaram a fraquejar ante o crime da venda do preto e os poucos contratos que se faziam, com o Governo de Eduardo Costa. Inesperadamente é nomeado o Sr. Custódio Borja [110] para

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[106] After José de Macedo's departure Júlio Lobato became the editor of the *"Defeza"* until issue no. 312, November 24th 1907 and then its successor *"A Voz de Angola"*. A former soldier, Júlio Lobato was a politician and civil servant. See Isadora de Ataíde Fonseca. *A Imprensa e o Império na África Portuguesa* 1842-1974, p.98. Doctoral thesis in Sociology, 2014. ICS. Univ. de Lisboa. (Accessed online 22/02/2016.) repositorio.ul.pt/handle/10451/15605

[107] "Anteriormente à fundação do periódico, influentes políticos e do comércio de Luanda haviam publicado (20 de Dezembro de 1902) uma circular a lançar um empréstimo para angariamento de fundos destinados à aquisição de oficinas de composição e impressão, etc., para a criação de A Defesa de Angola. Para isso foram emitidos títulos de empréstimo do valor nominal de dez mil réis cada um." See Júlio de Castro Lopo. *Jornalismo de Angola. Subsídios para a Sua História.* Centro de Informação e Turismo de Angola, Luanda: 1964, pp. 65-74.

[108] *Vanguarda,* February 21st 1903, p.1 announces the departure of José de Macedo for Luanda to head a newspaper which "defended the interests of the province". Macedo returned to Portugal for good in 1909 due to his wife's terminal illness, but contributed to *Jornal de Benguela* between 1912 and 1919. The *Defeza* would keep up its untiring campaign over the coming years, eventually being forced to defend itself against accusations of "lack of patriotism" for supporting Nevinson's allegations. See *Defeza de Angola* June 10th and 14th 1906, p.1.

[109] In addition to suffering from the crippling effects of import and export tariffs, first introduced in the early 1890's, the local traders and "fazendeiros" were facing a dramatic shortage of local labour due to the export of "serviçais" to the cocoa islands, a situation aggravated still further by an epidemic of sleeping sickness in the North of the province. The more militant European settlers were influenced as much by republican ideas as by the system of self-government which had been adopted in British South Africa. Support for such ideas would later revolve around the masonic associations of Luanda (Grémio Português), Benguella (Grémio Lusitânia), and Bié (Grémio Pátria Nova).The number of European settlers slowly increased from 9000 to 12000 between 1900 and 1910. See Fernando Tavares Pimenta. *Brancos de Angola. Autonomismo e Nacionalismo. 1900-1961.* Ed. Minerva, Coimbra: 2005, p. 91.

[110] Custódio Borja (1849-1911) was Governor-General of Angola between March and December 1904. He had previously served as Governor of Macao, and of São Tomé on two occasions. In view of Macedo's

> recomeçar a emigração. Resolvemos todos não atacar esse cavalheiro senão no caso de renovar a escravatura. O caso é que os esclavagistas pululavam de contentes.[...] uma noite fui assaltado por uns seis ou sete, quando jantava sossegadamente no Hotel Atenas em Loanda [...] [111]

Even before leaving Lisbon to launch the *Defeza de Angola,* José de Macedo's weekly articles in the *Vanguarda* had already displayed his opposition to the centralised administration of Angola and his views in the Lisbon newspaper undoubtedly influenced the ideas which were being discussed in opposition circles in the province.[112] Although dissatisfaction with the status quo had been growing in different areas of Angolan society for some time,[113] public protests in Luanda against the indifference of the central government to the plight of the colony were finally precipitated by events which took place in the interior of Angola.

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allegation that Borja had been appointed to re-launch the contract-labour system in the aftermath of the Bailundo war and the critical stance of many freemasons regarding the contract - labour system, it is ironic that Borja was the Grand Master of the Grande Oriente de Portugal, a short-lived masonic institution which, having emerged from a split occurring in 1897, would become extinct in 1904.

[111] José de Macedo Op.cit.1910, pp.164-165, footnote (my bold). Macedo adds that though surviving the fracas unscathed, he was placed under temporary arrest due to his reputation as "a dangerous figure who was well-known to the police in Lisbon and Oporto", whilst a Spanish friend, who happened to be dining with him, was expelled from the province. The friend, António Perez, was Chairman of the local Association of Commerce Employees and one of the principal signatories of the Manifesto. A list of the signatories appears in "Ao povo portuguez." *A Vanguarda* October 7th 1903, p.1. For more on this incident involving Perez see *Ofício confidencial Governador Geral ao Ministro Marinha e Ultramar*. AHU Pasta 21. No. 805. Angola. According to Augusto Bastos, Macedo and Perez were arrested because they shouted "Viva a República!"

[112] Note, however, that republicans from the "Metrópole" shared essentially the same views regarding the African colonies as their monarchist adversaries. Although Macedo brought encouragement to the opposition in Angola he also advocated autonomy rather than a move towards independence and equal rights, in direct conflict with local republicans of black or mixed-race - "filhos da terra"- who had always propagated more radical ideas in the newspapers they controlled. See Maria Cristina Portella Ribeiro. *Ideias republicanas na consolidação de um pensamento angolano urbano (1880 c.-1910 c.): convergência e autonomia.* p. 122. Masters Degree Dissertation. Fac. História, Universidade de Lisboa : 2012 http://repositorio.ul.pt/bitstream/10451/7937/1/ulfl128699_tm.pdf (accessed online 17/2/2017.)
On November 12, 1906, members of the Associação Commercial de Loanda would petition the Governor-General demanding autonomy for Angola in line with similar developments toward decentralisation taking place in British and French Africa.

[113] Several short-lived militant newspapers appeared in Angola along the last quarter of the nineteenth century but one of the most significant signs of organised protest amongst educated black and mixed-race Angolans was a collection of articles which had appeared in the Luandan press between 1899 and 1901, published in pamphlet-form as : Anon. *Voz de Angola. Clamando no Deserto - Oferecida aos Amigos da Verdade pelos Naturais,* Lisboa: 1901. The anthology appeared in response to an article in *A Gazeta de Luanda* protesting about the punishment meted out to a European who had insulted an African. The protest was written by a group of "assimilated" black and mixed-race Angolans from Luanda, Benguela and Bengo. The quotation summarises the arguments put forward in an article in the *Gazeta de Loanda* regarding the black inhabitants of the colony. See Susan A. de Oliveira. "A Voz de Angola clamando no deserto e a emergência dos ideais anticoloniais em Angola" in *Ipotesi*, Univ. Federal de Juiz de Fora, v. 14, n. 2 July-Dec 2010, pp. 45-51, and Douglas L.Wheeler. "Angola Is whose House? Early Stirrings of Angolan Nationalism and Protest, 1822-1910." *African Historical Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1. 1969, p.21.

Towards the end of May 1902, the unrest which had been festering ominously for several months amongst the Ovimbundu people of the central plateau finally came to a head with the eruption of a full-scale armed rebellion against the fort and settler trading posts in the vicinity of Bailundo. [114] Although the bulk of the rebellion was crushed by September of the same year, skirmishes would go on for over two years in certain outlying areas, and some estimates suggest that as many as 2000 lives were lost.[115] Peace talks were initiated at the end of September and, in the aftermath of the massacres, Capt. Pedro Massano de Amorim was sent to Angola at the Governor-General's request, to undertake a full enquiry into the rebellion and put a stop to reprisals. [116] For once, a report of this kind had far-reaching consequences, leading to the arrest, imprisonment and expulsion of several of the more notorious officials and traders involved in the traffic and the freeing of a significant number of bonded labourers. [117]

A series of four unsigned articles under the heading "A Ruina d'Angola", appeared in the *Vanguarda* [118] shortly after the outbreak of the revolt, comparing the economic crisis in Angola with the relative prosperity of the neighbouring colonies of other European powers and citing the rubber trade as an example of how better road and river communications in Leopold II's Congo enabled Belgian rubber prices to gain a

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[114] In September 1902 the revolt of Ovimbundu people against colonial rule, which had broken out after a group of native chiefs had been seized by the commander of the Bailundo fort, was defeated after a four-month military operation and its leader, Mutu-ya-Kevela, was killed in battle. Peace talks and an enquiry into the cause of the events began at the end of September.

[115] As many as 10,000 Ovimbundu fighters faced 750 well-armed European, Boer and African troops supported by 1000 bearers. See Douglas L. Wheeler and C. Diane Christiansen. "To Rise with one mind: the Bailundo War of 1902." In Franz W. Heimer ed. *Social Change in Angola*. Weltforum Verlag, Munich: 1973, pp.53-92.

[116] Pedro Massano de Amorim (1862-1929) Later Governor of Angola and Mozambique. For more on the enquiry ordered by the Governor-General Francisco Cabral Moncada, see "Missão Especial de Captain Massano de Amorim a Bailundo e Bié. 1901" [sic], AHM, Angola, Box 7, File 3. See also AHU 805 Cx. 21 Angola. Writing in 1909, the Brethren missionary Charles Swan praised the enquiry and the measures taken to improve the situation: "[…] I must make reference to the inquiry held after the suppression of the Bailundu rebellion in 1902. **This was carefully and justly conducted, and large numbers of slaves liberated and not a few Portuguese officials and traders condemned to imprisonment for sundry offences.** It looked as though the abominable slave trade would come to a speedy end. Yet it must not be forgotten that although large numbers were liberated hardly any of them reached their homes-these were too far off." Charles A. Swan. *The Slavery of Today or, the Present Position of the Open Sore of Africa.* Pickering and Inglis, Glasgow: 1909, p.194. (my bold)

[117] Unfortunately the measures had no lasting effect on the lives of those freed. Four years later many were recaptured, accused of breaking their contracts and sent into bondage again. However, the rebellion and Amorim's report certainly had an impact on the local authorities. New legislation was brought in on January 29th 1903 to introduce improvements in the recruitment and treatment of labourers for S.Tomé, and to "remove trivial and unavoidable abuses."

[118]Anon. "A Ruina d'Angola"*Vanguarda.* I. 17/5/1902; II. 19/5/1902; III. 29/5/1902; IV. 11/6/1902. All on p.1.

competitive edge on the international market against those of the Portuguese colony. The final article in the series concluded with a startling prophecy, which came perilously close to becoming reality a decade later:

> Angola morrerá para Portugal pelas suas tranquibernias politicas e esclavagistas, que são, afinal o pão nosso de cada dia, restando depois que os allemães, de combinação com os inglezes, se apossem d'ella a troco de barato. [119]

Other articles, which appeared in the *Vanguarda* shortly afterwards, portrayed the Bailundo uprising, somewhat simplistically, perhaps, as having been provoked by systematic abuses committed by European settlers against the local population, [120] and warned that trade from the interior would undoubtedly be jeopardised by the ongoing military campaign. The anonymous author, who was clearly aware of the protests which had been voiced at a public rally held in the Angolan capital a fortnight earlier, went on to accuse the military authorities, on the ground, of incompetence,[121] and alleged that slavery continued unchecked, allowing "os homens das missões estrangeiras a dizer tudo quanto de bem de nós se pode dizer [...]".[122]

Two weeks later, in an article signed by a Castro e Moraes, the Luanda demonstrators were described as 150 of the "pessoas mais valiosas, mais selectas e mais illustradas de Loanda".[123] In the preamble to their Manifesto, the members of the "Grande Commissão",

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[119] Anon. "A Ruina d'Angola IV" *Vanguarda* June 11th 1902, p.1.

[120] Some Protestant missionaries performed an active and duplicitous role in the affair by stirring up dissent and then mediating in the conflict when it finally broke out. For example, the correspondence between the ABCFM missionary Robert Moffat and the Capitão-Mor of the Bailundo Fort immediately before and during the revolt is revealing on this issue. See AHU 805 Cx. 21 Angola.

[121] They were the equivalent of District Commissioners in the British colonies.

[122] Anon. "Revolta do Bailundo" July 17th 1902 ; "Em Africa" July 22nd 1902 in *Vanguarda,* both p.1.The Canadian missionary Walter Currie (ABCFM), writing from Ciyuka, described the outbreak of violence as follows: "The Governor of Loanda has sent notice that all guarantees are suspended in the district of Benguella from July 2nd, 1902, and that for the present no more servants [serviçais] may be contracted for. The first item seems equivalent to a declaration of martial law in this whole district, and the second removes, temporarily, one of the chief curses of the country. It is under the contract system that thousands of slaves have been shipped to St. Thomas, and other places, never to return. It is to supply these slaves that expeditions are yearly made to the interior, and I venture to say that more Ovimbundu have been seized and killed while seeking slaves in the interior during the past two years than have yet been killed or made prisoners in this rebellion. **Not only have the interior people been seized and carried to the coast to be sold, but also many of the Ovimbundu**. There is no doubt that the agents of the different governments represented have knowledge of these transactions." Walter Currie. *Missionary Herald* Vol. XCIX for 1903, p.22. (my bold)

[123] The writer appears to have been António Maria de Jesus Castro e Moraes, a retired teacher from the Escola Principal in São Tomé. If this is indeed the case, he seems to have later undergone some form of epiphany, in one of the ideological "u-turns" which were not unknown during the "slave-grown cocoa" controversy. Writing only a few years later in a letter to the editor of *O Século*, Castro e Moraes argues exactly the opposite point of view, comparing unfavourably the lot of the farm labourer in Portugal with

who had been elected to publicise the protesters' demands, denounced the causes of the uprising, admitting that whilst nothing could justify the savagery of the attacks themselves, the resentment behind the revolt was understandable:

> [...] A guerra actual ao sul da provincia tem a sua origem nos abusos e violencias exercidos contra os povos gentílicos a quem extorquem muitas vezes, sem causa conhecida nem motivo justificativo, senão pela cegueira do egoismo e da ambição, valores representados em braços roubados às populações indigenas para serem transportados para S. Thomé sob a velhaca capa de contratação de serviçães, maneira ou subtrefugio[sic] com que se encobrem antigos e condemnados usos [124]

Writing from São Tomé, Castro e Moraes alleged that the local chiefs had revolted in desperation against the systematic theft by "refugos europeus" of loads of rubber*,* destined for the European market, whilst the bearers who carried them were dispatched to São Tomé as contract labourers. Suggesting that those who had suffered or perished at the hands of the rebels had brought the violence down upon their own heads, he described them as "individuos sem alma e sem coração" and accused them of violence and slave-raiding: "[...] entrando a má cara nas suas choças e levando-lhes amarrados paes, filhos, mulheres e irmãos, para depois irem negociar com os negreiros sempre infames, debaixo do pomposo nome de resgatados e sujeitos a tutella publica […]" [125]

The demands of the Luanda protesters, as listed in Castro e Moraes' article, included the removal of barriers preventing the launch of local newspapers, banking houses and industrial projects, together with the introduction of measures to promote the development of agriculture and mining, and improvements in road and river

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the plantation labourer in São Tomé. See "Um grande problema colonial. A questão braçal em S. Thomé." *O Século* April 8th 1908, p.6.

[124] The Luanda Manifesto, drawn up by a committee elected by those present at the rally and chaired by Joaquim da Cruz Lima with subcommittees representing Duque de Bragança [Kalandula], N'Dalla Tando [N'Dalatando], Novo Redondo [Sumbe], Alto Dande, Dondo and Barra do Dande, was published under the title: *Mensagem à imprensa do Paiz: dirigida pela Grande Comissão acclamada no comicio de 6 de Julho efectuado em Loanda*. Typ. Torres. Luanda: 1902.

The Governor of Angola, Francisco Cabral Moncada (1888-1974), agreed in essence with the protesters. Writing soon after the rebellion he describes the causes of the uprising as follows: "[…] Praticaram-se extorsões e violências de toda a espécie, sempre inspiradas n'uma criminosa ganância de que era inseparável companheira a crueldade, como é fácil de calcular que succedesse n'uma região, onde as próprias auctoridades trahiram os seus deveres, e, quando não os trahissem e antes quizessem cumpri-los, teriam vivas difficuldades em exercer aquella fiscalisação, que agora reputo de menor dificuldade, vistos os novos postos creados e alguns dos principios que estabeleci na portaria provincial no. 46 do anno passado[…]" Cabral de Moncada. *A Campanha do Bailundo em 1902.* Liv. Ferin, Lisboa : 1903, p. 217.

[125] Castro e Moraes. "Angola" *Vanguarda.* August 11th, 1902, p.1. The Bailundo revolt was put down in September of the same year but pockets of resistance would survive for many months.

communications. More controversially, they called for a ten-year suspension of import and export tariffs, a civilian-led administration, and elections in which only residents of the colony would be eligible to vote.

It was an ambitious political programme which, were it implemented, would have meant profound changes to the relationship between the colony and the Lisbon Government. Significantly, the only one of the fourteen demands to be printed in bold in the *Vanguarda* was the one dealing with the problem of the dearth of labour - evidently, the most urgent issue for the Angolan "fazendeiros": **"Que seja prohibida a sahida de braços indigenas por meio de contracto e se decrete uma lei de trabalho obrigatório para os mesmos."** [126] Castro e Moraes concluded his article with the warning that if the central government imprudently responded "com pólvora e bala", lives would inevitably be lost and Angola would end up by becoming a prosperous, independent nation, whether Portugal liked it or not.

The Bailundo rebellion and the protests of the Luanda autonomists had opened up a new front in the strategy of the republican leadership to undermine the monarchist regime. The same newspapers which had attacked the monarchists for their concessions at the time of the British "Ultimatum", had now turned to the question of human rights in Africa as an effective way of causing embarrassment to the Government.[127] The campaign would be joined by other newspapers and journals in Lisbon, Luanda and Lourenço Marques, but the *Vanguarda,* with its uncompromising stance, would remain one of the most radical and persistent voices against the contract labour system until the fall of the Monarchy.

Contrasting with the truculence of previous articles*,* however, an uncharacteristically moderate commentary on the new Royal Labour decree appeared in the *Vanguarda* in January 1903, [128], entitled simply "*Cacau"*, revealing, perhaps, the need to dispel any

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[126] Idem, ibidem.(in bold in the original)
[127] Unlike the Tories in Britain, who articulated their campaign against the Quaker chocolate makers and their Liberal friends between their representatives in Parliament and the newspapers and periodicals they controlled, the Portuguese republicans were in no position to do so, as before 1910 they managed to elect no more than a handful of deputies to the Cortes. Consequently, in Portugal, the republican press played a decisive and often virtually exclusive role in the campaign against the export of labour to the cocoa islands.
[128] Modelled on the provisions of the Angolan Labour Decree of July 16th 1902, the Royal Labour Decree of January 29th 1903, which was published in the *Diário do Governo* two days later, authorised emigration to São Tomé from Angola, Guinea, the Cape Verde Is., Mozambique, and Macao, until labour requirements were reached. One man or woman was to be supplied, per hectare, for agricultural service to proprietors owning more than 5 hectares of land. Up to three per family were allowed as domestic servants. A maximum five-year renewable contract was established for Angolan labourers, with a minimum of 1 year for

suspicions that republican opposition to forced labour was motivated by anti-colonialist views :

> […] No anno de 1901, reexportamos para Hamburgo, Inglaterra e mais paizes estrangeiros 16,644,998 kilos no valor representativo de 5,157:249$000 reis [...] O cacau tem sido o nosso ouro durante a crise que o paiz tem atravessado. Em S. Thomé e Príncipe estão as minas que o produzem.[…] A riqueza dos cidadãos faz a riqueza do paiz a que pertencem. Não nos affrontemos pois por vermos enriquecer os nossos compatriotas, que arrastando com a inclemencia dos paizes que produzem o cacau, voltam ricos para a pátria. Deve ser publicado hoje no "Diario", o novo regulamento de servicaes para as duas ilhas citadas, e oxalá seja feito de modo a contentar todos.[…].[129]

Any optimism concerning the new legislation was short-lived, however, and a series of four highly critical reviews appeared soon afterwards under the headline "O regulamento dos servicaes para S. Thomé". In the first of the articles, [130] the *Vanguarda*'s leader writer drew attention to the imbalance between the legislator's concern for the labourers and for the planters, concluding: "Salta á vista a escassez de regalias concedidas ao preto contractado para S.Thomé, dando-se, pelo contrario, demasiadas vantagens ao contractador." He went on to accuse the established limit of 6000 labourers per annum of being six times too great if the contract were to be free, and pointed out that the composition of the so-called Central Emigration Board in which the planters held a 4 to 3 majority over the representatives of the authorities, meant that " [...] roceiros pequenos, servicaes, e agentes, ficarão dependentes de quatro proprietarios maiores de S. Thomé e Príncipe, residentes na metrópole […]".

Recontracting, in the new legislation, he noted, was dispatched "in a couple of lines" which, from past experience, meant that the "emigrant" was condemned to a life sentence on the islands. In his final article, dealing with repatriation, the *Vanguarda*'s leader writer criticises the fact that, in the event of the labourer's death, the amount discounted from his wages for the Repatriation Fund, rather than reverting to the labourer's family, would be forfeited. In the writer's view, however, the worst problems would arise because of

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Mozambique and 2 years for Cape Verde and Guinea. Sixty percent of the labourer's wages was to be retained for repatriation. See Antonio Augusto Fernandes Rego. *A mão d'obra nas colonias portuguezas d'Africa.* Typographia do Commercio, Lisboa: 1910, p.73.

[129] Anon. "O Cacau." *A Vanguarda.* January 29th 1903, p.1.

[130] Anon. "O regulamento dos serviçaes para S. Thomé." *Vanguarda.* February 9th, p.1; February 12th, p.1; February 16th, p.1; February 19th, p.1. All 1903.

the clause which provided for the existing regulations to remain in force for those labourers who were already on the islands when the new law was implemented. In short, repatriation would only be available to new contractees. Finally, he points out that any labourer who fled the plantations could be recaptured and returned to work - apparently without a hearing. [131] Clearly, there were a number of flaws and loopholes in the legislation which had been overlooked, perhaps not unintentionally.[132]

Amongst the fiercest articles in the *Vanguarda's* campaign against the contract labour system were those written by "Nabuco", [133] a nom-de plume inspired by the celebrated Brazilian anti-slavery campaigner Joaquim Nabuco.[134] In an article entitled "Angola e a política metropóle", published somewhat tardily in January 1903, Nabuco comments on a conciliatory but conservative commentary in the *Jornal das Colónias* of October 25th 1902, in which the writer, whilst sympathising with the complaints of the protesters in Luanda, suggests that it had been imprudent for them to have associated their legitimate concerns with the aspirations of the Africans who had been involved in the uprising.

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[131] Juvenal Marinho adds his own protest regarding the abuse of the "Cofre de repatriação" when he worked on the Island of Príncipe, shortly after the new legislation was brought in:

239- Como é que o estado connivente
Lésa trabalhadores de ganho minguado
Augmentando a miséria d'esta gente
O próprio texto da lei dando por burlado?
240- Se o desconto para o cofre de repatriação
O estado para si chama e faz colheita
Dos serviçaes que na ilha morrendo vão
E a estes já nada lhes aproveita
243- Pelo menos, se os cinco anos acabados
Querem de novo contracto o captiveiro,
Perdido a esperança de serem repatriados,
Porque se lhes não dá o ganho por inteiro? Juvenal Marinho Op.cit, 1928, pp. 44-45.

[132] The arguments which appeared in the *Vanguarda* and later in the *Defeza* against the new legislation of 1903 are vehemently reiterated in a pamphlet entitled *Os Contractos dos Servicaes em Angola: Ao Paiz e à Sociedade de Geographia. Manifesto da Grande Commissão de Luanda*. Lisbon: 1904. Revealing the author's true identity, José de Macedo dedicated a copy of the protest to "José António Fernandes, **do Autor**". See PT-AHS-ICS-AHSilva-ESC-SER-5-B-01. (my bold)

[133] According to correspondence between the author of this dissertation and Helena Serpa, the librarian of the Grande Oriente Lusitano, "Nabuco" was the masonic name of Joaquim Augusto Ferreira Moraes. Although biographical information is scarce, it seems that Moraes spent part of his early career working in the Public Works Dept. in São Tomé and on his return to Portugal opened a printing house in the town of Marinha Grande, where he was later elected as a councillor and became mayor of the municipality on two occasions - in 1919 and 1926. A brief biography appeared in the local broadsheet *O Marinhense* on March 26th, 1922.

[134] Brazil abolished slavery in 1888. Joaquim Nabuco [1849-1910] was a historian, politician, freemason and a founding member of the Sociedade Brasileira Contra a Escravidão. In 1881 Joaquim Nabuco was enthusiastically welcomed as a hero of abolitionism by the BFASS in London.
The Portuguese campaigners, whether in Lisbon, Luanda or São Tomé, undoubtedly saw themselves as heirs to the high ideals which inspired the leaders of the emancipation movements in days gone by.

Responding in terms which recall the fiery rhetoric of the nineteenth-century anti-slavery campaigners, Nabuco asks: "Então os interesses dos africanos não são os nossos? Não são elles tão portuguezes como nós? Não se confundem o seu bem estar, as suas aspirações?[…] A que proposito vem esse dualismo que a Jornal das Colonias pretende estabelecer […]" And displaying his links to Macedo's campaign for Angolan autonomy, he ends by saying: "Se queremos conservar as colonias, descentralisemos a sua administração."[135]

Nabuco´s piece was followed the next day by a leader entitled "*A Escravatura Africana"* signed "F.R"**,**[136] once again identifying the suspension of labour recruitment in Angola as the direct result of the Bailundo rebellion, caused, in its turn, by the "escandalos e falcatruas havidas em África com o trafico descarado e horripilante de negros". [137] The writer alleges that there were enough wealthy planters in São Tomé and Príncipe to mechanise the plantations and change gradually to a system of free labour, whilst accusing them of being as guilty for the prevailing situation as the recruiting agents, themselves. Suggesting the use of paid labourers from Dahomey or Madeira, he concludes with a warning that that the export of labourers from Angola, were it allowed to start again, would be a crime against humanity, irrespective of whether it was carried out by the State or by private persons.

The newspaper addressed the question of forced labour in the cocoa islands on a regular basis throughout 1903 and 1904, undoubtedly encouraged by the news of continuing protests emanating from Angola.[138] However, contradicting the idea that it was merely acting as a vehicle for the protests of Angolan pro-autonomy campaigners, the newspaper ran an article on January 19th, 1904 focussing on new discriminatory legislation which

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[135] "Nabuco". "Angola e a política metropóle*." Vanguarda.* January 7th 1903, p.1

[136] "F.R." "A Escravatura Africana." *Vanguarda.* January 8th1903, p.1. [Very probably written by the Angolan republican, freemason and antislavery activist Fernando Reis, a regular contributor, who would become a founding member of the Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society in 1911.]

[137] Certain authors have judged the terrible sacrifice of Umbundu lives in the Bailundo rebellion as "wasted". It was certainly not viewed as such by Angolan activists at the time.

[138] See, for instance, the manifesto *Ao Paiz. O povo de Loanda contra o renovamento dos contractos de serviçaes*. Luanda, 1903, published by the group of Angolan activists who purchased the printing press which would launch the *Defeza de Angola*. The language employed was that of the great antislavery campaigns of the previous century: **"[…] os portugueses de hoje como os de ontem sustentam com o mesmo ardor e fé a gloriosa bandeira da emancipação do homem".** (my bold) Cited in Maria da Conceição Neto. "A República no seu estado colonial: combater a escravatura, estabelecer o « indigenato ». *Ler História* no. 59. 2010. http://lerhistoria.revues.org/1391 (Accessed online 20/6/2017.)

restricted access to the Escola Naval to "individuos portuguezes e da raça branca".[139] In this context the writer recalls Elvino de Brito,[140] Minister of Public Works, Trade and Industry in the Government of José Luciano de Castro (1898-1900), whom he describes as "um indio, mas nem por isso menos bom portuguez", ending with the reminder that it was due to "[…] negras acções feitas por brancos contra pretos é que se tem originado quasi todas as revoltas de África, nascido de muito desprezo accumulado, de muito tormento mal sofrido." [141]

At the beginning of March Nabuco returned with an article in the *Vanguarda* under the heading "Os chamados contractos dos servicaes". Writing in Luanda on February 8th, he refers to an article in the *Época* newspaper which suggested that were the republicans in power, they would undersign the same legislation they now opposed.[142] Asking rhetorically why the newspaper opposed measures which would bring prosperity to Angola, Nabuco offers his own explanation, pointing the finger of blame at the São Tomé planters:

> Porque esse empreendimento há de fechar-lhes o manancial uberrimo de que se tem servido os roceiros de S. Thomé e entre os quaes sobresahem os vultos proeminentes da sua politica. É isto que lhes doe. É este golpe de misericordia na "emigração" para S. Thomé, que elles receiam e procuram atravez de tudo evitar, saltando por sobre os mais legitimos direitos da provincia de Angola, que não e para elles senão uma fonte inexhaurivel da maior de todas as riquezas - o braço de homem. [143]

He went on to say that if the present drain continued, in ten years Angola would be an empty wasteland, concluding his vehement protest with a vibrant appeal to his fellow settlers:

> [...] S.Thomé não é mais nem menos que o terror do indígena de Angola, e o açougue dos seus naturaes. Angola nem a mais leve compensação recebe d'essa enorme avalanche de braços que todos os annos despeja náquelle immensuravel abysmo de vidas humanas.[…] De

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[139] The implications of this decision were far-reaching, in as far as, at this time, many of the Governors of the Colonies were still appointed from the officer class of the Portuguese Navy.
[140] Elvino de Brito (1851-1902), engineer, mathematician and politician of Goan origin. Early on in his career he was Director of Public Works in São Tomé and later a member of Parliament for the Partido Progressista for several years. Brito served as Civil Governor of the Faro district before his appointment to the Government of Luciano de Castro.
[141] Anon. "Odio de Raças!" *A Vanguarda.* January 19th 1903, p.1.
[142] The mouthpiece of the Partido Regenerador, which alternated in power with the Partido Progressista, until 1906.
[143] "Nabuco". "Os chamados contractos dos servicaes." *Vanguarda.* March 9th 1903, p.1.

> um a outro extremo da provincia um único grito deve soar: Nem mais um contracto, nem mais um filho d'Angola para S. Thomé!!! [144]

Without exception, the above articles predated Nevinson's exposé and most, in fact, appeared even before William Cadbury had set foot in Lisbon to voice his company's concerns regarding the recruitment of Angolan labour for the cocoa islands.[145] They provide unequivocal evidence that, unlike the "Congo Atrocities" campaign, which was first set in motion by the accusations of Protestant missionaries from Europe and America, there was a significant, coordinated Portuguese movement of protest in both Europe and Africa against the export of forced labour from Angola, inspired by both humanitarian and economic concerns, a fact which has never been fully acknowledged in previous studies.[146]

Such protests would persist until the fall of the Monarchy and the first radical measures had been taken by the new regime, waivering in conviction only when the accusations put forward by philanthropists from abroad reached fever pitch after the boycott, forcing some of those who had initiated the campaign in Portugal to adopt a more "patriotic" stance, defending the honour of the nation against those who had begun to cast doubts upon the humanitarian instincts of the Portuguese people as a whole, and consequently moving closer to those who had always seen the antislavery campaign as an insidious attempt to undermine and destabilise the Portuguese colonies.

In 1903, however, the Portuguese campaign against the export of labourers from Angola was still moving ahead full sail. Exasperated by the ineffectiveness of the new legislation, Angolan tradesmen and farmers began to adopt new forms of intervention, whilst maintaining a barrage of protest in the radical press of Lisbon and Luanda. In the second half of 1903 representatives of the "Grande Commissão" started boarding vessels

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[144] Idem.Ibidem.

[145] Due recognition must be given , however, to the fact that the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* had published several articles on labour coercion in Portuguese West Africa in the last decade of the nineteenth century, basing its accusations on information supplied by Protestant missionaries and other foreign travellers.

[146] Obviously the "achilles heel" of the Angolan protesters was, as Duffy points out, the fact that a system even closer to slavery persisted in Angola itself, except, of course, that the "contracted labourers" were not transported overseas, so retaining some hope of returning to their homes, if and when their contracts came to an end. See James Duffy, Op.cit 1967, p.178. Hammond notes that in the final years of the nineteenth century the export of labourers to São Tome increased from a previous annual total of about 2000 to 3300 in 1898-99 with over 4200 in 1899-90 and 5100 in 1900-1, whilst the British Consul in Luanda reported that the price of a couple of "servicais" delivered to São Tomé had risen to an all-time high of £50. R.J.Hammond *Portugal and Africa 1815-1910.* Stanford University Press. Stanford: 1966, pp. 318-319.

anchored in Angolan ports to question future contract labourers on their knowledge of the terms of their contracts and their awareness of their final destination. The repercussions of the courageous initiative soon reached the Portuguese capital. [147] In October, an article in the *Vanguarda,* entitled "Escravos", denounced the prohibition of contacts between activists and so-called "third-class passengers" by the commanding officer of a ship anchored in Luanda. Underlining the fact that the future contract labourers were not under arrest, the unidentified writer argued that as "free men" they could not legally be forbidden from communicating with the other passengers:

> […] Sim, porque o negro angolense, saiba-o toda a gente, não deixa por esse motivo de ser cidadão portuguez e homem livre.[…]E é numa palavra, demonstrar que o negro se considere officialmente como um objecto entregue a guarda d'um empregado do navio, o que é mesmo dizer - um escravo. [...] Não, sr. ministro de marinha d'esta vez tem que intervir. Não espere que lá fora se saiba d'estes factos para então querer remediar. Nem supponha que Portugal é uma nação à parte do mundo civilisado e que nas colonias portuguezas deve haver escravatura. Nada dísso!" [148]

Ten days later Nabuco resumed his campaign, turning his attention to the case of Cape Verdean families who were being forced to seek employment in the cocoa islands due to famine caused by prolonged drought and crop failure.[149] Pointing out that a good few of the Cape Verdeans knew how to read and write, he warned that they were well aware of the terms of their contract: "O preto de Cabo Verde, não é o preto de Angola, que desconhece os seus direitos. O preto de Cabo Verde sabe o que é um contracto, as obrigações a que se sujeita e os direitos que adquire[...]", adding that they demanded to be treated like men, not animals, but that to the planters "[...] o preto não é um ente humano".

Then, referring to a recent revolt of Cape Verdean labourers who, without trial, had been summarily dispatched to Angola with no more than the clothes they were wearing, whilst their families had been forced to remain on the plantation, Nabuco emphasised that

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[147] In late 1900 the Governor, Francisco Cabral Moncada had ordered the Chief of Police in Luanda to inspect vessels carrying future contract labourers in an attempt to bring some form of order to the process, and a number of the labourers were put ashore when it was verified that they had been "recruited" against their will. See James Duffy, Op.cit 1967, p.170.

[148] Anon. "Escravos." *Vanguarda.* October 15th, 1903, p.1.

[149] Consul Nightingale had drawn the attention of the British Minister Gosselin to the plight of the Cape Verdians on his way through Lisbon: "these unfortunate people reduced to the last state of want" could not possibly support the climate of the equatorial islands and would inevitably succumb. In Gosselin to Lansdowne. May 6th 1903. FO 63/1447. See Glyn Stone. Op.cit. 2009, p.168.

Angolans were never deported in this way because they were bought for between 100 and 120$000 reis a head, so that deporting them would mean throwing this investment away. [150] In an unusual turn of events, the two articles were quoted at length in the pages of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* under the heading "Forced Labour in Angola."[151]

Contrasting with the fiery rhetoric of the *Vanguarda*, some of the soundest and best-informed criticisms of the São Tomé labour system came from the Lisbon republican weekly *Economista Portuguez,* which, as its name would suggest, devoted itself essentially to questions of financial and economic policy. In addition to its analytical coverage of national affairs, the *Economista* published sections in English and French with articles on economics and finance chosen from the foreign press. Edited by Augusto Soares between its launch in July 1904 and its closure on May 28th 1911,[152] the *Economista* systematically returned to the question of forced labour in the cocoa islands, sometimes on a weekly basis.

Recognising the *Economista*'s persistent campaign and its authoritative stance on the issue, William Cadbury was one of its enthusiastic subscribers, [153] and its appeals to the new Republican Government for labour reforms in Angola would be featured by E.D.Morel's *African Mail* on several occasions in 1910.[154]

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[150] "S. Thomé e os contractos" *Vanguarda* October 22nd 1903, p.1. (Bold in original)

[151] The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* provides a summary of the two articles from the *Vanguarda*, which it had received "from Lisbon". The excerpts concluded with the following passionate protest: "Here our readers have an episode from the history of shame in our Portuguese colonies, consented to and authorized by the Government, but reprobated and stigmatized by all Portuguese, who will not see their country and liberty thus outraged." See ASR Nov- Dec.1903, pp. 137-9.

[152] The publication of *Economista Portuguez,* edited by Augusto Soares, was suspended on May 28th 1911, the date of the General Election for the Constituent Assembly of the new Republic. The magazine returned to publication under the direction of the conservative Catholic politician Quirino Avelino de Jesus on October 14th 1917. From then on until its final closure in 1921 the magazine would be almost exclusively written by its editor and by his friend Ezequiel de Campos, a specialist in colonial agriculture. Augusto Luís Vieira Soares (1873-1954) was a lawyer, journalist and leading republican politician. Soares was imprisoned briefly in 1908 for his republican activities, and after the fall of the Monarchy, he served as Foreign Minister in several short-lived Governments from 1914 to 1917, until Sidónio Pais' military coup led to his dismissal.

[153] William Cadbury received a copy of the *Economista* every week, and called it a "most plucky" and "brave little paper" in his correspondence with Alfredo Henrique da Silva.

[154] See, for example, the *African Mail* of November 11th 1910, p. 54, with a reprint from the *Economista.*

1.3 Nevinson's crusade

> […] I see a herd of black Africans, men and women, huddled together upon a steamer's deck, gazing like driven cattle towards the misty islands where they will toil until they die, in order that chocolate creams may be cheap. [155]

Looking back on his campaign against what he invariably termed "slave labour" in Portuguese West Africa, Henry Nevinson relates that, towards the end of 1904, he was approached by Col. George Harvey and Thomas Wells of *Harper's Magazine*, to undertake an "adventurous journey" on their behalf.[156] It was unquestionably an attractive offer, £1000 to cover fees, expenses and copyright, and despite his delight in being back in London after years of travelling, it was a proposal he could not afford to refuse. Nevinson later confessed to having considered several alternatives:

> I thought of Arabia, but Doughty had been there. I thought of New Guinea but Haddon had been there. The South Seas tempted me with their lovely islands and people clothed only in hibiscus flowers, but Stevenson had been there, and though they were not yet hackneyed by sentimental gush, the journey was hardly adventurous. At the price I could not hope to reach either pole, nor could I walk down all the summits of the Andes (as was long my dream). Besides I knew that after a month or two I should sicken of any travel devoid of some definite object strong enough to withstand loneliness and hardship. **Suddenly the thought of the slave-trade occurred to me** […] [157]

According to his account, Nevinson approached H.R. Fox Bourne of the Aborigines Protection Society and Travers Buxton of the Anti-Slavery Society who both spoke of "dim rumours" concerning "a terrible form of slavery" which still flourished in the Portuguese West African colonies of Angola and São Tomé e Príncipe.[158] The explorer

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[155] In Henry W. Nevinson, *More Changes More Chances.* Nisbet and Co. London: 1925, p. xvi.
[156] Henry W. Nevinson. Ch. XIII "A Land of Slavery" *The Fire of Life.* J.Nisbet and Co., London: 1935, Harvey was the proprietor and Wells the editor of *Harper's*.
[157] Idem, ibidem. (my bold) Nevinson is referring here to Charles Montagu Doughty (1843-1926) the English writer and traveller who wrote *Travels in Arabia Deserta*. CUP Cambridge: 1888. 2 vols. and Alfred Cort Haddon (1855-1940), the anthropologist and academic who had led the prestigious Cambridge University expedition to the Torres Strait in 1898. The well-known novelist Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894) had toured the Pacific in 1889.
[158] Nevinson also met with William Cadbury shortly before leaving for Angola and São Tomé. Writing to Travers Buxton of the BFASS on October 21st 1904, the day after after meeting, Cadbury commented:

Emil Torday confirmed the rumours of forced recruitment of labourers along the Congo border and warned him that Angola was a "region of unknown dangers and appalling horror".[159] It was just the kind of challenge that Nevinson relished. His decision, taken in what, at first, appears to have been a somewhat cavalier fashion, would ultimately influence the lives and livelihoods of many thousands of people in both Europe and Africa. [160]

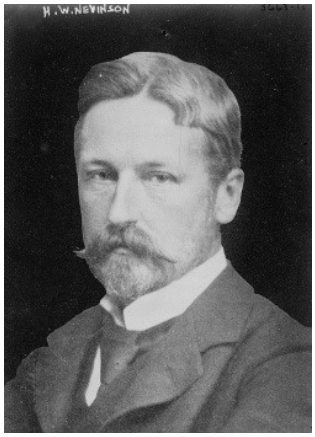


Figure 1.5 Henry W. Nevinson. Photo by George G. Bain c. 1915. Library of Congress.

Departing on November 4th 1904, on the S.S. Fantee, Nevinson travelled down "the Coast" to Calabar and Douala and then to São Tomé and across to Cabinda.[161] On the way he took advantage of the short stay in southern Nigeria to visit a mangrove swamp which he "emerged from bleeding and covered in black slime." [162] Unsurprisingly, he fell

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"[…] he seemed just a little disappointed that we were not off-hand willing to accept him as our own commissioner, but I cannot see how we could do this, seeing that he knows no word of Portuguese, and is not prepared to stop in Africa more than 6 months altogether." Cadbury sent Nevinson a copy of the Portuguese Labour laws and an introduction to Ceffala at the Eastern Telegraph Office. CP 180/849. See Lowell J. Satre *Chocolate on Trial*. Ohio University Press. Athens, Ohio: 2005, p.29.

[159] Henry W. Nevinson, Op.cit.1935, p.158.

[160] In her book *The Chocolate Conscience,* Gillian Wagner relates that, in 1904, Nevinson was still working for the Cadbury-owned newspaper, the *Daily News* and having heard that the Cadburys were looking for someone to undertake an investigation on their behalf into slavery in the cocoa islands, he volunteered his services. According to Wagner, Nevinson was unwilling to spend six months in Portugal learning the language before going to Africa and took *Harper's* commission instead. Gillian Wagner. *The Chocolate Conscience.* Chatto and Windus, London: 1987, pp. 90-1. Neither of the two versions would appear to tell the whole story. A third version, based on his diary, is given by Angela John in her biography of Nevinson. "On 17 September 1904 he received a letter from Harper's **specifically asking him to investigate the slave trade in Africa**." Angela John. Op.cit 2006, p.42. (my bold) The question is of some consequence, as there is a possibility that Nevinson was unwittingly being used to divert attention from the Congo scandal, which, at the time, was absorbing the energies and attention of humanitarians, both in Europe and America.

[161] At Cabinda, Nevinson met the missionary M.Z.Stober " thin, elegant, polite almost to affection, and much inclined to pray over me" who gave him "much useful advice and many warnings" Henry W. Nevinson. Op.cit 1935, p.161.

[162] In the *Nation* August 3rd 1907 and Henry W. Nevinson Op. cit [1906] 1968, pp.5-7.

ill with a high fever soon afterwards, most probably due to malaria. The steamer also stopped off at São Tomé, which Nevinson called "that abhorrent island which was ultimately to prove the main object of my journey"[163], and he spent most of a day with the British staff at the Eastern Telegraph station. [164] There, one of the staff volunteered information on the slave trade, "over which the chief of the telegraph station kept anxious watch". On December 16th, 1904 [165] he arrived at "St. Paul de Loanda", which had been hit by a disastrous "plague of sleeping sickness", further reducing the supply of labour, which he claims was already depleted due to "the drain of natives carried off to the wealthy cocoa islands". [166]

Notwithstanding the information he gathered in Luanda, which confirmed his worst suspicions, Nevinson knew he needed to see the slave route with his own eyes. Travelling down the coast to Catumbela and Benguela on the same steamer, he alighted at Lobito Bay, where British engineers, working for the Williams concession, were building the railway line to link the Katanga copper mines to the coast.[167] From nearby Benguela, which he describes, in his usual dramatic fashion, as "the chief slave-market for the cocoa islands of São Thomé and Príncipe", Nevinson trekked the 450 miles into the interior along one of the only two wagon tracks in the whole of the province - the trail through Caconda to Bié and beyond.[168] Suffering incredible hardship, [169] moving for much of the way on foot with native carriers, Nevinson crossed desert, dense forest and five rivers before reaching the uplands of Bié two months later. He relates that his party passed through several villages which had been abandoned because of the slave trade: "for they

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[163] Henry W.Nevinson Op.cit.1935, p.160.

[164] A.G.Ceffala, whom William Cadbury had previously met in London and had recommended to Nevinson. [See note 159] Ceffala was later appointed H.M.Vice-Consul for São Tomé and Príncipe, on the recommendation of H.M. Consul Nightingale. See Nightingale to FO. January 17th 1906. FO 367/18/3

[165] Incidently, the same day as Duarte Ramada Curto (1849-1921) a medical officer in the Navy, began his second term of office as Governor-General of Angola, which would last until 1906. Ramada Curto had been Governor previously between 1897 and 1900. Nevinson commented: "[…]**The new Governor is thought to be an antislavery man.**[…]" Henry W. Nevinson Op.cit.[1906]1968, p.27. (my bold)

[166] Henry W. Nevinson Op.cit 1935, p.162.

[167] On November 28th 1902, the Portuguese Government granted a 99-year concession to an English engineer, Sir Robert Williams, head of Tanganyika Concessions, to build and exploit the railway that would ultimately link Lobito to the highlands. Construction began on March 1st 1903. Nevinson claimed he was the first man to disembark from a steamer in Lobito Bay - on January 5th 1905. Henry W. Nevinson. *A Modern Slavery.*1906, p.40- also in his *Fire of Life* 1935, p.163.

[168] Bié or Bihé is now known as Viye and the people of this district as Va-Viye.

[169] Nevinson writes "my feet were already painfully poisoned by jiggers, ants and other insects […] so that at times the pain of along day's tramp was hardly endurable. […] **But more serious was the frequent recurrence of violent fever** […]." Henry W. Nevinson. Op.cit.1935, p.167. (my bold)

lived in perpetual dread of being sold or seized and carried off to São Thomé - *Okalunga*, or the Abyss of Hell, as they called it." [170]

It was in the nine-day crossing of the vast, virtually uninhabited tract of land he calls "the Hungry Country - that accursed stretch of land which reaches from just beyond the Cuanza almost to the Portuguese fort at Mashiko," [sic] that Nevinson first came into direct contact with evidence of slave trafficking. His account testifies to the fact that wooden shackles were to be found along the whole length of the "Hungry Country" and that the path, which had been the main route for the slavers for centuries, "was strewn with dead men's bones." At the edge of the forest near the River Cuanza crossing, slave shackles were, he writes, "thick upon the trees […] - shackles for the hands, shackles for the feet, shackles for three or four slaves who are clamped together at night." [171]

Nevinson admits, however, that despite the obvious signs of cruelty and murder, he had acquired no first-hand evidence of torture and he confirms that the "horrors of the road" had diminished since the Bailundo Revolt and Massano de Amorim's purge.[172] He adds that the traffic was on the increase again, in spite of increasing difficulties for slave traders along the Congo frontier where there was a growing line of forts, an order having been issued in December 1904 requiring Government agents to press on with the supply of "serviçais". Official figures for the first months of 1905, which Nevinson quotes, show an average of about 350 contract labourers a month were being exported to São Tomé. [173]

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[170] Henry W. Nevinson Op.cit.1935, p.165. (italics in the original)

[171] Henry W. Nevinson. *A Modern Slavery*. Schocken, New York: 1968, p.112. Nevinson was somewhat nonplussed by the number of shackles he found along the way, because "[…] the shackles were so numerous that if the slaves died at that rate even slave raiding would hardly pay". Idem., p.113.

[172] The Brethren missionary Charles Swan, who witnessed the revolt, was complimentary regarding the measures taken in its aftermath by Massano de Amorim: "A majority of the Portuguese traders in the area were found guilty of abuses and exiled. The captains major of two of the three forts in the region (Bailundu and Bié) were fired from their posts. Captain Massano de Amorim, who had led one of the Portuguese columns and served briefly as governor of the district, issued a proclamation guaranteeing both human and personal property rights. The labour codes, which created forced labour, were temporarily suspended, and traders were compelled to live within 15 kilometers (about 9.3 miles) of forts or other government posts so that they could be supervised more closely. The Portuguese established more of such stations so that they could better control the Benguela Highlands. [...]" Charles A. Swan *The Slavery of Today or, The Present Position of the Open Sore of Africa,* Pickering and Inglis, pp.103-4.

[173] Custódio Borja had been appointed Governor-General of Angola in March 1904 and at the end of his period of office he was instructed to resume the export of labourers to São Tomé and Príncipe, after the brief hiatus caused by Amorim´s investigations and posterior punitive measures in the aftermath of the Bailundo Revolt. Borja had to walk a narrow line between the opposition of much of the local bourgeoisie towards labour exports and the overriding demands of the planters lobby in the cocoa islands. His final speech on leaving the Governorship demonstrates the difficulty of his position. According to Gosselin, HM Minister in Lisbon, Borja had said: "[…] I confined myself to removing abuses and enforcing observances

Nevinson made his way back to the coast along the old slaving route, which passed through Bailundo to Benguela. He tells of visiting one of the two official recruitment agents in the Bié region, who explained to his travelling companion that the Portuguese government was endeavouring "to redeem" the slaves by converting them into contract labourers for São Tomé. On arriving at Catumbela, Nevinson realised that his reputation had preceded him and sensed that his life was threatened, but he was not a man to give up easily. Back in nearby Benguela he was able to witness the next stage of the contract labour system in operation:

> I watched the slaves being marched down from the interior in gangs as I had seen them on the route. In Benguella they were herded up in large courtyards behind traders' or agents' houses. A day or two before the arrival of the next ship, the Curador, an official appointed by the Central Committee of Labour and Emigration" in Lisbon, entered the so-called Tribunal […] and the natives were ranged up before him in parties. […] Each native was formally asked whether he or she was willing to go to work in San Thomé. **In most cases no answer was given, for the unhappy creatures knew well enough they were on their way to that "abyss of hell"** [174]

Despite suffering from what he thought to be the effects of aconite poisoning, [175] he was able to embark for São Tomé on June 8th 1905, on the same ship as "a hundred and fifty of the poor creatures". The following morning they were joined by another eighty future "serviçais" at Novo Redondo with forty-two more at Luanda, not counting babies. On landing at São Tomé he returned to the telegraph station where his path was to cross with that of Joseph Burtt, Cadbury's envoy, who had recently arrived.[176] According to

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of the law on the authorities concerned with the export of the labourers […]", whilst confessing that he had "[…] raised no hinderance [to] the export of labour […]" because he had no wish to impede what he called "the natural movement of emigration" to São Tomé and Príncipe. In Gosselin to FO. January 16th 1905. FO 63/1447. Custódio Borja was replaced as Governor by Duarte Ramada Curto in mid-December 1904.

[174] Henry W. Nevinson. From Chapter XIV. *The Cocoa Islands* in his recollections of a long career in journalism entitled *Fire of Life*. Nisbet and Gollancz. London: 1935, p.171. (my bold)

[175] He was probably suffering from fever caused by another attack of malaria.

[176] According to his diary, Nevinson met Burtt for the first time on June 18th 1905, the day after the journalist arrived from Angola. Nevinson spent four days in Príncipe and two weeks in São Tomé. Nevinson's Diary is held at Oxford University's Bodleian Library. Special Collection. Letters and Diaries. MSS Eng. misc. c 496-97, d 663, e 610-28.

Joseph Burtt (1862-1939) had arrived in São Tomé on June 13th 1905 and was staying at the West African Telegraph Station, run by A.G.Ceffala who would later be appointed British vice-consul, on Nightingale's recommendation. See Nightingale to FO, February 13th 1906. FO367/18/3. Burtt would spend five and a half months in São Tomé and 5 weeks in Príncipe, visiting over 40 plantations in all, followed by several months in Angola before shorter sojourns in Mozambique and South Africa. Burtt's first impression was that the plantation labourers' lot was far more agreeable than that of many English workmen. See Joseph Burtt's letter to William Cadbury of June 15th 1905, quoted in Catherine Higgs Op. cit.2012, p.25. He later corrected this impression in an article in the *Contemporary Review* soon after the boycott: "[…] I grant that,

Nevinson's diary, Burtt, "a big, innocent man with much luggage" was, despite his apparent shortcomings, "honest above suspicion". [177] Nevinson also records that he had been informed that "the planters had ordered everything to be carefully arranged for his visits." [178] On his return to São Tomé after a five-day trip to Príncipe where he visited several of the plantations, Nevinson somewhat reluctantly agreed to accompany Burtt on his planned visit to the Boa Entrada plantation, which he describes, with typical irony, as "a show-place for the intelligent foreigner or for the Portuguese shareholder who feels qualms as he banks his dividends". [179] It was there that the plantation doctor, Salvado da Matta, confided to him that "if they could keep a slave alive through the melancholy and home-sickness of the first year or two, he or she sometime lived for some years longer." [180]

The question of the death rate on the islands featured prominently at this time in the writing of both critics and apologists of the contract labour system and was recognised by both camps as the crux of the labour problem. Nevinson went on in his account to analyse the issue, underlining the fact that on "one of the largest and best-managed plantations of San Thomé" no less than a quarter of the children died every year. He adds that on the island of Príncipe, where sleeping sickness was an additional peril, the death-rate for all "servicais", adults and children, approached the same figure, commenting that it was "no wonder that the price of slaves was high" and "that it was almost impossible for the supply from Angola to keep pace with demand."[181]

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considering our national wealth of £200 per annum for each family, the housing, clothing and feeding of a large proportion of our poor is a disgrace and the fact that the willing worker is unable to find employment a national crime; but I claim that the poorest worker in Great Britain has privileges which are impossible under slavery.[…] **The white man is continually fighting for and winning extended privileges, but the contract labourer does not fight, and the fact that he is below the fighting line marks him as a slave.** He, the mate that has been doled out to him and the children she bears him are the goods and chattels of his master." See Joseph Burtt. "Slave Labour on Cocoa Plantations."*Contemporary Review*, no.96 July/December 1909, pp. 468-473. (my bold)

[177] In fact Nevinson was shocked by Burtt's ingenuousness. He comments that, despite his age (Burtt was 43), he "had the mind of a youth" and that he was "full of contradictions and very astonishing". Nevinson's Diary. June 29th 1905.

[178] Nevinson's Diary. June 19th 1905. His informant was Charles Hart, an American, who had supplied the cocoa-drying equipment to Roça Água-Izé. See Lowell J. Satre Op.cit. 2005, p.32 and Catherine Higgs Op.cit 2012, p. 39.

[179] Henry W. Nevinson. Op. cit 1906, p.189.

[180] Idem, p.190. At the time the death rate for "serviçais" was about 14% p.a. on the plantation.

[181] Idem, pp.190-191.

In July 1905 Nevinson returned home from Portuguese West Africa, firm in the conviction that his dramatic reports could not fail to draw public attention to the question and that, as a result, pressure would be put on the Portuguese Government to act without further delay. Nothing could have been further from the truth.[182] The two Anti-Slavery Societies, despite their regular protests to the Government, were deeply involved in the pressing question of the Congo atrocities, the Foreign Office was more concerned about the labour requirements for the Transvaal gold mines,[183] and the chocolate manufacturers had decided to wait for Burtt's report.[184] Nevinson's energies, too, would soon be diverted to developments in Russia, and in mid-November 1905, despite supporating sores on both legs, which he had contracted in Africa, he departed for St. Petersburg to cover the first signs of revolution for the *Daily Chronicle*.[185] Not long afterwards, Nevinson's book *A Modern Slavery* was published simultaneously in Britain and the United States to favourable reviews.[186] The book summarised his articles in *Harper's* and included an extra chapter entitled "Life of Slaves on the Islands" with his acerbic observations on repatriation and the repatriation fund; [187] the procedure of recontracting; the use of corporal punishment on the plantations; child labour and the sexual exploitation of female "serviçais". [188]

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[182] He later wrote: "I ought by that time to have known mankind better than I did. […] On almost every side I was faced, not so much by opposition as by indifference." H.W. Nevinson Op.cit. 1935, pp.176-177.
[183] Up to sixty thousand labourers a year crossed the Mozambique border to work on the Rand.
[184] **"I had imagined that our British detestation of slavery would be aroused, that our Government would make representations to Portugal on the subject; that our Quaker cocoa firms would at once boycott the raw material derived from such an abominable source, and that there would be a great stir among honourable and influential newspapers. Nothing of the kind happened. […]"** Henry W. Nevinson. Fire of Life. 1935, pp.176-177.(my bold)
[185] The *Daily Chronicle,* like the *Daily News* supported the Liberal Party. See Henry W. Nevinson Op.cit. 1935. Ch. XV. *Under the Tsar*, p.181-190. Such was Nevinson's reputation that he was able to interview Tolstoy at his dacha Yasnaia Poliana.
[186] E.D.Morel, writing in the Liberal *Daily Chronicle* commented that Nevinson's "moving book" was "marked by a wonderful self-restraint, **which only breaks down here and there in passages of mordant bitterness.**"The *Daily Chronicle* June 9th, 1906, p.3. See Lowell J. Satre Op.cit. 2005, pp 53-54 (my bold)
[187] On the issue of repatriation he writes sarcastically: "According to the law, only two-fifths of the wages are to be paid every month, the remaining three-fifths going to a "Repatriation Fund" in San Thomé. In the case of slaves from Angola, this is never done, and it is much to the credit of the Portuguese that, as there is no repatriation, they have dropped the institution of a Repatriation Fund." Henry W. Nevinson. Op.cit 1906, p.195.
[188] Joseph Burtt, though respecting Nevinson and admiring much of what he wrote about the contract-labour system, was critical of certain of his accusations. In a letter to William Cadbury he commented acidly on the journalist´s final article for Harper´s: "Nevinson writes on matters on which he clearly knows nothing" and compared the six months he spent on the islands with Nevinson's **"as many hours, which was about the time he spent on the roças"**. Joseph Burtt to William Cadbury March 25th, 1906. James Duffy Papers. Quoted in Catherine Higgs. Op.cit.2012, p.87. (my bold)

In view of the brevity of Nevinson's stay on the islands, his lack of Portuguese, and the fact that the planters had been forewarned of the aims of his investigation, the conclusion is inescapable that, like any journalist in the same situation, he frequently had to rely on what he was told rather than what he was able to witness with his own eyes. Indeed, some of his findings reflect his readiness to accept exaggerated or unfounded stories, possibly due to the conclusions he had already reached regarding forced recruitment in the interior and the debilitating effects of his Angolan journey on his discernment.[189] In fact, as his articles in *Harper's* reveal, his comments become increasingly embittered on his way back to the coast, and his attitude towards the Portuguese people he met, including those who readily offered their hospitality and candour, show that he was no longer able to keep an open mind on the question. Be this as it may, unlike other contemporary observers from abroad, including the well-meaning, if ingenuous, Joseph Burtt, his comments on the organisation of the plantations reveal a perception of the system inspired not merely by nineteenth-century Christian ideals of emancipation, but by unshakeable, anti-capitalist convictions regarding the fundamental values of equality and human rights.[190] In his book Nevinson sums up his thoughts on the contract labour system in the following words:

> While slavery is lucrative, as it is on the islands of San Thomé and Príncipe, it will be defended by those who identify greatness with wealth, and if their own wealth is involved, their arguments will gain considerably in vigour. They will point to the necessity of developing rich islands where no one would work without compulsion. They will point to what they call the comfort and good treatment of the slaves. They will protect themselves behind legal terms. But they forget that legal terms make no difference to the truth of things. They forget that slavery is not a matter of discomfort or ill-treatment but loss of liberty. […] [191]

Sadly for Nevinson and his personal crusade, the moment was far from ideal for the book to achieve the popular success he had expected. In Britain, the Congo Reform Association

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[189] Cadbury was not convinced by Nevinson's account. On February 6th 1906 he wrote to Fox Bourne of the APS saying that most of Nevinson's facts were "mere hearsay", whereas Burtt's findings were based on his eight-month stay in São Tomé and Príncipe. Cadbury to Fox Bourne. CP 180, 32-3. See also Lowell J. Satre Op.cit 2005, p.71.

[190] He ends as follows: "I know the contest is still before us. **It is but part of the great contest with capitalism**, and in Africa it will be as long and as difficult as it was a hundred years ago in other regions of the world. […]" Idem., p.210. (my bold)

[191] Idem. pp 209-210. Also reproduced in "Review. A Modern Slavery by Henry W. Nevinson." *The Anti-Slavery Reporter.* June/July 1906, p.81.

was cranking up its barrage of criticism against Leopold II and his regime in central Africa, and the "traditional" humanitarian sentiments of the British people were being channelled by the Liberal Party into the question of "Chinese slavery" in the Transvaal gold mines,[192] largely as a ploy to embarrass Balfour's Unionist Government. [193] The effectiveness of the "Chinese slavery" campaign[194] would soon be confirmed by the landslide victory of the Liberals in the January 1906 General Election, which swept Campbell-Bannerman into power and strengthened the hand of Sir Edward Grey, the first Foreign Secretary to sit in the Commons since 1868.[195]

Aware by then that his first-hand account would not, by itself, achieve the effect he desired, Nevinson realised that he would have to mobilise as much support as he could using any means at his disposal. On his return from Russia, Nevinson went to see the indefatigable Fox Bourne of the Aborigine's Protection Society, whom he knew he could count on for support in his campaign. After much insistence from the Society,[196] Sir Eric

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[192] See Chapter 4.13 of this dissertation.

[193] The campaign made judicious use of the newspapers controlled by George Cadbury and Arnold Rowntree, in coordination with the Liberal Party's campaign in Parliament.

[194] An interesting letter written shortly after the boycott appeared in the Portuguese press, showing that better-informed members of society were aware of the importance of the Chinese slavery campaign and the part played by the Anti-Slavery Societies in the victory of the Liberal Party: "[...] Appareceram pelas paredes de Londres e em outras cidades, grandes pasquins annunciadores do partido Liberal, illustrando com figuras a côres a historia do misero estado dos "**escravos chineses no Transvaal**", sendo arrastados com fortes cadeias de de ferro e levados presos para trabalharem nas minas, por conta de financeiros hebreus, amigos e apaniguados do governo Conservador.[...] A consequencia dessa campanha foi a queda do partido Conservador.[...] O partido liberal entrou no poder ajudado poderosamente pelas sociedades humanitarias. Os chinezes foram repatriados[...] e como consequencia imediata, o Transvaal e o Natal começaram a precisar dos negros de Moçambique.[...]" D. Thomaz de Noronha. "Questões Coloniaes. O Cacau de S. Thomé. A campanha contra o nosso produto encarada sob um novo ponto de vista - uma carta curiosa - mostra-se que nem a especulação comercial nem a política influiram nella - os «humanitários inglezes» causa única da campanha." *O Século* June 25th 1909, p.4. (author's bold)

[195] In December 1905, after the Tory Prime Minister Arthur Balfour had presented his resignation, Henry Campbell-Bannerman (1836-1908) had formed a caretaker Government with Sir Edward Grey as his Foreign Secretary. Grey would remain Foreign Secretary for eleven years, the longest continuous tenure in that office. In the January 1906 General Election, Campbell-Bannerman was elected on the promise that Chinese "coolies" would not be used in Transvaal, which meant that Mozambican labour was at a premium. The Tories under Balfour, running with the Liberal Unionists, lost half their seats. See R.J. Hammond, *Portugal and Africa 1815-1910: A Study in Uneconomic Imperialism.* Stanford University Press, Stanford: 1966, p.321. The Liberal Cabinet was divided between radicals and Liberal Imperialists, however, which meant that Grey found himself under pressure on occasions from the opposing faction: "[...] Sir Edward Grey, though he had all the social attributes necessary for a Foreign Secretary, was only 43 years old, and had served at the Foreign Office only once as parliamentary under-secretary under Lord Rosebery. In the split Liberal Cabinet of 1906, he was closely identified with one wing [Liberal Imperialists]; from the start his political position was weaker than either Lord Salisbury's or Lansdowne's. His views on foreign policy were much debated at the time and his lack of experience did not escape attention. He was subsequently accused of being the most insular of foreign secretaries." In Zara S. Steiner. "Grey, Hardinge and the Foreign Office, 1906-1910" *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1967), pp. 415-439.

[196] See FO 367/18/ 6, 19, 22.

Barrington, Superintending Under-Secretary for the African Department at the Foreign Office, finally agreed to see a deputation made up of Fox Bourne and Nevinson on March 14th, 1906. After the meeting, Barrington warned Soveral, the Portuguese Minister in London, that "the philanthropists were much excited and that it would be very disagreeable if public feeling were aroused by the fact that the Portuguese Government were encouraging something painfully akin to the slave-trade"[197] But despite Barrington's concerns and the repercussions in the press of Nevinson's vivid account, the Foreign Office decided to stave off pressure from the two antislavery societies, at least for the foreseeable future, by alleging that they were awaiting Consul Nightingale's report on his tour of inspection in the cocoa islands.[198]

Their dilatory tactics would face stern opposition from several different directions, not the least in Parliament. From July 1906 onwards, Tory and Unionist MPs,[199] who had been sorely vexed by the Liberal Party's "Chinese Slavery" campaign, began to employ a concerted approach in the Commons, essentially to embarrass the Government and undermine its strategy of deliberate procrastination in the "Portuguese Slavery" affair. [200] Ironically, the first Parliamentary debate on "Slavery on the West Coast of Africa" would be initiated by Sir Gilbert Parker, the chairman of the South-African pressure group, one of the few MPs who had defended "Chinese coolie labour" in the Transvaal.[201]

It was only on August 20th 1906, that Nightingale's thorough report with its historical preamble reached the Foreign Office. He concluded: "[…] I have only to reiterate the

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[197] See Barrington's report on the meeting with Nevinson and Fox Bourne. FO 367/18/24 no. 9864. Dated March 15th 1906.

[198] In its review of *A Modern Slavery,* the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* writes: "The value of official Portuguese assurances like those of 1903 may, in the light of these facts, be fairly estimated. It is some satisfaction to know that the British Foreign Office is in possession of the truth, and that, as was stated in Parliament a week or two since, our Government awaits a report from Consul Nightingale, who has recently paid a visit of enquiry to the islands of San Thomé and Principe.[…]" ASR June 1906, p.81.

[199] Though Liberal members of the two Societies also played an active role in Parliamentary debates on the issue of "Portuguese Slavery".

[200] Up to the beginning of the First World War, at least. See Glyn Stone. Op.cit. 2009, p.170.

[201] The ISAA-Imperial South African Association. Sir Horatio Gilbert Parker, (1862-1932) a successful novelist who had been born in Canada, was the Tory MP for Gravesend at the time and a firm imperialist. His was yet another example of the hypocrisy which pervaded both sides of the Anglo-Portuguese controversy. In answer to the question as to whether the Government was aware that slavery was carried on in the cocoa plantations of São Tomé and Príncipe and that it was purchased by British manufacturers, the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Walter Runciman, in Grey's absence, replied blankly: "Cocoa is no doubt one of the principal products of the islands, and is largely purchased by British merchants. I do not see that any steps can be taken respecting purchases of cocoa by British merchants." See "Slavery on the West Coast of Africa." Hansard. 4th series. House of Commons Debate. July 5th 1906, vol. 160 cc 229-30.

opinion […] that the serviçal is well treated and cared for **and that the real evil lies in the manner they are obtained in Angola."** [202] Nightingale confirmed, on the other hand, that labourers were paid less than the stipulated minimum wage, were never repatriated to the mainland, and were purchased by the planters from agents for an average sum of £25 - or over four years' wages for a "serviçal", which meant that "**no sane man would pay such a fee for a contract unless he were certain of having the life-long services of the labourer."** [203]

With the ongoing negotiations concerning the "modus vivendi" in Mozambique looming large on the Foreign Office's list of priorities, it was decided that the best course to prevent damage to Anglo-Portuguese relations was to continue to leave the matter well alone, [204] and to give Fox Bourne of the Aborigine's Protection Society a censored version of Nightingale's report from which the potentially more embarassing findings had been omitted, with the added proviso that it was not for publication.[205] Shortly after Nightingale´s "bowdlerised" report [206] had been delivered to Fox-Bourne, he passed it on to other members of his Board and to Travers Buxton of the Anti-Slavery Society. As a direct consequence, resolutions condemning "Portuguese Slavery" were put forward and approved at the Annual General Meetings of the two Societies which took place a week apart, less than a month later.[207] Moreover, to keep up the pressure on the Foreign Office,

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[202] The final phrase (my bold) was one of several excised from the truncated version which was sent to Fox Bourne. See Maciel Morais Santos, *"*Um Episódio do Slave Cocoa*"* in *Estudos em Homenagem a Luis António de Oliveira Ramos* vol. III FLUP. Porto: 2004, pp.965-983, which includes a draft indicating the alterations which were made to the original version but excludes the 5 annexed documents. Two of the annexes include statistical details for each of 59 plantations, a third covers the diet and nutrition of the labourers; a fourth gives details of export of labourers for the year in question (1905); and the last, customs figures for the export of cacao.

[203]Arthur Nightingale. *Report on the Treatment of the "Servicaes" or Contract Labourers, in the Portuguese Islands known as the Province of San Thomé and Príncipe.* July 1906. F.O. Confidential Print no. 8806. FO 367/17, 28370/06. (my bold) In the accompanying letter Nightingale apologises for the delay in writing up the report which he alleged was due to the demands of his busy post at Boma.

[204] "The government, however, did not want to alienate Portugal by pressing the point, for two main reasons. First railway routes, vital for the economies of Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and the Transvaal, ran through Portuguese Mozambique and secondly migrant labour from Mozambique was needed for the mines and sugar plantations of South Africa." Suzanne Miers. *Slavery in the Twentieth Century. The Evolution of a Global Problem.* Altamira Press. Walnut Creek, CA: 2003, p.49.

[205] See Minute by Grey, n.d., [late August 1906]. Foreign Office to Aborigines' Protection Society, September 12th 1906. FO367/17, 28370/06. Cited in Glyn Stone. Op.cit. 2009, p.171. The parts which were suppressed were concerning the past history of the controversy and the slave trading on the mainland - the most important issue of all. The APS managed to get its hands on the original version, however.

[206] It was Barrington who used the expression "bowdlerised" in a written comment on F.O. official Guy Locock's précis of Nightingale's Report. See Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit, 2005, p. 63.

[207] For example*, The Times* of March 31st 1906, p.6, reports on the annual meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society. The Rev. J. H. Harris moved the motion "that this meeting deploring the continuing existence of

Fox Bourne asked Sir William Brampton Gurdon, a Liberal MP and President of the APS, to take advantage of a Parliamentary debate on Foreign Affairs to request that a complete version of the Nightingale Report be "tabled" for MPs.[208]

News of the debate in Parliament quickly reached the Portuguese capital and heated reactions in the Cortes to what was seen as British interference in Portuguese affairs were reported to the FO by Villiers, the Minister in Lisbon.[209] Enfuriating the apologists of the contract-labour system was the fact that only a month had gone by since the Portuguese Government had issued a memorandum in English denying all charges of misconduct and giving assurances that the labourers could return to their homes at the end of their contracts if they so wished. [210] In an ironic twist, the paper had also argued that conditions in the islands were so good that few had ever chosen to take advantage of the opportunity.

The Foreign Office decided to employ the same delaying tactics in its dealings with Joseph Burtt's report as it had for Nightingale's. As a consequence, it would only be in October 1907 that a truncated version of the Burtt Report, accompanied by a translation, would be sent to Soveral for transmission to the Portuguese Government.[211] By then, however, Nevinson had decided there had been enough shilly-shallying and in September 1907, against the wishes of Cadbury Bros. and their fellow Quaker manufacturers, [212] he published a powerful article entitled the "Angola Slave Trade" in the *Fortnightly Review*.

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slavery in Africa, both open and disguised under forced labour systems, protests especially against the trade in natives from the interior and the system of so-called contract labour prevailing in Portuguese West Africa […]" The meeting also protested against the "ruthless exploitation "of labour in the Congo and congratulated the Government on the stopping of coolie labour imports to the Transvaal.

[208] Cornered, Walter Runciman, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, speaking on behalf of Grey, was forced to respond that after the Portuguese Government had replied to the report, he "would see whether Papers [could] be laid". See Hansard. Commons Debate. October 29th, 1906, vol. 163 c 675.

[209] Sir Francis Hyde Villiers, British Minister at Lisbon, to Grey, November 7th 1906. FO 367/18/278, 38021/06. See also "Camara dos Pares. Intervenção britannica na vida colonial portugueza" *O Século* November 1st 1906, p.1.

[210] Anon. *O Trabalho Indígena nas Colónias Portuguesas. Memoria Justificativa.* Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa: 1906.[September]. The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* commented that the "memoire justificatif places emphasis on the excellent regulations drawn up by the Portuguese Government" but that the problem was "how they are worked in practice". See "The Slave-Trade in Portuguese West Africa" *Anti-Slavery Reporter* November-December 1906, pp.115-121.

[211] Presumably Nevinson's exposé in the September 1907 issue of the *Fortnightly Review* made any further delay in issuing the Burtt Report redundant.

[212] The chocolate makers sent Richard Cross, Rowntree's solicitor, to try to dissuade Nevinson, but without success. William Cadbury explained in the *Standard* libel case that they had tried to prevent Nevinson from publishing because **"condemning the British cocoa makers meant condemning the British Government**." (my bold) See *The Times* Dec 3rd 1909, p.4, and Henry W. Nevinson. Op.cit 1935, p.177.

[213] In the article, in which he quotes other eye-witness accounts of the system at work [214] and critical reports in the *Defeza di Angola* [sic],[215] he reminded his readers of what he saw on his visit to Portuguese West Africa and what had happened since his return. Nevinson was never one to mince his words and, at one point, he accused the British chocolate makers of complicity in the scandal:

> Indirectly, through Lisbon, Great Britain purchases between one-quarter and one-third of all the cocoa produced on the islands. In other words one-fifth of all the chocolate eaten and cocoa drunk in the world is the produce of slave labour, and **the chocolate and cocoa-makers of Great Britain have been indirectly employing one third of the slaves on the islands** [216]

He ended ominously with the view that the only measure that would arouse world public opinion was a boycott on Portuguese cocoa:

> The Foreign Office is necessarily cautious. Our own position in the matter of contract labour has been none too strong in recent years, and then we have to take into account Delagoa Bay, German ambitions, trade rivalries and Royal Friendships. […] **A boycott proclaimed by well-known British and American makers would have an incalculable effect upon the public opinion of the world.** In all probability the great cocoa and chocolate makers of France, Switzerland, and Germany would join the boycott if they once realised its significance, and the planters in terror for their market, would either revolutionise their labour system or **sell their estates to an international syndicate**, to be worked with free labour.[217]

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[213] H.W. Nevinson. "The Angola Slave Trade" *Fortnightly Review*. Vol 82. September, 1907, pp. 488-497.
[214] Including a quote from Col. Colin Harding's account of his journey in 1900 through the "Hungry Country" of Angola, between Machico and the Kwanza. "Every day I am seeing traces of the slave-trade. The wayside trees are simply hung with disused shackles, some to hold one, two, three, even six slaves. Skulls and bones, bleached by the sun, where the victims fell, and gape with a helpless grin on those who pass- a damning evidence of the horrible traffic […]" Idem., p.488. From Col. Colin Harding. *In Remotest Barotseland. Being an account of a journey of over 8000 miles through the wildest and remotest parts of Lewanika's empire.* Hurst and Blackett. London: 1904, pp. 113-4. Harding was the Acting Governor of Northern Rhodesia at the time and was surveying the whole disputed area with a view to assessing the extent of Portuguese influence and the possibilities of recruitment of native labour for the colony. His supposedly eye-witness account was, in fact, that of an American mining engineer named Bricker (probably David G. Bricker) on his journey to Niacatoro (Kavungu), made almost certainly several years before. See correspondence between Administrator Bulawayo [Harding] and the British South Africa Company, 1900. Derbyshire Record Office. D3287/BSA/9. See also James Duffy. Op.cit 1967, p.173.
[215] For example, the *Defesa de Angola* for March 12th 1905 which gives an account of "a typical slave gang of thirty nine women, nine men and eight children[…] stopped by the officer of a Portuguese fort near Bailundu […] all were destined for Benguella and San Thomé […] he was ordered to allow the gang to proceed to Benguella." Idem, p.490. Footnote. Nevinson also mentions two issues of the same crusading Luanda newspaper in which it defends itself against accusations of "want of patriotism" for supporting the truth of his report. These were the issues of June 10th and 14th 1906. Idem, p. 491.
[216] Idem. p.495. (my bold)
[217] Idem. p.497. (my bold)

Nevinson's comments on the difficulties which faced the Government were pertinent. Relations between the two Royal Families were excellent over the whole period and as Nevinson suspected, "Royal friendships" undoubtedly played some part in staying the hand of Sir Edward Grey, as had the backstage diplomacy of the Marquês de Soveral, whose friendship with Edward VII was the subject of conversation in "polite society" at the time.[218] The visit of the heir to the throne, D. Luíz Filippe, to São Tomé in July of 1907 offers further evidence of the Portuguese Royal Family's concern and, indeed, direct involvement in the affair.[219] On the other hand, Nevinson's hint that "an international syndicate" might be interested in buying the estates reveals that the idea was already being mooted, at least in journalistic and philanthropic circles, and that, astonishingly, the plantations were still seen as an attractive business proposition despite endemic disease and the catastrophic death-rate, which foreign observers had justly condemned and even argued might warrant abandoning the islands. Hypocrisy had proved itself, as it did on several occasions throughout the controversy, to be a frequent bedfellow of philanthropy.[220]

In addition to being premonitory, Nevinson's article placed the chocolate-makers in an exceedingly embarrassing position. The date of publication was designed to fall just before an important meeting of the West African Trade Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce which had been called to hear his report on labour in Portuguese West Africa. Accompanied by the missionary Stober, who also addressed the assembly,

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[218] Soveral spent as much time at court or accompanying the King as at the legation. As a trusted companion he often travelled ahead to away venues to prepare the way for Edward VII's romantic encounters. See, for example, Theo Aronson.*The King in Love. Edward VII's mistresses*. John Murray, London: 1988, pp. 216-217. Significantly, of the 893 "ofícios" produced by the legation between January 1st 1900 and October 5th 1910, half were signed by Câmara Manoel in Soveral's absence. Afonso and Vladimiro. Op.cit 1982, p.713.

[219] Foreign Minister Roma du Bocage took advantage of D. Manuel II's state visit to London, in November 1909, to meet with Sir Edward Grey, and they discussed the suspension of recruitment from Angola. See Lavradio. *Memórias do Conde de Lavradio, D. Francisco de Almeida Portugal*. Coimbra: 1943, pp. 130-132 and *The Times* November 7-December 4, 1909 with almost daily reports on the King's visit.
" On January 2, 1910 Manuel delivered his annual speech from the Throne when he opened the Cortes. In his prepared remarks the King dwelt on the good relations existing between Portugal and the other European states. He referred to his recent visits to Spain, England, and France, and of the cordial reception he had received, especially from the King and Queen of England, which he declared was a testimony to the solid and powerful bonds which exist in the traditional alliance between the two countries." Russell Earl Benton. *The Downfall of a King: Dom Manuel II of Portugal.*Doctoral thesis.Louisiana State University, 1975, p.81.

[220] See Chapter 2.7 of this dissertation regarding the negotiations which took place between Frewen and Joucla's Anglo-French company and a group of planters to purchase a number of the plantations. William Cadbury was convinced that it was Nevinson himself who had conceived of the idea that British firms should buy up the plantations and run them properly. See Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit.2005, p.142. In Portugal, however, Lt. Col. Wyllie was credited with the first concrete approach to potentially interested investors. See "Questões Coloniaes. Os capitaes estrangeiros em S. Thomé." *A Capital*, March 30th 1912, pp.1-2.

Nevinson repeated the accusation he had made in the *Fortnightly Review* that the chocolate makers were virtual employers of "one third of the slaves who worked on the plantations." Predictably, a resolution was passed condemning the practice of forced labour in the Portuguese colonies, and a telegram was sent to the British Government asking it to take whatever steps were in its power "to abolish the cruel system." [221]

The resolution caused considerable resentment against both Nevinson and the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce amongst the chocolate manufacturers, who felt that they were being accused of procrastination when they were merely complying with Foreign Office advice. A "private conference" was held the following Monday between the Board of the Chamber and senior representatives of the three manufacturers, accompanied by their solicitors. William Cadbury explained their strategy at some length and explained that they were waiting for Portuguese reactions to the publication of the Burtt report as the Foreign Office had requested. [222] A second meeting, this time of the full Council of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce took place two weeks later. A motion was passed deploring the apparent state of affairs but agreeing with the course of action being taken by the Foreign Office.[223] It was now patently clear both to the chocolate-makers and to the Foreign Office that time was running out and that some form of decisive action would eventually need to be taken.

The repercussions of the meeting were soon felt in Portugal. Writing in *Portugal em África,* Gomes dos Santos, its editor, suggested that Nevinson's speech "não teve echo" and that the only reason his journal had bothered to deal with the matter was to remind its readers of the true motives behind what he called the "campanha de diffamação do nosso

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[221] For the report on the meeting see "Cocoa produced by Slave Labour" *The Times* October 4th 1907, p.16. Curiously, Cadbury's sent William Leslie, an expert in cocoa production from Trinidad, to the Gold Coast to evaluate the quality of the local cocoa, precisely at the time that Nevinson's article came out. It was John Holt, a leading shipowner, Vice-President of the African section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce and a proponent of the "Third Party" strategy for the colonies, who first suggested the Gold Coast as an possible alternative source for Cadbury's raw material.

[222]At one point William Cadbury issued a press release stating that : "The Portuguese as a nation are justly proud of the rapid development and high standard of civilization of these islands, which had become one of the most productive cocoa-growing regions in the world. **If the British cocoa firms were to consent to the request that they should abstain from purchasing their supplies from these islands, the influence of England in any direction of reform would be removed**." "«Cocoa and Slavery» English firms purchases from the Cocoa Islands". *Whitby Gazette* October 25th 1907, p.3. (my bold)

[223] The resolution read as follows: "[…] this meeting of the Council of the Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool, while it deplores the state of affairs which apparently exists in Angola, S. Thome, and Principe, having heard the statement of Mr. William A. Cadbury, Mr. Fry, and Mr. Rowntree, is satisfied with the action being taken by the Foreign Office and by the three cocoa firms in this important matter."

paiz". On the one hand, he argued, the campaign was motivated by the exasperation of the English industrialists towards the competition offered by Portuguese cacao sold on the German market, whilst on the other, there was an attempt by supporters of Leopold II's Congo Free State to defend it against justified accusations of slavery, by alleging that slavery also existed in São Tomé.[224] The mainstream Portuguese press reiterated charges of British treachery and defamation, striving once again to reassure its readers that the accusations were unfounded and that the campaign had ulterior motives.[225]

William Cadbury and Joseph Burtt travelled to Lisbon in late November 1907 to present Burtt's findings to the representatives of the planters and the Minister for the Overseas Territories, Ayres d'Ornellas. Notwithstanding the planters' discomfort and their vigorous protests against certain of the claims made in the report, particularly those alleging ill-treatment of the labourers, the chocolate-makers' representatives left Lisbon in a mood of some optimism, convinced after the lengthy discussions, that reforms would at last be enforced, particularly in view of Ornellas' promise to send Cdr. Paula Cid to Angola to make a full report. [226] A short period of relative détente ensued, prolonged by the delicate situation caused by the assassination of the King and the heir to the throne and the consequent changes in the leadership and composition of the Portuguese Government.

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[224] Gomes dos Santos "Accusações Infundadas". *Portugal em África.* Junho-Setembro 1907, pp.505-507. The magazine, which belonged to the Holy Ghost Missionary Congregation, was founded in 1894 and would be suppressed by the new Republican regime in 1910. Gomes dos Santos' allegations regarding the Congo were later partially vindicated by a letter written by John Holt to the editor of *The Times*, in which he accused the President Sir Alfred Jones of unacceptable links to Leopold II's regime: "[…] When I consider how the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, which, acting on the solemn promises of King Leopold, participated so prominently in the agitation of this country 23 years ago against the Anglo-Portuguese Convention and in favour of King Leopold's enterprise […] I continue to maintain that in my view Sir Alfred Jones' dual position as president of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce and as Congo Consul is incompatible.[…] It is quite evident that he intends to retain his position as Consul of the Congo Government in Liverpool. He sees nothing to be ashamed of in representing officially a Government which has earned for itself the execration of the civilized world." John Holt. "The Congo Free State". Letter to the editor of *The Times.* November 6th 1907, p.13.

[225] See "Portugal em Africa. Uma campanha de calumnias." *O Século.* October 25th 1907, p.1, which repeated similar allegations in the *Diário de Notícias* of October 8th, 1907 and the Oporto monarchist newspaper *Novidades* of October 12th, 1907, which also referred to "defamatory accusations" and "calumny".

[226] For a report on the meeting between the planters' representatives and Cadbury and Burtt see "O Cacau em S. Thomé. Os agricultores da ilha e os industriais inglezes. O resultado da conferencia" *O Século* December 3rd 1907, p.1 and "O Cacau de S.Thomé. A resposta dos agricultores aos industriais inglezes. A reunião no banco Ultramarino [sic]." *O Século.* December 5th 1907, p.1.

Nevinson, however, still had the bit between his teeth and felt that it was vital to keep up the pressure on both sides. On March 30th 1908 he wrote in the *Daily Chronicle*, arguing that Britain was entitled to take action in Angola as a result of the Berlin and Brussels Acts and suggested that Britain might be obliged to send a cruiser to arrest one of "the legalised slave ships […] and bring the abomination to an end." [227] The article was once again clearly timed to precede the Annual General Meetings of the two Anti-Slavery societies, which took place a week apart at the beginning of April. Nevinson would find a new obstacle in his path, however. Following the AGM of the Anti-Slavery Society, *The Times* reported that its Organising Secretary, Travers Buxton, had advocated a moratorium in the campaign due to the assassination of the King of Portugal and his heir, arguing that although "slavery was unmitigated" in Portuguese West Africa, "patience was necessary owing to Portugal's present position". [228] The report added that after the ensuing debate, "Mr. H.W. Nevinson was asked to propose a resolution welcoming Portugal's action taken, in response to [the Society's] representations to alter the slave labour system in Angola and the islands." Unsurprisingly, Nevinson declined, arguing that "there had really been no change and that now, when there was some hope of a liberal administration in Portugal was the time to press for reform." The proposed resolution was eventually dropped. [229]

In June of the same year, Henry Nevinson was offered a job at George Cadbury's *Daily News*, and in his diary he notes, with guarded satisfaction, that he would have a free hand, except " […] that they must first see anything on the slavery that I wanted to put into the paper […]". [230] If it were an attempt on the part of the chocolate-makers to "rein Nevinson in", it was destined to fail, as he continued to participate actively in public meetings and debates [231] and to write on the subject, often choosing to publish in other newspapers or

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[227] *Daily Chronicle* March 30th 1908, p.4.
[228] "The Continuance of African Slavery." *The Times.* April 4th 1908, p.9. A report on the previous day's meeting of The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
[229] Idem. Ibidem.
[230] See Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit 2005, pp. 118-9.
[231] For instance, Nevinson spoke at the Westminster Palace Hotel Conference on "Slavery in Portuguese West Africa" on October 22nd 1908, where he gave an overview of the situation on the ground and quoted Board of Trade figures which showed that imports of cocoa from the islands had increased from 13 million pounds (weight) in 1906 to well over 16 million in the previous year. He went on to say: "The price of a slave at Benguela is £16 but for a good one you might get £20 […].When they are landed safe and sound at San Thomé the average price for a man or woman is £30, and my friend Mr Burtt, who was there after I was, says that the price is rising so rapidly that before he came away they were even giving £40 for a good strong man or woman." See the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Nov-Dec. 1908, pp. 1-21, for a full report.

magazines, such as the *Daily Chronicle* or *The Spectator*. The latter, a weekly edited by John St. Loe Strachey, had begun to play an active part in the "Portuguese Slavery" campaign, as public concern over the Congo began to wane after the transfer of Leopold's "Domaine Privé" to Belgium. The fact that Liberal Party's major financial supporters, Cadbury's, Rowntree's and Fry's, were involved in the "Portuguese slavery" scandal would prove to be a further source of interest and amusement for the conservative readers of the magazine. Despite the fact that *The Spectator* was mainly read by supporters of the Tory party, Strachey, himself, was a Liberal Imperialist and he maintained contacts with progressive Liberals such as Leonard Hobhouse,[232] whom he invited to help in organising an ambitious anti-slavery conference at Caxton Hall with the participation of leading political and literary figures. [233] The principal purpose of the conference, which would take place on December 4th 1908, was to keep the campaign against " slave-grown cocoa" alive whilst Cadbury and Burtt were travelling through Angola, but its resounding success had the additional advantage of partially erasing the memory of the hurriedly-organised October meeting at the Westminster Palace Hotel.[234] Strachey, himself, took the chair before an ample and distinguished audience [235] and according to *The Times*'report of the following day Nevinson, who was, once again, one of the main speakers, drew a

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[232] Leonard Hobhouse (1864-1929) was a political theorist and sociologist. In 1907, he became the first Professor of the new Chair of Sociology at the University of London, the first in Britain. Hobhouse launched the idea of New Liberalism, which superceded the classical Whiggish "laissez-faire" liberalism of the nineteenth century.

[233] See "Slavery in Angola." *The Times.* November 9th 1908, p.16. The article announces the intention of Prof. Hobhouse and Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey to organise a public meeting "within the next three or four weeks in order to attract attention to the conditions under which native labour is recruited in Angola […]" See also "A Surviving Slavery" *The Times* November 21st 1908, p.10, - a letter drawing attention to the Caxton Hall meeting of December 4th, signed by Samuel Barnett, Fox Bourne, Travers Buxton, John Galsworthy, Ramsay Macdonald, Gilbert Murray, Henry Nevinson, C.P. Scott and H.G.Wells, amongst others. The letter also appeared under the same heading in the *Spectator,* November 21st 1908, p.835.

[234] William Cadbury was furious about the meeting taking place in his absence, but George Cadbury had given his consent. E.D.Morel was also critical of the timing which would cause "serious difficulties to Mr. William Cadbury on his self-imposed mission." *African Mail* October 9th, 1908, p.1.

[235] Amongst others, the meeting was attended by E.D.Morel, Cadbury's solicitor Walter Barrow, and Sir Walter Langley, Superintending Under-Secretary of the FO´s African Department. The well-known author John Galsworthy (1867-1933), who later won the Nobel Prize for Literature, followed up the Caxton Hall meeting with a guarded letter to the editor of *The Times*: "[…] It is also held that defects in our own systems of contract labour prevent us, in equity, from moving in the matter of slavery elsewhere. Grave as these defects may be, if after reading «A Modern Slavery» any one maintains that the process there described, of procuring and bringing these thousands of unhappy beings down to the coastline for transhipment to the cocoa islands is paralleled in the British Empire it will be very interesting assertion; and if, further he will produce evidence of a hideous slave-gang march of men, women and children, driven from their homes, 800 miles, in shackled gangs, dying by the hundred on the way, anywhere under the British flag, he will still, I think, receive all the support that is necessary to abolish the practice […]" "Slavery in Portuguese West Africa" *The Times.* January 4th 1909, p.4.

comparison between the contract labour system and pre-abolition slavery, describing it "as absolute a form of slavery as anything described in Uncle Tom's Cabin or which existed in the old Southern states of America." The report went on to inform that "a motion was carried urging H.M.Government to put pressure on its Portuguese counterparts "to secure its abolition in accordance with past assurances and existing treaties," whilst a second motion proposed by the Rev. Robert Horton urged "the great cocoa and chocolate manufacturers of the world to draw their supplies from sources other than San Thomé, unless strong measures are immediately taken to abolish the slave traffic […]." [236]

A week later, in response to the wave of indignation provoked by the Caxton Hall meeting, a small deputation was received by Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons. In addition to Nevinson, himself, it included John St. Loe Strachey, Rev. Robert Horton and Rudolph Lehmann MP.[237] Guarded, as always, in his dealings with the philanthropists, Grey summarily rejected the deputation's idea of British naval intervention and insisted that any action taken by the Government must be of a diplomatic character. He admitted, however, that it was highly desirable that the British Consul at Luanda be allowed to monitor the situation to determine whether "the final engagement of the labourers which takes place on the coast prior to embarkation was absolutely *bona fide* and voluntary" [238] Finally Grey agreed that the threat of a boycott was "the best and almost the only possible instrument".[239] Strachey returned to the question in *The Spectator* on December 12th, in a leader article on the Caxton Hall meeting entitled "Slavery in Portuguese West Africa" which pointed an accusing finger at the Foreign Office's strategy of systematic deferral, whilst denouncing the fact that "those who create a demand" for cocoa were ultimately responsible for the whole system:

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[236] Idem. Ibidem. The Rev. Dr. Robert Forman Horton (1855-1934) was the first non-Anglican minister to teach at Oxford University since the Reformation. Nevinson notes in his diary entry for Dec.3rd 1908, that in his presentation of the resolution, Horton said "that every person who drank a cup of cocoa might almost feel a choking sensation, and that every child that sucked a stick of chocolate was sucking human blood". In Bodleian MSS Eng misc c 496-97, d 663, e 610-28.Quoted in Lowell Satre Op.cit. 2005, pp.120-2, 142-3. The British Minister in Lisbon, Sir Francis Villiers, reported that he had delivered a transcript of the Caxton Hall meeting to Wenceslau de Lima, on Grey's instructions, and that he had impressed upon Lima the determination of the British philanthropists. See Villiers to Grey January 2nd, 1909. FO367/140, 1282.
[237] R.C.Lehmann (1856-1929), was a Liberal MP and writer, best-known as a regular contributor to *Punch*. He opposed women's suffrage and was one of the founders of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage.
[238] In Glyn Stone Op.cit. 2009, p.175: quoting Minute by Clarke, December 11th 1908. FO367/87, 41211/08.
[239] H.W.Nevinson to Travers Buxton. Dec. 17th 1908. BFASS Papers. MSS Brit. Empire S18 C86/49.

> [...] In truth slavery and the slave trade have never ceased in Angola.The actual conditions are those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Men, women and children are bought or seized in the interior, brought in shackles to the coast, put on board a steamer, sent to the islands and held there as slaves. [...] perhaps it will be said that this matter is no business of ours, that we have enough evils and difficulties to contend with in our own Empire; and that the since the responsibility is not ours we had better leave the thing alone [...].To this we would answer [...] that slavery is far too hideous an offence [...] to make it possible to take that line. Further to this, Portugal is bound to us by Treaties of the most solemn kind to put an end to slavery throughout her colonies [...] those who create a demand for the cocoa in question are unconsciously, but none the less effectively, setting in motion forces which end in slavery, slave-raiding and slave-trading.[...]".[240]

In the following issue a supportive letter from Nevinson was published in response to Strachey's leader. It was followed by a note from the editor saying that he probably disagreed with Nevinson's views on everything, including India and women´s suffrage, but absolutely agreed with and supported "[…] his refusal to to make any compromise with the traffic of human beings, slave-owning, slave-raiding, slave-breeding and slave-trading […]" [241] As the new year began, it was now clear to the chocolate makers, who were, by then, under pressure even from their fellow Quakers,[242] that they had reached the point of no return, whilst even the Foreign Office appeared to have withdrawn their objections to more decisive action.[243] Henry Nevinson's personal crusade had finally achieved a substantial measure of success.[244]

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[240] "Slavery in Portuguese West Africa" *The Spectator.* December 12th 1908, pp. 984-6.

[241] Henry W. Nevinson "Slavery in Portuguese West Africa" Letter to the editor. *The Spectator*. December 19th 1908, p.1050.

[242] Edmund W. Brooks, a Quaker and a member of the board of both anti-slavery societies, wrote to Morel that members of the Society of Friends were distressed by how long the issue had dragged on. He was particularly upset because Burtt's Report had been held back for so long **" during which [time] at least 5/6,000 slaves had been done to death"**. Copy of letter from E.W.Brooks to E.D.Morel. October 11th 1908, FO 367/87 no.372273 (my bold). Brooks had written to Morel in response to an article in the *African Mail* protesting that the Caxton Hall meeting was held while Cadbury was away in Africa. Morel forwarded the letter to the Foreign Office. Significantly, it would be E.W. Brooks who would lead the deputation of the Anti-Slavery Society to Lisbon in 1910, after the proclamation of the Republic.

[243] A Convention concerning Mozambican labour for the mines of the Rand was signed in 1909 with the Transvaal Government. The agreement,which guaranteed a regular labour supply, freed the British Government from its concern not to offend the Portuguese authorities whilst negotiations were under way. In 1909 about 90,000 Mozambican labourers were employed in the Transvaal. For an excellent analysis of the relationship between the two countries see Simon A. Katzenellenbogen. *South Africa and Southern Mozambique: Labour, Railways, and Trade in the Making of a Relationship.* Manchester University Press Manchester: 1982.

[244] E.D. Morel's biographer, Seymour Cocks, recalls *The Spectator*'s tribute to Nevinson on March 27th 1909: **"[…] Morel and the famous war correspondent, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, were coupled together under the title of «Our modern Knights-errant»**. «Neither», so ran the article, «has ever been a Member

1.4 William Cadbury's strategy and Joseph Burtt's investigations in Portuguese West Africa

> I have during six years paid three visits to Lisbon and one to Africa, and have made the matter a subject of constant and careful study. My conclusions are not, therefore those of a hasty judgement or a fevered brain.[245] [...]The heaviest part of the whole work has fallen upon my friend Joseph Burtt, who faithfully carried out his original enquiries in face of many difficulties [...] His views and mine coincide in the general conclusions of this statement.[246]

According to Cadburys' official biographer, Iolo Williams, writing in 1931,[247] the firm´s concern about the use of forced labour in the cocoa islands could be traced back to 1901 when William Cadbury admitted to having been warned of labour practises "akin to slavery", when on a visit to their plantation in Trinidad. [248] The same explanation was given many years later, in William Cadbury's final attempt to set the record straight for

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of Parliament, and neither has the help of riches or an accidentally great position. For all we know, they both stumbled unintentionally across what provoked their indignation. But once the needed reform had been set before them as a goal to be reached, they did not fail or falter on the journey. They had the constancy of vision of a Shaftesbury»." Seymour Cocks. *E.D.Morel. The Man and his Work.* Allen and Unwin, London: 1918, p.130. (my bold)

[245] Probably a touch of "sour grapes" on Cadbury's part - a reference to Nevinson and his feverish conclusions on his way back to Luanda from the interior of Angola.

[246] William Cadbury Op.cit 1910, p.102. In fact Cadbury would return to Portugal once again, in March 1911, supposedly on holiday, and was joined by his wife Emmeline and William Albright, a fellow Quaker and leading antislavery campaigner. Cadbury and Albright met with the Minister of the Colonies, with Alfred Henrique da Silva acting as interpreter. See "Os Estrangeiros em Portugal" *A Capital.* March 19th 1911, p.1.

[247] The book was published in 1931 as part of Cadbury's centenary celebrations.

[248] "In 1901 William Cadbury was on a visit to Trinidad, and was informed by a casual acquaintance that the labour conditions in San Thomé and Principe were something akin to slavery. The informant produced no evidence, but the sincerity of his statement left an unpleasant suspicion about the conditions of labour in these distant islands, concerning which no official information was available. In the following year a letter was received from Lisbon offering for sale a San Thomé plantation, with a schedule of profit and loss figures for the past year. On this schedule of properties appeared so many labourers at so much per head, other labourers at a lower price. […] But the form of the schedule of assets seemed to give proof that labourers were considered as the absolute property of the estate." Iolo Williams. *The Firm of Cadbury* Constable and Co., London: 1931, pp.191-2. But in 1904, Cadbury wrote to Harry H. Johnston saying he had had no knowledge of the question before Stober's visit in 1902: "Slavery had been brought to his attention in 1902 when a missionary from Angola, M. Z. Stober, visited Bournville to discuss the issue." CP 4/88. Two years later Cadbury told his international sales staff he had been alerted to the fact first by a FO report and then by Stober, both in 1902. CP manuscript 2041. See Kevin Grant, Op.cit, 2005, p.120.

posterity, on this and other issues related to the "slave-grown cocoa" scandal.[249] Casting doubts on the credibility of this explanation, however, is the fact that George Cadbury, the doyen of the firm and the founder of Bournville, had been a member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society since 1893, [250] whilst he, like Joseph Rowntree and Edward Fry, had served as a vice-presidents of the Aborigines' Protection Society for several years before the turn of the twentieth century. Both Societies had discussed the situation in Portuguese West Africa and referred to it regularly in their publications over the whole of this period,[251] and in 1901 Lord Tweedmouth, the President of the Anti-Slavery Society, had met with the Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne to discuss the matter.[252] It is also worth recalling that by 1900, half of the raw material imported by Cadbury Bros. came from São Tomé and Príncipe.

If this evidence were not sufficient in itself to raise doubts regarding the accepted version, further, irrefutable proof of Cadbury's prior knowledge or suspicions can be found in the Cadbury Papers in the form of an enquiry from Cadbury Bros. to Arthur Nightingale, H.M. Consul in Luanda, on December 7th, 1900 - several months before the Trinidad visit - asking about labour conditions in São Tomé, and Nightingale's respective reply.[253] Concerns regarding their source of cacao undoubtedly existed in the minds of the Quaker chocolate makers long before William Cadbury's admission, but any unease they may have felt was clearly balanced out by the excellence and cost of the raw material and by their faith that the situation would change for the better, given time.

What appears to have forced their hand was a visit to their offices in early 1901 by Matthew Z. Stober, a Scots missionary who had set up in the north of Angola, [254] closely

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[249] In W.A.Cadbury: *The inside history of the connection of Cadbury Bros. with slavery in San Thome. 5 Nov.1949*. Typescript. CP 183.
[250] George Cadbury (1839-1922). Joel Cadbury had been a Committee member of the ASR, also since 1893.
[251] In fact the Cadbury Papers include copies of the ASR dating back to 1884. See CP193: The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* 1884-1908; Series 4, vol.4, nos. 4-5, 7, 9; vol. 5 nos. 4, 8; vol. 7, no. 1; vol. 9, no. 1-2; vol.14, no. 2-3; vol. 15, no. 1; vol. 20, no. 4-5; vol. 23, no. 2; vol. 26, nos. 2, 5; vol. 28, no. 3-5.
[252] Lansdowne had explained that any action would be untimely given that Britain needed Portugal's neutrality and discreet support in the war against the Boers. The meeting was cited by Lord Winterton, a Tory MP, in a Commons debate in 1910, in an attempt to embarrass the Liberal Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey. See Hansard. House of Commons Debate. July 21st 1910. vol. 19 cc1554-93, also *The Times* July 22nd 1910, p.6. At the time of the debate Tweedmouth was First Lord of the Admiralty.
[253] Letter of March 7th 1901 from Arthur Nightingale, H.M. Consul in Luanda, in reply [CP 4/3] to an enquiry of December 7th, 1900 from Cadbury Bros. regarding labour conditions in S. Thomé. [CP 4/2] See Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit, 2005, p.19.
[254] Matthew Zachariah Stober (1875-1951), Scots-born son of a black Jamaican immigrant. The founder in 1897 of the Angola Evangelical Mission in Cabinda, Stober arrived with six other missionaries at

followed by the receipt of a proposal for the purchase of a São Tomé plantation, Roça Tráz-os-Montes, which listed amongst its assets two hundred labourers at £18 a head.[255] At a meeting held as a result of Stober's visit, the members of Cadbury's Board agreed "to assist in the investigation and if need be the publication of the facts of the case through the Anti-Slavery Society or otherwise". No other decision would have been conceivable, in view of the courageous and persistent struggle against slavery undertaken by Quaker activists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the well-deserved reputation as model employers that the firms enjoyed in Britain. [256]

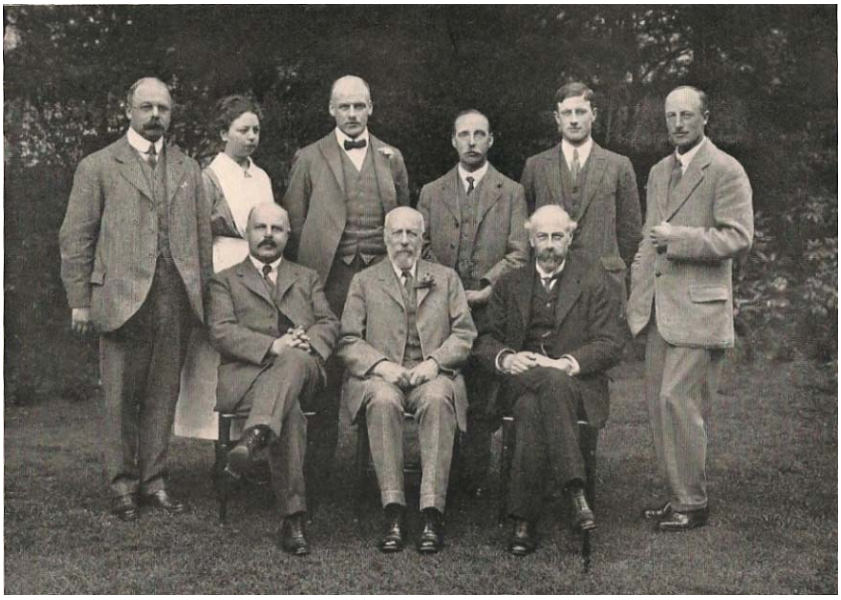


Figure 1.5 The Board of Cadbury Bros. in 1921. William Cadbury (Second row, third left). George Cadbury (middle of front row)

William Cadbury, who was in charge of purchasing, was charged with conveying the concerns of Cadbury's, Rowntrees and Fry's to the planters and to the Portuguese authorities and to liaise with the Foreign Office.[257] Cadbury wasted no time in

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Ambrizette, now N'zeto, in 1903. He was a member of the Keswick or Higher Life evangelical movement. See Michael Anthony Samuels. *Education in Angola 1878-1914: A history of culture transfer and administration.* Teachers College Press, Columbia Univ. New York: 1970, p.87.

[255] In mid-April 1901 William Adlington Cadbury (1867-1957) saw a listing of assets for the Roça Traz-os-Montes which was up for sale, which included the sum of £420 for cattle and £3555 for 200 black labourers. See W.A.Cadbury: *The inside history etc.*1949. CP 183. See also Kevin Grant Op. cit. 2005, p.121; Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit, 2005, p. 18; Catherine Higgs Op.cit 2012, p.9.

[256] There were limits to their generosity as employers, however. In 1900 Cadbury Bros. employees worked a 48-hour week and women who wished to marry had to leave the firm.

[257] "This seems to confirm other indirect reports that slavery, either partial, or total, exists on these cocoa estates. We agree to assist in the investigation, and if need be the publication of the facts of the case through the Anti-Slavery Society or otherwise, and WAC [W.A.Cadbury] is directed in the first place to see Joseph

approaching his fellow Quakers, Joseph Sturge and William Albright [258] of the Anti-Slavery Society, but he was reluctant at first to delve too deeply into the matter and as late as June 1902 he wrote to Travers Buxton of the BFASS, expressing the hope that the embarrassing question might be solved discreetly, over time, by efforts other than his own:

> I do not feel myself called upon to take any initial step in the matter though I am willing to help in any organized plan that your Society may suggest for the definite purpose of putting a stop to the slave trade of this district. I should think that the Scotch missionary from Angola would be more probably a help to you, and if there are sufficient missionaries settled in the district, their own quiet work is perhaps the best means of attaining the end. [259]

Familiar as he was with the reality on the ground, the missionary Matthew Stober was unwilling to wait for his own "quiet work" to take effect, however, and through the good offices of Travers Buxton he arranged to visit Bournville again in February 1902. Cadbury's typed report on the meeting [260] reveals that Stober had concluded that the trade was driven by the miserable life expectancy of Angolan labourers on the cocoa islands, which he estimated at no more than "3 1/2 or 4 years", and attributed to "the system", itself, rather than the climate.

William Cadbury felt he had no alternative than to go to Lisbon to confront the authorities and the planters with the gathering evidence against the contract-labour system. Writing to Joseph Fry before he left, to explain the motive of his trip, he ended in a spirit of optimism: "We are informed, we believe with some authority, that the Portuguese have a considerable respect for the modes of British colonial administration, and that British influence is likely to have more weight than any other." [261] Cadbury left for Portugal at the beginning of March 1903 accompanied by Stober who would act as his interpreter.

His first meeting in Lisbon was with Baron Carl de Merck, an English-speaking manager with Henry Burnay and Co., a banking and trading firm with strong colonial connections,

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Sturge or William A. Albright and seek advice in the matter." Minutes of Cadbury's Board Meeting. April 30th 1901. See Lowell J.Satre. Op.cit 2005, p.18.

[258] A leading Birmingham businessman, William A. Albright, a Quaker, had been active on the Committee of the BFASS since 1898 and would later become an active member of the Committee of the Congo Reform Association. After William Cadbury, he was the second largest donor to the CRA.

[259] William Cadbury to Travers Buxton. June 10th 1901. CP Ms 4/10. Quoted in Lowell J.Satre. Op.cit. 2005, p.22 and Kevin Grant, Op.cit. 2005, p.121.

[260] Minutes of the Board Meeting of Cadbury Bros. February 17th 1903. CP Board Meetings.

[261] Copy of letter to Joseph Storrs Fry. Feb 17th 1903. CP 4/12

who gave him introductions to several of the principal traders with interests in São Tomé and Príncipe.[262] Cadbury then went to meet the two principal plantation owners, the Conde de Valle-Flôr and Francisco Mantero. When confronted with the high death rate amongst the labourers, Valle-Flôr offered the conventional excuse that it was due to the poor state of health of many of those who arrived from Angola, adding that there was a significant improvement in general health after acclimatisation. Mantero, for his part, was particularly forceful in his denial of accusations of ill-treatment on the islands, suggesting that they were motivated by the jealousy of competitors abroad. Whilst denying any direct knowledge of abuse, Mantero admitted that there was a possibility that it might occur on the mainland but expressed confidence that the new legislation would improve the situation. Finally, he suggested that Cadbury, as a business associate, should visit São Tomé and see things for himself, an invitation which would be reiterated at a meeting with a representative group of planters at the Banco Nacional Ultramarino.[263]

Cadbury was then received by Sir Martin Gosselin, the British Minister in Lisbon, who had been a delegate at the Brussels Conference. Surprisingly, in his appreciation of the issue, Gosselin chose to ignore the role that the demand for labourers played in the system and singled out the local chiefs in Angola as the villains of the piece, accusing them of readily trading their own people for cash or alcohol. Gosselin praised the planters' suggestion and encouraged Cadbury to accept the invitation and to undertake a private enquiry, but advised him to wait for a year to see how the new labour legislation would affect the situation. [264] William Cadbury's final meeting was with Manuel Rafael Gorjão, the Minister for the Colonies in the Hintze Ribeiro Government,[265] who, whilst admitting

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[262] Catherine Higgs Op.cit, 2012, p.17. William Cadbury would correspond with Merck on the issue of forced labour between 1903 and the *Standard* Libel Trial in 1909, in which he was a witness for the plaintiff. See Baron Carl de Merck: Digest of correspondence. CP180/956 (1903-08) and CP180/708-742 (1905-09).

[263] In his book *Labour in Portuguese West Africa*, Cadbury writes that when he met with representatives of the Planters' Association, they denied all charges of cruelty and malpractice and recommended that, as a business colleague, he should visit São Tomé and Príncipe and see for himself. William A. Cadbury. *Labour in Portuguese West Africa.* Routledge and Sons. London: 1910, p.2.

[264] The correspondence between Gosselin and Cadbury is held in the Cadbury Papers. CP180/650-671 (1903-04). Gosselin may already have been following F.O. instructions to play for time whilst negotiations regarding labour for the Rand from Mozambique were under way. **Indeed in June 1903, the Foreign Office asked Gosselin to enquire about the possibility of a WNLA representative being allowed to visit Angola to talk to the authorities about recruitment of Angolan labour for the Rand**. See F.O. to Sir Martin Gosselin. June 9th 1903. FO 2/769. (my bold)

[265] Brig. Manuel Rafael Gorjão Henriques (1846-1918) Minister for the Navy and the Overseas Territories in the Hintze Ribeiro government - February 28th 1903 to October 20th 1904. Gorjão had recently returned to Lisbon after serving as Governor-General of Mozambique, where he had attempted to discipline the flow of labourers to the mines of the Rand.

that corporal punishment would probably be difficult to eliminate completely, was dismissive towards the accusations of malpractice and ill-treatment, assuring Cadbury that he would see that any abuses were properly punished. Gorjão was also confident that the new legislation would soon bring improvements, as he affirmed it already had in Angola. Impressed by his meeting with Gorjão, William Cadbury reported to the Board of Cadbury Bros. in the same spirit of optimism, tempered, however, by the conviction that much would depend on their own ability to press forward on the matter: "We have been most favoured and I cannot but feel that things are going to mend a little - much will depend on how strenuously it is followed up, and the onus of this will lie with the British - perhaps most of all on our two firms*"* [266]

Perhaps because of their realisation that change would come neither easily nor quickly, Cadbury's then initiated a commercial strategy which was designed to serve as an insurance policy against failure in their efforts to bring reforms to the contract-labour system. It is now clear that, even at this early juncture, Cadbury Bros. were already starting to diversify their purchases with the intention of reducing their dependence on São Tomé and Príncipe as a supplier. [267]

In 1904 Cadbury asked his friend E.D. Morel, as well as Fox Bourne and Travers Buxton, the organising secretaries of the two Anti-slavery Societies, to recommend a suitable person to carry out an independent investigation in Africa. [268] Several possibilities were considered and rejected, and a year went by before Joseph Burtt, a fellow Quaker, was ready to investigate on behalf of the chocolate manufacturers. This was principally due to the fact that before his departure, Burtt spent eight months in Oporto learning Portuguese under the guidance of Alfredo Henrique da Silva, a Methodist preacher and

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[266] William Cadbury. Report to the Board of Cadbury Bros. on his visit to Lisbon. CP 180/341. See Lowell J. Satre Op.cit. 2005, p.24. Rowntree's were apparently not directly involved at this stage.
The conviction that the responsibility now lay with the chocolate makers to ensure that things moved forward appears in the minutes of the Board meeting held on the occasion of Fry's visit to Bournville in early May 1903: "[…] It is agreed to write to Fox Bourne of the Aborigine's Protection Society, on the question of someone going out on behalf of the two firms to see that the conditions of the new Portuguese laws affecting slavery are carried out and to watch affairs on our behalf." Minutes of Cadbury's Board Meeting. May 12th 1903. CP

[267] See David J. Jeremy, *Capitalists and Christians. Business Leaders and the Churches in Britain 1900-1960* OUP, Oxford: 1990, p. 146. Jeremy notes that Cadbury´s reduced the proportion of the cacao they purchased from the cocoa islands from 60% in 1903 to 32% by 1908.

[268] Cadbury wrote to Fox Bourne of the Aborigines' Protection Society in February 1905 asking him not to publicise Burtt's visit to the islands: "as it might seriously prejudice the planters to him and lessen the value of his visit." W. A. Cadbury to Fox Bourne. February 9th 1905. CP 180/354

educationalist who would later play an important part in the humanitarian campaign. Joseph Burtt was finally ready to sail for the cocoa islands at the end of May 1905. [269]

He would spend almost six months in São Tomé and Príncipe and almost twice as long on the mainland, visiting all the coastal towns and making a four-month trip into the interior, before travelling on to Mozambique and South Africa. [270] His first impression of the life of the "serviçais" on the cocoa plantations was that it was "far more agreeable than that of many an English workman", [271] an observation which was not as strange as it might now seem, in view of the ongoing Quaker campaign against "sweated" labour in Britain and the associated protests of workers around the country. [272]

Made welcome by the planters wherever he went, Burtt was first taken to see the great Rio de Ouro plantation which belonged to the Conde de Valle-Flôr [273] and then on to Francisco Mantero's Agua-Izé, supervised by General Souza e Faro, where, in contrast to the favourable impression he had acquired at the former property, he encountered what he considered to be a more constrained working environment.[274]

To allow a comparison of the conditions on smaller plantations with the extensive and well-equipped properties he had first been shown, Burtt then visited Roça Caridade,

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[269] Alfredo Henrique da Silva (1871-1950). Methodist preacher, republican activist. Director and English teacher of the Instituto Comercial do Porto. William Cadbury had declined Henry Nevinson's offer to act on their behalf in Portuguese West Africa due to his lack of Portuguese and his unwillingness to remain in Africa for the time they considered necessary. Cadbury sent Nevinson a copy of the Portuguese Labour laws and an introduction to Ceffala at the Eastern Telegraph Office in São Tomé. See CP 180/849.

[270] See "The expenses of the mission and enquiry in S.Thome, Principe & Angola. Sept.1904 - Apr. 1907." CP 175. 1904-1907.

[271] Burtt to Cadbury. June 26th 1905. James Duffy Papers. See Catherine Higgs. Op.cit 2012, p.25. Burtt considered himself a Socialist and had lived for a time in the Whiteway commune, a Tolstoyan rural community founded in the Cotswolds in 1898. Cadbury admitted to Merck that Burtt was "not cut out for a commercial career" and "knew nothing about cocoa", but that he was straightforward, honest and had nothing against the Portuguese […] and was **" the only available choice "**. William Cadbury to Baron Carl de Merck. April 17th 1905. CP 4/158. (my bold)

[272] George Cadbury (1839-1922) used the pages of the *Daily News*, which he had purchased in 1901, to launch a campaign against "sweated labour" [long hours, low wages, poor working conditions] in Britain. Contemporary Government estimates suggested that one third of the working population of Britain was employed in sweated industries. At this time a female shirt-maker might earn no more than a penny an hour which meant working up to 18 hours a day, just to survive. The Daily News Sweated Industries Exhibition took place at the Queen's Hall in London from 2nd to 29th May, 1906. The Sweating Campaign, which lasted for two decades, reached its peak that year with a series of exhibitions around the country which brought the issue into the public eye and led to strikes and protests.

[273] Two years later Valle-Flôr was elevated to the rank of Marquess in recognition of his enterprise and investment in São Tomé and more particularly as a reward for his generous hospitality to the heir to the throne on the occasion of the royal visit.

[274] According to Burtt: "the moral atmosphere seemed quite different" to Roça Rio d'Ouro. See Catherine Higgs Op.cit 2012, p.30, quoting Joseph Burtt to William Cadbury. June 26th 1905. James Duffy Papers.

owned by Jerónimo da Costa, a "filho da terra" whom, he noted, was married to a white Portuguese woman, followed by the nearby Bom Retiro plantation, owned by Manuel Dias da Graça, again a native of the island. Relieved after the uneasy atmosphere of Água-Izé, and deeply impressed by both of the locally-run plantations,[275] Burtt went as far as to suggest in one of his letters that the former "roça" would have been an excellent purchase for Cadbury Bros., a remarkable reaction for someone who had been sent out to gather information which might justify the termination of purchases of cocoa from the islands. [276] His enthusiasm was undoubtedly dampened, however, by Nevinson's arrival and the journalist's vivid stories of his harrowing experiences in Angola. Shortly after Nevinson had arrived from Príncipe, where he had spent four days visiting the plantations, they visited Roça Boa Entrada together, and, contrasting with Nevinson's sceptical comments, Burtt wrote enthusiastically of Monteiro de Mendonça's concern to "civilise and protect his labourers". [277] In fact, his letters over the following days continue to convey his enthusiasm for "the splendid way in which cocoa production [was] carried on" in the islands. [278]

Burtt's early letters to Cadbury suggest that if his tour of inspection had ended at this point, his report would have described the cocoa islands in the flattering terms reminiscent of other distinguished foreign visitors such as Dr. H.F. Strunk,[279] Théodore Masui, [280] or

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[275] Whereas Burtt found it easy to converse with the black plantation owners and the "filhos da terra" or "forros" he was frustrated by the impossibility of talking to the Angolan contract labourers, few of whom knew more than two or three words of Portuguese. See Catherine Higgs Op.cit 2012, pp. 36-37.
[276] Idem pp. 32-33.
[277] See Catherine Higgs, Op.cit 2012, pp. 25-39 for a fuller description of this part of Burtt's visit. Monteiro de Mendonça and his model plantation also impressed Cadbury, who did his best to exclude him from any criticism of treatment of labourers on the plantations.
[278] Idem, p.52. Catherine Higgs mentions that in late July 1905, shortly after Nevinson's return to Britain, William Cadbury received a bundle of letters and photographs from Burtt.
[279] On October 5th 1905, Strunk, the Director of the Victoria Botanical Gardens in the Cameroons (then a German colony), accompanied by Van der Loo of the Victoria Cocoa company, visited São Tomé at his Government's request, later publishing a report favourable to the labour system in the *Gordian*. He would be invited to lecture the following year at the Lisbon Geographical Society. See Dr. Strunk *A Ilha de S.Thomé. Relatório apresentado a Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa nas Sessão de 5 de Março 1906.* Sep. Boletim Soc. Geographia. Lisboa: 1906. See also António Augusto Corrêa de Aguiar. *O trabalho indígena nas ilhas de S. Tomé e Príncipe*. Imprensa Nacional, São Tomé e Príncipe: 1919, p.203 and Monteiro de Mendonça Op.cit. 1907, pp.21-23.
[280] Théodore Masui, a Belgian ethnographer who was working in the Congo, had visited São Tomé in 1899 and was also suitably impressed by his tour of the plantations. In the *Bulletin de la Soc. d'Études Coloniales,* Masui wrote: "Si l'on se place au point de vue uniquement moral, **c'est une véritable mission philantropique que remplit l'État portugais en favorisant le rachat de ces esclaves des mains de leurs bourreaux**; le travail règulier et remunere n'est il pas le premier èchalon de la régénération de cette race déshéritée? […] Les serviçaes ont une vie de travail, mais pour toujours soustraits à une miserable vie d'aventures, ils ont une famille, un intérieur et sont assurés de soins constante.[…]" Quoted by Júlio

Prof. Auguste Chevalier,[281] who were frequently cited in Portuguese vindications of the contract-labour system.

In response to Burtt's favourable comments after his first few visits, one of William Cadbury's letters reveals the flexibility on the issue of forced labour which the intractable Nevinson so distrusted. Comparing the situation in the cocoa islands with the West Indies in days gone by, Cadbury writes: "[…] it is quite possible […] that on certain estates a state of slavery may be greatly preferable to freedom where there is no law or order with the freedom", whilst admitting, in the same letter, that such a situation was "open to awful abuse".[282]

It was only after Nevinson's departure and the appearance of the second of his articles in *Harper's* that Joseph Burtt began to have misgivings about the system on the island of Príncipe where, in contrast with his favourable impression of working conditions on the plantations, he was confronted with the decimating effects of sleeping sickness and its consequences on the demand for labour. Joseph Burtt was met on his arrival at Príncipe by Burmester Bull, manager of the local telegraph station and a plantation-owner, who accompanied him on most of his visits to the plantations. [283] A Sierra Leonian who spoke

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Henriques in "A Ilha de S.Tomé sob o ponto da vista Histórico-Naturale e Agrícola." *Boletim da Sociedade Brotériana* Vol. XXVII, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra: 1917, p.123. (my bold). Masui's report was republished in response to the "Slave-grown cocoa" campaign, at the height of the controversy. See Th.Masui. "Viagem á ilha de S. Thomé em 1899". *Revista Portuguesa Colonial e Marítima*, nº 110 (1906), pp. 49-64 and nº 111 (1906), pp. 71-112.

[281] The French agricultural experts Prof. Chevalier and Dr. Gravier carried out a survey of São Tomé in 1905 at the request of Ernest Roume, the Governor-General of French West Africa. Auguste Chevalier's essentially favourable report is dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 4 of this dissertation. See Auguste Chevalier, João Carlos Reinaldo Farmhouse, trad. *A Ilha de S. Thomé.* Lisboa: Typ. da Livr. Ferin, [1906?] and Corrêa de Aguiar Op.cit, 1919 p.201. Chevalier did not make an exclusive visit to São Tomé, however: "Le voyage duré du Février au 20 Octobre 1905. Mr Chevalier a visité tour à tour la haute Guinée française (trois mois) la Côte Ivoire (un mois) la Gold Coast Anglaise (quinze jours) le Lagos (quinze jours) la Nigeria méridionale, le Cameroun et le Rio Benito (une douzaine de jours) enfin l'île portugaise de San Thomé (un mois et demi.)" p.280. In *"*Perspectives agricoles sur le littoral de l'Afrique occidentale, d'après Mr Auguste Chevalier". In: *Annales de Géographie.* 1906, t.15, n°81, pp. 280-282. He would also report favourably on smallholder production of cacao on the Gold Coast - a situation which had already attracted the attention of Cadbury's purchasing agents: "[…] Mais le fait notable c´est que toutes ces plantations sont indigènes; elles sont exploitées par des noirs travaillant librement pour leur propre compte. Il n' y pas une seule plantation européenne; les blancs jouent simplement le rôle acheteurs et de conseillers. C'est surtout la persévérance et ingéniosité de administration anglaise qui permis ce magnifique résultat." Idem. p.282.

[282] W.A. Cadbury to Joseph Burtt. July 29th 1905. James Duffy Papers. Quoted in Catherine Higgs. Op.cit, 2012, pp.52-53.

[283] B.W.E Bull, a respected member of the local community, was revealingly described by Burtt as being "capable" and "manly" and accepted by the planters "on equal terms" despite the colour of his skin. Burtt to William Cadbury, September 23rd 1905. James Duffy Papers. Idem, p.57. Nevinson described him in less flattering terms: *"*[…] an exuberant negro from Sierra Leone, who regarded himself as the representative of the British Empire and had a plantation of his own, cultivated by numerous slaves." Henry W.Nevinson

several languages, Bull first took Burtt to meet Capt. Ferreira dos Santos, the Governor of the island, who struck him as an intelligent man, "keenly alive to the interests of the islands".[284] Burtt would spend a total of five weeks on the island visiting thirteen of the "roças" and gathering figures which revealed that the death rate amongst "serviçais" varied considerably between 4% and 22% p.a. according to geographical location, reaching an extreme of over 30% p.a. at Roça Bom-Bom in the far northwest of the island.

His first trip with Bull was to the eastern section of the great Porto Real plantation, run by José Manuel dos Santos Abreu.[285] Generously entertained, as on all his visits, Burtt spent five days with Abreu and his wife, and, in addition to the usual tour of the main installations, he rode out with the estate manager to see the outstations of the seemingly well-run property. As on his other visits he appears to have made no effort to engage directly with the labourers, either because of the language barrier or due to a reluctance to embarrass his host. Accompanied by Dr. Pino, the resident physician, Burtt was also shown around the well-equipped hospital, where, contrasting with the favourable picture he had formed so far, he was told that 10% of the labour force was down with some form of debilitating ailment.[286] Remarkably, however, what appears to have surprised Burtt the most about Porto Real Este, [287] was not the flagrant evidence of endemic disease but

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Op.cit 1935, p.175. Many years later Bull's two sons would become distinguished politicians representing the interests of Portuguese Guinea, their mother's birthplace. They were James Pinto Bull, who became a figurehead for the colonial "assimilation" policy of the Estado Novo regime and Benjamin Pinto Bull, who defended gradual and negotiated independence from Portugal.

[284] Burtt to William Cadbury, September 23rd 1905. James Duffy Papers. Idem p.57.
Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho diverged from Burtt's assessment, however, accusing Ferreira dos Santos of conspiring with the local planters to undermine his work as "Curador". See Chapter 2.6 of this dissertation.

[285] Owned by Sociedade de Agricultura Colonial. Mantero was the principal shareholder.

[286] 40 of the 404 labourers were confined to the infirmary.

[287] Porto Real Este (Roça Esperança) was the plantation where Juvenal Marinho was employed at the time of Burtt's visit. His verses confirm Burtt's observations:

209 - Burst [sic] e Nitingale [sic], anti-esclavagistas,
A Esperança visitaram em pessoa
E a obra de Abreu levando das vistas
A esperam [?] geral, melhorada e boa. Juvenal Marinho. Op.cit, 1928, p.39.

277 - Seria no Príncipe risada geral
A dirigir trabalhos de agricultura,
Vêr qualquer façanhuda general
Aqui n'uma constante impostura

280 - Visitantes e patrões gostam de olhar
Dos serviçaes o garboso ornamento,
Limpas tângas, pelo terreiro a andar,
Da vista recrêio e contentamento. Idem. p.52.

[As mentioned previously, there are many misspellings and uncorrected printer's errors in Juvenal Marinho's text.]

Abreu's tolerant, easy-going treatment of the labourers and the constant presence of their children playing on the verandah of the estate manager's residence. [288] After his visit, Burtt commented in a long letter to William Cadbury that he "[had] never been at a roça where there seemed a better relation between men and masters."

Among the other great agricultural properties that Burtt visited on the island was the extensive Western section of Roça Porto Real, where he again stayed for five nights. On two of his trips around the plantation with the manager Pedro Rocha, he was pleasantly surprised to encounter groups of apparently unsupervised labourers clearing undergrowth and laying sleepers for the railway which would eventually link the two halves of the great plantation. Contrasting with his positive impression of labour relations thus far, Burtt was dismayed to discover that the plantation had lost almost a fifth of its labour force to sickness in the previous year. Those responsible for the management of the "roças" were undoubtedly fully aware by then that the disease was the principal weakness of labour-intensive agriculture on Príncipe and that the viability of the whole system was placed at risk by its endemic character and virulence.[289] Confronted with Burtt's enquiries as to the causes of such an "ugly record", Rocha called in António Damas Mora, the island´s medical officer, to give a more authoritative explanation. [290]

Confirming that a total of 645 labourers had died on the island over the previous year, Damas Mora suggested that many of the deaths were due to "anaemia", offering the conventional justification that the fittest labourers were kept in Angola, and that Príncipe was last in line to choose those who came to the islands. [291] Burtt commented in a letter to Cadbury that he had little doubt that many of the cases described as anaemia were in fact due to sleeping sickness, [292] but later he wrote that the labourers on Príncipe were as well treated and cared for as on São Tomé and that the higher mortality figures were exclusively due to the terrible disease. Amongst the other plantations on Príncipe that

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[288] Catherine Higgs. Op.cit. 2012, p.59.
[289] It was in 1905 that the first group of Portuguese specialists in tropical diseases visited the island to report back on the dramatic situation and propose a drastic plan of action to eradicate the tsetse fly.
[290] António Damas Mora (1879-1949) Physician, specialist in tropical medicine and colonial administrator. Exploited the Simaló and Praia de Santo António plantations, where he employed more than 70 serviçais in the production of cacao. Appointed head of the Angolan health department by Norton de Matos during his second term of office. Interim Governor of Angola in 1928-1929. Head of the Tropical Medicine Institute in Lisbon from 1935.
[291] The Angolan farmers argued just the opposite - that they were left with the weak and sick.
[292] Catherine Higgs. Op.cit. 2012, p.81.

Burtt visited with Bull were Roças Abade,[293] Ribeiro Izé and Sundy in the northwest of the island. He found no unanimity regarding the system, even amongst the estate managers, and over a meal at Ribeiro-Izé, Miguel Jimenez, the Spanish manager of Sundy, openly agreed with Bull that repatriation was the most sensible course of action. Burtt commented in a letter to Cadbury on his visits that Jimenez blamed the Government for the situation and would have "preferred to have free men and not slaves".[294]

Joseph Burtt returned to São Tomé at the end of October 1905 and spent the next month, before departing for Angola, revisiting some of the larger plantations and organising his notes. He appears to have been in no hurry to leave the hospitality of the planters behind and in fact it seems at this point that Cadbury was having doubts whether it was worthwhile for Burtt to go to Angola as he wrote on November 7th telling him that Nevinson's articles were "so thorough" that the chocolate makers might decide not to send him to Angola after all.[295]

Such doubts were soon set aside, but it was only on December 1st 1905 that Burtt departed for Angola on the S.S. Sobo,[296] arriving in Luanda two weeks later. A letter written to Cadbury on the boat conveyed his view that the labourers on the islands seemed to be "orderly, well-fed and contented" [297] but he also expressed a reluctance to offer a final opinion on the labour question until he had seen the methods of recruitment on the mainland. The journey down the coast also gave Burtt time to draft an interim report, dated January 3rd 1906, which was despatched to Cadbury from the Angolan capital. [298]

Although Burtt had undoubtedly been influenced by Nevinson's articles, he emphasised once again in his report that the Angolan labourers were relatively well treated, but never left the islands, and that as far as the children born on the islands were concerned, the best they could hope for, was "a mild form of slavery".

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[293] Roça Abade was run by Nicolau McNicholl, of Scots descent, who owned the plantation jointly with António Alves Affonso.
[294] Joseph Burtt to William Cadbury. October 25th 1905. James Duffy Papers. Quoted by Higgs. Idem p.63
[295] William Cadbury to Joseph Burtt. November 7th 1905. CP 4/184. See Catherine Higgs. Op.cit 2012, p.69.
[296] Elder Dempster Line.
[297] Quote from Catherine Higgs. Op. cit 2012, p. 68, citing Joseph Burtt to William Cadbury. December 8th 1905. James Duffy Papers.
[298] Interim report from Joseph Burtt received February 12th 1906. CP 5/1. Catherine Higgs quotes from a copy in the James Duffy Papers. Idem., pp. 68 and 187, (note).

On arriving in Luanda, Burtt met with former Acting Consul William Brock, a local merchant, who was standing in for Nightingale during his fact-finding tour of the cocoa islands. Brock offered reassurance that the process of recruitment was improving and that the Government was doing its best to put an end to abuses.[299] His correspondence with Cadbury from Luanda reveals that he was also received by Horatio Mackie, the newly-appointed Consul, [300] who assured him that Nightingale's report would soon be published. Burtt also mentions a meeting with "a local newspaper editor critical of the trade in "serviçaes", [301] certainly José Macedo of the *Defeza de Angola,* whom Nevinson would undoubtedly have recommended to him. Macedo told Burtt that the Angolans held "a service for the dead" for their relatives who had been taken to the cocoa islands, whilst candidly admitting that local practices and beliefs were an obstacle to the complete suppression of forced recruitment, because it had gone on for so long "that submission flows in the blood".[302]

By February, Burtt was finally persuaded that he would only be able to arrange for African bearers further down the coast at Benguela, Angola's second city, but soon after visiting a local labour agent there, he wrote to Cadbury with the disappointing news that there were none to be had.[303] Delaying matters even further, he then came down with malaria and spent ten days in the local hospital. It was soon followed by a second bout which fortunately responded to quinine treatment. His convalescence over, Burtt visited the construction works on the Benguela Railway, where 1700 men toiled under the supervision of John Griffiths, a British Boer War veteran, nicknamed "Empire Jack", due to his enthusiasm for all things imperial.[304] Burtt spent several days with Griffiths and

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[299] Brock had reported to Lord Lansdowne very much along the same lines. He wrote that slave raiding was on the wane and that the Portuguese Government would eventually succeed in suppressing it entirely. See Brock to Lansdowne. June 30th 1905. FO63/1447. Brock had acted as Consul on a temporary basis on several occasions and was a long-term resident of Angola. Obviously, as a permanent resident and a local businessman his sympathies lay closer to the administration than most British career diplomats.

[300] In his report Burtt lists the Portuguese authorities with whom he discussed the question of labour recruitment: "I had interviews with the Governors-General of Angola and Mozambique; the Governors of São Thomé, Príncipe, Cabinda, Benguella and Mossamedes." See *Appendix A.* William Cadbury Op.cit.1910, p.105.

[301] See Catherine Higgs. Op.cit 2012, p.78.

[302] Idem, ibidem. Catherine Higgs quotes excerpts from Joseph Burtt to William Cadbury. February 12th 1906. James Duffy Papers.

[303] Joseph Burtt to William Cadbury February 12th 1906. James Duffy Papers. See Catherine Higgs. Idem, p.79.

[304] Later made a baronet, Col. Sir John Norton-Griffiths (1871-1930) served as a tunnelling expert in WWI and later became a Conservative MP.

his wife. Griffiths had worked as a manager in the Transvaal gold mines after the War and Burtt questioned him on the working conditions, which his Portuguese informants had described in critical terms. Unsurprisingly, Griffiths informed Burtt that the Mozambican labourers in the mines were well-treated and adequately paid. His opinion must have been of little value to Burtt, however, as he was known for his harsh treatment of the Angolan labourers and for his support for the widespread use of corporal punishment, including the systematic use of the lash, which he defended as "necessary". Having witnessed Europeans flogging African labourers on several occasions during his short stay, Burtt wrote to Cadbury that "the depravity of this place steadily grows on one, and our countrymen seem worse than the Portuguese" [305]

Realising at this point that nothing was to be gained by staying in Benguela to wait for bearers, Burtt set off to visit towns along the coast, possibly to get a better idea of the way contract labourers were dealt with in Angola. His first visit was to Catumbela, the journey's end for caravans from Bié and Bailundo, which was linked to Benguela by a short railway. He found that the trade in wild rubber, which had sustained the town since the decline of the ivory trade, had virtually collapsed since the international markets had been flooded with cheap plantation rubber, mainly from the British colonies. The trade in labourers, however, had revived somewhat since Massano de Amorim's purge and Burtt identified "three large dealers, two smaller dealers and two contracting agents".[306] Like many people who benefitted indirectly from the situation, the Dutch trader he stayed with at Catumbela was unsupportive towards Nevinson's arguments.Though lamenting the export of labour to the cocoa islands, he told Burtt that, in his opinion, repatriation was a waste of time because former "servicais" would only be recaptured and returned to the islands on fresh contracts.

At Catumbela Burtt fell ill with malarial fever again, as did George, the German servant he had taken into his employment in Angola, and it was only after they had both partially recovered that he was able to travel 300 miles south to his next objective, Moçamedes (now Namibe). After recovering "his health and appetite" in the cooler climate, Burtt visited the great agricultural undertaking owned by Viuva Bastos e Filhos, which

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[305] Joseph Burtt to William Cadbury. March 9th 1906. James Duffy Papers. Quoted in Catherine Higgs. Op.cit. 2012, p. 83. Most of the labourers had been brought in from other British African colonies, however.
[306] Catherine Higgs. Op.cit 2012, p.84.

extended over 27,000 hectares - a third of all the cultivated land in the district. The estate produced much of the "aguardente" for the province from cane sugar, together with bananas and oranges to provision the passing steamers.[307] He was told by the manager that labourers there earned about 900 reis a month, a third of the salary paid in São Tomé, and confirmed that they were "not free to terminate their contracts at the end of the five-year period." [308]

Burtt also found time to travel a hundred miles inland to Humpata in the Huila highlands where he spent three weeks with the Afrikaner community, who had settled there at the end of their long trek from the Cape in the 1880's.[309] The Boer settlers had a difficult relationship with the Portuguese authorities and, unsurprisingly, they were openly critical of recruitment for the cocoa islands, although they, too, exploited the local African population and, despite their Calvinist religious beliefs, were not averse to owning slaves.[310]

Joseph Burtt remained in Moçamedes until the end of May 1906, six months after leaving São Tomé. Although never an easy task, the time he spent in arranging bearers for the hazardous journey into the interior contrasts sharply with the efficiency of Henry Nevinson's expedition a year earlier. Burtt not only had the benefit of Nevinson's previous experience and advice, but the advantage of many months of planning time before travelling to Angola. [311] The question of why the preparations for his journey were left until his arrival is not an idle one as the libel proceedings brought by Cadbury's against the *Standard* newspaper would later hinge on whether or not the Quaker chocolate

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[307] The property which was owned and managed by Joaquim Botelho da Costa, Visconde de Giraúl and was over a hundred square miles in area. In 1911, Botelho da Costa, a former Army doctor, who had married into the family business, was appointed Director of the Health Services of Angola and São Tomé.
[308] Joseph Burtt to William Cadbury May 17th 1906. James Duffy Papers. Idem p.88.
Writing in 1911 after the fall of the Monarchy, Alberto Correia denounced the fact that the children of labourers born on this plantation were obliged to continue there and eventually join the workforce. He also protested against the unsatisfactory living and working conditions for "serviçais". See Alberto Correia. *A Exploração do Indígena no Districto de Mossamedes.* Liv.Typografia Mondego, Loanda: 1911.
[309] Joseph Burtt to William Cadbury June 12th 1906. In Catherine Higgs Op. cit 2012, p.90.
[310] The part relating to Burtt's stay with the Boer settlers was excised from Burtt's Report.
[311] Nevinson's diary reveals that in June 1910, a cocoa dealer named Bond, with whom he spoke, expressed the view that **Cadbury's had not declared the boycott "till the Accra plantations were ready".** He also alleged that Fry's had made a big purchase of São Tomé cacao the very day before the boycott had been declared. See Nevinson's Diary. June 3rd 1910. Bodleian MSS. Eng. misc. c. 496-7, d. 663, e. 610-28 and Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit. 2005, p.147. (my bold)

makers had procrastinated for commercial reasons in their efforts to put an end to "slavery" in São Tomé.

In view of the lack of urgency which presided over Burtt's arrangements, doubts inevitably arise as to whether or not he was following unwritten instructions regarding how long he ought to spend in Africa before delivering his report.[312] Whatever the truth of the matter may be, it is impossible, in retrospect, to ignore the fact that the whole expedition, had it been carefully planned, could have been carried out, quite thoroughly, in half the time. Keeping in mind the seriousness of the accusations which had been made public by Nevinson and the suffering which was alleged to exist, the conclusion is inescapable that Burtt, whose honesty and humanitarian instincts have never been questioned, was in no hurry to return to Britain and, moreover, took advantage of his stay in Africa to undertake a series of visits which were of dubious relevance to the urgent matter in hand. This could only have taken place with William Cadbury's knowledge and prior consent. [313]

By the end of May, Burtt had finally succeeded in arranging for bearers for his expedition from Benguela to Kavungu on the eastern border of Angola, which was now planned for mid-July. The additional delay gave him time to travel by steamer to Ambrizette in the far north of the province, where he stayed at the missionary station of the faith-healer Matthew Stober, which had been set up in 1903. Stober, who had visited Bournville on more than one occasion to press for action against the contract labour system, had written to William Cadbury in February 1906 to denounce the fact that labour "recruitment" was taking place on his own doorstep and, as at other stations, "mission boys" or domestic servants were sometimes forced to join the caravans.[314]

Burtt also took advantage of the relative proximity to visit Stober's first mission station at Cabinda, the Portuguese enclave to the north of the River Congo. Like the Krooboys

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[312] However, Burtt testified at the Cadbury Bros. v. *Standard* trial that his instructions were to undertake a fair and thorough study and that he had never felt that William Cadbury wanted him to delay his report. See Lowell J. Satre Op. cit. 2005, pp. 168-169.

[313] Kevin Grant is of the opinion that Cadbury Bros. deliberately delayed the boycott until alternative sources of quality cacao had been confirmed. See Kevin Grant. *A Civilised Savagery. Britain and the New Slaveries in Africa, 1884-1926* Routledge, London: 2005, especially pp. 123-134.

[314] Matthew Stober to William Cadbury. February 22nd 1906. CP 5/12. Stober was aware of Burtt's investigations and his letter he reveals his distrust of Cadbury's dilatory strategy: "[…] May Heaven have mercy upon and forgive those who are protracting and making more difficult […] the speedy end […] of the sorrow in this land […]" Quoted in Catherine Higgs. Op.cit 2012, p.91.

from British West Africa, Cabindans were employed on the steamers which plied their trade along the west coast, whilst others volunteered for the cocoa islands on one or two-year contracts. Burtt wrote to Cadbury commending the arrangement, which had been negotiated with the local authorities, whilst confirming the assessment he had first heard from the estate managers in São Tomé that Cabindans belonged to a "superior race of negroes."[315]

On returning to Luanda to welcome Dr. W. Claude Horton, the physician who had been contracted by William Cadbury to accompany him on the expedition [316] Burtt took advantage of his stay to pay his compliments to the Governor-General, Eduardo Costa, who turned out to be somewhat formal and non-committal, but agreed to meet with Burtt again on his return from the interior. [317] At the beginning of July, Burtt and Horton travelled down to Benguela by steamer to begin preparations for their journey inland. There, Burtt was able to exchange views with the American missionaries Fay and Stover who prudently expressed their views on labour recruitment and gave him advice on the route and the supplies he would require.[318] Accompanied by his companion Horton and his servant, George, together with fifty African bearers, he left Benguela on July 27th 1906 to follow the ancient caravan trail through Bailundo, Bié and Moxico to the eastern border of Angola. Along the route the party would enjoy the hospitality of Protestant

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[315] Joseph Burtt to William Cadbury June 26th 1906. Quoted by Catherine Higgs. Idem, p.92. Francisco Mantero expressed the same views of Cabindan labourers in his work *Manual Labour in São Thomé,* published in 1910. Burtt also affirms in his report that in general terms he was satisfied that Cabindans "enter voluntarily into the contract, and are duly repatriated" See Appendix A in William Cadbury. Op.cit 1910, p.129.

[316] Horton was between jobs and had allocated six to eight months for the trip, planning to return to Britain in February 1907 to take up a new position at Brighton Children's Hospital. Idem, pp.94 and 96.

[317] Eduardo Ferreira da Costa (1865-1907) served as Interim Governor of Angola from 1903 to 1904 and as Governor-General between 1906 and 1907. Burtt had an introduction from Baron Carl de Merck, the Lisbon banker who corresponded with Cadbury on the contract labour question and was a witness for the plaintiff at the Cadbury v.The *Standard* Trial.

[318] William Fay (ABCFM-Congregational), who was stationed at Bailundo with Wesley Stover, had been in Angola since 1882. The two missionaries had come under the suspicion of the Portuguese authorities at the time of the Bailundo uprising in 1902, so his comments on the use of slaves in the Ovimbundu-led caravans which passed the mission station on their way to the coast were necessarily cautious, but according to Burtt, Fay asked him to tell Cadbury that as far as he was concerned "cocoa was blood". On the other hand, **Fay was complimentary regarding the attitude of most Portuguese settlers towards the Africans, expressing the view that Englishmen would probably behave in a more racist fashion**. In Burtt to Cadbury July 6th 1906. James Duffy Papers. Quoted in Catherine Higgs. Op.cit, 2012, p.95.(my bold)

missionaries and Portuguese colonial officials, finally reaching Kavungu and the River Zambezi at the beginning of October.[319]

At Bailundo, where he met Fay and Stover once again, Burtt was told that despite the fact that the rebellion of the Ovimbundu people was still fresh in the minds of both the local traders and the indigenous population, the measures put into place by Massano de Amorim had left no lasting effect and trafficking of captive bearers had been resumed. The caravans were smaller, however, and there was a conscious attempt by "pombeiros" to disguise the fact that some of the bearers were "redeemed" slaves destined for the cocoa islands. [320]

Burtt's path crossed with one such caravan near Bié, taking rubber to the coast, and his own bearers identified twenty-five of its members, scattered along the length of the winding single file, as slaves. He wrote to Cadbury that they were "conspicuously different" in appearance from the healthy, well-fed, free members of the caravan and reminded him of the new arrivals he had seen in Príncipe. [321] He describes the encounter in his report:

> […] Interspersed among the Bihéans were lean men with bent knees, who tottered under their loads. The breasts of many of them were covered with light-covered scars, for, having little clothing, they lie very close to the camp fires, and thus get burnt during cold nights on these African highlands. I have seen freshly imported servicaes at Príncipe in much the same condition as these emaciated carriers.[322]

The party reached the Brethren mission station at Ochilunda twenty five days after leaving Benguela. By then Burtt was unable to walk and was being carried in a hammock by two of the men. But there were worse problems to solve. On arriving at the station most of the party refused to go any further and Burtt had to try to recruit fresh bearers from the villages further east. The nine days spent there waiting to resume the expedition gave him time him to hear the missionaries' accounts of how Africans became enslaved. Their

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[319] Kavungu was also known as Niacatoro (Nyakatoro) or Nana Kandungo at the time. The distance between Benguela and Kavungu is about 1200 kms or 750 miles. In her recent book Catherine Higgs reveals Burtt's sketch map of his route which is kept in the James Duffy Papers. Interestingly, Burtt has indicated on the map the place which Nevinson reached - longitude 20º east - just beyond Moxico. Idem, p.99.
[320] Burtt is complimentary in his report about Amorim's purge, which he calls "an honest enquiry" and writes that "twenty or thirty officials and traders were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment." See *Appendix A*. *Captain Amorim's reforms.*William Cadbury Op.cit 1910, p.126.
[321] Joseph Burtt to William Cadbury August 29th 1906. Quoted by Catherine Higgs, Idem, p.102.
[322] From *Appendix A. Report of Joseph Burtt and Dr. Horton, 1907*. In William Cadbury Op.cit.1910, p.120.

explanations confirmed Chatelain's earlier accounts of how ancient debts, some invented for the purpose, were redeemed by the enslaving of family members, sometimes long after the debtor's death. [323] Burtt also learned, to his dismay, that the commanding officer of the local fort took a cut of the fines he applied in his arbitration of African disputes.[324]

Despite managing to recruit only half as many bearers as those they had set out with from Benguela, Burtt decided to forge ahead due to the proximity of the rainy season, and three days later they crossed the Cuanza River and entered the so-called "Hungry Country".[325] Marching up to twenty miles a day under the hot sun, it took 15 days to complete the trek across the thinly-inhabited region to the Brethren missionary station at Cinjamba, near Moxico, where Nevinson had ended his journey a year earlier. Along the way they came across much evidence of coercion:

> We passed large numbers of wooden shackles by the roadside and hanging on trees […] we continued to see shackles for many days along the route. […] A man whom we met, recently found corpses, still shackled together at a place in the Quanza district, two day's journey from our road.[326]

The missionaries at Cinjamba were eager to offer their stories of the slave trade but despite the shackles along the route, Horton later confessed his frustration in a letter to Cadbury, having found it: "[…] **extremely difficult to get any first-hand evidence** of the actual conditions […] though there can be no doubt that it is simply slavery under another name".[327]

The final part of the journey fortunately presented less of a challenge, despite the fact that the rainy season had begun, and they were able to trade with the local people along the way, happily reinforcing their otherwise meagre diet. On October 4th the party reached its final destination, the Plymouth Brethren station run by the Swiss missionary Fritz Schindler, which was situated near the Portuguese fort at Kavungu.

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[323] See Chapter 4.1 of this dissertation.
[324] Catherine Higgs Op.cit. 2012, p.104. Nothing had changed since the 1890's when the missionary Héli Chatelain had explained the ancient cultural mechanisms which were behind Angolan indigenous slavery. See Chapter 4.1.of this dissertation.
[325] With fewer bearers they had to reduce the loads and Burtt decided to send George, his servant, back to the coast.
[326] In *Appendix A*. William Cadbury Op.cit 1910, p.121. *The Quanza; Further Evidence of Compulsion.*
[327] W. Claude Horton to William Cadbury. September 17th, 1906. CP 5/29. Quoted by Catherine Higgs, Op.cit 2012, p.108. (my bold)

Schindler was critical of the behaviour of the commander, whom he accused of owning slaves. [328] He told Burtt he had identified three local slave traders, one of whom had recently organised a caravan of fifty captives destined for the west coast, [329] and that further north, on the Portuguese side of the border, there were another six trading posts which traded freely with Batetela "revoltés", many allegedly cannibals, who had deserted from the army of the Congo Free State and now supplied the caravans with captive bearers for the march to the coast.[330]

While Burtt and Horton were trekking across Angola, significant developments had taken place in Britain. Not the least of them, Consul Nightingale's report had finally been received at the Foreign Office and communicated in a censored form to the Aborigine´s Protection Society.[331] Though highly critical of the lack of repatriation and the practice of forced recruitment in Angola, the report was complimentary regarding the treatment of the labourers on the cocoa islands. Despite its mixed conclusions, Fox Bourne of the Aborigines Protection Society was of the view that it confirmed Nevinson's allegations and demanded immediate action on the part of the Government. The Foreign Office, however, decided to stick to its policy of successive deferment and discreet diplomacy. [332]

Soveral would only receive a copy of the report in mid-January 1907.

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[328] A fact he had managed to hide during Amorim's enquiry.

[329] Joseph Burtt to William Cadbury. December 18th 1906. James Duffy Papers. Quoted in Catherine Higgs Op.cit. 2012, p. 110.

[330] Also known as "Vallessi" or "Tambeshi". See Jean-Luc Vellut. "Rural Poverty in Western Shaba c.1890-1930". In Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons (Eds.). *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa*. Heinemann, London:1977, p.295. Burtt affirms in his report that the rebels had been joined by "various outlaws and malcontents" and estimates that they numbered about five hundred. See *Appendix A*. William Cadbury. Op.cit. 1910, p.123.

[331] The Foreign Office had decided, in principle, to preclude any open discussion of the question until 1908 when the repatriation would begin of labourers contracted under the 1903 law. This would allow plenty of time for negotiations with Portugal on Mozambican labour for the Transvaal gold mines.

[332] After reading Nightingale's report Sir Edward Grey added the comment "No representations should be made to the Portuguese at present." FO367/17, 28370/06. Minute by Grey n.d. [August 20th1906?].
On January 17th 1907, Soveral wrote a note to Foreign Minister Luís de Magalhães to accompany Nightingale's report, drawing attention to what he saw as the positive attitude of the British Government in the affair: **"**Aproveito a ocasião da partida para Lisboa do conselheiro desta Legação Sr. Câmara Manoel para requerer a V. Ex.a, por via segura, o relatório que me foi confiado, do Sr. Nigshugate, [sic -Nightingale] cônsul de Inglaterra no Congo e que visitou a ilha de S. Tomé em missão confidencial do Governo Inglês. Como V. Ex.a verá pela carta de Sir Edward Grey, este documento é absolutamente secreto e **o fim da sua comunicação tem só por objecto mostrar a perfeita correcção e lealdade com que este Governo deseja proceder connosco.**" In Aniceto Afonso and Vitor Vladimiro. "A Correspondência Oficial da Legação Portuguesa em Londres 1900-1914" *Análise Social* vol. XVIII (72, 73, 74) 1982-3. Footnotes, pp.711-739. (my bold)

In the meanwhile, on October 26th 1906, George Cadbury and his nephew William Cadbury were received at the Foreign Office by Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey and Sir Eric Barrington of the African Dept., to whom they communicated the gist of Joseph Burtt's letters from Angola and expressed their willingness to "make some sacrifice in the interest of the natives".[333] Grey urged them to wait for Burtt's report, which would then be expurgated by the FO of any potentially offensive matter and submitted to the Portuguese Government, advising that no public steps should be taken before a response had been received from Lisbon and posterior negotiations had been undertaken. [334] The FO, he added, would assure the Portuguese Government of their willingness to persuade Cadbury Bros. not to publish the Burtt report, provided positive measures were taken. That same day George Cadbury wrote to Grey, agreeing with the proposal.[335]

By then Joseph Burtt and Claude Horton had left Kavungu, armed with what they considered more-than-adequate evidence of slave raiding along the frontier with the Congo Free State and Northern Rhodesia. They had made their way back to Bihé along the same route and then turned north, making a brief stop at the Methodist mission station at Pungo N'dongo, before boarding a train at nearby Lucalla and arriving at Luanda on December 7th, 1906. A week later Burtt and Horton visited a steamer anchored in the port of Luanda, carrying "serviçais" destined for São Tomé. On the ship, with the help of an interpreter, they were able to talk to three men from the Quillengues region [336] who told them they had been forcibly recruited for the cocoa islands in Benguela.

At the meeting with the Governor-General to report on their findings, [337] Eduardo Costa admitted that the system had its failings and Burtt wrote that he seemed intent upon improving the situation, but doubted that he would be capable of taking any action against

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[333] The meeting had taken place at George Cadbury's request. George Cadbury to Sir Edward Grey. October 27th 1906. FO 367/18, 36737.

[334] William Cadbury wrote to E.D.Morel on November 12th 1906 telling him of the meeting: "I am not sure if I told you that Sir Edward Grey met my uncle George and myself, and promised to take Burtt's report when it arrives as first-rate evidence and make a direct representation to the Portuguese government through their Minister. I do not know if we can expect him to do more, and **he asked us to make no public protest on the subject until he has had his chance**." See CP 180/744-844. (1904-09). (my bold)

[335] George Cadbury to Sir Edward Grey. October 27th 1906. CP Ms 5/39. See Grant Op.cit, 2005 p.126 and the testimony of Sir Edward Grey in the Standard Libel case, as reported in *The Times* of December 1st 1909, p.4. At the trial William Cadbury stated under questioning that "[they] had decided to give the Government six-months grace and then publish Burtt's report."

[336] Now Kilenjes.

[337] On December 22nd 1906.

slavery "on his own account". [338] In any event, Costa's two-year term of office would come to an end only a week later, effectively passing on any responsibility for the situation to his successor Paiva Couceiro.[339]

Responding to William Cadbury's request that he should not delay his "outline report and summing up" [340] and complying with the suggestion that Horton should take it with him on his return to Britain, Burtt managed to complete the twenty-two page draft report on Christmas Eve 1906, two days before Horton left for home.[341] Now alone, Burtt visited Benguela and Moçamedes for the last time, and then sailed on round the Cape to Delagoa Bay,[342] with the declared aim of studying contract-labour recruitment in Mozambique. [343] After spending two weeks in Lourenço Marques, where he met the Governor-General, Freire de Andrade, with whom he was profoundly impressed, he visited Johannesburg and Pretoria, where he spoke to government officers and local administrators, [344] and returned home via the Suez Canal, arriving on April 13th 1907.[345]

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[338] Joseph Burtt to William Cadbury. December 18th 1906. James Duffy Papers. See Catherine Higgs, Op.cit 2012, p.113. Eduardo Costa had also been interim Governor of Angola in 1903-4.

[339] Ernesto Gomes da Sousa served as interim Governor for a short period until the arrival in June 1907 of the new Governor-General, Henrique Mitchell de Paiva Couceiro [in time for the royal visit]. Paiva Couceiro would remain in office until June 1909.

[340] William Cadbury to Joseph Burtt. October 19th 1906. (Dispatched to Benguela.) James Duffy Papers. Idem, p.112.

[341] Joseph Burtt. *Report on the Conditions of Coloured Labour employed in the Cocoa Plantations of Sao Tomé and Prince and the methods of procuring it in Angola.* Dated Loanda, 24th December 1906. FO 367/46, 28725 with a confidential supplement. Original version, not published. His report in draft form had been sent to Cadbury's who had made it available to cooperating chocolate manufacturers and to the FO on March 15th 1907. See William Cadbury to Sir Edward Grey. FO 367/46 no.8897.

[342] Now Baia de Maputo.

[343] Burtt was complimentary about the Mozambican contract labour system: "[…] and was struck by the conditions of labour there obtaining, as contrasted with the west coast. Not only were the natives eager to volunteer for work in the Transvaal mines, but I saw them returning to their homes when the period for which they had been indentured expired. From all sides I heard of the free and contented lot of the native in that colony.[…]" William Cadbury Op.cit. 1910. Appendix A, p.128. See also Burtt's article "Slave Labour on Cocoa Plantations" in the *Contemporary Review* no. 96 on June 22nd 1909, especially p.473.

[344] Burtt met Lord Selbourne, the High Commissioner for South Africa; Sir Godfrey Lagden, Commissioner for Native Affairs in the Transvaal; British Consuls at Lourenço Marques, Luanda and Beira; the Chairman of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association and sundry other minor officials and religious leaders. Clearly, he was convinced by the British view of the question.

[345] At the Cadbury Bros.v.The *Standard* libel trial in December 1909, William Cadbury testified that the cost of the Burtt expedition had been £2819 [over £300,000 at today's value], and they had paid Burtt another £500 afterwards. The same day Burtt arrived back in England, *The Spectator* published a letter from Travers Buxton of the Anti-Slavery Society entitled "The Abolition of the Slave Trade", to commemorate the centenary of the Anti-Slavery Law which was approved in Parliament on March 25th 1807. Buxton refers specifically to the Congo and to São Tomé and Príncipe which he calls "hardly less shocking" but also criticises the trade on the coastal strip of the British East African Protectorate "where the necessary reform has not been carried out". *The Spectator* April 13th 1907, p.571.

Joseph Burtt had been away from Britain for almost two years in all, an unjustifiably lengthy absence in view of the gravity and importance of his enquiries, even at a time when overland travel was so arduous and ocean journeys so time-consuming. His report would be communicated by the F.O to the Portuguese authorities in a truncated and censured version in October 1907,[346] but only made public in Britain a year later. As Burtt had refused to allow the report to reveal the names of his informants and there was a "general failure to give chapter and verse" which inevitably lessened its value, the African section of the FO was of the view that it would do little damage to the contract labour system, as "extraordinarily bad "and "indistinguishable from slavery", as they judged it to be.[347]

Burtt's Report diverged little from Nevinson's findings. Contrasting with the favourable tone and content of his early letters from the islands, it concluded:

> […] I am satisfied that under the serviçal system, as it exists at present, thousands of black men and women are, against their will, and often in circumstances of great cruelty, taken away every year from their homes and transported across the sea to work on unhealthy islands, from which they never return, If this is not slavery I know of no word in the English language which correctly characterizes it.[348]

Armed with the Burtt Report, William Cadbury and Joseph Burtt travelled to Lisbon in late November 1907 for meetings with Ayres d'Ornellas, the Minister for the Overseas Territories, and with a deputation appointed by the São Tomé planters. On November 28th, at an eight-hour meeting at the Centro Colonial, Cadbury and Burtt presented the Report to the planters' representatives, with Alfredo Henrique da Silva acting as interpreter. [349] Despite presenting a public façade of indignation and protesting vigorously

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[346] "[…]in October a Portuguese translation of the revised report along with an English version was sent to the Legation in London for communication to the Portuguese Government and Villiers was instructed to emphasise that unless circumstances had altered since Burtt's visit in 1906 or the Portuguese intended **"to remedy without delay"** any abuses which had come to their attention, particularly with regard to the system of labour recruitment, the inevitable result of the publication of the report would be **"an agitation which cannot but prove to be embarrassing both to His Majesty's Government and the Portuguese Government"** Glyn Stone. Op.cit.2009, p.173, referring to Sir Edward Grey to Villiers, October 17th 1907. FO 367/46, 33573/07. (quotations from Grey´s note in bold). According to Catherine Higgs, Burtt had travelled to Oporto in July to get his report translated into Portuguese by Alfredo Henrique da Silva.

[347] See Glyn Stone. Op.cit 2009 p.173, quoting Lyell (F.O.) to Henry Beaumont, Chargé d'Affaires at Lisbon, September 2nd 1907. FO367/46, 29406/07

[348] Reproduced in William A. Cadbury. *Labour in Portuguese West Africa.* George Routledge and Sons. London: 1910. *Appendix A. Report of Joseph Burtt and Dr. Horton*, pp.130-131.

[349] Cadbury's report is held by the library of the Lisbon Geographical Society. BSGL Cx 136-60 and Cx 60-53, and his statement to the planters is now online at AHS: PT-AHS-ICS-AHSilva-ESC-SER-1-06.pdf.

against many of the allegations contained in Burtt's report, particularly those alleging cruel treatment of the labourers - which Burtt later withdrew - the planters expressed a readiness to consider certain significant concessions.[350]

Further reinforcing the atmosphere of détente, Ayres d'Ornellas later told William Cadbury that he intended to make a thorough investigation of the whole labour question in Angola and planned to replace the present "irresponsible" recruiting agents with a proper Government supervised system, "as far as possible on the lines employed with success in Mozambique". He added that the revised system of recruiting "would serve as a means of repatriation and make it practicable for the native to return to his home in the interior".[351] Ornellas impressed Cadbury as "man honestly determined on reform",[352] and he left for home in a spirit of optimism, bearing the promise that Francisco Paula Cid, Ornellas' Chief of Staff, would be sent out to Africa to investigate and to draw up a report on labour recruitment.[353]

On December 10th William Cadbury wrote to Francisco Mantero in the following glowing terms:

> "We are very thankful to see that substantial measures of reform are now in hand that we hope will remove the serious difficulties of the past and assure you of our best thanks for your share in this action.We shall within the next week make a public statement to the Press in England, we hope will do credit to the action that the Colonial Minister and you, as estate proprietors, have recently taken."[354]

See also "O Cacau em S. Thomé. Os agricultores da ilha e os industriais inglezes. O resultado da conferencia." *O Século* December 3rd 1907, p.1 and "O Cacau de S.Thomé. A resposta dos agricultores aos industriais inglezes. A reunião no banco Ultramarino." *O Século* December 5th 1907, p.1.
The Planters' Committee had previously drawn up a reply to the Burtt report: *O Cacau de São Thomé. Resposta dos Agricultores da provincia de S. Thomé e Principe ao relatorio do inquerito mandado fazer pelos industriais ingleses MM Cadbury, Fry Rowntree e Stilwerk* [sic] *sobre as condições do trabalho nas colonias portuguezas,* Typ. A Editora, Lisboa: 1907, with an English translation : *S.Thome cocoa; the reply of the planters of S.Thome and Principe to the report on the enquiry made by Cadbury, Fry, Rowntree and Stollwerck as to the conditions of native labour in the Portuguese colonies.* CP /259/1, 1907.

[350] For instance, the Planters' Committee agreed to the Repatriation Fund being transferred to the Banco Ultramarino in São Tomé, from December 31st 1907, under Government supervision. Each repatriated labourer would, in principle, receive approximately £18 on his arrival in Angola. Burtt's retraction is now available online at the Arquivo de História Social : PT-AHS-ICS-AHSilva-ESC-SER-6-B.

[351] See Glyn Stone Op.cit 2012, p.173. [Stone, however, refers mistakenly to "George" Cadbury]

[352] Three months later, however, Ornellas would be left out of the new Ferreira do Amaral Government, described as "de Acalmação", which was appointed by the new King, D. Manuel II, after the assassination of the previous sovereign, D. Carlos I and the heir to the throne, D. Luiz Filippe. Ornellas' successor as Minister for the Colonies ("Marinha e Ultramar") was Admiral Augusto de Castilho.

[353] Appointed January 7th 1907. See William Cadbury Op.cit 1910, pp.7 and 148.

[354] Reproduced in Francisco Mantero. Op.cit. 1910, p.173.

Cadbury kept his word. On December 16th 1907, a press release was sent out to the principal British newspapers underlining the positive nature of the projected reforms and in its first edition after Cadbury's presentation of the Burtt Report to the planters, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* published the letter its Organising Secretary, Travers Buxton, had sent to the Portuguese legation in London, celebrating what was clearly seen as a watershed in their campaign: *"*[…] I am desired by the Committee of the Society to express to you the gratification with which they have learned that the Portuguese Government is intending to make a thorough investigation of the whole system with a view to removing its attendant evils and putting it on a more satisfactory basis." [355]

Even the Foreign Office seemed to be optimistic that the issue might now be conveniently shelved. Responding to a question in Parliament put by Sir Clement Hill, a former Head of the African Section at the FO and now a Liberal MP, Winston Churchill, the Colonial secretary, emphasised Portugal's good intentions and the plans to place "the recruitment of labourers for the plantations entirely and permanently under the control of Portuguese officials" and to make provision for repatriation.[356]

One of the side effects of these announcements was to ease public pressure on Cadbury's and their fellow chocolate-makers,[357] a situation which became even more apparent from the beginning of February 1908 after the assassination of the King of Portugal and the heir to the throne. [358] The shock of the event, followed by the accession to the throne of

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[355] In "Slave Labour in Portuguese West Africa." *The Anti-Slavery Reporter,* Jan-Feb 1908, pp. 11-12.
[356] See Hansard, 4th series, House of Commons, vol. 183, c. 1408 and Glyn Stone, Op.cit 2009, p.174.
[357] With the exception of the intransigent Fox-Bourne of the Aborigines' Protection Society, who decided to publish an article in the February 1908 edition of the *Aborigines' Friend* entitled "Central African Slave Traffic", which suggested that as the British Government had so far been unable to achieve improvements, it was now the responsibility of the chocolate makers to bring about change by introducing a boycott on Portuguese cocoa. Cadbury was furious and cut off relations with the APS in a letter dated February 8th 1908. See CP 180/3-118.
[358] The King and his eldest son were assassinated together in Lisbon on February 1st 1908, shortly after the failed republican coup of January 28th. The British Minister Villiers wrote to the FO on May 20th 1909 explaining the reasons for the demise of the Monarchy: "The causes that led to the plot of January [1908] are not far to seek. The country had been misgoverned […] the finances had been carelessly administered and squandered […] Little heed was paid to developing the resources of the country or the colonies, obstacles in the shape of monopolies and privileges constantly barring the way[...] 40 per cent of cultivable land was out of cultivation, in the towns poverty of the most abject kind was to be found, crying reforms were postponed or altogether neglected, nearly 80 per cent of the population were illiterate, justice was difficult to obtain and the habitual manipulation of the constituencies according to successive party requirements made the representation of the people a mere farce." Sir Francis Villiers to Grey, May 20th 1909, FO 371/723. See J. D. Vincent-Smith. Op.cit.1975, p.709.
In December 1911 a census was carried out which concluded that 80% of the population of nearly 6 million worked on the land, whilst 75% of the total population was illiterate. (my bold)

D. Manuel, the subsequent dismissal of the Franco Government and the formation of a broader-based cabinet under Admiral Ferreira do Amaral, would lead to a temporary lull in the British campaign.[359]

Notwithstanding Paula Cid's promised investigation, Cadbury was clearly keeping his options open, for on 26th March he wrote to E.D.Morel asking him to write favourably in the *African Mail* on the prospects of cacao production in British West Africa.[360] Shortly afterwards the two Anti-Slavery Societies held their Annual General Meetings and despite Nevinson's pleas for a boycott and their unmitigated condemnation of the contract-labour system, it was decided that, in view of recent events and the delicacy of the situation in Portugal, it would be wiser for the time being to exercise patience and await developments.

At this point it appears that Cadbury was still prepared to confide in the assurances of the new Government and the planters' promises of reform, and was disposed to wait for Paula Cid's promised enquiry and subsequent report. In a letter to the journalist Richard Mudie-Smith, written towards the end of April 1908, he defined his thinking on the affair:

> […] we think that if future years should prove that the fair promise made to us in good faith by the Portuguese are not followed by action in Africa, we may have to consider whether it is not our duty to break friendship with those who prove themselves not worthy of our trust, but we consider that the Portuguese should be treated as honourable men in such a matter […][361]

And two days later he wrote again to Mudie-Smith arguing that it was not the time to publish the Burtt report: "[…] we do not consider that at the present time, when the

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[359] "O novo monarca demitiu-o [Joao Franco] rapidamente, tendo nomeado um novo gabinete, de concentração partidária, no dia 4, que ficou conhecido como governo de "Acalmação", chefiado por Ferreira do Amaral, com o propósito de serenar os ânimos e de repor a normalidade constitucional. Foi reintroduzida a liberdade de imprensa, tendo reaparecido diversos jornais suspensos, libertados dirigentes republicanos e decretada uma amnistia aos marinheiros implicados nas revoltas de 8 e 13 de Abril de 1906." From Jorge Couto's preface in "*Catalogação na publicação 1908: do Regicídio à ascensão do Republicanismo : mostra bibliográfica*". Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisboa : 2008.
D. Manuel II would have little influence over the administration of the African colonies, however, partly because there were no fewer than five Ministers of the Colonies during his 32 month reign.

[360] William Cadbury to E.D.Morel. March 26th 1908. CP Ms.180/776. This was shortly after William Leslie's favourable report on the prospects of cocoa production on the Gold Coast.

[361] William Cadbury to Richard Mudie-Smith. April 22nd 1908. *Correspondence between Richard Mudie Smith* (1877-1916) *and Cadbury Bros. on forced labour in Angola, San Thomé and Príncipe.* (Coll. Misc. 0851) British Library of Political and Economic Science, LSE. Mudie-Smith was a journalist on the staff of George Cadbury's *Daily News* until 1906. In 1907 he joined the staff of the *Nation*, returning to the *Daily News* between 1910 and 1912.

Portuguese have given us definite promises of reform, the best way to help the matter is to spread bad feeling." [362] Cadbury's views on the matter seem to have changed very quickly, however. This was due, at least in part, to the return of the matter to Parliament, less than two months later, a situation which was particularly embarrassing to the chocolate-makers, as questions were raised by members of their own Liberal party which they financed and looked to for support.[363] Even the patience of their erstwhile supporters was running out.

Persisting with his policy of systematic deferment, Sir Edward Grey did his best to defuse the situation by reminding the House that " […] anyone who reflects on the internal troubles of Portugal will realise that the time has not been a fortunate one for undertaking reforms in Portuguese territory", adding that a special commissioner had been appointed by the Portuguese Government to investigate the matter and that the Burtt Report, albeit not an "official report", had been communicated to the Foreign Office, which "had been in communication with the Portuguese Government." [364]

William Cadbury, however, finally appears to have reached the conclusion that decisive action needed to be taken to silence the mounting chorus of reproval. In a letter dated July 6th 1908, he warned the planters that public opinion in Britain was running high and that they might be obliged to cease buying Portuguese cocoa unless drastic measures were taken. [365] Two days later, the planters replied that they were unable to yield to all of the chocolate makers' demands [366] and, in view of their response, Cadbury, who had already decided he had no alternative but to see the conditions for himself, began to make preparations to leave with Joseph Burtt for Africa.

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[362] Idem. April 24th 1908. [The letter is accompanied by a copy of the "Chronicle of the London Missionary Society"; The Burtt Report; and "Meeting of the African Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, on «Slavery in Angola»" 20/9/1907]

[363] *The Times* of June 18th 1908 p.8 reported on the previous day's debate in the Commons under the heading "Labour on Cocoa Plantations". For a full report see Hansard. 4th series, House of Commons debate. June 17th 1908. vol. 190, cc. 1033-4. Cadbury may also have been influenced by the signs that the Congo campaign had apparently achieved its aims and that the annexation of the Congo Free State by Belgium was imminent, which would release public attention to focus on the "Portuguese Slavery" issue.

[364] News of the debate quickly appeared in the Portuguese press and the Lisbon daily *O Século* published a report on the debate under the heading "*A questão dos servicaes no Parlamento inglez. Varios deputados voltam a falar de "escravatura" nas roças de S.Tomé."O Século* June 20th 1908, p.2.

[365] Sir Edward Grey, by this time, had begun to suspect that Cadbury's motives were, at least in part, of a commercial nature. Minute by Grey dated July 13th 1908 on Villiers to Grey, July 4th 1908. FO 367/86, 24110/08. Cited by Glyn Stone. Op.cit. 2009, p.174.

[366] Which included compulsory repatriation at the end of each contract.

There can be no doubt that, at this point, it would have been far easier for the chocolate makers to proceed with a boycott without further delay, had they not wished to be seen, both at home and abroad, as acting in the best of faith. In fact, as Iolo Williams wrote many years later, Cadbury Bros.' mind was already made up, as they made clear in a press release before their departure:

> […] W.A. Cadbury and Joseph Burtt were going out to Africa to make a final investigation and report, the result of which would be a complete boycott of the produce of the Portuguese Colonies, unless the promise of the Portuguese Government of the previous year had been entirely fulfilled.[367]

In the meanwhile, on September 9th 1908, the Belgian Senate enacted the final legislation which led to the annexation of Leopold II's Congo Free State. [368] The obstacle which had prevented Morel and Cadbury from cooperating more closely in public had been removed. From then on Morel would become an active and outspoken ally in the "Portuguese slave-grown cocoa" campaign, principally through his paper the *African Mail,* which by then was being almost entirely financed by William Cadbury.



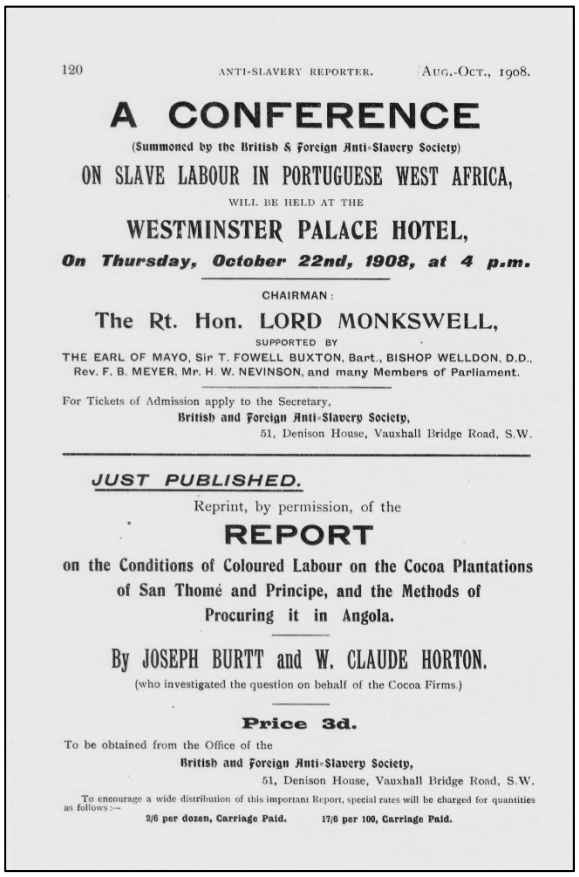
Figure 1.6 E. D.Morel. Photo by Elliot and Fry c.1906.

William Cadbury and Joseph Burtt set off on their fact-finding tour of West Africa on October 7th 1908. On the following day, restrictions on publication of the Burtt Report

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[367] Iolo Williams. Op.cit. 1931, p.205. This was in September 1908.
[368] On November 14th 1908 Leopold II finally handed the Congo Free State over to Belgium in exchange for a financial settlement. Morel later wrote: "It expired amidst the execrations of Mankind, the only instance in History, I think in which «a sovereign and independent state» has been destroyed by the force of public opinion." See E.D.Morel *Red Rubber*. *The Story of the Rubber Trade flourishing on the Congo in the Year of Grace 1906*. T. Fisher Unwin, London: (1906) New and Revised edition 1919, p.199.
Leopold II died in December 1909.

having been lifted by Cadbury Bros., *The Times* published extensive excerpts under the heading "Native Labour in Portuguese Cocoa Plantations" [369] whilst the Anti-Slavery Society offered a threepenny edition of the Report for sale, with discounts and free postage for bulk orders. Quite clearly the Burtt Report had created an opportunity for the anti-slavery campaign which was too good to be missed. Shortly after the release of the Report and articles in the press on Cadbury and Burtt's departure for Africa, the Anti-Slavery Society advertised a Conference at the Westminster Palace Hotel on "Slave Labour in Portuguese West Africa", to be chaired by Lord Monkswell, the President of the Congo Reform Association. [370]



120 ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER. AUG.-OCT., 1908.

A CONFERENCE

(Summoned by the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society)

ON SLAVE LABOUR IN PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA,

WILL BE HELD AT THE

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL,

On Thursday, October 22nd, 1908, at 4 p.m.

CHAIRMAN:

The Rt. Hon. LORD MONKSWELL,

SUPPORTED BY

THE EARL OF MAYO, Sir T. FOWELL BUXTON, Bart., BISHOP WELLDON, D.D., Rev. F. B. MEYER, Mr. H. W. NEVINSON, and many Members of Parliament.

For Tickets of Admission apply to the Secretary,
British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
51, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.

JUST PUBLISHED.

Reprint, by permission, of the

REPORT

on the Conditions of Coloured Labour on the Cocoa Plantations of San Thomé and Principe, and the Methods of Procuring it in Angola.

By JOSEPH BURTT and W. CLAUDE HORTON.

(who investigated the question on behalf of the Cocoa Firms.)

Price 3d.

To be obtained from the Office of the
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To encourage a wide distribution of this important Report, special rates will be charged for quantities as follows:—

2/6 per dozen, Carriage Paid. 17/6 per 100, Carriage Paid.

Figure 1.7 Announcement of the Conference and the sale of the Burtt Report from the Aug/Oct 1908 issue of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

[369] "Native Labour in Portuguese Cocoa Plantations." *The Times* October 8th 1908. p.4. There were three main headings "Corporal Punishment on the Plantations" referring to the use of the "palmatoria and the chicotte"; "Compulsion in Angola" concerning enforced recruitment; and "General Conclusions", which ended with Burtt's final damning statement: " **if this is not slavery then I know of no other word in the English language which correctly characterizes it**." (my bold)

[370] See **Figure.1.7** *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for Aug/Oct 1908, p.120. The meeting took place on October 22nd 1908.

Possibly due to the short notice and relative lack of publicity, the meeting attracted a somewhat disappointing audience of only 60 to 70 people. Notwithstanding, the next issue of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* devoted most of its pages to the Conference and affirmed, perhaps optimistically, that it had "succeeded in arousing a large amount of interest in the subject." According to the Reporter, Henry Nevinson, the principal speaker, had made it clear that, in his view, the whole problem would be solved if "the planters would pay decent wages and would repatriate for certain without any humbug about it, at the end of two years", affirming in conclusion that it seemed to him that "we cannot possibly allow this abomination to continue any longer". [371]

Contrasting with Nevinson's impassioned presentation, Fox Bourne, the Organising Secretary of the Aborigine´s Protection Society, provided the audience with a lengthy history of the efforts of successive British Governments to end slavery in Portugal, going back as far as January 1815 and the Vienna Treaty which was intended to end the slave trade in the Portuguese possessions to the north of the Equator. He reminded those present of the generous British commitment to waive the remainder of the £600,000 loan which had been made to Portugal in 1809, together with an additional payment of £300,000, by way of compensation, as long as Portugal complied.[372] Emphasising that Portugal had signed the Brussels and Berlin Acts which confirmed all previous commitments on slavery, Fox Bourne advocated boarding ships to interview the steerage passengers and assess their knowledge of their destinations. Finally, however, revealing uncharacteristic tolerance, he conceded that some time should be given for the commissioner, Paula Cid, to report to the Portuguese Government and for subsequent measures to be put in place. [373]

William Cadbury and Joseph Burtt would spend two days on the island of Príncipe, nearly two weeks in São Tomé and another month and a half in Angola,[374] breaking their journey home to visit the small-holder plantations on the Gold Coast which had been identified

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[371] "Slave Labour in Portuguese West Africa." *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. Nov.-Dec. 1908, pp. 123-143.
[372] Amounting in real terms to the then colossal sum of £480,000. About £45 million today.
[373] Idem, p.132. Clearly, Cadbury Bros. would later ignore Fox Bourne's suggestion concerning Paula Cid's report.
[374] Cadbury and Burtt disembarked in Príncipe on October 22nd and in São Tomé on October 24th 1908. They were met by Francisco Marin, the new Vice-Consul, who was Francisco Mantero's nephew and the owner of the Ponta Furada plantation. William Cadbury noted in his diary that at that time an adult slave sold for around £16 in Benguella. See W.A. Cadbury. *Record of a Visit to West Africa 1908-1909.* CP 308.

by Cadbury's expert, William Leslie, earlier that year. [375] During this time the first token repatriation of a handful of "serviçais" took place and the Portuguese Government hastily reviewed the legislation which had been introduced earlier in the year. [376]

In the meanwhile, at Cadbury's secret behest, Charles A. Swan, who had spent twenty-three years there as a missionary, had departed for the interior of Angola to gather more information on the "slave-trade" at its source, principally from fellow missionaries.[377] Once again, Cadbury's were ready to loosen the strings of their apparently unlimited purse to obtain the right kind of ammunition for their campaign. Despite the evidence which had been provided by Henry Nevinson's exposé and the Burtt Report, Cadbury still felt that unassailable proof was required, ideally in the form of eye-witness testimony from reliable sources on the ground, if possible backed up by photographic evidence.

After their brief trip to the cocoa islands [378] Cadbury and Burtt, accompanied by the British Consul Horatio Mackie, were received at a formal meeting in Luanda by the Governor, Capt. Henrique de Paiva Couceiro.[379] In answer to Cadbury's allegations, Paiva Couceiro suggested that any irregularities in recruitment could be explained by a lack of effective occupation in the interior and promised that, were Cadbury and Burtt to uncover any form of slavery, he would do whatever was required to suppress it. To Cadbury's dismay, however, though giving him free reign to travel wherever he wished and authorisation to witness the procedure in the "Curadorias", Paiva Couceiro drew the line at facilitating access to the official documentation he requested, reminding him, however, that he had full access to published statistics. Although quite naturally reluctant

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[375] In November 1908 Cadbury Bros. bought a first batch of 137 sacks of cocoa from the Gold Coast.

[376] Fernandes Rego summarised the changes as follows: "O decreto de 31-12-1908 visava a questão do repatriamento, a organisação definitiva e superintendencia do cofre de deposito dos bonus destinados aos trabalhadores, augmentou o numero de circumscripções de postos medicos, impoz condições as novas installações para habitação dos indígenas, enfermarias e hospitaes e alem d'estas muitas outras disposições gerais." Antonio Augusto Fernandes Rego. *A mao d'obra nas colonias portuguezas d'Africa.* Typographia do Commercio Lisboa: 1910.

[377] See Chapter 4.5 of this dissertation. The journal of the Plymouth Brethren, *Echoes of Service,* was quick to clarify that Swan's expenses were not coming out of its supporters' contributions and that Swan believed his journey to Angola was a divine mission: "[…] Those who desire him to go offer to meet all his expenses, so that nothing given for work in Lisbon will be used in this journey. As the visit will afford valuable opportunities for service amongst both Portuguese and natives, and will also give our brother the joy of seeing and conferring with those with whom he was associated in service for many years, he regards the proposition as of the Lord, and will (D.V.) leave Lisbon for Lobito on October 1st." "Visit to Central Africa by Mr Swan." *Echoes of Service,* 37 (1908), p. 340.

[378] In fact Cadbury was keen to be viewed by those he met as a businessman and not a philanthropist. See William Cadbury to Arnold Rowntree. July 20th 1908. CP 7/71

[379] On November 19th 1908.

to provide his British interlocutors with official support and even less at ease to express his own views on the matter, Paiva Couceiro's account of his Governorship, which was first published in 1910, shows that, despite the repressed hostility he displayed at the meeting, he agreed, in essence, with the conclusions of Burtt's Report, and, moreover, advocated effective repatriation as the only way to create a flow of volunteer labourers:

> Note-se que somos os primeiros a entender, e a querer, que S. Tomé receba os braços necessários à manutenção da sua admirável florescência**.** A questáo é de forma, e a que existe não serve. **Res,** non **verba.** Poucas palavras, e um bom mapa de repatriados. Assim se satisfará a nossa consciência colectiva, assim se calarão os promotores tendenciosos, ou sinceros - pouco importa - da justiça internacional. De outra forma, não. Este é o caminho sério da dignidade e do respeito por si próprio.[380]

Either because they lacked the official support they required or because they trusted Swan's investigations to provide the necessary evidence of slave trafficking, Cadbury and Burtt chose to forego any plans they may have had to penetrate further into the interior, spending the next six weeks travelling up and down the Angolan coast and visiting the major ports, whilst attempting to gather as much information as they could on the contract- labour system.

On December 5th 1908, the day after he had learned that the first ten contract labourers ever repatriated had disembarked in Novo Redondo,[381] Cadbury met, in Benguela, with the Portuguese Government's special commissioner, Francisco de Paula Cid, who was undertaking the official enquiry that Ayres d'Ornellas had promised. [382] Paula Cid gave Cadbury a broad overview of his findings so far, which pointed towards the need for substantial reforms. [383] Though striking him as a "reasonable" man who was "well-

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[380] Henrique de Paiva Couceiro. *Angola. Dois Anos de Governo. (1907-1909). História e Comentários.* (1910) Edições Gama, Lisboa: 1948, p.258. (author´s bold). On August 5th 1911, Morel's *African Mail* pp. 433-4 published an excerpt from Paiva Couceiro's book concerning repatriation. **Cadbury clearly came away with a favourable impression of Paiva Couceiro, as his correspondence with Alfredo Henrique da Silva shows.** AHS-AHdaSilva Collection. PT-AHS-ICS-AHSilva-ESC-SER-6-A-04. (my bold)

[381] Cadbury was informed of the repatriation of the first "serviçais" by the "Curador" at Novo Redondo, where the steamer stopped off on its way down the coast.

[382] By then Ayres d'Ornellas had been replaced by Augusto de Castilho, who reversed his predecessor's policy of delegating authority to the Governors - General of the Colonies. See Richard J. Hammond, *Portugal and Africa. 1815-1910* Stanford Univ. Press, Stanford: 1966, pp. 279, 283-284, 289, 336-337.

[383] "[...] le délégué du Gouvernement se rencontre à Benguella avec M. CADBURY et lui donne, en toute franchise et loyauté, communication du projet de règlement qu'il avait intention de présenter." CCL. *Lettre de Protestation au M. Gobat, Secrétaire-Général de l'Office de la Paix.* November 20th 1912, p.8. Albert Gobat, a Swiss parliamentarian, and winner of the Nobel peace prize in 1902, was Secretary-General of the Bureau between 1911 and 1914. In his report on his visit to Angola, Cadbury writes: "At Benguella we had two interviews with Commander Paula Cid; he received us freely and with absence of ceremony […] he

qualified" for the task, Cadbury was dubious as to whether someone who had already served as Governor of both Benguela and São Tomé would be able to be impartial, [384] and, in any event, it is clear that, by then, he must have decided not to wait for the publication of Paula Cid's report and its possible repercussions, as only a month later he wrote on behalf of his firm to Fry's and Rowntree's advising them of his decision to stop buying Portuguese cacao.[385]

Paula Cid's report, advocating sweeping changes in Angola,[386] was delivered to the Portuguese Government at the end of March 1909. Sir Francis Villiers, the British Minister in Lisbon, advised the Foreign Office of its delivery on April 7th, which, in its turn, informed Cadbury Bros. of its reception on April 29th. [387] Clearly, there was no need for haste. It had come too late. On March 17th, 1909 a statement to the press had been issued by Cadbury's, Fry's and Rowntree's, to the effect that they would no longer buy São Tomé cocoa:

> […] These firms have come to the conclusion that the time has now arrived when they must mark, by definite action, their disappointment at the failure of the Portuguese Government to fulfil the pledges of reform, on the strength of which they agreed for a time to continue

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adds, however "One greatly regrets that the Portuguese Government has missed the opportunity of appointing a strong commission to make a searching enquiry […]" William Cadbury Op.cit. 1910 p.78. Though reserving his detailed findings for the Portuguese Government, Paula Cid authorised Cadbury to publish a brief statement, which read as follows: "He had, whilst Governor of S.Thomé, instituted regulations which had put on a satisfactory basis the contract systems for Cape Verde and Cabinda: **he desired to see a better system than that now regulating the supply of labour from Angola and should present in Lisbon definite recommendations on the subject**." Idem, p.80. (my bold)

[384] Francisco de Paula Cid served as Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe from December 14th 1903 to April 13th 1907.

[385] "It is quite clear that no efforts have been made by the planters or the Portuguese Government to retrieve their promise. The slave trade is in full force. **It is quite clear we shall have to cease buying cocoa, and we have in fact already done so.** We hope that you and Messrs. Rowntree will join with us in ceasing buying and bringing pressure on others to do the same." Cadbury Bros. to Fry's. Jan 12th 1909. CP 7/113. (my bold) See Higgs Op.Cit. 2012, p.147. According to Rufus Isaacs KC in his opening address on behalf of the plaintiffs in the Cadbury Bros. v. The *Standard* libel case, Cadburys decided on January 5th 1909 not to buy any more cocoa from São Tomé. See *The Times.* November 30th 1909, p.4. See also Cadbury´s Bros. Minutes of Board Meetings of January 5th and 12th 1909. CP 308 and Lowell J. Satre Op.cit.2005, p.130.

[386] Paula Cid's report recommended a reduction in number of districts reserved for labour recruitment, the special appointment of labour recruitment agents and compulsory repatriation. There is a synopsis of Paula Cid's report in F. Villiers to Roma du Bocage: *"Servicais em S. Tomé"*. Processo 97 24/5/09 in 3º P-A-3 M. 722-778. May 21st 1909. AHD. See also Catherine Higgs. Op.cit 2102, p.204, note 44. Roma du Bocage was Foreign Minister in the Venceslau de Lima Government, between May 14th and December 22nd 1909.

[387] Villiers to Sir Edward Grey, April 7th 1909 and FO to Cadbury Bros., April 29th 1909. FO367/140, 13721/09. Grey would welcome the findings of the Cid report whilst recommending public scrutiny which would end "all possible allegations reflecting on the freedom of contracts", a measure which Villiers felt would be difficult for the Portuguese authorities to accept, fearing that free access of the British Consul to the contracting process might be construed as "undue submission to a foreign power" and a failure "to uphold Portugal's sovereign rights" in the colonies.

> commercial relations with the islands.They have therefore decided not to make any further purchases of the cocoa produced in the Islands of S. Thomé and Príncipe. They will watch with sympathetic interest any efforts which may be made by the Portuguese Government or by the Estate Proprietors to remedy the evils of the existing system. They will be prepared to reconsider their decision as to purchase, when they are satisfied that such reforms have been made as to secure the indentured labourers from Angola, not merely on paper but in actual fact, freedom in entering into the contract of service and full opportunity of returning to their homes when the contract expires. [388]

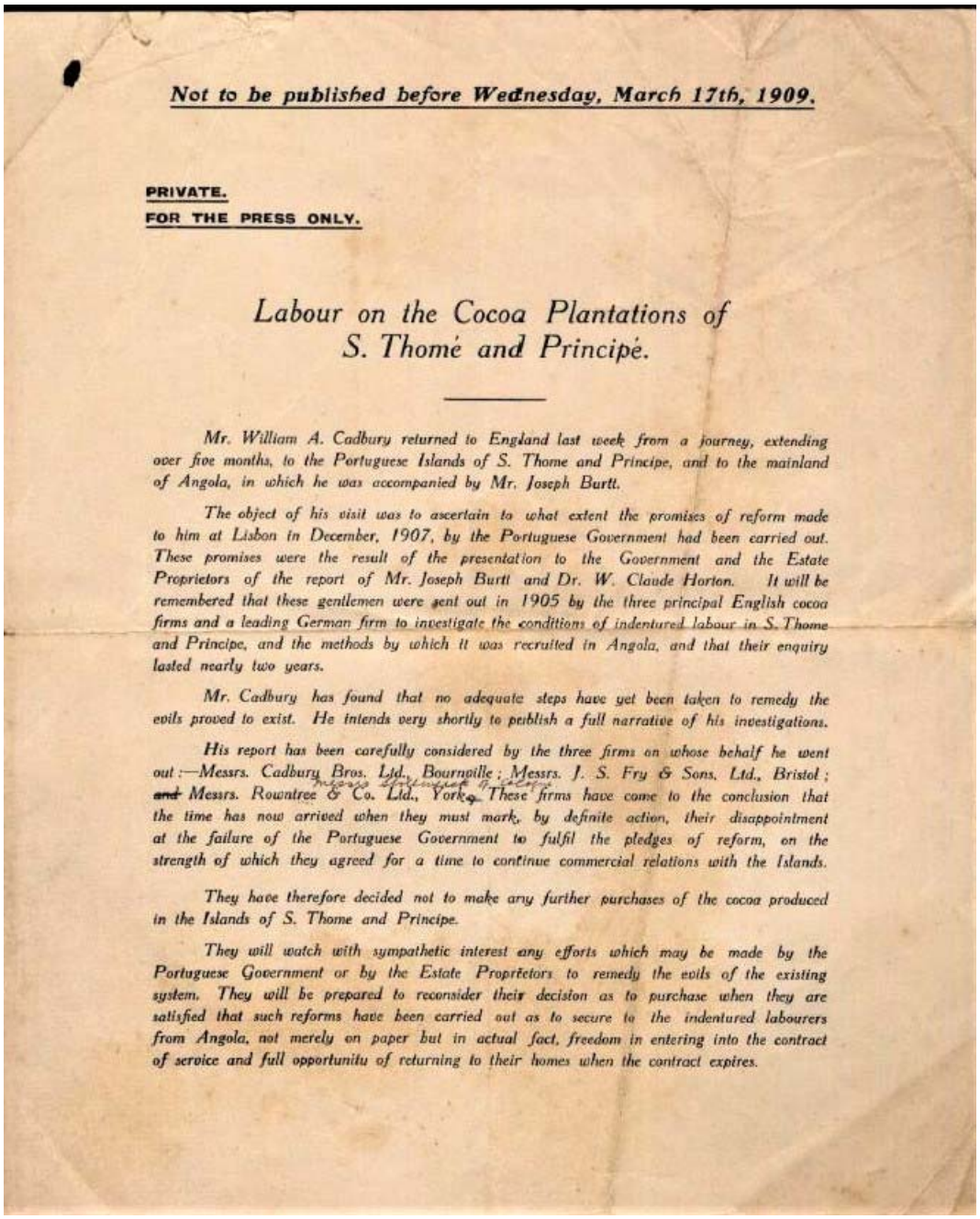
Stollwerck, the German chocolate-makers, who had shared the expense of Burtt's enquiries, had quickly followed suit, publicly recognising, however, "the efforts they felt the planters [were] making in the direction of reform". [389] The following day Nevinson wrote a special piece for George Cadbury's *Daily News* celebrating the decision, and, soon afterwards, Strachey's *Spectator,* one of the most militant voices against the contract-labour system in the latter part of the campaign, published Cadbury's statement, "with the greatest possible satisfaction", adding that Cadbury's had "done their duty and it was time for the public to do theirs." [390] Other chocolate manufacturers and major sales outlets rushed to issue press statements confirming that they had never bought or sold Portuguese cacao. They included Epps, Suchard and van Houten, as well as the Cooperative Wholesale Stores and the Army and Navy Stores. [391]

Cadbury Bros., who were aware of the principal conclusions of Paula Cid's Report and its imminent delivery to the Portuguese Government, may have chosen the moment of their announcement, which conveniently followed a drop in the world market price of cacao, to preclude any hope of a compromise solution.

If this was, indeed, their intention, it had undoubtedly succeeded. [392]

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[388] Reproduced in Cadbury's *Labour in Portuguese West Africa* p.161-2. Rowntree's, in fact, had never purchased cocoa from São Tomé.
[389] Stollwerck, which was founded in 1839, had also become the second largest chocolate manufacturer in the United States by the turn of the nineteenth century.
[390] "Slave-Grown Cocoa". *The Spectator* March 20th, 1909, p.453.
[391] At the time of the boycott Portuguese cacao had reached a dominant position in world production, with almost 15% of the total, whilst the Gold Coast, which by then had a market share of 7%, would grow rapidly to almost 25% by the end of the First World War, encouraged by growing purchases from the British chocolate makers. See Francisco Tenreiro. *A Ilha de São Tomé (Estudo Geográfico)* Dissertação de Doutoramento FLUL, 1961, p.227.
[392] Cadbury's purchases of cacao from São Tomé, which had exceeded two million kilos in 1908, fell to less than 250 thousand kilos in 1909 and to zero in 1910. See *"Statistics on Cocoa Production and Consumption 1908-1911."* Cadbury Papers. See also Kevin Grant. Op.cit. 2005, pp. 175-176.



Not to be published before Wednesday, March 17th, 1909.

PRIVATE.
FOR THE PRESS ONLY.

Labour on the Cocoa Plantations of S. Thomé and Principé.

Mr. William A. Cadbury returned to England last week from a journey, extending over five months, to the Portuguese Islands of S. Thome and Principe, and to the mainland of Angola, in which he was accompanied by Mr. Joseph Burtt.

The object of his visit was to ascertain to what extent the promises of reform made to him at Lisbon in December, 1907, by the Portuguese Government had been carried out. These promises were the result of the presentation to the Government and the Estate Proprietors of the report of Mr. Joseph Burtt and Dr. W. Claude Horton. It will be remembered that these gentlemen were sent out in 1905 by the three principal English cocoa firms and a leading German firm to investigate the conditions of indentured labour in S. Thome and Principe, and the methods by which it was recruited in Angola, and that their enquiry lasted nearly two years.

Mr. Cadbury has found that no adequate steps have yet been taken to remedy the evils proved to exist. He intends very shortly to publish a full narrative of his investigations.

His report has been carefully considered by the three firms on whose behalf he went out:—Messrs. Cadbury Bros. Ltd., Bournville; Messrs. J. S. Fry & Sons, Ltd., Bristol; ~~and~~ Messrs. Rowntree & Co. Ltd., York. These firms have come to the conclusion that the time has now arrived when they must mark, by definite action, their disappointment at the failure of the Portuguese Government to fulfil the pledges of reform, on the strength of which they agreed for a time to continue commercial relations with the Islands.

They have therefore decided not to make any further purchases of the cocoa produced in the Islands of S. Thome and Principe.

They will watch with sympathetic interest any efforts which may be made by the Portuguese Government or by the Estate Proprietors to remedy the evils of the existing system. They will be prepared to reconsider their decision as to purchase when they are satisfied that such reforms have been carried out as to secure to the indentured labourers from Angola, not merely on paper but in actual fact, freedom in entering into the contract of service and full opportunity of returning to their homes when the contract expires.

Figure 1.8 Cadbury Bros. press release announcing the Boycott. Corrected by hand to include Messrs. Stollwerck, Cologne. AHS - ICS AHdaSilva Collection. PT-AHS-ICS-AHSilva-ESC-SER-6-A-03.

1.5 The "Black Man's Paradise": from 1906 to the chocolate makers' boycott

O recado que trazem é de amigos;
Mas debaixo o veneno vem coberto,
Que os pensamentos eram de inimigos,
Segundo foi o engano descoberto. [393]

During the first years of the new century, the São Tomé planters largely ignored the bitter criticism directed by the republican press against the contract labour system, in a vain attempt to remain aloof from the controversy. Despite the ongoing protests of the Angolan settlers against the depletion of "their" labour supply; the gravity of the Bailundo rebellion and the ensuing legislative reforms brought in after Massano de Amorim's enquiry, they continued to argue that it was strictly an Angolan problem, blown-up out of all proportion by foreign missionaries and fanned into flames by republican agitators who were placing their own political agenda before the interests of the nation. Even William Cadbury's visit to Lisbon, in 1903, to convey the chocolate makers' concerns, seems to have done little to shake the planters' confidence in the strength of their position.

Their attitude would quickly change, however, when Nevinson's articles in *Harper's Monthly* identified the terrible death-rate of labourers on the cocoa islands as the key to the whole affair and the demand for fresh hands as the immediate driving force behind the problem. After the original shock of Nevinson's exposé in the American press had subsided, both the planters and the Lisbon authorities began to awaken to the international threat to their reputations and, more critically, to their exports and revenue, and in June 1906, a so-called *"Memória Justificativa"* on native labour in the Portuguese colonies

[393] The verse is an excerpt from *Os Lusiadas* by Luís de Camões [Canto I-Estância105] It appears on the cover of a pamphlet drafted after Cadbury and Burtt's visit to Angola in 1908, but only printed in 1910, long after the boycott was in force, presumably because the planters still hoped that the chocolate makers would quickly review their decision: Anon. *O Cacau de S. Thome: Resposta ao relatorio da missão Cadbury. Burtt e Swan nas Provincias de S. Thomé e Príncipe e de Angola em 1908.* Typ. d'A Editora. Lisboa: 1910. An English translation of the pamphlet is held in the Cadbury Papers: Anon. *The cocoa of Sao Thomé; answer to the report of the Cadbury, Burtt, and Swan's mission at* [sic] *the provinces of São Thome and Príncipe and Angola in 1908.* A Editora, Lisbon: 1910. CP 259/3. 1910.

appeared, the first of several similar vindications to be published over the next few years.[394]

Referring to the "modelar regime de mão de obra" in São Tomé, the memorandum denounced what it terms "propaganda, ultimamente retomada com insistencia," and recorded the successive labour legislation which had been introduced since 1875. The text, which was also published in English and French, argued with outrageous ignorance or breathtaking cynicism that the labourers who were contracted to work in São Tomé and Príncipe were guaranteed, by the laws and regulations in force, a regular salary, comfortable and hygienic lodgings, abundant and healthy nourishment, caring and helpful attention, hospital internment, nurseries for their children and industrial and agricultural schools. It concluded with the following words:

> O indígena de Angola, dispondo em geral de um notável aptidão de trabalho, tem-se adaptado facilmente ás condições do meio, criando interesse pelo trabalho, affeiçoando-se á terra, sentindo-se tão feliz que nem pensa no repatriamento. [395]

Soon afterwards, in an article published in the prestigious Journal of the Lisbon Geographical Society, Augusto Ribeiro, a well-known specialist in colonial affairs, responded in not unsimilar terms to the charges put forward by Nevinson and the Anti-Slavery Societies, whom he accused of "malevolent ignorance". [396] Ribeiro went as far as to suggest that after the legislation of 1903 the Portuguese African colonies offered working and living conditions for potential "emigrants" which were superior to other destinations such as Brazil, reiterating the claims of the *"Memoria"* that plantation labourers were entitled to free medical care, nursery schools and protection for the elderly.

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[394] For example: Anon. *Portugal and the Regime of the Native Work in its Colonies. A Justifying Memorial.* National Printing Office, Lisbon: 1910. Commissioned by the Minister for the Overseas Territories, Manuel Moreira Junior. Moreira Junior was Minister for the Colonies ("Marinha e Ultramar") between 1904 and 1906 and Minister of Public Works, Commerce and Industry between 1909 and 1910.

[395] Anon. *O Trabalho Indígena nas Colónias Portuguesas. Memoria Justificativa.* Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa: 1906. Drawn up by Ayres d'Ornellas' Colonial Ministry. See also "O trabalho Indigena nas Colonias Portuguezas." *O Século* September 20th 1906, p.3. And in the City Intelligence section, under the heading "Native Labour in the Portuguese Colonies" *The Times* of September 22nd 1906, p.13 publishes a favourable review of the "*Memoire"*, undoubtedly placed by Soveral: "In the case of St.Thomas where a considerable number of such labourers from Angola are employed, no contract entered in for a longer period than five years is recognised […] the measures taken to secure the well-being of the labourers are so thorough that in many cases they prefer to renew their contracts and to remain permanently, finding occupation, as they grow too old for work on the plantations, as caretakers or in other forms of light employment. The charges of inhumanity which have been made are, therefore, wholly unfounded."

[396]Augusto Ribeiro."O Trabalho Indígena nas Colónias Portuguesas." *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* 24ª série, no.9. September 1906, pp.265-271.

In November 1906, the language of the memorandum was echoed yet again by a former plantation owner, Matheus de Sampaio, in a speech to the Portuguese Parliament on the treatment of labourers in the cocoa islands. Sampaio referred to the case of 89 Cape Verdians who had returned home from São Tomé shortly before, whilst admitting, however, that most of the criticism was directed towards the case of labourers of Angolan origin, whom, he affirmed, were not repatriated because they did not wish to be, offering the familiar excuse that they were "creatures of nature" who were changed for the better by their experience in São Tomé:

> Não sabem vestir nem precisam de coisa nenhuma, nem mesmo sabem o que é família. Chegam a S.Thomé, criam família, conhecem o valor do dinheiro, comprehendem que não são de maneira nenhuma escravos […] e no fim de cinco annos, quando acabam o seu contrato, tendo criado família, tendo criado necessidades que sabem que não podem satisfazer na terra donde vieram, oppõem-se à repatriação.[397]

Sampaio went on to say that when they were lined up before the Curator at the end of their contracts they invariably replied that they wished to remain on the islands as *"forros"*, or land-owning freemen, to which he added - *"*se não teem propriedades ou não querem ser repatriados, o que lhes resta é irem servir outro patrão, ou continuar ao serviço do antigo, preferindo sempre este." [398] The gulf of perception between the Portuguese authorities and humanitarian activists from both countries had never yawned wider. Indeed, as far as many Portuguese colonialists and politicians were concerned, British philanthropists were applying a double standard in their attitude towards labour recruitment practices in the colonies of Portuguese West and East Africa. At the end of October 1906 the São Tomé plantation owner Paulo Cancella had raised the question in the Cortes as to why there were no protests against the recruitment of Mozambicans for the gold mines of the Rand, when the procedure was based on the same legislation as recruitment for the cocoa islands. [399] The comparison was both pertinent and opportune,

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[397] Matheus de Sampaio. Debates Parlamentares. Diário da Câmara dos Deputados. No.36. November 23rd 1906, p.4.
[398] Idem.Ibidem.
[399] "Quem ler attentamente o regulamento de trabalho dos indígenas em S. Thomé e compará-lo com aquelle que vigora em Moçambique, verá que os contratos se fazem em identicas circumstancias. Ora em respeito dos contratos dos servicaes em Moçambique não ha reclamações, embora sejam iguaes aos de Angola; e, comtudo, diz-se que se faz escravatura em S.Thomé! Só contra S.Thomé é que se levantam campanhas de calúmnias e diffamação." Debates Parlamentares. Diario da Câmara dos Deputados. Sessão no.22. October 31st 1906, p.5. Cancella's views on the question can be seen from his report on a visit to the cocoa islands. José Paulo Monteiro Cancella. *Impressões de uma viagem às ilhas de São Tomé e Príncipe : conferência realizada na Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa.* Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa: 1902.

given the scandal over the use of "Chinese slavery" in the Transvaal which had dominated the British press and public opinion over the whole of the previous year and had led to an overwhelming Liberal majority in the Commons in the January General Election.

From then on, the question of the export of Mozambican labourers to South Africa would be raised in the press and the Portuguese Parliament whenever the "slave-grown cocoa" campaign intensified, and the debate on the subject was still very much alive four years later when the members of the newly-founded Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society discussed the recruitment of labour and working conditions in the gold mines of the Rand at one of its first meetings, shortly after the fall of the Monarchy.[400] The issue was not a simple one for Portugal, despite the unsavoury living conditions and dangerous working environment which unquestionably prevailed at this time in the gold mines of the Transvaal. The surcharge on the tens of thousands of Mozambicans who crossed the border into South Africa every year was a vital source of income for the colony, as were the wages they managed to save, and in the very same session of Parliament,[401] the Minister for the Colonies, Ayres d'Ornellas, praised the arrangement and its "transparency". [402]

Ironically, it was precisely in 1906 that one of the principal plantation-owners, Francisco Mantero, decided to cast the net for labourers further afield. [403] Shortly after Nevinson's

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[400] The meeting of the Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society took place on October 24th 1910 at the offices of the *Economista Portuguez*. Leotte de Rego reported on the irregularities in the recruitment of native labour for the Transvaal, the treatment of the labourers and the mortality rate, arguing that serious harm was being done to Mozambique by such recruitment, more specifically to Zambezia. However, two months later, speaking at a meeting of the Society at the Journalist's Association, Freire de Andrade, a former Governor-General of Mozambique, would remind the Society that £300,000 in revenue was due to native labour for the Transvaal and argued that the revenue from emigration should gradually be replaced by the economic development of the province. See "Sociedade anti-esclavagista portugueza. O sr. Freire de Andrade fala sobre Emigração."*A Capital* December 21st 1910, p.1 and Ramos de Almeida. Op.cit. v.III 1979, p.73.

[401] Ornellas emphasised that the registration of the 60 to 70,000 labourers was readily verifiable, unlike in Angola: "[…] a escrituração e o serviço está montado de tal forma, que se apura o numero, o nome, filiação, destinação de cada indígena, as doenças que teem tido, a data em que sairam de Moçambique e do regresso a provincia." Debates Parlamentares. Diario da Câmara dos Deputados. Sessão 22. October 31st 1906, p.6.

[402] Since 1895, the WNLA had enjoyed a virtual monopoly on labour recruitment in Mozambique for the Transvaal gold mines. In 1906 the Portuguese authorities received 13 shillings for each labourer who signed up and in certain years 60,000 people crossed the border. Additionally returning labourers were able to pay their "hut tax" and bolstered the economy of the colony with the money they had saved. Towards the end of 1906 there was a dispute regarding the direct recruitment of Mozambican labourers, See "Recruiting of Native Labour in Portuguese East Africa" *The Times.* December 11th 1906, p.11 which includes a letter from the WNLA arguing against the authorisation of direct recruitment in Mozambique by the Robinson group of Mines. [Sir Edward Grey was against the WNLA's monopoly, on principle.]

[403] Francisco Mantero, "controller of the largest of São Tomé's cacao companies, the Companhia da Ilha do Príncipe, decided to secure his own personal labour supply from Mozambique. He joined with the Zambesia Company's agent in Prazo Lugella, Carlos Masetti, and with a former naval officer […] Pedro Gusmão, to form the new Empresa Agrícola de Lugella […] based on Prazos Milange, Lugella and Longwe,

disclosures, he had bought Lugella, a Mozambican "prazo"in the district of Zambezia, with the intention of exploiting it as a source of labour. [404]

The São Tomé planters had clearly realised by this point that it would not be enough just to defend themselves against the accusations which were being made against them - a proactive response on several fronts would be required if they were going to clear their names and defeat the campaign, which they now saw as an attempt to undermine the price of their high-quality cacao on the international markets. It was in December 1906 that the name of Lt. Col. John Alfred Wyllie began to appear in the Portuguese press.[405] Wyllie, a former officer in the British Indian army who had taken up tropical agriculture on retirement, had been commissioned to translate Monteiro de Mendonça's response to the criticisms raised in Nevinson´s articles and in the publications of the two British antislavery societies, a task which, in practice, he would far exceed by adding his own apologetic preface to the plantation owner´s vindication of the methods employed on his property, Roça Boa Entrada.

Adopting a different approach to the one the planters and their advocates had previously employed, Almada Negreiros in particular, [406] Wyllie cleverly argued that the book should be read within the context of the Congo campaign and what he calls Morel's

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which it subleased from the Zambesia Company. […] In addition labour was also made available to São Tomé from other of the Zambesia Company's prazos and from state administered territories. In 1908 another 150 "serviçais" were exported, followed by 1200 in 1909, of which Mantero acquired 900.[…] in the years after 1909 an estimated 10000 to 15000 people - women included, were sent from Zambezia to São Tomé." Leroy Vail and Landeg White. *Capitalism and Colonialism in Mozambique. A Study of Quelimane District.* Univ. Minnesota Press, Minneapolis. 1980, p.166. It was only after 1908, however, when the repatriation of Angolan labourers finally began, albeit hesitantly at first, that other São Tomé planters would give serious consideration to the feasibility and additional cost of bringing Mozambicans around the Cape on shorter contracts.

[404] See Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo. Op.cit. 2009, pp. 152-153.

[405] The December 6th and 10th 1906 issues of *O Século* carried articles entitled "Tenente Coronel John Wyllie" on p.5 and p.2, respectively. The pretext for the first article was the imminent publication of Wyllie's study on rubber production in Goa. See J.A.Wyllie and O.G.Ferreira. *Notes on Rubber Cultivation: With Special Reference to Portuguese India.* Higginbotham and Co. London: 1907. [Also in Portuguese.] The second article was accompanied by a photographic portrait, an exceptionally rare circumstance at this time. The newspaper announced that Wyllie intended to return to Scotland to fetch his wife and then to remain in Lisbon for several months.

[406] In fact Lt.Col. Wyllie could not have been more scathing in his appreciation of Almada's attempts to defend the planters and to undermine the British antislavery campaign. In a letter to Morel's *African Mail* dated April 8th 1911, Wyllie identifies Almada Negreiros as the Marquês de Valle-Flôr's "literary exponent" and calls his writings in the *Dépèche Coloniale* and the *Século* "ravings". Wyllie writes: "[He] has done the cause of S.Thomé more lasting injury than S.Thomé's most unscrupulous enemies in the press of this country [Britain], **in his sowing of suspicion as to the motives of «the British Chocolate-makers» whom he has persistently represented as carrying on a low-down game for the cheapening of their own raw-material."** Francisco Mantero, Op.cit 1911. translated by. J.A. Wyllie, pp. 150-151. (my bold)

"noble work". He went on to quote Harry Johnston's warning that the treatment of the natives in the Congo might provoke a revolt against the white man all over Africa and the "new civilisation we are trying to implant". [407] Wyllie went on to say that Mendonça's model treatment of the black labourers was a small but important contribution to this objective, suggesting it was an example to be followed if " the situation in West Africa is to be saved for the White Man".[408] Rather than accusing the philanthropists of acting in bad faith, Wyllie would concede that abuses were sometimes committed in the recruitment process in Angola, whilst consistently praising the good intentions and "civilising" endeavours of the plantation owners in São Tomé and Príncipe.

Although he was undoubtedly defending a cause with which he identified, the weight of evidence points to the fact that Lt.Col. Wyllie was, from then on, at least, in the paid service of one or more of the principal planters.[409] For almost two decades, with particular incidence after the boycott had been declared, Wyllie would be one of the most active and outspoken champions of the contract - labour system in São Tomé and Príncipe, not only acting as translator for the planters' publications but as their principal spokesman in the Anglophone press and as their representative at meetings held to debate the question both in Portugal and in Britain. Wyllie travelled to the United States to defend the planters´position when Joseph Burtt took the campaign across the Atlantic in late 1909 [410] and in 1911 he joined an embryonic and apparently short-lived philanthropic organisation, the League of Honour,[411] to defend the innocence of the São Tomé planters. Seen from the planter's side of the dispute, the engagement of Wyllie's services as a

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[407] See Chapter 4.2 of this dissertation.
[408] Henrique José Monteiro de Mendonça. *The Boa Entrada Plantations of Sao Thomé. "La perle des colonies portugaises"* Trans. by J.A. Wyllie. Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, London: 1907, p.7.
[409] Most likely Mantero, whom he defends with particular vehemence.
[410] Many of Wyllie's later letters to the press are reproduced in his edition and translation of Francisco Mantero´s long vindication of February 13th 1911, entitled *Portuguese Planters and British Humanitarians: the Case for S.Thomé.* Redacção da Reforma, Lisboa: 1911. For more on Burtt's campaign in America and the role played by Wyllie, see Section 4.7 of this dissertation.
[411] The League of Honour was a short-lived philanthropic lobby founded in September 1910 to respond to the violations of human rights in Turkey, the Congo, British South Africa and São Tomé. It was the brain-child of the Irish-born, Church of England activist, Archdeacon Beresford Potter (1853-1933). Wyllie attempted unsuccessfully to persuade Potter of the need to change the wording of the statement of purpose, and substitute the word "Angola" for "São Tomé", when referring to abuses. Potter asked Wyllie to resign from the board of the League and withdrew his support for the employment of Liberian labourers in São Tomé after Harris had alerted the public to the danger of the spread of sleeping sickness in the British African colonies in an article in *The Times* at the end of December 1912. See Documents sent to MNE with a covering note by Francisco Mantero. February 6th 1913. In Processo 27, 1913 maço 767, "Servicaes em S. Tomé" AHD.

lobbyist would undoubtedly have been both ethically and financially justified, given the virtually unlimited means at the disposal of Cadbury Bros. and their direct access to the press in Britain. [412]

By mid-1907 the planters were very much on the back foot, but a new initiative which had first been discussed in Lisbon between the Minister of the Colonies, Ayres d' Ornellas, and the Minister in London, the Marquês de Soveral, would provide them with a unique opportunity to showcase São Tomé's model plantations and counter the adverse publicity caused by articles in the republican press over the previous months.[413] Ornellas, who was planning to visit the Portuguese African colonies, was persuaded by Soveral to consider the possibility of taking the heir to the throne, D. Luíz Filippe, along with him and to prolong the voyage to include British-run South Africa. The Royal Tour, which would extend from July 1st to September 2nd 1907, began, as Ornellas had previously envisaged, with the province of São Tomé and Príncipe.[414] As much the planters welcomed this public relations windfall, the visit could not have come at a worse time.[415] The besieged Monarchy was at the lowest ebb of its popularity [416] and the Tour would take place against a backdrop of virtual dictatorship. Only a month before the Prince was due to depart, the Franco Government,[417] ignoring the Constitutional Charter, had

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[412] The unidentified "correspondent" of *The Times* was probably thinking of Wyllie and Almada Negreiros, when he accused "wirepullers" of manipulating public opinion in Portugal: "[…] It cannot be to the interest of the Portuguese Government or of the chivalrous Portuguese nation, which is kept in ignorance of this painful scandal **by paid wirepullers in the Press**, to tolerate the state of things which must affect the good name of Portugal and minister to the ruin of the colony of Angola- as the courageous journalist who runs the Voz de Angola has been pointing out for years past." *The Times* September 1st 1909 p.3. (my bold)

[413] Soveral was at his most influential in Lisbon politics at this point, as he had been sounded out to lead the Government before João Franco, who had expressed his willingness to serve under him. Soveral had declined, arguing that he could be of more use in London. See Villiers to Grey. May 27th 1906. FO 800/17.

[414] With the Prince's itinerary on page 1, *O Século* of June 12th 1907 clearly emphasised the importance of the first stage of his voyage in its headlines on page 2: **"**A nossa opulência colonial. A valorização do cacau. Porque aumentou o seu preço - a boycottage dos compradores estrangeiros e o accordo dos exportadores portuguezes - O Futuro de S.Thomé: as crises de braços, estradas e caminhos de ferro."

[415] For example, the *Notícias de Lisboa,* the conservative mouthpiece of the Partido Regenerador, thought the initiative ill-timed: "Achámos importante a viagem, **atentas as circunstâncias calamitosas em que o país se encontra**. Entendíamos que, sem prejudicar os nobres intuitos com que o Príncipe Real resolveu a sua viagem, ela devia, não ser posta de parte, mas **adiada para quando melhores dias corressem para a pátria portuguesa."** "Príncipe Real" *Notícias de Lisboa.* July 1st 1907, p.1 (my bold). The recently inaugurated republican newspaper *Lucta,* whilst noting the absence of the dissident Monarchists at the departure of the Prince, described the Royal Tour as a "pic-nic em África". "A fé monarquica" *A Lucta.* July 3rd 1907, p.1

[416] On November 12th 1906 João Franco had confirmed in Parliament that previous Governments had made illegal financial loans or advanced payments to the reigning Monarch, which cast further discredit on an already largely discredited institution.

[417] João Franco (1855-1929) was the leader of the Regenerador Liberal Party, which had been formed in 1901 after a split in the Regenerador Party**.**

dissolved Parliament without calling new elections, a situation which was condoned, if not openly encouraged by the King.[418] In addition, most of the disaffected newspapers were subjected to long periods of suspension under the provisions of the legislation of April 11th 1907 [419] and posterior amendments which aggravated the repressive aspects of the law.[420] From then on until the fall of the Franco Government, hardly a week went by without a trial being held against a republican journalist or newspaper.

Despite the unfavourable political climate and the fact that the Prince was unable to visit the island of Príncipe due to a bloody revolt of labourers on one of the "roças",[421] his brief visit to the model plantations of São Tomé would be considered a resounding success in those newspapers in Lisbon and Oporto which supported the regime. News of the Prince's apotheotic reception, accompanied by the message that he had given his enthusiastic approval to the organisation of the plantations and the planters' spirit of enterprise, soon reached the "Metropole" in the form of telegrams from Ornellas to Franco, which were duly reported in the press. The Royal Tour would also receive generous coverage in the three principal illustrated magazines, which reached a relatively small but influential sector of the population, [422] but would be largely ignored by the international press, which effectively limited the favourable impact of the Prince's Tour, to Portugal itself. [423]

Contrasting with the enthusiasm of such reports, the republican press was predictably acerbic about the whole affair and the Lisbon newspaper *O Paíz*, which had been suspended at the time of the Prince's departure, offered, on its return to publication, a

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[418] Parliament was closed on May 10th 1907, as determined by Franco's decree.
[419] Popularly known as: "a lei contra a Imprensa". Ten newspapers were suspended during the second half of the year for extended periods: *O Popular*, Regenerador; *Jornal do Comércio*, Conservative Monarchist; *Vanguarda*, Republican; A *Lucta*, Republican; *o Dia*, Dissident Monarchist; *Novidades*, Regenerador; *Paiz*, Republican; *Correio da Noite*, Progressista; *Liberal*, Independent Monarchist; *Época*, Regenerador and *O Mundo*, Republican. Four newspapers, three of them republican, would be suspended twice: *O Mundo*, *Paiz* e *Vanguard*a, as well as one monarchist newspaper, *O Popular*. For more on this question, see Júlia Teresa Pinto de Sousa Leitão de Barros. *O Jornalismo Político Republicano Radical. O Mundo* (1900-1907) Doctoral dissertation in History. FCSH Univ. Nova, Lisbon: 2014.
[420] The June 11th amendment prohibited the "circulação, exposição ou qualquer outra forma de publicidade dos escritos, desenhos ou impressos atentatórios da ordem ou segurança pública". The decision to suspend a newspaper now depended upon the evaluation of the regional authorities. [Governador-Civil]. See José Manuel Tengarrinha. *História da imprensa periódica portuguesa*. Portugália, Lisboa: 1989, p.257.
[421] Roça Ribeira Fria, an outstation of Roça Infante D. Henrique, Companhia da Ilha do Príncipe.
[422] For more on the illustrated press coverage of the Tour and the use of photographs as propaganda, see Chapter 4.12 of this dissertation.
[423] *The Times* did publish a note on the Prince's departure from Benguella, however, due to the importance to Britain of the Benguella Railway and Katanga copper mining. "The Crown Prince of Portugal's Tour in Africa. The Question of Railway Development." *The Times* September 10th 1907, p.3.

fierce condemnation of the Government's exploitation of São Tomé's prosperous economy and its dereliction of responsibility towards the population of the islands, going on to accuse the authorities of collusion in the trafficking of slaves:

> Se a viagem do príncipe chamou attenção para as colónias, e tudo foram elogios à sua prosperidade, é bom dizer-se que tudo que há de bom foi realizado pelos particulares e tudo que há de mau é obra de estado. **A começar pela escravatura - sim, a escravatura, feita pelas próprias auctoridades, como por exemplo, a compra e venda do escravo realisada publicamente em todas as colónias e em especial em S. Thomé**, e por um alto funccionario que por signal, se encontra em Paris, desde 1900, vencendo por conta da provincia, sem que o atinjam os leis de moralidade. O que dirá a isto o famosos governo da moralidade triumphante? Que infeliz provincia de S. Thomé, a mais pequena mas aquella em que mais se trabalha, é o bode expiatório: manda todo o dinheiro que apura para a provincia de Angola, para lhe cobrar o deficit e por sua vez fica sem estradas, com pântanos por enxertar, desprovida de melhoramentos modernos. **Em resumo, uma provincia a saque**. [424]

The course of events in Britain was also a source of growing concern for both the planters and the Portuguese authorities. Shortly after the return of D. Luíz Filippe, Henry Nevinson had published a violent attack against the contract-labour system in the *Fortnightly Review,* closely followed by a speech, in similar terms, to a meeting of the African section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, which would approve a motion proposing a boycott against Portuguese cacao. To complicate matters further, the Burtt Report had been delivered to the Portuguese legation in London, and Villiers, the British Minister in Lisbon, had been instructed to tell the Portuguese Government that, were the report to be published, there would be "an agitation which cannot but prove to be embarrassing both to His Majesty's Government and the Portuguese Government" [425]

On November 10th a six-man committee was appointed by the São Tomé planters to draw up their reply to the accusations made by Cadbury and Burtt, and shortly afterwards a memorandum proposing official supervision over recruitment in Angola was sent to the Foreign Minister. Cadbury later commented that the planters' refutation was a "lengthy document containing the wildest charges against the integrity of Mr. Burtt and the motives

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[424] Presumably written by Joaquim Meira e Souza, its editor and proprietor. The reference to the "alto funcionário" is clearly to Almada Negreiros, who had remained in Paris after organising the Portuguese participation at the Exposition Universelle of 1900. *O Paiz,* September 7th 1907, p.1. (my bold)
[425] In Glyn Stone. Op.cit 2009, p.173, quoting Grey to Villiers, October 17th 1907. FO 367/46, 33573/07.

of the British cocoa makers". [426] Despite this poor start, the atmosphere at the meeting with Cadbury and Burtt to discuss the Report, though tense, was still not embittered.[427] The representatives of the planters argued that they shared the same humane sentiments as the chocolate makers and would place no obstacle before labourers who might wish to return to their homes. Furthermore, they suggested that the repatriation fund should be transferred from their "safekeeping" to the Colonial Bank in São Tomé, whilst undertaking to ensure that each labourer would receive the equivalent of about £18 on his return to Angola, adding the proviso, however, that the first contracts to expire under the new legislation would be in 1908. [428]

Undoubtedly influenced by the planters' concessions and the success of his meetings with Ayres d'Ornellas, Cadbury left Lisbon in a spirit of optimism, his principle concerns allayed by the promise that the Portuguese Government would undertake a full enquiry "in loco" and proceed with whatever reforms were recommended in the ensuing report. On his return to Britain, Cadbury published a press release announcing the progress which had been made and expressing the hope that the dispute was coming to an end. [429] It must have seemed to all sides that an understanding had finally been achieved which would allow the issue to be solved to the satisfaction of all concerned. [430] The wave of optimism would not last for long, however. Despite the welcome lull in the campaign after Cadbury and Burtt's visit, which was prolonged after the assassination of the King of Portugal and

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[426] Anon. *S.Thome cocoa; the reply of the planters of S.Thome and Principe to the report on the enquiry made by* [...] *Cadbury, Fry, Rowntree and Stollwerck as to the conditions of native labour in the Portuguese colonies.* CP 259/1 1907. Translated from *O cacau de S.Thome; resposta dos agricultores da provincia de S.Thomé e Príncipe.* CP 259/2 1907.

[427] The meeting, which lasted eight hours, was held at the Banco Nacional Ultramarino, in Lisbon, on 28th November 1907.

[428] The planters' commitment would be quoted in *Memorandum on Portuguese Slavery, addressed to the Right Hon. Sir Edward Grey etc. on May 14th 1913.* AS and APS, London: 1913 p.12. For Cadbury's draft report on the meeting see "Conference held in Lisbon between the Committee representing S.Thomé proprietors, and W.A.Cadbury and Joseph Burtt representing cocoa makers in England. Nov. 28, 1907." Typescript. CP/119. 1907. The "Colonial Bank" refers to the local branch of the BNU.

[429] Always reluctant to praise the planters' adversaries, Lt. Col. Wyllie, comments that Cadbury's *précis* of the planters' reply to "Mr. Burtt´s indictment of 4th July " in his press release of December 16th 1907, was a "model of what a summary should be." J.A. Wyllie. "Alleged Slavery in S. Thomé." Letter to *The Times* of September 28th 1909. Clearly, Wyllie had understood that it would damage the case for the São Tomé planters in British eyes, if he were to deny that the Quaker chocolate makers were acting in good faith.

[430] William Cadbury sent a letter to Alfredo Henrique da Silva in December 1907 expressing optimism that the whole business was now over: " The notice of our business in Portugal has now appeared through the daily press - some hundreds of papers- and we have heard of none that has not been appreciative of the action on both sides, and spoken very nicely of the prompt measures for reform taken in Portugal. I hope now the feeling of the past is now removed, as the English, above all nations, are ready to forgive and forget.[…]" William Cadbury to Alfredo Henrique da Silva. December 20th 1907. AHS-AHdaSilva Coll.

his heir at the beginning of February, pressure from the antislavery societies would soon recommence both in the press and in Parliament, whilst even the Society of Friends began to show signs of impatience towards the apparent indifference of their fellow Quakers. [431]

Against this cheerless backdrop, the question of Mozambican labour for the mines of the Transvaal gained fresh prominence in the Portuguese press. Taking as its pretext Winston Churchill's speech in the Commons on the release of an official report criticising the working conditions in the mines,[432] the Lisbon daily *O Século* published an article at the beginning of March 1908, entitled "Uma questão grave. A escravatura no Rand." In the opinion of the unidentified journalist, "the campaign against Portugal" had begun anew, its target now being the export of "slaves" to the Transvaal, instead of São Tomé.

> […] é o proprio subsecretario de Estado sr. Churchill que vem ao parlamento inglez affirmar que o regimen de trabalho nas minas do Rand é o regimen de verdadeira escravatura, collocando assim o governo portuguez na situação de ter consentido conscientemente no deslocamento de milhares e milhares de negros para um ponto da Africa do Sul onde o chicote trabalha impiedosamente.[...][433]

For those in Portugal who were convinced that some kind of accommodation could be achieved with the chocolate makers, 1908 brought bitter disappointment. Positions on

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[431] Correspondence between William Cadbury and Alfredo Henrique da Silva reveals that Silva had written on February 8th advising that given the present political situation it was not the time to pressure the new Government. Cadbury replied on February 17th saying that he and Joseph Burtt both agreed. Cadbury had written to Ornellas who, despite not being a member of the Government had spoken to the new Colonial Minister and would "see things put straight". See AHS-AHda Silva Collection.

[432] In an article entitled "Labour on the Rand" on p.9**,** *The Times* of March 16th 1908 comments on the report of the committee appointed to review the labour situation in the Transvaal, suggesting that the Liberal Government must now be regretting their "discreditable attacks" on the previous Government for the conditions associated with Chinese labour. "The majority of the Commission [one member of the five disagreed totally with the findings] […] have confined themselves to suggestions for the gradual abolition of coloured and the substitution of white labour. All their main recommendations tend to this object, including as they do **the gradual prohibition of the employment of natives from the Portuguese colonies**, who now form about half the total employed in the mines[…] **Already it requires a considerable amount of dialectical subtlety, for which indeed we must give Mr. Churchill full credit, to distinguish between the conditions which were denounced as slavery in the case of the Chinese and those which apply to the natives whose return is stipulated by the Portuguese Government."** (my bold)

[433] " Uma questão grave. A escravatura no Rand. O ministro inglez em Lisboa, entrevistado pelo Seculo, affirma que só por incidente [sic] falou ao sr Ministro da Marinha no recrutamento dos indigenas de Moçambique." *O Século* March 8th 1908, p.2. A report on an interview with Villiers, the British Minister in Lisbon, after a meeting with Augusto de Castilho. Villiers says he reminded Castilho of his Government's concerns about labour exports to São Tomé and had briefly mentioned the Rand, but as there was "a treaty between the countries which covered this and which was of mutual benefit there was no point in discussing it further." The same daily gave an exhaustive account of the Transvaal agreements in the following day's issue: "Portugal e Inglaterra. Uma questão grave. A escravatura no Rand." *O Século* March 9th 1908, p.4.

both sides had soured, threatening the viability of the Foreign Office's delaying strategy. Though now a sick man, Fox Bourne, the irascible driving force behind the Aborigine's Protection Society, published evidence from many different sources, gathered over a number of years, under the heading *Slave Traffic in Portuguese Africa*, [434] whilst Lisbon's Geographical Society responded to the humanitarian campaign with a vindication in English entitled *São Thomé. The Native Work. Legitimate Defence*.[435] At the same time, the foreseeable end of the Congo campaign meant that the British philanthropists could now devote even greater attention to their next great objective, Portuguese West Africa.[436]

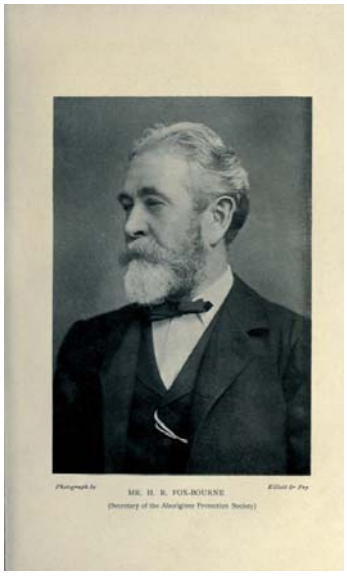


Figure 1.9 H.R. Fox-Bourne. (Secretary of the Aborigine's Protection Society). c1908. Photo by Elliot and Fry.

In Portugal, most of the articles in the press expressed a sense of patriotic outrage towards the British campaign "to undermine Portugal's richest African colony". An element of unease about the real truth of the matter seems to have persisted, however, even amongst those who still remembered the "Ultimatum". A letter to the *Século* written in October

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[434] H. R Fox Bourne. *Slave traffic in Portuguese Africa: an account of slave-raiding and slave-trading in Angola and of slavery in the Islands of San Thomé and Príncipe.* P. S. King and Son. London: 1908. Fox Bourne died in February 1909 two weeks before the boycott came into force. The last obstacle gone, the two antislavery organisations merged on June 24th 1909. "After the amalgamation of 1909, the new Society underwent a speedy course of reorganization, inaugurated a Parliamentary Committee, and proceeded to organize its Colonial Auxiliaries." See Kenneth D. Nworah. "The Aborigines' Protection Society, 1889-1909: A Pressure Group in Colonial Policy*." Canadian Journal of African Studies.* 1971 (5) p.89-90.

[435] Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa. *Sao Thomé. The Native Work. Legitimate Defence (translation)*, Centro Typographico Colonial, Lisboa: 1908.

[436] The Belgian Parliament annexed the Congo Free State and took over its administration on November 15th 1908 but the campaign would only formally come to an end in 1913.

1908 by the distinguished ethnographer, Rocha Peixoto, [437] reveals the contradictory feelings of better-informed observers who were following the controversy in the Portuguese newspapers. Writing shortly after the Portuguese press had reported on the article in the *Standard* which would later lead to the famous libel case,[438] he began with a grudging confession of the admiration he felt for the British people and more particularly those whose efforts were devoted to Empire building:

> O nosso bom amigo e alliado John Bull tem coisas realmente singulares[...] Não se julgue que sentimos em nós qualquer animosidade contra o povo a que elle serve de symbolo; pelo contrario conhecemol-o um tanto, nos seus lados de sombra, como nos lados de luz.[...] Admiramos a **Greater Britain,** e os seus campeões, os seus **pioneers,** os seus colonisadores, os seus homens de força, os seus **darwinistas**, os seus jingoistas, e até mesmo-confessamol-o os seus homens de...rapina.[…] [439]

Peixoto went on, however, to defend the legitimate right of the Portuguese people to stand up for their own interests:

> Mas temos o direito e o dever de nos erguer frente a frente aos homens de Inglaterra e dizer-lhes também que o nosso povo vale, e mostrar-lhes, pelo menos , que ja conhecemos os seus gestos e as suas palavras.[440]

And, finally resorting to an extended analogy with the characters from Kipling's *Jungle Book,* he expressed his indignation towards what he saw as the cynical tactics employed by the protagonists of an antislavery campaign ultimately driven by greed:

> Sim, o ingles conquistador tem muitos pontos de contacto com **Akela, Dagheera, Baloo, Shere Khan**, o lobo, a panthera, o urso, e o tigre, e mesmo com **Tabaqui,** o chacal dos contos de Kipling, o leader intellectual do Imperialismo britannico.[...] Oh! A cobiça britannica, a cobiça de Albion, como ella é sempre a mesma, como são sempre os mesmos os seus

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[437] António Augusto da Rocha Peixoto (1866-1909) Distinguished archaeologist and ethnographer.
[438] Sidney Low's leader, which had appeared in the *Standard* on September 26th 1908, was featured in the *Século* two days later under the heading "A Questão dos Serviçaes. Um artigo no "Standard" contra Portugal." *O Século* September 28th p.1. The *Século´*s correspondent in London, merely identified as "S.", had clearly missed the point of the article, which was written to criticise the chocolate-makers' procrastination after the publication of Nevinson's accusations, almost two years before. Low had written: "Such is the terrible indictment, made, as we have said, by a writer of high character and reputation on the evidence of his own eyesight. [Nevinson] **There is only one thing more amazing than his statements, and that is the strange tranquillity with which they were received by those virtuous people in England whom they intimately concerned**." (my bold)
[439] "John Bull e a escravatura. Os servicaes de S. Thomé e os trabalhadores do Rand ou o que Inglaterra prega e o que Inglaterra faz…" *O Século* October 6th 1908, p.4. (author's bold throughout)
[440] Idem, ibidem.

> processos, trata-se de arranjar mercados no vasto globo, para ella sempre estreito, ou trata-se de ferir a influencia franceza, a influencia belga, a influencia portugueza em Africa! Para *a* grande Inglaterra, sobretudo para os bons apostolos de **jingoismo ,** só a sua raça tem direito de se estender nos bons bocados banhados pelo sol fulvo.[441]

These bitter words, which recall the fierce protests of almost two decades earlier, were symptomatic of the patriotic reaction which the São Tomé planters had attempted to resuscitate by insisting that the British philanthropic campaign was directed against Portugal, itself, and the prosperity of its richest colony in Africa, rather than against the contract-labour system. [442] Such indignation and frustration was, in part, justified. No one could honestly accuse successive Portuguese Governments of lacking in sensitivity towards criticism of the legislation in force. From 1903 onwards the laws governing the recruitment and treatment of labour in the African colonies had been successively refined to accommodate the proposals put forward by critics both at home and abroad. In 1908 and 1909 alone, there were no fewer than three attempts to eliminate flaws in the legislation,[443] but the old difficulties remained regarding the application and enforcement

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[441] Idem, ibidem. See Rudyard Kipling. *The Jungle Book.* Macmillan and co. London: 1894. Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) first published the stories which are collected into *The Jungle Book* in magazines between 1893 and 1894. The characters mentioned in Rocha Peixoto's article were quickly absorbed by Baden-Powell into the imperialist ideological code of the early Boy Scout movement (principally in the junior version, the "cub-scouts"). The term "jingoism" originated during the Russia-Turkey war of 1877-78. It was used here in the sense of aggressive nationalism or imperialism.

[442] It was probably at or around this time that Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935), the Portuguese poet, essay writer and translator, was moved to draft an open letter or article in English on the British "slave-grown cocoa" campaign. The undated draft recently emerged through ongoing research into Pessoa's papers at the National Library in Lisbon. The article, which was never finished, possibly due to being overtaken by the rapidly-moving political developments in Portugal, was provisionally entitled *"Pretended Slavery in S.Thomé"***.** Pessoa argued that any slavery which might have survived was due to the decadence of the nation, for which the monarchy and the Catholic Church were to blame, and suggested that things would be put right under a republican regime and that the nation as a whole, which he called the "gentlest" in Europe, could not be held responsible for such abuses. On the other hand, he argued that there was a degree of hypocrisy and an element of "sordid mercantilism" behind the campaign and he proposed, in a further essay, to analyse the collective psychology of England as a nation, revealed in its arrogance towards other countries - which, in its turn, was inspired by a notion of English moral superiority. Incidentally, it transpires that Pessoa had a very low opinion of the Marquês de Soveral, the Portuguese Minister in London, whom he calls in his notes "uma impregnável cidadela de estupidez". Reference: Espólio Pessoa. Section 3. 55D-101. Based on information gleaned from a lecture entitled "Fernando Pessoa e a polémica Cadbury" given by researcher Ana Maria Freitas of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa at the Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon on March 7th 2014.

[443] Legislation of April 23rd 1908, December 31st 1908 and July 17th 1909. See Fernandes Rego. Op.cit. 1910 p.73. See also "Mão d'Obra em S. Thomé. O novo regulamento para admissão dos serviçaes em S. Thomé. É melhorada a assistência médica e regulamentada a repatriação." *O Século* January 10th 1909, p.2. The article refers to the new regulations governing the recruitment of servicais for S. Tomé, and the alterations to the previous code of April 23rd 1908. A Central Committee for Labour and Emigration was to be set up in Lisbon, made up of three "altos funcionarios" from the Direcção Geral do Ultramar and four estate owners from São Tomé and Príncipe, elected by those living in Portugal. In São Tomé there was to be a local board made up of the "Curador" and a number of local worthies including the Head of the Health

of such legal provisions, which, though invariably slanted towards the interests of the plantation owners, were often as liberal as those in force in the British Empire.

In an exhaustive compendium of Portugal's antislavery legislation published a generation later, José de Almada singles out the case of the Caixa de Repatriação to exemplify the burocratic obstacles which existed at the time. Almada quotes Hygino Durão's report,[444] issued in 1909, which stated that 36 book-keeping operations were required to transfer the sum owing to one contract labourer - meaning that 900,000 operations would be required for the whole contingent of 25 thousand! [445] Quite clearly there was still a huge gap between the legislator's good intentions and the reality on the ground.[446]

The writing was now on the wall as far as labour from Angola was concerned. On December 15th 1908 a decree was issued setting down the conditions for the contracting of labourers from Mozambique for the cocoa islands.[447] The legislation determined that contracts would be for one year at the start, "to establish confidence in the natives and also a steady flow of immigration", whereas future contracts would be for "terms of from two to three years".[448] Shipments of Angolan labourers to São Tomé and Príncipe would only be resumed on a regular basis in 1913, whilst two thousand Mozambican labourers on short contracts would arrive in the cocoa islands in 1909 alone.[449]

Dept., the Director of Public Works and one of the managers of the BNU. The majority of the local members were to be chosen from the owners or managers of the plantations by the Central Committee in Lisbon! The aim was to ensure the well-being, hygiene of *serviçais* and their repatriation and the renovation of contracts. Emigration agencies were to be set up in the colonies, including Macao and Goa.

[444] Hygino Durão, a senior civil servant, now acting under the title of Inspector of the Treasury, had been personal secretary to D. Luíz Filippe on his state visit to the African colonies. He was later employed in São Tomé by the Marquês de Valle-Flôr as general manager and accountant for his agricultural enterprises.

[445] José de Almada. Op.cit.1932, p.53.

[446] Paulo Cancella, the President of the Centro Colonial, agreed. In a letter to the Minister of the Navy and Overseas Territories dated 29th March 1909, Cancella began: "Consta ao centro Colonial [sic] que o serviço do cofre de repatriamento em S. Thomé, está um cáhos". The money had been received and was accounted for but what was due to each serviçal was not, so there was no way of knowing what was due to each of them on repatriation. See "Cofre de Repatriamento" *Boletim do Centro Colonial de Lisboa* (BCCL) no.2, May 15th 1909, p.38. New legislation inspired by Paula Cid's report would later simplify the procedure.

[447]An exchange of correspondence between the shipping company, Empresa Nacional de Navegação and the Board of the CCL regarding the transport of Mozambican labourers appears in the *Boletim*, beginning with a letter of the 8th January 1909 complaining that the clothing supplied to *serviçais* for the sea journey from Mozambique was inadequate: "[…] a necessidade para lhes fornecerem roupa mais forte, pois **não é com uma camisola de algodão, um panno e um cobertor ordinário que se mandam pretos para passarem o cabo**, onde geralmente faz sempre frio ficando sujeitos a pneumonias[…]a fim e se não imputar a esta empreza responsabilidades que lhe não competem." In BCCL no.3, June 15th 1909, p.13. (my bold)

[448] The decree is published in an English translation in Appendix I of William Cadbury's *Labour in Portuguese West Africa.* 1910, pp.158-160.

[449] In comparison with an annual figure in the order of 75,000 who went to work on the Rand. See James Duffy.Op.cit.1967,p.155. According to Zamparoni, in the seven years after July 1908, 32,781 Mozambicans

Chapter 2. Winds of Change: from the Boycott to Balfour's Recommendation

2.1 In the aftermath of the Boycott: the battle in the press

> […] it is now realized that even if Mr. Cadbury's interference is unreasonable and his conclusions mistaken, the fact that a powerful group of English manufacturers have branded Portuguese cocoa far and wide as "slave-grown cocoa" is bound to cause much moral and material damage to the trade so long as there remains the shadow of a ground for that description […] [450]

It was in these cautious terms that the Lisbon correspondent of *The Times* summed up local reactions to the Boycott at the beginning of April 1909. Describing the law governing the recruitment of "black labour" as "admirable", he went on to affirm that unlike Cabinda, Cape Verde and Mozambique, where it worked "admirably", it was only

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were sent to São Tomé and Príncipe, only 22% of whom were repatriated. See Valdemir Zamparoni. "Da Escravatura ao Trabalho Forçado: Teoria e Prática." *Africana Studia* no. 7. FLUP Porto: 2004, pp.302-303. BCCL no.3 June 15th 1909, p.34 publishes a report on a one-day tour of São Tomé made by the Governor of Portuguese East Africa, Freire de d'Andrade, on his way to Lourenço Marques. On April 12th Andrade had visited Santa Margarida (Francisco Mantero), Boa Entrada (Henrique de Mendonça) and Rio do Ouro (Marquez de Valle-Flôr) where he spoke to serviçais recruited in Quelimane e Moçambique. "[...] sabe-se que a S. Ex.ª achou que os pretos estavam bem, que eram bem tratados e que estavam satisfeitos." The same report discusses the cost of recruitment, which varied between 45 milreis (Quelimane) and 72 milreis (Zambezia), including one-way transport, whilst the cost for the Transvaal was only 27,500 reis per native (about £5) - with transport both ways. "Não nos parece que a ida de de 3000 ou 4000 servicaes, que vão annualmente da África oriental para S. Thomé, possa fazer concorrência á ida d'elles para o Transwaal [sic] para onde annualmente vão cêrca de cem mil." See also *O Século* of May 17th 1909 for a report on Freire de Andrade's tour of the three plantations.

At the beginning there was a certain active resistance in Mozambique to the recruitment of labourers for the cocoa islands, undoubtedly due to the negative impact of agents working directly or indirectly for the WNLA. In Parliament, Paulo Cancella, the President of the CCL, raised the issue of the quarantining at Quelimane of repatriated labourers from São Tomé - which was undoubtedly imposed by the local authorities to dissuade recruitment for the islands: "[...] tem sido sempre naquela provincia que teem surgido dificuldades para a emigração com destino a S.Thomé. Não sei a razão de tal facto, quando afinal esse emigração dos serviçaes de Quelimane para S.Thomé, e depois a sua repatriação, deve trazer vantagens mútuas. Os serviçaes em S.Thomé são tratados como em parte nenhuma do mundo, ha d'isso testemunhos insuspeitos e agora acabo de ter notícia de **outra opinião insuspeita**, **a do coronel Wyllie**." Debates Parlamentares. Diário da Câmara dos Deputados. August 16th 1909. Sessão 47, p.8. (my bold)

[450] Anon. "Slave-Grown Cocoa." *The Times* April 3rd 1909, p.5.

in Angola that it fell down due to lack of enforcement, because occasional "pressure" was required to induce "the natives", whom he described as a particularly "low, backward and indolent race", to "volunteer for work" in sufficient numbers. The situation, he wrote, was further aggravated by the difficulty of controlling recruitment agents over such a large tract of country in the absence of effective occupation. In conclusion, the author referred to Paula Cid's report, delivered a few days earlier, which he advised would "bear out Mr. Burtt's in many respects."

Understandably, indignant protests had erupted in much of the Portuguese press immediately after the announcement of the chocolate makers' boycott. Among the defiant reactions was an article in the *Jornal do Commercio* entitled "O Nosso Cacau":

> […]Podiamos dizer que o Sr. Cadbury teria muito mais miseria a minorar no east End, de Londres, e que não precisava de fazer uma viagem tão longa.[…] Hoje já o recrutamento se faz na maior parte em Moçambique, de pretos que vão trabalhar nas minas do Transvaal […] [451]

At the same time, and in total contrast with the assessment of *The Times*' correspondent, the writer, identified simply as "AB", confidently boasted that the boycott would have little or no effect on the islands' economy: "[…] o que se passa agora não é senão uma mudança de destino final do cacau, mais nada. Não venderemos um kilo a menos por causa desta guerra." [452]

Adopting a similar stance to the "*Commercio*", the Lisbon daily *O Século* published a series of articles criticising the anti-slavery campaign and reminding its readers of the unsavoury working conditions in the Transvaal. On April 5th an article entitled "A Investida Ingleza" alleged that the so-called "modus vivendi" agreement allowing British access to the port of Lourenço Marques had failed to bring any net advantage to Portugal, as any benefits brought by the rail link were balanced out by the depopulation of the Province caused by the Johannesburg mining industry.[453]

A week later, the newspaper returned to the theme of the working conditions of African labourers under the heading "As minas do Rand e as plantações de S.Thomé", wilfully

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[451] "O Nosso Cacau." *Jornal do Commércio* March 23rd 1909, p.1. Signed AB. Republished in the first issue of the *Boletim do Centro Colonial de Lisboa* (BCCL) of April 15th 1909, pp. 8-15.
[452] Idem. Ibidem.
[453] "A Investida Ingleza." *O Século* April 8th 1909, p.1.

misleading its readers by affirming: "Estes são repatriados - Daqueles raro há notícias". The unidentified writer then aired the theory that the philanthropists were attempting to promote the consumption of cocoa from the West Indies to the detriment of the São Tomé plantations. He advised that they would do better to investigate the situation on the East Coast of Africa where, over the last three years, nothing had been heard of 1400 labourers who had left Mozambique for the mines of the Rand and had disappeared without being repatriated.[454] Such articles, though undoubtedly reinforcing public indignation towards what was portrayed as a new "act of treachery by Portugal's ancient ally", were doing no more than preaching to the converted.

It would soon become apparent, both to the Portuguese Government and the planters, that articles in the local press would not suffice and that a co-ordinated response to the boycott would be required. The planters elected the Centro Colonial de Lisboa as their headquarters for the campaign. Founded ten years earlier and dominated by a committee of the leading estate owners, its value as a rallying point only became apparent to many of its members after the Boycott.[455] The representatives of the "Centro" attempted to present a coordinated position towards the march of events through regular contacts with the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and the Colonies, a strategy which often proved frustrating due to the succession of short-lived governments both before and after the fall of the Monarchy. [456] From April 1909 onwards, the "Centro" also began to produce a monthly bulletin of information to keep its members up to date with developments on both sides of the dispute, which would continue to be published until the end of 1918. [457]

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[454] "As minas do Rand e as plantações de S. Thomé. Os emigrantes para o Rand e para S. Thomé - Estes são repatriados- Daqueles raro há notícias [...]." *O Século* April 13th 1909, p.2. See also "A propósito do Convénio. A mão d'obra no Rand. Em 3 annos 1400 pretos desappareceram no Sul d'Africa." *O Século* May 10th 1909, p.1.

[455] Significantly, the "Centro" was not open to colonialists from the other Portuguese territories.

[456] Shortly after the Boycott, the *Financial Times* reminded its readers that there had been twenty-two Foreign Ministers in Portugal in the previous thirty years. See the *Financial Times* April 24th 1909, p.4. Sir Edward Grey, by way of contrast, remained in office between 1905 and 1916, the longest continuous tenure of any British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

[457] The *Boletim do Centro Colonial de Lisboa*, (BCCL) was edited by Paulo Cancella, but was largely the work of Francisco Mantero. The appeal for financial support (see **Figure 2.1**) would be repeated in the fourth issue, on page 55, with the following justification **: "O saldo, que existia, está muito reduzido, porque tivemos de pagar, ultimamente, mais do que um conto de reis de despeza feita em Inglaterra, em beneficio Geral [sic] de S. Thomé".** (my bold)

Articles favourable to the planters' position were placed in the press both at home and abroad; [458] illustrated studies defending the system and the planters' reputations were published with English and French and sometimes German translations [459]; foreign specialists and dignitaries were invited to visit the plantations; meetings and lectures were held at the Sociedade de Geografia and other prestigious venues to defend the contract-labour system; emissaries were sent to meetings organised by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in London to debate "Portuguese slavery" and no opportunity was missed to promote Portuguese cacao and the "model" way it was produced, at international exhibitions and fairs.[460]

An appeal for support would appear in the first issue: [461]

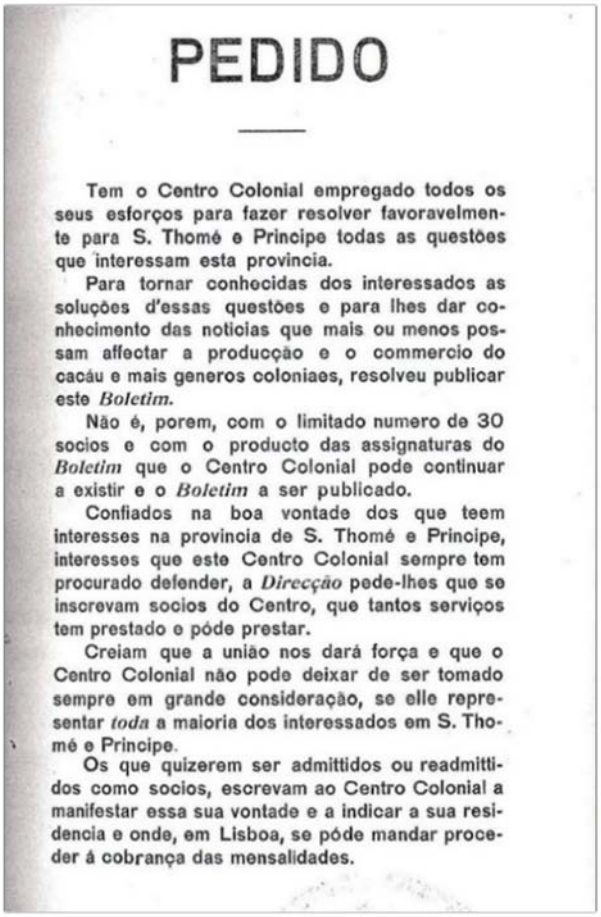
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[458] In Paris, Almada Negreiros, who had commercial interests in São Tomé, was active in placing articles favourable to the contact labour system in the Francophone press, sometimes under assumed names. Soveral, the long-serving Minister in London, attempted to deflect criticisms before the fall of the Monarchy, and his close ties with Edward VII were undoubtedly valuable in this context. Later, the Portuguese Embassies in Washington, London, Paris and Berne were active in keeping the Portuguese Foreign Office informed of actions taken by the humanitarian lobby, as well as publishing refutations and denials in the press. Lt. Col. John Alfred Wyllie, who is referred to elsewhere in this study, was, however, the most productive member of the Planter's lobby, and was particularly active through the British press. Wyllie summarised the different phases of the press controversy, including a collection of his own articles and letters, and translations of others printed in the Portuguese press, together with his translation of Mantero´s address "to the Mercantile Community of Lisbon" on February 13th 1911, in a compilation entitled "The Labour Problem of S.Thomé and Principe." See *Portuguese Planters and British Humanitarians; the Case for S. Thomé*. Redacção da Reforma. Lisbon [Trans. printed in Edinburgh]: 1911. In an article published after the boycott in June 1909, D.Thomaz de Noronha proposed a paid propaganda campaign in several different newspapers - and quotes a letter from a Sr. Nogueira to Almada Negreiros in Paris in which he suggests such a campaign "**in the guise of leader articles"** which pretended to be the view of the newspapers themselves - as in the earlier victorious campaign in the British press against the increase in duty on tea from India and Ceylon carried out by Nogueira, himself. See letter from D.Thomaz de Noronha. "Questões Coloniaes. O Cacau de S. Thomé". *O Século* June 25th 1909, p.4. (my bold). The same proposal appears in a letter in the *Século* written by "I.A.", probably Almada Negreiros, after the Cadbury v. The Standard trial: "[...] Não será porém, só com os seus argumentos, por mais concludentes que elles sejam que a cafila ao serviço dos Cadbury's deixará de arreganhar-nos os dentes do insulto e de assaltar-nos nas encruzilhadas do seu interesse inconfessável.[...] **a propaganda com que deve combater-se o bando que opera as ordens de Cadbury deve ser anonyma** e deve irradiar por toda a parte, na opulencia magnífica da justiça que nos assiste.[...]". "Portugal lá Fora. «O Cacau Escravo» Como devemos combatter ex-fronteiras os nossos diffamadores. Necessidades de aproveitar contra elles todos os elementos que nos possam ser uteis." *O Século* December 16th, 1909, p.3. (my bold)

[459] Yet another vindication appeared in 1910, now with parallel text in four languages, Portuguese, English, French and German. Anon. *O Centro Colonial e o Boycott do Cacao.* Centro Typographico Colonial, Lisboa : 1910.

[460] It was also at this time that the first propaganda films defending the plantation system in São Tomé and Príncipe were made. See Chapter 4.15 of this dissertation.

[461] The BCCL no.9, December 15th 1909, p.33 refers to the meeting of the Sociedade de Geografia on December 6th in which Consiglieri Pedroso proposed the sending of its two secretary-generals to London and Paris to speak before their sister organisations and to defend **"o nosso pundonor de nação honrada"** which they alleged had been hurt more by the boycott than the material side of colonial trade. The same issue, [p. 31] refers to the board meeting of November 17th 1909 in which Horta Osório mentioned that



PEDIDO

Tem o Centro Colonial empregado todos os seus esforços para fazer resolver favoravelmente para S. Thomé e Principe todas as questões que interessam esta provincia.

Para tornar conhecidas dos interessados as soluções d'essas questões e para lhes dar conhecimento das noticias que mais ou menos possam affectar a producção e o commercio do cacáu e mais generos coloniaes, resolveu publicar este *Boletim*.

Não é, porem, com o limitado numero de 30 socios e com o producto das assignaturas do *Boletim* que o Centro Colonial pode continuar a existir e o *Boletim* a ser publicado.

Confiados na boa vontade dos que teem interesses na provincia de S. Thomé e Principe, interesses que este Centro Colonial sempre tem procurado defender, a *Direcção* pede-lhes que se inscrevam socios do Centro, que tantos serviços tem prestado e póde prestar.

Creiam que a união nos dará força e que o Centro Colonial não pode deixar de ser tomado sempre em grande consideração, se elle representar *toda* a maioria dos interessados em S. Thomé e Principe.

Os que quizerem ser admittidos ou readmittidos como socios, escrevam ao Centro Colonial a manifestar essa sua vontade e a indicar a sua residencia e onde, em Lisboa, se póde mandar proceder á cobrança das mensalidades.

Figure 2.1. Appeal for Support. *Boletim do Centro Colonial de Lisboa* April 15th 1909. p.31

Although immediately after the announcement of the boycott the majority of public reactions were characterised by a sense of righteous indignation towards what was portrayed by the mainstream newspapers as an unjustified and disloyal act of economic sabotage on the part of Portugal's "ancient ally", certain better-informed sectors of the population had begun to display understanding and even a degree of sympathy for the decision. A week afterwards, for example, the Lisbon "Solidariedade" masonic lodge, a Republican hotbed which numbered Magalhães Lima amongst its distinguished founders, had affirmed the determination of its members to take an active part in the debate, in a confidential, internal document. The manifesto began by recognising the existence of slavery in the following guarded but unequivocal terms: "a Loja Solidariedade tem fortes indícios que em Angola se exerce a escravatura, com destino as ilhas de S. Thomé e

100,000 [reis] had been paid for the translation of the regulations concerning serviçais for São Tomé and Príncipe, with the purpose of publishing them in *The Times.* (my bold)

Príncipe […]".[462] It went on to describe the practice as "um crime de lesa-humanidade*"* and to advocate the undertaking of an enquiry in the colonies which would be carried out by a special representative of the institution. The document further recommended a range of initiatives:

> Maxima propaganda pela imprensa, folhetos, livros, conferencias […] comícios e manifestações públicas […] conferencias publicas nos principaes centros de Europa civilisada, promovidos por nós, com o auxilio de Orientes estrangeiros […] [463]

Not all of those who opposed the contract-labour system were republicans or socialists, however. [464] The Governor-General of Angola, Henrique Paiva Couceiro, a firm royalist, had honoured his promise to Cadbury and Burtt to act effectively if he was given proof of slave-trading in the Province. The Lisbon *Século* was quick to protest and on April 15th pointed the finger of blame at Paiva Couceiro for supplying ammunition to those who accused Portugal of slavery:

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[462] The report was drawn up on March 24th 1909, on the initiative of three leading freemasons: *"Castilho"*, or José António Simões Raposo, (1875-1948), who would serve as a deputy for São Tomé and Príncipe in the Constituent Assembly after the proclamation of the Republic and become one of the founders of the Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society, later joining António José Almeida's Evolutionist Party; *"Desmoulins"*, or António Maria da Silva, (1872-1950) a leading radical republican and member of the Carbonária; and *"Africano"* or Fernando Reis, born in Benguela, a regular contributor to the *Vanguarda,* who also became a founder member of the Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society and famously freed all the bonded labourers on a plantation he inherited in Angola in 1913. See **Figure 5.2.** *"Escravatura em Angola com destino a S. Tomé e Príncipe".* [Internal Document for restricted circulation.]Documentos Fundo Carvalhão Duarte/Simões Raposo. Pasta 04503.003.005. Fundação Mário Soares. It is also significant that José Pinto de Macedo had been initiated into the same lodge in 1907 on his return from Angola. [I am most grateful to Helena Serpa, the librarian of the Grande Oriente Lusitano for her help in identifying those involved.]

[463] Idem. ibidem.

[464] A curious literary contribution to the controversy appeared in the militant republican newspaper *Voz de Angola,* a few days after the announcement of the Boycott. Entitled *"Escravaria"* it was written by the symbolist poet António de Cardiellos (1875-1953), who was employed as a customs broker in Benguela between 1907 and 1908, at the time when William Cadbury and Joseph Burtt visited the town. Cardiellos was well-known in Viana do Castelo as a life-long monarchist and the heir to a considerable fortune. He was briefly imprisoned due to his involvement in the ill-fated monarchist revolt of January 19th 1919, later known as the "Monarquia do Norte". There is an apologetic article on Cardiellos by António Manuel Couto Viana as part of his series "Poetas Monarquicos Portuguezes" in *Monarquia Portugueza* no. 13, 1983, p.9. Dedicated to "Sr. Cadbury", the 27-verse poem describes the suffering of the "slaves" and prophesises that their spirits will one day return to take revenge upon the slave-traders of Benguela:

" […] Cada paquete, quando deixa a terra
Leva em seu bôjo quanta dor se pensa
Acumular:
Humanidades que na noite densa
Foram roubadas do capim, da serra
E acorrentadas sem poder gritar […]" Excerpt from *Voz de Angola* April 18th 1909, p.1.

The poem was later republished in António de Cardiellos. *Vida Negra: (versos d'Africa)*. Typ. d'André J. Pereira e Filho, Vianna do Castello: 1910 and the excerpt is quoted by Jeremy Ball in "«Alma Negra» (Black Soul): The Campaign for Free Labour in Angola and São Tomé 1909-1916." *Portuguese Studies Review*, Vol. 18, No. 2. 2010 [pub. 2011].

> É precisamente, n'este periodo agudo da questão que o sr. governador geral de Angola lembra-se de expulsar com o maximo ruido e a maxima ilegalidade dois individuos a pretexto do trafico de escravatura! Por um portaria o sr. Couceiro expulsou, por tempo indefinido, *do* territorio de Angola, o commerciante António dos Reis e um tal Carrapatoso, ambos moradores no districto de Benguella.[...] O srs. Cadbury e Cª devem estar radiantes. [465]

Remarkably, however, after a period of reflection, those responsible for *O Século*'s editorial policy seem to have suffered a change of heart, for only a week later, a leader entitled "*Questões Delicadas"* openly admitted that there were issues related to recruitment of contract labour in Angola which demanded the Government's attention:

> A verdade sabe-a o Governo, como a sabem quantos teem passado por Africa, como está reconhecida em documentos officiaes; haja visto o relatorio sobre a campanha de Bailundo e tantos outros. Não ha duvida que o recrutamento dos servicaes em Angola precisa de ser revisto, de modo a acabar-se com manobras e violencias, que nos collocam em situação difficil aos olhos do estrangeiro e que repugnam ás consciencias rectas. […] O recrutamento de servicaes para S. Thomé, como a organisação de trabalho em Angola, deveriam também já ter sido ha muito estabelecidos n'outras bases, com vantagem para agricultores e industriaes e em beneficio e em proveito da liberdade do indigena. Se assim se tivesse procurado fazer, não andaria este pobre paiz enxovalhado pelos periodicos europeus, como negreiro e esclavagista. […] [466]

It is not inconceivable that this astonishing turn-round may have been due to pressure brought to bear by the masonic circles which, by this time, undoubtedly exercised a measure of influence over the newspaper's editorial policy. The planter's lobby was not ready to give up one of its most important mouthpieces without a fight, however, and in the same issue, albeit relegated to page 6, an item, couched in the usual vituperative prose, commented yet again on the projected recruitment of labourers for the Transvaal from Mozambique, comparing their lot with those in São Tomé:

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[465] "Questões Coloniaes. A Campanha dos Chocolateiros e um acto do Governador de Angola. Elles afirmam que se faz escravatura - O sr. Paiva Couceiro, levianamente, fornece-lhes armas para a accusação […]" *O Século* April 15th 1909, p.2.
On May 15th 1909, the second issue of the BCCL, pp.13-14, published an article under the heading "Assumptos Coloniais. Cacau Escravo" which began: "Temos dito e repetimos que Portugal não é negreiro." Written under the pseudonym José de S. Thomé, the article admits there were unscrupulous individuals who "bought and sold people", against the law but that every effort was made to prosecute and punish them, referring to the expulsion on April 2nd of two traders - Isaac Tello da Fonseca and Joaquim Macedo, by Paiva Couceiro - despite the absence of legal proof. He went on to affirm: "[…] **Nós os roceiros não compramos gente. Compramos legalmente os nossos serviçaes.** […]" (my bold)
[466] "Questões Delicadas." *O Século* April 26th 1909, p.1.

> […] **os agricultores de S. Thomé conseguem quebrar os dentes à serpo da calumnia que tão cruelmente nos tem mordido e envenenado com a sua baba peçonhenta**.[…] Pelos nossos regulamentos de trabalho os serviçaes contractados para S. Thomé recebem do seu patrão: ordenado em metal sonante, pago mensalmente, comida cozinhada tres vezes por dia: dois fatos completos por semestre; cobertores, utensilios de cozinha etc. tratamento medico e pharmacia; passagens pagas para a sua repatriação; sustento medico e vestuario para os seus filhos. São sempre installados em edificações construido com comforto e hygienicas. Na velhice, e quando inutilisados pelo trabalho continuam recebendo os mesmos beneficios, exceptuando, é claro, os ordenados. O trabalho diario nunca excede 9 horas. É sempre guardado nos cofres da emigração metade dos seus ordenados, que lhes será entregue quando regressem as suas procedencias, e , além d'isso não pagam imposto nenhum para o Estado, assim como teem advogado gratuito para defeza dos seus interesses e direitos que é o curador geral.[…][467]

Once again the legislation on the living and working conditions on the plantations was misguidedly presented as a defence against the accusations of slave-raiding in Angola.

Notwithstanding defiant or over-optimistic public statements that the boycott would provoke only nominal effects, the first signs that it was beginning to have some impact upon the sale of Portuguese cacao appeared in a proposal conveyed in a letter, dated May 25th , from the Board of the Centro Colonial to the new Foreign Minister Carlos Roma du Bocage. The planters' representatives suggested in their letter that the ongoing crisis could be attenuated if coffee and cocoa were included in the trade agreements which were being negotiated with Spain, France, England and the United States, an idea which was welcomed by the Minister. [468]

In another significant development at the beginning of June, the Marquês de Soveral admitted in an interview with Sir Edward Grey that the Portuguese Government now recognised that reforms were required and intended to take the necessary measures, presumably as a consequence of the Paula Cid Report. [469] Two days later, in an article entitled "Portugal and the British Cocoa manufacturers", the Lisbon correspondent of *The Times* revealed that the Report had "largely corroborated Burtt's findings", and that

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[467] "Ilha de S. Thomé. Os servicaes estão sendo contractados na provincia de Moçambique-A campanha da calumnia dos chocolateiros caindo pela base - Confronto entre os contractos dos servicaes para o Rand e para S. Thomé*."O Século* April 26th 1909, p.6. (my bold)
[468] See BCCL no 3. June 15th 1909, p.1. Roma du Bocage's reply of May 28th 1909 appears on page 12, assuring the planters of: "meu particular empenho […] procurando mesmo abrir-lhes novos mercados".
[469] Minute by Sir Edward Grey, June 2nd 1909. FO 367/141, 20881/09.

"Senhor Wenceslau de Lima, the fifth Prime Minister to deal with this question" was now in a position to take positive steps to solve the problem.[470] Based on information obtained "on the highest authority" he went on to reveal that the measures would include well-defined districts for the exclusive recruitment of native labour, closely supervised by a Government appointed officer. Repatriation, he warned, was a more difficult question, as "labourers who have married and founded families in St. Thomé and have experienced the comforts of a regular life and personal security, will not readily return to that degraded state of barbarism which awaits them in the interior of Angola. […]" [471]

Ignoring the announced reforms in Portugal, the second half of June 1909 brought what appears to have been a carefully coordinated spate of letters and articles in the British press justifying the boycott. Joseph Burtt published an article entitled "Slave Labour on Cocoa Plantations" in the *Contemporary Review* [472] and a letter under the same heading in *The Spectator*, [473] which were soon followed by echoes in George Cadbury's *Daily News* referring to his report, whilst a week later the Lisbon-based missionary Charles Swan, whose exposé "*The Slavery of Today"* was at the printers, published a damning letter in *The Times* denouncing slave raiding in Angola*,* undersigned by nineteen of the missionaries he had contacted during his investigations in the Province. [474] Responding

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[470] "Portugal and the British Cocoa manufacturers." *The Times* June 4th1909, p.3. The Wenceslau de Lima Government lasted from May 14th to December 22nd 1909 with Cdr. Manuel Terra Pereira Viana as Minister for the Colonies (Marinha e Ultramar). The two previous governments had fallen within a month.

[471] The following day *The Times* printed Henry Nevinson's letter to the editor in response to the Lisbon correspondent's contention that the Paula Cid report had been necessary due the "the harrowing tales recently published by Mr. Nevinson [which] had brought all such foreign testimony into discredit". The article had reported that the boycott was seen in Portugal by certain sectors as a trade boycott with commercial motives. Nevinson ended by saying that the sixteen British and foreign firms who had joined the boycott would want to "defend their reputations against such a charge". See H.W.Nevinson's letter on "Slavery in S.Thomé and Angola" in *The Times* June 5th 1909, p.3.

[472] Joseph Burtt."Slave Labour on Cocoa Plantations". *Contemporary Review*, no. 96. July/Dec. 1909, pp.468-73. Burtt compared the lot of the British factory worker to that of the African "serviçal" pointing out that the latter was in no position to fight for his rights and interests.

[473] Joseph Burtt. "Slave Labour on Cocoa Plantations" *The Spectator*, June 19th 1909, pp. 969-70. Burtt invited the American chocolate makers to follow the example of the British and German firms.

[474] In *The Times* June 22nd 1909, p.8. Swan writes: "I have brought back with me a statement, which has been signed by all the missionaries I was able to reach in the limited time at my disposal. They represent one English and two American societies.[…] Quite a number have been connected with the colony for 10 to 27 years[…]". The statement consisted of four points: natives had been bought and sold during the whole of this period; many had been exported to S. Tomé under the so-called contract system; no native had gone voluntarily and that they spoke of the possibility of being sent with the utmost dread; none had been repatriated and [they] lost all contact with the mainland.
Excerpts from "*The Slavery of Today*" appeared in translation in *O Economista Portuguez* of September 26th 1909, pp.1687-1688, with a follow-up in the next issue under the heading "Defeza ou acusação?" Idem. October 2nd 1909, pp.1703-1704, with a translation of part of Wyllie's letter to *The Times* of September 28th 1909 entitled "Alleged Slavery in S.Thomé".

to the fact that the planters were seeking alternative markets, particularly in the United States, the chocolate-makers and their allies were giving no quarter.[475]

At the same time as the philanthropists were twisting the knife in the wound through the British press, the newspapers in Portugal were busy trying to apportion blame for the anti-slavery campaign and the boycott, choosing, sometimes in the same article, to accuse Nevinson; Cadbury; the cocoa producers of the British West Indies; rivalry between the British political parties; meddling by supporters of Leopold's Congo regime; or the usual scapegoat for all of Portugal's ills, the Monarchy itself.

Conspiracy theories abounded. At the end of June 1909, for example, the *Século* newspaper published a sequence of three long letters on the subject from D. Thomaz de Noronha, the editor of the moderate *Reforma* newspaper. [476] Noronha argued that it was not the chocolate makers who were behind the whole affair but the two main British political parties, which were guilty of instrumentalising the anti-slavery organisations:

> A baixa politica, a chamada politica de camarilha, terá bulido com este grave problema da nossa vida colonial. Nem um nem outro elemento nos importunaria, se não fossem os humanitários inglezes. Estes, sim para estes, dirijo eu a minha critica imparcial. Porque n'elles vejo a ignorancia, a impertinencia, o ridiculo, que nos estão lesando por um lado e fazendo com o mundo nos julgue mal por outro.[...] seria muito para desejar que esses senhores humanitarios, sybaritas cujos trabalhos já findos lhes tornam a vida ociosa, servissem o seu ideal apenas, e não andassem irrequietosa [sic] metter-se com as colonias portuguezas, ao serviço de baixos interesses partidarios que n'elles se fortificam e com elles jogam.[...][477]

Noronha added that the Liberals had hardly gained power before the Tories succeeded in convincing the humanitarian associations that the chocolate industry, which he described as "um monopolio da seita dos Quakers, seita intimamanente ligada com os humanitarios

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[475] Figures given in the BCCL show a 50% increase in cocoa imports to the USA, which according to the Portuguese Ambassador, the Visconde d'Alte, already took 1/3 of all exports of Portuguese cocoa. The big increase was due to stockpiling before a foreseeable tax of 4 cents on the pound was brought in. In the end, this did not happen and cocoa was kept on the free-of-tax import list. See BCCL no.4. July 15th, 1909, p.31.
[476] D. Thomaz de Noronha (1870-1934) Writer, journalist and teacher. Editor of the Lisbon *Reforma* newspaper. Noronha had spent several years of his teaching career in Goa, where he had met Wyllie.
[477] Taking his scornful attack on the "humanitarians" still further, Noronha alleged that they were ultimately responsible for a recent spate of bomb attacks in India, where the "anarchistas marathas e bengalis" were struggling to expel the white man from the peninsula and set up " um imperio de self-government", adding that "the two figures who did most to change public opinion in England, using their links with the Bengali anarchists were "Keir Hordes" [sic-the socialist leader Keir Hardie] and "Nervinson" [sic-Nevinson] "Questões Coloniaes. O Cacau de S. Thomé."*O Século.* June 25th 1909, p.4.

a um lado e com o partido liberal a outro" was no more than "uma alliança nefasta com o trafico escravo." Adding the King of the Belgians to his list of guilty parties, Noronha alleged he had used "his office in Liverpool" [478] to divert attention from the Congo campaign to São Tomé :

> Graças a tal estratagema, que tão bom terreno encontrou nas hostilidades e no espirito de desforço dos partidarios inglezas, pode sua magestade explorar o Congo como lhe apraz, sem que as suas digestões nem os seus somnos sejam perturbados pela imprensa mundial. [...] A fera que está em Londres mordou, atirou-se ao Rand e venceu; lançou-se depois ao Congo e alguem applicou-lhe o antigo remedio dos cancros; offerecer outra carne ao corrosivo mal. Foi S.Thomé essa carne; quer dizer fomos nos as victimas. [479]

And in his final letter on July 1st he criticised Paula Cid's recommendation of compulsory repatriation, which he suggests would only create a wider pool of labour for the Transvaal:

> [...] Era só o que me faltava ver. Os nossos, quer dizer, os productores de S.Thomé, obrigados a restituir, quer os servicaes o desejam quer não, a mão d'obra ás suas terras nataes, para o amigo judeu do sul d'Africa ir encontrar o **interland** [sic] melhormente abastado. [480]

Despite such opposition, new legislation would be introduced on July 17th 1909 as a direct consequence of the Paula Cid Report. [481] Whilst attempting to restrict recruitment areas and eliminate unsavoury practises, one of the principal objectives of the new decree was to ensure a regular supply of labour from the interior of Angola and, as a

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[478] Presumably referring to the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, the President of which was Sir Alfred Jones (1845-1909), the principal shareholder of the Elder Dempster shipping line, who also carried out consular duties on behalf of Leopold II's Congo Free State. See John Holt "The Congo Free State" Letter to the editor of *The Times* November 6th 1907, p.13.

[479] *O Século* June 25th 1909, p.4.The other letters appeared on June 29th 1909, p.3 and July 1st 1909, p.1.

[480] "A Questão do Cacau. Os proprietários das Minas do Rand auctorizados a adquirirem mão d'obra a Africa Central." *O Século* July 1st 1909, p.1.(author's bold)

[481] The BCCL published the complete legislation of July 17th 1909 concerning the recruitment and working conditions of contract labourers for the cocoa islands. See "Regulamento Geral da Emigração de Indígenas para S. Thomé e Príncipe." BCCL no.5, August 15th 1909, pp. 23-63. The new labour code is also reproduced in English in white paper HMSO *Africa no. 2, 1912* [Cd.3622], pp. 3-21.
Speaking in the defence of the contract-labour system in London three years later, Alberto Machado, a senior Portuguese civil servant, would describe the principal provisions of the new law in the following terms: "The regulation of 17th July 1909 establishes every necessary rule for the absolute freedom on the part of the blacks to engage as free-born Portuguese subjects. The recruiting is only permitted in those zones where the Governor-General declares open to it, and which full occupation is established and where agents under the control of the Government and the Governor-General were created. For each zone and year this authority fixes both the number of natives to be recruited and the roads by which they may be conducted to the coast or from it when repatriated. The appointment of the agents or recruiters is dependent on very stringent rules, and a close supervision is kept over them." From the speech of Dr. Alberto Machado to the Westminster Palace Hotel Meeting held on June 25th 1912, organised by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society- as reported in the *African World* of June 29th 1912. Reproduced in HMSO white paper *Africa no.2, 1913* [Cd.6607] pp.17-18.

consequence, one of its provisions laid down that Angolans convicted of "vadiagem" or vagrancy could be forced to sign up for agricultural work in São Tomé, a far-reaching punitive measure for a loosely-defined offence, which, ultimately, would depend upon the interpretation of local authorities and the pressure of labour requirements. [482]

The press reponse to the legislation was immediate. The *Economista Portuguez,* which had always taken a critical stance towards successive legislative attempts to solve the labour problem, found the new regulations "extremely confusing" and the decree "somewhat careless in its compilation". [483] On the other hand, those newspapers which invariably took the side of the planters interpreted the decree as a concession not just to the philanthropic campaign but to pressure exercised by Britain itself, which, they suggested, was treating Portugal as a protectorate and evoking its superior military and diplomatic power to brush aside Portugal's legitimate arguments, as it had at the time of the "Ultimatum".

The *Século,* for once, took a different line. In an important leader entitled "A Aliança Ingleza"*,* published at the end of July 1909 on the occasion of the official visit of a British naval squadron to the Tagus*,* rather than accuse Britain of heavy-handedness or treachery, the writer preferred to blame the Monarchist regime for its subservience. Although referring to the humiliating terms of the Lourenço Marques treaty and the Transvaal agreement, the article specifically pointed to the case of São Tomé:

> [...] Que admira que sob a pressão da opinião de alguns inglezes, o governo, tenha, ainda há alguns dias, formulado um novo regulamento para o contracto dos servicaes recrutados em em Angola e com destino a S. Thomé, quando era certo que desde ha muitos annos se mostrava insensivel e teimosamente surdo as reclamações e as queixas dos seus nacionaes de Angola e até dos seus altos funcionarios coloniaes? Ora é este subserviencia, este **protectorado** que irrita os nossos brios.[...] A alliança ingleza não pode, por isso, significar n'este instante uma prova de affecto entre os dois povos, porque ella só poderá ser reciprocamente util, nobre nos intuitos e efficaz nas consequencias quando a nação portugueza possa apertar lealmente, com convicção e entusiasmo, a maõ forte e honrada do grande povo inglez.[484]

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[482] Pedro Ramos de Almeida. Op. cit. 1979 (Século XX), pp. 57-8.
[483] *Economista Portuguez* July 25th 1909. Quoted in an English translation in Cadbury Op.cit 1910, p.172.
[484] "A Alliança Ingleza."*O Século* July 26th 1909, p.1. (author's bold)

Three days later Manuel da Terra Vianna, the Minister of the Colonies in the Wenceslau de Lima Government, issued a decree suspending the recruitment of Angolan labour for São Tomé and Príncipe for a period of three months, excepting future "serviçais" who had reached a port of embarkation for the islands or were already on route for the coast.[485] Vianna's intention was to allow time for the new regulations to come into force. On November 22nd 1909 the suspension would be extended until the beginning of February 1910, due to the foreseeable difficulties of implementing the legislation in the back country of Angola. [486]

In the meanwhile, the Controversy continued to spawn conspiracy theories. One of the most bizarre was put forward by Lt. Col. Wyllie on his return from a visit to São Tomé. Anxious to place the planters' defence on firmer ground in Britain by clearing the Quaker manufacturers of blame, Wyllie came up with the absurd theory that it was an anarchist group which had been behind the Boycott, not the chocolate makers. [487] In an interview in the *Século* in mid-August 1909, he accused Nevinson, "a self-confessed anarchist", of having previously spread nationalist ideas in India and inspiring "a sect" of Hindu nationalist revolutionaries, which had led to the recent assassination of his cousin, Sir William Curzon Wyllie, aide-de-camp to the Secretary of State for India. [488]

Needless to say Wyllie's bizarre theory was quickly dropped.

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[485] See Manuel da Terra Pereira Vianna. "A Mão d'Obra em S. Thomé." BCCL no.9 pp.33-40. On September 10th 1909, Hugh Gaisford, the British Chargé d'Affaires at Lisbon, reported to the Foreign Office on the new legislation and the temporary suspension of recruitment. Gaisford to Sir Edward Grey. September 10th 1909. FO367/141, 35839/09.
On September 25th 1909, *The Times* p.10 published a translation of the Minister of the Colonies' note regarding the Royal decree of 29th July suspending recruitment of contract labour in Angola, with the exception of those who had been recruited prior to the date of its publication in the Official Bulletin [September 17th 1909]

[486] An excerpt in English of Vianna's order suspending recruitment of Angolan labourers until January 29th 1910, translated from the *Diário do Governo* of November 23rd 1906, was enclosed with Gaisford's minute to Grey of the same date. Transcript in HMSO *Africa no 2 (1912)* [Cd.6322.] p.27.

[487] "Questões Coloniaes. A Mão d'Obra em S. Tomé. Não há escravatura n'aquella ilha. Afirma-se a um representante do "Século" o coronel Sr. Wyllie, que alli foi para conhecer os nossos processos de engajamento-os chocolateiros inglezes forçados a renderem-se para seu interesse". *O Século* August 12th 1909 pp.1-2. "[...] Depois referindo-se á boycottage, diz que ella partira, não dos chocolateiros inglezes, mas de **um grupo de anarchistas que a impuzeram aquelles**, a frente das quaes está o Nevinson e Krishnarvarma [sic-Shyamji Krishna Varma] do jornal Indian Sociologist." (my bold)
Lt. Col. Wyllie's cousin, Sir William Curzon Wyllie, had been assassinated by the nationalist Madan Lal Dhingra at the Imperial Institute in London on July 1st 1909.

[488] Nevinson had met with many nationalist leaders during his tour of India in 1907-8 and was indeed sympathetic to the cause of Indian Home Rule. See Henry W. Nevinson. *The New Spirit in India.* Harpers, New York and London: 1908. Also Ch.6. "The Indian Spirit" in Angela V. John. Op.cit. 2006, pp.105-124.

Wyllie was particularly active at this time in the planters' defence with letters and interviews in both the Portuguese and British press. His strategy from this point forward would be to concede that Cadbury's allegations of abuses on the mainland were probably justified, whilst defending the innocence of the planters and praising the "model" treatment of the labourers once they had reached "safe haven" on the cocoa islands. In a belated response in *The Times* to Nevinson's allegations of June 5th,[489] Wyllie began by arguing, in reasonable terms, that the planters could not be held responsible for abuses committed on the mainland of Angola, but then went on to destroy any credibility he may have retained as an impartial observer by employing abject racist rhetoric:

> […] So that it is as reasonable to hold the planters of S. Thomé, as kindly and intelligent of a body of men as can well be found, responsible for atrocities committed by savages, black, brown or white, in the hinterland of Angola or on the borderland of the Congo Free State as it would be to hold an Oxford Street tradesman answerable, in virtue of business transactions conducted by correspondence, for the personal misdeeds of some customers of anarchist leanings, say, in Barcelona or Madrid. […] Against repatriation - a very short visit to the islands will convince any impartial enquirer of the bona fides of this defence. It is not the planters' fault that the present serviçal of the islands cannot possibly be repatriated for want of a record of his original habitat. **The Angolan in the native state is an absolute animal- he has neither home nor family - please grasp this fact firmly, for it is essential to the question. His case is that of a monkey taken to a Zoo,** with this important difference that the Zoo may be (generally is) in the most unsuitable of climates for monkey life, whereas the Angolan's new abode is the very reverse.[490]

Wyllie had finally dropped the mask of moderation he habitually donned on his incursions into the British press, exposing the social-Darwinist racial beliefs behind his arguments that labour-intensive plantation agriculture was superior to other, less coercive, forms of production, and his contention that it was the "duty of the white man" to exploit the

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[489] Henry W. Nevinson. Letter to the Editor. *The Times* June 4th 1909, p.3. Responding to the accusation of the previous day by *The Times'* correspondent in Lisbon that his "harrowing tales" had brought "all foreign testimony into discredit", Nevinson writes that that the 16 British and foreign firms who had joined the boycott would want to "defend their reputations against such a charge."

[490] "Alleged Slavery in S.Thomé" *The Times* September 28th 1909 p.16 (my bold). Wyllie had written the letter on September 5th 1909. Two days later Nevinson replied: "[…] But when L-C Wyllie says that the case of an Angolan taken to the islands is like that of a monkey taken to the Zoo, I am inclined to agree with him, **except that the monkey is not compelled to labour for his captors.** A human being reduced to that condition appears to me in other respects to be almost exactly what we call a slave." "Alleged Slavery in San Thomé." *The Times.* September 30th 1909, p.10. (my bold).

indigenous peoples of the colonies - supposedly for their own good. [491] He was, of course, not alone in harbouring such ideas, which were considered perfectly respectable in many circles at the time, particularly in Britain, but also in other countries with colonies in Africa or Asia.[492]

In the meanwhile it had become apparent that the Boycott was being undermined by an enormous increase in American purchases of São Tomé cacao and, in an attempt to counter the trend, the now-amalgamated Anti-Slavery Society decided to send Joseph Burtt on a lecture tour to the United States. [493]An appeal for financial support to "all who have the cause of freedom and the welfare of Africa at heart" appeared in *The Times* on September 13th 1909 and was reported two days later in the Lisbon *Século* under the heading *"*O Cacau de S. Thomé. Uma campanha feita de esmolas". [494] At the beginning of October Burtt and his wife Emmeline gave the first of many lectures in America at Warren Ave. Church in Boston, [495] whilst syndicated newspapers began to spread sensational articles with lurid headlines from one coast to the other accusing Portugal of using slave labour in its West African colonies.[496]

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[491] In an interview in the *Diário de Notícias* shortly after his return from São Tomé Wyllie suggested that the lack of labour could be remedied by bringing out labourers from British India, as long as the recruitment was carried out properly. Reproduced in BCCL no.4, July 15th 1909, p.31.

[492] In fact, Wyllie confessed in a letter to Teixeira de Mattos that he was sorry that slavery had been abolished in America: "**I regard the abolition of slavery in the United States as the biggest blunder a nation has ever committed. The black man's function in creation is the service of the white man,** and all that was necessary was to have abolished the cruelty and oppression incidental to the system, not the system itself." Copy of Wyllie to Teixeira de Mattos, December 10th 1909. In BFASS Papers Mss. Brit. Empire S22. G267. Quoted in Lowell J. Satre Op.cit., p.140 (my bold). Alexander Louis Teixeira de Mattos (1865-1921) was a a prolific translator, journalist, literary critic, and publisher of Dutch origin, brought up and educated in Britain, despite his Portuguese name. During the First World War, Mattos was head of the intelligence section at the British Department of War Trade Intelligence. (1915-1919)

[493] William Cadbury had written to Alfredo Henrique da Silva shortly before Burtt's trip to America commenting on the new legislation: " I have seen the new law, and it is like so many others - a wonderful catalogue of good intentions, it now all depends on how the new law is carried out." Letter from WA Cadbury to AH da Silva. August 26th 1909. AHS-AHdaSilva Collection.

[494] "Slavery in Portuguese West Africa".*The Times.* September 13th 1909, p.8. The Quaker chocolate-makers had decided not to fund the trip so that Burtt could argue convincingly that his motives were strictly humanitarian.

[495] "[…] Mrs. Burtt told the story of a slave boy who had been purchased by a kind-hearted Englishman, and who had learned to read and write and is now working hard to obtain a good education so that he may return to his people and teach them. […] Mr. and Mrs. Burtt will speak this morning at the Baptist minister's meeting at Chapman Hall, Tremont Temple, on Friday night at Central Church and on Saturday night at the Twentieth-Century Club." See "Slaves by Contract. Burtt describes Life on Cocoa Plantations. Appeals to America to give Aid to the cause of Liberty." *Boston Daily Globe* October 4th 1909, p.7.

[496] For a more detailed coverage of Burtt's lecture tour, its impact in the American press and the use of lantern slides to convey his message, see Chapter 4.7 of this dissertation.

An emergency meeting of the Centro Colonial was called as soon as the news of the first successes of Burtt's ongoing American campaign reached Lisbon. Speaking to over twenty of the principal plantation owners at the one-hundredth meeting of the CCL on October 25th 1909, its President, Paulo Cancella, announced that despite the alterations to the labour regulations, which should have satisfied even what he termed "os mais meticulosos humanitarios inglezes", Burtt had managed to convince the biggest American chocolate manufacturer to join the boycott.[497] Cancella argued that the only way to stop the campaign was to call a halt to recruitment in Angola, at least for two years, and rather than Guiné they should turn the whole of their attention to Mozambique and reach an understanding with "the English company which recruited for the Rand",[498] in order to obtain the 6000 or so labourers who might be required annually. [499]

After a lengthy debate, the meeting approved a series of proposals to respond to the crisis. Firstly, a request should be made to the Government to use diplomatic channels to defend the planters whilst, at the same time, they, themselves, should seek to defend their case in the British and American press. The Government should also have the new regulations translated for distribution to the British Parliament and the newspapers in Britain, France, Germany and Belgium. In addition, they should be published in *The Times* alongside those of Trinidad, to allow a comparison to be made, as the Portuguese regulations were more liberal and humanitarian.[500] The meeting further agreed that the CCL should be responsible for monitoring implementation of the proposals and that any expenses should be divided proportionally between the plantations and firms present at the meeting, according to the amount of cacao they produced.

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[497] Referring to Walter Baker and Co. However, in a syndicated article by Arthur P. Kellog, *The Sunday Mercury and Herald* explains that about half the value of the cocoa imported into the United States came from Portugal and describes the Burtts' efforts "to enlist the support of some of the largest manufacturers, among them **Baker**, Lowney, Maillard and Huyler." These firms "**did not use the cocoa of the grade imported from San Thomé"**, it therefore being necessary to persuade the public in general to refuse to consume "slave-grown cocoa". (my bold) The National Consumers League had passed a motion urging its members to refuse to consume chocolate made from slave-grown cocoa, but the problem remained of how to identify such chocolate. "Don't Drink Slave Cocoa. A Hundred Years after Lincoln's Birth America is called upon to help Abolish Slavery in Portugal." *The Sunday Mercury and Herald* (*San José Mercury News*) issue 144, November 21st 1909, p.6.

[498] The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association [WNLA].

[499] The planters agreed to ask the Foreign Minister to send the welcome news to the British press that twenty-six of the repatriated Mozambican labourers who had returned from Roça Agua-Izé to Quelimane in July, had requested to return to the cocoa islands with their wives.

[500] The insertion of the new regulations in *The Times*, proposed by the estate owner António Horta Osório was soon dropped as the newspaper would only accept its publication as an advertisement.

The most momentous and far-reaching recommendation, however, was that recruitment from Angola should be suspended for a period of two years and that repatriation, which they had resisted for so long, should be carried out without further delay. It was a bitter pill for many of those present.[501]

Despite the arguments put forward at the meeting by Francisco Mantero that the campaign was essentially a commercial strategy to lower the price of São Tomé cocoa,[502] the planters had finally accepted that the only way to appease humanitarians on both sides of the Atlantic and hence create conditions for the resumption of purchases, would be to reform the whole recruitment procedure and repatriate Angolan labourers at the end of their contracts. The concessions, albeit made in the wake of the successful importation to São Tomé of Mozambican labourers, were undoubtedly influenced by the threat offered to the planters' businesses by the growing internationalisation of the "slave-grown cocoa" campaign and the resounding success of the humanitarian struggle against Leopold II's Congo Free State, which was now apparent for all to see.

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[501] But not all of the leading planters agreed with Mantero's theories or the CCL's strategy of denial. In a letter to his wife after a visit to Roça Boa Entrada in October 1908, William Cadbury wrote that Monteiro de Mendonça, the manager of the justly-termed "showplace of the island", had told him that he "**frankly supported our demand for repatriation**" and had affirmed that it was needed as much in São Tomé as in Angola. See Copy of said letter from William Cadbury to Mrs. Emmeline Cadbury. October 29th 1908. CP180/421. Also quoted in Lowell J.Satre Op.cit. 2005, p.129. (my bold)

[502] Summarising the history of the conflict at the meeting, Mantero alleged that there had been not one but three campaigns: the first, which had taken place five years earlier, had been "altista e promovida por interessados na defeza do cacau Anthinano" [sic-Antilhano]. He explained that the world price of cocoa had been too low for the West Indian producers who had, therefore, launched a campaign to push prices up, suspecting that São Tomé cocoa was cheap because labour costs were so low.

According to Mantero's somewhat obscure conspiracy theory, the second campaign was linked to the Congo scandal. He argued that the aim of the campaign against the Congo Free State had been to promote its division, because Britain had colonies with railway lines to the North and the South of the Congo. Belgium had resisted and the philanthropists had turned their attentions to São Tomé. The campaign against São Tomé had been promoted by the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce to force the British Government to confront their Portuguese counterparts. [presumably to draw attention away from the Congo, following the logic of Mantero's argument]

The third campaign had begun when Burtt was sent out to study the question because the chocolate makers, Mantero argued, had sensed a threat to the industry due to the fact that the philanthropic societies - "os principais clientes [sic-agentes?] dos chocolateiros" had already been involved in the first campaign - which was linked to the evangelical control of Africa. This was followed by the meeting in Lisbon with Cadbury and Burtt. Shortly afterwards the Portuguese Government had sent Paula Cid out to study reforms in the recruitment and contract system. The truce had lasted only briefly and instead of waiting for Cid's proposals they had suspended purchases on their return from São Tomé and Angola. Mantero concluded by asking: "Porque tomaram os chocolateiros esta resoluçaõ? […] **em vez de os virem comprar directamente, teem de os ir comprar em Hamburgo aos allemães, já sobrecarregados de despezas**." (my bold)

The minutes of the meeting were published in BCCL no.8 , November 15th 1909, pp. 30-36.

The visit of D. Manuel II to London, in November 1909, created a unique opportunity for Foreign Minister Roma du Bocage [503] to meet with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in an atmosphere of détente. Sir Edward Grey's memorandum on the meeting reveals his relief at the suspension of recruitment in Angola [504] and his observation that if Portuguese officials held an enquiry into "the case of each group of natives who came down from the coast" to make sure that "the natives had come voluntarily and had been engaged voluntarily," the trade "could easily be stopped" and that if the enquiry were public, "anyone could attend it and be satisfied that abuses were not being allowed". Grey emphasised the strength of feeling on the subject in Britain and the widespread certainty that abuses in the interior had been "very great". [505]

Bocage assured the British Foreign Minister that a new Governor, "who was fully alive to the situation", would be arriving in January and would put a stop to any abuses. Grey later told the press that he was well aware of the steps being taken by the Portuguese Government to prevent abuses in Africa adding, diplomatically, that all was well between the two countries.[506] Unsurprisingly, however, the atmosphere of goodwill, which was duly reflected in press reports on the Royal visit, would be of brief duration, disappearing in less than a week to be replaced by the now-familiar stories of human rights abuses in Portuguese West Africa. Five days later - on 29th November 1909 - a civil action for libel brought by Cadbury Bros. against the *Standard* newspaper would be heard at Warwickshire Assizes, in Birmingham, before Mr. Justice Pickford and a special jury.

The testimony given at the trial, which would last until December 6th, would be viewed by many impartial observers, both in Britain and Portugal, as confirmation of the legitimacy of the chocolate makers' boycott.

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[503] Carlos Roma du Bocage (1850-1918) Journalist and Diplomat. Foreign Minister from May to December 1909 in the Wenceslau de Lima Government.

[504] Satre comments, in error, that the subject of labour recruitment in Angola was not brought up. See Lowell J. Satre Op.cit 2005, p.137.

[505] See HMSO *Africa no.2 (1912) Correspondence respecting Contract labour in Portuguese West Africa [Cd.6322],* p.26. The meeting is commented in Glyn Stone, Op.cit. p.177, quoting Grey to Gaisford, November 22nd 1909. FO367/141, 43081/09. Grey's report also appears in the AS and APS pamphlet of 1912, *Portuguese Slavery and British Responsibility.* Available at PT-AHS-ICS-AHSilva-ESC-AAS-03.

[506] Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit 2005, p.137.

2.2 The Cadbury Bros. v. the *Standard* Libel Case

> Never in the history of the fight against slavery and kindred systems has there been such a complete and authoritative exposure as was effected by the Cadbury v. *Standard* Trial at Birmingham Assizes where every piece of evidence was subjected to the closest scrutiny and the facts established beyond doubt. [507]

Kathleen Simon used these words in her study "Slavery", twenty years after the trial, to emphasise that the Cadbury Bros. v. the *Standard* libel suit had been a landmark in the struggle against coercive labour. Rather than focussing on the central issue, which was to establish whether or not the *Standard* had damaged Cadbury Bros.' reputation by suggesting that they had cynically delayed taking concrete action for commercial reasons, Simon, like most of those who have since commented on the proceedings, chose to remember them as a judgement of the Portuguese contract-labour system.[508] Her conclusion was undoubtedly coloured by the role Sir John Simon K.C., her husband, played as counsel for the plaintiff alongside Sir Rufus Isaacs K.C, and the verdict of the jury, which left no one entirely satisfied.

What was supposedly at stake at the trial was the reputation of the Quaker industrialists and not that of the São Tomé planters or Portuguese colonial government. If the issue had been to prove that slavery was still prevalent in Portuguese West Africa, evidence would have been presented to demonstrate its existence and witnesses would undoubtedly have been called to defend the form of recruitment and the treatment of the labourers. No such evidence was put forward and no witnesses were called to argue the alleged merits of the system. In fact, as it happened, the legal representatives of both the plaintiffs and the

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[507] Kathleen Simon. *Slavery*. Hodder and Stoughton, London: 1929. Quote from 2nd Edition 1930, p.144.
[508] In an article in the *Contemporary Review*, published in June 1912, John H. Harris, who was by then the Organising Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, expressed the same sentiments: "In that trial, however, greater issues were at stake than reputations and damages. The real battle was for light and truth, as between the cocoa planter and the unhappy slaves of San Thomé and Príncipe-and the slave won the battle.When Mr. Justice Pickford awarded Messrs. Cadbury one farthing damages, **the civilised world knew that the Portuguese planters stood convicted on the charge of maintaining slavery in West Africa**." Rev. J. H.Harris "Portuguese Slavery" *Contemporary Review.* January-June, 1912, p.636. (my bold)

defendants had decided, long before the trial began, that the weight of evidence which had accumulated over the years against the way labour was recruited in Angola made it unnecessary to do so. Indeed, in his presentation of the case, Isaacs conceded that the plaintiffs had verified, through their own enquiries, that the system amounted to slavery:

> […] labour which I think can only be properly described as forced labour, and constituting a condition of slavery. **There is no issue in this case about that, and never has been.** [509]

The principal apologist for the planters, Lt. Col.Wyllie, would later contend that Portugal had missed a golden opportunity to defend itself by not presenting favourable testimony at the trial and hence effectively allowing the contract-labour system and those who supported it to be condemned "in absentia". Writing in the *Revista Colonial* in 1913 he would point the finger of blame for the omission at the Colonial Ministry and Portugal's diplomatic representatives:

> Portugal must recognise that she has herself largely to blame for this. In 1909, when an absolutely unique opportunity for setting herself right in the eyes of the British public was afforded her by the Cadbury-Standard trial at Birmingham, she let herself be condemned in absentia by neglecting to retain counsel to represent her […] the ex-parte mendacities of the Anti-Slavery party obtained, and still retain, currency in Great Britain as gospel truths. This enables the British Anti-Slavery Society to pose as the repository of all that is to be known about «Portuguese Slavery». […]This allowed the most grotesque falsehoods to be freely asserted and taken for granted, Portugal in absentia having to bear the whole odium of the charges.[510]

The libel action had been brought by Cadbury Bros. in response to the terms of a leader which had been published in the *Standard* on September 26th 1908, shortly after William Cadbury and Joseph Burtt had departed for Portuguese West Africa on their final mission of enquiry. Written by the veteran journalist Sidney Low, [511] at the request of the newspaper's editor H.W.Gwynne, the article acknowledged the Quaker manufacturers'

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[509] Idem, ibidem. Quoting the transcript of the case given by John H. Harris in *Portuguese Slavery: Britain's Dilemma.* Methuen, London: 1913, p.71. (my bold)

[510] J.A.Wyllie. **"**Help for the British Humanitarians. Unexpected and Unintended Portuguese Support." *Revista Colonial* no.9 September 25th 1913, pp. 2-5. (Published in English and Portuguese). It is unclear, however, how a representative of the Portuguese Government or the Centro Colonial might have intervened in the trial in favour of the contract-labour system, as neither the Plaintiff nor the Defendant would have welcomed the presence of such a witness.

[511] Sir Sidney Low (1857-1932) Journalist, historian, university lecturer. Leader writer and literary editor of the *Standard*.

excellent labour practices at home, but was disparaging about the way they had turned a blind eye to the methods employed in the production of their raw material in Africa:

> […] We congratulate Mr. Cadbury on his journey, which does not come too soon.[…] As a philanthropist and friend of humanity Mr. Cadbury's reputation stands as high as his renown for the sale of cocoa. In his model village and factories of Bournville the welfare of the workpeople is studied as closely as the quality of the goods manufactured. […]But in this latter process they are not the only agents. The white hands of the Bournville chocolate makers are helped by other unseen hands some thousands of miles away, black and brown hands toiling in plantations, or hauling loads through swamp and forest. In the plenitude of his solicitude for his fellow-creatures Mr. Cadbury might have been expected to take some interest in the owners of those same grimed African hands, whose toil also is so essential to the beneficent and lucrative operations of Bournville. [512]

The notoriety of the case in the press was ensured by the presence of Sir Edward Carson KC as principal counsellor for the Defence.[513] Carson had famously represented the Crown in the Oscar Wilde case and despite being born an Irishman, he was a leading spokesman for those who opposed Irish Home Rule. His professional trademark was his skill in witness cross-examination, a technique he would use to good effect at the trial, declining to call any witnesses to testify in favour of the *Standard* and depending upon his own statements to convince the jury. Sir Rufus Isaacs KC, representing the plaintiff, was an equally distinguished and well-known attorney who had recently confronted Carson in a number of famous cases in which success had been divided equally between the two.[514]

In addition to being the two best-known legal figures of their day, Carson and Isaacs were political adversaries, underlining the fact that the case was a further chapter in a party-political battle which had its roots in the bitter disputes over Chinese "coolie slavery" which had ultimately led to the overwhelming defeat of the Tories in the 1906 General

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[512] Excerpt from the *Standard*'s leader. Gwynne later told Nevinson that he was "driven by indignation" after reading Nevinson's exposé. See Nevinson's Diary for June 3rd 1909. Both he and Nevinson would have preferred that the case had not been brought to trial, however. The article is reproduced in full in Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit., 2005. Appendix: pp. 227-229.

[513] Sir Edward Carson KC (1854-1935) A Liberal Unionist, aligned with the most radical Irish loyalist faction. He was Solicitor-General, first in Ireland and then of the United Kingdom and held several Government appointments.

[514] Sir Rufus Isaacs (1860-1935). Served as Lord Chief Justice, Ambassador, Liberal MP, Foreign Secretary and Viceroy of India (1921-26) being made the Marquis of Reading on his return.

Election.[515] However, as fate would have it, despite having all the ingredients required to dominate the front pages of the newspapers, the trial coincided with the discussion in Parliament of the Liberal Government's radical Finance Bill, [516] which overshadowed the daily reports on the proceedings, doubtlessly to the chocolate-makers' profound relief.[517]

The case hinged on whether or not Cadbury Bros. had, for several years, consciously ignored the warning signs coming out of Portuguese West Africa and delayed their decision to stop purchases of high-quality Portuguese cacao until it was commercially convenient for them to do so, as the *Standard* had alleged. Cadbury's counsel would argue that, despite admitting that they were aware that forced labour was being used on the plantations since 1901, they had opted to wait for as long as they had, principally on the advice of the Foreign Office, which was intent upon reaching an amicable settlement to the question by applying diplomatic pressure upon the Portuguese authorities. It became apparent, even before the trial began, that proof of Cadbury's good faith in the matter would depend to a great extent on the readiness of Sir Edward Grey to confirm the details of their October 26th 1906 meeting at the Foreign Office, at which, according to Cadbury Bros., a joint strategy had been agreed.[518] Unfortunately, no summary of the meeting appears on Foreign Office files, and it seems that it was either mislaid at some later date, or that Grey, contrary to the practice of meticulous record-keeping at the FO, chose to keep his recollection of the meeting to himself. [519]

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[515] A campaign in which George Cadbury's *Daily News* played a leading role. It should be remembered that the 1906 General Election was also a great victory for the Labour Representative Committee which agreed a joint strategy with the Liberals to avoid splitting the vote. The Labour Party, as it would soon be renamed, elected 29 MPs and would be led by Keir Hardie, the first Labour MP (1892).

[516] Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had put forward a budget which included crushing death duties designed to break the grip of the landed aristocracy, together with a significant increase in income tax. The Tory-controlled House of Lords refused to approve the Bill and a General Election was called.

[517] Nevertheless, *The Times* provided a daily report on the case, as did other national newspapers.

[518] Cadbury's had decided to "cover their backs" on this question just a fortnight after the Boycott had been announced, clearly anticipating future criticism for what must have appeared to many as a tardy decision. A letter was sent to Sir Edward Grey on March 31st 1909, summarising the central issue of the meeting of October 26th 1906 with George and William Cadbury: "At this meeting both Mr. George Cadbury and Mr. William A. Cadbury stated clearly that we were willing either then, or at any time, to cease purchasing San Thomé cocoa, if you said that by doing so that we could best assist you in bringing about a better state of things in Portuguese West Africa. They understood your reply distinctly to be that you consider that, for the moment, the fact that cocoa was being largely bought by English cocoa manufacturers gave much greater weight to your representations in Portugal than if these representations were based purely on humanitarian grounds." Cadbury Bros. to Sir Edward Grey. March 31st 1909. FO 367/140 12543. See Lowell J. Satre Op.cit. 2005, p.152.

[519] Sir Eric Barrington was also present at the meeting. The only record on the files of the Foreign Office is the memorandum of the meeting which was written by Cadbury Bros. shortly afterwards, prior to notifying their partners in the campaign. There is no mention of the possibility of a boycott.[see previous note]

Reporting on the first day of the trial,[520] *The Times* referred at length to Isaac's opening address, in which he quoted the article from the *Standard*:

> […] We congratulate Mr. Cadbury on his journey, which does not come too soon… One might have supposed that Messrs. Cadbury would themselves have long ago ascertained the condition and circumstances of these labourers on the West coast of Africa and the islands adjacent who supply them with raw material. That precaution does not seem to have been taken. It was left to others to throw light on those favoured portions of the earth's surface which enjoy the rule of Portugal in Africa. […] It is not called slavery - "contract labour" they name it now- but in most of its essentials it is that monstrous trade in human flesh and blood against which the Quaker and Radical ancestors of Mr. Cadbury thundered in the better days of England…[…] And once on the plantations he is a slave for life. He does not seem to be tortured and he is not starved, but he has no freedom. […] Such is the terrible indictment made by, as we have said by a writer of high character and reputation, on the evidence of his own eyesight. [521]

The crucial question of why Cadbury's had delayed their decision to cease purchasing Portuguese cocoa for so long was addressed by counsel for the plaintiff on the second day of the trial. William Cadbury stated that the firm was aware of the international implications of such a decision and consequently they had "always gone to those highest in authority." According to *The Times'* account, Cadbury went on to affirm that, at the meeting with Sir Edward Grey on October 26th 1906, "[Grey] had told them that they must keep quiet, and not make any public protest or write anything to the press." He added that "it was not true that it had been suggested that the keeping back of Mr. Burtt's report would be an advantage to the firm or that they suggested that the report should be kept back. The suggestion came from Sir Edward Grey. […] They had decided to give the FO six months grace and then publish Burtt's report." [522] When questioned, however, Grey responded feebly from the witness box that he could not remember whether it was Cadbury or himself who had first suggested holding back the Burtt Report, nor, indeed, whether the advisability of ceasing the purchase of Portuguese cocoa had been raised at the meeting. Isaacs, a Member of Parliament and a fellow Liberal, seems to have deliberately avoided any risk of embarrassment or confrontation in his questioning of the

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Satre wonders if "the [British] government was deliberately attempting to avoid assuming any real responsibility for putting pressure on the Portuguese". Idem, ibidem.

[520] No photographs were allowed in court on the instructions of Justice Pickford.

[521] *The Times* November 30th 1909, p.4.

[522] *The Times* December 1st 1909, p.4.

distinguished witness, either due to respect for his ministerial status, or perhaps because an election was imminent and any adverse publicity might affect the outcome. Grey's inconclusive testimony undoubtedly left doubts in the minds of the members of the jury as to whether Cadbury's statements were true and, as a consequence, the firm's principal justification for its actions was thrown into doubt.

The third day gave Sir Edward Carson his first chance to question William Cadbury. Drawing upon his well-known theatrical and rhetorical skills, he forced Cadbury to confess that he had been aware of abusive practices in Portuguese West Africa for several years and that despite such knowledge no action had been taken.[523] Carson read passages from Burtt's report, and obliged Cadbury to confirm the more damning accusations, often repeating the question in virtually the same words to drive home his point:

> Counsel: Was it slavery of a very atrocious character?
>
> Witness: In Angola, itself, the reports that have come to my knowledge give me every reason to suppose that in many cases, at least, it has been exceedingly bad.
>
> Counsel: Would you say it was slavery of an atrocious character?
>
> Witness: Generally speaking, as far as the collecting of labour in Angola goes, that is true.
>
> Counsel: The cocoa you were buying was procured by atrocious methods of slavery?
>
> Witness: Yes.[524]

After further questioning and the reading of other extracts from Burtt's Report, Carson then turned to Cadbury once again, using his own words to lend credibility to the newspaper's assertion that he was guilty of hypocrisy and procrastination:

> Counsel: Knowing that it was atrocious, you took the main portion of your supply of cocoa for the profit of your business from the islands conducted under this system?
>
> Witness: Yes for a period of some years.
>
> Counsel: You do not look upon that as anything immoral?
>
> Witness: Not under the circumstances.[525]

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[523] Sir Edward Carson obliged Cadbury to recognise that they had bought what they knew to be slave-grown cocoa over a period of several years whilst it had been stated in a Cadbury booklet that" the welfare of the **employés** [in Trinidad] has every consideration, and the prosperous condition of the workers there is well-known". See *The Times.* December 2nd 1909, p.4.
[524] Idem.Ibidem.
[525] Idem.Ibidem.

Carson then rounded up this part of his questioning by getting Cadbury to admit that the firm had not only spent well over a million pounds sterling on São Tomé cocoa between 1901 and 1908 but had also made handsome profits [526]:

> Counsel: Then I take it that it was not against the principles of Messrs. Cadbury and Co. to make a considerable profit out of slave-produced cocoa?
>
> Witness: The answer is, as I said before, «under certain circumstances».
>
> Counsel: For eight years?
>
> Witness: Yes.[527]

Cadbury was then forced to confess that between 1901 and 1908 his "efforts resulted in a great deal less" than he should have liked, [528] but he refused to admit that he had misled public opinion and stated that the only time the firm had withheld information was in the case of the Burtt Report, at the request of the Foreign Office. Carson's cross-examination continued on the following day, with Cadbury looking more and more like the defendant than the plaintiff.

Carson read long excerpts from Nevinson's exposé, and managed to extract praise from Cadbury for the journalist and his eye-witness account, flagrantly contradicting the critical comments he had previously made in private correspondence.[529] Under cross-examination Cadbury was unable to conceal his disagreement with Fox Bourne regarding an article published in February 1908 in the journal of the Aborigines´ Protection Society,[530] which suggested that it fell to the chocolate makers "to uphold the traditions of their country as an opponent of slavery" by boycotting cocoa from São Tomé.[531] At that time Cadbury was still optimistic regarding the goodwill of the Portuguese authorities, despite the fall of the Franco Government and the substitution of Ayres

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[526] The actual figure was £1,336,632 or £112,419,283 at today's prices.
[527] CP 1/8 Assizes. December 1st 1909.
[528] *The Times* December 3rd, p.4.
[529] Rufus Isaacs KC said the plaintiffs would accept anything in Nevinson's book he had seen with his own eyes but not the things he had been told. Cadbury said he had the highest opinion of Nevinson but that he had a high fever in Angola and thought he was being poisoned by the Portuguese. "He did not touch his food unless someone else touched it, the state of his mind was so wrought upon." Cadbury also noted that Nevinson could not speak Portuguese and this left him naturally suspicious. He added that some of the men in the estates were honourable men and that they were incapable of mistreating the labourers as set down in some of Nevinson's accusations. Idem, ibidem.
[530] "Central African Slave Traffic". *Aborigines' Friend.* February 1908, pp. 102-108.
[531] William Cadbury to H.R Fox-Bourne. February 3rd 1908. Copy of letter held in CP 180/99. Mentioned in Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit., 2005, p.101.

d'Ornellas,[532] and he viewed Fox-Bourne's intervention as untimely and a betrayal of trust. The counsel for the defence then read aloud almost the whole of a second letter cutting off relations with the Aborigine's Protection Society, written by Cadbury a few days later.[533] Carson's intention was to show that Fox Bourne, who was dissatisfied with the progress which was being made in the matter, had been putting pressure on Cadbury to take action - pressure which was clearly unwelcome. Carson's devastating final question that day was clearly calculated to leave a lasting and profound effect upon the jury: "Have you formed any estimate of the number of slaves who lost their lives preparing your cocoa during those eight years?" Cadbury visibly winced as he replied with difficulty, "No, no." [534]

William Cadbury returned to the witness box the following day to answer questions put by the principal counsel for the plaintiff, Sir Rufus Isaacs KC and his assistant John Simons KC. Isaacs went over the whole of the period since the time Cadbury's admitted to having learned of the use of forced labour, covering the different steps which they had taken to address the problem. Simons concluded his questioning by asking whether or not Cadbury had any regrets about what he had done: "Looking back now, is there any step which you could have taken which you have not taken?" The answer came back without hesitation: "No I am sure there is not."[535]

A number of supporting witnesses for the plaintiff then followed. E.S.Thackray, Cadbury's purchasing agent, confirmed under cross-examination that the moment chosen to announce the Boycott had coincided with a fall in the price of cocoa due to an increase in world production and that to have done it before would have been "awkward", if not damaging.[536] He added that the firm had been seeking alternative sources of high-quality cacao for seven or eight years. Afterwards, and despite Carson's withering barrage of questions, Joseph Burtt, who had interrupted his lecture tour of the United States, provided firm and convincing testimony in support of William Cadbury's account and his

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[532] Ornellas was replaced as Minister for the Colonies by Admiral Augusto de Castilho.
[533] William Cadbury to H.R Fox-Bourne. February 8th 1908. Copy of letter in BFASS Papers. MSS Brit Emp. S18. C150/125.
[534] *The Times* December 3rd 1909, p.4. Quoted in Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit., 2005, p.167.
[535] The *Evening Despatch* December 3rd 1909, p.4. Idem, p.168.
[536] The reason he gave was that there had been a drop in world production in 1907 in comparison with the previous year, and an increase of 30% between 1907 and 1908. He added that the price of São Tomé cocoa had gone down more in price than other cocoas since they had stopped buying.

good faith throughout the whole of the affair. [537] George Cadbury, however, who followed, though clearly firm in his anti-slavery convictions, found it difficult to justify the profits which had been made for so long from "slave-grown cocoa". Under cross-examination he confessed that the decision to continue purchasing had created a conflict between his feelings of revulsion towards the contract-labour system and his common-sense, which advised that it was the only way to exert any influence over the Portuguese producers.[538] Finally, when cornered by Carson, he blurted out that he understood that most of the profits made over the period had gone "to a benevolent fund", a statement made under duress which was quite obviously untrue. Through cross-examination, Carson also succeeded in demonstrating to the jury that George Cadbury's *Daily News* had exercised a measure of self-censorship in its coverage of the issue of slavery in the cocoa islands [539] and that H.N.Brailsford, Nevinson's journalist friend, had threatened to resign as a result.[540]

In his closing statement on the sixth day of the trial, Carson underlined the fact that Cadbury's, on their own admission, had been aware of the situation for eight years and that over this period of time nothing had improved for the "slaves". Cadbury Bros., he added, were no ordinary firm and had a reputation for not only defending the humanitarian treatment of their own employees but also of others abroad:

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[537] Burtt testified that he was temporarily employed by the Anti-Slavery Society [for the duration of his lecture tour in the United States] and that he had carried out his investigation in Africa as thoroughly and reliably as he could. As far as his lengthy absence in Africa was concerned he answered that: "The delay that took place was not of his seeking." *The Times* December 4th 1909, p.4.

[538] George Cadbury said he "looked with an eye of abhorrence on slavery". Carson then asked: "and anybody trying to make a profit out of slavery? What do you think of that?" Cadbury answered: "Sentiment told me that slavery ought to be stopped but I knew we could only approach the subject of altering the conditions in the Portuguese colonies through the Portuguese Government. It was a question of common sense." Idem, ibidem.

[539] Isaacs argued that the Defence had assumed in its attacks that the *Daily News* which had led the campaign against Chinese coolie labour in South Africa belonged to Cadbury's but this was not the case. He explained that George Cadbury, who was the head of the firm [of Cadburys] had been part proprietor and director of the *Daily News* since 1902 and his two sons Edward and George were also directors and part proprietors, but William Cadbury, who had been most active in the São Tomé campaign, had nothing to do with the newspaper. The conservative *Spectator,* however saw it differently: "The weakest part of the position of Messrs. Cadbury was their refusal to restrain the Daily News from fulminating against Chinese labour at a time when their own attitude was so vulnerable. […]" *The Spectator*, December 11th 1909, p. 983.

[540] Both H.N.Brailsford and H. W. Nevinson resigned from the *Daily News* in the autumn of 1909, when the newspaper refused to condemn the forced feeding of suffragettes.

> "[…] They are men in a peculiar position owing to the action which they had thought right from time to time to take in asserting themselves as the champions of labour, whether at home, in the colonies or in foreign countries."[541]

He reminded the jury that a member of the firm owned a newspaper which had campaigned against the use of indentured labour in South Africa but had avoided publishing anything on the question of slave labour in São Tomé. And summing up the whole case for the defendant, Carson finally alleged that the lengthy process had been deliberate strategy on the part of Cadbury Bros., as they believed profits would have suffered if they had changed their source of raw material.

It then fell to Isaacs to summarise the case for the plaintiff. He emphasised that counsel for the defence had relied on his own assertions and had presented no witnesses in order to avoid cross-examination, adding that Nevinson - were he called to the witness stand - like Fox-Bourne, had he been alive - would have confirmed William Cadbury's good faith in the matter, as would any other witness whom had he cared to call. Isaacs emphasised that the company had always taken the honourable course.

After an adjournment, Isaacs returned to his summary on the Monday morning. Before a packed court, he addressed Carson's accusation that Cadbury's had used the Foreign Office as an excuse for delaying decisive action. Isaacs reminded the jury that Sir Edward Grey had made it clear in 1906 that he preferred to use diplomatic pressure to convince the Portuguese Government to take action and that Cadbury's had agreed to wait for six months before taking more concrete steps. He went on to record that on the completion of the Burtt report in 1907 it was the Foreign Office, again, which had requested that they should delay the release of the document to allow the Portuguese authorities prior cognisance. Isaacs ended his five-hour summary by making a plea to the jury to award substantial compensation for the damage which had been done to his clients' honour and reputation. [542]

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[541] The *Evening Despatch*. December 4th 1909, p.5. See AHS-AHSilva Coll. Dossier Imprensa. Carson would remind the jury in his summing up that: "The plaintiffs put themselves forward as the champions of the proper conditions of labour, whether it were at home or amongst the coloured races abroad and they had put themselves on a very high pinnacle of public morality […]" *The Times.* December 6th 1909, p.4.

[542] Alfredo Henrique da Silva, who, together with Baron de Merck, was one of the two Portuguese witnesses invited by Cadbury Bros. to testify to William Cadbury's good faith in the matter, gives a summarised account of the trial in his defence of his actions in the "*Alma Negra!*" affair: "[…] Dum lado, o *Standard,* pela boca dos seus advogados, fazia a Portugal os maiores insultos, exagerando horrivelmente as atuais

Justice Pickford's lengthy summing-up, which followed, centred on the fact that it was the defendant's responsibility to prove that the officers of the firm of Cadbury had behaved throughout the period in question "in a dishonest way, making or purporting to make, efforts which they knew could have no good effect, in order that they might continue to make a profit out of the slave-grown cocoa." He reminded the jury that several of the assertions made by the counsel for the defendant were unsubstantiated and that many of the people who were aware of Cadbury's efforts were convinced of their good faith. If any doubts still remained as to which side he favoured, Pickford concluded by reiterating Isaac's advice to the jury that if they believed that Cadbury's had been libelled in the article they should award "sufficiently substantial damages" to make their decision clear. The members of the special jury then withdrew to reach a verdict.[543] In contrast with the rest of the protracted proceedings they were out for less than an hour. On their return, the foreman of the jury announced that they had found in favour of Cadbury Bros. but that, to the surprise of everyone present, they had opted to award damages of only a farthing - a paltry sum. Despite having been convinced that Cadbury Bros. had been unfairly treated by the article in the *Standard*, the jury had evidently decided that they were not entitled to the "substantial damages", which had been requested, because a suspicion remained that although they had behaved honourably in pursuing the matter and finally ceasing to purchase São Tomé cacao, they had, by their own admission, taken advantage of the successive delays caused by the Foreign Office's strategy to procure a alternative sources of raw material, whilst simultaneously making a handsome profit. After the verdict had been announced, Justice Pickford, whose advice had quite clearly been ignored by the jury, ruled that the *Standard* should bear the whole of the costs of the case, which amounted to several thousand pounds.[544]

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circunstancias dos serviçais de S. Tomé. Por vezes me senti indignado e capaz de quebrar, com os meus protestos, a austeridade do tribunal. Por outro lado, Cadbury, pode dizer-se, foi alí o nosso defensor. Mostrou como nas colonias inglezas também havia que censurar; que se se tinha interessado mais por S. Tomé que por outra qualquer escravatura tinha sido pelas circunstancias do seu comercio; que os portuguezes eram tão dignos de crédito como quaisquer outros; que se não tinham feito tudo, tinham já feito muito, e assim por deante." Alfredo Henrique da Silva. Op.cit.1913, p.9. His deposition in the trial is to be found in AHS-AHSilva Collection."Testemunho de Alfredo Henrique da Silva. Cadbury v. *Standard*."

[543] A jury called at the request of either the plaintiff or defendant, made up of respected senior members of local society such as businessmen, property owners, bankers. See Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit 2005, p.158.

[544] Alfredo Henrique da Silva refers in the following terms to the distribution of costs: "Por fim, foi o *Standard* condenado como difamador na multa de 5 reis e nas custas e selos do processo. A multa foi pequena, mas as custas e selos do processo, segundo me informei, subiram a uns 50 contos." Idem.Ibidem. A letter from Cadbury's solicitors to Alfredo Henrique da Silva estimates that the *Standard* had spent £7000

Reactions to the verdict differed greatly. Remarkably, all the parties involved in the affair seem to have interpreted the decision as being in their favour. Carson, though having lost the case, was pleased with the outcome, commenting in public that the trifling amount of damages meant that the jury felt that the action should never have been brought.[545] Isaacs, for his part, expressed relief, given the fact that the jury was made up of local worthies who almost certainly had Tory leanings.[546] Nevinson regarded the trial as "establishing the facts of the slave traffic and the system of forced labour in Angola and the Islands […] as he had reported them",[547] whilst, in the columns of the *African Mail,* E.D.Morel heaped praise on his mentor William Cadbury for his courage, patience and self-sacrifice, whilst berating the Government for its lack of moral leadership in the affair.[548]

For Strachey's *Spectator,* however, the verdict was "distinctly a surprise" and neither "conclusive [nor] satisfactory", whilst it identified Cadbury Bros.' weakness in the case as "their refusal to restrain the *Daily News* from fulminating against Chinese labour when their own attitude was so vulnerable." [549] *The Times,* too, criticised the fact that the *Daily News* had remained virtually silent about São Tomé whilst having previously published articles condemning coolie labour. [550] Other conservative newspapers such as the *Globe* and the *Saturday Review* took the same line.[551]

In Portugal, in the meanwhile, the Lisbon daily *O Século* had published a leader with the dramatic headline "O Paiz ao Abandono!" The article was illustrated with two of the illustrations from Charles Swan's "Slavery of Today" entitled "Escravo morto algemado de pes e mãos" [552] and "Escravos a caminho de Catumbella".[553] The publication of these shocking photographs on the front page was nothing less than a journalistic "bombshell" given the previous ambiguous stance of the *Século*'s leading articles on the question.

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on the case and would have to pay something in the order of £4000 towards Cadbury Bros.' costs. See letter from Walter Barrow to AH da Silva. January 24th 1910. PT-AHS-ICS-AHSilva-ESC-SER-6-A-04.

[545] See Nevinson Op.cit 1935, p.179.

[546] Cadbury's had insisted on the case being tried locally in Birmingham, due to William Cadbury's supposedly poor health at the time. They may well have regretted their decision after seeing the composition of the jury.

[547] Nevinson Op.cit 1935, p.180.

[548] The *African Mail.* December 10th 1909, p. 92.

[549] *The Spectator.* December 11th 1909, p. 983.

[550] *The Times.* December 7th 1909, pp. 9-10.

[551] The *Globe.* December 7th 1909, p.1. The *Saturday Review.* December 11th 1909, pp. 721-722. See Lowell J. Satre Op.cit 2005, p.178.

[552] See **Figure 4.44.** The two photographs appear as the frontispiece to *The Slavery of Today*.

[553] See **Figure 4.57.**

Moreover, the use of the word "escravo" in the captions was further proof that the newspaper had finally accepted that the British campaign was founded on fact, if only in part.

> Em geral, tem-se respondido a este e outros meios de propaganda com a alegação generica de que tudo isso não passa d'uma campanha caluniosa e interesseira. Em parte assim será. Em absoluto, porém, não ha o direito de se dizer tal. Na apaixonada e vehemente campanha ingleza contra o que elles denominam **a escravatura,** ha inegavelmente um fundo de verdade. Commettem-se principalmente em Angola - abusos a que é preciso por termo**.**[554]

The true target of the article was not the contract labour system, however, much less the planters of São Tomé and Príncipe, but the monarchist regime, as the headline suggested. Drawing a parallel with the concessions made by Portugal in negotiations for a trade agreement with Germany and those made in the dispute with China regarding the territorial waters of Macao, the writer pointed the finger of blame at the Government which was, he alleged, guilty of passivity towards the accusations levelled at Portugal by the humanitarian campaign. He went on to underline the tragic irony of the simultaneous reception of the royal visitor in London [555] and Portugal's public humiliation in the Cadbury Bros. v The *Standard* libel case:

> […] Em Londres vestem-se algumas ruas de galas [sic] para receber o hospede real e, no município da City, faz-se o elogio da nação portugueza, entretanto a mesma hora e n'um tribunal da mesma cidade, discutia-se se eram fundadas ou não as acusações dirigidas por Cadbury e outras industriaes contra Portugal, acusado de consentir escravatura nas suas colonias e de estarem ao serviço das plantações de S.Thomé milhares de escravos caçados e vendidos por agentes domiciliados em Angola. O Standard que se atreveu de duvidar da sinceridade d'essa campanha, foi condemnado por diffamador. […] [556]

The article ended with a vehement protest:

> Em nossa propria casa, o governo abdica deante não se sabe de que poderes ou influencias illegitimas; e os abusos continuam. Lá fora, em face dos exageros d'uma campanha violenta e provavelmente interesseira, a diplomacia portugueza sorri, indulgente e magnanima!"[557]

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[554] "O Paiz ao Abandono!" *O Século.* December 10th 1909, p.1 (bold in original). Tim Grass Op.cit.2007 cites the date of the article in the *Século* erroneously as December 16th 1909.
[555] In fact, D.Manuel II had left London on November 27th 1909 and the libel case began two days later, in Birmingham.
[556] Idem.ibidem.
[557] Idem.ibidem.

On the whole, however, the Portuguese press was remarkably quiet about the trial, possibly demonstrating embarassment that no one had defended the official position on the matter, not to mention that of the planters. [558] As soon as the shock had worn off, however, negative reactions began to appear. Augusto Ribeiro, a specialist in colonial affairs who had consistently accused the humanitarian campaign of being malicious and commercially motivated, wrote in the *Diário de Notícias* arguing that the campaigners were "using the courts" to attack a foreign power and that proof of the fact was the presence in court of a representative of the British Government. He went on to affirm that what had been discussed at Birmingham Assizes was the legitimacy of Cadbury's campaign and that the defendant had been *"*a administração colonial portugueza." Ribeiro concluded: "Cadbury não foi alheio ao início da campanha em 1903 e desde então esteve sempre em actividade, preparando **o seu golpe de preto** […]" [559]

Employing an even more agressive tone, the author of a letter to the editor of *O Século* accused Cadbury, whom he called "o famoso insultador condecorado de Birmingham", "o ganancioso industrial de Bournville" and "o agente dos philanthropos da city", of having orchestrated the affair with the *Standard,* whilst he, too, expressed regret that Portugal had presented no defence for its actions during the course of the proceedings:

> Se tivessemos reclamado, pela via competente, teriamos evitado que os 30 dinheiros do Standard (o historico farthing) fossem entregues ao industrial Cadbury, cujo triumpho, na verdade, é simplesmente moral, para não dizer immoral. O sr Cadbury pode publicar em livro, com o seu retrato de Escariote, os depoimentos das testemunhas que fez inquirir em Birmingham e offerecer a obra como titulo de candidatura ao premio Nobel de philanthropia.[...] [560]

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[558] "Em quanto os jornaes inglezes consagram muitas colunas á exposição da discussão do processo de Birmingham os jornaes portuguezes limitam-se a publicar, no conjuncto dos telegrammas de Londres referentes a elle, como se o processo nos fosse absolutamente indifferente."Augusto Ribeiro."A propaganda ingleza contra o cacau portuguez" In "Chronica Colonial." *Diário de Notícias*. Reproduced in the BCCL no.9. December 15th 1909, pp. 5-7.

[559] Idem.ibidem. (bold in original). See also Lopo Vaz de Sampayo e Mello. Op.cit.1910, p.312.

[560] "Portugal lá Fora. «O Cacau Escravo» Como devemos combatter ex-fronteiras os nossos diffamadores. Necessidades de aproveitar contra elles todos os elementos que nos possam ser uteis." *O Século* December 16th 1909, p.3. Probably written by Almada Negreiros in Paris but signed " I.A." and supposedly sent from London. In the same issue new legislation was published on the emigration and recruitment of indigenous workers for São Tomé. Alterations to the legislation of July 17th 1909, including prohibition of recruitment of labourers under the age of fifteen and obligatory accompaniment of mothers in the case of children under seven. There were also alterations to the repatriation scheme. See "Ultimas Noticias. O recrutamento dos servicaes. É publicado o decreto regulando o engajamento e emigração dos trabalhadores indigenas para S. Thomé." *O Século* December 16th 1909, p.2.

The trial would be sooner forgotten in Portugal than in Britain, however, where, for several months to come, the Tory newspapers would continue to use the accusations made in the trial against the so-called "cocoa press", as ammunition in its opposition to the Liberal Government.[561] At the beginning of the new year, now freed from the legal constraints of the libel case, William Cadbury published the report on his visit of inspection to Angola and the cocoa islands under the title *Labour in Portuguese West Africa,* with a Portuguese version translated by Alfredo Henrique da Silva following shortly afterwards.[562] The English version, which included the Burtt report, was edited before publication by E.D.Morel, who rewrote the final chapter. [563] Factual and written in straightforward language, it was published in the form of a cheap pocket book. Public interest had quickly waned after the trial, however, and it was not the popular success that Cadbury had hoped for. [564]

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[561] The expression "cocoa press" is claimed to have been coined by Winterton's *"World"* newspaper which after the libel case ran a scurrilous campaign against Cadbury Bros. and, more specifically, George Cadbury's newspapers, which, by 1909, in addition to the *Daily News,* included *The Star* and the *Daily Chronicle*. In 1912 the *Daily News* merged with the *Morning Leader* to become the *Daily News and Leader.* See Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit. 2005, pp. 185-186 for more on this press campaign.
Curiously, at the beginning of 1913, G.K.Chesterton, who had become disillusioned with the Liberal Party, resigned from the *Daily News* shortly after his poem entitled "A Song of Strange Drinks", criticising "cocoa", had been published in the *New Witness.* The stanza which caused offense read as follows:

> "Tea, although an Oriental
> Is a gentleman at least;
> Cocoa is a cad and coward,
> Cocoa is a vulgar beast,
> Cocoa is a dull, disloyal,
> Lying, crawling cad and clown,
> And may very well be grateful
> To the fool that takes him down"

In the *New Witness* January 23rd 1913. Republished in *The Flying Inn* in 1914. The link to the "Cocoa Press" is explained further in Ian Ker. *G.K.Chesterton. A Biography.* OUP, Oxford: 2011, pp.324-326.
[562] William A. Cadbury, *Labour in Portuguese Africa. Second edition, published with additional chapter on labour recruitment in Mozambique.* George Routledge and Sons London; E. P. Dutton and Co., New York: 1910. The Portuguese version was published as: William Cadbury. *Os Serviçaes de S.Thomé. Relatório d'uma visita as ilhas de S. Thomé e Príncipe e a Angola, feita em 1908, para observar as condições da mao d'obra empregada nas roças de cacau da Africa portugueza.* Bertrand, Lisboa: 1910. Buried on page 5 under the heading "Os Serviçaes de S. Thomé. Edição portugueza do famoso relatório de William Cadbury [...]", *O Século* would comment as follows: "Reproduzem-se n'este relatorio accusações graves que deram origem à campanha de difamação contra o nosso paiz, relativamente a forma de contracto e ao tratamento dos servicaes de S. Thomé, tendo tal campanha em vista, como por muitas vezes o Século frisou, a **boycottage** do cacau portuguez, por parte dos chocolateiros inglezes. [...] O seu verdadeiro fim é já demasiadamente conhecido, para que seja necessário insistir n'elle. A edição portugueza foi feita, como se declara no respectivo prefacio, por determinação do proprio sr. Cadbury como **"um dever de lealdade"** para connosco. [...]" (bold in original) *O Século* January 27th 1910, p.5
[563] See Kevin Grant Op.cit 2005, p.132, quoting Cadbury to Morel. March 17th 1909. CP Ms. 180/839.
[564] Cadbury apparently expected the Anti-Slavery Society to purchase a significant number of volumes for distribution.

2.3 Frustrated attempts at reform in the final months of the Monarchy and Sir Edward Grey's defence of the Portuguese authorities

Consul Horatio Mackie's report from Luanda, which was received at the Foreign Office in January 1910, would have done little to allay Sir Edward Grey's concerns. Drawing a contrast with the case of Angolans who were "left […] in complete ignorance of their rights", he cited "the recent rising among the Mozambican labourers in San Thomé" to exemplify how they, by way of contrast, could not be "deluded as to when their term of service expires".[565] Mackie now argued that repatriation should be made compulsory, as it was the only way to demonstrate to "the Angolan native, who [was] contracted in a wild state" that "at least in the eyes of the law, he was a free agent." He added that compulsory repatriation would "dispose of the constant misgivings and suspicions" which the existing regulations inevitably caused, warning, however, that the prosperity of the "thriving industries requiring *serviçal* labour" would inevitably be jeopardised by such a decision.

On the other hand, Mackie commended the reduction in the duration of contracts from five to three years and the increase of the sum to be paid to "serviçais" from the two-fifths they had previously received, to half of their true wages, the rest being held in the repatriation fund until their return home. He enclosed a table showing that over 67,000 labourers had been shipped to São Tomé and Príncipe over the previous twenty-two years, not including children under 12, nor infants accompanying their parents. [566] Mackie's report ended with a chilling statement: "It appears that these children are regarded as natives of the islands and are destined, it would seem, to spend their lives on the

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[565] In the São Tomé daily *O Equatorial* of August 10th 1909, p.1. The article is reproduced in *O Economista Portuguez* of October 2nd 1909 which in its turn cites an article by João Albasini in *O Africano* of Lourenço Marques: "Nojento, não é verdade Excelencia? [the Minister of the Colonies]Mas o facto é absolutamente verdadeiro, esses moçambicanos passaram por aqui num vapor portuguez caminho de S.Thomé. Passaram confiados na palavra de quem os contratou, o sr. Pinto Bastos. Esses iriam conscientemente para S.Thomé pelo triplo do tempo por que costumam ir para o Transwaal[sic] *e para ganharem menos do que ganham quando vão para o Transwaal?* [sic] Não é crivel. […] e ainda dizem *que o preto não quer trabalhar*." (phrases in italics in the original).

[566] Consul Horatio Mackie (Loanda) to Sir Edward Grey (Received January 14th 1910. Sent from Luanda on November 30th 1909) FO 367/186 1505/10. Reproduced in HMSO *Africa No.2 (1912) [Cd 6322]*, pp. 29-32.

plantations on which they were bred or born. It therefore follows that parents claiming repatriation must abandon their children." [567]

Shortly afterwards a note from Villiers arrived at the FO, warning that the Governor-General of Angola, Lt. Col. Alves Roçadas, who had been appointed in December, had authorised the resumption of contract-labour recruitment from February 1st, albeit "under the strictest and most careful supervision […] in the districts of Quillengues, Bailundo and Jinga de Ambaca", the regions where "control can most effectively be exercised".[568] On the positive side, however, Villiers reported that the Portuguese Foreign Minister had appointed a special superintendent to oversee "the manner in which the provisions of the said regulations [of July 17th 1909] are carried out at the agencies and on board ship", ostensibly with the aim of proving "how little foundation there exists for the accusations which have been made with regard to the manner in which natives are recruited in the province of Angola." [569]

On March 27th 1910 yet another vindication, in English, of the contract labour system was published in Lisbon [570]. *The Times* described it as a "long and carefully prepared paper" in the form of an official reply "to the statements made in England on this subject".[571] Although adding little new to the hundreds of pages which had already been written in defence of the contract-labour system, it seems to have drawn a speedy response from the humanitarian lobby. Just a week later, a debate in the Commons on labour conditions in Angola was opened by the Liberal MP Noel Buxton, the Parliamentary Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society,[572] who asked the Foreign Secretary if he would consider the advisability of increasing British consular representation in the province of Angola, in order to watch the methods by which native labour was obtained. Questioned further by

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[567] Idem., p. 31.

[568] Sir Francis Villiers to Sir Edward Grey. January 11th 1910 and January 18th 1910. FO 367/186. Idem. pp.32 and 33. A translation of Alves Roçadas' thorough instructions to local authorities on the strict procedure to be adopted in the recruitment of labourers was enclosed with Mackie's report of January 31st 1910. Idem., pp.34-36. See also Kevin Grant. Op.cit. 2005, p.132 and Ramos de Almeida Op.cit. (Século XX) 1979, p.71. Roçadas had emphasised that labour reform would be a priority, in his inaugural speech.

[569] The inspector, José Freire de Almeida, had previously been employed as an inspector of Mozambican contract-labourers in Johannesburg. FO 367/186 6973/10. Idem., p.34.

[570] Anon. *Portugal and the Regime of the Native Work in Its Colonies: A Justifying Memorial.* National Printing Office, Lisbon: 1910.

[571] "Labour in the Portuguese Colonies". *The Times.* March 29th 1910, p.5.

[572] In March 1910, an informal cross-party group of MPs had been formed at the instigation of the ASS to act as a Parliamentary lobby on the issue of "Portuguese Slavery". Noel Buxton was the grandson of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, founder of the Anti-Slavery Society, and the son of its longstanding Chairman of the same name. He too would later become its Chairman.

Sir Gilbert Parker, a Tory MP who headed one of the most active pro-South Africa lobbies, Sir Edward Grey found himself having to defend Portugal's good faith in the matter.



Figure 2.2 Sir Edward Grey. c. 1914. Photographer unknown.

Grey answered that abuses chiefly occurred in the system of recruiting on the mainland, not on the islands, and that the Portuguese Government had suspended all recruiting for a time, pending the enforcement of new regulations. He added that recruiting would at first be allowed only in certain restricted zones and that a special commissioner had been appointed to superintend the execution of the regulations in Angola.[573] The correspondence over the following months between Grey and Consuls Mackie and Drummond-Hay in Luanda reveals, however, that, despite the new measures, recruitment in Angola had not been resumed.[574] Understandably, given the suspension of recruitment, repatriation over the same period had been negligible, official figures quoted by Drummond-Hay showing that only thirty-nine labourers, twenty-three men and sixteen women, had returned to Angola.[575]

Nevertheless, there were signs that the existence of the problem had finally been officially recognised, despite the obstacles raised by those who had vested interests in the islands. Shortly before the fall of the Veiga Beirão Government, the fifth in the short reign of D.

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[573] See Hansard. House of Commons Debate. April 5th 1910, vol.16 cc 192-4.
[574] Consul Horatio Mackie to Sir Edward Grey. February 15th 1910; Sir Edward Grey to Consul Drummond-Hay July 21st 1910, Consul Drummond-Hay to Sir Edward Grey August 4th 1910; Consul Drummond-Hay to Sir Edward Grey September 16th 1910. See HMSO *Africa no.2 1912. [Cd 6322.]* pp.38-39.
[575] Figures supplied to the Consul by the Governor-General of Angola.

Manuel II, Lieut. Leotte do Rego was appointed Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe. Although he remained in office for only 36 days, the Boletim Oficial of the province bears witness to the avalanche of anti-corruption legislation which was approved during this period and his vigorous attempts to put an end to long-standing administrative inertia. [576] Unsurprisingly, however, there was a speedy reaction to the threat to the status quo, both on the islands and in Lisbon, and Leotte do Rego was soon summoned to the capital by Marnoco e Sousa, the new Minister for the Colonies in what would be the last Government of the Monarchy, led by the leader of the Regenerador Party, Teixeira de Sousa.[577]

Ignoring the positive measures which were under way in São Tomé and Príncipe and the fact that recruitment from Angola had still not resumed, the British humanitarian campaign showed no signs of letting up.[578] On July 1st 1910 an important deputation of the Anti-Slavery Society, led by its President Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, was received by Sir Edward Grey.[579] In addition to Travers Buxton, its Hon. Secretary, it included Lord Mayo; Sir Albert Spicer MP, representing the London Chamber of Commerce; five other MPs; Sir Henry Cotton; Prof. John Westlake KC; J. St. Loe Strachey, the editor of *The Spectator* and the activists W. A. Albright, Henry Nevinson and John and Alice Harris.

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[576] Lieut. Jaime Leotte do Rego. Governor of São Tomé and Principe (First time) June 15th-July 21st 1910. "Na pasta da Marinha e Ultramar, João Azevedo Coutinho é substituído pelo conselheiro Marnoco e Sousa, facto com repercussões no governo de Leotte do Rego que é chamado a Lisboa. Tem enorme repercussão a partida do governador, além de uma grandiosa manifestação popular espontânea numerosos telegramas foram enviados para o Ministério e para o próprio rei, protestando contra a saída do governador e enaltecendo a sua acção a qual fez despertar a colónia de uma terrível letargia." In Contra Alm. José Luis Leiria Pinto. Revista da Armada no. 379. Sept-October 2004.
After the fall of the Monarchy a petition was addressed to the new Acting Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe, Miranda Guedes, by a numerous group of signatories representing local business interests. They had, by then, realised that Leotte do Rego's short term of office in the islands was a real attempt to put an end to the official inertia which had reigned for so long: "a colónia, se olhou com receio alguns actos do fugaz governo provincial, apoiou as suas linhas gerais, e sentiu-se ferida porque, mal afeita a ver algum interesse pelo bem público, custava-lhe que por mera regedoria se afastasse daqui quem tinha dado as primeiras provas de que desejava trabalhar e que os outros trabalhassem." *Suplemento ao nº 51 do Boletim Oficial do Governo da Província de S.Tomé e Príncipe*, December 21st 1910, p. 5.
[577] See "A contradança. Como se governam Colónias." *O Século* July 20th 1910 p.1. Article criticising the replacement of Lieut. Leotte do Rego as Governor of São Tomé by Lieut. Fernando de Carvalho, and Lieut-Col. Roçadas as Governor of Angola by Capt. Martinho Montenegro [who, in fact, was never appointed] António Teixeira de Sousa's Government, which took office on June 26th 1910, was deposed by the republican coup of October 5th 1910.
[578] Local legislation concerning the use of convicted offenders as a source of labour for the islands was published on June 25th 1910 and on the very day Grey received the delegation of the AS and AP Society, new local regulations dealing with the repatriation of "serviçais" were published.
[579] Grey warned Soveral of the meeting and explained that if he had done otherwise there would have been a full debate in the Commons. See Grey to Villiers. June 27th 1910. FO 800/ 71. See also "Sir E. Grey and Forced Labour" *The Times.* July 2nd 1910, p.8.

George Cadbury, Joseph Rowntree and John Holt sent apologies for their absence and a letter, expressing support, from the Archbishop of Canterbury, was read by Canon H.S. Holland.[580]

In his statement to the delegation Grey explained that he had reached the conclusion that "the root of the evil […] was not the actual treatment of the *servicaes* on the islands […] but the conditions of recruitment on the mainland and what laid this open to a charge of slavery was that the people were captured by force." It had become clear that "until these conditions were […] entirely stopped, repatriation, which at first seemed to be the point on which criticism should turn, was really impossible." Grey went on to say that the last thing they wanted to do was to "derogate in any way from the sovereign rights of the Portuguese or to hurt their political susceptibilities of sovereignty in any way", and that the Portuguese Government had been convinced that abuses did go on on the mainland - not where their administration was settled - but "outside their own territory, where administration practically did not exist. That was where the capture took place."

Responding to concerns expressed by the delegation, Grey announced that a British consul was to be appointed on the mainland and a vice-consul on the islands. The consul was to visit the embarkments at Luanda and Benguela from time to time, travel on the ships and visit the recruitment zones and the routes to the coast. There would be four periods of repatriation a year when labourers who had served out their time "would be shipped free to the proper port on the mainland" and half the labourer's wages were to be deposited monthly with the Government agent to form a bonus for the labourer on his return to the mainland. Grey emphasised that the reformed regulations, were such that "if they were effectively carried out", they would put a stop to the abuses which had previously existed. It must have seemed to Nevinson and the more militant members of the delegation that no better defence of the Portuguese Government's efforts could have been made by the Portuguese Minister for the Colonies, himself. [581]

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[580] The Archbishop wrote: "[…] it seems to be the clear duty of those who have at heart the well being of the less civilized races of the world to sound a vigorous protest and to invoke every aid that can be enlisted for bringing such dark deeds to an end." Idem. ibidem. See also "Cocoa and Slavery. Sir E. Grey on action taken by Portugal" *Western Morning News*. July 2nd 1910, p.5.

[581] There was considerable frustration amongst activists concerning Grey's apparent "laissez-faire" attitude towards issues which involved human rights. Morel's *African Mail* was often highly critical. Morel accused the FO of "humbugging" the Commons and linked the FO's policy of diplomatic procrastination in the "Slave-grown cocoa" scandal to its previous approach to the Congo Atrocities: "What hollow mockery is

The issue returned to the Commons three weeks later, this time in the form of an attack on the Liberal Government and its handling of the whole affair. Comparing the Government's inaction with the vigorous campaign against the Congo, the Tory MP Earl Winterton, the proprietor of the populist right-wing newspaper, the *World,* accused the Liberals of dilatory tactics and advocated that "gunboats with the right to search" should be stationed in the area and that the consuls of the Great Powers should have the right to inspect the conditions under which the men were indentured:

> […] we hold the view that in certain cases it is not only desirable but absolutely necessary that the British Government should not merely protest but, if necessary, should be prepared t**o back up that protest by force**. That is particularly necessary in the case of Africa, because **we are the Power above all others which has a standing and an influence in Africa.**[582]

In his response, Grey defended his policy of diplomatic pressure and the success which had been achieved under the Liberals, whilst praising the reforms which had been introduced by the Portuguese authorities since the Boycott:

> The noble lord thinks we have been lacking in zeal, but we have no fear of a comparison with the four years in which we have been in office and the four years after 1901 when our predecessors were in office. […] **he did not recognize that the Portuguese Government have within the last 12 months taken action which has completely altered the state of things.**[583]

He went on to say that recruiting had been resumed but only in areas where the local authorities had effective control over it, adding that engagements had to be voluntary and open to public scrutiny:

> I think it is only right to acknowledge that the Portuguese Government gave people every opportunity of judging whether the regulations were being observed and produced the results intended. They agreed that the engagements with the natives should be entered into publicly,

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this niggling diplomacy which attempts to do just enough to avoid disagreeableness in Parliament, and contrives merely to irritate the Portuguese without impressing them in the slightest degree." *African Mail.* March 17th 1911, p.1. Francisco Mantero's reply was published two weeks later. He pointed out that recruiting from Angola had been ended in 1909 and that there was *"a conspiracy of silence in humanitarian circles"* towards this, but that **no one in Portugal held the Foreign Office responsible**. See "The Foreign Office and the Angolan problem" *African Mail*. March 31st 1911. Reproduced in Francis Mantero. Op.cit. 1911, pp.145-6. (my bold)

[582] See Hansard. House of Commons Debate. July 21st 1910, vol. 19 cc.1554-93. (my bold)

[583] Idem, ibidem. (my bold)

> any that any one who pleased might attend to see that the natives were voluntarily engaged and understood what they were doing.[584]

Confirming his faith in the policy he had pursued, Grey emphasised the results which had been achieved:

> […] no negotiations could secure more on paper than these do, if we follow them up and take advantage of the publicity to ensure that they are working, and we have full reports of how the regulations actually work. […] I believe that they [the Portuguese Government] are sincerely anxious to remedy these facts, and that they know perfectly well that it is in their interest […] [585]

In the meanwhile, in Portugal, Leotte do Rego's involuntary return to the "Metropole" had been received with consternation in the press. On the day before his successor, Lieut. Fernando Augusto de Carvalho, took office as the new Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe, [586] the evening newspaper *A Capital* [587] published a scathing article under the sensational heading "Latrocinios, escandalos e outras imoralidades. Porque foi aceite a demissão do governador Leotte do Rego?", praising the Governor's brief crusade against what was termed "um pavoroso sudário de abusos". The article went on to admit that the chocolate-makers' campaign was fully justified and that there were at least 50 servicais who had completed their contracts and had been awaiting repatriation for months.[588] Public protests had broken out in São Tomé on Leotte's departure and the newspaper predicted that the republican candidate in the coming elections would undoubtedly benefit from the atmosphere of dissatisfaction and unrest. A follow-up appeared the next day, again under sensational headlines, referring to "desordem, chaos, a immoralidade em

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[584] Idem, ibidem.
[585] Idem, Ibidem.
[586] Lt. Fernando Augusto de Carvalho, Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe. August 7th 1910 - November 11th 1910.
[587] Founded by Manuel Guimarães, the first issue of *A Capital*, *"diário republicano da noite"*, came off the press on July 1st 1910, three months before the proclamation of the Republic.
[588] "[…] Acusavam-nos principalmente de não repatriar os servicais logo que eles, tendo terminado o seu contrato assim o reclamavam. O governo, como se sabe, fez constar que tal acusação era falsa. Pois a verdade é que **tal acusação é fundamentadissima** […] **justifica-se a campanha dos chocolateiros**" *A Capital* August 6th 1910, pp1-2 (my bold). A series of articles critical of the regime's colonial policy would follow in close succession over the next two weeks: For example: "Pobre S. Thomé. Inconfidencia e sonegação de documentos." *A Capital* August 8th 1910, p.1; "Africa Mysteriosa. Como se administram as colonias portuguezas." *A Capital* August 22nd 1910, p.2. William Cadbury received the first article in the *Capital* from Alfredo Henrique da Silva and commented: "I hope there will be a good row made if an honest man has been removed from a government post at the instigation of the planters" W.A. Cadbury to A.H. da Silva. August 13th 1910. In AHS-AHdaSilva Collection.

tudo." Amongst the accusations was that the bodies of Europeans were being abandoned in the streets of São Tomé to be eaten by the dogs :

> "os brancos chegavam sem o menor recurso e d'ahí a pouco apertados pela miséria, andavam pelas ruas em bandos, a pedir esmola aos pretos[...] não era raro vel-os cahir de fome ao voltar d'uma esquina[...] e os seus cadáveres eram devorados pelos cães[...] porque nem o serviço de enterramentos era organisado."[589]

O Século also commented critically on Leotte do Rego's "resignation", blaming the Monarchy for the disastrous state of affairs in São Tomé, which, it suggested, was surrounded, in real and possibly metaphorical terms, by "swamps".[590]

In his last report before the overthrow of the Monarchy, H.M.Consul Drummond-Hay wrote that he had travelled on October 4th 1910 from São Tomé to the island of Príncipe, arriving early the following day. On his return to Luanda, he reported that sleeping sickness was "very prevalent" on the island and that 56 people out of a population of 4000 or so had died in the month of June alone.[591] The reports in the republican press on the situation in São Tomé had begun to reflect widespread feelings of despair towards the malaise, not merely of the islands but of the nation as a whole, and a growing impatience for change at any price. It was clear to all that something had to be done, without delay, to stop the rot. The flames of insurrection in Lisbon were now being openly fanned.

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[589] "O regimen em S. Thomé. Mais escandalos." *A Capital,* August 7th 1910, p.1.

[590] "[...]O ex-governador de S. Thomé tomou varias deliberações, publicadas na folha official, tendentes a por termo aos abusos e ás incurias e destinada a promover os melhoramentos que as circumstancias aconselhavam.[...] dizem-nos que a população de S.Thomé está desanimada com essa instabilidade governativa, tendo perdido todas as esperanças nos governos. De facto a republicanisação da camara municipal de S.Thomé é um symptoma evidente d'esse descontentamento" "Coisas Coloniaes. O Sr. Leotte do Rego em Lisboa. S. Thomé cercado de pantanos. Um livro em preparação. O estado de desanimo do povo. Esperanças perdidas". *O Século.* August 7th 1910, p.2.

[591] He stayed at the Cable Station and visited two of the plantations. Consul F.E. Drummond-Hay from Luanda to Sir Edward Grey 20th October 1910. Reproduced in HMSO. *Africa no.2 (1912)* [Cd 6322] pp.40-42. Drummond-Hay had previously travelled from Luanda on the S.S. Africa which was carrying 430 Mozambican labourers for the plantations, 4 of whom died on arrival. Others had died on the journey and were buried at sea. In addition to visiting other plantations he had stayed at Rio de Ouro and Boa Entrada for six days which enabled him to "thoroughly investigate" the treatment of the labourers. He writes: "I cannot too highly praise the treatment accorded them; they are well-housed, well-fed and provided with good hospitals, which are maintained in a state of scrupulous cleanliness. In one plantation school is provided for the children and as soon as they are able to work they are taught a trade, and they all appear to be very bright". Drummond-Hay reported that his interpreter had asked them if they wished to be repatriated and all answered in the affirmative. He comments "They evidently wish for the novelty of a journey". On the issue of repatriation, which he considers "a most difficult one", he writes that in the event of their being landed "at Benguella or Loanda" they would be "at a loss to know where to go" and would probably be "caught by their own people, robbed and sold again as «serviçaes»." Idem. p.41.

2.4 Secret republican diplomatic initiatives and contacts with British anti-slavery campaigners

Republican preparations for the collapse of the Monarchy had been under way for several months. In early July 1910, shortly after the meeting between a deputation of the Anti-Slavery Society and Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey to discuss "Portuguese Slavery",[592] the representatives of the Republican Party, Sebastião Magalhães Lima and José Relvas,[593] met Henry Nevinson, "celebre campeão da campanha antiesclavagista", at the home of his friend Henry Massingham, the editor of *The Nation.* [594] The supposedly unexpected encounter came about as a result of the confidential diplomatic mission which had taken Relvas first to Paris, where he was reunited with the two other members of the deputation appointed by the Executive Committee of the Republican Party - Augusto Alves da Veiga, who had been living in exile in Brussels since 1891, and Sebastião Magalhães Lima, whose stays in the French capital had become more frequent since the time of the João Franco dictatorship. [595] Relvas and Lima would later travel on alone to London. [596] One of the principal aims of the initiative was to convey an impression of

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[592] See "Sir E. Grey and Forced Labour." *The Times* July 2nd 1910, p.8. The previous day Sir Edward Grey had received an important deputation of the Anti-Slavery Society led by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, its President, which included Nevinson and Lord Mayo.

[593] José Relvas (1858-1929). A leading republican politician of moderate reformist views, Relvas was chosen to announce the founding of the Republic in Lisbon on October 5th 1910, together with a fellow member of the Republican leadership, Eusébio Leão. Minister of Finance in the Provisional Government, he later served as Ambassador to Spain, playing an important role in undermining Monarchist conspiracies, but would retire from political life in 1914, returning briefly as as Prime Minister (Presidente do Ministério) in 1919 during the crisis caused by the Monarchist uprising in the North of Portugal. He was a member of the Acácia masonic lodge between 1911 and 1913.

[594] Henry Massingham (1860-1924) was the first editor of *The Nation*, the leading British radical weekly, which had been founded in March 1907 by the Quaker chocolate manufacturer Arnold Rowntree and a group of leading Liberals in the wake of the resounding Liberal success in the 1906 General Election. Under Massingham´s direction, the journal moved to the left during the First World War and began to support the Labour Party. Massingham, a supporter, like E.D.Morel, of the Union of Democratic Control, which was in favour of a negotiated peace agreement, would remain as editor until April 1923 when Joseph Rowntree sold the journal to John Maynard Keynes. *The Nation* was later amalgamated with the *New Statesman*.

[595] Augusto Alves da Veiga (1850-1924) Lawyer, teacher and politician. Alves da Veiga was one of the leaders of the so-called "Revolta de 31 de Janeiro", in 1891, an ill-fated attempt to overthrow the Monarchist regime, which led to his exile in Paris and then in Brussels. Despite an amnesty for those implicated in the attempted uprising Alves da Veiga would only return to Portugal when the Republic was proclaimed, in 1910. He later served as the Portuguese Minister to Belgium.

[596] The decision to send the deputation had been taken at the meeting of the Executive Committee (Directório) of the PRP which met to implement the resolutions of the Party Congress, held in Oporto in April 1910. Magalhães Lima had departed for Paris before Relvas to prepare the way for the deputation. Though originally chosen to be part of the mission, Bernardino Machado eventually declined the invitation.

statesmanship and moderation which had been conspicuously absent from the republicans' fierce opposition to the Monarchist regime, and above all, to sound out French and British reactions to a future Republican government. The members of the deputation deliberately avoided any contact with the two Ministers of the Monarchist regime, the Conde de Sousa Rosa in Paris, and the Marquês de Soveral in London.

In Paris, they were first received by Jean Herbette, the editor of *Le Siécle,* who, after listening to the explanations of the Portuguese delegation, promised to publish a brief press release [597] and to arrange a meeting with "the vice-president of the Chamber of Deputies, M. Étienne".[598] In the wide-ranging discussion with Étienne which followed, they took advantage of the opportunity to offer reassurances that a future Republican government would respect all existing international agreements of a diplomatic and financial nature.[599] When the possible threat of Spanish interference in Portuguese affairs was raised, Étienne unexpectedly responded that France would follow Britain's lead on the matter. Relvas recalls in his memoirs that Étienne phrased his statement in the following terms: "Nós seguiremos em tudo a linha que a Inglaterra julgar melhor adoptar, porque estabelecemos em princípio a supremacia da nossa aliada em questões e relações internacionais que mais a interessam." [600] It was then patently clear to the Portuguese republicans that they would have to reach an understanding on the matter with the British authorities, without delay.

In contrast with Herbette's warm reception, André Tardieu, the editor of *Le Temps*, proved to be more reserved and the Portuguese delegation left their meeting with him in

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[597] "Autorizamos Herbette a declarar no seu jornal que o Partido Republicano respeitará todos os compromissos legais da Nação Portuguesa, contraídos com potências estrangeiras, quer sejam financeiros, quer se refiram a convenções políticas." José Relvas. Op.cit.1977, p.203. Jean Herbette (1878-1960) was a well-known journalist who wrote in the radical and anticlerical press on Foreign Affairs. He would later become France's first ambassador to the Soviet Union. See also Vitor Neto. "José Relvas. Um Politico Republicano." *Revista de História das Ideias.* Vol. 34. 2ª Série. Univ. Coimbra, Coimbra: 2016, p.219.

[598] Relvas is probably referring to Eugène Étienne (1844-1921), a left-wing republican who was Minister of War in 1905-6 and again in 1913 and vice-president of the Chamber of Deputies on several occasions.

[599] The following excerpt from *Le Siécle*. June 13th 1910 and *L'Áction* June 22nd 1910 is reproduced in Relvas' Memoirs: "L'attitude des republicains ne permet pas s'en douter. Ils se déclarent decidés, s'ils triomphent, à maintenir la politique extérieur de leurs pays dans la voie ou ils se meut actuellement, et à respecter tous les engaements que le gouvernement précedent pris envers ses créanciers étrangers. Si la Monarchie disparaissait, nous n'aurions donc aucune raison de la regretter. Et l'Angleterre, de son côté, ne croirait sans doute perdre au change, si l'alliance traditionelle qui l'unit au Portugal prenait un caractère national au lieu d'un caractère dynastique." Idem., p.204.

[600] Idem. pp 89-90. France did not have an alliance, as such, with Britain at this time, Étienne's statement was clearly a result of the "Entente Cordiale" of 1904, which had altered France's traditional foreign policy.

a mood of some pessimism, [601] an impression which, however, was soon dispelled by an article in his newspaper which portrayed the Portuguese Monarchy as having reached an impasse: "La verité est qu'on ne sait guère comment sortir de l'impasse ou l'on est de plus en plus acculé".[602] Further meetings were held with Jules Hedeman, the editor of *Le Matin*, which had a privileged relationship with *The Times,* and with Jean Bernard, senior correspondent of *L'Indépendance Belge* of Brussels, which would later publish the Republican Party's press release followed by a long article underlining the difficult situation of the Portuguese Monarchy.

At the beginning of July, Relvas and Magalhães Lima were able to meet with senior representatives of the press in London through the good offices of Lima's close friend Oscar de Araújo, the vice-president of the Association of Foreign Journalists and Chairman of the Anglo-Portuguese Chamber of Commerce.[603] In his memoirs, Relvas singles out meetings with "H. Horst" [sic-Francis Wrigley Hirst], [604] the editor of the *Economist*, and D.D.Braham, the international news editor of *The Times.*[605] Hirst emphasised that the economic and financial plans of any future government in Portugal were of greater importance to Britain than the strictly political side of the question and Relvas writes that he took advantage of the opportunity to reaffirm the Republican Party's commitment to economic development and colonial trade.

A few days later a full-length article on Portugal appeared in the *Economist* with excerpts from Relvas' presentation on "A Questão Económica Portuguesa" which he had given at

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[601] André Tardieu (1876-1945) was a moderate conservative. He would later become Prime Minister of France on three occasions between 1929 and 1932.

[602] *Le Temps* June 19th 1909. Quoted in Relvas Op.cit 1910, p.206.

[603] Óscar de Araújo (1860-?) Brazilian-born? diplomat, sociologist, journalist, foreign correspondent. A staunch republican, he lived in Paris for ten years before moving to London in 1900, where he became Chairman of the Anglo-Portuguese Chamber of Commerce and Deputy Chairman of the Association of Foreign Journalists. His wide-ranging social and business contacts, particularly in the world of journalism, economics and finance were invaluable to the republican deputation. He would become a member of the Portuguese Sociedade Anti-esclavagista in April 1911.

[604] Francis Wrigley Hirst (1873-1953), a Liberal isolationist. *The Economist* had abstained from commenting on the contract labour issue until publishing Henry Nevinson's long letter "The Angola and San Thomé Slavery", which summarises the whole question from the anti-slavery side, shortly before the opening of legal proceedings at the Cadbury Bros. v. *Standard* libel trial. See *The Economist*. November 27th 1909, pp.1102-1103.

[605] Dudley Disraeli Braham (1875 -1951) was, at the time, Head of the Imperial and Foreign Department of *The Times* (1912-1914) and a Director of *The Times* Publishing Co. A war correspondent in several countries, he had been arrested in 1903 by the Russian Government for his sensational reports on the Kishinev massacre. In 1914 he became the Australian correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in Sydney.

the Associação Commercial do Porto in March of that year.[606] It was the article in the *Economist* which facilitated the meeting with Henry Massingham, who explained that it was out of the question for the deputation, as representatives of the Republican Party, to meet Sir Edward Grey in person, but that he would try to arrange an interview with a senior representative of the Foreign Ministry.[607] Undoubtedly due to the invaluable influence of Massingham and Braham, Relvas and Magalhães Lima were warmly received at the Foreign Office by "Sir Mac Kinwood" [sic-Thomas McKinnon Wood], Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs to Sir Edward Grey. [608] After the Portuguese deputation had argued that the fall of the Monarchy was both inevitable and imminent, they explained the Republican Party's ideas for the future regime at some length and gave a guarantee that Portugal would respect all existing diplomatic and financial agreements, first and foremost among them, the ancient Alliance between the two countries. As regards the colonies, they asserted that a future Republican government would retain full dominion over Portugal's possessions in Africa and Asia, with the aim of promoting their development for the benefit of Portugal and civilization in general. After questioning the Portuguese representatives on other aspects of their policy, MacKinnon Wood finally gave them the guarantee they were hoping for - that there would be no question of British intervention in the event of a change of regime as it was "exclusively a domestic affair".[609] Relvas describes this meeting in his memoirs as "incontestavelmente o maior triunfo da missão." [610]

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[606] Intended to be one of a series of talks to be given by leading republican figures which together would constitute a manifesto for a future republican Government. Relvas spoke on March 3rd 1909. His proposals were later discussed and approved at the Republican Party Congress in Oporto. José Relvas would emphasise the importance of the article in the *Economist* to international reactions to his appointment as Minister of Finance during the early days of the Republican regime.

[607] Relvas also commends Braham and Hirst's contribution to their obtaining the meeting with the Under-Secretary of State. See Relvas Op.cit 1910 p.90. Henry Massingham (1860-1924) progressive journalist, was the editor of *The Nation*, the leading radical weekly newspaper of the day, until 1923.

[608] Thomas McKinnon Wood (1855-1927). Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. (October 19th 1908 - October 23rd 1911- followed by Francis Acland). MacKinnon Wood belonged to the progressive left wing of the Liberal Party. In 1911 he became Financial Secretary to the Treasury and in the following year Secretary for Scotland, a post he retained in the wartime coalition Government until being appointed Financial Secretary again, a cabinet post, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1916. MacKinnon Wood had been given a list of points to be raised, beforehand, together with a summary of the position of the Republican Party's delegation on each.

[609] See Vicente de Bragança-Cunha. *Revolutionary Portugal 1910-1936*. James Clarke, London: 1937, pp. 88-89.

[610] José Relvas*, Memórias Políticas*; pref. João Medina. Terra Livre, Lisboa: 1977-1978 vol. I, p.219. Magalhães Lima's influence as the Grand Master of Portuguese Freemasonry was undoubtedly an important factor in obtaining such high-level meetings. Ladislau Batalha, writing in a tribute to Magalhães Lima published after a year after his death, describes his later work in London to achieve the recognition

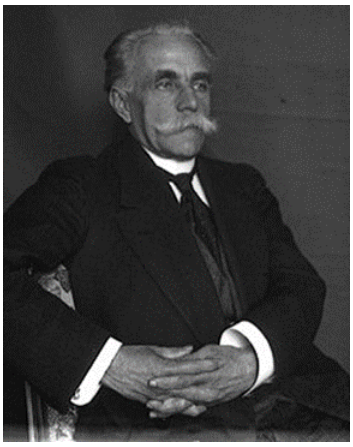


Figure 2.3 Sebastião Magalhães Lima c.1910. Photograph by Charles Chusseau-Flaviens.

Through an introduction to the Hambro Bank from the German financier and industrialist Martin Weinstein,[611] the Republican ambassadors were also able to meet representatives of the City, whose minds they endeavoured to set at rest regarding the financial policies of a future Republican Government. Commenting on the meetings, Relvas wrote to fellow Republican leader Eusébio Leão in the following terms: "esta parte da missão tem de ficar

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of the Republic as his greatest success - a success which depended to a considerable extent on his contacts as the foremost representative of Portuguese Freemasonry: "Proclamada a República, ei-lo que vai para Londres, onde, recebido como Grão-Mestre da Maçonaria, conseguiu insinuar-se no seio da Corte e do Governo, obtendo o reconhecimento do novo regimen. Esta é a sua obra culminante. […]" Ladislau Batalha. *Memória de um Bom. Magalhães Lima. Homenagem da Liga Portuguesa dos Direitos de Homem no primeiro aniversário do falecimento do seu fundador.* Indústrias Gráficas. Lisboa: 1929, p.28. The Portuguese Human Rights League was founded in April 1921 by Magalhães Lima. A careful examination of the private correspondence between Sir Francis Villiers and the FO has revealed, however, that **the name of Magalhães Lima, which was proposed by the Provisional Government as Portugal's first diplomatic representative in London was quickly withdrawn by Bernardino Machado due to the reservations expressed by the FO.** Other names mooted afterwards were those of Duarte Leite and Augusto Vasconcellos, who were withdrawn in favour of Teixeira Gomes. (my bold) See Villiers to Nicholson. Deciphered telegram January 9th 1911; Bernardino Machado to Villiers. Copy 28th January 1911; Villiers to Grey. Private - dated January 30th; February 9th 1911; February 25th 1911; March 7th 1911. FO 800/71.

[611] Martin Weinstein (1864-1917) German industrialist and colonial investor (cocoa and sugar) and member of the Board of Companhia União Fabril. See Bernardo Jerosch Herold. "Empresários e Técnicos Alemães Residentes em Lisboa e a Grande Guerra de 1914-1918" In *2º Colóquio Sobre A Grande Guerra de 1914-1918*. November 11th 2016. Academia das Ciências. (Accessed online 5/5/2018) http://www.acad-ciencias.pt/document-uploads/9387697_empresarios_tecnicos_alemaes_bherold.pdf
Relvas would also emphasise the importance of Weinstein's support during the first days of the Republic: "Em Paris, Martins[sic]Weinstein fizera espontaneamente a mais lisonjeira campanha a favor da República, garantindo aos principais banqueiros franceses, ingleses e alemães, a execução dos compromissos nacionais, a segura solvabilidade dos nossos encargos internos e externos, e a confiança pessoal com que deviam ser recebidos os novos homens públicos do País, concorrendo por essa forma para consolidar o efeito moral da campanha que tínhamos feito, Magalhães Lima, Alves da Veiga e eu." José Relvas. Op.cit 1977-1978, vol. I, p.171.

completamente reservada. Conduzimo-nos aqui em termos de inspirar confiança, pela sobriedade das nossas palavras e pela correcção dos nossos actos." [612]

Henry Massingham took advantage of the Portuguese delegation's stay in London to invite its members to an informal reception at his home. The purpose of the invitation, given the presence of Henry Nevinson amongst the guests, was undoubtedly to hear what the republican opposition had to say on the divisive issue of "slave-grown cocoa". In his memoirs, Relvas recalls, somewhat dismissively, that Magalhães Lima had "exchanged banalities" with Nevinson, [613] whilst Massingham had broached, in passing, the subject of the labour regime in Portuguese West Africa, enquiring as to the views of republicans on the matter. According to Relvas' account, he told Massingham that the accusations regarding the labour situation on the islands were completely unacceptable, and emphasised that the question had become "singularmente irritante pela incidência de interesses, que estavam absolutamente divorciados do carácter humanitário".[614] The São Tomé planters, in Relvas' view, had set an example for many European agricultural undertakings in which the labourers had nothing like the medical and maternity support and other social benefits that they enjoyed in the cocoa islands. And expressing a personal view which was held by the majority of Portuguese politicians at the time, whether republicans or royalists, Relvas added that, as far as he was concerned, repatriation was counterproductive, pointing out "quanto era absurdo forçar o regresso ao estado de quem se quisesse libertar e procurar até a dignificação no trabalho". [615]

Persisting with the subject, which he suggested was one of the principle obstacles which would prevent the Liberal Party, then in power, from welcoming the possibility of a republican Government, Massingham attempted to identify what he saw as common

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[612] Idem, pp. 217-225

[613] Nevinson was familiar with the critical articles on the export of labour to São Tomé in Magalhães Lima's *Vanguarda* and Lima's links to José de Macedo and the anti-slavery campaign in the *Defeza de Angola,* so that meeting him was an opportunity that an experienced investigative journalist of his calibre would not have missed. Relvas, who belonged to the more conservative wing of the Republican Party closer to António José de Almeida and Brito Camacho, undoubtedly played down the importance of the conversation in his memoirs. Nevinson and Magalhães Lima would meet again in Lisbon, shortly after the fall of the Monarchy, at the inconclusive meeting between the new Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society and a deputation representing the British philanthropists. It is highly significant in this context that the British Minister Villiers reported that Magalhães Lima **"was personally acquainted with all those who composed the deputation"**, implying there had been earlier meetings between Sebastião Magalhães Lima and its other members. See Sir Francis Villiers to Sir Edward Grey. November 19th 1910. Reproduced in HMSO *Africa no.2.1912*,[Cd 6322] p. 42. (my bold)

[614] Idem, pp.219-220.

[615] Idem, p. 220.

ground between the ethical concerns of the Portuguese mission and Cadbury Bros.' demands, based upon what Relvas disdainfully terms, in his memoirs, "o pretexto hipócrita da civilização", soon realising, however, that it would be useless to proceed further with this argument. With the proviso that his answer could not be taken in any way as a commitment for the future, Relvas made it clear that although no future republican government would turn a blind eye to the humanitarian question, they could not ignore what he termed "transcendentes interesses de carácter economico local e continental".[616] Despite voicing such reservations, Relvas assured Massingham that his fellow republicans would endeavour to uphold what he called "bons princípios" but that they would not be taken in by those who, whilst expressing horror at what he termed "the emigration of blacks" from Angola, rejected the use of the same humanitarian arguments to defend the interests of those who left Mozambique to work on the Rand.

Written with the benefit of hindsight, Relvas' version of the meeting reveals that, less than two months before the fall of the Monarchy, there appears to have been a substantial degree of correlation between the cautious stance of the republican leadership on the question of contract labour and that of many royalist politicians, a position which diverged from the radical views expressed in the republican press, which repeatedly advocated that the only way to solve the problem, once and for all, was to ensure full repatriation and effective reforms in recruitment practices. Ironically, one of the principal mouthpieces for such views was the *Vanguarda*, edited by Relvas' fellow ambassador Magalhães Lima.

Relvas' statement was a sign that the pragmatic approach which would characterise the colonial labour policy of Republican Governments after the first flurry of courageous and radical measures were taken after the fall of the Monarchy, was already beginning to make an appearance before foreign interlocutors. [617]

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[616] Idem, ibidem.

[617] Relvas comments on Magalhães Lima's radical leanings and his understanding of the need for a "statesman-like" approach to the meetings with French and British interlocutors during their public relations exercise. "Devo prestar homenagem ao espírito de transigência que sempre animou Magalhães Lima no decurso da nossa missão. As suas convivências com radicais franceses belgas e italianos, uma relativa intimidade com Kropotkine, o celebre historiador e revolucionário russo, as suas próprias tradições, inclinavam-no fácilmente para uma orientação que nunca podia ser em rigor a de um homem de Estado, com as suas inerentes responsabilidades. Mas compreendendo com perfeita clareza as vantagens que resultariam de uma attitude definida em presença dos elementos moderados da França e da Inglaterra, nem se opôs a que fosse essa a orientação seguida […]" José Relvas Op.cit. 1977, p.88.

José Relvas was received by an enthusiastic crowd on his return to Lisbon and reflecting the growing support for the republican movement, was given the honour of a full-page photograph in the popular illustrated magazine *Illustração Portuguesa*. [618]



O REGRESSO DO Snr. JOSÉ RELVAS

O sr. José Relvas, membro do directorio republicano, esteve durante algum tempo no estrangeiro, onde foi em missão especial do seu partido, acompanhado pelo sr. dr. Magalhães Lima, sendo all coadjuvados pelo sr. dr. Alves da Veiga, chefe civil da revolução do Porto e que desde então reside em Paris.

Percorreram alguns paizes, tiveram entrevistas com algumas entidades politicas e com membros da imprensa, sendo publicada em varios jornaes da Europa e da America uma nota official do partido onde se expunha a opinião dos seus dirigentes ácerca da actual situação politica.

O sr. dr. Magalhães Lima ficou ainda em Paris, no complemento da missão partidaria, e o sr. José Relvas regressou a Lisboa a bordo do *Cap Orcana*, tendo desembarcado em 21 de julho.

No Terreiro do Paço era aguardado por varios correligionarios e por alguns jornalistas, mostrando-se satisfeito com os resultados obtidos e dizendo ter encontrado por toda a parte, e sobretudo em França e em Inglaterra, uma grande sympathia por Portugal.

N'uma communicação feita á imprensa o sr. José Relvas expõe ao seu partido os trabalhos realisados pela missão enviada ao estrangeiro em conformidade com as resoluções do ultimo congresso do Porto.

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Figure 2.4 "O Regresso do Snr. José Relvas". Photos by Benoliel.

Writing from Paris in an open letter to the editor of Rowntree's weekly *The Nation,* on September 27th 1910, just a week before the proclamation of the Republic, Magalhães Lima returned to the arguments he and Relvas had used in London in early July, reinforcing the impression of moderation and confidence they had attempted to convey:

> "The Republican Party has the support of the thinking part of the Nation, the intellectual element, the people. Everything, in a word, which stands for work and production." [619]

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[618] **Figure 2.4** "O Regresso do Snr. José Relvas." *Illustração Portuguesa* 2.ª série, no. 232, August 1st 1910, p.136. See also "O que fez a Missão Republicana no Estrangeiro. Comunicação do Sr. José Relvas" *O Século* July 23rd 1910 p.1 and "Missão diplomatica Republicana" *A Capital* July 23rd 1910, p.1.

[619] Sebastião Magalhães Lima. "England and a Portuguese Republic". Letter to the editor of *The Nation.* September 24th 1910, p. 912. See also Jorge Morais. *Com Permissão da Sua Majestade.*Via Occidentalis Editora Lisboa: 2005, p.126-7.

2.5 Early attempts to reform the contract-labour system after the fall of the Monarchy

Before the turn of the twentieth century, much of the opposition in Portugal against the contract-labour system had come from the highly-politicised, anti-monarchist sectors of the population, [620] ranging from radical anarcho-syndicalists and socialists, such as Ladislau Batalha, to bourgeois intellectuals like the moderate republican, António José de Almeida, who had inherited the liberal ideals of the anti-slavery campaigners of the mid-nineteenth century.[621]

Only three days before Cadbury's announcement of the Boycott, the socialist journal *A República Social,* edited by Azedo Gneco, published a manifesto reminding militants of their responsibilities towards the people of the colonies, as agreed at the Paris International Socialist Congress of 1900. [622] It included the following commitments:

> [...] de tornarem conhecidos os actos de opressão de que as populações indígenas foram vítimas; de obterem para elas todas as medidas eficazes de protecção contra a exploração capitalista; e de se cuidarem especialmente de que elas não sejam despojadas dos seus bens, nem pela força nem pela fraude;[...] proporem ou de advogarem, tudo quanto possa melhorar a condição dos indígenas, os trabalhos de utilidade pública, as medidas de higiene, a criação das escolas, etc. que lhes digam respeito, diligenciando ao mesmo tempo arrancá-los à nociva influência dos missionários; [...]reclamarem para os indígenas a mais larga soma de liberdades e de autonomia, compatíveis com o seu grau de civilização, tendo sempre em vista a completa emancipação das colónias.[623]

The same concerns would be raised at the Congresso Nacional Operário*,* which was held in Lisbon and Oporto, in July 1909. The Congress, which was marked by the split between socialist revolutionaries and social-democrats, advocated greater autonomy for the colonies, whilst denouncing the persistence of repressive labour practices, particularly in

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[620] See Chapter 1.1 of this dissertation.
[621] Many of the leading republicans were admirers of Auguste Comte (1798-1857), the French philosopher who devised the doctrine of Positivism. Comte took it for granted that "Mankind's elite" was composed of white Europeans, and it was he who first coined the notion of social evolution, a notion which was later reformulated by Herbert Spencer.
[622] The 5th International Socialist Congress of the Second International era was held in Paris from September 23rd to 27th 1900. The Congress set up the International Socialist Bureau, the permanent organization of the International, and discussed socialist attitudes towards reformism and colonialism.
[623] *A Republica Social* nº 22, March 14th, 1909. The journal was published between 1908 and 1912.

Portuguese West Africa. In his speech to the delegates, Ladislau Batalha affirmed that slavery continued unchecked in Angola, and proposed that the same legislation should be applied to indigenous labourers as to workers in the "Metrópole", giving them the freedom to sign contracts with any employer for the period they wished. Batalha also warned that care should be taken to make sure that Africans were not exploited by unscrupulous recruiting agents.[624] Despite the earnest convictions of those present, the socialist movement was still an incipient force and although it remained active throughout the period of the Republic, it would fall to the radical wing of the Republican Party to bear the responsibility for the first successful attempts, after the fall of the Monarchy, to eliminate forced labour in Portuguese West Africa.

From October 1910 onwards, the ideological battle surrounding the issue of forced labour - a constant feature of republican opposition to the Monarchy - came to the fore once again, this time as part of the power struggle between opposing camps within the Republican Party. The more conservative supporters of the Republic opposed the compulsory repatriation of Angolan labourers at the end of their contracts, as they had before the fall of the previous regime, whilst more progressive activists saw total repatriation as the only way to ensure and demonstrate for all to see that African labour in the cocoa islands was truly free.

Three days after the fall of the Monarchy, *The Times* summed up the views of a substantial part of the British ruling class towards Portugal and its colonial administration in one of a series of articles covering the proclamation of the Republic. Though admitting that the Portuguese people possessed a "genius for colonization" and like other "Latin races" they were able to "meet the native on a common footing" the writer reiterated that they lacked "efficiency" in their colonial administration:

> "[…] Not only have the Portuguese in the past shown prodigious enterprise in navigation and discovery; they possessed and still possess - an unsurpassed genius for colonization. […] While their colonies may not rank among the most efficiently organized and governed, they

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[624] "[Ladislau Batalha] descreve com conhecimento de causa, a forma de se escravisar colonos, demonstrando que os contractos são uma burla, como burla é o chamado «resgate», systema de escravatura usada em Angola, que consiste em que o preto, por qualquer delito, ser multado em certa quantia, e , quando a não possua, ser resgatado, isto é, ter que se vender para pagar a multa." In *"Congresso Nacional Operario. Nacional da Região Sul. Servicaes africanos. Occupação pacifica e autonomia das nossas colonias africanas - A liberdade de contractos para os servicaes-Affirma-se que na Africa portugueza ainda ha escravatura." O Século.* September 20th, 1909, p.1.

> early showed a greater ability in understanding and sympathizing with the coloured peoples than did, for instance, their Dutch or English successors in World Empire. In common with the other Latin races they have shown themselves more able to meet the native upon a common footing, to forget the bar of colour, than have the teuton peoples, and while this may not always make for efficient or necessarily kindly governance, it certainly allows greater opportunity for mutual understanding.[…] geographically dependent upon Angola, though politically a separate province, are the islands of Príncipe and Sao Thomé, names unfortunately familiar to British ears of recent years in connexion with the cocoa industry and the alleged slavery by which it is carried on.[625]

The implied racist slur that the Portuguese "like other Latin races" could meet on a "common footing" with the native peoples of their colonies, whilst "Teutons" were supposedly so far superior that they found it difficult or impossible to descend to such a level - hence excluding the possibility of "mutual understanding"or, at least "forgetting the bar of colour", would not have seemed strange to the readers of *The Times*, most of whom had been educated in the belief that the British people, more than any other nation, were equipped to carry out the mission of extending the white man's Empire to the far corners of the earth and to bear "the heavy burden" of bringing "civilisation" to its needy and supposedly "more primitive" peoples.

The article was closely followed by another in the form of an "Appeal to the Republic" by St. Loe Strachey in *The Spectator.* Whilst congratulating the Provisional Government on the way it had maintained order and proceeded so far, Strachey expressed his wish that the opportunity might be taken "for doing something in the anti-slavery cause". He put forward the suggestion that "[…] the Portuguese Government [should] pledge themselves publicly and specifically to deal at once with the question of slavery, slave-raiding and slave-trading and in doing so make it clear that they using no empty phrases, but that their words will be followed by immediate action." He added the incentive that Britain might well be encouraged to lead in the recognition of the Republic, "instead of hanging back".[626] In conclusion, however, Strachey changed the tone of his appeal to one of warning:

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[625] "The Portuguese Colonies- their extent and conditions" *The Times,* October 8th 1910, p.8.

[626] Remarkably, given the avalanche of criticism from Catholic quarters, Strachey saw the expulsion of the Jesuits as a positive measure: "We have no special prejudice against Jesuits, but since they chose to identify themselves so strongly with the former regime and support it with all their force, they can hardly be expected to be treated as anything but enemies by those who have destroyed the Monarchy […]" "Portugal And Slavery - An Appeal to the Republic." *The Spectator*, October 15th 1910, p.588.

> The fierce slave-raiding that is going on in Angola is disturbing the minds of the natives throughout West Africa and raising alarm in not only our own possessions but in those of Germany, France and, still more, of Belgium. […]It is not only the so-called "sentimental" enemies of slavery, but also those who recognise the dangers of a great upheaval of the natives of South Africa, who wish to see slave-raiding put down in Angola.[627]

The veiled threat of co-ordinated international action had first been raised in John H. Harris' letter on Portuguese "slavery" in the same issue of *The Spectator*. Whilst introducing this innovation to his already lengthy list of warnings and threats to the Portuguese authorities, Harris once again displayed his cavalier attitude towards testimony, revealing that he was not averse to exhuming eye-witness accounts which were entirely out of date, if they served to prove his point. [628]

British diplomatic circles were generally better informed and less inclined to demagoguery. In his first letter to Sir Francis Villiers after the revolution,[629] Sir Edward Grey expressed his Government's desire that relations between the two countries should continue to be "cordial" and asked Villiers to emphasise that this would depend, to a great extent, upon the Provisional Government's "decisive action" to reform the contract-labour system in the Portuguese colonies.[630] Complimenting the authorities on the "regulations which have recently come into force", which were "excellent in spirit", Grey emphasised that it was the "thorough enforcement" of such regulations which was required and suggested that an "excellent test" of its success would be the "rate and method of repatriation." He added that public opinion in Britain would be "most

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The British Government recognised the new Republican Government of Portugal "de jure" on September 11th 1911, together with other monarchies - Spain, Germany, Italy and Austro-Hungary. (France was the first European country to offer recognition, on August 25th 1911). On September 26th the arrival was announced of HM Ambassador Sir Arthur Hardinge to take over from Sir Francis Villiers, who moved to Brussels. See *O Século* September 26th 1911, p.2. Hardinge would rapidly make himself unpopular.

[627] Idem, p.589. The article was conciliatory but a good example of "Carrot and stick" paternalism.

[628] John H. Harris. "Slavery in the Portuguese Colonies." *The Spectator*, October 15th 1910, p.598. Harris quotes Col. Harding's account of slave-raiding in the Ba-Lunda country, acquired second-hand from an American mining engineer in 1902. Harris also cites the observation of the British botanist, Prof. Henry Pearson, who had returned from an expedition in Damaraland the previous year, to the effect that "compulsory service" was enforced "to the West of the Kunene." The former testimony was completely out of date, the latter relevant only to South-West Angola.

[629] Sir Edward Grey to Sir Francis Villiers. November 3rd 1910. HMSO *Africa no.2 (1912)*[Cd.6322.] p.40

[630] Referring to a note in French which he had delivered to the Portuguese Foreign Minister summarising their previous meeting, Villiers said he had emphasised that the new regulations "though excellent in spirit" would depend on "thorough enforcement" and that "cordial relations" would depend on "decisive action". Sir F. Villiers to Sir Edward Grey November 19th 1910. Document 24. HMSO *Africa no.2 (1912)*[Cd.6322.] p.42. Curiously, Grey spoke no foreign languages and never travelled abroad before 1914 (to Paris) .

favourably impressed" if it were seen that labourers were regularly repatriated and enabled to reach their own homes and "fresh men were ready to take their place." [631]

Soon after Sir Francis Villier's meeting with Bernardino Machado to convey Grey's message, he wrote that the Foreign Minister had shown himself to be "fully alive to the serious character of [the] question and would see that special attention was paid to the issue of repatriation.[632] Two days later a delegation of the now-amalgamated Anti-Slavery Society met in Lisbon with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and the Colonies and the board of the new Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society. [633] Villiers reported that both Machado and Harris had told him that "all went off very well" and that the delegates had made an excellent impression on the Minister. Harris had also informed him that although it had not been possible "to obtain a written declaration as to the intentions of the Government", on the whole, the visit had been a success.[634]

In view of the importance of the subject, the Foreign Ministry's summary of what was said at the meeting was forwarded in translation with Sir Francis Villiers' report to Sir Edward Grey. Villiers reported that Machado had said he viewed the labour question "as a question of liberty, and as such of the greatest importance", affirming that the historical mission of the Portuguese people consisted in "[…] the emancipation of the races confided to their civilising influence". Although welcoming interest from abroad in

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[631] Sir Edward Grey to Sir Francis Villiers. November 3rd 1910. HMSO *Africa no.2 (1912)*[Cd.6322.] p.40.
[632] The meeting between the Portuguese Foreign Minister and the British Minister in Lisbon took place on November 14th 1910. See Sir Francis Villiers to Sir Edward Grey. November 19th 1910. Idem, p.42.
[633] The Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society was founded at a meeting held on October 21st 1910, on the initiative of Sebastião Magalhães Lima, Grand-Master of the Grande Oriente Lusitano, who would become its first President. Amongst the founders were Norton de Matos, João de Barros, Leotte do Rego and Alfredo Henrique da Silva, who was appointed its first Secretary. **The Society appears to have terminated its public activities before the First World War but certainly not in 1910 due to the presence of Henry Nevinson as part of the British delegation, as Lt. Col Wyllie alleged at a lecture given at the Sociedade de Geografia in December 1923.** See *Plantadores portuguezes e humanitários inglezes. A origem e desenvolvimento da mentira da escravatura portugueza*. Conferência realisada em 3 de Dezembro 1923.Tip. e Papel. América Lisboa: 1923. (my bold)
[634] On their return home, both Harris and Nevinson expressed frustration at the inconclusive outcome of the meeting - Nevinson, due to his unreasonably high expectations, and Harris, almost certainly due to the need to sustain his supporters' feelings of righteous indignation. Leotte do Rego, a member of the Portuguese delegation, would later write that the deputation from the Anti-Slavery Society which had come to Lisbon ostensibly "to congratulate the new Government on its spontaneous statement concerning São Tomé," had twisted everything it had been told both by the Portuguese Anti-slavery Society and the Government in press reports and statements after its return to Britain. In "Anti-Esclavagismo. A Mão d'Obra em S. Thomé. Em outras países practicam-se actos peores do que em S. Thomé sem no entanto excitar os zelos dos anti-esclavagistas." *O Século.* February 14th 1911, p.1. The article was the continuation of the previous day's interview with Leotte do Rego. For greater detail of the meeting see Chapter 4.6 of this dissertation.

Portuguese affairs, he made it clear that the issue was one which had to be decided by the Portuguese Government:

> "[…] it is clearly we who must decide these questions unaided. […]The foreign policy of the republic, like its internal policy, will be dignified and independent, so that mutual respect and solidarity in action may be preserved." [635]

On the same day as the British delegation met with members of the Provisional Government, excerpts from the correspondence which had taken place over the previous days between William Cadbury and Ministry of the Colonies [636] were published in *The Times* under the heading **"**Labour Conditions in Portuguese West Africa. The Projected Reforms." Cadbury, who had initiated the exchange on October 13th, had released the correspondence with a covering note:

> "We welcome the reforms promised and are glad to hear that officials of the new Government are already on their way to the islands. We do not see our way to purchase [sic] cocoa from these colonies until we are assured by the British Consular staff that the labourers employed on the islands are in the fullest sense free contract labourers. We have no doubt we shall have the support of the other British firms in this policy."[637]

The reply to Cadbury's original letter stated that the Provisional Government intended "to settle the question of San Thomé *serviçaes* by fulfilling integrally and loyally the present regulations, which protect the natives and guarantee them perfect liberty in their recruiting and repatriation". However, in response to Cadbury's criticisms that the provisions were in certain parts "insufficient" [638], it was finally conceded that "a liberal revision of the regulations in force" would be undertaken.

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[635] After thanking the delegation for their visit, Bernardino Machado made special reference to the presence of "Mrs. Lewis", to whom he protested his devotion to "the cause of women". In HMSO *Africa no.2 (1912)* [Cd.6322.] p.43. He was referring to Georgina King-Lewis (1847-1924) She was a Quaker temperance campaigner and pacifist, who had visited the concentration camps in South Africa during the Boer war. See **figure 4.41** for a photo of the delegation.
An article in *O Mundo* on November 19th 1910 reporting on the reply of the Bernardino Machado to the British Anti-Slavery delegation is discussed by Wyllie in *"Portuguese Planters*". See J.A.Wyllie Op.cit. 1911, pp.104-106.

[636] The replies came, not from Azevedo Gomes, himself, but from the Director-General of the Ministry.

[637] "Labour Conditions in Portuguese West Africa. The Projected Reforms." *The Times* November 16th 1910, p.21.

[638] For example, regarding the repatriation of married contract labourers with different dates of contract. Cadbury also raised the fact that children were now brought from Angola with no contract at all and no child born in São Tomé and Príncipe had been "freed".

Few doubts could have remained at this point as to the good intentions of the new Portuguese authorities on the matter.[639] The following weeks, however, would not only witness the first signs that such intentions were being implemented as promised, but that there were growing differences of opinion within the Republican ranks as to how to move forward. The appointments of Maj. Manuel Maria Coelho as Governor-General of Angola in January 1911 [640] and Capt. Caetano Carvalhal Henriques as Governor of the Moçamedes district [641] were clear signs that the progressive faction had, at least for the time being, gained political ascendancy on this issue. In an interview to the *Economista Portuguez* given before departing for Angola, Major Coelho, who had spent many years in Africa, set out his plans to implement a repatriation system which would at first be compulsory, whilst confirming that contracting would be entirely voluntary and that the existing recruitment agents would be replaced by others who, instead of a commission per labourer, would earn a fixed salary. [642]

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[639] Edmund Wright Brooks, the leader of the British delegation, reported optimistically in a letter to the editor of *The Times* on the Lisbon meetings: "[…] we believe therefore that **we are now entitled to rely upon the Portuguese Government's genuine intention** immediately to undertake the abolition of terrible abuses hitherto involved in the supply of labour to the plantations both on the mainland of Angola and in the islands […]" "San Thomé Slavery". *The Times* November 23rd 1910, p.19. (my bold)

[640] António Manuel Maria Coelho (1857-1943). Military officer, journalist, freemason. Deported to Angola to serve a five-year sentence after the failure of the attempted republican coup in Oporto in 1891. Returned, shortly after his release, to live first in Angola and then in São Tomé, where he remained until the fall of the Monarchy. Governor-General of Angola (January 18th 1911 to January 26th 1912) and later Interim Governor of Guiné. He also served as Prime Minister for a brief period in 1921. On Maj. Coelho's brief term of office in Angola see Douglas Wheeler and René Pélissier. *Angola.* Pall Mall, London: 1971, p.109.

[641] Carvalhal Henriques made a brave attempt to replace forced labour with free contracts and encouraged *serviçais* to bring their complaints to the authorities. Many of the settlers resisted his reforms, however, and he would be recalled to Lisbon in January 1912. The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* wrote that "Captain Henriques the Governor of Mossamedes is reported to have said that the law [on compulsory repatriation] is absolutely necessary as the cruelties inflicted on the natives are many and barbarous. He has seen hundreds of negroes with broken arms and fingers covered with scars as the result of tortures received." "San Thomé Slave Labour" *The Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigine's Friend*, 2:5 April 1912, p.153. On his return to Lisbon Carvalhal Henriques gave an interview to *A Capital* in which he explained the system of "renting-out of Africans" which existed before his term of office. The interviewer writes: "Mossamedes estava maculada por uma nódoa tradiccional [sic]: o aluguer de pretos. Viviam famílias inteiras á custa do suor dos pobres serviçaes […] era mister que terminasse o abuso e o novo governador dias depois de desembarcar […] não hesitou em fazel-o." See "O fim de um grande abuso. Pretos de aluguel." *A Capital* May 21st 1912, p.1.

[642] See James Duffy Op.cit.1967 p.215 and Pedro Ramos de Almeida Op.cit (Século XX) 1979, p.72 quoting an interview in *O Economista Portuguez* on November 6th 1910.

In his memoirs, the future Governor of the province, Norton de Matos, recalls Coelho's firm attempt to put an end to abuses and the internal opposition which undermined his efforts to reform the labour system:

"O primeiro governador-geral da República em Angola foi o Coronel Manuel Maria Coelho. […]Nomeado governador foi seu primeiro cuidado fazer com que se cumprisse rigorosamente a legislação sobre trabalho indígena. Por portaria de 1911, expulsou onze portugueses que tinham practicado graves irregularidades, verdadeiros atentados contra a Liberdade e os direitos dos pretos. Por todos os meios ao seu alcance, castigando, tomando as medidas apropriadas, dirigindo-se aos colonos brancos com conselhos e indicações, que a sua bondade lhe sugeria, procurou acabar com abusos e explorações. Pouco conseguiu e, a breve

The same internal opposition to reform also attempted to undermine the progressive faction's plan to appoint a reformist Governor in São Tomé and Príncipe. Its desperate efforts to maintain the balance of power on the islands would meet with the resistance of a vociferous part of the local population, however, which was determined only to accept a staunch republican who would implement reforms and, above all, carry out long-awaited improvements in sanitation and infrastructures which were so desperately needed.[643]

In the revolutionary atmosphere of the first few weeks of the Republican regime, acting Governors came and went in dizzying succession, bearing witness to the struggle for supremacy between different republican factions, both in Lisbon and in São Tomé, itself, where political differences often verged upon violent confrontation. [644]The first appointee, Maj. Nicolau dos Reys, a member of the electoral committee which had overseen the fraudulent election of the Monarchist candidate in the August poll,[645] was immediately deposed when all the shops in the town were shut down in protest against

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trecho, pediu a sua exoneração." J.M.R. Norton de Matos. *Memórias e trabalhos da minha vida.* 3 vols. Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra: 2005. Vol I, p.20.

[643] In São Tomé and Príncipe the change of regime was welcomed by the majority of the settlers. The news arrived in the form of a telegram from the Provisional Government on October 6th 1910. See *Boletim Oficial do Governo da Província de S.Tomé e Príncipe*, nº 40, October 8th 1910, p. 325.

The new Consul for Portuguese West Africa, Frank Drummond-Hay, who was conducting a tour of inspection on the island of Príncipe, witnessed the celebrations when the news of the revolution was received on October 7th: "[…] nothing could be done owing to everything being closed, and the streets were paraded by the population, giving vent to the cry, Viva a República!" Consul F.E.Drummond-Hay to Sir Edward Grey. Received November 15th 1910. In HMSO. *Africa no.2 (1912) Correspondence Respecting Contract Labour in Portuguese West Africa.* [Cd.6322], pp. 40-42.

O Século reported similar scenes in São Tomé: "[...] Em S. Thomé a republica foi recebida como a consequencia fatal dos desmandos do regimen monarchico, sendo também importantes as manifestações de regosijo [sic] ali feitas; pois como é sabido o povo e o commercio eram republicanos de alma e coração como demonstraram nas ultimas eleições de deputados, em que o candidato governamental só obteve 23 votos de maioria sobre o caudilho republicano sr. Botto Machado. [...]" "Nas Colonias. É recebido com enthusiasmo a proclamação da República."*O Século.* November 11th 1910, p.4.

[644] The events which took place in São Tomé and Príncipe during the transition to the new regime are told in detail in Augusto Nascimento's account "Conflitos de Europeus em S. Tomé e Príncipe em 1910". *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos.* Nos.12 e 13. Jan-Dec 1990, pp.57-98.

[645] Teresa Sousa Nunes writes that a rift between different factions of the Republican Party in São Tomé, which had first appeared when the Republican candidate was being chosen, surfaced in a more virulent form after the proclamation of the Republic: "[…] um litígio,[…] declarado na sequência da implantação da República entre dois grupos, cujas lógicas e fundamentos se diferenciavam: os remanescentes do núcleo agregado em torno de António José de Almeida, no decurso da sua estada em S.Tomé e Príncipe, integrado por Ezequiel de Campos, entre outros, e os membros da comissão municipal republicana, criada em Julho de 1910." See Teresa Maria Sousa Nunes. *O Ideário Republicano de Ezequiel de Campos (1900-1919).* Dissertação de Doutoramento em História. Universidade de Lisboa, 2011, p.267.

William Cadbury considered Ezequiel de Campos one of the few "out-spoken critics of the whole system in S.Thomé" and sent him a copy of his book through Alfredo Henrique da Silva. See WA Cadbury to AH da Silva. March 8th 1910 and November 7th 1910. PT-AHS-ICS-AHSilva-ESC-SER-6-A-04.

his appointment. He was replaced by Capt. Henrique de Oliveira, [646] who, after overseeing the return to calm, quickly handed over the post to Carlos de Mendonça Pimentel e Mello, [647] the President of São Tomé's republican Municipal Committee, who had been appointed to serve in an interim capacity by Cdr. Amaro Azevedo Gomes, the new Minister of the Colonies. [648] Yet another factor would contribute to the atmosphere of unrest [649] when Pedro Botto Machado failed to take up the post of Governor-designate of São Tomé. [650] In a remarkable last-minute *volte-face* which was symptomatic of the constantly-changing sectarian struggle for political control, Antonio Pinto de Miranda Guedes, an engineer and former Director of the local Department of Public Works was

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[646] Idem, Ibidem. See also p. 272. Nicolau dos Reys was appointed on October 13th and dismissed less than a week later. Capt. Henrique Alberto de Oliveira replaced him on October 19th 1910.

[647] Carlos de Mendonça Pimentel e Mello. Acting Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe. November 12th 1910 - November 28th 1910.

[648] A new Governor also had to be appointed on the island of Príncipe after the population demonstrated in the streets against the first choice for the post. See "Novo Governador do Príncipe. Major Rocha Vieira." *O Século* November 12th 1910, p.1. Major Alfredo Rocha Vieira was described in the following terms: "[…] excelentes qualidades de administrador ousado, intelligente, e sobretudo liberal." In an interview to the same newspaper on his return, Rocha Vieira explained had been sent by the Provisional Government to Príncipe due to the events which took place on the island shortly after the proclamation of the Republic, which he called "tumultos" between republicans and monarchists - now "republicanos historicos e adherentes" The former Governor, Ferreira dos Santos, had been forcibly put on the boat home. Rocha Vieira affirmed that the most urgent problems were sleeping sickness and the labour question: "A doença do somno, que também se faz sentir em S. Thomé, sendo terrivel no Principe é verdadeiramente devastadora. E um horror! […] Para avaliar bem a intensidade do flagello, basta dizer-lhe que n'uma fazenda de Sundy apanham por dia 500 d'essas moscas […] Um outro ponto que o deve preocupar, egualmente é a questão dos servicaes, mas a repatriação obrigatória, que é a unica maneira da lei não ser iludida. Mas mesmo que se estabeleça o regimen da repatriação voluntaria eu não me fiaria nos relatórios que me apresentassem: quereria ouvir de cada serviçal a sua declaração bem clara depois de se lhe ter feita bem clara também a pergunta e de se lhe ter explicado a facilidade com que elle seria repatriado."
"A situação em S.Thomé e Príncipe. De volta a Lisboa o Major Rocha Vieira é entrevistado por um redactor do Século - a questão política está morta." *O Século* May 3rd 1911, p.1.

[649] Reflecting the unrest in the colony, and the ideological struggle in Lisbon, the radical republican daily *O Mundo* summarily dismissed conflicting rumours of the choice of Ernesto de Vilhena or the return of Leotte do Rego as Governor, considering that "ambos os cavalheiros eram, até ao dia da proclamação da República, franquistas puros, talassas sem mistura […] Noutro país os srs Leote do Rego e Ernesto de Vilhena deixariam de ser oficiais da armada no dia seguinte ao da substituição das instituições políticas".[649] Returning to the question two days later, *O Mundo* expressed its satisfaction regarding the appointments of what it called "historical republicans"- Marinha de Campos as Governor for Cape Verde and Manuel Maria Coelho for Angola, whilst condemning the appointment of Freire de Andrade to the Governorship of Mozambique and alerting the Minister once again to the importance of São Tomé: "[…] não podemos abandonar Moçambique, S. Tomé e outras colónias a pessoas que não dão garantias sérias e seguras da fidelidade e lealdade ao regime." "Governador de S.Tomé", *O Mundo*, October 28th 1910, p. 2.

[650] Pedro Botto Machado was sentenced to three years of exile in Angola after the failed republican coup of 1891. He was pardoned in 1910 after the fall of the Monarchy and would serve twice as Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe between 1913-1915 and 1916-1918. No explanation was given for Botto Machado's aborted appointment in 1910, but it would seem that the dispute between different factions of the Republican Party in São Tomé had much to do with it. See Teresa M. Sousa Nunes. Op.cit 2011, p.21 and p.274.

appointed in his stead. [651] Predictably, in the circumstances, the new Governor was given a mixed reception by the population, as many local republicans fiercely disapproved of the Provisional Government's decision to allow Botto Machado's appointment to be quietly dropped. [652]

Shortly after taking office, the new Governor was confronted by a petition signed by representatives of agricultural and local business interests, ranging from the managers of large estates to the proprietors of small trading firms, briefly united behind a demand for action on a list of issues which had been neglected for decades by previous Governments, but, first and foremost, behind an appeal for a return to the stability of the days before the revolution.[653] The list of "combatentes de diferentes campos" [654] who signed the petition, included representatives of the owners of some the principal "roças", including Salvador Levy e Cia.; Empresa Agrícola do Príncipe; Sociedade Agrícola de S.Tomé Lda.; Companhia Agrícola da Ilha de S.Tomé; Sociedade Montes Hermínios; Henrique Monteiro de Mendonça; Companhia Agrícola das Neves; Companhia da roça Vista Alegre; a roça Gué-Gué; Empresa Agrícola Cacau Extra Lda. and roça Uba-Buda. [655]

The document identified as priorities the improvement of infrastructures, including road and rail transport and the modernisation of the principal harbour, whilst pointing out that the sanitation of the town was an urgent and vital step if the effects of tropical diseases

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[651] António Pinto Miranda Guedes took office as Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe on November 28th 1910. See *Suplemento ao nº 47 do Boletim Oficial do Governo da Província de S.Tomé e Príncipe*, December 2nd 1910, p.1. He resigned in June 1911 and returned to his previous post in Macao as Director of Public Works. An experienced engineer, Miranda Guedes had previously been employed in the Public Works Departments of São Tomé and Angola as well as Macao, and would later serve in Mozambique. For his report on this period see António Miranda Guedes *S.Tomé. Seiz meses de governo e administração. Relatório oficial*, Tipografia da Empresa Guedes, Porto: 1911. Teresa Sousa Nunes notes that Miranda Guedes was part of the circle of republican intellectuals who were closely associated with António José de Almeida during his stay in São Tomé as a plantation doctor: "Membro do grupo coeso organizado em torno de António José de Almeida entre os anos 1896 e 1903". Idem, p.275.

[652] Remarkably, the telegram announcing Botto Machado's appointment as Governor arrived in São Tomé on the very day that the decree appointing Miranda Guedes was signed. (November 11th 1910)

[653] "[…] é voz corrente que foram aliciados os sargentos para actos de força; que foram convidados patrões e operários (particulares e do Estado); que foi planeado um golpe de deposição e prisão, pelo menos a alguns funcionários, começando pelo governador da província […] a própria imprensa local, onde tinham entrada os caudilhos republicanos, convidava à revolta[…]" and "[…]toda essa gente armada e revolucionária que se dizia pronta para a prisão de funcionários desapareceu por encanto no primeiro movimento de defesa do governo […]" Teresa M. Sousa Nunes. Op. cit 2011, p.280, quoting the petition.

[654] Both royalists and republicans.

[655] A full list of the signatories, over 60 in all, is given in Teresa M. Sousa Nunes. Op. cit 2011, pp. 266-267.

were to be reduced and the productivity of the island improved. [656] The critical issue of labour for the plantations and, more specifically, the dire consequences of compulsory repatriation were also emphasised by the petitioners. Unsurprisingly, given the predominance of representatives of the "roças", repatriation was portrayed as a humanitarian issue, rather than a contractual obligation:

> […] é este mais do que qualquer outro assunto de ansiedade mais duradoura que vemos diante de nós e do Governo. Oxalá todos possam ver que não é justo e não é humano que de um momento para o outro se dê um êxodo de S.Tomé da máxima parte dos trabalhadores que estão aqui enraizados pelos laços da família e do apego à terra, para serem levados por vontade ou sem ela, para regiões onde nunca viveram, ou atirados a uma sorte de adversidade e de párias.[657]

The petition also referred to the division of land between extensive plantation-estates and subsistence agriculture and the resulting contrast between the modern agricultural methods employed on the large-scale plantations, owned principally by Europeans, and locally-owned smallholdings, employing antiquated practises which the signatories alleged were detrimental to the economy of the islands. The document advocated, moreover, that it was necessary to exploit the remaining natural forest for intensive cocoa production, due to the fertility of the soil and the lack of available cleared land. Quite clearly, the progress and development promised by the Republican leaders was seen by the majority of the petitioners as dependent for its success upon the growing concentration of the best land in the hands of the European owners of large-scale agricultural enterprises.

In the atmosphere of unrest which followed the appointment of the new Governor, opposition from radical republican quarters quickly grew as it became apparent that rather than dismissing civil servants of dubious allegiance to the Republic, Miranda Guedes was

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[656] All of these issues had been raised in a series of articles by Ezequiel de Campos, an engineer who was employed in the Public Works dept. in São Tomé and who, together with Miranda Guedes was a member of the circle of republican intellectuals inspired by the ideals of António José de Almeida, during the period when he was a plantation doctor in São Tomé, at the turn of the century. Idem, especially p.282. Campos was ahead of his time in identifying the link between the wholesale clearing of trees and climatic alterations: " os grandes arroteamentos do sul da Ilha trouxeram enormes perturbações no regimem das chuvas[…] o clima mudou: mas não foi estudado o quantum que coube a desarborização[…] Fizemos uma agricultura em ponto grande, e numa rapidez de magica: mas da parte dos interessados ninguem cuidou de prevenir a tempo os desastres que fatalmente haviam de acompanhar uma tão grande expansão cultural".
Ezequiel de Campos. *A Ilha de São Thomé.* Soc. de Geographia de Lisboa , Lisboa: 1908, pp.22-23.
[657] Idem, Ibidem. See *Suplemento ao nº 51 do Boletim Oficial do Governo da Província de S.Tomé e Príncipe*, December 24th 1910, p. 5.

attempting to work closely with representatives of all the different political tendencies which had emerged since the fall of the Monarchy, whilst making new appointments which, according to *O Mundo,* the Lisbon mouthpiece for local dissent: "[…] não têm obedecido a um critério democrático, dando-se o caso de em cargos de confiança estarem caracteres pouco limpos e habituados às trapaças governativas antigas […]".[658]

Amongst the long-delayed measures launched in the six months in which Miranda Guedes served as Governor, were those associated with the combat against sleeping sickness on the island of Príncipe, which included the prohibition of pig-breeding and the obligatory indoor housing of all livestock. The new regulations also stipulated that when working outdoors all "serviçais" were to be dressed in suitable clothing to protect them against the tsetse fly whilst any person showing symptoms was obliged to go to the nearest hospital within 24 hours for treatment with atoxyl.[659] Recruits for the islands had to be accompanied by a medical certificate attesting to the fact that they were free of the disease, as were repatriated labourers. [660] Such measures, although they often implied a considerable sacrifice or expenditure for the inhabitants, were generally accepted as necessary, unlike those taken to reform the administrative structure of the colony which came up against formidable opposition, particularly from those with vested interests in the status quo. Further opposition quickly grew against plans to improve the virtually non-existent road and public railway system which implied expropriations and compensatory settlements.[661] Miranda Guedes would also be responsible for the first significant attempt to implement repatriation. In January 1911, 229 "serviçais" were sent back to Angola. In an interview in the Lisbon daily, *O Século,* which was illustrated with a photograph of repatriated contract labourers, he would proudly claim part of the credit for the initiative:

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[658] "S.Tomé", *O Mundo*, May 19th 1911, p. 5.

[659] "[…] calças até ao tornozelo, blusa com mangas até ao pulso e gola alta, sendo homens; saias até ao tornozelo e blusas nas condições anteriores, sendo mulheres; estas vestimentas serão de cores muito claras. Todos usarão a cabeça coberta: os homens com chapéus ou gorros, e as mulheres com lenço, também de cores claras." António de Miranda Guedes. Op.cit 1911, pp 77-79. Quoted in Teresa M. Sousa Nunes. Op.cit 2011 p.286, footnote.

[660] Idem. pp. 72-83. For other methods used in the fight against sleeping sickness on the island of Príncipe see chapter 4.14 of this dissertation and Bernardo F. Bruto da Costa. *Trabalhos sobre a doença do somno: saneamento, estatistica, serviços hospitalares e brigada official na ilha do Príncipe : relatório.* Imp. A Editora, Lisboa: 1913

[661] The first signs of concrete action by Miranda Guedes had begun to appear in the national press. In December 1910 announcements appeared in the Lisbon newspapers inviting tenders for sanitation works and public lighting. See, for example, *O Século* on December 7th, 10th, 11th and *A Capital* on December 8th. On December 8th , *O Século* also announced the introduction of new local regulations concerning "serviçal" contracts and their renewal in São Tomé and Príncipe.

> Repatriei [...] todos os servicaes naturais de Angola em trabalho na colonia desde ha longos annos e que não desejavam contractar-se na ilha para os serviços agricolas em que se ocupavam. Foram apenas 229, áfora crianças, os que assim obtiveram de mim o que a lei lhes faculta [...] mas o que d'esse passo dado alguma coisa vale é o socego em que tal repellão se deu sem que produzisse no seio dos 30,000 seus companheiros de trabalho[...] o alvoroço que que todos se esperavam lá e sobretudo cá onde mais de uma vez constou sem fundamento algum ter eu a ilha revoltada. Isso, senhor, representou algum esforço e revelou que **vale de muito em Africa conhecer o preto** e saber leval-o sob o dominio de no seu espirito sempre tem quem com elle procede dentro dos altos principios d'uma justiça evidente. O preto, tão bem, como nós, ama e respeita a justiça. [662]

Amongst the flurry of newspapers which appeared after the proclamation of the Republic, one, in particular, did not shy away from using the epithet of "slavery" to describe the contract-labour system. The short-lived, radical Lisbon daily, *A República Portugueza,* edited by Luís de Câmara Reys, [663] provided a platform for some of the most earnest anti-slavery campaigners to air their views.[664] The newspaper published a series of letters to the editor at the beginning of February 1911 which revealed that despite the international campaign and the change of regime, Portuguese adversaries of the contract-labour system still felt it necessary to make their voices heard. [665]

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[662] "Porto e nova alfândega de S. Thome. Serviçaes de obras públicas repatriados em Janeiro do corrente ano." *O Século* July 10th 1911, p.3 (my bold). Even a relatively progressive thinker like Miranda Guedes seems to have subscribed to the widespread notion that once the "African mind" had been successfully "understood" by the European settler - distinctions between individuals were apparently superfluous.

[663] *A republica portugueza: diario republicano radical da manhan*. "Intransigência, verdade e Justiça" (1910-1911). Founded by leaders of the republican students strike of 1907, amongst them Alfredo Pimenta, Francisco Pulido Valente, Manuel Bravo and Tomás da Fonseca. The editor, Luís de Câmara Reys (1885-1961) Politician, teacher, journalist, founder and regular contributor to *Seara Nova,* Câmara Reys would become one of the most distinguished public figures in the opposition to the Estado Novo regime. *A República Portugueza* was one of the most hostile voices towards newly-converted republicans, former supporters of the monarchy. After electing the dissident monarchist José Maria de Alpoim as its preferred target in earlier issues of the paper, it quickly turned its guns towards the *"adhesivo"* Alfredo Augusto Freire de Andrade, the former Governor-General of Moçambique, who, despite the opposition of the republican left was appointed to the post of Director-General for the Colonies in 1911. Never given to verbal restraint, the newspaper described the new Director General as an "emérito charlatão de elixires coloniaes." In "Freire de Andrade" *A República Portugueza*. February 8th 1911, p.1. Freire de Andrade would resign from the influential post of Director-General in May 1914 to become Foreign Minister, a post he held until December of that year.

[664] Perhaps the best known amongst them was António Simões Raposo, a leading freemason and one of the founders of the Portuguese Anti-slavery Society. In response to an article in the conservative Lisbon newspaper *"A Reforma"* suggesting that the Portuguese Anti-slavery Society had been founded because of the visit of the British delegation and that they had welcomed Burtt and Nevinson "with open arms", he wrote that the Society had been founded shortly after the revolution and that **they had attempted to dissuade the British delegation from visiting Portugal**. See "Sobre a Escravatura." (Letter from Simões Raposo to Câmara Reys) *A República Portugueza* January 6th 1911, p.1. (my bold)

[665] For example, a former plantation employee in São Tomé wrote of the humiliating accusations of the British press, with its photographs and articles: "[…] que bem mostram a vida miserável que arrasta o

On the other side of the barricade, the same coalition of interests which had petitioned Miranda Guedes was busy organising the opposition in the capital against reforms in São Tomé. Representatives of thirty-eight merchants and traders from the islands met at the Associação dos Empregados de Commercio e de Agricultura to appoint a committee to defend their interests in Lisbon. The members of the committee included Francisco Mendes Lopes, José Ferreira Martins, João António Ribeiro, José Ferreira Braga and the wealthy planter and trader Salvador Levy who proposed that the Centro Colonial should be approached to join forces with them to defend "the interests of the colony". [666]



Figure 2.5 Cdr. Amaro Azevedo Gomes. Minister for the Colonies in the Provisional Government c. 1900. Photographer unknown.

The Centro Colonial, too, would show that it was not ready to give up the struggle against compulsory repatriation without a fight. After an emergency meeting held on February 2nd 1911, a deputation led by the Marquês de Valle Flôr, accompanied by all of the planters present, conveyed their opposition to labour reforms in an audience with Azevedo Gomes, the Minister of the Colonies.[667] Protesting that compulsory repatriation

serviçal nas roças, cujos proprietários passeiam na Europa os milhões adquiridos exclusivamente a custa do preto a quem deshumanamente tratam como bestas […]" Silvestre Gonçalves. "A Escravatura em S. Thomé." Idem. February 2nd 1911, pp. 1-2.

[666] See "O Banco Ultramarino. O Commercio de San Thomé nomeia uma commissão de commerciantes de Lisboa para advogar os seus interesses." *A Capital* January 20th, p.2. Levy was on the Board of the *Centro*.

[667] Cdr. Amaro Azevedo Gomes. (1852-1928) Naval Officer and Politician. There had been a meeting the previous day between the Minister and two representatives of the Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society, Sebastião Magalhães Lima and José de Macedo, to discuss the question.

after one year's service would place the agricultural production of the islands in jeopardy due to the dearth of labour, the deputation requested the cancellation of the ordinance. [668]

After explaining his Government's conviction that voluntary indenture would only come about if repatriation were compulsory, Azevedo Gomes expressed his firm resolve to go ahead with the measures, adding that 42 adults and 10 minors had already been sent home to Angola:

> "[…] Em Angola ha, entre os pretos, o terror de S.Thomé, pelo facto de os que partem não voltarem. Para elles S. Thomé representa um logar de deportação, que temem de tal forma que a melhor intimidação que lhes fazem os patrões é a ameaça de os mandarem para lá. Por este lado também, desde que se faça, mas de uma maneira effectiva, a repatriação dos pretos, e que estes voltem para Angola com o producto do seu trabalho, este facto contribuira grandemente para que os outros por natural emulação, emigrem voluntariamente para S.Thomé, que passará a converter-se para elles de terra do degredo e dos horrores, n'uma pacifica ilha, trabalhadora e honesta, onde se vae buscar a felicidade." [669]

In a conciliatory gesture, however, the Minister conceded that compulsory repatriation would only apply to new contracts and that labourers who were already on the plantations would be repatriated on a voluntary basis.[670]

Less than a fortnight later Francisco Mantero gave a major speech defending the planters' position at a meeting chaired by the Minister of the Colonies at the Associação Central da Agricultura Portuguesa. [671] It would later appear in pamphlet form in Portuguese, French and English.[672] Unbowed by the boycott and the start of compulsory repatriation,

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[668] "Slavery in the Portuguese Colonies. Movement against the New Law." *The Times* February 1st 1911 p.7. From the correspondent of *The Times*, dated Lisbon, January 31st "Thanks to the energetic campaign of the British Anti-Slavery Society the provisional Government, after duly verifying the abuses, decreed as absolute and obligatory the repatriation of all natives at the expiration of their contracts." The report goes on to mention the opposition of the plantation owners and the attempt to get the Minister of the Interior to put pressure on the Minister of the Colonies. "[…] If the Min. of the Marine and Colonies accedes to the planters' request the good effect of the British Anti-Slavery Society's humanitarian campaign of several years will be practically lost."

[669] From "A repatriação dos Serviçaes de S.Tomé. E recebida pelo Ministro da Marinha a Commissão do Centro Colonial encarregada de tratar deste assumpto. "*O Século* February 3rd 1911, p.2. See also "The Portuguese Colonies. Recruitment of Native Labour." *The Times* February 4th 1911, p.7.

[670] In a note to Sir Francis Villiers on February 14th 1911, Foreign Minister Bernardino Machado reported that the Minister of the Colonies had given instructions for repatriation of all the workers who so desired at the end of their contracts, but explained they were provisional. See HMSO Africa no.2. 1912, p.45.

[671] On February 13th 1911.

[672] The three publications were: Francisco Mantero. *A Mão D'Obra em San Thomé e Príncipe.*Typ. Cristovão Rodrigues, Lisboa: 1911; Francisco Mantero. *La Main D'Oeuvre a San Thomé et a L'Ile Du Prince : extrait de la conférence de M. Francisco Mantero*.Typ. do Anuário Commercial, Lisbonne:1911

Mantero condemned Nevinson and other campaigners as "British pseudo-humanitarians", and accused them of employing "dubious statistics and erroneous interpretation of facts". He went on to describe the Portuguese colonial system as the best in Africa for the black man, and affirmed that the Portuguese authorities had a "constant desire to protect the natives and to preclude abuses". Two days after the meeting, a memorandum undersigned by 212 "agriculturists and others interested in the progress of the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe" would be presented to the Foreign Minister, clearly inspired by Mantero's assessment of the situation. [673]

On the morning of Mantero's speech, *O Século* had published the first part of a long interview with Jaime Daniel Leotte do Rego, the former Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe and one of the founder-members of the Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society, under the heading "Anti-Esclavagismo. A Mão d'Obra em S.Thomé ". [674] The timing of the piece was well-chosen, as was the photograph which accompanied the text, showing the British Consul in West Africa visiting Roça Rio d'Ouro. The tone of the whole interview was clearly designed to win over the undecided and Leotte began by emphasising that although he harboured no animosity towards Britain, "a velha aliada de seis seculos e de quem sempre recebemos demonstrações de apreço e cooperação leal", it was not only those who defended the contract labour system who felt shame and patriotic indignation in the face of the international humanitarian campaign:

> A maioria da gente do nosso paiz estremecia com as faces tintas de vergonha, cada vez que, na imprensa estrangeira, nos accusavam de esclavagistas; e quando os auctores d'essa campanha nos appareceram em Lisboa e nas colonias; appressámo-nos a abrir-lhes os braços, a mostrar-lhes todo os serviços, toda a escripta, como se effectivamente elles fossem os nossos amigos, e se unicamente, os seus sentimentos humanitarios e civilisadores fossem o mobil dos seus actos. Eu fui dos que nunca tiveram illusões a esse respeito [...] [675]

Francisco Mantero. *Portuguese Planters and British Humanitarians. The case for San Thomé. Notes of an address by Francisco Mantero*; transl. J. A. Wyllie. Redacção da "Reforma". Lisbon: 1911.

[673] Reprinted in *Slavery in Portuguese Africa: Opposing views* 1972, pp.55-59 [with a full list of the companies then operating in São Tomé and Príncipe] See Robert Nii Nartey. Op.cit. 1986, pp.94-5.

[674] "Anti-Esclavagismo. A Mão de Obra em S.Thomé. As campanhas anti-esclavagistas estrangeiras teem tido como único móbil, o interesse com a mâscara de philanthropia. Assim afirma a um redactor do Século o Sr. Leotte do Rego" *O Século.* February 13th 1911, p.1. he second part of the interview would be published the following day under the heading "Anti-Esclavagismo. A Mão d'Obra em S. Thomé. Em outras países practicam-se actos peores do que em S. Thomé sem no entanto excitar os zelos dos anti-esclavagistas." *O Século* February 14th 1911, p.1.

[675] Idem, ibidem. (First part)

And drawing upon arguments which had previously been the exclusive domain of apologists of the contract-labour system, Leotte compared the situation of the labourers in São Tomé with parts of the British Empire, beginning with the Transvaal, where, he alleged, official statistics showed that the death-rate for immigrant labourers from Zambezia was in the order of 12% per annum. Going on to refer to acts of cruelty towards Chinese coolie labourers on the Rand he also cited the case of enchained slaves in the Cape province, Zanzibar, Mombassa and Dar-es-Salaam, pointing out that criticism from abroad seemed to be blind to anything beyond the cocoa islands: "[…] no entanto o zelo humanitario dos philanthropicos de profissão e dos fabricantes dos bonbons só se incendeia quando se fala de S. Thomé."

Notwithstanding his accusations of hypocrisy, Leotte admitted that "great abuses" had been committed in São Tomé and that there was no guarantee that it would not happen again. Speaking from his experience as Governor, he confessed that the State, itself, had also been guilty of grave misconduct, quoting the case of 70 men and women who were employed by the public works department for 4 to 5 years beyond the term of their contract, several of whom had been contracted out to private enterprises. He also gave the example of "well-behaved" soldiers were retained for years beyond the end of their contracts whilst their undisciplined comrades were sent to serve in the police force, a case of what he termed "verdadeira escravatura official".

Advocating a contract system along the same lines as for Mozambique, which, he affirmed, had operated for two years without the slightest complaint, Leotte suggested the contracting of natives from Guiné, who were "intelligent and hard-working", but recommended that community headmen ["régulos"] should be invited first to familiarise themselves with the conditions on the plantations. He admitted that the problem of labourers from Angola would take a long time to solve completely, "porque a transformação social d'aquelles povos não pode ser obra de um só dia." When questioned about Principe, Leotte admitted he was aware of the statistics which showed that the death rate caused by sleeping sickness was "terrifying" and that the birth-rate was "insignificant". He commented candidly: "[…] Aquilo não é colonisar é encher valas dos cemitérios […]"

The interview ended with the following recommendation:

> Emendem-se os erros, punem-se os prevaricadores, mas com serenidade, sem más vontades nem rancores. Deixemos esses rancores para os abutres que ha muito pensam lançar as garras aquella feracissima colonia mas a quem por enquanto vae saindo mal o jogo.[676]

In the meanwhile, previously unforeseeable developments were taking place in Lisbon, almost exactly two years after the Boycott had been declared. Quoting the Portuguese press, the Lisbon correspondent of the *Morning Leader* announced that William Cadbury was to arrive in the capital from Oporto for a meeting with the Provisional Government to discuss "the question of native labour on the cacao plantations of S.Thomé and Príncipe and the recruitment of natives in Angola for work on the islands." [677] Accompanied by William Albright, a fellow Quaker and a leading member of the Anti-Slavery Society, and Alfredo Henrique da Silva, William Cadbury would meet that same day in Lisbon with the Minister of the Colonies Azevedo Gomes, "to settle once and for all the long-pending question of the so-called slavery in Portuguese Africa" as the correspondent of the *Morning Leader* optimistically put it. [678]

The *Diário de Notícias* published a report on the "important conference", the following day.[679] Cadbury began by announcing he was on a "pleasure trip with his wife" and not in representation of any corporate body. He went over the chocolate makers' role in the affair in some detail, referring to his visits to Lisbon and to Africa and Burtt's investigation, leading up to the point where they had felt obliged to cease purchases as they had come to realise that "the product was the outcome of a system of labour which

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[676] Idem, ibidem. (Second part)

[677] "Slavery in S.Thomé. The Portuguese Republic desirous to settle the Question." The *Morning Leader*. March 20th 1911. Page not given. Cited in Mantero. *Portuguese Planters* 1911, p.94. The *Morning Leader*, and the *Star* had been bought by George Cadbury and Arnold Rowntree in 1909.The previous day's *A Capital* had commented on the visit, painting Cadbury's "private visit" with the same xenophobic brush as the activities of the bankers Burnay, Prosper and Weinstein in Portugal, commenting that it was "too many foreigners for such a small country". " Os Estrangeiros em Portugal". *A Capital* March 19th 1911, p.1.

[678] Idem. [*Morning Leader* article.] Cadbury would always insist that he was on holiday in Portugal with his wife Emmeline, and that he was attending the meeting as a private person, probably to preclude any possibility of a binding commitment to a corporate change of policy.

[679] "Anti-Escravatura. Conferência de Srs. Cadbury e Allbright [sic] com o Ministro da Marinha." *Diário de Notícias.* March 23rd 1911, p.1. Excerpts from Wyllie's translated version as given in Mantero's *"Portuguese Planters"*, 1911, pp. 95-97. An English translation is also to be found in CP 180/677.
See also "Labour in São Thomé. Representations by Englishmen." *The Times* March 24th 1911, p.5. *The Times*' correspondent in Lisbon refers to the "long conference" between Cadbury and Albright of the AS Society and Senhor Gomes [sic] Minister of Marine and Colonies. "[…] The Minister declared that he was convinced that many abuses were perpetrated, but the whole matter being complicated, careful study was necessary. He had […] drafted a project which for the time being would eliminate the principal abuses, pending a new law which would radically reform the whole system of native labour in Portuguese Africa. The recruiting was to be carried out by Government officials without the intervention of recruiting agents, and the obligatory repatriation was to be strictly enforced […]"

was far from free." Cadbury concluded by saying that "it was his ardent hope that the new Republic would set up a new standard of liberty for the natives in her colonies" and that it would be "a happy day" for him when he could resume commercial relations with Portugal.[680] William Albright explained he was also present in a private capacity but that he wished to dispel the impression that the Anti-Slavery Society dealt only with Portugal. He went on to explain that he, himself, had spent twenty years in the struggle against slavery in the British colony of Zanzibar and added that many people had argued that a change in the labour system would ruin agriculture in the colony but **"for two years past slavery has ceased to exist there and yet the islands were more prosperous than ever"**.[681]

The Minister replied diplomatically that he was sure that Cadbury and Albright were acting with the best of intentions and that it was true that there were "defects which needed correction". He explained he had taken temporary measures to put an end to the problems, and as soon as it were feasible the whole system would be remodelled "along lines which would do honour to the liberal principles of the Republic." He added that the new recruitment system would exclude the middleman and repatriation would be compulsory for newly-contracted labourers to allow them to return to their homes and act as an incentive for voluntary labour.[682]

It is not clear exactly what Cadbury wished to achieve from the talks but Albright's presence excludes the possibility that the audience was merely arranged as an afterthought. Alfredo Henrique da Silva, whom Cadbury and his wife had visited in Oporto, undoubtedly played a significant role in organising the meeting, which was facilitated by his membership of the Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society and his excellent relations with the Republican leadership at this time.[683] It is likely that Cadbury wanted

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[680] With the benefit of hindsight, it is clear that Cadbury wanted to preserve the illusion that there was a possibility of the resumption of purchases from São Tomé, whilst already knowing that his company's considerable investments in British West Africa made such a possibility extremely remote.

[681] Quotation in bold in Wyllie's translation. Idem., p 97. A confession which implied that the British Government had criticised the contract-labour system in Portuguese West Africa at the same time as it condoned virtual slavery in British East Africa. A letter to Alfredo Henrique da Silva from E.W.Brooks of the Friends Antislavery Committee sets out the efforts of the British Quakers to put an end to slavery in Zanzibar. E.W.Brooks to AH da Silva. December 9th 1909. PT-AHS-ICS-AHSilva-ESC-SER-6-A-04.

[682] The following day, George Cadbury's *Daily News* published a brief factual report on the meeting from a Lisbon correspondent under the heading "Slavery in S.Thomé. The Plan of the Portuguese Government." The *Daily News* March 24th 1911. Reproduced in Francis Mantero. *Portuguese Planters* 1911, p.118.

[683] In the *Daily Leader*'s note announcing the meeting, the following paragraph appears: "At a meeting of the Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society it was resolved to co-operate with Mr. Cadbury so as to arrive at a

to recover some of the influence over the course of events which the chocolate makers had lost after the Boycott, whilst assessing how far the new Republican government was prepared to go in implementing reforms, two years after his firm had ceased to purchase Portuguese cacao. From the Portuguese viewpoint, it would soon become apparent that the meeting had been a waste of time, as Cadbury Bros. would systematically sidestep any attempt to resume commercial relations with São Tomé and Principe, preferring to continue purchasing and investing in British West Africa, whilst lending their support to a humanitarian campaign which would become progressively more divorced from reality over the coming months.

On May 13th 1911, as Azevedo Gomes had promised, the Provisional Government published the first Republican legislation governing native labour in the colonies. Whilst essentially re-asserting the thinking behind the previous legislation of November 9th 1899, several of its provisions were modified. Contracts were now limited to two years, provisions concerning medical assistance, minimum wages, and clothing were introduced and heavier sanctions were foreseen for employers who resorted to corporal punishment.[684] Repatriation, however, was not made compulsory. Writing two years later, Freire de Andrade would comment: "[…] não há princípio algum que não tenha sido adoptado nas colónias dos grandes países coloniais […] entre as muitas [leis] que conheço, nenhuma se me afigura mais liberal ou mais justa".[685] But as liberal as it may have been for the day, the failure of the new legislation to include compulsory repatriation would cause profound dissatisfaction in humanitarian circles both at home and abroad.[686]

In the meanwhile and despite the opposition of the vast majority of the planters, the new measures were already beginning to take effect, provoking difficulties on the mainland of Angola in absorbing the first contingents of newly-repatriated labourers, many of whom were old, sick and virtually destitute. On May 15th 1911, Consul Drummond-Hay wrote

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final solution, and thus put an end to the campaign of the British Anti-Slavery Society against the Portuguese administration." Cadbury had also become a personal friend of Silva, whose son had stayed with him in Britain. For more on Alfredo Henrique da Silva´s active role in the controversy see chapters 2.6 and 4.6 of this dissertation.

[684] Article 18 attributes "tutorial responsibilities" to employers which allowed them to correct prevaricating employees, "using moderation" as if they were minors.This would be revoked on October 1st 1913.

[685] Alfredo Augusto Freire de Andrade. *Relatório acerca do livro "Portuguese slavery", escripto pelo Sr. John Harris.* Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa: 1913, pp.17-18. Drummond-Hay would send a translation of the new legislation to the FO on November 24th 1911. See Consul Drummond-Hay to Sir Edward Grey. November 24th 1911. Enclosure with no.46. In HMSO *Africa no.2. 1912*, pp. 61-73.

[686] And also at the Foreign Office.

from Luanda that Lionel Fussell, the Vice-Consul in Lobito, had reported that repatriated "serviçais" were hanging about the local stores in Benguela, spending "what money they had, chiefly on drink" and after seeking some form of employment in the trading houses, usually unsuccessfully, they ended up in the "native compounds". Fussell informed that he knew of none who had reached their original homes and in fact some were attempting to return to São Tomé and Príncipe, because, he thought, they had become "too civilised" to return to what he called the "crude mode of living" in which they had been brought up. As an incentive for the former "servicais" to return to their respective place of origin, Drummond-Hay had suggested to the Acting Governor-General, Maj. Manuel Maria Coelho [687] that part of the money owing to repatriated "servicais" should be payable to them by the "chefe de posto" on their return to their native villages. The Governor-General had promised to look into the matter and had mentioned the possibility of establishing agricultural settlements for the repatriated "serviçais".[688]

The following months witnessed widespread dismay across the whole of the political spectrum as to the way repatriation was taking place. The progressive weekly *A Reforma*, published in Luanda,[689] was particularly violent in its criticism. Reporting his own concerns to the FO on August 25th 1911, Acting Consul Smallbones enclosed an article from the same newspaper which accused the authorities of proceeding in an "unscrupulous and almost criminal manner". Commenting on the decree of May 13th, the writer, "A.C.",[690] had complained bitterly that "servicais" were being dumped in Angola without a penny - including some who were born in São Tomé, suggesting that the form of repatriation was so bad that it might even be a stratagem to allow the planters to argue that it was unworkable. On the other hand, he argued that repatriated "serviçais" would inevitably want to return to the islands, in view of the difficulties they had to face on the

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[687] Major Manuel Maria Coelho served as Governor-General of Angola from January 18th 1911 to 26th January 1912. At the beginning of June 1911 the Governor-General would show he meant business as far as forced recruitment was concerned, by summarily expelling eleven slave-dealers from the province. See the Official Bulletin of June 3rd 1911 and Consul Drummond-Hay (Loanda) to Sir Edward Grey. June 17th 1911. In HMSO *Africa no.2, 1912* [Cd 6322], p.54.

[688] Consul Drummond-Hay (Loanda) to Sir Edward Grey. May 15th 1911. FO 367/234. In HMSO *Africa no. 2, 1912* [Cd 6322] pp.53-54.

[689] Edited by Camillo Rodrigues from December 1st 1910 to February 17th 1912, *A Reforma* was the mouthpiece for the Angolan Reformist Party. The last issue coincided with the dissolution of the Party itself. On September 16th and 23rd 1911, there was an interesting debate between Armando de Campos in the Luanda *Reforma* and Balthazar Aguiam of the Lisbon *Reforma* on the question of *"Trabalho Indígena"*. The Lisbon *Reforma* was a conservative newspaper edited by D.Thomaz de Noronha.

[690] A nom-de-plume of Armando de Campos.

mainland, as the planters had argued all along. [691] Over the coming months the Luanda *Reforma* would become one of the most active voices in the campaign against what remained of the old system of labour recruitment in Angola.[692]

But as fraught with difficulties as repatriation undoubtedly was, there could be no doubt, even for the most stubborn of foreign observers, that Angolans were returning from São Tomé and Príncipe on a regular basis for the first time in living memory, whilst none were being brought to the islands. Even the intractable anti-slavery activist John H. Harris was forced to acknowledge the situation. In a remarkable letter to *The Times* published on August 7th 1911, but written from São Tomé almost three months earlier, Harris finally admitted to what had by then become an incontrovertible fact:

> **we cannot trace any recent shipment** [of labourers] from Angola and the report that this had been resumed appears to have arisen from the formal registration of the steamship Cazengo for carrying 300 servicaes.[…] for the time being, the traffic in servicaes between San Thomé and Angola has ceased […] the immigration of Mozambique labourers is not only maintained but is apparently on the increase […] **repatriation has definitely begun**. [693]

But this would not be the end of the affair, as might reasonably have been expected, given that the conditions which were originally demanded by the humanitarian campaigners were now being satisfied. From this point on, the campaigners would turn their attention to the difficulties and consequences of repatriation, the prevalence of sleeping sickness in the islands and the continuing existence of forced labour in Angola, itself. John H. Harris would even attempt to find proof that the labourers were systematically subjected to cruel

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[691] "Repatriados de S.Thomé". *A Reforma* (Luanda) August 19th 1911. Extract from article by A.C. Enclosure in Acting Consul Smallbones to Sir Edward Grey August 25th 1911. FO 367/234. HMSO *Africa no.2* [Cd 6322] 1912, pp.55-56. Also reproduced in James Duffy Op.cit.1967, p. 217.

[692] For example, on October 7th 1911, *A Reforma* (Luanda) published a long letter by Lieut. Joao Ferreira do Amaral based on his experience of the previous four years in Benguella, entitled *"A Escravatura em Africa"* : "[…] Os pretos não são da região, [...] nao recebem pagamentos em dinheiro; apenas os panos e quinquilharias que o patrão lhes quer dar; nao podem declarar ao patrão que querem servir outro patrão. O que quer isto dizer?[...] Os Governos Monarchicos perseguiram e transferiram vários delegados, curadores de serviçais de Benguella a Mossamedes por levantarem difficuldades aos contractos para S.Thomé; alguns Governadores igualmente cairam no desagrado, e ainda hoje o desagrado em que caiu o actual Governador de Mossamedes é, no fundo uma questão de pretos alugados e [...] contractados."
Ferreira do Amaral had been a member of the four-man team appointed by Paiva Couceiro to assess the possibility of European colonisation of the high plateau region of Angola. See J. Pereira do Nascimento. *A colonização do Planalto de Benguela*, J. Rodrigues, Lisboa: 1912.

[693] "Native labour in San Thomé," *The Times* August 7th 1911, p.3. (my bold) See also " São Thomé Labour" in *The Spectator* of August 12th 1911, pp. 245-246, which reproduces Harris' letter from São Tomé dated May 26th 1911.

punishment on the plantations of the cocoa islands, a claim which had not been heard since Nevinson's short stay in the islands. [694]

In the meanwhile, the Republican Government, which was faced with growing agitation at home, would persist with its well-meaning, if sometimes ill-fated attempts to ensure that the new legislation on indigenous labour was actually implemented. After Miranda Guedes' departure for Macao, Cdr. Jaime Leotte do Rego was appointed for the second time as Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe. [695] He would proceed with many of the measures initiated by his predecessor, particularly those related to public health, [696] whilst seeking to pacify the political infighting which still reigned on the islands. Amongst the first steps he took was the dismissal of the Secretary of the local Republican Committee who was accused of being the principal instigator of unrest:

> […] A desordem e a anarquia, a breve trecho substituíram a disciplina sempre indispensável para o progresso[…] Arrastados pelo facciosismo político irritante e insensato e alguns até por desonestas e inconfessáveis aspirações, cidadãos houve em S.Tomé e no Príncipe - em número limitadíssimo felizmente - que longe de auxiliarem as autoridades escolhidas pela República e de darem o exemplo de respeito à lei, só se têm ocupado de as embaraçar sistematicamente **incitando as classes trabalhadoras contra a acção dirigente do Estado e não hesitando mesmo em tentarem levar os serviçais indígenas à insubordinação contra os patrões, incutindo-lhes criminosamente falsas ideias de liberdade e de emancipação**.[697]

Clearly, though progressive in comparison with the political parties which had alternated for so long during the Monarchist regime, the Republican leadership in both the "metropole" and the colonies felt threatened by the often-destructive, radical forces of change which had been unleashed by the revolution. [698] Unwittingly, perhaps, Leotte do

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[694] See Chapter 4.9 of this dissertation.

[695] See "Capitão-Tenente Leotte do Rego. Partiu para S. Thomé para assumir o Governo da Província." *O Século* June 2nd 1911 p.1 (with photo) "[...] Intelligente, estudioso e activo, demonstrou uma criteriosa orientação quando exerceu o cargo de governador da referida colonia deixando ali pela sua imparcial administração, sinceros admiradores [...]" Leotte do Rego took office on June 14th 1911.

[696] *O Século* reported that the Minister of the Colonies had received a request from Leotte do Rego, the previous day, requesting the building of pavillions and new wards at the hospital for infectious diseases, new accomodation for "serviçais", adaptation of a building in the capital as a clinic, repairs to the hospital on the Island of Príncipe and the creation of an isolation ward for those affected by sleeping sickness. **"**Assumptos Coloniaes. S. Thomé e Príncipe." *O Século.* October 19th 1911, p.6.

[697] *Boletim Oficial do Governo da Província de S.Tomé*, *nº 31*, Portaria no.500. August 8th 1911.(my bold)

[698] The Republican Government was dealing with a spate of strikes and demonstrations by newly-organised public servants, artisans and labourers. To complicate matters further, on October 5th 1911 the new regime would have to face a monarchist incursion led by Paiva Couceiro, involving a contingent of as many as

Rego had also revealed in his statement that the ideals of "freedom and emancipation" which had inspired the "liberal" native labour legislation of just a few months before, were destined, like those which had inspired the advent of the Republican regime, to be measured out with caution by those in power.[699] In fact, Leotte do Rego remained in the post for less than six months [700] and, on his return to the capital, he would express his disagreement with what he saw as the Government's excessively "liberal" policies on the issue of native labour. [701] In a lengthy interview given to *O Século* in December 1911[702] he underlined the fact that the decrees applied in the colonies were drawn up in Portugal by people who were sometimes unfamiliar with the situation in loco, and as a consequence they were often contradictory and revealed an ignorance of the teachings of experience. Pointing to the fact that many repatriated labourers were clamouring to return to the cocoa islands, Leotte do Rego suggested that the recruitment procedure had improved dramatically during his short term of office:

> […] Quanto, porém á forma de recrutamento d'esses servicaes é que alguma coisa havia de notar, no que respeita aos nativos vindos de Angola. Ali o processo de recrutamento era até há muito pouco tempo absolutamente condenável.[...] O novo regimen de recrutamento tem tal importancia que o consul inglez sr. Cuninj [sic] [703] que está em S. Thomé, homem muito sensato, que viveu longos anos em Angola, quando soube do novo sistema, veio

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1000 volunteers, which crossed the Spanish border into the Bragança region. The uprising was contained by a more numerous and better-armed republican force led by Pimenta de Castro.

[699] The planters, too, were still putting up fierce opposition to the new measures, principally as a means of gaining time until the balance of power swung more their way. On November 10th 1911 a special meeting chaired by Francisco Mantero was held at the Centro Colonial in Lt. Col.Wyllie's honour. At the meeting it was announced that Wyllie was to be given honorary membership of the Centro and intended to live in Estoril, as his health required a temperate climate, "não ligando a menor importancia à campanha de terror que os traidores fazem acerca da situação politica da nossa terra [...]" as the *Século* wrote the next day. In his speech Wyllie lamented the difficulties he faced: **"[...] não é coisa facil de conseguir que o publico inglez alige de si as informações anteriores sobre o assumpto, embora erroneas, para tornar a ouvir a historia, de princípio ao fim. Alem d'isso, ha ali quem não queira que a verdade se saiba, e pessoas ha quem não querem admitir consideração alguma sobre a diferença entre o branco e o preto, entre o civilisado e por civilisar."** "Homenagem a Coronel Wyllie. O devotado defensor da obra colonial portugueza é eleito socio honorário do Centro**."** *O Século* November 11th, 1911, p.2. (my bold)

[700]. "Por divergencias com o administrador do Príncipe, pediu, segundo consta, a demissão do cargo de Governador de S. Thomé o oficial da Marinha Leotte do Rego." "Assumptos Coloniaes. S. Thomé e Príncipe." *O Século* October 20th 1911, p.4.

[701] "[…] Essa legislação é justa, porém, dizer-se, tinha um sabor pronunciadamente liberal, no intuito bem definido de proteção aos servicaes. Porém **chegou-se a cair n'um exagero proprio do nosso feitio meridional**" "Pelas Colónias. A Mão d'Obra em S. Tomé está hoje submetida a um novo regimen que dará os melhores resultados" *O Século.* December 19th 1911, p.3. (my bold)

[702] Leotte do Rego's long interview in *O Século* was divided into three parts and published on December 9th 1911 on p.2; December 14th on p.2; and December 19th on p.3.

[703] H.M.Vice-Consul A.C.Cumming, a former head of the cable station. He sided with the planters, arguing that repatriation was unworkable. See Lowell J. Satre Op.cit. 2005, p.194.

> cumprimentar-me e felicitar o governo portuguez, pela sua aplicação, que arredaria para sempre e definitivamente todos pretextos para as campanhas de descredito que, a proposito da mão d'obra de S. Tomé, que tantos teem apontado como um matadouro de nativos é hoje, como se vê, afinal, um logar [sic] para que os pretos desejam voltar. [704]

The editor of the *Reforma* saw the question differently, however, and Consul Drummond-Hay was inclined to agree with him. Along with his regular report to the Foreign Office at the beginning of December, he enclosed a translation of an article entitled "Old Laws and Old Procedures" from the Luanda weekly. Curiously, it had been published on the same day as the first part of Leotte do Rego's interview. Referring to the last voyage north of the steamer Malange, the writer stated that in addition to eighteen prisoners of war, twenty-four "Quimbundo" contract-labourers had travelled to the islands, accompanied only by a single "guia" or bill of transit stating that they were fit for work, in total contradiction of the new regulations which required details for each individual. "How can these people later be repatriated?" he asked. The journalist saw this group and a previous batch of five recruits, as an attempt to lull public opinion into indifference towards "the repetition of the spectacle". He concluded by saying that it was necessary to "inculcate on [sic] the mind of the Portuguese the habit of respecting the law" and that this would be impossible "as long as the authorities are the first to disrespect it". [705]

Writing to the FO at the beginning of February, 1912, Consul Drummond-Hay enclosed statistics which showed that 3,110 labourers had been recruited for São Tomé and Príncipe in 1911- 2840 from Mozambique, 279 from the Cape Verde Is. and none from Angola. Over the same period 1037 labourers had been repatriated, 613 to Mozambique, 39 to the Cape Verde Is. and 385 to Angola. [706]

Despite all the obstacles placed in its path and the inevitable initial setbacks, repatriation was now an indisputable reality.

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[704] Idem. December 19th 1911, p.3.
[705] Consul Drummond-Hay, Luanda to Sir Edward Grey. December 14th 1911. Enclosure. Extract from the Luanda "*Reforma*" dated December 9th 1911. HMSO *Africa no.2. 1912* [Cd.6322] pp. 80-81.
[706] Consul Drummond-Hay, Luanda to Sir Edward Grey. February 6th 1912. Enclosure nos. 1 and 2. Idem. p.83.

2.6 The "*Alma Negra!*" scandal and the accentuation of divisions in the Republican camp

In April 1928, a few days after the election of General Oscar Carmona as the President of the Republic and the subsequent consolidation of the incipient nationalist regime, [707] a thousand copies of a modestly-produced booklet entitled *A Ilha do Príncipe* came off the press at a small printing firm in Oporto. [708] In five hundred alexandrine quatrains,[709] it related the experiences and impressions of its author, Juvenal Marinho, when he was employed on the cocoa plantations of São Tomé and Príncipe, over two decades before. Often ingenuous, with awkward sequences and forced rhymes, his verses hesitate between the lyrical and the polemic, the epic and the commonplace, yet, despite their inconsistencies, they offer an invaluable eye-witness account of life on the plantations at a time when the islands were deeply involved in the bitter international dispute over the use of forced labour from Angola. Juvenal Marinho's rhymed account was the last in a series of brave but ultimately ill-fated attempts by his brother, Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho and himself, to denounce what they saw as the iniquities of the contract-labour system, which was still thriving, albeit in a much-modified form, in the islands of the Gulf of Guinea when the verses were published.[710]

It was at the time of Joseph Burtt's visit to the island of Príncipe that Juvenal Marinho first experienced life on the plantations. Upon coming of age he had decided to follow the footsteps of his brother, who was a year older, and in January 1905, they sailed together on the steamer "Cazengo" for the Gulf of Guinea. [711] Jerónimo, who had studied at the University of Coimbra and was "almost a bachelor in law", had been appointed Assistant

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[707] Gen. António Oscar de Fragoso Carmona (1869-1951), who first ascended to the Presidency in 1926 after a military coup against the First Republic, was elected President on March 25th 1928.

[708] This was a relatively ambitious run for a work of poetry, particularly by an unknown author. Juvenal clearly intended to circulate the text himself, whilst hoping that the "Alma Negra!" scandal was still fresh enough in the minds of the population to encourage potential buyers.

[709] Clearly intended to be read aloud.

[710] Recontracting had been abolished in 1921, for instance, and the role of the government in labour recruitment would be ended in 1928.

[711] 347- Com vinte e um anos de edade somente
E já pareço um sabio a dar sentenças,
Aqui na direcção metido de tanta gente
Do estado maior da roça nas pertenças. Juvenal Marinho. Op.cit.1928, p.62.

Curator on the island of Príncipe, two years earlier.[712] Juvenal, presumably on his brother's recommendation, had been offered the post of assistant manager on Roça Esperança, which belonged to the great Porto Real group of plantations.




Figure 2.6 (Left) Jeronimo Paiva de Carvalho. (Right) Juvenal Marinho. Both 1913. Photographer unknown. From *A Ilha do Príncipe* opp. p.9 (Left); opp.p.28 (Right).

It was generally accepted at the time that Europeans could not withstand long periods on the islands due to the unhealthy climate and endemic diseases such as typhoid, malaria and sleeping sickness, and as enthusiastic as he was about this new adventure, Juvenal's verses show that was fully aware of the risk to his health.[713] Inevitably, too, there would be the permanent strain of the limited and parochial social environment of the islands, aggravated by the almost total absence of European women. [714] In this oppressive social climate, dominated by the plantations and their proprietors, anyone who raised his voice against the labour system which sustained the islands' economy quickly became *persona non grata*, and Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho would soon pay the price for his excessive protagonism.[715]

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[712] Equivalent to the post of Labour Inspector in the British Colonies.

[713] 291-Tenho por mim de lembrança, bem avisado,
Não estar mais de três anos em tal clima;
Ainda que com a saúde grande cuidado,
Não há corpo e energia que não deprima. Idem. p.54

[714] 472-Sete senhoras brancas habitam a ilha.
Coisa que nem em S.Thomé succede
Um ar em festa rescende e brilha
Cá no Príncipe que só trez léguas mede. Idem. p. 84

[715] Jerónimo had been warned what to expect: "Tome cuidado com o meio. Aquilo é um monturo. Não olvide nunca que è sempre preciso cumprir a lei à risca e deixe-os cantar à vontade." Pinto dos Santos, Chefe de Repartição, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, quoted by Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho in *A*

In 1907, the official visit to the island of Príncipe of D. Luiz Filippe, the heir to the throne, had to be abandoned due to a revolt of the labourers on one of the plantations. [716] As a consequence of the violence, the planters and their local allies demanded the dismissal of the Curator, Paiva de Carvalho, whom they accused of being the cause of the unrest. [717] Caught up in one of the most sordid episodes of the Anglo-Portuguese cocoa controversy, he would later be accused of the torture and murder of "serviçais", in criminal proceedings initiated by certain of the more vindictive settlers. Astonishingly, shortly after the trumped-up charges had been shelved, a pamphlet appeared under his name defending the contract-labour system against accusations from abroad.[718] His name cleared, Paiva de Carvalho was invited to return to the Island of Príncipe to occupy the post of municipal magistrate, between April 1910 and April 1911, but once again, he would be forced to face charges, this time for petty larceny and embezzlement.

In his verses Juvenal Marinho recalls, with undisguised bitterness, the persecution and humiliation which his brother had to face as a result of his actions as "Curador": [719]

Desafronta. Defesa de um Homem injustamente perseguido e caluniado: a Questao dos Serviçais de S. Tomé. Coimbra. Paiva de Carvalho Editor.Tip. Literaria. 1916, p. 11. Most went to Brazil. Between 188 and 1929, 15,000 emigrants left Portugal for Brazil every year. See Caroline B. Brettell, *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish* PUP. Princeton, NJ: 1986, p. 29.

[716] 227- O curador está na ilha para zelar
Dos pretos o contracto e bem geral
A qualquer hora ás roças pode chegar
E castigar os patrões bárbaros do serviçal. Juvenal Marinho. Op.cit.1928, p. 43

[717] Paiva de Carvalho was dismissed on July 29th 1907 after a series of telegrams to Lisbon from the local authorities demanding his removal. The Governor, for example, conveyed the planter's demands in a message telegraphed to the Minister of the Colonies (Min. Marinha e Ultramar) on July 24th: "Tem havido tentativas repetidas assassinatos. Estou empregando meios repressão amotinações presumindo poder manter ordem sem auxilio novos elementos mas parece-me necessário delegado curador geral seja desde já substituido por administrador concelho ou outro funcionario."AHU Copiador S.Tomé. Livro 345. 74-74v 1907. The following day, the Minister received a second telegram from a group of Europeans on Príncipe, which read as follows: "Continuam sublevações serviçaes maior parte roças projectando assassinar europeus, único responsável delegado curador cuja substituição pedimos fundamentada governador dia 3, urge destituil-o immediatemente por telegramma senão teremos abandonar propriedades refugiando-nos cidade." Idem. Livro 345. 73v 1907.
In the pamphlet "*Alma Negra!"* published under Paiva de Carvalho's name, but which he later denied writing, the author relates: "Em 1907 na dependencia de Ribeira Fria (Companhia da Ilha do Príncipe) vinte negros mutilaram a golpes de machado o empregado europeu Ferreira Duarte. Esses vinte negros não foram sujeitos a lei comum. Um terço subiu ao degredo. Os restantes morreram na prisão." Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho [?] *Alma Negra! Depoimento sobre a questão dos serviçais de S.Tomé.* Tipografia Progresso, Porto: 1912, p.25.

[718]Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho. *O Trabalho indígena em S.Tomé e Príncipe-Monografia refutando as acusações feitas contra êle no estrangeiro.* Typographia do Commercio, Lisboa: 1907. Six years later Freire de Andrade would quote at length from Paiva de Carvalho's vindication of the system in his response to Harris' *Portuguese Slavery.* See Alfredo Augusto Freire de Andrade. *Relatório acerca do livro "Portuguese slavery", escripto pelo Sr. John Harris.* Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa: 1913, pp. 45-6.

By 1913 the Republican authorities had introduced positive reforms and begun effective repatriation and many better-informed observers in Portugal were optimistic that the chocolate-makers' boycott on purchases of Portuguese cocoa would be lifted, so that it proved particularly embarrassing when excerpts from a pamphlet entitled *Alma Negra!,*[720] which had ostensibly been written by Paiva de Carvalho after his second stint in São Tomé, appeared as an Anti-Slavery Society publication under the title "*Portuguese Revelations*".[721] Acute embarrassment would turn into indignation when excerpts from the pamphlet were read to the House of Lords by Lord Cromer in a major foreign policy debate at the end of July 1913.[722]

The republican press quickly denounced what it called an attack on Portugal itself and Paiva de Carvalho was accused of being a traitor who had attempted to sell the good name of his country. [723] The Lisbon daily, *O Século,* was especially vituperative in its criticism, producing graphological evidence to prove that Paiva de Carvalho had offered his revelations to William Cadbury for £200 sterling.[724] Mysteriously, and despite

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[719] 38 - Porque do seu lugar de curador esbulhado,
Pelo próprio govêrno da nação perseguido,
Com prisões e processos rebaixado,
Só pelo seu valor e talento defendido. Juvenal Marinho Op.cit 1928, p.10.

[720] It has always been assumed that the title of the antislavery pamphlet should be translated literally as "Black Soul", but another intriguing possibility is suggested by the exclamation mark. The storm petrel, a sea bird which is common near the Equator has, from times immemorial, been recognised by sailors as the harbinger of storms, and the presence of the birds on the way to the cocoa islands would have been signalled by Portuguese seamen with the cry "Alma Negra!" Could the author, Paiva de Carvalho (or his alter ego), have wished to signify that a storm was on its way?

[721] The original text of "*Alma Negra!"* was delivered to the printers in Oporto and paid for by Alfredo Henrique da Silva. Two thousand copies were printed and distributed to members of the Portuguese Government and Parliament, to local authorities and public libraries. Immediately after publication, Paiva de Carvalho denied he was the author, in letters to *O Século* and *O Mundo.* The pamphlet was sent to William Cadbury who paid to have excerpts, translated by Joseph Burtt, published by the British Anti-Slavery Society. See Jeronimo Paiva de Carvalho [?]. *Slavery in West Africa. Portuguese Revelations*. AS and APS, London: 1913. PT-AHS-ICS-AHSilva-ESC-AAS-04. Several passages from *Portuguese Revelations* also appeared under the heading "Portuguese Slavery in West Africa" in *The Spectator* on March 15th 1913, pp. 436-7.

[722] "Native Labour in Portuguese West Africa." Hansard. Lords Debate, July 23rd 1913 vol. 14 cc. 1285.

[723] See for example Hermano Neves' article in *A Capital*. "[…] devemos convir em que, se é odiosa a campanha contra o nosso trabalho colonial promovida por estrangeiros, muito mais odiosa ainda tem de ser quando é fomentada por um portuguez escudada com o falso pretexto de um sublime humanitarismo." Contra S. Thomé. "Alma negra" Um curioso folheto e uma extranha "coherencia." *A Capital.* February 7th 1913, p.1. Hermano Neves (1884-1929) seems to have been something of a "Trojan horse" on behalf of the planters at the *Capital* newspaper which was an otherwise a progressive voice as far as native labour in Portuguese West Africa was concerned.

[724] See **Figure 2.7** "Cadbury and Cia. Paiva de Carvalho repudia a paternidade do seu folheto «Alma negra»" [sic] *O Século*. April 9th 1913, p.1. Paiva de Carvalho later alleged that the letter to Cadbury asking for £200 was a forgery and added that if the author, whom he calls a "mariolão" or scoundrel, had wished to protect his identity, he would have used a typewriter. See Paiva de Carvalho. Op.cit 1916, p.17. A letter from William Cadbury in the Alfredo H. da Silva Collection (AHS-ICS) provides proof that Cadbury

compelling evidence to the contrary provided to the newspaper by William Cadbury's friend in Oporto, the Methodist minister Alfredo Henrique da Silva, Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho would never admit to being the author.



O SECULO

CADBURY & C.ª

PAIVA DE CARVALHO

repudía a paternidade do seu folheto «Alma Negra»

O «Seculo» mantem e documenta a sua acusação

Figure 2.7 Front page of *O Século* showing handwriting comparison.

In April 1914, criminal proceedings were reopened against Paiva de Carvalho on the instructions of Freire de Andrade, then Director-General of the Colonies, for crimes supposedly committed in 1907, essentially to launch further discredit on the anti-slavery pamphlet and by association, on the philanthropic campaign, itself. [725] Arrested by the

received a request from someone purporting to be Paiva de Carvalho offering compromising material for sale - an offer that Cadbury declined, suggesting Paiva de Carvalho should publish it himself.

[725] See Alfredo Freire de Andrade. *Relatório acerca do livro "Portuguese slavery", escripto pelo Sr. John Harris.* Lisboa, Imp. Nacional, 1913. In his report Freire de Andrade insinuates that he knew of "*factos pouco dignificantes"* concerning Paiva de Carvalho's behaviour in Príncipe in 1907. For Silva's own account of the affair, see Alfredo Henrique da Silva. *O monstro da escravatura : a minha defesa na campanha levantada a proposito do folheto "Alma Negra"* Porto : Typ. Mendonça, 1913.

Freire de Andrade also wrote to *The Spectator* on April 5th 1913, p.570, concerning the "Alma Negra! scandal". Strachey, the editor of *The Spectator* protested about the tone and content of the letter: **"we would not have published a letter of this kind from anyone but a foreigner"** offering his apologies to Cadbury and the Anti-Slavery Society "for giving currency to such weak and insulting suggestions". (my bold) He

Republican authorities he had always supported, Paiva de Carvalho would be obliged to undergo the humiliation of a second trial, motivated by the need to suppress the voice of dissent.[726] A year later, the unsavoury imbroglio finally came to an end with Paiva de Carvalho being cleared of the charges, but his career as a colonial magistrate was over.

By then, however, Paiva de Carvalho had taken his personal campaign against the labour system in São Tomé and Príncipe to the pages of a local newspaper, *"Verdade"*, the successor to an even more radical and truculent, anti-clerical broadsheet, *"A União",*[727] which he and his brothers had founded and published in their home town of Vila Pereira during the first half of 1912. Despite their provincial character, these two fortnightly papers, separated by a hiatus of just over a year, bore eloquent witness to the changing fortunes and emerging divisions within the new Republican regime. Jerónimo and Juvenal, who, together with their brothers Humberto and Azuil, shared the roles of director, reporter, leader-writer, literary editor, resident rhymester and proof reader, had thrown in their hand with the most radical and Jacobin faction of the republican family - Afonso Costa's Democratic Party. Over the coming months they would, like the party itself, turn their attacks away from the traditional scapegoats, the monarchists and Jesuits, to their new adversaries, the supporters of António José de Almeida's Evolutionist Party.[728] The seeds of the Republic's future demise had already begun to take root.

The first issue of *"Verdade"* carried a long article which was certainly intended for a wider audience than its two hundred or so subscribers.[729] Entitled *"A Escravatura em S.*

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began by referring to the article of February 10th 1913 in *O Mundo* in which Paiva de Carvalho denied authorship, saying he had in his possession an earlier tract by Carvalho entitled *"The Native Labour in San Thomé and Príncipe - Monograph disproving the charges made against it in Foreign Countries"*- published in 1907. Andrade accused Cadbury of publishing the pamphlet through a Mr. Silva of Oporto [Alfredo Henrique da Silva], as a response to Freire de Andrade's refutation, and, "like honest Iago", falsely using Paiva de Carvalho's name.

[726] As a result of the scandal, article 223 of the new labour legislation of October 14th 1914 - [Decreto no. 951 *Regulamento Geral do Trabalho dos Indígenas*] provided for a fine or prison sentence for **"todo o português que publicar notícias falsas e tendenciosas, procurando demonstrar a existência do trabalho forçado ou não livre nas colônias portuguesas"** (my bold)

[727] Vila de Pereira do Mondego is a small town near Coimbra.The last issue (no.16) of the *União* appeared on August 11th 1912.

[728] Fruit of the first great division in Republican support, the centrist Partido Republicano Evolucionista was founded under the leadership of António José de Almeida on February 24th 1912. It would survive until 1919 when Almeida was elected as President of the Republic. Many of its supporters later joined with those of Brito Camacho's Partido Unionista to form the Partido Liberal Republicano, whilst some formed a dissident grouping, known as the Partido Popular. The PRE was part of a short-lived coalition government, known as the "União Sagrada", with Afonso Costa's Partido Democratico, during the First World War.

[729] "A Escravatura em S. Tomé" *Verdade*. October 17th 1913. Ano 1. No.1, pp. 3-4.

Tomé?" it commented on the amendment of February 8th 1913 which had corrected a serious flaw in the existing legislation by granting the same rights to the plantation labourers already working in São Tomé in 1903, as to those who had arrived after the new legislation was introduced. Whilst recognising that it was a step in the right direction, Paiva de Carvalho pointed out that the legislation had yet to make repatriation compulsory and offered proof that little had changed: "of the 5448 labourers who had completed their contracts that year only 1382 were repatriated." Furthermore, he wrote, the planters had managed to find a way round the new legislation, in collusion with the newly appointed Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe, Pedro Botto Machado.[730] Instead of encouraging repatriation, the new Governor had issued a local ordenance declaring that all contracts had terminated and that until such time as repatriation might be arranged the labourers would be considered as a pool of labour payable at minimum wages.[731] Clearly a gaping abyss still existed between the best intentions of the legislators in Lisbon and the implementation of the laws on the ground.

In the next issue of *"Verdade"* Paiva de Carvalho provided a detailed list of the extraordinary fortunes which he alleged had been accumulated by the São Tomé plantation owners in less than twenty years. Four were credited with the equivalent of over a million pounds sterling, an enormous sum at the time, and one, José Constantino da Silva [sic- Dias], the Marquês de Valle-Flôr, with over three million.[732] He commented ironically that, contrasting with such fortunes, no one could remember a plantation labourer having succeeded in saving the equivalent of forty pounds sterling over a lifetime

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[730] Pedro do Amaral Botto Machado (1868-1921), Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe from May 13th 1913 to May 31st1915. Botto Machado, who was a sergeant in the army at the time of the unsuccessful republican coup of December 31st1891, was sentenced to three years of exile in Angola. He had acquired a considerable fortune by marriage in 1907 and is remembered as a local philanthropist in his birthplace, Gouveia.

[731] Botto Machado's Portaria no.239 of July 28th 1913, effectively annulled the effects of the Government's progressive legislation of February 8th 1913. It seems Botto Machado was not a disinterested party in the affair as he owned a coffee and cocoa plantation in São Tomé at the time he was appointed Governor. See Sir Francis Villiers to Sir Edward Grey dated March 2nd 1911. Enclosure-List of Labourers of Cape Verd [sic] Angola and Mozambique for the Province of San Thomé and Principe in the month of December 1910. [includes 15 labourers from Quilimane for Pedro A. de Botto Machado] In HMSO *Africa no. 2, 1912* p.47.

[732] "José Ferreira do Amaral, agricultor de S.Tomé, 10 mil contos; José Constantino da Silva,[sic-Dias] idem.15 mil contos; D. Claudina Chamiço idem. 8 mil contos; Francisco Mantero, idem. 6 mil contos; […] Herdeiros do Visconde de Malansa [sic] idem. 8 mil contos […]" Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho. "A Escravatura em S.Thomé?" *Verdade*. October 17th 1913. Ano1, no.1, p.3.
The exchange rate in 1912 was 4.97 milreis ("contos") to 1 pound sterling. For historical exchange rates of Portuguese currency against Sterling see Gervase Clarence-Smith. *O Terceiro Império Português*. Teorema. Lisboa: 1985, pp 259-261. It should be remembered that in present-day terms the purchasing power of £3 million would be more like £280 million.

of backbreaking work.[733] He concluded by announcing that in the following issue he would describe how such fortunes had been acquired,[734] explain the "natural factors" which led the contracted labourers to comply with the aims of the oligarchy and, finally, explain how the local authorities carried out labour inspections. Far from the truculent and radical political journalism of the *"União",* which always teetered on the brink of libel, it was a measured and well-informed piece, worthy of the mysterious author of *"Alma Negra!"* which, significantly, he praises in the article as "that jewel in biblical style". In fact, the article was worthy of much more than a local audience. But Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho's intentions were clearly overtaken by the march of events, as the last part of the article never saw the light of day.

It was only after the elections of November 1913, which brought the Democratic Party an overall majority in the lower house of Parliament that the question of slave labour returned to the pages of *"Verdade."* But by then the brothers' tactics had changed. On Christmas Day 1913, instead of the frontal denunciation of the system, the paper carried the first episode of a story entitled "História duma Serviçal". Unsigned, but clearly the work of someone who was familiar with the journey from Lisbon to the Gulf of Guinea, the story began with a descriptive passage of the final part of the voyage to the Island of Príncipe. The comparison between the conditions in first, second and steerage classes was sensitively portrayed and the author, surely Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho at his best, comments […] "Os animais bravios amam-se com carinho; o homem despreza o homem, distanciando-o em classes. E Deus existe. Para que?" The story was a brave attempt to present the unpleasant facts in a more palatable form to a readership which had begun to despair of the fratricidal cut and thrust of politics at both national and local level. But for reasons unknown, it was the first and last episode. There would be a further experiment

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[733] "[…] Não há memória de existir um negro contractado, que tivesse juntado, durante uma vida inteira de trabalho, nas ilhas, duzentos mil reis para amostra!" Paiva de Carvalho. *Verdade* October 31st 1913, ano.1, no.2, p.3.

[734] Remarkably some plantation owners were not even taxed! In a biting critique of Sâo Tomé and Príncipe the Lisbon evening paper *A Capital* compares the lot of the minor civil servants such as book-keepers and clerks in the province who until shortly before had been taxed to the full, with that of the lawyers, doctors and plantation managers **who were not even registered for taxation**. *A Capital* January 5th 1911, p.3. (my bold) See also "O sr. Val-Flor não é negociante." *A Capital* February 5th 1911.The Supreme Tribunal had found that although Valle-Flôr sold agricultural produce, he was not a tradesman and so did not need to pay tax! There was a follow-up two days later: "Justiça a Todos! Reclama o sr. Val-Flor e deseja-o egualmente a Capital." *A Capital* February 7th 1911 p.1.The article explained that **Valle-Flôr had a special concession in São Tomé and did not pay tax there either.** (my bold)

along similar lines before the *"Verdade"* appeared for the last time with issue no.13, on May 15th 1914, just two days after Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho had been arrested and released on bail, pending trial. Issues nos. 9, 10 and 11 had carried a short story in three episodes entitled "A História de Fatuma", which recounted the odyssey of a young Angolan who was arrested by soldiers for vagrancy and sent to São Tomé to work on road building and forest clearance, as the law dictated in such cases. The story, which was signed "Mário" and may have been written by Mário Motta, a regular contributor to the periodical, ends with Fatuma's premature death from sleeping sickness, at only thirty years of age. Though hesitant in style and excessive in its use of pathos, the narrative exposes the vulnerability of Africans who were victims of a colonial administration which was often arbitrary and inconsistent in the application of its own regulations.

One final act was still to be played out. In 1916 Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho published a pamphlet entitled "*A Desafronta"* which set out his defence in the *"Alma Negra!"* case. He describes his daily struggle to carry out the responsibilities as "Curador" on the island of Príncipe in the following terms:

> Na qualidade de curador de serviçais usei da maxima benevolencia aliada ao exacto cumprimento dos deveres oficiais […] apesar de ser um curador moderado a minha vida decorreu cheio de intensos desgostos. […] se não fôssem meia duzia de pessoas sérias nenhum funcionário poderia, com segurança, viver na ilha […] Lutei contra os da minha côr, cedendo o terreno palmo a palmo, num combate de todos os dias e de todas as horas, cheio de dissabores e de amargas desilusões.[…][735]

Although there are many inconsistencies and contradictions in Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho's story, not the least the existence of the pamphlet supporting the São Tomé labour system, apparently written by him in 1907, [736] there is no doubt that his was one of the most persistent voices of dissent on the Portuguese side of the anti-slavery controversy,[737] at a time when most of his fellow citizens who took an interest in the

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[735] Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho. *A Desafronta. Defesa de um homem injustamente perseguido e caluniado. A Questão dos Serviçais de S.Tomé.* Tipografia Literária, Coimbra: 1916, pp. 11-12.

[736] Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho. *O Trabalho indígena em S.Tomé e Príncipe-Monografia refutando as acusações feitas contra êle no estrangeiro.* Typographia do Commercio, Lisboa: 1907. In *A Desafronta* [1916] Paiva de Carvalho does not disclaim authorship of the pamphlet but points out that he criticised the smaller plantation owners for non-compliance with the labour laws. Freire de Andrade quoted extensively from Paiva de Carvalho's 1907 pamphlet in his refutation of Harris's *Dawn in Darkest Africa,* in 1913.

[737] Paiva de Carvalho's motives for his anti-slavery stand were somewhat obscure, however, as he reveals in his vindication *A Desafronta*: "Fui sempre da maxima benevolencia para com o negro. **A sua escuridão**

question, whether monarchists or republicans, subscribed to the view that Portugal and its overseas possessions were under threat from an insidious international campaign to undermine the only one of its colonies which actually produced a surplus.

With the benefit of hindsight, it is reasonable to conclude that the "Alma Negra!" affair would have been little more than a peripheral episode in the "slave-grown cocoa" controversy, had it not been exploited by Freire de Andrade and his fellow pragmatists to gain ascendancy in the ideological struggle over contract labour which divided the republican camp.[738] Unlike the radical faction of the Partido Democratico which favoured compulsory repatriation on the termination of contracts, Freire de Andrade and his political allies, whilst admitting that reforms in recruitment were required, opposed what they termed "indiscriminate repatriation", ostensibly because it offended the rights of the labourers to choose where they wished to live and work, but in truth because it threatened the prosperous economy of the islands and, more particularly, the revenue of the plantations and their proprietors. [739]

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de corpo e de alma causava-me dó. Isto valeu-me o odio do branco." Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho. Op.cit 1916, p.11.(my bold)

[738] Gen. Alfredo Augusto Freire de Andrade (1859-1929), who served as Governor-General of Mozambique from 1906 to 1910, was one of the better-known of the so-called "adhesivos" or "vira-casacas"- former royalists who quickly joined the republicans after the fall of the monarchist regime. In March 1911, it was Freire de Andrade who travelled to Vigo to offer a final opportunity to Paiva Couceiro, fellow monarchist and former colonial administrator, to serve the Republic, an offer the latter turned down. Freire de Andrade was appointed Director-General of the Colonies in 1911 and served as Foreign Minister under Bernardino Machado between May and December of 1914.

[739] Paiva de Carvalho accuses Freire de Andrade of being the Marquês do Valle-Flôr's spokesman in Lisbon while simultaneously serving as Director-Geral das Colónias: "Mas o chefe da casa do roçeiro Marquês Val-Flôr tinha por dever orientar o seu modo de pensar com a opinião do patrão. O oiro faz destes absurdos: reduz as inteligencias a zéro e as consciencias a lama." Idem., pp.12-13.

2.7 The revival of the British antislavery campaign and Anglo-German negotiations concerning the division of Portugal's African colonies

> "Informações de origem diversa, mas segura, confirmam-me a realidade desses intuitos, não me restando actualmente dúvida de que se fazem preparativos para uma campanha formidável destinada a convencer o povo inglês de que nas colónias portuguesas existe a escravatura, incitando-o ao mesmo tempo a que se manifeste contra a aliança anglo-portuguesa, a pretexto de que para a Inglaterra constitui uma vergonha manter uma aliança com países onde se exerce aquele abominável comércio"[740]

Three years after the suspension of recruitment of contract labourers from Angola and despite the implementation of significant reforms and the start of regular repatriation, British antislavery activists relaunched their campaign through Parliament and the press. The justification for the revival of the campaign was the slow pace of repatriation and the incapacity of the Portuguese Republic to put an end, once and for all, to the worst aspects of labour practises in the Angolan hinterland. [741]

However, despite official denials in both London and Lisbon, rumours were rife at the time of secret discussions between the British and German governments regarding the future division of the Portuguese colonies,[742] and Manuel Teixeira Gomes, the Portuguese

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[740] Teixeira Gomes to Augusto de Vasconcellos. Ofício n.° 416, December 7th 1911, liv.i. Pp. 556-558. Quoted in Aniceto Afonso and Vítor Vladimiro "A correspondência oficial da Legação de Portugal em Londres, 1900-14." *Análise Social*, vol. XVIII (72-73-74),1982-3, p.725. Teixeira Gomes had first reported his suspicions as early as August 12th 1911, however, when commenting on an article in the previous day's *The Star* "[...] afirma Teixeira Gomes: «Já por mais de uma vez vários jornais de diferentes nacionalidades têm aludido ao suposto convénio, feito em Setembro de 1898 entre a Inglaterra e a Alemanha com respeito às nossas colónias, mas ainda o não fizeram de forma tão categórica, e agora chegam-me rumores de diferentes lados sobre as diligências que a Alemanha emprega para nos levantar dificuldades no Sul de Angola [...]»" Idem. Footnote 69. Quoting Ofício no. 251.

[741] "Since the advent of the Republican Government, there has seemed to be some hope that Portugal will deal with this question in a thorough way, and introduce much needed reforms: but the interests concerned are exceedingly strong, and the obstacles in the way of reform are formidable. Constant and sustained pressure will undoubtedly be necessary […]" John H.Harris. *Portuguese Slavery.* Introduction. AS and APS London: 1912.

[742] Lord Salisbury had reaffirmed the terms of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance on October 14th 1899 due to the situation created by the Anglo-Boer War. It included a guarantee by Britain to defend all the Portuguese territories in the event of attack. In return, Portugal provided assistance in the war against the Boers, and promised not to declare itself neutral. The agreement was in flagrant contradiction with the terms of the previous year's Anglo-German Treaty. See Karl Max Lichnowsky. *My Mission to London* 1912-1914. London: Cassell and Co. 1918, pp.14-19 and Richard Langhorne. "Anglo-German Negotiations concerning

Minister in London, [743] was one of several better-informed observers who suspected that the revival of the humanitarian campaign was somehow linked to the ongoing negotiations.[744] The subject was openly discussed in the press. The conservative periodical, *The Spectator*, for example, which had been one of the most ardent supporters of the campaign against "slave-grown cocoa" from 1908 onwards, came out publicly in favour of the desirability of transferring the Portuguese colonies to Germany, in two editorial articles at the end of 1911 and the beginning of 1912. [745] St. Loe Strachey first broached the subject under the heading "German Expansion", in his column "Topics of the Day", on December 9th 1911 - just two days after Teixeira Gomes had conveyed his suspicions to Prime Minister Augusto de Vasconcellos.[746] Openly supporting Germany's ambitions for "a place in the sun", Strachey summarily set aside the possibility of it being acquired at the British Empire's expense, whilst going on to propose Portugal's African colonies as an alternative:

> For ourselves we will say bluntly that we should have no objection to German expansion in those huge slices of Africa which are nominally held by Portugal, but of which she, in reality only holds the coast and a few posts in the interior, and holds them largely in the interests of slave-raiders and kidnappers. Portugal, by the way she has tolerated virtual slavery and, what is worse, slave-raiding, has, in our opinion, forfeited her claim to her African possessions.[747]

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the Future of the Portuguese Colonies, 1911-1914." *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (June 1973), pp. 361-387 and J.D. Vincent-Smith. "The Anglo-German Negotiations over the Portuguese Colonies in Africa, 1911-14". *The Historical Journal,* Vol. 17, No. 3 (Setember 1974), pp. 620-629.

[743] Manuel Teixeira Gomes (1860-1941) served as Portuguese Minister in London between April 7th 1911 and January 1918 when he was summarily dismissed by Sidónio Pais. His role was at first informal, as the Republic would only be recognised by Britain on September 11th 1911, after assurances had been given regarding compensation for British Church property in Portugal. Teixeira Gomes would be elected as the seventh President of the Republic, serving between October 1923 and December 1925.

[744] Indeed, at one point, even the Foreign Office was unsure how far the Germans were involved in the antislavery campaign. See Suzanne Miers Op.cit. 2003, p.57, citing the minute by Eyre Crow on Sir Arthur Hardinge to Sir Edward Grey. (No.106 confidential.) FO 367/287/53971.

[745] *The Spectator* was conservative but not Tory. Its editor, St. Loe Strachey, was a right-wing Liberal Unionist. Note Strachey's answer to a letter to the editor sent by the Scots historian David Alec Wilson (1864-1933): "**We have ourselves expressed the hope that Germany might acquire Angola**. We should like nothing better than to see the British Government acting as honest broker between Germany and Portugal on this matter. **But, unfortunately we have no reason to believe that Portugal would consent, and we cannot advocate a policy of giving away other people's property.**" "Angola and Germany." *The Spectator,* August 24th 1912, p.269.(my bold)

[746] Augusto de Vasconcellos served as both Prime Minister and Foreign Minister until June 16th, 1912.

[747] "German Expansion". *The Spectator.* 107:4354: Dec. 9th 1911, p.996. *The Spectator*'s article came in the wake of a leader in the German daily *Morgen Post*, at the beginning of November, suggesting that Germany should demand part of the Portuguese colonies as compensation for its withdrawal from the Persian sphere. Teixeira Gomes had reported to Lisbon on the article: "Esta notícia espalhada pela Central News terá grande retumbância em Inglaterra, onde parte da opinião se vai declarando favorável à um acordo com a Alemanha, à custa das colónias portuguesas." Ofício n.° 407, November 29th 1911, liv. i, p. 551.

If doubts still remained as to *The Spectator'*s views on the matter, they would be dispelled by an article written by Strachey at the end of January. It began with the following unequivocal statement of interest:

> We have no doubt whatever that it would be greatly to the benefit of the world if Germany could acquire the African colonies of Portugal, or to put it more correctly, that portion of those colonies over which we do not possess a right of preemption-a right which belongs to us in the matter of Delagoa Bay.[…][748]

Remarkably, he added that Germany would eventually be able to create a link between its newly-acquired West and East African colonies as long as a guarantee were given that the Cape to Cairo railway project could proceed as Britain wished. Apparently, in Strachey's view at least, the obstacles which existed at the time of the British "Ultimatum" to Portugal would quickly vanish if Germany were to acquire the Portuguese colonies.[749] He did, however, make it plain that Britain could only countenance such a takeover if Portugal were a willing partner to the deal:

Cited in Afonso and Vladimiro, Op.cit. 1982-3, p.724. [Afonso and Vladimiro refer erroneously to the date of the German article as December 4th 1911, which would place it after Teixeira Gomes' memo.]

[748] "Germany and the African Colonies of Portugal". *The Spectator*, January 27th 1912, p.140.

[749] Curiously, in January 1912, Jerónimo da Câmara Manoel, the First Secretary at the London legation, wrote a memo in which he reports that the German press was alarmed by the possibility that British financiers were negotiating the purchase of plantations in the cocoa islands: "[...] segundo a opinião da imprensa alemã, o capital inglês está prestes a conquistar «a pérola das colónias portuguesas», isto é, as ilhas de S. Tomé e do Príncipe, roubando desta forma mais um mercado à Alemanha, passando todo o comércio do cacau para as mãos da Inglaterra, obrigando os comerciantes daquele produto e os fabricantes de chocolate a depender do mercado britânico [...] Ofício n.° 6, liv. i, January 6th 1912, p. 574. cited in Afonso and Vladimiro. Op.cit 1982-3, p.737, footnote 77.

Later that month there would be negotiations in Lisbon between the Tipperary-born businessman Edmond J. Frewen, his partner in the Cocoa Estates and Products Syndicate - the Bordeaux-based, chocolate manufacturer André Joucla, and a representative group of Portuguese plantation-owners. Apparently, it was Lt. Col.Wyllie who had made the first contacts with Frewen. The syndicate offered 60% of the value of the plantations and 40% in shares of the new company. "[...] O grande capital de que essa companhia poderá dispor **permiti-lhe-ha melhorar consideravelmente as condições do trabalho de modo a evitar todas as campanhas de difamação no estrangeiro**, e, sobretudo de maneira a tornal-o mais produtivo pelo emprego de maquinismos modernos. E esta a grande vantagem das emprezas de grande capital.[…]" "S.Tomé e Príncipe. A Cultura do Cacau Portuguez terá um larguissimo futuro, se mudarem e se aperfeiçoarem os processos de administração" *O Século.* January 21st1912, pp.1-2. (my bold).

In an article in *A Capital*, D.Thomaz de Noronha wrote that there was immediate speculation by certain planters as to the value of their property which complicated the whole initiative and, to make matters worse, German Jews,*"que tudo podem nesta terra precária"* had raised doubts and suspicions regarding the business, creating a hostile atmosphere towards the new enterprise. See "Questões Coloniaes. Os capitaes estrangeiros em S. Thomé." *A Capital* March 31st 1912, pp.1 and 2.

Many of the *roçeiros* had mortgaged their estates and it was reported that ten, accounting for one fifth of the total output, had reached an agreement with the investors. The consortium had £6 million to invest and were also interested in plantations in the French Congo. See "Portuguese Cocoa Estates." *The Times.* March 26th 1912, p.8 and "Anglo-French Cocoa Group" *Financial Times.* April 22nd 1912, p.5, quoting the *Moniteur des Intérêts Matériels*.[sic-*Le Moniteur français des intérêts matériels et commerciaux, de*

> Though we feel convinced that the British Government would […] be glad to see Germany substituted for Portugal[…]it infortunately does not lie with us, as some German newspapers seem to imagine, to bring the matter to fruition. All depends on whether Germany can obtain the assent of Portugal by purchase.[750]

There can be little doubt that Sir Edward Grey would also have been relieved to see the Portuguese colonies in other hands.[751] In a private letter to the British Ambassador in

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l'industrie et de l'agriculture nationales : organe hebdomadaire du haut commerce et de la grande industrie indigène et colonial] (1887-1914). See also Armando Barreiros Malheiro da Silva. *Sidónio e Sidonismo: História de uma vida,* 2 vols. Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, Coimbra: 2006, Vol.1, p.301. Also correspondence dated March 25th 1912, signed André Joucla in *Dossier Emprestimos. Arquivo de Sidónio Pais - Militar, Lente e Político.* Subsistema Presidência da República. Ministério de Finanças.
Rolf Tschapek covers the negotiations in his book on German ambitions in Central Africa: See "Deutsche «Penetration Pacifique» in der portugiesischen Kolonien 1912-1914." In *Bausteine eines zukünftigen deutschen Mittelafrika. Deutscher imperialismus und die portugiesische Kolonien.* Franz Steiner Verlag, Munchen: 2000. Especially pp.340-343. Tschapek quotes a memo by Tilley, of the FO's African desk, saying that opposition to the Anglo-French proposals came from the Lisbon-based, German banker Martin Weinstein. See Tilley's memo on FO 367/289/8984 February 29th 1912.
The same, rather mysterious E. J. Frewen was involved in the negotiation of a loan to the Portuguese Government to balance the budget against the security of the Colonies, as part of the Anglo-German plot for Germany to take over the Portuguese overseas possessions in the likely event of default. See Richard Langhorne Op.cit 1973, pp. 374-5. Further research, which is beyond the scope of this dissertation, would be required to establish whether or not there was a direct link between the Anglo-French initiative to buy up the São Tomé plantations and the "secret"Anglo-German negotiations.

[750] *The Spectator*, January 27th 1912, p.140. There were undoubtedly grounds for German optimism. On March 7th 1911, an article entitled "Trade and Finance in Portugal. The Debt and Taxable Resources" had discreetly appeared in *The Times* on p.17. Writing after a recent visit to Lisbon, a special correspondent affirmed: **"[…] it may safely be said that no other modern State has ever presented so instructive a picture of the effects of social disorganization and political efficiency on the material condition of a people."** The writer quotes Oporto Commercial Association figures showing 48% of the agricultural land was uncultivated, despite the excess of agricultural labourers. The population was given as five and a half million. Since 1851 the national debt had increased five fold to reach 104 million pounds in 1910 (with another 20 million in floating debt). French and German statistics showed that in 1909 the per capita debt was higher than any other nation. "[…] **Portugal is within measurable distance of financial ruin.** […] its immediate needs have been greatly relieved in the last two years by exceptionally good harvests (resulting in reduced wheat imports) by a prosperous wine business and **increased returns from the San Thomé trade** […]" (my bold)

[751] Sir Edward Grey, however, belonged to the faction of the Liberal Party which opposed détente with Germany. Grey was also averse to substantial changes in existing alliances, as he eloquently stated in a speech to the Commons in November 1911 in the sequence of the Agadir Crisis: "**One does not make new friendships worth having by deserting old ones. New friendships by all means let us make but not at the expense of the ones we have."** Evidently, he was referring to France and Germany. See Hansard. House of Commons. Sir Edward Grey's Statement. November 27th 1911, Vol. 32 c. 61.
Grey went on to define Foreign Policy regarding alterations to existing frontiers in Africa : "I do not say that there are not - of course there are - certain parts of Africa lying absolutely contiguous to British possessions, especially to those of the Government of the Union of South Africa, which, if there were territorial changes, we could not see pass into other hands; and if there are great territorial changes there are no doubt other things close to British territory in the nature of frontier rectification. If there are to be changes brought about by the goodwill and negotiation with other Powers, then we are not an ambitious competing party, and, not being an ambitious competing party ourselves, **if Germany has friendly arrangements to negotiate with other foreign countries, we are not anxious to stand in their way**. I believe that is the wise policy for this country, and if it is the wise policy, not to go in for great schemes of expansion ourselves, then I think it would be diplomatically and morally wrong to indulge in a dog-in-the manger policy with regard to others." Idem. c. 62. (my bold)

Berlin at the end of 1911, shortly after his major policy statement in the Commons following the Agadir crisis, he had disclosed his personal views on the matter:

> The Germans would like the division of the Portuguese colonies to take place as soon as possible. So should I. These colonies are worse than derelict so long as Portugal has them. **They are sinks of iniquity**. The Union of South Africa will never rest till it has Delagoa Bay. On every ground - material and moral, and even Portuguese - it would be better that Portugal sell her colonies. But how can we, of all people, put pressure on Portugal to sell- when we are bound by an alliance-renewed secretly for value received during the Boer War?[752]

Further public support for the idea came in an article signed by E.D. Morel and William Cadbury, entitled "The West African Slave Traffic: Britain's Duty towards Angola and São Tomé", published in the October 1912 issue of the prestigious monthly journal *Nineteenth Century and After*. Cadbury and Morel, who was now free from the constraints of the Congo struggle, [753] warned that the next few months would see "a vigorous effort to rouse public opinion" towards the labour question in Portuguese West Africa, due to the hopelessness of the task of managing Angola which was "beyond [Portugal's] capacity and beyond her means." After suggesting that a committee of enquiry should be sent to Angola and the cocoa islands to investigate, the article concluded ominously:

> "If it be proved that it is not within the range of practical policies for this small European State to govern her vast dependencies in West Africa in accordance with the recognised standards of humanity, **we as a nation should do everything to forward the transfer by friendly agreement of such territories**, or parts of them, to other Powers who will undertake their government in accordance with the best traditions of modern African administration." [754]

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[752] Sir Edward Grey to Sir Edward Goschen. December 29th 1911. Private. FO 800/61 (my bold). Hammond notes that the sentence in bold in the quotation was later omitted in Gooch and Temperley for "reasons of international courtesy". [i.e. G.P.Gooch and H.W.T.Temperley. *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914.* HMSO London: 1926], See R.J. Hammond Op.cit 1966, pp.301-302.
Evidence of the persistence of Grey's conviction can be found in his note on a minute to him from Bertie in mid-1914: **"Portugal is unfit to administer anything and she ought to renounce her colonies".** FO 800/176 Memorandum by Bertie. Quoted in Zara S. Steiner. *The Foreign Office and Foreign Policy, 1898-1914.* CUP Cambridge : 1969, p.144. (my bold)

[753] William Cadbury had always been reluctant to openly assume his close relationship with E.D.Morel throughout the early years of this and the earlier Congo campaign and it is significant that he felt the time had come to put an end to the smokescreen. Many years later Cadbury confessed that Morel had advised him on the strategy to follow in the "slave-grown cocoa" affair, from the time they first met in 1903.

[754] William A. Cadbury and E.D. Morel. "The West African Slave Traffic: Britain's Duty towards Angola and São Tomé." *Nineteenth Century and After.* Vol. 72 October, 1912. pp. 836-851(my bold).The language and tone of the article suggest that it was Morel who was the principle author. It is remarkable that someone who was as well-informed on the affairs of West Africa as Morel undoubtedly was, had [conveniently?]

Clearly sectors of both the Liberal and Conservative parties were seriously considering the feasibility of dividing up Portugal's African possessions, primarily to silence the rattling of German swords,[755] but also to settle the issue of "Portuguese slave labour" once and for all, whilst the additional incentive of the British acquisition of "Delagoa Bay" made the idea even more attractive. The only obstacle was the "Ancient Alliance" between Britain and Portugal, for, as Strachey had pointed out in his article: "[…] we cannot assent to the deprivation of Portugal of her African colonies by force of arms. We are allied to Portugal." [756]

Germany's ambitions in West Africa were anything but new. German private investment in the Moçamedes Company dated back to its foundation in 1894 and, more specifically, in 1912, an *Angola-Bund* was set up in German South-West Africa to foster interest in the annexation of Angola.[757] The same year German investors attempted to acquire shares

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forgotten the systematic genocide or "ethnic cleansing", as it is now called, and the atrocities committed by the German "schutztruppe" against the Herrero and Nama people in German South-West Africa between 1904 and 1907.

[755] Negotiations with the FO had been initiated, firstly, due to the German desire to revise the Anglo-German convention of 1898 which concerned the future of the Portuguese colonies in the event of Portugal's financial collapse, and, secondly, due to the British Government's concern to improve Anglo-German relations after the Agadir crisis of 1911. Private and preliminary talks between the Germanophile Colonial Secretary Lewis "Lulu" Harcourt and the German negotiator von Kühlmann had begun in August of 1911. See Richard Langhorne Op.cit. 1973 p.362-367. Prince Lichnowsky, the German Minister in London after November 1912, later wrote: "[…] **The whole of Angola up to the 20th degree of longitude was assigned to us, so that we stretched up to the Congo State from the south; we also acquired the valuable islands of San Thomé and Principe**, which are north of the Equator and therefore really in the French sphere of influence, a fact which caused my French colleague to enter strong but unavailing protests. Further we obtained the northern part of Mozambique, the Licango formed the border [...]" Karl Max, Prince Lichnowsky. *My Mission to London 1912-1914.* Cassel, London: 1918, p.15.

[756] *The Spectator*, Jan. 27th 1912, p.140. Strachey added that it was, perhaps, unfortunate that this was the case but Britain could not unilaterally "cancel the arrangement" unless Portugal, by its actions, effectively forfeited its claims upon the Alliance. Strachey was commenting on an article which had appeared in a recent issue of the *Saturday Review* which went as far as to discuss the possibility of Germany acquiring the Azores, and Britain the Cape Verde Is. **Clearly the ongoing discussions between Britain and Germany were the worst-kept secret in diplomatic history.** (my bold)

[757] See John Vincent-Smith. Op.cit 1974, p.628. In his memoirs Norton de Matos recalls his suspicions that the Germans had ambitions for Angola which extended far beyond the merely economic sphere. J.M.R Norton de Matos. *Memórias e Trabalhos da Minha Vida*. Ed. Marítimo-Colonial, Lisboa: 1944. Vol. I pp.130-140. Freire de Andrade, the new Foreign Minister, had also expressed his concerns regarding German ambitions in Africa to the British Minister in Lisbon in June 1914. See Lancelot Carnegie to Sir Edward Grey. July 2nd 1914. B.D.x, II, no.377. Quoted in Vincent-Smith Op.cit. 1974, p.629.
The Foreign Office report for 1914 also openly voiced its suspicions. German ambitions had been expressed clearly in the *Cologne Gazette* : **"The game is worth the candle! An enormous market for industrial products, rich and virgin mineral treasures, a fruitful and healthy country, equally suitable for agriculture, cattle breeding and immigration and the finest harbour on the west coast- that is the prize that awaits us!"** HMSO. Foreign Office. Diplomatic & Consular Reports on Trade & Finance. *Report for the year 1914 on the Trade and Agriculture of Southern Angola*. Annual Series No. 5497. London: 1915, p.9. (my bold)

in the Benguela railway, a pretension which was turned down by Robert Williams and the Belgian shareholders of his concession. [758]

It was not merely in British diplomatic circles that the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance was being questioned. [759] Winston Churchill, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Louis Mountbatten, the First Sea Lord, had concluded that in view of the poor relations between Spain and Portugal and Spain's superior strategic importance, it was clear where Britain's priorities should lie. Indeed, in a memorandum drawn up at the end of 1912 the Admiralty War Staff, greatly influenced by Churchill, argued that whereas the Alliance added nothing to Britain's strength, it did add to its responsibilities and that it would be better for Portugal to remain neutral in the event of war.[760] Such views were not shared by certain senior Foreign Office staff, however, and Arthur Nicolson, the Head of the FO, and Eyre Crow, in particular, defended the crucial importance of the Alliance in guaranteeing the strategic advantage offered by the Azores Is.[761] It would be this

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[758] Idem, ibidem.

[759] Grey was far from unequivocal regarding Britain's commitment to defend Portugal in the event of invasion. He revealed his doubts in a letter to Sir Arthur Hardinge shortly after the first Lord's debate on Labour in Portuguese Africa: "[…] It would, perhaps, be more satisfactory for us to have close relations with one country whose policy was mainly directed by Spain, than to have things as they were now. But I could not commit the British government [...] I said that, probably, **if the state of things in Portugal was so bad as to demand intervention, the British government would not themselves intervene and would oppose the intervention of any European power.**[…]" (my bold) Grey to Sir A. Hardinge, July 31st 1913, F.O. 371/1741. Quoted in J. D. Vincent-Smith. "The Portuguese Republic and Britain, 1910-14" *Journal of Contemporary History,* Vol. 10, No. 4 (Oct., 1975), pp. 707-727.

[760] December 18th 1912, FO 371/2105 (40102); FO 367/342 (7899). See Glyn A. Stone "The Official British Attitude to the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, 1910-45." *Journal of Contemporary History.* Vol. 10, No. 4, Oct., 1975 [mainly pp. 729-734.]

[761] Sir Eyre Crow (1864-1925), who was born in Germany and spent most of his childhood there, was notorious at the FO for his Anti-German views and highly regarded for his meticulous memos. Correctly identifying the dangers of the Admiralty's thesis, he emphasised the vital importance of the Azores and argued that if Britain left the Alliance it would be reduced to "making a peremptory demand on Germany, without any legal justification of any kind, to keep her hands off territory, from which we had openly withdrawn our protecting hand. This would be a most invidious policy to pursue, and one not likely to command popular support at the critical moment in this country […]" Memo FO 367/342 (7899). February 12th 1913. Quoted in Glyn Stone. Op.cit.1975, p.731.
The former Head of the Foreign Office, Lord Hardinge, Nicolson's predecessor, and Viceroy of India at the time of writing, was equally appalled by the deal. In a letter to his successor, he wrote: **"**I am dreadfully shocked at the discreditable transaction that we have perpetrated with Germany over the Portuguese possessions. [It had not yet been initialled] It is entirely contrary to our treaty obligations and in my opinion reflects the greatest discredit upon us. I cannot understand how a loyal and straight person like Ed. Grey could have agreed to such an idea for one second." Lord Hardinge to Nicolson, November 19th 1912, Hardinge Papers, 92, ii, 245.8. Cited in Langhorne Op.cit. 1973 p.377. Nicolson replied: **"[…] If you revise and confirm an agreement, it practically means that you thoroughly approve of it, and as bad as the administration of Portugal and her possessions might be, I do not see how on grounds of political honesty and equity you can partition with another power those possessions which you have yourselves engaged to defend and maintain intact.**" Nicolson to Hardinge, December 21st 1912. Hardinge Papers 92, i, 343. Idem, ibidem. (my bold)

argument, put forward in Crowe's memorandum in early 1913 against the background of growing French protests and the potentially threatening situation in Europe, which would lead to the British Government's reluctance and final refusal in 1914 to sign off the draft agreement with Germany.[762]

Just as in the final months of 1911, there would be much agitation over the whole of 1912 and 1913 as the British humanitarians had promised, [763] but despite Teixeira Gomes' suspicions, the proliferating signs of a coordinated campaign involving humanitarians and Government were undoubtedly due more to coincidence than design. As shrewd as they were, the humanitarian activists did not fail to take advantage of the threat to the Portuguese colonies to further their aims, however. Most of the agitation was due to the efforts of John H. Harris, who was now in complete control of the unified Anti-Slavery and Aborigine´s Protection Society. With the de facto termination of the Congo campaign in 1911 [764] the "Portuguese Slavery" campaign was left as the most important banner behind which the Society was able to mobilise its dwindling but enthusiastic support.

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[762] The Portuguese authorities were pressing for the publication of the Treaty of Windsor in 1912 as a way of counteracting the ongoing negotiations with Germany. In response to a suggestion by Sir Arthur Hardinge, the British Minister in Lisbon that publication might be worthwhile if he could get something "tangible" in return, Grey replied: "**To publish the renewal of the Alliance without publishing the details of the agreement with Germany would be misleading, and I cannot publish the latter without German consent.**[…]" Grey to Hardinge. Private. October 30th 1912. FO 800/71. (my bold).
Nevertheless, the draft agreement between Grey and Hatzfeld was initialled on October 20th 1913 but never signed. It now seems conceivable, in retrospect, that Grey allowed the Anglo-German talks to go on as a way of gaining time and neutralising the radical pro-German wing of the Liberal Party, rather than seriously contemplating a carve-up of the Portuguese colonies. The complete texts of the 1913 agreement and the previous agreements of August 30th 1898 signed by Balfour and Hatzfeld and October 14th 1899, signed by Salisbury and Soveral, are given in the Appendixes of Paul R. Kneisel. *England, Germany and the Portuguese Colonies, 1898-1914.* M.A History Thesis. Univ.Louisville: 1942. (Consulted Online 16/01/22 at https://doi.org/10.18297/etd/1815)

[763] "In late 1911-12 a press campaign had been mounted in Britain against São Thomé's labour conditions. Charges were made that of some 65000 labourers sent to the islands only 1000 had been repatriated. It was asserted that to replace labour succumbing to sleeping sickness, an illicit slave trade had sprung up from Liberia, Sierra Leone and southern Nigeria, thus making Britain a direct party to the issue." Leroy Vail and Landeg White. Op.cit 1980, p.184.

[764] On May 29th 1911, Conan Doyle presented E.D.Morel with a cheque for £4000, a statuette of a Congo Chief and a portrait of himself by William Rothenstein, at a public meeting in the Whitehall Rooms presided by Lord Cromer and attended by René Claparéde of the Swiss Congo League and Emile Vandervelde of the Congo Reform Movement of Belgium, as well as many other distinguished personalities. Morel suggested that : "[…] the time had come when public opinion should make an effort to bring organized pressure upon those Governments which between them controlled the destinies of tropical Africa.[…]" He urged that a charter of rights for the people of these regions was required and that an International Conference should be held. See "Presentation to Mr. Morel. Lord Cromer on his work for Congo reform." *The Times* May 30th 1911 p.1. The final meeting of the CRA was held in Liverpool in June 1913, however, Harris and his wife were conspicuously absent from the platform, and as he wrote two years later : "none of those who had borne the heat and burden of the day were even invited on to the platform […]" John H.

Soon after the end of the Congo campaign, which had absorbed much of its resources since the beginning of the century, the Society's first ambitious initiative was to send Harris and his wife, Alice, to Africa ostensibly to assess how far the Society's efforts had contributed to greater freedom and prosperity in the colonies of British West Africa, the Belgian Congo and Portuguese West Africa.[765] Their epic, year-long journey from Nigeria to Angola through the "hinterland of the African continent", a remarkable and costly enterprise for the time, totalled 5,000 miles in all, included 1000 miles on foot and 2000 miles by canoe. On their return they were welcomed in terms reminiscent of the receptions given to the great explorers of the previous century. Arthur Conan Doyle, for instance, speaking at the Annual Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society that year, referred to the "noble character" of their journey which he reputed would take "a historical form" in the immediate future as it would "model official policy". [766]

The Harrises, however, had spent only two weeks in Angola and two days in São Tomé, a lightning visit which would be rightly criticised by the Portuguese authorities and the apologists of the contract-labour system. As short as it was, however, the visit provided a unique opportunity for the Anti-Slavery Society to relaunch the Portuguese campaign, and under the Harrises' active leadership, every possible means of exploiting their ambitious journey would be firmly grasped. *The Spectator*, for example, had begun publishing Harris' letters from Africa from August 1911 onwards. In one of his letters, on March 23rd 1912, under the heading "Portuguese Slavery", Harris announced that he had discovered that "the slaves were flogged frequently and not only with the palmatória but with the whip" and that repatriated "serviçais" were being obliged to leave their wives and children on the islands. [767] In the same issue, St. Loe Strachey published an article in which he returned to the question of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, demanding that it should be terminated if there be proof that the Portuguese Government could not put an end to "slave raiding and slave kidnapping".[768] A week later, another letter from Harris suggested that he was in possession of information which led him to believe that "slaves,

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Harris to Miss C.W. Mackintosh. December 6th 1915. Anti-Slavery Papers D3/13, quoted in Kevin Grant, Op. cit 2005, p.77.

[765] See Chapter 4.9 of this dissertation.

[766] The *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigine's Friend*, 2:6 July 1912, p.178.

[767] John H. Harris Letter to the editor. "Portuguese Slavery." *The Spectator* March 23rd 1912, p.473.

[768] "Portuguese Slavery and the British Alliance" Idem. p.465.

as opposed to *serviçaes*" had, contrary to his assertion in the earlier article, been imported into the islands over the previous year.[769]

On his return from the African expedition, Harris published a long article in the *Contemporary Review*, under the now familiar title of "Portuguese Slavery". [770] His style and approach had clearly been adjusted to the more liberal readership of the magazine. He began by admitting that the cocoa plantations in the islands were "well organised and second to none in West Africa", and that "some of the best of them provided schools for the children and hospitals for the sick". Surprisingly, given the weight of Portuguese criticism, he added somewhat gratuitously that "considerable credit was due to the Municipal Council for the laying out of public gardens, reservoirs, water supply and several miles of roads comparable to any in West Africa," suggesting, however, that the works were carried out by "slave labour". On the labour question Harris admitted that "with the exception of "ninety Quelengue [sic] boys, recently imported" the shipment of labourers from Angola "has for a time ceased" [771] adding that as far as labourers from Cabenda [sic], Cape Verde and Mozambique were concerned, they were "fairly recruited and honestly treated." Later in the article he confirmed that the regular work of the labourers could not be regarded as arduous,[772] the food supply was ample, the housing was generally good and that "to many managers definite acts of cruelty would be highly repulsive". He went on to reinforce the point:

> It is furthermore very obvious that not a few owners and planters do everything which science and money could buy to make the lot of the slave a happy one. The planter argues

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[769] John H. Harris Letter to the editor entitled "Portuguese Slavery and the British Alliance" *The Spectator*, March 30th 1912, p.510. Harris was probably referring, mistakenly, to an experimental initiative on the part of the Governor of Benguella to send a small group of contract labourers to the islands on a one-year contract to impress potential recruits in the region.

[770] The Rev. J.H.Harris. "Portuguese Slavery", *Contemporary Review*, 101. January / June 1912, pp 635-645. Also reproduced in HMSO *Africa no.2 (1913)* [Cd.6607], pp.1-7.

[771] It had ceased for almost three years, in fact.Vice-Consul Montgomery would confirm the arrival of "ninety Quillengue boys" on twelve month contracts, in his comments on the article, but would argue that this was an arrangement with the Benguela Government carried out to "convey to the tribes that […] nobody comes for an indefinite period but can contract for a specified length of service". **He added that some had returned after only seven or twelve months**. (my bold) Enclosure "The Cocoa Islands" Vice-Consul Montgomery to Sir Edward Grey. July 20th 1912. HMSO *Africa no.2 (1913)* [Cd.6607] Further correspondence respecting contract labour in Portuguese West Africa pp.22-23. The Anti-Slavery Society would ask the FO to verify whether the labourers had been repatriated in a further note received on October 8th 1912. Idem p.35. In fact many of them returned to Roça Água-Izé.

[772] " It is the monotonous continuity of it which renders it repugnant to the roaming disposition of the liberty-loving African." From Harris' article as quoted in HMSO *Africa no.2 (1913)* [Cd. 6607] p.4.

> with much warmth and sincerity of conviction that the labourers are better housed, fed and clothed than they would be in their mainland villages.[773]

But rather than celebrating the positive aspects of labour treatment on the islands and the significant progress that had been made, much of which could be attributed to the pressure of the humanitarian campaign, Harris, unsurprisingly, chose to emphasise what remained to be done. In support of his assertion that most of the Angolan "serviçais" wished to return to their homelands, he offered excerpts from his diary under the heading "The Slaves' Case", which quote conversations held, usually through an interpreter, with some of the labourers themselves:

> Boa Entrada *serviçal* (slaves) [sic] caught in "Chipe" and sold in Catumbella six years ago; white man shipped him here (San Thomé), he was well treated and not whipped; would like to go home…but cannot go until the white man says he may.[774]

This extract contrasts with another conversation with a group of labourers who told Harris that they were frequently "flogged" and beaten with a long cane, and that before the advent of the Republican Government they had received no wages but were now paid the equivalent of 8 shillings a month for women and 10 shillings for men.[775] They also said they wanted to return to their homes but "the white master had not yet called them".

The published excerpts from Harris's diary provide the reader with no more than a small sample of the answers given by the few people he had managed to speak to. It is not unlikely that those he talked to felt constrained to answer what they thought he wished to hear, all the more so as, in most cases, the questions came to them through an interpreter, as Harris spoke neither Portuguese nor any African language except that of the part of the Congo he knew. [776] Although the excerpts undoubtedly enhanced the emotional impact of his article, they could not have been construed as a representative sample, however

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[773] Idem. p.640.
[774] Idem. p.641.
[775] Some of the "roças" had their own stores and labourers were given tokens instead of money to spend. This was illegal. As far as "flogging" was concerned, **Harris had told Vice-Consul Montgomery on March 1st 1912, that "he had only come across one case" and he had refused to quote the name of the plantation.** See Enclosure 14. HMSO *Africa no.2 (1913)* [Cd. 6607] p.24. (my bold)
[776] Writing to the FO, Alexander Cumming, a former vice-consul in São Tomé, was critical of Harris's conclusions after his brief visit to the islands, as, he alleged, the testimony he quoted had come from "serviçais" through an interpreter. He writes "**The Angola native or any other nigger never tells the truth. He simply says what he thinks will please the listener**."(my bold) A.C.Cumming to John Tilley April 28th 1912 FO 367/285. Quoted in Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit. 2005, p.194 and Glyn Stone. Op.cit 2009, p.180.

well-intentioned he might have been in trying to obtain the testimony of the "serviçais" themselves.[777]

Harris went on to question the seriousness and efficiency of repatriation, offering figures to show that only 385 "slaves" had been "liberated" in 1911, instead of the 7000 who had been transported to the islands in 1905/6, and who were therefore eligible for repatriation, asking rhetorically whether the others had perished in the meanwhile. He concluded by reminding his readers of the disappearance of part of the repatriation fund and the fact that many of the repatriated labourers brought little or nothing back to Angola with them. Arguing that there were neither ethical nor economic grounds for denying total repatriation Harris asked why it was not taking place. The answer, he suggested, was that the "Royalist planters" were playing for time in the hope that a Government "less critical of colonial abuse" might return to power. A second reason was that the supply of Mozambican labourers would inevitably have to compete in the future with the growing needs of the Transvaal and that "gold would inevitably outbid cocoa."[778]

Harris ended in his usual melodramatic fashion with a warning and a threat:

> If civilisation fails the slaves on the cocoa islands they will perish within the next ten years. Within the next *five years* 20,000 *will have succumbed.* Portugal must be asked to liberate and then repatriate the slaves- Great Britain can help her to do so. If, however Portugal refuses friendly advice and disinterested offers of assistance, justice demands that her African colonies be abandoned to an impending fate.[779]

Dubious, as always, towards Harris' inflammatory charges, the Foreign Office sent the article to Vice-Consul Montgomery in São Tomé for his comments. Montgomery began by summarily dismissing a series of misunderstandings, inaccuracies or untruths:

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[777] The Foreign Office, itself, was critical of the fact that Harris had used native interlocutors. John Tilley, the Head of the African Dept. was particularly disparaging. See minutes of meeting with AS and APS deputation on October 22nd 1912 at which, yet again, Harris and Buxton demanded British withdrawal from the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance. FO 367/286/ 45083. On May 14th 1913, the Anti-Slavery Society published a Memorandum in which Harris commented on the allegations. He admitted he had stayed for only 3 days but it was his fourth visit and he had been in Angola between February 4th and 26th of the previous year. He adds that the interpreter was recommended by Consul Drummond-Hay and that he was, indeed, paid.

[778] A decree had been published on March 30th 1912 allowing recruitment of contract labourers in Angola on three-year contracts or, alternatively, on five-year contracts for craft apprenticeships. It was a clear sign that the balance of power had swung against the more progressive faction of Republican policy-makers on Africa, in favour of the planters' powerful lobby.

[779] Idem. p. 645. Italics as in the original. The article from the *Contemporary Review* would be republished in pamphlet form by the Anti-Slavery Society soon afterwards.

> The public baths and washhouses are not kept clean by slave labour […] the Camara Municipal engages its own labourers. […] the appellations "The City of Sorrows," The Mother of God" and the "River of Gold" have absolutely no significance with regard to the slave question […] Many plantations have fencing of barbed wire. The two roças referred to run parallel to the public road, and preventative measures against robbery or the intrusion of animals are surely necessary and justifiable.[780]

He then commented at greater length on certain of Harris' more serious accusations. On the question of "vital statistics" Harris had quoted the official figures for the previous year which showed that the death rate was twice the birth rate. Montgomery admitted that the death rate was high but that the low birth rate was due to the fact that the majority of new "serviçais" were from Mozambique and they did not bring their wives with them.[781] Concerning the accusations of ill-treatment and corporal punishment on the plantations he admitted that it did exist, but that there was none whatsoever on all of the large "roças" where the owners and managers "did everything in their power to make the life of the labourers as happy as possible." He added, however, that on a large plantation, such as Água-Izé, the ratio between Africans and Europeans was forty to one and "if strict discipline were not maintained, the consequences might indeed be terrible."[782] On the question of repatriation he argued that it "must necessarily be slow" otherwise the islands "would cease to exist for want of labour", but that 1436 "servicais" had been repatriated in the first six months of the current year. He added: "The great difficulty is to arrange sufficient labour to replace the huge number of «liberated slaves» which evidently Mr. Harris wishes to repatriate en bloc."

Harris had also protested that husbands and wives were often separated by the process of repatriation. Montgomery explained that any legally married couples were contracted, recontracted and repatriated using the same printed form but that in almost every case the term "husband and wife" was a misnomer. If they had begun living together on the plantations they were asked if they wished to be repatriated together or not. They did not always choose to do so as the dates of their repatriation might well be different and living

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[780] Enclosure "The Cocoa Islands" Vice-Consul Montgomery to Sir Edward Grey. July 20th 1912. HMSO *Africa no.2 (1913) [Cd.6607] Further correspondence respecting contract labour in Portuguese West Africa,* pp.22-23.
[781] Official figures for 1911 quoted by Montgomery gave 1370 deaths and 633 births. He reported that "many fatal cases are due to anaemia […] I am told, attributable to the water." He also wrote that beri-beri was on the increase "to an alarming extent" due to the introduction of east-coast labour. Idem. p.22.
[782] Idem, ibidem.

together was often no more than "a matter of convenience". As far as children were concerned, until now they had remained on the plantation but the present Curator had insisted they should accompany their parents, or their mother in the event of separation, which had led to disputes. He confirmed that the Curator's decision had been supported by the central authorities, however. Montgomery ended by commenting that "although Mr. Harris writes so authoritatively upon these matters, his stay on the islands was an extremely brief one of two or three days" and that his information "was collected through the medium of an interpreter (a native of Loanda in the pay of Mr. Harris) whose linguistic abilities are open to doubt." [783]

A profusely-illustrated volume covering the whole of the Harrises' journey was published soon after their return, with a preface by the well-known former colonial administrator Lord Cromer. Entitled "Dawn in Darkest Africa", it attempted to compare the future prospects of the principal West African colonies, ranging from British West Africa to the Congo and finally to Portuguese West Africa. In its final chapter, however, Harris analysed how far the transfer to Germany of significant parts of the French, Belgian and Portuguese colonies might improve the prosperity and freedom of their indigenous populations. [784]

The book was reviewed, at some length, in the next *Contemporary Review,* [785] by Sir Harry Johnston, one of the few widely-respected figures in British imperialist circles who had consistently spoken highly of the Portuguese presence in Africa. [786] Johnston took

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[783] Idem, p.24

[784] The final Chapter was entitled "The Map of Africa rearranged." **Harris, unlike his fellow campaigner Strachey, was against the transfer of the Portuguese colonies to Germany, primarily due to his fears concerning German treatment of the indigenous peoples of its own territories** : "Another argument is put forth, to the effect that the Portuguese treatment of natives demands a transfer of the territory to a more progressive Power, such as, for instance, Germany. **Are those who advocate this policy quite sure that the « Progressive Power» would treat the natives better than the Portuguese**? If so where is the evidence? Does the treatment of the Herreros and the shooting of British Kaffirs demonstrate it?[…] **They can be absolutely certain of this one thing, that Germany would be «progressive» enough to see to it that the cocoa plantations of San Thomé had an abundant supply of labour- no matter what the consequences to such a subordinate issue as labour conditions**." (my bold) John H. Harris. *Dawn in Darkest Africa*. Smith Elder and Co. London: 1912, p.296. See Chapter 4.9 of this dissertation for more on this book.

[785] Sir Harry Johnston. "A Wise Book on West-Central Africa", *Contemporary Review*, 102 July-Dec.1912, pp. 807-814.

[786] Sir Henry Hamilton Johnston (1858-1927). Explorer, colonial administrator, botanist, artist, and linguist he published forty books on African subjects. Johnston was often cited by apologists of the contract-labour system for the complimentary remarks on Portuguese colonialism which he made at the end of the eighteen-eighties. Although his attitude towards Africans was essentially paternalistic he actively promoted their employment as junior civil servants in Uganda, coming into conflict with Cecil Rhodes on this issue.

advantage of the opportunity to return the debate on forced labour in Portuguese West Africa to a less hysterical basis and to offer a warning regarding German ambitions in Africa, whilst contradicting those who were trying to vilify Portugal's colonising efforts. Johnston began by complimenting the author on "a great public service" and emphasised ironically that notwithstanding being English and a former Protestant missionary and despite his close association with the Anti-Slavery Society, he had attempted to write with "absolute impartiality". [787]



Figure 2.8 Sir Harry Hamilton Johnson c. 1914. Photograph by Walter Stoneman

He first dealt with Harris' criticism of Portuguese West Africa, picking out for comment his typical, paternalistic description of the Portuguese: "The Portuguese is very like the African; you despair of curing him of his weaknesses - which are after all, seldom intentionally vicious […]". [788] Johnston responded with a touch of wry humour that "in many respects the Portuguese, as colonisers of Africa, are much less black than they have been painted […]", [789] whilst pointing out that much of this type of criticism had its origins in a "school of German politicians" who alleged that Portugal was unfit to rule in Africa due to their ambition "to make Germany a great Colonial [sic] nation". Speaking from his unrivalled experience, he countered that "the Portuguese [were] ***not*** by any

[787] Clearly an impossibility.
[788] Sir Harry Johnston. Op.cit.p.807. Taken from John H. Harris Op.cit 1912 p.173. Harris was particularly critical of the French African colonies he visited: **"None but Frenchmen should go to the colonies of «Liberty, Equality and Fraternity» for there is little Liberty, less Equality and no Fraternity in the French colonies for white or black."** Idem, p.97. (my bold)
[789] Johnston also referred in this context to "[…] those who followed in the wake of Rhodes twenty years ago and abused the Portuguese on the basis of the wolf's dealing with the lamb". Idem pp. 807-808.

means bad colonisers, nor [were] they unwelcome as traders - established and peregrinating - in West Africa," arguing that they "wiped the eye" of Germans and Belgians as traders in "Western Congoland" due to their conciliatory dealings with the natives, readiness to acquire a working knowledge of local languages, ability to withstand the climate and their industrious nature. Yet another advantage as colonisers was that they "either have numerous children by their white wives […] or espouse - more or less - a negro woman, and take special care to educate their half-cast progeny".[790] Endorsing Harris' opinion that "the Portuguese have a kindly nature, that considerable portions of Angola are well-administered and are inhabited by prosperous negro peoples, in some cases highly-educated" he concludes that "So far as principles of justice are to dominate our policy in Europe, it would be an act of injustice and an abuse of armed strength to force Portugal to cede or sell her colonies to any other power."

Johnston then suggested, perhaps ingenuously, that if Portugal were "to open its [African] ports to merchants of all nations on equal terms" there would be little reason for Germany to press its ambitions further. He ended his indirect advice to the Portuguese Government with a comment on the issue of slavery:

> A little better management of things, a little more honesty, a little less greed on the part of one or two extremely wealthy Portuguese planters and slave-owners in São Thomé [who with their funds assist Royalist agitation], and the circumstances could be rightly adjusted. Free labour, honestly paid and not detained too long from its home, could be readily obtained for the efficient working of the São Thomé plantations. São Thomé is worthy of some statesmanship […] [791]

With the exception of the apologetic articles and letters written by the planter's spokesman and champion Lt. Col. Wyllie, it was undoubtedly the most favourable public statement regarding the Portuguese in Africa made by a British writer since the outset of the controversy, and, moreover, it was made by a widely-admired African explorer and respected colonial administrator.[792] Remarkably, it seems to have slipped through Câmara

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[790] Idem, ibidem. (italics and bold in original)

[791] Idem, pp 809-810. In the same article Johnston would also comment at some length on Harris' thoughts on the French and Belgian colonies, which the author had also considered for "transfer" to Germany. The reviewer was extremely critical of labour practises in both the French and Belgian Congo regions, far more so than he was of the Portuguese West African territories.

[792] Sir Harry Johnston later wrote an article for the *Journal of the African Society* referring to José de Almeida's report on his Governorship of the Huila district of Angola- [*Sul d'Angola: Relatório de um Governo de Distrito (1908-1910)* Typ. Annuário Commercial, Lisboa: 1912]. In the article Johnston

Manoel's net at the Portuguese Embassy and, unlike many far less significant commentaries from less authoritative sources, it would go virtually unnoticed by the Portuguese press.[793]

In addition to the book and a flood of articles in British periodicals, the Anti-Slavery Society inaugurated an exhibition at the Royal Commonwealth Institute of a huge selection of the photographs taken by the Harrises on their African tour, many of which were also made up into lantern slides to accompany the lectures they gave all over the country.[794] Over the coming months, pressure would also be kept up on the Government through questions on "Portuguese slavery" raised during Foreign Affairs debates in the Commons. [795]

One of the principal initiatives held to publicise the Harrises' return from Africa was a public meeting promoted on June 25th 1912, by the Anti-Slavery Society at the Westminster Palace Hotel. Chaired by the former Under-Secretary of State for India, Lord George Hamilton, it was announced as a debate on "Portuguese Slavery and British Responsibility". Amongst the distinguished members of the audience were several Liberal members of Parliament including Philip Morell, [796] the Quaker philanthropists Arnold Rowntree and Noel Buxton; Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton of the Anti-Slavery Society; Prof. John Westlake KC - a respected International Law scholar, St. Loe Strachey of *The Spectator* [797] and Archdeacon Beresford Potter, representing the recently-founded, humanitarian pressure group, the League of Honour. The unforeseen absences of William Cadbury and Henry Nevinson would detract somewhat from the interest of the press, but both sent messages of support which were read to the audience. As was to be expected,

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supports much of Portugal's claim to Angola and quotes John H. Harris's favourable comments on what he saw on his recent trip to Angola (excepting labour recruitment), in "Dawn in Darkest Africa". H.H.Johnston "The Portuguese in West Africa" *Journal of the African Society.* Vol. 12, No. 46. January 1913, pp 113-119.

[793] Johnston was remembered by many Portuguese who took an interest in African affairs as one of the "villains of the piece" in the confrontation over the British "Ultimatum", despite being the most eloquent and persistent defender of Portugal's African colonisation.

[794] See Chapter 4.9 of this dissertation for a discussion of the Harrises' photograph collection and its use.

[795] Members of the informal anti-slavery group, mainly Liberal MPs with one or two Tories.

[796] A leading member, as was his wife, Lady Ottoline Morell, of the Bloomsbury Group.

[797] See St. Loe Strachey. "Our Guarantee of Slavery" *The Spectator*, June 29th 1912, no. 4383, pp. 1032-3. "It is a definite fact that so long as the Treaty of alliance with Portugal remains in force we are obliged to protect Portugal, and therefore incidentally to protect the institution of slavery.[…]The Portuguese idea of repatriation is to dump a certain number of the unfortunate creatures upon the mainland, without money and without hope, and leave them there to find their way back to their homes a thousand miles away"

given the recent impact of his African tour, Harris would play a prominent role in the proceedings, as the *Século* would report in typically sarcastic prose. [798]

For once the Portuguese side was alive to the importance of the occasion. The "official" Portuguese position was defended by José de Almada, the First Secretary in the Ministry of the Colonies, who was assisted by "the young lawyer", as *O Dia* called him, Dr. Alberto Machado. [799] Present, too, was Lt. Col. Wyllie, who, possibly due to the fact that there was an ostensibly official Portuguese deputation, took an uncharacteristic back-seat role. A pamphlet in English, entitled "*A Pavement of Good Intentions, San Thomé Repatriation: its Farce and its Tragedy"*, arguing that compulsory repatriation was tantamount to cruelty, was distributed at the meeting by supporters of the planters' position.[800] Machado's defence underlined the fact that recruitment from Angola had ceased since 1909 and, should it be resumed, it would need to be in accordance with the legislation of July 17th 1909, which limited recruitment to Government-appointed agents in designated zones where supervision could be effectively carried out. The maximum length of contract would be for three years, "against five in most colonies where indentured labour exists". Punishments, if required, could only be meted out by the Curator, whilst corporal punishment and fines were strictly forbidden. Machado refuted the claim that children born on the plantations became the property of the "master", affirming that "nothing could be more absurd or false" and that nothing of the kind had existed since slavery was abolished in 1865. Children, he added, only began light,

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[798] "[…] **O nosso conhecido padre J.H.Harris, recem chegado de Angola (onde fora em missão secreta do patrão, Mr. Cadbury) expressa-se em termos da mais requintada má fé. Diz, entre outras coisas diabolicas, o encarniçado levita do Senhor** «Nos ultimos 25 anos 65,000 trabalhadores negros foram enviados para as ilhas de S. Tomé e Principe. Pouquissimos voltaram ao ponto de partida […] "Carta de Londres. A reunião de filantropos da City contra Portugal-Mentiras e boatos-A Aliança Ingleza e a Escravatura - Cadbury e Co - Intervenção de um portuguez." *O Século* July 1st 1912, p.2. (my bold)

[799] Glyn Stone mistakenly refers to the attendance at the meeting of the "former Foreign Minister" Bernardino Machado. In Glyn Stone Op.cit 2009, p.180. In its report two days later *O Século* would refer to Almada and Machado as representatives of the Centro Colonial rather than the Government: "[…] Estiveram presentes numerosos membros da colónia portugueza e os delegados do Centro Colónial, os srs. José de Almada e Alberto Machado […]" In "Ultimas Notícias. A Questão de Escravatura. No Comício de Londres os Delegados portuguezes combatem as Afirmações dos Humanitários inglezes." *O Século* June 27th 1912 p.5. See also interview with *"o jovem advogado"* Dr. Alberto Machado in *O Dia* "O Meeting Anti-Esclavagista de Westminster" July 4th 1912. p.1. The article was later translated into French in a pamphlet published in Switzerland: Legation Portugaise en Suisse. *Documents sur la Main d' Oeuvre a Saint-Thome et L'ile du Prince.* Berne: 1912.

[800] *A Pavement of Good Intentions, San Thomé Repatriation: or its Farce and its Tragedy*. Redacção da Reforma, Lisbon: 1912. A compilation of articles from *A Capital* by the journalist Hermano Neves.

remunerated work, such as collecting fallen fruit, after the age of eleven, and could only become labourers upon reaching the age of fifteen.

Machado's otherwise straightforward factual vindication was marred, however, by his racist remark in response to a previous speaker's accusation concerning the separation of family members on repatriation:

> **To think them overpowered by the sympathetic feelings of a civilised man is to ignore the statements of sociology with regard to these races**. Such sentiments are as far removed from their natures as could be from any human being. They divorce from their wives and leave their children with surprising indifference. In spite of this the regulation of 17th July 1909 renders compulsory the repatriation of wives and children with their husbands and fathers […][801]

Machado then gave the official statistics for the current year, from 1st January to 31st May, which showed that 1,223 "serviçais" had been repatriated from São Tomé and 56 from Príncipe, all to Angola. [802] Recontracting, he added, was carried out in public "and anybody, foreigner as well as Portuguese may be present". He ended with a firm statement regarding the Alliance:

> Before finishing, and in reply to the speaker [803] who has just threatened the Portuguese with the withdrawal of English protection, let me say that much as we esteem and appreciate the [sic] English protection although we are a small nation we do not consider England to be our protector, but an ally on terms of reciprocal interest.[804]

Conscious, perhaps, of its readers' weariness of reading the same humanitarian accusations year after year, *The Times* reported only briefly on the Westminster Palace Hotel meeting,[805] but the following week it published a long letter from José de Almada,

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[801] Quoted from the *African World* June 29th 1912, in HMSO *Africa no.2 (1913)*[Cd.6077] p.17. (my bold) NB. Duffy gives the date of article as 19th June 1912, which would put it a week before the meeting! See James Duffy Op.cit. 1967 p.222.

[802] See Hermano Neves. "Escravos…Escravos. O Meeting de Londres."*A Capital.* June 27th 1912, p.1- Neves refers to the "**Anti-Slavery and Cadbury's Protection Society."** and **"esforços empregados para aniquilar a agricultura de S. Thomé".** Neves had written an earlier piece arguing that repatriation as it was taking place was not humane, and that the Government should have created an agricultural settlement before launching the procedure.(my bold) See Hermano Neves. "Algumas dezenas de serviçaes repatriados de S.Thomé morrem de fome nos arredores de Benguella." *A Capital* June 8th 1912, p.1.

[803] This was St. Loe Strachey of *The Spectator.*

[804] From the *African World* June 29th 1912, reproduced in HMSO *Africa no.2 (1913)* [Cd.6077], p.18.

[805] "Labour in Portuguese Colonies" *The Times* June 26th 1912, p.10.

correcting what he considered to be unfounded allegations and reinforcing the arguments put forward by the Portuguese delegation. [806]

Demonstrating an excellent sense of timing, Manuel Teixeira Gomes delivered José de Almada's letter to Sir Edward Grey, in person, at an audience that same day, together with a report on the meeting from the *African World* including the text of Alberto Machado's speech.[807]



Figure 2.9 Manuel Teixeira Gomes c.1923. Photographer unknown.

Having assured the Foreign Minister that he had conveyed his concerns to Lisbon after their last meeting, as he had requested, Teixeira Gomes protested against the misleading reports which were being circulated regarding conditions on the plantations, and insisted that the death rate now compared "most favourably" with that of the labourers recruited in Portuguese territory for the Rand, where the climate was better than in the islands. Sir Walter Langley [808] intervened to draw the Portuguese Minister's attention to the fact that the Anti-Slavery Society was pressing the Government more than ever on the question of repatriation.[809] Pointing out the statistics for returning labourers given in José de

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[806] "Portuguese West Africa: The Question of Indentured Labour" *The Times* July 2nd 1912 p.5. A letter to the Editor from Jose D'Almada. Reproduced in HMSO *Africa no 2 (1913)* [Cd. 6077] pp. 18-20.
[807] "Dr. Machado's Speech." *African World* June 20th 1912. Idem. pp.17-18. Teixeira Gomes and Almada kept up regular correspondence in 1912-13 on this and other Anglo-Portuguese issues. The correspondence between the two can be consulted at the Fundação Mário Soares in Lisbon.
[808] Assistant Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs. In August 1912, Langley would be replaced by Eyre Crow as Teixeira Gomes' prime interlocutor at the FO. Eyre Crow quickly established a close relationship and understanding with the Portuguese Ambassador.
[809] "The Foreign Office view was that Almada had made a very good defence as far as the plantations and recruitment were concerned but that he had not touched the repatriation question." Glyn Stone. Op.cit 2009,

Almada's letter to *The Times,* which showed that numbers were growing, Teixeira Gomes explained that many of the labourers had "no wish to be repatriated" as they neither "knew where to go" nor had "any means of earning a living on the mainland".[810]

The Anti-Slavery Society also followed up the meeting with a long letter to the Foreign Office, later published in pamphlet form. There were two fresh accusations, unrelated to each other, but both potentially embarassing for the Portuguese authorities. On the one hand, the Society alleged that an unknown number of the contract labourers on the cocoa islands were of Belgian or British nationality, having originated from the territories on the eastern borders of Angola, [811] and suggested that an international commission should be set up, including Portuguese, Belgian and British representatives, to "issue manumission papers to [such] slaves". Secondly, it was alleged that there had been a huge fraud in the repatriation fund.[812] In addition, there were the more familiar claims - the conditions of repatriation violated international treaties;[813] families were separated by repatriation; and slavery continued in Angola, unchecked. Although all of the complaints

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p.181. Based on a minute by Sir Walter Langley, Superintending Under-Secretary African Department (with Eyre Crowe), July 16th 1912. FO367/285, 29638/12.

[810] Sir Edward Grey to Sir Arthur Hardinge. July 18th 1912. FO367/285, 28264/12. Reproduced in HMSO *Africa no 2 (1913)* [Cd.6077] p.16.

[811] AS and APS to Sir Edward Grey. July 15th 1912. FO 367/285 30248/12. On July 25th 1912, Arthur Hardinge wrote to Foreign Minister Augusto de Vasconcellos reporting that information had been received from their officers on the West Coast suggesting that an illicit [slave] traffic was being carried on between west coast ports and the islands of Fernando Po [Spanish colony], Príncipe and São Tomé and that they understood that the Belgian Govt. had been in contact with the Portuguese Govt. asking for cooperation in putting an end to the traffic along the border with the Congo and Rhodesia and that the Portuguese had replied affirmatively:[…] "Drastic action is being taken by His Majesty's Government to put an end to all traffic of this nature from British territory […]" He suggested they should "join with His Majesty's Government in taking steps for the suppression of this trade, **to the extent of allowing His Majesty's ships to search suspected vessels under the Portuguese flag** as they would be searched under the Brussels Act in the Slave Trade Zone of the East Coast of Africa*"* See AHD Maço 768 Processo 27. (my bold)

[812] In an interview with Hermano Neves, Lt. Marianno Martins, the Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe between 1911 and 1913, justified the discrepancy of £60,000 between the amount held in the repatriation fund and the amount owed by the planters, which Harris had denounced as fraudulent. Martins explained that when he arrived in São Tomé there was a three-year clerical backlog in the bookkeeping and that the planters had not been asked to pay the amount in question into the fund. He had taken the necessary measures including an emergency request to the Government to cover the missing funds and settlement of outstanding payments had already begun. On February 4th 1913 when he departed for Lisbon 250 "contos" had already been paid in. See "Os da Anti-Slavery. Harris, engajador de negros. O governador de S.Thomé. Sr. Marianno Martins depoe sobre a campanha ingleza de descredito." *A Capital* February 27th 1913, p.1.

[813] The letter quotes an article written by Hermano Neves in *A Capital* of June 8th 1912, which alleged that an officer on a Portuguese ship had told him that of 269 repatriated labourers only one was given any money and they were left to starve on arrival in Angola. Fifty corpses lay scattered on the outskirts of Benguela. HMSO *Africa no.2 (1913)* [cd 6077] p.13.The article was entitled "Algumas dezenas de servicaes repatriados de S. Thomé morrem de fome nos arredores de Benguella." *A Capital* June 8th 1912, p.1. See also John H. Harris *Dawn in Darkest Africa* 1912 p.195. Neves defended himself against the use of his article by Harris in a front page article in *A Capital* entitled "John H. Harris e os serviçaes de S. Thomé e Príncipe" dated February 19th 1913, p.1.

had some basis in fact, [814] Foreign Office staff had been receiving regular reports from consular officials in Africa which led them to believe that a genuine attempt was being made by the authorities in both São Tomé and Angola to improve the situation. At the same time the demands of the antislavery campaigners were becoming more and more unrealistic, not the least of which the termination of the alliance between the two countries, if satisfactory reforms were not forthcoming.[815]

Against the backdrop of the ongoing negotiations concerning the division of the Portuguese Colonies and renewed philanthropic pressure both in the press and in Parliament, the first of a series of five British Government white papers on labour in Portuguese West Africa was published in August 1912.[816] It was quite clearly intended to do no more than provide a record of the correspondence between the Foreign Office and British diplomatic representatives in Lisbon and Luanda over the previous three-year period, principally with the aim of defending and justifying the actions which had been taken by the Government.[817] Predictably, however, Harris and Buxton saw the compilation in a different light [818] and announced exultantly that it had provided the final

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[814] The Swiss missionary Schindler, who had been in Angola for twenty years at the Garenganze mission not far from the border with Belgian Congo and Rhodesia, wrote in *L'Étoile Belge* on August 7th 1912, that he had seen thousands of slaves from the Congo and Rhodesia being taken west by black slave traders from Bié or sometimes by Portuguese *métis*.[a contentious expression for people of mixed race.] On his return home on October 24th 1912, Schindler talked to repatriated labourers from São Tomé, some suffering from sleeping sickness, on the docks at Benguela. See René Claparède. Op.cit 1913, p.17.

[815] St. Loe Strachey reported on the meeting in exactly the same terms as the Anti-Slavery Society, once again using the threat of abandoning the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance: "A certain mitigation of the condition of the San Thomé slaves has lately been obtained by the British Government. By repeated protests they have forced the Portuguese to assent to a system of repatriation - and a certain number of slaves- probably about 1200 - have actually been repatriated, though as Mr. Harris explains under conditions which make the boon almost useless" "Our Guarantee of Slavery" *The Spectator.* June 29th 1912, pp. 1032-1033.
E.D Morel, in his report in the *African Mail* went further and advocated that Angola should change hands. See the *African Mail* July 5th 1912, p.1.

[816] The *Financial Times,* which rarely dealt with such matters, published an article in the wake of the white paper, which uses expressions such as "scandalous" and "unpleasant reading" to describe the abuses but also that the white paper "concludes with a decided note of hope". The difficulty, according to the FT was to create legislation free from loopholes which might allow avoidance of compliance and secondly to implement such legislation: "Both difficulties seem to have been surmounted to a large extent". The FT regarded the first step as being the July 17th 1909 regulations modifying those of 1903 and the newspaper quotes at length the letter of HM Consul H.G. Mackie to Sir Edward Grey of November 30th 1909 in which he *"*Makes observations on the new regulations" and passed on details of the repatriation fund and "returns of labourers contracted and repatriated." "San Thome and Principe. Transition from Slavery to Forced labour. British Action." The *Financial Times* August 12th 1912, p.5.

[817] Significantly, the first White Paper - Africa no. 2 1912 [Cd.6322] covers the period after the Anglo-Portuguese Convention on East Africa had been signed [May 1909] after which Grey's hands were no longer tied. Duffy considers that the White Paper had been published because the Foreign Office felt it had been misled on the question of compulsory repatriation. See James Duffy. Op. cit.1967, p.218-219.

[818] As did *The Spectator*, which was now little more than a mouthpiece for the AS and APS on the topic, since Strachey had joined the Board. *"*Once and for all this White Paper explodes the fiction that contract

piece of the puzzle which they lacked to prove that the contract - labour system was no more than a form of slavery - a conclusion that the Foreign Office would view as an exaggerated and abusive interpretation.[819]

Joseph Burtt, on the other hand, in a letter to *The Nation* "found the document disappointing", adding that it hardly seemed possible that "117 large pages could give so little and such inadequate information". Consul Drummond-Hay's descriptions of Boa Entrada and Água-Izé, he alleged, conveyed "no idea of the truth" as the figures the Consul had given for the birth and death rate on the plantations were far from the reality that Burtt had witnessed in 1905 and 1908. [820] Although he was right about the unhealthy conditions which persisted on many of the plantations, Burtt was suffering from the same stubborn delusion as the other humanitarians who had visited Portuguese West Africa and who found it impossible to digest the fact that the situation was actually changing for the better, albeit, perhaps, not as quickly nor as efficiently as they might have wished.

Part of the Portuguese press greeted the White Paper with embarrassment and was forced to admit that the evidence demonstrated that reforms were needed. The Lisbon evening paper *A Capital,* for example*,* blamed Soveral and the Monarchy and what it called

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labour in the Portuguese colonies of West Africa is not slavery." "Slavery in Portuguese West Africa", *The Spectator*, August 17th 1912, p.225.

[819] T.F.Buxton and J.H.Harris of the AS and APS to the FO. November 8th 1912. FO 367/286 47707. Enclosing a resolution passed on October 4th 1912. Resolution of the AS and APS. "The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society views with grave concern the disclosures made in the White Book issued in August last upon contract labour in the Portuguese Colonies. These disclosures confirm the charges of slave-trading and slavery in the colonies of Portugal in West Africa, and thus constitute a clear violation of both Anglo-Portuguese and international treaties. The society holds that should Portugal fail to abolish slavery in her dominions effectively and without delay, it will be compelled to call upon His Majesty's Government to terminate forthwith the alliance now existing with Portugal, since the British people will, we are confident, refuse to continue an alliance which involves the resources of Britain in the maintenance of slavery and the Slave Trade." Reproduced in HMSO *Africa no.2, (1913)* [Cd. 6077] p.35.
The FO minutes on the letter comment that the Society was abusive in its use of facts and had quoted the white paper "out of context". A month later the Society wrote a relatively conciliatory letter to the FO admitting that progress had been made by the Portuguese authorities, but quoting the report made by Grey on his meeting with Roma du Bocage in 1909 to confirm their contention that the labourers were coerced. Once again they ended by demanding that the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance should be abandoned if Portugal "failed to fulfil its pledges".The philanthropists were right about one thing, at least. **In the same letter they pointed out that the twenty-five Governors appointed in the "short space of ten years" were powerless against the vested interests on the islands.** See AS and APS to Sir Edward Grey. December 12th 1912. Idem p.65-66. (my bold) See also Lowell J. Satre, Op.cit. 2005, p.199.

[820] Joseph Burtt, "Portuguese West Africa", *The Nation*, 11:21 Aug. 24th 1912, p.767. The death rate had improved considerably in the meanwhile, particularly on Príncipe, where the drastic measures employed against sleeping sickness had already achieved dramatic effects.

"viciosas habitos de politica dúbia" for allowing the British Government to assume a tutorial role towards Portugal. The unidentified writer commented in the following terms:

> Se nos nossos negocios publicos de ultramar, se introduzirem, como é urgente, processos austeros de administração que nos deem o necessario prestigio moral, a situação humilhante em que nos colloca o "Livro Branco" não mais se repetirá. É preciso adquirir-se esse prestígio, porque com elle virá o respeito que as outras nações, poderosas ou não, reservam invariavelmente aos paizes que séria e honestamente se sabem governar.[821]

In the meanwhile the Foreign Office was rapidly losing patience with the antislavery campaigners and had become increasingly suspicious about the soundness of their arguments. At a meeting with John H. Harris and Travers Buxton on October 22nd 1912, Tilley and Crowe were left with the impression that much of the evidence they had put forward was not only dated but openly conflicted with consular reports. In a letter delivered by a deputation after the meeting, Harris revealed his frustration towards Foreign Office reservations and suggested that if they did not change their policy, the activists might be forced to turn their guns towards a target nearer home:

> […]I feel very strongly that either we should maintain our present attitude or give it up altogether, because the moment we admit that the Portuguese system is that of ordinary contract labour, with abuses, then my committee would be **compelled to drop the question and concentrate on our own system of contract labour**. I do not hesitate to say that once you have got the "labourer" on the mainland plantations or on the cocoa farms of the islands, **he is in the main treated in a a more kindly manner than the majority of the coolies under our own system**; but there is a vital difference between the methods by which the labourers have been obtained. [822]

It was a startling admission, and one that Harris would never make in his public appearances. In effect he was admitting that only those "serviçais" who had come from Angola under duress or artifice before the suspension of recruitment in 1909 could be considered slaves. Such a conclusion meant that, from that time on, the affair had, indeed, been a question of "contract labour with abuses", for the philanthropists had admitted they had no quarrel with the way labourers from Mozambique and the Cape Verde Is. were recruited and repatriated. Reading between the lines, it is clear that he was also

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[821] "Trabalho Indigena nas Colonias portuguezas. O «Livro Branco» Inglez" *A Capital* Nov.9th 1912, p.1.
[822] John H. Harris to John Tilley, F.O. October 24th 1912. FO 367/286. Quoted in James Duffy. Op.cit 1967 pp. 219-220. (my bold)

reminding the Foreign Office that conditions in the Transvaal, for instance, were, as Portuguese critics regularly affirmed, far worse than on the plantations of São Tomé, a fact of which Tilley and Crowe were well aware.

At the same time as the British anti-slavery campaign was beginning to regain momentum, the Portuguese Government was stoically pursuing the implementation of its labour legislation in Portuguese West Africa. In June 1912, José Norton de Matos was appointed as the new Governor-General of Angola [823] and, in sharp contrast with the short-lived administrations of his predecessors, he would remain in office until 1915, allowing enough time and stability for the implementation of long-needed reforms which had previously remained on paper. [824] At his initiation ceremony at the "Pátria e Liberdade" masonic lodge, shortly before leaving for Angola, he took an oath to put an end to slavery,[825] and in an interview to the *Pátria* newspaper he criticised the lack of interest shown by the Monarchy in the colonies, whilst expressing his intention to present "um projecto que se aproximasse o mais possível do Sistema adoptada pelos ingleses nas colónias chamadas de coroa".[826] In his inaugural speech as Governor-General he would later set out the three cornerstones of his term of office - to foster the education of the native peoples and improve their standards of living, to develop the province and to

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[823] In May 1912 Norton de Matos was interviewed by *O Século* in his capacity as Governor-General designate. Whilst agreeing in principle that there were advantages for Angola of the creation of a Recruiting Board for the contract labourers destined for São Tomé, as long as repatriation was guaranteed, he expressed reservations: "[…] Afinal o que é a junta de recrutamento? E uma entidade de proveniencia particular.[…] pouco diverge, na realidade, de uma agencia de emigração, trabalhando por conta dos roçeiros.[…] Desejaria também que na lei se consignasse, de uma maneira clara e de modo a não suscitar duvidas, que o governador geral de Angola poderá […] limitar o numero de emigrantes para S. Thomé." "Assuntos Coloniais. Mão d'Obra em S. Thomé e o recrutamento de servicaes." *O Século* May 20th 1912, pp. 1-2.

[824]José Maria Mendes Ribeiro Norton de Matos (1867-1955). Leading freemason, distinguished military officer, politician and colonial administrator. Norton de Matos' first term of office as Governor-General of Angola lasted from June 1912 to March 1915. He was recalled to Lisbon to serve as Minister for War in 1915 and was of the principal figures in the Democratic Party faction which was eager for Portugal to play an active military role in WWI. He returned to Angola as High Commissioner between 1921 and 1923. In 1929 he became Grand Master of Portuguese freemasonry and in 1949 he ran as the Opposition candidate for the Presidency of the Republic, against the candidate of the Estado Novo, Oscar Carmona.

[825] The ceremony took place in Lisbon, on May 17th 1912. Significantly, Norton de Matos chose the masonic name of Danton, who had given one of his final speeches on the "Abolition of Slavery." Describing the chocolate-makers' campaign as largely "unjust and slanderous" he conceded that it was "based on fact" and readily admitted that in Angola serious "irregularities" existed in both recruitment and the use of forced labour. Norton de Matos. *Memórias e Trabalhos da Minha Vida.* 4 vols. Ed. Marítimo Colonial, Lisboa; 1944: vol.III, pp. 122 and 133. See also Maria Alexandre Dáskalos. *A Política de Norton de Matos para Angola 1912-1915.* Ed. Minerva, Coimbra: 2008, pp. 68-75.

[826] "A Província de Angola. O Ressurgimento Colonial" *Pátria*. May 20th 1912, p.1. He was referring to the "Crown Colonies." Quoted in Sérgio Gonçalo Duarte Neto. *"Do Minho ao Mandovi. Um Estudo sobre o Pensamento Colonial de Norton de Matos"* Doctoral dissertation in History. Univ. Coimbra 2013,p.205.

reinforce Portuguese sovereignty.[827] The boldness of his efforts to modernise the province and introduce reforms would be publicly recognised in mid-1913 when, in a House of Lords debate on "Portuguese slavery", Viscount Morley, speaking for the Government,[828] singled out "the present Governor-General of Angola", who had "gone through fire and water" to implement the regulations and "maintain a higher standard of conduct." [829]



Figure 2.10 José Norton de Matos. c. 1913. Photographer unknown.

The first positive reports from HM Consul Robert Smallbones in Luanda had begun to be received at the Foreign Office less than three months after Norton de Matos had taken office. Smallbones, who was not a man to be easily taken in, was clearly impressed by the decisiveness of Norton de Matos' far-reaching measures. On September 23rd 1912 he wrote: "I am convinced that the present Governor-General, who seems a very energetic man, means to do all in his power to do away with this kind of labour." [830] Indeed, to his

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[827] See **Figure 2.9**. The photograph was clearly taken some time after his duel with swords with Dr. Egas Moniz (the future Nobel Prize winner) in which he was wounded near the left eye. See "A Questão de Ambaca. O Duelo de Ontem" *O Século* April 20th 1910, p.1

[828] Lord Morley was the Secretary of State for India at the time.

[829] **"[The] Governor-General has incurred the utmost obloquy; he has been abused in the newspapers; he has been traduced in the Portuguese Parliament; he has gone through fire and water in order to uphold these regulations and to maintain a higher standard of conduct."** Viscount Morley. Hansard HL 5th series vol.14. July 23rd 1913, cc. 1293-1296. (my bold)

[830] Referring to the region of Moçamedes where it had been the custom to employ African labourers at 900 reis a month and then hire them out at a profit, Smallbones commented: "This I understand has been stopped". In contrast he referred to the case of the huge *Tentativa* plantation at Alto Dande which had been visited by HM Consul Roger Casement in 1902 and by D. Luiz Filippe in 1907. On visiting the plantation the Governor-General had been confronted by a demonstration of the 700 labourers contracted under the 1902 regulations. They begged to be released from their contracts and later followed his car on foot for five

credit, Norton de Matos had already taken a number of significant steps to improve native labour conditions in Angola during the first months of his term of office, partly to stem the flow of labourers to the cocoa islands,[831] a goal which was shared by a substantial part of the European population of the province.[832] In addition to the implementation of legislation concerning contracts and obligatory payment in currency for indigenous workers - irrespective of whether food or clothing was supplied - regulations would be introduced to prohibit corporal punishment and the use of prison-like compounds for the overnight stay of contracted labourers, whilst other provisions would ensure separate quarters for those who chose to live with their families on the "fazendas".[833] The existing legislation to enable the creation of "escolas-oficinas", or craft schools for the native population would also begin to be implemented [834] and the sale of alcohol would be forbidden in the vicinity of "fazendas".[835] Responding to criticisms that repatriated

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hours to the nearest railway station. A small detachment of soldiers had been despatched from Luanda to oblige them to return to work. Norton de Matos explained to Smallbones that they had been recontracted in accordance with the new regulations and although he conceded that the procedure had been somewhat irregular he explained could not have left the "fazenda" entirely without personnel given the present state of the labour supply. Smallbones added that the plantation was well managed and the labourers were very well treated. Acting Consul Smallbones (Loanda) to Sir Edward Grey. September 23rd 1912. In HMSO *Africa no.2 (1913)* [Cd.6607] pp. 37-39. James Duffy mistakenly refers to the 700 labourers being forced to recontract "on São Tomé" almost certainly because Lord Cromer had assumed incorrectly in a speech in the House of Lords that Smallbones had been referring to a São Tomé plantation. See James Duffy Op.cit 1967, p.221.

Norton de Matos returned to the question in a meeting with Consul-General Hall Hall, in mid-February 1914, probably against the backdrop of the Bowskill affair. He emphasised he had used force to "compel them to finish their contracts then running". Many of the labourers were by then on two-year contracts and were allowed to tend their own land for one week a month. They were given food but not wages during this period. Hall Hall to Sir Edward Grey. Loanda, February 25th 1914. In HMSO *Africa no.1 (1915)* p.34.

[831] On July 20th 1912 the Minister for the Colonies, Col. Joaquim Cerveira de Albuquerque authorised recruitment in Angola but obliged planters to organise a recruitment board along the lines of the WNLA. The statutes of the so-called "Sociedade de Emigração para S.Tomé" would be approved on November 2nd 1912. (*Decreto de 2 de Novembro. Aprovando os estatutos da Sociedade de Emigração para S. Tomé e Príncipe anexos ao mesmo decreto*) Diário do Governo, n.º263, November 8th 1912, pp. 3956-3957.

[832] The European population of Angola had increased from 10,000 at the turn of the century to about 12,000 in 1912, reaching about 20,000 at the beginning of the 20's. As early as August 22nd 1912, a commission headed by a judge, Simões Raposo, was appointed with the aim of convincing employers and native workers "que se tinha de enveredar pelo regime de contrato para a prestaçaõ de trabalho, nos termos da legislação em vigor, e que uns e outros eram obrigados a cumprir as cláusulas contratais.*"* Norton de Matos. Op.cit vol III, p.78. Cited in Maria Alexandre Dáskalos Op.cit. 2008, p.71.

[833] Legislation of December 1912.

[834] It is worth noting, however, that there were only 14 primary school teachers in the whole of Angola at the time. See Sérgio Gonçalo Duarte Neto. Op.cit. 2013, p.222.

[835] The ordinance of March 26th 1913 reinforced an earlier decree dated May 27th 1911 against the production of cane rum and prohibited the selling of alcohol inside or near "fazendas". See Maria da Conceição Neto, *In Town and Out of Town: A Social History of Huambo (Angola), 1902-1961.* PhD Thesis, SOAS, University of London: 2012, p.91. Three further orders would be issued forbidding the import of denaturalised alcohol, the sale of alcohol made in the province after December 31st 1913 and the manufacture, sale or storage of "liquors of native origin". In Hall Hall to Sir Edward Grey. July 23rd 1913. HMSO *Africa no.1 (1914)* [cd.7279] pp 38-39. The third White Paper also includes a translation of Norton

labourers who did not wish or did not know how to return to their original homes "were abandoned on the docks", an order in council [836] was issued in October 1912 creating two settlements on the mainland to absorb former "servicais" from São Tomé. [837] For this part of Portuguese Africa, which had seen several reforming administrators leave in frustration after a matter of months, it was nothing short of a revolution.[838]

Support for the reforms was far from unanimous, however. Some of the poorer settlers would resist the payment in cash of fixed minimum wages for African workers, not only due to real financial hardship, but also because they feared the social repercussions of such measures, seeing them as a threat to their status and social position as white Europeans.[839] Unsurprisingly, towards the end of 1912 protests began to reach Lisbon suggesting that the flood of reforms was provoking unrest in the province. Undoubtedly, it was Norton de Matos' efforts to improve the lot of the African labourer which were the cause of most of the criticism, [840] and, as he emphasised in a talk given in May 1914,

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de Matos' provisional order prohibiting of the sale of firearms, gunpowder and ammunition in the province. Consul Hall Hall to Sir Edward Grey. Enclosure. Order no 743 signed by Governor-General José Mendes Ribeiro Norton de Matos. July 3rd 1913. Idem, p.42.

[836] Under the Governor-General's prerogative.

[837] Consul Drummond-Hay reported, however, that a group of twelve repatriated "serviçais", who had arrived on 31st January 1913 and were destined, in principle, for the first settlement at Cazengo, refused to go, arguing they wanted to return to their homes at Lucalla. The Governor-General allowed them to return and they were accompanied by an official to protect them and help them find work. The Governor-General had told him he thought "it would take some time before [they] realised that these settlements were created chiefly for their benefit, but he hoped to get some of them to go of their own free will[…]" Consul Drummond-Hay to Sir Edward Grey. Loanda March 12th 1913. HMSO *Africa no.1(1914)* [cd.7279] p.21.

[838] I am indebted to the former Minister of Culture and member of the Portuguese Parliament, Dr. João Soares, for his timely reminder on the significance of Norton de Matos' courageous implementation of labour reforms in comparison with the inertia of the previous regime.

[839] Reflecting the impact of labour reforms in Angola, the Lisbon daily *O Século* published a leading article at the beginning of December 1912 suggesting that the implementation of such reforms was premature given the "backwardness" of the native population: "Existem é certo varios regulamentos do trabalho indígena, sendo o ultimo[de]13 de Maio de 1911, elaborados com as melhores intenções e com o fim de salvaguardar os interesses de todos, Estado, patrões e servicaes, mas para se executar o que n'eles foi prescrito, necessitava-se primeiro que a obediencia do indigena de Angola as autoridades fosse deveras um facto […] Obediente o indigena […] sem ser preciso recorrer as guerras, mas não querendo excluir o emprego da força quando necessário, naturalmente virá o reconhecimento da autoridade e, consequentemente, como sinal de obediencia, **o pagamento do imposto** […] obrigando-o a procurar trabalho. É um facto incontestavel a repugnancia enorme que o indigena tem ao trabalho, derivada da natural indolencia.[…] resta para os que não querem trabalhar voluntariamente **o trabalho obrigatorio,** [...]Na Europa não se consente o vadio, mais razão ha para o não consentir em Africa […] considerando os servicaes como devem ser considerados, em relação ao seu atrazo intelectual […]" "Assuntos Coloniaes. A Mão de Obra em Angola." *O Século*. December 7th 1912, pp. 1-2. (bold in italics in original)

[840] "Tem sido por causa da minha acção administrativa em assuntos de mão de obra indígena que tenho sido mais atacado" José Norton de Matos. *A situação económica e financeira da Província de Angola. Conferência realizada em Maio de 1914 no Centro Republicano Democrático pelo Major Norton de Matos, Governor-General de Angola.* Tipografia da Cooperativa Militar, Lisboa: 1914, p.25. Quoted in Sérgio Gonçalo Duarte Neto. Op.cit. 2013, p.212.

they would finally lead to his resignation, as they had with his predecessor Manuel Maria Coelho.

At the Foreign Office, Eyre Crow, who was now Teixeira Gomes' principal interlocutor, continued to insist on the importance attributed by HM Government and by public opinion to what he termed "the satisfactory regulation of contract labour in the Portuguese colonies." Writing to Hardinge in Lisbon, in November, he reported that the Portuguese Minister had assured him that "the Republican Government had done more in two short years than was ever conceived of under the monarchical regime and was fully alive to their obligations and would steadily press forward the measures of reform which had been carefully planned and laid down in various laws and regulations." [841] There was much truth in Teixeira Gomes' claim, but the antislavery activists wanted more. Having reached the conclusion that the situation was virtually unreformable, they now behaved as if they were blind to the positive developments which were taking place on the ground, many of which were due to their own persistence and tenacity. The ethical arguments which had driven the humanitarian campaign up to this point had effectively been abandoned by the leading antislavery campaigners in favour of other, less disinterested goals. Now nothing less than a change of hands would solve the problem. Morel and Cadbury's article in the October 1912 issue of *Nineteenth Century and After* [842] undoubtedly came as a shock to those in Portugal who had appreciated the moderation and restraint that William Cadbury had employed in his report two years earlier. [843] In essence, the authors judiciously selected excerpts from the correspondence in the White Paper which reinforced the anti-slavery thesis, whilst summarily dismissing any evidence which contradicted it.

Their comment on Consul Drummond-Hay's complimentary report on his visit to the plantations exemplifies this approach:

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[841] Quoted in Sir Edward Grey to Arthur Hardinge, November 27th 1912. FO367/287, 50715/12. Cited in Glyn Stone Op.cit. 2009, p.183.

[842] William A. Cadbury and E.D.Morel. "The West African Slave Traffic: Britain's Duty towards Angola and São Tomé." *Nineteenth Century and After* Vol.72 October 1912, pp. 830-851.

[843] Though concluding that a "special commission" should be sent out to the islands and the mainland to assess, amongst other issues, whether Portugal was able to "revolutionise her system of administration", the authors admitted that part of Portuguese society was militantly against the system, mentioning Paiva Couceiro and "one Lisbon paper and one paper printed in Loanda". They write: "But their efforts are of no avail. The inertia of centuries, political troubles, powerful vested interests, popular ignorance and that capacity for self-delusion which is so prominent a national characteristic, combine to keep the citadel of slavery immune from breaches." Idem, pp 837-838. Clearly Cadbury and Morel had nothing to gain by admitting that the situation was changing for the better.

> [he] praises the workshops, the hospitals, the staff of nurses in their «white overalls», and so on. Even if these things were ten times as conspicuous, would they suffice to palliate a system of slavery which admittedly numbers its victims by the thousand? [844]

The article charged that Portugal, as a small nation, did not have the human or financial resources to effectively occupy and administer its African colonies, arguing that it was the inevitable slackness of its administration which had led to human rights abuses, for "nowhere in the world does a weak hand at the helm facilitate abuses to the extent which is the case in tropical Africa." [845] The authors also alleged that slavery in Portuguese West Africa was the "old-fashioned slavery […] of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries", with the sole exception that the "horrors of the «middle passage» [were] entirely absent" [846]

Sensing that the moment was ripe for a counter attack, an indignant Freire de Andrade, now Director-General for the Colonies, responded passionately to the article in a long open letter to Cadbury which was re-published in the *Revista Colonial* at the beginning of 1913. His reading of the White Paper was, predictably, entirely opposed to that of Cadbury and Morel and their friends at *The Spectator*. He began by quoting Mary Kingsley's words in *West African Studies* on the widespread and unjustified European criticism of Portugal in Africa and, particularly, its dealings with Africans during the period of the Atlantic slave trade:

> […]The more powerful European nations have dealt scandalously from a moral standpoint with Portugal in Africa […] to hear them talking nowadays about Portugal´s part in African history is enough to make the unitiated imagine that the sweet innocent things have no past of their own and never knew the price of black ivory[…] Portugal at heart was never bad as nations go. Her slaving record is, from the point of view of humanity to the cargo, the best that any European nation can show who has a slaving West African past at all.[…][847]

He then turned to compare recruitment and labour conditions in São Tomé and Príncipe with those on the Rand, which he knew well from his time as Governor-General of Mozambique, emphasising the high death rate in the gold mines and the fact over 60,000

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[844] Idem. p.847.
[845] Idem.p. 837. As liberal as they claimed to be, both Morel and Cadbury appeared to agree regarding the need for "a strong hand at the helm" where Africans were concerned.
[846] Idem, ibidem.
[847] Freire de Andrade to William Cadbury. *Nineteenth Century and After.* December 30th 1912. Reproduced in full in the original English with a Portuguese translation in the first issue of the *Revista Colonial* on January 25th 1913, pp. 10-19. The quotation is from page 15, and came from Mary Kingsley's classic study: *West African Studies.* Macmillan and Co. London: 1899, p.282.

Mozambicans had not returned to their homes in recent years.[848] Andrade then moved on to the issue of compulsory repatriation, suggesting that the time had come to drop the old complaints:

> […] you seem to insist on the Government´s freeing the boys who are legally engaged not and never have been slaves […] It comes to this: to please you the Government should ruin the colony of São Thomé by taking from it 30,000 natives who are performing useful and light work, who are well fed and looked after […] [849]

Voicing the frustration of the Republican authorities, Freire de Andrade then pointed out that they were the target of criticism whatever course of action they took:

> Natives left to themselves never willingly do any work, and as the Government would have none to give them at [sic] Angola and would therefore refuse to feed them, no doubt you would accuse it of ruling them under a system of wholesale starvation. Should the Government give them any labour, you would naturally not fail to accuse it of practising slavery […][850]

Apologising for having "spoken more plainly than civility requires" he concluded on a somewhat unstatesmanlike note, by comparing his own dedication to public service, which was not "a sure way of accumulating riches", with Cadbury's "great wealth [amassed] by means of the cocoa bean, worked by the poor natives of São Thomé […]."

Freire de Andrade's final words underlined the fact that the chocolate makers were in a position to go on financing the campaign for as long as they wished, deaf as always to the protests of the Portuguese authorities and blind to the positive steps which had been taken over the previous years:

> Against such bad faith, prejudice and shere [sic] pig-headedness, argument is absolutely useless. […] You have […] ample means at your disposal - money, publicity[…] and you are using these means to slander our administration[…] It is irritating to me to see the efforts we are making with sincerity and good will to better the condition of the natives and things are persistently ignored or falsely represented and treated with contempt." [851]

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[848] "A Questão dos Serviçaes". *Revista Colonial* January 25th 1913, p.18.
[849] An extract of Freire de Andrade's letter is enclosed in Sir Arthur Hardinge's report to Sir Edward Grey. January 30th 1913. FO 367/334. See also James Duffy Op.cit 1967, pp. 224-225.
[850] Idem, ibidem.
[851] Alfredo A. Freire de Andrade. *Revista Colonial* January 25th 1913, p.19.



Figure 2.11 Alfredo Augusto Freire de Andrade c.1914. Photographer unknown.

He was right. Cadbury and his fellow pacifists were now running the risk of losing the plot in their anxiety for German appeasement, whilst, at the same time, Harris and Strachey were beginning to reveal signs of desperation in their search for new arguments to bolster their campaign to end the Alliance. [852] Indeed, it was becoming patently clear to Portugal's friends at the Foreign Office that if there had ever been "a high moral ground" in the whole affair, the humanitarians had now abandoned it, whilst those who had suffered their attacks over the previous decade were endeavouring to take their place.

The tide was beginning to turn.

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[852] At the end of the year, John H. Harris had got wind that the São Tomé planters were negotiating to sign up labourers from British West Africa on short contracts. He immediately raised the alarm in *The Times* against the danger of the spread of sleeping sickness to the British and French Colonies: "The conditions of contract are amongst the best I have seen" [but] "the island of Principe is the worst sleeping-sickness area it has been my lot to visit; it is so bad that many Portuguese are forsaking it and very few white men care to set a foot ashore." "Liberia and Principe*." The Times* December 24th1912, p.3.
José de Almada of the Portuguese Colonial Office would quickly respond in no uncertain terms, pointing out that the labourers were destined for the island of Sâo Tomé: "Sleeping sickness has prevailed for some years in the North of Principe and was imported there from central Africa.[…] Mortality has been decreasing in the infected zone. […] a British company, in accordance with the Liberian Government, was said to be negotiating with individual planters at San Thomé, not at Principe." **La critique est facile, l'art est dificile".** [bold in italics in original] *The Times* January 1st 1913, p.5.
Francisco Mantero saw the Anti-Slavery Society's new strategy as the beginning of a fresh campaign against the planters. On February 6th 1913 he forwarded a series of documents to the MNE. Among them was a copy of a letter from Lt.Col. Wyllie to Teixeira Gomes dated December 29th 1912 on the issue of sleeping sickness. See Documents to Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros with covering note by Francisco Mantero. February 6th 1913. In Processo 27, 1913. Maço 767. "Servicaes em S. Tomé" AHD.

2.8 Keeping up the pressure: the second White Paper and the debate in the House of Lords

Tired, as it now was, after seven years of lurid revelations and earnest debate in Parliament, the issue of "Portuguese Slavery" would be kept alive in 1913 as much by Liberal supporters of the Anti-Slavery Society, who were still convinced of the need to press for reform, as by the Tory Opposition, whose primary aim was to embarrass the Government. In the wake of Harris' article of the previous week in *The Times*, questions regarding the recruitment of Liberian labourers for the cocoa islands and the possible spread of sleeping sickness were put to the Foreign Office twice in the first week of 1913. Sir Francis Acland, speaking for the FO in Grey's absence, dedramatised the issue on both occasions, answering that he had no reason to believe that the labourers were being recruited for Príncipe and reassuring the House that the British authorities took adequate precautions against the import of such diseases.[853] Following up the questions in Parliament with yet another letter to the Foreign Office, the Anti-Slavery Society quoted an article from the Luanda *Reforma* accusing the Portuguese authorities of procrastinating on repatriation at the planters' bidding. [854] In a timely note to Sir Arthur Hardinge earlier in the month, however, Foreign Minister António Macieira [855] had explained that the British Consul at Luanda who had first raised doubts on the issue, had been "labouring under a misapprehension":

> There was no idea of hindering the regular course of repatriation, nor of securing labour for the planters until they had time to replace the *"servicaes"* whose contracts had expired[…]It was simply that it had been discovered in practice how important it was, in the interest of the *"servicaes"* themselves, that repatriations should be carried out methodically and that

[853] Acland was Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Sir Edward Grey between 1911 and 1915. See Hansard. 5th Series. HC Debate January 1st 1913. Vol. 46 cc.334-335 and HC Debate January 6th 1913. Vol. 46 cc.821-822. See also *The Times.* January 1st 1913, p.5, which in addition to the statement by José de Almada, mentioned earlier, reproduces a letter from Dr. J. Brunner, the Pro-Chancellor of the University of Liverpool, on the dangers of the spreading of such diseases by migrant labour, referring specifically to the case of Uganda.

[854] Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society to Foreign Office. February 13th 1913. In HMSO *Africa no.2 (1913)*, [Cd. 6607] pp 85-87.

[855] António Caetano Macieira Jr. (1875-1918) Lawyer, Minister of Justice in the Augusto Vasconcellos Government in 1911-1912. Foreign Minister in the Afonso Costa Government between January 1913 and February 1914.

> precautions should be taken beforehand to prevent those repatriated from arriving in Angola and finding there no well-organised arrangements for their protection.[856]

Armed with this information, Crowe swiftly responded to Buxton and Harris saying that there were no grounds whatsoever for believing that delays were part of a "stratagem", and that the Portuguese authorities freely acknowledged that the conditions of repatriation required improvement and were endeavouring to introduce reforms.[857] He ended with a rare diplomatic rebuke:

> I am to say that His Majesty's Government have been most reluctant to adopt a somewhat controversial attitude in this correspondence, but have felt bound to do so, because **so many of the statements contained in the letters of your Society have seemed disproportionate to the evidence on which those letters purported to be based and it was impossible therefore to accept them without comment**.[858]

Such inequivocal support for the Portuguese authorities undoubtedly came as an unpleasant surprise to the committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, particularly so when they were later confronted by the fact that Crowe's reprimand had been artfully chosen as the final words of the second White Paper. [859] But the Foreign Office was now merely adding salt to the wound. Shortly before its publication in mid-February, Eyre Crowe had already made it clear, in a letter to the Anti-Slavery Society, that there was no possibility whatsoever of Britain unilaterally ending the alliance with Portugal. Moreover, he had emphasised that in the view of HM Government, the conditions they had been pressing for in Portuguese West Africa seemed, in the main, to be satisfied. Repatriation was proceeding and the labourers appeared to be fairly treated on their arrival on the mainland. As far as the 30,000 or so contract labourers on the islands were concerned, it was the view of the Foreign Office that they could no longer be considered to be in the state of slavery and, as such, there was no question of manumission. Finally, in response to the

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[856] Enclosure with Sir A. Hardinge to Sir Edward Grey February 7th 1913. (Translation of António Macieira to Sir A. Hardinge February 7th 1913.) In HMSO *Africa no.2 (1913)* [Cd. 6607] p.84-85.
[857] Foreign Office to Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society. February 15th 1913. FO367/334, 6981/13. Reproduced in HMSO *Africa no.2 (1913)* [Cd. 6607], pp. 87-88.
[858] Idem, p.88 (my bold). See also *The Times* of March 1st 1913, p.5.
[859] HMSO *Africa no.2 (1913) Further Correspondence respecting Contract Labour in Portuguese West Africa.* [Cd. 6607] *In continuation of Africa no.2 (1912)*. [Cd. 6322].

philanthropists' insistence, Crowe gave a commitment that the policy of diplomatic pressure would continue to be pursued. [860]



Figure 2.12 Sir Eyre Crow c.1914. Photographer unknown.

It was a crushing blow for the Society's activists, coming as it did in the centenary year of Livingstone's birth, a year in which they hoped to be able to announce successes worthy of the growing myth of the celebrated missionary and explorer. [861] Some of their frustration exploded in *The Spectator* soon after the release of the second White Paper. Claiming that the charges of the antislavery campaigners had been vindicated by both of the Government papers, but especially by the latest, St. Loe Strachey accused the Foreign Office, in scathing terms, of taking the side of the Portuguese on the issue:

> The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and his chief officials, with a full chorus of ministers, *chargés d'affaires*, consuls and vice-consuls and all the host of bureaucratic power, are seen hard at work explaining away the forty thousand slaves who work on the plantations of São Thomé and Príncipe […] They argue indeed like men in a nightmare […] they are somehow convinced that it is their duty to conceal the evidence of a crime […] they are trying to bury the body of Slavery in a very shallow grave and with an altogether insufficient

[860] "His Majesty's Government cannot pledge themselves to call upon the Portuguese Government to repatriate at once some 30,000 labourers even if some of those labourers were originally recruited by fraud or force; these labourers are not now in a condition of slavery in which manumission comes into question; they are people who have been brought to the island, some, it may be, originally against their own wish, but are now legally free, and all the evidence shows that they are generally well treated and are gradually being repatriated, while it is very far from clear that they would benefit by being forcibly sent back to their original homes or that they desire to go there." Eyre Crow to the AS and APS. January 31st 1913. FO 367/334. 4929/13.

[861] David Livingstone (1813-1873) Scots physician, Congregationalist missionary and explorer.

quantity of earth. Do what they will, a toe or an elbow or the tip of the victim's nose will keep pushing through and betraying them.[862]

Strachey ended by insisting on the same note as he had for over a year: "We hope and believe that the readers of the White Book will go on to ask «Can we continue any longer to maintain a protective alliance with Portugal - an alliance which in effect makes us the garantors of slavery? » " [863]



Figure 2.13 John St.Loe Strachey c. 1914. Photograph by Beresford.

Whilst reflecting the unease which was being caused by the rumours of German ambitions towards the colonies, during the first months of the year the Portuguese press had devoted much of its attention to a series of other issues which were linked in one way or another to the "slave-grown cocoa" debate. The "*Alma Negra!*" scandal occupied the front pages for several weeks and was exploited by those who were keen to reposition the whole affair as a campaign to undermine the new Republic and its colonies rather than as a struggle for human rights. The Director-General for the Colonies, Freire de Andrade, who, despite

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[862] "The Foreign Office and Portuguese Slavery", *The Spectator*, March 8th 1913, p.389. Two days later *The Times* reported that "a letter signed by Mr W. Cadbury and Mr St. Loe Strachey" had been circulated by the AS and AP Society to MPs asking them to agenda a discussion on labour conditions in Portuguese West Africa. They suggested that if Portugal did not act swiftly Britain should withdraw from the Alliance. *The Times* March 10th 1913, p.10. [By this time Strachey had become chairman of a special Angolan Committee set up by the Anti-Slavery Society]

[863] *The Spectator* would doggedly continue to pursue this editorial strategy, as it had throughout the whole of 1912. See also Strachey's furious criticism of the FO and the white paper at the Annual Meeting of the AS and APS. ASR and AF. July 1913. pp.64-67. Later in the year Sir Eyre Crow, a senior member of the Foreign Office staff and the principal expert on German affairs, would point an accusing finger at Strachey's pro-German sympathies. On August 30th 1913, he wrote in a memorandum that **"The root of their** [the Portuguese authorities] **existing distrust is their belief, for which there is real foundation, that the anti-slavery agitation is intimately connected with a movement favouring the transfer of their African colonies to Germany. For this belief the Spectator has been mainly responsible.**" Memo. 30th August, 1913. F.O. 367/336 (my bold) See also James Duffy, Op.cit 1967, p.225.

the opposition of the republican left, had gained considerable protagonism by this time, [864] took advantage of Paiva de Carvalho's hapless crusade against the contract labour system [865] to make it clear that any Portuguese support for the international campaign was tantamount to treason. The planters' argument that it was a crime of lese-patria not to support them against criticism from abroad, had now become, under Freire de Andrade's consulate, the accepted discourse of the new Republican regime. [866]

Freire de Andrade would soon be called on again to respond to new developments in the Anti-Slavery Society's campaign. In February 1913 Alice Seeley Harris, the joint Organising Secretary of the Society, was invited by René Claparède, the President of the Swiss chapter of the Congo Reform Association,[867] to speak in Lausanne and Geneva on "Portuguese Slavery".[868] Her well-attended lantern lectures were followed by letters of protest in the Francophone press and, from one moment to the next, Guerra Junqueiro, the Portuguese Minister in Berne, found himself in the middle of a totally unexpected local storm over human rights in Portugal's African colonies.[869]

Guerra Junqueiro [870] quickly engaged the support of Albert Bonnard, a well-known journalist and human rights activist [871] who took it upon himself to defend the Portuguese

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[864] Freire de Andrade enjoyed a relatively free hand in colonial affairs until the Afonso Costa Government in 1913, partly due to the division of the Ministry of the Navy and Overseas Territories in 1911.
[865] See Chapter 2.6 of this dissertation.
[866] See, for example, "A Campanha Chocolateira. Um Crime de Lesa-Patria. Alfredo Henrique da Silva pretende responder."*A Capital* April 14th 1913. The following day an article in the same newspaper warned anyone who supported Cadbury that they would be acting in a treasonable fashion. "Campanha Chocolateira. Alta Traição" *A Capital* April 15th 1913.
[867] The Congo campaign was virtually over. On June 16th 1913 the CRA would be formally closed. See *The Times* June 17th 1913, p.7 "End of the Congo Reform Association. Tributes to Mr E.D.Morel" At the Westminster Palace Hotel, Sir Harry Johnston supported a resolution moved by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. John Clifford to the effect that "the success of the Association marked an epoch in the history of the relations of European nations to the coloured races." Amongst those present were the Archbishop of York, Lord Cromer, Lord Mayo, Lord Aberdeen, Sir Roger Casement, R.B. Cunninghame Graham, Josiah Wedgewood MP and Sir T. Powell Buxton.
[868] See Chapter 4.9 of this dissertation.
[869] Significantly, the only country apart from Britain and America which truly adopted the campaign against "Slave-grown cocoa" was Switzerland, which of course, had no African colonies. Belgium, France and Germany had their own "skeletons in the cupboard."
[870] Abílio Manuel Guerra Junqueiro (1850-1923). Poet, republican politician, journalist, translator. Minister of Portugal in Berne between 1911 and 1914.
[871] Albert Bonnard (1858-1917) Liberal politician, lawyer, author, journalist and human rights activist. Editor of the *Journal de Genève.* For example, he wrote: "Nos missionaires suisses, qui les voient de près, sont unanimes à dire que l'administration portugaise est bienveillante, éclairée et très désireuse de développer les indigènes. Les griefs injustifiés qu'on ressasse notamment contre les établissements portugais en Afrique servent le plus souvent **à introduire des incitations au partage de ces terres lointaines entre l'Allemagne et l'Angleterre**." "Un État Calomnié." *Journal de Genève* July 10th 1913 p.1.(my bold)

Republic and its reforms in the *Journal de Genève*. Claparède responded to Bonnard's articles and went on to publish a pamphlet entitled *L' Esclavage Portugais et le Journal de Genève* collating evidence published over the previous decade by the Anti-Slavery Society, together with his comments on the letters which had appeared in the Swiss press.[872] Once again, Freire de Andrade found it necessary to defend the record of the Republic in the matter and a pamphlet was quickly published by the Portuguese legation, refuting the new campaign, under the heading *Nouveaux documents sur la main d'oeuvre a Saint-Thomé et a L'ile du Prince. Réponse aux accusations contre le Portugal.* [873] Though vigorous, the Swiss campaign seems to have been relatively short-lived, certainly eclipsed by weightier concerns about the growing threat of war and the future of Europe.

Guerra Junqueiro's counterpart in London, Teixeira Gomes, would soon be facing a far more formidable and vociferous adversary. At the same time as the "*Alma Negra!*" scandal was occupying the front pages of the Portuguese press, a campaign against the conditions under which Portuguese political prisoners were being held was launched by Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, a well-known prison visitor and reformer. [874] Due to its timing and its ostensibly philanthropic aims, Teixeira Gomes suspected that it was somehow linked to the chocolate makers' campaign.[875] In fact, this new offensive against

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[872] Renè Claparède (1862-1930?) Swiss philosopher, President of the International Bureau for the Defence of Indigenous Peoples. In his conclusions he congratulates the "anonymous informer" on his success in convincing Albert Bonnard that the most suspect authorities on the subject were real authorities and vice versa. The Harrises, Travers Buxton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lords Cromer, Mayo, Morley and Kinnaird, on the other hand, were of no importance. "Après les pantallonades d'un Negreiros (Jean de Larsan), après les maladresses - pour employer un terme très modéré - de Freire d'Andrade, les ruses de l'informateur anonyme le font apparaitre comme un génie. Il a réussi, l'habile homme, à faire admettre le faux comme vrai, le mal comme le bien, et cela sans bourse délier, sauf peut-être pour l'impression des brochures de Berne.[...]" René Claparede, *L' Esclavage Portugais et le Journal de Genève. Avec deux lettres de MM Travers Buxton et J.H. Harris, de la Societé Antiesclavagiste de Londres*. Bureaux de la France D'Outre-Mer, Paris: 1913, pp 37-38.

[873] Alfredo Augusto Freire de Andrade, et al. *Nouveaux documents sur la main d'oeuvre a Saint-Thomé et a L'ile du Prince. Réponse aux accusations contre le Portugal.* Neukomm & Zimmermann, Berne: 1913 Freire calls Harris "peu scrupuleux"p.75 and acting in "mauvaise foi" p.76. See also Reto Monico, *Suisse-Portugal Regards Croisés 1890-1930.* Librairie Droz, Genève: 2005 p.383

[874]Adeline, Duchess of Bedford (1859-1920) was a leading member of the Howard League for Penal Reform which was founded in 1866 and still exists today. She was an orthodox High Church Protestant. For a typical example of her prose see Adeline, Duchess of Bedford. "Republican tyranny in Portugal." *Twentieth Century.* May 1913, pp. 1055-1059.

[875] Writing to João Chagas at the beginning of the new year, Teixeira Gomes complained that at the same time as he had to drag out of the FO the publication of the 1898 Anglo-German Treaty and its recent modifications, he had to pay attention to the question of the "servicais" and to oppose the political prisoners campaign [...] which had been reignited by Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, **"consertada com os chocolateiros"**.Teixeira Gomes to João Chagas. January 6th 1914, quoted by Pedro Ramos de Almeida Op.cit.1979 (Século XX) p.105 (my bold). In Portugal too, there were suspicions that there were links between the campaigns. In an interview to the *Século* in April 1913, Eusébio da Fonseca, Director-Geral

the Republic had its roots in the ill-fated Monarchist incursion of July 1912, which had led to the arrest and imprisonment of several of its leaders, together with many others who had taken part or were merely suspected of royalist sympathies.[876]

The alarm had first been raised by fiercely critical articles and pamphlets written by the Roman Catholic war correspondents Francis McCullagh [877] and Philip Gibbs, [878] and by the author, translator and journalist Aubrey Bell,[879] who were against the Republic from the outset. The new humanitarian campaign quickly flourished due to their vivid reports describing the activities of "Carbonaria spies" and "White Ants" [880] who were supposedly terrorising the whole country into submission under the "dictatorial regime" of Afonso Costa's Democratic Party. Indeed, the first supporters of the new British campaign were

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da Fazenda das Colónias made the following statement: "O que sei é que todos os dias surge n'um jornal diferente, isto é tour de rôle, uma grande diatribe contra Portugal. Já houve o meeting de Glasgow das sociedades anti-esclavagistas e hoje, precisamente realisar-se-ha outro meeting em Bond Street com propositos identicos e presidido pela sra. Duqueza de Bedford. Já vê v. que a campanha é violentíssima e obedece a um plano de antemão delineado." "Portugal no Estrangeiro. A Campanha na Inglaterra contra Portugal e a missão do sr. Eusebio da Fonseca**."** *O Século.* April 24th 1913, p.1 (author's bold)

[876] Led by Henrique Paiva Couceiro, the former Governor of Angola, at the head of a force of 350 soldiers and civilians. Crossing the border from Spain, the royalists attempted to take the city of Chaves in the far north of Portugal with the aim of gathering support for a further offensive to overthrow the Republic. They met with firm local resistance and when republican reinforcements arrived they were quickly defeated.

[877] Francis McCullagh (1874-1956). Irish journalist. A typical article by McCullagh appeared in the *New York Times* under the heading "Portuguese republicans «fiddling while Rome burns»".The subtitle was as follows: "The impractical and (ungrammatical) dreamers who are drawing up a fancy Constitution and inventing unintentionally comic laws while hungry and impatient Portugal grows menacing." *New York Times* May 21st 1911, p.3. See also "«Freedom» in Portugal" *The Living Age*, Vol. CCLXVIII, 1911 or "How the Carbonaria Saved the Portuguese Republic", *Contemporary Review*, No. 561, September 1912". McCullagh exposes his racist view of the Portuguese nation in an article in the *Nineteeth Century* entitled the "Nightmare Republic" : **[…]two less known, though potent factors in the enfeeblement of Portugal are (1) the excessive drain made upon the manhood of the country by exploration, colonisation and war; (2) the adulteration of the race by East Indian, Brazilian and especially by negro blood."** (my bold) Quoted in "Something Rotten in the State of " *Review of Reviews.* 49, 289. January 1914, p.41.

[878] Philip Gibbs (1877-1962).*The Tragedy of Portugal, as shown in the sufferings of the Portuguese political prisoners, royalists, republicans, socialists and syndicalists.* Upcott Gill & Son, London: 1914. A series of articles gathered together in pamphlet-form protesting against the treatment of political prisoners in Portugal, reprinted from the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Contemporary Review* and first published at the end of 1913 and in 1914. Gibbs, an English war correspondent, was awarded a knighthood in 1920 for his reporting from the Western front in WWI.

[879]Aubrey Fitzgerald Bell (1881-1950) Correspondent of the conservative and monarchist *Morning Post*, first in Spain then, after 1911, in Portugal. Bell was a prolific author and wrote many essays and books on Spanish and Portuguese literature and customs. *The Spectator* of March 8th 1913 reproduces what the Duchess of Bedford called "a spirited letter" from Bell, who was arrested briefly that year by the Republican authorities. Bell had written: "To persecute, calumniate, starve or kill a Royalist is regarded as a patriotic action[…] under cover of the abolition of death sentences, a hundred minor and protracted sufferings are inflicted[…] only by the immediate proclamation of a general amnesty can the republic hope to clear itself of a reputation of cruelty and injustice." *The Spectator* March 8th 1913, pp.395-396. Bell would welcome Pimenta de Castro's authoritarian government in 1915 and later the advent of the *Estado Novo*.

[880] "Formiga Branca". Radical republican vigilante groups which often acted as informal security forces, carrying out kidnappings, beatings and even assassinations. Effectively demobilised in 1914.

ardent monarchists or earnest Christians who were appalled by their horror stories of atrocities committed against "innocent priests and nuns" by the "anti-Christian Democrats".[881]

Though not directly linked to the Political Prisoners Campaign, the continuing controversy over slavery in the Portuguese colonies and the Foreign Office´s apparent indifference towards the allegations of humanitarian activists undoubtedly helped to create a favourable political climate for the growth of anti-republican protests.[882] Moreover, D. Manuel II's choice of England as his place of exile reinforced the British protesters' sense of responsibility towards the "poor, religious people of the countryside" and the "courageous gentlefolk", who were supposedly ready to give their lives for the return of the Portuguese Monarchy.[883] Invited, in mid-March 1913, by the Government of Afonso Costa to see the conditions with her own eyes, the Duchess of Bedford visited the Limoeiro prison, the modern Central Penitentiary and the womens' prison of Aljube, the three institutions where most of the ninety or so principal political prisoners were held. Like Sir Arthur Hardinge, the British Minister, who had inspected the Limoeiro the year before, she was given unlimited access and allowed to interview any of the prisoners she wished. [884]

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[881] The accusations regarding prison conditions caused great discomfort to Republican leaders who took pride in what they saw as their humanitarian pedigree as politicians. The President of the Republic, Manuel de Arriaga, who was particularly concerned about the treatment of monarchist prisoners, made a series of official visits to prisons in the capital, foremost amongst them the Penitentiary. See *Diário de Notícias* May 15th 1912, p.1. A presidential pardon would follow on June 12th which freed 34 only inmates, one of whom was described as a political prisoner. See *Illustração Portugueza*, no. 332, July 1st 1912, p.27.

[882] *"*Admira-me a insistência com que certos filantropos dedicam a sua atenção quási exclusivamente a Portugal e às suas colónias. Hoje são os indígenas que querem que sejam escravos, apesar de todas as provas em contrário; amanhã são os presos políticos; depois será outra coisa.[...]" Alfredo Augusto Freire de Andrade. *Relatório feito pelo Director-geral das Colónias acêrca do livro "Portuguese Slavery", escrito pelo Sr. John Harris.* Imp. Nacional, Lisboa: 1913, p.15

[883] See E.M.Tenison. (1880-1961) *Will England save Portugal? Our hereditary obligations (1373-1914)*, Upcott Gill London: 1914. A plea for British intervention on behalf of Portuguese political prisoners, which recalls the terms of successive Anglo-Portuguese Treaties throughout history. Eva Tenison was an amateur historian and the Honorary Secretary and principal organiser of the Portuguese Political Prisoners Campaign.

[884] In response to a complaint concerning prison conditions by a British subject, Sir Arthur Hardinge had carried out an inspection of the Limoeiro prison. *A Capital* was predictably caustic "**Estamos vendo d'aqui o sorriso que affloraria aos labios de Sir Harding [sic] se alguem aventasse a hypothese de, no seu país, o representante de qualquer nação se permittir o direito de fiscalisar o procedimento do seu governo para com os presos de alguma convulsão política houvesse arrojado aos carceres de Grã-Bretanha**. **A dignidade dos povos não se mede aos palmos como a extensão dos seus territorios."** (my bold). "A Attitude do Sr. Harding." [sic] *A Capital* February 22nd 1912, p.1.
A brief report appeared in *The Times* in which he was quoted as saying the prisoners were "neither barbarously nor cruelly treated " but most of the prisons were "out of date" and the conditions "insanitary".


THE ILLUSTRATED
LONDON NEWS.
No. 3900. SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1913. SIXPENCE.

Figure 2.14 The accusations against the Portuguese Government: Adeline Duchess of Bedford talking to a political prisoner at the Penitentiary in Lisbon. *Illustrated London News* April 12th 1913 (cover)

On her return she wrote to the editor of *The Times* with her impressions, first describing her visit to the Limoeiro, which she alleged was "crowded to overflowing" by "the addition of the political suspects to the ordinary criminal inmates." The political prisoners were housed in "low-roofed, irregularly shaped attics containing four or five beds" and that the food supplied was "that of an ordinary criminal", supplemented by "parcels of food brought to them" by relatives or friends. At the Penitentiary, which she described as

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The authorities had promised to improve the conditions. He spoke to some of the political prisoners including [António de] Azevedo Castello Branco, the Foreign Minister in the last Government of the Monarchy. As many of the prisoners had been rounded up after "the abortive rising in the north" and presumably part were innocent, he suggested that an amnesty might be generally welcomed. See "Prison treatment in Portugal. Insanitary Conditions." *The Times* February 20th 1912, p.5.
In private, however, Hardinge expressed his strong disapproval of the fact that 130 or so political prisoners were still awaiting trial, some of them for several months. The expression he used was "methods of the Bastille". Hardinge was convinced that the Prime Minister Augusto de Vasconcellos would have "gladly followed up the amnesty for the socialists and anarchists, which the chambers had just voted" with an amnesty for the Royalists, but that Afonso Costa "pull[ed] the strings from behind the scenes". See Hardinge to Grey. Private. May 13th 1912. FO 800/71.

a "dreaded abode" due to its overcrowding, the prisoners were "herded together in cramped rooms and narrow passages" and their faces "wore a look of unspeakable anguish".[885] There she spoke to D. João de Almeida, "a naturalized Austrian", one of the military leaders of the aborted uprising, "whose eyes implored help with an indescribable pathos".

Her final visit was to the Aljube, where seven female prisoners were held. It was there that she met D. Brita da Cunha [sic] of the Red Cross, "a lady of gentle birth […] whose only accusation was that she had made bandages and other provisions for sufferers". [886] The adjoining room was occupied by D. Constancia [sic] Telles da Gama, "whose work of charity for the political prisoners and their families made her the idol of the people of Portugal".[887] The story had all the necessary ingredients to elicit sympathy and righteous indignation and the Duchess' austere reputation and aristocratic aura would do the rest. Pamphlets were published,[888] letters appeared in newspapers and magazines, questions were asked in Parliament,[889] public protest meetings were held [890] and funds were raised

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[885] Interestingly, in March 1913, the Sociedade Propaganda de Portugal organised a visit to the Penitentiary for the members of a numerous group of British journalists who had been invited to Portugal as part of a public relations exercise to advertise the tourist attractions of the country and improve the image of the Republic in the press. It was clearly a reaction to Hardinge's visit. Bragança Cunha, writing in the progressive *New Age* after the journalists' tour, commented that the Portuguese press had written that "[the journalists] impressions could not have been more favourable." He went on to say: "Into the prison horrors I do not enter here. The incredible duration of preliminary detention, the congregation of prisoners in filthy chambers, the physical degradation of prisoners, are accusations not yet withdrawn by *The Times, Morning Post* and the *Daily News* - papers which, I note, ignored this opportunity of visiting Portugal […] **This, Sir, will once more make your many readers realise the distance that divides the two civilisations - that of Northern Africa and that of Western Europe.**" Letter to the Editor. V. de Bragança Cunha." British Journalists in Portugal." *The New Age, A weekly review of politics literature and art.* March 17th 1913, p.510. (my bold).Vicente de Bragança Cunha was an author and historian and the brother of the celebrated Goan nationalist Tristão de Bragança Cunha.

[886] D. Júlia Maria de Brito e Cunha. See letter from Thomas Sandeman to *The Spectator* March 15th 1913, p.443 entitled "The Royalist Prisoners in Portugal" referring to Aubrey Bell's letter of the week before. Sandeman was related by marriage to the Brito e Cunha family.

[887] Quotes from "Political Prisoners in Portugal.Treatment of Suspects." *The Times*, April 5th, 1913, p.9. Constança Telles da Gama, "the daughter of the Count of Cascaes and a descendant of Vasco da Gama" was tried and acquitted before the letter was published in *The Times*.

[888] The archives of the Casa Fernando Pessoa in Lisbon hold a signed copy of the fourth edition of the pamphlet "Portuguese Political Prisoners" which belonged to the poet himself. ref. CFP 3-63 [0000738] Several sentences have been underlined and Pessoa may have been considering writing a piece on the affair. It offers evidence from reactionary newspapers such as *O Dia* and *O Aveirense* and the testimonies of former prisoners, as well as quoting Aubrey Bell, the correspondent in Portugal of the *Morning Post.* See "Portuguese Political Prisoners. A British National Protest" Upcott Gill, London: 1913, pp. 23-24.

[889] See "Portuguese Prisons". Hansard 5th series. House of Commons Debate. May 1st 1913 vol. 52 c. 1343.

[890] Notably in London on April 22nd 1913. "Lord Lytton in opening the protest meeting at the Aeolian Hall said: «We are not concerned with the question of what kind of government the people of Portugal may choose to live under. We are asking for nothing in the resolution which will be submitted which is not asked for equally by moderate Republicans in Portugal itself. […]We are merely protesting against certain acts of injustice and persecution which cannot fail to arouse indignation in the minds of all those who are made

to support the royalist prisoners. [891] The Duchess's vigorous protests were quickly echoed in the press all over Europe and the United States.[892]

In Portugal, the protests were described as yet another British attempt to undermine the Republic, presumably supported by monarchist exiles.[893] On April 22nd the whole of the front page of *O Século* was given over to an article printed in Portuguese and English directed "to the British Nation". Including the favourable testimonies of former prisoners, the headline of the article read "the true situation in Portugal and the way political prisoners are treated by the Republic." It was a vehement and passionate initiative inspired by fervent republicans who were convinced they had done nothing wrong and had nothing to hide.[894] In truth of fact, most of the royalist prisoners were treated with the same displicent care as were common criminals, but several were held without trial for months and in some cases kept in solitary confinement for weeks on end. The prison conditions inherited from the previous regime were unhealthy and inadequate, and the prisons themselves, with the possible exception of the Penitentiary,were unquestionably in need of repair and modernisation [895] but there can be little doubt that those accused of

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acquainted with them.»" *The Dublin Review* July-October 1913, pp. 404-406. See also Earl of Lytton. (1876-1947) *The Portuguese amnesty: with some account of the British National Protest compiled for the Protest Committee by E.M. Tenison, honorary secretary; with a verbatim report of the protest meeting of February 6th, 1914, and a list of members of the British Protest Committee and Special Joint Committee of the British Protest and the Howard Association.* Upton Gill & Son, London: 1914. Lytton's sister Lady Constance Lytton was a well-known prison visitor and suffragette, who, when arrested in 1909 under the alias "Jane Warton" and wearing shabby clothes, was force-fed eight times in prison. Forced-feeding was reintroduced in 1912 after a short moratorium.

[891] The British Relief Fund was set up to benefit "the destitute families of Portuguese political prisoners." See Douglas Wheeler. *Republican Portugal 1910-1926*. Madison, Wisconsin: 1978, pp. 98-99.

[892] For example "Lisbon Prison Horrors", *New York Times*, April 12th, 1913, p.3 reproducing excerpts from the article in *The Spectator*.The Duchess did not repeat the unfounded accusations of "flogging" which had appeared in earlier campaign publications, however.

Arthur Conan Doyle was also moved to write an appeal for urgent action in *The Times* at the height of the campaign. See "Political Prisoners in Portugal" *The Times* May 13th 1913. https://www.arthur-conan-doyle.com/index.php?title=Political_Prisoners_in_Portugal (Consulted online 18/12/2019).

[893] See "A propósito da campanha realista. As mulheres nas prisões inglezas." *O Século* February 17th 1913 p.1 and "A campanha realista de Londres." *O Século* February 19th 1913 p.1.

[894] A Nação Inglesa. *O Século*. April 22nd 1913, pp.1-2. The *Capital* commented on the same day on the *Século*'s indignant protest "**dirigido a um povo amigo e alliado, e com quem temos aprendido as mais largas noções de Liberdade, povo que admiramos e respeitamos**[…] Apresentamos provas, relatamos as declarações das pretendidas víctimas, **abrimos de par em par as portas das prisões**" "A Questão dos Presos Políticos" *A Capital* April 22nd 1913, p.1. (my bold)

[895] The warden of the Penitentiary, Henrique Caldeira Queiroz, wrote a letter to *The Times* refuting the Duchess's accusations and describing the improvements which had been introduced or were under way. These included the abolition of the hood traditionally worn by prisoners to conceal their identities, the demolition of amphitheatres and the installation of electric lighting in cells - which remained available until 9 pm. See *The Times* April 23rd 1913. The prisons were also visited by Shapland H.Swinney (1857-1923) of the *Positivist Review*, who refuted the charges brought by the Duchess of Bedford. See "The Prisons of

being “enemies of the Republic” were dealt with more humanely than were suffragettes, syndicalists or Irish nationalist revolutionaries in British prisons around the same time. [896]

A protest meeting against the treatment of Portuguese political prisoners was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on February 6th 1914. It would be the last of its kind. The Duchess of Bedford pleaded again for an amnesty and reportedly said “she could never forget the hands stretched through prison bars, the imploring eyes and the accents of despair” she met with on her visits to the prisons.[897] Much to the credit of the campaign, Bernardino Machado, the leader of the newly-appointed Government “de acalmação” would declare a generous amnesty on 21st February 1914. [898]

A week later *The Times*’ correspondent in Lisbon confirmed that all of the political prisoners had been freed with the exception of eleven of the “leaders and prime movers”. [899] The article concluded with the testimony of one of those released, who said that the Limoeiro was by far the worst prison he had stayed in, due to the “close and constant contact with the vilest of the vile”. In contrast, he thought Trafaria “comparatively comfortable” and he had “no complaints to make about the Penitentiary and its inmates”.

Portugal.” *Review of Reviews* June 1913, p.553 and Swinney’s letter to Teixeira Gomes. S.H.Swinney to Manuel Teixeira Gomes August 9th 1913. Fundação Mário Soares. Pasta: 08080.101
Ernesto de Albuquerque, the same filmmaker who had travelled to São Tomé in 1909 to make a film defending the planters’ treatment of contract labourers was commissioned in 1913 to produce a film on Portuguese prison conditions entitled “AVida na Penitenciária de Lisboa”. See Ch. 5.15 of this dissertation.

[896] See “Nas Prisões Inglezas.” *O Século.* May 10th 1913 p.1.The campaign was launched exactly at the time the prison treatment of syndicalists and suffragettes was dominating British public attention and it is possible that the protests acted as a distraction from the campaign against the brutal forced-feeding of working-class suffragettes and the prison treatment of syndicalists.
In reply to Ramsay Macdonald’s proposal that syndicalist protesters should be given preferential treatment, during the Commons debate on “Political Offences”, in 1912, the Attorney-General, Rufus Isaacs, stated: **“[…]generally speaking there is no such thing known in British law as a political crime[…]Whether the motive was a political one or not is immaterial in determining whether or not a crime has been committed[…]”** Hansard. Commons Debate. May 22nd 1912. vol 38. c 2015.

[897] “Treatment of Portuguese Political Prisoners. British Protest Meeting.”*The Times* February 7th 1913, p.7

[898] In fact over a thousand prisoners were almost immediately released, most of whom were strikers and trades union organisers arrested after the general strike of 1912 which affected the capital and parts of the Alentejo. Under Bernardino Machado the Government also relaxed its anti-clerical stance and many clergymen were allowed to return to the country. See “Uma sessão histórica. A amnistia aos crimes politicos” *O Século.* February 20th 1914, p.1, and the reports on the following three days.
In a posthumous tribute to the Duchess, under the heading “A character study” *The Spectator* of May 1st 1920, p.8, summed up the whole affair in the following words: “On February 22nd, 1914, less than a year after the Duchess paid her visits to the Penitenciaria and Limoeiro, the doors of both these prisons were opened. Opened also were the Trafaria, St. George's Castle, and the Aljube; and the provincial prisons of Oporto, Coimbra, Braga, Elvas, Vizeu, and Monsanto. Congratulations flowed in upon the Duchess, not the least cordial coming from persons who at the outset had assured her «nothing could be done.»”

[899] Including Paiva Couceiro, João de Almeida and Azevedo Coutinho, who were later deported.

Perhaps surprisingly, he confessed that "A considerable amount of freedom […] was accorded to all the prisoners" adding that "[…] the friends and relatives of the more aristocratic of the prisoners had their regular days of afternoon tea in the courts and corridors of the Penitentiary, which have thus become a fashionable rendezvous […]" [900]

Coinciding with the launch of the "Political Prisoners" campaign, the issue of repatriation and the repatriation fund was raised again in the Commons by the Conservative MP, Lord Cavendish-Bentinck. In reply, Sir Francis Acland emphasised that the conditions had improved, recruitment had ceased and the Portuguese authorities were endeavouring "to meet the criticisms and the points we have made". He added that contracts were now made at the places where the labourers were recruited and that 1400 or more "serviçais" had been repatriated in the previous year, with 227 in January alone. Furthermore, he announced that in future there would be permanent British officials at the points of departure and arrival of the contract labourers, with paid vice-consuls at São Tomé and Benguela. Finally he outlined Norton de Matos' plan to set up two settlements for repatriated "serviçais" at Loando [sic] and in the Congo, which would be visited by British consuls:

> These settlements, I think, should be regarded as places of passage where the labourers can get accustomed to the conditions of agriculture on the mainland, and from which whenever possible they should proceed in due time back to the places from which they were brought. These settlements will, we hope, be used in that way and not as permanent dwelling places for the men. [901]

Acland was forced to admit, however, that there had been mismanagement in the repatriation fund but argued that it was a domestic issue to be dealt with by the Portuguese

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[900] See "Portuguese Amnesty. Treatment of Political Prisoners." *The Times.* February 28th 1914, p.7. Sir Edward Grey would give a brief statement on the question in a Foreign Affairs debate in the Commons on July 10th 1914: "[…] I wish to refer to another case connected with Portugal, the question of political prisoners. **There was a great agitation here on the subject though it was purely an internal affair, with which the British Government could not deal and those prisoners have all, or nearly all been released.** It ought to be borne in mind that when improvement has been made after agitation in this country **our influence is not helped unless there is some recognition of what has been done**." In "Parliament. Sir E. Grey on Foreign Affairs. British Trade Interests." *The Times.* July 11th 1914, p. 12. (my bold)

[901] Hansard. 5th series. House of Commons Debate.Vol. 50. cc.1874-1883. Robert Smallbones, the Vice-Consul for São Tomé and Príncipe would also be responsible for reporting on the Spanish plantation colony of Fernando Po. See Glyn Stone. Op.cit 2009, p.184. See also: Anon [John H.Harris.] *Memorandum on Portuguese Slavery*. AS and APS, London: 1913, p.12.

Government. [902] Yet again, in a Foreign Affairs debate at the end of May, Acland was left to defuse the issue by Sir Edward Grey. Laconically, as always, he responded to members' lengthy interpelations by offering reassurance that repatriation was going ahead as promised, with over 600 labourers having returned to their homeland in the first two months of the year.[903] Significantly, on this occasion, the Foreign Office gained unexpected but welcome support from the progressive Liberal MP, Joseph King, [904] who appealed to the House to give the Portuguese authorities a chance to demonstrate their goodwill in the matter.

By far the most important attempt on the part of the philanthropists to raise the profile of their campaign, however, was the Anti-Slavery Society's publication in June 1913 of a one-shilling pamphlet, intended for a wide circulation, entitled "Portuguese Slavery, Britain´s Dilemma",[905] which repeated the same accusations which had been directed against the contract-labour system since the beginning of the century, supported by testimony, much of which had been superceded by the march of events.[906] It was followed

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[902] A full transcription of Acland's favourable comments in the Commons on the improvements which had taken place is given in the ASR and AF for April 1913, pp.15-19.

[903] "[…] It was alleged that there were grave scandals […] and that the recruiting from Angola for the islands was carried on under very bad conditions. There was no recognition in the hon. Member's speech that that, for ever, is over and done with. There is no longer any recruiting from Angola for San Thomé, and a great deal of what he referred to as being conditions of slave-trading on the mainland is a closed chapter altogether. […] **the great matter of complaint, namely, a real system of slave trading between Portuguese Dominions on the mainland and Portuguese Dominions in the islands has been brought to an end."** (my bold) Sir Francis Acland (Gov.) Hansard 5th series. HC vol.53 cc. 458-459.

[904] **"[…] I believe the present Portuguese Government is sincere in attempting in a way no Portuguese Government has before attempted to deal with this evil**. **I want to appeal to all Members of the House to give the present Portuguese Government a chance. Some very unfair attacks have been made upon them recently - attacks in which I am sorry to think certain Members of this House have joined. Having visited Portugal and interviewed some of the chief politicians there, I can only say personally that I am convinced Portugal has got a reforming Government which does intend to take this question in hand in a way that has never been done before."** Joseph King MP (Liberal) Hansard 5th series. House of Commons Debate, May 29th 1913, vol.53, c. 442. (my bold) Joseph King, a social reformer who was a member of the Anti-Slavery Society's deputation to Lisbon in 1910, shortly after the proclamation of the Republic. He, at least, of the members of the group, appears to have been convinced that the Portuguese authorities were acting in good faith. King later joined the Labour Party.

[905] John H. Harris *Portuguese Slavery: Britain's Dilemma.* London. Methuen and Co. 1913 Harris quotes many sources to allege that 20 to 40,000 slaves were still sold annually on the border between Angola and the Belgian Congo and that between 1878 and 1908, 70 to 100,000 Angolan labourers were sent to São Tomé and Príncipe, none of whom had been repatriated.

[906] "Português como sou, é-me impossível ver de ânimo tranquilo a maneira como o meu país é atacado e acusado, cada dia mais intensamente, sem atender à boa vontade com que Portugal está procurando acabar com os antigos abusos e evitar novos motivos de queixa, procedendo com a maior boa vontade e boa fé, como demonstra o Livro Branco, há pouco publicado [...]" Alfredo Freire de Andrade. *Relatório feito pelo Director-geral das Colónias acêrca do livro "Portuguese Slavery", escrito pelo Sr. John Harris.* Imp. Nacional, Lisboa: 1913. Also in French: Alfredo Freire de Andrade. *Portuguese Slavery du Missionaire John Harris: rapport presenté au Ministre des Colonies à propos du livre.* Imp. Nationale Lisbonne:1913 A refutation of the issues and evidence raised in Harris' pamphlet. See also Chapter 4.9 of this dissertation.

soon afterwards by the first debate in the House of Lords on the issue. For more attentive observers there was undoubtedly a sense of déja vu about both initiatives.

In the Lords' debate, the Society's "heavy artillery" was led by the Earl of Mayo, who had travelled to Portuguese West Africa with Harry Johnston in 1882 [907] and the Earl of Cromer, who had left his mark in the eighties as a colonial administrator in Egypt and the Sudan,[908] supported by the former Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne, who had systematically steered clear of the affair during the whole of his term of office. Opening the proceedings for the Opposition, Lord Mayo recalled his impressions of forced labour from three decades earlier and confessed that the most recent White Paper "[left] one quite cold":

> As one reads through the despatches of Ministers, Chargé d'Affaires, Consuls, and Vice-consuls, one is struck with this fact—that the whole hosts of bureaucratic officials are hard at work explaining away the 40,000 slaves working in the cocoa plantations of St. Thomé and Principe, and that slavery if it is carried out under a respectable alias, as, for example, "contract labour," is not slavery at all. [909]

Lord Mayo added that it was the Anti-Slavery Society's contention that the Portuguese Government had done little or nothing to remedy the state of things, offering legislation "in place of deeds". [910] He then read aloud from the Society's publication of translated excerpts from *"Alma Negra!"* emphasising that these were recent declarations by "a Portuguese official":

> "The existence of slavery in the islands is an actual fact, although it appears to the public to be a system of free labour. The very nature of it involves a compulsion that makes the negro renew the contract again and again, till it constitutes forced labour for life[…]Caught in the interior, or sold to the Europeans by their chiefs, they come down to the coast like any other sort of merchandise." That I saw myself. Senhor de Carvalho proceeds - "There they are formally taken into the presence of the curator, who, I believe, makes the contract in good faith. He may possibly suspect that these unfortunate beings from the interior are the victims of an illegal bargain. But if he has such a suspicion, there is never any proof to verify it. And

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[907] Mayo actually spoke of what he saw in 1882 (31 years before!) admitting: **"I have not heard that the conditions are much altered at the present day".** (my bold)
[908] Cromer had ruled Egypt "with an iron fist" and succeeded in breaking the East Coast slave trade carried on since times immemorial by Arab traders.
[909] "Native Labour in Portuguese West Africa." Hansard. HL Debate, July 23rd 1913 vol. 14 c. 1285.
[910] Idem, c.1286.

> woe to the curator who dare stand up against the iniquities of the traders in black flesh. I know from experience that he would be a lost man" […][911]

Speaking next, the Archbishop of Canterbury admitted that it was difficult to talk about the question given Britain's own experience of indentured labour. [912] He reminded the House of Livingstone's encounter with slavery in Angola half a century before, and confessed that a reading of the White Papers had left "an uncomfortable feeling" in his mind:

> Our representatives on the whole seem to take what I venture to think is a curiously cold view of the wrong which is being done. […] The Foreign Office and the people of this country seem to be a great deal more apathetic with regard to this matter than we have been with regard to others where the evil, perhaps, has not been so great.[…] It is doubtless at this moment right to say that some amelioration is apparently taking place.We hope that a great deal more amelioration will take place in future; but I do not think that prevents us from feeling that the cause might have been presented with greater firmness on our side.[913]

Lord Cromer adopted a somewhat more conciliatory attitude towards the Government's efforts but but insisted that it was essential "to keep on insisting on the Portuguese Government putting pressure upon their own officials and keeping them steadily up to the mark". He recalled how slavery and forced labour had been abolished in the Sudan during his time in Egypt and insisted that the Government should let the Portuguese Government understand that "if unfortunately it should happen that if they desired our assistance in time of war it would place the country in a very delicate position to be asked to use arms for a slave state." [914]

Leading for the Government, Viscount Morley, the Lord President of the Council, whilst concurring with Lord Mayo in general terms regarding the gravity of the question, argued that repatriation "had increased very largely", improvements were being introduced, the Portuguese Government was acting in good faith, and that now, when all of this was taking place, was hardly the time to make vain threats:

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[911] Idem, c.1285. Quote in italics from "Slavery in West Africa. Portuguese revelations" AP and APS London: 1913.
[912] The Putumayo Scandal was still fresh in the mind of the public and protests had been made against forced labour in Ceylon and Uganda.
[913] Idem, c.1302.
[914] Idem, c.1303.

> It is very easy for the noble Earl to say[…]to Portugal, "If you do not get rid of slavery in your colonies we will no longer be bound by the Treaty of Alliance which compels us to take a part in the defence of your colonies" […] What is the moment you choose for making this rather violent representation? You choose the moment when the Portuguese authorities have given the very best evidence they could by making the regulations that they are trying to meet our views […][915]

Lord Lansdowne was also critical of the Government's report, but agreed in essence with Morley's assessment and accepted that improvements would take time:

> […] it is easy to frame regulations; the difficulty lies, of course, in enforcing them. […] the noble Viscount said that repatriation was progressing more rapidly. He added that the Portuguese Government were endeavouring as far as possible to deal with the question of slavery on the mainland; and, finally-and I think this was probably the most satisfactory point of all-he gave credit to the Portuguese Government and to the Portuguese officials, and notably to the Governor-General, for a loyal desire and intention to put down these abuses. […]I am afraid the case is one where we must be content with a gradual improvement.[916]

A motion put forward by Lord Mayo requesting papers regarding the movement of labourers to and from São Tomé and Príncipe was approved.[917] Essentially, it meant that a further White Paper would be required. It would be published in April of the following year and would cover the whole of 1913.[918]

On July 26th *The Spectator* printed yet another letter from Harris and Buxton, written as a follow-up to the debate, which added little to the Society's position and did nothing to improve the atmosphere between the philanthropists and the Foreign Office. [919] Indeed, exasperated by the Anti-Slavery Society's systematic misinterpretation of official statements, Eyre Crow had convinced Sir Edward Grey, shortly before the Lords debate,

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[915] Idem, c.1297.
[916] Idem, c.1305.
[917] Mayo moved for papers showing: "that slave owning and slave trading no longer exist on the Mainland and Islands of Portuguese West Africa; that the recruitment and shipping of labourers from the Mainland to the Islands has ceased; also, the rate and condition of repatriation from the Islands and the administration of the Repatriation Fund." Hansard. HL Debate. July 23rd 1913, vol. 14 cc1283. See Glyn Stone Op.cit 2009, p.185. The Lisbon press was quick to pick up the story - a brief report appeared the following day in *O Século*, for instance: "Na Câmara dos Lords. A Questão dos Servicaes. Severas acusações de Lord Mayo e as considerações de Lord Lansdowne que aludiu a aliança ingleza**."** *O Século* July 24th 1913, p.5.
[918] HMSO *Africa no.1 (1914). Further Correspondence respecting Contract Labour in Portuguese West Africa. In continuation of "Africa no.2 (1913)*April 1914 [Cd.7279]
[919] "Portuguese Slavery in the House of Lords"**.** *The Spectator*. July 26th 1913, p.134. Letter to the editor signed by John H. Harris and Travers Buxton.

to discuss statements made in Parliament, only "within the confines of the House of Commons".[920]

During the month of August, a series of articles written by the Earl of Cromer in *The Spectator* would attempt to mend the rift and to place the debate on a more sensible footing.[921] Unlike Harris' and Strachey's insistent diatribes in the same periodical, Lord Cromer's first article ended by admitting that there had been significant improvements: "On the whole, in spite of some features in the case which would appear to deserve some friendly criticism, it would seem that the Portuguese Government are really endeavouring to suppress the trade in slaves." In the second part of the article Cromer went on to discuss whether or not slavery, or "forcible engagement", according to Sir Edward Grey's definition, still existed in Portuguese West Africa. Drawing his evidence from the second White Paper, he concluded that it did, essentially basing his argument on Consul Smallbones' report on the incident involving 700 labourers at the Tentativa plantation who were forced to recontract by a platoon of soldiers.[922] In the final part of the article Cromer offered an appeal for patience and understanding in the face of all the difficulties, based on his own experience of eliminating the "corvée" system in the Sudan, which had taken several years:

> […] if once it can be fully established that they are moving steadily and strenuously in the right direction, no excessive amount of impatience should be shown […] the financial interests involved are important and deserve a […] limited amount of consideration […] but it is certainly impossible to take all the thirty thousand men who are now employed on the islands and suddenly transport them elsewhere.[…] As practical men, we must whilst acknowledging the highly regrettable nature of the facts, accept them as they stand.[923]

Cromer ended by quoting from Lt. Col. Wyllie's "very able" report to the Foreign Office of December 8th 1912, which offered suggestions for the principal problems of São Tomé

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[920] Glyn Stone Op.cit. 2009 p.184 citing FO 367/335 26055713 of June 24th 1913 with minutes by Crowe and Grey. What this meant was that the Society would no longer have direct access to the Foreign Office itself.

[921] Lord Cromer. "Portuguese Slavery" *The Spectator.* I. August 13th 1913, pp.235-237; II. August 23rd 1913, pp 268-270; III. August 30th 1913, pp 304-305.

[922] Both Harris and Cromer appear to have assumed that the plantation was in São Tomé rather than Angola. Duffy also overlooks the error in his otherwise careful study. See James Duffy Op. cit.1967, p.221. Note 827 in this dissertation gives a brief account of the incident.

[923] "Portuguese Slavery III" *The Spectator*, Aug. 30th 1913, p.304. The "corvée" was a forced labour system.

and Príncipe. [924] Describing the report as "one of the most valuable contributions to the literature on this subject which have yet appeared", Cromer wrote, optimistically, that Lt.Col.Wyllie appeared to acknowledge that "slavery is as indefensible from an economic as it is from a moral point of view" and added that in the same report Wyllie had proposed that only free labour should be employed on the island of São Tomé.[925] He noted that due to "the blight which has fallen on the island", Wyllie had recommended abandoning the plantations on Príncipe altogether, in favour of "free grants of land in the fertile and populous colony of Guinea" where the soil was even better suited to cacao growing and labour was not a problem.[926] What Cromer had omitted to explain, however, was why the proposal had been sent to the Foreign Office in the first place, rather than to the Portuguese authorities.

The situation on the island of Príncipe was undeniably alarming.[927] On January 23rd 1913 Vice-Consul Smallbones had sent a statistical report to Consul Drummond-Hay on the birth and death rates between August 1911 and July 1912, which showed an average death rate in the order of 12%, of which almost half was due to sleeping sickness. On certain plantations, however, particularly in the north of the island, the death rate had reached 30% over the period. Notwithstanding the depressing picture, Smallbones wrote that there

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[924] In full in HMSO *Africa no.2 (1913)* [Cd. 6607] pp 60-64. Wyllie refers to the fact that the report is "in confirmation of the verbal statement made by me the 28th ultimo", suggesting there had been a request from the FO to submit his ideas in writing. The principal subject of the letter was "Mortality in San Thomé and Principe" and he offers figures to show that on Príncipe the death rate was between 11.5% in 1908 and 7.8% in 1910, mainly due to sleeping sickness, whilst on Saõ Tomé it was between 3.7 and 3.6%. He suggests that on the larger island - 87% of the geographical area, figures had improved substantially over the previous three years due to the combat against alcoholism and the fact that **the labourers were now being brought from Mozambique, "[…] a higher type mentally and physically**." (my bold)

[925] In fact Wyllie suggests in his letter that the experiment with contracted labourers from Liberia was going so well that in the long run they might even replace labourers from Mozambique.

[926] A careful reading of Wyllie's letter suggests that he proposed abandoning only the Northern part of Príncipe where the death rate was far higher than in the south of the island where the bigger plantations were situated: "The total "serviçal" population probably does not exceed 3,000, and the two large companies in the south may be taken as employing at least one-third of these. If this be so, the total number actually residing in the infected area would be 2,000. […] Owing to bad times among the small planters and to the enormous amount of sickness among the Angolans, these Cabo-Verdians [working in the infected area] are reported to be overworked and underfed, and to be meditating a boycott of the island in consequence." In his summary at the end of his report Wyllie writes: **"Labour conditions over a considerable part of Príncipe are indefensible** and present a problem demanding the earliest possible solution, in the interest of the planters themselves, as well as of the labourers" (my bold).

[927] Hermano Neves, who had returned, in April 1912, from a much-vaunted tour of the Portuguese colonies, suffering from malaria and having got no further than São Tomé, wrote the following: "No 8 de Março desembarquei na Ilha do Príncipe onde se me deparou uma atmosphera de desánimo e de pavor." "Compasso de espera. O caso de S. Thomé. Onde o redactor da Capital enviado as colonias explica o seu prematuro regresso a Lisboa." *A Capital* April 23rd 1912, p.1.

was room for optimism and that Dr. Bruto da Costa, who was in charge of the operation, had told him that "it should be possible to stamp out sleeping sickness in Príncipe if all the planters united their efforts to that end." [928] The drastic measures which were being taken and the progress against the endemic disease which had already been achieved make the timing, pessimistic tone and destination of Wyllie's report all the more difficult to comprehend. The explanation is perhaps to be found in the recent negotiations for the purchase of a substantial part of the productive capacity of the islands by an Anglo-French consortium; the now far-from-secret negotiations between Britain and Germany for the division of the Portuguese colonies; [929] and Wyllie's close association with Francisco Mantero, who already had a considerable financial interest in the future of Príncipe, where he owned one of the largest plantations in the southern part of the island. [930] Several apparently unrelated "hidden agendas" may thus have coincided to create the necessary conditions for Wyllie's apparently spurious and otherwise incongruous initiative.[931]

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[928] Vice-Consul Smallbones to Consul Drummond-Hay. Fernando Po, January 23rd 1913. Enclosure no.2. HMSO. *Africa no.1 (1914) Further Correspondence respecting Contract Labour in Portuguese West Africa. (In continuation of Africa no.2, 1913)* April 1914, pp 12-14. Wyllie had recently returned from a second visit to the islands (August to November 1912) and was fully aware of the progress being made. Nothing appears to have come of the report, however, and the Foreign Office does not appear to have replied. See Chapter 4.14 of this dissertation for more on the successful battle against sleeping sickness on the Island of Príncipe.

[929] The Portuguese Government was still anxious to dispel any suspicions, however. On February 24th 1913 Foreign Minister António Macieira made an unequivocal statement in the Portuguese Parliament: "[...] Efectivamente a imprensa estrangeira fez-se eco de boatos, manifestamente tendenciosos, a respeito de interêsses portugueses, sobretudo coloniais. Falou-se numa conferência que se realizaria em Haia [...] Falou-se além disso em negociações especiais, só entre Inglaterra e Alemanha, ainda sobre assuntos coloniais que nos afectariam.[...] Com o expresso assentimento dos Gabinetes de Londres e Berlim, confirmo as declarações do meu ilustre antecessor, Sr. Augusto de Vasconcelos, feitas na Câmara dos Deputados na sessão de 15 de Março de 1912, e faço agora ao meu país mais as seguintes e categóricas declarações:

1.º O Governo Inglês não pensou nem pensa em provocar ou aceitar qualquer conferência internacional sobre assuntos coloniais.

2.º O Governo Inglês reconhece que os seus sentimentos para connosco, seus aliados, não lhe permitiriam fazer qualquer tratado, convenção ou acordo de natureza análoga, que dalgum modo afectasse a nossa soberania ou integridade e as nossas colónias.

3.º **Não existe entre a Inglaterra e a Alemanha qualquer tratado, convenção ou acordo daquela natureza, nem quaisquer negociações pendentes nesse sentido.**

4.º O Governo Alemão não se ocupa da realização de qualquer conferência internacional para tratar de assuntos coloniais, e repele a ideia de que haja pensado em afectar por qualquer forma os nossos direitos de soberania." See Debates Parlamentares. Câmara dos Deputados, February 24th 1913, p. 9. (my bold)

[930] In July 1908 William Cadbury had demanded that the plantations should be abandoned because of the sickness and Wyllie had answered if that were the case then the continental regions affected by the sickness would also have to be abandoned! Clearly by this time Wyllie (and Mantero) had changed their minds.

[931] According to the former Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe, Lt. Marianno Martins, who had taken over from Cdr. Leotte do Rego in 1911, John H. Harris of the Anti-Slavery Society also had an eye for a good business opportunity. In an interview given to Hermano Neves of *A Capital* after his return to Lisbon, Martins tells of his meeting with Harris on January 30th 1912 [erroneously given as 1913] during his two-

By August 1913, Consul Hall Hall, who had replaced Drummond-Hay, was able to quote from Bruto da Costa's report that much success had been achieved in eliminating the tsetse fly on Príncipe and that the percentage of cases existing on the island had fallen to 7.2% of the population and the death rate to 5.7% compared with 12.8 and 13.1% in the previous two years.[932] In his report, the director of the mission expressed his satisfaction as to the way European proprietors, with one unspecified exception, had carried out the measures suggested, implying "serious temporary sacrifice". He added that fresh cases of sleeping sickness had diminished "in an almost miraculous way" and the fly now rarely appeared along the roads and the cultivated parts of the island.[933] Quite clearly the situation was changing for the better, but on August 20th 1913 an order would be issued by Norton de Matos, the Governor-General of Angola,[934] provisionally forbidding emigration to Príncipe, except from the regions of Luanda and the Congo, and then only after the labourers had undergone a medical examination and inoculation.

Perhaps for the first time in the whole affair, the Republican authorities could congratulate themselves on being a step ahead of criticism from abroad.

During the second half of 1913 reports from Vice-Consul Robert Smallbones and Consul Hall Hall had begun to express alarm at the slowing pace of repatriation. The first signs

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day visit to São Tomé. Harris had begun by saying that when repatriation was complete the campaign would no longer be justified and went on **to offer his services as agent for a company which was ready to introduce labourers from Nigeria and the Gold Coast into São Tomé**. Martins replied that it this was not his business and that he should approach the planters on his way through Lisbon. He describes Harris as "o mais curioso ratão que a história do trabalho indígena de S.Thomé tem registado." In "Os da Anti-Slavery. **Harris, engajador de negros**. O governador de S.Thomé Sr. Marianno Martins depõe sobre a campanha ingleza de descrédito." *A Capital* February 27th 1913, p.1. (my bold). Freire de Andrade also quotes this incident in his refutation of the Anti-Slavery Society's pamphlet "Portuguese Slavery: Britain's Dilemma".
A letter from Lt. Col. Wyllie to Teixeira Gomes, dated October 28th 1913, suggests that he was in possession of privileged information from a source close to the FO regarding the failure of the Anti-Slavery Society's petition for "total suppression of recruitment for Príncipe" which Wyllie had opposed in a letter to the Under-Secretary of State on September 12th 1913. See Fundação Mário Soares. DTE-Manuel Teixeira Gomes. Pasta: 08079.152

[932] Consul Hall Hall to Sir Edward Grey. Loanda, August 25th 1913. Enclosure no.1 "Summary of chief points in the report of Dr. Bruto da Costa […] August 1912 to May 1913." HMSO *Africa no.1 (1914)* [Cd.7279], pp. 54-56.

[933] See also Hermano Neves' report on his visit to Príncipe confirming the progress achieved. "Na Ilha do Príncipe. Vae rareando a tsé-tsé. Uma prova brilhante das faculdades colonisadoras dos portugueses." *A Capital* June 15th 1913, p.1. Neves visited Roça Sundy in the north of the island where the sanitary brigade had begun a year before by trapping 20,000 flies a month - this time they had not come across a single one.

[934] Consul Hall Hall to Sir Edward Grey. August 25th 1913. Enclosure no.2. HMSO *Africa no.1(1914)* [Cd7279], p.57.

that something was amiss appear in Smallbones' report to the FO [935] after visits with the "Curador" to several plantations to observe the procedure at the end of contracts.[936] With one or two exceptions, almost all of the labourers declared they were well treated but wanted to return home. [937] The vice-consul reported that on a few of the plantations pressure had been brought to bear on the labourers by estate managers to persuade them to recontract. The cases of Roça Bela Vista, which belonged to the Marquês de Valle-Flôr, which he writes "was of importance" as the Marquês employed "more than 5,000 servicaes on his estates" and Água-Izé, belonging to the Sociedade Agrícola da Ilha do Príncipe, were two of the many examples in his report.

At Roça Bela Vista the Curator decided to suspend the session as the foreman was clearly trying to put words into the mouths of the labourers. On returning later with his interpreter, all 29 "serviçais" recontracted. Smallbones spoke to Hygino Durão, the estate manager, and expressed his conviction that what he had witnessed was due to coercion. However, after exchanging correspondence with Durão and visiting Rio de Ouro two weeks later he seems to have changed his mind, reporting that: "The plantation is beautifully kept and everything seems to be done to keep the serviçaes comfortable and happy". He added that, according to Durão, Valle-Flôr was willing to take the labourers back if they decided "to visit their native places for a short time", but that he "preferred to see his *servicaes* recontract" and that some of his employees might wish to gain favour with him by persuading them to do so, emphasising that the Marquês had not been to São Tomé for five years.

At Água-Izé, 389 out of the total of 2300 labourers employed on the plantation were presented in lots of ten to the Curator. Virtually all of them said they were well treated but wanted to go home, most of them expressing a wish to return to the plantation later. The manager told them that if they left, "they left for good". Smallbones was told that two hundred or so fled into the town over lunchtime and had to be brought back by a

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[935] Vice-Consul Smallbones to Sir Edward Grey. San Thomé, April 29th 1913. HMSO *Africa no.1 (1914)* [Cd.7279], pp. 28-31.

[936] Consul Smallbones visited sixteen of the plantations, including Roças Colónia Açoreana and Vista Alegre and witnessed the decision of several hundred "serviçais" to take advantage of their right to repatriation.

[937] In fact the vice-consul came across only one plantation - Roça Angra Tolde, [sic-Toldo] where all the labourers complained they were systematically beaten -"Hard work and blows are never wanting on this plantation", one is reported to have said. The estate manager claimed he knew nothing of this but an employee admitted to ordering flogging with a hippo-hide whip, which was carried out by the headman.

small platoon of soldiers. The Curator decided they would be recontracted in batches of a hundred beginning in May. Later, however, all but 29 were persuaded to stay. Smallbones commented:

> It is obvious that very considerable pressure was brought to bear on these people […] most of the contracts I have seen were considerably overdue, some as much as eleven months […] at present I believe they [the planters] are again trying to get recontracting [presumably he meant repatriation] suspended, on the plea that too severe restrictions are placed on contracting in Angola.[938]

Voicing his reservations concerning compulsory repatriation, Smallbones went on to express his conviction that recontracting was finally being carried out "loyally and in the right spirit", despite suspicions that, in one or two cases, excessive pressure was being used. He concluded, however, with a damning condemnation of the situation which had prevailed before the Republican regime had begun to implement reforms:

> I venture to think that this is only the paying off of a debt long overdue […] all the *serviçaes* I have now seen were bought in the province of Angola; their original contract was a sham and the renewed contracts were a farce [...] the expired contracts I have seen were all deliberate untruths, as far as they stated that the *serviçal* had appeared before the curador and had freely declared his intention to enter into an engagement with his employer […] The *serviçal* never even heard he was supposed to have made a contract.[939]

Robert Smallbones' crushing condemnation of the situation before the fall of the monarchy reads very much like a final testament and, indeed, soon afterwards he would reach the end of his posting in São Tomé. [940]

Lewis Edward Bernays, Smallbones' replacement as Vice-Consul for São Tomé and Fernando Po, would arrive on June 17th 1913 to take up residence in the islands. [941]

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[938] Idem, p.30.
[939] Idem, p.31.
[940] Robert Smallbones (1884-1976) had joined the Foreign Office in 1910 and this was his first posting abroad. Unlike many of the earlier British consuls he was immune to local pressure and influence. He would remain for several months more as vice-consul on the mainland. In 2013 Smallbones would be posthumously distinguished for his exceptional courage and determination before the outbreak of the Second World War in issuing British visas to German jews. He is credited with saving 48,000 people.
[941] Another significant diplomatic change had also taken place at a more senior level. Sir Arthur Hardinge, the abrasive British Minister in Lisbon, had been posted to Madrid and would be replaced, in November 1913, by Lancelot Carnegie (1861-1933), a more amenable diplomat, who had been transferred from Paris.

2.9 Radical idealism, the Bowskill affair and the second Lords' debate

Contrasting with the remarkable improvements reported over previous two years, the despatches of British consuls began to indicate that repatriation in the second half of 1913 was losing momentum.[942] When confronted with the statistics by the new British Minister, Lancelot Carnegie, Prime Minister Afonso Costa admitted that there was some truth in the allegation and offered the rather lame excuse that there were not enough ships travelling between the islands and Angola to allow the process to be speeded up,[943] a justification which fell short of explaining the discrepancy between the number of "serviçais" being transported to the islands and those returning on the same ships. [944] It was clear that the planters were employing their usual delaying tactics to slow down the drain on labour whilst simultaneously applying pressure on the labourers to recontract. The situation would be further complicated by the decision of the new Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe, Pedro Botto Machado,[945] to introduce a local order which effectively overruled the progressive legislation of February 8th 1913, whilst dismissing the "Curador", José Cabedo e Lencastre, who had disagreed frontally with his decision. [946]

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[942] Writing to Charles Wingfield, Chargé d'Affairs in Lisbon, Sir Edward Grey drew his attention to the drop in repatriated "serviçais" in the second half of 1912 adding that HM Government "hopes there may not be a similar falling off this year". Sir Edward Grey to Wingfield. August 14th 1913. HMSO *Africa no.1. Further Correspondence respecting Contract Labour in Portuguese West Africa, in continuation of Africa no. 2 (1914)* [Cd.7279], p.45.

[943] The British Minister Lancelot Carnegie, who had recently replaced Sir Arthur Hardinge, reported to the FO that he had stressed the importance of the question of repatriation to Afonso Costa. The Portuguese Prime Minister admitted there were difficulties and spoke of trying to obtain more vessels to transport repatriated labourers and announced measures which would alleviate the problems upon their arrival in Angola. Carnegie told Costa of Sir Edward Grey's willingness to assist the Portuguese Government in obtaining labourers when "he felt assured they would work under fair and equitable conditions." Lancelot Carnegie to Sir Edward Grey. November 15th 1913. FO 367/357, reproduced in HMSO *Africa no. 1* (1914) [Cd.7279], pp.77-78.

[944] The figures showed that 2189 "serviçais" had arrived between May and July 1913, with only 956 returning to Angolan ports over the same period. Botto Machado later argued that "it was impossible to equalise the accommodation available" as ships from Lisbon "always carry more cargo and even passengers […] than ships on the voyage back." Governor of San Thomé to Consul Hall Hall. October 25th 1913. Enclosure no.2 (Translation) in Consul Hall Hall to Sir Edward Grey. Loanda, December 27th 1913. HMSO. *Africa no.1. (1915)* [Cd. 7960], pp.10-11. Running out of arguments to support the Anti-Slavery Society's campaign, John H. Harris wrote to *The Spectator* in May 1914 quoting the maximum figures that each ship was licensed to carry between the islands and the mainland, ignoring the fact that they were already carrying passengers and cargo when they arrived at the islands. "The Portuguese Government and Repatriation." *The Spectator* May 2nd 1914, p.736.

[945] Pedro do Amaral Botto Machado, Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe. May 13th 1913 - May 31st 1915.

[946] The new legislation was designed to compensate for the disparities between the terms of contract of those labourers who had arrived before the 1903 legislation and those who had arrived afterwards.

In mid-September, however, Artur Almeida Ribeiro, the Minister of the Colonies, [947] annulled the decision, reinstated the Curator, and instructed the Governor and Curator-General "to use all diligence in the repatriation of serviçais freed from contracts" with remissive employers.[948]



Figure 2.15. Artur Rodrigues de Almeida Ribeiro. c.1913. Photographer unknown.

His decisive action undoubtedly came as a shock to the planters, who had always succeeded in the past in getting their own way with the authorities in Lisbon. Disauthorised by the Government, Botto Machado promptly offered his resignation and

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Local regulations were published concerning *servical* contracts in São Tomé on July 28th 1913. "To avoid disturbances in the economic regime and the system of labour in the province" Botto Machado's *portaria no.259* established that all contracts covered by the new legislation - i.e. those made before 1903, were to be considered as terminated and the "serviçais" in question were to be considered as a "labour pool", continuing in the service of their present employers until their existing contracts expired or their repatriation could be arranged. They were to be paid the minimum wage under the regulations in force. The planters were empowered to make their contracts compatible with the Decree of February 8th within a 30-day period should they so desire. As Vice-Consul Bernays noted, the planters had agreed to pay the wage increases to pre-1903 contractees in accordance with the new legislation but refused to pay retroactively. He uses the words **"a virtual surrender to the planters' protests"** to describe the Governor's attempt to countermand the legislation. See Vice-Consul Bernays to Consul Hall Hall. Fernando Po. August 14th 1913. Enclosure no.1 in Consul Hall Hall to Sir Edward Grey, Loanda, November 20th 1913. HMSO. *Africa no. 1(1914)* [Cd.7279], pp.84-85. (my bold)

[947] Artur Rodrigues de Almeida Ribeiro (1865-1943) Senior Judge and Politician. Minister for the Colonies in the V Government of the Republic under Afonso Costa, from January 1913 to February 1914. Almeida Ribeiro had lived in Angola between 1886 and 1907 and had served in Luanda as a High Court judge. He was a member of the Conselho Colonial from 1912 onwards and served as Minister of the Interior in two Governments led by Afonso Costa.

[948] In Consul Hall Hall to Sir Edward Grey, Loanda. November 17th, 1913, Enclosure no.83. Ministerial Order dated September 12th 1913 [signed by the Minister of the Colonies]. Idem, pp. 82-84.

announced his intention to return to the capital, promising the planters that if he were unsuccessful in overturning the decision he would not return to the islands.[949]

There were further signs of the Government's determination to implement the measures required to end the controversy once and for all. On September 30th 1913, the lengthy official report on "African labour in São Tomé and Príncipe" was published in the Diário de Governo, underlining governmental support.[950] By coincidence or design, the same issue carried the announcement of Freire de Andrade's resignation from the post of Director-General for the Colonies and the nomination of his successor Albuquerque e Castro.[951]

Drawn up by Artur Marinha de Campos, a retired naval officer who had played an active role in the military movement which had led to the overthrow of the Monarchy and had later served for a short period as Governor of the Cape Verde Is., [952] it was clearly designed to proclaim the liberal ideals of the Republic on the question of African labour and portray its leaders as the heirs of a glorious antislavery tradition. The author points to the examples of the seventeenth-century clergyman António Vieira, " […] a maior glória do púlpito português" who: "[…] embora jesuita […] dirigiu-se a Lisboa para pugnar corajosamente pela liberdade dos escravos[…]"; and to what the author calls that "[…]espírito culto e brilhante" and "notável ministro"- the Marquês de Pombal, the

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[949] The planters clearly continued to dominate the situation in the islands. In his annual report to the FO for 1913 the British Minister emphasised this point: "[…] The Portuguese Government do not appear to be directly responsible for the often inadequate manner in which the regulations for contracting labour and for repatriating "serviçais" are carried out. Their difficulties are great, for honest and competent colonial officials, who will obey the orders sent to them, are hard to find, **and the Government are**, moreover, **exposed both at home and in the colonies to bitter attacks from a rich and influential body of men** whose interest it is to prevent the introduction of regulations for improving the conditions of the labourers which may at the same time diminish their profits from the plantations." (my bold) Lancelot Carnegie. Annual Report on Portugal for 1913, February 17th, 1914, p.7. FO 881/10399

[950] Given the importance of the Official Report as a political manifesto for the radical sector of the republicans, the significance of the decision to restrict its publication to the *Diario de Governo* should not be underestimated as a political gesture. Similar documents in the past had been translated into English and French and distributed widely abroad. **This was deliberately intended to be a document for internal consumption, underlining the fact that the incentive for labour reforms did not come from international pressure but from a proud liberal tradition which could be traced back to the French revolution.** (my bold)

[951] Freire de Andrade was praised in the dispatch, as having served with "inexcedível competência e zelo"

[952] Artur Marinha de Campos (1871-1930). Naval Officer. He played a leading role in the Navy in the successful republican revolutionary movement of October 5th 1910. Editor of the short-lived paper *O Radical* in 1907-8, he later contributed to several republican newspapers. Having retired from active service in the Navy he served briefly (November 1910 to April 1911) as the first Governor of Cape Verde after the overthrow of the Monarchy, provoking considerable local unrest due to his aggressive anticlerical policy. See **Figure 2.16.** Fundação Mário Soares. Fundo António Pedro Vicente. Pasta: 09022.001.219.

enlightened statesman who put an end to slavery in Portugal, itself, a century later ; and finally to the "constelação deslumbrante" of nineteenth-century liberals, including: " os duques de Saldanha, Terceira e Palmela, Herculano e Garrett, Silva Passos, Andrade Corvo, José Estevão […]". Marinha de Campos goes on to reserve special praise for the indefatigable antislavery campaigner, the Marquês Sá da Bandeira – whom he dubs "O Marquês de Pombal das colonias portuguesas", and to whom he dedicates two complete sections of the report. [953] Sá da Bandeira is praised in glowing terms as the "[…] general destemido do exército que assegurou o triunfo da Liberdade" and as a man who, above all, "[…] nunca perdeu o ensejo de propor, aconselhar ou decretar medidas tendentes à emancipação moral dos filhos das colónias portuguesas e à dignificação do trabalho rural africano." [954]



Figure 2.16 Postcard. Marinha de Campos. c.1910. Photographer unknown.

Admitting, with refreshing candour, that Portugal "traficou largamente em escravos" [955] Campos underlines the fact that England and Spain also had much to answer for, quoting the fact that by 1784 one third of all the African slaves, or 120,000 a year, were disembarked in the Americas by British vessels and that when emancipation was decreed in 1864, there were 4 million slaves in the United States, alone.[956] The lengthy historical

[953] Idem. p.3656
[954] Artur Marinha de Campos."Relatório oficial sôbre o regime de trabalho africano em S. Tomé e Príncipe." *Diário do Governo*. No. 229. September 30th 1913, pp.3656-3665.
[955] Though adding the following reminder "mas atira-lhe a primeira pedra a potência colonial da Europa que se considera inocente do mesmo hediondo crime". Idem, ibidem.
[956] The author also emphasises the fact that Parliament authorised the payment of £20 million, a colossal sum, as compensation to the owners of 800,000 slaves in the British colonies. Idem. ibidem. [This sum was

introduction to the period which preceded Andrade Corvo's antislavery law of 1875 was followed by a summary and analysis of the legislation on labour in the African colonies which had been introduced by successive Governments before the fall of the Monarchy. Perhaps for the first time in the history of the controversy it offered a frank and robust appraisal of the successive legal diplomas, their positive aspects, limitations and repercussions, seen through the eyes of those who wanted to emphasise that the Republic had brought a fresh approach to the whole question and were determined that the blame for continuing international opprobrium should fall squarely on the shoulders of the previous regime. Though the author is complimentary regarding the legislation of 1875, [957] he sums up the unsuccessful attempts of the Monarchy to reform the situation over the previous 35 years in the following terms:

> […] umas espontâneas e honrosas e outras forçadas pela opinião estrangeira, umas acertadas e inspiradas nos bons princípios liberais e humanitarias e outras erradas ou ditadas por interesses secundários ou menos legítimos [958]

The report is particularly critical of the legislation of 1899, which it accuses of being a deliberate backward step: " A prova […] que a orientação do Estado tinha então um fim económico e de que as ideias liberais e igualitárias tinham sido preteridas, está no decreto sôbre colonização e trabalho, de 9 de Novembro 1899 […]" [959]. Criticising the provision which allowed the proprietors of estates to use corporal punishment or "corrigir moderadamente os trabalhadores , como se êles fossem menores" as the law put it, the author protests that "[…] não se pode retrogradar num assunto que contende com o próprio prestígio do Estado." At the same time the author is complimentary regarding the

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equivalent to 40% of the annual income of the Treasury, or 5% of GDP at the time. Evidently, no compensation, whatsoever, was paid to the victims)

[957] "**O proposito do legislador era honesto e sensato, mas não tardou a ser desvirtuado, dando aquela permissão**[the organisation of companies which rented out labourers to plantation owners, who avoided in this way signing limited term contracts] **origem a uma forma de escravatura que durou até a proclamação da República em Portugal"**. In this context Marinha de Campos mentions the case of Capt. Carvalhal Henriques who, appointed by the Republic as Governor of Moçamedes [Namibe], "perseguiu nobre intransigente e corajosamente os exploradores de escravos" and attempted to put an end to this practice, but came up against powerful local opposition and was removed from his post.

[958] Idem. p.3664.

[959] Idem. p.3662.

introduction of free legal support to the labourers, a measure which, sadly, due to its obvious impracticality, would remain as a mere ornament on the statute books. [960]

The legislation of January 1903 is subjected to the same negative evaluation by the author, who confronts its provisions with the decree which had been introduced by António Teixeira de Sousa, just six months earlier, [961] commenting : "não se pode fugir ao sentimento de pasmo perante a facilidade com que se desfez quási tudo que se tinha acabado de fazer em benefício dos trabalhadores[…]", adding that, due to its composition, the local board which had been set up by the new law to ensure that the labourers' rights were protected, would clearly have functioned more efficiently as a recruiting agency.[962] Whilst admitting that the new law had introduced many innovations, the value of which he suggests, wryly, could only be evaluated by reference to later legislation, Campos underlines the disastrous effects of a single article - no.71, which, in his view, had been the main cause of the grave accusations which had been directed against Portugal by the foreign philanthropical campaign. Article 71 read as follows: "Os serviçais actualmente em S.Tomé e Príncipe continuarão a ser regidos em tudo pela legislação anterior ao presente regulamento." He ends his commentary on the 1903 Decree with these final damning words:

> […] **os antigos trabalhadores das ilhas de S. Tomé e Príncipe passaram a viver, durante 10 anos, de 1903 a 1913 num deprimente regime de excepção.[963]**

It was a courageous admission, and one which, in its essence, confirmed the philanthropists' accusation that, although repatriation of labourers contracted after 1903 was proceeding- albeit slowly, and payments from the repatriation fund were being made in accordance with the law, most of those who had arrived on the islands before that date

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[960] In the conclusions to Marinha de Campos´report, which were only published in December 1913, article 44 proposes the following solution : "torna necessário em S.Tomé para ser viável e eficaz, a nomeação de um advogado-procurador dos trabalhadores, expressamente proibido de aceitar qualquer outra procuração". The lawyer would represent the labourers in court and would be able to sign labour contracts on their behalf. Artur Marinha de Campos "Relatório Oficial sôbre a Mão de Obra em S.Tomé e Príncipe. Conclusões." In *Diário de Governo* no. 290, December 12th 1913, p.4703.

[961] Decree of July 16th 1902, which was drawn up with the aim of "melhor assegurar a assistência aos serviçais e colonos" in São Tomé and Príncipe.

[962] Four of the seven full members of the Comissão Central de Trabalho e Emigração in Lisbon were planters In São Tomé three of the seven members of the Junta Local de Trabalho e Emigração were planters, as well as three substitute members who were called upon in the absence of the full members of the Board. The local board appointed recruiting agents in Angola - a disposition which was only altered by the legislation of 1909 which transferred this responsibility to the Central Commission.

[963] Idem, p.3663.(my bold)

had been abandoned to their fate by the legislator. The ineffective attempt, in the aftermath of the boycott, to correct the loopholes in the legislation of 1903,[964] was dismantled by the author in the same ruthless fashion. As fate would have it, it had been the Monarchy's final chance to cure the "open sore" which had plagued the regime since 1875. He concludes his comments with an inequivocal condemnation: "o que ficava em vigor era, portanto… o caos com as suas caóticas consequencias". [965]

Though excusing the Provisional Government of the Republic, "ilaqueada por dificuldades de toda a ordem e assoberbada por uma tarefa colossal", for not addressing the problem immediately, Marinha de Campos was as implacable in his criticism of the new regime's first legislative initiative to solve the African labour question, as he had been towards earlier attempts. Noting that the legislation of May 27th 1911 had been drawn up before the separation of the Ministry of the Navy from that of the Colonies and that the Minister, Amaro de Azevedo Gomes, had been forced to rely upon "cooperadores, mais encontrados do que escolhidos", the author points out that almost all of the articles were copied from the legislation of 1899, "com os mesmos numeros e as mesmas palavras".[966] Moreover, a serious loophole in the 1911 decree had allowed migrant workers from other colonies to enter São Tomé and Príncipe without contracts, clearly to stimulate the resumption of Angolan migration. Campos protests that this was not only in total contradiction with previous doctrine on the issue but contrary to the legislation in force in all the African colonies of other nations. He notes that the same Minister withdrew the authorisation a year later and, in the same ordinance, introduced the possibility for "serviçais" to opt, at the end of their contracts, to return home or to set up residence in São Tomé and Príncipe, [967] commenting: "era um princípio novo mas um mau princípio" adding that "Em S. Thomé, não há para os africanos e para os europeus[…] senão a Roça ou a Rua, isto é o trabalho ou a vadiagem e a miséria." [968] Testifying further to the desultory redaction of the 1911 legislation, he points out that

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[964] Labour Legislation of July 17th 1909.
[965] Idem. p.3664.
[966] He goes on to affirm that instead of a "re-edição literal" of Eduardo Villaça's decree, the chance to unify the whole of the legislation of 1899, 1902, 1903, 1908 and 1909, at the same time as introducing the necessary alterations, had been wasted.
[967] Ordinance of December 21st 1912.
[968] Marinha de Campos qualifies this assessment: "excepção feita do funcionalismo ou o comércio dependente da grande ou da pequena proriedade rústica […]os brancos ou os pretos só tem lugar nas plantações de cacao ou de café […] Idem. Ibidem.

significant alterations or additions were introduced in July, September and November of 1912. [969]

Despite the robustness of his criticism of the Republic's first attempt at legislation on the labour question, Marinha de Campos considers Azevedo Gomes to have been well-intentioned, citing, in evidence, his appointment of the Curator, Ferreira dos Santos as interim Governor of S.Tomé and his support for Carvalhal Henriques' crusade in Moçamedes. On the other hand, he is unforgiving towards Azevedo Gomes' ministerial report which considered it impossible to repatriate those labourers contracted before 1903, a view which was quickly shown to be erroneous by his successor, Almeida Ribeiro, through the publication of the February 8th 1913 Decree. In his appraisal of the diploma the author concludes:

> […] Escrupulosamente cumprido, êle reparará uma enorme, uma monstruosa injustiça; e será no presente a chave de ouro com que se encerrou a quási interminável série de leis sôbre o trabalho dos indígenas nas colónias portuguesas e em especial sôbre a mão de obra nas ilhas de São Thomé e Príncipe[…][970]

In contrast with all the other official documents drawn up over the previous decade in response to criticism from abroad, Marinha de Campos' report made no attempt to gloss over the difficulties which still remained. Recognition of the task ahead could not have been set down with greater clarity:

> **[…] a anterior existência secular de escravidão legal, que durou até os nossos dias e à custa da qual se fizeram fortunas cujos possuidores ainda não tiveram tempo de desaparecer todos da face da Terra, obrigou moralmente o Estado e obrigará ainda por alguns anos a vigiar e a fiscalizar muito de perto as relações entre os patrões e os trabalhadores, até que haja a pleníssima certeza que nenhum resquício existe dessa instituição infame, que despovoou estúpidamente o continente áfricano, e separou por muito tempo, por um abismo de ódio surdo, os homens pretos dos homens brancos […]** [971]

Further progressive legislation governing native labour in the Portuguese colonies was issued on the day following the publication of the report - on October 1st 1913 - but,

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[969] Notably to create a labour recruitment agency, the "Sociedade de Emigração para S. Tomé e Príncipe" supposedly along the same lines as the WNLA in Mozambique.
[970] Idem. p.3665.
[971] Idem, p.3658. (my bold)

astonishingly, it would only appear in the *Boletim Oficial* in São Tomé on November 29th, the day after the Governor, Botto Machado had sailed for Lisbon. The implications of the new provisions were summarised by Consul Hall Hall in his report to the FO:

> As regards its immediate effect on the negro labourer, it will be seen that this decree endeavours to shield him from intimidation in contracting or recontracting, makes provision for him not to be separated from his family on repatriation, or rescinding of his contract, makes it illegal for his master to lay even a finger on him by way of punishment, or to arrest him if he attempts to run away, ensures his saving part of his wages on the renewal of a contract instead of receiving them in full, enables him to provide easily for the education of his children and in the case of death treats his estate and accumulated bonus in accordance with ordinary law […] [972]

The Consul later commented favourably on the Government's determination in the dispute:

> In the application of the important decree of 8th February, the Governor appears to have capitulated to the planters and the Curator did not. […] In this case the Curator stood up against both planters and Governor, and ended up by beating them and securing from the Government a clear and unequivocal statement of his position and his powers; […] It remains to be seen whether the Government will maintain this praiseworthy attitude and what further efforts the planters will make to evade the provisions of the law. [973]

Consul Hall Hall seems to have changed his opinion on the issue after Botto Machado had left the islands, however, and in a later report to the FO he commended the Governor's decision which he termed "the action of a conscientious man". Revealing a previously unsuspected racist attitude towards the African labourers, he added:

> […] the part [of the legislation] which deals with the degree of control to be exercised by the masters over their labourers, and that which requires all offences committed by the labourers, […] to be referred to the curator, would be beyond the power of any authority to enforce[…] In San Thomé all depends on negro labour in the plantations and I think I am justified in saying that a negro who offends will not as a rule do well either for himself or for his employer unless punishment follows swiftly upon the offence. **The practical effect of the**

[972] Consul Hall Hall to Sir Edward Grey, Loanda. October 23rd, 1913, HMSO *Africa no. 1(1914)* [Cd.7279], p.75
[973] Consul Hall Hall to Sir Edward Grey, Loanda. November 17th, 1913. Idem, p.82.

provisions of this decree is to demand that the negro labourer shall be treated almost like a white man […] [974]

Remarkably, consular reports reveal that the problem had not been solved by the end of the year and Botto Machado had still not returned to the islands. [975] It was only in March 1914 that Lancelot Carnegie was informed by Lisboa de Lima, [976] the new Minister of the Colonies, of the Governor's intention to return and that that a new curator had been appointed. The "trial of strength" was apparently over.[977]

In another bizarre occurrence - sadly, not uncommon in the recent history of the controversy - Marinha de Campos' conclusions had only been published in the *Diário de Governo* on December 12th 1913, four months after the report itself.[978] Dated August 13th, like the main body of the Official Report, the conclusions were presented in the form of a list of 101 recommendations, ranging from the suggestion that it was worth considering the possibility of an international agreement between the European colonial powers regarding the fundamental conditions to be applied in the employment of African labour, to more immediately feasible administrative proposals, such as unifying the whole of the native labour legislation in force into a single legal diploma. Other far-reaching recommendations dealt with labour recruitment, the repatriation fund, land tenure, the prohibition of the sale of spirits to the African population of the islands [979] and detailed

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[974] Consul Hall Hall to Sir Edward Grey, Loanda. December 28th 1913. HMSO *Africa no.1 (1915)* [Cd. 7960], p.11. (my bold)

[975] Bernays wrote to Hall Hall on January 13th 1913 reporting that "the conflict between the Governor and Curator has hardly ended yet […] there is little doubt that the Governor was annoyed over the reinstatement of the curator in July, but the two officers continued, nevertheless, in the execution of their respective duties - the Governor to the satisfaction, the curator to the entire dissatisfaction of the island community." Idem, p.17

[976] Alfredo Augusto Lisboa de Lima (1866-1935). A distinguished military engineer, Lisboa de Lima was active in Mozambique and Macao. He served as Minister for the Colonies from February 9th to December 12th 1914, in two successive Bernardino Machado Governments.
José Cabedo e Lencastre, the "Curador", was replaced on March 18th 1914 by a judge, João Mendes Vasconcellos. Hall Hall commented: "There can be no doubt that the publication of statistics regarding native labour […] has increased greatly in recent months and this may doubtless be due to the energy of the new curator […] credit should be given to Dr. Cabedo for bearing the brunt of the animosity of many planters in San Thomé in the performance of his duty in enforcing obedience to the new labour regulations before the planters became accustomed to them. The task of his successor can hardly fail to be easier on this account, and he has perhaps more leisure than Dr. Cabedo had for the preparation of statistical returns." Consul-General Hall Hall to Sir Edward Grey. Loanda, August 24th 1914. HMSO. *Africa no.1 (1915)* [Cd. 7960], pp.74-75.

[977] Lancelot Carnegie to Sir Edward Grey. Lisbon, March 7th 1914. Idem, p.28

[978] "Conclusões do relatório oficial sobre a mão-de-obra em S. Tomé e Príncipe" in *Diário do Governo,* n.º 290, December 12th 1913, pp. 4702-4704.

[979] Whilst insisting, in recommendation 64, that wine should be supplied to the labourers as part of their regular diet.

measures, such as the improvement of rations for plantation labourers, conditions of hospital accommodation and treatment and pre-school education for children on the plantations. Although compulsory repatriation was discreetly dismissed, it was suggested that recontracting, which had been allowed to take place on the plantations under the terms of the 1899 legislation, should, in future, be restricted to the Curator's Office.[980]

Like the Official Report itself, it was a courageous document which bore witness both to the scale of the problem and to the ambition and idealism which inspired the thinking of the author and his fellow radicals, but in strictly practical terms it would have benefitted greatly by being presented in the form of phased and prioritised plan rather than a lengthy checklist of proposed reforms. As remarkable as it was in the history of the controversy, Marinha de Campos' Official Report seems to have gone virtually unnoticed by the press, the first part having been made public just days before the third anniversary of the revolution of October 5th 1910 whilst the second was deliberately relegated to oblivion by its separation from the main body of the report and its publication at a time when the newspapers were more concerned with the issue of an amnesty.[981] In any event, Afonso Costa's cabinet would survive for only two months longer, exonerated by the President of the Republic, Manuel de Arriaga, on February 9th 1914 to make way for a Government with supposedly broader political support under the leadership of Bernardino Machado.[982]

Inspired by the pragmatic, uncompromising approach towards African labour issues of António Ennes and his school of thought, the new Minister for the Colonies, Lisboa de Lima, a military engineer with many years of experience in Mozambique, would ignore the radical recommendations of Marinha de Campos' Official Report and revise the provisions of the 1911 legislation along the lines of that of 1899. Entitled "Lei Organica da Administração Civil das Províncias Ultramarinas", the new legislation was published

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[980] Article 99 reads as follows: "O decreto de 26 de Dezembro de 1899, que permitiu que os recontractos pudessem ser feitas nas roças e não unicamente na curadoria ou suas delegações, deve ser revogada, ainda que não se adopte o princípio de repatriação obrigatória." Idem. p.4704.

[981] This remarkable attempt to revisit the whole controversy from an entirely fresh point of view has also apparently gone unnoticed to historians. It is worth noting that Marinha de Campos' suggestion that there should be an international agreement concerning labour relations in Africa was a premonition of the discussions which would take place within the context of the League of Nations after the Great War.

[982] Freire de Andrade would be appointed Foreign Minister on May 23rd 1914 when Bernardino Machado decided to step down from his interim role to concentrate on the post of Prime Minister.

in August 1914,[983] and was followed two months later, by Decree no. 951, the "Regulamento Geral de Trabalho", [984] just a week before Britain invited Portugal to join the War.[985]

According to the legislation, the indigenous peoples of the colonies were obliged to seek paid employment and if necessary they could be coerced into doing so. In the absence of proof of employment they could be sentenced to one year's forced labour and if not requisitioned for public works they could be made to work for private persons. Moreover, despite the fact that the responsibilities of employers regarding transport, medical assistance, wages and training were reinforced, African labourers could be subjected to corporal punishment " como se fossem menores" and had no political rights beyond those of their "tribe". It was unquestionably a step in the wrong direction.

The Foreign Office was also busy at the time putting its own house in order. On December 15th 1913 a White Paper under the heading *Foreign Office Instructions to Consuls* [986] was published as a consequence of Sir Roger Casement's report on the Putumayo native labour scandal.[987] After the publication of the White Paper, consuls were charged with

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[983] Lei 277. Lei Orgãnica da Administração Civil das Províncias Ultramarinas. August 15th 1914. Imprensa Nacional, Loanda :1914. In a revealing comment four decades later, Silva e Cunha, who would later become Minister for the Overseas Territories in one of Salazar's Governments, writes: "**Infelizmente** a Grande Guerra e a agitação que durante a primeira fase da República reinou no nosso País, em resultado da instabilidade política que a caracterizou, **não permitiram que se chegasse a pôr em prática o sistema consagrado pela lei no. 277.** J.M. da Silva e Cunha. *O sistema português de política indígena: princípios gerais* Agência Geral do Ultramar, Lisboa : 1952, pp. 55-6.

[984] "Decreto n.º 951. Aprovando o regulamento geral do trabalho dos indígenas nas colónias portuguesas" in *Diário do Governo* , I Série, n.º 187, October 14th 1914, pp. 948-977. And again in *Diário do Governo,* I Série, n.º 198, 27 de Outubro de 1914, pp. 1043-1072. Recontracting was made public, however.

[985] Britain had declared war on Germany on August 4th 1914. On this day the British Minister in Lisbon had informed the Portuguese Government that in the event of attack against Portugal or any of its possessions, HM Government considered that it was bound by the stipulations of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance.

[986] HMSO. *Foreign Office instructions to Consuls* [Cd. 7148] issued December 15th 1913. For a summary see "Native Labour Conditions" *The Times* January 2nd 1914, p.5.

[987] Labourers from British Caribbean colonies, together with indigenous workers, were cruelly exploited in Peru under conditions not unsimilar to those in the Congo Free State. See HMSO. *Correspondence respecting the treatment of British Colonial subjects and Native Indians employed in the collection of rubber in the Putumayo District*. (1912) [Cd.6266]. In response to a question in the Commons in 1912, Sir Edward Grey stated he had first learned of the atrocities committed against indigenous labourers by employees of the Peruvian Amazon Company, from the magazine *Truth* of September and October 1909. Hansard. HC Debate, July 23rd 1912 vol. 41 cc 957. It was W.E.Hardenburg who had denounced the scandal of slavery, torture, mutilation and other crimes in *Truth* magazine. His account with Roger Casement's report on the atrocities were published in book form in 1912. See W.E.Hardenburg. *The Putumayo, the Devil's Paradise. Travels in the Peruvian Amazon Region and an Account of the Atrocities Committed upon the Indians Therein.* T.Fisher Unwin. London: 1912. For Casement's own account see Roger Casement. "The Putumayo Indians." *Contemporary Review* no.102, 1912, pp. 317-328.

paying special attention to the conduct of British firms in areas where there were labour problems or high mortality, and were instructed to provide annual reports to the Foreign Minister. Any ill-treatment of labourers involving British subjects had to be reported at once.[988] Referring specifically to the question of extra-territorial responsibility, Casement's Commission of enquiry had also recommended that legislation might be introduced to cover offences linked to forced labour:

> The committee are of the opinion that the existing provisions of the law might be somewhat extended so as to cover the gravest offences against the person and any **practices of forced labour which are akin to slavery**. If British subjects made themselves by overt act to offences of this kind in foreign countries, they should be triable in British Courts of Law […] [989]



Figure 2.17 Postcard. Sir Roger Casement. Executed in London, August 3rd 1916. Powell Press. Dublin

Clearly, Casement was still mindful of what he had seen in the Congo when he was the Consul at Boma at the beginning of the century. Soon after the publication of Casement's report on forced labour in the White Paper on the Putumayo atrocities, Lord Cromer returned to the question of "Portuguese slavery" in *The Spectator* with an article entitled "What is Slavery?". Responding to José de Almada's recently published "elaborate

[988] In paragraph 39, the Casement Report mentions that both Sir Harry Johnston and E.D. Morel stated in their evidence to the Committee that it was the reports of Consuls which had been "the true levers of reform in the Congo".[…] And in paragraph 41 : "The Putumayo case has established a precedent, which, if need be, can again be followed […]". It was a clear threat to the labour system in Portuguese West Africa.
[989] Casement Committee Report 1912. (my bold) See also Putumayo Debate in the Commons. Hansard. HC Debate July 23rd 1912 vol. 41 cc 956-60.

defence" of the Portuguese administration of the islands of São Tomé and Principe,[990] and in particular to Almada's affirmation that " the evils of the system are more or less everywhere the same, and that many things in the Portuguese colonies are criticised which are practised in just the same way abroad", Cromer wrote "[…] there is one principle of vital importance which is apparently adopted in the Portuguese colonies but which is absolutely rejected in all British possessions." [991] Admitting that forced labour was still employed in 1907 in Gambia, the Gold Coast, Uganda and Natal and in a few other territories under British rule,[992] Cromer explained that the distinction between the two systems lay in the ultimate beneficiaries of such coercion:

> […] we reluctantly admit the necessity of compulsory labour in certain cases, and that we do not stigmatise as slavery such labour when, under all possible safeguards against the occurrence of abuses, it is employed for recognised and indispensable purposes of **public utility**. On the other hand we regard the system, when employed for **private profit**, as wholly unjustifiable and as synonymous with slavery […] [993]

It was a fine point which meant, in practice, that everything depended on how the system was implemented and supervised. Cromer readily admitted, in fact, that "recourse to forced labour in any form [was] a manifest evil and that experience had shown that the system was "particularly liable to abuse". His admission that compulsory indigenous labour still existed in several British colonies undoubtedly weakened the authority of the British Government to criticise its Portuguese counterparts in the "slave-grown cocoa" affair. But by this point, it was hardly relevant, as, by then, Foreign Office pressure had

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[990] José de Almada, *Comparative Essay on Indentured Labour at São Tomé and Príncipe.* National Print Office, Lisboa: 1913. [Also in Portuguese and French] The *Anti-Slavery Reporter*'s response to Almada's vindication was sarcastic, to say the least. The following remark is typical of the wording: " Nobody disputes that Portuguese laws have in theory abolished every evil under the sun, but Senhor de Almada might just as well have declared that theft had been abolished throughout the universe since the eighth commandment was given at Sinai." Anon. [Harris?] "The Lament of the Slave-owner." ASR and AF. January 1914, pp. 161-163.

[991] "What is Slavery?" Earl of Cromer. *Political and Literary Essays.* Second Series. Macmillan and Co. Ltd, London: 1914 pp.270-276. (Reproduced from *The Spectator* January 17th 1914, pp. 82-83.) Cromer admits in his book that José de Almada had written to *The Spectator* clarifying the issue: "On the publication of this article M. de Almada wrote to the Spectator to explain compulsory labour for private profit does not exist in the Portuguese Islands. It is, however, used as a penalty and a substitute for hard labour." Almada's letter correcting Cromer's assertions was published in *The Spectator* under the heading "What is Slavery?" on February 7th 1914, pp. 222-223.

[992] Referring to the Parliamentary White Paper on Compulsory Native Labour of January, 1908. Other British-run countries where forced labour was still employed included Ceylon, Fiji and Cyprus.

[993] "Cromer ends by saying that: "A distinct declaration on the part of the Portuguese Government that they are altogether opposed to the use of compulsory labour for private profit would be welcomed by all friends of Portugal in this country, more especially if it were accompanied by decisive action in harmony with that declaration" *The Spectator.* January 17th 1914, p.83. (my bold)

probably achieved as much as it could.[994] The fourth Parliamentary White Paper, published in July 1915 and covering the previous year, offered evidence that much had been done and that the isolated protests of the philanthropists were now falling on deaf ears, at least at the Foreign Office. They had served their purpose. [995]

The 87-page document consisted of a compilation of correspondence in the form of often detailed reports from the Foreign Office's representatives in Portugal and Portuguese West Africa, most of which provided statistics on repatriation and the progress which had been made in the fight against sleeping sickness on the island of Príncipe. In fact, unlike the preceding compilations, dated 1912, 1913 and 1914, no correspondence with the Anti-Slavery Society was included and, despite occasional critical comments, the general tone was extremely favourable to the efforts of the Portuguese authorities.[996] Indeed, in a report to Consul Hall Hall in mid-January 1914, Vice-Consul Lewis Bernays wrote from São Tomé that: "**conditions have wonderfully improved** in the last few years and I think we are slowly approaching a time when the liberty of the serviçal will be almost beyond question." [997]

Contrasting with the prevailing atmosphere of optimism at the Foreign Office, the leaders of the Anti-Slavery Society continued to ignore the positive steps which were being taken by the Portuguese authorities and at the beginning of 1914, they received news from Angola which confirmed their worst suspicions. In one of the final reports included in the previous White Paper (1914) Hall Hall had mentioned briefly the results of an official enquiry into the "excesses reported to have been committed by an official named Paulo Moreira in the district of the Portuguese Congo, in connection with the recruitment of

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[994] Indeed, on the publication of the third White Paper in April of 1914 [Cd. 7279], Henry Nevinson had written an exultant letter to the *Nation* claiming that it already marked "**a stage-almost the final stage- in a long and bitter controversy**." See Henry W. Nevinson. Letter to the Editor. "The Cocoa Slavery. The Case Established." *Nation* May 2nd 1914, pp.177-178. (my bold)

[995] HMSO. *Africa no. 1. Further Correspondence respecting Contract Labour in Portuguese West Africa. (In continuation of Africa no.l, 1914)* July 1915. [Cd.7960]

[996] Writing after the publication of the fourth White Paper, Lord Cromer affirmed: "**It would be in the highest degree unjust not to recognize the really strenuous efforts made both by the Government at Lisbon and the superior authorities in West Africa to remove the defects of a system which had led to accusations** calculated, in the words used by the Governor of San Thomé to Mr. Hall Hall, «to weigh on his soul as a Portuguese»" Earl of Cromer "Portuguese Contract Labour" in *The Spectator* September 18th 1915, p.359. (my bold)

[997] Vice-Consul Bernays, San Thomé to Consul Hall Hall. January 14th 1914 in HMSO. Africa no. 1 (1915) Cd. 7960 pp.20-21. Also quoted in Lord Cromer's article. Idem., p.360. (my bold)

native labour". [998] Moreira, he informed, had been cleared of the accusations of "active misdeeds" but had been found guilty of lack of control over "the two native soldiers who accompanied him", who had been considered responsible for the alleged abuses.[999] It was a remarkably laconic reference to a series of incidents which would trigger off an armed uprising of the Bakongo people of São Salvador,[1000] and would later provide fresh ammunition for a vigorous, albeit short-lived revival of the British campaign against the recruitment of African labourers for the cocoa islands.

Public attention in Britain was first drawn to the uprising by headlines in *The Times* at the end of February 1914, announcing that a British missionary had been arrested in the Congo by the Portuguese authorities. The article reported that the Chairman of the Baptist Missionary Society, the Rev.W.Y. Fullerton, had announced that "one of its missionaries stationed at San Salvador had been arrested in connexion with the recruitment of native labour for the cocoa islands, San Thome and Príncipe." According to Fullerton, certain of the local tribes had revolted against the King of the Congo [1001] accusing him of being an instrument of the Portuguese and "Mr. Bowskill had been forced to intervene". At the origin of the insurrection was an attempt to recruit up to 1500 labourers on one-year contracts, mainly for the island of Príncipe but also for for Cabinda.[1002] In a somewhat

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[998] Consul Hall Hall to Sir Edward Grey, Loanda, November 25th 1913. HMSO Africa no.1 (1914) [Cd. 7279], p.86. The report quotes Drummond-Hay's note of March 15th 1913, referring to a complaint by Rev. George Thomas of the Baptist Missionary Society, regarding the recruiting methods employed by Paulo Moreira. Moreira had been recalled and the natives "justly compensated". See Consul Drummond-Hay to Sir Edward Grey Loanda, March 15th 1913. Idem, p.22. Paulo Moreira was the "Chefe de Posto" or Resident. Significantly no further reference to the Bowskill Affair appears in the following White Paper. Clearly the Foreign Office was now trying to steer clear of controversy in its reports to Parliament.

[999] See also Governor-General of Angola to Consul Hall-Hall, Loanda, November 25th 1913. Enclosure in above report to FO. Idem, p.87. The abuse included beatings and rape.

[1000] Now Mbanza-Kongo. The town is situated close to the northern border of Angola with the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

[1001] The reigning king or paramount chief of the Congo or "Manikongo" was D. Manuel III (Kiditu), who had been enthroned in 1911. The kingdom had been recognised by the Portuguese since their arrival in 1483.

[1002] Some of the recruits were also destined for Cabinda due to a lack of labourers caused by "emigration" to São Tomé and Príncipe. See also Consul Drummond-Hay to Sir Edward Grey, Loanda January 28th 1913 concerning the new regulations on labour recruitment. Drummond-Hay was of the view that in Cabinda the working conditions were satisfactory and the payment was good. In FO 367/364 8547. In an excellent article on Buta's rebellion, Jelmer Vos notes, however, that the 100 reis a day they received was about the same as a road sweeper in São Salvador - clearly not a great incentive, despite their need to settle hut-tax. Jelmer Vos. "Trabalho forçado no reino do Kongo,1910-1913. A Revolta de Tulante Álvaro Buta." Império, Patronato e uma Revolta no Reino do Kongo. *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos* 33, 2017, pp.157-182.

un-Christian aside, he added: "[…] it is extremely damaging to British prestige that a missionary should be placed under arrest in the midst of uncivilized Africans." [1003]

Earlier efforts by the recruitment agent, Carlos Godinho, to acquire labourers had been unsuccessful, partly due to the influence of the Baptist Mission which had long been established in the region.[1004] In October 1913, an attempt by Moreira, the "Chefe de Posto", [1005] to solve the recruitment problem by direct negotiation with the assembled local chiefs [1006] aggravated the already-existing divisions within the Bakongo community and in November, one of the local leaders who had opposed recruitment, Tulante Álvaro Buta, accused the King of having accepted a bribe from the Portuguese authorities to facilitate the contracts.[1007] After uniting most of the dissident leaders, Buta, who by then had gathered considerable support, arrived in San Salvador on December 10th, attacked the fort and caused substantial damage to the town, particularly the outlying neighbourhoods, which were the home of the predominantly Catholic supporters of the "Manikongo".[1008] Part of the population, including Moreira, took refuge in the Protestant mission station and fearing further violence, Bowskill was asked by the commander of the fort to negotiate a truce and set up a peace palaver, which he did at considerable risk to his own life. At the public meeting which followed, Buta, acting as the spokeman for hundreds of armed followers, accused the recruitment agents of violence and immorality and the King of weakness and corruption. He went on to demand the King's abdication, the return of the money he had received from the Portuguese authorities and the annulment of the contracts for the cocoa islands. The following day the deposed King

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[1003] "A Congo Incident. British Missionary arrested by Portuguese. The Native Labour Question."*The Times*. February 27th 1914, p.7.

[1004] Correspondence from Cabinda had been received at the Mission from Baptist converts who were working on a British-run plantation (owned by the west African trading company Hatton and Cookson) where corporal punishment was regularly employed.

[1005] Paulo Midosi Moreira regularly used strong-arm tactics to collect hut-tax and was already feared and hated by the local population.

[1006] "About fifty chiefs assembled. It was explained to them that the labourers required would work for one year only; that they would then be sent back to their district; that they, men and women, would be paid so much in advance and so much while they were working, and the rest would be given to them on their arrival back [...] finally, by persuasion and being told by their chiefs that they were to go, a fairly large number of labourers were sent off down to the coast [...]" Earl of Mayo. House of Lords debate. July 27th 1914. See Hansard. HL Debate July 27th 1914 vol. 17 cc.160-82. The chiefs who attended were the so-called "medal chiefs" who were officially recognised by the Angolan government.

[1007] "Tulante" is the Bakongo word for Lieutenant.

[1008] Buta was apparently a lifelong Catholic, however. There were three main "clans" in the region at the time, two, who disputed succession to the throne of the "Manikongo", were ostensibly Catholic whilst the other comprised Baptist converts.

fled to the Belgian Congo, bringing the centuries-old, "independent" Monarchy to an end.[1009]

A fragile truce survived for a while, but violence broke out again on January 25th when the Portuguese authorities attempted to make arrests. Bowskill and his fellow missionary Ross Phillips travelled to Matadi to meet the Portuguese Governor, who sent troops "to restore order", over-ruling the authority of the "Chefe de Posto".[1010] Soon afterwards, news was received by the Baptist Missionary Society that on February 19th, on his return to São Salvador, Bowskill had been arrested for his part in the uprising, together with two of the three Christian converts who had accompanied him in the peace talks with Buta. [1011]

On March 2nd 1914 *The Times* published what it termed a "semi-official" Portuguese statement which referred to "acts of rebellion against Portuguese sovereignty in the Congo near San Salvador and other points".The communiqué went on to say that the

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[1009] The Baptist Missionary Society published the following note in the *Baptist Times*: "The immediate cause of the revolt was the attempt to impose slavery upon the natives of the district. […] Under the influence of the Chefe de Poste [sic] the King of the Kongo played with this hated thing and so brought down his own downfall. This only **calls the attention of the Christian World once more to the fact of slavery in the Portuguese colonies**." (undated, probably March 1914) Reproduced in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* and Aborigines' Friend. April 1914, p.6. (my bold)

[1010] René Pelissier gives a thorough account of the uprising in his remarkable history of the Angolan military campaigns. He quotes Norton de Matos' confidential explanation for the events - the nefarious influence of the British missionaries and the repercussions of an earlier defeat of a Portuguese military column by the Bakongo in the Autumn of 1913, combined with the continuing sale of gunpowder to the local people. In this explosive climate, violence was precipitated by abuses committed in the collection of hut tax and by infringements of the law in the recruitment of labourers. The whole affair had been badly handled by the abrasive "Chefe de Posto" and the ineffective local administrator. See René Pelissier. *História das Campanhas de Angola. Resistencia e Revoltas 1845-1891.* Editorial Estampa, Lisboa :1986, pp. 293-320. In a recent book, Jelmer Vos revisits the crisis, emphasising the struggle between the Protestant mission and its followers and the Catholic supporters of the King. See Jelmer Vos "*Kongo in the Age of Empire, 1860-1913: The Breakdown of a Moral Order"* Univ. of Wisconsin Press, Madison: 2017.

[1011] The Portuguese press quickly published the news, quoting the alleged link to São Tomé. See "A mão d'obra em S. Thomé. É preso no Congo português um missionário britânico. Rev. Bowskill (Baptist)" in *O Século*. February 27th 1914, p.2. The same newspaper would follow the case closely with brief news items on an almost weekly basis over the following months, until the outbreak of the First World War.
Bowskill wrote to Consul Hall Hall on March 10th 1914, confirming that Paulo Moreira was the cause of the uprising: "The whole of the unrest in the country, the war and everything connected with it, is the direct result of Senhor Paulo Moreira's maladministrations. He terrorised the people to such an extent that they could put up with it no longer. Hence this rising." Quoted by Lord Mayo in the Lords' Debate on Portuguese West Africa. (Hansard. House of Lords Debate. July 27th 1914, vol. 17 cc 162.)
For Bowskill's full version of events see J. Sidney Bowskill, *San Salvador. Mr. Bowskill's letters on the native war of 1913-4, and other documents. With a prefatory note, and articles on San Salvador and the mission and the international aspect of the present situation.* Carey Press, London: 1914.
A further account, seen from the point of view of the Baptist faction, is given by the missionary Haldane Carson Graham who was present in San Salvador throughout the two-year conflict. See R.H.Carson Graham. *Under Seven Congo Kings*. Carey Press. London: c.1930. especially Ch V, pp. 132-172.

natives had attacked Government troops and entrenched themselves in Bowskill's mission, and that "the alleged arrest of Mr. Bowskill was in all probability nothing more than an invitation to him to remain at the disposal of the local Portuguese authorities until the arrival of the Governor." It concluded by saying that the affair had nothing to do with the recruiting of natives for São Tomé, but rather to "their habitual desire to avoid the payment of taxes." Clearly, it told only part of the story. [1012]

The issue of Bowskill's arrest was raised in the Commons on March 23rd [1013] in the form of a question to the Foreign Office as to whether he was to be tried by a military or a civil court, immediately followed by other leading questions as to whether forced labour was still employed on the plantations of Portuguese West Africa.[1014] The Anti-Slavery Society was also quick to take advantage of this unexpected opportunity to renew its campaign. In the April 1914 edition of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, an article entitled "Slavery in Portuguese West Africa", illustrated with a photograph of Bowskill, unequivocally linked the affair to forced labour recruitment:

> The arrest by the Portuguese authorities of the Rev. J.S. Bowskill, Baptist missionary at San Salvador, has brought the question of Portuguese slave labour into strong prominence, as there is no doubt that the native rising and Mr. Bowskill's subsequent arrest, arose primarily out of the Portuguese demand for forced labourers to go to San Thomé.[1015]

Despite the fact that it was already known that Bowskill had been released until he could stand trial, questions were asked in the Commons as to his welfare and whereabouts on numerous occasions in April and May, [1016] but it was not until the publication of the fourth White Paper in July that the question of "Portuguese Slavery" would attract anything like

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[1012] Though declining to include any correspondence with the AS and APS in its White Papers of 1915 and 1917, the Foreign Office continued to respond to the protests of the philanthropists. In response to a letter from the Society concerning Bowskill's arrest, Walter Langley wrote: "[…] I am directed by secretary Sir E. Grey to state […] that he has urged the Portuguese Government to institute a strict enquiry into the causes of the arrest and that the British Vice-Consul at Boma has been instructed to proceed to San Salvador, as soon as he can do with safety, and to report fully on the circumstances of the case […]. Sir Walter Langley to the Secretary, Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society. March 13th 1914. Reproduced in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend*. April 1914, pp. 7-8.

[1013] On the same day as Freire de Andrade was appointed Foreign Minister in the Government of Bernardino Machado.

[1014] Hansard. House of Commons Debate. March 23rd 1914, vol. 60 cc7-8 and c 63W.

[1015] *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend*. April 1914, p.6.

[1016] The issue was raised in the Commons on April 1st, April 27th, May 1st, May 4th, May 11th, May 19th and May 23rd 1914.

the public attention it had enjoyed in the past.[1017] In the meanwhile, encouraging reports were being received at the Foreign Office from British consuls in Portuguese West Africa. Between February and April 1914 Consul Hall Hall had found time to visit the "accommodation provided for «servicaes» [sic] in the course of their repatriation" [1018] and also several ships carrying repatriated contract labourers in Luanda harbour. He was accompanied by the Government-appointed Commissioner who had previously inspected the transport of labourers from Mozambique to the Rand. In his report he commented on the space available for each on board, the way they were clothed and their apparent health: "There was enough room for them to sit and lean about there and abundant space for them to lie down […] Each appeared to have a blanket and they were all decently clad in pieces of cloth according to the native fashion." [1019]

On one of the visits he provided details of the amount of money to be given to the labourers by the captain of the ship: "The commissioner showed me the lists of bonus, a packet of paper money for Novo Redondo and two cheques for Benguella". The amounts ranged from £10 for 26 "servicais" destined for Luanda, to £18.8s for 96 who were to disembark in Benguela. Hall Hall commented that "the greater part of these were sturdy people, very few old or decrepit. Children in splendid condition".[1020] In the same dispatch to the Foreign Office, Hall Hall enclosed a report from Acting Vice-Consul Fussell at Lobito, with his comments on a visit to inspect the accomodation provided for repatriated labourers on their arrival on the mainland. Again, it provided evidence that the efforts of the Portuguese authorities had incontravertibly satisfied most of the issues which had been raised by the international campaigners. He concluded "I venture to add my opinion,

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[1017] In the Foreign Affairs debate on July 10th Sir Edward Grey was unequivocal in his support for Portuguese efforts. Responding to Sir Gilbert Parker, a Tory, a leading member of the South African Parliamentary lobby, he affirmed "There has been, I believe**, a real improvement in the repatriation figures for last year.** There has been a steady improvement, and the reports I have seen recently have produced on my mind the impression that, although a good deal remains to be done, the Portuguese Government **are really trying to remove the abuses that have existed."** Hansard. House of Commons Debate. July 10th 1914, vol. 64 cc.1383-1463.

[1018] Consul-General Hall Hall to Sir Edward Grey. Loanda July 25th 1914. He concludes: "I venture to express the opinion that the accommodation provided on shore at those places for «services» in the course of repatriation from San Thomé and Príncipe is quite sufficient for their reasonable requirements." In HMSO Africa no.1 (1915) [Cd.7960] pp. 65-66.

[1019] Idem. Enclosure no.1 to above dispatch, p.70.

[1020] Idem, p.71.

formed after repeated observations that these repatriated labourers are most humanely dealt with, both as regards treatment and accommodation." [1021]

Vice-Consul Smallbones reported in June on a recent journey he had made from Bailundo to Novo Redondo. Coming as it did from one of the shrewdest and most active of all the British Consuls who had served in Portuguese West Africa, his report offered acknowledgement, in glowing terms, of the remarkable success of Norton de Matos' reforms. He wrote:

> **I have neither seen not heard of any case of illegal recruiting for San Thomé**. I found a number of repatriated *serviçaes* on this journey. A colony of them has sprung up at Calohuita, west of Cotacota. **They seemed happy and prosperous**. Some had only recently returned from San Thomé […] another colony near Cotacota is also prospering and growing. On the road from Novo Redondo I met quite a number of repatriated *serviçaes* going inland. Most of them had engaged carriers to carry the boxes full of their belongings. Some had received their "bonus" in Novo Redondo and others had written orders to receive it in the interior. Most of them said they were returning to their homes […] I have asked every repatriated "serviçal" I met whether he wished to return to San Thomé. They all said most emphatically no.[1022]

Less than a month after Smallbones' favourable dispatch from Angola, a "Private Conference" on "Portuguese Slavery" was convened by the Anti-Slavery Society, which was undoubtedly in ignorance of the most recent reports which had been reaching the Foreign Office.[1023] Despite the presence of several distinguished public figures and members of the House of Commons, [1024] it was a far cry from the well-attended open meetings of the previous years, and James Finlay, writing in the *African World*, which had recently taken up the cause of Portugal in Africa,[1025] scathingly commented in its

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[1021] Enclosure no.2 Acting Vice-Consul Fussell to Consul General Hall Hall. Lobito, March 12th 1914. Idem, p.72.
[1022] Enclosure no.55 Vice-Consul Smallbones to Consul-General Hall Hall. Novo Redondo, June 19th1914. In Consul-General Hall Hall to Sir Edward Grey. Loanda. June 29th 1914. Idem, p.66. (my bold)
[1023] The "Private Conference" was held at the Whitehall Rooms on July 16th 1914.
[1024] With the exception of Lord Cromer, who was absent due to ill-health, several of those who had already intervened at some stage in the campaign were present. With the Archbishop of Canterbury in the chair, they included the Earls of Selbourne and Mayo; Lords Lamington and Channing; several MPs from both sides of the House; Fowell Buxton, the President of the Anti-Slavery Society; E.W.Brooks, its Treasurer, and St. Loe Strachey, who was now Chairman of the Portuguese sub-committee of the Society. E.D. Morel also attended, as did the Liberian Minister in London and a representative of the campaign in Switzerland, Édouard Naville, the famous Egyptologist.
[1025] For more on the *African World*'s campaign in favour of the Portuguese plantations, see Chapter 4.15 of this dissertation.

issue of July 18th that it had been no more than "a hole and corner" conference, [1026] whilst pointing out that many of the views expressed had been based on out-of-date information.

The Society's press release on the meeting would, however, be echoed by Liberal newspapers such as George Cadbury's *Daily News and Leader,* the *Morning Post* and the *Belfast Evening Telegraph* whilst the *Daily Express,* together with many regional newspapers, published a report under the heading "A Hundred Thousand Skeletons", alleging that, within living memory, over seventy thousand Angolan slaves had been sent to the islands and that many more had died on the way to the coast.[1027] It was an old accusation which had been repeated again and again in the British press over the previous decade, but the sensational headline served as a reminder to those who might have forgotten the question, that the humanitarian campaign was far from dead.

That same day, writing in *The Times* in the wake of the Bowskill Affair and the Anti-Slavery Society's meeting, Sir Harry Johnston once again came to the rescue, affirming that "Negro Africa owed a debt of gratitude to the Portuguese" and reminding his readers that historians had not always done justice to Portugal as far as its achievements in opening up the African continent was concerned. Furthermore, he pointed out that it was in the British interest that "in the balance of world power the Portuguese state should be powerful, prosperous and respected." Johnston admitted, however, that "the northeastern parts of Angola and the adjacent domain of Portuguese Congo [were] still subordinated to the octopus interests of São Thomé" and advocated two year contracts, higher rates of pay and scrupulous repatriation which would allow the plantations to use labour from the adjoining coasts of Africa, Cabinda or Northern Angola. Concluding, he asked: ".[…] one wonders why […] for the sake of the same people [the planters of São Tomé] she

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[1026] The philanthropists were now talking to themselves. Lord Mayo's recommendations on repatriation procedures, for instance, were, in the main, already being applied. Lord Selbourne compared the racial segregation practised in South Africa, where he had been High Commissioner, with the tolerance ostensibly shown to Africans by the Portuguese in their colonies, affirming: **"[…] It was important to remember that a very large proportion of Portuguese officials were not of pure European descent".** St. Loe Strachey admitted sarcastically that they "had made a good deal of progress at the top but, unfortunately, there had not been much progress at the bottom" and that "public opinion was improving a great deal, but there was very little improvement in the colonial possessions of Portugal". "Conference on African Slavery" *The Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend.* October 1914. pp 90-99. (my bold)

[1027] "A Hundred Thousand Skeletons." *Daily Express* June 20th 1914, p.1. Several regional newspapers repeated the accusation. See, for example "A Hundred Thousand Skeletons. What Portuguese Cocoa has cost in Lives." The *Echo* July 20th 1914, p.5, reporting on a John H. Harris lecture at Whitefield's Tabernacle in London. Olaudah Equiano, a former slave and a hero and symbol of the anti-slavery struggle, is buried at Whitefield's.

should imperil the welfare of what has been - not very exaggeratedly - described as a second Brazil - Angola and Western Congoland." [1028] Soon after the "Private Conference", the issue would be raised in the House of Lords, once again by the Earl of Mayo.[1029] It would be the last debate on "Portuguese Slavery" before the outbreak of the First World War. Lord Mayo presented the story of the Bowskill affair in some detail, taking advantage of the impact of the case to remind the members of the House of his unfaltering conviction that slavery still existed in Portuguese West Africa:

> No doubt it would have suited the Governor and the Portuguese authorities if Mr. Bowskill had cleared out, and the whole matter would have been hushed up. But matters of this sort cannot be hushed up when an Englishman is accused of a grave offence without sufficient evidence. **This also shows the way in which the Portuguese authorities carry on this system, which is not one of contract labour at all but should really be given another name - that of slavery.**[1030]

Responding for the Government, Viscount Morley concurred with facts of the case as set out by Lord Mayo but accused him of putting them "in an invidious setting". In an attempt to set the record straight he made it clear that all of the peace missions had been carried out by both "Portuguese Roman Catholic priests" and Baptist ministers, acting together. Morley announced that the Portuguese Government had sent out Lt. Crato, a Ministerial attaché, to investigate the matter and informed that the report of Vice-Consul Bell [1031] on the events would only be released upon reception of Crato's conclusions. He went on to accuse Mayo of ignoring the efforts of the Portuguese authorities:

> But let us turn to Portugal, as to which the noble Earl was so extremely suspicious, and, may I say, uncharitable. His Majesty's Government - I have not the date - made serious representations to the Portuguese Government, who replied with more than diplomatic

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[1028] "Negro labour. Forced recruitment for San Thomé. Smouldering revolt on the Congo." *The Times* July 20th 1914 p.7.

[1029] "Portuguese West Africa." Hansard. House of Lords Debate. July 27th 1914. vol. 17 cc.160-182. **Britain would declare war on Germany just a week later, on August 4th 1914**. On that day the British Government confirmed its commitment, through its Minister in Lisbon, to defend any Portuguese territory against attack by a foreign power in accordance with the provisions of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance.(my bold)

[1030] Idem. cc 162-163. (my bold)

[1031] Bell was the Acting Vice-Consul in Boma, in the Belgian Congo. He arrived in São Salvador on March 28th 1914 and left on May 13th 1914. His report was held back by the FO, ostensibly until the Portuguese authorities had carried out their enquiry.

> courtesy that there was no reason to suppose that the affair of Mr. Bowskill could not be settled most satisfactorily.[1032]

Finally Morley admitted that the repatriation of the labourers "who were kidnapped before the regulations of 1903" had been slow, but that, "perhaps owing to the noble Earl's efforts and the efforts of his friends," it had been going forward at a much better pace over the last three or four years and that the Portuguese Government confidently expected that by the end of the year all but 8,000 of those who had been "kidnapped" would have been repatriated.

Viscount Morley's final words on repatriation summed up the whole affair, a week before the virtual suspension of the campaign due to the outbreak of War:

> Let me close this part of the matter by saying that recent repatriation figures have shown a decided increase. During the first five months of this year 1,821 labourers have been repatriated from San Thomé to Angola, as against 2,071 during the whole of the year 1913. That, the noble Earl will admit, is a most satisfactory improvement.[1033]

2.10 Parting shots, bloody skirmishes and Balfour's recommendation

> A friend came to see me on one of the evenings of the last week - he thinks it was on Monday, August 3rd. We were standing at a window of my room in the Foreign Office. It was getting dusk, and the lamps were being lit in the space below on which we were looking. My friend recalls that I remarked on this with the words: "The lamps are going out all over Europe, we shall not see them lit again in our life-time" [1034]

[1032] Idem. c171
[1033] Idem. c172. Corrêa de Aguiar, a former "Curador", later wrote that, at the time of the article, there were only 16697 Angolans working in the islands. In António Corrêa de Aguiar. Op.cit. 1919.
[1034] Viscount Grey of Fallodon. *Twenty-Five Years 1892-1916.* Stokes and Co. New York: 1925. p. 20

On August 7th 1914, three days after Britain had declared war on Germany, the Portuguese Prime Minister, Bernardino Machado [1035] addressed a special session of Parliament. He requested full powers to ensure order and to safeguard the national interest, as well as authorisation to take whatever measures might be required to respond to emergencies of an economic and financial nature. He then reaffirmed the commitment of the Republic to the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance "que livremente contraímos e a que em circunstância alguma faltariamos." The Prime Minister's speech was applauded enthusiastically and backed by the leaders of all the political parties and factions. [1036] The following day the press would add its own support to that of Parliament with articles praising the Alliance in jubilant and patriotic terms.[1037] Britain's declaration of war meant that the draft agreement with Germany to divide and share the Portuguese colonies in the event of financial default was now a dead letter, [1038] and that on a more immediate level, the Anglo-Portuguese alliance was of crucial, strategic importance to both Britain and Portugal. [1039] The declaration of war also meant that the British campaign against forced labour in Portuguese West Africa had lost most of its significance overnight. The threat of terminating the Alliance, which had been brandished for the previous two years, suddenly disappeared from the vocabulary of the philanthropists and their apparent obsession with the Portuguese colonies would quickly begin to fade. [1040]

[1035] Bernardino Machado was also Minister of the Interior and interim Minister of Justice.

[1036] Afonso Costa was applauded by all sides of the Chamber and the public galleries when he said:
"[…] somos aliados d'essa nobre nação, que acaba de pôr-se ao lado do progresso e da civilisação depois de ter exgotado todos os esforços para manter a paz. Mas essa aliança impõem-nos deveres e por isso ali veem todos pedir ao governo que habilite o povo português a cumprir os seus desejos e aproveitar o ensejo que se lhe offereceu para demonstrar a sua energia e a sua vitalidade. Depõe no altar sagrado da Pátria a sua bandeira política." Debates Parlamentares. Câmara dos Deputados. August 7th 1914, p.3 passim.

[1037] For example, "Portugal e a situação europeia. Na presente conjunctura todos os partidos se collocam ao lado do governo. As sessões de hoje nas duas câmaras." *A Capital* August 7th 1914, p.1, or "Dia de Glória para Portugal. O de Hontem. O Parlamento em nome da patria, depõe nas mãos do governo os destinos nacionais e afirma o seu respeito pela aliança inglesa." *O Século* August 8th 1914, p.1.

[1038] Sir Edward Grey to Granville, August 13th 1913, B.D., x, pt. II, p.342. It would be initialled only on October 20th 1913, however, and never definitively signed. Both Langhorne and Vincent-Smith deal authoritatively with German designs on Angola. See Richard Langhorne. Op.cit. 1973, p.372 and John Vincent-Smith Op.cit., 1975, p. 628.

[1039] Nevertheless, **Churchill stubbornly maintained it would be advantageous to Britain if Spain took over Portugal.** On the day after war was declared, he wrote to Grey making this clear. Winston Churchill to Sir Edward Grey, August 5th 1914, FO 371/2105.(my bold)

[1040] In fact, the War brought restrictions on the activities of the Anti-Slavery Society and other humanitarian organisations with international contacts through the provisions of the Defence of the Realm Act. John H. Harris and his wife Alice would defend the idea of "Christian Imperialism" throughout the War and would lend the support of the Society to Britain's propaganda campaign. Kevin Grant. Op.cit. 2005, pp. 141-146.

Aware that the circumstances had now changed in Portugal's favour, a delegation of the Associação Commercial de Lisboa met in Birmingham with the Board of Cadbury Bros. at the beginning of December 1914, to request the resumption of the commercial relationship which had been severed in March of 1909. Cadbury Bros. wrote to the Foreign Office asking for approval and although the boycott favoured exports from British West Africa, Sir Edward Grey acceded to their request, primarily because of Portugal's supportive attitude towards Britain in the War.[1041]

On December 5th the *Birmingham Daily Mail* published a brief report setting down Cadbury Bros.' position.[1042] The Board acknowledged that the third White Paper (Africa no.1, 1914) had reported a "distinct advance in administration" and that the "facility for personal investigation by British Consuls" had much improved, whilst pointing out that "much still remained to be done." They added that they were now content to leave investigations to the Foreign Office, "which had taken the matter seriously in hand". The report concluded with Cadburys' guarded statement that when the FO was in a position to publish a further White Paper in which its consuls were able to guarantee that "labour conditions on the islands" and "the conditions of contracting, recontracting, and repatriation were entirely satisfactory […] they would, themselves have no further hesitation in purchasing the product of those colonies". [1043] Far from the unequivocal statement the Associação had been led to expect at the meeting with the Board, it was no more than a smoke screen hiding Cadburys' intention to defer any purchases *sine die*.[1044]

In Portugal the War had already taken its toll. Soon after the declaration of war expeditionary forces had been sent to Africa to patrol the frontiers with the neighbouring German colonies. The first contingent, which departed for Angola in September 1914, [1045] numbered about 1600 men and was led by Lt. Col. José Augusto Alves Roçadas, the

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[1041] William Cadbury to Sir Edward Grey and minutes. December 3rd 1914. FO 371/1960 78790.
[1042] Further articles in the *Birmingham Daily Post* followed on December 6th and 8th 1914, clarifying the chocolate-makers' position.
[1043] "Messrs. Cadbury and S.Thomé Cocoa." *Birmingham Daily Mail.* December 5th 1914, p.7. Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo has the visit of the Associação "nos finais de 1913" and Cadbury's reply " no início do ano seguinte" but this is clearly a slip as the third White Paper, Africa no.1 (1914)[Cd.7279] was only published in April of 1914. See Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo. Op, cit 2010, p.135.
[1044] Cadbury Bros. later wrote to the Associação Commercial de Lisboa, essentially confirming the report published in the *Birmingham Post*. The letter is reproduced in Corrêa de Aguiar. Op.cit. 1919, pp.187-188. The *Birmingham Mail* also published the report on December 6th 1914 but Cadbury's felt they needed to clarify their intentions further and wrote to the *Mail* again on December 8th.
[1045] "As Forças Expedicionárias partem para África e o povo de Lisboa, saudando-as com entusiasmo, mostrou uma vez mais o seu amor à Pátria e à República". *A Capital* September 11th 1914, p.1.

former Governor-General of the Province, who was famous for having put down the Cuamato uprising in 1907. [1046] The second expedition, to Moçambique, where there had already been border clashes, was led by Lt. Col. Pedro Massano de Amorim.



Figure 2.18 Trade card. "Partida da Expedição Portugueza para África. 10 de Setembro de 1914". Pub. unknown.

Skirmishes had broken out in Angola, with German forces from German South-West Africa, firstly at at Naulila, on October 19th 1914, which ended with the elimination of a German patrol, and at Cuangar on October 30th 1914, where the Portuguese troops suffered a significant number of casualties. In a second encounter with the German "schutztruppe" at Naulila, on December 18th, the Portuguese expeditionary force suffered a humiliating defeat, incurring heavy losses, and was forced to withdraw to defensive positions in the highlands. [1047] In the meanwhile, Norton de Matos had resigned as

[1046] See **Figure 2.18**. Trade cards such as this one, which was postcard size, were intended to be collected and were used to promote the Republic, its ideals and enthusiasm for participation in the war. Alves Roçadas had defeated the Cuamata rebellion at the Battle of Mufilo in 1907 and was the last Governor-General of Angola during the Monarchy (1909-1910). He was recalled to Lisbon in May 1915 after the uprising of the people of the Humbe region against the Portuguese authorities.

[1047] There was little dissent amongst republicans concerning the defence of the African colonies. In an article in the *Republica,* António José de Almeida, the leader of the Evolutionists, set down the majority view on the issue: "Eles vão a África para um efeito único: defender a terra que nos legaram os nossos maiores. Vão combater para que permaneça sob a nossa bandeira a terra que é o ossuário dos nossos mártires e túmulo dos nossos heróis. Eles não vão talar, arrasar, conquistar o solo alheio; vão defender a própria terra. Eles não querem avassalar ninguém; querem apenas bater-se para que ninguém nos avassale. Eles não se sentem animados pela cobiça do que é dos outros; desejam apenas guardar para os portugueses aquilo que é deles, porque legitimamente o herdaram de quem o conquistou com a força dos seus braços e o sangue do seu corpo" António José de Almeida. "Boa sorte!" in *República*, November 5th 1914, p.1, quoted in Maria Fernanda Rollo. "Soldado de África! Quantas medalhas te puseram no peito? Portugal e África numa

Governor-General of Angola, two days after the appointment of General Pimenta de Castro as Prime Minister of a supposedly independent Government which included several military officers.[1048] Governing without the checks and balances provided by Parliament, which had not been reconvened, it would last for only three months and would be overthrown by a bloody insurgency in which Norton de Matos played a central role. [1049]

In Angola, encouraged by the withdrawal of Alves Roçadas' troops after their defeat at Naulila, the indigenous population of Humbe rebelled against Portuguese rule. The region would only be "pacified" in March of 1915 by reinforcements commanded by the new Governor-General, General Pereira d'Eça.[1050] Fortunately for Portugal, German forces were unable to push home their strategic advantage in Southern Angola, due to the invasion of German South-West Africa by British South African troops under the command of General Botha. The war in South-West Africa would be swiftly brought to an end by the surrender of German forces in July 1915.[1051]

The turmoil caused by the war, and the financial problems it provoked, exacerbated by the infighting between the Republican parties, would plague the Republican regime over

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Guerra Global" *Ler História* 66. 2014, pp.79-97. https://doi.org/10.4000/lerhistoria.732 (Consulted online on 8/5/2020.)

[1048] Appointed by the President of the Republic, Manuel de Arriaga, Pimenta de Castro took office on January 28th 1914. Norton de Matos resigned as Governor-General of Angola on 30th January.

[1049] Clearly, what would be unthinkable for Britain was acceptable in a "Latin country", such as Portugal. The correspondent of *The Times* in Lisbon welcomed Pimenta de Castro's "benevolent dictatorship" as "not only desirable but necessary", describing his objective as "political sanitation". As far as the Democratic Party was concerned he added "No other party contains so many undesirable elements", predicting that "nothing startling is likely to occur" due to the "folly" of opposing the great majority of the army. "Political Cleansing. Success of Portuguese Dictatorship." *The Times* April 27th 1915, p.7. Joaquim Pimenta de Castro's short-lived Government, which was supported at first by Brito Camacho´s Unionist Party, would be overthrown by an armed insurgency organised by the Democrats and led, amongst others, by Norton de Matos, which erupted on May 14th 1915. It also led to the resignation of the ageing President Manuel de Arriaga who would be replaced by Teófilo Braga after elections were held. See Douglas Wheeler. Op.cit. 1978, pp.120-125. There are also references to the insurgency in *The Times* on May 17th 1915, p.7: "The Insurrection in Portugal. Lisbon bombarded. Fighting in the streets" and in *The Times* on May 18th 1915, p.7:"The Portuguese Coup" .

[1050] Mandume, the last Kwanyama paramount chief, led the resistance against Portuguese rule. He would be killed by South African troops in 1917. See Gervase Clarence-Smith and Richard Moorsom "Underdevelopment and Class Formation in Ovamboland 1844-1917". In Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons (Eds.) Op.cit 1977, p.108.

[1051] An interesting contemporary account is given by Augusto Casimiro in *Naulila*. Seara Nova, Lisboa: 1922. Especially pp. 72-73. Casimiro's first words are: **"A nossa existência de Estado independente exige o mantenimento do nosso império colonial."**- a conviction which was held by many staunch republicans at the time. (my bold) See also Luís Barroso. "A Grande Guerra em Angola: a expedição de Alves Roçadas e de Pereira D'Eça na estratégia intervencionista. *Ler História* no.72, 2018, pp. 129-149. (Consulted online 28/11/2018) https://journals.openedition.org/lerhistoria/3524#bodyftn4

the coming months, leading to instability, outbreaks of violence and constant changes in Government. In the six-month period between the appointment of Augusto Luis Vieira Soares as Foreign Minister on December 15th 1914 and his return return to office on June 19th 1915, for example, four other politicians occupied the post for brief periods. [1052]

Notwithstanding the expressed desire of the Portuguese Government to play an active role in the European War, the British Government would only formally request that Portugal should take part in military operations on June 16th 1916. [1053] Three months earlier, however, the British Government had instigated Portugal to requisition desperately-needed German ships anchored in Portuguese ports, which had led, as they expected, to a German declaration of war against Britain's ancient ally on March 9th 1916.

At the beginning of July 1916**,** Teixeira Gomes was the guest of honour at a formal luncheon given by the Lord Mayor of London at the Mansion House. In a tribute to Portugal's decision to take up arms on Britain's side, the Lord Mayor emphatically affirmed that "our treaties with Portugal [were] not «mere scraps of paper» to be torn up when the occasion served." The Portuguese Minister, in his reply, said that, dispensing with the formality of consulting with the Government, he had called Sir Edward Grey the day after the declaration of War "to say that Portugal would always be at the side of England whatever might happen and whatever consequences might result." Lord Robert Cecil proposed a toast to "our Noble Ally Portugal […] our gallant and ancient ally which once again had taken its place on the side of truth and justice." [1054] Relations between the two countries had rarely seemed better.

One of the consequences of the war was that the "Portuguese Slavery" question would be relegated to occasional references in the Portuguese press. In Britain, too, the issue had lost much of its popular appeal, though John H. Harris would continue to give lectures and publish articles on the subject over the coming months.[1055] One last White Paper on

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[1052] Pereira de Castro, Rodrigues Monteiro, Alves da Veiga e Teixeira de Queirós.
[1053] Britain was concerned that Portugal might make "inconvenient demands for more territory". Sir Lancelot Carnegie to Sir Edward Grey, July 15th 1915. Minute by Lord Eustace Percy. See John Vincent-Smith, *Anglo-Portuguese Relations, 1910-1916*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. London 1971, p. 299.
[1054] See "The Portuguese Way. A Declaration on the Outbreak of War." *The Times* July 2nd 1916 p.8
[1055] There was a brief reference to the controversy in *The Economist*, however, five days after the Portuguese parliament accepted Portugal's active participation in the War, in accordance with the formal request of the British Government of 15th June. Quoting from an article in *Le Temps,* the *Economist* wrote: "At last Britain's oldest Ally has been enabled to join in defending the rights of the smaller nations […] Portugal towards the end of 1914 engaged to give military aid to the Allies in Africa, the engagement is now extended

contract labour in Portuguese West Africa would be published by H.M. Government, in April 1917.[1056] Like its predecessors, it provided detailed statistics on repatriation, recontracting, payments of bonuses and the number of births and deaths on the islands. The slimmest of the five reports, with only 70 pages, it nevertheless covered the whole of 1915 and 1916, with Consul-General Hall Hall's final entry being dated February 27th 1917. Remarkably, there was little mention of the war and its effects, except for occasional references to difficulties in the transport of contract labourers to and from the mainland.

The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* continued to refer to Portuguese West Africa in 1915 and 1916, revealing, however, an extraordinary change of attitude towards the efforts of the Portuguese authorities. The first signs came in the April 1915 issue, with a series of reports from missionaries in Angola which were virtually unanimous in recognising that the era of forced recruitment had come to an end.[1057]

The same issue of the *Reporter* carried excerpts from a press statement by Rev. J.S. Bowskill, who had, by then, returned to Britain. In support of his actions, Bowskill wrote that that HM Vice-Consul Bell had left the Congo "quite satisfied with the course he [Bowskill] had taken" and that after his release from prison, the Governor-General had told him personally that he was free to go "to England or to China" or wherever else he wished. [1058] He added that Lieut. Crato, the Portuguese special commissioner, [1059] had examined "many witnesses" in his exhaustive enquiry in São Salvador, and although Bowskill admitted he was "most desirous" of being cleared of blame by the enquiries, what really mattered was "the complete abolition of forced labour in the plantations, the

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to Europe.[…] Her politicians agree in recognising her need of internal development[…] and also, it is stated, in desiring that **her colonial policy shall be "as British as possible"**. This aspiration, coupled with her closer relation with Great Britain, will allay, we hope, any apprehension of **the recurrence of the West African contract labour scandals of a few years ago."** "Portugal Belligerent" *The Economist* August 12th 1916, pp. 9-10. (my bold)

[1056] HMSO *Africa no. 1 (1917) Further Correspondence respecting Contract Labour in Portuguese South-West Africa. [Cd. 8479] [In continuation of "Africa no.1 (1915)"* [Cd. 7960].

[1057]After its April 1915 AGM, the Anti-Slavery Society adapted its work to the British war effort and dropped the pretence of impartiality. As Kevin Grant points out, the Society had never before criticised the administration of the German colonies, having been notoriously silent on the Herero genocide in German West Africa which took place between 1904 and 1908. In fact, John H. Harris had argued before the war in favour of the transfer of the Portuguese colonies to Germany, as did E.D.Morel, his adversary in the struggle for philanthropic protagonism. See Kevin Grant. Op. cit. 2005, pp.142-143.

[1058] The two native converts Nekaku and Mantu had also been released without charge.

[1059] Almost certainly Cdr. José Eduardo de Carvalho Crato (1877-1947). Distinguished naval officer, republican politician and freemason. Nominated Minister of the Colonies in 1921 but did not take office.

end of oppressive conditions in the rule of African peoples, the restoration of peace and the spread of Christian civilization among the African tribes […]"

Later reports received by the Baptist Missionary Society from Bowskill's successor, [1060] indicated that the relationship between the Mission and the Portuguese authorities had improved considerably and that the Governor had offered an amnesty to the rebels as soon as they laid down their weapons and accepted Portuguese rule again. The Governor had also promised the suspension of recruitment for São Tomé and reforms in the method of collecting hut tax.[1061] The journal went on to offer the testimonies of several missionaries, many of whom were those "whose evidence was quoted by Mr. Charles A. Swan in his book *The Slavery of Today* in 1909."

The writer, presumably John H. Harris, himself, commented:

> Several of the missionaries write of the active endeavours of the Portuguese officials to put down slave-trading, and of the sincerity of the Government in their declared policy of stamping it out. Such trading as may go on is carried on secretly in remote parts and is punished when discovered. Other missionaries state that freedom is granted to slaves who claim it. [1062]

It was deserved, if belated recognition of a situation which had been apparent to all since Norton de Matos had begun to implement reforms in Angola, except, it seemed, the ardent activists of the Society and their friends in Parliament and the press. Further confirmation, were it still required, was provided by one of the missionary testimonials in the *Reporter*, which came from Kavungu on the border with Northern Rhodesia:

> During my stay here of some three years and three months, I have seen nothing which would lead me to suppose that the officials in the service of the Portuguese Government connive at the traffic in slaves. I know that the present Capitão has told the people that any slave presenting himself at the fort will be immediately freed, and I believe several have availed themselves of their freedom in this manner […] [1063]

And from near Bié, another unidentified missionary wrote:

[1060] The ASR and AF reports that "A good response had been received from the natives, and Mr. Graham, himself, had escorted the chiefs under the white flag to introduce them to the Capitão Mor." *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend.* April 1915, p.13.
[1061] Hut tax - "Imposto de palhota" or "Imposto de cubata" - had been introduced all over Angola in 1906.
[1062] Idem., pp. 14-15.
[1063] Idem., p.16.

> My conviction is that Government officials have sought to put a stop to slave traffic. Since my return to Africa nearly eighteen months ago, I have made frequent and close enquiries of the natives as to whether they know of any case of buying or selling of slaves by the Portuguese traders; the reply has invariably been in the negative. Biheans are still bringing out slaves from the interior but these they seem to be retaining for their own services […] [1064]

In a review of the fourth White Paper,[1065] the October 1915 issue of the *Reporter* congratulated itself on what it described as a "striking tribute to the persistent work of the Society". Remarkably, given the criticism it had directed towards the Foreign Office over the previous decade, the reviewer also reserved praise for the "earnest and tactful activity which the British Minister in Lisbon and the British Consuls in Africa have shown in dealing with this question." [1066] Looking back over 1912 and 1913 as "critical periods in the agitation for reform" he conceded that Portuguese colonial legislation "left little to be desired" but noted that it had been repeatedly alleged that the administration suffered from "deplorable slackness" in applying its own regulations. The *Reporter* went on to say that despite the improvements, "flagrant violations of the law" were still permitted, particularly with regard to the retention on the islands of "time-expired servicaes":

> Mr Hall Hall writing in July of last year informed Sir Edward Grey that there were then upon San Thomé; 425 servicaes whose contracts had expired the previous November, 842 servicaes whose contracts had expired the previous December; that is 1267 labourers whose contracts had already expired over four months- the equivalent of one year's labour from 400 men! [1067]

Annual figures were given of the number of contract labourers repatriated to Angola between 1910 and the first five months of 1914. "Compared with the huge task of restoring to the mainland of 30,000 men women and children" the overall total of 5831 was small in the writer's view, but "showed progress". The statistics also revealed that matters had also improved as far as "bonuses" were concerned and it was emphasised that the "remarkable jump" after 1911 had taken place soon after "the Society's vigorous exposure of this scandal". Finally, further statistics demonstrated that the number of tsetse

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[1064] Idem. ibidem.
[1065] HMSO. *Africa no.1 (1915)* [Cd7960] . Published in July 1915.
[1066] "Portuguese Slavery. Parliamentary Paper." *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend*. October 1915, p.57.
[1067] Idem., p.60.

flies caught had diminished from over 92,000 in 1911 to only 34 in 1914 due to the "courageous work of the sleeping-sickness commission of Príncipe" [1068]

It was, quite understandably, a time for self-congratulation, and, between the lines, there was a tacit admission that the moment had been reached when the Society might finally turn its attentions elsewhere. But the article identified one challenge which still remained for the humanitarian campaign. As the "power to inflict punishments without trial" still existed and this might conceivably be used to coerce labourers to recontract, the article ended with the warning that "further information must be sought as early as possible." [1069]

The Earl of Cromer, in his own review of the penultimate White Paper, was also in a congratulatory and emotional mood. In his article entitled "Portuguese Contract Labour" in the mid-September issue of *The Spectator,* he concluded:

> The Portuguese Government may congratulate itself on having made a serious endeavour to free itself from the humiliating taint of permitting slavery to exist under the flag of Portugal. Englishmen, on the other hand, may reflect with pride that, whilst some of their sons have been laying down their lives in defence of the liberty of the world on the bloodstained plains of Flanders and elsewhere, others have been successfully engaged in a campaign, fortunately bloodless but by no means inglorious, in order to confer on the black populations of West Africa, the inestimable boon of real freedom.[1070]

Yet even though the most intransigent of the humanitarian activists now admitted that the situation had improved to a point where little more could be achieved by the campaign, the chocolate makers still showed no signs of resuming purchases. On May 22nd 1916, Sir Edward Grey wrote to Sir Lancelot Carnegie in Lisbon reporting that the former Foreign Minister, Col. Freire de Andrade [1071] had called on him to request that he use his influence to convince them. Grey had explained, in his usual evasive fashion, that the Consular reports on the plantations were "for general information" but were not concerned "to guarantee the plantations as immaculate".[1072] Freire de Andrade told the Foreign Secretary there was now no difficulty in obtaining free labour for the plantations

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[1068] Idem., p.61.
[1069] Idem. p.63.
[1070] Earl of Cromer. "Portuguese Contract Labour". *The Spectator*. September 18th 1915, p.360.
[1071] Serving as Director-General for the Colonies once again.
[1072] Referring to Consuls' reports in the White Papers.

as the repatriated labourers, returning home with their wages, acted as recruiting agents. Consequently "they could now pick and choose […] the stronger men."[1073]

Two detailed reports from Consul-General Hall Hall to the Foreign Office stand out from the wealth of statistics given in the final White Paper. The first, dated July 3rd 1916, describes his visits to nineteen of the principal plantations during the previous month of May. Preparatory meetings were held with Pedro Botto Machado, the Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe; Lieut.Vieira Branco, the recruiting agent for the Sociedade de Emigração and António Corrêa de Aguiar, the Curator-General. Hall Hall reports he was "much struck by his [Aguiar's] and the Emigration Society's evident willingness to show and explain anything that I desired in connection with their work". Corrêa de Aguiar, whose energy and industrious attitude also impressed Hall Hall , pointed out that, in spite of the "scarcity of ships and the great demand on the available tonnage for the transport of foodstuffs and supplies", he had been able to repatriate over 1000 labourers in January alone, which he claimed was a record for a single month.[1074]

Much of the remainder of Hall Hall's report was in the form of a diary with impressions of his tour of the plantations, which had lasted from May 13th to May 28th.[1075] Several of the entries gave the area under cultivation, the number of labourers under contract, details of payment and accommodation and medical assistance. There were considerable differences between the conditions provided on each, with the smaller "roças" clearly revealing financial difficulties which prevented them from improving living conditions. The range of conditions can be inferred from the following excerpts from the report:

[1073] Sir Edward Grey to Sir Lancelot Carnegie. Foreign Office. May 22nd 1916. HMSO *Africa no.1 (1917) Further Correspondence respecting Contract Labour in Portuguese South-West Africa.* [Cd. 8479] [*In continuation of Africa no.1 (1915)*: Cd.7960] p.41. Freire de Andrade was wasting his time. It would take a change of Foreign Secretary for the attitude of the Foreign Office to become more supportive on the issue.
[1074] A figure which evidently demonstrated that the excuses given previously by the Portuguese authorities to explain the slowness of repatriation were unfounded.
Corrêa de Aguiar was undoubtedly the most capable of the magistrates appointed to the post of "Curador" in the first two decades of the century, and his report to the Governor on the labour question in the islands, providing statistics on the death rate, recontracting and repatriation, offers a well-informed and well-argued response to the criticisms levelled by British antislavery campaigners. See António A. Corrêa de Aguiar. *O trabalho indigena nas ilhas de S. Tomé e Principe.* Imprensa Nacional, São Tomé: 1919.
[1075] The plantations he visited were, in order, by date: "San Miguel, Monte Rosa, Jou, Santo António, Perseverança (or Ribeira Peixe) Angolares (or Dona Augusta), Monte Mário, Vila Conceição, Novo Brasil, San João dos Angolares, Soledade, Aliança, Micondó, Amparo, Colónia Açoriana, Santa Cecília, Caridade, Água-Izé, and Rio d'Ouro."

May 19- Visited San João dos Angolares, and stayed one night as guest of the manager; 500 "serviçaes" at main establishment and "dependencies". At main establishment "serviçaes"' quarters consisted of two large houses, holding sixty or seventy each, and the half of a cement floored warehouse. I inspected one of the houses and found broad wooden tables running down the centre, as usual, for "serviçaes" to sleep on; the "serviçaes" had, themselves fashioned divisions by means of poles and sacking, forming small houses, and similar small houses were to be seen perched along the walls on roughly erected constructions of poles and planks.The manager stated he was going to build other quarters, and signs were visible of preparations for this purpose, as also for a hospital. I saw no hospital. The manager informed me that the hospital for the estate was at a dependency named Val Carmo [sic] but, in spite of some endeavours, I was unable to manage to see it.[1076]

May 23- Visited Santa Cecília. Five kilom. ; 300 "serviçaes". This estate is the property of a black family, natives of San Thomé, with a white manager. Wooden quarters for "serviçaes", fair-sized room for each married couple, divided into two apartments forming bed-room and sitting room; large-sized rooms for five or six single men. Old wooden hospital in use, in good, clean condition; new hospital of brick, with tessellated pavement and iron bedsteads almost completed, expected to be ready in one month. Served by doctor of Água-Izé.[1077]

On a subsequent day (the 24th May) I visited Água-Izé. No testimony is needed regarding the excellence of the arrangements made for the medical treatment and general accommodation of "serviçaes" on this property. The entries in the visitor's book at the house show how often guests are entertained there and shown over the hospital, quarters and workshops. The hospital would serve as a model even for white patients, the living quarters are equally excellent.[1078]

The report also included details of a number of interviews with contract labourers who were in the course of repatriation, some of whom were extremely aged.[1079]

It concluded:

A negro is no more willing than a white man to state the whole truth to any chance stranger who may enquire into his affairs and I therefore refrained from questioning these people long and closely; but as far as concerns their prospects in Angola, it was clear that they realised

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[1076] HMSO *Africa no. 1 (1917) Further Correspondence respecting Contract Labour in Portuguese South-West Africa. [Cd. 8479] [In continuation of "Africa no.1 (1915)"* [Cd. 7960], pp.53-54.
[1077] Idem., p.54.
[1078] Idem., p.55.
[1079] He refers to a group of "about ten old men and women" who ate together" and "otherwise kept apart from the rest". They had all been employed on Roça Pedroma for at least 25 years, possibly much longer, as they remembered the time before cocoa was planted and coffee was the main crop. They were all going to receive about 50 reis each on their arrival on the mainland and said they hoped to plant maize or find light agricultural work.

> they would have to work for a living and the places they were bound for […]are in fertile and civilised districts, where they would, with a reasonable amount of industry, be able to raise, and would find a ready market for the simple crops that form their staple food.[1080]

Dated October 30th 1916, Consul-General Hall Hall's final dispatch to Grey, who, by then, had been elevated to the peerage, began with an unequivocal statement in favour of the lifting of the boycott:

> I have the honour to state that **in my humble opinion the present conditions under which native labour is engaged for and employed in those** [sic] **islands are such as to justify the purchase of cocoa from San Thomé and Príncipe by Messrs. Cadbury and other British firms**. Since September 1915 I have visited nineteen plantations mostly in the southern, less favoured portion of San Thomé where, if anywhere, the plantations are likely to be poorly equipped, and have also spent two months visiting the districts in Angola where successive parties of liberated "serviçaes" are now settling down; and I have come to the conclusion that **the Portuguese Government and planters have, during the last few years, made an honest and successful effort to put their house in order,** which could now be fitly recognised.[1081]

All that remained was for Viscount Grey to put the weight of his considerable authority behind Hall Hall's report and to insist that, in view of Portugal's valuable contribution to the war effort, Cadbury Bros. and their fellow chocolate makers should set aside any remaining doubts they might have and resume purchases. Aware, however, that negotiations were already under way for the formation of a War Cabinet which would require the support of all Parliamentary parties, Grey decided to take the easier course and leave the decision to his successor. On December 10th 1916, Lloyd George would

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[1080] Idem., p.59.

[1081] Idem p.66. (my bold) On January 26th 1917, the day before the Portuguese Expeditionary Force under Gomes da Costa sailed for France, Foreign Minister Augusto Soares wrote to Sir Lancelot Carnegie, referring to the favourable impression caused by the report of HM Consul in Luanda [H. Hall Hall] regarding labour in São Tomé and Príncipe. "Foi com vivo prazer que tomei conhecimento da nota de V. Ex.a por vêr que afinal se faz justiça aos sinceros e persistentes esforços do Govêrno Português, para melhorar a condição dos trabalhadores indigenas das suas colonias, promulgando e fazendo executar pelas suas autoridades, por vêses[sic] até com prejuizo de legitimos interesses dos produtores, uma legislação inspirada em sentimentos altamente humanitários e que sob esse ponto de vista não tem superior em colonia alguma do mundo" In AHD Maço 768 Processo 27. "Repatriações e Escravatura. Relatório do Consul Inglez em Loanda sobre o trabalho indígena em S. Tomé e Príncipe."

replace Asquith as Prime Minister and Edward Grey would step down as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in favour of Arthur Balfour of the Conservative Party.[1082]

On February 27th 1917, four days after the second contingent of Portuguese troops had embarked for France, Balfour wrote to Sir Lawrence Carnegie in the following terms:

> His Majesty's Government have been glad to learn that the recent report of His Majesty's Consul-General at Loanda on the conditions of labour in Angola and the Portuguese Islands has been a source of gratification to the Government to which you are accredited. Mr. Hall Hall's dispatch will be published with as little delay as possible, and you should inform the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs that **His Majesty's Government hope that the effect will be to remove the boycott which has been maintained by British firms against the produce of the regions in question**, as they themselves have formed the opinion that the general conditions there, the terms of the labourers' contracts and those on which they are renewed, and the conditions of repatriation are entirely satisfactory.[1083]

But despite this demonstration of the British Government's goodwill towards Portugal, a month after the first Portuguese troops had joined British forces in France,[1084] the boycott had still not been withdrawn. Writing in 1931 in his history of Cadbury Bros., *The Firm of Cadbury,* Iolo Williams offers the official explanation, whilst disclosing a second, far less disinterested motive:

> It was evident that much genuine repatriation was taking place, [but] the death rate remained appallingly high in San Thomé and Príncipe. The English cocoa firms, including Cadbury Brothers, therefore did not choose to begin once more the purchase of San Thomé cocoa, and have never, to this day, done so. […] the firm's connection with West Africa has not lapsed, as for the past twenty-one years Cadbury Brothers Ltd. have been directly and increasingly interested in the cocoa-growing areas of the Gold Coast and Nigeria; and they are proud to be associated, through their buying agencies, with the development, under British rule, of cocoa cultivation by free native farmers in these Colonies.[1085]

There can be little doubt, in hindsight, that the reason given for maintaining the boycott - the high mortality rate in the cocoa islands - was no more than a feeble excuse. Despite

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[1082] Grey had been suffering from physical and nervous exhaustion for several months and from December 1915, at least, in Asquith's view, he was no longer up to the demands of the post. See M. and E. Brock (eds.), *Margot Asquith's Great War Diary, 1914-16.* OUP, Oxford: 2014, p. 221.
[1083] HMSO *Africa no. 1 (1917) Further Correspondence respecting Contract Labour in Portuguese South-West Africa. [Cd. 8479] [In continuation of "Africa no.1 (1915)"* [Cd. 7960], p.70. (my bold)
[1084] The first Portuguese troops disembarked at the port of Brest on February 2nd 1917.
[1085] Iolo Williams. Op.cit.1931, pp.213 and 215.

the real progress in improving conditions on the plantations and the increasing repatriation of contract labourers, the Quaker chocolate makers clearly had no intention of resuming purchases.

Their philanthropic and business goals had both been achieved.

Chapter 3. Perceptions of race in Britain and Portugal at the end of the nineteenth century and the role of the photographic image

3.1 Through a glass, darkly

> Enfim - exclamou o Ega […] Nós julgamo-nos civilizados como os negros de S. Tomé se supõem cavalheiros, se supõem mesmo **brancos**, por usarem com a tanga uma casaca velha do patrão…[1086]

These sardonic words on the provincialism of Portuguese upper-class society are spoken by João da Ega,[1087] one of the principal characters in Eça de Queirós' celebrated novel *"Os Maias"*, which he wrote in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Taking for granted that an insurmountable barrier separated black and white, Ega ironically suggests that there was an equally insuperable gulf between Lisbon society and the more sophisticated social milieus of London and Paris. Whilst denouncing what he saw as the insularity and narrow-mindedness of his countrymen in this, his characteristically caustic fashion, Eça de Queirós incidentally exposes the contemptuous view of Africans which was widely-held in Portuguese upper-class society, hinting later at the other side of the coin - a chronic tendency towards national self-deprecation, quickly turning to patriotic indignation if the slightest criticism were levelled by a foreigner against Portugal or the Portuguese people. Similarly, in the same novel, there is a revealing contrast between the author's portrayals of the Englishman Brown, who personifies the stereotypical national characteristics and traditional values that many members of the Portuguese elite then admired, and his evident discomfort towards the recent criticisms of Portugal's African colonies made by British explorers.[1088]

[1086] Eça de Queirós. *Os Maias: Episódios de uma Vida Romântica.* Expresso, Lisboa: 2013, 3 vols. Vol I. p.98. [First published in 1888, by Chardron in Oporto.]

[1087] João da Ega, a notorious wit and eccentric, seems to have been partially modelled on the writer himself.

[1088] Even though portrayed by Eça as an example of healthy manhood, Brown is attributed the subordinate role of tutor to Afonso da Maia's son, Carlos. Significantly, the author refers to critical reports by a British explorer which had appeared in a recent book. In the words of the Conde de Gouvarinho: "Major Brat, que

Eça began writing *Os Maias* when he was serving as consul in Bristol, at a time when criticism of Portugal's administration in Africa was mounting in the lead-up to the Berlin West Africa Conference.[1089] The British press had recently published allegations that, contrary to Portuguese claims, practices tantamount to slave-labour were still employed in São Tomé and Príncipe,[1090] whilst, in the gentlemen's clubs and coffee-houses of Lisbon, the islands had not only become a topic of conversation due to the ostentatious lifestyles of a handful of planters who were making fortunes from coffee and cocoa, but the word "cacau", itself, had become a colloquial synonym for money. In fact, such was the new-found prosperity of the colony, only a decade or so after the introduction of the contract-labour system,[1091] that a fellow member of the intellectual coterie known as *"*Os Vencidos da Vida" - the historian Oliveira Martins [1092] - would liken the islands to a "gold-mine".[1093]

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atravessara África, e dizia coisas perfidamente desagradáveis para Portugal." *Os Maias.* Vol.2 p.123 - an obvious reference to the publication of Cdr.Verney Lovett-Cameron's *Across Africa*. 2 vols. Tauchnitz, Leipzig: 1877. Eça had also criticised negative British comments on Portugal's African administration in his *Crónicas de Londres*, which was published in the same year. Eça's ambivalent attitude towards Britain and the British is analysed by Américo Guerreiro de Sousa in an article entitled "Eça de Queirós e Inglaterra-uma relação ambivalente" in *Camões. Revista de Letras e Culturas Lusófonas*. No. 9-10. April-September 2000, pp. 27-32.

[1089] The Berlin West Africa Conference of 1884-5 was organised by the German Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, at Portugal's instigation, to regulate the process of annexation of African territories through international agreement. The General Act later recognised King Leopold's sovereignty over much of the Congo and free trade in the basins of the Zaire, Niger and Zambezi. It also advocated the need for improvement in the moral and material conditions of the indigenous peoples and repression of the slave and alcohol trade and guaranteed religious tolerance and freedom in the region, recognising the need for religious missions in the development of civilisation in Africa. The General Act further established the principle that powers could legitimately possess colonies only if they effectively occupied them.

[1090] In letters to *The Times*, the *Daily News* and *Pall Mall Gazette* on April 14th, 1884, written after five years of missionary service in the Congo, the Rev. Holman Bentley of the Baptist Missionary Society severely criticised Portugal's African administration. In *The Times*, for example: "As for Slavery, its remains are now very short-lived in the Congo, while if the Portuguese come into power it will be revived everywhere under specious forms, such as interminable ten years' contracts, perhaps not even not so decently covered as that. […] By a simple change of name, by the simplest manoeuvre, slavery becomes lawful […]" Quoted in James Duffy. Op.cit.1967, pp.119-120.

[1091] By decree dated April 29th 1875, the obligation of the former slaves to continue working for their previous masters would cease a year later, ending with the total emancipation of the so-called "libertos", under the jurisdiction of a magistrate or "curador", by April 29th 1878. In São Tomé and Príncipe, however, the Governor, Gregório José de Almeida, was forced to abolish compulsory labour on November 8th 1875, after peaceful but threatening demonstrations involving three to four thousand "libertos", on the previous two days. The emancipated labourers, with their natural aversion to plantation work, became known as "Gregorianos".

[1092] Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins (1845-1894) A prolific author and essayist, politician, historian. Served as Minister for Economic Affairs (Fazenda) for a brief period in 1892. Successively argued in favour of several contradictory ideologies, and was, at different times, a monarchist and a staunch republican.

[1093] In 1893, in his preface to *A Ilha de S. Thomé*, A.F. Nogueira's book on the impact of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino on the Islands, Oliveira Martins writes: "[…] d'esses 100 kilometros de plantações saem exportações que, exactamente avaliadas, sobem cerca de 1.600 contos de réis, isto é 150.000 reis por

João da Ega's facetious remark is just one of several references in *Os Maias* which reveal that both São Tomé and the question of slavery were in the back of Eça's mind when he was writing the book.[1094] Significantly, he resuscitates the same trope in the final pages, once again through the lips of his literary surrogate:

> […] é o que sucede com os pretos já corrompidos de São Tomé, que vêem os europeus de lunetas - e imaginam que nisso consiste ser civilizado e ser branco. Que fazem então? Na sua sofreguidão de progresso e de brancura acavalam no nariz três ou quatro lunetas, claras, defumadas, até de cor. E assim andam pela cidade de tanga, de nariz no ar, aos tropeções, no desesperado e angustioso esforço de equilibrarem todos estes vidros - para serem intensamente civilizados e intensamente brancos…[1095]

João da Ega's remarks hint at a nostalgia for the halcyon days when Africans were creatures of nature, supposedly uncorrupted by "civilisation", happy to live in awe of the white man and ready to satisfy his every whim. This illusion, if it ever really existed beyond the pages of novels and romanticised travel accounts, soon disappeared when colonists were confronted with the need to exploit the black man's labour, and the notion of the "child of nature" or "noble savage" quickly gave way to pejorative stereotypes such as the "idle native", which were sometimes framed in an supposedly humorous guise. Ega's words also hint at a growing unease towards the ambitions of a new generation of Africans who were struggling to benefit from the fruits of their own labour, and even darker fears that one day they might openly manifest the desire to run their own affairs. Far from being exclusive to Portugal and its colonies, however, the image of a black man attempting to imitate his master's appearance and exposing himself to ridicule in the process, was a resilient construct which thrived throughout the whole colonial period, raising its ugly head together with other equally demeaning stereotypes wherever the intensive exploitation of black labour was an everyday fact of life. The object of the exercise was clearly to offer a warning that, despite his European attire, the black man's attempt to acquire a "civilised" appearance was merely a superficial disguise and that

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hectare. Que outra cultura, **que espécie de mina** apresenta lucros semelhantes? A. F. Nogueira. A Ilha de S.Thomé. A Questão Bancaria no Ultramar e o Nosso Problema Colonial. Typ. Do Jornal Colonias Portuguezas, Lisboa: 1893, p.VIII. (my bold)

[1094] There are other references to the slave trade in same novel. The father of Maria Monforte, who herself was known in society as *"a negreira"*, is introduced as follows: "[…] Parece que servira algum tempo de feitor numa plantação de Virginia… Enfim, quando reapareceu à face dos céus comandava o brigue "Nova Linda", e levava cargas de pretos para o Brasil, para a Havana e para Nova Orleães." Eça de Queirós. Op.cit 2013 vol.1, p.23

[1095] Eça de Queirós. Op.cit 2013 vol. 3, p.181.

behind it would always remain an unreformable "half-human savage", fit only to toil for his white master.[1096] Indeed, black people were often encouraged to dress up in inappropriate and ill-fitting clothes merely to act as the butt of ridicule and to serve as a vivid example of what was assumed to be their immutable inferiority, whilst many cartoons, caricatures and photographs which deliberately exploited this particular trope found their way into what were intended to be comic postcards, such as the contemporary French example below.[1097]



Figure 3.1. French Lithographic postcard. Signed R. de la Nezière. Pub.unknown c.1908

The concept of entirely separate and unbridgeable realities, which is at the heart of this and other racist tropes, pervaded the scientific, literary and "image worlds" [1098] of the latter part of the nineteenth century and amongst the "educated classes" of the colonising nations it had long been considered self-evident.[1099] The so-called "lower orders", on the

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[1096] Jan Nederveen Pieterse. *White on Black. Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture.* Yale University Press. New Haven and London: 1992 p. 98. See also Mário C. Moutinho. *O indígena no pensamento Colonial Português. 1895-1961*. Univ. Lusófona, Lisboa 2000. Especially pps.66-67.

[1097] **Figure 3.1.** The author was Raymond de la Nezière (1865-1953). This is just one of several postcards by the same prolific French illustrator and popular comic-strip artist which exploit this racist theme. An eloquent example of the humour of contempt.

[1098] The notion of an image-world implies the existence of a construct which, up to a certain point, exists independently from the "real" world which is depicted. The expression, which was developed by the anthropologist Deborah Poole in the context of early photographs of Andean people, harks back to Susan Sontag's chapter of the same name in *On Photography* written two decades before. See Deborah Poole. *Vision Race and Modernity. A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World.* Princeton: 1997.

[1099] Joachim John Monteiro, an English mining engineer of Portuguese extraction, sums up the predominant ideology of his day: "It is not my intention to deprecate any efforts for the benefit of the Negro race, but simply to show that good seed in Africa will fall on bare and barren ground, and where weeds will rise and choke it; and I must warn philanthropy that its bounty is less productive of good results on the Negro of tropical Africa than perhaps on any other race […] **It is heartrending to see money, lives, and efforts**

other hand, more concerned with eking out a living, apparently needed to be constantly reminded of this supposed reality, and caricatures based on this premise were common in the popular press of the United States both during and after slavery and, towards the turn of the century in European countries with plantation colonies, such as France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Britain. Degrading portrayals of black people, as exemplified below, also left an indelible stain on the world of advertising [1100] and were a common feature of children's comic strips, persisting well into the twentieth century.

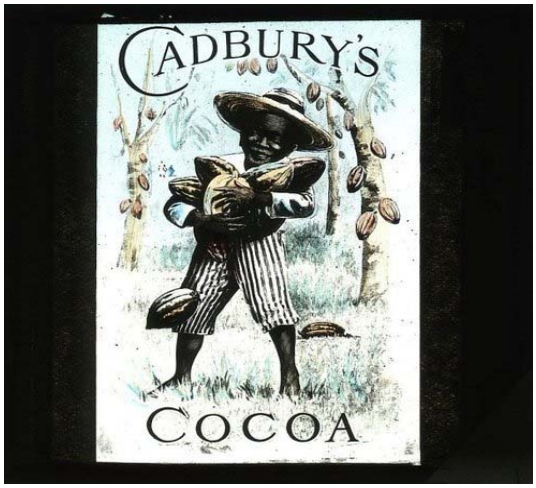




Figure 3.2 (Left) Hand-coloured glass plate. "Cadbury's Cocoa". Lantern-slide advertisement. c. 1900.
Figure 3.3 (Right) Advertisement. "Cadbury's Cocoa. Scene on a Trinidad Cocoa Estate." 1901.

Rather than a by-product, this relentless humiliation was a fundamental necessity of the colonial economy, as Frantz Fanon convincingly argued, [1101] a factor of violence in what, a generation later, Abdul Janmohamed called a "Manichean struggle" - a bitter, deep-rooted conflict driven by economic motives and an inevitable corollary of the need of

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squandered and wasted under the misguided idea of raising the Negro to a position which, from his mental condition, he cannot possibly attain […]" Joachim John Monteiro. Op.cit. 1875 vol.1, p. 240.(my bold)

[1100] See **Figures 3.2 and 3.3** Cadbury's iconic "picanniny" in his traditional striped, knee-length pants, weighed down by an armful of cocoa pods, supposedly in Trinidad where the firm had a small plantation. A symbol of abundance and the happy identification of the infantilised black labourer with the aims of the European manufacturer. Surprisingly, even the Quaker firm, with its impeccable anti-slavery pedigree, fell into the same racist trap. **Figure 3.3** appeared in the *Derbyshire Advertiser and Journal* on June 14th 1901.

[1101] Ideas first put forward by Frantz Fanon in *Black Skin, White Masks* Grove Press, New York: 1967 [published as *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* in Martinique in 1952] and further elaborated his last book *The Wretched of the Earth*. Grove Press, New York: 1963 - an indictment of the violence of colonialism. First published two years earlier, a few days before his death, as *Les Damnés de la Terre.*

European culture to define itself by contrast with the "Negro Other". [1102] And one of the chilling consequences of this supposedly irrevocable gap between the two antagonistic worlds was that the European's efforts to "civilise the African" would go on indefinitely, and that the exploitation of his labour could thus proceed unhindered by questions of conscience for as long as might be required.[1103] Such views were not uncommon in Portuguese society in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the influential author Oliveira Martins, writing on São Tomé, expressed the opinion that Africans were there to be exploited and would never attain equality:

> "[…] a meu ver, o alicerce duradouro d'essa riqueza deva assentar na exploração agrícola da colonia, por meio do trabalho regulamentado das raças indígenas inferiores, submettidas á direcção protectora dos colonos portuguezes. Tanto é utopia transformar os pretos em cidadãos e eguaes dos brancos, como é incitar os emigrantes portuguezes a irem trabalhar com a enxada em Africa, em concorrencia com os negros. Brancos e pretos teem papeis diversos, que a natureza e a força das cousas indica, **e não podem ser alterados**."[1104]

Towards the end of the nineteenth century supposedly representative photographic images of Africans and "Darkest Africa" began reaching the wider European public through magic-lantern shows and illustrated magazines carrying fictionalised accounts of the exploits of daring explorers and intrepid missionaries, exciting a curiosity which was stimulated even further by the intense colonial rivalry between European nations. Though still a relatively recent invention, photography was already much in vogue and such photographs were highly regarded as an objective and accurate record of "primitive races" which many thought were threatened by inevitable extinction. Whilst adding to public knowledge of little-known places, people and customs, images of this kind also played a significant and sometimes deliberate role in the shaping of erroneous ideas and, more

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[1102] Abdul R. JanMohamed. "The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature" In H.L.Gates Jr. Ed. *Race, Writing and Difference*. University of Chicago, Chicago: 1986, p.81.

[1103] Karl Marx, unsurprisingly, was one of the first to identify this "civilising mission" for what it really was. Writing in 1853 on British rule in India, he commented: "The profound hypocrisy and inherent barbarism of bourgeois civilization lies unveiled before our eyes, turning from its home, where it assumes respectable forms, to the colonies, where it goes naked." "The Future Results of British Rule in India". The *New York Daily Tribune*. August 8th, 1853. Republished in *Karl Marx; Friedrich Engels. Collected Works* (Vol. 12). Lawrence & Wishart, London: 1979, p.217.

[1104] In A. F. Nogueira. Op.cit. 1893. Preface p.VII. (my bold) Oliveira Martins, however, had demonstrated that he was fully aware of the most recent theories on race in his *Elementos de Antologia*, first published in 1880. See Oliveira Martins. *Elementos de Antropologia (História Natural do Homem)* [8th Edition] Guimarães Editores, Lisboa: 1954.

particularly, in the construction of racist stereotypes and the dissemination of racial prejudice.

At the same time as Eça de Queirós was writing *Os Maias,* an extraordinary album of photographs taken in Portuguese West Africa by J. A. Cunha Moraes (1855-1933) was being published in Lisbon in a series of four volumes. [1105] Eça would probably have been familiar with the album, as he returned to the Portuguese capital at intervals and was kept up to date with political and cultural developments by his well-informed circle of friends.

Amongst the more striking images in the album were Moraes' studio "portraits" - such as the ones showing " Cabindas" in loincloths, or "krooboys" wearing their hybrid Afro-European uniforms - familiar figures to those who travelled on the steamers along the West African coast. [1106] Posing self-consciously in pairs against the unfamiliar backdrop and props of the photographer's studio, the subjects stare blankly towards us, frozen in time and space like prepared specimens on the slide of a microscope. They are not portraits in the usual sense of the term. The individual identities of the subjects were of

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[1105] J. A. Cunha Moraes. *Africa Occidental - Album Photográphico e Descriptivo.* 4 vols. David Corazzi Lisboa: 1885-1888. Prefaced by Luciano Cordeiro, the album, which included 160 of the 400 or so images which Moraes had accumulated by this time, doubtlessly attracted the interest of the better-informed members of Lisbon society. Together with Francisco de Salles Ferreira, who wrote the accompanying text, Moraes had begun publishing albumen prints of Angola two years before Corazzi's Album was released. See J.A.Cunha Moraes, Francisco de Salles Ferreira. *Africa Occidental. Album Photographico e Litterário*. 1882. Luciano Cordeiro's preface to the album emphasises its contribution to colonial propaganda, whilst praising the objectivity sought by photographers in comparison with the subjectivity of the eye-witness accounts of travellers and explorers: "[…]**as photographias primorosas de Cunha Moraes, e a sua vulgarização fácil, habilmente organisada por elle e pelo seu intelligente editor, - representam uma contribuição valiosíssima para esta propaganda generosa e pratica que por toda a parte procura fazer entrar o Continente negro nas attenções, nas sympathias, no convívio intellectual das multidões do velho continente europeu**[…]Na descoberta e no aperfeiçoamento successivo dos processos photographicos entra em grande parte, como estimulo persistente, a necessidade, o ideal, […]da reproducção extrema, da copia impessoal. Os olhos, o cerebro, a palavra, têem como machinismo photographico, reproductivo, este vício: - impõem-se á reproducção, juntam-se, modificando forçosamente, ao objecto reproduzido. […] Substituir este meio transmissor, activo, e por conseguinte modificante, intelligente, e por conseguinte livre, por um outro perfeitamente passivo, que fixe e represente o que se viu, não como qual o viu mas como é: - eis a razão e ao mesmo tempo a finalidade positiva dos processos photographicos. […]" (my bold) Idem. Preface. In Teresa Isabel Matos Pereira in *Uma Travessia Da Colonialidade. Intervisualidades Da Pintura, Portugal E Angola.* Ph.D Thesis. ESBAL, 2011, pp.82-87.

[1106] **Figure 3.4**. A page from Moraes' Album. Krooboys, originating from British West Africa, were often employed on short contracts as longshoremen or crew on the steamers which linked the ports along the Angolan coast, and were familiar figures to many of those who travelled between the mainland and the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe. Moraes' photograph of the Cabindas seems all the more bizarre due to the presence of the classical column or pillar, a device first used by studio photographers to help immobilise their subjects. See Walter Benjamin's scathing comments on the accoutrements of the photographer's studio in his article "A Short History of Photography". Trans. Stanley Mitchell. *Screen.* London: Spring 1972. p.18, [originally published in *Die Literarische Welt* of Sept 18th, Sept. 25th and Oct. 2nd 1931]

little or no concern to the photographer and the prints were not meant to be seen, much less preserved, by those portrayed.

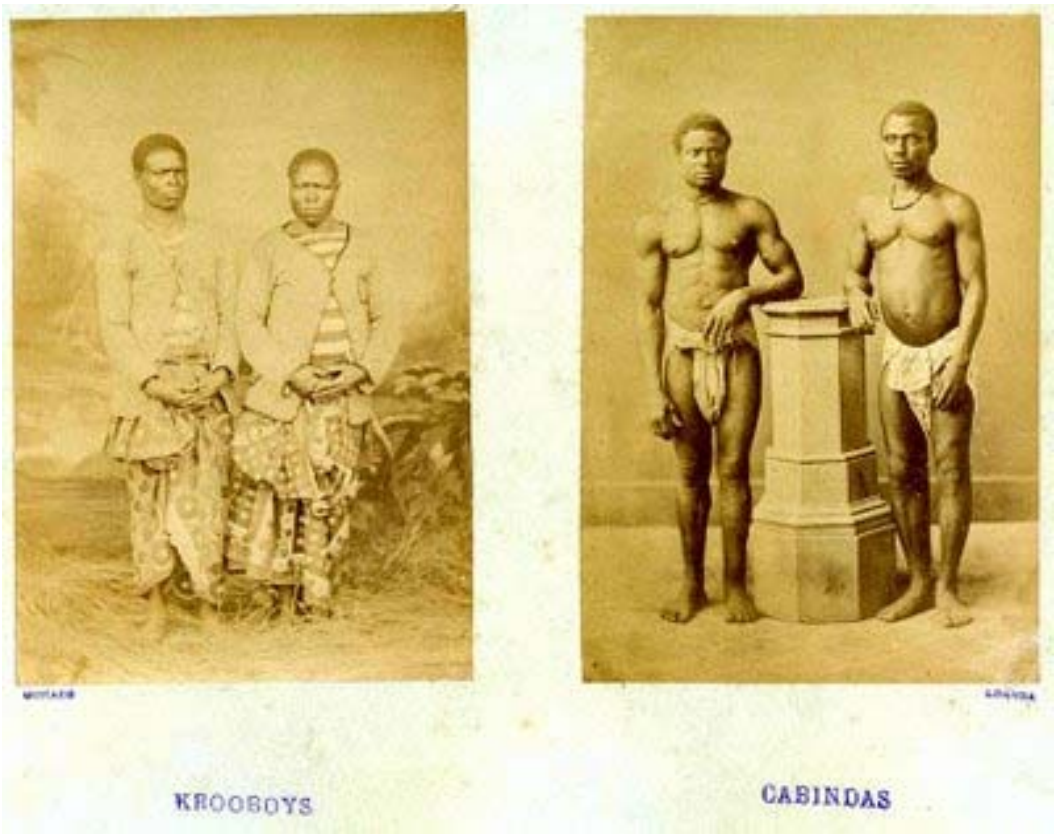


Figure 3.4. J.A. de Cunha Moraes. "Krooboys and Cabindas". Albumen prints.c.1880

Intended as "curios" to offer a taste of a distant, "exotic otherness" to educated Europeans, these extraordinary, decontextualised photographs were more at home in the reading-room of a Lisbon gentleman's club like the Grémio Literário,[1107] or the library of the Geographical Society than in faraway Angola. And as free from malice and as far removed from João da Ega's "boutades" as they undoubtedly are, they are symptomatic, in the final analysis, of the same incapacity to come to terms with the gaping psychological gulf separating Europeans from the African "Other" which Eça de Queirós so effectively exposes in his novel.

Some of Moraes' photographs offer evidence of a completely different way of picturing Africans, however, [1108] signalling what may have been an aesthetic experiment on his

[1107] Both Eça and Oliveira Martins were members of the Grémio.
[1108] A.P.Vicente notes that Moraes' photographs attempted to identify and record physical, facial and cultural distinctions between different African ethno-linguistic groupings -"de acordo com as modas

part. Contrasting dramatically with the previous studies, one of Moraes' most interesting photographs, taken in the plantation colony of São Tomé, shows an apparently well-to-do, black planter, probably a native of the islands or a "filho da terra", posing in a horse-drawn trap in the midst of his family and servants. [1109] In addition to its exceptional aesthetic appeal, the picture is of particular sociological and historical significance as it preserves a visual record of a time before the overwhelming concentration of the better agricultural land in the hands of European planters. [1110]



Figure 3.5. J.A. de Cunha Moraes. "S. Thomé [Retrato dos habitantes e serventes de uma roça em S. Tomé]". Albumen print.c.1880

The composition of the photograph is particularly revealing. The observer's eye is cleverly drawn by the angle of the owner's carriage to the right-hand margin of the study, where one of the planter's daughters poses elegantly, mounting side-saddle in the customary fashion for gentlewomen. In the centre of the picture, her younger sister sits in a canopied litter carried by black servants. Reinforcing the overall impression of wealth and position, other servants are carefully stationed at intervals along the length and

científicas correntes". See António Pedro Vicente "Os primeiros 75 anos da fotografia em Portugal". In *História de Portugal. Dos tempos pré-históricos aos nossos dias. Vol. XV.* Ediclube, Amadora: 1993, p.229.

[1109] **Figure 3.5.** Albumen print. 18 x 24 cm c.1880? AHU. PRA/PI 272. 5195.

[1110] The acquisition of land previously owned by local planters was often due to Europeans' greater ease in obtaining loans from the Banco Nacional Ultramarino. The Bank, founded in 1863 on the initiative of José Mendes Leal, the Minister of the Overseas Territories, was established in Angola in 1865 and São Tomé in 1868. It merged with the Caixa Geral de Depósitos in 2001. Hodges and Newitt note that by the early 1900's only 6% of the agricultural land of the islands was owned by native planters. See Tony Hodges and Malyn Newitt. *São Tomé and Príncipe: From Plantation Colony to Microstate*. Boulder, Col. : 1988, p.34.

breadth of the drive, possibly according to their roles in the household, whilst, in the foreground, a European, whose presence was certainly not accidental, steadies another of the planter's horses, obscuring the view of what appears to be a third litter, possibly carrying another member of the family. [1111] Contrasting with these overt signs of relative affluence, a modest single-story dwelling provides the backdrop to this carefully-staged visual narrative. Setting aside the obvious differences, the composition is reminiscent of English eighteenth - century oil paintings of wealthy landowners in front of their country houses and estates, save that here the identity and physiognomy of the principal figures were evidently not the artist's primary concern.[1112] In fact, Moraes exploited every inch of the camera's width and depth of field to ensure that the goods and chattels of the proprietor were displayed to maximum effect. Clearly, it was intended as an unequivocal testament to the planter's status and material success. [1113]

The São Tomé photograph is obviously a world apart from Moraes' studies of "typical" African figures, principally due to the degree of complicity which evidently existed between the photographer and his subjects. It is likely, in fact, that the planter not only commissioned the photograph but also had a say in the choice of setting and composition. Hence, unlike the studio "portraits" of Krooboys and Cabindas, who were merely representatives of certain "types"- anonymous pawns in the photographer's game - the photograph resists classification as a strictly "colonial" image, offering, instead, an eloquent reminder that pictures taken in a colonial context often reveal evidence of willing cooperation between the European photographer and his local subjects and bear witness to complex and ever-changing colonial relationships which varied widely, even within

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[1111] **Figure 3.5** 19.0 ×12.7 cm. It is not clear from the image whether the European is the photographer's assistant, an acquaintance of the planter or his employee, but the fact that he his holding the horse suggests that the latter case cannot be excluded, which would obviously have particular significance, not the least of which, the inversion of the traditional roles of black and white in a plantation economy. During his stay in São Tomé and Príncipe, a generation later, Cadbury's representative, Joseph Burtt, met several black planters who employed Angolan contract labourers. See Catherine Higgs Op.cit. 2012, pp.32-33.

[1112] Maria do Carmo Serén detects differences between Cunha Moraes' unconventional way of seeing and his contemporaries, which place him in a category of his own: "[…] Precisamente porque o seu olhar não tem a convenção da época, a sua percepção da paisagem e dos homens, desinsere o homem branco do espaço alheio". Maria do Carmo Serén "Livro de Viagens. Um discurso ou uma memória" *in Livro de Viagens. Fotografia Portuguesa (1854-1997)*, Edition Stemmle AG, Lisboa-Frankfurt: 1997, p.26.

[1113] In his chapter in *Ways of Seeing* on the way advertising had acquired many of the familiar forms of portrayal employed in oil-painting, John Berger perceptively affirms: "Oil-painting before it was anything else, was a celebration of private property. As an art form it derived from the principle **you are what you have**." (Author's italics in the original, my bold). Here, Moraes was celebrating the same principle, using photography. John Berger. *Ways of Seeing.* Penguin London: 2008, p.139. First published in 1972 and based on Berger's ground-breaking BBC television series.

the same territory, from total European dominance and subjugation to resistance and even open conflict on the part of the indigenous populations.[1114]

If one accepts Edward Said's claim - which recalls the writings of Raymond Williams - that literary narratives create "structures of feeling" which "support, elaborate and consolidate the practice of Empire", [1115] the same clearly holds true for images such as these, which convey attitudes and perceptions and influence opinions in not unsimilar ways. As a consequence, they can be a valuable resource today for those who wish to understand more about ways of seeing from the time of empire. Yet, though they are capable of opening a window on the past and offering a valuable record of individuals, places and events, photographs like the ones in Moraes' album are inevitably cloaked in a shroud of opacity which has accumulated over a century or more of social and cultural change. Often, too, the viewer is confronted by the plausibility of multiple interpretations due to the lack of surrounding information. It is all too easy, therefore, for even relatively sophisticated observers to view such images "through today's eyes", and to overlook the factors which distance themselves from the original social and cultural context in which they were made.

Focussing on Britain and Portugal, adversaries in the "slave-grown cocoa" dispute at the beginning of the twentieth century, and concentrating, wherever possible, on contemporary sources originating from Portuguese West Africa, this chapter will attempt to examine the way visual images of many kinds reinforced and justified perceptions of European superiority and supremacy and created erroneous and simplistic views of Africa and Africans, in part to justify their subjugation and exploitation as a source of cheap labour. In the chapter which follows, an attempt will be made to assess the importance of photographs and other images in the course of the "Slave-grown Cocoa Controversy", and to show how highly sophisticated techniques and visual tools of persuasion were used by both sides to influence public opinion in this often acrimonious dispute.

[1114] What exactly constitutes a "colonial photograph" is still very much a matter for discussion. Although taken in a colonial context by a European photographer, this picture was very probably commissioned by the black planter and reflects no hint of subservience on his part.

[1115] See Edward Said. *Culture and Imperialism*. Vintage Books, New York: 1993 p.14. Williams talks of determinism in the cultural and social context as "the setting of limits" and "the exertion of pressures" rather than a wholly controlling or predicting set of causes. In Raymond Williams. *Television: Technology and Cultural Form.* Routledge London and New York: 1974, p.133.

3.2 First appearances

Notwithstanding its half-century of existence, photography was still in its infancy, both as a technique and an art-form in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and it was only during the period under study that relatively inexpensive, mass-produced, hand-held cameras began to reach a wider public. The first camera specifically designed to be portable was the Kodak box-camera which was introduced in the late 1880's. It was relatively simple to handle and freed the user from the need to develop and print his own photographs. Its successor, the Kodak folding camera, which could be carried in the pocket, was released in 1897, but the great leap forward in the spread of photography took place three years later when the low-priced "Brownie" was launched in the United States and Europe. [1116] Despite these great technical advances, the new celluloid roll film was still inferior to glass plates, both for quality of reproduction and resistance to climatic extremes, and professional photographers, in particular, would continue to use the older, proven technique for many years - which meant that shutter speeds were necessarily slow and that most photographs continued to be staged. As a consequence, photographic equipment was unwieldy and heavy, as were the plates and chemicals which were used, and the challenge of transporting the bulky paraphernalia required to the interior of Africa, often on lengthy journeys on foot over difficult terrain, was a deterrant to all but the most determined and well-prepared traveller. Moreover, contemporary accounts emphasise the difficulties in the processing or "manipulation" - as it was then called - of the plates, in the often-encountered conditions of extreme heat and humidity. [1117] In an account of his crossing from Benguela, on the west coast of Angola, to the mouth of the Zambezi in 1891-2, James Johnston, a medical missionary and an experienced photographer, describes the procedures and difficulties involved:

[1116] David Killingray and Andrew Roberts. "An Outline History of Photography in Africa to ca. 1940" *History in Africa*, Vol. 16 (1989), p.198

[1117] Even as late as 1919, the difficulties encountered in processing the plates of the Eclipse Expedition to the Island of Príncipe were so great that few survived to confirm Einstein's Theory of General Relativity. See Elsa Mota, Paulo Crawford and Ana Simões. "Einstein in Portugal: Eddington's expedition to Príncipe and the reactions of Portuguese astronomers (1917-25)". *The British Journal for the History of Science,* 42 issue 2, June 2009, pp. 245-273. Eddington's photographs of the Hyades constellation were taken at Roça Sundy where sleeping sickness had caused havoc before Bruto da Costa's successful eradication of the glossina fly and its habitat.

> I developed on the march only when there was no moon, when we chanced to camp near a clear running stream, my tent serving the purpose of a "dark-room"[…]To avoid the heavy dishes for the "hypo" and washing, I constructed bags of rubber cloth for the purpose, tacked upon frames, and carried a box to receive exposed plates, holding two dozen, replenishing my holders always at night.[…] the boxes containing my photo apparatus experienced the same rough usage as my medicine chest - carried on the head or shoulders of natives, by river in canoes and through Bechuanaland and northward by wagon and, like the chest, having been several times under water. [1118]

Johnston goes on to explain why African explorers and photographers would continue to use traditional cameras with photographic plates, for many years:

> In addition to the aforementioned equipment [an American, Waterbury View 8 x 10 inch camera and a folding tripod] I had a 5 x 7 detective hand camera, fitted with an Eastman's roll-holder, with a good supply of rolls, but they turned out very unsatisfactory, for, although I obtained a large number of passably good snap-shot negatives, they dried after development so unevenly, puckering and crinkling, that I cannot get a decent print from them. They are the most obstreperous invention I have ever handled […] [1119]

Whilst developments in the design of photographic equipment were being rapidly driven by popular demand, progress in printing technology advanced at a slower pace and the transfer of photographs to the printed page remained problematic for decades. For half a century images had to be laboriously transposed to engravings or lithographs by expert craftsmen, or alternatively "tipped in", i.e. pasted directly to the pages of a book, which was both time-consuming and expensive.[1120] As a consequence, the number of photographs which made their way into print before the final quarter of the nineteenth century was relatively small and their influence limited.

In Portugal, the first periodical to publish an illustration based on the novel invention of the daguerreotype was *O Panorama* - in its issue of 20th March 1841- a remarkable woodcut of the Royal Palace at Ajuda, [1121] whilst from 1861 to 1863 the magazine *Revista*

[1118] James Johnston M.D *Reality and Romance in South Central Africa.* Hodder and Stoughton. London 1893. Excerpts from pp. 351-3.
[1119] Idem, ibidem.According to Frizot, the cartridge roll film was introduced in 1895 at the same time as the pocket Kodak camera but Johnston's account reveals that Eastman was marketing a type of roll film several years before. See Michel Frizot ed.*The New History of Photography*. Könemann, Hagen: 1998, p.23.
[1120] Though published in 1912, Dan Crawford's *Thinking Black*, which is mentioned in Chapter 4.5 of this dissertation, carried printed black and white photographs, whilst coloured illustrations were tipped in.
[1121] *O Panorama: Jornal litterário e instructivo da Sociedade Propagadora dos Conhecimentos Úteis* (Semanário.1837-1868). The camera belonged to a Francisco Mocenig[o?] who appears in the picture. In a revealing comment on the limitations of the new technique, the magazine hastened to explain why the two

Pittoresca e Descriptiva de Portugal [1122] carried picturesque photographic views of Portuguese towns, which were printed separately and pasted on to the pages. Such initiatives, due to their inherent difficulties and cost, were infrequent and sporadic, and although improvements in half-tone printing techniques in the 1880's enabled images to be transferred to metal plates which could be used in high-speed printing presses, the use of engravings was still common in all types of publications, even at the turn of the twentieth century [1123]

For well over a generation, therefore, a window of opportunity remained between the developing of the photographic plate and the printing of the final illustration, which allowed the original image to be manipulated to convey the message of the author more effectively. In fact, it became fairly common for engravers to add, change or eliminate elements of the original image, according to their own aesthetic or ideological preferences, or to meet the wishes of the publisher.[1124] Such sleight of hand, which sometimes took the form of a subtle and insidious kind of a priori censorship, was all the more effective in influencing attitudes and perceptions due to the widely-held conviction that engraved images based upon photographs were a true and accurate reflection of reality. Indeed, as early as 1857, the British art critic, Lady Elizabeth Eastlake, had expressed the view that photography, itself, was incapable of deceit:

> […] She is made for the present age, in which the desire for art resides in a small minority, but the craving or rather necessity for cheap, prompt and torrent facts in the public at large. Photography is the purveyor of such knowledge to the world. She is the sworn witness of everything presented to her view. […] Her business is to give evidence of facts, as minutely and as impartially as, to our shame, only an unreasoning machine can give. […][1125]

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lateral towers were absent from the engraving: "[…] porque a machina, do unico ponto onde pôde ser convenientemente collocada, só abrangeu a parte central da frontaria […]" *O Panorama*. Vol. V. 20th March 1841, pp.89-90.
The daguerreotype was a popular process between 1839 - when it was invented by the French photographer Louis Daguerre and the 1860's when it was replaced by less onerous and more flexible techniques. It survived in Portugal for longer, however, as it produced a unique image which subjects valued highly.
[1122]Joaquim Possidónio Narcizo da Silva. *Revista Pittoresca e Descriptiva de Portugal com vistas photographicas,* Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon: 1861-1863. Silva was architect and archaeologist to the Crown.
[1123] David Killingray and Andrew Roberts. Op.cit 1989, p.198.
[1124] Evidently, what is omitted from a photograph may be just as significant as what is included.
[1125] Elizabeth Rigby, Lady Eastlake. (1809-1893) "Photography". *London Quarterly Review*, No. 101, April 1857, pp. 442-468. Also reproduced online on the PCCA website: History of Photography: Lady Elizabeth Eastlake (nearbycafe.com) Consulted 6/6/2021. The London International Exhibition of 1851 had opened

In truth of fact, the photographer or publisher was often faced with an ethical dilemma between the quest for "accurate and objective representation" and the temptation to alter the original for aesthetic or ideological reasons, due to the very ease by which images could be manipulated, even within the limitations of the technology available at the time.[1126] Inevitably, what was seen as the higher calling of service to the realm or empire, politics or religion, often prevailed over "lesser considerations" such as truth, objectivity and loyalty to an anonymous reader or spectator.

James Ryan offers just such a cautionary example of the alteration of a photographic image at the engraving stage to meet the needs of imperial propaganda, in his influential study of the relationship between photography and the British Empire. [1127] In the illustration *Treaty Making in East Africa* which was published in 1897 in *The Queen's Empire*,[1128] the principal figure, a trader by the name of James Martin, is replaced in the final engraving by an anonymous colonial official with the traditional pith helmet, sitting with his back to the viewer and apparently dictating the terms of an "agreement" to an African headman. The whole emphasis of the photograph had been transferred in the engraving from the central figure, Chief Kamiri, surrounded by his entourage, to this phantom representative of British Imperial interests in Africa.

Such forms of "patriotic licence" were evidently not exclusive to Britain. "Legerdemain" of this kind seems to have been relatively common in many American and European publications of the period and not unsimilar cases have been identified in Portuguese

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the debate on the specific nature of photography and its place in the sections on "Industry" or the "Fine Arts."

[1126] Sontag cites the case of "a German photographer who invented the first technique for retouching the negative" and the popularity of his exhibit at the second Exposition Universelle in 1855 when the public realised that the camera could indeed lie. [two years before Lady Eastlake's article] See Susan Sontag. Op. cit. 1977, p.86. She was undoubtedly referring to Franz Hanfstaengl, the Bavarian painter and lithographer, who was awarded a gold medal for exhibiting a retouched negative and two prints - one before the negative was retouched and one after retouching, a departure which Nadar described as "the beginning of a new era in photography." See Rachel Verbin. *Photographic Retouching: The Press Picture Editor's "Invisible" Tool 1930-1939. A Study of Retouched Press Prints from the Art Gallery.* Master of Arts thesis. Ryerson Univ. Toronto: 2010, p.6. (Consulted online 10/05/2019 Digital Library Ryerson)

[1127] The accompanying caption reads as follows: "[…] The process of treaty-making with natives has often been grossly abused in the past, but a happier state of things now prevails and the recognised officials of the State may be trusted to deal justly in their **diplomatic dealings with the natives who are so often at the mercy of superior intelligence and a higher civilisation than their own**.[…]" In James R. Ryan. *Picturing Empire. Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*. Reaktion Books. London: 1997, p.221. (my bold)

[1128] H.O.Arnold Foster. *The Queen's Empire. A pictorial and descriptive record: illustrated from photographs.* Cassell and Co. London: 1897-9.

periodicals, such as the case of an illustration showing a group of Africans who accompanied the explorer Serpa Pinto on his famous expedition across Africa, which appeared in *O Occidente* about two months after his return. In the engraving based on the original photographic print, which appears in the second volume of *Como Atravessei África* and also in its English edition, Major Serpa Pinto stands discreetly to one side in the back row - an unassuming pose which was clearly a personal tribute to the part played by his fellow travellers. Although the magazine caption includes the names of the remaining members of the expedition- unlike the English edition- the engraver, Caetano Alberto - whose rendering reinforces the "blackness" of the Africans - rather than portray the Portuguese explorer as a figure equal in status to those who accompanied him, chose to exclude him from the illustration. [1129]

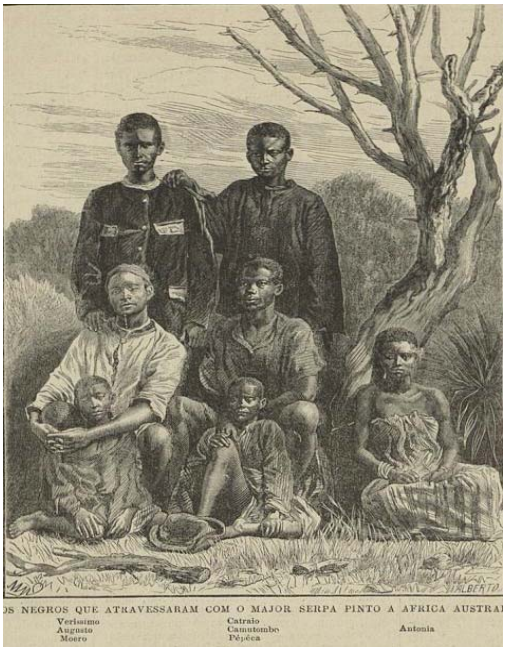




Figure 3.6. (Left) "Os Negros que acompanharam o Major Serpa Pinto a Africa Austral". Engraving. 1879.
Figure 3.7. (Right) "Fig. 133. - The Remnant of the Expedition". Engraving. 1881.

[1129] **Figure 3.6** appears in *O Occidente*. August 15th1879.The print, made by the well-known engraver Caetano Alberto da Silva, was based on a photograph taken in Pretoria. Caetano Alberto held conservative and anti-republican views and as the principal shareholder in the *Occidente* publishing firm, may well have taken the decision to alter the image on his own initiative, for, as Alda Santos points out in her study on the magazine: "O patriotismo retrospectivo de Caetano Alberto sustentava uma visão exacerbada de um país centrado no seu passado colonial e nas vitórias alcançadas em África." Alda Santos: *Occidente, Imagens e Representações da Europa.* Master's Thesis. Coimbra University, 2009. (Consulted online 8/10/2014) https://estudogeral.sib.uc.pt/bitstream/10316/13384/1/Tese_mestrado_Alda%20Santos.pdf
Figure 3.7 is reproduced from Major Serpa Pinto. *How I crossed Africa* Vol. II. Philadelphia: J.P.Lipincott, 1881, p.133. For a fuller analysis of this case, see Leonor Pires Martins. *Um Imperio de Papel. Imagens do Colonialismo Português na Imprensa Periódica Ilustrada* (1875-1940) Edições 70, Lisboa: 2012, pp.42-3.

Even after technological progress had all but dispensed with the engraving stage, habits acquired during the previous half-century meant that manipulative techniques were still routinely employed before illustrations left the press. The original sense and purpose of a photograph could be altered through rescaling, retouching, removal of unwanted elements, hand-colouring or photomontage, or, quite simply, by way of the accompanying captions or text. And yet, despite the survival of such manipulative practises, which the vast majority of readers were evidently unaware of, photography retained its reputation, for several decades at least, as a guarantee to the observer of accuracy and authenticity.[1130]

In fact, even before the image reached the hands of the publisher, the photographer had a range of options at his disposal - choice of subject, pose, setting, composition, camera, lens and plate, lighting, aperture, length of exposure, distance, width and depth of field - all of this even before the photograph was developed, printed and cropped in the darkroom. Indeed, what Lady Eastlake called "deceit" was - contrary to her conviction - not an impossibility for the camera but an indispensable feature of the photographer's trade - part of the range of skills he required to harness the "natural magic" of photography, as Fox Talbot had put it.[1131]

Coinciding with the period in which cameras and roll film began to become accessible to the public in general, the popular craze for anything to do with Africa and the Orient was spreading rapidly, particularly in countries with colonial possessions. Publishers naturally turned to photography to provide a ready supply of supposedly "authentic" and "accurate" images to meet the demands of a public eager for first-hand information on the exploits and achievements of intrepid explorers in "opening up the Dark Continent" and military heroes, missionaries and colonial administrators in "bringing civilisation to savage tribes".

[1130] It is interesting to note that not everyone in Portugal was so easily taken in, even at this early juncture. The writer Ramalho Ortigão, for instance, already demonstrates an awareness of the process and pitfalls of photomontage when referring to a political dispute in *As Farpas*: " [...] alguns fotógrafos que colam sobre um cliché de lupanar a cabeça de uma mulher honesta, e a fazem correr mundo grudada à impudícia e ao desvergonhamento bestial do artífice".Ramalho Ortigão, *As Farpas*,Vol. XII, Lisboa: David Corazzi, 1887, p. 115. See José Carlos Alvarez and Paulo Baptista. "Do Palco ao Estúdio: O Retrato Fotográfico e as Artes do Palco (1875-1935)". In *Imagens de uma ausência.* Centro de Estudos de Teatro, Edições Colibri. Lisboa: 2011, pp.61-2.

[1131] In a famous paper entitled *Some Account of the Art of Photogenic Drawing*, which Talbot presented to the Royal Society in 1839. On the pioneer British photographer, see Don Slater. "Photography and Modern Vision: the Spectacle of "natural magic". *Visual Culture* ed. Chris Jenks. Routledge, New York: 1995, p.227.

Amongst those who were acutely aware of the importance and lasting impact of such visual evidence on the public was the journalist-turned-explorer Henry Morton Stanley, who rarely missed a chance to put the camera's "magic" to good effect.[1132] Revealing proof of Stanley's awareness of the importance of such records in the way history was told, is provided by the photographs taken of the "meeting" which took place in Luanda between Stanley and the Portuguese explorers Maj. Alexandre Serpa Pinto, Cdr. Roberto Ivens and Lt. Brito Capello, which are preserved in the Archives of the Tervuren Museum in Brussels.

Receiving news, at Ambriz, where he was trying to obtain bearers, of the arrival at Boma of the survivors of the Anglo-American expedition, Serpa Pinto had immediately set off to offer the hospitality of the Portuguese Government to Stanley and his party. [1133] Stanley had planned to recover from his arduous trek at Cabinda, and it was there, on board the *Tâmega*, a Portuguese naval gunboat, that Serpa Pinto convinced the exhausted explorer to accompany him to Luanda. The Angolan authorities generously, though perhaps not disinterestedly, took care of the lodging and maintenance of Stanley's party of 114 Waungwana bearers whilst Stanley, himself, accepted Serpa Pinto's invitation to share his quarters in the Angolan capital.[1134]

Despite the fact that their first meeting had taken place in Cabinda several weeks earlier, the Luanda photograph, which was staged on a rooftop some time in the first week of September 1877, has become the defining image of the historical encounter. [1135] Just as in the now-mythical meeting between Stanley and Livingstone, in which the actual words

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[1132] Henry Morton Stanley (1841-1904). Journalist and explorer. According to Killingray and Roberts, Stanley was probably the first to take dry-plate apparatus to tropical Africa - on his expedition across the continent in 1875-76. "His photographs were used in preparing at least ten of the illustrations to *Through the Dark Continent*, and to judge from the captions his plates lasted as far as the Ripon Falls, though only three such drawings show people, all members of his caravan […]". David Killingray and Andrew Roberts. Op.cit. 1989, p.199.

[1133] Stanley's diary entry for August 9th 1877 reads as follows: "Arrive at Embomma [Boma] 5 miles on the Congo River. Greeted by Europeans. Motta Veiga. J.W.Harrison. Pinto. Henriques. Mr. Price. Captain of St [eamer] Kabinda". See Richard Stanley and Alan Neame. Eds. *The Exploration Diaries of H.M.Stanley.* Kimber, London: 1961, p.203.

[1134] Two thirds of Stanley's party had perished and Stanley himself had lost over 20 kilos along the 999 day journey. Stanley's "Waungwana" bearers were freed men from the East coast of Africa, mostly Swahili speakers from Zanzibar. The party included 12 women and several children.

[1135] According to Serpa Pinto in *"Como eu atravessei África"*, Ivens, whom he had never met before, arrived from Lisbon "at the beginning of September", on the same steamer which would take Serpa Pinto to Benguela on 6th to try to obtain bearers. Consequently, the photographs with Stanley must have been taken in the first week of September. See Serpa Pinto. *Como eu atravessei a África. A Carabina d´el Rei* vol.I, Europa-América. Lisboa: 1998, p.54.

spoken were, in all likelihood, later replaced by others which were, perhaps, more memorable, the informality of the first handshake between the fellow African explorers on board the Portuguese gunboat was superceded by a visual record and narrative which was considered to be better-suited to posterity.

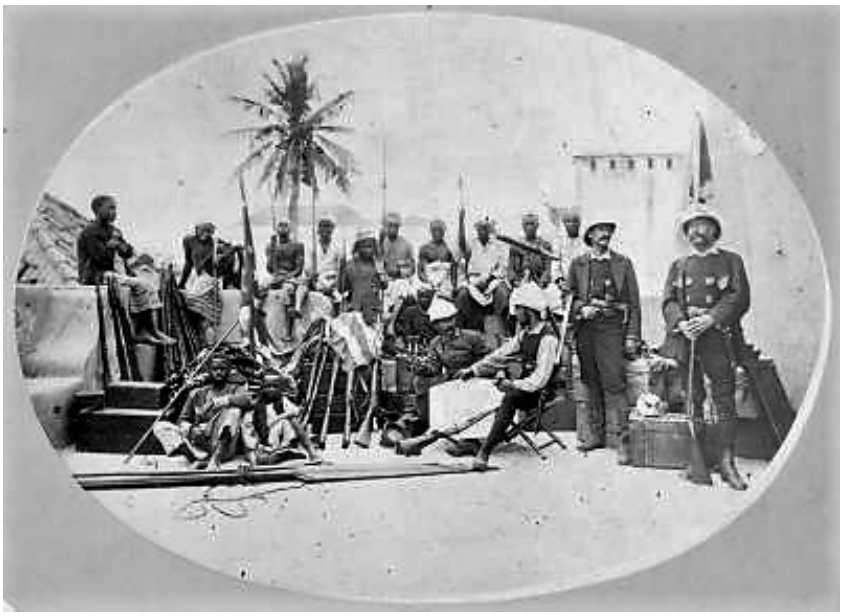


Figure 3.8. "HMS in council with the Portuguese Expedition (Ivens, Capello, Serpa Pinto) at Loanda". Albumen print. J. N. Silveira, 1877.

Stanley, who holds a sextant, quite naturally occupies a central position, whilst Serpa Pinto, who is shown pointing to a map which is spread out on a folding table, is granted pride of place as the "great man's" interlocutor. Curiously, Capello and Ivens pose discreetly to one side, holding their rifles, seemingly aloof to the proceedings. There is an impressive display of firearms and two flags, one unfurled, all of which bears witness to the military and political character of the mission, whilst recalling the dangers lurking along the trail and the intrepid explorer's readiness to confront them. Behind Serpa Pinto, a telescope has been set up, testifying, with the other instruments on display, to the equally important scientific aims of the expedition. In the background there is a group of African bearers, some of whom hold spears, who are clearly from Stanley's party and are already quite familiar with the camera. In the foreground there are several boxes for the transport of equipment and supplies. [1136]

[1136] **Figure 3.8.** Oval frame, 15.8 x 21.9 cm. Mounted on cardboard, pencil inscription. Stanley Photographic Archives. No.5194. Royal Museum for Central Africa. Tervuren.

The three Portuguese explorers appear to be ready to depart on their journey, each carrying a rifle and wearing a pith helmet and boots, and at first glance it is unclear whether the photograph was intended as a memento of Serpa Pinto's preparations for departure or a record of Stanley's arrival. Closer observation, however, reveals the American flag draped to the right of Stanley and the characteristic clothing of some of his East African bearers. Moreover, it transpires from the photograph that Stanley was still emaciated after his journey, so the picture was probably taken shortly after his arrival in Luanda, some considerable time before Serpa Pinto's departure for the interior. The key to the photograph, however, is the map, and the sextant in Stanley's hand. In Africa, at this time, maps, like the flags and rifles in the photograph, symbolised power. And, unsurprisingly, it is Stanley who is shown generously passing on his greater knowledge of the interior to the leader of the Portuguese expedition. The message behind the photograph is that Stanley "had opened up the route for Europeans" and the map appears as proof of his prior knowledge and claims. [1137]





Figure 3.9. (Left)" The arrival at Loanda." Albumen print. J.N. Silveira,1877. **Figure 3.10.** (Right) Illustration." Journey's End. The arrival at Kabinda". [sic] Photo J.Silveira. St Paul de Loanda, 1877.

In fact, it had been part of the Portuguese explorers' initial brief to investigate part of the area which Stanley had already traversed and mapped, which necessarily led to changes

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Figure 3.9. From Stanley's own album. Royal Museum for Central Africa, Tervuren.
In hindsight, the pose seems to hint already at the divisions between the members of the Portuguese expedition which would later lead to the separation between Serpa Pinto and Capello and Ivens.

Figure 3.10. In Richard Stanley and Alan Neame. Eds. *The Exploration Diaries of H.M.Stanley.* Kimber, London: 1961. Opp p.177. Probably taken before the version in **Figure 3.9.** [note the dogs]The print was later clearly "doctored", as the oval window which appears on the extreme right is filled in so that it appears to be a plaque, as a comparison with the unframed print from Stanley's album reveals. Note that the illustration in the book is erroneously captioned "The arrival at Kabinda".

[1137] "Com a chêgada de Stanley, tendo elle feito uma parte do trabalho que nós propunhamos fazer, e sôbre tudo a impossibilidade de obter carregadores em Loanda, tivémos de modificar completamente o nosso plano." Serpa Pinto. Op.cit 1998, p.54.

in their route and objectives. The photograph, which was taken by the Luanda-based photographer, José Nunes da Silveira, was almost certainly staged with Stanley's guidance, in part to enhance his already considerable reputation by portraying him as Serpa Pinto's mentor, a relationship which the Portuguese explorer was happy, at this time, to accept. [1138] The image reveals once again, that even at this early date, photographers, or those who commissioned them, were able to exploit the techniques they had at their disposal to offer a personal, idiosyncratic and sometimes politically tendentious or misleading representation of people and events. [1139] A second, somewhat similar studio photograph from the same collection would seem to confirm this idea.

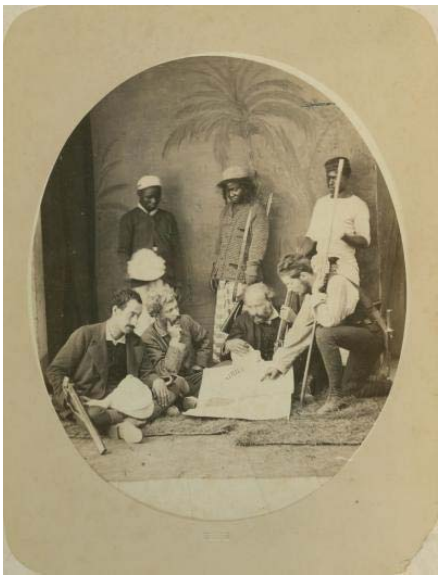


Figure 3.11. "HMS describing his travels to the Portuguese Expedition (Ivens, Capello, Serpa Pinto) at Loanda." Albumen print, probably by J.N.Silveira, 1877.

The photograph, which attempts to recreate the atmosphere of an informal meeting between fellow explorers, "somewhere along the trail", was probably taken a few days after the outdoor photograph, as Stanley and his men seem to have recovered somewhat

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[1138] Serpa Pinto describes Stanley in encomiastic terms in his book *Como Atravessei Africa*: […] O grande explorador, o ousado viajante, que acabava de fazer a mais prodigiosa viagem dos tempos modernos, foi meu amigo, e **meu conselheiro, e d'elle recebi proveitosas lições.** Melhor mestre não poderia ter. Que elle recêba n'estas curtas linhas o mais sincero tributo da grande admiração que nutro por elle, e a mais franca expressão da minha estima, e da gratidão que lhe consagro." Serpa Pinto. *Como Atravessei África* vol.1 Tributo de Gratidão. (my bold)

[1139] Despite the criticism which has been directed towards Stanley, his association with Leopold II and his apparently ruthless tactics when "in the bush", the image he helped to create for himself in collective memory has largely survived intact. So much so, in fact that the earlier version of the photograph with the dogs is amongst the many being sold on the internet as a poster. See http://www.allposters.co.uk/-sp/Henry-Morton-Stanley-Serpa-Pinto-Africa-1877-Posters_i5146936_.htm. (viewed online on 23/12/2015)

from the trials of their journey. Three of Stanley's headmen, who also appear in the other photograph, stand behind the four European explorers, who are shown bareheaded, sitting legs akimbo on the floor. [1140] As in the rooftop picture, Serpa Pinto is pointing to the map in Stanley's hands, but in this case his fellow explorers, Capello and Ivens, now out of their naval uniforms, have been attributed a more active, albeit secondary role in the proceedings. Once again, perhaps to contribute towards the sense of authenticity and imminent departure, two of the headmen are equipped with walking staffs, whilst Serpa Pinto is wearing his bushknife and Stanley and Ivens are holding rifles. The relative informality of this particular image suggests that it was destined to serve as a personal souvenir of the encounter rather than a record intended for posterity.[1141]

Over the coming decades, technological innovation, allied to a thirst for visual information on Africa and "the subject races" of the colonies, would trigger off exponential expansion in the African image-world, bringing greater diversity to the way images reached the masses and creating favourable conditions for both the migration of ideas and stereotypes and greater interaction between different forms of communication. [1142] Photographs began to appear, in a myriad of forms - as book and magazine illustrations; lantern and stereoscopic slides; postcards, visiting, trade and "cigarette" cards, as well as in advertisements and on the packaging of all kinds of products - exalting Empire and associating the notion of European racial superiority to the moral duty of the coloniser to exploit the resources of "virgin" lands. [1143]

[1140] See **Figure 3.11.** Oval frame, 18.7 x 15.2 cm. Mounted on cardboard, pencil inscription. Stanley Photographic Archives, no. 5195. Royal Museum for Central Africa. Tervuren. The second photograph in the Stanley archives at Tervuren was probably taken in the Luanda studio of Nunes da Silveira. Significantly it has a similar composition and oval frame, with members of Stanley's party in the background, and a map playing a central role once again. Nunes da Silveira is credited with the introduction of the "Wothlytype" printing process to Portugal, in 1864. This was a collodion emulsion process invented in 1864 by Jacob Wothly, adding uranium nitrate to silver nitrate to prevent the fading of the print.

[1141] The image demonstrates the transformation which photographic studios underwent in the final decades of the nineteenth century. In an essay on the photographer Carlos Relvas, Rouillé describes the change as follows: "[…] os retratos dão lugar a cenários, associando fundos pintados em trompe-l'oeil e elementos de decoração (erva, plantas, rochedos falsos, remos de barcos, cordas, etc.) **Passa-se de uma ilusão da realidade para uma ficção assumida**. Trata-se de uma reviravolta no registo da verdade, em Portugal como em toda a Europa, em todos os estúdios fotográficos no decorrer das últimas décadas do século XIX."André Rouillé. "Um Senhor Esquecido da fotografia" in *Carlos Relvas e a Casa da Fotografia,* Lisboa, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga Lisboa: 2003. (my bold).

[1142] What might be termed a primitive, pre-electronic "mediascape". See Arjun Appadurai. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy". *Public Culture* 1990, no. 2, p. 9.

[1143] See John MacKenzie *Propaganda and Empire. The Manipulation of Public Opinion 1880-1960.* Manchester University Press. Manchester: 1986. Especially Ch.1 "The Vehicles of Imperial Propaganda", pp. 16-38. Stereoscopic slides of sub-Saharan Africa only began to appear after 1909, however.

Stanley's fame as a popular hero of African exploration coincided with this period in which images of many kinds were beginning to reach an ever wider public in multiple forms, and after his coast-to-coast crossing, his image and achievements were exploited by manufacturers in many different countries to promote colonial products, as the Suchard trade card exemplifies:

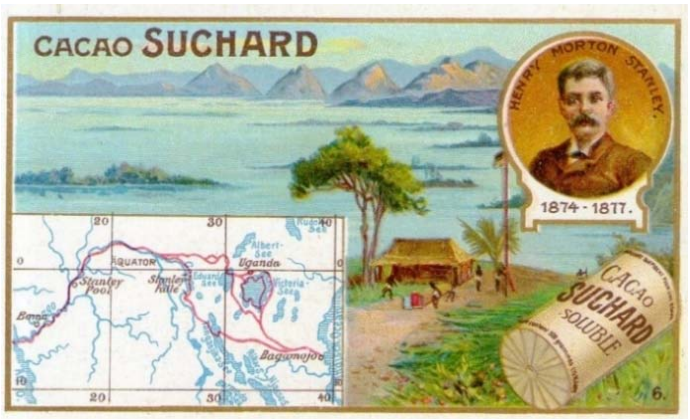


Figure 3.12. Suchard Cocoa trade card.no.6. Showing Stanley's route across Africa. c.1890

Collectible trade cards and indeed, other forms of advertising, brought the colonial message home to both adults and children, often substituting more institutional forms of instruction and indoctrination, reinforcing the message of European superiority and enterprise.



Figure 3.13 French trade card. "Geographie Universelle. 148. Afrique. Angola." c. 1890. Origin unknown.

Unsurprisingly, the most aggressive proponents of this campaign were imperialist politicians and the powerful purveyors of colonial products such as tobacco, soap, sugar, rubber, tea, coffee and cocoa. From this time on the persuasive powers of the visual image became increasingly harnessed to the service of business and politics, a partnership which had never been closer. The previous illustration of a French trade card from the turn of the twentieth century is an interesting case in point. The "geographical" interest of Angola is neatly summed up by the list of the principal colonial products it could offer to Europeans and reinforced by the image of the black labourers in their "loin-cloths" who are conveniently on hand to carry them to the nearby river for transport to the coast.[1144]

A revealing example of the mobility and "promiscuity" of visual images at the turn of the century, when the question of copyright was under discussion in many parts of the world, [1145] is provided by a series of photographs, reproduced in entirely different contexts, which, incidently, underline the respectability of racist theories in Edwardian Britain and reveal that even the Quaker protagonists of the "Portuguese slavery" campaign were not averse to the exploitation of notions of racial supremacy in their advertising. One of Fry's cocoa advertisements from the first years of the twentieth century, which is shown below, features a chubby, smiling, African child wearing little more than beads, spectacles and a top hat - an image which was in circulation in South Africa in several slightly different versions at the same time. [1146]

Whilst proudly boasting of the firm's royal patronage, the advertisement announces that Fry's cocoa was for both black and white boys - separately, of course - raising the question

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[1144] Interestingly, Cabinda is not included on the map. It had been part of Portuguese West Africa since the Conference of Berlin in 1885.

[1145] The question of copyright of images became more acute with developments in printing techniques. The Buenos Aires Convention in 1910 provided for the mutual recognition of copyrights where the work in question carried a specific declaration of the reservation of rights, but the legislation was applied in a piecemeal fashion around the world for many decades. In Portugal legislation was introduced in 1911 to protect the authors of works of art of all kinds, but photographs would only be specifically mentioned in legislation approved sixteen years later. (Decree 13725, of May 27th, 1927, "que regulamenta a Propriedade literária, científica e artística".)

[1146] This advertisement was reproduced and discussed in Anandi Ramamurthy. *Imperial Persuaders. Images of Africa and Asia in British Advertising.* Manchester University Press, Manchester: 2003, p.88, but the link to the Sallo Epstein postcards has only now been identified in this study. The date of publication of the advertisement not only coincided with the beginning of Nevinson's campaign but also with the political scandal surrounding the use of "coolie labour" in the gold mines of the Transvaal, which was a major contributing factor to the Liberals' sweeping victory in the 1906 General Election.

of why they felt it necessary to make this clear. [1147] In fact, it transpires from this and other such advertisements that Fry's were in the process of adapting their advertising imagery to the changing times and that during this period they had become particularly sensitive to the colour question and wished to pre-empt any accusations of ill-will towards black people, almost certainly due to their vulnerability in the Portuguese "slave-grown cocoa" scandal which was looming threateningly in the background.

It is obvious, today, that a more inarticulate way to pass on this message would have been difficult to devise, but its insidious bigotry was typical of the attitude towards Africans which was widespread in Britain and in other colonising nations at the outset of the twentieth century. Curiously, a number of postcards featuring virtually the same, supposedly charming "piccaninny" image, were published in 1906 by Sallo Epstein of Durban, the largest publisher of postcards in South Africa and the Transvaal and local market leaders in racist humour.



Figure 3.14. "Raised on it." Fry's Cocoa advertisement, c.1906.

[1147] At a time when crop failure and livestock epidemics were affecting great stretches of South Africa, the advertisement suggests that the well-nourished appearance of the boy was due to the fact that he was "raised on" cocoa.

As there were several different variations on the picanniny postcard it is likely that it was Sallo Epstein rather than Fry's who first commissioned the photographs, so that it is just conceivable that the chocolate makers may been unaware of the unfortunate "coincidence" when they acquired the photograph, but the likelihood is far greater that they knew of its popularity and wished to exploit a then familiar, iconic figure with an eye to the growing potential of the new South African market, now "open for business" in the aftermath of the wars against the Boers.





Figure 3.15. (Left) Postcard. "Good News". Pub. Sallo Epstein and Co., Durban c.1906. **Figure 3.16.** (Right) Hand-tinted postcard. "A Young Politician". Pub. Sallo Epstein and Co., Durban c.1906.

Whatever the true origin of the idea was, the exploitation of an image which surreptitiously reinforced the sense of superiority of people of European origin towards Africans evidently exposes the smug attitude of paternalistic condescension which underpinned the advertisement. Unsurprisingly, too, the Quaker chocolate makers, like most advertisers at the time, prudently chose to use the image of a black child rather than an adult to promote their products. Black men in advertising, like Peter Pan, never seemed to grow up.

The apparent charm of the second Epstein postcard is tainted by an even darker association. The first card innocently announces "Good news"- a message reinforced by

the sender - whilst the hand-tinted card, showing the same boy holding the Natal Mercury, is sarcastically entitled "A Young Politician", an indirect reference to the growing ambitions of black South Africans and more particularly the ongoing revolt in Natal - adding yet another layer to this already complex and surreptitious racist construction. [1148] As this example clearly shows, the popular comic postcard, so cheap to buy and send, was far too good an instrument to be ignored by politicians and was soon to prove a valuable innovation in the propaganda war, as the conflict between the European Powers loomed ever closer.

Unlike in South Africa, where this was a popular genre right from the outset of the twentieth century, comic postcards with overtly racist themes seem to have been comparatively rare in Portuguese West Africa, at least at this time. The reasons for this are evidently complex, but the fact that postcards of this kind did appear in Angola many years later, though in far smaller numbers and in a far less virulent form, would suggest that part of the explanation for such restraint is to be found in the survival, at the turn of the century, of liberal attitudes in the Portuguese colonies, coexisting with newer and less sensitive attitudes towards the exploitation of black labour, inspired by more utilitarian schools of thought.[1149] It is also indisputable that the rapid growth of aggressive racism in the British colonies was due, in part, to the concubinage of imperialist ideology with social-Darwinist theorising, a sinister and prolific partnership which was assumed and actively encouraged by the British colonial establishment.

A contemporary postcard from Angola which reveals startling similarities with Sallo Epstein's "young politician", provides a rare opportunity to compare attitudes to the question of relations between Africans and Europeans. The card was part of a remarkable collection of images produced by Eduardo Osório's prolific Luanda publishing firm, which ranged over 450 different themes and was designed to appeal to a predominantly

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[1148] The hand-tinted "Young politician" postcard was published at the time of the 1906 "Bambatha rebellion", a Zulu revolt against the British government of Natal. A new Poll tax had triggered off widespread protest against the background of local suffering caused by the Boer war and livestock epidemics. See Shula Marks. *Reluctant Rebellion. The 1906-1908 Disturbances in Natal.* Clarendon Press. Oxford: 1970. It is interesting to note that even the young Indian lawyer M.K.Ghandi played the race card on this occasion, urging South-Africans of Indian origin to volunteer to help put down the uprising.

[1149] Notably the pragmatic approach of Antonio Ennes and his followers, inspired by British colonial practises. See António Ennes' influential report on his administration in Portuguese East Africa *Moçambique*, first published in 1893 and still considered a cornerstone of Portuguese colonial thinking half a century later. António Ennes. *Moçambique. Relatório apresentado ao Governo.* Agência Geral das Colónias. Lisbon : 1946. [3rd Ed.]

European clientele. Unlike other cards in the same collectible series of local figures representing "typical" trades or professions, such as the one of the fisherman, shown next to it below, the image was of topical interest and the photograph was clearly staged to make a specific point. It purports to show a local "politician", or rather an educated and politicised black man, possibly a civil servant or shop assistant, who is reading the progressive Lisbon newspaper *Vanguarda,* which carries an engraving of the Republican leader António José de Almeida on the front page, the choice of which was evidently deliberate. [1150]

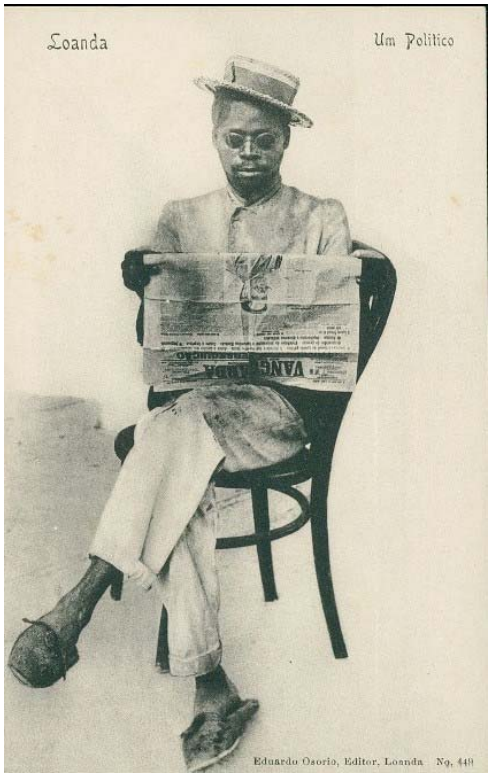




Figure 3.17 (Left) Postcard. "No.448. Loanda. Um Politico". **Figure 3.18** (Right) Postcard. "No.462 Loanda. Um Pescadôr" [sic]. Both Published by Eduardo Osório. Luanda, Angola. c. 1905

Though sharing certain similarities with the Epstein cards, the subject is neither infantilised nor openly ridiculed. The wearing of a "straw boater" and spectacles by an "assimilated" African might have been considered by some European settlers to be an indication of a certain pretension to intellectual status - part of a pose, perhaps - but the

[1150] *A Vanguarda* (1891-1929). The photograph was undoubtedly staged before 1910 when the newspaper changed its title back to *A Vanguarda*. During its existence the newspaper was obliged to change its name on several occasions due to judicial proceedings designed to stifle its uncompromising voice. In 1896, for example, the newspaper was published as *A Vanguarda* until August 19th, then *Na Vanguarda* until September 18th, *A Vanguarda* again until November 13th, and finally *Vanguarda* from then on.

underlying message is that a new generation of black or mixed-race Luandans was beginning to take an interest in the course of events in the "metropole" and make its opinions heard, a development which Osório himself, as a progressive freemason and leading member of the pro-autonomy lobby, may have wished to advertise and encourage. The choice of the newspaper was also significant, as it was in the case of the Epstein card. As mentioned previously, the *Vanguarda*, a militantly republican paper edited by the masonic leader Sebastião Magalhães Lima, was one of the most active voices in the campaign against the export of labourers from Angola to São Tomé and Príncipe and José de Macedo, one of its principal contributors, had become the leader writer and editor for another militant paper, the *Defeza de Angola*, published in Luanda. In view of Osório's prominent role in the Grande Comissão de Luanda and its campaign in favour of greater Angolan autonomy and against the contract- labour system, it is quite possible that the postcard was intended to draw attention to the controversy.

Although agressively racist postcards were comparatively rare in the Portuguese colonies, particularly in São Tomé and Príncipe, one or two contemporary photographs, which were deliberately staged to be made into postcards, do fit into the same category as the Epstein "picaninnies", and may have been an isolated attempt on the part of their publishers to take advantage of the popularity of this type of card in the neighbouring British colonies.[1151] One such card, smugly entitled "Um Príncipe Tonga", shows a small boy dressed in outsized clothes, with a top hat, buttonhole and walking stick - the distinguishing marks of the wealthy European "toff". Even at this time, it would have been quite obvious to anyone who stopped to think for a moment that the boy - the child of a "serviçal", could not have not dressed up in these fancy clothes on his own initiative, and that, as the caption confirms, he had been set up as a pathetic target of ridicule by the photographer, possibly in collusion with a plantation-owner. The card is undated and the publisher unknown, but it was probably issued before the beginning of the First World War. [1152]

Another distressing excursion into the dark world of racist, tongue-in-cheek humour reveals a card showing three small children wearing oversized European clothes in front

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[1151] See the Fry's advertisement and the Epstein "picaninnies" earlier in this chapter.
[1152] See **Figure 3.19.** The fact that "S. Tomé" is spelled in this way confirms that the publication of the card postdates the "Reforma Ortográfica" of 1911. There is also an untinted sepia version of the card.

of a blanked-out background. The children, who are clearly perplexed and intimidated by the camera, were almost certainly "tongas" born on a plantation,[1153] The boy, who is nine or ten years of age, wears a top-hat and an old jacket stretching down to his knees and carries a walking stick, whilst the girl, who is perhaps of the same age, is dressed in a flamboyant, wide-brimmed hat with feathers and what appears to be a woollen cape. A smaller child, little more than a baby, stands in front of them, wearing an adult's feathered hat and holding up a newspaper to cover herself. All three are barefoot. The enigmatic title of the card - "uma família completa"- a complete family, suggests that the photograph might have been taken as a souvenir of a game in which they were pretending to be the parents of the smaller child and that the photographer was a friendly accomplice.





Figure 3.19. (Left) Handtinted Postcard. "No. 5. S. Tomé. Um Príncipe Tonga". Pub. Unknown. São Tomé c.1912. **Figure 3.20**. (Right) Postcard. "19. Uma Família Completa." Pub. A. Palanque. São Tomé c. 1910

[1153] See **Figure 3.20.** The same boy who appears in this photograph also appears in another card in the same series entitled "Um janota - typo de Tonga". [Some contemporary authors argued that the word "tonga" more appropriately described a child born to a couple made up of a "serviçal "and a "forro".]The photographer was almost certainly Aimé Palanque himself, who was active in São Tomé at the time. Both Palanque and his fellow publisher of postcards, José Pimenta, appear in photographs taken on the São Tomé plantations in 1914 -15. See the Nogueira de Lemos Collection. Fundação Mário Soares. Pasta: 09003.001.

In a different context - one in which children were free to dress up in their parents' clothes and to pretend they were adults - the reaction of today's viewer might well have been one of mild and sympathetic amusement. Any such response quickly turns to horror, however, on the realisation that the children, who may not even have enjoyed the freedom to leave the plantation on which they were born and were perhaps destined to work there for the rest of their lives, had been persuaded, in light-hearted fashion, to pose for the picture in a scheme engendered by the photographer-publisher to turn their innocence and vulnerability to his commercial advantage. Yet another card by Aimé Palanque, the same publisher, shows another small boy posing barefoot in outsized clothes on what was certainly not a "gala day" for him.



Figure 3.21 Postcard. "18. Dia de Grande Gala." Pub. Aimé Palanque. São Tomé c.1905

These supposedly amusing postcards offer eloquent testimony to widely-held European attitudes towards Africans and, more specifically, towards those who were kept in virtual bondage on the islands. With the benefit of hindsight, it is clear that it was not the children themselves who were intended as the target of ridicule and humiliation, but Africans in general, and more specifically those who had been forced to work on the plantations as contract labourers. The subtext is that "black people were no more than children in the

bodies of adults" and that any attempt to educate or "civilise" them was doomed to failure, a well-worn argument which was trundled out time and time again to justify their lifelong exploitation. It is worth recalling in this context that it was the accepted practice throughout the colonial period, especially in the British colonies, for black adult employees or servants to be referred to as "girls" and boys". [1154]

Another popular postcard from the first decade of the twentieth century offers a rare contrast to the norm of anonymity in the visual representation of black people in São Tomé and Príncipe and indeed in most of Africa, at this time. It shows Nauédji, an employee or servant of Salvador Levy, a well-known trader and plantation owner. [1155]



Figure 3.22 Hand-tinted postcard. "Nauédji. Serviçal da Casa Salvador Levy." Pub. Manuel Lança. São Tomé. c.1905

Published in what was then a novel format which owed much to magic lantern slide sequences, the card was sold in a number of versions over a period of many years, certainly long after Nauédji had ceased to work for Levy (or indeed existed), revealing that rather than merely celebrating a well-known local figure, the card was designed to

[1154] As Mackenzie points out, "in Nelson's *The World and its Peoples* the African was described as «an overgrown child, vain, self indulgent, and fond of idleness. Life is so easy to him in his native home that he has never developed the qualities of industry, self-denial and forethought.»" Anon. *The World and its Peoples.* Thomas Nelson and Sons, London: 1905. Quoted in John M. Mackenzie. Op.cit. 1986, p.184.
[1155] See **Figure 3.22** The postcard was first published in black and white during the Monarchy but survived well into the twenties. Nauédji is wearing metal ankle bangles or "malungas" in all three photographs, which indicates he was probably originally from Angola. For a discussion of the same card with further background to Salvador Levy see Xavier Muñoz Torrent. *São Tomé e Príncipe Nauédji, o immortal.* https://pampatrimonioartesemuseus.wordpress.com/2015/08/26/sao-tome-e-principe-nauedji-o-imortal/ (Accessed 23/09/2015.)

exploit the stereotype of the supposedly-comic, black buffoon, which corresponded to the expectations of those at home in Europe and reinforced their feelings of racial superiority. Humour, here, was a device of oppression and the Nauédji card undoubtedly represents a timid attempt to create a kind of Portuguese "Sambo" figure.[1156] And yet, as Homi Bhabha has suggested, [1157] it may not have crossed the minds of those who were amused by Nauédji, or by his phantom image, that he might actually have been mimicking his white masters and secretly mocking the naivety of their reactions, like the jesters of old. The Nauédji postcard offers an eloquent contrast with the rare example below, which ostensibly shows a family of "serviçais" from Angola.

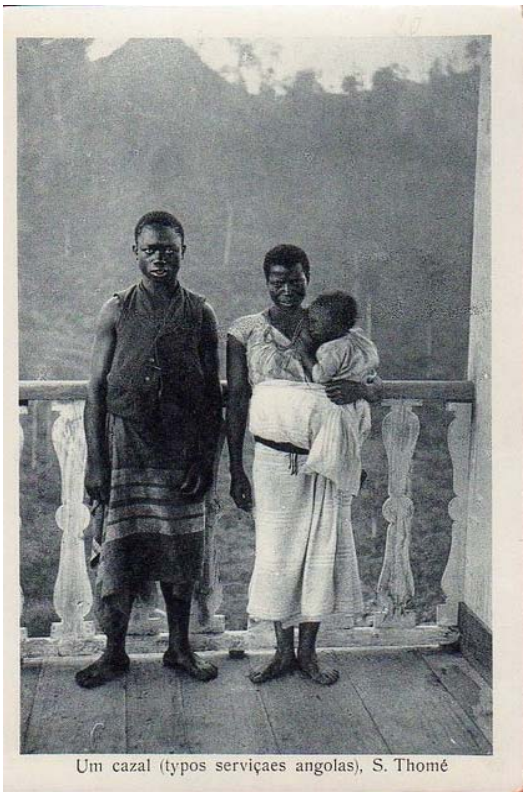


Figure 3.23. Postcard. "Um cazal (typos serviçaes angolas) S. Thomé." Pub. Unknown. São Tomé c. 1906.

Sold as a postcard in São Tomé, the dramatic image, which may have been staged to support the planters' argument that contract labourers felt so much at home on the

[1156] Sambo was a "worker and entertainer, producer and performer". J. Boskin. *Sambo. The Rise and Demise of an American Jester*. OUP, Oxford : 1986 p.15. The name Sambo was apparently derived from the Portuguese or Spanish "zambo".
[1157] Homi K. Bhabha. "The Location of Culture". Routledge, London, New York: 1994. In *Of Mimicry and Man: the Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse*, pp. 85-92.

plantations that they started families and settled down, hence relinquishing any right to repatriation, serves today as a poignant reminder of the humourless fate which awaited them on the islands. [1158] The woman, who already has a child in her arms, appears to be pregnant, a comparatively rare situation in conditions which were hardly conducive to bringing up a family, particularly due to the tragically high death-rate amongst children on the islands at the turn of the twentieth century.[1159]

At the same time as photography began to reach the underclasses of Europe and America through picture postcards, trade cards and advertising, rapid technological progress in printing techniques had also begun to lead to the proliferation of periodicals and newspapers carrying photographic illustrations, stimulating the appetite of a more educated and affluent public for the new, the distant and the exotic. Consequently, in the period between the 1890's and the first World War, visual imagery began to play a major role in British periodicals such as the weekly magazines *Illustrated London News* (1842-2003), its rival *The Graphic* (1869-1932); *Black and White* (1891-1912); and *The Sphere* (1900-1964) and began to be used more and more to further political, [1160] religious and commercial aims. Yet, although photographs soon became a familar feature of such magazines, graphic images did not disappear entirely, and the popular *Illustrated London News*, for instance, would still use engravings up to the end of the First World War.

In Portugal, *O Occidente* (1877-1915) which came out three times a month, and the fortnightly *Brasil-Portugal* (1899-1914) began to introduce photographic images not long after they first appeared in British magazines, and were soon followed in 1906 by the second series of *Illustração Portugueza* (1903-1924), the weekly supplement to the newspaper *O Século*. In the following year, the *Diário de Notícias* (1864-Present) became the first Portuguese daily newspaper to employ photographers on its staff and make regular use of the new technology.[1161] The photojournalist, with his novel, hand-held

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[1158] See **Figure 3.22.** Many such "couples" were constituted on the plantations by estate managers, according to their own criteria.
[1159] António Almada Negreiros quotes a death rate of 80% amongst children on the plantations in his *História Etnographica da Ilha de S.Thomé*, published in 1895 by Bertrand, Lisbon.
[1160] The first half-tone photograph to be published in a British daily newspaper appeared in the *Daily Graphic* on November 4th 1891. Significantly, it was of George Lambert, a Parliamentary candidate for the Liberal Party.
[1161] The first photograph appeared in the *Diário de Notícias* on July 27th 1907. A daily newspaper until 2018, the *Diário de Notícias* was published online for a two-year period, with the exception of a weekend paper edition, until returning to daily editions in newsprint once again in 2021.

camera round his neck, would soon become a familiar figure at public events and auspicious private occasions, inaugurating a new era in newspaper history and stimulating the public appetite for up-to-date and on-the-spot visual information.[1162] One of the inevitable consequences of the appearance of photographs in periodicals and other publications, and their reputation for precise and objective evidence, was that photography began to be exploited more and more for political ends, and in hindsight, it is clear that its use as an instrument of persuasion in the "slave-grown cocoa" controversy was a natural corollary of this often bitter struggle for hearts and minds which was played out as much in the press as behind the scenes in the government offices of Lisbon and London.

3.3 Picturing "the African" and the "scientific approach" to photography

> "[…] I was gradually penetrated by the conviction that the **racial question over-shadows all other problems of history**, that it holds the key to them all, and that **the inequality of the races from whose fusion a people is formed is enough to explain the whole course of its destiny.**"[1163]

The Victorian period in Britain was prolific in the appearance of technological inventions of all kinds, many of which became linked to the dissemination of imperialistic ideals. The camera, in particular, was considered to be eminently suited to such a purpose and Queen Victoria, herself, was a keen collector of photographs, many of them of her

[1162] See João Carlos Oliveira. *Boletim Photographico (1900-1903; 1905-1906).* Online source: http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/FichasHistoricas/BoletimPhotographico.pdf (Accessed 16-06-2013)
[1163] Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau (1816-1882). From the Author's Dedication (1854) to HM George V, King of Hanover. Arthur de Gobineau. *The Inequality of Human Races.* Trans. by Adrian Collins. New York, NY: 1999, p. xii. (Bold and underlined in the original)

subjects at the farthest corners of the British Empire.[1164] Influential imperialists argued at the time that the success of colonial enterprise could only be assured if the administrator or entrepreneur were adequately informed as to the traits and idiosyncrasies of the indigenous peoples they were to deal with and photography was considered to provide an accurate and "scientific" register of the physical characteristics which distinguished the different "tribes" and "types" in the respective territory, whilst offering clues to their collective and individual behaviour and suitability for certain tasks. Indeed, long before it became a widespread phenomenon, photography had been quickly identified as a valuable asset to science and to ethnography, in particular, due to its supposedly objective and accurate nature. [1165]

Published in the wake of the sensation caused by Darwin's *Descent of Man*, [1166] the ambitious study of Carl and Frederick Damann, *Ethnological Photographic Gallery of the Various Races of Man,* allied the "scientific" use of the camera to early social-Darwinistic notions of race. The sophisticated and costly album, illustrated by 50 plates, each carrying six to eight small photographs, was an early attempt to catalogue "racial types" according to anthropomorphic features, based on the pioneering work of Jones H. Lamprey, [1167] the librarian of the Royal Geographical Society, who employed measuring techniques based on grids placed over anthropometric photographs. Several of the

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[1164] In fact, she and Prince Albert had a fully-equipped darkroom installed at Windsor and the Queen collected no fewer than 110 photographic albums, together with 36 albums of portraits of her own family and other royal families. See Nuno Borges de Araújo."A fotografia e o postal ilustrado: origens e influências" In M. L. Martins, (Ed.), *Os postais ilustrados na vida da comunidade*. CECS - Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Sociedade da Universidade do Minho, Braga: 2017, pp. 55-88. [http://www.lasics.uminho.pt/ojs/index.php/cecs_ebooks/article/view/2545/2455] Consulted 13/03/2020.

[1165] Indeed, as early as 1858, the photographer, artist and critic William Lake Price (1810-1896) had remarked how photography had already contributed to the knowledge of the world and the happiness of mankind: "[…] by its means the aspect of the globe, from the tropics to the poles, its inhabitants, from the dusky Nubian to the pale Esquimaux, its productions animal and vegetable, the aspect of its cities, the outline of its mountains, are made familiar to us." In Lake Price. *A Manual of Photographic Manipulation*: *Treating of the Practice of the Art, and Its Various Applications to Nature.* J.Churchill, London: 1858, p.2.

[1166] Charles Darwin. *The Descent Of Man, and Selection in relation to Sex*. 2 vols. John Murray, London: 1871. It was in this momentous work that Darwin openly argued that the evolutionary process was applicable to Mankind, a conclusion which, though implicit in his earlier work, had been omitted to preclude additional scandal.

[1167] Lamprey used anthropometric photographs taken by Henry Evans. Sadly, Evans' photograph collection, including some of those used in Lamprey's study, was destroyed after his conviction in 1870 for taking photographs of a supposedly pornographic nature, despite support from the pre-Raphaelite painters Burne-Jones and Rossetti. This is one of the first recorded instances where the distinction between nakedness, for scientific purposes, and nudity as an erotic stimulus - as displayed in photographs, was put to the test in court.

portraits in the earlier pages are of well-known individuals, such as David Livingstone, whereas, predictably, those of darker-skinned peoples are mostly anonymous.

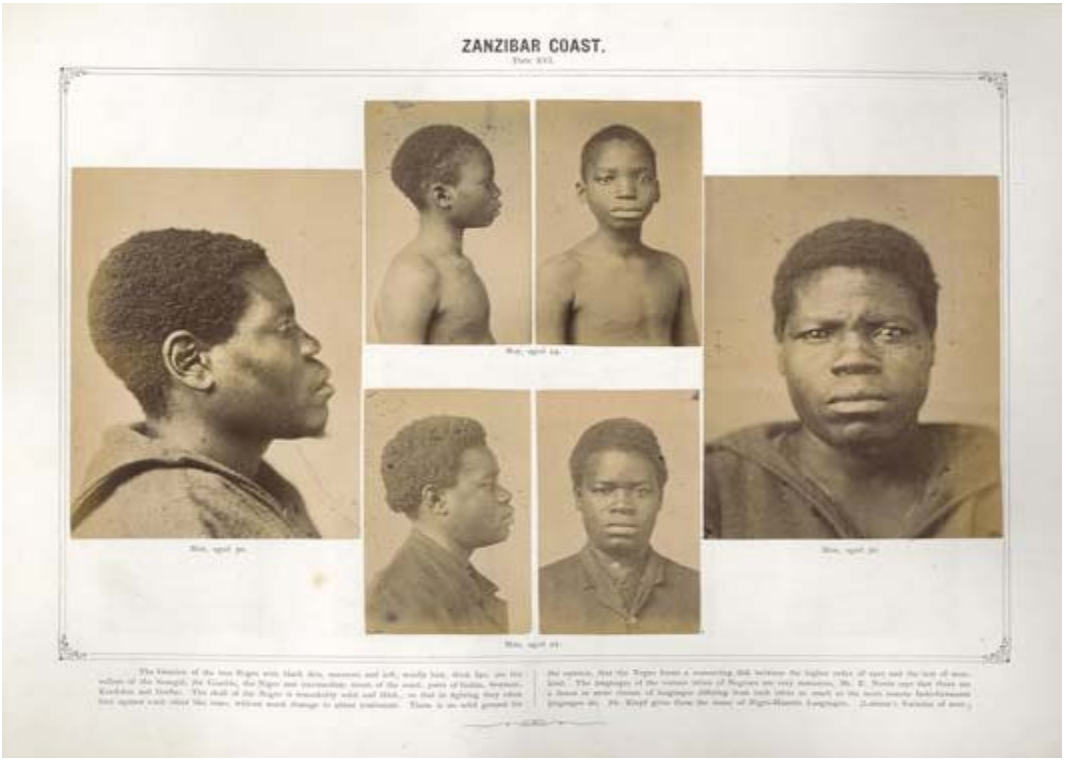


Figure 3.24. "Zanzibar Coast." A page from Damman's Ethnological Photographic Gallery of the Various Races of Man. 1875 Plate XVII.

The sequence of photographs, which display facial and cranial characteristics from the side and front,[1168] gave pride of place to Europeans and ended with Australasians, revealing the ideas of racial hierarchy which were widely taken for granted at the time, even amongst members of the scientific community, and which can be traced back to the ideas of theorists such as Robert Knox [1169] and the Comte de Gobineau [1170], and racist

[1168] See **Figure 3.24.** In Carl and Frederick W. Damann. *Ethnological Photographic Gallery of the Various Races of Man*. Trubner, London: 1875, Plate XVII.

[1169] Robert Knox (1791-1862) was a Scots physician who argued against some of the more liberal and humanistic views on race of his predecessors, Blumenbach, Prichard and Humboldt. He was disparaging in his comments on virtually every race except the "Saxons" to which he thought he belonged. For example black Africans were, he was convinced, destined to disappear: **"The inhabitants, for example, of central Africa, have no history any more than if they had been bales of cotton, or spinning-jennies, or spindles or spindle drivers. «Nati consumere fruges» was the expressive phrase of Horace […] Regret them not**." Robert Knox *Races of Men. A Fragment.* Lea and Blanchard, Philadelphia: 1850, p.109. Quoted in Francisco Bethencourt's excellent overview *Racisms*. *From the Crusades to the Twentieth Century.* Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford: 2013, pp.275-279. (my bold)

[1170] See Comte Joseph Arthur de Gobineau. *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*. Firmin-Didot, Paris: 1853, 2 vols. In addition to reinforcing the idea of innate and immutable races, Gobineau invented the

interpretations of the writings of the philosopher and sociologist Herbert Spencer and the groundbreaking theories of Charles Darwin and his followers, Huxley and Galton. [1171]

The Dammans' treatise succeeded in bringing the far-reaching ambitions of both Science and Empire together under a single cover - in unequivocal black and white. Such compendiums were still expensive, however, and despite the evident intent to popularise ideas of this kind, their influence was naturally limited to the elite who could afford them and their restricted circle of acquaintances. In this case, however, the curiosity provoked by this heavy, portfolio-sized volume was such that a "smaller educational atlas" with about two hundred portraits was soon brought out, which was advertised as "suitable for the drawing room". [1172]

Similar analytical techniques involving photographic processes were also being used at the time to categorise and define "criminal types" and, indeed, it was argued that it was possible to pick out a potential criminal by his or her facial features.[1173] Notably, Francis Galton, who first became famous for his accounts of his African travels [1174] and whose authoritative research into inherited characteristics was to inspire the Eugenics movement,[1175] also invested much time and effort in creating composite portraits of

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supposed superiority of the Aryan race which later inspired even more sinister theories and led to notorious and tragic experiments in ethnic cleansing. See Francisco Bethencourt Op.cit. 2013, pp.280-283.

[1171] Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), a follower of Lamarck, first used the term "Survival of the Fittest", in his influential book *Principles of Biology* (1864), to describe the mechanism that Charles Darwin had first called "Natural Selection" in *On the Origins of the Species.* Towards the end of his life Spencer expressed acute embarrassment at the abuse of this notion to justify the annihilation of "subject races". By way of contrast, in a study entitled *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development*, J.M.Dent, London:1883, Francis Galton would argue in the chapters on *Selection and Race* and *Influence of Man upon Race* that it was preferable to replace "poor races by better ones" and that "the sentiment against extinguishing races" was in part unreasonable.

[1172] The review in the prestigious periodical *Nature* wished it *"every success for it* [will] *make new anthropologists wherever it goes"*. Edward B. Tylor *Nature* 13, January 6th, 1876, pp. 184-185.

[1173] The advantages of photography in criminology and forensics were also recognised in Portugal, albeit somewhat later than in Britain. In a manual for specialists, published in 1914, Alberto Pessoa wrote*:* "A fotografia desempenha, hoje ainda, uma função de capital importância na investigação judiciária, tão numerosas e variadas são as suas aplicações. A fotografia permite, assim por exemplo, obter uma imagem fiel das disposições que, por ventura, se observem no local dum crime, dum suicídio, dum acidente ou de uma catástrofe; é esta uma das suas mais importantes aplicações em matéria judiciária." Alberto Pessoa. *A fotografia métrica na prática judiciária. I – fotografia nos locais.* França e Arménio, Coimbra: 1914, p.5.

[1174] Galton's *Art of Travel*, which amongst practical recommendations of every kind, extolled the virtues of hunting, soon became a classic and was recommended to the African traveller for decades afterwards. Francis Galton *Art of Travel. Shifts and Contrivances available in Wild Countries.* Murray. London: 1855.

[1175] The Eugenics Education Society was founded in Britain in 1907, but its counterpart in Portugal (Sociedade Portuguesa de Estudos Eugénicos) only 30 years later.

criminals, and patients suffering from the symptoms of specific ailments - mental illnesses, for instance, using photographic apparatus of his own design. [1176]

Photography began to be recommended as a scientific tool both to professional ethnologists and to curious travellers, and in the receptive and euphoric atmosphere of Empire, such ideas as the use of a photograph of a single "type" to represent a whole nation or ethnic group rapidly gained scientific respectability. In fact, as James Ryan has pointed out, even leading scientists began to encourage the idea that, unlike Europeans, whose diversity was taken for granted, it was possible for a photographer to discover, without too much difficulty, a group of individuals who fairly represented "a whole tribe or nation", due to the supposed uniformity of the physical characteristics of " tribes who led a simple uniform life". [1177] Though reinforced by erroneous and sometimes tendentious interpretations of Darwin's later writings on evolution, such ideas as these had their origin in older racial theories, and it is significant that amongst the earliest experiments with photography there were attempts to use the camera to distinguish and record racial characteristics.[1178] Interestingly, a portrait of an African woman, taken in 1845 by the French photographer, E. Thiesson - a whole generation before the Dammans' study was published - has been acclaimed as the earliest surviving Sub-Saharan photograph and evidence of the pioneering use of "scientific" photography in Portuguese Africa. It was the South African collector Arthur Bensusan who first postulated that the so-called Sofala portrait was taken on an expedition to Mozambique, without, however, offering concrete and convincing evidence.[1179]

[1176] Francis Galton. *Composite portraits made by combining those of many different persons into a single figure.* Harrison and Sons, London: 1878. Even today, of course, it is still customary for "side and front" portraits to be used by forensic specialists in the identification of criminals.

[1177] James R. Ryan. *Picturing Empire. Photography and the Visualisation of the British Empire.* London: Reaktion, 1997 p.148. Ryan was referring to the same Edward B. Tylor and his *Hints to Travellers* ed. Godwin-Austen, Laughton and Freshfield, London: 1883, p.222. The article in question, entitled "Anthropology", remained in *Hints* for half a century.

[1178] As recently as March 2019, photography as a support for early anthropological theories reached the front pages of the press. An article in the *New York Times* focussed on the daguerreotype photographs of slaves taken in 1850 by J.T. Zealy, which were used by Louis Agassiz, a Swiss-born Harvard professor, as evidence in his attempt to prove the polygenic origin of "the white and black races". See Anemona Hartocollis. "Taking On Harvard over Rights to Slave Photos" *New York Times* March 21st 2019, p.1.

[1179] See **Figure 3.25.** Daguerreotype.15.3 X 13.0 cms, 1/3 plate. Thiesson's study offers a side-view of a seated woman in her early thirties, whose hair is already turning white. The original, which bears the inscription "Naturelle de Sofala, Monomo[tapa], agée de 30 ans. Quoique jeune encore celle femme a cheveux presque entièrement blancs", is held in the Eastman-Kodak Museum of Photography in Rochester, NY. It is reproduced and discussed at some length in T. Jack Thompson's *Light on Darkness? Missionary Photography of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries.* Wm. B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids,

More recently, T. Jack Thompson has suggested that this daguerrotype may even have been one of a pair, showing the woman from side and front, according to the new ethnographical practice Thiesson had employed in his pioneering study of a Brazilian "Botacudo" woman, the year before. Doubts have since arisen regarding the soundness of Bensusan's hypothesis, however, and it seems possible that the Sofala study may actually have been made in Lisbon, as Thiesson famously set up a photographic studio in the Portuguese capital around the time the daguerrotype must have been made. [1180] Contemporary records, in fact, confirm the presence of the French photographer "in Lisbon and Cadiz" in 1845, precisely to make a series of images of "the African or Ethiopian race", for a future "photographic museum of the human races".[1181]

Significantly, too, as Marcos Morel has pointed out, the "Botacudo" series of photographs were almost certainly taken in Paris, as the two individuals - a man and a woman - who are portrayed in Thiesson's studies, had actually been brought to France the year before the photograph was taken. [1182] If the portraits were indeed made in Europe, the question naturally arises as to why Thiesson instructed his female sitters to pose in this way. It is highly unlikely that his motives were anything other than "scientific" and the most likely

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Michigan: 2012, p.23-27 and was first mentioned in A.D. Bensusan, *Silver Images, History of Photography in Africa.* H. Timmins, Cape Town: 1966: "[…] Thiesson photographed Daguerre, himself, in 1844 and in the same year a Brazilian Indian tribe called the Botocudes and **it is believed that he must have then sailed to East Africa.**" (my bold) Bensusan also suggests that the photograph may have been of the Queen of Xai-Xai, without, however, offering any evidence in support of this theory. Given that Thiesson's declared objective was to collect representative images of different "races", Bensusan's theory that the subject must have been someone important to merit a photograph would seem to be unfounded.

[1180] The writer António Feliciano de Castilho, who was virtually blind, visited Thiesson's Lisbon studio in 1845 and published an article entitled "Luz Pintora"on his impressions in the *Revista Universal Lisbonense*,. [Vol. 1844-45, p.329]. "Disseram-me então que Mr. Thiesson copiava tudo, com a fidelidade de de um espelho [….] Quinze minutos depois de operações mysteriosas no quarto escuro, fechado e sem testemunhas, Mr. Thiesson voltou trazendo na mão o mais cabal e irrepreensivel de todos os retratos: um verdadeiro espelho da memória." See José Carlos Alvarez e Paulo Baptista. *Do Palco ao Estúdio: O Retrato Fotográfico e as Artes do Palco* (1875-1935). In *Imagens de uma ausência.* Edições Colibri . Centro de Estudos de Teatro. Lisboa: 2011, pp. 59-78.

[1181] "[…] Cette idée d'utilité, partagée par M.Thiesson, devint la cause déterminante d'un voyage au Portugal et en Italie, pour en essayer la réalisation. Comme on devait s'y attendre, cet essai a eu des résultats qui mettent hors de doute toute l'importance de l'art photographique pour l'histoire naturelle de l'homme. Ainsi que nous l'avions conseillé à M. Thiesson, la race africaine ou éthiopique a été le premier objet de ses études photographiques. Il a rapporté de son voyage vingt-deux épreuves de cette race, **prises à Lisbonne**, à Cadiz, et représentant des individus d'âge et de sexe divers.[...]" Anthropologie Comparée. – Observations sur l'application de la photographie à l'étude des races humaines ; par M. Serres. *Compte Rendu des Séances de L'Académie des Sciences.* T. XXI Nº. 3. July 21st 1845, pp. 242-246. (my bold) If some or all of the 22 photographs of the "Ethiopian or African race", which Thiesson took in Lisbon and Cadiz are rediscovered, they will eliminate any doubts which still persist regarding the origin of this image.

[1182] Marcos Morel, "Cinco imagens e múltiplos olhares: "descobertas" sobre os índios do Brasil e a fotografia do século XIX." *História, Ciências, Saúde - Manguinhos*, Fundação Oswaldo Cruz. Vol. VIII (suplemento), 2001, pp. 1039-1058.

explanation is that the photographer was attempting to recreate, albeit partially, the appearance of the two women as they might have been "in their natural surroundings." [1183]

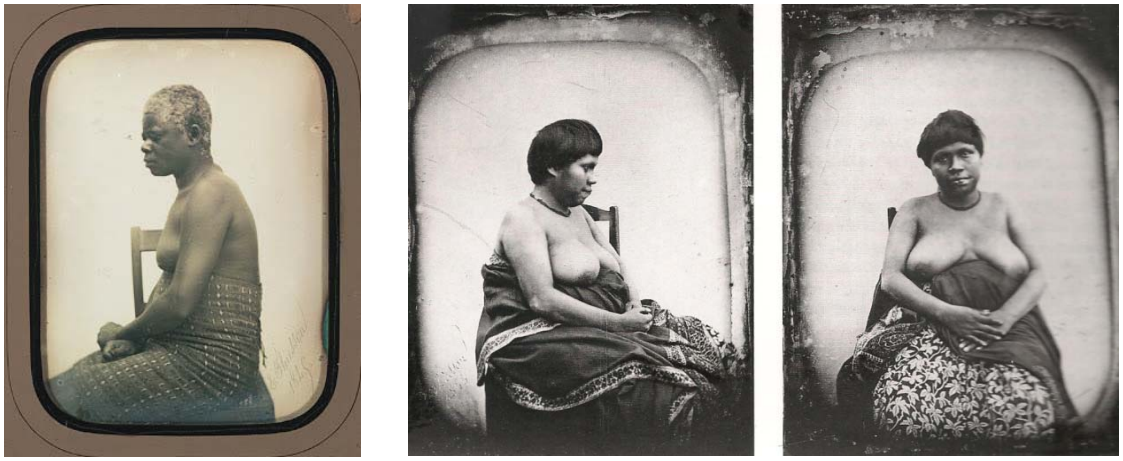


Figure 3.25. (Left) "Naturelle de Sofala." Daguerreotype. E. Thiesson. 1845. **Figures 3.26 (**Centre) and **3.27**. (Right) "Botacudo Woman**.**" Daguerreotypes. E.Thiesson. 1845

Although in both studies Thiesson's female subjects pose sitting in straight-backed, wooden chairs with their upper bodies exposed, hands resting in their laps, there is a revealing difference between them. Contrasting with the later "Sofala" portrait, in which the woman's attire seems plausible and possibly even authentic, the woman in the "Botacudo" portrait [1184] is swaddled in yards of printed cloth of a quality and type which would neither have been accessible in her home environment, nor indeed practical for the lifestyle of the members of her community, creating an oddly contrived, neo-classical appearance. Thiesson had undoubtedly been advised by his supervisor Étienne Serres [1185] and his colleagues at the Academy as to the "correct procedure" when taking photographs

[1183] The exposure time for a daguerrotype was in the order of twenty seconds or so, requiring a good deal of patience and stillness on the part of the sitter. Indeed, as Castilho noted, his head was immobilised against a rest to ensure that "he would not have two pairs of eyes" in the image.

[1184] The photographs of two members of the Nacnenuc community- a man and a woman, belong to a series of five daguerrotypes in the Jacquart collection in the Phototeque of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris and are accompanied by skeletons which were brought back from Brazil: *"*M. Serres présente à l'Académie cinq portraits representant deux naturels de l'Amérique du Sud (Botocudes), et pris au daguerréotype par le procédé de M. Thiesson. Il fait remarquer la netteté de ces épreuves, ainsi que l'exactitude avec laquelle sont reproduits les caractères qui distinguent cette variété humaine." Compte Rendu des Séances de L'Académie des Sciences.T. XIX Nº. 10. September 2nd 1844, p. 490.

[1185] Antoine Étienne Serres (1786-1868) was the Professor of Anatomy and the Natural History of Man at the Museum of Natural History in Paris at the time. He is best-known for his treatise on the "Races of Man"- *Anthropologie comparée. Observations sur l'application de la photographie à l'étude des races humaines* (1845) with photographs by Thiesson.

of this kind, and it is reasonable to suppose that "scientific" ideas regarding the way such "representatives of primitive races" ought be viewed and portrayed had already exerted their influence on the way these early portraits were staged.[1186]

Whether or not the "Sofala" portrait was actually made *in situ*, which would seem unlikely, it provides evidence that, even at this early juncture, French anthropologists were amongst the first to recognise the value of the new photographic techniques to their work. Contrasting with this forward-looking approach, however, there were still those amongst them who were searching for visual evidence to confirm their *a priori* classification of indigenous South Americans and Africans as sub-human species who were better studied within the scope of zoology.[1187] Such ideas were widespread all over Europe at the beginning of the Victorian era and soon filtered down from scientific circles to influence popular attitudes and perceptions. The extreme case of such pseudo-scientific "creativity" was to be found at Sarti's Museum of Pathological Anatomy at the Cosmorama Rooms on Regent St., London, where amongst the "the missing link" exhibits, supposedly demonstrating evolutionary development, there was a wax model purporting to show African "savages" with tails.[1188] Sadly, this form of pseudo-scientific mystification later demonstrated a remarkable capacity for survival in the popular sphere, long after such grotesque theories were finally abandoned by scientists.

Although several photographers accompanied expeditions to South and Central Africa in the intervening years after Thiesson's portraits were taken,[1189] a whole generation would

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[1186] From 1860 onwards the "side and front" photograph became the accepted norm for French anthropologists. In the chapter entitled *Anthropologie* in the 5th edition of *les Instructions pour les voyageurs et les employés dans les colonies* drawn up by the Muséum d'Histoire naturelle, the following recommendations were given: "Faute de moules, on devra recueillir des photographies, en aussi grand nombre que possible, en prenant le portrait en pied du même individu de face et de profil. Dans le premier cas on aura soin que le plan médian antéro-postérieur de l'individu qui pose, coïncide avec le plan médian vertical de l'instrument: dans le second cas les deux plans devront être exactement perpendiculaires entre eux. Tout portrait obliquement serait presque sans valeur." Anon. *Les instructions pour les voyageurs et pour les employés dans les colonies, sur la manière de recueillir, de conserver et d'envoyer les objets d'histoire naturelle.* Impr. de A. Belin : Paris 1860, p.13. (first edition 1824). For more on the early French School of Anthropological Photography, see Nélia Dias. "Photographier et mesurer: les portraits anthropologiques." In: *Romantisme*, 1994, n°84. Le primitif, pp. 37- 49.

[1187] The botanist Auguste Saint-Hilaire (1779-1853), who had studied the "Botacudo" people during his stay in Brazil between 1816 and 1822, and had employed a guide from this ethno-linguistic group, opposed Serres' belief that they were a sub-human species. Significantly, Anthropology as a separate subject was only studied at the Muséum d' Histoire Naturelle de Paris from 1855 onwards.

[1188] See Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Objects of Ethnography', In *Exhibiting cultures: the poetics and politics of museum display,* Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C:1991, p.399.

[1189] David Livingstone, for instance, gave his brother Charles the responsibility of taking photographs of representatives of the indigenous populations on his travels across Angola, asking him to "secure

go by before photography became a regular commercial activity in Portugal's African colonies. In a pioneering article, Jill Dias revealed that there were at least two professional photographic studios operating in Luanda before the end of the eighteen sixties, one founded by Abílio Moraes, the father of the previously-mentioned J.A. da Cunha Moraes, who was already active in 1863 [1190] and another, in 1869, by José Nunes da Silveira, who was a well-known exhibitor in Lisbon and Oporto by that time. [1191] It now appears that in November 1863 a third studio, owned by a José Augusto Teixeira, had opened to the public in Luanda.[1192] According to Dias, others were established, soon afterwards, by Rocha Figueiredo in Benguela and by Nicola de Luizi in Moçamedes [Namibe],[1193] whilst there were already several professional photographers in Portuguese East Africa and probably others in the remaining Portuguese African colonies around the same time.

Although many photographs of Africans have survived from this early period of Portuguese photography, J.A. da Cunha Moraes' landmark collection - the majority of which were taken on journeys between the coastal towns of Angola at the beginning of the eighteen-eighties - provides unique insight into the way the indigenous peoples of Portuguese West Africa were viewed and portrayed by Europeans in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. [1194] As the photographs of "Typos de Cabinda" show, Moraes´ albums not only bear witness to skill and sensitivity but also to his familiarity with the

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characteristic specimens of the various tribes [...] for the purposes of ethnology." David Livingstone to Charles Livingstone, May 10, 1858, in *The Zambezi Expedition of David Livingstone*, ed. J.P.R. Wallis. Harmondsworth, London: 1856, p. 432. Despite Charles Livingstone's inexperience and the laborious wet collodion process he employed, he managed to bring back forty or so plates.

[1190] Abílio Cunha Moraes was active in Luanda until his death in 1871. See Boletim Official do Governo Geral da Provincia d'Angola. Luanda, no. 14 (April 8th 1871), p.165. See Nuno Borges de Aráujo. *Primeiros Fotógrafos em Luanda.* http://apphotographia.blogspot.pt/2007/02/blog-post.html.(Accessed 14/8/2014). Nuno Borges de Araújo gives 1867 rather than 1863 as the date of the inauguration of Moraes´studio.

[1191] Jill Dias."Photographic Sources for the History of Portuguese-Speaking Africa.1870-1914." IICT. Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1991. African Studies Association. No.18. *History in Africa*, n.18, pp. 67-82. Online Source: http://hdl.handle.net/10362/2523 (Accessed 23/07/2014). See also Nuno Borges de Araújo. "Portugal." In John Hannavy Ed. *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*. Routledge. New York: 2008, p.1153.

[1192] Advertisement placed by José Augusto Teixeira in the *Boletim Official do Governo Geral da Provincia d' Angola*, n.º 47, November 21st 1863, p. 402.

[1193] According to research carried out by Nuno Borges de Araújo of the Portuguese Photographical Association (APPH), Nicola de Luizi had a studio in Luanda in 1867, and may have travelled to Moçamedes in 1869. Online Source: as above, note 1188.

[1194] José Augusto de Cunha Moraes (1855-1933). Moraes returned to Portugal proper in 1897 and began to work closely with the Casa Biel photographic studios in Oporto which had previously printed his albums using the phototype process. His own postcard collections continued to be printed in Angola for many years, however, and as shown here, some of his photographs, taken in Angola in the 1880's, appeared in postcards issued by other publishers well into the second decade of the following century.

generally accepted, "scientific" way of picturing Africans, portraying some individuals from side and front "to enable a better evaluation of their type". [1195]

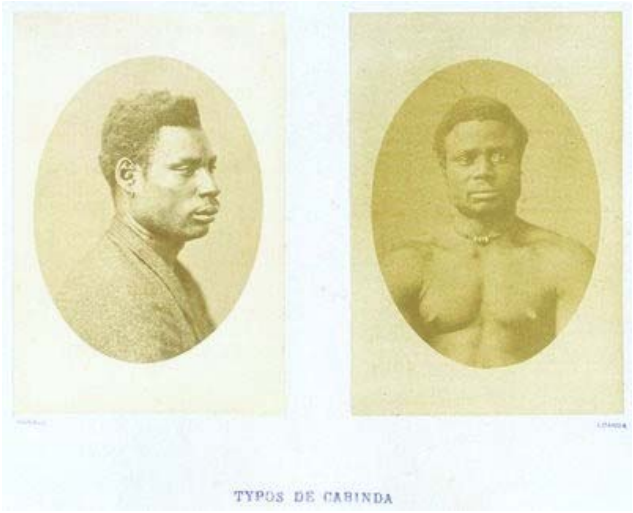


Figure 3.28. "Typos de Cabinda." Albumen prints. J.A.da Cunha Moraes. c.1880

In addition to recording such diverse subjects as river landscapes, plantations, missions and government outposts, Moraes followed the fashionable ethnographic practice of taking pictures of representatives of certain occupations, either individually or in pairs, such as *"lavadeira"* - a washerwoman, "*quitandeira"* - a market seller, or *"carregador bailundo"*- a Bailundo bearer. The figures, shown below, are isolated from their environment to further emphasise their "typical" appearance and the trappings of their trade. Behind the practice was the theory, then widely held in anthropological circles, that certain physical traits, supposedly linked to certain trades or professions, were distinguishable with the aid of the camera. Although common practice in European photography at the time, this type of ethnographic portrait set a precedent in the Portuguese African colonies which, despite the limited circulation of his album, filtered down to later studio photographers and even influenced the content of picture postcards published up to the First World War. [1196] Indeed, some of Moraes' own photographs were

[1195] See **Figure 3.28.** Albumen prints from Moraes first album. J.A. de Cunha Moraes *Africa Occidental. Album Photographico e Descriptivo*. 4 vols. David Corazzi, Lisboa: 1884-1887. Moraes was a member of the French Académie Nationale and may have become familiar with such ethnographical photographic practices through contacts with French colleagues. See Leonor Pires Martins. *Um Imperio de Papel. Imagens do Colonialismo Português na Imprensa periódica Ilustrada* (*1875-1940*) Edições 70, Lisboa: 2012, p.108.
[1196] See **Figure 3.29** Two albumen prints from Moraes' first album. Cunha Moraes Op.cit.1885.

still being sold as postcards in the twenties, almost half a century after they had been taken.

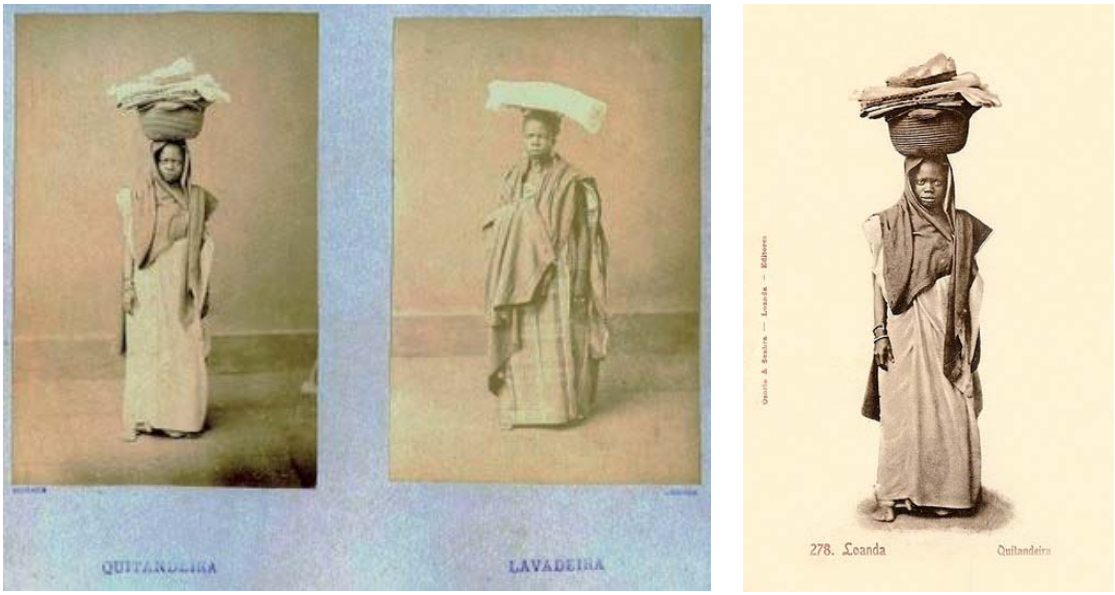


Figure 3.29. (Left) "Quitandeira" and "Lavadeira". Albumen prints. J.A. de Cunha Moraes. c.1885. **Figure 3.30.** (Right) Postcard. "278. Loanda Quitandeira." Photo. J.A. de Cunha Moraes. Pub. Osório e Seabra, Luanda. c.1905.

In a seminal article on early photography in Angola, published over twenty years ago, Beatrix Heintze offers an opportune reminder of the pitfalls involved in analysing images of this kind. Referring to the case of photographs reproduced in entirely different contexts - as in the above case - she points out the risk of trying to interpret a particular image exclusively in accordance with the context in which it is presented. She closes with the wry comment: "[…] anyone who believes that he has at last «got to the bottom» of a photograph may in fact merely have made sense of the context. We should therefore always be aware that in reality the chameleon lies within the head of the observer." [1197]

Clearly, in this case, Moraes' original motive for taking the photographs was to record the appearance of what he considered to be typical or representative figures for colonial or scientific purposes - to constitute an "ethnologically useful" collection or inventory, whereas the exploitation of the same photographs, decades later, by the Luanda postcard specialists Osório and Seabra, was essentially part of a commercial strategy designed to

[1197] Beatrix Heintze. "In Pursuit of a Chameleon: Early Ethnographic Photography from Angola in Context" *History in Africa*, Vol. 17 (1990), p.156.

appeal to members of an entirely different public who were unconcerned about the time and the circumstances in which the photographs were taken. [1198] It is interesting to verify that the figure of the *"quitandeira"* is further decontextualised in the postcard, hinting at the collectable trade card or "cigarette card" genre which had quickly become a fad as advertisers in Europe and America began to exploit the fascination of the public for collections of all kinds of images. Unremarkably, perhaps, given the widespread enthusiasm for collectable cards, Cunha Moraes, himself, made this and other such photographs into a series of postcards which can be dated to the first years of the twentieth century. [1199] An originally commendable initiative to register supposedly representative groups of indigenous people for posterity, had in this way been turned by the photographer himself into the perpetuation of an undated image which, despite its curiosity value, was no more than a phantom from the past.

Other prints in the albums show that the photographer took advantage of opportunities which presented themselves to obtain a record of representative individuals or groups of an ethno-linguistic character, such as the study, below, entitled "Mundombes" [sic] which may have been a chance encounter with a small trading party or a group of carriers, and was probably taken in, or near, what was then Moçamedes.[1200] In fact, Moraes tells of coming across individuals or what he considered to be representative groups in the vicinity of his studio and asking permission to photograph them. It is revealing of this phase of colonialism in Africa that it was considered sufficient to identify such a photograph in this cryptic fashion. In effect, Moraes' "rubber-stamping" of this group of individuals of different sex, age, and relationship to each other - to mention only a few possible distinguishing features - into a single broad category, "Mundombes" [sic] - the community they were considered to belong to and the region with which they were

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[1198] Cunha Moraes was a member of the Sociedade de Geografia Comercial do Porto and a founding member of the Sociedade Propagadora dos Conhecimentos Geográfico - Africanos, founded in Luanda in 1880. He too was unable to ignore the commercial appeal of the postcard trade and he published a series of his own photographs as postcards around the turn of the century.

[1199] The date can be deduced from the fact that the back of the card was still not divided to leave space for the address and the message.

[1200] See **Figure 3.31.** Albumen print from Moraes first album: J.A. Cunha Moraes and S. Ferreira. *África Occidental. Album Photographico e Litterário.* Lisboa: 1882. Many of the prints which appear in the first album later appear in the Corazzi edition. J.A. Cunha Moraes and S. Ferreira. *África Occidental. Album Photographico e Litterário.* Lisboa: 1882, 3rd. part. Mentioned in J. Dias Op.cit, p.68. The same photograph later appeared in the form of a postcard: "no.46. Mundombes" [sic]. Moraes Collection, pub. Luanda c. 1905. Despite being described as "brutíssima" in the album, the Mundombe people, who lived in the territories to the south of Benguela, were also considered to be hard-working and useful as bearers - two features which would have commended them to European settlers.

identified, was enough to satisfy the limited curiosity of the contemporary observer and the practical requirements of the European settler.[1201]



Figure 3.31. "Mundombes." [sic] Albumen print. J.A.da Cunha Moraes, c.1880

This perfunctory attitude towards the indigenous peoples of Angola was taken to a new level, however, in the following postcards, issued by different publishers, which carry photographs taken by Cunha Moraes of members of the same group of people originating from the region of the "Guanguellas" [sic]. Astonishingly, two later cards based on the same photograph purport to show representatives of other, distinct ethno-linguistic communities. Several of Moraes' photographs were apparently acquired by publishers in different parts of the colony and exploited in what appears to have been an indiscriminate and unscrupulous fashion.

The first postcard, entitled "*Gentio das Guanguellas*" was almost certainly published by Cunha Moraes, himself, at the turn of the twentieth century, and was based on a photograph he took almost a generation earlier. The image has been somewhat

[1201] Elizabeth Edwards writes eloquently on the issue of "types" in "The Image as an anthropological document. Photographic «types»: the pursuit of Method", *Visual Anthropology*, vol.3, 1990, p.235-258.

decontextualised by the removal of its edges in the darkroom to allow the sender's message to be more easily written on the front of the card.[1202]



Figure 3.32. Postcard. "Recordação de Benguella. Gentio das Guanguellas". Photo by J.A Cunha Moraes c. 1885. Published as a postcard c.1905

The two examples below , based on Moraes' photograph of the leaders of the same group [1203] entitled "Cinco seculos das guanguellas" reveal how easy it was to misrepresent the "meaning" of the original image by simply using misleading captions. [1204]

In this, and possibly in many other cases, Heintze's "chameleon" was able to change its appearance even before the observer arrived on the scene. Once again, this case serves to emphasise that it is wise to cultivate a cautious approach towards the apparently reliable information offered by published photographs such as these, which, even at the outset of the twentieth century could be easily manipulated to meet the requirements of the publisher or vendor.

[1202] The back of the card was still undivided and carries the indication that only the address was to be written there, allowing a reasonably precise estimate of the date of publication.

[1203] "*Seculos*" or sekulus were village elders or representatives of the "*Soba"* or local chief, often being sent in charge of a caravan. Not only were the people in the photograph demoted from their real status by the caption, they were given a different ethnic identity. **Figure 3.33** The first of the two cards has been overwritten by the sender with the enigmatic phrase "possuidores de cargas d'ossos" which may suggest that the group was trading in ivory. The photograph may been taken by Moraes sometime before the turn of the century when the ivory trade was in full swing. See **Figure 3.38.**

[1204] See **Figure 3.33**. Cacuáco (and not Cafuáco) is now a municipality in the Luanda district of over one million inhabitants.

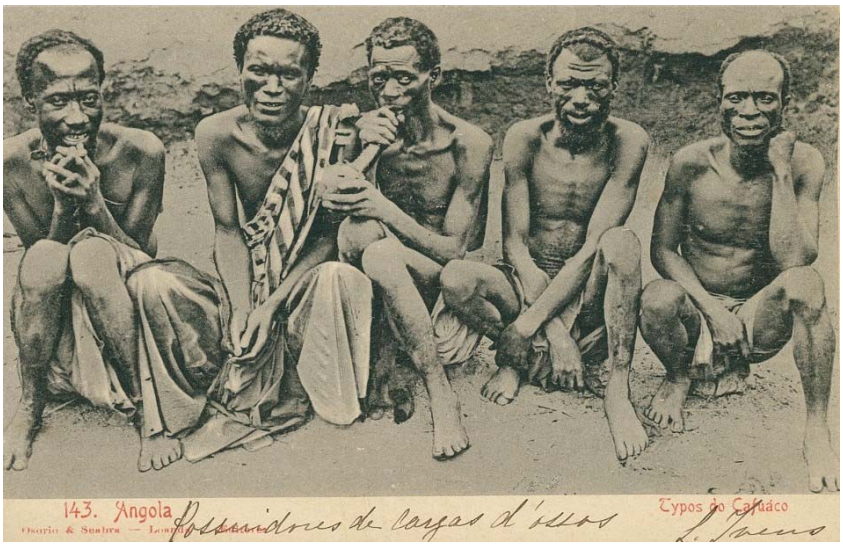


Figure 3.33 Postcard. No.143 Angola. "Typos de Cafuáco" [sic]. Pub. Osório e Seabra. Luanda c.1910

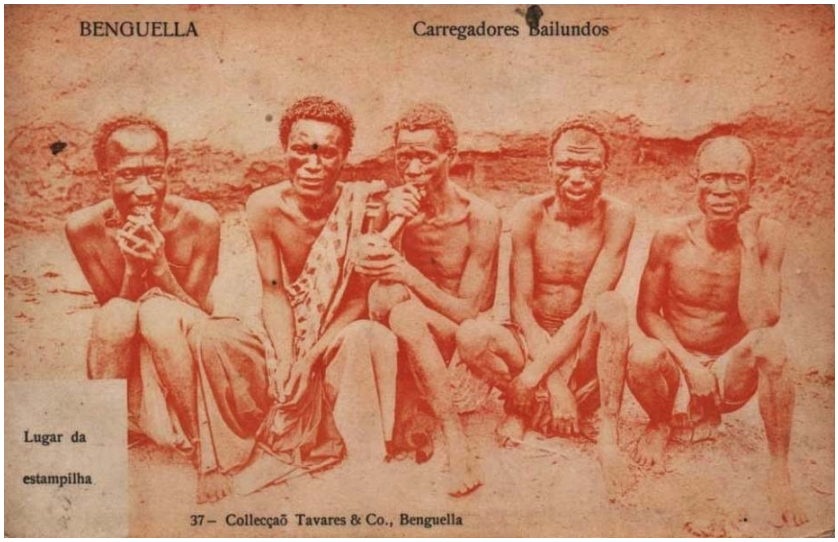


Figure 3.34 Postcard. "No.37. Carregadores Bailundos". Pub. Tavares & Co., Benguella c.1920

As remarkable and original as many of his images are, Cunha Moraes' comments on his photographs and their subjects were typical of European attitudes towards Africans at this time, as Jill Dias noted in the same article,[1205] offering as an example the caption accompanying his photograph of "Caconda types", who are pragmatically described as "robust and well-constituted" but inclined to "work little". In portraying Africans in this way, Moraes was merely following time-honoured practice, but, on occasion, his outstanding talent, allied to a unique sense of opportunity, enabled him to surpass the conventions of his day and to bequeath an image for posterity which was not just

[1205] Jill Dias. Op.cit, 1991, p.78.

aesthetically important but displayed an empathy and spontaneity which was truly exceptional for the time, as the photograph below exemplifies. The picture shows the members of a trade caravan resting on their arrival at Catumbela, almost certainly after the long and wearying trek along the well-worn trail between Bailundo and Benguela. [1206] Thousands of carriers used the track every year with loads of rubber and beeswax for the coast, returning to Bié with gunpowder, calico, salt and rum. It was the same trail that was used to bring captives from the far interior of Angola to the point of embarkation for the plantations of São Tomé and Príncipe.



Figure 3.35. [Arrival of a trade caravan at Catumbella]. Albumen print. J.A da Cunha Moraes, c. 1884

Another remarkable photograph [1207] from the same period provides a record of such a caravan as it wound its way across hilly country on its way to the coast of Angola.[1208]

[1206] See **Figure 3.35.** From *Album, África Occidental. Photográphico e Descriptivo.* David Corazzi, Lisboa: 1884-1887. Reproduced in Jill Dias, Op.cit, 1991 p.71. These were Ovimbundu traders, according to the caption for the same picture, in F. S. Arnot, *Bihe and Garenganze.* Hawkins, London: 1893, frontispiece. The same photo is reproduced in Héli Chatelain's biography Op.cit, 1918, as *Caravane de porteurs.* Pl.14 before p.209. Clearly, it was considered a remarkable documental record, even then.

[1207] **Figure 3.36.** Albumen print. 18 x 24 cm c.1884**.** Conceivably the same caravan as in the previous photograph.

[1208] For an excellent, detailed description of the operation of these caravans see Maria da Conceição Neto. Op.cit. 2012, pp. 66-68.

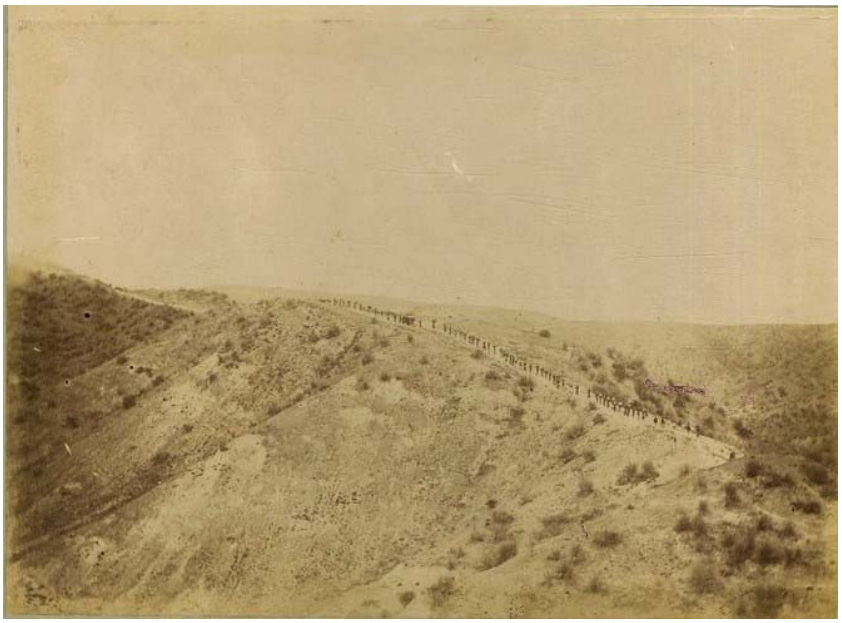


Figure 3.36. "Gentio em caminho do sertão."Albumen print. J.A. da Cunha Moraes c.1884.

Unsurprisingly, as in several other images, Cunha Moraes uses the somewhat depreciative epithet "gentio" to describe the members of the caravan, an expression which was commonly used by European settlers well into the twentieth century. A third photograph, probably from the same series, shows a "quintal" associated with a trading post, which was used as a resting place for caravans and as a temporary holding compound for future contract-labourers who had been brought from the interior and were destined to be sold on for the cocoa islands or Angolan "fazendas".



Figure 3.37 "Quintal para gentio em casa de negócio." Albumen print. J.A. da Cunha Moraes. c.1884.



Figure 3.38 "Comitiva de Marfim" Benguella. Albumen Print. J.A. da Cunha Moraes, c.1884

This apparently innocuous view, like the photograph which follows it showing an ivory caravan arriving in Benguela, was undoubtedly intended as a sequential record of one of the most vital aspects of Angolan life in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the caravan trade from the interior, which depended, to a great extent, on Ovimbundu traders and their ability to organise these remarkable caravans, often made up of hundreds of people, both captive and free.[1209]

At the same time as Cunha Moraes was active in Portuguese West Africa, photography was also being used as a "scientific" tool to identify and classify representatives of different African populations by Manuel Sertório de Almeida Aguiar, [1210] who served as adjutant to Henrique Dias de Carvalho [1211] on the four-year military, commercial and

[1209] The vital contribution of Ovimbundu traders to the economy of Angola was recognised in the preamble of Teixeira de Sousa's decree of September 1901 which provided protection to such caravans, shelter at military posts, and armed escorts if requested. See António Teixeira de Sousa. *Relatório, Propostas de Lei e Documentos relativos as Possessões Ultramarinos* etc. Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa: 1902 p.228. Also António Teixeira de Sousa. *Para a História da Revolução*. Moura Marques & Paraisos, Coimbra: 1912 Vol.1, pp. 194-195; and R.J. Hammond Op.cit 1966, p. 319. Beatrix Heintze underlines the importance of these caravans in speedily conveying news, information and rumours. See Beatrix Heintze. *Pioneiros Africanos. Caravanas de carregadores na África Centro-Ocidental (entre 1850 e 1890)* Editorial Caminho, Lisboa: 2004, pp. 381 and 386.

[1210] Manuel Sertório de Almeida Aguiar (1851-1932) Officer and Explorer, attained the rank of Brigadier.

[1211] Henrique Augusto Dias de Carvalho (1843-1909) Officer and Explorer. First Governor of the Lunda region of Angola. The catalogue entitled *Memórias de um Explorador. A Colecção Henrique de Carvalho da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, was produced in 1912 by the SGL to accompany the exhibition of the remarkable collection which is held there.

scientific expedition to the Lunda district of Angola, which was promoted by the Portuguese Government and the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa. [1212]



Figure 3.39. Manuel Sertório de Almeida Aguiar. A page from the album. Gelatin prints. c. 1885

[1212] Henrique Augusto Dias de Carvalho [text], Manuel Sertório de Almeida Aguiar [photos]. *Album da expedição ao Muatianvua*. 1887. 287 black and white silver gelatin prints, 9.3 x 6 cm to 10.4 x 17.5 cm. Beatrix Heintze offered a first analysis of Aguiar's photographs in her article: In Pursuit of a Chameleon: Early Ethnographic Photography from Angola in Context. *History in Africa,* Vol. 17 (1990), pp. 133-7. At a symposium on *Photography in a Colonial Context*, held at the Instituto de Ciencias Sociais in Lisbon in 2013, the possibility was put forward that some of the photographs may have actually been taken by an Angolan named António, based on annotations on the original prints which are in the safekeeping of the Sociedade de Geografia. If such proves to be the case, it would introduce a new and interesting dimension to the analysis of this important collection.

Many of the photographs he took on the expedition, which took place between 1880 and 1884, were ethnographical in character and were later reproduced in an album designed to supplement and illustrate Carvalho's extensive report.[1213] Sertório's portraits of individuals, the most numerous grouping of photographs in the album, focus on the physiognomy of those portrayed but make no attempt to conform to the anthropometric systems which were then in vogue. The majority of the subjects - men, women and children - were photographed in a sitting, half-profile pose against the background of a white cloth, almost certainly with the purpose of compiling a comprehensive "inventory of types" or representatives of different ethno-linguistic communities in the region, yet, whilst the name of the sitter was ignored, some attempt was clearly made to record the individuality of those portrayed, unlike in most other ethnographical studies of the day. Several years later, a number of the photographs taken on the expedition appeared in the form of engravings in Dias de Carvalho's *África Ilustrada*, published in collectable weekly parts, which was intended as a primer on the whole of the continent for what he called "as classes menos favorecidas no cultivo das letras". [1214]

In the foreword to the first issue, Dias de Carvalho expressed the wish that the initiative would contribute to an increase in the number of emigrants to Portugal's African possessions and that, somewhat optimistically, amongst his readers, there would be "[…] trabalhadores rurais, artistas e todos os homens enfim pelas suas profissões que muito podem concorrer para a vivificação das nossas colonias africanas.". Photography was thus already being tentatively used as an instrument of propaganda by those in Portugal who were interested in developing the African colonies, but its true scope and potential still remained to be understood and exploited to the full.

Towards the end of the eighteen-eighties the members of the Portuguese Espírito Santo congregation, who had set up a mission at Huila in the south of Angola in 1881, compiled

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[1213] The album is now available online at http://purl.pt/23746/1/album.htm# (consulted 6/10/2018)

[1214] Henrique de Carvalho. *África illustrada: archivo de conhecimentos uteis.* Typographia Diário de Notícias, Lisboa: 1892-3. In his justification which opens the *Descrição,* and was addressed to Manuel Pinheiro Chagas, the Minister of the Navy and the Overseas Territories [Marinha e Ultramar], Carvalho refers specifically to the "clarification" offered by photographs in the following terms: "[…]Essas investigações e estudos constituem um volumoso e variado material que torna assaz conhecida a vasta região explorada, sob muitos pontos de vista, quer nos interesse da sciencia quer no do paiz, e por isso, além d'esta obra geral, foi organisado um album ethnologico de photographias, que esclarece todos os estudos da Expedição […]" Henrique de Carvalho. Op.cit, 1892, vol. I, fasc.1 Preface.

an album of photographs, which, in addition to showing groups of children who belonged to the mission, also includes "ethnographical portraits" of local figures.

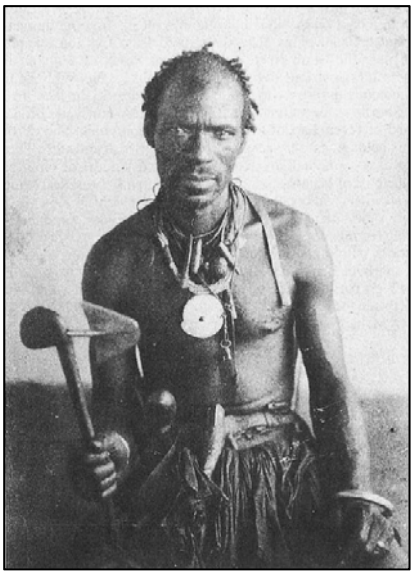


Figure 3.40. Portrait of the Soba de Jau, taken by a member of the congregation. c.1885

As Jill Dias notes, illustrating her affirmation with a remarkable portrait of a local chief taken by one of the members of the congregation, which is shown above, the portraits reveal "respect for personal character and dignity". [1215] The empathy revealed in the "close-up" confirms that despite the desire to demonstrate what was assumed to be European superiority towards Africans, which is apparent in the overwhelming majority of photographs from this period, there were significant nuances and even exceptions to the rule. [1216] Incidentally, only part of the many photographs taken by the missionaries were included in the album, as many others have also been traced to the mission, which had its own photographic laboratory. [1217]

No less remarkable than the previous image are the photographs of the Scottish medical missionary James Johnston, who, inspired by the travels of Livingstone and Moffat, crossed the whole of Angola and British Central Africa with a group of six Jamaican disciples in 1891-2. Johnston began his journey in Benguela [1218] and reached the mouth

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[1215] The man in the portrait is not just a "signifier" in Barthes' sense, but a real person.
[1216] See Jill Dias, Op.cit.1991, p.77
[1217] Album da Missão Catholica do Real Padroado da Huila. c.1890. Other prints are preserved in the collections of the Sociedade de Geografia and the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino in Lisbon.
Figure 3.40. Illustration reproduced in Jill Dias. Op. cit. 1991, p.78.
[1218] "And why Benguela? Chiefly because it has the reputation of affording facilities for obtaining carriers, slave routes for the interior starting from that point." James Johnston Op.cit: 1893, p.20.

of the Zambezi twenty months later, crossing the Kalahari Desert and the Shire Highlands on the way. Johnston's photographs stand out clearly from those taken by other Protestant missionaries who were working in Portuguese West Africa at the time, undoubtedly due to his experience and skill with the camera and the fact that he was aware from the outset that his engagement with Angola would be transitory. His travel account, spiced with complimentary remarks and sometimes pithy criticism on the efforts of the missionaries of different persuasions he visited on his expedition, was published the following year in a profusely-illustrated volume, appropriately entitled "Reality and Romance in South Central Africa."

Amongst the fifty or so exceptional photographs which illustrate his account is one of a group of "pombeiros" from Bié, headmen of one of the Ovimbundu caravans which had crossed Angola from the interior to the West Coast for decades - key figures, at the turn of the century, in ensuring a constant supply of contract labourers for São Tomé and Príncipe. The image contrasts with the vast majority of contemporary photographs taken in Angola which tend to reinforce a way of looking at Africans which condemns them to immutable identification with their place of origin - as "Ganguellas", "Mondombes" etc.



Figure 3.41. "Bihean Pombieros" [sic] (Headmen). James Johnston, 1891.

Although the members of the group are not separately identified, this is clearly a portrait of a group of individuals who have been specifically brought together by the photographer to create a record for posterity and, as such, it differs substantially from Moraes' "Mondombes", for instance, who are no more than anonymous representatives of their

"tribe" who have been symmetrically positioned for the purpose of the composition. [1219] Johnston's photograph of these caravan headmen displays, quite naturally, the fact that there had always been permeability and acculturation between communities of different ethnic origins in Africa, as well as with with Europeans, as the clothes and headgear of this well-travelled group of individuals unequivocally display. Incidentally the image also reveals, that, despite the evidence of relative affluence offered by the yardage and variety of the tradecloth they are wearing, these indispensable figures in the contract labour system seem hardly better off than the captives they transported to the coast.

The photograph serves as a reminder today that after deducting the cost of the primitive firearms, ammunition, "aguardente" and gunpowder which ended up in the hands of the "owners" or captors of the future labourers, or those of the local chiefs who passed them on to the intermediaries; the payments to the traders who furnished the caravans with supplies; the bribes paid to the authorities along the way; the charges of the steamship company which carried them to the islands, and the expenses of keeping the labourers alive, most of the added value generated by the system ultimately found its way into the pockets of a few Europeans who controlled cacao production in São Tomé and Príncipe from their opulent residences in Lisbon or Paris. Despite the platitudes and pious arguments put forward by the São Tomé planters that the future contract labourers were being given an opportunity to flee the insecurity and poverty of their existence in the interior and to redeem themselves through the virtuous exercise of remunerated labour, the driving force behind the whole system, from beginning to end, was profit and profit alone.[1220]

The contrast between Johnston's "pombeiros" and Moraes' photograph of the members of a caravan, shown below, possibly taken less than a decade earlier, underlines the dichotomy of engagement-detachment which has pervaded the whole of photography since its invention, a factor which is particularly revealing in colonial contexts, as it provides a key to understanding how Europeans often endeavoured to preserve "a

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[1219] **Figure 3.41.** In James Johnston. Op.cit 1893. Reproduced between pages 44 and 45.

[1220] "**The only motive for slavery is money making and the only argument in its favour is that it pays.** That is the root of the matter, and as long as we stick to that we shall, at least, be saved from humbug." Henry W. Nevinson. "The New Slave Trade" Part III "The Slave-Trade of Today". *Harper's Magazine*. October 1905, p.676. (my bold)

notional distance" between themselves and "the African Other", even when they were obliged by circumstances to live in close proximity and even mutual dependency.



Figure 3.42 Postcard. "58. Carregadores bailundos" [sic]. Collecção Moraes. Luanda c.1905

Moraes' photograph, which he continued to sell as a postcard, probably twenty years or so after it was taken, shows a group of Bailundo bearers carrying what appear to be *"lazarinas"* or muzzle-loaders, wrapped in cloth, and may have been taken at Benguela or Catumbela before the caravan returned to the interior. Interestingly, two of the members of the party are wearing straw "boaters", as in Johnston's group portrait - an indication that this may have been an informal sign of their status as headmen. [1221]

A number of photographs from this period offer valuable insight into life on the plantations in São Tomé and Príncipe. Although other photographers visited the islands for short periods, before and afterwards, [1222] the first photographic studio in São Tomé is thought to have opened its doors around 1875. It was owned by José Robalo Gambôa, a Cape Verdian who, it seems, was also active in Mozambique around the same time.

[1221] The same picture appears as a postcard under the title "no. 384 Catumbella. Grupo de Gentio", published in Luanda by Eduardo Osório, probably around 1910.
[1222] One such photographer from abroad visited the islands in 1888, for example. […] "O fotografo deste trabalho foi um preto que apareceu vindo da Serra Leoa e que apenas se demorou cerca de um mês." Letter from Francisco Quintas sent from São Tomé to Júlio Henriques. June 29th 1888. Quoted by António Carmo Gouveia. "De nome à Imagem." Filipa Lowndes Vicente (org.) *O Império da Visão. Fotografia no Contexto Colonial Português (1860-1960)* Edições 70, Lisboa: 2014, p.189. As Carmo Gouveia explains, this was almost certainly Alphonse Owondo who was active in Freetown, Sierra Leone at this time and around the turn of the century set up a studio in Conakry, French Guinea, where many of his excellent photographs were published as postcards.

Gambôa's studio soon became what was described, rather optimistically, as "the best establishment of its kind in West Africa". His albumen prints of São Tomé, fifty of which were made up into an album published in Lisbon, featured in the Portuguese section of the Antwerp Universal Exhibition of 1885, which was organised by the Sociedade de Geografia. As an African, albeit from a different Portuguese colony in which the influence of European social and cultural attitudes and behaviour was more far-reaching, Gambôa's photographs of the plantations might be expected to offer evidence of a different point of view or approach to others taken by his European contemporaries - this, however, does not readily transpire from the images in the album. [1223] In addition to panoramas of the town and picturesque scenes of the local market, the Fort of São Sebastião, and women washing clothes in the Água Grande river, iconic and picturesque views which would be still be popular for photographers and postcard publishers a century later, Gambôa's album is of particular historical interest as it records aspects of the plantations at the time of the Berlin Conference, when Portugal had once again become the target of international accusations concerning the persistence of slavery in its African colonies.[1224] Interestingly, together with photographs of several of the "roças", the album [1225] included views of Catumbela and Benguela on the Angolan coast where most of the contract labourers embarked for the cocoa islands, as well as the Customs pier where they first set foot in São Tomé and awaited distribution to the different plantations. Of particular note in the picture of Roça Gué-Gué, shown below, are the labourer's huts or "cubatas", rudimentary and temporary constructions situated behind the cocoa-drying yard, accomodation which

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[1223] "Há aqui um fotógrafo curioso, […] preto de Cabo Verde mas como se ocupa noutros misteres nem sempre está disposto a trabalhos de campo e como é o único faz valer-se nas ocasiões." Letter from Francisco Quintas in São Tomé to Júlio Henriques. June 29th 1888. Quoted by António Carmo Gouveia. *De nome à Imagem.* Idem. Ibidem. See also Augusto Nascimento. "Olhar as mudanças sociais em São Tomé e Príncipe através das fotografias." Idem., p.59.

[1224] The Berlin West Africa Conference. November 15th 1884 to February 26th 1885. The General Act recognized King Leopold's sovereignty over the Congo and free trade in the basins of the Zaire, Niger and Zambezi. It also advocated the need for improvement in the moral and material conditions of the natives and repression of commerce in slaves and alcohol. The act further guaranteed religious tolerance and freedom and recognised the need for religious missions in the development of civilisation in Africa. The Berlin General Act established the principle that Powers could only possess colonies if they actually occupied them.

[1225] J.R. Gambôa. *Galeria Africana 1ºAnno. Photographias de África Occidental.* Lisboa.c.1885. The prints (13.2 x 20.4 cm) are attached to the front and back of 25 stiff card pages. Several of the photographs show the imposing residences of the estate managers, including those on the Bemposta, Prado, Pinheira, Recreio e Blú-Blú plantations, whilst others offer views of the gardens and cocoa groves.

would be significantly improved and transformed over the following decade, accompanying the prosperity brought by growing cacao exports.

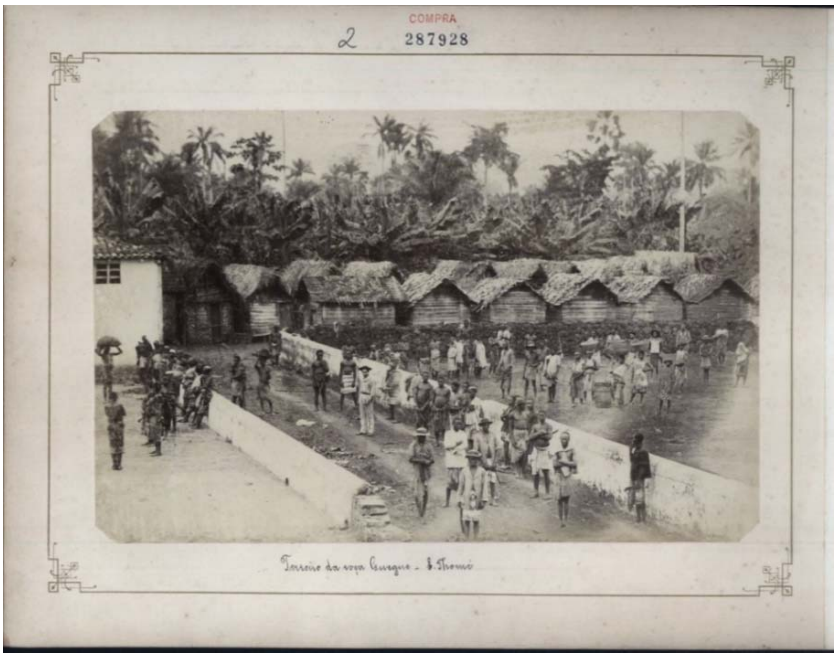


Figure 3.43 "Terreiro da Roça Gué-Gué. S.Thomé". Albumen Print. J.R.Gambôa, c.1885.

Later postcards of the same plantation show the permanent barrack-style housing which was introduced, in part to reinforce and consolidate the military-style discipline which became the rule at the turn of the century. At the time of Gambôa's photograph, however, the labourers on some of the plantations still built their own dwellings and some estate managers allowed them a small plot of land where they were able to grow vegetables and fruit to supplement their monotonous, but usually substantial diet based on smoked or dried fish, dried meat, rice and meal.[1226]

Gambôa's images of the plantations provide a visual record of a moment which was a significant turning point in the fortunes of the colony, as it was precisely in 1885-6 that Cadbury's first began to purchase cacao from São Tomé and Príncipe. Cacao exports totalled over 1000 tons that year and would soon become the principal export of the

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[1226] **Figure 3.43.** Albumen Print, 13 x 21cm. In J.R. Gambôa. Op.cit 1885.
Indeed, refusing the daily ration was considered to be a disciplinary infraction and the serviçal might be subjected to corporal punishment, with the *palmatória*, as Juvenal Marinho recalls in his verses:
321-Na **Esperança** os pretos tal não precisam, [monkey "bush meat"]
Pelas árvores e chão fructa sempre cahida
E nas mãos com a palmatória os avisam
Quando do caldeiro recusam a comida. Juvenal Marinho. Op.cit. 1926, p.38.

islands, to the detriment of coffee production, which from then on would slowly dwindle.[1227]



Figure 3.44. "Casa de habitação da Roça Prado 1. S. Thomé"**.** Albumen Print. J.R.Gambôa. c.1885.

Another of Gambôa's photographs shows the already imposing residence of the manager of the Roça Prado, near Madalena, with its barred and grated ground-floor windows and ample verandah overlooking the compound-cum-drying yard. [1228]

One of the earliest studies of the islands to use photographs as illustrations was António Almada Negreiros' curious ethnographical account of the people and customs of São Tomé, which was published in 1895. [1229] In addition to panoramas of the town of São Tomé, Almada Negreiros illustrates his study with portraits of what he considers to be

[1227] In Kevin Grant. Op.cit. 2005, p.120.
[1228] See **Figure 3.44.** Albumen Print, 13 x 21cm. c.1885. From J.R.Gambôa's Album. Estate owners were only forbidden from using corporal punishment or imprisonment of contract labourers on the plantations by the Decree of October 1st 1913, which was finally published at the end of November that year.
[1229]António Lobo de Almada Negreiros. *Historia Ethnographica da Ilha de S. Thomé.* Antiga Casa Bertrand: Lisboa, 1895. After serving in different local supervisionary capacities in the Postal Service in Portugal, António Lobo de Almada Negreiros (1868-1939) was appointed district administrator in São Tomé in 1892 and later served there as a local magistrate until his appointment as Curator for the Pavillion of the Portuguese Colonies at the Paris Exhibition of 1900. From then on he spent most of his life in France. Almada Negreiros contributed regularly to a number of European publications specialising in colonial issues and published several works on questions pertaining to the Portuguese colonies.
The well-known Portuguese artist José de Almada Negreiros (1893-1970) was the child of António's first marriage to Elvira Freire Sobral, a native of São Tomé, who died in 1896. He lived on Roça Saudade near Batepá until being taken to Lisbon at the age of three.

representative individuals in an attempt to identify "types" from different social or ethnographical groupings.





Figure 3.45. (Left) "Typos de S. Thomé. A mulher Angolar". Photographer unknown. c.1890 **Figure 3.46**. (Right) "Typos de S.Thomé. Serviçaes Angolas". Photographer unknown c.1890

These include a former slave or "gregoriano", a "Dandy", an "angolar" woman, and "filhos da terra" or those who considered themselves to be natives of the islands and, as such, "a cut above" the labourers on the plantations. As in most photographs taken in São Tomé, contract labourers from Angola are portrayed only as a group. [1230] A photograph is also included of a woman who is described as a "tonga" - the child of a plantation labourer, an image which is captioned in a later work, in French, simply as an "indigenous woman".[1231]

Despite his later, unflagging, but probably not disinterested defence of the contract labour system, Almada Negreiros displays somewhat more up-to-date views on the question of race than many other contemporary Portuguese colonial specialists. In his introduction to

[1230] **Figure 3.45.** Idem. Between pages 59 and 61. **Figure 3.46.** Idem. Between pages 262 and 263.
[1231] In Almada's detailed and illustrated study of São Tomé published for the exhibition of the Portuguese Colonies at the Paris Exhibition of 1900 - *L'Île de S.Thomé*, Livrairie Challamel, Paris: 1900, p.31.The photograph is simply captioned "Une femme Indigéne."

the study Almada makes it clear that he had reservations regarding theories which, though unproven, were widely accepted:

> Um dos maiores arrôjos que commettemos no decorrer d'estas paginas é o de não acreditarmos na completa inferioridade do negro. É que, de nenhum modo esta affirmativa é ainda hoje um axioma scientifico. Nas multiplas manifestações psychicas da sua existência, dezenas de provas evidentes que nos veem mostrar que elle é apenas o condemnado por nós a uma eterna ignorância e ao servilismo de um **meio** podre. Sobre tudo o **meio** exerce nas suas faculdades intellectivas uma influencia primacial.[1232]

Although he appears to have had a comparatively open mind on the racial question, Almada comments scathingly, in his study, on the behaviour of certain "types" or social groupings which, however, he attributes to historical and environmental factors, rather than to race. The author also underlines the traditional distrust or enmity which existed between inhabitants of the two islands and between different social groupings. He affirms that national pride, which he acknowledges as a fact "entre nós", offering the example of Portugal and Spain, was far more terrible "entre os negros", and quotes the example of the natives of São Tomé who looked down upon those of Gabon as slaves. [1233]

Almada advocates that the first step in "civilising the black man" would be to make him understand the "equality of caste" through "persistent religious teaching." Surprisingly arguing against accepted thinking for the period, Almada also notes the existence of the same diversity of physical characteristics in "the Ethiopian race" as observed in Europeans, and cites Elisée Reclus, whom he calls "that sublime anarchist geographer", to suggest that persistent miscegenation between Africans and the Portuguese had led, in São Tomé, to a people of mixed race, as Réclus argued that it had in Portugal.[1234]

[1232] Almada Negreiros (António). *Historia Ethnographica da Ilha de S. Thomé.* Antiga Casa Bertrand. Lisboa: 1895.

[1233] Quoting José Joaquim Lopes da Lima. *Ensaio Estatístico das Possessões Portuguezas.* Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa: 1884-1886, p.35. (bold in original)

[1234] Almada Negreiros quotes Réclus' comments on the Portuguese to support his arguments on the ethnic composition of the people of São Tomé: "Pouco a pouco os cruzamentos fizeram entrar na massa do povo todos estes elementos ethnicos provenientes das populacões as mais diversas da Africa tropical e os portuguezes tomando assim no seus traços e na sua constituição physica, um character mais meridional do que o proveniente da sua origem primitiva: **tornaram-se na realidade um povo de côr.**" Elisée Réclus. *Nouvelle Geographie Universelle.* Librairie Hachette et Cie, London : 1877. vol.1, p 911.

Further insight into life on the plantations is offered by an outstanding series of albumen prints from the turn of the twentieth century, signed A.C. Sobral. [1235]



Figure 3.47. Labourers lined up to receive payment. Roça Novo Destino. Albumen print. A.C.Sobral. c.1895

These highly unusual photographs, which are held in the safekeeping of the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino in Lisbon, display a degree of engagement with the contract labourers which was unique for the time. The undated prints, which are now faded but may have been hand-tinted, were almost certainly commissioned by Claudina Chamiço, the owner of Monte Café, the largest coffee estate on the island of São Tomé and its subsidiary Novo Destino, or one of her agents.[1236] They include views of what appear to

[1235] An A.C.Sobral illustrated Carlos Faria's novels *O Piano*, published by António Maria Pereira, Lisboa: 1893 and [with Julião Machado]*Um Conto de Reis.* Alcino Aranha e cia. Porto :190? It is conceivable that the artist and the photographer were one and the same but little is known about either.

[1236] **Figure 3.47.** Albumen print. 18 x 24cm. AHU. Once possibly hand-tinted, now somewhat faded. [I am grateful to Prof. Elizabeth Edwards for her expert insight on the possibility of hand-tinting, on a group visit to the AHU photographic archives in 2013. The armillary sphere is a digital watermark used by the AHU.] Note the children in the front row and the woman carrying a baby. Certainly not just a question of chance. Claudina Chamiço (1822-1913), who was considered to be the richest woman in Portugal at the turn of the twentieth century, was a well-known Catholic social benefactor who invested part of the considerable income she earned from the exploitation of contract labour in S. Tomé in philanthropic causes in Portugal, including sanatoriums for those suffering from leprosy and tuberculosis.

be newly-built sheds and the plantation's narrow-gauge railway line and engine. [1237] Photographs such as these had begun to be used to record the development and progress of the plantations from the beginning of the eighteen-eighties, as Augusto Nascimento points out, quoting the example of Francisco de Assis Belard who was sent photographic proof of the improvements to the drying compound of his plantation in São Tomé as early as 1883.[1238]

Together with pictures of the plantation workers lining up patiently to receive their wages or before departing for the coffee groves - "standard" staged views which were already beginning to appear in picture postcards - one of the prints is of particular importance, both from the social and the aesthetic viewpoints. Taken from a higher vantage point, possibly a bell-tower,[1239] the photograph, which is shown below, offers a strikingly effective, panoramic view of the paved compound or quadrangle, displaying the entire labour force of the estate - African workers to one side, Chinese to the other - spaced out evenly over the whole area. European chargehands or gangers stand discreetly in the background by the drying sheds. Clearly this photograph of the whole workforce, unlike those of roll-call, for instance, where the labourers already knew where to stand, had to be especially set up for the camera, a time-consuming task which would have required a good deal of patience and cooperation on the part of the plantation labourers. [1240]

Also contrasting with the previous photograph of roll-call, where the corridors between the lines of labourers are patrolled by Portuguese overseers, the labourers are clearly portrayed as the driving force behind the plantation's prosperity. The division of the workers into two groups serves today, however, as a stark reminder that only those of Chinese origin would have had the chance to return home at the end of their contracts, whilst most of the Angolans would have remained, at least until 1908, and possibly for

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[1237] By 1910, 20 out of the 132 "roças" on S. Tomé, as well as two on Príncipe, were using railways, ranging in track length from 300m at Roça Jou to 35 km at Roça Água Izé. Railways extended for 246.5 km on São Tomé and 39 km on the island of Príncipe. Roça Monte Café was the only extensive coffee plantation which used railway haulage. By 1910 there were 15 kms. of railway line on the plantation.
See http://www.internationalsteam.co.uk/trains/saotome01.htm (accessed online 7/2/2015).

[1238] Augusto Nascimento. "Olhar as Mudanças …" In *Império da Visão*. 2014, p.161.

[1239] Writing of the Roça Esperança on the Island of Príncipe, Juvenal Marinho mentions such a bell-tower and its dominating view over the premises:

331-Dos trabalhos o toque é feito o commando
Com sino, numa alta torre de madeira,
Do alto da qual se veem á bahia chegando
Os vapores de navegação na carreira. Juvenal Marinho. Op.cit. 1928, p.60.

[1240] **Figure 3.48.** Albumen print. 18 x 24 cm. AHU.

the rest of their short lives, on the list of assets belonging to Monte Café's philanthropic proprietor.[1241]



Figure 3.48. "Grupo do Pessoal." Roça Novo Destino. Albumen print. A.C.Sobral, c.1895

From the social and historical viewpoints, the two photographs offering relatively close-up views of groups of male labourers from Angola and from Macao are particularly revealing. Though undated, the presence of the so-called "coolies" points to a time when the albumen technique was already falling into disuse, during the short and ultimately unsuccessful experiment which brought Chinese workers to the "roças", around the turn of the century. [1242]

[1241] However, many of the Chinese labourers who survived until 1900 did not wish to be repatriated to Macao, preferring emigration to Brazil. See Augusto Nascimento. Op.cit.2004, p.96.

[1242] The first such experiment took place in 1895 when 300 Chinese "coolies" were brought to the islands from Macao. See *Relatorio Apresentado a Camara dos Deputados pelo Sr.Ministro da Marinha e do Ultramar acerca das Províncias de África Occidental*. In *Portugal em África* vol.5, no.56. August 1898 p.286. (Continued from the June and July 1898 issues).

José de Almada refers to the recruitment of Chinese labourers in the following terms: "A tentativa com chineses foi desastrosa para a reputação da ilha." See José de Almada. Op.cit. 1932, p.81.

The death rate amongst the chinese labourers was extremely high, as Augusto Nascimento notes: "[…] a elevada mortalidade tornou-se inegável quase imediatamente após o desembarque. Por exemplo, de 80 coolies contratados para a roça Infante D. Henrique, ao cabo de meio ano já tinham falecido 50. Este ritmo atenuar-se-ia mas, ao cabo dos cinco anos do contrato, esta roça só preservava 9 dos 80 do contingente



Figure 3.49. "Chinezes". Albumen print. A.C.Sobral c.1895.

Although carefully staged due to the type of camera and the length of exposure required, the photographs nevertheless reveal Sobral's deliberate attempt to engage with his subjects, a feature which is absent from the work of many local photographers and, indeed, from the majority of photographs taken on the plantations during this period. Clearly choosing to emphasise the distinguishing features of the two groups, Sobral staged the pictures to give prominence to characteristic artefacts and clothing which underlined the origins of the labourers, such as fans and woven bamboo paddy-hats in the case of the Chinese labourers, and traditional musical instruments, in the case of the Angolans. [1243]

inicial, tendo falecido os demais 71." Augusto Nascimento. "A Passagem de *Coolies* por S. Tomé e Príncipe" *Arquipélago. História,* 2ª série, VIII. 2004, p.87.

[1243] **Figures 3.49 and 3.50.** 18 x 24 cm. AHU. Arquivo Científico e Tropical.



Figure 3.50. "Angolas." Albumen print. A. C. Sobral. c.1895

This contrasts sharply with other group photographs from the time in which the labourers appear uniformly dressed and carrying their working tools. Yet, once again, despite Sobral's commendable attempt to reach out in his own way to the plantation workers, and their evident cooperation in posing for the camera, the faces of the labourers, particularly those from Angola, clearly express their sullen indifference towards the unfamiliar technology, the results of which they would almost certainly never see. Despite the fact that the series of photographs of Monte Café and Novo Destino are taken from several different viewpoints and are clearly intended to publicise the plantation and its unique facilities, perhaps surprisingly, there is no sign of the chapel which Joseph Burtt saw a few years later, much less any form of religious ceremony, on this, perhaps the only plantation where there was any attempt to involve the contract labourers in any kind of Catholic service. [1244]

[1244] "Burtt encountered only one roça, Monte Café that held a weekly mass for workers." Higgs. Op. cit 2012, p.45. In a letter to William Cadbury at the beginning of 1906, Burtt wrote that the priest's sermon was eloquently summed up by a "serviçal": "He tells us to multiply, eat well and sleep well, [so] that we may work well for Dona Claudina." Burtt to Cadbury. January 3rd 1906. CP5 (IV)
Writing to Claudina Chamiço from Monte Café, in November 1908, during his visit to São Tomé with Joseph Burtt, William Cadbury thanked her for the hospitality of "Mr. Lucas, your representative", and said he would have much to say in his report "on the good treatment the servicaes received on this and other plantations". He added: "I am of the opinion also that the efforts you have made to provide those people

Contrasting with the comparatively tolerant and coexistential attitude towards the indigenous population of South-Central Africa and its customs revealed by images like those of James Johnston,[1245] in the final years of the nineteenth century photographic processes began to be used more and more by British colonial specialists to classify and hierarchise populations which were supposedly "disappearing", in accordance with the social-Darwinist interpretation of the theory of evolution, thus acquiring a moral urgency which brought even greater scientific prestige to the technique. [1246] This approach was stimulated further by the appearance of photographs in periodicals such as the *Geographical Journal*, which was founded in 1895.[1247] During the same period, school textbooks were published to introduce imperialist ideas to British children, profusely illustrated with photographs of "types" from the farthest corners of the Empire.

Amongst the numerous British contemporary works which exploit such images were *British Central Africa* (1897) and *The Uganda Protectorate* (1902) by the remarkable writer, artist, explorer and colonial administrator, Sir Harry H. Johnston. [1248] Similarly, Dudley Kidd's primer *The Essential Kafir* (1904),[1249] which, as its title suggests, was intended as a handbook for prospective overseas travellers and African colonial administrators, also employed photographic images to illustrate advice on how to "deal with" or "handle" the indigenous populations of the colonies. Despite their different approaches, both Johnston and Kidd place Africans - whose inferiority they clearly assume as their point of departure - on a descending scale according to increasing

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[contract labourers on Roça Monte Café] with the benefits of religion will much enhance their happiness." In Francisco Mantero and J.A.Wyllie, translation and notes. Op. cit, 1911, p.36.

[1245] The idea of tolerance evidently takes as its point of departure a notion of superiority. Johnston, though having lived and preached in Jamaica for six years, or perhaps precisely for that reason, was not uncritical towards the customs of the indigenous peoples he came across on his journey, displaying in his account many of the pre-conceived ideas regarding Africans which were common at the time.

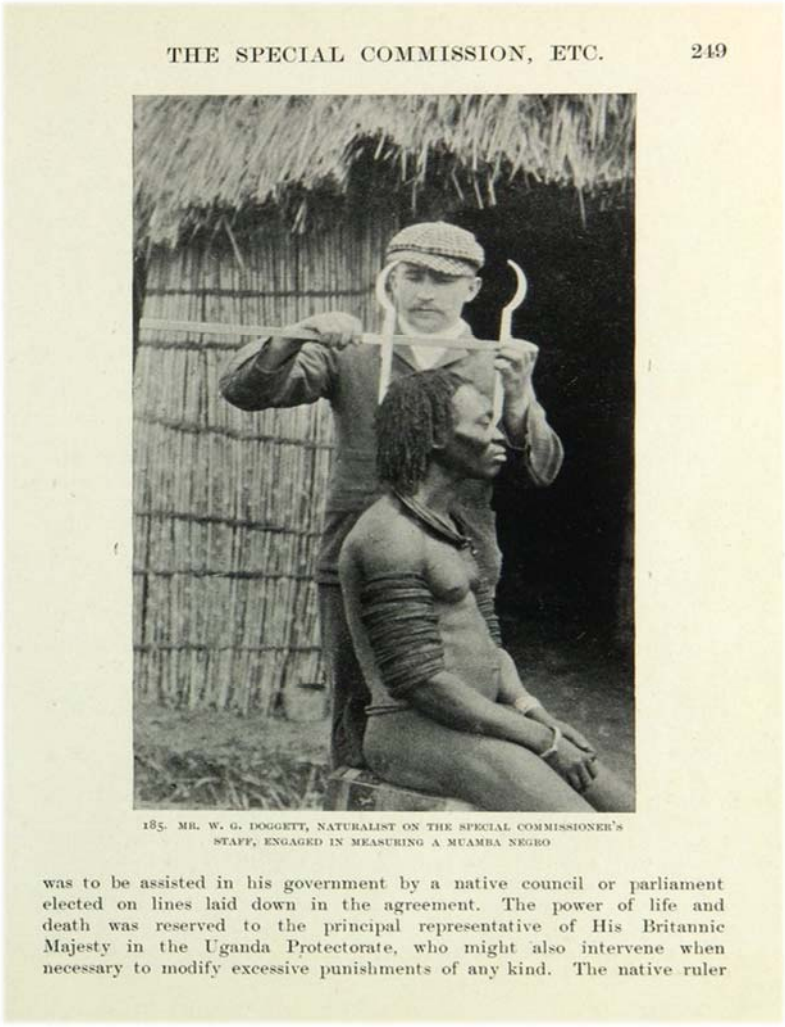
[1246] **Figure 3.51** appears as an illustration in Sir Harry Johnston's *The Uganda Protectorate,* p. 249. The instrument was known as an anthropometer and was used to measure the different dimensions of the cranium, which was thought by a significant number of researchers to be the key to the presumed superiority of the European "race". The original is reproduced in James R. Ryan. Op.cit. 1997, p.160.

[1247] Colour photographs began to appear in the *Geographical Journal* as early as 1900.

[1248] Sir Harry Johnston. *British Central Africa: An attempt to give an account of a portion of the territories under British influence north of the Zambezi.* Edward Arnold, New York: 1897. Sir Harry Johnston. *The Uganda Protectorate.*2 vols. Hutchinson & Co. London: 1902."[…]a magnificent amalgam of ethnography, natural history, and colonial apologia, liberally illustrated with photographs, many of them his own." David Killingray and Andrew Roberts Op.cit. 1989, p.203.

[1249] Dudley Kidd. *The Essential Kafir.* Adam and Charles Black, London: 1904. Sir Harry Johnston was extremely complimentary about Kidd's study which he described as one of the few of the kind worth reading.

deviation from European characteristics, whilst comparing their "usefulness" to the European settler and administrator.



THE SPECIAL COMMISSION, ETC. 249

185. MR. W. G. DOGGETT, NATURALIST ON THE SPECIAL COMMISSIONER'S STAFF, ENGAGED IN MEASURING A MUAMBA NEGRO

was to be assisted in his government by a native council or parliament elected on lines laid down in the agreement. The power of life and death was reserved to the principal representative of His Britannic Majesty in the Uganda Protectorate, who might also intervene when necessary to modify excessive punishments of any kind. The native ruler

Figure 3.51. Illustration. 185. Mr. W.G.Doggett, naturalist on the Special Commissioner's staff, engaged in measuring a Muamba negro. Photo by Sir Harry Johnston

The "scientific" exploitation of photography which had been developed over the previous half-century as an instrument in ethnographical studies,[1250] was thus being deftly turned by British experts to act as a support and justification for the more pragmatic objectives of the professional administrator and the colonial entrepreneur. Indeed, photographs became so useful in promoting colonial values that in 1902 the British Colonial Office

[1250] Imperialism and Science were close allies during the Victorian period. The importance of photography as a support to military intelligence had been recognised from the earliest times, as demonstrated by the 1500 photographs taken by specially trained members of the Royal Engineers in the 1867-8 Abyssinia campaign. See John Hannavy. *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*. Routledge, London: 2013, p. 511.

set up a special unit, the Committee of Visual Instruction, to coordinate the production of lantern-slides for the teaching of imperialist ideology to school-children.[1251] The camera, as Ian Jeffrey affirms, had, itself, become a colonising tool and "a preparer of the route to European expansion."[1252]

This utilitarian interpretation of racial theories was widely disseminated in all of the colonising nations. Portugal was no exception, and in his costly and profusely-illustrated vindication of the contract labour system, *Manual Labour in S. Thomé and Príncipe* [1253] Francisco Mantero, a leading São Tomé planter, who had already been invited to present a report on indigenous labour in Portuguese West Africa at the First National Colonial Conference of 1901, [1254] clearly evinces the same kind of crude pragmatism in his comparisons of labourers from the different Portuguese colonies. In his superficial "geographical" analysis of the islands, in the section which he calls "Character of the race, capacity for work", he writes as follows:

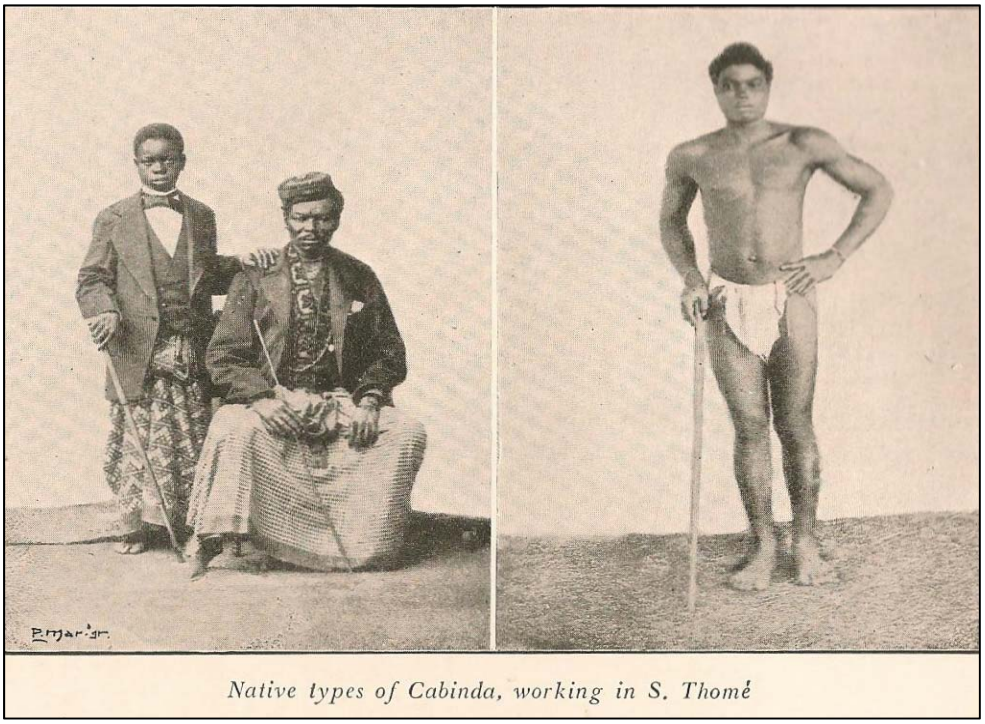
> The race of the hinterland of Angola, which predominates numerically is docile and easily adapts itself to agricultural work; the races of Cape Verde and Mozambique possess a prouder temperament, but are not disorderly, that of Guinea is of warlike origin but as there is only a very limited number in the Province it has no occasion to manifest its rebellious instincts, which however are being modified by intercourse with other races. The Cabindo is very quarrelsome but absolutely harmless. **All are more or less subject to indolence-the innate evil of the South African races.** [1255]

Indeed in this, the English version of his defence of Portuguese methods on the cocoa islands, Mantero astutely employs arguments which would have been familiar to many educated English readers of the time, amongst them the contemporary notion that outward appearance and physical constitution were the key to the moral and social tendencies of

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[1251] See James Ryan. *Images and Impressions* in John M. Mackenzie Ed. *The Victorian Vision. Inventing New Britain.* V&A. London : 2001, p.237.
[1252] Ian Jeffrey *Photography. A Concise History.* Thames and Hudson. London: 1981, pp.63-4.
[1253] Francis Mantero. *Manual Labour in S. Thomé and Príncipe.* Annuario Commercial, Lisboa: 1910. Especially pages 37-52. Georgina King-Lewis' *Slavery in the 20th Century* is essentially a refutation of Mantero's book.
[1254] Primeiro Congresso Colonial Nacional, May 1901. Inaugurated at the Sociedade de Geografia, in Lisbon, by the King, D. Carlos. Presented by Eduardo da Costa, a disciple and collaborator of António Ennes, an eight-point motion was approved, which recognised the need for decentralisation and greater administrative and financial autonomy of the Colonies and separate legislation for Europeans and Africans. Amongst the many other points approved was the maintenance of indigenous institutions of a feudal nature which were "not in breach of morals or justice" and the need to impress upon the natives the notion of territorial property and the obligation to work.
[1255] Francis Mantero. Op.cit, 1910, pp.122-123. (my bold)

a particular ethnic group, which he attempts to illustrate using photographs from different sources, a few especially commissioned for the book. [1256] For instance, the decision to use the photographs below, contrasting "clothed" and "half-naked" Cabindans, who are depicted side-by-side, was clearly quite deliberate and, like contemporary missionary photographs in which Africans are shown wearing European clothes after being "miraculously transformed" by religious indoctrination, the images here, used in this specific context, are intended to suggest how the "savage Cabindan" could become "civilised", when given the opportunity of working on the islands. [1257]



Native types of Cabinda, working in S. Thomé

Figure 3.52. Illustration. **"**Native types of Cabinda, working in S.Thomé". Original albumen print J.A.de Cunha Moraes c.1885

Undoubtedly, too, the robust constitution of the man on the right, above, shows that the photograph was chosen to underline the exceptional physique which supposedly

[1256] Significantly, illustration of the French version was not considered worthwhile. See Francisco Mantero. *La main-d'-oeuvre à S. Thomé et à l'Ile du Prince.* Lisboa: Imprimerie de l'Annuaire Commercial. 1910.

[1257] **Figure 3.52.** Illustration to Mantero's *Manual Labour* 1910, opp. p.54. Note that the Cabindan on the right, despite his robust physique, needed the support of a walking stick, due to leg-length discrepancy. These photographs of Cabindans in Mantero's book first appeared, however, in Cunha Moraes' photo album, published 25 years earlier as "Typos de Cabinda". See J.A. de Cunha Moraes. *Africa Occidental. Album Photographico e Descriptivo. Lisboa. Corazzi 1885.* Several of the other images in Mantero´s book are probably by the same photographer. The signature of José Pires Marinho merely indicates he prepared the print for publication.

distinguished Cabindans from the other inhabitants of Portuguese West Africa and thus equipped them for the work they were expected to carry out on the plantations.

Other illustrations in Mantero's vindication show groups of "native types" from Portuguese Guinea and "types of labourers" from the Cape Verde islands, and there is a rare photograph of a group of Mozambican labourers who were employed on the Boa Entrada plantation. The following photograph of a group of Guinean labourers bears witness to the ethnic, cultural and religious diversity of its members, exposing Mantero's affirmation that they were "warlike" and rebellious in character, for what it was, an outrageous generalisation. [1258] The statement was typical of his utilitarian attitude towards what was, after all, just another source of labour for his plantations.

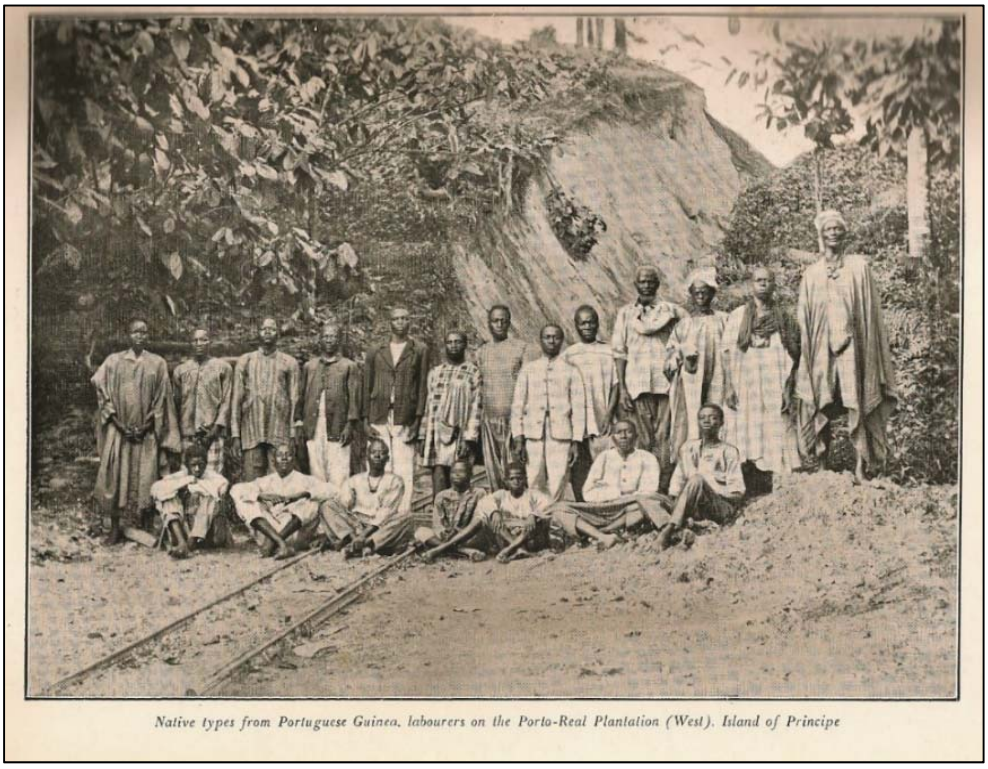

Native types from Portuguese Guinea, labourers on the Porto-Real Plantation (West). Island of Principe

Figure 3.53. "Native types from Portuguese Guinea, labourers on the Porto-Real Plantation (West). Island of Principe". Photographer unknown. c. 1909

[1258] **Figure 3.54.** The illustration appears in Mantero's *Manual Labour* 1910, opposite p.52. The original 15 x 20 cm photograph entitled *Roça Porto Real - Oeste. Grupo de serviçaes [serviçais] guinés da secção S. Carlos do Fundão*, is part of an album of prints of the Porto Real plantation held at AHU. Arquivo Científico e Tropical. Album entitled *"Sociedade de Agricultura Colonial, Propriedade da Ilha do Principe" [Roça Porto Real]*.

This often patronising or arrogant attitude towards "the African Other", which was cultivated and widely held in Europe at the time, and most notoriously by the British colonial "elite", was in part, therefore, the result of half a century or more of misguided scientific thinking which had rapidly filtered down to an influential minority of the people of the colonising nations who welcomed a theory which placed them higher on the "evolutionary ladder" than the "subject races" they systematically distrusted and often despised. Imperialist politicians and entrepreneurs, avid for a respectable justification for the exploitation of the people of the colonised regions of the world, were quick to support such ideas and promote their dissemination, whilst even missionaries and humanitarians, who ostensibly subscribed to more generous ideals, were not immune to the social-Darwinist theorising which paved the way for their paternalistic endeavours in Africa and Asia to be viewed in a more selfless and meritorious light. Such ideas were openly professed by the European elite at the turn of the century and, in his advice to future colonial administrators, Ayres d'Ornellas summed up the way the peoples of the Portuguese African colonies should be viewed:

> Raças não só diferentes, mas científicamente inferiores à nossa […], com um modo de pensar e de sentir proveniente é claro da sua organização diversa, da sua própria organização física tão diferente, com uma moral e uma religião opostas até à nossa, absolutamente incapazes, cientificamente falando, de adaptar os seus cérebros rudimentares e de curto periodo de desenvolvimento, às nossas complicadas teorias e as nossas elevadas concepões.[1259]

Although it is indisputable that most of the photographs taken by Europeans in the last quarter of the nineteenth century were intended for the uninformed viewer, photography was also exploited by colonial entrepreneurs and administrators to further their own objectives, as the previous examples have endeavoured to show. Whether intended for private consumption or public viewing, the majority of such photographs tended to reduce Africans to mere cultural stereotypes, whilst reinforcing a mythical vision of Africa which was based on preconceived and frequently erroneous ideas. But as potentially influential and misleading as they were, it was only when such images began to reach a wider public through lantern slides, illustrated magazines, advertising and postcards that their pervasive influence began to be truly felt.

[1259] Ayres d'Ornellas. *A nossa administração colonial: o que é, o que deve ser . Conferência realizada na Soc. de Geogr. em 30 de Nov. de 1901.* Sociedade de Geographia, Lisboa : 1903, p.13.

3.4 “Spreading the Light”: Missionary Lantern Slides and Postcards

Towards the end of the nineteenth century magic lantern shows were a familiar feature of church halls and fairground sideshows in the United States, Britain, France and many other European countries, including Portugal. Most early lantern-slide projectors used paraffin for lighting, or even candles, but well before the end of the century gas was already being used in more sophisticated equipment as in the illustration below. [1260]

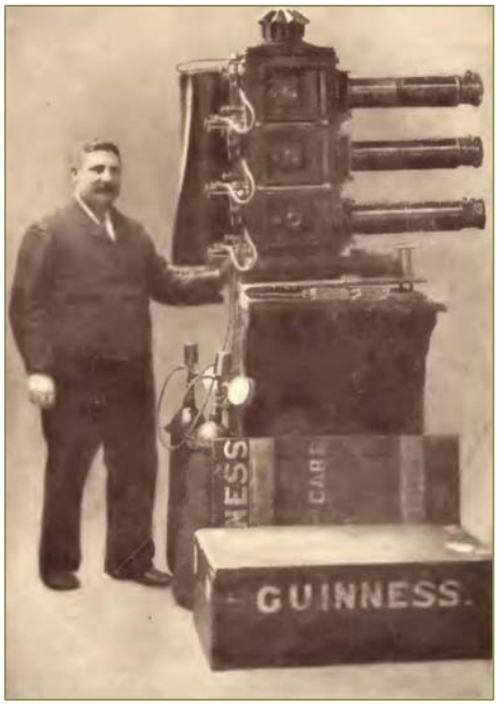


Figure 3.54. Illustration. “The Lantern, through which Distant Places and Peoples are brought near to our helpers, with its operator Mr. Sambridge.”

Although lantern projections had been in existence for over two hundred years, they gained a new lease of life and greater public prestige with the introduction of photographic slides. Indeed, the demand was so great by the turn of the twentieth century that commercially-produced lantern slide collections, consisting of forty to sixty hand-tinted photographs, interspersed with artists impressions, were manufactured by specialist

[1260] See **Figure 3.54.** The importance of lantern shows to missionary organisations can be seen from this **e**laborate gas-illuminated “transportable” projector, used in Britain at the turn of the century by the Regions Beyond Missionary Union. Illustration in Harry Guinness. *Not Unto Us. A record of 21 years missionary service.* RBMU London: 1908, p.175. Guinness belonged to the famous brewing family.

companies in Britain, France and the United States, allowing the lecturer the freedom to respond to different kinds of audiences and the opportunity to present "factual evidence" captured by the camera, side by side with the stuff of fiction, fantasy and faith. [1261] Despite the fact that many slides already carried captions, the lanternist or lecturer often spoke during the projection to provide additional information and reinforce his message to the audience, a practice which also survived in the early cinema, at least up to the First World War. As illiteracy was widespread, this form of "running commentary" was an attractive and persuasive argument for many who might otherwise have stayed away.

As an important part of the vanguard of colonialism, missionaries played a leading role in disseminating ideas about Africa and Africans in Europe and the United States, and made full use of photographic techniques as soon as they became available to convey their message both to supporters and potential converts. At the same time as they pioneered the use of such techniques at home, they were quick to exploit the use of the magic lantern to disseminate their evangelical message of "salvation" to the hitherto unsuspecting inhabitants of the African "mission fields". In fact, many missionaries used the magic lantern to persuade the peoples of Central Africa of the power of their technology and the credibility of their message, and Livingstone, for example, considered the lantern so important that in the mid-1850's he hauled a bulky apparatus along with him on his crossing from Machico to Luanda.[1262] And François Coillard, a French protestant missionary who was active at Sefula in the early 1890's, in what is now Zambia, [1263] also used the lantern to entertain and impress potential converts - as James Johnston, who witnessed such a show on the occasion of the Christian wedding of one of King Lewanika's daughters, relates:

> In the evening a magic lantern exhibition was given in front of the mission house. The audience did not seem to understand photographs of scenery or buildings, however beautiful,

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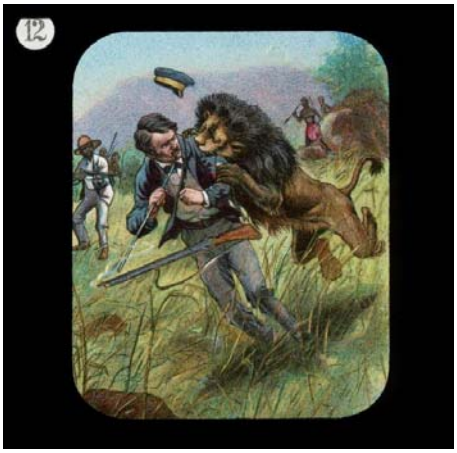
[1261] The invention of the magic lantern has been attributed to the famous Dutch scientist Christian Huyghens, c.1660. See Richard Abel Ed. *Encyclopedia of Early Cinema.* London and New York: Routledge, 2005, p.581.The silver gelatin process made it easier for photographs to be transformed into lantern slides.

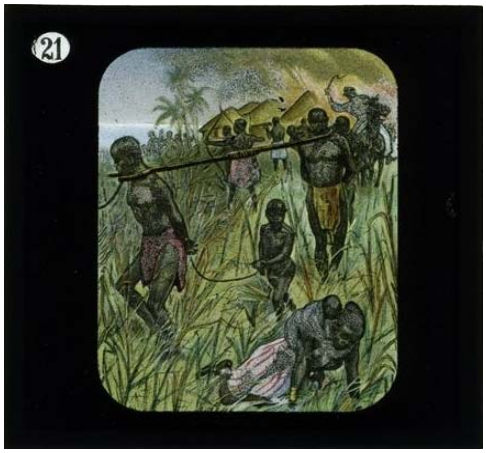
[1262] Livingstone was careful, however, to show how the machine worked "so that no one should imagine that there was aught supernatural in it." See David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa.* John Murray, London: 1857, p.298.

[1263] Coillard founded several mission stations in what is now western Zambia. See François Coillard. *On the Threshold of Central Africa.* Hodder and Stoughton. London: 1897. He was also a handy photographer.

> but when the picture of a lion, elephant or buffalo was thrown upon the screen, they screamed with delight, imitating the cries of the animals represented. [1264]

By then, the religious exploitation of magic lantern slides in Britain, the British Empire and "beyond", already had a proud tradition, and the Salvation Army, for instance, had been making successful use of this technique for the presentation of Bible stories and edifying moral tales for almost five decades, whilst the Church Missionary Society had its own Lantern and Loan department as early as 1881. [1265]





Figures 3.55 and **3.56.** Painted lantern slides from the series *The Life and Work of David Livingstone, Missionary and Explorer.* c.1900.

A typical missionary lantern lecture on a subject such as the "Life and Work of David Livingstone", [1266] for example, accompanied by coloured slides, might attract an audience of hundreds to a chapel hall and would be accompanied by the singing of hymns, prayer sessions and the collection of donations. But as attractive and flexible as they were, artists' drawings - even hand-tinted ones, did not possess the persuasiveness of the

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[1264] James Johnston. *Reality versus Romance in South Central Africa.* London. Hodder and Stoughton. 1893 p.173. James Johnston (1851-1921) a Scottish medical doctor and a Baptist pastor who set up a mission at Browns Town, Jamaica. He had an idea that Jamaicans would be suited to missionary work in Africa due to their presumed adaptability to the climate. He recruited six Jamaican missionaries whom he took with him on a twenty-month long expedition to Central Africa in 1891-2. He left four of them with Saunders' mission at Cisamba and went on to cross the continent from coast to coast. Johnston was an outstanding photographer and an album of his photographs of Jamaica was presented to Queen Victoria.

[1265] See T. Jack Thompson. *Light on Darkness? Missionary Photography of Africa in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries.*. Wm. B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan: 2012, pp. 210-14.

[1266] **Figures 3.55 and 3.56**. Two hand-painted glass lantern slides (83 mm x 83 mm), nos. 12 and 21 from a series of 40 on "The Life and Work of David Livingstone, Missionary and Explorer", manufactured by the London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company for the London Missionary Society, c.1900. The series included images of Livingstone's early life, his crossing of Africa, Victoria Falls, the Zambeze Expedition, including his meeting with Stanley, and finally his death and memorial.

photographic record and on discovering the convincing effect of the camera's "hard evidence", missionaries wasted no time in exploiting its possibilities to win over audiences and encourage donations to support their efforts to "open up" or "bring light" to the "Dark Continent." Photographs of white-clothed Europeans and Americans "preaching the gospel" and teaching previously alien ways to half-naked African "tribesmen" soon became a regular feature of missionary lantern lectures, as well as proliferating in magazines, books and postcards.

As Robert Gordon has observed, it was the invention of photography which introduced the advanced technology required to bring about the marriage of Science and Entertainment.[1267] As far as public lantern lectures were concerned, however, entertainment quickly outstripped science, as it would do in the early cinema. "Otherness" pulled in the crowds, and many slides of Africans at this time featured examples of extreme diversity from the European "ethnic norm", contributing towards the creation of exaggerated and often totally erroneous notions of the African continent and its peoples. In the popular imagination, "Africa" would soon become a phantasmagoric construction, a dark and threatening land infested with wild and dangerous animals and peopled by savages "with impenetrable minds", who were covered with "barbaric" tattoos and armed to the teeth with spears and clubs.[1268] "Image-Africa" as Paul Landau calls it, [1269] comparing its montage of "vision-bites" to the discursive "Orient" in Edward Said's writings, had wormed its way into the collective consciousness of average Europeans, and would prove to be well-nigh impossible to dislodge. Indeed, in order to compete for audiences against fairground shows which exploited the gullibility of an uneducated public, lantern slide images of bizarre or grotesque physical caracteristics or unfamiliar types of behaviour [1270] became standard fare at the most respectable of venues, and even

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[1267] Robert J. Gordon. "The Quest for the Authentic. On the Heroics of African Visual Anthropology. "*Anthropos* 99. 2004, p.430.

[1268] **Figure 3.57.** Lantern Slide from Joseph Burtt's collection, produced by Underwood and Underwood, showing "zulu warriors" who appear to be highly amused by the whole business. Burtt's slide collection, which is in the safekeeping of Newcastle Museums is dealt with in greater detail later in this chapter.

[1269] See Landau's introduction, and, especially, *An Amazing Difference: Pictures and People in Africa.* In Landau and Kaspin eds. *Images and Empires. Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa.* University of California Press, London, L.A: 2002, p.2.

[1270] See **Figures 3.58 and 3.59.** The slides were made from photographs taken by Alice Harris -"An Ikelemba woman with tribal mark" MSS. Brit. Emp. S. 17 / B15 (Box 15/1), and "Long beard touching the ground. The pride of the Congo chief. " MSS. Brit. Emp. S. 17 / B8 (Box 8/1), and were published in 1912 in John H. Harris's *Dawn in Darkest Africa.* It should be remembered, however, that Joseph Burtt was not a missionary and moreover, as a Quaker he was not given to proselytism.

the most philanthropic and well-meaning lecturer could not fail to ignore the audience appeal of photographs of elaborate scarifications or remarkable hairstyles, as the slide collection of Joseph Burtt, Cadbury's envoy to Angola and São Tomé, reveals.



Figure 3.57. Commercial lantern slide from Joseph Burtt's collection. Photographer unknown.c. 1906.



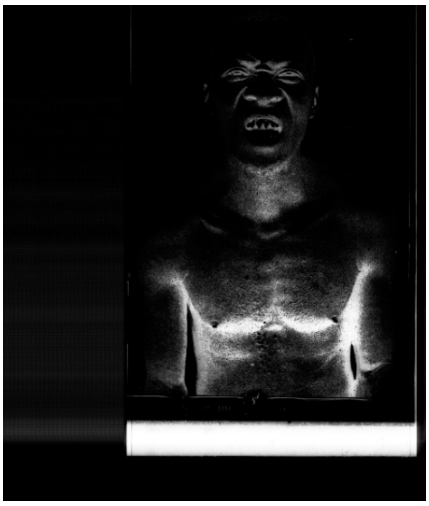


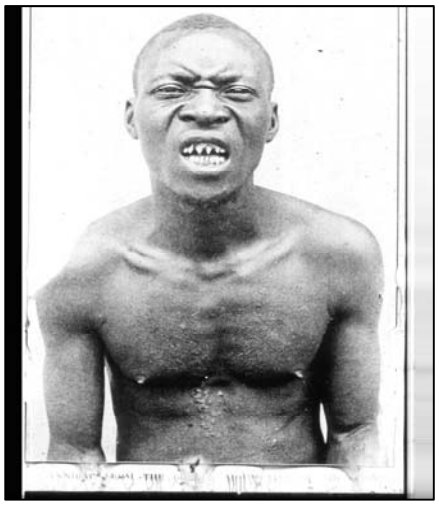
Figures 3.58. and 3.59. Two lantern slides from Joseph Burtt's collection showing "a man with a five-foot beard" and a woman with an "oyster-tattoo". Photos taken by Alice Seeley Harris, 1911.

Similarly, in deference to popular taste, lantern lectures often emphasised the lurking perils of "Darkest Africa", with slides of close and "miraculous" escapes from the teeth of wild animals or the hands of "treacherous cannibals" as the slide below from the Burtt collection, made from the photographic negative exemplifies. [1271] Against this backdrop,

[1271] **Figures 3.60 and 3.61.** Lantern slides showing "cannibals" with filed teeth were sure to extract cries of dismay from audiences. Joseph Burtt's slide collection included two such photographs - one of which had been clearly left as a negative for frightening effect. Research for this dissertation has revealed the

the missionary, like the explorer, stepped effortlessly into the shoes of the heroes of the popular "penny dreadful".





Figures 3.60 and **3.61** Lantern slides from Joseph Burtt's collection based on an illustration entitled "A cannibal from the border mountains of the Congo State." c.1910.

Missionary societies were quick to exploit the blurring of the distinction between the "heroism" of the missionary and the explorer - both examples of masculinity and courage and intrepid pioneers in the mythical "Africa" they had helped to create - as Edmund Hodgson's postcard from the Congo, shown below, clearly suggests. [1272] It comes as no surprise, therefore, that in the minds of a public fed on the exploits of Livingstone, the missionary-explorer, and avid for tales of African adventure, such figures as the Brethren missionaries Fred Arnot and Dan Crawford [1273] quickly became famous after publishing vivid accounts of their African endeavours, and when they finally "emerged from the long

slides were taken from an illustration in the Duke of Mecklenburg's report on his expedition to German East Africa. See Duke Adolphus Frederick of Mecklenburg. *In the Heart of Africa.* Trans. by G. E. Maberly-Oppler. Cassell and Co., NYC; London: 1910. Photograph opposite p.182.

[1272] **Figure 3.62**. "*The way to deal with a missionary responsibility is by a missionary response"*. "Teddy" Hodgson was a British Pentecostal missionary who served in the Congo between 1920 and 1960.

[1273] "In further dialogue after the address itself, other audience members repeatedly linked Arnot's report with Livingstone's explorations, noting how both men embodied **"British pluck"** in the face of daunting physical challenges." Sarah Robbins and Ann Ellis Pullen *Nellie Arnott's Writings on Angola, 1905–1913: Missionary Narratives Linking Africa and America,* Parlor Press, Anderson: 2011, p.77. (my bold) See also F. S. Arnot, "Journey from Natal to Bihé and Benguella," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 2 (February 1889): 65, pp.78-80. For more on Arnot see Ernest Baker's biography entitled *"The life & explorations of Frederick Stanley Arnot: the authorised biography of a zealous missionary, intrepid explorer, & self-denying benefactor amongst the natives of Africa"* Seeley, Service & co. London: 1921. For more on Daniel Crawford see his memoirs; *Thinking black; 22 years without a break in the long grass of Central Africa.* Morgan and Scott: London, 1912. Both Crawford and Arnot were active for long periods in Portuguese West Africa.

grass" their lectures attracted huge audiences and the constant attention of the imperialist press.



Figure 3.62. Edmund Hodgson. Missionary postcard. Congo Evangelical Mission. c. 1920.

"Civilisation", in the vocabulary of Protestant missionaries was a phenomenon which followed closely in the footsteps of "Salvation" and the visual imagery of the period shows great creativity in the way these key concepts were displayed to European audiences.

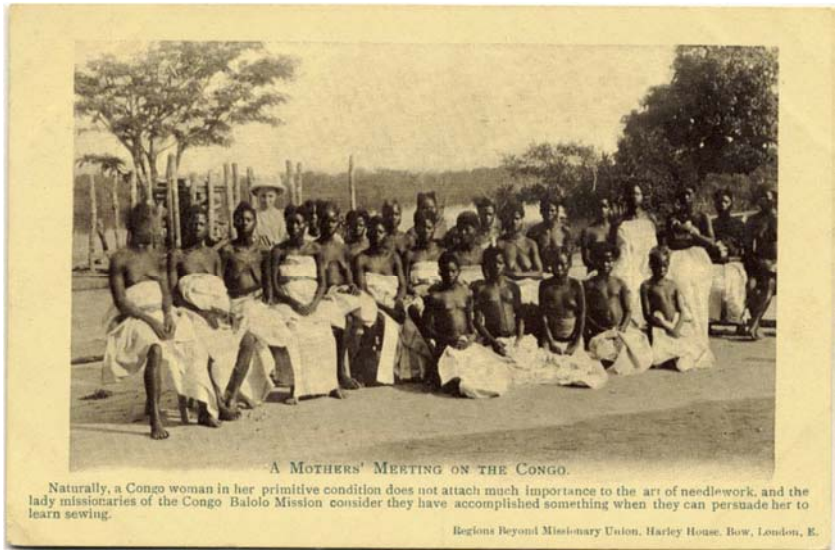


Figure 3.63 Postcard. **"**A Mother's Meeting on the Congo". Congo Balolo Mission. RBMU. c.1905

In many missionary photographs from this time, groups of indigenous people appear scantily clad in front of their modest homes before "being saved", and later, suitably, if uncomfortably, dressed in European clothes and meekly engaged in some "useful and

fulfilling" and previously totally alien occupation, such as "petit-point" embroidery for women and ornamental gardening for men. [1274] Alternatively, the newly converted would be portrayed in impeccably white, flowing vestments, a sign of their new-found purity, after being "redeemed" from their supposedly "dissolute", half-naked existence.



Figure 3.64. Lantern slide. "Chief Kanjundu after his conversion". c. 1905. Photo by Walter Currie. Joseph Burtt's Lantern slide collection.

The man in the centre of the slide above, Kanjundu, the soba of Bié, was photographed by the Canadian missionary Walter Currie, as proof of his new, "civilised" condition. [1275] The persistence of practices akin to slavery in west central Africa and missionary efforts to "combat the scourge" were a key feature of the fund-raising campaigns of evangelistic organisations in Europe and America and certain missionary postcards from this period portray captives in shackles, as in the example below from the Portuguese Congo.

[1274] **Figure 3.63.** Postcard produced by the Congo Balolo Mission to which the Harrises first belonged. The caption is particularly revealing of the attitude of superiority which inspired the way the "Congo women in their primitive condition" were perceived by European "lady" missionaries, however well-intentioned they may have been. The imposition of alien European customs was an intrinsic feature of the "civilising" endeavours of missionaries of all faiths, but particularly those of Protestant evangelicals and Catholic nuns.
[1275] It is quite possible that there was also a slide showing Kanjundu, "half-naked", before his "conversion". Significantly, Africans were rarely identified individually in missionary photographs before being "saved." "One stock-in-trade plot element was the conversion story demonstrating that the native's need to be saved had been met by the missionary enabled by her home-based supporters. Perhaps Arnott's most compelling example was her account of Chief Kanjundu, who «brought his fetishes to be burned, put away all of his wives but one, and became a Christian» after which he «built a church and school house in his village» and even learned to read. Enduring false imprisonment at the hands of the Portuguese, he was eventually acquitted and, upon returning home, «gave all his slaves their liberty, although since being a Christian he had treated them as children rather than slaves.»" Robbins and Pullen. Op.cit 1911, p. 94. See also Nellie Arnott Darling, "Chief Kanjundu's Death," *Mission Studies*, April 1914, pp. 118-119.



Figure 3.65. Postcard. "Congo Portugais Loanda [sic] Femmes aux entraves". Pub. Missions des Péres du St. Esprit. Paris c.1905

It is worthy of note that the postcard, though apparently taken in the Lunda district of Portuguese West Africa, was published by the French Holy Spirit Mission who, despite being Roman Catholics, actively opposed the forced recruitment of contract labourers, unlike the majority of clerics from Portuguese Catholic missions who tended to turn a blind eye to the trade due to their privileged position as representatives of the State religion. Free of such patriotic constraints, Protestant missionaries in Portuguese West Africa, the vast majority of whom were nonconformists, were quick to exploit the slavery question to gather support for their endeavours and encourage donations at home.

Edward Sanders, of the Plymouth Brethren, is an interesting case in point. A former chemist, Sanders had gone out to Angola in 1897 to help the pioneer Brethren missionary F.S. Arnot. After spending a short time at Kavungu, near the Angolan border of what is now Zambia, he returned to set up a mission station at Chilonda, in the Bié district, where he spent the following fifty years of his life. Chilonda was a strategic stopping-place for trading caravans and Sanders frequently witnessed the transport from the interior of ivory, rubber, wax and other commodities, including future "serviçais" on their way to the coast. Sanders was an excellent photographer, and from the early days of his time in Angola he began documenting aspects of his missionary activities and publishing a series of photographic postcards showing aspects of local life, open-air "gospel meetings" and baptismal ceremonies. The postcards were designed to be sold in Britain at "prayer meetings for Africa", a cross between a missionary propaganda lecture and a religious

ceremony, which were often accompanied by lantern slides based on the same photographs.



Figure 3.66 "16. First Christian Women at Chilonda 1898". Pub. Edward Sanders c.1905



Figure 3.67. Postcard. "Ivory caravan." Chilonda, Angola. Pub. Edward Sanders c.1910

Other cards in the series featured the first group of Christian women at Chilonda in 1898, weddings held according to Christian rites [1276] and noteworthy converts with their new monogamic families. The image of the ivory caravan, shown above, and many more of Sanders' photographs were made into a lantern slides which were used to illustrate his

[1276] The "bride" in **Figure 3.69** is easy to identify because of her white European-style wedding dress, undoubtedly provided by the missionary for the purpose. The slide would have been shown as proof that it was a Christian monogamic marriage and as evidence of the success of the missionary's efforts.

missionary lectures when at home on leave, as the examples from Joseph Burtt's collection reveal.





Figure 3.68. (Left) Lantern slide from Joseph Burtt's collection made from Sanders' photograph of an ivory caravan (Figure 3.67) **Figure 3.69.** (Right) Slide from the same collection based on a photograph taken by Sanders at Chilonda. Also made into a postcard entitled "Wedding, escorting home the bride" c.1910

Amongst the postcards in the series is one showing a group of former "slave children" dressed in their "Sunday best", whom Sanders had apparently "rescued".



Figure 3.70. Postcard. "Rescued slave children". Chilonda, Angola. Pub. Edward Sanders. c.1910

Indeed, according to testimony offered by the missionary Ernest Wilson, one of Sanders' later contemporaries, many of the people living at Chilonda were former slaves whom the missionaries had rescued, and Sanders kept a compound "as a home for little girls whom

he had redeemed from this vile traffic". [1277] Despite the suspension and posterior regulation of the trade by the Republican authorities, the compound was still in operation along the same lines in 1924, when Wilson arrived.



Figure 3.71. Postcard. "Njoaki and Family". Pub. Edward Sanders. c.1910

Although Sanders, unlike his fellow Brethren missionary Charles A. Swan, did not overtly campaign in Angola against the contract labour system, he was undoubtedly one of those who provided Swan with support and information on his fact-finding journey to the interior on behalf of William Cadbury, in 1908.[1278] In his report, entitled *The Slavery of Today*, Swan quotes the case of a boy called Njoaki who had been bought and sold several times and was finally "redeemed by his father" in exchange for 24 kilos of borrowed rubber. [1279] The postcard above, from Sanders' collection, shows what appears to be the same boy, a year or two older, surrounded by members of his family, though mysteriously not the man whose face had been mutilated in an accident, and there is a distinct possibility that the card was intended as evidence of a by-then-familiar story with "a happy ending" brought about by Brethren intervention.

[1277] "Rescuing", in fact, usually meant purchasing - which, some claimed, actually worked against the missionaries' ultimate goals. It also meant keeping the former "slaves" under protection, often as domestic servants in the missionaries' household. Swan, for instance, writes "as a rule, I am convinced that the practice is to be deprecated. Without any desire to do so, those who adopt this custom [buying slaves] really encourage the slave-trade." C.A. Swan. Op.cit. 1909, p.50. See T. Ernest Wilson. Plymouth Brethren Missionary. *Angola Beloved.* [http://www.plymouthbrethren.org/article/11670] (consulted 20/12/2015)
[1278] Charles Swan had retired to Lisbon by the time he was sent by Cadbury to investigate in Angola.
[1279] Compare the boy in the background of **Figure 3.71** with the one in **Figure 4.40.** [boy with mutilated father]. The "mutilated father" may in fact have been suffering from the effects of leprosy.

Another of the postcards in the same series shows the reaction of a group of local children, some dressed in European clothes, to the "gramaphone" [sic], a comparatively recent addition to the missionaries' list of "magical" artefacts.



Figure 3.72. Edward Sanders. Postcard. " Listening to Gramaphone"[sic]. Chilonda, Angola. c.1910

Audiences in Britain would undoubtedly have been amused by the missionary's description of the astonishment of the local people towards what was, by then, a familiar machine, and the lantern slide and postcard would have brought home the need for the introduction of European technology and know-how in Angola, to go hand in hand with "the light of the Gospel". Further evidence of the "backwardness of the African" and the miracles brought by faith and missionary fervour was offered by Protestant missionaries in the form of staged photographs of "the burning of fetishes".



Figure 3.73. Postcard. "Queima de feitiços. Fetish Burning". c. 1920. Pub. Casa 31 de Janeiro, Luanda.

Such images were made to testify to the abandoning of previous animistic practises and the adoption of Christian beliefs, often by converts dressed-up especially for the occasion, as in the previous postcard which originates from Angola. The irony of such photographs, which were made up into both lantern slides and postcards, is that they were often taken by "faith-healers" whose "magic" was just as questionable as that of the "witch-doctors" they denounced and disauthorised.

At the same time, in vivid contrast with the lurid and imaginary backdrop they had helped to create, missionary lantern slides and postcards often attempted to demonstrate the "march of civilisation" in Africa, which was supposedly one of the consequences of their own efforts. Many missionary volunteers, however, were relatively uneducated themselves, faith and a knowledge of the Bible often being considered the only essential requirement for their ministry, and virtually all suffered from the delusion that "civilisation" was necessarily a question of supplanting the local culture with European or American social and cultural models of behaviour. [1280]



Figure 3.74. Illustration from *Thinking Black.* "Luanza. A specimen of Town-planning".

[1280] It is only fair to recognise, however, that most American and European museum collections of African art and artefacts owe much to the efforts of missionaries like Currie and Chatelain.

The Brethren missionary Dan Crawford, for example, proudly offered as proof of his converts' newly-acquired "civilised state" that they had been persuaded to abandon their traditional circular dwellings built around a common courtyard, and were now "properly" ensconced in rectangular huts along a single wide thoroughfare, as the previous photograph proudly shows. [1281] He comments: "Ever since those days in Bihé when I lived with Mr. Negro *chez lui*, I have a plan simmering in my mind, a plan that involves long one-street villages lined out for miles. The thing can be done and we Missionaries should do it." [1282]

As proof of what could be done, and in sharp contrast with images of their previous "promiscuous and dissolute" lives, the local inhabitants of the "mission field" might be depicted building a fair copy of a Sussex farmhouse with a thatched roof for the missionary and his family, as Henry Neipp's postcard, below, exemplifies. [1283]

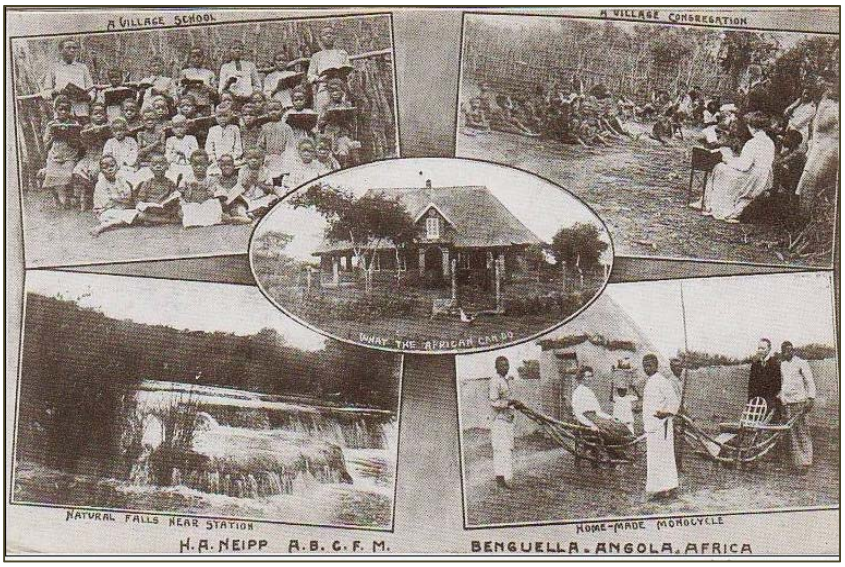


Figure 3.75. Postcard. **"**What the African can do". c. 1910. Pub. Henry A. Neipp, ABCFM missionary.

[1281] Walter Currie, a Canadian Congregationalist missionary who spent 25 years in Angola, also had the same idea. A photograph of the main street of Chisamba, which was then called Toronto Avenue, taken in about 1910, is in the Royal Ontario Museum. In Jeanne Cannizzo. "Exhibiting Cultures. Into the Heart of Africa". *Visual Anthropology Review.* Vol. 7 No.1 Spring 1991, pp. 150-162 (accessed online 23/1/2015.) http://www.columbia.edu/itc/anthropology/schildkrout/6353/client_edit/week11/cannizzo.pdf

[1282] **Figure 3.74** Dan Crawford *Thinking Black,* 1912. Illustration opposite p.446. See also pp. 444-445. Luanza was in the Belgian Congo near Lake Mweru. As Jean and John Comaroff pertinently observe, albeit referring to South Africa: "With the colonial state ever more visible at their back, the Churchmen had a considerable impact on African modes of production, dress and architecture." J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff. *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination.* Westview Press. Boulder: 1992, p. 227.

[1283]**Figure 3.75.** Henry Neipp Postcard. ***What the African can do.*** c.1910. (my bold) Neipp, a Swiss-American Congregational missionary of the American Board (ABCFM) spent 42 years in all in Angola.

Alternatively the newly-converted might be shown carrying the missionary's wife in the ubiquitous hammock or *tipoia* to the local fort, perhaps to barter the produce they had been taught to grow in the missionary's vegetable garden. [1284]



Figure 3.76. Missionary Photograph. ABCFM missionaries Nellie Arnott (hammock) and Elisabeth Ennis (bushcart) with unidentified carriers. Angola, possibly near Kamundongo, c.1912.

The implication, of course, which would not have been lost on the missionary's well-meaning audience at home, was that "the African", however backward he might supposedly be, could, with divine assistance and a degree of patience, be trusted to accomplish moderately complicated tasks and "take the first steps up the ladder of civilisation."

In the minds of many European and American Protestants, the ancestral home of the indigenous peoples of west-central Africa had thus been transformed from "a place of darkness" into a "mission field", and those who lived there from "savages" to a members of a "flock", to be "shepherded" peacefully by the missionary into the welcoming arms of the colonial administrator or entrepreneur, supposedly for their own good.[1285]

[1284] **Figure 3.76**. Missionary photograph. Possibly distributed as a postcard to help in the collection of funds. From Sarah Robbins and Ann Ellis Pullen. *Nellie Arnott's Writings on Angola, 1905–1913: Missionary Narratives Linking Africa and America*, Parlor Press, Anderson: 2011, p.78 Indeed, "slave traders" were known to complain that they had to buy their labour, whereas the missionaries got it for free. The carrying hammock was often reproduced in illustrations as "a symbol of colonial hierarchy".

[1285] Though this was rarely the case in Portuguese West Africa, where there was frequently considerable friction between foreign Protestant missionaries and the local authorities due to the reluctance of many of the former to use the Portuguese language in their relations with indigenous peoples.

3.5 Museum Africa and Africans “in the flesh”

The imperialist vision of the world, and of Africa in particular, was disseminated and promoted in a multitude of different ways along the second half of the nineteenth century. Although such countries as France, Belgium and, to a lesser extent, Portugal and Germany were aware of the importance of promoting their African colonies to their citizens, nowhere was this carried out in a more elaborate and sophisticated fashion than in Britain.

One of the principal ideological instruments at the disposal of empire builders were permanent museum displays of artifacts and photographs which were structured according to now-superceded systems of ethnographical classification and hierarchisation. Although present in all the colonising nations, so important were colonial museum collections to the British imperialist establishment that special excursions were offered free-of-charge by industrialists and entrepreneurs to enable groups of “working-men” to travel to the great cities, with the sole proviso that a visit to a particular museum should be part of the programme.



Figure 3.77 Postcard. “The Horniman Museum. The North Hall. Natural History of Animals.” 1904. Photographer unknown.

The tea magnate, Frederick Horniman, for instance, a keen collector of “primitive artifacts” from all over the world, first opened his own private collection to the public on Bank Holidays and by appointment in 1891, but ten years later, the number of visitors to the exhibits at Surrey House, in London, had reached almost 100,000 a year, justifying

the inauguration of the Horniman Free Museum, which still exists today. One of the features of the museum was the display of animal skeletons next to those of humans, which, in the context of the collection, offered scientific support to social-Darwinist theories of race.[1286] The previous postcard was one of a series, sold cheaply to visitors as a souvenir of their visit to the Museum, a vivid reminder of their place in the new "scientific" hierarchy of living beings.

In addition to permanent collections, large-scale, temporary exhibitions offered the official vision of Empire whilst mobilising public interest in missionary endeavours and colonial enterprise. A series of international colonial exhibitions in the major European cities followed closely on the heels of one another, displaying photographic images and "native" artifacts side-by-side with colonial products. Encouraged by the success of illustrated literature and permanent museum exhibits on Africa and the other colonised parts of the world, these ambitious exercises of colonial propaganda went as far as to recreate "native villages" within the grounds of the show, where paying spectators were free to ogle the inhabitants at will, comparing and evaluating them like the animals on display in a zoological garden. Exhibitions of this kind, visited by millions, inevitably contributed greatly towards the shaping of European views regarding Africa and its peoples, whilst the many souvenirs which could be purchased, notably picture postcards, which reached out far and wide, added significantly to the dissemination of racist tropes.

Although people from the "newly-discovered" parts of the world had been brought to Europe for centuries, it was at the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris [1287] that Algerians and New Caledonian Canaques were first displayed "going about their daily business".[1288] Europe would have to wait for another five years , however, for the first World's Fair to exhibit sub-Saharian Africans "in the flesh", but the "Congolese village", turned out to be something of an embarrassment, as half of the sixteen inhabitants fell ill and three died during the event. [1289]

[1286] See Annie Coombes. *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England.* Yale University Press, New Haven and London: 1997, pp.113-117.
[1287] The 1889 Universal Exposition lasted from May 5th to November 6th 1889. The site of the show occupied 228 acres in central Paris and was visited by over 32 million people.
[1288] Julianne Boretsky. *To See Is To Know: Postcards From French West Africa And The Presentation Of Colonial Progress, 1900-1918*. Masters Degree Thesis in History. Univ. Georgia, Athens : 2003, p.24. (Accessed Online 4/10/2017) *https://getd.libs.uga.edu/pdfs/boretsky_julianne_200312_ma.pdf*
[1289] Held in Antwerp in 1894. See Pieterse. Op.cit.1992, p.95.



Figure 3.78. Postcard commemorating the German Colonial Exhibition, Berlin. Pub. Louis Glaser, Leipzig, 1896.

Despite this early setback, the experience was repeated both at the Deutsche Colonial Austellung, held in Berlin in 1896,[1290] as the postcard above testifies, and at the Exposition Internationale de Bruxelles held the following year, where 60 Congolese were on show in a special exhibit at Tervuren to celebrate Leopold II's supposedly philanthropic rule in the Congo Free State. [1291]

At the *Exposition Universelle* of Paris,[1292] inaugurated on a grander scale three years later, special attention was devoted to the "civilising influence" of such countries as France, Britain and the Netherlands over the inhabitants of their colonies, whilst the pavillion of the United States offered what was intended to be a progressive demonstration of the achievements of Afro-Americans and their contribution to American society. [1293] The focus on Madagascar was by no means accidental, as the exhibition poster, shown below, confirms, reminding visitors of General Duchesne's successful campaigns against the

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[1290] **Figure 3.78.** Note the grotesque caricature of the African with a cigar and a monocle, wearing knee-length striped "sambo" pants and carrying a cane.
[1291] May 10th- November 8th 1897. Almost 8 million visitors. Ticket-holders could travel between the two exhibition sites in Brussels and the new Museum at Tervuren on a specially-built rail tramway.
[1292] April 14th - November 12th, 1900. One of the most visited of all, with forty-seven million paying customers. The Portuguese Colonies were represented by a pavillion based on a domed design with two Doric pillars carrying the words *Afrique* and *Europe* topped with armillary spheres and supporting an arch with the arms of the Crown. See *O Occidente.* November 30th 1899. Cover.
[1293] The much-vaunted *"Exposition Nègres d'Amerique"* was organised with the assistance of the eminent Afro-American civil rights campaigners Booker T. Washington and W.B. Du Bois.

ruling Merina monarchy, which had recently brought the country under French colonial rule. [1294] Visitors could also enjoy "a taste of the colonial experience" by being carried around the grounds in a hammock, or *"tipoia"* by well-constituted Africans, a form of transport which, unsurprisingly, appears in so many photographs and postcards of Africa during the colonial era. [1295] The implication was, of course, that as white Europeans, visitors were entitled to expect this form of treatment, even if it was extra to the admission fee.

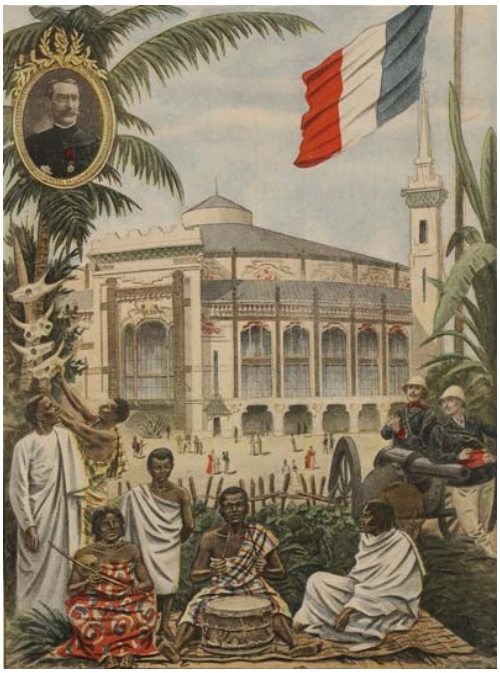


Figure 3.79. Exhibition poster. Exposition Universelle, Paris 1900.

Predictably, too, at the more modest Exposition Coloniale of 1906, in Marseilles, [1296] it was the "grandes fêtes indigenes" and "reconstitutions exotiques" which proved to be amongst the most popular events. The ambitious Franco-British Exhibition,[1297] held two years later at the purpose-built White City in London - ostensibly to celebrate the 1904 "Entente Cordiale"- also proudly boasted "colonial villages" with "natives" on permanent display. On this occasion the most popular attractions were the Ceylonese village with its

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[1294] **Figure 3.79** The Exhibition poster displays the French tricolor and gives pride of place to Gen. Duchesne, the victor of the Franco-Malagasy wars (1893-1896), whilst the cannon symbolises France's modern military might. The Madagascans, by way of contrast, are predictably shown with drums and a "fetish".
[1295] See Pieterse. Op.cit.1992, p.97.
[1296] April 15th - November 18th, 1906. Almost two million visitors.
[1297] May 26th - October 31st, 1908. Nine million visitors.

dwarfs, by courtesy of the celebrated zoo empresario Carl Hagenbeck [1298]; the Senegalese, with their "spontaneous" displays of wrestling; and the 150 identically-clad "dancing colleens" of the Irish village, Ballymaclinton, sponsored by Clinton's soap. [1299]



Figure 3.80 Hand-tinted Postcard. "The Senegalese Village. Franco-British Exhibition, London, 1908". Pub. Valentine.

At a time when Irish Home Rule was once again on the order of the day, the British imperial establishment had adroitly grasped the opportunity to underline the subordinate status of the Irish people by creating an obvious parallel with the darker-skinned "subject races of the Empire." To crown the whole spectacle and confer his imperial seal of approval, Edward VII made a lightning tour of the exhibition by motor car, in the company of the French President Armand Fallières, which was duly celebrated and recorded in the form of picture postcards. [1300]

[1298] Carl Hagenbeck (1844-1913) supplied many European zoos with wild animals and from the mid-eighteen-seventies onwards had included groups of "exotic" humans in his travelling shows. The popularity of postcards associated with such exhibitions can be measured by the fact that when a group of Batwa pygmies was brought from the Congo to London in 1905, some of the postcards made of them sold a quarter of a million copies. See Ellen Strain. "Exotic Bodies, Distant Landscapes: Touristic Viewing and Popularized Anthropology in the Nineteenth Century". *Wide Angle* 18.2 . Ohio University School of Film. 1996, p.82.

[1299] The Senegalese village, unlike the other areas, was surrounded by a wicket fence, and the "spontaneous" wrestling displays took place behind a metal grating. The contrast between the impeccable white constructions and the straw huts of the "native village" served to emphasise the "backwardness" of the African inhabitants. In the Irish village it was Mr. Clinton's soap, of course, which gave the colleens "their beautiful complexions." The objectives of private enterprise thus coincided with those of colonial government to the advantage of all concerned. Except, perhaps, "the natives"…

[1300] An indication that such exhibitions were publicised in Portugal even by private persons can be gleaned from "O Monstro da Escravatura", the vindication of the Protestant educationalist and preacher Alfredo

Some of the temporary exhibitions which had the greatest impact in Britain at this time were organised by Missionary societies, including the "Orient in London" in 1908 at the Royal Agricultural Hall, and the great "Africa and the East" show held at the same venue in 1909, which was visited by a quarter of a million people. Here, however, the "African village" offered a slightly more positive view of the residents to visitors, emphasising the skills of craftsmen who could be seen working outdoors. The Church Missionary Society was so impressed by the success, financial and otherwise, of the undertaking that travelling "Africa and the East" shows toured the major cities of the country for several years. It is significant, however, that despite their differences, which were clearly distinguishable in photographs and museum cabinets on display, "Africa" and "the Orient"- both inventions in which missionaries had played an important creative role - were described, defined and displayed in opposition to a European, Christian norm.

At the Exposition Universelle de Bruxelles in 1910, held a year after the death of King Leopold II, the magnificent new colonial museum at Tervuren was opened to the public. Although the campaign against the cruel exploitation of the inhabitants of the King's Domaine Privé would have been present in the minds of many of the international visitors, any doubts or misgivings would soon have been set aside amongst the fascinating and "exotic" exhibits and entertaining and informative sideshows. [1301] Once again there was a Congolese village, with 267 people on permanent display and just as in Paris, ten years earlier, visitors could be carried around the "colonial garden" at Tervuren in a typical Madagascan "filanzane", or litter, carried by four powerful black men. And to make sure the imperialist message of racial superiority did not fail to leave its mark in the minds of

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Henrique da Silva, which reveals the importance he attributed to the dissemination of information on the Universal Exhibitions he visited: "Ao visitar as grandes exposições pan-americana, de Buffalo, na America, e a franco-británica, em Londres, meteu-se-me em cabeça conseguir catálogos de todos os últimos inventos das industrias para os trazer para Portugal e fornecer aos industriais estudiosos.[…] Quando regressei da America trazia **156** kilos destes catálogos! Deve lembrar-se disso o meu amigo Bulhão Pato, que foi quem fez o despacho na alfandega de Lisboa. Esses catálogos e os da exposição franco-británica foram oportunamente exhibidos em Lisboa e Porto e em seguida distribuídos pelos industriais e comerciantes que os solicitaram." Alfredo da Silva Op.cit.1913, p.14. (bold in original)

[1301] Exposition Internationale de Bruxelles. April 23rd - November 1st 1910. Brussels and Tervuren. 13 million visitors. Several pavillions were destroyed by fire on 14th and 15th August 1910.
The "golliwog" doll (**Figure 3.81**) had first appeared in 1895, in a children's book entitled *The Adventures of Two Dutch Dolls and a Golliwogg* written by the British-born author Florence Kate Upton. The British jam manufacturer James Robertson & Sons used a golliwog called "Golly" as its mascot from 1910 until 2001. The word "wog" is still used by some in Britain as a derogatory, racist epithet for black people.

visitors and those they had left at home, one of the official souvenirs was a “golliwog” mascot doll.



Figure 3.81. “Golliwog” doll souvenir sold at the Exhibition.

No longer just a mythical entity to inspire the imaginations and aspirations of young and old, “Empire” had thus been deftly turned into a supposedly-uplifting public spectacle, and the indigenous people of the colonies promoted from mere objects of curiosity into unwitting entertainers in a popular pantomime or burlesque show. The time was coming to an end when audiences were happy to view lantern slides and stereoscopic images of “the natives in their natural surroundings”, or visit realistic dioramas with three-dimensional figures, the crowds now flocked in to see the exotic and safely-subdued inhabitants of “Africa” or the “Orient” in the flesh, so becoming eager spectators to a kind of grotesque “avant-la-lettre reality show” which offered an unthreatening and readily-digestible substitute for reality itself.

Quite clearly, these ambitious spectacles reinforced a popular image of Africa in which “any resemblance to reality was merely coincidental”, at the same time as reifying Africans more effectively than any colonial text or image could possibly have aspired to achieve. Moreover, all those who visited such exhibitions would have been left in no doubt that the “native villages” and the African inhabitants on display were trophies testifying to the supremacy and immutable superiority of their own “race”. In this way the objectives of the fairground operator fitted seamlessly to those of the imperialist politician, preparing the way for Africans to take on the sometimes caricatural roles

assigned to them in real life by European settlers. A case in point, as the Sallo Epstein postcard shows, was that of the "rickshaw boys" who were a popular tourist attraction in South Africa in first decades of the twentieth century. Here, the charade was taken to a new level by encouraging the "natives" to act out a servile role in bizarre outfits inspired by their traditional costumes, as a constant public reminder of their status as a subject race. [1302]



Figure 3.82. Hand-coloured postcard. "Ricksha Boys". Pub. Sallo Epstein. Durban. Dated 1905.

Portugal was slower than other colonising nations to awaken to the full potential of large-scale ethnographic exhibitions as a way of promoting public interest in its African colonies, but in response to invitations from abroad, the Lisbon Colonial Museum, [1303] which was inaugurated in 1871, supported the nation's participation in a series of events which included the International Geographic Exhibition of 1875, the Amsterdam International Exhibition of 1883 and the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1889. [1304] The

[1302] Rickshaws, of course, were intended for Europeans only and were clearly marked as such.
[1303] Museu Colonial de Lisboa (1871-1892). Inspired by French Museum instructions, Andrade Corvo listed the artefacts which would be appropriate to figure in the Museum in Luís de Andrade Corvo. *Instrucções para serem colligidos nas Províncias Ultramarinas de Diversos Productos que devem figurar no Museu Colonial de Lisboa.* Imprensa Nacional. Lisboa: 1876, p.4. His categories included: Natural products; Agriculture; Industries; Commerce; Curiosities and Art works; and Foreign Colonies.
[1304] See Patricia Ferraz de Matos. *The Colours of the Empire: Racialized Representations during Portuguese Colonialism.* Berghahn Books. New York: 2013, p.154.
In 1880, the Camões Jubilee celebrations featured a parade in Lisbon which included a float or "carro allegorico" dedicated to the colonies, and contemporary reports refer to one of the principal attractions - a group of "vatuas", who were unsurprisingly singled out for praise for their prowess in singing and dancing. The Vatuas belonged to an ethno-linguistic group from the Gaza region of what is now Mozambique and are sometimes known as "Landins".

founding of the Lisbon Geographical Society, in 1876, under the chairmanship of Luciano Cordeiro, reflected the recognition that Portugal needed to turn its full attention to its colonies, at a time when competition between European nations for territory in Africa had become a serious threat, and exhibitions of indigenous artefacts and colonial products, albeit on a modest scale by British or French imperialist standards, soon became a regular feature of its activities. It was generally acknowledged, at the time, that colonisation needed to be "scientifically orientated" and that, as a consequence, it was necessary to acquire and disseminate knowledge of those who were the fortunate objects, or unhappy victims, of colonisation. Ethnography and colonial enterprise hence became allies with shared objectives. [1305]

Government recognition of the need to focus its support more effectively would lead the state-owned collections of the Colonial Museum to be merged with those of the privately-managed Lisbon Geographical Society in 1892. With similar aims in mind, the Exposição Insular e Colonial of 1894, held at the Palácio de Cristal in Oporto, and the Exposição Colonial of 1906, at the Sociedade de Geografia in Lisbon, were both designed to promote colonial products and raw materials. The latter exhibition was inaugurated at a time when Henry Nevinson's articles in *Harper's Magazine* were already causing considerable embarrassment to the São Tomé planters and the Portuguese Government, offering an opportunity to demonstrate the excellence of Portugal's colonial enterprise and administration in Africa, if only to the fortunate people of the capital.

Although as early as 1888, a group of 23 Angolan "slaves" had been exhibited in the Netherlands as part of an ethnographic collection,[1306] it was only during the *Estado Novo* regime that a series of officially-sponsored exhibitions attempted to emulate the example of similar events abroad, displaying representatives of different communities supposedly living as they would at home in Africa. These were the Exposição Industrial de Lisboa, in 1932, with its Guinean village,[1307] and the more ambitious Exposição Colonial

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[1305] Other significant landmarks in the growth of Portuguese scientific interest in the colonies were the Ninth International Anthropological Congress held in Lisbon in 1880, and the creation of the Escola Colonial at the Lisbon Geographical Society in 1906.

[1306] According to Pietersie, someone called Godefroy [possibly L.D. Goddefroy, the leader of the Dutch expedition to South-West Africa] returned from Angola in 1888 with an ethnographic collection which included a group of 23 slaves who had been selected on the basis of their "wildness". Jan Nederveen Pietersie. Op.cit 1992, p.95.

[1307] A 13-minute black and white, silent documentary film of the so-called "Aldeia de Sam Corlá" is available online. See *África em Lisboa - Os Indígenas da Guiné na Grande Exposição Industrial*

Portuguesa, held at the Crystal Palace in Oporto in 1934, and the Exposição do Mundo Português, again in Lisbon, in 1940, which clearly modelled themselves on earlier exhibitions in other colonising nations. In the first issue of the journal *Ultramar* which was published especially to accompany the 1934 exhibition, the justification for such exhibits was made patently clear in the leader writer´s assessment of the secret of the success of the International Colonial Exhibition, held in Paris three years earlier: "[…] as terras exoticas das sete partidas do Mundo estavam, ali, em presença real, nas habitações gentílicas, nos corpos de côr, nas falas, nos costumes, nas indumentárias, nas danças, nos cantos, […]"

The same commentator enthusiastically offered a glimpse of what was to come:

> O que devia ser, talvez, mero complemento, simples ilustração do que vai ser mostrado, será o **leit motiv** da grandiose sinfonia, o elemento primacial da atracção[…] Da Guiné […] virão **fulas** de estampa, sugestivas figuras tropicais[…] S.Tomé e Príncipe mandarão os seus **forros,** […] De Cabo-verde hão de chegar-nos as suas **mornas** languidas e os bustos tentadores que se torcerão, bailando-as. Angola, a grande, dar-nos-á tropa negra, missionários, um pequeno mundo com o seu clima própria […] com as suas **sanzalas**, as suas **quissanges**, os seus **batuques**. E Moçambique e a India e Macau e Timor, mandarão para o Pôrto pedaços vivos das suas terras ardentes […][1308]

Though late in the day in comparison with other colonising countries, Portugal had finally awakened to the need to promote its colonies in a systematic way to its own population. In hindsight, it is evident that these ambitious exhibitions demonstrated that despite the time which had elapsed since the first such imperialistic events had taken place in the rest of Europe, attitudes towards the indigenous people of the colonies, in Portugal at least, had remained virtually unchanged, and the dominant ideology continued to justify the exploitation of "subject races", allegedly for their long-term benefit, but ultimately for the aggrandisement of the colonising nation.

Portuguesa. Cinemateca Nacional. Directed by Raúl Reis and Salazar Diniz for Ulyssea Film in 1932, it shows that the reconstructed Guinean village made sure of having all of the indispensable attractions to ensure the success of this racist spectacle - singing, dancing, traditional crafts and bare breasts. A scene showing half-naked women washing themselves is sub-titled "indiscrições da objectiva".

[1308] Hugo Rocha. O exotismo na Exposição Colonial. *Ultramar.* No.1. February 1st, 1934, p.2. (Bold in original.)

3.6 African women seen through European eyes: picture postcards from Portuguese West Africa

At the turn of the twentieth century, women from "Africa" or "the Orient" were often depicted by Europeans in ways which hint at "licentious" sexual behavior or promiscuity, and some writers have suggested that such portrayals should, themselves, be considered an instrument of male oppression.[1309] Others have used the concept of "double colonisation" to explain how the representation of women in colonial contexts displays both patriarchal and racist attitudes. [1310] Many of the images which are discussed here were made in a specific context in which a small number of Europeans wielded absolute control over large contingents of imported African labourers, a situation in which the passivity of both sexes was not merely a question of productivity and profit but ultimately a matter of life and death.[1311] Coercion and oppression on the plantations was an everyday fact of life. Evidently, the photographic portrayal of both female and male "serviçais" in a context subject to such constraints, though sharing some of the features of the representation of ostensibly "free" subjects, place these images in a category of their own. Indeed, it could be argued that photography in such circumstances often added insult to injury.

Women on the plantations were undoubtedly subject to multiple forms of exploitation - both as members of a bonded workforce and as individuals, and evidence of this is patent in many photographs from this period. Female contract labourers were seen by the plantation owners not only as a source of labour but also as the key to maintaining the labour force over time, through procreation. Moreover, some were chosen according to

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[1309] Rana Kabbani, for instance, looks at representations of "Oriental" women in paintings and writing in her *Imperial fictions: Europe's myths of the Orient.* Pandora, NY: 1994

[1310] Notably Kirsten Peterson and Ann Rutherford, writing in the context of literature, in the foreword to their collection *A Double Colonisation: Colonial and Post-Colonial Women's Writing.* Dangaroo, Denmark and UK: 1986.

[1311] Juvenal Marinho recalls the permanent threat of violence on the plantations:

365-O administrador é quem dorme e acorda
Com o juizo na segurança e direção
D'esta tropa na revolta sempre á borda,
De machête de Liberdade sempre na mão. Juvenal Marinho Op.cit 1928, p.65.

their age and physical characteristics, particularly those who were destined for domestic service, and were routinely subjected to sexual exploitation by European males.



Figure 3.83. Illustration "Fig.70 Rio do Ouro- Domesticas." In *A Ilha de S.Thomé.* 1917

The photograph above showing a group of female domestic servants on the Marquês de Valle-Flôr's Rio de Ouro plantation, reveals the preferential treatment often given to female servants who were in permanent contact with the senior European employees and their guests. The clothing and jewellery speaks for itself. [1312] Revealing, perhaps unconciously, his own masculine gaze in one of his articles in *Harper's* magazine, Henry Nevinson writes about two sisters of fifteen or sixteen years of age whose "certain pathetic beauty" he had already noticed as they sat on the foredeck of the ship for São Tomé, remarking that "they were just the kind of girls that the planters select for their

[1312] In Júlio Henriques. *A ilha de S. Tomé sob o ponto de vista histórico-natural e agrícola.* Boletim da Sociedade Broteriana, 27, Coimbra: 1917. Photograph presumably commissioned by the Marquês de Valle-Flôr and taken between 1903 when the distinguished botanist visited the islands and 1917 when his report was finally published. Henriques was the Director of the Coimbra Botanical Garden. The women may be of Cape-Verdian origin. Clarence-Smith alludes to the possibility of girls being able to "better their condition" by becoming domestic servants, in his article "Labour Conditions in the Plantations of São Tomé and Príncipe. 1875-1914". In *The Wages of Slavery.* Ed. Michael Twaddle. Special Issue of *Slavery and Abolition.* Vol.14. No.1. Cass, London: April 1993. Augusto Nascimento offers an excellent study on the role of women on the plantations, with particular emphasis on Cape Verdian "serviçais", in his paper "Mulheres e Ordenamento Social nas Roças em S. Tomé e Príncipe. Notas Exploratórias Sobre o Caso das Caboverdianas" I Simpósio Internacional *O Desafio da Diferença*. Univ. Federal da Bahia April 9th-12th 2000. See www.desafio.ufba.br (accessed 14/11/2018)

concubines, and I have little doubt that they are the concubines of planters now." [1313] In direct contradiction with Nevinson's insinuation, however, Joseph Burtt, who spent far longer on the cocoa islands, saw no evidence of promiscuous behaviour on the plantations, affirming, probably naively, that although "White men did forge relationships with black women [they] were chosen almost exclusively from the natives of S.Thomé". [1314] William Cadbury, for his part, after only two weeks on the island of São Tomé, would reach the conclusion that the "natives" were "insolent, lazy and lawless", commenting that "It is hardly to be expected that such a mixture of nationalities in an uncivilized race would produce anything but a decadent race [...]". And, moreover - confirming his racial prejudice and preconceived ideas on the subject of sexuality: "his women, some of whom I am told are possessed of a certain dusky comeliness, are **notoriously loose in character.**"[1315]



Figure 3.84. Postcard "Um Trecho de Plantações." Pub. António Duarte d'Oliveira. S. Tomé c.1920.

[1313] Henry W. Nevinson. The Slave Trade of Today. Part Six. "The Slaves at Sea." *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, 112, February, 1906. p.245. Also "The prettiest girls are chosen by the Agents and gangers as their concubines-that is natural." In Henry W. Nevinson. *A Modern Slavery.*Schocken NYC: 1968, p.199.
[1314] Letter from Joseph Burtt to William Cadbury. March 25th, 1906. James Duffy Collection. Quoted in Catherine Higgs, Op.cit. 2012, p.87. On the other hand Higgs offers two examples of "special relationships" between Portuguese men and African women based on Joseph Burtt's correspondence in the James Duffy papers. The manager of the Roça Pinheiro "Felsirano da Cunha Lonseiro" [sic] probably Feliciano da Cunha Louceiro, who Burtt relates had "a little black daughter, mulatto, really, but she looked very black" and Mantero's nephew Francisco Marin, the manager of Roça Ponta Furada, where Burtt was served by "silent black waitresses with gold beads round their brown necks." Burtt to William Cadbury. September 11th 1905. In Catherine Higgs Op.cit 2012, pp. 47-48.
[1315] William Cadbury Op.cit 1910, p.22. (my bold)

In view of the absence of European women in São Tomé and Principe and the fact that, according to Nevinson, it was not uncommon for plantation managers and overseers to take "serviçais" as mistresses, postcards portraying individual female "serviçais" are surprisingly rare. Certain cards, however, like the one above, show European employees relaxing on the plantations in the company of comparatively well-dressed African women, sometimes wearing jewellery, who are often accompanied by small children.

Evidently, the portrayal of women who did not belong to the plantations reveals substantial differences to those of female contract labourers. A few postcards depict local women alone or in small groups and seem to belong to a category situated in the nebulous transitional zone between the popular genre of the pretty girl in "chocolate box-style", which owed much to the subject matter of portrait painting and more to contemporary advertisements, and the "pin-up"- a form which was still very much in its early infancy.



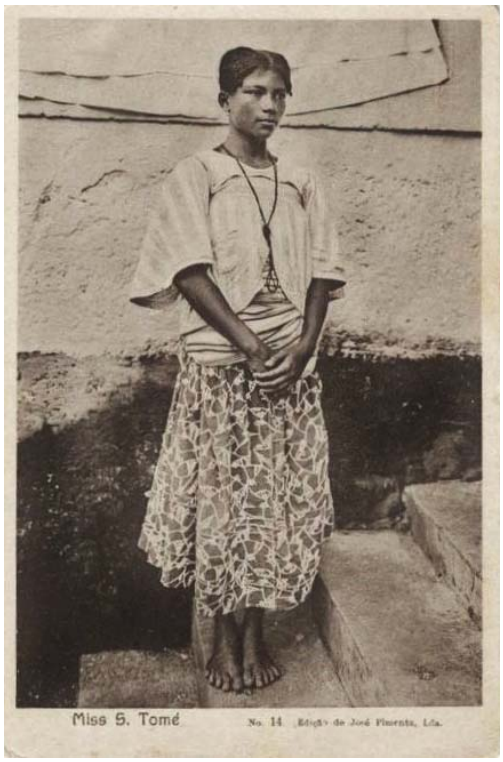
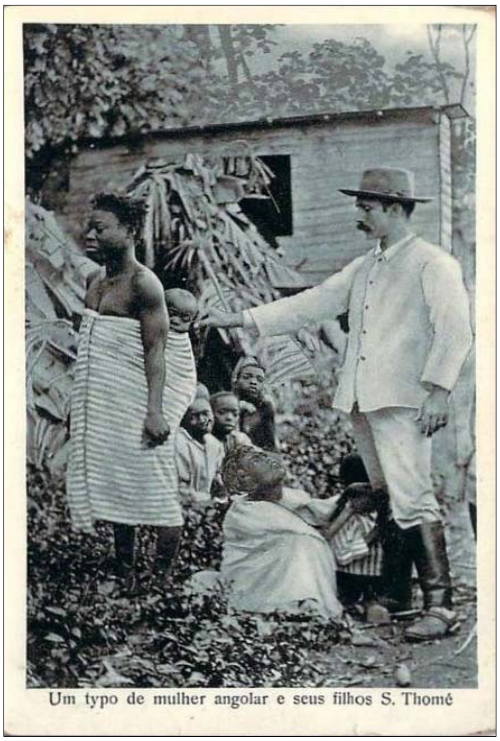


Figure 3.85. (Left) Postcard "S. Tomé. Duas nativas". Publisher unknown. São Tomé c.1920. **Figure 3.86**. (Right) "No.14. Miss S. Tomé." Pub. José Pimenta. São Tomé c.1920.

The subjects of such pictures pose readily in their most fashionable European attire, clearly flattered by the interest of the photographer, who chose to portray them sitting in a garden, as the example on the left, above, showing two local women, exemplifies. Contrasting with this portrayal, the photograph on the right shows a young, barefooted

woman, who is clearly not a contract labourer and may be domestic servant or washerwoman. Significantly, the caption reads “Miss S.Tomé”. It could be argued that such pictures do not strictly belong to the genre of colonial photography, as those portrayed are willing and cooperative subjects, but in view of the not infrequent relationships between plantation employees and the local women, it is possible that such cards of “pretty girls”, despite being comparatively reserved in character, were purchased by European men to hint at their interracial trysts.

The postcard to the left, below, which purports to show a degree of interaction between a young Portuguese plantation employee and a group of local inhabitants, offers some insight into the kind of relationship which existed between the two groups and the way they were viewed by Europeans. The title, *“um typo de mulher angolar e os seus filhos”* expresses the idea that the woman and her children are representative of the whole of this community, whilst the presence of the European in the photograph serves to suggest that despite his obviously superior social status, he, like others of his kind, maintained a cordial, if somewhat cynical attitude towards the local inhabitants.



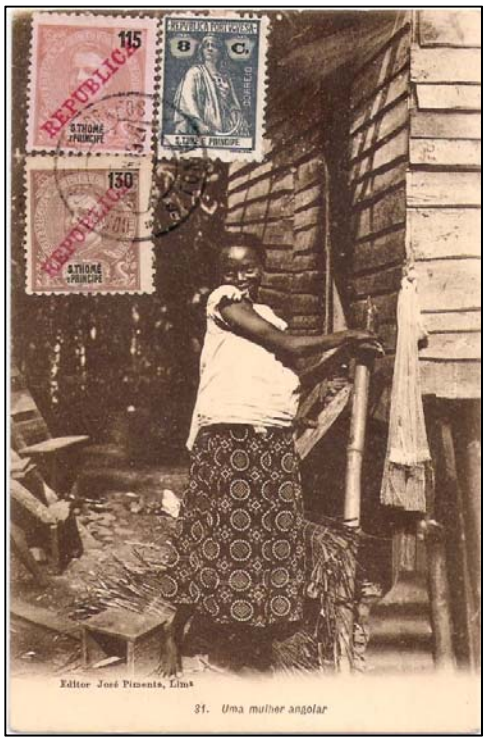


Figure 3.87. (Left) “Um typo de mulher Angolar e os seus filhos. S. Thomé.” Ed. José Teixeira Barbosa. Bazar Africano c.1910 **Figure 3.88.** (Right) “Uma mulher Angolar” Ed. José Pimenta Lda. São Tomé. c.1910.

He is shown in the typical white colonial garb and riding boots of a plantation overseer, posing with a serious expression on his face and reaching out gingerly to touch the baby on the mother's back, whilst the woman, presumably following the photographer's instructions, has obediently but somewhat reluctantly turned to allow him to do so. Her children look towards the camera, with curiosity in their eyes, whilst, crouched on the ground and slightly out of focus due to her unexpected movement, their grandmother tugs at the white man's trousers, perhaps asking for money, the only aspect of the scene which escaped the photographer's control. Even at the time, it would have been readily apparent to any adult male recipient of the card just how far this typical colonial relationship of superiority and supposed submissiveness might have been exploited.

The second postcard, to the right above, of an anonymous woman from São João de Angolares offers an expressive contrast to the previous one. The young woman appears to be flattered by the attention of the photographer and she is giggling coyly, evidently delighted at having her picture taken. Here the subject exercises a degree of complicity and cooperation which might place the image outside the category of purely colonial photography, had it not been created to be reproduced time and again as an iconic image, quite obviously without the woman's knowledge and permission. Despite the fact that the woman in question is fully clothed, it is clearly an incipient example of the "pin-up" genre. It was reprinted over the years as the defining image of a typical young woman from the fishing community of Angolares, representing the winning attributes and the readiness to engage with European men which they assumed to be a natural trait of women from this part of São Tomé. [1316]

Two of the very few postcards published in São Tomé which portray individual female "serviçais" reveal a stark contrast between the motives of the publishers who commissioned them. The photograph of the women in the card to the left, below, entitled "a contract labourer from Angola", which was posted in 1904 but may have been taken and published a year or two before, was apparently offered as a portrait of a typical

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[1316] Juvenal Marinho candidly refers to this in one of his verses:
408- Uma outra família, os angolares,
Que no Príncipe já não havia dantes,
Pescam nas costas de S.Tomé, rémam nos mares,
D'ela os europeus escolhem as amantes. Juvenal Marinho, Op.cit.1928, p.72.

Angolan *serviçal*, as its title suggests, posing with her baby in what appears to be a sisal plantation.



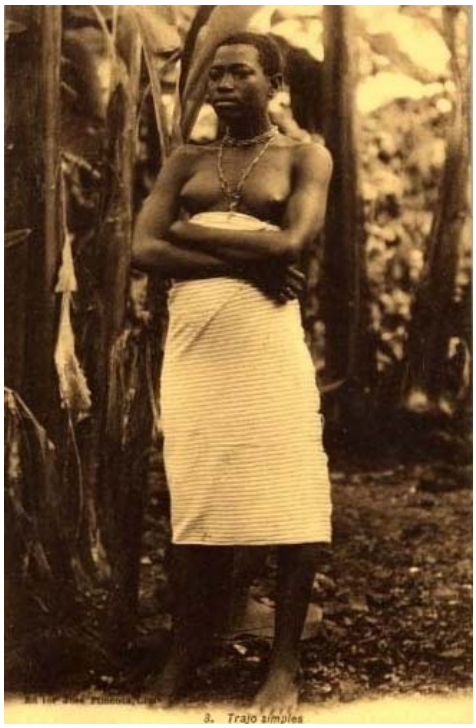


Figure 3.89 (Left) Postcard. "Serviçal natural de Angola". Pub. Mendes, Lopes e Araújo. São Tomé. Dated 1904. **Figure 3.90.** (Right) Postcard "Trajo simples" Pub. José Pimenta Lda., São Tomé. c.1920?

The subject was clearly chosen as a representative of this "ethnographical type", whereas the later card, to the right, which shows another female *serviçal* supposedly wearing everyday clothing, or *"trajo simples",* was photographed from a low viewpoint against the lush background of a broad-leafed banana plantation and was obviously no more than an idealised fantasy image with erotic undertones, which quite deliberately contributed towards a rosy and misleading notion of female plantation labourers and, by extrapolation, the contract-labour system as a whole.

The photographs which appear in postcards at this time were taken by men and were primarily intended to be purchased by men, as there were no more than a handful of European women resident on the islands, and few female travellers left the steamer when it stopped on its way between Lisbon and Luanda. [1317] A comparative study of images of African women in Angola and São Tomé during the period in question reveals significant

[1317] In 1902 there were fewer than a hundred European women in Angola and all but ten or so were *"degredadas".*

differences which suggest that the portrayal of African women by Europeans was substantially more complex than certain writers have indicated. The scarcity of openly erotic cards from São Tomé and Príncipe is revealing in itself.

Up to a point, the differences between the way African women are portrayed in postcards from São Tomé and Angola reflect the officially-sustained discourse that the "serviçais" on the cocoa islands had been rescued or "redeemed" from a life of promiscuous savagery "in the bush", and that after being baptised and "properly clothed", they had been given the opportunity to live a useful and productive life; a justification which was often given for their being kept on the islands *ad perpetuum*.

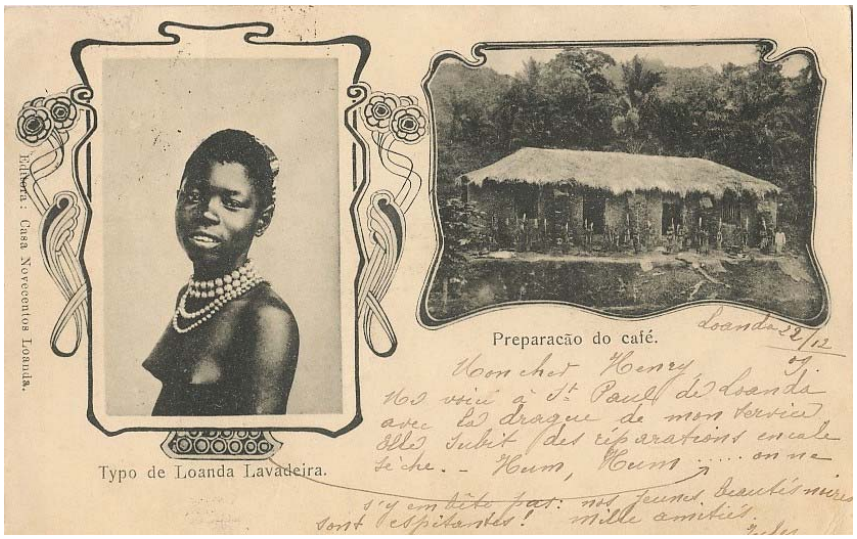


Figure 3.91. Postcard. **"**Typo de Loanda Lavadeira. Preparação do Café." Pub. Casa Novecentos. Luanda c.1905, dated 1909.

In contrast, black Angolans, men as well as women, particularly those from the interior where the "civilising influence" of the colonising nation was discontinuous and sporadic, are often portrayed as uncivilised "creatures of nature", a distinction which again reflected the predominant colonial narrative. With few exceptions, postcards from São Tomé were distinctly reserved in comparison with those published elsewhere in Africa and even with those in neighbouring Angola, many of which portrayed half-naked African women, [1318] sometimes in contrived situations, as demonstrated by the bizarre example above,

[1318] **Figure 3.91.** The written message confirms that coffee production was evidently not foremost in the purchaser's mind when choosing the card. This same photograph of an adolescent girl appears on its own as part of the postcard collection of the Luanda publishers Osório e Seabra, with the more candid caption: *214. Loanda. Busto de rapariga.*

showing a supposedly typical Luanda "washerwoman", next to what purports to be an aspect of coffee production.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, therefore, an outward image of propriety was carefully preserved in the majority of the postcards published in São Tomé and Príncipe, unlike many Angolan postcards, revealing an awareness and sensitivity towards outside criticism which can be explained by peer pressure to conform to the dominant narrative - all the more powerful due to the overwhelming economic and political influence of the plantation owners, the diminutive size of the European community and the consequences of insularity. [1319]An informal and unspoken conspiracy of vested interests seems to have existed, involving most of those on the islands who depended in some way upon the business and relative prosperity guaranteed by the "roças", leading to a substantial degree of self-censorship and the perpetuation of a visual narrative which was almost certainly widely recognised as being illusory or only partially real, but was sustained "para o inglês ver". [1320]

An interesting exception to the rule, however, is the following postcard commissioned by José Pimenta, one of the more enterprising and prolific local publishers, which is euphemistically entitled "uma captação de água" - a water storage-tank - showing three women with their backs to the photographer, who were very probably domestic servants, "caught by the camera" as they were about to bathe, and who were clearly conscious of their nakedness and the presence of the photographer. Here the recipient is offered the role of a voyeur, a "peeping-tom", spying on "nature in the raw"- and there is an implicit suggestion that the subjects of the camera's lens would have been his for the taking, if only he were there. The card offers the additional reassurance of uncommitted engagement by establishing a safe distance between the viewer and the alien and exotic object of desire.

[1319] " […]os objectivos de promoção social e de política, e, em particular de negociação simbólica com o poder através da exposição pública nos jornais não se lograram em São Tomé e Príncipe onde a hegemonia dos roceiros tendeu a eliminar a imprensa nativa e cercear o dos europeus." Augusto Nascimento. "A República em São Tomé e Príncipe: os escolhos à afirmação da elite são tomense." In Luís da Cunha Pinheiro; Maria Manuel Marques Rodrigues (org.) *Em torno de duas Repúblicas: 15 de Novembro de 1889 - 5 de Outubro 1910.* CLEPUL, Lisboa: 2012, p.129.
Available online at http://pt.calameo.com/read/001827977ca7588997533.(accessed 22/07/2019)

[1320] In the same way as the local newspapers, on the whole, studiously avoid any reference to the "slave-grown cocoa" controversy.



Figure 3.92. Postcard. "3. Captação d'Agua" Pub. by José Pimenta lda., São Tomé. c.1914

The invasion of privacy revealed by this, admittedly unique, São Tomé postcard, is a far cry, however, from the uninhibited display of the nakedness of youthful, African women which is comparatively common in contemporary Angolan postcards - exotic trophies "captured by the camera" for leisurely perusal back home in Europe. It should be recalled, in this context, that societies in Europe and the United States were emerging from a period in which moral codes, particularly those related to women's clothing, had been particularly conservative, and erotic photographs of white women, although common, were relegated to clandestine circulation, unlike these publicly-traded images of half-naked Angolan women, which, as "ethnographic curios", were swathed in a protective veil of respectability.

Some of these Angolan cards present their subjects in contexts which are deliberately contrived, as in the case of the group of young women from the highlands of Moçamedes, in the following postcard, who were apparently persuaded by the photographer to show off their characteristic hairstyles, as the title suggests. [1321] Bearing witness to the photographer's hidden agenda, however, a female onlooker with the same hairstyle stands behind the group, discreetly clothed. Divested of its flimsy "ethnographic" pretence - (cast aside in the blink of an eye by the viewer) - the primary purpose of the image to gratify erotic fantasies is laid bare, whilst the widely-broadcast trope of the uninhibited

[1321] Rogado, the publisher, was also one of the principal dried-fish traders in Moçamedes (Namibe) at the time, and would certainly have been aware of the kind of postcards which were on sale in South Africa.

"animal" sexuality of "savage" Africans is surreptitiously reinforced - just like the other side of the same coin - the supposed passivity of African women under (male) colonial subjugation. The way photography was used in this case is arguably deserving of T. Jack Thomson's jibe that it can be "an act of violence against the other: an invasion of personal space, and a stealing of identity".[1322]



Figure 3.93. "Planalto de Mossamedes. Uma coleção de pentiados" [sic] c.1920 pub. Júlio Rogado.

Yet, on the other hand, and although there are those who consider that photographs of this kind should be condemned to permanent oblivion, [1323] it could also be argued that there is a saving grace in this group portrait, for the youth, creativity and pride of these hand-picked subjects, though unscrupulously turned to the publishers' commercial advantage, were justly celebrated by the photographer and recorded for posterity. In fact, due to the popular currency of visual reproductions, there is a fine social and cultural distinction - which tends to blur even further with the advancement of time - between the content of photographic portraits of this kind, intended for popular consumption and with little pretension to being works of art, and the "high" art of nineteenth-century paintings of

[1322] See T. Jack Thompson. *Capturing the Image: African Missionary Photography as Enslavement and Liberation.* Day Associates Lecture. June 29, 2007. Issue 20 of Occasional Publication.Yale University Divinity School Library, New Haven, CT: 2007

[1323] For instance, the Dutch cultural theorist Bal, who argues that republication tends to perpetuate such pernicious images. Mieke Bal. *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis* London: Routledge, 1996, pp.195-224. An example of such "politically correct" self-censorship can be found in the otherwise enlightened volume devoted to the holdings of the Eliot Elisofon Photographic archives in the National Museum of African Art, where the author Christraud Geary writes: "Thus, the more prurient and painful images are referred to in the text, but are not illustrated." Christraud Geary. *In and Out of Focus. Images from Central Africa,* 1885-1960. Philip Wilson, London: 2002, p.19.

nudes, for example. Admittedly, in such cases, artist's models were not only willing accomplices but perfectly aware that the finished work was destined to embellish the private chambers of the wealthy patrons who had commissioned them, yet, evidently, they could never have imagined that their portraits would eventually find their way into public places to be closely scrutinised by thousands of visitors of all ages, much less reproduced in full-colour in the pages of glossy catalogues and sold to all and sundry as picture postcards, or made available on the internet for all to see, perhaps for centuries to come.[1324] However worthy of reproach they may seem today to some, viewed in hindsight from the "politically correct" atmosphere which prevails at the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is worth remembering that images such as the photographs of "hairstyles" are valuable historical documents which offer clues to perceptions and attitudes, and of forms of behaviour which may have undergone profound change or even disappeared completely and may well be perceived in an entirely different way in the future. Whatever discomfort they may cause, images such as these, rather than being permanently removed from sight should be preserved to bear valuable witness to other times and other ways of seeing.

The "hairstyles" card offers a powerful contrast with another, somewhat earlier postcard, shown below, which depicts a group of men and women who were also from the Moçamedes highlands. [1325] Although the caption is unspecific - referring merely to "typos do interior", an undoubtedly depreciative epithet, the card presumably belonged to a series which was intended to offer a representative and collectible "inventory" of ethnic groups from different parts of Angola. These contrasting postcards, like the two showing individual female "serviçais", exemplify a significant change of direction which took place over a relatively short period before World War I, from the ostensibly realistic portrayal of the earlier cards to an idealised and more overtly commercial choice of subject and staging in the later ones.

[1324] In his History of Art, Gombrich comments on the effect of reproductions on the way art is seen, referring specifically to Mona Lisa: "On est tellement habitué à la retrouver en carte postale et jusque dans la publicité que l'on éprouve quelque difficulté à la regarder d'un oeil neuf, à voir l'oeuvre d'un homme qui a fait le portrait d'un modele de chair et d'os." Ernst Hans Gombrich. *Histoire de l'art*. Phaidon, Paris: 2006, p. 227.

[1325] Photograph possibly taken by Cunha Moraes a generation earlier. Osório's publishing house used Moraes´ photographs for several cards.



Figure 3.94. " Mossamedes. Typos do interior". Pub. Osório, Delgado e Bandeira. Luanda. c.1904

In the earlier cards it is often possible to identify a commitment to the notion of "truth to nature" on the part of the photographer, corresponding to a tradition of ethnographic photography exemplified in Portuguese Africa by pioneers such as Cunha Moraes and Sertório, which had gradually begun to give way to a more mercantile and pragmatic attitude on the part of photographers and publishers.The explanation for the rapid change in the type of portrayal was, almost certainly, that local photographers and publishers had begun to be influenced by the changing tastes of a well-travelled clientele who were familiar with a new and more tempting genre of postcards which were sold elsewhere in Africa, such as in the neighbouring Belgian and British colonies. Clearly, too, the advertising industry was already exercising its tentacular influence on popular imagery in many spheres of the rapidly developing realm of visual communication.

Although, as previously shown, racism was undoubtedly reflected in postcards and photographs made in Portuguese West Africa, nothing existed in Angola, and much less in São Tomé, like the pathetic and tawdry attempt at humour which transpires from certain postcards printed in South Africa at this time,[1326] which were obviously staged to mock African women and their traditional costumes by placing them in absurd or improbable situations, whilst simultaneously exploiting their supposedly erotic appeal. The

[1326] These images are certainly deserving of the epithet "a worm's eye-view of life" which Orwell used to describe the coarse humour of Donald McGill's postcards. George Orwell. "The Art of Donald McGill" *Horizon* Sept. 1941. http://www.orwell.ru/library/reviews/McGill/english/e_mcgill (Accessed online on 8/6/2017.) In 1954, under a government crackdown on what it saw as declining morals, McGill was prosecuted and fined under the Obscene Publications Act of 1857.

explanation for the virtual absence of "comic eroticism" in the Portuguese possessions at this time [1327] may be that racist attitudes were neither as aggressive nor as openly expressed as they were in some of the British colonies, South Africa in particular, where social Darwinism played a vital role as the ideological support for imperialist policies. These two examples, sold by the Durban publishing house of Sallo Epstein, which was prolific in this form of racist humour, are typical of the genre.



Figure 3.95. Postcard. "Ping Pong." Pub. Sallo Epstein. Durban c.1910.



Figure 3.96. Postcard. "Are you fond of tennis?" Pub. Sallo Epstein. Durban. c.1910.

[1327] Timid attempts at this form of postcard "humour" made a brief appearance in the nineteen sixties and seventies during the wars for independence of the Portuguese African colonies. They were clearly intended for European soldiers.

Soon after these cards appeared, John H. Harris, who it would be difficult to accuse of harbouring Portuguese sympathies, expressed his concerns about the exacerbation of racism in the British West African colonies, comparing the situation in disfavourable terms with the attitudes and practices he had encountered in the Portuguese possessions. The concerns he expresses regarding officially-condoned British racism in Africa were a premonition that worse was still to come, as the embryonic system of "separate development of the races" in South Africa would soon confirm: [1328]

> In Portuguese West Africa one sees the best and the worst treatment of native races. The best for the free native, the best for the educated coloured man and the best for the coloured woman. In every other colony - and **in this respect British colonies are becoming the worst - race prejudice not only prevails but is on the increase**. In the Portuguese colonies there is a pleasing absence of race prejudice; natives of equal social status are as freely admitted to Portuguese institutions as white men; the hotels, the railways, the parks and roads possess no colour-bar, and if the Portuguese colonies could be purged of their foul blot of slavery, the natives of other African colonies might well envy their fellows in Portuguese Africa.[1329]

The staged postcard, below, published in Benguela in the first decade of the twentieth century, apparently confirms Harris's assessment of the relaxed behaviour of the Portuguese settlers towards Africans in the colonies. Two European chargehands, one of whom is carrying a staff and is clearly dressed for the occasion, pose on either side of what appears to be a mixed group of black agricultural workers, some of whom are holding traditional percussion instruments. At first sight, the card appears to provide support to what Harris and other observers, such as Joseph Burtt, contrasted with the segregation and openly racist treatment of Africans practised by their own countrymen, but closer examination reveals that the photograph has much in common with certain contemporary postcards from São Tomé showing the workforce of the plantations, which were clearly intended to convey a message of voluntary cooperation and shared objectives between the African labourers and their European masters. Moreover, the body language of the European with the staff suggests that it was the adolescent woman next to him

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[1328] *The Spectator*'s review of Harris' book discloses the underlying racial concepts which informed its editor's views: "**The Portuguese are the only colonists of West Africa who have no race prejudice. This seems natural enough when one remembers the appreciable mixture of negro blood in the Portuguese nation."** "Dawn in Darkest Africa (Book Review)", *The Spectator,* November 23rd 1912, p.857. (my bold)

[1329] John H. Harris. *Dawn in Darkest Africa*. 1912, p.169. (my bold)

rather than the "chingufo" performance,[1330] which he saw as one of the few "perks" of the job.



Figure 3.97. Postcard. 57- Benguella. Um grupo de gentio em um quintal, ouvindo tocar "chingufo". Collecção Tavares & Co. Benguella. c.1905

Contrasting with Harris' view, José de Almada, a senior civil servant in the Ministry of the Colonies who was called upon to defend Portugal's good faith in the dispute over contract labour on several occasions, would later provide a possibly better-informed and less sanguine assessment of race relations in Portuguese West Africa:

> A igualdade perante o direito é uma pura ideologia em matéria colonial. Nunca os povos colonizadores a puseram em prática. Se o fizerem algum dia desaparecem. Quando em 1922, depois de proclamadas várias liberdades em Angola, os indígenas se lembraram de andar nos passeios das ruas de Loanda, foi-lhes imediatamente proíbido. Quando nessa mesma data fundiram um jornal que defendia o ponto de vista indígena, os redactores foram presos e o jornal suprimido. O próprio Carnaval dos indígenas foi modificado e alterado. Os *chauffeurs* brancos foram proibidos de conduzir pretos nos automóveis de Loanda. **Era o sistema inglês pôsto em prática e a teoria igualitária proclamada no *Boletim Oficial***. O branco em África se não tiver prestígio está perdido. [1331]

[1330] "Chingufo" is the name of the large rectangular drum held by the older man in the middle of the second row.

[1331] Almada's comprehensive historical overview of slavery and native work in the Portuguese colonies, was published at the beginning of the Estado Novo regime and was intended for limited internal circulation. Quotation from José de Almada. *Apontamentos Históricos sôbre a Escravatura e o Trabalho Indígena nas Colónias Portuguesas.* Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa: 1932, p.5. (original italics) (my bold)

Chapter 4. "All there in black and white": the use of visual propaganda in the "Slave-grown Cocoa" controversy and links to the "Congo Atrocities" campaign

4.1 Seeing is believing: Héli Chatelain, the Philafrican Liberators' League and the promiscuity of photographic images

The first photographs which were specifically designed to draw public attention to the persistence of slavery in Portuguese West Africa appeared in the *Journal of American Folklore*, at the beginning of 1897. They illustrated a long article by the Swiss-American missionary and anti-slavery activist Héli Chatelain,[1332] which was based on an "illustrated lecture" he had given to the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society.[1333] Using lantern slides, many of which were based on his own photographs and focussing on the peoples he had grown to know well through many years of missionary work in Angola, Chatelain had presented an ethnographical overview of the different "phases of African life", which he defined as "childhood, adolescence, manhood and womanhood, occupations and handicrafts, pleasures and amusements, personal and social miseries, death and funeral customs." Each phase had been graphically represented on the screen by "a rapid succession of from eight to twelve photographic reproductions of typical persons or occurrences."

Chatelain, who had first set foot in Angola in 1885 as a volunteer linguist on Bishop William Taylor's ill-fated, self-supporting mission,[1334] had become well known in

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[1332] Héli Chatelain (1859-1908) Swiss-American missionary, ethnographer, linguist, photographer, trader, anti-slavery activist and briefly U.S.Consul in Angola.

[1333] Eighth Annual Meeting of the American Folk-Lore Society,New York, December 28th, 1896. Chatelain was a founder-member.

[1334] In its edition of April 10th 1885, the editorialist of the *New York Times* described William Taylor (1821-1902) as "a dangerous crank", urging American consuls "to deter the lunatics" before the party reached its destination in Africa. His concern proved to be well-founded, due, in great part, to the Bishop's lack of planning, his belief in self-supporting missions and his recklessness in risking the lives of unprepared volunteers. See Michael Anthony Samuels. *Education in Angola 1874-1914. A History of Culture Transfer and Administration.* Columbia University. New York: 1970, p.70 and David Evans. *Héli Chatelain, Bishop Taylor's Mission and the Philafrican Liberators' League: American Pioneer Missions in Angola, 1885-1897.* Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses. No. 14. Universidade Nova, Lisbon : 2005, pp. 163-210.

America through the publication in 1896 of a pamphlet entitled *The Open Sore of the World*, the expression Livingstone had coined forty years before to describe the slave trade. [1335] Like many other Protestant missionaries at this time, Chatelain had been forced to spend most of his time in Angola trying to make a living. Courageously making light of his chronic ill health, [1336] he proved to be extremely resourceful in this sphere. In addition to supporting his missionary activities by acting as the local pharmacist and the agent for Studebaker wagons, Chatelain eked out a meagre existence as a travelling trader and even found time to set up a photographic studio where he later developed and printed the work of others, including photographs taken by Europeans employed on the building of the Benguela railway.[1337] Chatelain was an enthusiastic and accomplished photographer himself, and as David Birmingham has noted, took many portraits of local figures in Angola, including one of the commander of the local fort "with his slave concubine and tame monkey", and several of Boer traders. [1338]

A small sample of the photographs shown as lantern slides at the lecture were chosen to illustrate Chatelain's article in the Society's journal, [1339] including one of a madimba player with his magnificent musical instrument made of gourds and another of a group of women pounding corn, but, more significantly, two others captioned "Slave women in a trader's yard" and "Slave stick". The former illustration shows four pre-adolescent girls sitting close together on the ground, next to what appear to be cooking pots. One of them is looking directly towards the camera, an enquiring expression on her face, whilst the others are clearly distracted by their thoughts. In the background of the photograph other people can be made out, lying on the ground, but the only face which might be visible has been blurred by sudden movement. The attention of the viewer is focussed entirely on the

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[1335] Héli Chatelain. *The Open Sore of the World: Africa's Internal Slave-trade and a Practical Plan for Its Extinction*. Philafrican Liberators' League, New York: 1896

[1336] Chatelain was lame and had poor eyesight. In his youth he could only walk with two sticks and although he improved slightly, he always used a walking stick.

[1337] Though selling firearms and ammunition Chatelain drew the line at alcohol and tobacco.

[1338] See David Birmingham. "A Swiss Community in Highland Angola." In *Empire in Africa*. *Angola and its neighbours.* Ohio University, Athens: 2006, p.49.

[1339] An offprint of Chatelain's article, with illustrations, was still on sale in 1918 when his biography was published, as was a collection of a dozen postcards of Chatelain's photographs. Alida Chatelain, Amy Roch. *Héli Chatelain. L'Ami d'Angola 1859-1908*. Secrétariat de la Mission Philafricaine. Lausanne: 1918, p.383.

pathetic fate of the "slave women" and the despair stamped upon their youthful faces. It is an eloquent and moving portrayal. [1340]

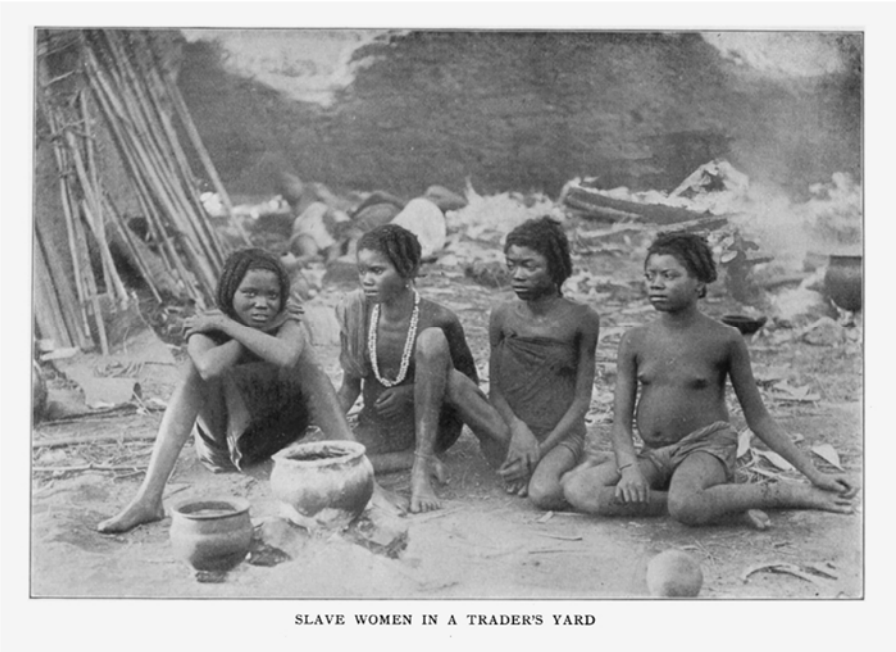


Figure 4.1. Héli Chatelain. **"**Slave women in a trader's yard."c. 1895. Based on a collotype print.

And yet there is more to Chatelain's photograph than meets the eye. In a rare, hand-tinted, postcard published in Moçamedes (Namibe), a few years later, and based upon the same photograph, a small boy can be seen sitting behind the girl to the right of the image, next to the large cooking pot. [1341] Adding to the mystery, the caption reads *typos do Humbe. Planalto de Mossamedes.* No reference to slavery, much less any mention of Chatelain and the origin of the negative. Surprisingly, perhaps, given its fall from virtue, this postcard offers a modest but valuable contribution to the historical record. [1342] A comparison between the two images shows that the work of dissimulation had begun earlier, in the dark room. The illustration in the journal was an example of blatant

[1340] **Figure 4.1** Illustration opp. p.30 in Heli Chatelain *African Folk-Life.* The Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 10, No. 36 (Jan. - Mar., 1897), pp. 21-34. Originally a collotype print.
[1341] **Figure 4.2.** Postcard by courtesy of the Eliot Eliofson Archives at the Smithsonian Museum. Humbe is now known as Cunembe.
[1342] This example also underlines the discrepancy, which already existed, between respect for the integrity of the spoken and written word and the comparative lack of respect for the authorship and integrity of the photographic image, a distinction which, despite the advances in image copyright legislation, looms even larger today due to the extraordinary ease of manipulating digital images.
The image also serves as a reminder that the São Tomé planter Marquês de Valle-Flôr later accused Chatelain, without mentioning his name, of having used his own servants to play the part of slaves in his photographs.

desinformation, or, as Sontag would describe it, "a lie". [1343] The evidence undoubtedly points towards Chatelain, who appears to have eliminated the figure of the boy from the illustration for the purpose of the article, presumably to focus the attention of American readers on the desperate fate of the "slave women".

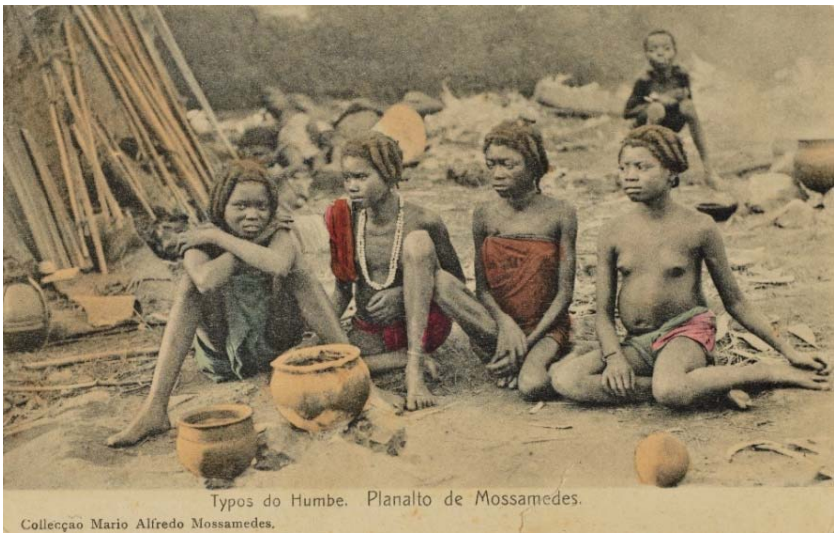


Figure 4.2 Hand-tinted postcard "Typos do Humbe. Planalto de Mossamedes." Pub. Mário Alfredo, Mossamedes. c.1905.

Although this kind of manipulation or "retouching" was not uncommon at the time, it was still widely taken for granted that photographs were a "true reflection of reality", and though certainly done with "the best of intentions", Chatelain's recourse to such techniques in an illustration for a scientific journal leaves it patently clear that his personal campaign to put an end to slave-trading in Portuguese West Africa had become so much of a priority that he was ready to waive the strict ethical standards he otherwise observed in his work as an ethnographer and linguist, not to mention the elevated moral behaviour he preached. Such a case cannot fail to raise doubts regarding the soundness of photographic evidence offered by missionaries, or indeed by others who were directly involved in the campaign against the "slave-trade". Extrapolating further, it would also be reasonable to question whether written testimony left by similarly committed activists should always be taken at face value.

[1343] Sontag is categorical on the question of falsification in photography: "[…] the flat, usually rectangular images which are photographs make a claim to be true that painting can never make. A fake painting (one whose attribution is false) falsifies the history of art. **A fake photograph (one which has been retouched or tampered with, or whose caption is false, falsifies reality**." Susan Sontag. Op.cit.1977, p.86. (my bold)

Astonishingly, the same, unmanipulated photograph also appears in an earlier postcard belonging to a series published by Osório and Seabra in Luanda. The origin of the image and, by association, the origin of the young women, was, by then, supposedly Cazengo, far to the north of Humbe.

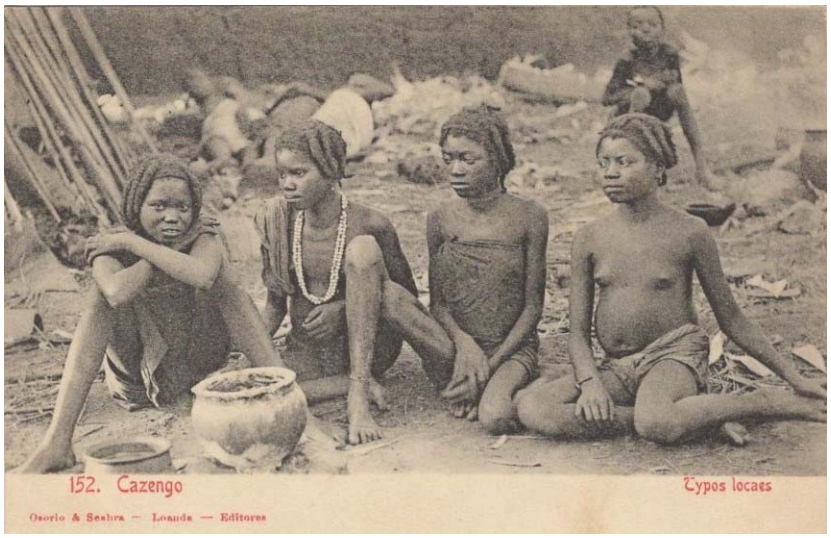


Figure 4.3 (Right) Postcard. "152. Cazengo. Typos Locaes." Pub. Osório e Seabra, Luanda. Dated 1903.

A second illustration also plays a part in Chatelain's attempt to focus attention on the issue of slavery. It is entitled "slave-stick" and shows a man painfully imprisoned by the neck, apparently guarded by a military detachment.

A rifle can be seen leaning against the hut next to the prisoner, suggesting that the man who shackled him had left it behind in his haste to return to his post for the photographer. [1344] Although it is quite possible that the victim was indeed a slave, the photograph was probably staged to record the arrest of a criminal or rebel, or to demonstrate the effectiveness of this cruel and rudimentary technique of imprisonment or torture, perhaps at the photographer's request. Moreover, and despite the fact that the article focusses on slavery in Portuguese West Africa, the sailors' uniforms appear to be Belgian or French and it would therefore seem more likely that the picture was taken beyond the borders of Portuguese West Africa.

[1344] **Figure 4.4** Illustration opposite p.32 in Heli Chatelain. *African Folk-Life.* The Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 10, No. 36 (Jan. - Mar., 1897), pp. 21-34.

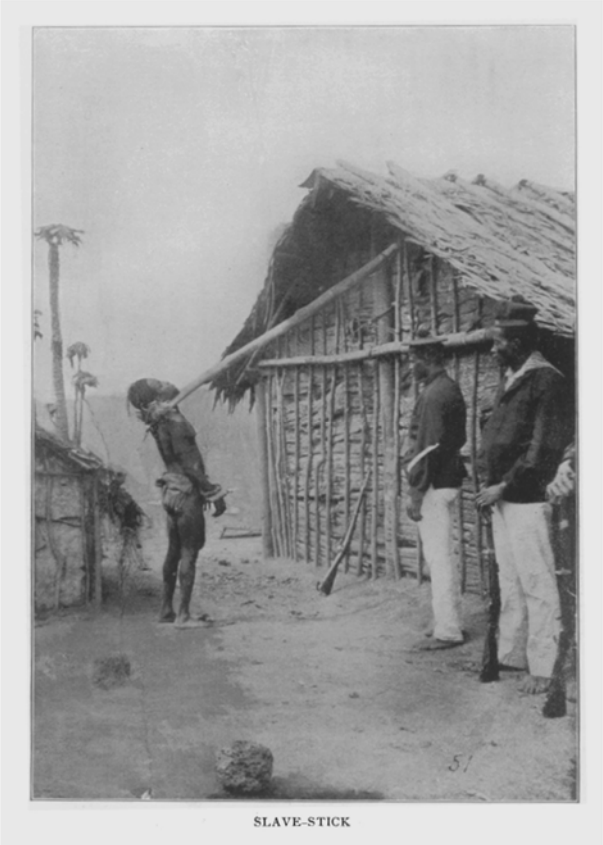


Figure 4.4 Héli Chatelain. "Slave-stick."c.1895. Based on a collotype print.

Chatelain makes no specific mention of either of the two illustrations in his article, leaving his readers to draw their own conclusions, but, writing from his own experience he explains how shackles and forked slave-sticks were used by slave-traders in Angola, adding that slaves who tried to escape were almost always caught and severely punished:

> It is a mistake to think that the slaves in caravans are always chained. They are chained only when they are captured, when they far outnumber their guides, and while they are near their homes. As a rule, they are unfettered while on the march, and put in the slave-yoke or slave-stick for the night. **Of the many hundreds of slaves whom I saw in Angola not one was chained or even yoked**. [1345]

Establishing an indirect link with the image of the four slave girls, Chatelain relates his first encounter with a slave-caravan in Angola, which consisted of "twenty naked and starved women" who were on their way from Luluaburg (now Kanaga), in the Congo Free State, to Malange, a distance of over 1500 kms. The trader readily confessed that he had lost another fifty people to disease and starvation on the march, and Chatelain

[1345] Idem., p.33. (my bold)

comments that the "owner" of the women, though he could read and write, had no awareness "of the enormity of his deeds." He adds that when questioned about trading practises in the far interior, the native traders of Angola would invariably enumerate the importance of their commodities in the following order: first, rubber; second, people; third, ivory; fourth, wax; fifth, cattle. [1346]

Chatelain took advantage of the article in the Journal to examine the question of slavery further, and to explain how the supply of captives was sustained:

> In Africa, slavery takes the place of penitentiaries. An insolvent debtor, an adulteress, a thief, one who accidentally wounds or kills another, any criminal, is sold into slavery instead of being locked up. When a man has enough nephews and nieces to sell in his place, he may thus redeem himself. In addition to these sources of slavery comes kidnapping and capture in war, or open slave-raids. These slave-raids are often undertaken by native tribes in order to get more women for their harems, or in order to exchange the captured slaves for the powder, the guns, and the cloth of the white men. [1347]

There can be little doubt that the missionary, who was by then deeply involved in the launch of an ambitious anti-slavery initiative in Angola, had deliberately taken advantage of the opportunity to centre this supposedly broad ethnographical survey around an aspect of life in the colony which he considered to be particularly nefarious.

Chatelain had first come face to face with the contract labour system in 1890, on returning to the United States from Luanda. Travelling on the Royal Mail steamer *Moçambique* he spent much of his time on the deck in the company of 200 Angolans who were destined for the plantations of São Tomé and Príncipe. [1348] Bishop Taylor's monthly magazine *African News* published his description of the dramatic scenes on board:

> Some were starved to skeletons and had the ghastly, feverish, piercing, half insane look that is peculiar to this condition. The most of them had the hard, vacant expression of men who know they are going to what they most dread, while they are ignorant of where and in what shape their sad destiny awaits them.[1349]

[1346] Idem, ibidem.
[1347] Idem., p.32.
[1348] See Alida Chatelain, Amy Roch. *Héli Chatelain. L'Ami d'Angola 1859-1908*. Secrétariat.de la Mission Philafricaine. Lausanne: 1918, p.147.
[1349] Quoted in James Duffy. Op.cit, 1967, p. 136. Duffy does not give the date of the issue but it must have been around the end of 1890. Bishop William Taylor's *African News*, which covered the activities of his

The voyage proved to be a turning point in Chatelain's life and from then on he saw the question of slavery as the key to his own missionary strategy for central Africa. Speaking at the Congress on Africa and the American Negro in Atlanta at the end of 1895, Chatelain had directed the whole of his missionary invective against the contract-labour system, explaining how agents working on behalf of plantation owners hunted the interior for labourers for São Tomé and Príncipe:

> These agents scour one region after another, trying to induce chiefs to procure the number of men and women needed. The chiefs are provided with guns and powder, and either they themselves or their correspondents in the interior make raids on weaker tribes and sell the captives to the middle-men, who bring them to the white man's agent, who redeems them. These poor creatures are redeemed from the status of patriarchal native slavery into the status of European plantation slavery. No more free time, no accumulation of private property, no hope of redeeming one's self by thrift, no home life, no possibility of flight. From morning till night unremitting toil in the broiling sun, under the lash of the driver, either without pay and with insufficient food, or with insufficient pay wherewith to buy the needed food. No other prospect than that of being slowly worked to death. [1350]

Recognising the good work done by the Catholic Anti-Slavery societies in putting down Arab slavers in the Congo and resettling the slaves in their thousands in new towns and villages, Chatelain proposed that refuges and stations should be set up in Angola for freed slaves under the supervision of an organisation which he christened the Philafrican Liberators League, which would have ramifications all over the United States and Canada. It would gather and disseminate information regarding the slave trade, promote philanthropic legislation, assist slaves in achieving emancipation and support governments in creating industrial and agricultural settlements for freed slaves. [1351] Rules would then be imposed to put an end to the "chief causes of the African's miseries […]

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missions in Africa, was published between 1889 and 1894. A report on Chatelain's experiences on the *Moçambique* also appeared in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for Jan-Feb 1891, pp. 34-5.
Bishop Taylor, too, was fully aware of the persuasive power of photography and his son later published a coffee-table collection of his photographs of Africa, some taken as early as 1885 : See *Africa Illustrated: Scenes from Daily Life on the Dark Continent with Photographs secured in Africa by Bishop William Taylor, Dr. Emil Holub and the Missionary Superintendents.* Ross Taylor, New York: 1895.

[1350] The Congress was part of the Cotton States and International Exhibition, Atlanta. December 1895. Chatelain's lecture on slavery was entitled: *"African Slavery; its Status and the Anti-Slavery Movement in Europe."* At http//docsouth.unc.edu/church/bowen/bowen.html (Consulted on 21/9/2005)

[1351] The story of the Philafrican Mission is brilliantly told by Didier Péclard in his long paper "Ethos Missionaire et Esprit du Capitalisme. La Mission Philafricaine en Angola 1897-1907" in *Le Fait Missionaire 1995* which is based on the correspondence of Héli Chatelain in the University of Lausanne archives.

witchcraft and witch-doctoring, […] polygamy, rum, idleness" whilst the freedmen would be encouraged to attend schools with non-sectarian Christian education. He later estimated that he would require $10,000 in the first year to set up a refuge station along these lines, and $2,000 in the second year, whilst envisaging, almost certainly optimistically, that it would eventually cover its own expenses, presumably by harnessing the labour of the refugees.

Although it proved more difficult to gather the financial support than he had anticipated, Chatelain attracted a growing group of distinguished supporters.[1352] The Philafrican Liberator's League was founded at New York's Christian Union on 27th May 1896, and Rev. Leander Chamberlain, Secretary and future President of the Evangelical Alliance, accepted the Presidency a few months later. The favourable opinions of thirty-five eminent Christians followed in the form of a pamphlet entitled *The Duty of America towards Enslaved Africa-Opinions of American Leaders*. [1353] After representing the League at the Jubilee meeting of the Universal Evangelical Alliance in London in June 1896, Chatelain toured Europe to attempt to raise badly-needed funds.[1354] On returning to New York in October of the same year, Chatelain wrote to the African-American leader Booker T.Washington, whose celebrated "Atlanta Compromise" address at the African Congress had made him one of the best-known men in the country, inviting him to join the Board of the League. Revealing previously-unsuspected paternalism, Chatelain commented how fine it was "to see a black, the child of enslaved parents, sitting beside the most eminent white men in America, on the board of directors of a Liberating league for African slaves." [1355]

Although the verbal support of distinguished personalities was not lacking, Chatelain had begun to realise that the $10,000 he had estimated as necessary to set up his first station would be slow in coming. Writing to Chamberlain in May 1897, he threatened that if the Board did not send him back to Angola that year with whatever funding was available,

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[1352] These included the African explorer Paul du Chaillu; Dr. Josiah Strong, the Social Gospel leader and propagandist of Anglo-Saxon imperialism; Judge Charles P. Daly, President of the American Geographical Society; Cyrus C. Adams, geographer and editor of the *New York Sun*.

[1353] Amongst them were Bishop William Taylor; Rev. W. C. Roberts of the Presbyterian Church, Louis Agassiz, pioneer anthropologist and President of Radcliff College; Rev. Judson Smith of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; Rev. J. E. Roy, President of the 1893 Chicago African Congress and Rev.Wilbur Thirkield, President of the Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta.

[1354] Undoubtedly using lantern slides based on his own photographs.

[1355] Chatelain's letter of invitation is in the Booker T. Washington Papers.Vol.4. p.223. Library of Congress.

he would take the venture into his own hands and leave them to "bury the League". Chamberlain was left with no alternative. A great farewell meeting, presided by Abram Hewitt, the former Mayor of New York, was held at Chickering Hall in New York,[1356] on 23rd June 1897, and a month later the first group of missionaries of the Philafrican League sailed for Lisbon and Angola.

Arriving at Benguela on September 18th, 1897, the party discovered that there were no bearers to take them to their chosen "missionary field" at Chibokwe [sic], supposedly situated near Bié.[1357] Fortunately a Boer caravan was later able to take them into the interior, and Chatelain decided that he would set up his first station only a day's journey away from Caconda, amongst the Kalukembe people, whom he described as "absolutely uneducated and relatively free from the degrading influence of alcohol." On November 30th, 1897, the small missionary party set up its tents at the place where they had decided to found the first station, in virgin forest on a hill near the source of several rivers. Chatelain christened the mission station Lincoln, a tribute to the abolitionist American president whose assassination had deeply shocked him in his youth. [1358]

Obliged by lack of funding to adopt a virtually self-supporting strategy, Chatelain was to face many of the same difficulties as Taylor's Mission, but Lincoln survived until September 1900, by which time four of the missionaries, frustrated by the difficulties of everyday life, had taken up the Philafrican League's offer to pay for their return fares whilst the remaining six decided that a local committee should be formed to run the station. Feeling that his leadership was threatened, Chatelain disagreed frontally with the decision, and the last of the disillusioned missionaries departed for the United States on January 15th, 1901. Although he remained on good terms with Rev. L.T. Chamberlain, the Philafrican Board decided to send no more missionaries, whilst agreeing, however, to provide support for Chatelain himself.

[1356] Then a popular venue on 5th Avenue for public events, seating up to 1750 people.
[1357] Chibokwe is a term used to describe the Chokwe people who live mainly in the Congo but also in the interior of Angola. It would seem here that the official account which suggests that the first site was near Bié is mistaken and that Chatelain was intending to travel further into the interior.
[1358] As David Birmingham notes the station was located on the south-central plateau far from the "slave route", and was dependent for its survival on its proximity to settlements of Boer immigrants from South Africa. Predictably, the Portuguese authorities were not amused by the link of the mission's name to abolition. See David Birmingham. "Merchants and Missionaries in Angola." *Lusotopie 5* Karthala, Paris: 1998, p.351.

Chatelain's health soon declined further and he survived alone for over a year until his friends in Switzerland came to his rescue with funding and support. From then on Chatelain was obliged to become more and more enterprising in order to keep the mission station alive, and soon, he too, like the members of the Taylor Mission before him, was forced to set aside any misgivings he might have retained and earn a living by trading. Although Chatelain attempted to provide support to fleeing slaves and mediated between the Portuguese military authorities, the Boer community and the local tribes, his ambitious project to create refuges for freed slaves was too much for a chronically sick man, and, in the end his efforts were no more than a drop in the ocean.[1359] In hindsight, it is clear that in the long run he would have done far more for Angola and its people if he had opened a secondary school in Luanda or Moçamedes, as many of his friends and admirers suggested, whilst further developing his studies of the native languages and customs. [1360]

Héli Chatelain continued his evangelical work among the Kalukembe people and the Caconda Boer community until a few months before his death at the age of 49 on July 22nd, 1908. Only three weeks before, he had written to Travers Buxton expressing his frustration at the ongoing trade of captives for the coast:

> All protests of societies like yours and all diplomatic notes (as such) make the Portuguese abetters of slavery chuckle; they are met with protests or promises of reform and that is the end of them. After 23 year's experience of Angola and Lisbon I am more convinced than ever that Portugal is unable to cut the cancer out of her body, unless aided by an outside Power.[1361]

[1359] Chatelain was disappointed to discover that the **Indian coolie labourers that the British railway engineers were importing as a solution to the shortage of African labour were not being issued with return tickets**. His early hope that a more ethical breed of British colonialists might take over the south of Angola and put an end to the contract labour system was consequently dashed. See David Birmingham. "Wagon Technology, Transport and Long-distance Communication in Angola 1885-1908" Paper given at International Conference. *Angola on the Move: Transport Routes, Communication, and History,* Berlin, September 24th-26th 2003, p.1-8. (my bold)

[1360] Chatelain made an invaluable contribution to Angolan culture by publishing the first grammar in the Kimbundu language. Héli Chatelain. *Kimbundu grammar; grammatica elementar do kimbundu ou lingua de Angola* Typ. de C. Schuchard. Genebra: 1889. See also Héli Chatelain. *Folk Tales of Angola.* Houghton Mifflin. Boston and New York: 1894. The Portuguese version appeared 70 years later as *Contos populares de Angola: cinquenta contos em Quimbundo anot. Héli Chatelain.* Agência Geral do Ultramar, Lisboa : 1964.

[1361] Héli Chatelain to Travers Buxton. July 5th 1908. BFASS Papers Mss British Empire S18 C79/126. Quoted by Lowell J. Satre Op.cit. 2005, p.110.

Despite all the difficulties and obstacles, the mission at Lincoln, now Kalukembe, still exists, as do several of the stations first set up in Angola by the missionaries of the American Board and the Taylor Mission.

4.2 John and Alice Harris' anti-slavery mission: from the Congo Free State to Portuguese West Africa

In addition to their use in lantern-slide lectures to promote evangelical activities in "far-off lands",[1362] missionary photographs played a central role in bringing the horrors of the crimes against humanity committed in the Congo Free State into the homes of hitherto unsuspecting Europeans and Americans, and would also play a significant part in the campaign against "slave-grown cocoa" which followed closely on its heels.

The atrocities were the fruit of a merciless policy of intensive exploitation of African labour and natural resources under the rule of King Leopold II of Belgium. [1363] Missionary societies had long been aware of the situation in the Congo but preferred appeals to Leopold's administration to public protest. [1364] Indeed, the reluctance of Protestant missionaries to speak out against abuses had already been revealed as early as 1896 by the British parliamentarian and anti-slavery activist Sir Charles Dilke, who, in a comment on a cautious article in the Baptist missionary paper *Regions Beyond,* admitted that British missionaries "naturally hesitate to say much, considering the precariousness of their

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[1362] As Adam Hochschild notes, the expression "crimes against humanity" was coined in 1890 by George Washington Williams, a black American journalist and missionary, in connection with the atrocities carried out in the Congo, long before the Congo Reform Association was founded. See Adam Hochschild *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa,* New York: Mariner, 1999, p.112 and Sharon Sliwinski. *The Childhood of Human Rights: The Kodak on the Congo*. *Journal of Visual Culture.* December 2006, vol. 5. Issue 3, p.334.

[1363] According to recently published research, several of the illustrations, though unidentified at the time, were almost certainly taken in 1903 by Daniel J. Danielsen, a Faroese missionary, on a fact-finding journey up the River Congo with Roger Casement, the British Consul at Boma. Danielsen had previously captained a steamer for the Congo and Balolo Mission. Boma was the capital of the Congo Free State and then the Belgian Congo from 1888 to 1926.
See Olí Jacobsen. *Daniel J. Danielsen and the Congo: Missionary Campaigns and Atrocity Photographs.* 2014. https://olijacobsen.files.wordpress.com/2015/03/dollinen2014.pdf p.101(Consulted on 24/10/2016)

[1364] The whole vast region was in reality Leopold's private property from 1884 to 1908.

situation". [1365] In April of the following year Dilke launched a debate on the Congo in the Commons,[1366] putting forward a motion requesting that the British Government should consult with the other European signatories to the Berlin agreement. From then on, Dilke began working closely with H.R. Fox Bourne, the Secretary of the Aborigines' Protection Society, to draw public attention to the question.[1367]

Concerns had been expressed sporadically in missionary correspondence and consular reports since the beginning of the 1890's but it was Consul Clayton Pickersgill's report in 1898, [1368] denouncing the use of forced labour in the Congo, which first gave official authority to the humanitarian protests. [1369] As important as this contribution proved to be, it would require Consul Roger Casement's far more explicit evidence of atrocities, released in February 1904, to revive the struggling campaign. A pamphlet entitled "Congo Slavery", compiled by Harry Guinness of the Regions Beyond Missionary Union, was also published that same year.[1370] It included photographic evidence of mutilations and

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[1365] Charles Dilke. *Cosmopolis.* July 1896, pp 25-26. Quoted by Ruth Slade in "English Missionaries and the beginning of the Anti-Congolese Campaign in England." *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire.* Vol. 33 No.1,1955, pp.37-73. *Cosmopolis: An International Monthly Review* was published by Fernand Ortmans, its editor, in London, Paris, Berlin, St Petersburg and New York, between January 1896 and November 1898. Printed in English, French and German, it had a circulation of about 20,000.

[1366] Answering Dilke's call of alarm, George Curzon, the Undersecretary for State for Foreign Affairs, clearly felt at this stage that Britain had no responsibility for the Congo: "The right hon. Baronet [Dilke] will, I think, acknowledge that it is no part of my duty to defend the Congo State, nor of the duty of Her Majesty's Government to act as guardians of the public trust imposed on the Congo State by the Acts of Brussels and Berlin, though his words seemed to imply that some special responsibility rests upon the British Government." Hansard. House of Commons Debate. *Africa.* April 2nd 1897 vol. 48 cc 425-50.

[1367] "Credit is usually given to Edmund Dene Morel, editor of the West African Mail, for the success of the campaign. Rightly so, because it was his knowledge of West African trade and ability to marshal the facts, as well as the founding and directing of the Congo Reform Association, which built up the relentless pressure which achieved the objective. But the APS were active forerunners and Fox Bourne's **Civilisation in Congoland**, a seminal work, preceded Morel's **King Leopold's Rule in Africa** by almost two years." Charles Swaisland, "The Aborigines protection society, 1837-1909." *Slavery & Abolition,* no.21: 2, 2000, p. 275. (author's bold). Kevin Grant attributes a great part of the credit for the success of the campaign to Protestant missionaries, such as the Harrises, with their lantern lectures.

[1368] H.M. Consul W. Clayton Pickersgill's Report on Congo Atrocities. June 1st 1897. FO 10/31. Pickersgill was based in Luanda.

[1369] In a letter to the editor of *The Spectator,* Fox Bourne, of the Aborigines' Protection Society, levelled the following accusation: "By handing over huge slices of its Domaine Privé to privileged companies in most of which it owns half the shares, or is otherwise entitled to half the profits; by lending them its force publique, largely composed of cannibals, for any sort of oppression serviceable in extorting rubber and other produce from the inhabitants, whose forced labour is infinitely worse than the slavery that is nominally superseded […] the Congo State, **according to abundant testimony which has never been refuted, appears to be committing and encouraging crimes against humanity to which the atrocities committed by Spanish and Portuguese adventurers in America three or four centuries ago afford no parallel"** "Reported Atrocities in the Congo" *The Spectator*. April 19th 1902, p.591. (my bold)

[1370] See H. Grattan Guinness, *Congo Slavery*. RBMU Publication Department. London: 1904. The book includes the text of ten of the slides which Guiness had used the previous year in a lantern slide lecture tour entitled "A Reign of Terror on the Congo". Both photographs and text were employed in the slides. See

other atrocities which had been systematically committed in the Congo for almost a generation. After years of living side by side with abusive practises, Protestant missionaries had been finally driven to protest publicly, due to the obstacles to their evangelical work created by the sinister side-effects of the quota system of wild rubber collection. [1371] The protests only began to gain real momentum, however, when the human rights campaigner E.D. Morel, who was free from the constraints imposed by the missionary societies, announced the creation of the Congo Reform Association in March 1904, shortly after Casement's report, and began to agitate public opinion through his mouthpiece, the *West African Mail.* [1372]

With isolated and meritorious exceptions, the same story would be repeated in Portuguese West Africa. Indeed, overwhelming evidence has accumulated over the years which suggests that the campaign against Portuguese "slave-grown cocoa" shared numerous ties to the crusade against the "Congo Atrocities". [1373] First and foremost, many of those who ended up as contract labourers in São Tomé and Príncipe originated from the poorly-patrolled bordering territories of Angola with Katanga - or Garenganze, as it was then

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T.Jack Thompson Op.cit 2012, p. 230. Guinness had previously run a photographic studio when serving in South America. See Kevin Grant Op.cit. 2005, p.60.

[1371] Though recognising the crucial effect of missionary testimony in the Congo campaign, Kevin Grant emphasises in a recent article that the British missionary societies in the Congo had turned a blind eye to the repression and exploitation of the people of Leopold's domain for many years due to *"their dependence upon the state for security, transportation services, and African labour* […]. "Kevin Grant. Christian Critics of Empire: Missionaries, Lantern Lectures, and the Congo Reform Campaign in Britain. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History,* 29:2, 2012, pp. 27-58.

[1372] Edmund Deane Morel. (1873-1924) After witnessing the imbalance of trade between Belgium and the Congo in his job as a clerk with the Elder Dempster shipping line, Morel wrote a series of articles, anonymously, under the heading "The Congo Scandal" in *The Speaker* in 1900. As the company he worked for was involved in trade, Morel felt obliged to resign his post and became a full-time journalist on the *West Africa* newspaper, later starting the *West African Mail,* a trade paper in 1903. Largely financed by the Liverpool shipper John Holt and by William Cadbury, the illustrated weekly lasted until 1907 when it went bankrupt. It was followed by the more modest *African Mail* which survived until 1917. Morel is best remembered for founding the Congo Reform Association to persuade European governments to take action on human rights abuse in the Congo. He later joined the Liberal Party and, at the outbreak of the First World War, created the Union of Democratic Control with John Burns, Charles Trevelyan and John Morley, with funding from Cadbury, Fry and Rowntree. Over the next four years it became the most important of all the anti-war organizations in Britain. After spending six months in jail in 1917 for sending a UDC pamphlet to a friend in Switzerland, he joined the Independent Labour Party. He was elected Labour member for Dundee in the 1922 Election, defeating the Liberal candidate Winston Churchill.

[1373] *The Times* of September 1st 1909, p.3 publishes an anonymous article (from a correspondent) drawing attention to the **linkage between the Congo and the recruitment of Angolan contract labour for the Cocoa islands**. "Throughout this whole region [SW corner of the Congo, NW corner of NW Rhodesia and the Portuguese Congo] the fear of the slave-hunter is only equalled by the terror of **Bula Matadi** (the Congo Government)."The writer explained that the Congo natives needed guns and powder to defend themselves against the Belgian soldiers and also the 1000 to 2000 rebel soldiers who had been an everyday presence in the region since 1895.The guns and powder could only come through Portuguese territory and could only be bought with ivory, rubber or slaves. (my bold)

known, where groups of marauding rebel soldiers from the Congo Free State systematically raided villages for captives on both sides of the frontier. [1374] There is also a growing body of evidence which points to the probability that the scandal in Portuguese West Africa was used by those who had vested interests in the Congo Free State to draw public attention away from the far more serious wrong-doing across the border.[1375] Moreover, more than a hint of suspicion remains that in June 1905 when William Cadbury became a major financial supporter of both the Congo Reform Association and E.D Morel's *West African Mail*, he was motivated, in part, by the need to divert attention from possible revelations regarding the way the cocoa that his company purchased from São Tomé and Príncipe was produced. [1376]

Furthermore, a number of the leading figures in the Congo Reform Association (CRA) and the British anti-slavery societies became activists in the "Portuguese slave-grown

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[1374] In fact, Dilke, himself, pointed out the link between slave-raiding in the Congo and São Tomé in a speech to the Commons shortly before the Congo Free State ceased to exist. **"[…] As a result of the captures which had taken place by thousands of revolted troops who carried on slave raiding and the sale of slaves, a stream of slaves continually passed to Portuguese possessions on the islands of San Thomé and Príncipe.[…]"** Hansard. House of Commons Debate. July 27th 1908, vol. 193 cc 939-88. (my bold) See also J.B.Thornhill's account of his experiences as a mining engineer in Katanga between 1905 and 1907 for further evidence of slave-raiding between the Congo and Angola. J.B. Thornhill *Adventures in Africa, under the British, Belgian and Portuguese Flags* E. P. Dutton and Company, New York. 1915 [Chapter xi is entitled "Portuguese Slavery in Angola."]

[1375] Sir Alfred Jones, for example, a shipping magnate and an Honorary Consul of Leopold II's Congo Free State, who actively promoted the campaign against the contract labour system in his capacity as President of the powerful Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. See "The Congo State" *The Times* October 22nd 1907, p. 11. The article reports on "a dramatic incident" which occurred during the discussion at the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce regarding slavery in Angola and São Tomé. After the representatives of Cadbury's, Rowntrees and Fry's had spoken, John Holt, the Vice President of the African section of the LCC asked : " How can we pose before the world as philanthropists when our President Sir Alfred Jones is not ashamed to exercise the functions of Consul for the Congo State in this city […] the most iniquitous government of modern times, when his steamers are employed in carrying the blood-stained rubber of the Congo to Antwerp, and when his influence and power have been secretly and openly used at every step to hinder the progress of the movement in this country for the freedom of trade in accordance with the Act of Berlin and for the rights and liberties of the Congo natives? **The Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool is debarred from taking any effective action for the protection of the natives of Angola so long as the Consul for the Congo State in Liverpool is its President. We cannot pose as philanthropists in Angola or condemn the iniquities of the Portuguese whilst we are willing to condone an infinitely greater evil in the Congo State** where, too, we have treaty rights and obligations which we can enforce respect for whenever we choose to do so."(my bold). Significantly, Holt's speech had been written by E.D.Morel.

[1376] [William Cadbury's] **"machinations [...] deftly exploited the humanitarian campaign against the Congo Free State to distract attention from his company's own slavery scandal in West Africa."** Kevin Grant. Op.cit. 2005, p.111. (my bold) . In June 1905, William Cadbury contributed the huge sum of £1000 to the CRA, which was over 10% of its whole budget, and from then on for two years he effectively financed Morel's *West African Mail.* See also Dean Pavlakis. *British Humanitarianism and the Congo Reform Movement 1896-1913.* Routledge, London and New York: 2015, especially Table 4.1, pp. 107-108. Pavlakis cites Cadbury to Morel, December 6th 1905. See Morel Papers, LSE. F8 File 12:15 and Cadbury to Beauchamp, December 12th 1905. Morel Papers, LSE. F8 File 12:16.

cocoa" campaign, which, significantly, would only gain full momentum as the Congo crusade finally began to achieve its goals. Indeed, the decisive role of one of the principal bearers of the "burning torch" and the camera, first in the Congo and later in Portuguese West Africa has only recently been fully acknowledged.



Figure 4.5. "Alice Seeley Harris with a group of children in the Congo Free State" c.1904. Photo by John H.Harris? Anti-Slavery International.

This was Alice Seeley Harris,[1377] the wife of Rev. John H. Harris, who were missionaries with the Congo and Balolo Mission between 1896 and 1905. [1378] It would be a mistake, therefore, to dismiss the obvious links between the two campaigns as the fruit of

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[1377] Alice Seeley Harris (1870-1970) Missionary, antislavery campaigner.

[1378] This was largely due to the fact that, in Victorian and Edwardian times it was customary for women and, in particular, those who were married, to play a discreet role in public affairs, often allowing their husbands to take the credit for their efforts. Rev. (later Sir) John H. Harris was Organising Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society until 1941. After 1906 Alice Harris played an active role in the Society and gave many lectures both at home and abroad.

See **Figure 4.5.** This carefully-staged photograph is a classic visual cliché showing the white-clothed missionary in the midst of her tiny, naked black protegés. She "is" Purity, She "is" the Light - they "are" Darkness. The subtext, of course, was that so many could be helped by so few, given militance, divine assistance and a small financial contribution.

On this metaphorical contrast between light and darkness, and the central figure of the missionary, Christraud Geary notes: " […] Frequently the missionary or a missionary sister dominates the Africans from a privileged position by standing in the center of or towering over a group of students, or by being seated, surrounded by missionary pupils. This common iconographic convention reinforces the centrality of the missionary, the hierarchy between the knowing and the unknowing, and thus the ultimate superiority of the whites […]" Christraud Geary. "Different Visions? Postcards from Africa by European and African Photographers and Sponsors" in *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards* edited by Christraud Geary and Virginia-Lee Webb. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington: 1998, p.151.

coincidence, particularly as many of the propaganda lessons learned in the Congo were also employed in the struggle against the contract-labour system in Angola and São Tomé, often by the same humanitarian activists.

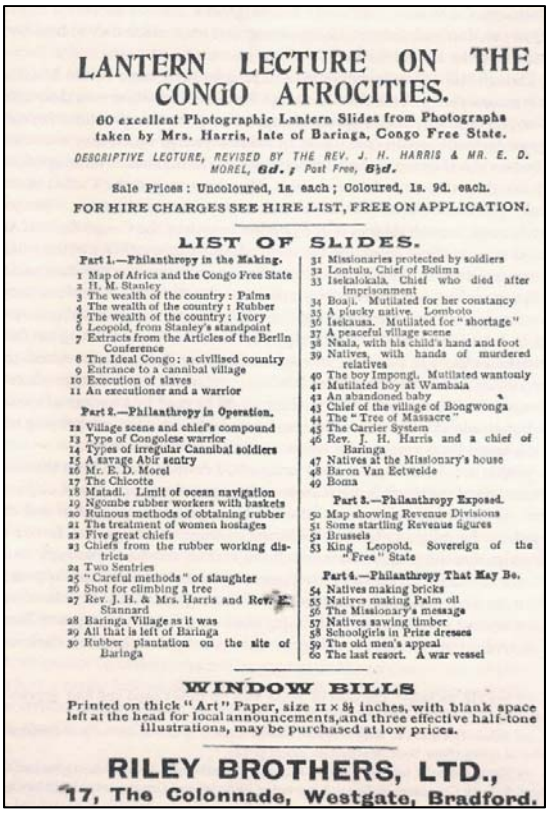
From early on in its existence, Morel's brainchild, the Congo Reform Association, had organised lantern lecture tours across the whole of Britain to drum up support for its campaign. Lectures were usually held in halls belonging to Baptist or Congregationalist chapels, and, from the time that William Cadbury began to support the campaign, in the meeting rooms of the Society of Friends. [1379] No one was more at ease in this field than the Harrises, who became two of the most active members of the Congo Reform Association on their return from the Congo in 1905. In 1906, alone, the Harrises gave over 300 lectures, some of which were attended by as many as 2000 people. [1380] Many of Alice Harris' shocking photographs of the victims of Leopold's local administrators and militia were turned into lantern slides, forming the basis for their lecture tours both at home and abroad, and were also used by E. D. Morel, the founder and prime-mover of the CRA, in his own lecture campaign.

Indeed, the success of the "Congo Atrocities" lantern lectures was so great at one point that it became impossible to respond to the multitude of requests from around the country and it was decided to produce a scripted lecture [1381] "revised by the Rev. J. H. Harris and Mr. E. D. Morel" and accompanied by a collection of sixty slides, hand-coloured if required, to enable illustrated talks to be given by local campaigners.

[1379] The first meeting of Quakers that John H. Harris addressed was the Society of Friends' Meeting for Sufferings in October, 1905. See Kevin Grant *A Civilised Savagery: Britain and the New Slaveries in Africa 1880-1926*. New York: Routledge, 2005, p.67.

[1380] Idem., p.71. At this time the Harrises were employed by the Regions Beyond Missionary Union. After the death in 1909 of Henry Fox Bourne, the uncompromising secretary of the Aborigine's Protection Society(APS), John H. Harris became the Organising Secretary and prime mover of the newly-amalgamated APS and the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, providing a platform for his philanthropic activities and allowing him to become one of the principal thorns-in-the-side of the Portuguese authorities and the São Tomé cocoa planters.

[1381] Scripts and posters to accompany lantern slide lectures were also sold. See Thompson, Op.cit. 2005 p.232. An exhibition based on the Harris Collection of Congo Atrocity slides, entitled *Brutal Exposure: The Congo* was held by the International Slavery Museum, Liverpool in 2015.
See **Figure 4.7** The same montage of photographs was published in Twain's pamphlet, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*. Seven Seas, Berlin, GDR: 1961. Between pps. 56-58.
It should be noted, however, that the authorship of certain "atrocity" photographs previously attributed to Alice Harris or W.D. Armstrong has recently been disputed by the Brethren Historian Olí Jacobsen who argues that several were taken by the Faroese missionary Daniel J. Danielsen who accompanied Roger Casement on his journey up the river Congo in 1903. Danielsen returned to the Faroe Is. in 1904 and took no further part in the Congo campaign. See Olí Jacobsen. Op.cit. 2014, p.101.



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LIST OF SLIDES.

Part 1.—Philanthropy in the Making.

1 Map of Africa and the Congo Free State
2 H. M. Stanley
3 The wealth of the country: Palms
4 The wealth of the country: Rubber
5 The wealth of the country: Ivory
6 Leopold, from Stanley's standpoint
7 Extracts from the Articles of the Berlin Conference
8 The Ideal Congo: a civilised country
9 Entrance to a cannibal village
10 Execution of slaves
11 An executioner and a warrior

Part 2.—Philanthropy in Operation.

12 Village scene and chief's compound
13 Type of Congolese warrior
14 Types of irregular Cannibal soldiers
15 A savage Abir sentry
16 Mr. E. D. Morel
17 The Chicotte
18 Matadi. Limit of ocean navigation
19 Ngombe rubber workers with baskets
20 Ruinous methods of obtaining rubber
21 The treatment of women hostages
22 Five great chiefs
23 Chiefs from the rubber working districts
24 Two Sentries
25 "Careful methods" of slaughter
26 Shot for climbing a tree
27 Rev. J. H. & Mrs. Harris and Rev. E. Stannard
28 Baringa Village as it was
29 All that is left of Baringa
30 Rubber plantation on the site of Baringa
31 Missionaries protected by soldiers
32 Lontulu, Chief of Bolima
33 Isekalokala. Chief who died after imprisonment
34 Boali. Mutilated for her constancy
35 A plucky native. Lomboto
36 Isekausa. Mutilated for "shortage"
37 A peaceful village scene
38 Naala, with his child's hand and foot
39 Natives, with hands of murdered relatives
40 The boy Impongi. Mutilated wantonly
41 Mutilated boy at Wambala
42 An abandoned baby
43 Chief of the village of Bongwonga
44 The "Tree of Massacre"
45 The Carrier System
46 Rev. J. H. Harris and a chief of Baringa
47 Natives at the Missionary's house
48 Baron Van Eetvelde
49 Boma

Part 3.—Philanthropy Exposed.

50 Map showing Revenue Divisions
51 Some startling Revenue figures
52 Brussels
53 King Leopold. Sovereign of the "Free" State

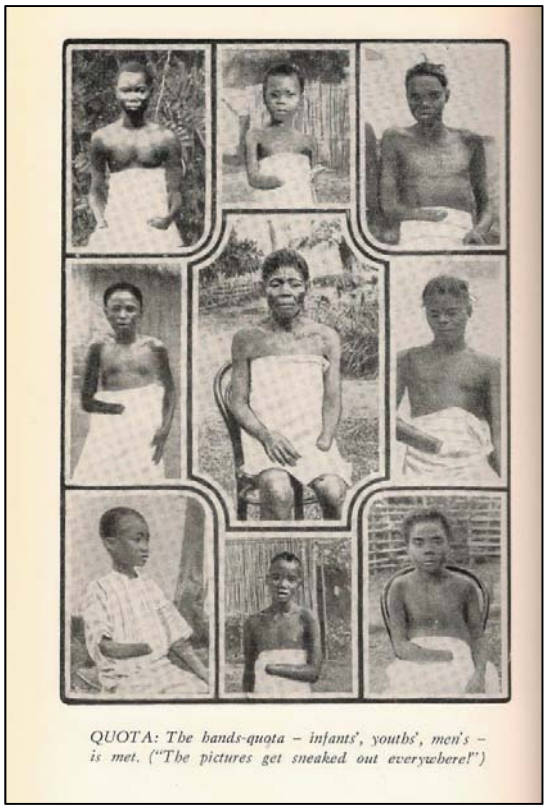
Part 4.—Philanthropy That May Be.

54 Natives making bricks
55 Natives making Palm oil
56 The Missionary's message
57 Natives sawing timber
58 Schoolgirls in Prize dresses
59 The old men's appeal
60 The last resort. A war vessel

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QUOTA: The hands-quota – infants', youths', men's – is met. ("The pictures get sneaked out everywhere!")

Figure 4.6. (Left) Advertisement for "Congo Atrocity" Lantern slides. c. 1906. **Figure 4.7.** (Right) "Quota". Photographs of atrocities committed in Leopold II's Congo Free State.

Several of the same pictures which appeared in the slides also featured prominently in Morel's weekly, the *West African Mail* [1382] and were used as illustrations in his crushing exposé *King Leopold's Rule in Africa.* [1383] They also illustrated the second edition of Mark Twain's corrosive satire *King Leopold's Soliloquy* [1384] and Conan Doyle's *Crime of the Congo.*[1385] So great, in fact, was public interest in the scandal in America that in December 1906, the *New York American* newspaper ran a series of articles on the Congo atrocities over a full week, illustrated by Alice Harris's photographs. Indeed, in Mark Twain's view, photography was of such critical importance in the Congo campaign that his fierce pamphlet included a drawing of Leopold cursing the camera as "the only

[1382] See E. D. Morel. "Consul Casement's report." *West African Mail*. February 19th, 1904. pp 182-8. The photograph of Mola Ekulite is reproduced in this issue.
[1383] Edmund Dene Morel. *King Leopold's Rule in Africa.* Heinemann, London: 1904.
[1384] Mark Twain. *King Leopold's Soliloquy. A Defense of his Congo Rule.* Seven Seas Books, Berlin: 1961. Between pp.56-7. [First Ed. P. R.Warren Co., Boston: 1905]
[1385] Arthur Conan Doyle. *Crime of the Congo*. Hutchinson & Co., London: 1909.

witness [I] could not bribe", and, in a further tribute to the exposé pictures taken by missionaries, he placed the following begrudging admission in Leopold's mouth:

> The Kodak has been a sore calamity to us. The most powerful enemy that has confronted us, indeed. […] Every Yankee missionary […] sent home and got one, and now-oh, well, the pictures get sneaked around everywhere, in spite of all we can do to ferret them out and suppress them. […] Ten thousand pulpits and ten thousand presses are saying the good word for me all the time and placidly and convincingly denying the mutilations. Then that trivial little Kodak that a child can carry in its pocket, gets up, uttering never a word, and knocks them dumb. [1386]

The "incorruptible Kodak" as Twain calls it, ventriloquising once again through Leopold's lips, had become a powerful weapon in the hands of the King's adversaries and photography would be used by the Harrises again, if to less spectacular effect, after the Congo campaign had achieved its first major successes and they began to turn their attention to Angola and São Tomé. The missionary couple, who had spent 5 years at Baringa, in the heart of the rubber-collecting country where the vast majority of the atrocities were committed, would later serve for a short period as joint Organising Secretaries of the London CRA before becoming leading actors in the philanthropic campaign against forced labour in Portuguese West Africa. [1387]

Contrary to the generally-accepted version, however, it appears that at least one of the cameras Alice Harris used in the Congo was not Twain's "trivial little Kodak",[1388] but a cumbersome machine which may have needed to be mounted on a tripod. Confirmation of the fact is provided by a report published in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* a few years after her Congo pictures were taken. In the report, the Harrises describe some of the setbacks

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[1386] Mark Twain, Op.cit, 1961, p.69.

[1387] The Harrises were employees of Regions Beyond, Grattan Guinness's missionary organisation, until September 1908, when their salaries, as joint Organising Secretaries of the London branch of the Congo Reform Association, began to be paid by the CRA. From 1910 onwards Harris became Organising Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. He later became a Liberal politician and served for a time in Parliament, but would retain his role in the Anti-Slavery Society for over four decades, receiving a knighthood in 1933 for his services to the AS and APS.
Harris was interviewed in the context of the Congo Campaign by W.T.Stead, the well-known editor of *The Review of Reviews* in September 1905. The interview, entitled "Ought King Leopold to be Hanged?" was published as an appendix in Mark Twain's "*Soliloquy*."

[1388] However, there is a photograph of Alice Harris in the Rhodes House Anti-slavery Collection entitled "Native sitters- On the banks of the Kasai" which shows her preparing to take a picture of three Africans in the bush on the 1911 tour, using a hand-held reflex camera, probably using drop-in slides. (possibly a Houghton Klito or similar) The photo is mounted on the same grey card backing and was almost certainly shown in the Royal Colonial Institute exhibition.

they had faced in developing pictures in Africa on their fact-finding tour of 1911, which were not uncommon for those who persisted in using the old-fashioned, gelatin process:

> […] We have secured a large number of photographs. […] On more than one occasion we had to collect the water from the tornados in a sail and strain it through a pocket handkerchief to develop **the plates**. Occasionally carriers would leave **the plates** behind. Sometimes after we had taken great care with our pictures the water would get in and they would be spoiled; at other times the heat would melt the gelatine. […][1389]

The use of this kind of apparatus, which required pre-prepared plates, meant that Alice Harris's photographs were often staged, and it is clear that the pictures of Africans with amputated hands [1390] were skillfully arranged to display what remained of their limbs in stark contrast against a stainless white cloth background. This kind of "creative staging", which probably had been first used in exposé photographs of atrocities in the Congo by the Rev. W. D. Armstrong, their colleague at Baringa, [1391] was, however, common practice amongst photographers at the time, as was the retouching of photographs before publication. [1392] The portrait, below, of John H. Harris, described as a "Witness for the People" in *King Leopold's Soliloquy* is a good example of crude retouching of an image after processing, revealing upon closer scrutiny that Harris's figure is identical to that in the famous photograph of Harris with his fellow missionary, Dr. Edgar Stannard, standing beside three Congolese men who are holding the brutally amputated hands of their murdered friends. [1393]

[1389] The *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigine's Friend*, 2:6 July 1912, p.175.(my bold)

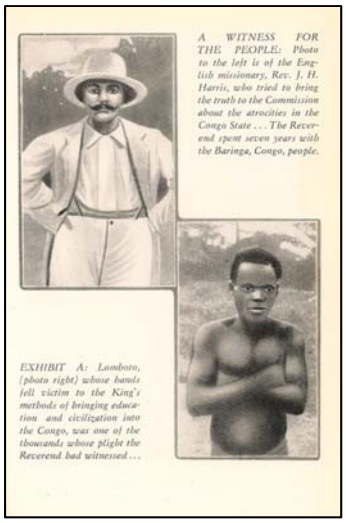
[1390] The practice of cutting off hands was common in the Congo at this time. It was usually carried out by the local militias to account for the number of cartridges used during their rubber collecting expeditions, but as Thompson has noted, it came to be used increasingly as a means of terrorising the local people into producing more rubber. In T. Jack Thompson *Capturing the Image: African Missionary Photography as Enslavement and Liberation.* Day Associates Lecture. Yale Univ. Divinity School. June 29th 2007, p.2. According to missionary testimony a significant number of the victims were eaten by the soldiers.

[1391] Lengths of white cloth were considered an essential part of the kit of a travelling photographer as they could be used as a contrastive backdrop to focus the attention of the viewer on the subject and eliminate undesired surroundings.

[1392] At this time, the term "manipulation" was employed to describe the process of developing and printing a photograph and did not have a pejorative sense.

[1393] **Figure 4.10.** Illustration from *King Leopold's Soliloquy*.

Figure 4.11. Interestingly, the propaganda value of the "Congo atrocity" photographs was not exhausted by the campaign against Leopold, and they proved to be of use half a century later in another campaign against imperialism. The caption "Witness for the people" is taken from the Seven Seas edition of 1962, printed in the GDR to denounce the recent atrocities in the Belgian Congo where the first democratically elected president, Patrice Lumumba, had been assassinated in a plot orchestrated by the agents of the CIA and the Belgian Secret Service. The photographs taken by Harris appear side by side in this edition with others taken in the Congo in 1960 and 1961.



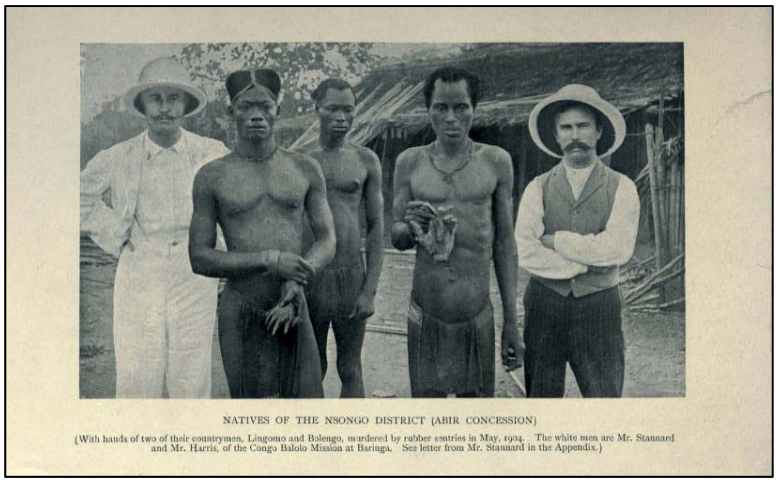


Figure 4.10. (Left) "A Witness for the People" and "Exhibit A". **Figure 4.11.** (Right) "Natives of the Nsongo District (ABIR Concession)" Photographs by Alice Seeley Harris.c.1904

It is possible that the portrait was extracted from the group photo and if this was indeed the case it would be a mistake to view such manipulation as a case of ethical malpractice. It does raise doubts, however, as to how far techniques of this kind were used in other situations and, once again, underlines the fact that, even at this early date, the Kodak, or indeed any other camera, in the hands of an unscrupulous photographer, was far from being an "incorruptible" tool, just as the pictures it produced offered few guarantees of objectivity if they fell into in the hands of a publisher with a disregard for the ethical side of his profession.

Indeed, upon closer examination, the much-reproduced photograph of Harris and Stannard standing at the side of the three Congolese men, shown above, raises suspicions that the missionaries may have been added to the original photograph, using cut-out photomontage techniques, to offer greater credibility. [1394] Stannard, who appears to be closer to the camera than Harris, looks too small, the weak shadows on the faces of the missionaries contrast with those on the bodies of the three Africans, the inner outline of Harris's trousers seems far too sharp and his jacket, which is longer in the other photograph, appears to have been truncated in the process. Stannard, however, wasted no

[1394] The well-known German artist, author and photomontage expert Ernst Volland, co-author with David King of the biography of the artist John Heartfield and co-proprietor of the now-extinct Voller Ernst Photograph Agency in Berlin, has confirmed in correspondence with the author of this dissertation, that he was 95% certain that the photograph in question had been "tampered with".

time in quashing any possible doubts which might have arisen, in a published letter to Dr. Grattan Guinness, head of the Regions Beyond Missionary Union:

> […] Mrs. Harris took a photograph of the men with the hands, and Mr. Harris and I stood in the group, as we thought it would be additional testimony.[…] I am afraid Mr. Harris and I look rather angry in the photo, but I confess that I felt angry. It made my blood boil to think of these things horror upon horror - which are being perpetrated on these persecuted people […].[1395]

At the time Leopold's agents were doing everything in their power to undermine the campaign and were particularly keen to discredit photographic evidence, so that the extract from Stannard's letter needs to be read and understood against the backdrop of this uneasy and constantly changing atmosphere of suspicion and distrust. The fact that a deliberate reference should have been made to a particular photograph was extremely unusual, however, and remains open to different interpretations.[1396]

One of Alice Harris's best-known "atrocity photographs", which is illustrated below, was taken in May 1904 and shows a Congolese man staring at the amputated hands of his daughter, supposedly after she had been murdered by ABIR sentries. It was reproduced in a number of publications,[1397] including Twain's "*Soliloquy*" and it was one of the principal photographs which were contested in a pamphlet entitled "*An Answer to Mark Twain*", which was published in Belgium in July 1907. [1398] Quoting the Commission of Enquiry which had been set up by Leopold II to examine accusations of human rights abuses, the anonymous writer of the pamphlet states that the Commission had concluded that the "[…] native committed the mutilation himself [because] the natives who desire to furnish a tangible proof of the death of one of their number and who cannot or will not

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[1395] Letter from E. Stannard to Dr. Grattan Guiness. May 21st 1904. Quoted in full in E.D.Morel, *King Leopold's Rule in Africa.* p. 447. The photograph itself is reproduced on p.49.

[1396] According to the website of the late Jim Zwick, "Kodak versus the King" [www.boondocksnet.com] which is no longer online, it was, in fact, the Congolese men in the photograph who had cut off their friends' hands as proof they had been killed by the rubber company's militia. After learning this, the missionaries became reluctant to use the photograph in later publications. See T. Jack Thomson, Op.cit. 2012, p.205. The doubts surrounding this image are a further caution against the risk of taking the apparent authenticity of any "exposé" photograph for granted, even at this early juncture.

[1397] The photograph was made into a lantern slide, no.38, in the "Congo Atrocities" series. The Anglo-Belgian India Rubber Company (ABIR) exploited a concession in the Congo for the extraction of natural rubber, extending over hundreds of kilometres.

[1398] Anon. *An Answer to Mark Twain.* Bulens Bros. Brussels: July 1907, p.44.

produce the dead body itself are still accustomed to exhibit [sic] the hands or the feet of the deceased."



Figure 4.8. Photograph by Alice Seeley Harris. "Nsala looking at the mutilated hand and foot of his daughter." 1904

The truth of the matter is still disputed today, but it seems to have been only one instance of many.[1399]

Photographs were also used by the supporters of the colonial regime in the Congo to offer "documental" proof of the benevolent treatment of the indigenous population and the efforts of Catholic missionaries and sisters to teach rudimentary skills to their protégés, just as they would be used later in vindications of the Portuguese contract-labour system. The following example, which shows a carpentry school for boys and a sewing school for girls would have been seen, at the time, as evidence that the regime was carrying out its duties of responsible colonial "trusteeship".

[1399] The far-reaching impact of such photographs can be judged from an excerpt taken from an article entitled "The Kodak on the Congo" on page 14 in the Adelaide, Australia newspaper *The Advertiser* for October 21st 1905: "[…] if any doubt lingers in any mind [concerning the Congo atrocities] it will be annihilated by the appalling series of photographs which appear in a recent issue of the *West African Mail*. They are photographs taken by Mrs. Harris, the wife of Rev. J. H. Harris. **Now the Kodak cannot lie** and these photographs place beyond any question the fact that the Congo Free State is a hell of horrors which cry for immediate vengeance at the hands of Europe […]" (my bold).

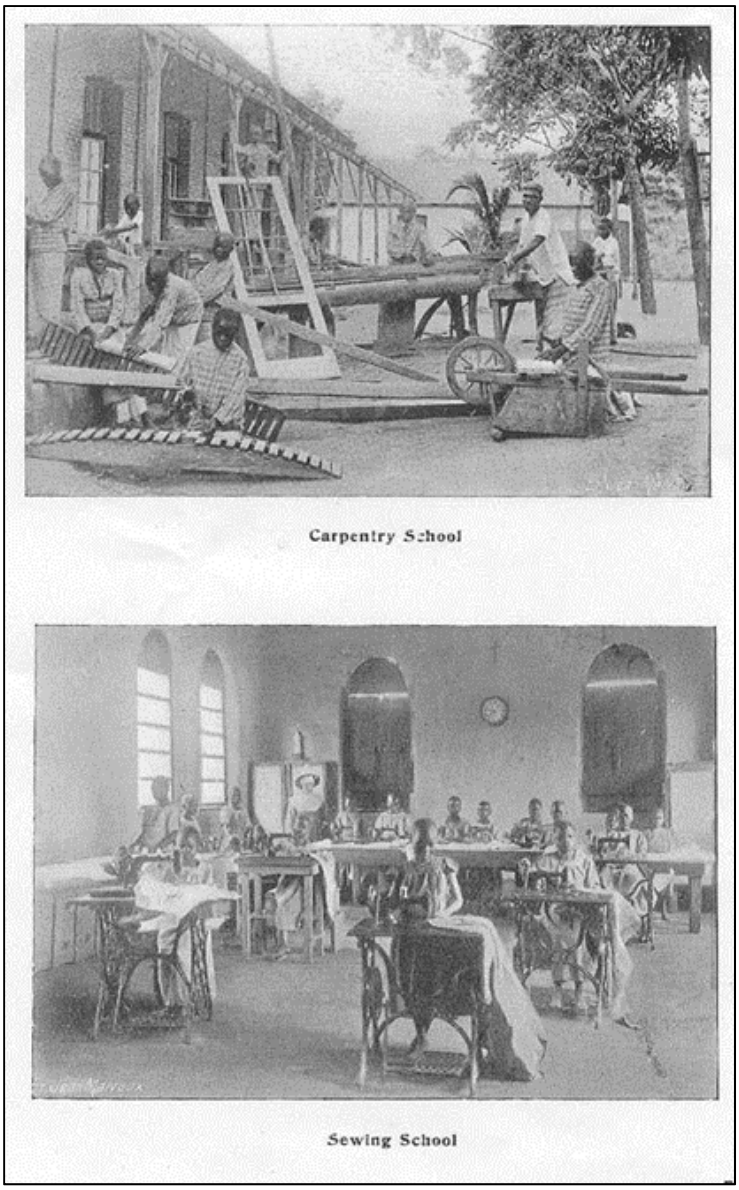


Figure 4.9 A page from *An Answer to Mark Twain*. Photographs by Jean Malvaux. c.1906

An example of the sophisticated propaganda techniques which were used to debunk what was supposedly an "atrocity" photograph from the Congo campaign appears at the close of the previously-mentioned anonymous pamphlet "*An Answer to Mark Twain*". Two photographs are juxtaposed to show how the original image had allegedly been manipulated. The upper image, which appears in the reproduction below, shows two women who are apparently busily engaged in making cooking pots with clay. The caption reads "Potters at Work in the Congo", but there is no indication of its origin, authorship, place or date.The image beneath it seems to have been based on the same negative and appears to have been skillfully doctored in the darkroom to replace the cooking pots with skulls. It is labelled "the Same Photo at Liverpool", clearly to suggest that the

unscrupulous manipulation of the image was carried out on Morel's instructions. [1400] The suggestion is, of course, that if one image could be manipulated in this way, there is no reason to trust any such photograph "from Liverpool". Once again there is no indication of where and when the image appeared, if at all, nor in what context. Indeed there is no claim whatsoever to it ever having been used. It is left to the reader to draw his or her own conclusions.

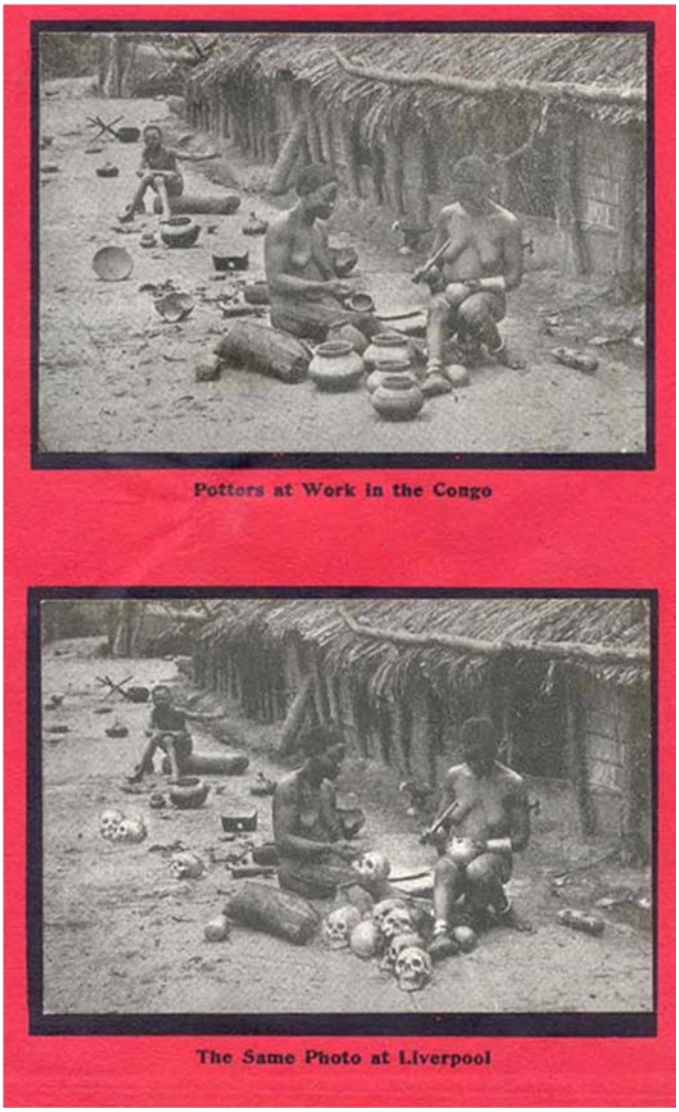


Figure 4.12. Inside Cover of "*An Answer to Mark Twain*". 1907.

Morel and Harris went their own ways once the Congo campaign had achieved its first successes, and as they had never seen eye to eye regarding either the final objectives or the strategy of the campaign, it was undoubtedly a relief to both of them when their paths

[1400] A broad hint at Morel's *West African Mail*, published in Liverpool.

diverged. [1401] Morel's strategy was based on the idea that improvements to the "native's lot" would only be achieved if philanthropy and business worked hand in hand together, supported by by the efforts of "expert journalists" like himself. [1402] Morel, who had begun to campaign against the Congo system whilst employed as a clerk in a Liverpool shipping firm, advocated that the indigenous peoples of Africa should be allowed to pursue their own cultural traditions and methods of agricultural production, and that the key to progress was free trade and "a good deal of patience", comparatively liberal ideas for the time, which had first been aired by Mary Kingsley. [1403] These so-called "Third party" ideas, which, despite their well-meaning inspiration, were evidently paternalistic and ultimately racist, were shared by fellow CRA activist John Holt, [1404] a leading Liverpool shipper, and by William Cadbury, himself, and were a major factor in Cadbury Bros.' decision to transfer their cocoa purchases to British West Africa in 1909.[1405]

Harris, on the other hand, was of the view, at that time at least, that only religious salvation could put the Africans on the right path towards civilisation and that the role of the missionary was indispensable in "opening up the Dark Continent", an idea that Morel

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[1401] "We want to convert not only the religious people, but hard-headed men of the world. Now nothing, rightly or wrongly, acts upon such men as a greater deterrent than the feeling that "religious fervour" or missionary enthusiasm is the controlling motive." E.D.Morel to Guinness, February 5th, 1904. Morel Papers LSE. Quoted by Ruth Slade in "English Missionaries and the beginning of the Anti-Congolese Campaign in England." *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire.* Vol. 33 No.1, 1955, p.71. (footnote).

[1402] "This is a subject in which philanthropy and practicability go hand in hand[…] the link between them is the expert journalist […]There is the added strength the alliance which the commercial element gives[…] the problem is international not local." E.D.Morel to Guinness. November 24th 1902. Morel Papers LSE. See Ruth Slade Op.cit., p. 49. (footnote).

[1403] Mary Kingsley. (1862-1900) British explorer and ethnographic writer. She died nursing Boer women and children, victims of the war, in a British concentration camp at Simonstown, Cape Province.

[1404] John Holt was a great supporter of E.D.Morel and although he stopped supporting the CRA financially after 1907, he continued to fund Morel and his activities. See Dean Pavlakis Op.cit 2015, p.112. Grant also includes Roger Casement and Fox Bourne as supporters of a non-sectarian approach to human rights, which trusted free trade and commerce to bring improvements. See Kevin Grant Op.cit. 2005, pp. 62-63.

[1405] The term was publicised by Morel. See E. D. Morel, *Nigeria: its peoples and its problems.* Smith, Elder and Co., London: 1911, pp. X-XIX. John Holt had already used the expression, however, in his letters to Mary Kingsley and to Morel. According to Kenneth Nworah such "third party" ideas grew in opposition to the two prevailing schools of thought at the turn of the century: "The ordinary British public believed that the greatest curse of Africa, and the greatest obstacle to its progress, was «the unspeakable» and «unconquerable» aversion to regular work in the African. Therefore, any attempt to place this so-called lazy and useless creature on an equality with the white man was doomed to miserable failure. At the other extreme was the traditional philanthropic and missionary school, which sought to lift up the Negro in the plane of civilization by divesting him of his natural habits and mores." Kenneth Dike Nworah. "The Liverpool «Sect» and British West African Policy (1895-1915)". In *African Affairs,* Vol. 70, No. 281. Oct. 1971, p. 349.
Cooper criticises the absence of an adequate economic foundation to the ideas of the group: "the deeper questions of the peculiar nature of capitalistic economic rationality and the difficulties of transporting it to Africa lay unexamined." Frederick Cooper. *Conditions analogous to Slavery: Imperialism and Free Labour Ideology in Africa.* In Cooper, Holt and Scott *Beyond Slavery.*Univ. N. Carolina, Chapel Hill: 2000, p.130.

abhorred.[1406] Like Héli Chatelain and other Protestant missionaries, the Harrises' personal crusade against forced labour in the neighbouring Portuguese territories was, to a great extent, therefore, the prosecution and extension of their long-term missionary ambitions for the whole of Central Africa.[1407] Indeed, as I have attempted to show, the lessons learned in the Congo campaign regarding the exploitation of photographic images, and lantern slides in particular, were put to good use in the struggle, which followed closely in its wake, against the vicissitudes of the contract-labour system. [1408]

Amongst the slides which form part of the John H. Harris collection, held in the Anti-Slavery Society archives at Rhodes House in Oxford, [1409] a significant number were used by the Harrises in their campaign against what became known as "Portuguese slave-grown cocoa." Unlike the "Congo Atrocities" slides, however, which are now relatively easy to identify and situate due to the existence of the list of lantern slides which were available for purchase from the Congo Reform Association, those which have a specific link with the campaign against contract labour are fewer in number and more difficult to

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[1406] The sale of the Congo Free State to Belgium in November 1908 marked the end of the principal phase of the struggle, but the lectures and fund-raising continued until the Congo campaign formally ended in June 1913 with the final meeting of the CRA in Liverpool. William Cadbury was amongst the principal financial supporters of the CRA until 1913, and of Morel's later political and humanitarian activities.

[1407] The British Anti-slavery societies were essentially founded and manned by Protestants, many of whom were non-conformists and there was undoubtedly a common, if unspoken, element of anti-Catholicism in the two campaigns. Interestingly, John H. Harris, himself, became a Quaker in 1916 and ran successfully for Parliament as a "Free Trade Liberal" in the 1922 General Election, campaigning for equal voting rights for women.

Kevin Grant emphasises the contribution of missionary lantern-slide lectures to the success of the Congo campaign: "The success of missionaries in the Congo reform campaign suggests that evangelical Christianity, rather than radicalism, remained the predominant force in the humanitarian politics of empire in Britain in the early twentieth century." In Kevin Grant. "Christian critics of empire: Missionaries, lantern lectures, and the Congo reform campaign in Britain." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 29: 2, 2001, p. 29.

[1408] "[…] these lectures took the form of phantasmagoric theatrical productions; the missionaries appealed to a mythic ideal of universal human dignity, and ultimately used the Congo crisis **to promote their respective ambitions for central Africa**." Sharon Sliwinski. "The Childhood of Human Rights: The Kodak on the Congo." *Journal of Visual Culture.* December 2006, vol. 5. Issue 3, p.335. (my bold)

[1409] Unfortunately, the arrangement of the eight hundred or so slides, which range chronologically from the 1890s to the 1930s and geographically from Central Africa to China, quite clearly bears little relationship to the sequence in which they were originally used. A number were probably used by others. The difficulty in reconstructing the content and sequence of the Harrises' lantern-slide lectures on Portuguese Slavery can be evaluated from the example of two consecutive slides which were originally kept in the largest, unmarked wooden box - slide no.53 is a map of the Congo whilst slide no.54 was entitled "From Greenland's icy mountains". An official description read: "[…] Many of the slides have been made from the glass negatives, but there are also older slides, generally topographical, as well as slides giving quotations from speeches and books by prominent anti-slavers. Some slides have been made from drawings, or from photographs of portraits. Most of the slides are monochrome, but some have been tinted. […] About half the slides have some written identification, on the slide mounting under the glass, on a label stuck on the edge of the slide, or even a pencilled note on the passe-partout itself. The latter writing is never easy to read, and is sometimes totally illegible."

place. Consequently, the task of reconstituting the composition and structure of one of the Harrises' lantern lectures on "Portuguese slavery" is problematic. It is possible, however, to formulate a somewhat speculative, working hypothesis regarding the content of such lectures by analysing the Harrises' approach to the Congo lectures and cross-referencing the slides in the collection with the arguments which are put forward in John Harris' writing against the contract-labour system and associated recruitment practices in Angola. [1410]

Many lectures were held in chapel halls or Quaker meeting houses and followed the typical format of the missionary lantern lecture, in which faith and first-hand factual evidence went hand in hand. A meeting against "Portuguese slavery" in a Methodist chapel hall, for example, though it would not have attracted the eager crowds who flocked to see the "Congo Atrocity" lantern lectures, might have been attended by a hundred or more parishioners and friends. Harris would have been introduced by the minister or by a well-known, local humanitarian activist as a courageous former missionary in the Congo and a leading antislavery campaigner. To allow the audience to situate Angola and the cocoa islands, the lecture would probably have begun with a slide showing a sketch map of Africa – "a land of savagery and primitive beliefs which had been «condemned to darkness» for centuries" until Protestant missionaries had finally inaugurated an era of "redemption and light." [1411]

Certain of the lantern slides suggest that Harris might then have made a brief reference to the history of the Atlantic slave-trade and the inspiring example of the great abolitionists of the past, or "Heroes of the Slave Trade Abolition"- as he called them, such as David Livingstone, William Wilberforce or Abraham Lincoln (particularly for American audiences).[1412] The stage would thus have been set for Harris himself to be seen by his audience as the bearer of the "burning torch" which had been passed down by these famous crusaders of the past, whilst the Portuguese contract-labour system could be presented as an anachronistic survival of the reprehensible practices of days-gone-by.

[1410] Further research may one day produce a script of a "Portuguese slavery" lecture, which would be a welcome contribution towards a better understanding of exactly how the slides were presented. It is interesting to note that it was Alice Harris who wrote the Congo lectures for the CRA campaign, however.
[1411] Harris Collection. Slide no. 81. Outline of Africa, with a quotation beginning "This is a land of night"
[1412] For example, Slides no.225. Heroes of the Slave Trade Abolition; no.226. John Wesley writing to Wilberforce on his deathbed; no.227 Monument to William Wilberforce; no.228 David Livingstone or no. 669, Abraham Lincoln.

Time permitting, slides of the "slave's story" might be shown, beginning with the simple existence of the "free native" in his village; [1413] his capture by renegades and sale to a "half-cast" Portuguese recruiting agent; the caravan of captives and the forced march from the interior to the coast; the shackles and skeletons strewn along the way,[1414] ending with his arrival at the *"*slave quarters at Catumbella" and the "registration house for slaves at Benguella." [1415] As photographs of certain aspects of the "story" would not have been available - slave-raiding along the frontiers of Angola, for instance - Harris, in line with time-honoured practice, might have used vivid artist's impressions to fill in the gaps in the visual narrative.





Figure 4.13 (Left) Slide based on an engraved drawing. "Slave Raid." **Figure 4.14** (Right) Slide based on an engraved drawing. "Africans enslaved and force marched to the coast." Both Harris Collection. ASI.

Such slides show "slaves roped together" [1416] or a missionary challenging a white slave-trader who was flogging a captive, [1417] whilst the capture of the future slave and his march to the coast would be inspired by engravings from half a century earlier. [1418] At some

[1413] A number of slides in the collection show indigenous people in "Africa"going about their daily business. For example, slide no.298. African village. Painted. Or slide no. 580. African family by rudimentary hut.
[1414] Surprisingly, however, none of Swan's remarkable photographs appear in the Harris slide collection.
[1415] Slides no.535 Slave quarters, Catumbella, 1912; and no. 521. Registration house for slaves at Benguella, Angola.
[1416] Slide no. 276. Slaves roped together. Painted, marked "Damaged".
[1417] Slide no. 273 Drawing of a white man threatening another with a gun, slave tied to a tree, whip lying on the ground.
[1418] **Figure 4.13** Slide no. 246. **Figure 4.14** Harris Anti-slavery Collection. Courtesy ASI. The fact that capture of the future slaves in the first slide was apparently being carried out by Arab dealers and that the artist had portrayed the victims wearing feathered head dresses more appropriate for native-Americans, would very probably have been imperceptible to the audience in the few seconds in which the slide was on the screen.

stage in the lecture, a slide would have been presented showing wooden restraining shackles, like the one below.



Figure 4.15 Lantern slide from the Harris Antislavery collection showing wooden shackles collected in Angola. Courtesy Anti-Slavery International .The origin of the photograph is unknown.

In the discourse of humanitarian activists, the wooden shackle had become the iconic symbol of the campaign against the Portuguese contract-labour system, an eloquent substitute for the atrocity photographs which had been so successful in attracting audiences during the Congo struggle. As in Joseph Burtt's lectures, the slide would be accompanied by the actual presence of a wooden shackle, and also a "chicotte", which could be examined by the members of the audience. [1419] After their West African tour, photographs taken by Alice Harris would have been projected to provide first-hand evidence that the "slave trade" still survived in Angola and São Tomé. Such slides showed the landing stage where the "slaves" disembarked, the entrance to a plantation, "slaves" at work, and the cemetery where "the slave" ended his days.

[1419] In a recently published book Alice Harris describes their dramatic approach to lectures for the CRA in 1905-6: "[…]we took turns speaking, sometimes together, on six hundred occasions. **We took our speeches, a chicotte, some shackles and my lantern slides**[…] we would talk about[…] how there must be no shortage of the demand when they returned from work or the Belgian overseer would throw the guilty man on the ground and whip him. **John would then snap the chicotte across the stage as I spoke, slap it down hard across the plank flooring to make my point**.[…] John told them at times the whip was applied to «the most sensitive part of the human frame» […] We became very good at the speaking circuit. **Manipulation is not always a bad thing I decided**." (my bold). Judy Pollard Smith. *Don't call me Lady. The Journey of Lady Alice Seeley Harris.* Abbott Press, Bloomington, Indiana: 2014, pp.104-105.





Figure 4.16. Lantern slide. "Entrance to Cocoa roça, Príncipe." **Figure 4.17.** Lantern slide. "The end of a slave. Body being taken in a sack for burial." Both photos by Alice Seeley Harris, 1912.

The visual narrative undoubtedly told of a journey with no return. [1420]



Figure 4.18. Lantern slide. "Slave gang". Probably taken in Angola or São Tomé in 1912.

The lantern slides, however, like the staged example shown above, which purports to show "a slave gang", bore no comparison to the striking "Congo Atrocity" slides, which some members of the audience would certainly have seen in one of Harris's earlier lectures, and he would have depended on his eloquent oratory and skills of persuasion to achieve the impact he desired. In this photograph the members of the "slave gang" have

[1420] **Figure 4.16.** Slide no. 574, **Figure 4.17.** Slide no. 573.

evidently cooperated with the photographer, who clearly asked them to spread out evenly and to keep still for the camera.[1421]

At some point Harris would undoubtedly have made reference to the chocolate makers' campaign, and the slide, shown to the left below, may have been projected. It shows Cadbury and Burtt and an African helper on their tour of Portuguese West Africa, in 1908, just before the boycott was imposed. [1422]



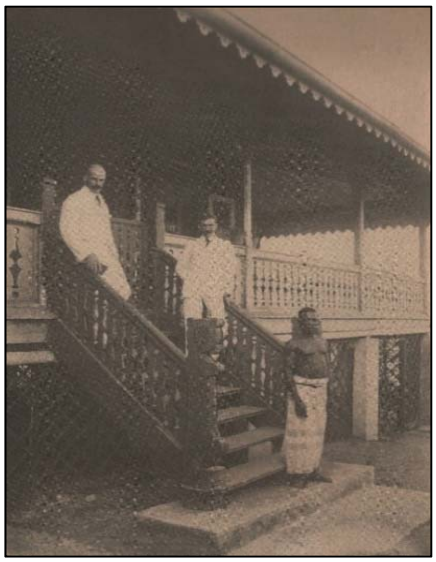


Figure 4.19. (Left) Lantern slide. "Cadbury, Burtt and Bula Matadi". 1908. Harris Collection. **Figure 4.20.** (Right) Illustration. "Cadbury, Burtt and Bula Matadi". Photographer unknown. 1908

Having made his point, Harris would then have emphasised that many Portuguese people were against the system, and a contrast would have been drawn between the impotence of the well-meaning legislators in Lisbon and the collusion of the local military and civilian authorities in the interior of Angola with the agents of the "slave trade". In

[1421] **Figure 4.18** Slide no. 244. Photograph probably taken in Angola by Alice Harris. In this slide, however, which is undated like most of the others, a curved metal structure can be seen in the background which raises questions about its date and origin.

[1422] **Figure 4.19**. Slide no. 497. *Cadbury, Burtt and Bula Matadi*. [Note the hierarchical pose on the stairs.] The original print is one of two held in the Cadbury Papers (CP 308), which were apparently taken in Luanda in January 1908. Catherine Higgs uses an almost identical photograph as the frontispiece to her 2012 book, *Chocolate Islands*. (**Figure 4.20)**. In Higgs' book the African is wearing a "kanga-style" wrap and she refers to the fact that there was a slightly different version in the Cadbury collection where he is shown wearing trousers and a belt. It appears that the slide was made from the second photograph in which the African has removed the wrap, which was presumably donned for the purposes of the photograph. Higgs hints in passing at the different "meanings" of the two photographs. The mystery is further compounded by the nickname attributed to the black man - "Bula Matadi", which means rock-crusher or quarryman in the Kikongo language, and was possibly given to him because of his powerful physique. This was the epithet which was notoriously attributed to Leopold II's cruel Congo administration and, sometimes, by association, to his agent H.M.Stanley.

lectures given after the transfer of cocoa purchases to the British Gold Coast, the slide below with the statistics for cocoa production in West Africa might have been projected, showing how the chocolate-makers' "philanthropic gesture" had succeeded in stimulating the amount of cocoa produced by "free small-holders" in the colony, to the detriment of the plantation-grown cocoa produced in the German Colonies, such as the Cameroons, where cocoa production was organised on plantations along the same lines as in São Tomé and Príncipe.

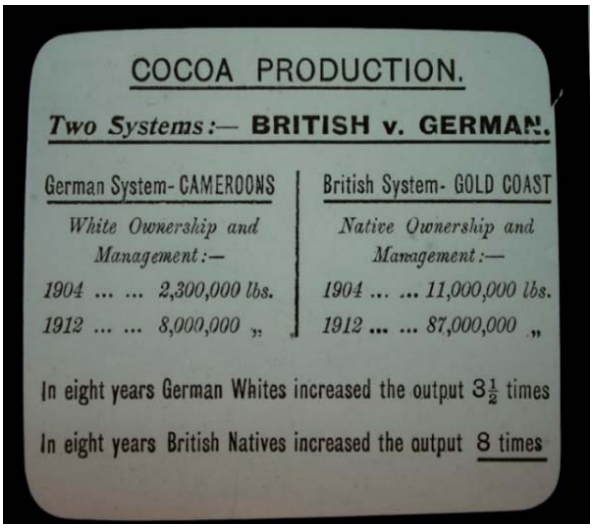


Figure 4.21. Slide comparing the plantation and smallholder systems of cocoa production. Post-1912.

Harris would then have offered his audience his final proof in support of the superiority of the "native smallholder system" to that of the plantation colony - that prosperity came hand-in-hand with better respect for human rights, especially, of course, if it were overseen by a "benevolent and efficient British administration". [1423] The lecture would have reached its climax as Harris focussed on "Britain's responsibility and leadership", reminding his audience of the ancient alliance which obliged Britain to defend Portugal in the event of attack by a foreign power. Arguing that no self-respecting nation could protect a country "which encouraged the slave trade", Harris would then have made a final appeal based on the provisions of the Berlin and Brussels Acts, as in his CRA days,

[1423] **Figure 4.21.** Slide no. 163. [Note: In 1895 the Gold Coast exported only thirteen tons of cocoa, but by 1910 Cadbury's was setting up 'model' plantations and opening buying stations along the developing rail route, effectively diverting the better product from the "open market". In 1911, 40,000 tons of cocoa was exported, revolutionising the country's economy. By 1914 cocoa exports had reached £2,200,000 in value, a colossal sum for the time. Though favouring smallholder cocoa production, Harris, in his role as secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, was, on a number of occasions, critical of labour practices in the British colonies.

offering hope to his audience that with their support, "salvation" could be brought to the victims of "Portuguese slavery" through the pressure of the British Government and the work of missionaries and activists like himself. [1424] A stirring appeal would then have been made to jog the audience's sense of responsibility, and if the circumstances allowed, the talk would have been brought to an end with the communal singing of a rousing hymn to reinforce the inspiring and selfless message of the mission in hand, such as "Rescue the Perishing" or "Come youths in all your vigour", the words of which would be projected on the screen as the plate for financial support was passed around.[1425]

The composition of a lecture for a non-confessional audience, though based on a similar selection of slides, would, evidently have placed its emphasis on the strictly humanitarian and secular side of the anti-slavery struggle.

4.3 Henry Woodd Nevinson's photographs in *Harper's Monthly* and *"A Modern Slavery"*

The campaign against Portuguese contract labour system was launched in the British and American press long before the Congo scandal was over and there were well-founded suspicions that Leopold's supporters were taking advantage of the "slave-grown cocoa campaign" to draw attention away from the situation across the border. Indeed, Morel, himself, who, at one stage, bore the brunt of the CRA's work, complained that the "Portuguese slavery" campaign was diverting public attention at a critical moment from the main issue of the Congo Free State. [1426] Morel, in fact, had even more concerns at the

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[1424] Slide 418. "Britain's Leadership", Quotation from the *Life of Lord Rosebery* by Lord Crewe.
The list of slides in the "Congo Atrocity" collection shows that the last slide (no. 60) was a photograph of a British warship. Harris raised the possibility of resorting to a Royal Navy embargo to force the humanitarian point of view in both the Congo and Angola and may have used the same slide in his "Slave-grown cocoa" lectures. See **figure 4.6**

[1425] Slide no. 299. "Rescue the Perishing" (Hymn) or Slide no. 10. Hymn, verses 3&4, "Come youths in all your vigour".

[1426] On August 4th, 1905, E.D. Morel wrote to William Cadbury confirming that he agreed with Cadbury's strategy to continue buying Portuguese cocoa: "I hope the Portuguese inquiry will not lead people off the Congo State scent; bad as the plantation business may be in the Portuguese Congo, San Thomé etc.; **it is**

time, as in 1905-6 it was hard for British supporters of humanitarian causes to know which way to turn, as the controversy between the Liberals and the Tories over the use of Chinese coolie labour in the Transvaal was already vying for public attention with the campaign against the atrocities in the Congo.[1427]

It was precisely against this background that the "slave-grown cocoa" scandal, which had been smouldering threateningly in humanitarian circles since the 1880's, suddenly burst into flames. This was largely due to the efforts of the British war correspondent and investigative journalist Henry Woodd Nevinson (1856-1941), [1428] who, at the height of the Congo campaign, left for Angola and São Tomé, to report for *Harper's Monthly* magazine on what he later called "dim rumours of slavery". In retrospect, the timing of *Harper's* invitation raises suspicions that Leopold's powerful lobby in the United States may have had a hand in the affair.[1429] By proposing that no less a journalist than Henry Nevinson should undertake an ambitious investigation of this kind when the pressure on Leopold II's colonial administration was at its peak, *Harper's* were undoubtedly aware that a new Pandora's Box would be thrown open, rivalling with and perhaps even partially overshadowing the Congo scandal. [1430] Nevinson not only sought advice from Fox Bourne

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nothing compared with the situation in the Congo State […]" Morel Papers LSE F8 File 11. Quoted in Kevin Grant 2005, p.125.(my bold)

[1427] Imperialist expansion was quickly leading to the intensification of labour exploitation in the colonised areas of the world and its pernicious repercussions were beginning to make themselves felt over the whole of Southern and Central Africa. John Hobson had predicted such consequences just a few years earlier. See John A. Hobson *Imperialism: A Study.* New York: James Pott and Co. 1902. Of particular relevance to this study is Part II, Chapter IV *Imperialism and the Lower Races*. As progressive as Hobson's views were, however, even he was influenced by the racial theories of the day, as the title of the chapter reveals.

[1428] His articles were published as follows: The New Slave-Trade, *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, 111: 663 August 1905. p.341; 111:664 September 1905. p.535; 111:665 October 1905 p.668; 111:666 November 1905. p.849; 112: 667 December 1905 p.114; 112: 668 January 1906. p.237; 113: 669 February 1906 p.26

[1429] On November 3rd 1903, Consul Roger Casement met the American journalist May French-Weldon in São Tomé on his return from Luanda. She told him she was going to the Congo with the blessing of Leopold II and Sir Alfred Jones of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. French-Weldon was the first of several American writers who were paid by Leopold to write favourable reports on the Congo. Amongst them was Henry Wellington Wack, an American lawyer who published a famous vindication of the Congo Free State: Henry Wellington Wack. *The Story of the Congo Free State: Social, Political, and Economic Aspects of the Belgian System of Government in Central Africa.* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London: 1905. Frederick Starr, a Univ. Chicago anthropologist who spent a year in the Congo at Leopold's expense, also wrote a series of articles in the *Chicago Tribune* defending him against the charges of the philanthropists. See Frederick Starr. *The Truth about the Congo: the Chicago Tribune articles*. Forbes and Co. Chicago: 1907. Starr was accompanied by the photographer Manuel Gonzalez whose photographs also appeared in Underwood and Underwood's collection of stereoscopic slides entitled "Congo Natives" (1912).

[1430] See Angela V. John. Op.cit. 2006, p.42. Buxton and Fox Bourne would certainly not have diverted Nevinson from what they saw as one the principal targets of their efforts at this time, but Leopold's lobby was particularly active in the United States and *Harper's* invitation was well-timed, to say the least. It was also odd that Nevinson, though pointing the finger at the relationship between black and white races and

and Travis Buxton of the two British Anti-slavery societies, whom he credited with suggesting he should go to Portuguese West Africa, but also from Emile Torday, the famous Hungarian-born explorer, anthropologist and collector, who had been employed for four years in the Katanga district of the Congo Free State.[1431]

As scrupulous as he undoubtedly was, Nevinson allowed himself to be pointed in the direction of neighbouring Angola, considering, perhaps, that a further journalistic contribution to the Congo campaign was less of a priority at the time.[1432] In truth of fact, at this juncture, Nevinson seems to have had no particular axe to grind as far as Portugal was concerned. In the first of the articles in *Harper's*, which he wrote as he travelled by steamer down the coast of West Africa, stopping briefly at British colonies on the way, Nevinson made it clear that the "ultimate problem of Africa" was the "real relation of the white races to the black races":

> We need not think that it has been settled by a century's noble enthusiasm about the Rights of Man and Equality in the sight of God. […] phrases of that kind have lost their influence and for the men who control the destinies of Africa they have no meaning whatsoever. Neither have they any meaning for the native. He knows perfectly well that the white people do not believe them.[1433]

And writing from British West Africa, where he reported that "within the last three years" slavery of every kind had been declared "at an end forever", [1434] he explained that he saw the Portuguese case merely as the inevitable consequence of the capitalist system:

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capitalism as the driving forces behind the system, clearly avoided drawing the obvious conclusion that the unrest in the Congo was contributing indirectly to the supply of contract labourers for the cocoa islands.

[1431] Torday was employed as a colonial agent in the remote South East of the Congo and then as a representative of the Belgian trading company, the Kasai Company, until 1906. See John Mack. "Documenting the Cultures of Southern Zaire: The Photographs of the Torday Expeditions 1900-1909" *African Arts,* Vol. 24, No. 4, Special Issue: Historical Photographs of Africa (Oct., 1991), p. 60.

[1432] Nevinson's diary records that he received a letter from *Harper's* on 17th September, 1904 **asking him to investigate the slave trade in Africa.** He later wrote: "The journey was undertaken at the suggestion of the editor of *Harper's Monthly Magazine* […] I was guided by the advice of the Aborigines Protection Society and the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of London […]" Henry W. Nevinson. *A Modern Slavery,* 1906. Preface p. xi. (my bold)

[1433] *Harper's Monthly*, 111. August 1905, p.348

[1434] Idem, p.341. Though declared, belatedly, "at an end", practises similar to slavery would survive for many years in the production of cacao on the Gold Coast, where bonded child labour was used for the manual transport of the raw material to the purchasing agent. See Kwabena O. Akurang-Parry **"**The Loads Are Heavier than Usual: Forced Labor by Women and Children in the Central Province, Gold Coast (Colonial Ghana), Ca. 1900-1940" *African Economic History*, No. 30. 2002, pp. 31-51.

> Laws and regulations have been altered. New and respectable names have been invented. But the real issue has hardly changed at all. It has become part of a world-wide issue of capital, but the question of African slavery still abides. [1435]

On arriving in Angola, Nevinson spent the first weeks of his fact-finding expedition trekking into the interior across difficult terrain with his photographic paraphernalia, which included heavy boxes of glass slides. Like all those who followed the trail inland from Benguela across the "Hungry Country", he came across the remains of those who had perished along the way of sickness, exhaustion, thirst or starvation.

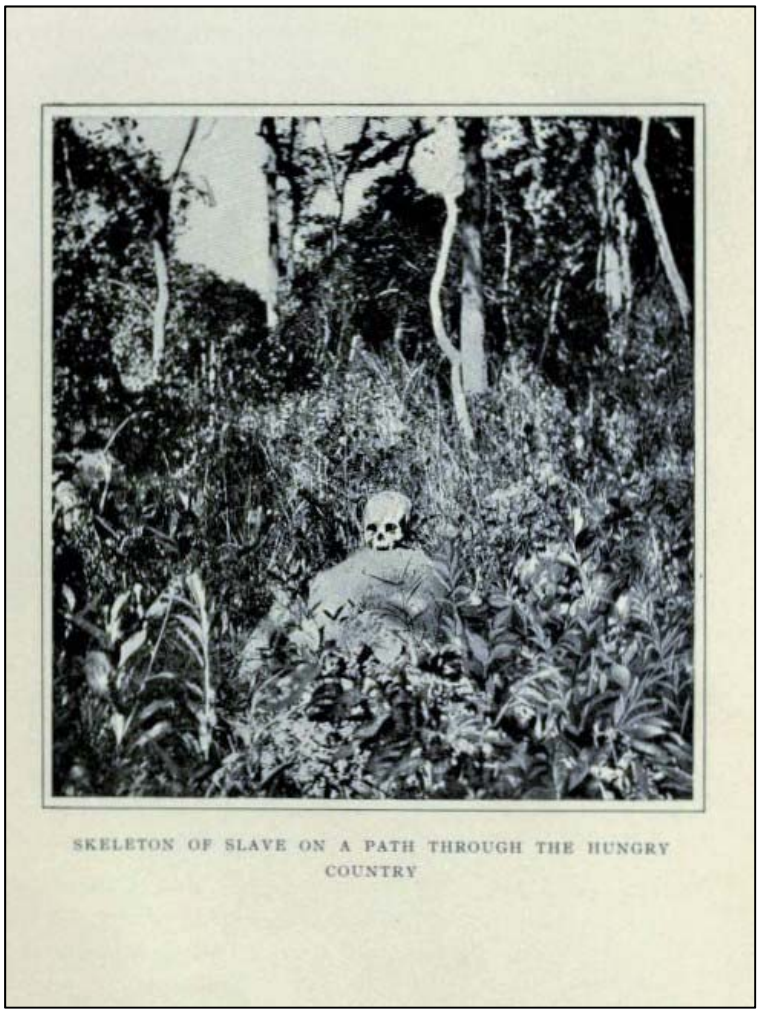


Figure 4.22. "Skeleton of Slave on a path through the Hungry Country". Photo by Henry Nevinson.1904

And though he failed to obtain a picture of a "slave caravan", as he had hoped, two of the photographs, which were entitled "skeleton of a slave on a path through the Hungry

[1435] *Harper's Monthly*, 111. August 1905, p.348.

Country", shown above, and "slave shackles hung on trees", provided a cryptic and persuasive visual metaphor for the forced march of captives from the interior. [1436] Contrasting with the photograph of the skull of the "slave", another of Nevinson's pictures offered an entirely innocuous view of the outskirts of the small town of Catumbela, on the Angolan coast, where the future contract labourers recovered after their long trek from the interior before disembarking from the nearby port of Benguela on their voyage to the cocoa islands.



Figure 4.23. Illustration. "End of the Great Slave Route at Katumbella". Photo Henry Nevinson, 1904.

The empty scene, as captured by Nevinson's camera, provided little if any support to his allegations, notwithstanding the caption which refers to the "great slave route". As bland and peaceful as the place seems to be in the photograph, he describes it as a significant landmark in the captives' odyssey:

> The path ends, vulgarly enough, at an oil lamp in the chief street of Katumbella. Yet it is touched by the tragedy of human suffering. […] down this path within the last three or four years the slaves were openly driven to the coast, shackled, tied together, and beaten along with whips, the trader considering himself fairly fortunate if out of his drove of human beings he brought half alive to the market. [1437]

[1436] **Figure 4.22.** Reproduced in Henry W. Nevinson. Op.cit.1906, p.112. See also **Figure 4.31**
[1437] **Figure 4.23.** *Harper's Monthly* 111. October 1905, p. 671 and *A Modern Slavery.* 1906, p.42.

Many of the other pictures, such as "Slave girl sold for £25" or "Two cannibal slaves bought by an Englishmen" also depended on their captions and the accompanying text to make up for their lack of visual impact, and most of the remaining photographs which illustrated the articles played only a secondary but nevertheless important role in creating atmosphere" or providing visual proof of his travels.[1438] Indeed, the majority of the illustrations were of river crossings, Boer ox-carts, African villages and musical instruments - the ethnographical fare of a geographical magazine rather than the stuff of investigative photo-journalism.

Fortunately for the magazine's readers, Nevinson's eloquent and vitriolic pen, which was by far his most effective weapon, generously compensated for his lack of expertise and good fortune with the camera. In fact, owing to the limited possibilities of the machine Nevinson had taken along or his own lack of skill, it was the snapshots he took with a borrowed, hand-held camera, on the return crossing from Angola to São Tomé, which stand out as the most effective illustrations to his six-month series of articles.[1439]

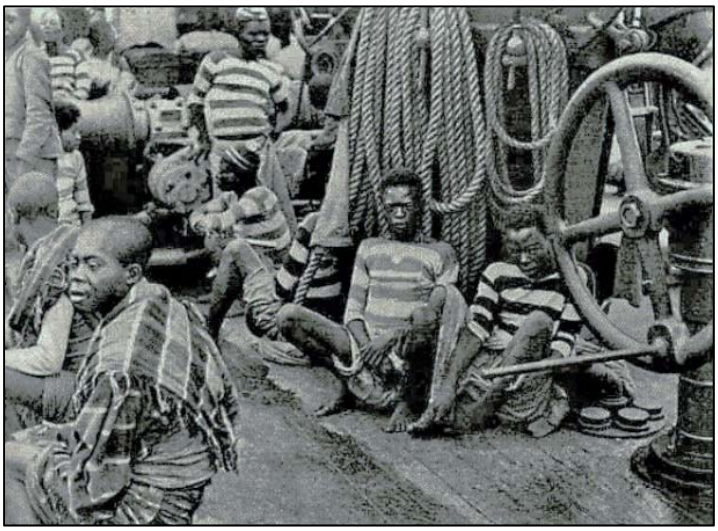
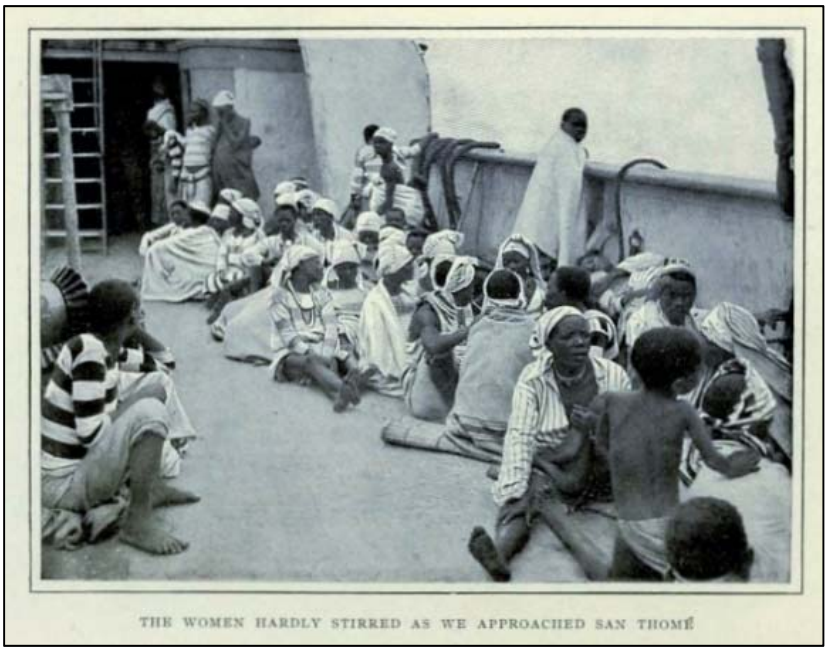


Figure 4.24. "Slaves on ship, wearing tin disk and cylinder". Photo Henry Nevinson, 1905.

[1438] **Figure 4.24.** *Harper's Monthly* 112, December 1905: May 1906 p.239. Reproduced in Angela V. John. Op.cit. 2006, p.49. Angela John comments, somewhat obscurely, that Nevinson's pictures "accompanied by terse captions" helped to counteract his links with "publishing imaginative fiction" and "helped to bolster his credibility". Idem, p.51.

[1439] **Figures 4.25 and 4.26.** The two illustrations are taken from Henry W. Nevinson, The Slave-Trade of To-day, *Harper's Monthly* 112. Part VI. The Slaves at Sea. pp. 237-246 and are also reproduced in *A Modern Slavery* pps, 176 and 182. The photographs were clearly taken with a hand-held camera. In his preface to "*A Modern Slavery*" Nevinson admits that the camera he took with him could have been better chosen: "The illustrations are from photographs taken by myself, but on the mail slave-ship from Benguela to San Thome I had the advantage of borrowing a better camera than my own." *A Modern Slavery.* p.X.

These were close-ups of the future contract labourers in their new striped and checked cotton outfits, huddled together on the deck of the steamer.



THE WOMEN HARDLY STIRRED AS WE APPROACHED SAN THOMÉ

Figure 4.25. Illustration. “The women hardly stirred as we approached S. Thomé”.



"ALL DAY LONG THEY LIE ABOUT THE LOWER DECK"

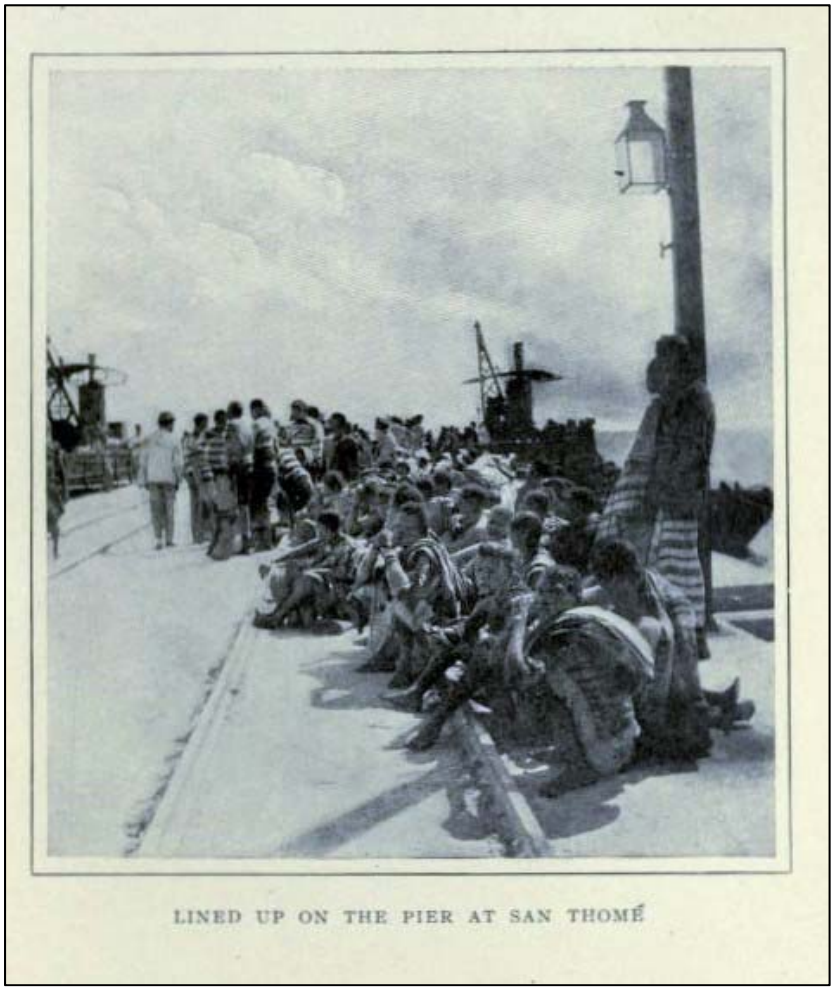
Figure 4.26. Illustration**.** “All day long they lie about the lower deck”. Photos by Henry Nevinson, 1905

Describing the scene below him as he watched from the passenger deck, he writes:

> All day long they lie about the lower deck, among the horses, mules, cattle, sheep, monkeys and other live stock, or they climb up to the fo’c’s’le deck in hopes of getting a little breeze, and it is there that the mothers lie next to their tiny babies. There is nothing to do. Hardly

> anyone speaks, and over the faces of nearly all broods the look of dumb bewilderment of that one sees in cattle crowded into trucks for the slaughter market. […]The first-class passengers, leaning against the rail of the upper deck, look down upon the scene with interest and amusement. To them the slaves represent the secret of Portugal's greatness - such greatness as Portugal has.[1440]

Other photographs in the same series show a group of Angolans lined up along the pier at S. Tomé on their arrival, their backs turned, symbolically, to their land of birth, and later entering the Curator's office to undergo the cursory and, what was to them, quite incomprehensible rigmarole of registration and distribution. [1441]



LINED UP ON THE PIER AT SAN THOMÉ

Figure 4.27. Illustration. "Lined up on the pier at San Thomé". Photo by Henry Nevinson, 1905

In his penultimate article for *Harper's,* which is entitled "The Islands of Doom", Nevinson describes his impressions of the Boa Entrada plantation, "a show-place for the

[1440] Henry W. Nevinson. *Harper's Monthly* 112, 1905, p.242.
[1441] **Figure 4.27.** Illustration. "Lined up on the pier at San Thomé". *Harper's* 112. Part IV, 1905,p. 243.

intelligent foreigner", which he visited in July 1905, in the company of Cadbury's agent Joseph Burtt. The article is illustrated with his photograph of the rows of newly-completed brick huts for the labourers but the caption, which reads "model slave-quarters in San Thomé", confirms that he had made his mind up about the whole system, in Angola, long before. Nevinson writes that he was shown "the turbine engine, the electric light, the beautiful woodwork in the manager's house, the clean and roomy hospital with its copious supply of drugs and anatomical curiosities in bottles, the isolated house for infectious cases", adding that outwardly everything seemed in accordance with the 1903 labour legislation and "looked as perfect and legal as an English industrial school". [1442]

Over a magnificent outdoor lunch provided by the plantation manager, Nevinson meditated on "the hardships of African travel" and mulled over his fellow-guest's surprising comment on the organisation of the plantations: "[…] the Portuguese are certainly doing a marvellous work for Angola and these islands. Call it slavery if you like. Names and systems don't matter. The sum of human happiness is being infinitely increased. And after all are we not all slaves?" [1443] A first impression that Joseph Burtt, the guest in question, would regret and later disclaim.[1444]

A rather conservative selection of Nevinson's photographs, which again depended for their effect on captions such as "slaves waiting for rations on Sunday" or "slave quarters on a plantation", shown below, [1445] appeared in his book *A Modern Slavery*, a compilation of his articles which was published in 1906. Only a third of the photographs which had appeared with the articles were published in the book, however, and most of them again depended on their captions for impact. One of the episodes which was eliminated from the book - presumably on the publisher's advice - was associated to a photograph, which appeared in the earlier articles, of the "slaves bought by an Englishman" - doubtlessly considered unsuitable for British readers. Indeed, quoting Nevinson's diaries, Angela John notes that Nevinson did have disagreements with the publisher,[1446] particularly, it

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[1442] Henry W. Nevinson, *A Modern Slavery*, Harper and Brothers, London and New York: 1906, pp.189-190.
[1443] Henry W. Nevinson Idem., p.190. Also quoted in Gillian Wagner. Op. cit. 1987, p.92.
[1444] In fact in correspondence with Cadbury from Angola, Burtt protested about Nevinson's recollection of the conversation and wrote that "what he [Burtt] did say conveyed an entirely different meaning". Joseph Burtt to William Cadbury. March 25th 1906. James Duffy Papers. Quoted in C. Higgs. Op.cit 2012, p.87.
[1445] In Henry W. Nevinson. Op.cit 1906, **Figure 4.28.** Illustration. "Slave quarters on a plantation", p.17. **Figure 4.29.** Illustration. "Slaves waiting for rations on a Sunday", p.18.
[1446] See Angela V. John, Op.cit. 2006, p.51. Politically, Nevinson was a radical anti-capitalist.

seems, with regard to the last chapter of the book in which he situates the struggle against "Portuguese Slavery" as "part of the great contest with capitalism".



SLAVE QUARTERS ON A PLANTATION

Figure 4.28. Illustration. "Slave quarters on a plantation".



SLAVES WAITING FOR RATIONS ON SUNDAY

Figure 4.29. Illustration. "Slaves waiting for rations on a Sunday". Photos by Henry Nevinson, 1905.

When he returned from Angola and São Tomé, Henry Nevinson was undoubtedly frustrated by what he saw as procrastination on the part of both the chocolate

manufacturers and the British Government. In September, 1907, against the wishes of William Cadbury, who was complying with the Foreign Office's request to restrain from any action which might jeopardise the supply of Mozambican contract labour for the Transvaal gold mines, he published a powerful article entitled "The Angola Slave Trade" in the *Fortnightly Review*, which argued that the only measure that would arouse world public opinion was a boycott on Portuguese cocoa.[1447] Nevinson was not content just to revive the issue in the press, and at the end of September 1907, he and the faith healer Matthew Stober of the Angola Evangelical Mission in Ambrizette,[1448] presented their cases to the African section of the influential Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. Nevinson argued that one fifth of the world's supply was grown in the islands, one third of which was purchased by the three great British cocoa manufacturers and "thus, unwittingly, they practically employed one third of the slaves who worked on the plantations". A telegram was sent to the Government requesting that whatever "steps [were] in their power, might be taken to abolish the cruel system". [1449]

The Chamber also contacted Cadbury's to ask "if they could see their way to abstain [sic] from purchasing the cocoa produced in the Portuguese territories in question." Finally, a resolution entitled "Slavery in Angola" was approved, proposing a boycott of Portuguese cocoa. [1450] Other articles reporting on the meeting appeared several different newspapers over the next few days. Foremost amongst them in its charges, *The Daily Graphic* published a follow-up on October 3rd entitled "Slave-grown cocoa: Responsibility of the Quaker manufacturers" [1451] but was later forced to print an apology due to the threat of legal action. In spite of this setback for those in favour of vigorous measures, it was

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[1447] Though William Cadbury was given the explanation that the FO's strategy was intended to allow the Portuguese Government time to take the necessary measures to improve the labour situation in Portuguese West Africa.

[1448] Ambrizette is now known as N'zeto or Musserra Nzete.

[1449] From the report on the meeting, which took place on September 30th 1907, published by *The Times.* October 4th 1907, p.16. E.D.Morel was a member of the African section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce.

[1450] The Liverpool Chamber of Commerce was hardly a philanthropic organisation and undoubtedly realised that a boycott of Portuguese cocoa would encourage Gold Coast production and strike a blow for "free trade". The Chamber had direct links to the West Coast trade through its African section.

[1451] The *Daily Graphic.* October 3rd 1907. According to Iolo Williams, the *Daily Graphic*, which in an article in "September 1907", [sic] had accused the Quaker houses of appearing not " to care one pin" about making their chocolate from slave-grown cocoa, was forced to retract on October 24th, under the heading "Slave-grown Cocoa- An apology." "[…] So far as these firms are concerned, if as alleged they did not "appear to care one pin", the appearance was a false one and was due to the injunction of reticence laid upon them by the Foreign Office." Iolo Williams. Op.cit 1931, p.204. Williams had the first date wrong.

becoming apparent that the circle around the beleaguered chocolate makers was tightening and that pressure on the Foreign Office to take action was becoming increasingly difficult to defuse.

On October 21st a full meeting of the Council of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce was convened to discuss the proposal of the African Section. Once again caution prevailed. Despite pressure to adopt a stronger position, a motion was passed deploring the apparent state of affairs but concurring with the strategy of the Foreign Office. The following weekend, however, the front cover of *The Graphic*, an illustrated weekly newspaper with one of the widest circulations in Britain, carried a montage of drawings and watercolours based on Nevinson's photographs, under the heading *Twentieth century Slavery: How the Portuguese grow Cocoa in the Gulf of Guinea.* [1452]

Nevinson's two-pronged media strategy was now clear. His article in the *Fortnightly Review* had been designed to revive the debate in a magazine which was predominantly read by an influential elite, whilst the follow-up in the popular press to the Council Meeting at the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce had brought the "slave-grown cocoa" scandal to the attention of the wider public. Much like those in "A Modern Slavery", the illustrations in *The Graphic,* taken by themselves, would have probably done little more than provoke mild curiosity on the part of its readers, but when linked to captions which referred to "slaves" and "women and children" they could not fail to cause widespread, righteous indignation. [1453]

However unconvincing they were in comparison with the "Congo atrocity" photographs, Nevinson's efforts to provide damning visual evidence of the cocoa "scandal" finally seemed to be achieving a measure of success. However, instead of underlining the drama of the contract labour system, the excellent drawings and watercolours in *The Graphic* - presumably an editorial decision taken due to their aesthetic appeal - only attenuated and diluted the immediate impact of the original, stark photographic images, acting as a filter

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[1452] *The Graphic.* October 26th 1907.

[1453] **Figure 4.30.** *The Graphic.* October 26th 1907. Cover. The drawings were by the excellent French illustrator Frederic de Haenen (1853-1928). The leader article in the same issue was eager to clear the chocolate-makers of any blame in the question, ending with the comment: "it will be seen, therefore, that the English firms have taken the initiative in calling attention to the question of "slave-grown cocoa" and that **they have acted in the best traditions of the English race**". In "The Editor's Notebook." Idem., p.557.(my bold)

which reinforced the picturesque quality of the scenes to the detriment of the unpleasant information they contained.

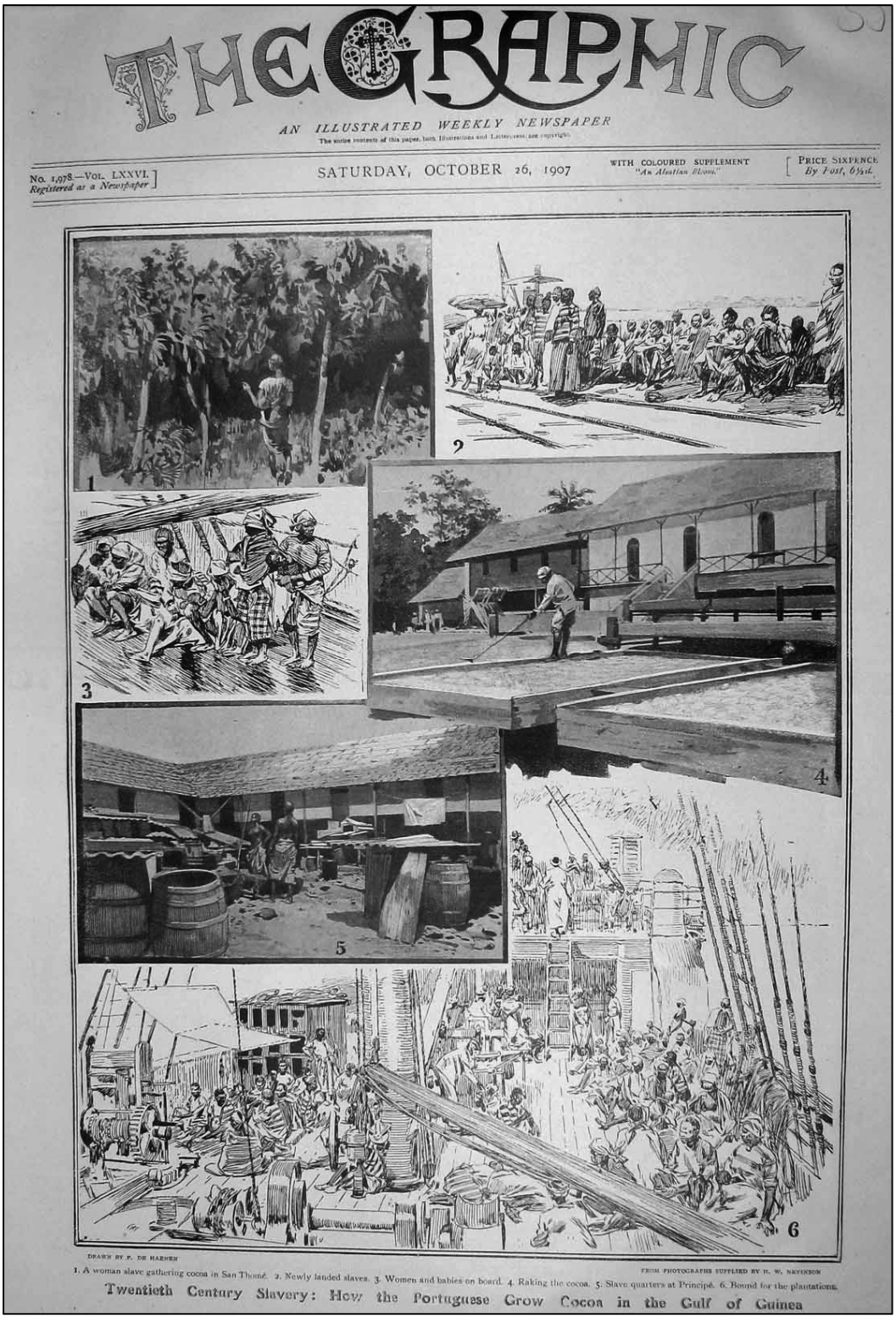


Figure 4.30. "Twentieth century Slavery: How the Portuguese grow Cocoa in the Gulf of Guinea". Drawings and watercolours by de Haenen based on photographs by Henry W. Nevinson.

The inescapable beautifying effect of the photographer's art [1454] - however heartrending or painful its subject - had been taken to a new level by the skill of the illustrator, undoubtedly creating an aesthetically-pleasing cover but at the same time doing a grave disservice to the journalist's tenacious campaign.

In fact, as it happened, Nevinson would have to wait until 1909, shortly after the chocolate-makers' boycott, to see his photographs finally achieve the dramatic impact he had hoped for. Coming as it did in the *Illustrated London News*, a prestigious periodical with a wide national, and indeed international, circulation, the full-page exposé had far-reaching repercussions. Nevinson's photographs of skulls and shackles, artistically linked together, according to the fashion of the day, with chains and cocoa pods, juxtaposed with images of the sea transport of "indentured labourers"- recalling the days of the "Atlantic slave-trade - created an implacable visual narrative which was clearly designed to justify the chocolate-makers' recent boycott and irrevocably condemn the São Tomé planters and the Portuguese authorities in the eyes of the public. Undoubtedly, this single page of photographs presented in the familiar style of the ILN did as much damage in Britain to the planter's cause as years of well-meaning letters to the press. [1455]

Yet only part of the story was displayed for the readers to see.

In blatant contradiction to the title of the piece, which referred specifically to the "Portuguese Island of San Thomé", not a single photograph taken on the cocoa islands was included in the montage. Despite the glaring omission of images of the plantations, the recourse to photography in this case had an immediate impact - not least upon the Portuguese cocoa planters and the lobby they had set up to defend their interests. On April 19th 1909, just over a fortnight after the ILN had published its full-page photomontage, a violent diatribe appeared in the *Século* newspaper under the heading: "que elles

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[1454] Sontag quotes an excerpt from an address by Walter Benjamin in 1934 to the Institute for the Study of Fascism in Paris in which he underlines the camera's troubling tendency towards beautification: **"[it] is now incapable of photographing a tenement or a rubbish-heap without transfiguring it. […] It has succeeded in turning abject poverty itself, by handling it in a modish, technically perfect way, into an object of enjoyment."** Susan Sontag. Op.cit 1977, p.107. (my bold)

[1455] **Figure 4.31.** *The Illustrated London News.* April 3rd 1909. p. 495. Cadbury's often used the ILN for advertising and it is not inconceivable that the page was, in part, a favour to the firm. The ILN was the world's first weekly illustrated magazine.

inventam… As trapalhices dos chocolateiros. Campanha pela photographia nas illustrações inglezas, pelo caixeiro Nevison" [sic].[1456]

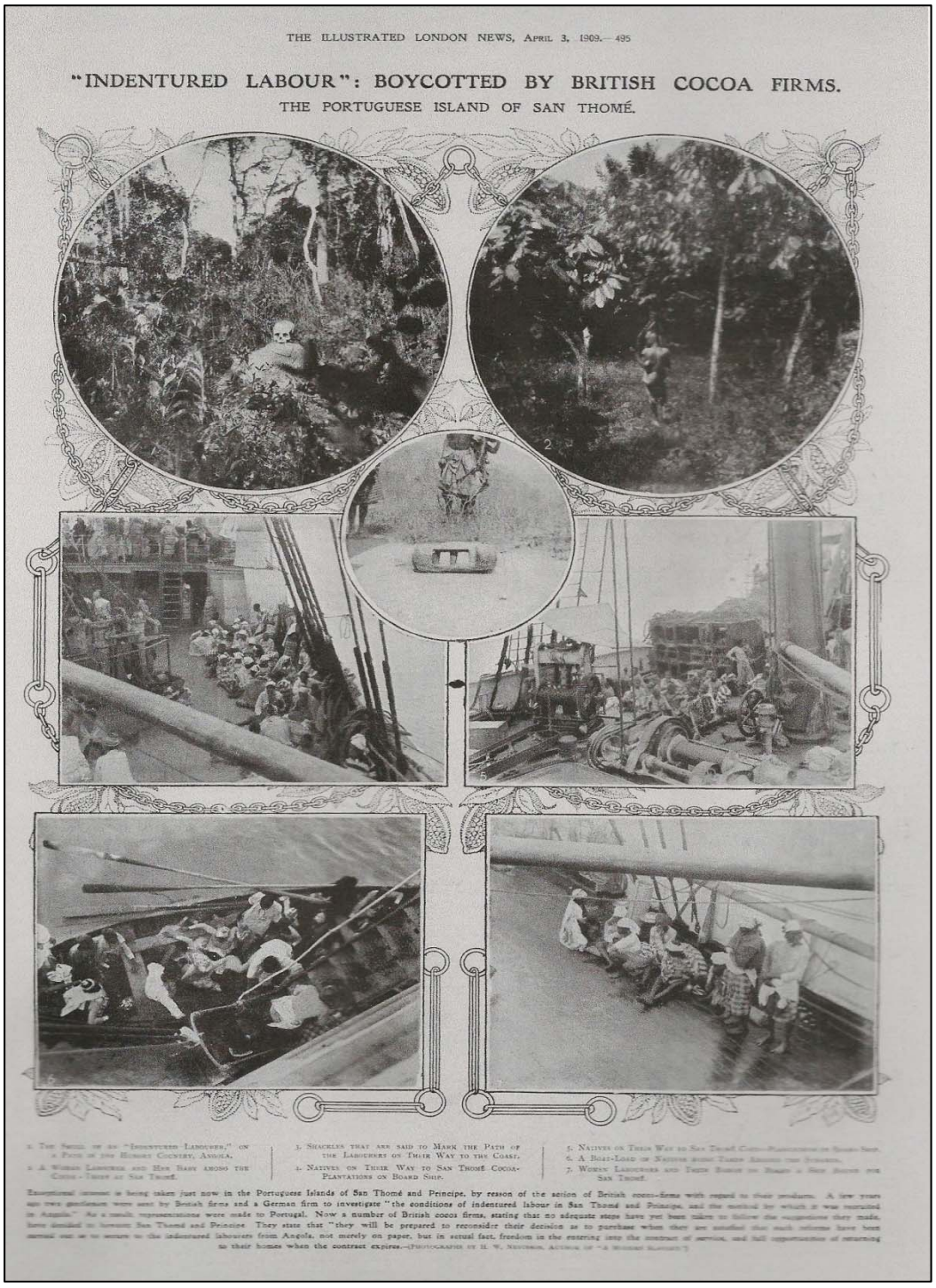


Figure 4.31. "Indentured Labour" Boycotted by British Cocoa Firms. The Portuguese island of S. Thomé.

[1456] "O que elles inventam… As trapalhices dos chocolateiros. Campanha pela photographia nas illustrações inglezas, pelo caixeiro Nevison." [sic] *O Século* April 19th, 1909. p.3

The accusations and, in particular, the language employed, were not only demonstrative of the righteous indignation which had been provoked but revealed an acute sensitivity towards the use of photographs. It was quite clear that the recourse to photography was considered to be an unworthy weapon in what had been, until then, a duel of words.

> Aquelle grupo de chocolateiros, que tem a sua frente o sr. Cadbury e o seu famosos acolyto Nevinson, não descança [sic] na fingidamente humanitaria campanha contra o que denominam o "cacau-escravo. Estão os leitores ao corrente das affirmações dos felsos [sic] philantropos, que encheram de cacau, o seus depositos, antes de decidirem a boycottage. Os opulentos industriaes, que choram lagrimas de crocodilo sobre a sorte dos servicaes de S. Thomé, exgottados[sic] os argumentos com que pretenderam commover as almas ternas, lançam mão da photographia, para completarem a sua obra, que classificam de civilizadora […] [1457]

Despite the violent reaction of leader writer, the newspaper printed a reproduction from the ILN´s full-page photomontage of the photo of a skull in the "Hungry Country" -which was described as "o esqueleto de um serviçal", together with a second showing a lighter bringing a group of Africans to a steamer. The journalist added the comment: *"*Da «escravatura tyrannical» descoberta pelo sensivel viajante, não se lhe depararam outras horriveis scenas que merecessem ser guardadas pelo seu maravilhoso Kodak…"- suggesting, quite rightly, that the ILN had deliberately avoided showing photographs from São Tomé, itself, which might have diluted or even undermined the impact of the photomontage. Once again, just as in the Congo campaign, the modest Kodak camera had become the target of the fury of those who were accused of infringing human rights. The "black and white" of the published photographic image already carried more weight than the "black and white" of the printed word during the first years of the new century.

Nevinson's justification for the absence of photographs of the plantations from the ILN photomontage was because they were unconvincing. Judging by those which had appeared earlier in *The Graphic*, this was a plausible explanation. In fact, it was reluctantly recognised by British campaigners that the photographs obtainable on the plantations of São Tomé and Príncipe could never offer persuasive evidence against the contract labour system. On the one hand, the recent Congo "atrocity pictures" had set a precedent for exposé photographs of this kind which made anything to do with the cocoa

[1457] Idem. Ibidem.

islands look pale by comparison, whilst, on the other, there were clearly difficulties in obtaining the kind of pictures in São Tomé and Príncipe which would convey the message that campaigners such as Nevinson, Harris, Burtt and Cadbury desired.

For a start, it was virtually impossible to take photographs without the knowledge of the plantation managers or their employees, given the inaccessibility of most of the "roças", the diminutive number of Europeans on the cocoa islands, and the fact that any foreigner was especially conspicuous, particularly if he or she were carrying a camera. Even Cadbury's envoy Joseph Burtt, who spent so long on the islands and saw so many different estates, was virtually always "shown round" by an attentive manager wherever he went. Nothing was left to chance. Obviously no obvious case of cruelty towards "serviçais" ever emerges from such photographs, despite the fact that both Nevinson and Burtt, for instance, refer to the use of corporal punishment on several occasions and instances of violence against European employees were not unknown.[1458]

Furthermore, it was not the policy of the Foreign Office to equip consular officials with photographic equipment and there was an element of official distrust towards evidence produced by what many still considered to be a "new-fangled invention". Indeed, in accordance with the practice of the day and despite their meticulous detail and carefully-gathered statistics, not one of the five white papers on manual labour in São Tomé and Príncipe which were presented to Parliament between 1912 and 1915 contained a single photograph. [1459]

[1458] *Interim report from Joseph Burtt received February 12th, 1906.* Pp.161-2 Second version CP 5/1. See Catherine Higgs Op.cit. 2012, pp.50 and 68.
Photographs showing firearms or instruments of corporal punishment such as the *chicotte* are virtually non-existent. However, there are two intriguing photographs of what appears to be a hunting-party, armed "to the teeth", dating from the period under study, in the archives of the Fundação Mário Soares. All of the seven members of the group are carrying staves and some are armed with rifles and pistols. Given the fact that there were no dangerous animals on either island it raises questions as to the purpose of the firearms - particularly the pistol. See Nogueira de Lemos Collection. Pasta: 09003.001.002 and Pasta: 09003.001.015 Online at http://casacomum.org/cc/arquivos?set=e_8190#!e_8196 (consulted 9/9/2018)
[1459] The first photograph to be reproduced in *The Times* appeared only in 1914.

4.4 Cadbury and Burtt's Photograph Album

It is surprising, perhaps, in view of the precedents in the Congo, that the pictures taken by Joseph Burtt on his first journey to São Tomé and Angola in 1905-7 were not immediately exploited for propaganda purposes. However, given the fact that the Foreign Office, for its own reasons, had decided to water down his report and restrict its distribution to a limited number of influential people in Britain and Portugal, photographs may well have been considered superfluous and possibly inconvenient. [1460] Furthermore, although Burtt's report came down strongly against the São Tomé labour system, criticising principally the form of recruitment and the absence of repatriation, like all foreign visitors he had been made very welcome on the islands and the photographs he had taken would very probably have offered visual evidence which might have been interpreted at the time as being unsupportive or even damaging to his allegations.

Indeed, unlike Nevinson, who was always unequivocal in his criticism, Burtt always revealed ambivalence towards the treatment of the "serviçais" on the "roças" and never accused the planters, whose hospitality he had enjoyed for six months, of providing the labourers with anything other than adequate treatment, food and housing, once they had arrived at their destinations. In fact, in several of the early letters he wrote to William Cadbury from the cocoa islands, he commented favourably on the fairness and tolerance of the European managers towards the labourers, even acknowledging "the human touch that one feels exists on some of these roças". [1461] In complete contrast with his early letters, however, his final report included accusations of physical coercion and the use of corporal punishment, although he later qualified his statements and partially withdrew the accusations as a result of the meeting held with the planters, in Lisbon, to discuss his

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[1460] Joseph Burtt. *Reprint, by permission, of the Report on the conditions of coloured labour employed on the cocoa plantations of S. Thomé and Principe and the methods of procuring it in Angola.* Edward Hughes, London: 1908 [Burtt's report also appears as an Appendix to Cadbury's 1910 edition of *Labour in Portuguese West Africa,* pp.103-131.] Translated into Portuguese as José Burtt, Dr. W. Claude Horton, co-aut. *Relatório sobre as condições dos serviçaes negros empregados nas plantações de cacau de S. Thomé e Príncipe e os modos de os obter em Angola.* S.I. s.n. 1907?
The Foreign Office was convinced at the time that some form of accommodation could be achieved with Portugal and was far more concerned to keep Portuguese East Africa as a source for cheap and plentiful labour for the gold mines of the Transvaal.
[1461] Burtt to Cadbury. September 11th 1905. James Duffy Papers. Quoted in C. Higgs, Op.cit 2012, p.53.

findings. [1462] Despite the fact that his photographs were not immediately exploited, there is no doubt that Burtt was fully aware of the persuasive power of visual evidence, and when he returned with William Cadbury to São Tomé and Príncipe and the coastal towns of Angola, in 1908-9, shortly before the boycott, they brought back a series of photographs which were made up into an album in a series of 50 copies. The album, which contains over 150 images, was distributed to selected recipients, mostly in Britain, with the first limited run of Cadbury's report *Labour in Portuguese West Africa*, which was only reprinted for general distribution in 1910, after the conclusion of the *Standard* libel case. [1463] Several were sent to Cadbury's Portuguese contacts, such as Alfredo Henrique da Silva, the Marquês de Valle-Flôr and Francisco Mantero, who, in his post-scriptum to his defence of the Contract Labour system - *Manual Labour in S.Thomé*, refers to receiving the Portuguese edition of William Cadbury's book together with "an album of photographs taken in Africa".[1464] According to Cadbury's report, in November and December 1908, he and Burtt had witnessed the departure from the port of Novo Redondo (Sumbe) of three shipments of labourers destined for the cocoa islands, and the photographs they took of the second shipment, which appear in the album, confirm Cadbury's assessment that the group, which was thirty to forty strong, was "composed of

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[1462] Burtt includes a retraction in his report, dated December 1st, 1907 in which he writes: "I wish to state that the paragraph in my report headed "Punishments" is constructed in a manner that may convey an impression that is not entirely just to the proprietors of S. Thomé plantations […]Though convinced of the very common occurrence of corporal punishment in spite of the restrictions of the law, I am sure that on the best estates this is against the wish of the proprietors, and is one of those abuses that repatriation will quickly check.[…]" In William Cadbury *Labour in Portuguese West Africa,* 1910 Appendix A, p.113.
Souza e Faro refers to the meeting and Burtt's retraction in the following diplomatic terms: "Estas verdades, que dimanam de um raciocínio seguro e insophismável, foram, não há muito postas em relêvo na memoravel CONFERENCIA,[…] effectuada em Lisboa, a 28 de Novembro de 1907, entre uma commissão delegada dos agricultores d'esta provincia e M. William Cadbury […] N'esta conferencia, a que esteve presente M. Joseph Burtt, teve este cavalheiro excellente ensejo, que elle soube habilmente aproveitar, para uma justa rectificação de algumas asserções do seu anterior relatório, acerca da maõ de obra indígena em S.Thomé, não duvidando confessar a opinião erronea que formulára a respeito d'este e de alguns outros assumptos, fundadas em menos exactas, ou menos bem entendidas informações." Conde de Souza e Faro. *A Ilha de S.Thomé e a Roça Agua-Izé* Typ. Annuario Commercial, Lisboa: 1908, pp. 158-161.
[1463] The album in the Cadbury Papers is no. 49 of a series of 50 and is entitled : *Views taken by William A. Cadbury and Joseph Burtt during a visit to St. Thomé and Angola, Portuguese West Africa in the winter of 1908-9 (also 14 prints from negatives by local photographers)*, 1909 UBSC: CP 242. Photograph album containing 154 gelatin silver prints, most 6 x 9 cm or 12 x 16 cm. A copy (no.13) is now available online in the Alfredo Henrique da Silva Collection at AHS-ICS:PT-AHS-ICS-AHSilva-ESC-SER-1-06.pdf (Accessed 15/11/2021) Cadbury's report was first published in May 1909 " for private distribution in a small edition among a few personal friends." The four copies he sent to Portugal went to da Silva, Ornellas, Cdr. Paula Cid and Baron Merck. See Cadbury to da Silva. May 24th 1909. PT-AHS-ICS-AH Silva. ESC-SER-6-A-03.pdf
[1464] Francisco Mantero. Op.cit. 1910, p.91. The album may have convinced Mantero that the English version of his book needed photographic illustrations.

Figure 4.32. Photographs taken in November or December 1908.

healthy people, who were under thirty years of age, the majority much younger", and that the future contract labourers were "well-clothed with a bright cotton cloth and a good blanket."



Figure 4.32. Page from Cadbury's "Album" showing future contract labourers being transported to São Tomé as steerage passengers on the steamer *Malange* in December 1908.

Cadbury went on to express the view that the transport of such "emigrants" on the regular mail ships of the Empreza Nacional de Navegação was the "least objectionable part" of the system, as the vessels were "British built" and the ship's officers were "good natured and humane, for they [are] both seamen and Portuguese." Moreover, Cadbury added that the "serviçais", who can be seen in the photographs sitting on the deck of the steamer Malange dressed in the customary striped uniforms, in addition to showing "no sign of

distress", exhibited a general attitude "of sullen resignation or sleepy indifference"- a somewhat surprising description of people who were passing "Okalunga" [sic] - "the Abyss of Hell"- on their way to "The Islands of Doom", as Nevinson had put it. [1465]

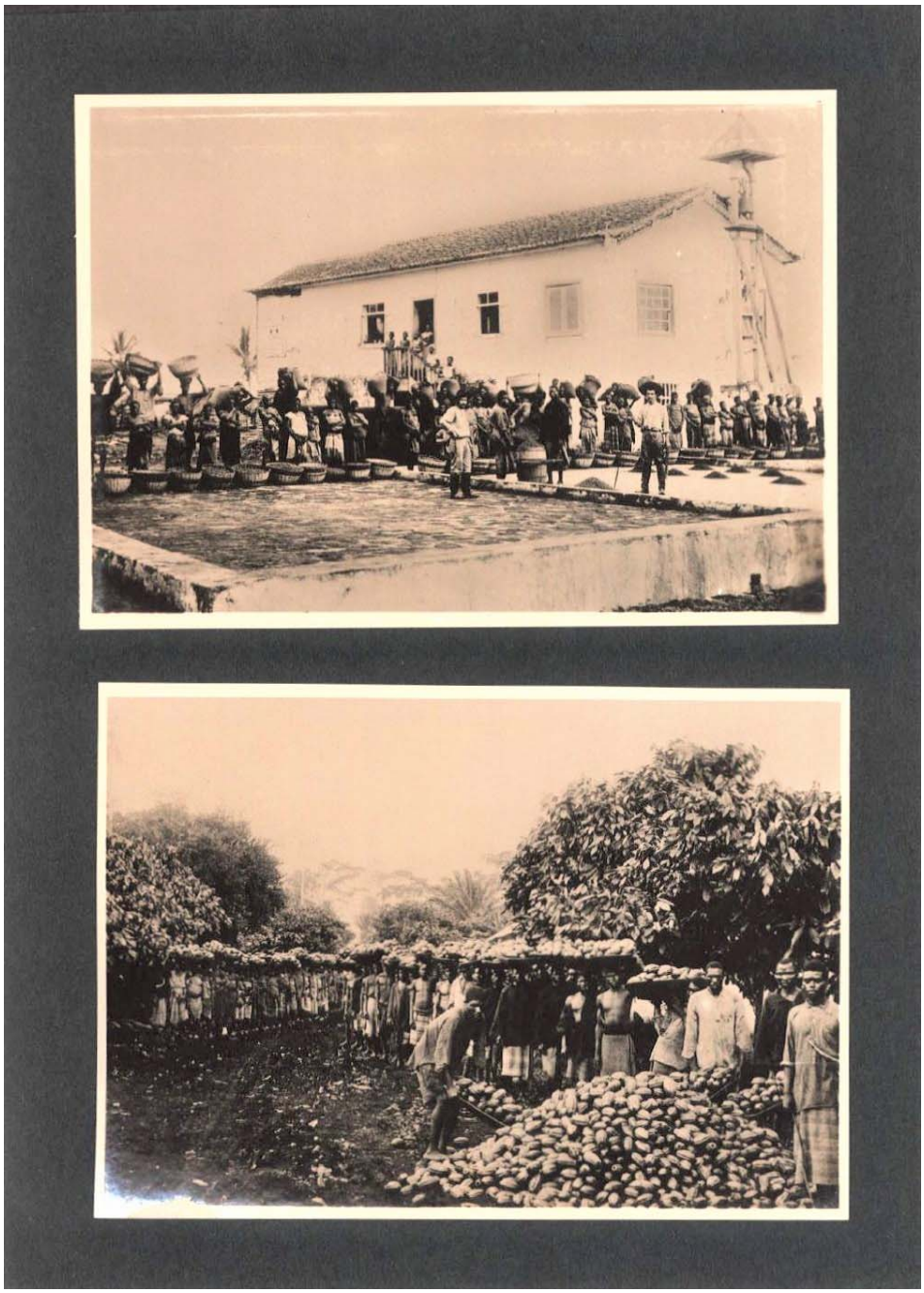


Figure 4.33. Photograph from Cadbury's Album showing drying racks and the unloading of cocoa pods for shelling, December 1908.

[1465] William A. Cadbury. *Labour in Portuguese West* Africa. Second edition with an added chapter. Routledge London: 1910, pp. 90-91.

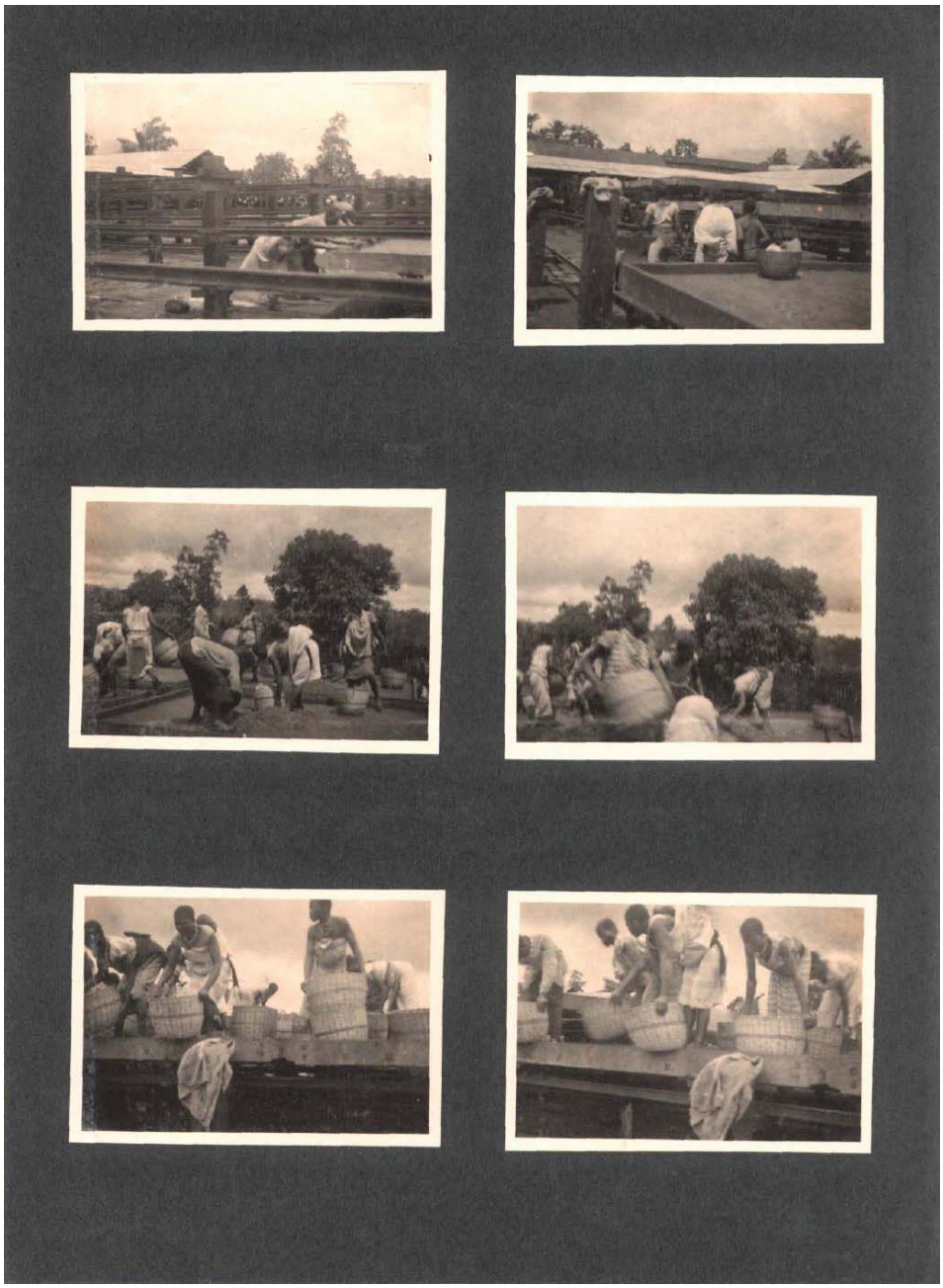


Figure 4.34 Cadbury's Album. Women gathering dried cocoa on a plantation. December 1908.

Indeed, though there are many similarities between Nevinson's and Cadbury's photographs of the sea transport of the future contract labourers, [1466] the contrast between the terms they used to describe the scene is so great that a less attentive reader might have been excused for jumping to the conclusion that they were on opposing sides of the

[1466] Cadbury was critical of Nevinson's articles which he thought were sensationalist and based to a certain extent on hearsay.

dispute. In fact, they clashed on a number of occasions,[1467] as Nevinson found Cadbury far too accommodating both to the planters and to the Foreign Office, whilst Cadbury, for his part, considered Nevinson to be something of a hothead and expressed the view that his articles in *Harper's* were too often the fruit of hearsay rather than of personal experience.

The photographs, which were clearly taken with the acquiescence and cooperation of the planters, are identified in the album only by a brief caption, such as "S.S. Ambaca, January 1909", without further commentary. An effort seems to have been made to avoid the inclusion of images or captions which might have been perceived as offensive or excessively controversial, and it is revealing of the difficulties in obtaining certain pictures that the collection also included a number of prints made from negatives taken by local photographers, several of which had previously been made into postcards. Other photographs in the album show different aspects of the work of the labourers on the plantations and a whole page of pictures is devoted to the youngest children of the labourers, the so-called "moleques" who are apparently carefree and well-fed.[1468] There is also a series of photographs showing the trade route into the interior with a caravan departing from Catumbella, and what appears to be the arrival of a trading party in Benguella, shown below.[1469]

The question remains as to why these photographs, which were considered to be of sufficient importance to be made up into an album and distributed with the first edition of Cadbury's report, were not thought suitable for general publication. It seems unlikely that any small increase in cost would have deterred a potential reader, and the appeal of the book would have been greatly enhanced by the inclusion of some of the pictures. [1470] It is clear that at this early juncture there was an acute sensitivity towards photographic

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[1467] At one point Cadbury hinted that his firm might be obliged to take legal action against Nevinson should he persist in making what he described in a letter to Strachey as "misleading statements". He added "I think on the whole it is best to realise that Mr. Nevinson's tactics will always be different from my own, and I shall not interfere with him if he has the good taste to leave our firms to do what we conscientiously believe to be right." Letter from William Cadbury to J. St. Loe Strachey. March 30th 1909. Copy CP 180/911.
[1468] See **Figure 4.35**
[1469] See **Figure 4.36**
[1470] Cadbury's book was sold in a cheap edition and apparently he expected the Anti-Slavery Society to purchase and distribute a significant part of the print run. See Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit.2005, p.185.

evidence of this kind which is difficult, nowadays, to fully appreciate in our image-saturated society.

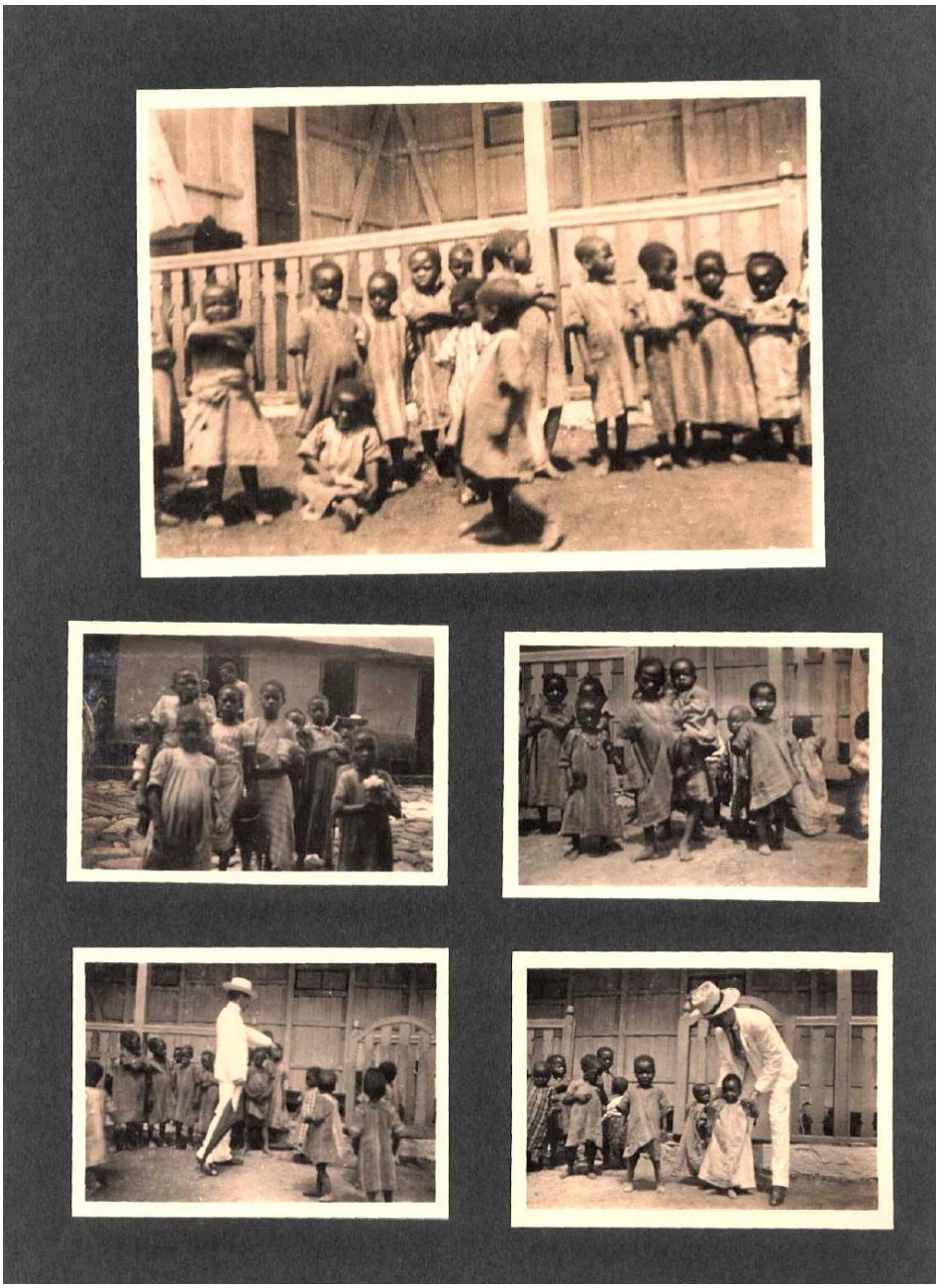


Figure 4.35. Photograph from Cadbury's Album showing children playing with a plantation manager on one of the roças, 1908.

In fact, Catherine Higgs suggests that the Portuguese planters who received copies of the album, including Valle-Flôr, "inferred a threat" from the photographs. Indeed, in an interview given to Almada Negreiros after the boycott, which was later translated into English in *Portugal em África*, Valle-Flôr went as far as to suggest that the photographs

in the album were fakes which might have been “taken in any part of the black continent, even in London”. [1471]

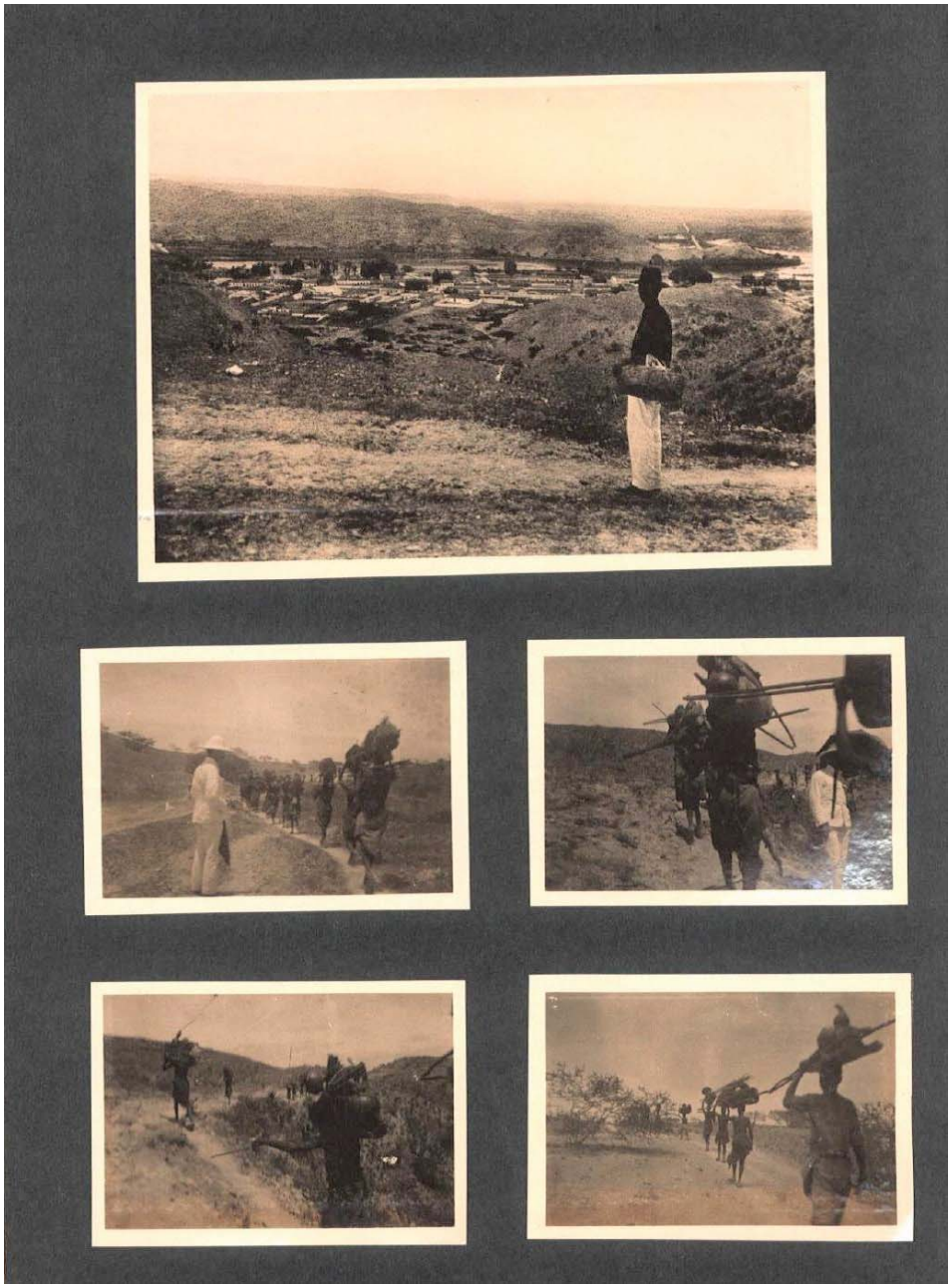


Figure 4.36 Page from Cadbury’s Album showing Catumbella and the Trade Route to the Interior of Africa”. January 1909. AHS-ICS Alfredo Henrique da Silva Collection.

[1471] Writing under the pseudonym J. de Larsan. See Catherine Higgs Op.cit. 2012, p.155. Originally published in *La Dépêche Coloniale* at the end of March 1909, soon after the boycott. See René Claparéde Op.cit., 1913, pp. 14-16. Chatelain’s contribution to the anti-slavery campaign in Angola is covered briefly in the first section of the current chapter of this dissertation.

Valle-Flôr appears to have felt a peculiar animosity and distrust towards photographic evidence. The interview published in *Portugal em África* reproduces the accusations he had made earlier in the pages of *Dépêche Coloniale,* in which he accused the Swiss missionary Héli Chatelain, without actually using his name, of having fabricated photographs of slaves: "[…] Il y avait jadis, dans l'Angola, un Suisse, naturalisé Americain, qui fabriquait ce genre de «documents» à l'aide de ses domestiques... metamorphosés, pour la circonstance, en esclaves." [1472]

It is possible, perhaps, that Cadbury may have decided not to print the photographs due to his proverbial Quaker reserve, or due to a fear of their potentially "controversial" character. [1473] By opting not to do so he may have thought that he would be able to preserve his position with the Portuguese as an acceptable interlocutor, whilst using Swan to do what was required in his stead, a strategy of dissimulated ventriloquism he had employed previously, using E.D.Morel to voice many of his views through the *West African Mail.*

The truth may lie elsewhere, however. The preface to the second edition of William Cadbury's report, the first sold openly to the public, explicitly refers to the investigations of Charles A. Swan in the Angolan hinterland, and his profusely-illustrated exposé *The Slavery of Today,* which is described as *"*a very serious confirmation of all the worst reports that have from time to time filtered through to the public, of the inhuman treatment of the weaker races of this district, by white men." [1474] Given the fact that Swan had been sent to Angola as William Cadbury's secret envoy and that his report depended to a great

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[1472] "Portuguese Colonies." *Portugal em África* no.17, June 20th 1910, pp.187-190.The interview was published in the original French, with an often shaky translation into English, clearly intended for international consumption. See chapter 4.1 of this dissertation.

[1473] For example, in an earlier letter to Ayres d'Ornellas after the assassination of the King, D. Carlos and his heir D. Luíz Filippe on February 1st 1908, William Cadbury expressed the hope that Ornellas' successor would "carry out the reforms put in hand by your administration", whilst enclosing photographs taken in Angola, of fresh wooden shackles. Though promising at the same time not to release the photographs to the press, Cadbury's motives for doing so were unclear. Either he wished to suggest that by precluding further embarrassment he was behaving in a friendly fashion, or alternatively that he had chosen to withhold the pictures as a veiled threat. There was undoubtedly an element of undeclared blackmail in the gesture, particularly as Cadbury was already considering going to Angola himself and would soon send Charles Swan on a secret mission to take photographs and obtain missionary testimony. See Cadbury to Ornellas. February 5th 1908. CP 6/159 and Catherine Higgs. Op.cit. 2012, p.142.

[1474] William Cadbury. Op.cit. 1910, p.viii. "Swan had asked Cadbury to vet his material and decide upon its use. In his reply, Cadbury asked him to come to England to discuss these matters, and explained that he did not think that he could publish Swan's report himself." Tim Grass. Op. cit. 2007, note 32. Quoting Cadbury to Swan, April 20th 1909. CP 180/916.

extent upon photographic evidence, it is reasonable to suppose that Cadbury decided that if his own photographs of the plantations and the "great slave route" had been published, the contrast between them and Swan's earlier, sensational pictures of the forced march of captives to the Angolan Coast might have raised doubts in the mind of his readers as to what he saw as the true iniquity of the contract labour system. [1475] Indeed, Cadbury, who, by then, had decided to stop buying Portuguese cacao, may have anticipated a risk of conceding involuntary support to the official Portuguese narrative that "the Angolan native had been redeemed from precarious savagery to enjoy a productive life of remunerated labour on the plantations", a legitimising notion which, after all, was not unfamiliar to many in Britain who readily subscribed to the idea of the civilising mission of the British Empire towards the "savage tribes" of Africa.

As it happened, the impact in Britain of Cadbury's measured report was limited, to say the least, with reviews appearing only in their in-house journal - *Bournville Works Magazine*, Morel's *West African Mail* and George Cadbury's *Daily News*.[1476] Swan's contemporary exposé and Nevinson's earlier articles enjoyed far greater popular appeal, undoubtedly due to the photographic illustrations which brought their eye-witness accounts of coercion and forced labour in Angola and São Tomé a step closer to their readers.

[1475] **Fig. 4.36** for example, shows either Cadbury or Burtt (probably Burtt, who was taller), standing casually in tropical kit next to the passing members of a trade caravan- presumably to provide evidence of their eye-witness status. The predominant impression, however, is of complete indifference on the part of the carriers - entirely the opposite of Charles Swan's close-ups of startled members of a caravan holding wooden shackles which are shown in the following chapter. (Compare **Fig. 4.39**, for example.)
[1476] See Catherine Higgs. Op.cit 2012, p.153.

4.5 "The Slavery of Today": Charles A. Swan's photographs taken along the "Great Slave Route" from the interior of Angola to the Atlantic coast

The photographic illustrations in Charles Swan's book, which appeared a few months after the boycott,[1477] were far more shocking and persuasive than Nevinson's frequently rather uninspired efforts with the camera and clearly had a considerable impact on public opinion. Secretly funded by William Cadbury to obtain concrete proof from fellow missionaries on slave-raiding and the transport of captives to the coast, Swan left for the interior of Angola with the specific aim of obtaining first-hand photographic evidence to support the missionary testimonies he had been instructed to gather. [1478]

Amongst the most effective of Swan's photographs are some of wooden shackles and skulls, possibly picked up over a considerable distance by his bearers along the trail between Bié and the coast. To his credit, however, Swan later admits that many of the shackles he came across were abandoned along the trail, not because their bearers had died but because they were no longer needed, as they were found less than a day's march

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[1477] The day after it was published, the Portuguese legation in London reported, clearly in haste, that there was at least one book which was favourable towards Portugal: "A obra em causa, The Slaving [sic] of Today, é da autoria de Charles Swan". In "*Ofício n° 63, de 22 de Setembro de 1909*". Quoted in Afonso and Vladimiro. Op.cit 1982-1983 p.718. A week later, however, the London correspondent of the *Século* offered a more realistic report: "[...] O industrial Cadbury enviou o livro de Swan, intitulado Slavery today [sic] a todos os centros productores de chocolate de America, Allemanha e Suissa, acompanhado do seguinte comentario, «A revolta impetuosa que a todos acommeteu perante os factos expostos obriga-nos a condemnar o procedimento dos agricultores portuguezes. **Esses traficantes de carne humana deviam ser forçados a acabar com essa profissão aviltante** e a reparar as obras monstruosas infligidas a milhares de negros.»-S." "O Cacau Escravo e a Propaganda ingleza. Uma carta de tenente coronel Wyllie." *O Século* September 29th 1909, p.3. (my bold)

[1478] Swan spoke Portuguese and was also familiar with some of the native languages so he was able to move about in Angola without arousing too much suspicion. Cadbury and Swan communicated only through the office of the Brethren's *Echoes of Service* magazine at Bath, and Cadbury secretly paid Swan's expenses (which amounted to £400) through this channel. Cadbury asked him to destroy all correspondence on his return in order to make it impossible for the *Evening Standard* to say that Cadbury had seen or influenced Swan's report. See Tim Grass. "Brethren and the São Tomé Cocoa Slavery Controversy: The Role of Charles A. Swan (1861-1934)" *Brethren Historical Review* 4: 98-113, 2007.
Swan reveals in his book that he was given a list of objectives by Cadbury, some of which he confesses he was unable to achieve.These included obtaining the "(1) Number of men and women passed down the coast" and (2) Number who die on the road or the number killed or wronged in the process of slave-hunting in proportion of those who finally get down to the Coast". Swan also mentions that he was told it was "very necessary" to get "a statement from the Missionaries in the province of their convictions on this matter" and "native testimony". Charles A. Swan. Op.cit 1909, pp.18-19.

from the coast. Much of their impact is undoubtedly due to the creative way they were displayed.

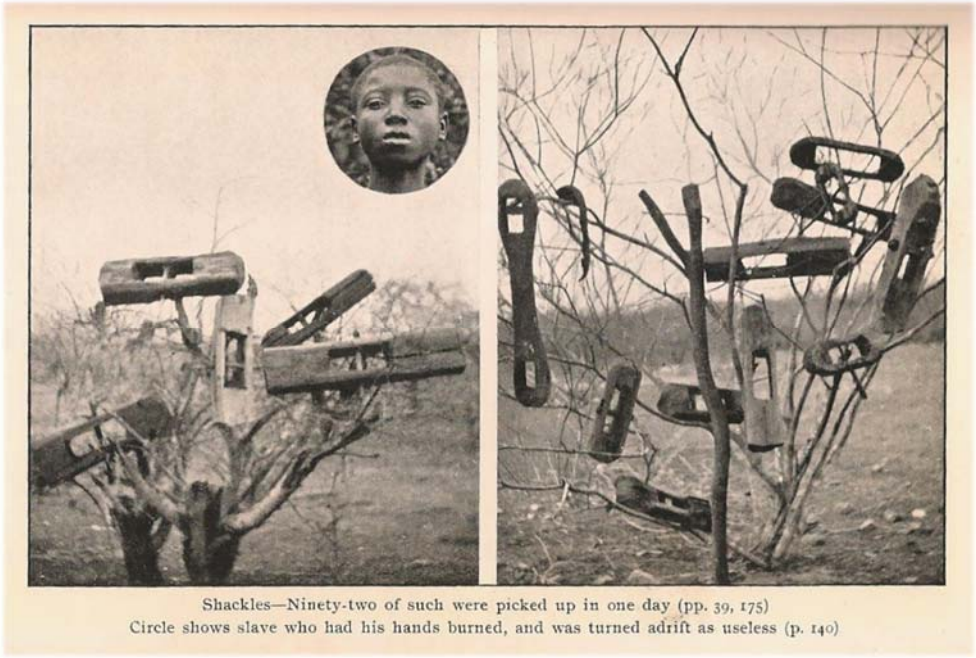


Figure 4.37. Charles A. Swan. " Shackles-Ninety-two of which were picked up in one day (pp.39, 175). Circle shows slave who had his hand burned. And was turned adrift as useless (p.140)." 1908.

They hang together in the bushes, almost certainly placed and arranged there by the photographer himself. [1479] No explanation is given and an unsuspecting European reader might have jumped to the conclusion that the display was some kind of local "fetish", or that the "slave-drivers" had left them as a warning to potential escapees. Evidently, there is no way of knowing from the photographs just how long they had been lying along the trail, which had been used by caravans of bearers, to and from the coast, for literally hundreds of years.

Those who saw the striking illustrations in Swan's book, however, would have been left in no doubt that droves of captives destined for the cocoa islands had passed that way each year on their way to slavery. Indeed, the underlying message of the photographs is

[1479] **Figure 4.37.** In Charles A. Swan. Op.cit. 1909, opposite p.40. Notice the clever touch of the portrait of a boy in the circle inset to set off the otherwise impersonal photograph of the shackles. Clearly, British and American publishers had already attained a high degree of sophistication in the exploitation of photographic images.

unequivocal - a great many of the “slaves” had perished along the way, their shackles being left behind as an eloquent testimony to their demise.

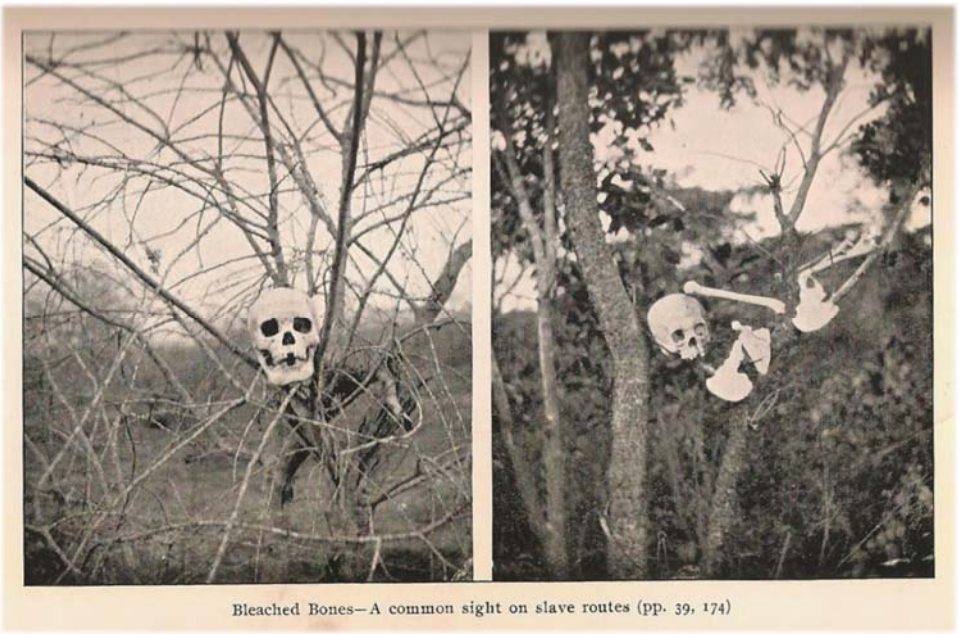


Figure 4.38. Charles A. Swan. “Bleached Bones - A common sight on slave routes (pp.39, 174)”.

Clearly aware of the need to offer additional proof regarding the human remains in his pictures, Swan tells of coming across a skeleton along the trail and questioning his bearers as to whether they were the bones of a slave. [1480] The bearers in question, whom he describes as “Christians, formerly engaged in the slave-trade themselves”, confirmed that the bones would otherwise have been buried.

There is still some uncertainty as to whether all the photographs of the “slave-route” were taken by Swan himself, as many of the eye-witness accounts in the book were given by other missionaries, and his biographer Arthur Ingleby, writing many years later, [1481] mentions an incident when Swan “in the hurry to get away, found he had forgotten to bring a single plate”, which would imply that Swan’s machine was of the older and less

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[1480] **Figure 4.38.** In Charles A. Swan Op.cit, 1909. Opposite p.20. However, this was probably not the whole story, as Frank Varian, a British railway engineer who worked in Angola during the early days of the construction of the Benguela railway, explains in his comments on the trail many years later: “[...] Occasionally, Africans carrying commercial loads for their own profit, **under-estimated their food supplies** in crossing the "Hungry Country", with fatal consequences. **In those days, many skeletons marked the paths**. Rail and road transport has now eliminated the chance of these disasters, as it has in the case of the "Thirst Country" near the coast.” H. F. Varian. *Some African Milestones. Chapter IX. The Benguela Railway, Angola.* Wheatley, Oxford : 1955, p.168 (my bold)

[1481] Arthur G. Ingleby. *Pioneer Days in Darkest Africa. A record of the Life and Work of Chas. A. Swan etc.* Pickering and Inglis. London: n.d [1946], pp.132-133. Ingleby was a Brethren missionary in Portugal.

portable kind. Countering this idea, however, Swan tells of photographing a man who was taking a mother and child to sell in Novo Redondo (Sumbe) and describes "looking down into the finder" of his machine, which confirms that it was indeed portable, and probably a waist-held, box or folding single-lens reflex camera.[1482]

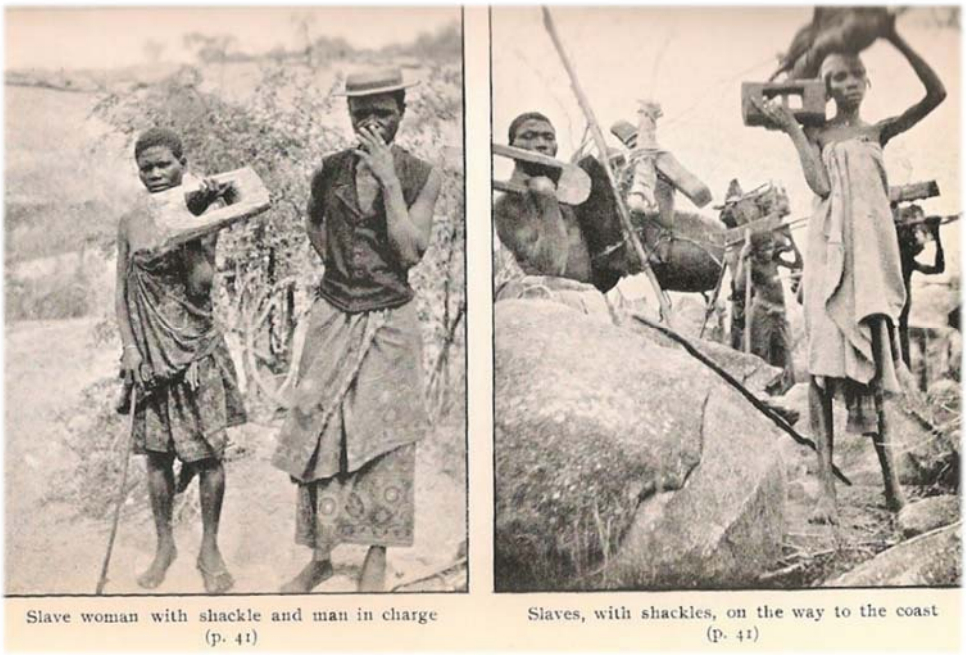


Figure 4.39 (Left) "Slave Woman with shackle and man in charge. (p.41)". (Right) "Slaves, with shackles, on their way to the coast (p.41)".

Moreover, the photograph in question seems to have been taken from a low viewpoint, as were several of those of "slaves" carrying shackles along the way to the coast, all of whom are staring downwards at the camera, [1483] which further reinforces the likelihood that the majority of the pictures were taken by Swan himself. The incident exemplifies the way the camera was perceived by many Africans who were confronted with it for the first time, and how Europeans, including missionaries, were ready to take advantage of the natural perplexity caused by such encounters with the white man's unfamiliar technology. Swan relates in his account that he duped the slave-dealer into confirming his intention

[1482] Swan. Op.cit 1909, pp. 149-151. Such cameras could be purchased in Lisbon at the time.
[1483] Idem. Opposite p.28. Curiously, however, Augusto Ribeiro, who is described as an "illustre escriptor africanista", is mentioned by the Boletim do Centro Colonial de Lisboa as having written in a recent article in the *Diário de Notícias* that it was Cadbury, "cujo kodak trabalhara activamente em S. Thomé e Angola […]", rather than Swan who had taken the photographs which appear in *The Slavery of Today*. See BCCL no.9 December 15th 1909, pp 5-7. A comparison with the photographs in Cadbury's album would, however, suggest otherwise.

to sell the woman - whom he was convinced was "a witch"- and her child, by using the camera itself as a prop in a ruse to trick the man into confessing.

He writes:

> As I proceeded the man's hand had gone up to his wide-open mouth and, with eyes staring as though they might start out of their sockets, he confessed: "The white man's machine has divined the truth, I cannot deny what it has told him". I commanded him to take his stand by the woman and child, to which he meekly submitted, and I took their photograph.[1484]

On this occasion it was the camera, itself, rather than the images it produced, which had become an instrument of power in the hands of the missionary - who, despite his philanthropical aims, seems to have been quite comfortable in this role as protagonist in the archetypal colonial relationship of domination and subjugation. [1485]

Although Swan's published account was frustratingly weakened by the fact that the names of those who were directly involved in the traffic, as well as those who had spoken out against the system, were omitted due to fear of reprisals, [1486] his photographs showing the forced march of captives along the ancient trail across the interior of Angola to Catumbela and Benguela offered abundant evidence of the evils of labour recruitment for São Tomé. [1487] Furthermore, and contrasting with the case of Europeans, whose identities he deliberately omits from the text, Swan names many of the Africans in the illustrations, presumably those he had met and photographed himself.

As previously mentioned, several of the images in Swan's book appear to have been taken with a portable, hand-held reflex camera and consequently they preserve a sense of immediacy and spontaneity which is inevitably lost in long-exposure photographs,

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[1484] Idem p.151

[1485] The effect produced by the camara in this situation vividly illustrates how the mere presence of the apparatus changes the way the subject behaves, whether or not he or she is African or European and is familiar with the technology or otherwise.

[1486] Many of Swan's informers were fellow protestant missionaries. Omissions of this kind were relatively common when reprisals were feared, and cases of expulsion by the Portuguese authorities were not unknown. The American Congregationalist Wesley Stover, expelled in from Angola in 1908, is a case in point.

[1487] Swan was careful to distinguish between the system and the Portuguese people as a whole. He writes: "[...] All feeling against the Portuguese, as such, must be put aside, for the struggle which right-minded people are making, on behalf of the helpless and down-trodden African, is not against the Portuguese, but against the unjust system of depriving men and women of their rights as human beings, and using them, as we use animals, for our own convenience or pecuniary ends, without for a moment taking into consideration their will or inclinations." Charles A. Swan. Op.cit. 1909, pp. 20-21.

enabling the reader to experience something of the sensation of being an eye-witness to the scene, which was still a novelty at the time. Closer examination reveals, however, that even these "snapshots" were also partially staged, as the captives are obviously holding up their shackles for the camera on the instructions of the photographer.

The captions to the illustrations are explicit: "Mutombo, felled with a stool by his white master" or "Ngusu, slave boy with mark of master's cruelty on head" or again "Adalia, given as a pledge to a trader by her husband", offering additional proof of authenticity and bringing the reader closer to the plight of the people portrayed in the images.[1488] This was a startling departure from common practice at the time, as Africans were rarely identified in photographs except to exemplify a wider ethnic or cultural group, or, as the perspicacious Nevinson puts it in one of his articles in *Harper's Magazine*: "We still think of 'black people' in lumps and blocks. We do not realize that each African has a personality as important to himself as each of us is in his own eyes." [1489]

Charles Swan's care in identifying those he photographed by name follows the precedent established by Congo campaigners, who were forced by the unmitigated pressure exercised by Leopold's agents to provide as much detailed evidence as possible, a recommendation which was undoubtedly passed on to Swan by Cadbury before he left for Angola. Thus, in addition to denouncing the cynical recruitment practices which were then an everyday occurrence in the interior of Angola, Swan's exposé could boast the undeniable virtue of recognising individual identity to the Africans he portrayed - an individuality which clearly transpires from his photographs and which was systematically ignored or devalued by generations of Europeans, some of them missionaries like himself.[1490]

[1488] Swan uses the testimony of other missionaries, and as a number of the victims portrayed in his book are unnamed it may be assumed that some of the photographs were taken by others too. As none of these pictures are dated this raises the question of how old some of these photographs actually were.

[1489] Henry W. Nevinson. "The New Slave-Trade", *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, 111. August 1905 "Introductory: Down the West Coast", p.350.

[1490] Swan held uncompromising views on the mixing of races, however, which were common amongst those who accepted the biblical explanation for racial distinctions. Many Protestant missionaries expressed a repugnance towards the progeny of mixed-race relationships as they saw them as a further step towards the inevitable degeneration of a "perfect creation" which had established inequality in nature since the beginning of time. On the issue of miscegenation, he writes as follows: "**As a rule, the pure black is to be preferred a thousand times to the miserable specimen of humanity - the mulatto - the child of lust, on the one hand, and of forced submission on the other.** Charles A. Swan, Op.cit 1909, p. 48. (my bold)

Swan, who was conversant with some of the languages of Angola, also offers the verbal testimony of some of the victims of the "slave-trade", - a rare occurrence at a time when such evidence would normally have been dismissed on the basis that anything a "native" might say was unworthy of credence. And although at this time his status as a missionary would have normally been accepted as a guarantee of the authenticity of the statements he collected and translated, Swan uses photographic evidence - normally a portrait of those involved, to add even greater credibility. In this way, though presented in book form, Swan's illustrated report draws upon the pioneering techniques of investigative journalism which was beginning to take its first tentative steps in the popular press.

Before the Congo campaign little or no heed was paid by anti-slavery campaigners, missionaries included, towards the exact dating of eye-witness accounts and photographs, and in many instances, the "worthiness of the cause" seems to have justified any form of subterfuge, particularly the omission of significant facts. A revealing case is that of Dan Crawford, a Scots missionary of the Plymouth Brethren, like Swan, who emerged from "the long grass" to give his testimony of two decades of uninterrupted evangelical militance in Portuguese West Africa in his best-selling book *Thinking Black*, which caused a sensation on its publication in 1912. [1491] In vivid and scathing terms, Crawford describes an 800-strong slave caravan which he saw near Catumbela:

> Look then at this caravan, taking nearly three hours to march past, a horde of eight hundred souls, all doomed to exile for life. Some tottering old men there, mere shrivelled sacks of bones who at any moment may need to lie down by the roadside and die. Dozens of women there, staggering along with little babies, born and unborn, for this famished "hungry country" demands a rushing speed for the caravan.[…] Saddest sight of all, crowds of little emaciated boys and girls all sold for a song in the Congo State, the little legs at last giving out. Yet only four months before every one of them had radiant youth bubbling in his veins.[…] But here they are far from home, that long wriggling horror of a slave track before

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[1491] Daniel Crawford. ((1870-1926) *Thinking Black: Twenty-two Years without a Break in the Long Grass of Central Africa.* Morgan and Scott Ltd., London: 1912. Crawford's book came out just before the Livingstone centenary and as a result it sold thousands of copies and he was invited to lecture all over Britain, and also in Australia and the United States. He also published *Back to the Long Grass, My Link with Livingstone.* Hodder and Staughton, London: 1922. His peculiar writing style so entranced the young James Joyce that he trekked from Benguela to Chisamba in 1924 and picked up a number of words in the local "patois", which he later used in *Finnegan's Wake.* See Robbert-Jan Henkes, *James Joyce in Africa: An Expedition to the Sources of the Wake.* Genetic Joyce Studies - Issue 8, Spring 2008 (accessed online 17/4/2018.) http://www.antwerpjamesjoycecenter.com/GJS8/JJ%20in%20Africa%2023May.jsp
Curiously, the excellent photographs which illustrate Crawford's first book were taken by Dudley Kidd, the author of *The Essential Kafir*, who, like Crawford, also claimed "to understand the mind of the Black man".

> and after them, so thin and hollow eyes you can only think of them as a moan materialised into flesh.[…] [1492]

A comparison with the account of his fellow Brethren missionary Arnot reveals, however, that the sighting had taken place on August 26th, 1889,[1493] when Crawford first arrived in Angola, which meant that his testimony, which was read aloud to audiences in lecture halls around Britain from 1912 onwards, and quoted as recent testimony in the influential *Spectator* and in Harris' 1913 book *Portuguese Slavery*, was, to say the least, entirely out of date. [1494]

Swan, by way of contrast, was careful about the dating of the events in his account, and readily admits, for instance, that, short-lasting as they turned out to be, great improvements had been introduced by the Angolan authorities after Massano de Amorim´s enquiry into the Bailundo rebellion in 1903.[1495] Some of the photographs that Swan uses, however, particularly those of unidentified people, may have been taken by other missionaries, as several of the testimonies he quotes date from before the rebellion, but he prudently explains in his preface that he had not included anything relating to his own earlier experiences of the slave-trade as he wanted his evidence to be "of as recent date as possible". In a letter to the editor of *The Times*, written shortly after the boycott had come into force and whilst his book was at the printers, Swan lays to rest any doubts regarding his own testimony, however. Writing of his first day's journey into the interior in October 1908, he affirms:

> The awful mixture of rum bottles, shackles and bleaching bones was enough to make one sick at heart. There was also the emaciated body of a young lad who had been left to die that

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[1492] Idem, ibidem, pp. 29-30.

[1493] Cf. F.S.Arnot, *Garenganze, West and East and A Review of 21 Years Pioneering in the Heart of Africa* Glasgow, Pickering and Inglis, n.d.[1907?] p.63

[1494] *The Spectator* January 11th, 1913, pp. 60-62 publishes a review and excerpts from Dan Crawford's *Thinking Black* under the heading "**Fresh Evidence** on Portuguese Slavery", whilst John H. Harris also suggests Crawford's evidence was recent: "Amongst the disclosures upon Portuguese slavery, **the most recent**, and in some respects, the most striking have just been published by Mr. Daniel Crawford. […]THE TRAIL OF BLOOD. In one part of his story Mr. Crawford speaking from the depths of an outraged conscience brings vividly before us the real picture of the caravan of human beings moving down from the interior to the distant coast. […] John H. Harris. *Portuguese Slavery. Britain's Dilemma.* London: Methuen, 1913, pp. 35-7. (my bold)

[1495] "Before closing I must make reference to the inquiry made in Angola after the suppression of the Bailundu rebellion in 1902. This was carefully and justly conducted, and large numbers of slaves liberated and not a few Portuguese officials and traders condemned to imprisonment for sundry offences. It looked as if the abominable slave trade would come to a speedy end. […]" Charles A. Swan. Op.cit.1909, p.194. Swan owned a camera before returning to Portugal in 1903 and it should be remembered that he showed lantern slides of Africa in Lisbon as early as 1906, some of which were almost certainly his own.

morning; there he lay with the shackles for his feet and hands […] My men picked up ninety-two shackles for legs, arms or neck, without ever leaving the path to look for them, most of these were comparatively new, and a very great many of them still contained the sap of the wood. Can any proof be more positive that the trade is not a thing of the past, as is constantly affirmed? [1496]

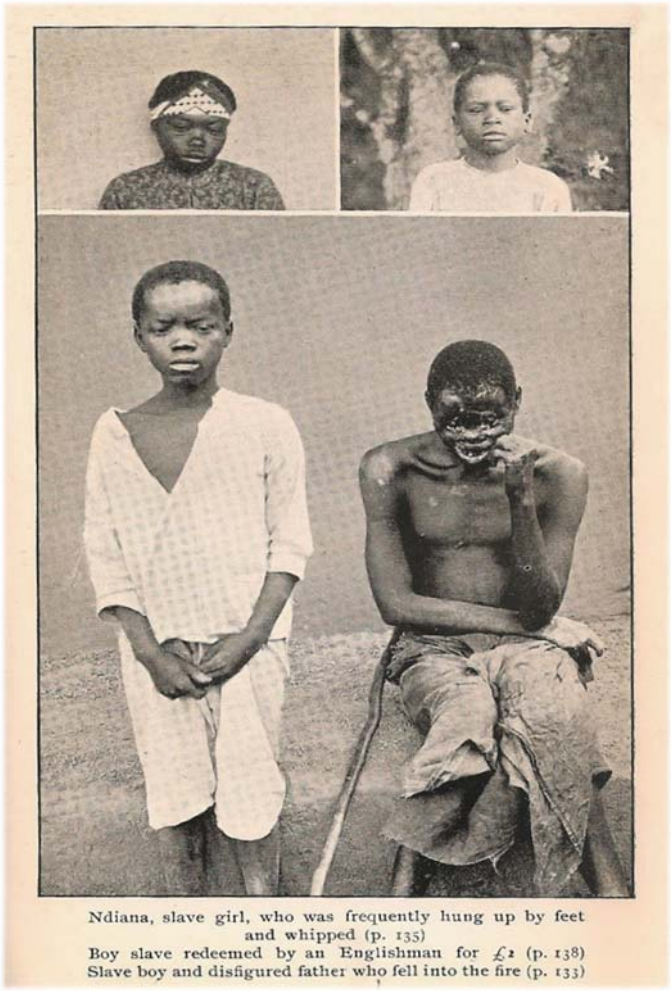


Figure 4.40 (Top left) "Ndiana, slave girl, who was frequently hung up by the feet and whipped. (p.135). (Top right) Boy slave redeemed by an Englishman for £2 (p.138)". (Bottom) "Slave boy and disfigured father who fell into the fire. (p.133)".

Swan's photographs were the closest approximation in the "slave-grown cocoa" campaign to the horror and impact of the Congo atrocity photographs. Indeed, he seems to have deliberately attempted to find images which would provoke the same reaction of revulsion in his readers as Alice Harris's photographs of mutilated Africans. A clear case in point is the previous picture of a man, possibly a leper, who had collapsed face-down

[1496] Charles A. Swan. Letter to the Editor of *The Times,* June 22nd, 1909, p.8.

into a fire and survived, albeit with grotesque consequences. [1497] He is shown next to his son Njoaki, who was eventually sold as a slave to "Mr. _____," "a Dutch trader in Catumbella" and redeemed by his father from the trader's widow in exchange for "twenty-four kilos of borrowed rubber". Swan candidly admits to having stayed in the traders' house on many occasions despite the fact that "he did not try to keep it secret that he was accustomed to buy [sic] slaves". The virtual impossibility of being unaware of, or indeed avoiding intimate contact with the trade in many parts of Angola, is clearly demonstrated in the missionary's admission, as is the complicity of other Europeans of different nationalities.

The question of why so many protestant missionaries in Angola, as in the Congo, had been reluctant to speak out in public against a practice which they condemned in private, in some cases for over two decades, requires further examination. Firstly, the record is far from being unequivocal, and the case of Héli Chatelain, the Swiss-American missionary and linguist, would be sufficient, in itself, to stand out as a shining example of idealistic militancy against the trade in Portuguese West Africa. As mentioned earlier, Chatelain set up what he called the Philafrican Liberators League [1498] in the mid-1890's to help organise the struggle against slave raiding in Angola by rehousing repatriated or escaped slaves in model villages, but by 1901 his brave but essentially utopian initiative was all but extinct.

Swan, himself, is also an interesting case. A member of the loose grouping of independent, evangelical Christians known as the Plymouth Brethren, he had gone as a missionary to the region of Garenganze (Katanga) in 1886, five years after his fellow-worker Fred Arnot had established himself there in Bunkeya, the seat of government of the powerful and despotic ruler, Msiri. The chief regarded Swan and his colleagues as his

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[1497] **Figure 4.40.** Swan Op.cit. 1909. Opp p.112. The photograph (top right) of a "Boy slave redeemed by an Englishman for £2" appears as a lantern slide in Joseph Burtt's collection. It raises the possibility that Burtt, on his earlier tour to Angola, may have been the Englishman in question. A more likely explanation, however, is that the photograph was taken by the missionary Sanders, who Burtt met on his first expedition. Consul Mackie's confidential report to the FO of March 15th 1908, also refers to the fact that British engineers, working on the Benguella railway, purchased child slaves to hand over to Protestant missionaries. See Consul Horatio Mackie to Sir Edward Grey. Confidential no. 5. FO 367/87 and minutes. Mentioned in R.J. Hammond. Op.cit 1966, p.321; Suzanne Miers. Op.cit 2003, p.56 and Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit 2005, p.135.

[1498] Héli Chatelain (1859-1908). See Alida Chatelain, Amy Roche. *Héli Chatelain. L'Ami de L'Angola.* Secretariat de la Mission Philafricaine. Lausanne: 1918. Chatelain's efforts are described here in greater detail in Chapter 4.1.

"white slaves" and in fact for two years whilst Arnot was away on leave Swan was little more than a junior member of Msiri's entourage. [1499]

Nominally under Belgian jurisdiction, Msiri's territory was coveted both by Belgium and by Cecil Rhodes' British South African Company, principally because of its mineral resources, and in 1890, Rhodes' envoy, Alfred Sharpe, attempted to persuade the chief to sign over the territory to British rule. Swan advised Msiri to listen to all the terms of the document, which he then explained, and after a nerve-racking confrontation the chief finally refused to sign. [1500] Although Swan was in favour of some form of "civilised" government for the region, his belief in the separation of Church and State ultimately prevented him from taking sides between Belgium and Britain in the matter. The Brethren had long cultivated a critical attitude towards non-conformist dissent and were traditionally averse to any direct involvement of missionaries "in wordly affairs", so it is likely that the lesson that Swan had learned from this potentially dangerous situation strengthened his determination to steer clear, in future, of political conflicts which might compromise his evangelical priorities.[1501] Be that as it may, there is no doubt that Swan, together with Matthew Z. Stober, [1502] who was active in the coastal district to the north of Luanda, were two of the earliest and most outspoken missionary critics of labour recruitment in Angola for São Tomé and Príncipe. [1503]

[1499] The Scots missionary and explorer Dr. James Johnston, who was particularly critical of self-supporting missions, described the Brethren mission at Kwanjululu near Bié as "a huge farce" and its "influence as a Christian mission" as "almost nil", whilst reporting that at Garenganze the missionaries' time was occupied in "making gardens, hunting for food [and] waiting on King Msidi". He adds that those who had contributed "large sums of money" to the initiative had been "hoodwinked". James Johnston Op. Cit. 1893, pp. 55-56.
[1500] See Montague Goodman (Ed.) *A Central African jubilee: or, fifty years with the gospel in the Beloved Strip.* Pickering & Inglis, London: [1932?] In this celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Arnot's arrival at Bunkeya, [1881] Charles Swan writes on the *Difficulties and Dangers in the Early Days.*This episode is described on pp.107-108.
[1501] In December 1891, Msiri was assassinated by a member of military expedition which had been sent on the orders of Leopold II to force him to sign away sovereignty to the Belgian crown.
[1502] At the turn of the century, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* quotes missionary testimonies in the context of slave raiding and the transport to the coast of future contract labourers. The available information points towards Stober and Swan although their names were then carefully omitted. In his article in the *Fortnightly Review* in 1907 Nevinson writes that Stober of the Angola Evangelical Mission "[…] almost alone among the missionaries has dared to denounce and expose [the slave traffic] in spite of the danger and continual persecution. Henry W. Nevinson. Op.cit.1907, p.495.
[1503] The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for June-July, 1902, pp. 83-6 publishes an article entitled "Forced Labour in Angola" which quotes a letter received from a missionary [probably Stober] on his return on leave who comments: "[…] Of course our position is the delicate one of maintaining a respectful and loyal attitude towards the Government by whose favour our Mission is established, in all lawful things, and hesitating to take such a step as might antagonize the good feeling which exists between the Government officials and the Mission, and yet, at the same time smarting under a regime that exploits and ill-treats the native contrary to its voluntary legal obligations.[…] It is slavery of the worst kind under the name of *serviço*."(italics in

Generally speaking, Catholic missionaries, those, at least, who were of Portuguese nationality, were reluctant to oppose a system of labour recruitment which had evolved over many decades, and were careful to preserve the privileged position they enjoyed in Angola and São Tomé as representatives of the official religion of the State. Protestant missionaries, on the other hand, whether they were British, American or Swiss, steered a difficult and risky course between choosing to remain silent before what they saw as the intolerable treatment of the "natives", and speaking out and antagonising the Portuguese colonial authorities, who were already justifiably suspicious of the fact that they might be undermining Portuguese sovereignty.[1504]

4.6 Lantern slide lectures and the Protestant antislavery campaign in Portugal: Charles A. Swan and Alfredo Henrique da Silva

By the beginning of the twentieth century Portugal had a long history of light-shows and magic lantern displays and although records are scarce, the cinema historian Alves Costa quotes an account of a public projection of "sombras chinesas" on a screen installed in Rua Augusta, in Lisbon, at the turn of the nineteenth century, to celebrate the birth of the Princess Maria Francisca, "para grande gaudio do povoléu que ali se amontoava".[1505] He

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original). Charles Swan had expressed his frustration regarding obstruction from traders as early as 1902. He wrote "we have evidence that white traders are combining against us to hinder the gospel" *Echoes of Service* 31, 1902, p.31.

[1504] On the question of duplicity, the correspondence of the missionary Robert Moffat (ABCFM) shows, for example, that at the time of the Bailundo revolt he made every effort to remain on good terms with both sides during the hostilities, furnishing the Portuguese military authorities with supplies and information, whilst offering to act as an intermediary between them and the local people. For example, writing to the Capitâo-Mor Alberto Nozolino d'Azevedo on June 6th: "[…] if there is anything in my power to do and still keep on the same general good terms with the natives I will only be delighted to do so." And on June 12th : "[...] The position as it is now leaves you to take nearly all your force with you to make the attack and I venture to predict that you can route [sic] them in a short time.[...] I understand the natives and know they are cowards ." In AHU 805 Cx 21 Angola.

[1505] The magic lantern, the ancestor of the slide projector, was invented in the mid-seventeenth century, probably by the Dutch scientist Christiaan Huyghens. The apparatus was designed to project images painted on glass plates onto a large screen or sheet, using a concentrated beam of light.
Alves Costa refers to a lantern show, which took place on April 22nd 1800 and the following two evenings, which was part of the festivities to celebrate the birth of the Princess. (D. Maria Francisca de Bourbon e Bragança,1800 -1834) The account is included in the correspondence of the Rev. Carl Ruders, Chaplain of

suggests, moreover, that even at this early date, such a spectacle must have been a familiar event for the people of the city, due to the promptness and size of the gathering which occurred. Again, in 1811, there were several reports of public projections or "illuminations" in Rossio, Lisbon to celebrate the victories of Wellington and Beresford in the Peninsular War. [1506] Throughout the nineteenth century shows given by travelling lanternists were a feature of fairs and festivals in Portugal and towards the end of the century the technique began to be used for the purpose of evangelisation and teaching. Gradually, as projectors and slides were produced industrially and became more accessible, the magic lantern began to find its way into wealthier homes and was used for both entertainment and educational purposes.[1507]

Influenced by the success and widespread use of lectures accompanied by lantern slides in the evangelical circles of Britain and the United States, Portugal's small Protestant community also began to make regular use of the technique at the turn of the twentieth-century. Quite naturally, such lantern lectures featured episodes from the Bible and inspirational tales of moral waywardness and redemption, but also included content of an educational character to broaden the horizons of the members of the community, and to pass on the implicit message that progress and positive change were more likely to be associated with societies which were predominantly Protestant. The lecturers took advantage of commercially-made lantern-slide travelogues on the great cities of the world and included talks on such varied subjects as Halley's Comet; Esperanto and its contribution to international understanding; tuberculosis and its prevention, and the "dire consequences" of regular alcohol consumption. Undoubtedly those who attended such lectures felt a sense of privilege, at a time when leisure travel was limited to the wealthy, and educational opportunities of this kind in Portugal were few and far between. Contrasting with the relative openness of the subject matter it appears there was a sensitivity to the specific content of certain topics which can be seen from the fact that

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the Swedish Legation to the Court of Portugal. See Henrique Alves Costa, *A Longa Caminhada para a Invenção do Cinematógrafo*. Cineclube Editorial, Porto: 1988. The use of the magic lantern in Portugal dates back even further, however, and in 1772 the University of Coimbra already owned three lanterns, none of which has survived. See Luís Miguel Bernardo. *História das Luzes e das Cores* vol.2. Universidade do Porto: 2007, p.488.

[1506] The "illuminations" were accompanied by the distribution of broadsheets with laudatory verses by different authors celebrating allied victories against Bonaparte's armies. I am grateful to Gabriela Gândara Terenas and her work on poems of the Peninsular War for this valuable insight.

[1507] The French photographers J. Lévy and Co. published a wide range of photographs of Portugal in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, including stereo views and magic-lantern slides.

Maria de Lemos' lecture in Oporto on "Education"- possibly a euphemism,[1508] was restricted to an all-female audience. Doubtlessly, the alternation of such lectures with Biblical stories and moral tales also offered the advantage of integrating the latter into a programme which provided a modicum of "scientific" credibility. Amongst the more inspiring lectures for the members of the Protestant communities in Lisbon and Oporto were those given by missionaries from the Portuguese African colonies, many of whom passed through Portugal on their way to spend leave in Britain, the United States or Switzerland. Some of these lectures were of particular significance within the context of the "slave-grown cocoa controversy", confirming the existence of a direct link between Portuguese Protestants and the humanitarian campaigns overseas.

According to the reports published in the evangelical newspaper *O Mensageiro,* it was from 1906 onwards that such lectures became more frequent.[1509] That year "Carlos" A. Swan, [sic] of the Plymouth Brethren, who William Cadbury would later send as his secret envoy to Portuguese West Africa, gave a talk entitled *"O Evangelho em África Portugueza"* to an audience of 200 at Lisbon's União Cristão da Mocidade [the future ACM-YMCA], illustrated by 50 lantern slides. Swan, who had spent over twenty years in Central Africa, several of which at Belmonte [now Kuito] under the protection of the celebrated trader and explorer Silva Porto, [1510] knew this part of Africa and its customs well and had witnessed, first hand, caravans of labourers destined for the contract labour system. Returning to Portugal in 1903 because of his wife's ill health, he had set up in the following year as a missionary preacher at Santa Catarina Hall in Lisbon.[1511] Swan was a useful amateur photographer, and, as mentioned previously, the pictures he later took of the skulls and wooden shackles gathered along the ancient trade route from Bié to Benguela caused a sensation when his profusely-illustrated accusatory report, *The Slavery*

[1508] Maria de Lemos was a journalist and poet. Her lecture was given in 1906 at the Mirante Chapel in Oporto and probably dealt with issues which were of specific interest to women.
[1509] *O Mensageiro, Folha Instructiva e Noticiosa, de Revivificação Espiritual*, Lisboa, nº 1 (1905) to nº 187 (1940). Cited in José António Afonso, *Protestantismo e educação : história de um projecto pedagógico em Portugal na transição do séc. XIX.* Ph.D Dissertation Universidade do Minho, 2007. (accessed online 10/3/21) http://hdl.handle.net/10451/5784
[1510] Silva Porto (1817-1890) was probably the most famous of the Portuguese highland traders in the middle of the nineteenth century. See *Viagens e Apontamentos de um Portuense em África: Diário de António Francisco Ferreira de Silva Porto* Vol 1. BGUC Coimbra: 1986.
[1511] An apologetic account of Swan's life is given by "a fellow labourer", Arthur G. Ingleby, in *Pioneer Days in Darkest Africa.* Pickering and Inglis, London: n.d [1937?]

of Today was published in 1909.[1512] Swan was one of the first of a long series of Protestant missionaries of several non-conformist denominations who lectured in Portugal on their way to and from Africa. Many of these lectures were accompanied by lantern slides, a major attraction for audiences. In 1907 Emma Schlub, of the Swiss Romande mission in Mozambique, lectured on "Missões em África" at the Methodist Mirante Chapel Hall in Oporto, returning in 1908 with "A Obra missionária em Moçambique." That same year, lectures were given in Oporto by the American missionaries "Thomaz" W. Woodside [sic] on "Trabalho missionário no Bihé" [1513] and Wesley Mayer Stover on "Trabalho missionário no Libundo". Woodside and Stover had been active in Angola on behalf of the ABCFM, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, for two decades, and it was precisely in 1908 that Stover was expelled from Angola for alleged collusion with the Umbundu [Ovimbundu] rebels, dating back to the Bailundo revolt in 1902.[1514] Stover pleaded innocence in response to the accusations, and, in his defence, alleged that hostility had been growing amongst the Angolan traders towards the

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[1512] Charles A. Swan, *The Slavery of To-day*, Pickering & Inglis, Glasgow: 1909. Two of the images in the book accompanied the article "O Paiz ao Abandono" in *O Século.* December 10th, 1909, p.1.

[1513] Woodside and his wife Emma had left for Africa with their two small daughters in 1888 and were to spend 31 years there. He would later become a firm advocate of the Republican Government in Angola after the suspension of recruitment of labourers for S. Tomé: "**With slavery and rum done away with**, the opportunity for mission work has improved tremendously. The most sanguine among us had scarcely dared hope to see this day and yet so it is". In West Central African Mission report, 1912. American Board Papers. Harvard Univ. Archives. (my bold)

[1514] The ABCFM was Congregationalist. Note that Catherine Higgs Op.cit. 2012, p.103, indicates the date of Stover's expulsion as July 4th 1906. However, according to Soremekun, Stover was expelled **under the provisions of the decree of that date**, which dealt with the expulsion of foreigners who violated the sovereignty of the Province. See Fola Soremekun. *"A History of the American Board of Missions in Angola 1880-1940."* (my bold) Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Northwestern University, 1965, pp.138-9. Cf. also Renata Jesus da Costa, *Colonialismo e gênero entre os Ovimbundu: relações de poder no Bailundo (1880-1930)* Brasília, 2014, p.128-130 who offers evidence from ANH?, cx. No. 3831. Estante 64. Bailundo. *Expulsão do missionário Stover de Angola - Bailundo 1908-1909.* fls. 17-73.

The actual date of expulsion was March 27th 1908. (my bold) Confirmation is provided by the *Baptist Missionary Magazine* of March 1909, no. 89 p.3 which writes that Stover, who had been in Portuguese West Africa for 26 years, had been expelled for "acting in a way detrimental to the sovereignty of Portugal". It was claimed "in his behalf that he has used his influence to prevent native revolt but has always been actively opposed to the liquor and slave trade".

Massano de Amorim's enquiry was held first at the Bailundo Fort and then at the Office of the Polícia Judíciária at Benguela. His report to the *Chefe do Estado Maior*, dated December 28th 1902, claims that the local traders were convinced that the American missionaries were to blame for the uprising. One of Amorim's first conclusions, however, was to confirm the total ignorance of the local authorities concerning "os antecedentes, pontos de vista dos missionários, regimen das missões, doutrinas professadas, relações dos padres com o gentio," and anything that might offer a point of departure for an enquiry of this kind. Amorim writes that some mission stations had been opened without the knowledge of the authorities and that **"os missionários não ensinam aos pretos a língua portugueza, não tem escolas de artes e offícios, o ensino sobre culturas não vae além do que elles podem adquirir nas suas libatas."**Amorim accuses the missionaries of inculcating false ideas in the mind of the natives "which undermine [our] authority and supremacy over them". In AHU 805 Cx 21 Angola. (my bold)

Protestant missions since the beginning of Cadbury's investigation into the contract labour system.[1515] Stover was eventually allowed to return to the colony after American diplomatic representations were made to the Governor-General of Angola, [1516] and he came back to give a lecture in Oporto in 1910, rather appropriately entitled *"O Filho Pródigo"*.

In 1909, another of the leading figures of the Portuguese Protestant lobby against "slave-grown cocoa"- the Methodist minister, educationalist and republican activist Alfredo Henrique da Silva, who was a particular enthusiast of the use of "projecções luminosas", [1517] gave a lecture illustrated by 54 slides at the Mirante Chapel Hall, which was entitled, almost certainly euphemistically, *"*Um Passeio em Angola". In view of his militancy against the São Tomé contract labour system, the timing of his lecture - 1909 - the year of the boycott, and his close association with William Cadbury and Charles A. Swan, which dated back to the early days of the controversy, it seems highly unlikely that Silva would have missed the chance of speaking out against the evils of contract-labour recruitment in Angola, and not only is it quite conceivable that the title was a subterfuge to disguise the true purpose of his talk, but that some of the recent pictures Swan had taken in Angola were shown as slides. [1518]

In fact, in July and August 1908, Silva had taken advantage of a journey to Britain [1519] to visit Rowntree's at York, and Cadbury's at Bournville, later requesting the loan of lantern slides to be shown in Portugal. Moreover, Silva's correspondence [1520] reveals that he

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[1515] In Stover's letter to George L. Lorillard, US Chargé d'Affaires, Lisbon, December 21st, 1908. American Board Papers. Harvard University Archives.

[1516] Teixeira de Sousa attributes the Bailundo Revolt to the "*conspirações* […] *contra o paiz soberano"* of American missionaries. See António Teixeira de Sousa. *Para a História da Revolução*. Moura Marques & Paraísos, Coimbra: 1912. Vol.1, p.194.

[1517] "[…] criei aulas nocturnas e ensinei nelas gratuitamente milhares de operários e empregados de comércio e **iniciei no meu país as conferências populares de vulgarização científica**, **com projecções luminosas** […]" Alfredo Henrique da Silva. *O Monstro de Escravatura a minha defesa na campanha levantada a proposito do folheto "Alma Negra"* Typ. Mendonça, Porto : 1913, p.13 (my bold)

[1518] Note that several of Swan's photographs were made into lantern slides and used by Joseph Burtt in his lectures. **There were, in fact direct links between the Oporto Methodists and missionaries in Angola**, as the Official Journal of the Sixth Conference of the West Central Africa Mission [Methodist] held at Quessua Mission Station, Malange, on July 7th-11th 1909, testifies: "Later still **we were much blessed by the visit of Mr. Raul Gonçalves from Oporto,** who preached the Gospel several times with much acceptance. He was the bearer of good tidings and greetings from the church at Loanda to the evangelical churches of Lisbon and Oporto."(my bold).

[1519] Apparently to attend a conference at Balliol College, Oxford.

[1520] See the regular correspondence between Silva and Cadbury in the AHS-AHdaSilva Collection. Specifically WA Cadbury to AH da Silva July 16th 1908, also August 12th 1908. Another letter dated August

made substantial detours to stay with both William Cadbury and Joseph Burtt at their homes. It was Silva who had taught Portuguese in 1905 to Joseph Burtt, William Cadbury's envoy to Portuguese West Africa and translated Burtt's report in July 1907. He had also acted as an interpreter when Cadbury met with the Planter's Association in Lisbon in 1907, and it was Silva, again, who translated William Cadbury's report on his visit of enquiry to São Tomé and Angola in 1908,[1521] and acted as an intermediary in the publication and distribution of the pamphlet *"Alma Negra!"* denouncing the contract labour system.[1522] Indeed, so close was Alfredo Henrique da Silva's association with William Cadbury that he would be one of the two Portuguese witnesses for the plaintiffs, at the Cadbury Bros. v. *Standard* libel trial in December 1909, which focussed on Cadburys' alleged procrastination in the "slave-grown cocoa" affair.[1523]

After the boycott Silva would become one of William Cadbury's principal sources of information on the progress of reforms in Portugal and it was he, again, who distributed almost 800 copies of Cadbury's report in 1910 to members of the Portuguese Royal family, Government ministers, leading politicians and academics, newspapers, libraries and other influential public figures in Portugal, Angola, São Tomé and Brazil - a formidable task. [1524] Soon after the advent of the Republic, Alfredo Henrique da Silva would become one of the founding members and one of the two Secretaries of the Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society,[1525] creating a link between evangelical anti-slavery activists and radical republican reformers, and in 1911 Cadbury gave his friendship with

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19th 1908 thanks da Silva for the news of Héli Chatelain´s death. Cadbury describes him as " an eccentric man" who "had a good influence in a small circle of native people in Angola."
Clearly they were both well-informed regarding Protestant missionary work in Angola even before Cadbury and Burtt's fact-finding trip in late 1908.

[1521] William A. Cadbury, trad. Alfredo Henrique da Silva. *Os Serviçaes de S. Thome. Relatório d'uma visita as ilhas de S. Thomé e Príncipe e a Angola, feita em 1908, para observar as condições da mao d'obra empregada nas roças de cacau da Africa portugueza.* Bertrand. Lisboa, Chardron, Porto: 1910

[1522] See Chapter 2.6 of this dissertation. The pamphlet was later published in English by the British Anti-Slavery Society and became the subject of a minor scandal within the "slave-grown cocoa" controversy, provoking an embarrassing split within the republican camp. Silva's version of the events surrounding the "Alma Negra!" affair, are set down in *O Monstro da Escravatura.* His political and humanitarian views are summarised in the same pamphlet on p.35: "[…] enquanto eu tiver um sopro de vida, hei-de dedica-lo à minha Pátria, para a libertar de tudo o que a manche e lhe tolha o progresso, ou seja a monarquia com os seus erros, ou o jesuitismo com as suas mentiras, ou a escravatura com as suas vergonhas!".

[1523] Silva's testimony to the High Court of Justice can be found at PT-AHS-ICS-AHSilva-ESC-SER.2-01.

[1524] See *Distribuição de Os Serviçais de S. Tomé de William A. Cadbury*. PT-AHS-ICS-AHSilva-ESC-SER-3-04.

[1525] Together with José de Macedo.

Silva [1526] as the reason for finally cutting off relations with John H. Harris, who had accused Silva of being responsible for the failure of the meeting between the representatives of the Anti-Slavery Society and its novel Portuguese counterpart.



Figure 4.41. Photograph from *Illustração Portugueza* showing the deputation from the British Anti-Slavery Society in Lisbon in 1910. (almost certainly outside the Hotel Avenida Palace)

Due to his inexperience as a diplomatic go-between and his unbridled enthusiasm for the new Republican authorities in Lisbon, Silva had portrayed the British delegation as merely wishing to congratulate the Portuguese Government for its declared intention to bring about reform, whereas the true objective of the British antislavery campaigners was to come away with a clear promise, in writing, that all the contract labourers would be repatriated. [1527] Indeed, it was almost certainly a telegram to Cadbury sent by Silva after

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[1526] Cadbury Bros. employed da Silva's son Luiz in the office at Bournville for a year and paid for him to attend the Woodbrooke Settlement (now entitled Study Centre) for a term, a Quaker college which had been founded by George Cadbury and John Rowntree in 1903. See WA Cadbury to AH da Silva. August 9th 1909. AHS - AHdaSilva Collection. Other correspondence between William Cadbury and Alfredo Henrique da Silva shows that da Silva regularly sent newspaper cuttings to Cadbury and was constantly pressed to provide information on the reforms made by the new regime after 1910.

[1527] **Figure 4.41.** *Illustração Portugueza* no. 249. Nov. 28th, 1910. p. 703. Nevinson stands second from the left and Burtt on the extreme right. Possibly Alfredo Henrique da Silva on the extreme left. The deputation, which was led by Edmond W. Brooks, also included Joseph King MP (with stick, next to Burtt), Georgina King-Lewis and John H. Harris, who, perhaps significantly, does not appear in the photograph. The representatives of the Society arrived in Lisbon on November 14th 1910, met with Foreign Minister Bernardino Machado on 16th and with the newly-founded Portuguese Anti-Slavery Committee led by Sebastião Magalhães Lima on 17th. A brief report on the meeting appears in the white paper HMSO. Africa no.2, 1912, p. 43, and a longer one in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigine's Friend*. "São Thomé-Angola Slavery." January 1911, pp. 185-191.
In addition to Magalhães Lima and da Silva, the Portuguese deputation included Simões Raposo; Norton de Matos; Leotte do Rego; Rodrigues Braga; Marques Ribeiro - the Mayor of Luanda; Carlos Braga - a

a conversation with members of the Provisional Government that had led to the Anti-Slavery Society's decision to send a delegation to Lisbon. [1528] Despite the failure of the meetings to achieve any binding agreement Cadbury swiftly came forward in Silva's defence and in a letter to Harris soon after the Lisbon meetings he underlined the fact that Silva was "[…] a man who more than any other has spent himself in the Anti-slavery cause […]".[1529]

After the fall of the Monarchy in 1910, the Protestant community in Portugal was spared the anti-clerical and the more specifically anti-Jesuit persecution which was a feature of the early Republican regime. Indeed, Protestants were favoured to a certain degree by the new political situation and many welcomed it.[1530] It was Alfredo Henrique da Silva, himself, who raised the flag of the Republic over the Mirante Chapel in Oporto on 5th October, 1910 and led a thanksgiving service that day for the fall of the old regime, whilst shortly afterwards Eduardo Moreira, a leading Protestant, republican and freemason, lectured at the same venue under the title *"A República crê em Deus (Defesa da Democracia e da República)"*. Further proof of the new government's goodwill towards the Protestant community was provided by the presence of the Foreign Minister

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judge in Luanda and Álvaro Corte Real. See also "Anti-Esclavagismo. A Commissão Anti-Esclavagista portugueza cumprimenta a missão ingleza. Afirmações importantes." *O Século* November 17th 1910. p.1. Surprisingly, even the left-wing radicals of the Lisbon daily *A Republica Portugueza* were taken aback by the fact that Nevinson and Burtt were part of the British deputation: "[…] A Comissão foi iludida na sua boa fé e recebeu os **beefs** inimigos. Para outra vez não será mau apurar primeiro que espécie de mão é a que se lhe offerece; se d'um bandido…se a d'um traidor." (Bold in italics in the original). "Esclavagismo*".A República Portugueza.* November 18th 1910, p.1.

[1528] "That some people in Portugal believe that the new Government will in fact do what we ask is shown from a telegram to Mr. William Cadbury of Birmingham which is published in Thursday's papers, a telegram signed «Da Silva: Lisbon». It runs as follows: **"Republican Government declares it will settle the San Thomé labour question with absolute justice and freedom to natives. Meanwhile orders given immediately to enforce existing laws of free recruitment and repatriation"** See "Portugal and Slavery-An Appeal to the Republic". *The Spectator*, October 15th 1910, p.588. (my bold).
In response to a request from the Anti-Slavery Society, the **British chocolate-makers paid for the expenses of the deputation**.WA Cadbury to AH da Silva. November 5th 1910. AHS-AHdaSilva Collection. PT-AHS-ICS-AHSilva-ESC-SER-6-A-04. (my bold)

[1529] William Cadbury to John H. Harris. January 9th 1911. BFASS papers. Mss Brit. Emp. S22 G267.

[1530] The Missionary Bishop for Africa of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Bishop Joseph C. Hartzell, met with Afonso Costa on 25th January, 1911. Hartzell's favourable account of the meeting is held in the American Board Papers at Harvard University: *Report of interviews with the President and Ministers of the Portuguese Republic on questions of religious liberty and education* and in the Alfredo Henrique da Silva Collection at Arquivo de História Social under the title *Report of an interview by Bishop Hartzell with Dr. Affonso Costa Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs and Capt.Azevedo Gomes, Minister of the Colonies and Marine.* PT-AHS-ICS-AHSilva-MIS-1-02. Hartzell lectured the following day at the União Cristão da Mocidade on the topic of "The Church and the State."At the end of the year Hartzell and the missionary Walter J. Gates visited Roça Rio de Ouro in São Tomé and were impressed by "this wonderful plantation" and "the conditions and spirit of labourers" See HMSO. Africa no 2. 1912, p.111.

Bernardino Machado's "secretary" at Swan's meeting at Santa Catarina Hall just a week after the fall of the Monarchy. [1531] In fact, according to Charles Swan's biographer, so confident were the Protestant representatives in the good faith of the new Republican leaders towards the issue of contract labour, that Swan's anti-slavery book "found its way into the hands of certain members of the Government, who manifested every desire to deal drastically with this cancerous evil." [1532]

Alfredo Henrique da Silva's status as a leading republican and one of the principal figures of the Methodist church in Portugal is also demonstrated by his presence as a member of the deputation representing the Portuguese Protestant churches which met with Teófilo Braga and Afonso Costa on 20th October 1910, to request the reform of anti-Protestant legislation [1533]. The influence of the Protestant lobby at the beginning of the Republican regime is also apparent from the participation of Robert Moreton, a Religious Tract Society activist and a leading member of the Lisbon Methodist community, as the interpreter at the first meeting of the British Anti-Slavery Society with Foreign Minister Bernardino Machado and from the public recognition in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of the former missionary Charles Swan's "generous assistance" in organising the meeting. [1534]

The record of lantern lectures given to the Protestant community during this period also bears witness to the changing times, including the participation of a number of speakers who would have been reluctant to lecture to such an audience before the change of regime

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[1531] Arthur G. Ingleby *Pioneer Days in Darkest Africa*. Pickering and Inglis. London n.d. (1937?) p.147. The "secretary" was probably Luís Filipe de Saldanha da Gama da Silva Ramos, or the writer Luís de Montalvor, later editor of *Orpheu*, perhaps the most famous of Portuguese literary magazines. See Luís de Montalvor, "*Historia Do Regimen Republicano em Portugal"* 2. Vols. Editorial Ática, Lisboa: 1930-35.

[1532] Idem. p.144. Swan, like his friend Alfredo H. da Silva, was clearly hopeful that the republicans would succeed, even before the fall of the monarchy, as his preface to *The Slavery of Today* reveals: "My conviction is that if the Portuguese nation could be convinced of the fact that slavery, pure and simple, exists in any of her Colonies, **the people led on by the brave and devoted men now in the front of the political fight for freedom** […] would without the interference of any outside Power, rise up and demand justice for the downtrodden black man […]" Chas. A. Swan Op.cit. 1909, preface p.x (my bold)

[1533] See Rita Mendonça Leite. *Duas militâncias evangélicas: Alfredo Henrique da Silva e Pedro Castro da Silveira*, in António Matos Ferreira, João Miguel Almeida *Religião e Cidadania: protagonistas, motivações e dinâmicas sociais no contexto ibérico*, UCP, Lisboa: 2011, pp.195-212. Costa was Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs in the Provisional Government.

[1534] The meeting took place on November 16th 1910. A report appears in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, January 1911, p.186. No mention is made of the British delegation´s dissatisfaction. Robert Moreton was the son of Robert Hawkey Moreton, (1844-1917) who came to Oporto from Britain as the first minister of the Methodist community in 1871. The Anti-Slavery Society confirms, in correspondence with Alfredo Henrique da Silva, in his role as Secretary of the Portuguese Society, that **Charles Swan was "fully entitled to represent the views of this Society".** (my bold) See AHS-AHSilva collection. Travers Buxton, AS and APS to Alfredo Henrique da Silva, March 21st 1911. Swan was a corresponding member of the Society.

and who undoubtedly represented the official position on contract labour and the colonies in general. In 1911, they included teachers and alumni of the Escola Superior Colonial, amongst whom the future Minister for the Colonies, Alfredo Augusto Lisboa de Lima, [1535] who gave a lantern slide lecture on *"*A província de Cabo Verde", Benjamim da Costa Jerónimo, who lectured on "Os principais produtos das nossas colónias" and Alfredo Loureiro da Fonseca who spoke on "A Guiné Portugueza".[1536] It was now patently clear for all to see that the members of the Protestant community were no longer personae non gratae and were evidently being taken seriously by the new regime.

Missionaries continued to bring regular news of their African endeavours to the Mirante Chapel Hall in Oporto. In 1911, a missionary of the American Board, Henri Alfred Neipp, lectured on "Trabalho missionário nos distritos do Bié e do Bailundo", and Henri P. Guye of the Swiss mission in Mozambique spoke on "A obra evangélica em Lourenço Marques".[1537]The following year, Roberto Shields [sic] an Irish Methodist missionary,[1538] spoke on "A obra evangélica em Angola" and Frederico Lane [sic] of the Plymouth Brethren gave a talk entitled "Benguela".[1539] In 1913, William C. Terril, an American Methodist missionary stationed in Inhambane, Mozambique, gave a lantern lecture on "A obra do Evangelho em África" and A. Junot [sic], lectured on "A música e a literatura dos

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[1535] Col. Alfredo Augusto Lisboa de Lima (1866-1935) a military engineer and colonial administrator, lectured at the Escola Superior Colonial and served as Minister for the Colonies on two occasions in 1914.
[1536] Lieut. Alfredo Loureiro da Fonseca, a naval officer who had recently published a study on Portuguese Guinea, resigned, in disgust, from the staff of the progressive magazine, *Economista Portuguez,* on November 22nd 1910 due to its support for the visit of the British Anti-slavery deputation. The steering committee of the Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society met on the premises of the magazine two days later. Loureiro de Fonseca's protest against "[…] the festive reception of Messrs. Nevinson and Burtt […] the men most in evidence as defamers of the Portuguese name in the foreign press" was published in *O Mundo* and appears in English in Wyllie's translation of Mantero´s *Portuguese Planters and British Humanitarians,* 1911, p.108. Loureiro da Fonseca lectured on São Tomé and Príncipe at the Sociedade de Geografia in 1918 and his talk was later published by Monteiro de Mendonça of the Boa Entrada Plantation. Clearly, by then, he subscribed to the planters' views on the subject. See: A. Loureiro da Fonseca. *As ilhas de S. Tomé e Príncipe desconhecidas: conferência realizada na noite de 16 de Março de 1918, no "Centro Colonial " e mandada publicar por Henrique J. Monteiro de Mendonça*. Tip. "A Editora", Lisboa: 1918.
[1537] Henri Guye would later provide evidence on forced labour in Mozambique for the Ross report to the League of Nations. See Edward Allsworth Ross. *Report on the Employment of Native Labour in Portuguese Africa*. Abbott, New York: 1925.
[1538] Robert Shields of the Methodist Episcopalian Church worked as a missionary in Angola from 1887 to 1936, having first arrived with Bishop Taylor's self-supporting mission.
[1539] Fred Lane was one of the early Brethren missionaries in Garenganze [Katanga], having arrived with Dan Crawford and Hugh Thomson in 1890 at Msidi's capital Bunkeya, where the missionaries Swan and Faulkner had already established a missionary outpost. By 1905, he had founded the Capango mission, 40 miles to the North East of Chilonda.

indígenas de Lourenço Marques". [1540] Robert Shields had made an earlier contribution towards the campaign against slavery in Portuguese West Africa with a series of photographs which illustrated a short article entitled "Angola, the Last Foothold of Slavery", published anonymously in the widely-read *National Geographic Magazine* towards the end of the monarchist regime. [1541] Given the authorship of the photographs, it was probably Shields, himself, who wrote the accompanying prose, but to avoid complications with the authorities, his name was omitted.[1542]

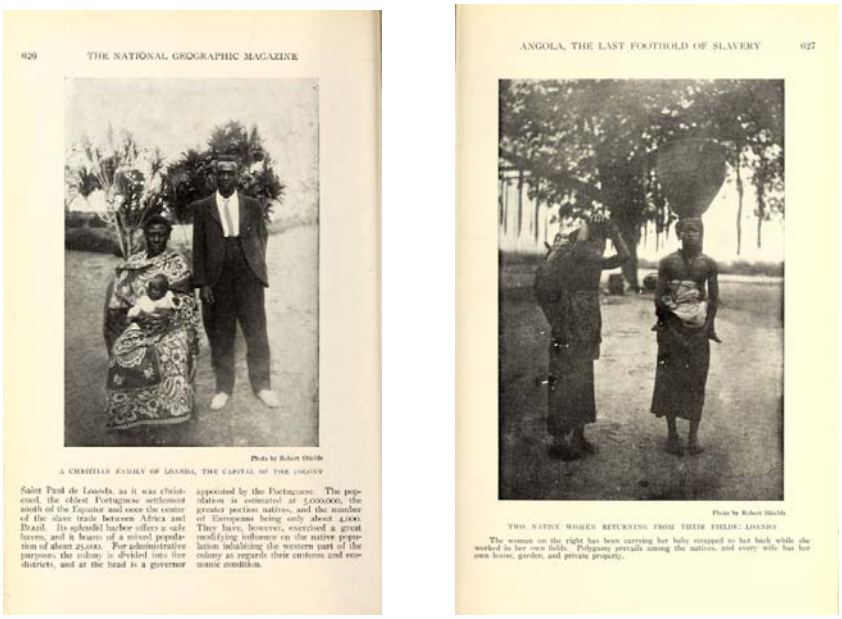


Figure 4.42 (left) A Christian Family of Loanda, the Capital of the Colony. (right) Two Native Women returning from their Fields: Loanda. Photos by Robert Shields, on facing pages.

Although the photographs do not purport to show slaves as such, nor offer evidence to support the author's sweeping statement on the persistence of slavery which accompanies them, the article was clearly designed to focus attention on the issue:

> For every thousand people who have heard of the Congo Free State, which borders on the east and north, it is possible that two have heard of Angola, and perhaps one of those knows that from a time some score of years before the inauguration of the Congo State to the present day there has existed in that country a system of slavery which is **only comparable with the**

[1540] Henri-Alexandre Junod (1863-1934) of the Swiss-Romande mission in Mozambique. Junod was a pioneer ethnographic researcher and is known for his extensive study of the Ba-Thonga people of Mozambique and Natal: *The Life of a South African Tribe*. 2 vols., Attinger Frères, Neuchatel: 1912, 1913
[1541] Robert Shields became a regular source of information from Angola for William Cadbury after this visit as Cadbury's correspondence with Alfredo Henrique da Silva shows.
[1542] One of the five photographs " Natives cracking open palm-kernels for the Market. Angola", on p. 629, is credited to Bishop Hartzell, the Methodist Episcopalian Bishop for Africa.

> **Spanish in the West Indies**. Slaves are brought down from the interior, often as far as 800 miles, by agents who think they have done well if one-half of their drove survive the journey […] Angola is classed as a country poor in natural products of the soil and minerals, but still relatively rich in men, in spite of having been squeezed for generations by the Portuguese.[1543]

The images fit into the familiar genre of ethnographical pictures which appeared in the pages of the *National Geographic* at the time, [1544] but the two pages facing each other contrasting apparently wealthy, converted Africans wearing western clothes, on one side, and half-naked native women, returning from their fields and carrying heavy loads, on the other, were typical of the missionary use of photography for propaganda purposes.

4.7 Joseph Burtt's lecture tour in America: the use of photographs and lantern slides in the Anti-Slavery Society's propaganda campaign

In late September 1909 Joseph Burtt and his wife Emmeline travelled to the United States as envoys of the Anti-Slavery Society, in an attempt to gain the support of consumers and, above all, the great American chocolate manufacturers, for the cocoa boycott. [1545] Burtt spent four months in all in America, but was obliged to return to Britain in the middle of his campaign to stand as a witness for the plaintiff in the Cadbury Bros. v. *Standard* libel trial. His six-week lecture tour, much of which was organised by John Daniels, the Secretary of the Congo Reform Association in America, covered the major cities of the Eastern states, including Boston, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia and

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[1543] Anon.[Robert Shields?] "Angola, the last foothold of slavery" *National Geographic Magazine* XXI July 1910, p. 625. (my bold)

[1544] Idem pp. 626 and 627. The contrast between the sitting position of the woman on the left with that of the women on the opposite page, who were "polygamous" as the caption explains, was clearly deliberate and suggests that both "civilisation" and prosperity went hand in hand with "salvation".

[1545] See "Slavery in Portuguese West Africa" *The Times.* September 13th 1909, p.8 - A letter from the newly merged Anti-Slavery Society and the Aborigine's Protection Society. "The effect of their action [the boycott] has been to drive the San Thomé cocoa on to the American market at a cheaper rate, so that the situation is now largely in the hands of the Americans. It became, therefore of the highest importance to influence public opinion in the United States against this survival of slavery […]. The ASS and APS had therefore decided to send Mr and Mrs Joseph Burtt to the US and appealed to "all who have the cause of freedom and the welfare of Africa at heart" to contribute to the fund to pay for the trip. Appeals also appeared in the *Daily News* and the *Daily Chronicle*.

Washington D.C., as well as Detroit and Chicago. [1546] The tour followed in the footsteps of John H. Harris who had given more than 200 lantern-slide lectures in over 50 American cities on behalf of the Congo Reform Association. Indeed, many of the venues were common to both campaigns and it is clear that Joseph Burtt would not have achieved half as much if it were not for the network of humanitarian activists which had been set up by the CRA and who made sure that their contacts were aware of the importance of Joseph Burtt's initiative. The visibility of the campaign in the United States was additionally assured by the fact that it took place in the centennial year of the birth of Abraham Lincoln.

Throughout his stay in America syndicated articles were published from coast to coast with sensational headlines appealing to the humanitarian instincts of the readers, such as "Would you boycott your cup of chocolate if you knew you'd free a slave - a child slave?" [1547] Burtt's lectures were accompanied by lantern slides of photographs taken in Portuguese West Africa, some of which showed shackles and contract labourers. [1548] Certain of the photographs that Burtt used in his lantern lectures also appeared in the American press, notably in the widely-read New York magazine *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, which ran a series of exposé articles on the survival of slavery in Portuguese West Africa. Couched in inflated and melodramatic terms, the campaign was launched by the well-known journalist Clarence Richard Lindner on October 7th 1909 - effectively preparing the ground for Burtt's lecture tour. [1549] Indeed, even before Joseph Burtt's arrival in America, the magazine had announced that Burtt, "the noted English authority on Portuguese West Africa", who "had led the fight in England" would be writing an article for its readers, "after years of careful and diligent study of the situation",

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[1546] See ASR January 1910, p.51 and Lowell J. Satre, Op.cit 2005, p.134.

[1547] In the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette Magazine.* August 5th 1909. Woman's Page. The writer "Dorothy Dale" had managed to get the wrong end of the stick, however, as she (or he) suggests that officials of the Portuguese Government were "aroused to the necessity of reform" and were "about to call upon the United States […] to boycott the product".The article carries an engraving which outrageously purports to show "[…] a group of chocolate slaves in Portuguese West Africa […] **carrying the poles on which they cure the cocoa pods.**"(my bold). Similarly, syndicated releases on the question were distorted out of all proportion or entirely misinterpreted by ignorant or poorly-informed journalists. The case of the *Bellingham Sunday Herald* is revealing. The headline read as follows: "Atrocities in Congo Horrify World, Jungles and Plains of Africa are Swept by Slave Hunters **to Supply Demand of Belgians for slaves to Work Cocoa Plantations on Islands of West Coast**.[…] **Englishman Proposes to Abolish system by Commercial Boycott of Belgian Cocoa.**" (my bold) *The Bellingham Sunday Herald*. February 20th 1910, p.12.

[1548] See Catherine Higgs, Op.cit 2012, p. 150.

[1549] Clarence Richard Lindner (1890-1952) "How America can free the Portuguese Cocoa Slave." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*. October 7th 1909, p.344.

illustrated by a series of "striking photographs taken in Africa by the author". [1550] A week after Lindner's article, Burtt's own appeal to the American public was published under the sub-heading "A dramatic, heart-gripping story of twentieth-century slavery atrocities, and a remedy". By then *Leslies' Weekly* was able to claim credit for having convinced three of the main cocoa purchasing firms,[1551] Huyler's, Lowney's and Powell's to abstain from buying "African cocoa", and others would soon follow as the articles and lectures began to take effect.

The Planter's Association in Lisbon was kept informed regarding Burtt's campaign in America through diplomatic channels and at a meeting held on October 25th 1909 to discuss the crisis, which was attended by over twenty plantation owners, it was agreed to accelerate repatriation to Angola and to communicate to the Government that they supported an extension of the suspension of recruitment from Angola for a further two-year period. The planters also requested that diplomatic efforts should be made to defend the planter's integrity in the British and American press and that the new regulations on recruitment should be published in English, French and German and distributed to the press abroad.

There can be no doubt that this was a turning point for the humanitarian campaign. The boycott was unquestionably beginning to achieve its aims, despite the planter's successful attempts to find other markets, and the threat raised by Joseph Burtt's visit to the United States had forced them to recognise that concrete and energetic steps were necessary to stop the rot.[1552] Indeed, the initiative was taken so seriously that Lt. Col. Wyllie, the planters' principal spokesman in the British and American press, was sent to the United States to counter the adverse publicity caused by Burtt's lectures and interviews. On arriving in New York on 26th November 1909, Wyllie was immediately interviewed by the *New York Times,* affirming, in his usual arrogant and dismissive fashion, that the

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[1550] Shortly after the beginning of the campaign the editor of *The Spectator* wrote: "We are extremely glad to print this encouraging report of the opening of Mr. Burtt's campaign in the United States. We may note that it is being energetically backed by *Leslie's Weekly*, a leading illustrated journal that has been for fifty years opposed to slavery in any form." *The Spectator*. 23rd October 1909, p.644.

[1551] Burtt had meetings with 15 chocolate manufacturing firms "many of whom allowed it to be known that they are not purchasing the slave-grown cocoa." They included the principal chocolate manufacturing firm of Walter Baker and Co. See the *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigine's Friend.* January 1910, p. 51. Evidently, it was virtually impossible to distinguish between the exact origins of the cocoa bought on the open market, after it had passed through the hands of several different purchasers before it reached the United States. Hence the referrence to "African cocoa".

[1552] Report given in the *Boletim do Centro Colonial de Lisboa.* (BCCL) No.8. November 15th 1909.

contract labourers on the cocoa islands enjoyed what must have sounded to the newspaper's readers like an idyllic existence:

> [they] come down the coast, many of them cannibals and all of them barbarians and are glad to hire out to the planters to escape the tortures of their own tribes. On the plantations they are well-housed, well-fed and the medical treatment afforded them is excellent. [1553]

Wyllie's comments reached the Pacific Coast on the same day and the *Oregonian* published a denial by the "Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society", made after "two months investigation in Portuguese East Africa", [sic] which referred to Burtt's accusations as "unwarranted fabrications". [1554] Burtt, who was variously described in *Leslie's Weekly* over the following weeks as "a trained investigator" and a "noted English scholar and humanitarian", readily conceded in his article that treatment of the labourers on the plantations was usually kindly, the food ample and the work of cocoa cultivation "an ideal employment for the native". On the other hand, he insisted that even the owner of the "admirably managed plantation Boa Entrada" had been forced to admit that thousands of fresh labourers had to be imported every year due to the gulf between the high death rate and the low birth rate on the plantations.

Burtt went on to argue, somewhat ingenuously, that, were a system of recruitment adopted like the one used to supply Mozambican labourers to the Transvaal mines, the death rate would be reduced to the same level or even lower:

> Instead of the slave gang and its attendant miseries and the hopelessness of enforced labor, we should have willing recruits and intelligent and happy work; in short, freedom with its power of progress, instead of slavery with its stagnation.[1555]

But rather than the arguments put forward in the article, it was the pictures which accompanied it which would have attracted the attention of the casual reader to the campaign. Illustrations, like dramatic headlines and captions, were an essential feature of

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[1553] Wyllie arrived in NYC on November 26th 1909 and was immediately interviewed by the *New York Times.* "Gives Portugal a Clean Bill. Col. Wyllie denies that negroes are ill-treated in Sao Thome." *New York Times*. November 26th 1909, p.3.

[1554] "Native Conditions Good. Returned traveller defends Portuguese treatment of Africans." *The Oregonian.* November 26th 1909, p.8. The power of syndication can be seen by the fact that Wyllie's rebuttal was published on the same day in the *Baltimore American,* p.1; the *Daily Oklahoman*, p.11; the *Springfield Republican,* p.7; *The Philadelphia Inquirer,* p.6 and many other American newspapers.

[1555] Clarence Lindner. "How America can free the Portuguese Cocoa Slave: A Thrilling, Heart-gripping Story of Twentieth century Slave Atrocities and a Remedy." *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly.* October 14th 1909, p.368.

a popular magazine like *Leslie's Weekly* which was designed to appeal to readers who had neither the time nor the patience to read long articles, and who needed to be effectively "stopped dead in their tracks" by a photograph or headline as they leafed through the pages of the magazine in the waiting room of a clinic or railway station.

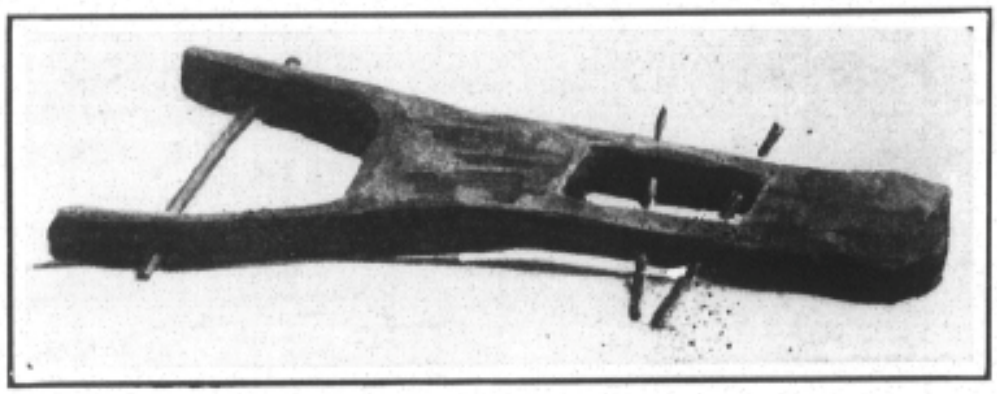


Figure 4.43. "A terrible instrument of torture-one of the shackles which the captive women wear on their necks on the march from the interior to the coast." *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly.* October 14th 1909.

Amongst other illustrations, Burtt's well-balanced introductory article included photographs of "Slaves on board ship en route to Príncipe", "One of Portugal's cocoa slaves" and "A terrible instrument of torture" [a wooden neck shackle].[1556] The shackle, an instrument of confinement and humiliation which was still fresh in the memory of many older Americans, albeit in the form of restraining iron chains, had effectively become the iconic symbol of the campaign against "Portuguese slavery", playing much the same role as the photographs of amputated limbs in the Congo campaign. [1557] Burtt suggests in his article, however, that other, even more gruesome images might have been used:

> I have before me a photograph, taken by a friend of mine, of a young slave lying dead. They found him in one of the little grass huts such as the natives use in the dry season when traveling. The large shackle, the staff he had used to aid his painful steps, the lean, shrunk

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[1556] Nevinson describes how they were made: "A native hacks out an oblong hole in a log of wood with an axe, it must be big enough for two hands or two feet to pass through, and then a wooden pin is driven through the hole from side to side, so that the hands or feet cannot stir until it is drawn out again.The two hands or feet do not necessarily belong to the same person." Henry W. Nevinson Op.cit.1968, p.112.

[1557] **Figure 4.43.** The same photograph, illustrating an article entitled "Africa's Slave Trade Co-operation of Americans sought to help suppress it." appeared on page 6 of the *Gulfport Daily Herald* of 30th March 1910, with the caption "Shackles used on Women Slaves", and was also reproduced in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of April 1910 on p.89, illustrating a review of Cadbury's *Labour in Portuguese West Africa*. The caption read "Shackle for Female Slave's Neck and Hands, as used in Angola."

> limbs, from which the prominent joints protrude, make a striking picture of what slavery means. [1558]

On November 4th the magazine returned to the campaign, under the heading "America, the Hope of the Portuguese cocoa slave", printing a series of letters to the editor which showed that Burtt's efforts were already achieving a considerable measure of success. Again, several photographs attributed to Joseph Burtt illustrated the article, accompanied by emotive captions such as "negro woman and child sold to cocoa planters for two small bags of corn in a time of famine"; a "typical group of Portuguese West African slaves on their way from the interior to the coast"; or "one phase of cocoa slavery - dead slave found where he had fallen, not far from the trade path."

For the unsuspecting readers of the popular periodical this was first-hand proof of the "Portuguese slave-trade" in "irrefutable black-and-white" - further consolidating Joseph Burtt's growing prestige and his credibility as an expert eye-witness and leading philanthropic campaigner. In truth of fact, however, all three of these images had appeared in Charles Swan's exposé, *The Slavery of Today* which had been published in the previous year - and, in keeping with the practice the former missionary observed throughout his book, both the subject and the place were identified by name, whilst the pictures were accompanied by the page link to his written account. Burtt, quite clearly, was not the photographer.

As disconcerting as this discovery might be today, it would be a mistake to question the authenticity of Burtt's whole testimony merely on the basis of such shaky evidence, as it is quite possible that the journalist in question had assumed that Burtt was the author as the pictures were in his possession. In fact, Burtt was probably referring to Swan and the third image shown below [figure 4.44], when he mentioned the photograph - "taken by a friend"- of a young slave lying dead near the trail. On the other hand, in an affair in which ethics played such a decisive role, it would have been reasonable to expect that greater care would have been taken in confirming sources of information. No correction or denial was published, however, despite the fact that Burtt undoubtedly read the piece, returning, himself, with a second article just over a week later. To make matters worse, Swan had offered the first photograph of "Musole and her child" [Figure 4.45] not as an example of

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[1558] *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly.* October 14th 1909, p.368.

the worst aspects of the system, but rather as proof of proper conduct on the part of the Portuguese authorities "at the nearest fort", who had set the woman free from the hands of "a white trader", who had purchased her for "two small bags of corn during a time of famine", as *Leslie's* article correctly affirms. On the incident Swan had commented: "How pleasant it is to be able to write of an act of justice in the midst of so much that is a standing disgrace to any civilized nation."[1559] Evidently, the original "meaning" of the photograph had been unscrupulously turned by the magazine to its own purposes.



Figure 4.44. Illustrations in *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* November 4th 1909, based on photos attributed to Joseph Burtt.



Figure 4.45. (Left) "Musole and Child (p.113)" **Figure 4.46.** (Centre) "A gang of slaves from the interior (pp 86,176)". **Figure 4.47**. (Right) "Dead slave with staff and shackles for hands and feet (p.42)".

[1559] **Figure 4.45.** Appears opposite p.80 in Charles A. Swan. *The Slavery of Today. Or The Present Position of the Open Sore of Africa.* Pickering and Inglis, Glasgow: 1909. The reference in brackets in the caption refers to the relevant part of the text.

The second photograph [Figure 4.46] was taken on December 16th 1908, when Swan and his party had left camp and were a day's march beyond Bié on the long trek to the Chokwe country on the border of what is today's Katanga. He notes that the image shows ten women, one man and nine children from the Lunda, Chibokwe and Luba countries, under the charge of "a regular hag of sixty years of age […] who, if not a half-breed, had considerable white blood in her veins". Swan relates that, at first, she referred to them as "my children" but when she saw he was determined to photograph them she became very angry and cried "they are all my slaves, and who has any right to interfere with them?" He adds that she had evidently chosen the relatively unfrequented route "to escape the Forts at the Quanza and in Bihé". [1560] Whilst confirming the survival of reprehensible, age-old recruiting practices, the missionary confirms once again that the Portuguese military authorities on the ground were not always willing to turn a blind eye to them.

Hence, the photographs were not only attributed erroneously to Burtt by *Leslie's Weekly*, but clearly used out of their original context, probably without malice aforethought, but, in any event, with scant respect for the readers of the magazine and the facts of the case . [1561]

Finally, as mentioned previously, the third photograph [Figure 4.47], which was taken on October 26th 1908, at the end of Swan's second day along the Bié trail, is presumably the one Burtt was referring to when he mentions "a friend's photograph" in his first article. It shows the emaciated body of a boy," whom Swan confides "could not have died before that morning", which was found in a hut close to the missionary's camp. Heavy wooden shackles for the young man's hands and feet were found next to the body [1562] and Swan reserves his strongest religious invective for those responsible for his death, placing the blame squarely on the shoulders of the São Tomé planters:

> Who are the real culprits? I would a thousand times rather be the native slave-trader at the Great Judgement Day, than the white man who induces him to carry on his inhuman traffic with such tempting offers of gain.[1563]

[1560] **Figure 4.46.** Idem. Opposite p. 64.
[1561] Once again Beatrix Heinze's timely warning comes to mind regarding the risks involved in interpreting an image which may have been used in different contexts.
[1562] **Figure 4.47.**Idem, Frontispiece.
[1563] Swan Op. cit. p.42.

In a second article published in *Leslie's Weekly* on November 14th 1909, Burtt reported on the progress of the campaign under the heading "My Success in America". [1564] At least one of the accompanying photographs - which was erroneously entitled "A Dilunga Woman and Child"- was first published in Swan's book and it is quite possible that certain of the others were also taken by him.[1565] Burtt, however, makes a point of mentioning his friend's report in some detail, which would seem to confirm that he was acting in good faith. The remaining illustrations are dramatically captioned "Doomed to Unceasing Toil", "At the land of the Lost", "Beasts of Burden" and "In the Enemy's Country".

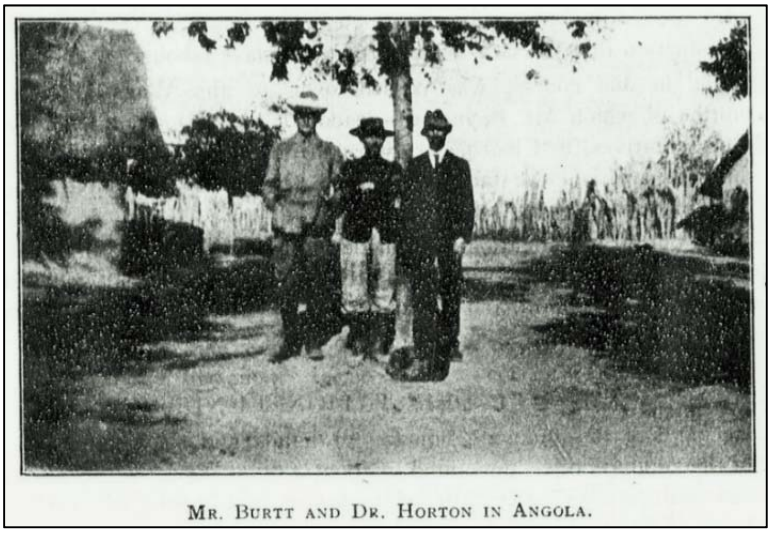


Figure 4.48. "Mr. Burtt and Dr. Horton in Angola". Reproduced in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, April 1910

The latter photograph, which also appeared in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* with a less emotive caption, shows Burtt, looking singularly calm and unthreatened by "the enemy", standing next to his servant, George, and Dr. Claude Horton, apparently during their fact-finding journey in Angola. Horton, a physician from Birmingham Infirmary who William Cadbury had persuaded to accompany Burtt due to his poor health, is described in the accompanying caption as "a noted authority on African Life," despite the fact that he had never previously set foot there, nor had anything but a summary briefing. Burtt, for his part, looks more as if he is about to depart on a country walk in the Cotswolds rather than

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[1564] Joseph Burtt. "My Success in America" *Leslies Illustrated Weekly* Nov. 14th 1909, p.608.

[1565] *Leslie's Magazine* seems to have had a cavalier attitude to facts, at least as far as illustrations were concerned. According to Swan's account, the woman who appears in *Leslie*'s as "a Dilunga woman" was from the Lunda country and she was named Dilunga! Cf. *The Slavery of Today,* pp.119-120. The illustration, which appears opposite p.96, is entitled "Happy mother and child who escaped from slave dealer (p.119)."

a "dangerous expedition in the enemy's country". [1566]Perhaps the most effective image in this issue is the one which follows, entitled "Beasts of Burden" which appears to show a group of captives, possibly part of a larger caravan, carrying shackles and being escorted by an armed guard. [1567] Although its origin is not specified in the article it is more likely that it was taken by Swan, who claimed to have come across several caravans on their way to the coast, than by Burtt.

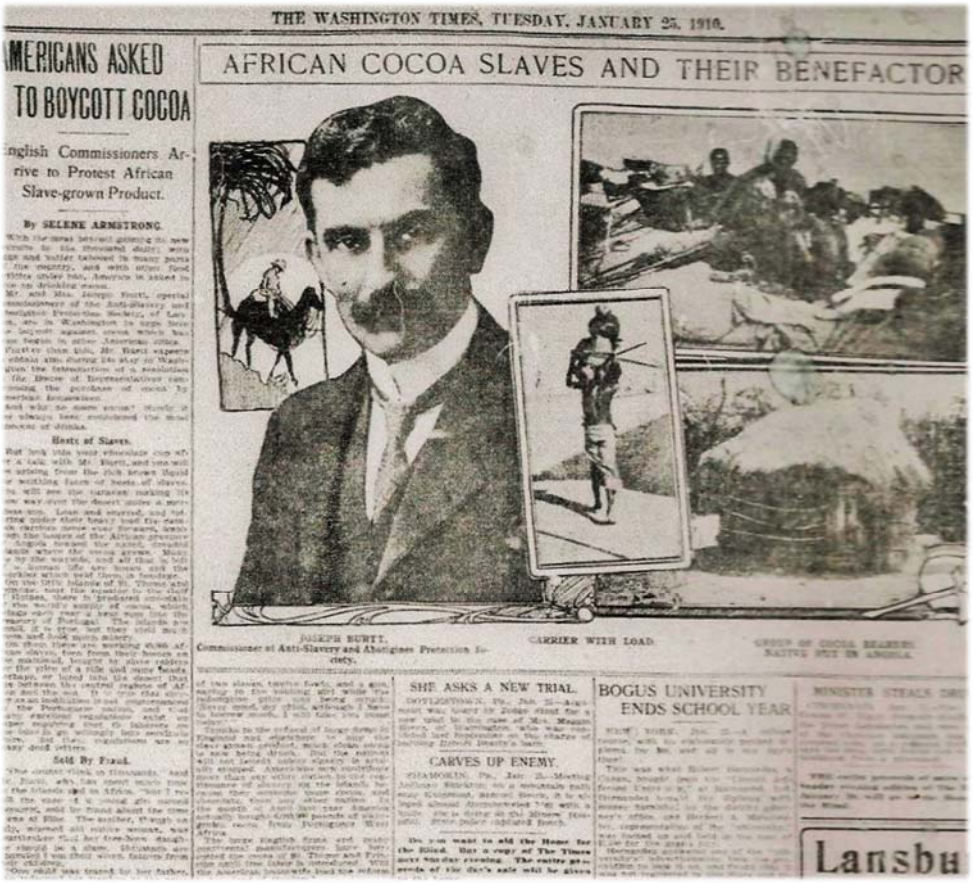


Figure 4.49 Illustration. "Beasts of Burden-captives, heavily shackled toiling 'neath the terrific sun on the way to the coast."

Amongst the other periodicals which supported Burtt's American campaign on behalf of the Anti-Slavery Society were the *Living Age*, *Collier's Weekly,* the *Literary Digest* and *The Outlook,* whilst scores of newspapers around the country published syndicated

[1566] **Figure 4.48.** Horton stands on the left, Burtt on the right with Burtt's servant, George between them. Reproduced in "Portuguese Slave Labour. The American Campaign." ASR April 1910 p. 83. It had appeared earlier in Joseph Burtt. "My Success in America." *Frank Leslies Illustrated Weekly.* November 14th 1909. p. 608. In the *Leslie's Weekly* article, the same photograph is entitled "In the enemy's country" and is purported to have been taken "on the slave route in the interior of Angola." *Leslies Weekly* readers must have been intrigued by the formality of Burtt's outfit and its unsuitability for such a hard trek!
Dr. Horton, who spoke no Portuguese, was by no means the first choice for this role and though he proved to be a good companion to Burtt, Horton could not in any way be construed as an authority on African affairs. The first choice, a zoologist, turned out to be "unsympathetic to the labour issue" and the second - an American dentist, who spoke Portuguese, dropped out at the last minute due to delays in obtaining carriers. See Catherine Higgs. Op.cit.2012, pp. 92-93. Horton was a house surgeon at Birmingham General Hospital when he agreed to accompany Burtt.
[1567] **Figure 4.49.** In Joseph Burtt. "My Success in America**"**, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly.* November 14th, 1909, p.608.

reports of Burtt's lectures in church halls, colleges and chambers of commerce. [1568] The articles rapidly appeared in widely-read and influential papers such as the *Boston Globe*, the *New York Times* (on several occasions), the *Cleveland Gazette* and the *Washington Times,* [1569] and many other titles, ranging as far away as Hawaii. They were undoubtedly effective in mobilising interest, as Burtt's lectures were always well attended despite his being a far-from-convincing speaker.[1570]


THE WASHINGTON TIMES, TUESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1910.

MERICANS ASKED TO BOYCOTT COCOA

nglish Commissioners Arrive to Protest African Slave-grown Product.

By SELENE ARMSTRONG.

Hosts of Slaves.

Sold By Fraud.

AFRICAN COCOA SLAVES AND THEIR BENEFACTOR

JOSEPH BURTT, Commissioner of Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society.

CARRIER WITH LOAD.

SHE ASKS A NEW TRIAL.

CARVES UP ENEMY.

BOGUS UNIVERSITY ENDS SCHOOL YEAR

Lansbu

Figure 4.50. "African Cocoa Slaves and their Benefactor". The Washington Times. January 25th 1910.

Relatively few of the newspapers, however, published any of the photographs, which were difficult to transfer expediently at the time, due to the absence of suitable

[1568] In the report in the ASR, Burtt writes that the number of articles which appeared in the American and Canadian press was 200, reaching millions of readers. "Portuguese Slave Labour. The American Campaign." *Anti-Slavery Reporter* April 1910, pp 81-84.

[1569] **Figure 4.50.** In *The Washington Times*. January 25th 1910, p.9. A portrait of Burtt appears next to some of his lantern slides, including "Group of Cocoa Bearers" and "Native hut in Angola". By then Burtt had already returned to the United States from Britain, where he had gone to testify in the *Standard* libel case.

[1570] In the ASR report, Burtt offers as examples, his first big public meeting in Boston at the Warren Ave. Baptist Chapel with 1200 people, and Erasmus Hall, NYC where he spoke to an audience of 1500 students.

technology. [1571] The syndicated articles, which were generally based on the campaign's well-organised press releases, made up for the lack of illustrations, however, with sensational headlines, such as "Rivals Congo Atrocities!!! Urgent appeal to American people to stop drinking cocoa […]". [1572] In a somewhat tardy reaction to the request from the Planter's Association for diplomatic support, the Portuguese Consul, Visconde de Valle da Costa, presented the official Portuguese position on the question in *Leslie's Weekly*, at the beginning of January 1910, under the heading "Slave-grown cocoa as the Portuguese see it." In his refutation, which was illustrated by an official portrait of himself, Valle da Costa refers to the new legislation with its three-year, non-renewable contracts, adding that all recruitment from Angola had been suspended "pending a thorough investigation". He further explained that "men of education and refinement" were appointed in each province as "curators of aborigines" to protect the rights of the contract labourers and the celebration of all new contracts had to be carried out in public. Valle da Costa closed his defence of the system by comparing it to the British colonies:

> If a man working under this system is a slave, it would not be necessary for Mr. Burtt to go to S. Thomé and Príncipe to find slavery because he could find it in the realms of his own country and especially in Ceylon and Burmah, where contract labour exists and where the laborers are paid only two dollars and fifty cents a month and are obliged to feed and clothe themselves. [1573]

Having put forward a series of pertinent arguments, the Portuguese Consul then went on to effectively destroy any favourable impression he might have made by quoting an article published in the *Ceylon Observer* [and *The Times*] by the planters' tireless defender, Lt. Col. J.A. Wyllie, which was typical of the callous and paternalistic views held by many colonialists all over the world at the time. Writing from São Tomé, Wyllie affirmed:

> The Portuguese know better than any other European nation how to manage the black race, and it is an object-lesson to any stranger visiting a plantation for the first time to see the perfect confidence with which the little niggers will come up and chatter to him […] The

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[1571] The first photographs were transmitted by "wire" in the United States in 1895, using a dedicated connection between two or three newspapers and the so-called Telediagraph process. In Europe a similar process known as the Belinograph was introduced only in 1913.The results were often poor. It was in the nineteen-twenties that reliable dedicated wire systems were introduced and only in 1935 that the first photographs were transmitted using normal phone connections.
[1572] *Cleveland Gazette*. November 13th 1909, p.1.
[1573] "Slave-grown Cocoa as the Portuguese see it. International Commercial Rivalry as a Factor in the Cocoa campaign." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly.* January 6th 1910, p.14.

> islands, deadly as they may be for Europeans, are a veritable paradise for the blacks, or they would be could the Angolan but realize his ideal - absolute idleness, plenty of rum and no care for the morrow.[1574]

Seemingly unaware that the racist attitudes that Wyllie, his expert witness, had revealed, merely played into the hands of the critics of the contract-labour system, Valle da Costa concluded in a more convincing vein, by suggesting that the campaign was inspired by motives which were far from humanitarian:

> Mr. Burtt, in his lectures, was frank enough to admit that he had been sent to make this investigation by and in the interests of English and German Cocoa firms; and this admission taken with the campaign that is being waged to boycott African cocoa, raises a purely commercial issue […] it is possible to inquire whether it is not possible to conceive of circumstances under which commercial benefits might accrue from this agitation […] and as to whether the cry of slavery and humanity is not merely a blind.[1575]

The editorial board of *Leslie's Weekly* appears to have taken the Portuguese Consul's arguments seriously and in the issue of April 28th, 1910, Clarence R. Lindner, who had launched the campaign in the magazine, returned to admit that there were opposing views on the question, voicing the protests of the American chocolate manufacturers who alleged that Burtt had: "allowed his audiences to disperse in the belief that cocoa should not be used by them in any form if they were in sympathy with the great cause of suppressing slavery." Threatened by a damaging consumers boycott, the American firms produced figures, which were quoted in the article, to show that only 14% of their cocoa came from Portugal and that any consumer boycott would unfairly harm the whole of their business. Lindner added that the American manufacturers were convinced that economic motives were behind the boycott, as the Portuguese Consul, himself, had suggested:

> […] the English manufacturers of cocoa, being financially interested in those plantations on the African mainland, are attempting to drive the Portuguese product out of the market,

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[1574] A quotation from Wyllie's letter to the Editor of *The Times* published on September 28th 1909 and reproduced in Wyllie. Op.cit 1911, pp.78-82.
[1575] Visconde Valle da Costa in "Slave-grown Cocoa as the Portuguese see it." *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly.* January 6th 1910, p.14.

> substituting for it their own cocoa and thus acquiring a virtual monopoly of the cocoa and chocolate trade.[1576]

By then, however, Burtt's campaign had led to meetings with Elihu Root, Senator for New York, who, three years later, would be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize; Secretary of State Philander Knox and President Taft himself, whilst a motion on the importing of "African cocoa" had already been tabled for presentation to both Houses by the Republican Congressman for New York, William W. Cocks.[1577]

Curiously, Burtt's lecture tour in the United States also left a legacy in the literary world. A few months after his return to Britain, a short story entitled *A Cup of Cocoa* was published in *McClure's Magazine*, a widely-read monthly which had gained a reputation for investigative journalism. The story, which was clearly inspired by the content of Burtt's lectures on São Tomé and Angola, was written by the well-known American novelist Eleanor Stuart and illustrated by the prolific artist, Frank E. Schoonover.[1578] Though evidently no more than an epiphenomenon in the controversy, the narrative, with its accompanying illustrations, would have been seen by many thousands of readers who, otherwise, might have ignored or forgotten the issues raised by Burtt's American campaign.

Schoonover's dramatic black and white brush-drawing of an African wearing only a loin cloth, which is shown below, dominates the first page. Though the man's features are undistinguishable, his is the body-language of despair. Clearly, he is the personification of slavery, a theme which the author returns to in her story on several occasions. And yet, as the reader soon discovers, the well-meaning, humanitarian atmosphere of Burtt's

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[1576] Clarence Richard Lindner. "Another Phase of the Portuguese Cocoa Question. Is It A Struggle For Trade Supremacy between England and Portugal?" *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly.* April 28th 1910.

[1577] William Cocks' motion read : "Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America and Congress assembled, That the President be, and hereby is, authorized to forbid by proclamation the entry of cocoa into the United States or her possessions when it is shown to his satisfaction that the same is a product of slave labour." The motion was clearly impossible to implement.
The Times. February 26th 1910, p.7 offers a report on Burtt's trip to America.

[1578] Eleanor Stuart. "A Cup of Cocoa." *McClure's Magazine*, August 1910, pp. 353-356. **Figure 4.48** Illustration by Frank Schoonover. Top of first page, p.353.
Eleanor Stuart (1872-1952) spent two years in East Africa after her marriage to Harris Robbins Childs, who was general manager of the main ivory trading firm in Zanzibar and acting US Consul, and she may have developed some of the attitudes she reveals in the story during her stay. An earlier story, also published in McClure's, was set in German East Africa and shows Stuart was far more "at home" writing about this part of the continent. See Eleanor Stuart. *Bibi Steinfeld's Hunting*. McClure's Magazine, March 1909, pp.480-489.

lectures had no place in Stuart's "Africa", where, just as in Schoonover's illustrations, everything was obliged to conform to the stark dichotomy of black and white - the whiter the better.



Figure 4.51 Frank Schoonover. Illustration to Eleanor Stuart's *Cup of Cocoa.* 1910

Oddly, given the obvious link to the campaign, Eleanor Stuart made little or no attempt to restrict her story to the evidence that Burtt had presented in his lectures, which, in view of the incongruencies of the narrative, appears to have reached her in second or even third-hand form. Facts and places are manipulated like a pack of cards in the hands of a conjurer. St. Paul de Loanda, for instance, the capital of fictional "Tellerey", is situated on an island 20 miles off the coast, [1579] and yet, it seems, it is still no more than a literary stone's throw away from the cannibal-infested jungle, an indispensable ingredient of the "Africa of ripping yarns". Other references, however, do come closer to the mark.

Writing in the typical racy style of the popular magazines of the day, Stuart reveals the link to the "slave-grown cocoa" campaign in the first few lines of the story. Her hero, Bly Applecourt, a young British diplomat from a famous Quaker family of chocolate-makers, is about to depart on his first mission to "Tellerey" - "the largest producer of raw chocolate [sic] in the world - bar St. Thomé". The message that "St. Thomé cocoa [was] made from sweat and tears" is mentioned more than once, and readers soon learn that Applecourt's father had given up buying African cocoa three years before and now "bought his stuff in South America or Ceylon, anywhere but the Portuguese colonies". Unsurprisingly,

[1579] Evidently an indirect reference to Stuart's time on the island of Zanzibar.

Applecourt, the epitome of the young colonial administrator, "educated on the playing-fields of England", is endowed with the stereotypical qualities of the typical role-model from a "Boy's Own" annual. [1580] Fearless, resilient and determined, he is always ready to "pitch in" on the side of the underdog and against injustice, his sense of duty to the Empire even overshadowing his Quaker reserve.[1581] Applecourt's mission includes a request from the Foreign Office to investigate the fate of a Maltese trader called "Nosretap", allegedly a British subject, who has disappeared off the map of "Africa" in Kurtzian fashion. [1582]

Arthur Hood, the British consular representative in Luanda, resorts to race and skin-colour to describe the trader's character:

> […] he was the most energetic coffee-coloured man I have ever met." "I thought he was white," I said. "So he was," Hood declared - "opaquely white, as it were. He was white like all white men who have a touch of the tar-brush in them. But he was never the least bit *pink*, if you know what I mean. [1583]

Applecourt's informant then warns him, "as a fellow white man", about the perils of the place, drawing upon the familiar racist trope of the African who reverts to his old ways on his return from "civilisation":

> One day some Lhassi blacks put a Dutch merchant on to boil. And mind you they were no uncivilized cannibals, one of them had gone to school six years in Liverpool, another wore clothes habitually, and another peddled religious chromos among missions in the hinterland.[1584]

After another "white man" had disappeared, Col. Pinto, the local Portuguese commandant, who was now languishing in prison after being court-martialled, was obliged to make war on the cannibals, though his force was far outnumbered.[1585] Explaining the reason for Pinto's arrest, Hood describes Pinto's forces as "a posse of

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[1580] The *Boy's Own Paper* was founded in 1879 by the Religious Tract Society for the promotion of Empire and Christian morals. It survived until 1967.
[1581] What Kuchta neatly terms "that latter-day avatar of the chivalric knight and recurrent hero of imperial romance" in a review of two critical studies of Conrad's "Heart of Darkness". Todd Kuchta. *Victorian Studies* Vol. 44 no.1 Autumn 2001, pp. 159-162.
[1582] Marco "Nosretap "- evidently reads "Paterson" backwards, a literary device to emphasise that the man in question, though perhaps partially of British descent, had "gone native" like Conrad's Kurtz, and had lost any notion of "civilised behaviour". Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* was first published in Blackwood's Magazine in 1899.
[1583] Idem, p.356.
[1584] Idem, p.359.
[1585] The implication was, of course, that cannibalism, though despicable, could be tolerated as long as it was kept "between themselves".

unskilled, emaciated cocoa criminals", the survivors of "four companies" which the unscrupulous commandant had previously "sold into slavery on the cocoa stretches", whilst continuing to draw the soldiers' pay and rations.

The notions of race and white supremacy upon which Stuart's story is based are by now patently clear. In accordance with the predominantly Anglo-Saxon, imperialist thinking of the day, the black man in Stuart's "Africa" is an unreformable "savage" and only "true white men" can be counted upon to behave in a civilised fashion, whilst those who have "a touch of the tar-brush" are incapable of being anything but corrupt and will inevitably set a bad example for "the blacks". Rather than humanitarian concern for an exploited indigenous population, Stuart's true aim in writing the story, like many of those in Britain and America who criticised the contract-labour system, was to show that Portugal's colonies and its valuable pool of indigenous labourers would be better off in the supposedly incorruptible and more capable hands of "true white men"… evidently of Anglo-Saxon stock.[1586]

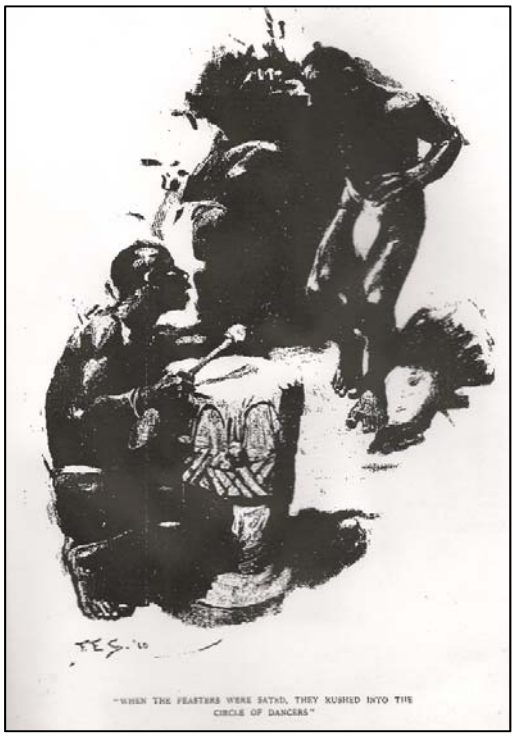


Figure 4.52 "When the feasters were sated, they rushed into the circle of dancers". Illustration by Frank Schoonover. *Cup of Cocoa.* 1910

[1586] Stuart was evidently aware of the drain of African workers from Zambezia to the Transvaal gold mines, from her time in Zanzibar. **Figure 4.52** Idem., p.355.

4.8 Joseph Burtt's campaign in Britain and his lantern slide collection

A report in a regional newspaper, published in November 1911, offers rare insight, today, into the way Joseph Burtt conducted his lecture campaign against the contract-labour system after his return from the United States. The article in *The Berwickshire News* covers an "illustrated lecture", entitled "A Thousand Miles along the Great Slave Route" which Burtt had given to "a very good attendance" at the Literary Society of the United Free Church at Coldingham, on the Anglo-Scots border. [1587] Introduced as an "authority on indentured labour", who had spoken at the Universal Races Congress that summer and had recently published a "powerful" novel entitled "*The Voice of the Forest* ", Burtt began by speaking "in high terms" of William Cadbury. He then described the working conditions of the labourers on the plantations as "slavery in everything but name" and emphasised that "not one of the thousands brought from Angola had ever been known to return"- a statement which was evidently true at the time of his visits but was now contradicted by ongoing repatriation. Correcting the impression caused by his introduction, Burtt went on to admit that "for the past three years slavery had practically ceased and only free labour was employed", adding his hopes that the new Republican regime would continue to maintain the significant improvements which had been achieved.

The newspaper report underlined the fact that the "illustrations" had been "exceptionally fine" and "showed principally scenes on the journey along the slave route" with a number representing life on the plantations.[1588] Burtt had given a "graphic description" of his journeys "up the slave routes into the interior, and told how he had found shackles and skeletons and the dead bodies of slaves" who had died "in the passage". He ended by making "an impassioned appeal" to the audience to do everything in their power "to put down the terrible curse of slavery" wherever it might occur. In the question time which followed, the Rev. J. T. Dean, the President of the Society, who had been a missionary in

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[1587] "20th Century Slavery." *The Berwickshire News.* November 11th, 1911, p.5. At a similar lecture given at the Hull Geographical Society, Burtt showed "60 beautiful lantern pictures" and gave "an interesting account of his personal experiences on the great African Slave route". See *The Yorkshire Post*. December 9th 1911, p.11.

[1588] These lantern slides appear to have been lost and are not part of the Newcastle Museum's collection.

Old Kalabar [sic], [1589] enquired as to the responsibility of the Portuguese authorities. Burtt replied that several officials on the coast had been removed due to their protests, having been replaced by others who were more amenable to the trade, "because the money interest behind the slave traffic was so powerful"- a grip, however, which had been weakened by the revolution and the fall of the Monarchy. The lantern lecture, which was described in the final vote of thanks as "striking" and "eloquent", seems to have been typical of the talks that Burtt, now something of a celebrity since his return from America and the publication of his novel, gave at a number of venues around the country.

The paper mentioned in the Coldingham lecture, which had been presented by Joseph Burtt to the Universal Races Congress earlier that year, provides a useful summary of his thinking at the time on the question of indentured labour, based on his first-hand experience in Portuguese Africa. Whilst painting a dark picture of the cruelty of labour recruitment in Angola, Burtt was careful to say that conditions on the plantations were acceptable, the legislation governing the treatment of the labourers was fair and that the new Government was doing its utmost to remedy the situation:

> The methods of providing labour for the cultivation of cocoa in the islands of S. Thome and Principe during the last twenty years illustrate the abuse of the indentured system. […] Dread of the slaver [in Angola] hung over the people like a cloud; and the pernicious traffic with its many ramifications struck at the root of honest trade and progress. That this took place under the Portuguese flag is not pertinent to our inquiry. The Republican Government is doing its best to correct these abuses, and we must remember they are the result of lawlessness of the white and helplessness of the black, factors not confined to the colonies of any one nation. The fact that the labour was sent to another colony of the same nation, that the laws referring to it were just, and that the cultivation of cocoa is one of the healthiest forms of agriculture, show what evils may arise from the system, even when, as in this case, it has circumstances in its favour. [1590]

Burtt's lantern lecture at Coldingham, though typical of his later talks, differed somewhat from those he had given before the boycott. In the first half of 1908, Burtt was

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[1589] Then the Niger Coast Protectorate, now part of South-eastern Nigeria.

[1590] The Congress was organised with the aim of improving relations between the races of the world and was an early manifestation of the anti-racism movement. More than 50 countries and 20 governments sent representatives, resulting in the presentation of 58 papers. Burtt's short paper was introduced after the reading of anti-slavery campaigner Sir Charles Dilke's posthumous contribution. See *Supplement to Sir Charles Dilke's paper by Joseph Burtt, Matlock (England)*. In Ed. G. Spiller *Inter-Racial Problems: a record of the proceedings of the first Universal Races Congress held at the University of London July 26th to 29th, 1911*. P. S. King & Son. London: 1911, pp.323-4.

undoubtedly playing down the more controversial aspects of his investigations.[1591] A report at the beginning of that year in the *Gloucester Journal* on his lecture "On the West Coast of Africa" at the Friend's Meeting House, remarked that Burtt "said very little of past conditions and recruiting" preferring to confine himself "to recounting of some very vivid impressions of the physical characteristics of tropical Africa and the conditions of native life" as well as some of his "personal adventures" along the "1000 miles of the […] greatest and oldest slave routes".

Despite the focus on the less controversial aspects of his African journeys in the Gloucester lecture, the report confirms that Burtt's progressive views of the relationship between Europeans and Africans were already consolidated by 1908. Contradicting the predominant social-Darwinistic and imperialistic thinking of the time, Burtt was enthusiastic about "the future of the African native", describing him as "an increasing, not a diminishing race of astounding vitality" whilst affirming that "West Africa was essentially a Black Man's country" and that the "allocation" of "the vast continent" amongst the European Powers was "a great problem which called for a just and merciful statesmanship."

Although undoubtedly aware of Cadbury's strategy, Burtt seems to have been careful not to disclose that a decision had already been taken to start purchasing cacao in British West Africa, as he emphasised in his talk that his investigations had led the Portuguese Colonial Minister to promise that "a thorough investigation of the whole subject in Angola" would be carried out:

> […] with the intention of replacing the present irresponsible recruiting agents by a proper Government system, as far as possible along the lines employed with success in Mozambique, with provision of means of repatriation making it possible for the native to return at his option to his home in the interior. [1592]

[1591] "Slave Labour in San Thomé" *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* March-May 1908, pp. 58-9. The article mentions a lantern lecture given on April 3rd 1908 by Joseph Burtt which was reported in the *Hull Daily News.* In the lecture Burtt expressed optimism that the Portuguese authorities, based on the Brussels Conference agreement, "were doing something about the matter" after his report and Cadbury's protests.
[1592] *Gloucester Journal*. January 11th, 1908, p.10. Burtt was, of course, referring to Ayres d'Ornellas' promise to William Cadbury and himself, at their meetings with him in December 1907, to appoint a special investigator (Francisco de Paula Cid, who was Ornellas' Chief of Staff, at the time) to examine the question on the spot.

The emphasis of Burtt's lectures had clearly changed over the three-year period between 1908 and 1911, undoubtedly due to the Boycott and his ensuing tour of the United States, which had led him to play a more central role in the campaign, a part which, at first, he had modestly eschewed. The newspaper report also confirms that at the beginning of 1908, Joseph Burtt, and by extrapolation, William Cadbury, who had met twice together with Ayres d'Ornellas at the end of November and the beginning of December 1907, were still convinced of the good intentions of the Portuguese Government regarding labour recruitment in Angola and were optimistic regarding a satisfactory outcome.[1593]

A fortunate series of events led to an unexpected opportunity for researchers to examine some of the slides Joseph Burtt used in such lectures, over a century ago.[1594] A previously untouched box of over a hundred lantern slides belonging to Burtt, which was donated to Newcastle Museum many years ago by Edmund Burtt, a descendant, recently emerged from the archives to provide the focus for a special exhibition organised by Tyne and Wear Museums. It was hoped that the collection would offer clues as to how the lectures of one of the principal protagonists in the "slave-grown cocoa campaign" might have been structured, whilst adding to what is already known regarding his motives and his perceptions of Africa and Africans, and more particularly his own experiences in Portuguese West Africa. Complicating the task of reconstructing Burtt´s lectures, however, the donation was not accompanied by any significant explanation or description and the content and sequence of the slides offer few clues as to exactly how they might have been used. As expected, a thorough examination has confirmed that several of the slides that Joseph Burtt used in his lectures are absent from the collection and it is clear that many may have been destroyed or lost before the donation was made,[1595] including

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[1593] Cadbury and Burtt's meeting with representatives of the planters had taken place at the Centro Colonial in Lisbon, (Banco Nacional Ultramarino), on November 28th and December 4th 1907. See Cadbury's letter of December 10th 1907 acknowledging the planters' report of their December 4th meeting. "**We are very thankful to see that substantial measures of reform are now in hand** that we hope will remove the serious difficulties of the past and assure you of our best thanks for your share in this action. We shall within the next week make a public statement to the Press in England, we hope will do credit to the action that the Colonial Minister and you, as estate proprietors, have recently taken." In Francis Mantero. Op.cit, 1910, p.173. (my bold)

[1594] See **Figure 4.53.** An exhibition based on this box of slides and entitled "*The Curious Case of...*" was held at the Great North Museum, Hancock, Newcastle from June to September 2012. Reference of Burtt Collection: NEWHM 2012 H5.

[1595] Recent correspondence with William Muse, one of the organisers of the Newcastle exhibition, has revealed that the slides had never previously been examined and that about 25 other slides "showing scenes from South Africa, Kenya, and Egypt" were excluded from the exhibition. Most of the lantern slides

it appears, a number of the slides Burtt showed on his lecture tour of the United States. Furthermore, many of the original slides have suffered significant damage, before and possibly after the time of the donation, and the labelling is sometimes illegible, even in the case of commercially produced slides.



Figure 4.53. Burtt's slide collection in its original box.

Some, however, do have annotations, presumably in Joseph Burtt's own hand, as the illustrations, below, of slides from the collection show. Further research for this dissertation has also revealed that, contrary to expectations, comparatively few of the photographs appear to have been taken by Burtt himself. Adding to the puzzle, the images range in date from the turn of the century to just before the First World War, and geographically from Egypt down to the Congo, Angola, Kenya and South Africa.

Disappointingly, there are no slides made from photographs taken in São Tomé and Príncipe. The range of slides in Burtt's collection confirms, however, that despite their apparently haphazard relationship to each other, most of the photographs were, in fact, carefully selected from a number of different sources, published and otherwise, with the express purpose of being made up as slides for use in his lantern lectures. The varied content of the slide collection is typical of the heady mixture of traveller's reminiscences, ethnographical curiosities and religious propaganda which provided the backbone of faith-inspired lantern-slide lectures on "Africa" at the time. The wide selection of images would have offered sufficient flexibility to allow the content of lectures to respond to the

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illustrated in the present text were rephotographed for the purpose of the exhibition, and as can be seen from **figure 4.54,** most of the original slides now show signs of extensive damage.

specific composition of the audience and, in this context, it should be remembered that lecturers rarely used more than fifty or sixty slides.



Figure 4.54 (Left) "Kabinda with his mother whom he redeemed". (Right) "Runaway Slave. Boiling water thrown on him". Two slides from the Burtt collection showing their present condition.

A few of the slides in the collection had been commercially produced to display Britain's achievements in Africa and the advantages of Imperial rule - including a sketch map of British territorial possessions and views of Victoria Falls, Philae, and the Assuan [sic] Dam under construction, showing how the apparently unlimited power of nature could be harnessed by colonial enterprise and engineering. Some of the other slides feature wild animals, such as giraffes, elephants and lions, [1596] whilst others show animals being hunted, possibly in the Congo, by groups of "tribesmen" with spears and arrows, contrasting vividly with others showing white "sportsmen" shooting "big-game" with high-powered rifles. They are a reminder that the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, whilst creating the myth of the "great white hunter" and his "intrepid pursuit of big game" also marked the birth of an awareness regarding the threat of new and more destructive firearms to the wildlife of Africa. [1597] Other slides, however, show the ivory trade, then in full swing, with one slide in particular displaying

[1596] Made from photographs taken by the then famous wildlife photographer Col. Marcuswell Maxwell in East Africa.

[1597] Paul S. Landau draws a parallel, after Susan Sontag, between shooting and trophy-hunting and photography with its appetite for "capturing" the world, taking Sontag's analogy a step further into a colonial context. See "Empires of the Visual: Photography and Colonial Administration in Africa".Ch V. in Landau and Kaspin. Op.cit 2002, particularly pages 146-149.

colossal tusks bearing inscriptions in Arabic, ready for transport to the East coast ports. As Burtt spent two weeks in Mozambique [1598] and South Africa, before returning to Europe after his fact-finding trip to São Tomé and Angola, it is conceivable that he, himself, took some of the photographs there. [1599]

Unsurprisingly, the collection includes a photograph of a group of pygmies, shown below, and a frightening slide of a "cannibal with filed teeth", without which any self-respecting lantern lecture on "Africa" at this time would have been incomplete.[1600] Amongst the remaining slides there are several classic, colonialist clichés, including a commercial slide staged somewhere in South Africa, showing a highly-amused group of young "Zulu warriors" bearing shields, farsically "attacking" the photographer with their spears. [1601]

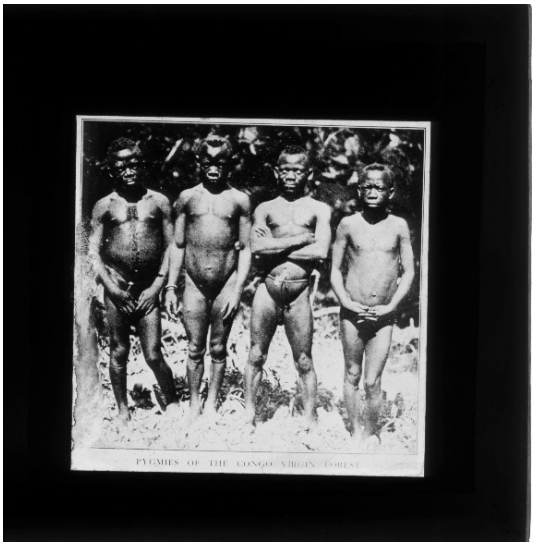


Figure 4.55. Lantern slide. "Pygmies of the Congo virgin forest". Burtt Collection.

Evidence of the facility with which images migrated from one context to another and the ease with which it was possible to recycle images from different sources using the technology available at the time, is offered by the fact that it has proved possible, through

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[1598] Joseph Burtt met with Freire de Andrade in Mozambique, as the latter relates in his report of 1913. "O Sr. Burtt , agente de Sr. Cadbury, que comigo esteve em Moçambique, bem o sabe [F.de A. claims to have been against the former labour system in Angola and São Tomé], pois que **tive o prazer de receber ali a sua visita e uma carta que me dirigiu ao partir, elogiando a liberdade e regime de que gozavam os pretos da colónia que tinha visitado."** Freire de Andrade. *Relatório feito pelo Director Geral das Colónias acêrca do Livro Portuguese Slavery escripto pelo Sr. John H. Harris*. Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa: 1913, p.13. (my bold)

[1599] See **Figure 3.57**, for example.

[1600] See **Figures 3.60 and 3.61**

[1601] This particular slide was commercially produced by Underwood and Underwood, London - one of the principal lantern slide manufacturers. It is labelled "2762-Training for War-A Zulu rush." See **Fig 3.57**

research for this dissertation, to trace these and several of the remaining slides to illustrations from the Duke of Mecklenburg's famous report on the 1907/8 German expedition through what is today Ruanda, Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. [1602] Significantly, amongst the slides in the collection [1603] there is a familiar portrait of the archetypal Victorian hero, David Livingstone and, less predictably, one showing Walter G. Doggett, a taxidermist and photographer who worked closely with Sir Harry Johnston[1604]in his efforts to measure, classify and categorise "typical representatives of disappearing African tribes" in Uganda.[1605] The presence of this particular slide suggests that not only was this photograph taken by Johnston himself, but that others in the Burtt Collection may owe their origin to the same remarkable polymath.

Although Joseph Burtt's slide collection provides little in the way of concrete evidence as to the precise content of his later lectures, there are several strong indications, including those which can be gleaned from the review in *The Berwickshire News* that, after the boycott, the struggle against slavery in Portuguese West Africa became one of his principal themes. Certain of the slides provide confirmation of the common philanthropic objectives of the Quakers and missionaries from other non-conformist persuasions, such as Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Plymouth Brethren, [1606] who had already

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[1602] Notably the pictures of the cannibal and pygmies. "A cannibal from the border-mountains of the Congo State" opp.p.182, and **Figure 4.55. "**Pygmies of the Congo virgin forest"- In Duke Adolphus Frederick of Mecklenburg. *In the Heart of Africa.* Trans. by G. E. Maberly-Oppler. Cassell and Co., London, NYC: 1910, opposite p.130. Mecklenburg's illustrated account of his twelve-month expedition in 1907-8 from Mombasa on the East Coast of Africa, to Banana on the West Coast, was substantially financed by the German Colonial Office. Mecklenburg's team took 5000 photographs, mainly of an ethnographical and geological character. In addition 4500 people were "measured", "36 plaster of paris masks were taken" and 35 languages were recorded on phonograms. Unfortunately, 1000 photographic plates were lost when a boat capsized on a river traverse.

[1603] Other slides from the Burtt Collection were made from photographs taken from Hutchinson's profusely-illustrated *Customs of the World,* which was published in Britain in fortnightly parts in 1913. Prefaced by the well-known anthropologist Haddon, it was advertised as "a popular account of customs, rites and ceremonies of men and women of all countries." Walter Hutchinson ed. *Customs of the World.* 2 vols. Hutchinson and Co., London: 1913.

[1604] Sir Harry Johnston (1858-1927), in addition to being a colonial administrator, was an explorer, linguist (he spoke over 30 African languages) artist, amateur zoologist, and the author of over 60 volumes. Although directly involved in the "Ultimatum" confrontation, Johnston thereafter defended Portugal's claims to its African colonies and was an admirer of its "civilising" efforts in Africa.

[1605] In this unlabelled slide in the Burtt collection, Doggett is shown talking to a group of Boers in front of a typical Dutch colonial-style house, probably somewhere in South Africa. The date can be partially deduced from the fact that Doggett was drowned in 1904 when his canoe capsized on the Kagera River, Uganda, whilst collecting fish specimens for the British Museum.

[1606] As shown in Chapter 3, at least two of the slides in the Burtt collection can be traced to photographs taken by the Brethren missionary Edward Sanders of Chilonda, Bié, who was undoubtedly one of those who provided support and information to Burtt on his journey into the interior of Angola in 1905. (See **Figures 3.68** and **3.69**). Yet another is labelled "Angolan Village. Robert Shields" which suggests that it

gained a foothold in Angola, as well as confirming their close relationship and collaboration throughout the "slave-grown cocoa" campaign.

Despite the obvious difficulties caused by the dearth of accompanying information, it has also proved possible to trace a significant number of the slides taken in the Congo and Angola to Alice Seeley Harris, several of which were published as illustrations in the Harrises' book *Dawn in Darkest Africa*. Confirming the association and the date of publication, there is a lantern slide, shown below, with the two former missionaries on their West African fact-finding tour. They are pictured impeccably dressed in their "missionary whites", posing by their tent with their African helpers - suggesting that Burtt must have referred to them in his lectures, or at least in those he gave after 1912, when the Harrises' book was published.[1607]

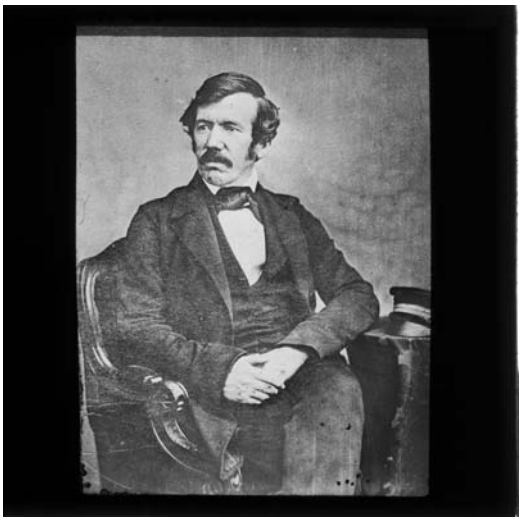


Figure 4.56. Lantern Slide of the Harrises, with bearers, on their tour of West Africa in 1911-12. Burtt Collection.

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was taken by Shields, one of the earliest and longest serving missionaries, who had already been in Angola for almost twenty years when Burtt arrived. Cadbury and Burtt visited Quessua Missionary station near Malange in 1908 and made a donation to Shields' Methodist operation: "We had a very pleasant visit from Mr. W. A. Cadbury, of England, who was accompanied by Mr. Joseph Burt [sic]. Mr. Cadbury, on behalf of British firms, came to see for himself what was being done to set right the unrighteous way of procuring labor for the cocoa growing islands of S. Thome and Principe. As a result the British firms have decided to make no more purchases of cocoa grown on the islands. **Mr. Cadbury gave us a handsome gift toward the new Church here at Loanda.**" Robert Shields, Superintendent of the Luanda District. Report to the Official Journal of 6th Conference of the West Central Africa Mission July 7th-11th 1909. WCAM (my bold)

[1607] See **Figure 4.56.** Harris has donned a trilby hat for the photograph whilst his pith helmet rests beside him. Judging by the apparently isolated surroundings the picture may have been taken by an African servant or interpreter.The photograph appears in the Harris Antislavery Collection under the title "Camping in the Forest at Bashishombe, Kasai River." MSS. Brit. Emp. S. 17 / B13 (Box 13)





Figures 4.57. (Left) Lantern slide showing David Livingstone in 1857. **Figure 4.58.** (Right) Lantern slide showing Lord Cromer in 1903. Both from the Joseph Burtt Collection.

As might be expected, there are a number of images which can be unequivocally identified with Burtt's lantern lectures on slavery in Portuguese West Africa. Amongst them are the two previously-illustrated slides [Figure 4.52] showing "Kabinda" and a "Runaway Slave". [1608] Also within this category are the slides based on photographs taken by the Harrises, [1609] whose exhibition at the Royal Colonial Institute, in 1912, Burtt would undoubtedly have visited, and the portraits, above, of David Livingstone and Lord Cromer, [1610] who was well-known in Britain at the time as a distinguished former colonial administrator who, despite his repressive policies in Egypt, had taken steps to end the slave trade in the Sudan.

[1608] The second slide appears as an illustration in Swan's *The Slavery of Today,* opp. p. 140, with the caption "Ngusu, slave boy with mark of master's cruelty on head (p.143)". Swan writes: "The bald patch on the poor lad's head was caused by his inhuman master throwing boiling water on him in a fit of anger."

[1609] Most, if not all, of the Harrises' RCI exhibition photographs are held at Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, Oxford. In Papers of the Anti-Slavery Society. MSS. British Empire s.17.

[1610] **Figure 4.57.** From a well-known and much-reproduced portrait of David Livingstone taken by John Mayall in 1857. **Figure 4.58.** This portrait of Lord Cromer, (1841-1917) which was taken in 1903 by George Charles Beresford, also appears in the October 1913 issue of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* in connection with "Portuguese Slavery". Cromer is best-known for his two-volume work *Modern Egypt* which was based on his administration as Consul-General there between 1883 and 1907. It is ironic, to say the least, that Cromer found it possible to be sententious regarding the contract-labour system and Portuguese treatment of indentured labourers, given his repressive, imperialist rule in Egypt and his later espousal of the anti-sufragette cause. [He was President of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage]. **Cromer, like other British colonial administrators in Egypt was originally of the view that slavery in the Sudan should be tolerated due to its "pervasiveness, its essential contribution to the economy" and the possible repercussions of its abolition on local public opinion.** Cromer to Salisbury F/078/4957 memo.no.10. Quoted (undated) in Mansoor Khalid. *War and Peace in the Sudan. A Tale of Two countries.* Routledge. London: 2012, p.32. (my bold)

The most convincing evidence, however, is the fact that one of the wooden shackles Burtt had picked up in Angola accompanied the donation of the slide collection, a clear indication that it was exhibited to audiences at his lantern lectures. [1611]



Figure 4.59. An exhibition case showing the wooden shackle which accompanied the Burtt collection at the Newcastle Museum show.

Further reinforcement is provided by the slide which follows of a young man holding up a shackle similar to the one Burtt donated, made from a photograph taken by Cadbury's envoy, the missionary Charles A. Swan, on the trail from Bié to Catumbela, which appears as part of the frontispiece in his book "*The Slavery of Today*". [1612] In the same category, there is another remarkable slide, the origin of which has not yet been confirmed, showing a dispirited young man sitting with his leg painfully fettered in an outsized wooden shackle - possibly a future contract labourer being held until a caravan was ready to continue its march to the coast. [1613] As overwhelming as the images of the shackles still are, today, it is the expressions on the faces of the subjects which capture the observer's eye - the suspicion in the woman's eyes in the first slide and the resignation

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[1611] See **Figure 4.59**

[1612] **Figure 4.60.** This lantern slide from Burtt's collection was made from a photograph which appears as the frontispiece to Charles A. Swan's *The Slavery of Today*, under the title *"Male and female slave* [sic] *being sent to a firm at Catumbella"*. The lantern slide in Burtt's collection carries the handwritten label *"Slaves going to Katumbella"*. This was one of the two photographs which appeared in *O Século* on December 10th, 1910 illustrating the article entitled "O Paiz ao Abandono".

[1613] **Figure 4.61**. Lantern slide also from Burtt's collection. Young man with outsized shackle. Origin of photograph unknown. Photographer quite possibly Charles Swan.

in the boy's face in the second – partially subverting the photographer's intention to focus the attention of the viewer on the instruments of coercion. [1614]





Figure 4.60 (Left) Lantern slide. Based on a photograph taken by Charles A. Swan in 1908. **Figure 4.61**. (Right) Lantern slide. Photo possibly taken by Swan in 1908. Burtt Collection.

Other slides in Burtt's collection can also be traced to Swan, including one of a "Slave Boy", shown below.



Figure 4.62. "Slave Boy". Lantern slide from Burtt's collection.

[1614] Writing of Alexander Gardner's well-known 1865 photograph of Lewis Paine-one of the conspirators in the assassination of Abraham Lincoln- taken just prior to his execution, Barthes underlines the evidential power of the medium, using words which might well apply to **Figure 4.61. "**The photograph is handsome, as is the boy: that is the studium. But the punctum is: he is going to die. I read at the same time: **This will be** and **this has been**; I observe with horror an anterior future of which death is the stake." Roland Barthes *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography.* 1993, p.96.

The lantern slide reproduces the photograph of a "Boy slave redeemed by an Englishman for £2", which appears in truncated form, as an inset, in *The Slavery of Today.* [1615] The slide, however, shows the full figure of the boy, which raises the possibility that Burtt might have been the Englishman in question.

It is conceivable, given the available evidence on dating, that Joseph Burtt may have used the shackle and some of the slides in lantern lectures which followed the publication in 1911 of his novel *The Voice of the Forest,* which was inspired by his experiences in Angola and effusively dedicated to William Cadbury.[1616] The fact that it was a work of fiction would have permitted Burtt to use greater licence in the use of the slides, many of which may have been shown merely to create dramatic atmosphere and effect. [1617] In a review of the novel in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, the writer, who was almost certainly Harris himself, praises Burtt´s efforts in denouncing the contract labour system whilst unwittingly exposing his own suppressed racial prejudice:

> "Mr. Burtt, who has done yeoman service to the anti-slavery cause, shows throughout a keen hatred of slavery, as well as of that spirit of contempt for the native as an inferior being fit only to be exploited for the white man's personal ends, so common amongst Europeans. Jimmie [one of the "heroes"of the novel] has a **saner** view, saying of his native carriers: "**They are like a lot of puppies on their hind legs**, and have about the same sense of responsibility, but one can't help liking them." [1618]

The reviewer refers to the part of the novel dealing with the section of the trail inland from Benguella, where the heroes [a thinly-disguised Burtt and his friend "Jimmie"] come across "the remains of a slave-gang left to perish by Portuguese traders", "a new enthusiasm" being aroused within them. Jimmie blurts out that "the slavers" should be "exterminated like vermin" but his wiser and more experienced friend replies that they were not "ratcatchers" and that the problem lay with "those islands where they are willing to pay long prices for labourers and ask no questions." The article concludes with a reference to the chapter on the "fever-stricken, pestilent city" of Benguela with its description of "the Portuguese officials, with their exquisite courtesy, graceful language

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[1615] **Figure 4.62** Compare the photograph of the boy with **Figure 4.40.** (Illustration from Swan's *The Slavery of Today*). Burtt, however, makes no mention in his letters to Cadbury of "redeeming slaves".
[1616] Dedicated to William Cadbury "in memory of his enduring work for freedom in West Africa". The book sold well enough to have a second printing in September of the same year.
[1617] Joseph Burtt. *The Voice of the Forest.* T. Fisher Unwin. London: 1911.
[1618] "Review. The Voice of the Forest. Joseph Burtt." *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigine's Friend.* October 1911, p.115. (my bold.)

and general futility when any work is to be done" which, the writer feared, was "drawn from life". In another review, published in Rowntree's progressive weekly *The Nation*, Henry Nevinson confesses that Burtt's investigative crusade in Angola was far more important than his fictional writing:

> Hidden under the imaginative form, one may find a very accurate picture of travel in Angola, of the natives, the wild animals, the officials, the far-off mission stations, the hideous diseases, and, above all, the gloom of ancient slavery that broods over the whole land […] the real importance of Mr. Burtt's book lies in his illustration of this central fact [the whole district of Angola is rotten with slavery. A trader could hardly live without it] and for that reason he must excuse me for not doing justice to the interest, excitement and cheerful humour of the rest of the story. [1619]

4.9 The revival of the "Slave-Grown Cocoa" campaign after the fall of the Portuguese Monarchy: the Harrises' photographs and lantern slides

In early 1912, almost three years after the import of contract labourers from Angola had been officially suspended, and despite the on-the-spot testimony of Protestant missionaries such as Woodside and Bresson confirming that, to all intents and purposes, recruitment of Angolan labour for the cocoa islands had indeed stopped, the campaign against "slave-grown cocoa" was revived by the British evangelical lobby, led by the Anti-Slavery Society's Organising Secretary John H. Harris. [1620] Articles in the press began to appear with insistence once again, debates were held in Parliament, and the first

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[1619] Henry W. Nevinson "A Crusader." *The Nation*. August 12th 1911, pp. 715-716. Despite an attempt at poetry writing, Joseph Burtt, perhaps wisely, decided not to pursue a literary career. Some of his poems, however, relate to his experiences in Africa. Joseph Burtt. *Sonnets and other poems.* Oliphants, London: 1926. Virginia and Leonard Woolf would later publish Burtt's study of the life of Armenian exiles in Greece and Smyrna. Joseph Burtt. *The People of Ararat.* Hogarth Press, London: 1929.

[1620] The March 1912 issue of the *Philafricain*, the journal of the Swiss mission in Angola, carried a letter from Bresson, dated January 5th, written from Lincoln, the mission station founded by Héli Chatelain. He concluded: "**Depuis l'avénement de la république au Portugal, nous avons déjà vu des reformes: la suppression de l'esclavage est maintenant un fait accompli.** L'eau de vie est aussi interdite, autant que possible […]"(my bold) Quoted in René Claparède, Op.cit 1913, p.16 and in Alida Chatelain Op. cit 1918, p.342.

in a series of five detailed and extensive white papers on labour in Portuguese West Africa was published by the Foreign Office.[1621] Ostensibly, the justification for the resumption of the campaign was the slow pace of repatriation and the incapacity of the Republic to put an end, once and for all, to the worst aspects of labour recruitment in the Angolan hinterland.

The Anti-Slavery Society was quick to take advantage of this new surge to regain some of the prestige and initiative it had enjoyed during the Congo campaign and before the boycott on Portuguese cocoa, which had been somewhat eclipsed by the events of the previous two years. John H. Harris, who then shared the brunt of the work of the Society with his wife, Alice, was sent on a fact-finding mission to West Africa with the principal aim of assessing the situation in the Congo and comparing it with the other West African colonies. Harris's report, with a preface by the Earl of Cromer, was published under the appropriately inspiring title of *Dawn in Darkest Africa,* and, rather than an exposé of reprehensible labour practices, it was presented by its author primarily as an assessment of the future prospects of the major West Coast colonies from an economic viewpoint. [1622] In apparent contradiction with Harris's declared aim, [1623] Cromer's introduction placed greater emphasis on the major humanitarian issues at stake, guiding the reader through the regions where problems persisted, emphasising the aftermath of the Congo scandal and the contract-labour problem in Portuguese West Africa. Pointing out that the methods of repatriation employed by the authorities of São Tomé were "open to very strong and legitimate criticism", Cromer emphasised that the "warlike strength of the British Empire" could not be used to maintain what he calls "a slave state", and concluded by expressing the hope that the Portuguese Government would "remove the barrier by totally abolishing the system". [1624] Harris also took the opportunity to set down his own views on the contract labour system, as well as offering his thoughts on such topics as

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[1621] HMSO Africa no.2 (1912) *Correspondence respecting Contract labour in Portuguese West Africa* [Cd.6322]. In fact the white papers were actually termed "blue books" or "white books" by the Foreign Office itself due to their length. The first numbered 117 pages, for instance.

[1622] Once again, the familiar biblical metaphor of "darkness and light" is used to good effect here in the context not just of religious redemption but the supposed benefits of civilisation brought by missionaries and colonial administrators.

[1623] Harris proudly reminds the reader in his introduction that before becoming a missionary he had been employed in business: "[…] prior to preparation for missionary work[…] I held a responsible position in one of the leading commercial houses of the city of London, which, among other advantages, gave me large insight into foreign and commercial questions." John H. Harris. Op.cit. 1912, p. xxiv.

[1624] Idem., pp.xxi-xxii.

increasing racism in the British possessions and the ambitions of Germany regarding the acquisition of the Portuguese colonies. [1625] Clearly designed to appeal to a wide range of potential readers, the ambitious study left much to be desired, failing, as it did, to fully respond to the challenge of dealing with its often conflicting, and never fully resolved objectives.

The Harrises, whose visual evidence had been so influential in the Congo campaign, took a thousand or so photographs along the whole length of their West-African journey, a remarkably ambitious and, indeed, costly feat in view of the onerous logistics required.[1626] A selection of five hundred of the prints was shown on their return, in an exhibition organised by the Anti-Slavery Society at the Royal Colonial Institute, in London. [1627] The accompanying leaflet informs that In addition to "forest and river scenery", the photographs featured the production of rubber and cocoa and "other tropical exports", as well as "customs of the Africans, types of chiefs, witch doctors etc." A significant number of the prints on show were of the British West Coast colonies and the Belgian Congo, [1628] where the Harrises had been able to meet some of their protégés and former colleagues from several years earlier. Others were clearly taken to revive public attention to the campaign against "Portuguese slavery" in West Africa, which had begun to flag since the import of contract labourers from Angola had been suspended and Mozambican and Cape Verdian labourers had started to come in significant numbers to the cocoa islands, on shorter contracts.

Many of the pictures were clearly taken because of their curiosity or picturesque appeal and despite its division "into sections", the impact of the whole show was undoubtedly diluted by the excess and diversity of images from different parts of West Africa, many of which would be singularly unimpressive today. Nevertheless, the Anti-Slavery Society

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[1625] In *Dawn in Darkest Africa* Harris came out against transferring the Portuguese colonies to Germany and surprisingly, given his unremitting opposition against "Portuguese Slavery", was complimentary as regards Portuguese attitudes towards Africans.

[1626] Sontag's much-quoted comment on the ambition of early photographers to "capture" as many images as possible, would seem to fit perfectly to this extraordinary photographic marathon: "[…] from its start photography implied the capture of the largest number of subjects. Painting never had so imperial a scope" Susan Sontag. *On Photography* in David Crowley and Paul Heyer eds. *Communication in History: Technology, Culture, and Society*. Vintage Books, New York: 1979, p.176.

[1627] Founded in 1868, the Royal Colonial Institute (now the Royal Commonwealth Society) was a private members' club, popular with colonial administrators, which was then conveniently situated in Westminster close to a number of Government departments. By the end of the First World War it had 15,000 members.

[1628] The Congo Free State had been wrenched from Leopold's exploitation in 1908, and since then had been under the somewhat less disastrous rule of the Belgian Government.

was so convinced of their interest and importance that it not only offered to send the exhibition on tour around the country to "churches, chapels, literary and scientific institutes", but added that "drawing-room exhibits" could be also be arranged for friends of the Society and that Harris, himself, would be available, in principle, to give explanations. [1629]

Just as Harris, the Organising Secretary of the now-amalgamated anti-slavery societies, had gone to great pains to plan and advertise his ambitious expedition, he had made equally sure that his credentials as a leading anti-slavery activist would be on display. The picture, below, of Harris using Henry Stanley's camera was undoubtedly intended to provoke an association in the mind of visitors between the former missionary and the still widely-respected explorer and discoverer of Livingstone.[1630]



Figure 4.63. Photograph from the Royal Colonial Institute exhibition, showing Harris, probably in the Congo, with Henry Morton Stanley's camera. Taken in 1911 by Alice Seeley Harris.

[1629] **"[…] visitors to the exhibition have been brought into closer touch with West Africa by inspecting these pictures than by the reading of many books."** *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigine's Friend.* 2:6 July 1912, p.175 (my bold). Most of the photographs in the Harris collection have been digitalised and are now accessible at : Antislavery Usable Past (nottingham.ac.uk) [accessed on 11/10/2021].

[1630] **Figure 4.63**. "Mr. Harris with Stanley's Camera." ASP. Brit. Emp.S-17. JHHC. Box 17-15. 80 x 105mm. Stanley had died seven years earlier.

As the label on another card records, Stanley's camera later belonged to the Rev. John Whitehead, one of the Harrises' missionary colleagues in the Congo, but despite the implied suggestion in the photograph, there is no evidence that this was the apparatus that the Harrises used on their expedition.





Figure 4.64.(Left) "Mr. Harris and the mutilated Congo lad, Impongi." Alice S. Harris. 1912. **Figure 4.65.** (Right). Illustration. "Impongi, a boy of Illnega. Mutilated by State soldiers". Alice S. Harris 1904.

Similarly, the photograph, shown above, of the former missionary standing in tutorial pose at the side of Impongi, [1631] who had featured in Harris's "Congo Atrocities" lantern lecture and in E.D. Morel's exposé *Red Rubber,* six years before, established a direct link with the Harrises' earlier missionary work with the Congo Balolo mission at Baringa and the Congo Reform Association's successful philanthropic campaign. Despite the fact that their visit to São Tomé and Príncipe had lasted only three days, several of the photographs

[1631] See **Figure 4.64.** Another of the exhibits at the RCI, showing Harris posing with Ipongi, the young man who Alice Harris had photographed in the Congo several years earlier. Ipongi is shown holding a book of some kind, suggesting that he had learned to read with the support of local missionaries.Taken in 1911. ASP. Brit. Emp. S-17 JHHC. Box 8-1. 80 x 105mm. See **Figure 4.65.** This photograph of Impongi as a boy appeared in E.D.Morel's book *Red Rubber* (pub.1906) under the title "IMPONGI, A BOY OF ILLNEGA, Mutilated by State Soldiers." Later editions of the book do not carry photographs. The same photograph was also used in Harry Guiness's *Not unto us. A record of 21 years missionary service.* N.P. London: 1908. It was also part of the Lantern lecture on the Congo Atrocities. [Slide no. 40. "The boy Impongi. Mutilated wantonly"]

Alice Harris and her husband managed to obtain were used both in *Dawn in Darkest Africa* and in the lantern-slide lectures they later gave at home and abroad. [1632]

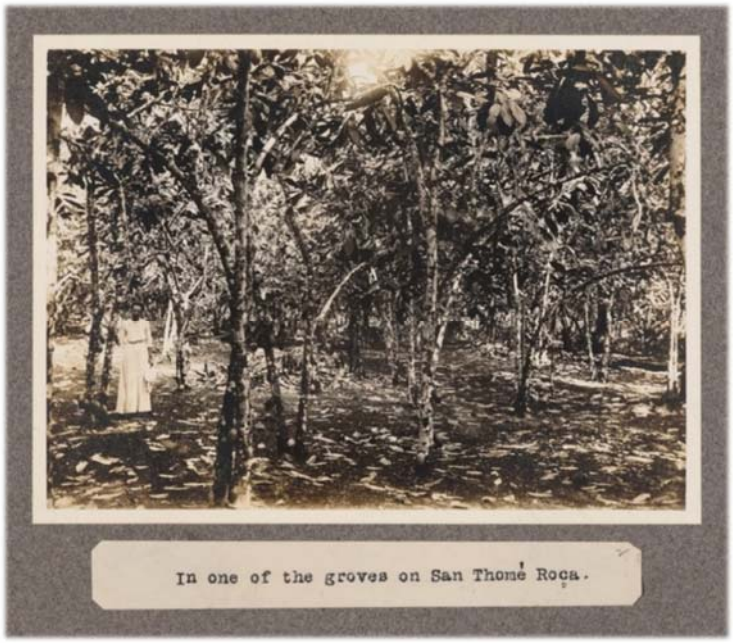


Figure 4.66. "In one of the groves on San Thomé Roça." Showing Alice Harris in São Tomé. 1912. Photo John H. Harris.

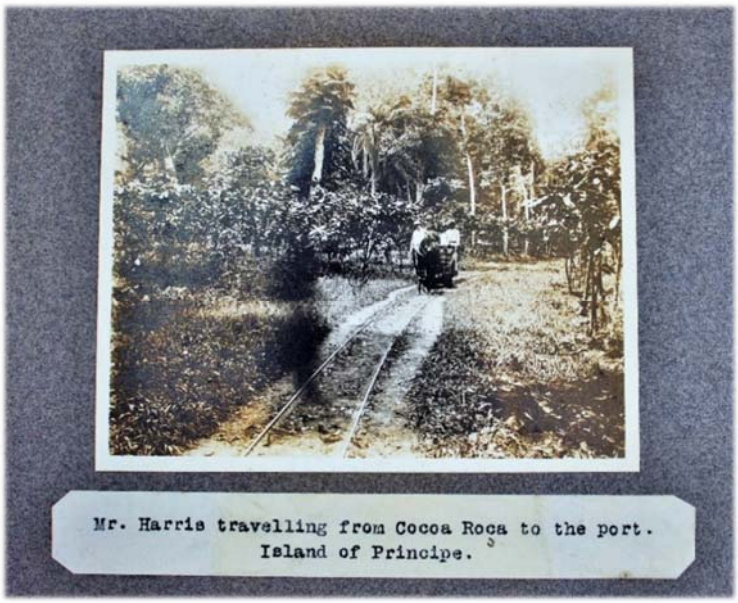


Figure 4.67. "Mr Harris travelling from Cocoa Roça to the port. Island of Principe." Alice S. Harris 1912

[1632] **Figure 4.66**. ASP. Brit. Emp.S-17 JHHC Box 3-13.115 x 160mm. **Figure 4.67** ASP. Brit. Emp.S-17 JHHC Box 4-23.100 x 125mm. Some of the photographs were undoubtedly taken by the Harrises' interpreter.

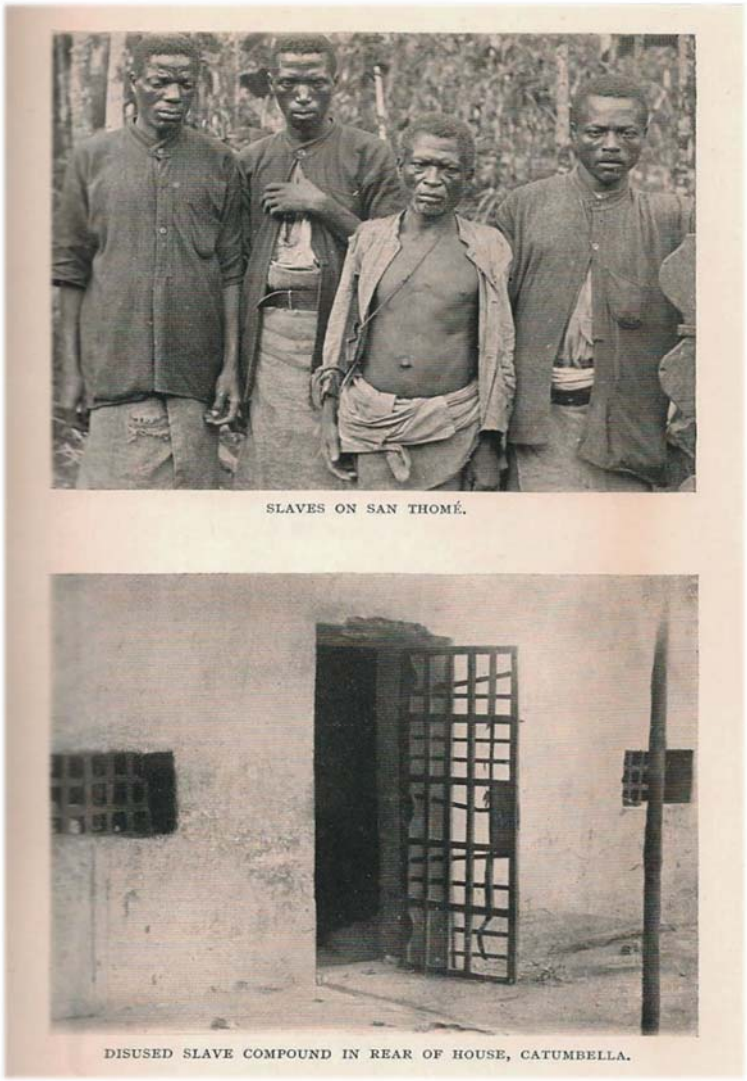
Unsurprisingly, under the circumstances, the evidence produced by the Harrises was contested by the planters and by representatives of the Portuguese authorities, who accused them of having spent no more than a few hours on the islands. In truth of fact many of the photographs Alice Harris took in Angola and São Tomé seem to have been taken hurriedly and in less than ideal conditions, unlike the carefully-staged pictures she had taken in the Congo several years before, and were it not for their captions and the way they were published they would have added little more to her husband's incisive arguments on "Portuguese Slavery", than visual proof of their presence on the islands, as the previous images were intended to provide.

In Harris's book, however, it was the clever juxtaposition of the photographs and the captions which accompanied them, rather than their intrinsic value or dramatic exposé character, which he seems to have relied upon for impact and effect. In the following pairing the upper photograph shows a group of four Africans, one of whom is clearly far older. The three younger men, who despite their worn and sickly appearance, are in their early twenties, are wearing identical collarless shirts and protective aprons made from cocoa sacking, suggesting that they worked together on the same plantation. The caption "Slaves on San Thomé", would have inescapably led the reader to interpret the signs of discomfort and suspicion on their faces as the marks of ill-treatment, sickness and exhaustion. Whilst appealing to his readers' sympathy for the plight of the men, Harris prudently admits that the treatment of the labourers on the "roças" was acceptable, suggesting, however, that ill-treatment, though relatively uncommon, did take place at the hands of certain individuals - perhaps unknown to the plantation owners. [1633] He adds that the men were from the Marquês de Valle-Flôr's Roça Rio d'Ouro and he was able to identify them as having originally come from the Congo region he knew so well:

> […] as we got near a plantation called the "River of Gold" we saw a group of four serviçaes in the centre of a large cocoa roça.[…] as there was something very familiar about the old grey-haired man, I asked him, through my interpreter, how long he had been on the Island. He said he had been there for over 30 years. […] then they told us the whole pitiful story; how that behind those model dwellings on the roça, how behind the abundance of food they were receiving, there was the cruel treatment, not of the managers […] but at the hands of

[1633] Clearly based on Joseph Burtt's amendment to his 1907 report on the plantations, which retracts his earlier allegation that ill-treatment was common and condoned by the estate managers.

the ganger, and then over and above and beyond all else, was that passionate longing for home and country. [1634]


SLAVES ON SAN THOMÉ.

DISUSED SLAVE COMPOUND IN REAR OF HOUSE, CATUMBELLA.

Figure 4.68. Illustration**.** (Top) "Slaves on San Thomé". (Bottom) "Disused slave compound in rear of house. Catumbella."

Below the picture of the "slaves" there is a photograph of a building with iron gratings on the windows and an ancient, barred iron gate, now ajar. The caption reads "Disused slave compound in rear of house, Catumbella." [1635] No information was given as to how long the compound had been abandoned nor what the link was, if any, to the other

[1634] The quotation is from the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* where the same photograph also appeared with the caption "Angola slaves on S.Thomé". *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigine's Friend,* 2:6, July 1912, p.182.
[1635] John H. Harris Op.cit. 1913, opp.p.180. The photograph of the wrought-iron gate is reproduced on its own in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* with the caption "Section of slave quarters in rear of old slave-trader's house, Catumbella, Angola". *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigine's Friend,* 2:6 July 1912, p.185. Judging by the antiquated design of the iron gate, it could have been a century old, or more.

photograph and the unsuspecting reader is cleverly induced by the pairing of the two pictures to make a direct association between them and, unconsciously, to complete the visual narrative of confinement, coercion and exploitation. Contrasting with the narrative suggested by the photographs, however, Harris's comments in the accompanying text are inconclusive: "The old slave compounds and prison houses confront the traveller in every part of Catumbela and Benguela, and although many have fallen into disuse, some still have the appearance of occasional occupation."





Figure 4.69. (Left) Lantern slide. "Slave Quarters. Catumbella" 1912. **Figure 4.70.** (Right) Lantern slide. "Contract Labourers." 1912

It is a sobering thought that the powerful impression provoked by the visual evidence would undoubtedly have prevailed in the mind of the reader over the unconvincing written account. As in all photographs of this kind, a single instance stood for all. Harris undoubtedly considered that these two images were amongst those which provided the most eloquent visual metaphor for the survival of slavery in Portuguese West Africa. [1636]

[1636] **Figure 4.69**. Anti-Slavery Pictorial Collection (ASPC): Lantern Slide 535. **Figure 4.68.** ASPC Lantern slide 411. **Figure 4.71.** ASP Brit. Emp. S-17 JHHC. Box 2 -19. 80 x105mm. taken by Alice Harris in 1911. From the RCI exhibition, mounted on stiff card backing, with typed labels. **Figure 4.70**. ASP Brit. Emp. S-17. JHHC.Box 2-15. 80 x 105mm.The mounted photographs from the Royal Colonial Institute Exhibition are part, as are the lantern slides, of the John H. Harris Collection in the Anti-Slavery Papers (ASP) at the Bodleian Library (Rhodes House) in Oxford.
The same two photographs which appear here as **Figures 4.71 and 4.72**, also illustrated an interview with J.H.Harris entitled "The Price of Cocoa and Rubber in Hard Cash and Human Suffering" in the April, 1913 issue of *The Quiver,* pp. 558-9, which linked the Congo Rubber Scandal together with the Slave-Grown Cocoa Controversy and compared the two situations with the Putumayo Affair. Harris concludes his remarks on Angola as follows: **"Thus the Union Jack of Old England is made to cast its protecting folds over Portuguese colonies maintained by slave labour. It behoves British public opinion to wake up with some alacrity to the menace which this alliance constitutes against all that is noblest and best**



Figure 4.71. "Section of Slave Quarters in rear of old slave trader's house, Catumbella, Angola". 1912

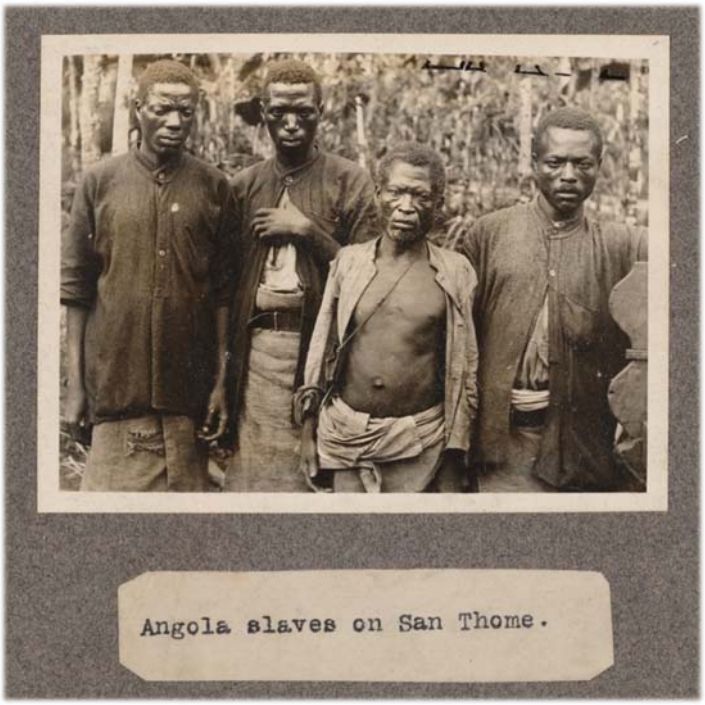


Figure 4.72. "Angola Slaves on S. Thomé". 1912 RCI Exhibition.

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in British History." Idem p.560. (my bold - note Harris' emotive use of the jingoistic symbol). Harris, of course was conveniently forgetting that "Old England's" record as far as slavery was concerned was far from "noble". *The Quiver* (1861-1926) was originally a penny weekly magazine which had evolved to include a monthly issue, with a half-yearly "special edition". It was intended to bring about "the intellectual, moral and spiritual improvement" of its middle-class readers.

Not only were they seen by the "already converted" readers of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* but by hundreds of influential visitors to the Harrises's photographic exhibition at the prestigious Royal Colonial Institute. Both, moreover, were used by Harris in his lantern lectures at home and abroad on *"The Slave Trade of Today"*. As an experienced campaigner Harris made sure that the persuasive power of every photograph was exploited to the full, as it had been in the Congo campaign.

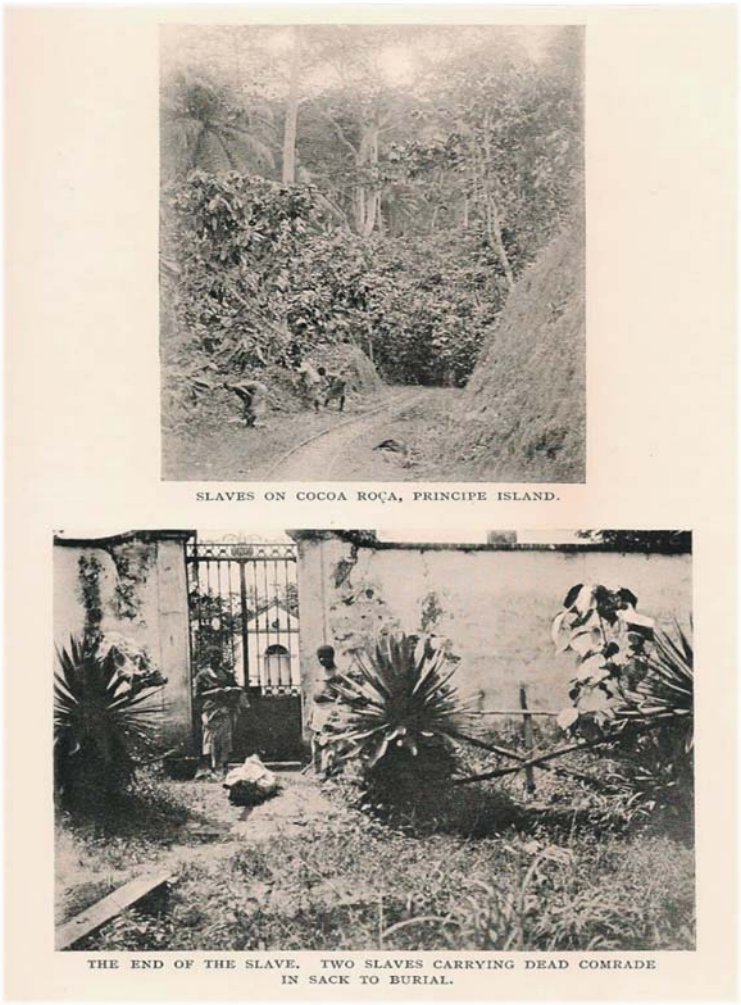
Other photographs are similarly paired on single pages of *Dawn in Darkest Africa*, following the same sophisticated strategy of insidious obfuscation.[1637] In a second example taken from the book, shown below, the upper image, which was taken at some considerable distance, shows plantation labourers, who are apparently unsupervised, clearing the undergrowth next to a narrow-gauge railway line. The caption reads unequivocally "Slaves on cocoa roça, Principe Island", whilst in the image beneath it two young men are apparently taking the body of a fellow labourer for burial in a cemetery.[1638] The second caption is equally explicit: "The end of the slave. Two slaves carrying dead comrade in sack to burial." Here the reader was again subtly induced "to fill in the missing part" of the visual narrative, and would probably have concluded that the "slaves" were kept on the island to toil until they fell dead of exhaustion or endemic disease.

The photographs were shown separately at the RCI exhibition, the upper one being more explicitly labelled "Slaves working on light railway. Island of Príncipe. The foremost figure that of lad born in slavery", whilst the second was entitled "Corpse of serviçal at the gates of cemetery, with two slave carriers." Harris rarely missed an opportunity to drive a point home, in this case it was that the young man was a *tonga* - the child of *servicais* -who had been "born into slavery".

Today, with the benefit of hindsight, it is evident that the same two pictures could have been used with other captions to tell quite a different story, even one in defence of the contract-labour system.

[1637] **Figure 4.73** Illustration from Harris, Op.cit.1913. Facing p.184.

[1638] Clarence-Smith affirms that one major form of interest in Catholicism "sprang from the desire to obtain a decent burial", quoting Nevinson, who stated that "the bodies of dead workers were often abandoned, wrapped in cloth, in outlying parts of the forest." He notes that the Government allowed the creation of private cemeteries on the larger plantations as they were often situated many miles away from the nearest parish church. Gervase Clarence-Smith. Op. cit 1993, p.157.


SLAVES ON COCOA ROÇA, PRINCIPE ISLAND.

THE END OF THE SLAVE. TWO SLAVES CARRYING DEAD COMRADE IN SACK TO BURIAL.

Figure 4.73 Illustration**.** (Top) "Slaves on Cocoa Roça. Principe Island." (Bottom) "The end of the slave. Two slaves carrying dead comrade in sack to burial."

One of the most revealing images [1639] on show at the Royal Commonwealth Institute would almost certainly have gone unnoticed to the majority of visitors, and yet, today, the image, which is shown below, provides startling evidence of British complicity in the transport of "slaves" at the turn of the twentieth century, a fact which had not previously

[1639] **Figure 4.74.** ASP Brit. Emp. S-17 JHHC**.** Box 14-24. 100 x 125 mm. Most of the Harrises' photographic evidence on Portuguese slavery was thin, to say the least, and though it may have been an isolated incident, the visual proof of the transport of "slaves" on the "Sapele" was an important discovery within the context of the campaign and it is remarkable that Harris never followed it up. Although Héli Chatelain had travelled with 200 future "serviçais" on the Royal Mail steamer *Moçambique* in 1890, this appears to be the first admission that "slaves" were still carried aboard British ships at the beginning of the twentieth century. The S.S. Sapele, a 4,300 ton coastal steamer belonging to the Elder Dempster Line was sunk by a German u-boat in 1917.

emerged.[1640] On the way to Angola on the Elder Dempster line steamer S.S. Sapele,[1641] Alice Harris was fortunate to obtain a photograph which purports to show two "slaves" and their "owner" or dealer. The three, however, would be indistinguishable from each other were it not for the caption which accompanied the photograph.[1642] No mention, however, was ever made by Harris in his writing to the fact that he had acquired proof that such "passengers" were accepted on the Elder Dempster line and it seems to have been quickly dropped.

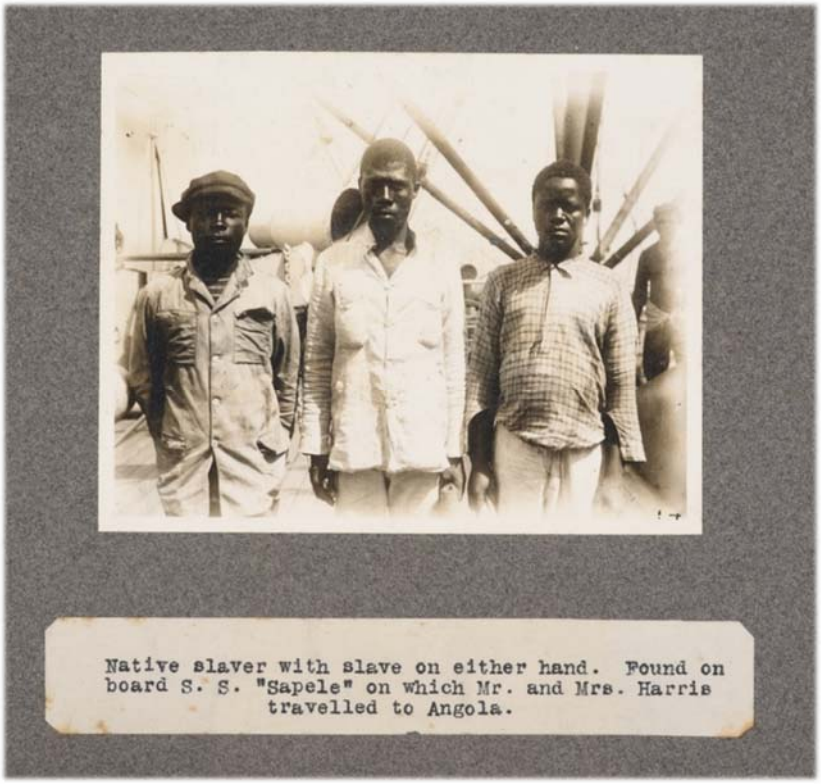


Figure 4.74. "Native slaver with slave on either hand." Alice Seeley Harris. 1912. RCI exhibition.

It is precisely the unexceptional and everyday character of this particular image which makes it so compelling.[1643] Unlike the startling evidence of torture and cannibalism revealed by the Congo "atrocity photographs" whose grotesqueness and horror still shock

[1640] I am indebted to my brother, Nigel Evans, for his help in photographing many of the photographs in the Rhodes House collection, under challenging conditions.
[1641] The Elder Dempster line was owned, until his death in 1909, by the shipping magnate Sir Alfred Jones, consul of the extinct Congo Free State, and President of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce which was active in its condemnation of "Portuguese slave-grown cocoa". The irony is inescapable.
[1642] This was clearly deliberate. The future contract labourers had evidently been "dressed up" to look like ordinary steerage passengers.
[1643] The photograph is an eloquent example of how the behaviour and body language of the subject is altered and controlled by the presence of the camera and the photographer.

today, it is the complex drama of a situation in which the unresisting "slave" accepts his fate with a sense of inevitability which is hardest for today's viewer to digest. The image underlines the fact that the captive's resignation to his lot was often just as powerful as a firearm in the hands of the slave-driver or recruitment agent.

Generally speaking, the photographs taken in São Tomé and Angola on the 1911-1912 tour were a far cry from Alice Harris's shocking images of "Congo atrocities", as indeed were the photos she took in the Belgian Congo, but despite their somewhat limited impact, the Anti-Slavery Society archives bear witness to the fact that many were transformed into lantern slides and used to illustrate the Harrises' public lectures on the persistence of slavery in Portuguese West Africa.

Amongst the slides used in the lectures were the ubiquitous cemetery photograph - "the end of the slave" and the photographs shown below from Benguela and Luanda which purport to offer evidence of slavery and the slave-trade up stream. [1644]





Figure 4.75. (Left) Lantern slide. "Registration House for Slaves at Benguella, Angola."1911. Photo probably by Alice Harris. **Figure 4.76**. (Right) Lantern slide. "Slave Trade of Today. Slaves unloading at a Portuguese store, Loanda." 1905. Photo by Henry W.Nevinson.

Another of the photographs taken by Alice Harris, which was exhibited at the Royal Colonial Institute and later reproduced in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, shows a trade

[1644] **Figure 4.73**. ASPC Lantern Side no. 239. Photo probably by Alice Harris. The slide is very similar to a second from the Harris collection, which is equally unconvincing.

Figure 4.74. ASPC Lantern Slide no. 244. This photograph first appears under the title "Slaves unloading at a Portuguese store", in Nevinson's account which was published in *Harper's* in 1906. "The Slave-Trade of Today" *Harper's Monthly* Part V, p.115. Nevinson's shadow can be seen in the foreground.

caravan resting under a shade tree upon its arrival at Catumbela, ostensibly bringing future "serviçais" to the coast.

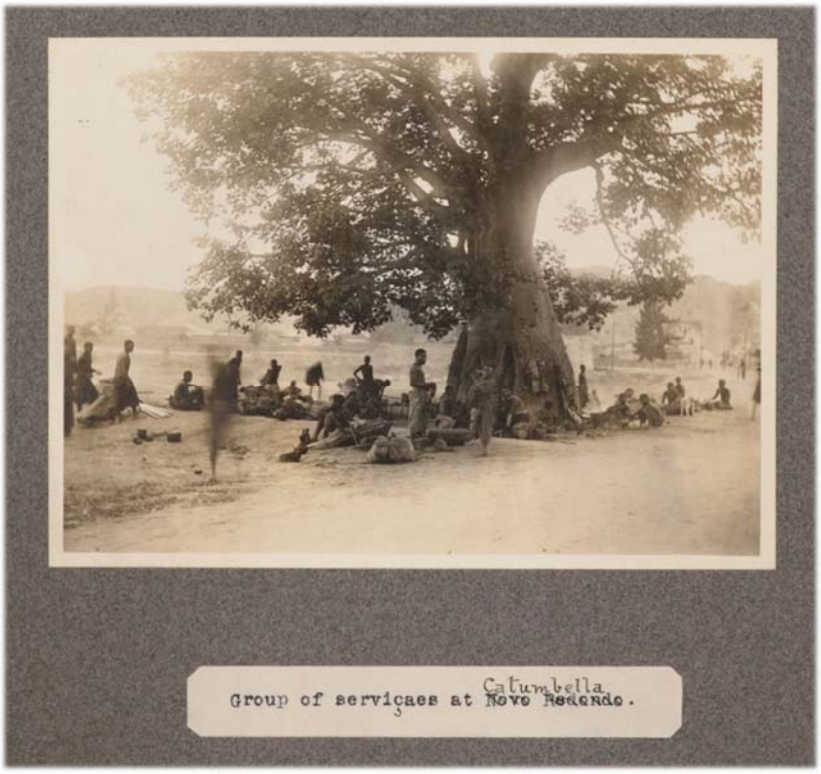


Figure 4.77. "*Group of serviçaes at Catumbella*." Photograph by Alice Seeley Harris, 1912

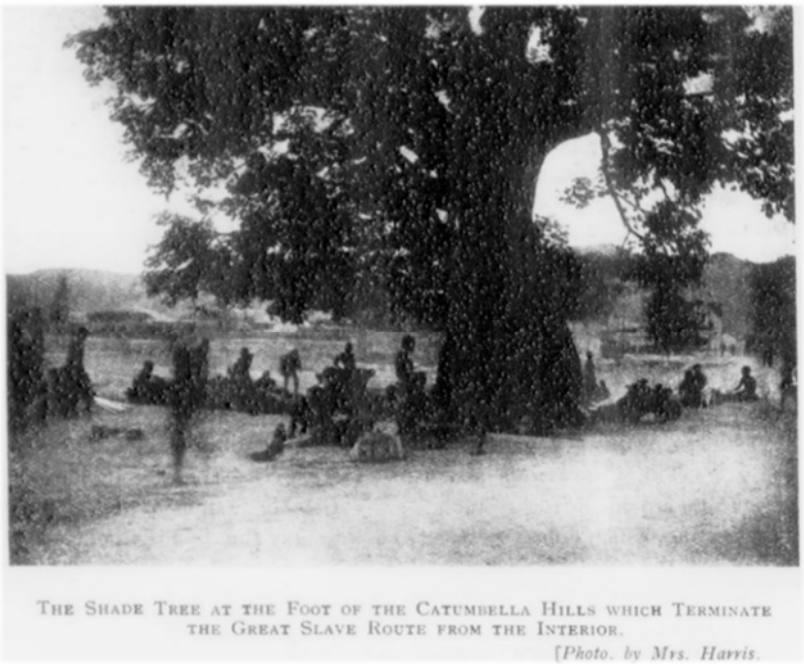


Figure 4.78. Illustration. "The Shade Tree at the Foot of the Catumbella Hills which terminate the Great Slave Route from the Interior. [Photo. by Mrs. Harris."

The photograph, shown above, was clearly intended to raise the question in the viewer's mind of how many such caravans had taken advantage of its shade over the decades. Interestingly, however, the previously- illustrated print which was shown at the RCI was labelled merely "Group of serviçaes at Catumbella", whereas, in the ASR's exhaustive report on the Public Meeting at the Westminster Palace Hotel on June 25th 1912, which was held to discuss "Portuguese Slavery and British Responsibility", the illustration is more explicitly captioned, creating a link with "the great slave route", to leave no doubts in the mind of the reader as to its purpose. The shade trees by the river on the outskirts of the town were, in fact, a well-known local feature, and they were certainly pointed out to the Harrises as the place where Ovimbundu traders camped on their arrival from the "sertão", whether they had brought rubber, wax, ivory or future "serviçais". Harris's specific reference to a "group of serviçaes" was speculative, to say the least. [1645]

Despite the brevity of their stay in Portuguese West Africa, the Harrises apparently attempted to get as much photographic evidence of the "slave route" as they could. Amongst the other images on show at the Royal Colonial Institute were several which illustrate their attempt to complete the visual narrative of the different stages of the journey from the interior of Angola which Swan had documented three years earlier. They include pictures, which are shown below, of the pier at Benguela "whence the slaves are shipped to the cocoa islands", and of Novo Redondo "at the terminus of one of the great slave routes from Tanganyika to the Angolan Coast", clearly intended to remind visitors that contract labourers were sometimes acquired beyond the frontiers of Angola, possibly from British territory, in line with accusations which had appeared in the British press.

Contrasting with the sensationalism of their captions, however, the images reveal little more than the Harrises' presence in these places.[1646] In fact, if anything, they tend to convey an impression of normality and lazy tranquility which, accompanied by other

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[1645] **Figure 4.77.** ASP Brit. Emp. S-17 JHHC Box 6-24. 115 x 160mm. Taken by Alice Harris and shown at the RCI exhibition in 1912. The typed caption has been altered in pencil, probably during the exhibition.

Figure 4.78. The same photograph was used as an illustration in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigine's Friend*. October 1912, p. 228. The other two photographs illustrating the report on the same meeting, which was organised by the Anti-Slavery Society, were both taken in the Congo and also appear in Harris's *Dawn in Darkest Africa.*

[1646] **Figure 4.79**. ASP Brit. Emp. S-17 JHHC Box 6-24 Box 10-6. 80 x 105mm. **Figure 4.80.** ASP Brit. Emp. S-17 JHHC. Box 6-23.115 x 160mm.

captions, might have suggested quite a different story to the one the Harrises were trying to tell.



Figure 4.79. "Benguella Pier whence the slaves are shipped to Cocoa islands" [sic]. 1912

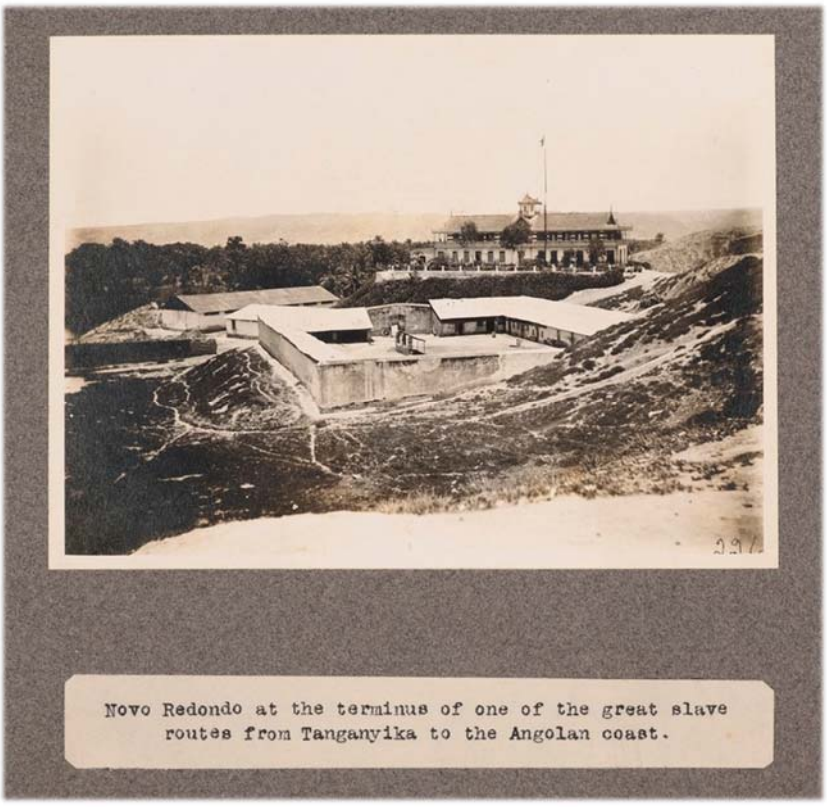


Figure 4.80. "Novo Redondo at the terminus of one of the great slave routes from Tanganyika to the Angolan Coast." 1912

In complete contrast with the innocuous character of these prints, others reveal a very different side to the affair. Closer examination of the hundred or so photographs made during the Harrises' brief stay in Angola and S. Tomé, many of which were later shown at the RCI exhibition, has exposed an intriguing, and clearly deliberate, omission. A handful of the mounted prints shows groups of repatriated contract labourers, men, women and children, travelling from São Tomé on the S.S. Zaire and arriving at their destination at Novo Redondo.

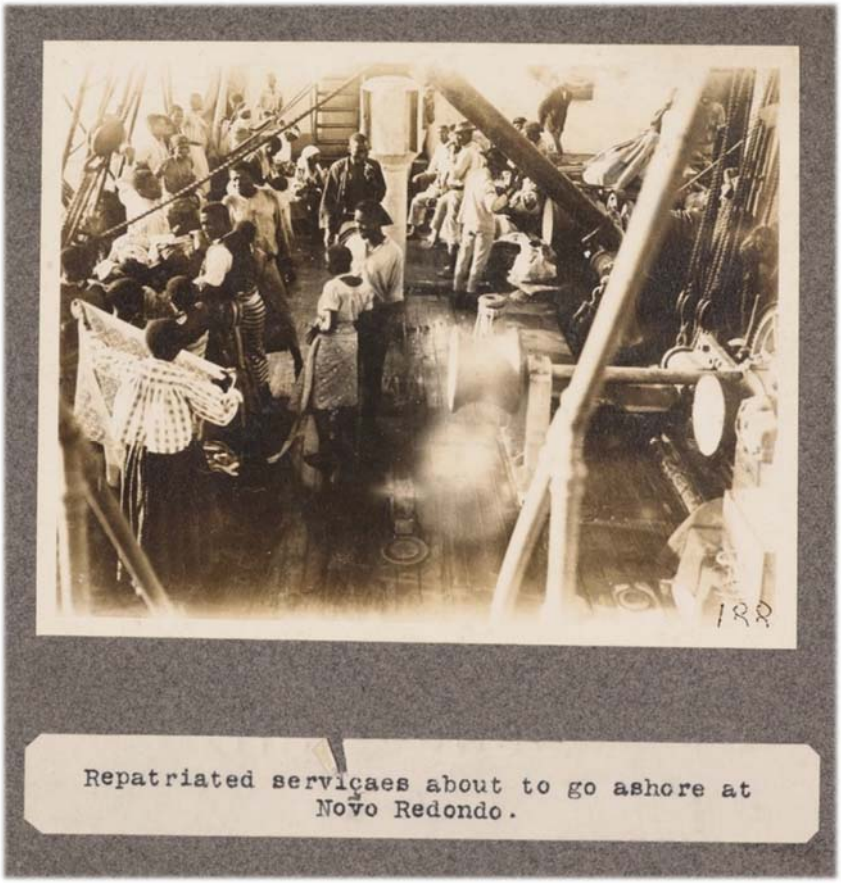


Figure 4.81. "Repatriated servicaes about to go ashore at Novo Redondo." 1912 Alice S. Harris.

The Harrises were accompanied on their trip from Luanda to Novo Redondo on March 17th 1912 by the British Consul, Drummond-Hay, [1647] who reported that thirty-three "serviçais" had been landed in Luanda, thirty-one at Novo Redondo and another thirty-

[1647] Drummond-Hay reports that the bonus due to the former contract-labourers was 795$926 reis and that the captain of the " Zaire" had shown him an envelope with that amount which he was going to hand over to the "Curador". He adds: "I landed, accompanied by the Rev. and Mrs. Harris who were going to Lobito by the same boat. We saw the repatriated servicaes waiting at the curator's office to be paid off." Capt. Romeiras de Macedo, the Governor of Benguela, would meet with the Harrises two days later. Drummond-Hay to Sir Edward Grey, dated Loanda, March 23rd 1912. HMSO *Africa no.2 1912* [Cd.6322] pp. 94-96.

seven were going to Benguela. There can be no doubt that Harris was fully aware of the potential impact of these photographs on the course of the controversy, [1648] particularly as, at the time, they were the only ones of repatriated "serviçais" taken by a missionary - or, in this case, a former missionary and leading anti-slavery activist.

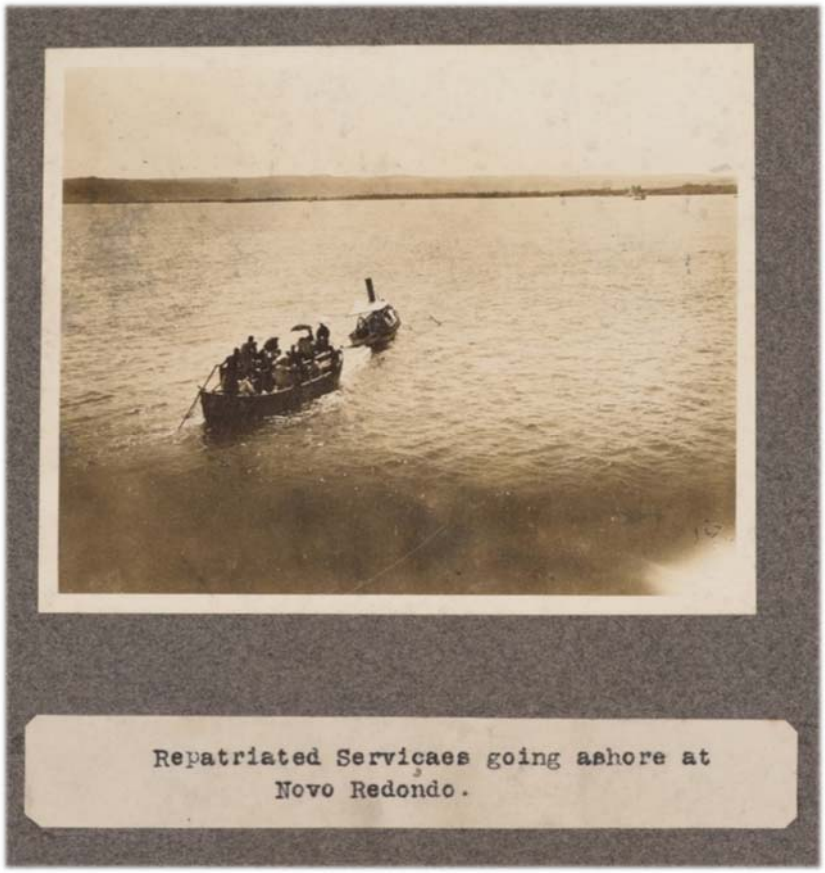


Figure 4.82. "Repatriated Servicaes going ashore at Novo Redondo." 1912. Alice Seeley Harris.

The following photograph shows Harris apparently talking through an interpreter to former contract labourers, somewhere near Benguela. In this case, however, the word "slave" is used in the caption and the former contract labourers are described as being "sick". Like several of the other photographs taken by Alice Harris in Angola and São

[1648]These photographs are held in the John H. Harris photographic collection under the following references: "Repatriated servicaes on board the S.S. Zaire about to land at Novo Redondo" Box 4-17.100 x 125 mm; "Repatriated "Serviçaes" about to go ashore at Novo Redondo" Box 4-3.100 x 125mm [**Figure 4.81**]; "Repatriated "Servicaes" going ashore at Novo Redondo." Box 4-1. 100 x 125mm[**Figure 4.82**]; "Repatriated "serviçaes" in Benguella, outside Curador's office on the left". Box 8-7. 100 x 125mm; Boats carrying repatriated "serviçaes" ashore at Novo Redondo from S. S. Zaire. Box 10-19 100 x 125 mm.; "Mr Harris and an interpreter at Benguella conversing with repatriated slaves who are sick." Box 3-13. 115 x 160mm [**Figure 4.83**]; "Three repatriated serviçaes, who travelled on the Zaire." Box 15-37. 115 x 160mm [**Figure 4.84**]. Evidently, whilst apparently being quite extensive in its coverage, the Anti-Slavery Collection does not include every slide the Harrises used in their lectures.

Tomé it is totally ineffective because of the distance between the photographer and her subjects. The most plausible explanation for this, given her experience and expertise with the camera, is that the Harrises were taking exaggerated precautions, either because of fear of contagious disease or what they perceived as a threat to their safety. [1649]



Figure 4.83. "Mr Harris and an interpreter at Benguella conversing with repatriated slaves who are sick"

Perhaps the most eloquent image in this series of repatriated "serviçais" is the photograph below showing three young men who had travelled with the Harrises on the Portuguese steamer "Zaire". [1650] Though barefoot, these former contract labourers appear to be youthful, well-dressed and healthy. The picture provides a perfect counterpoint to the photograph of the three "slaves" on the "Sapele" and there can be little doubt that if this close-up had been published in *Dawn in Darkest Africa* or in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* it

[1649] Nevinson's allegations were presumably in the back of their minds. In his articles Nevinson mentions being threatened in Angola in 1905 and even suggests at one point that he had been poisoned. His delirium and paranoia was probably due to fever brought on by an attack of malaria.
[1650] The S.S Zaire was a 6000 ton steamer belonging to the Empreza Nacional de Navegação. It ran aground at Agua-Izé, São Tomé in 1929.

would have offered persuasive visual evidence that the days were over when the old and sick from the plantations were dumped off, destitute, on the docks.



Figure 4.84. "Three repatriated serviçaes, who travelled on the «Zaire»". 1912 Alice Seeley Harris.

In fact, the planters had finally realised that such behaviour was not in their own interests and that the best advertisement for voluntary labour recruitment was the returning labourers themselves. [1651]

[1651] In fact, not long after these pictures were taken the São Tomé planters submitted draft statutes to the Minister of the Colonies for the establishment of a recruiting agency along the lines of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, to ensure that recruitment was carried out in accordance with the law and that labourers had a realistic option to change employers and return home at the end of their contracts. The founders were Francisco Mantero, Salter Cid, Santos Ferreira, Ferreira Lima, Fausto de Figueiredo, Salvador Levy, Henrique de Mendonça, Carreira do Rego, Silva Gouveia e Luis Santiago. [The members of the Board of the Centro Colonial.] See "Vae organisar-se uma sociedade para recrutamento de trabalhadores para S. Thomé." *A Capital* April 29th 1912, p.1.

In view of the fact that Harris's report was decribed as an evaluation of the progress achieved in the West African colonies from the viewpoints of both human rights and economic prosperity, it is strange that he deliberately chose not to publicise the positive steps which had been taken by the new Republican regime to discipline the contract labour system. Remarkably, for reasons known only to himself, Harris declined to offer his readers this powerful visual proof of compliance with the demands of the philanthropic campaign, whilst enigmatically recognising such progress in the text of his book and in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

It seems that Harris was ready to share this first-hand visual evidence of repatriation with the select and probably well-informed group of members of the Royal Colonial Institute and their guests, but not with the more numerous and anonymous readers of his book, nor with the earnest and well-meaning people who attended his lantern lectures on "Portuguese slavery" and who helped to finance the efforts of the Anti-Slavery Society. In so doing he demonstrated an understanding of the essential distinction between the impact of the photographic image and that of the written word, whilst revealing, once again, a cavalier attitude towards any issues, ethical or otherwise, which represented an obstacle to his central goal, a characteristic which his fellow-campaigners Morel, Nevinson and Cadbury were all, sooner or later, forced to recognise and denounce. [1652]

Soon after the publication of *Dawn in Darkest Africa*, Alice Harris went on a short lecture tour to Switzerland at the invitation of René Claparède, the leader of the Swiss Congo Reform campaign, who, like Morel, had now turned his attention to São Tomé and Príncipe. [1653] As a follow-up to the talks, which were illustrated by lantern slides which

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[1652] Satre describes Harris as being "even more disliked than Fox Bourne." Lowell J. Satre Op.cit. 2005, p.187. Indeed, Nevinson confided to his diary that he thought John Harris a "slimy serpent". See Nevinson's Diary entry for December 3rd, 1908. Idem., p.121. William Cadbury cut off relations with Harris after the latter accused Cadbury's friend Alfredo Henrique da Silva of being guilty of "double-dealing" at the Lisbon meeting of the ASS delegation with the newly-formed Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society, in 1910.

[1653] René Claparède, (1862-c.1930) Philosopher and Human Rights activist. Leader of the CRA campaign in Switzerland. The campaign had been relaunched in the German-speaking press by Claparede's deputy H. Christ-Socin, Vice-President of the 500 member Swiss League for the Defence of the Indigenous Peoples of the Congo, with an article under the heading "Die Sklaverei in Angola und S. Thomé ein lebensfrage für Portugal" referring to the debate between Harris and Freire de Andrade on the contract labour question in the specialist magazine *Zeitschrift für Kolonialpolitik, Kolonialrecht und Kolonialwirtschaft.* Wilhelm Süsserott, Berlin: November 1912, pp. 819-829. Significantly, the copy of the article held in Portuguese diplomatic papers is conspicuously marked in red: See AHD Proc. 27, 1913. Maço 767. Publicações Diversas. In 1908 Claparéde had founded the Bureau International pour la Défense des Indigènes (International Office for the Defence of Indigenous Peoples) and the Société Suisse de Secours aux Esclaves Africains. In fact, Swiss humanitarians had been active in the campaign against Portuguese

included Alice Harris's new photographs, there were a series of letters to the press, a strategy which had previously been used in the Congo campaign.[1654] One of pictures they had brought back from the cocoa islands, which is shown below, was cited by the Harrises as "incontestable proof" that contract labourers were not only mistreated in São Tomé and Príncipe but subjected to systematic flogging.[1655]



Figure 4.85. "Man carrying Heavy Bundle of Chicottes for use on Principe Island". 1912 Alice S. Harris.

contract labour since 1908. Evidence is provided by an article commenting on Burtt's report in the magazine of the 600-strong local Consumers' League by the feminist and consumer activist Emma Pieczynska. See E. Pieczynska. "L'enquête d'un grand fabricant de chocolat sur la condition des travailleurs dans les plantations de cacaoyers." In *Bulletin des Ligues Sociales d'Acheteurs France et Suisse*, no.1, 1908. There is a copy in the Cadbury Papers. CP 231.

[1654] Alice Harris' tour, though brief, was "a constant round of dinners, luncheons and receptions in Geneva, Neuchatel and Lausanne." She lectured in Lausanne on February 20th 1913, and the following day in Geneva and addressed the AGM of the Swiss branch of the CRA. Claparéde later published a pamphlet which the ASR called "a terse and effective contribution" to the controversy. René Claparede, *L'Esclavage Portugaise et le Journal de Genève.* Bureaux de la "France d'Outre-Mer." Paris: 1913, p.10 and Reto Monico. *Suisse-Portugal: regards croisées. 1890-1930.* Librairie Droz. Geneva: 2005, p.383.

[1655] See John H. Harris's letter to the Editor of *The Times* under the heading "Portuguese Labour Conditions." July 9th, 1912. p. 5. " That flogging is a general practice is not only the unanimous testimony of the slaves, but also of many white men". And his letter to the Editor of *The Spectator* entitled "Portuguese Slavery", in which he writes: "The slaves are flogged frequently, and that not only with the palmatória but with the whip […]" *The Spectator.* March 23rd 1912, p.473.

The photograph, taken by Alice Harris at a distance of about ten yards, shows a man carrying a sack on his head on the disembarkation pier.[1656] It was also reproduced in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* accompanied by the caption "Man carrying heavy Bundle of Chicottes for use on Principe Island."

It showed, Harris alleged, the bundles of strips of hide they had seen on the S.S. Zaire, being unloaded on the Island of Príncipe, asking what other use they could have been put to. Clearly, it was a matter of faith as to what the bundle contained. In the absence of any previous visual evidence to prove that "serviçais" were subjected to cruelty and ill-treatment, despite the best efforts of several earlier visitors to the islands, Harris must have thought that he had finally clinched the case against the planters. Compared with the overwhelming visual proof of atrocities committed in the Congo, however, the evidence was notoriously weak and circumstantial, and in the end it was only the inarticulate attempts of his adversaries to deny the existence of corporal punishment on the islands which gave any credibility to his accusations. [1657]

[1656] See **Figure 4.85**. Taken on March 3rd, 1912, the photograph shows a man carrying a bundle on his head and was reproduced in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigine's Friend* for June 1912, p.186. The negative was apparently damaged and the image is far from convincing. The use of the oval overlay was a technique used to focus the attention of the viewer on the only part of the photograph which was actually of interest. In good condition, the original print, entitled "Man carrying heavy bundle of chicottes (whips) for use on Príncipe Island", 100 x 125 mm., is held in the Anti-Slavery Papers. Brit Emp. S-17. Box 4-5. John H. Harris Collection, Bodleian Museum (Rhodes House).
Some of the Harrises' photographs - particularly those taken on the cocoa islands, may have been taken with a hand-held camera with roll film. For example, the one taken of "a bundle of chicottes" on Príncipe (**Fig.4.85**) shows damage to the print possibly caused by gas produced during the processing of roll film in adverse conditions. Emil Torday complained of the same problem in the Congo, where climatic conditions were similar: "The prints I sent will fade away, because I never can wash a photo long enough as in the tepid water the gelatine dissolves. If you look well at the couple inclosed [sic] you will see the gelatine burst, **not only the too big bubbles but all over the photograph.**" Letter to T.A. Joyce of the British Museum written from Kikwit, southwestern Congo, March 1906. Reproduced in John Mack "Documenting the Cultures of Southern Zaire: The Photographs of the Torday Expeditions 1900-1909". *African Arts,* Vol. 24, No. 4, Special Issue: *Historical Photographs of Africa.* Oct.1991, p.61.(my bold)

[1657] Just a few years earlier, however, José Gomes dos Santos, who appears to have shared some of the liberal ideas which had inspired Sá da Bandeira, had already denounced the fact that, at least in the interior of Angola, the use of hippopotamus-hide whips was not uncommon: "The black knows that the whites, those who are not Portuguese, at least, faithfully fulfill their contracts, pay them generously for their services. The Portuguese colonist considers the native as a beast of burden, an agricultural machine with no rights or privileges; he deceives him in his contracts, defrauds him in the products of his work, prompts him with exaggerated punishments condemned by law. Anyone who visits the highlands of Angola knows that it is not uncommon to find on the roads discarded slave collars or the hippo whip with which the back of the Negro is still beaten." From José A. Gomes dos Santos. *As Nossas Colónias: geographia, physica e politica, etnographia, industria commercio, navegação, riqueza colonial, trabalho indígena.* Lisboa: Emp. do Portugal em África, 1903. Quoted and translated by James Duffy in *Portuguese Africa*, Harvard University Press. Cambridge: 1959, p.358.

In response to the storm in the press which followed Alice Harris' lectures, the Portuguese Embassy in Berne quickly published a pamphlet [1658] which included the views of distinguished colonial specialists refuting the accusations which had been made, several of which had already been published as letters-to-the-editor in the Francophone press. In one such letter to the editor of the conservative, Roman Catholic newspaper *Le Patriote* of Brussels, Almada Negreiros, writing under the nom de plume of J. de Larsan,[1659] explained that the hippopotamus-hide whips, which the Harrises had seen, could be found all over Africa, adding that in São Tomé and Príncipe, where the only form of transport was still by horse or mule, far from being a form of punishment, they were used as riding crops.[1660]

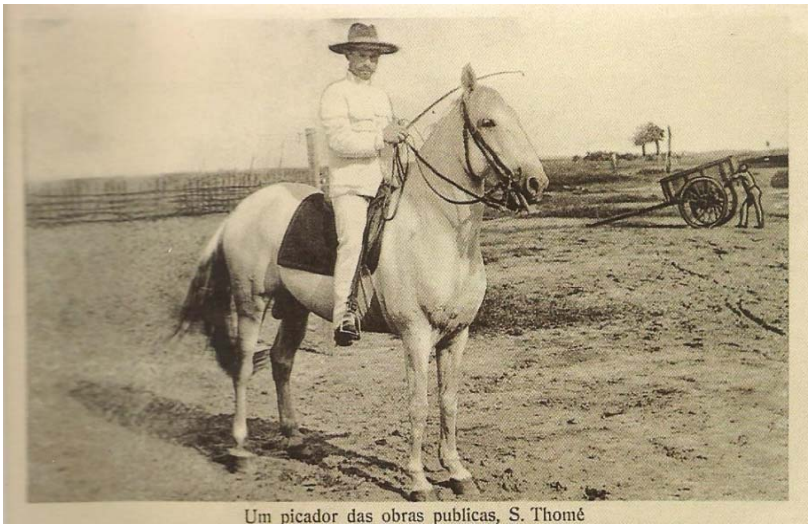


Figure 4.86. Postcard. *Um picador das obras publicas. S. Thomé.* Pub. José Teixeira Barbosa. Bazar Africano. São Tomé. c.1907.

Almada concludes that just because "a certain lady" had photographed strips of hippopotamus hide and inferred that they were destined to be used "to torture the blacks",

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[1658] Notably by Albert Bonnard (1858-1917) editor of the *Journal de Genève*, a well-known journalist and human rights campaigner who defended the record of the new Portuguese Republican authorities in the contract-labour affair. Claparéde's pamphlet was an attempt to refute Bonnard's arguments.
[1659]Almada Negreiros also used several other "noms-de-plume", including: José Colono, João Alegre, AN, Jean Allégre and António Lusitano.
[1660] J. de Larsan [Almada Negreiros] "Une Histoire Démodée." Letter to the editor of *Patriote,* 18th August 1912, published in *Documents sur la Main d'Oeuvre a S.Thomé et a L'Ile du Prince*, 1912, p.41. See **Figure 4.84.** Postcard from the João Loureiro Collection. The man on horseback holds a hippo-hide riding crop which would at first seem to confirm Almada Negreiros' explanation. However, as many of those employed on public works, such as road-mending, were convicts, the card raises doubts as to exactly how it may have been used, particularly in view of the man's title - *picador* - and the role of the same in spurring on the bull in the arena.

there had been an uproar against Portugal in England and the rest of Europe, despite the fact that corporal punishment was employed in "all of the English, Dutch and German colonies" and, indeed, in England itself. In the same pamphlet, José de Almada, a senior official at the Portuguese Foreign Ministry, also mentions the accusation in his reply to a letter in the *Étoile Belge* newspaper of Brussels, referring to the Anti-Slavery Society's recent memorandum to Sir Edward Grey:

> Une dame anglaise, la femme d'un missionaire, fait un séjour de trois jours a S. Thomé. Elle photographie des peaux d'hipopotame et conclut que les indigenes sont fouettés à mort! On se rend en Angleterre. On photographie des fabriques de revolvers, et l'on induit que les Anglais se entretuent! Les hippopotames sont destinées à la fabrication de cannes, objets trés recherchés au Portugal et que tous ceux qui viennent des colonies apportent à leurs amis comme souvenir, telle est la preuve des atrocities commises contre les négres fournie par la Societé Anti-esclavagiste. [1661]

Soon after the publication of Harris's report on his fact-finding tour of the West African colonies, a more detailed update on the situation on the Congo was published by the Anti-Slavery Society under the title *Present Conditions on the Congo,* illustrated, once again, by photographs which had been taken by Alice Harris on their tour of the previous year. [1662] The illustrations, however, were of a different order to the "Congo Atrocities" slide series of a few years earlier and as T. Jack Thompson recognises, they had begun to be replaced by "Slavery in the Twentieth Century" photographs which were more educational than sensationalist, in tone. [1663]

In the following year, however, the hundredth anniversary of Livingstone's birth, Harris and the Anti-Slavery Society brought out a compilation of the evidence which had accumulated over the years against the Portuguese contract labour system, entitled unequivocally *Portuguese Slavery. Britain's Dilemma*. Once again, Harris was dismissive regarding Portuguese efforts to reform the system after the fall of the monarchy, offering a typically selective and partial account of the whole affair.[1664] He continued to allege

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[1661] José de Almada. Letter to the editor of *Étoile Belge* n.d. [probably late 1912]. Idem., p.44.
[1662] John H. Harris *Present Conditions in the Congo*. London Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society, 1912.
[1663] See T. Jack Thompson. Op.cit, 2012, p.203.
[1664] By 1913, however, Harris seems to have recognised that reforms had been effective in changing the situation, at least in São Tomé e Príncipe. At a lantern lecture to a Quaker Assembly in Bristol in which, after making scathing remarks on Leopold's Congo, he dealt with contemporary labour conditions in the Congo and in Portuguese West Africa, Harris admitted that "they had released the slaves from the islands

that not all of the "serviçais" were being repatriated, that money, due to those who were, was being withheld, and that despite all reports to the contrary, the conditions on the plantations were generally unsatisfactory. [1665] Although the booklet itself was not illustrated, [1666] the front cover carried a dramatic engraving of a black man in chains, raising his arms heavenwards in an appeal for freedom - the now timeless, iconic image of slavery.[1667] The intention of the illustration was clearly to show that the Portuguese contract-labour system was a survivor from the days of the Atlantic slave trade, now no more than a distant recollection in the collective memory of the British people.

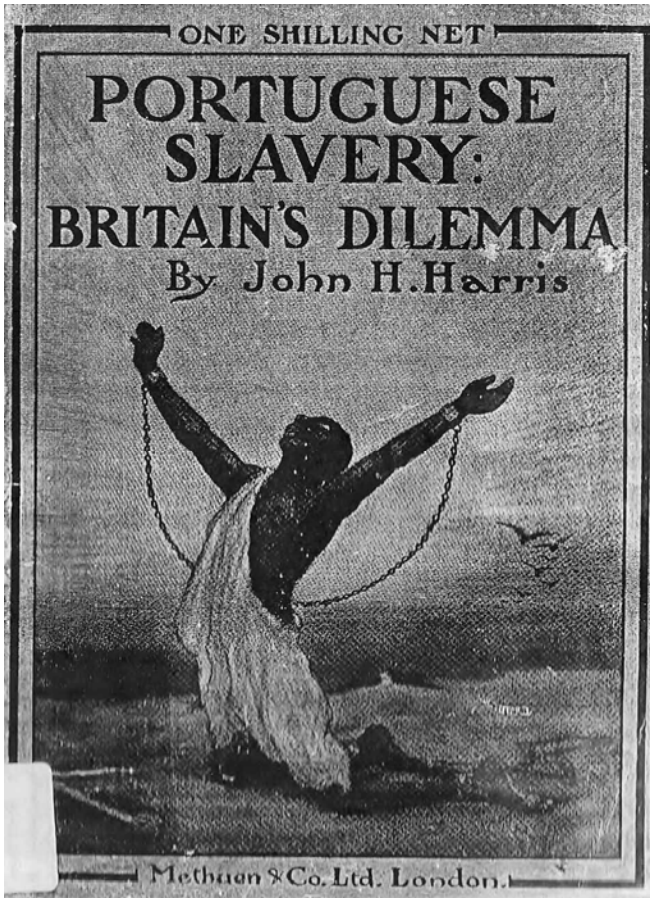


Figure 4.87. Cover. John H. Harris. *Portuguese Slavery: Britain's Dilemma.* Methuen, London: 1913.

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but had hardly touched the mainland; there the people were retained on the plantations. They should not allow Portugal to defeat work which their forefathers [the Quakers] believed they had accomplished by securing the abolition of the slave trade." See "Slave Trading and Owning". *Western Daily Press.* April 22nd 1913, p.3.

[1665] See James Duffy. Op. cit 1969, p. 219.

[1666] It was a cheap edition-costing only a shilling.

[1667] Inspired by Josiah Wedgwood's engraving with the caption "am I not a friend and a brother", from 1787, the year the Society for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade was formed by Granville Sharp and Thomas Clarkson. The original is online at http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5e/BLAKE10.JPG

4.10 Postcards from Portuguese West Africa: "slavery" seen through rose-tinted glasses

It was in the late 1870's that postcards with engravings of picturesque landscapes, monuments or other views began to circulate in Portugal. The subject matter of the first picture postcards owed much to the earlier, collectable "carte de visite" format and the content and sense of composition of nineteenth-century paintings, an influence which continued to be significant well into the twentieth century. Over the next twenty years engravings began to give way to cards bearing photographic images which were cheaper to reproduce and could be printed as required. [1668]

Picture postcards were published in considerable numbers and often carefully preserved in albums, [1669] so that many have survived to our day, providing eloquent testimony to social and cultural values of the period under study. The lack of space for writing on the cards and the fact that they might be read by strangers meant, however, that messages were generally cryptic and constrained and so offer limited insight into the views and attitudes of those who bought and sent them. Indeed, the purpose of the picture postcard always seems to have been to reinforce a social bond with a distant person rather than to convey any significant personal message or information, all the more so, in the case in question, as postal services from Africa to Europe were evidently very slow at the time.

At the turn of the twentieth century, with the growing availability of the Brownie portable camera, many people began to create their own souvenir images, and professional photographers began to see postcards as a welcome source of additional revenue, as their traditional market began to decline. The picture-postcard industry reached its hey-day precisely in the first few years of the new century, coinciding with the time when commercially printed and hand-tinted souvenir cards began to be widely sold both in Portugal and its African colonies.[1670] The rapid growth of the industry was partly due to

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[1668] The first officially-authorised, illustrated postcards circulated in metropolitan Portugal from March 1894 onwards.
[1669] Some estimates suggest that half of all cards were saved.
[1670] The hand colouring of postcards began in 1902 and in Europe the majority were produced in Belgium and France, particularly after WWI. Colouring, which was considered unskilled work, was poorly paid and normally carried out by women. Each hue was applied by a single colourist in a production line.

a change in format, when governments authorised the division of the back of the card to allow a space for the address and a space for the message, leaving the front for the picture alone.[1671] In 1905, 7 billion postcards were posted worldwide and by 1910 the postcard industry already employed 30,000 people. In 1909, in Britain alone, 800 million postcards were posted in a single year. [1672]

Postcards carried a far wider range of images than they do today, with sales reaching their peak as the cinema began to take its first tentative steps, and the two genres shared some reciprocal influence in terms of subject and style.[1673] They soon diverged, however, for, apart from the obvious differences, postcards were essentially intended for private viewing, many of them being kept as personal souvenirs rather than being posted, whereas the lantern slide lecture and "moving pictures" were evidently designed to be seen by mixed audiences in public places and were thus, initially, at least, subject to more stringent social rules and conventions.

It has been suggested that the taking of a photograph of a particular view or monument is often motivated by an unconscious desire to establish the conformity of "an empirical and personally experienced reality with an ideal pattern"- part of a constant process of authentication and confirmation which leads inescapably to the construction of a collective archive of mythical images. Although, from a social and cultural viewpoint, picture postcards differ fundamentally from photographic images, *per se,* due to the wider currency they enjoy and the fact that they are reproduced again and again, often over extended periods, the publishing of a picture postcard offering a familiar and generally-accepted portrayal of a place, person or event, may be viewed as contributing towards a similar "hermeneutical circle", in which images are recycled and perceptions constantly reinforced and reconfirmed. [1674]

[1671] 1902 in Britain, 1903 in France and 1908 in the U.S.A. However it was only in 1906 that the divided card was authorised by the Universal Postal Union. Most cards measured 9 x14 cms, as they still do today.
[1672] Howard Woody. "International Postcards. Their History, Production and Distribution (Circa 1895 to 1915)" in *Delivering Views. Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*. Ed. Christraud M. Geary and Virginia Lee-Webb. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington and London: 1998, p. 43. In certain European cities such as Berlin, there were five postal deliveries a day due to the postcard-collecting fad, and correspondence clubs were set up by collectors in many countries for the exchange of cards.
[1673] See Guido Convents. *Portugal*, in Richard Abel. *Encyclopedia of the Early Cinema.* Routledge, London: 2005, p.761.
[1674] Ideas put forward by John Frow in "Tourism and the Semiotics of Nostalgia." *October.* No. 57. Summer 1991, pp.123-151. [MIT Press Journal]

Furthermore, in addition to being published in great numbers and sold cheaply, picture postcards are usually sent with the idea that they will be appreciated by a like-minded person, probably with a similar social background - someone, in fact, who might share similar views and ethical principles. Moreover, postcards are generally acquired directly by the purchaser - sometimes, when a choice is available, after careful scrutiny - an act which might be construed as an indirect sign of identification or even a degree of concordance with the preferences or viewpoints of the photographer or publisher. Indeed, in view of their number and wide dissemination at the time, it is likely that the contribution of postcards towards the cementing of stereotyped images in collective awareness was substantially greater than the impact of personal photographs intended to be seen by a limited group of people. Hence, in the colonial context of the period under study, the far-reaching power of such images in the construction and reinforcement of notions regarding empire, race and racial superiority is unquestionable, a fact which would eventually be recognised by the local authorities of São Tomé and Príncipe who published a series of postcards for public sale in the first years of the Estado Novo regime.

The number of postcard publishers who were active at the time in Portuguese West Africa, is remarkable when compared with the size of the potential market of European settlers and visitors who travelled on the west coast steamers. This is particularly true of São Tomé and Príncipe, where the population of European origin was in the order of 1500 at the turn of the century.

The sheer variety of images was also astonishing, especially in Angola, where one publisher, Eduardo Osório, who seems to have had a voracious appetite for the acquisition of images of all kinds, printed a selection of over 450 different postcards. During the period under study, a significant number of the postcards published in Angola portray supposedly-representative members of the indigenous population, undoubtedly in an attempt to constitute a collection or quasi-inventory of diverse "types", as they were then called, based on ethnographical or social criteria.

The remarkable postcard, shown below, entitled "*typos de Quissama"*, made from a staged, studio photograph, is an excellent example of the genre:

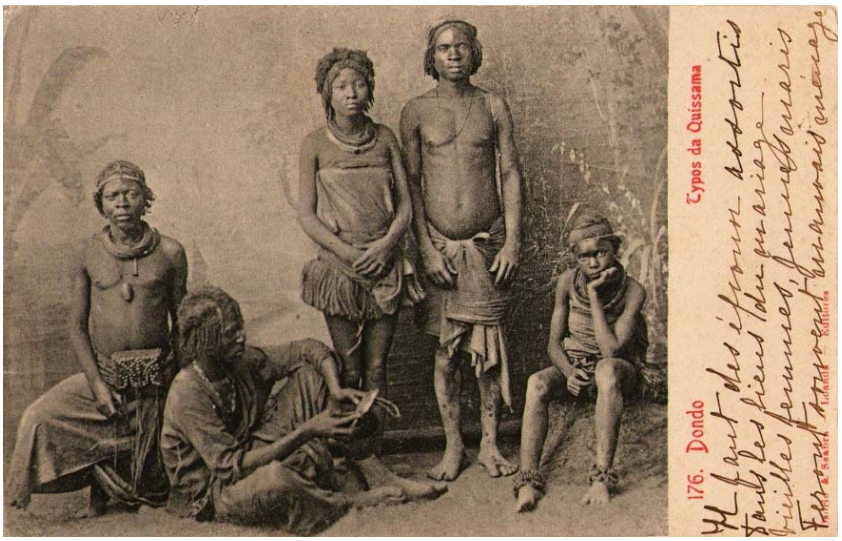


Figure 4.88. Postcard. "176. Dondo. Typos da Quissama". Pub. Osório e Seabra. Loanda - Editores. c.1908



Figure 4.89 Postcard "184. Loanda Embaixada dos Dembos". Pub. Osório e Seabra. Loanda-Editores, c.1908. Posted c.1910 as the overprinted stamp suggests.

Other contemporary cards celebrate and commemorate significant occasions such as peace talks between the Portuguese colonial authorities and hitherto unsubjugated indigenous peoples, exemplified here by the magnificent studio portrait, from the same series, of representatives of the King of the Dembos proudly bearing a message in a cleft stick, as was the custom, after military operations had succeeded in achieving a temporary respite in the Dembos' struggle against Portuguese rule. [1675]

[1675] Banza Santo António, the stronghold of the Dembo chief Cazuangongo, was taken in 1908 by Capt. João de Almeida's troops armed with modern Mauser and Kropatschek firearms. There would be six more



Figure 4.90 Hand-tinted postcard. "Uma sanzalla de serviçaes de uma fazenda agrícola. Mossamedes." Pub. Mário Alfredo. Mossamedes. Posted in 1906.

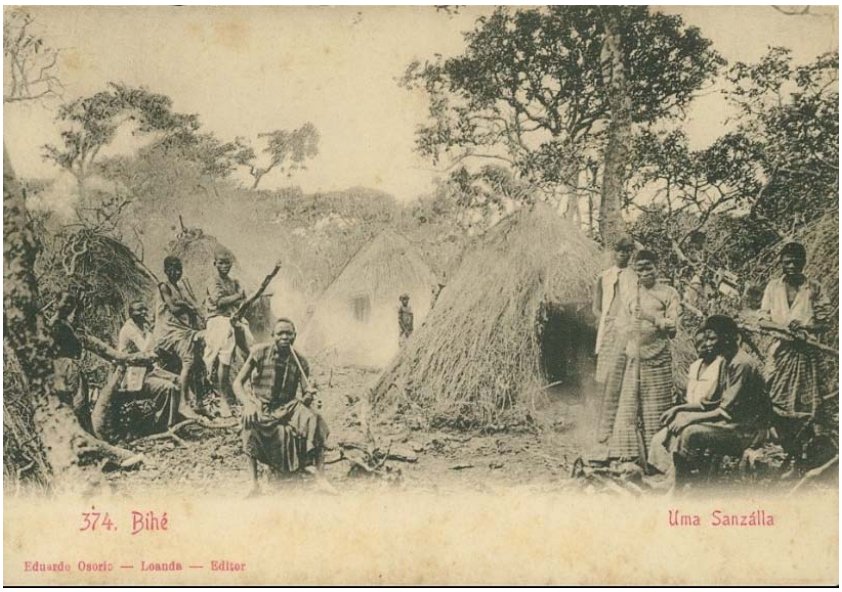


Figure 4.91 Postcard. 374. "Bihé. Uma Sanzálla" [sic]. Pub. Eduardo Osório. Luanda c.1905

Despite what would at first appear to have been a serious and almost "scientific" approach to the publishing of "ethnological" postcards in Angola, at this time, the same photograph occasionally appears in more than one collection, sometimes with misleading captions, which reveal that publishers were sometimes casual and indiscriminate, or even

military expeditions before the Dembos would be finally "pacified" in 1919. See António José Machado Marracho. *Revoltas e Campanhas nos Dembos (1872-1919).47Anos de Independência às Portas de Luanda.* Masters degree dissertation in History, Defence and International relations. ISCTE Lisboa: 2008.

unscrupulous in their exploitation of photographic images, as the two previous cards reveal. The caption on the first of the two cards, published by Mário Alfredo, suggests the photograph was taken on an agricultural property in Moçamedes (Namibe), whilst the second card, which was published by Eduardo Osório in Luanda, is less specific, giving as its origin Bihé (Kuito), no less than 600 kms. to the north-east of Moçamedes.

Although the subject matter of many of the postcards from Angola in the period under study had much in common with those from São Tomé and Príncipe, there were also significant differences. A number of cards, like the previously illustrated "*Embaixada dos Dembos"*, reflect the fact that armed conflicts with the indigenous peoples persisted on the mainland well into the twentieth century.



Figure 4.92. Postcard. "Officiaes vencedores dos Cuamatas em 1907". Pub. unknown. Angola

In fact, many postcards published in Angola at this time were used as a way of recording and celebrating politically significant events such as successful military campaigns, treaty ceremonies or other meetings held between the Portuguese colonial authorities or military leaders and representatives of supposedly "pacified" indigenous communities.[1676] The card above, which is representative of the genre, shows the officers, in full regalia, of the

[1676] In Pelissier's view, Angola as a country only came under effective Portuguese control as a result of the military campaigns carried out during the period under study: "Si l'on se réfère au territoire actuel, tel que les annuaires statistiques nous le présentent avec ses 1,246,700 km2, nous prétendons qu'il n'est véritablement portugais au sens politique du terme, c'est-à-dire reconnaissant l'autorité de Lisbonne, que depuis la fin de la première guerre mondiale. Bien mieux, il est facile de démontrer que l'Angola actuel n'a été conquis pour l'essentiel qu'entre 1906 et 1919."René Pelissier. **"**Campagnes militaires au Sud-Angola (1885 - 1915)." *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, Vol. 9, Cahier 33 (1969), p.54

detachment which overcame the "Cuamatas" in 1907, with Cap. José Alves Roçadas, the diminutive hero of the operation, in the centre of the front row. [1677] Another example of the same genre, probably taken in 1902, shows a historical meeting, promoted by the local Portuguese authorities, between embassies of the King of the [Portuguese] Congo, a dynasty which had long been recognised by the Portuguese crown, and the King of the Dembos, one of the least-subjugated ethnic groupings in the North of the colony.

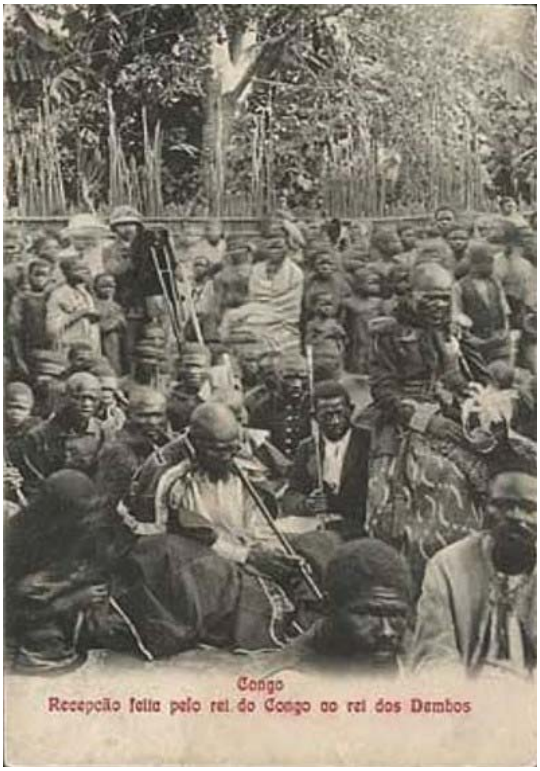


Figure 4.93. Postcard. Congo. "Recepção feita pelo rei do Congo ao rei dos Dembos". Pub. unknown, possibly A. Matta. c.1905.

The image was clearly considered so important at the time that it was made into a postcard despite the fact that the exposure time required meant that several of the faces in the background were blurred. It not only provides evidence that the postcard was recognised as an instrument of propaganda even at this early juncture, but that also, as Geary has

[1677] Posted shortly after the overthrow of the Monarchy, as the overprinted stamp testifies. Alves Roçadas later served as Governor of Macau (1908-1909) and was the last Governor-General of Angola during the Monarchy (1909-1910). During World War I, Alves Roçadas served as the commanding officer of Portuguese forces in southern Angola, leading them in combat in the South-West Africa Campaign against the invading German forces. He took part in the coup which overthrew the democratic regime in 1926.

pointed out, many African leaders were already familiar with the camera and were beginning to exploit its possibilities for their own purposes. [1678]

In addition to its historical significance, the card is of particular interest as it shows a second European photographer in the background with the typical apparatus of the day. The date and origin of the picture raise the distinct possibility that the photographer and publisher of this record of the historic encounter may have been the same as that of a contemporary postcard entitled "Mulheres de Luanica" from the district of northern Angola, which is known today as M'banza-Congo.



Figure 4.94. Postcard. "Congo Portuguez. Mulheres de Luanica". Angola c.1906. Photo and Pub. A. Matta.

The original "Luanica" photograph, which is shown below, is part of an album of now-faded gelatin prints which is kept in the National Library in Lisbon. [1679]

An inscription shows that the album was dedicated to a friend on New Year's Day, 1907 by an A. Matta, presumably the photographer, and originally contained a collection of 24 images made in the Portuguese Congo and the neighbouring Belgian Congo.

[1678] See **Figure 4.93.** According to Geary, the postcard is based on a collotype photograph taken in 1902. See Christraud Geary. *In and Out of Focus. Images from Central Africa 1885-1960.* p.82. It now seems more likely that it was made from a gelatin print, however.

[1679] Cf. **Figure 4.94.** "Mulheres do Luanica". From an album of 24 gelatin prints (12 x17cms.), three of which are missing, on the front and back of 12 stiff card sheets. Dedicated by A. Matta of Thysville (now Mbanza-Ngungu) to Ramon Lopez Balsas on 1/1/1907. (accessible online at http://purl.pt/22658/)



Figure 4.95. "Congo Português. Mulheres do Luanica". Gelatin print. A. Matta. c. 1906.

In addition to the group from Luanica, the album contains other photographs of groups of women from Cabinda, Maquela and Zombo, and is of particular historical interest because it offers a record of ceremonies involving the King of the Congo and includes a portrait of the prince Magambo in full regalia, posing symbolically in front of the flag of the Portuguese Monarchy. [1680] At the time these photographs were taken,[1681] the territories on both sides of the river Congo were still one of the principal "recruitment" areas for future contract labourers, both for the cocoa islands and for Cabinda, and in 1914, when the uneasy situation finally exploded into a full-blown conflict due to the demand for labourers, a British Baptist missionary, the Rev. J. S. Bowskill, was briefly arrested by

[1680] Ecclesiatic and military robes were given to local chiefs and rulers by the Portuguese authorities or traders to curry favour. Juvenal Marinho comments on this custom in his poem *A Ilha do Príncipe* (1928):
441. Brancos as plágas atravessam e florestas
Em transacção audaz com gentio agreste,
Presentes dando, aos sóbas fazendo festas
Rindo-se as entrudadas que êle veste.
442. Para agradar a sua magestade do sertão
Paramentos de Egreja se lhe oferece,
Que o sóba ostenta com satisfação
Que alcoholicas libações aquece. Juvenal Marinho Op.cit 1928, p.79

[1681] This photograph lends further support to Geary's contention that certain African leaders were already aware of both the political importance of photographs and the indispensable role of the camera in ensuring the survival of a register of people and events.

the Portuguese authorities for allegedly inciting the local population of the São Salvador region to revolt. [1682]



Figure 4.96. "Congo Portugues. S. Salvador. O Príncipe Magambo". Gelatin Print. A. Matta.c.1906.

Taken as a whole, the postcards published in São Tomé and Príncipe, in contrast with Angolan cards, clearly strive to offer an image of uniformity and peaceful integration. In so doing, they represent the other side of the same colonial coin. The portrayal of the people of the as yet "unpacified" interior of Angola as primitive, half-naked and impoverished savages contrasted with the image of the plantation labourers as an integrated and productive work-force which was well-clothed, well-fed and supposedly

[1682] Wheeler sums up the rebellion as follows: "[…] the 1913-1914 rebellion [was] led by Tulante Álvaro Buta, a Roman Catholic minor chief near São Salvador. When the Bakongo peasants realized that the Portuguese-appointed King, Dom Manoel Kiditu, was controlled by European officials and would not prevent the increased forced labor recruitment in their district, they rose in a widespread rebellion which gathered Catholics, Protestants, and animists together under Buta's leadership." See Douglas L. Wheeler "Angola Is Whose House? Early Stirrings of Angolan Nationalism and Protest, 1822-1910" *African Historical Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1969), p.5. The episode was considered of sufficient importance for the case to be discussed in the second debate on Portuguese contract labour held in the House of Lords, on July 23rd 1914. See Hansard. House of Lords Debate. July 27th 1914 vol. 17 cc1 pp. 60-82. It was Lord Mayo, an adversary of Portugal's colonial rule in Africa since the early 1880's, who opened the debate. In an article entitled "Parliament. House of Lords. San Thomé and Principe." *The Times* July 24th 1914, p.12 reported that the Archbishop of Canterbury had stated that the Bowskill story was "one of the darkest that had ever come from the Dark Continent". For a more detailed account of the Bowskill affair see chapter 2.9 of this dissertation.

content. The visual narrative coincided neatly with the dominant colonial discourse, [1683] which argued that the contract labourers of the cocoa plantations had been "rescued" from a precarious existence on the mainland - where they were subject to the whims of despotic local rulers - to spend the rest of their lives in comparative security and comfort on the cocoa islands.

Indeed, judging by their content, a significant number of the postcards sold in São Tomé and Príncipe seem to have been based on photographs especially commissioned by the plantation owners, who were clearly aware of their propaganda value and consequently not averse to their transformation. Some of the publishers, like Cunha Moraes in Angola; Aimé Palanque, or the prolific Maximiliano Lopes in São Tomé, who was responsible for many of the postcards of the royal visit in 1907, were photographers themselves, whilst others were the proprietors of local businesses such as the Bazar Africano, Casa Parisiense or Cervejaria Elite in São Tomé or the Casa Turca in Luanda, who, in response to demand, commissioned local studios to transform their photographs into postcards for their customers.

The same photographs were frequently recycled for use as postcards for many years, sometimes with different captions and sometimes by different publishers. Although postcards were sold cheaply, the business was sufficiently lucrative at this time to warrant the expense of having the pictures taken by professional photographers and the cards hand-coloured and printed in Europe. The proliferation of obvious, uncorrected printing errors, including the names of places and plantations, which were evidently well-known to those who commissioned the cards, testifies to the fact that a great many were, indeed, printed abroad, often in France.[1684] Fortunately, certain publishers numbered the cards belonging to a particular series, which can provide clues to the range of subject matter which was on offer, and though it is now difficult to reconstitute a complete series of cards printed over a century ago, it is possible, by following the numbering, to gain some

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[1683] Sampayo e Melo, for instance, wrote: "[...]Outro tanto não acontece com os Angolas que emigram conjunctamente com as mulheres e para quem **a vida tranquilla das roças, o trabalho moderado das culturas, a alimentação abundante e a benevolente equidade dos patrões, transformam o exílio n'um verdadeiro paraizo** [...]" and referring to the cruelty of the native chiefs: "Ás garras d'estes embrutecidos e ferozes potentados vão os agentes recrutadores arrancar annualmente os centenares de infelizes, maltratados, escravisados e torturados negros **a quem, ao cabo de canceirosa** [sic] **jornada, se abrem as portas de um verdadeiro Eden."** Lopo Vaz de Sampayo e Melo. *Política Indígena : questões coloniaes.* Magalhães & Moniz, Porto: 1910, p.308. (my bold)

[1684] See the card in **Figure 4.103.** for instance.

insight into the range of content of each collection and hence, to a certain extent, the preferences of both publishers and purchasers.

A cursory examination of the range of picture postcards published in São Tomé and Príncipe at the turn of the century shows that most displayed the same conventional subject matter as contemporary European cards. Views of beauty spots, busy streets, markets and fairs were intended to respond to the growing market for collectible views and were undoubtedly inspired by the picturesque content and composition of nineteenth-century painting. [1685] Postcards of the busy local market, like the one below, are still a popular choice today.



Figure 4.97. Postcard. "S.Thomé. Mercado na cidade". Pub.Casa Parisiense. São Tomé c.1908.

Also representative of the same popular genre are postcards featuring women washing clothes in a stream, which was a direct transfer to African surroundings of a typical bucolic scene in the European romantic tradition - a familiar subject of contemporary paintings and illustrations in magazines such as *Illustração Portugueza*. [1686]

The card which follows is a typical early example of the genre:

[1685] Many different cards showing women washing clothes in the island streams were printed between the 1890's and the 1920´s, a clear indication of their popularity. The "pictorialist" style of photography was predominant in Portugal towards the turn of the century as the catalogues of contemporary exhibitions show.

[1686] It is worth keeping in mind that from the time of its invention, photography and painting exerted a reciprocal influence on subject matter, composition and style.



Figure 4.98. Postcard "196. S.Thomé. Rio Agua-Porco -Lavadeiras". Pub. Osório e Seabra. Luanda. c.1903

Certain postcards, however, like the divided card shown below, diverged from the "pictorialist" tradition to underline the contrast between the untouched equatorial landscape and the "benefits of progress" brought by European intervention and colonial rule.

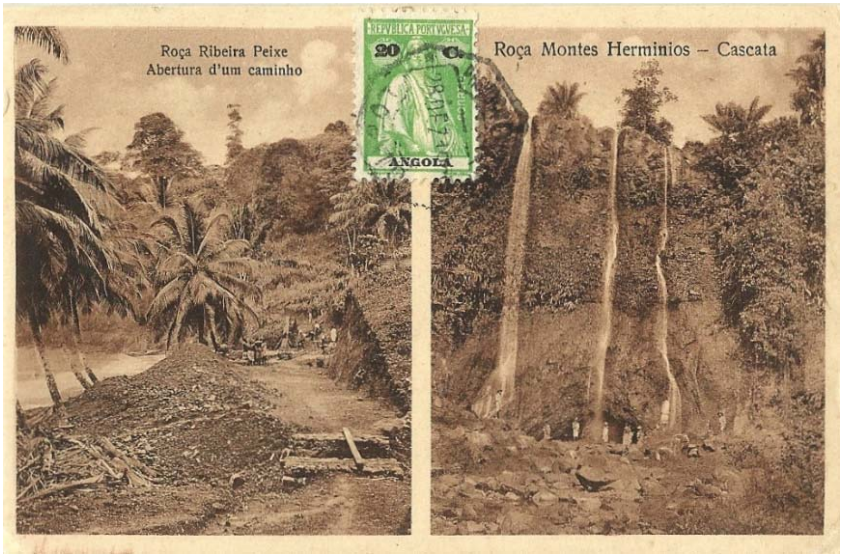


Figure 4.99. Postcard. "Roça Ribeira Peixe. Abertura de um caminho. Roça Montes Hermínios-Cascata". Pub. Auspício Menezes. São Tomé c.1911.

On one side of the card which features Roça Montes Hermínios, the people standing at the foot of the waterfall are dwarfed by the scale and power of nature, as in many contemporary photographs, whilst the other side-Roça Ribeira Peixe-shows the "opening-up" of the islands, thanks to the enterprise of the colonising nation and the labour of the

"serviçal." [1687] Other cards show the building of narrow-gauge railway lines on the plantations in areas of difficult access where machines would have been useless. The contrast between "nature in the raw" and the transformation of the landscape by colonial enterprise is a constant feature of the portrayal of the islands in postcards over the whole period under study, as the two examples below, showing the Água Grande river and the planting of a cocoa grove, reveal.





Figure 4.100. (Left) Postcard. "S.Thome. Rio Agua Grande. Vista tirada da Estrada da Trindade." Pub. Casa Parisiense. São Tomé. c. 1905. **Figure 4.101.** (Right) Postcard. "Ilha do Príncipe. Roça Praia de Santo António. Abertura de covas para semear cacao". Pub. A.C. Príncipe. c. 1911.

A significant proportion of the postcards cards published in São Tomé and Principe at this time glorify the achievements of Portugal's colonial enterprise and administration. They feature the opulent, "colonial-style" residences of the principal plantations, as exemplified below, their careful layout and well-treated gardens; the model hospitals and solidly-built masonry housing for "servicais"; the transformation of difficult terrain by

[1687] **Figure 4.100.** Posted from Angola in 1917.The card is reminiscent of the engravings of the romantic period. **Figure 4.101.** Digging the pits for the planting of cocoa saplings was one of the few heavy jobs on the plantations. Note that the shade trees have been removed, an error which led to the proliferation of the thrips insect which caused the rubrocinta epidemic.

intensive labour, and ambitious private investments such as Decauville railways and modern cocoa-drying equipment.

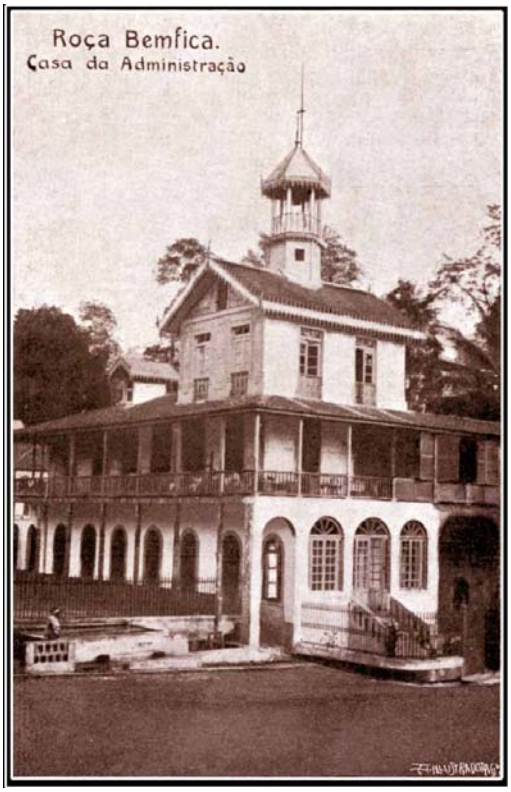


Figure 4.102. Postcard. "Roça Bemfica. Casa da Administração". Pub. A Ilustradora. Carinhas. São Tomé. c.1910.

Other cards attempt to document the sequence of operations on the plantations from the clearing of forest and planting of the saplings, the harvesting and treatment of the cocoa pods, the drying and sacking of the final product and transport to the harbour for export. The mere fact that the "roças", which were the target of so much international opprobrium at the time, were considered a suitable subject for a picture postcard may, itself, seem surprising. Quite clearly, in such cards, the choice of subject or setting depended far less on its picturesque or exotic appeal than on more utilitarian concerns, which is hardly remarkable in view of the way that cocoa and coffee production dominated the life of the islands, and the fact that the majority of Europeans only set foot there as employees or visitors to the plantations. Viewed as a whole, these images of the plantations convey a sense of progress, prosperity, industry and order and were undoubtedly intended to inspire a sense of admiration for the achievements of Portugal in Africa - as exemplified by its most successful colony - pride in belonging to the elite group of colonising nations, and pride in the power and paternalistic authority "wisely" exercised by a few adventurous

Europeans over those who were viewed, at the time, as members of an "inferior race"- a pride and authority justified by a continuous presence which could be traced back to the courageous deeds of Portuguese "discoverers" and explorers centuries before, which were recounted to generations of schoolchildren, both before and after the fall of the Monarchy.

Many of the postcards offer valuable insight into the attitudes of European employees and travellers towards the plantation labourers and the local inhabitants of the islands during this period, and there are a significant number which offer even more specific evidence as to the way the contract labour system was seen at the time, together with the prestige and prosperity it brought to the principal planters. Typical of this type is the postcard below showing an outstation of the Água-Izé plantation, which has been carefully staged by the photographer to emphasise the authority of the European manager and display the military organisation of the labour force. [1688]



Figure 4.103. Postcard. "Dependencia agua-Jzé S.Thomé" [sic] Pub. unknown. São Tomé c.1908

As in several cards of this kind the labourers are lined up against their quarters, their chargehands standing before them, carrying long, pointed wooden staves. To alleviate the stark and uncompromising atmosphere of the scene and reassure the viewer of the humane nature of the proceedings, a small child holding a pitcher of water has been placed next

[1688] 368-É serviço à militar, disciplinado,
Nem de outra forma se pode explicar,
Pessoal branco dirigente minguádo,
Sobre milhares de pretos por vezes mandar. Juvenal Marinho. Op.cit, 1928 p.65

to the manager. In fact, the architectural design of the "roças", as displayed in these postcards is, in itself, an eloquent expression of the relationship which existed between the contract labourers and their European masters.

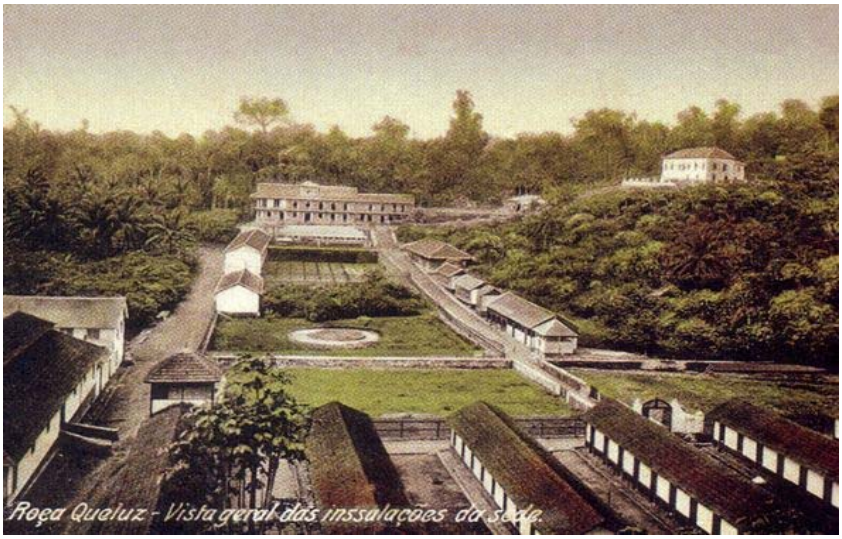


Figure 4.104. Hand-tinted postcard. "Roça Queluz. Vista geral das inssalações da sede"[sic]. Pub. Auspício Menezes. São Tomé. c.1912

The single-storey, terraced quarters for the labourers, or "sanzalas", as they were known, were often set out in rows around the central compound or cocoa drying yard, and were dominated on one side by the estate manager's elaborate, two or three-storey "colonial-style" residence and office building with its surrounding veranda, which offered a commanding view of roll-call at the beginning and the end of the day. Many of the plantation buildings were surrounded by a walled or fenced enclosure and the labourers' quarters were generally locked after dark. [1689] Initially, when permanent accommodation was built on the wealthier "roças", collective barrack-like dormitories predominated, but principally due to health concerns they were later subdivided. Unsurprisingly, postcards never show the labourers' quarters from within.[1690] Several of the larger plantations were

[1689] 343- Ás nove horas as ultimas badaladas
Silencio no terreiro repercutindo,
As sanzálas são todas fechadas
Só na manhã seguinte se abrindo. Juvenal Marinho Op.cit. 1928, p.61

[1690] A rare photograph of the interior of a serviçal's quarters does appear, however, in the report by the botanical expert Julio Henriques, on the Coimbra University expedition to São Tomé and Príncipe in 1903. The report was only published fourteen years later. See *A casa de um Preto.* Fig.64 in Júlio Henriques. *"A ilha de S. Tomé sob o ponto de vista histórico-natural e agrícola"*, *Boletim da Sociedade Broteriana*, 27, Coimbra, 1917, p.43. Some of the photographs, including this one, were supplied by the planters several years after Henriques' visit, and were clearly staged for the purpose. The photograph in question may have

equipped with a strategically-placed bell-tower, which in addition to signalling the beginning and end of the working day, allowed a panoramic view of the immediate surroundings and could sound the alarm or offer temporary refuge in the event of disorder. The postcards which follow show the use of drying equipment of Portuguese invention being used on the Roça Colonia Açoreana and an infirmary for the sick on Roça Água-Izé, which, like others on all the larger plantations, were better equipped and maintained than the main hospital in the town of São Tomé itself.

Picture postcards are, of course, usually bought and sent as a memento of a pleasant journey or to celebrate a memorable place or event, and images like these, of drying machines and the interiors of hospitals, only make sense within the context of the campaign against "slave-grown cocoa". Quite clearly, they were published not for their charm or picturesque appeal but as evidence of the planters' goodwill and benevolence, as demonstrated by their investment in the working and living conditions of the labour force. It is quite possible that several of the photographs may have been directly commissioned by the plantation owners and there can be no doubt that they appeared in postcard form with an eye to the campaign against the contract-labour system. [1691]



Figure 4.105. Postcard. "Roça Colonia Açoriana. Carregando os seccadores João Jorge com cacau." Pub. Carinhas. São Tomé c.1910

been taken on the Boa Entrada Plantation at the same time as the illustrations for Mantero's book *"Manual Labour"* (1910).

[1691] There was clearly a coincidence of purpose in the subject matter. Several postcards issued by different publishers display images which were reproduced in apologetic works published by the plantation owners.

Moreover, both of the cards provide evidence that some of the "serviçais*"* were trained to carry out what were then considered to be relatively skilled tasks for Africans.[1692]



Figure 4.106. Postcard. "Roça Agua-Izé- Interior de um dos Hospitaes" Pub. Auspício Menezes. São Tomé c.1910.

Though belonging to distinct series printed by different publishers, a significant number of cards undoubtedly go out of their way to display aspects of the contract labour system in a positive light, as can be seen from the following examples of postcards from this period showing labourers on their arrival at the pier in São Tomé, and later lined up in rows in front of the "Curadoria". The first edition of the photograph [1693] which showed the arrival of a new supply of "contractados" from Angola was published by Manuel Lança in São Tomé at the turn of the century, almost certainly before the "slave-grown cocoa controversy" had reached the international press, later being republished in slightly different versions for over a generation. [1694] The contrasting images showing, on the one hand, the bustle which accompanied the unloading of the fishermen's catch on the beach and on the other, the discipline and passivity of the new arrivals from Angola, was

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[1692] 303- Doutor chamam por troça a um serviçal
Que, virando os pretos de pernas para o ar,
Com uma seringa grande todo o mal
Purga, indo logo tudo trabalhar. Juvenal Marinho Op.cit.1928, p.56.

[1693] In Portugal postcards were first divided to allow the message to be written on the back at the end of 1904. The division became general practice only in 1905, but many older, undivided cards were still sold and used for a few more years. Divided cards appeared somewhat earlier in Britain (1902) and France (1903).

[1694] **Figure 4.107.** A slightly different version, again with an art-nouveau mask, was published by Manuel Lança around the same time, and was entitled "S.Thomé. Chegada de canôas pescadoras".

undoubtedly a popular choice for those who wanted a souvenir of their stay on the islands, and over the years it became an iconic image.

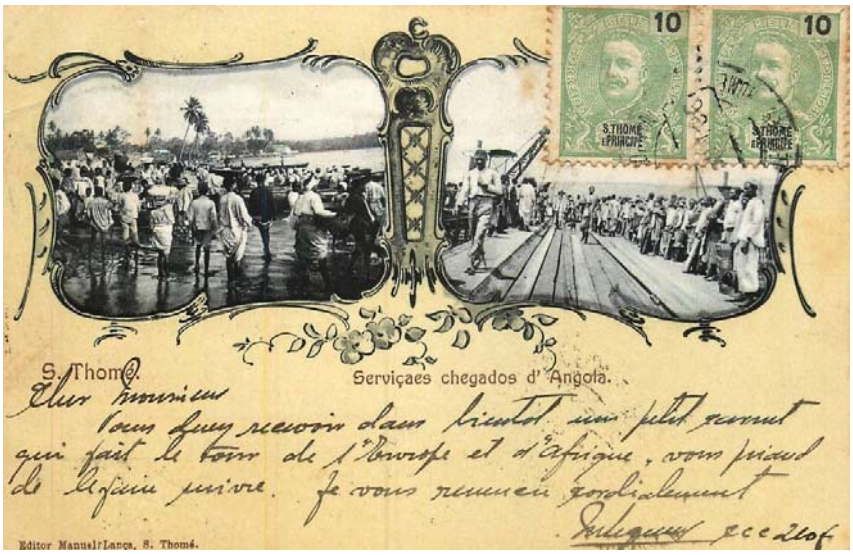


Figure 4.107. Postcard. "S. Thomé. Serviçaes chegados d'Angola" Pub. Manuel Lança. São Tomé. c.1905.

In the later, hand-tinted version of an almost identical photograph, published by the local trader and plantation-owner Salvador Levy when the scandal was reaching embarrassing proportions, the focus is entirely upon on the new recruits in their striped cotton uniforms.[1695] The future "serviçais" stand to one side of the landing-stage with their backs to the ocean, looking for the first time, almost certainly with a mixture of resignation and apprehension, at the place where they would almost certainly spend the rest of their lives. They are holding their only possessions - the mats and blankets they were given as they went on board. And from the other side of the pier, at a suitable distance, plantation agents and assorted bystanders weigh them up, possibly guessing at their state of health and potential value as labourers.

It was clearly considered something of a picturesque occasion. The atmosphere is seemingly subdued and relaxed and it is clear that the arrival of a fresh contingent of labourers to replenish the plantations provided a welcome break in the monotony of the daily routine for the inhabitants of this equatorial backwater, and may well have represented a source of curiosity or amusement. In symbolic terms, however, the invisible

[1695] See **Figure 4.106.** The photograph is the same as in Lança's earlier version, as mentioned in the previous note.

line along the pier between the two groups represents the insurmountable barrier which existed between those who were free to come and go and those who were not.



Figure 4.108. Hand-coloured postcard. " S.Thomé. Chegada de serviçaes de Angola." Pub. Salvador Levy e Cia. Editores. São Tomé c. 1910.

Although the picture of the future contract labourers on the landing stage was probably taken with the intention of recording what was then seen as a colourful local event, the picture below was certainly staged and put on sale with a more specific purpose in mind. In fact, the propaganda message was clear for all to see - the "serviçais" had gone through the proper legal procedure on their arrival and the Curator's office, which towers behind them imposingly, was there to watch over and protect them, in accordance with the legislation in force.

In truth of fact, the implementation of what was comparatively enlightened colonial labour legislation for the time, depended, to a degree, on the Curator's interpretation of the scope of his responsibilities, and on his courage and professional zeal. Indeed, several paid the price for complying too closely with the letter of the law, finding themselves on the boat home, long before their term of service was up. [1696]

[1696] The case of Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho is of particular relevance here. His removal from the post of Curator on the Island of Príncipe was demanded in a series of telegrams sent by leading planters to the authorities in Lisbon, shortly before the visit of the Crown Prince in 1907. In 1909, also on Príncipe, the local municipality sent a telegram to the Centro Colonial de Lisboa protesting against the "permanencia das auctoridades judiciaes" due to the alleged "perseguição colonia europeia" which was apparently growing. The CCL passed on the message at a meeting on 22nd July 1909. See BCCL no.5, p.6.

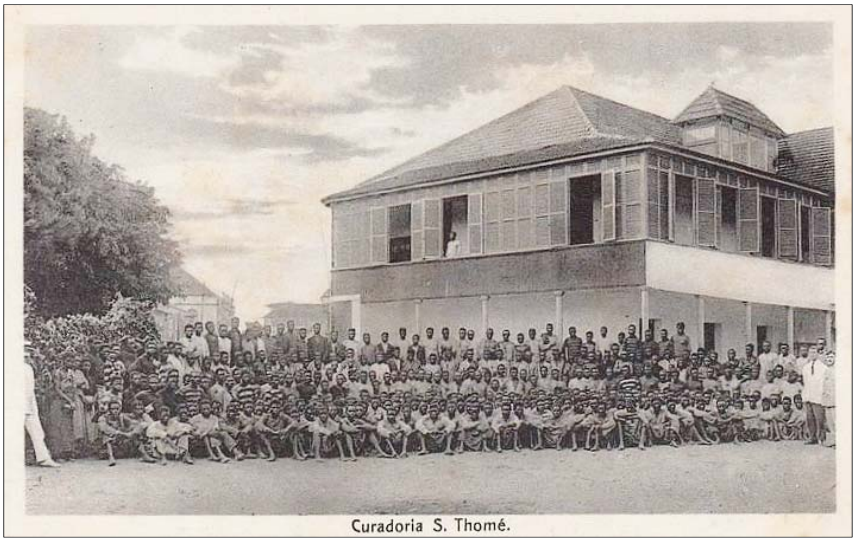


Figure 4.109. Postcard. "Curadoria S. Thomé." Publisher unknown. São Tomé c.1911.

Remarkably, after 1908, when repatriation finally began, no postcard shows the departure, transport or arrival at their destinations of repatriated labourers, which, whilst providing persuasive visual evidence in support of the planters' campaign to vindicate the system, might also have raised doubts as to why any contract labourer might wish to leave what the planters often termed a "paradise on earth for the blacks."

Support for the system was far from unanimous, however, even amongst European settlers in Portuguese West Africa. As Henry Nevinson reported in his articles, the conflict of interests which had been festering for some time between the European traders and farmers or "fazendeiros" of Angola and the plantation owners of São Tomé regarding the export of labour to the cocoa islands finally came to a head. In July 1902, an important political rally was held in Luanda to protest against the export of labourers to São Tomé and a manifesto was approved appealing to the authorities in Lisbon. [1697] The Angolan protesters, an influential part of them freemasons and republican activists, also made sure that the repercussions of the campaign soon reached the Lisbon press. [1698] Shortly afterwards, a remarkable historical document was published by a Luanda firm in the form

[1697] See Chapter 1 of this dissertation for more on the campaign of the Angolan tradesmen and farmers against the export of labour to the cocoa islands.
[1698] Notably in the progressive daily *Vanguarda*, edited by the leading republican politician and freemason Sebastião Magalhães Lima. The conflict known as the Bailundo Revolt is covered in greater detail in Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

of a postcard. The photograph shows one of the first political rallies to take place as part of the campaign against the export of labourers to São Tomé. [1699]



Figure 4.110. Postcard. "Comissio [sic] em 15 de Agosto de 1902 no largo de Salvador Corrêa Loanda" Pub. Casa Novecentos, Luanda. 1902.

It was undoubtedly used to draw attention to the ongoing campaign and exemplifies the awareness which existed, even at this early juncture, of the possibilities of the photograph as a tool of propaganda and the extraordinary potential of the popular picture postcard in the political sphere. Whilst essentially a conflict precipitated by the dearth of agricultural labourers in Angola, aggravated still further by an outbreak of sleeping sickness, the campaign was inspired in part by philanthropic motives. Emulating the joint Anglo-Portuguese campaign against the Atlantic slave trade half a century earlier, the Angolan traders went as far as to board the steamers leaving the colony for São Tomé to question future "serviçais" on their understanding and acceptance of their contracts.

The Luanda Manifesto clearly identified the links between the rebellion of the Ovimbundu people at Bailundo, which took place between May and September of 1902, and the export of labourers to São Tomé. Curiously, another postcard published at the

[1699] **Figure 4.110.** This extraordinary postcard shows one of the public rallies promoted by the Grande Commissão de Luanda which had been elected a month before. The photographer deliberately chose a high vantage point to capture what must have been a huge political meeting for a city which boasted no more than a few thousand Europeans at the time. The publisher was clearly sympathetic towards the objectives of the organisers of the rally. BNP pi-5911-p. (Accessed online 8/6/2021 at https://purl.pt/16624)

time by the Luanda firm of Osório e Seabra shows a group of people who were arrested by the military authorities as a result of the uprising.

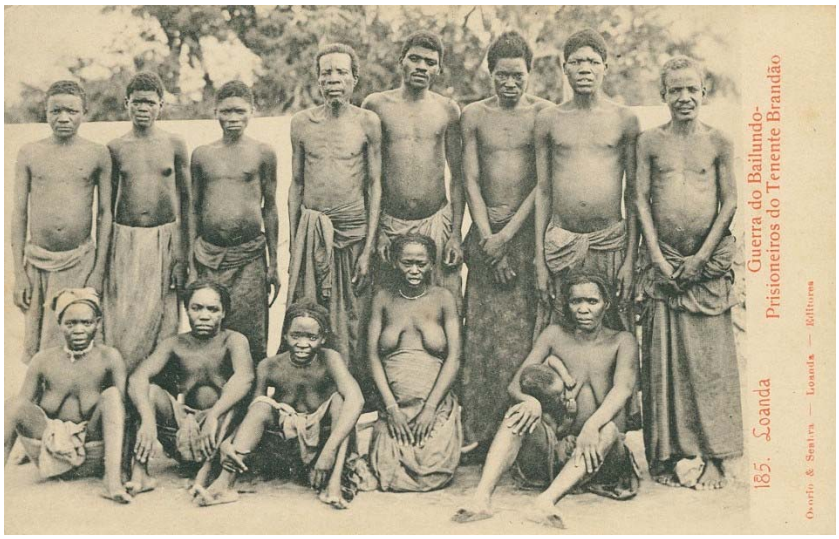


Figure 4.111. Postcard. "185. Loanda. Guerra de Bailundo-Prisioneiros do Tenente Brandão." Pub. Osório e Seabra. Editores. Luanda.c.1903

Contrasting with virtually all of the postcards published in Angola which refer directly to military operations against the indigenous population, this image neither celebrates the victory nor pays tribute to the bravery and military prowess of the victors. [1700] The group of prisoners, which includes adolescent boys and women, one of whom carrying a baby,[1701] looks anything but menacing, and there can be little doubt that the photograph was intended to draw attention to the position of the Luanda protesters, who, whilst condemning the acts of violence against Europeans and conceding that the uprising had to be put down by force, sympathised, to a certain extent with the rebels, who are described in the Manifesto as having suffered systematic violence and abuse at the hands of local settlers and traders, specifically as a consequence of the contract-labour system.

[1700] The disparity between the efficacy of the muzzle-loaders of the rebels and the repeating rifles and light artillery of government forces is apparent from a description of the decisive confrontation: "Sinto o mais intenso prazer de communicar a V. Ex.ia que nos dias 18 e 19 de Setembro foi tomada á viva força pelas tropas da columna do meu commando a embala do Candumbo. Foi um combate renhido e sangrento [...] Mais de 300 mortos, attingindo talvez mesmo a cifra de 400, entrando no numero o soba.[...] Foram feitos 291 prisioneiros, dando-se a liberdade a 14 que tinham ferimentos de caracter mais graves. [...] Do nosso lado tivemos mortos um cabo de dragões, um artilheiro, um caçador e um auxiliar muximbe ; e feridos 3 dragões e 6 caçadores, ficando um d'aquelles mutilado." From Cap. Teixeira Moutinho's report as quoted in Francisco Cabral de Moncada. *A campanha do Bailundo em 1902.* Liv. Ferin, Lisbon: 1903, p.169.

[1701] Note, however, that women and children were often taken as hostages to force peace negotiations, as they were in the Congo Free State. Only the more important prisoners were taken to Benguela. See Maria da Conceição Neto. *In Town and Out of Town. A Social History of Huambo.1902-1961*. Ph.D thesis SOAS. Univ. London, 2012, p.104. (Accessed online 25/11/2018) https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/13822/

The so-called "Grande Commissão de Luanda" launched a second manifesto in Lisbon in mid-1904, focussing on the new legislation on Angolan labour for São Tomé, which had been approved the year before. [1702]

Precisely at this time, an extremely unusual postcard showing a small group of future "serviçais" on board ship to São Tomé was issued as part of a series of typical local figures by the same publishing house. It is quite possible that this card was also published as a contribution towards the campaign against the export of labourers to São Tomé, as Eduardo Osório, the owner of Osório e Seabra, the publishers of the postcard, was an influential member of the Grande Comissão, which led the struggle of the politicised Angolan bourgeoisie against the contract-labour system.

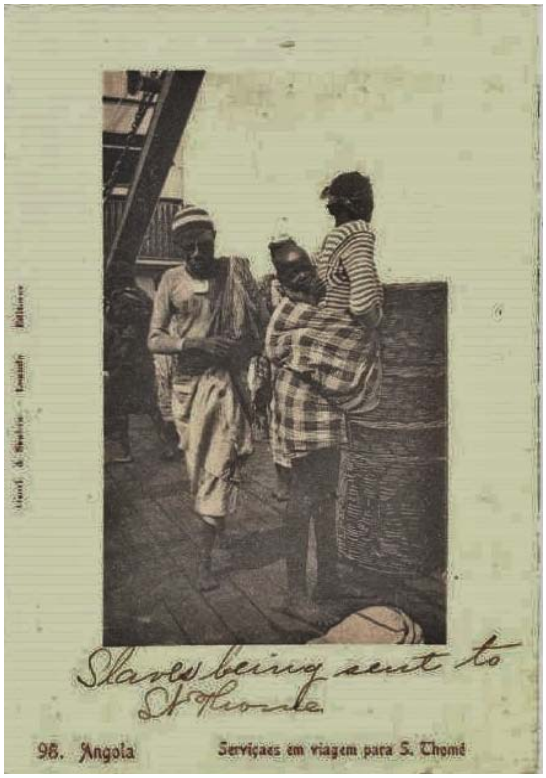


Figure 4.112. Postcard. " 96. Angola. Servicaes em viagem para S. Thomé." Pub. Osório e Seabra, Editores. Luanda. c. 1904.

[1702] Entitled *Os Contractos de Serviçaes em Angola,* and printed in Lisbon by the Typographia Favorita in 1904. Eduardo Osório was one of the principal petitioners. This powerful condemnation of the contract labour system was addressed to the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa and was undoubtedly drafted by José Pinto de Macedo, the editor of the Luanda fortnightly newspaper, *A Defeza de Angola* which was published between 1903 and 1907 and supported by the masonic association, Grémio Português de Luanda. See Ch.1.2 of this dissertation.

The postcard seems to have served its purpose on one occasion at least, as can be seen from the rare example, illlustrated above, which recently surfaced in the United States, and was overwritten, at the time, possibly by an American missionary, with the words “Slaves being sent to St. Thome”.

Attitudes in the cocoa islands towards the contract labour system and the benefits it brought were diametrically opposed to those of the majority of the Luanda tradesmen and landowners. Underlining the gulf between the interests of the two lobbies, many of the postcards published in São Tomé and Príncipe during the period reveal a conscious attempt to depict the contract-labour system in a favourable light, underlining the authority and discipline based upon supposed racial superiority, which necessarily prevailed on the “roças” of the cocoa islands due to the notorious disproportion between the number of African labourers and European overseers. The fact that such cards were sent home by visitors, or by the employees of the plantations themselves, offers persuasive evidence as to the attitudes and perceptions of many of the Europeans who visited, lived and worked on the cocoa islands at this time.

Contract labourers were usually photographed in carefully posed groups, often accompanied by their European overseers.

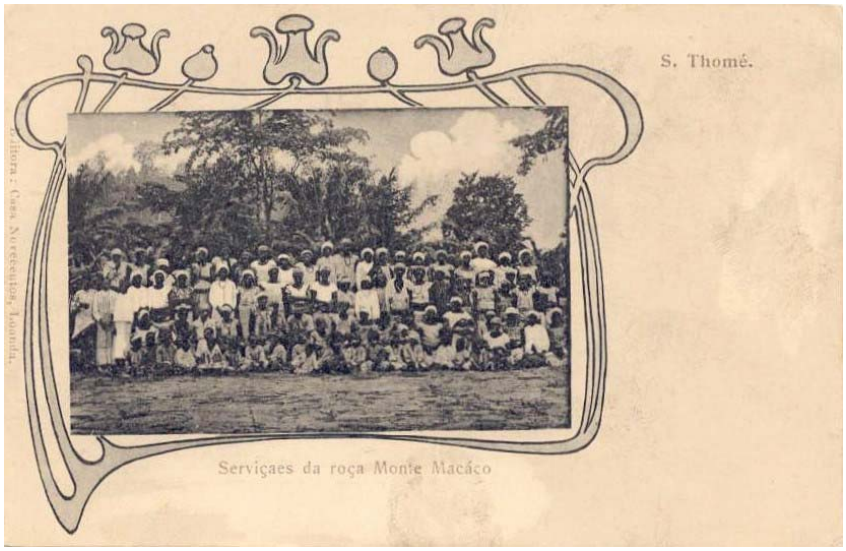


Figure 4.113. Postcard. “Serviçaes da roça Monte Macaco”. Pub. Casa Novecentos. Luanda c. 1904.

A typical early example is offered by the above postcard with its decorative, art nouveau mask, showing female labourers from the Monte Macaco plantation, with their children sitting together at their feet. Seen today, the genre is reminiscent of group photographs of

employees of a factory or a sports team. Such cards often convey a sense of willingly-shared objectives and secure and healthy employment, a situation which was, of course, far from reality. [1703]

Unwittingly, however, another, darker side to this "oasis of prosperity" in the Portuguese African possessions is sometimes revealed by such photographs.



Figure 4.114. Postcard "S. Thomé. grupo de trabalhadores da Roça Vista Alegre". pub. Casa Parisiense. São Tomé.c.1908

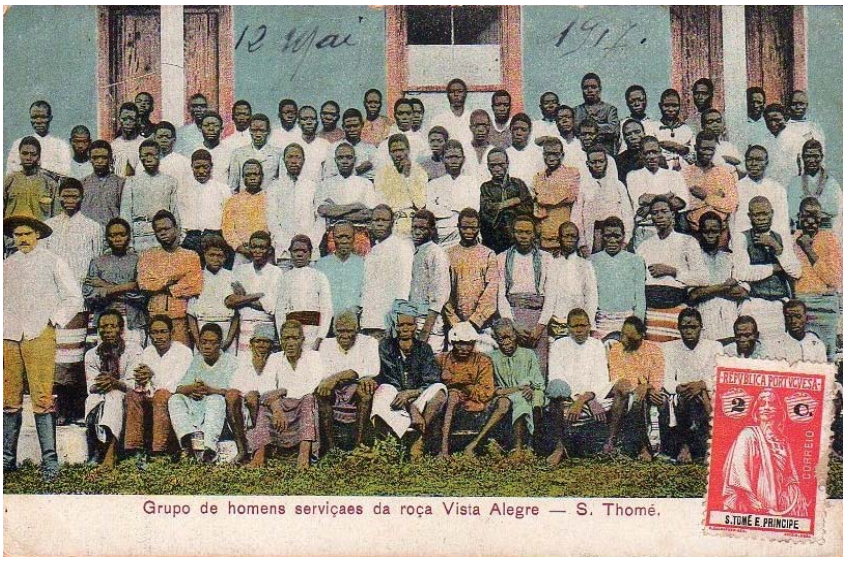


Figure 4.115. Hand-coloured version of the above. "Grupo de homens servicaes da Roça Vista Alegre - S. Thomé". pub. António Joaquim Braz. São Tomé. Dated 1917.

[1703] Monte Macaco was one of the outstations of the Santa Margarida Plantation.

Certain cards, like the ones above, show groups of labourers accompanied by their European overseers, who are shown standing imposingly, in front or to one side of the labour force. [1704] The association which first comes to mind, today, is of a group of prisoners accompanied by a guard, rather than a team of workers with their chargehand or ganger. The impression is reinforced by a comparison with a similar card from the same series which shows female "serviçais" on the same plantation who are not accompanied by a European overseer. [1705] It is a sobering thought that given the death rate at the time - about 10% p.a, few of those portrayed in the photographs would have been alive by the time the card was sent, although some of the more fortunate may have returned to Angola after repatriation became a more routine procedure.



Figure 4.116. Hand-coloured postcard with perforated edges. "Grupo de mulheres serviçaes da Roça Vista Alegre-S.Thomé". Pub. António Joaquim Braz. c.1920 (note the use of the overprinted stamp)

The previous group photographs of male labourers on Roça Vista Alegre are of particular interest in as far as they show, in the centre of the front-row, a veteran of the unsuccessful experiment to import Chinese "coolie" labour to the plantations, through Macao. [1706] About three hundred Chinese coolies were brought to São Tomé in 1896 and the 1909 population survey still counted 50 "Chinas" as part of the population of the islands, but

[1704] **Figure 4.114.** Posted 1919, probably first published around 1908 and based on a photograph taken a year or two before.
[1705] See **Figure 4.116**
[1706] Writing with the benefit of hindsight, José de Almada, a senior official in the Portuguese Colonial Office describes the experiment as: "[…] **desastrosa para a reputação da ilha**". In José de Almada. *Apontamentos Históricos sôbre a Escravatura e o Trabalho Indígena nas Colónias Portuguesas.* Imprensa Nacional. Lisboa: 1932, p.81. (my bold)

most were no longer living on the plantations. [1707] The cards also provide evidence that, despite the high death-rate, some of the labourers developed a resistance to the endemic diseases on the islands and lived long enough to enjoy semi-retirement on certain plantations, where, as "veteranos", they were often given lighter tasks to carry out and were sometimes allowed to tend their own small vegetable plots. [1708]

The two cards shown below also offered an indirect propaganda contribution to the ongoing controversy.



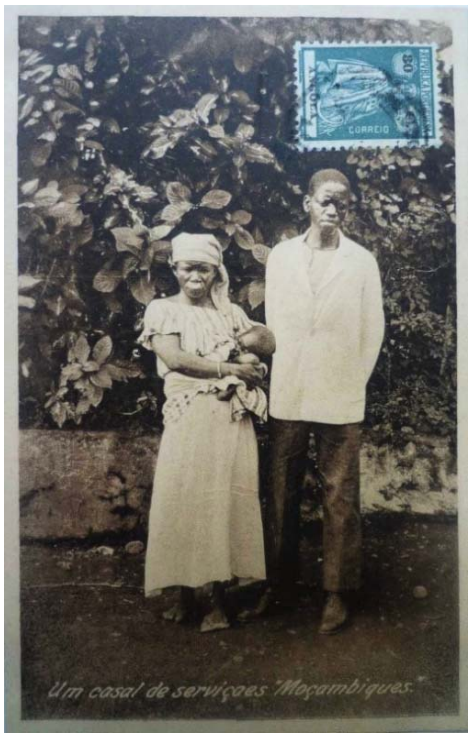


Figure 4.117. (Left) Postcard. "Um veterano e seus netos. no.21." Pub. José Pimenta lda. São Tomé, c. 1914. **Figure 4.118.** (Right) Postcard. "Um casal de serviçaes «Moçambiques»". Pub. unknown, possibly Auspício Menezes. São Tomé c.1910. Posted c.1920

The card to the left, showing a survivor of the contract labour system with his grandchildren, who also appear to be "serviçais", was undoubtedly conceived to counter the idea insistently put forward by humanitarian activists that the islands were a death trap. Generally speaking, "veterans", such as the one in the photograph were, like children, well-treated on most plantations and shown to visitors as living proof of the

[1707] Figures from *Annuario Commercial Industrial e Agrícola de S. Tomé e Príncipe*, vol.145. 1928, p.108.
[1708] Bruto da Costa reports, however, that this practice began to fall into disuse on many plantations at the turn of the century due to the reprehensible behaviour of the "servicais" who were granted such "privileges."

favourable working and living conditions of the labourers. The card to the right is a rare example which purports to show a (married) couple of contract labourers from Moçambique, who were recruited for the plantations in growing numbers, particularly after 1908, and normally repatriated on completion of their one or two-year contracts. [1709]

Initially, however, incidents occurred due to one of the planter's attempts to extend such contracts against the will of the Mozambican labourers, who were quick to stand up for their rights. In mid-August 1909, for example, shortly after the recruitment of Angolan labourers had been suspended by the Minister for the Colonies, Manuel da Terra Vianna, the *Equatorial*, a newspaper circulating in São Tomé and Príncipe at the time, reported on the revolt of a hundred Mozambican labourers on a plantation in S. João de Angolares after discovering that their one-year contract had been surreptitiously extended to three years. To its credit, the Government quickly dismissed the recruiting agent concerned and repatriated the labourers. [1710]

Several postcards from this period portray the daily roll-call on different plantations. The first of the two such cards illustrated below, shows the inspection of the "serviçais" on the Roça Colónia Açoreana. Roll-call took place, before and after work,[1711] on the "terreiro", the cocoa-drying area or compound, which often doubled up as a "parade ground" and was usually situated directly in front of the estate-manager's imposing residence.[1712] Often hundreds of labourers, men and women and even children, are shown lined up for military-style inspection before going off to work in groups with their

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[1709] **Figure 4.118.** Note that the man is probably a domestic servant as he is wearing shoes. They seem to be an unlikely couple and may have been constituted as such merely for the purpose of the photograph, as the discomfort on the man's face might suggest. As far as contract labourers were concerned, the estate manager was free to decide who was to marry who, as Júlio Henriques emphasises: "[...] na roça o administrador (o patrão) é tudo. É êle quem faz e desfaz os casamentos, quem julga os delitos e determina os castigos, quem resolve os casos familiares." Júlio Henriques. Op.cit.1917, p.120.

[1710] See, for example, *O Século* August 9th 1909, and *O Economista Portuguez.* August 15th 1909. The latter offered a transcription of the article which appeared in the *Equatorial* of São Tomé in its issue of October 2nd 1909, p.1704. Reports also appeared in the *Diário de Notícias* and the *Diário de Tarde* in Lisbon, the *Angolense* in Angola and the *Lourenço Marques Guardian* in Mozambique. Cadbury writes of his optimism regarding the recruitment of Mozambicans and offers translations of the articles in the additional chapter to the second edition of his *Labour in Portuguese West Africa,* published in 1910, pp.177-187.

[1711] **Figure 4.119.** It is clear that this photograph was taken at the end of the day as the labourers are shown standing by the bundles of livestock fodder or firewood which they had to collect before returning for roll-call after their usual working day was over, the so-called "*obrigação"*.

[1712] "[…] At the nightly parade all the natives on the plantations form into lines, and stand like black statues as the planter, like a being from another world, walks around to inspect them. One feels at such a time that the master's word be it right or wrong, is the supreme law and his will is practically absolute." Joseph Burtt *"*Slave Labour on Cocoa Plantations." The *Contemporary Review* no. 96, July-Dec.1909, p.469.

respective gangers, who were sometimes chosen from different colonies such as Cape Verde or Mozambique.

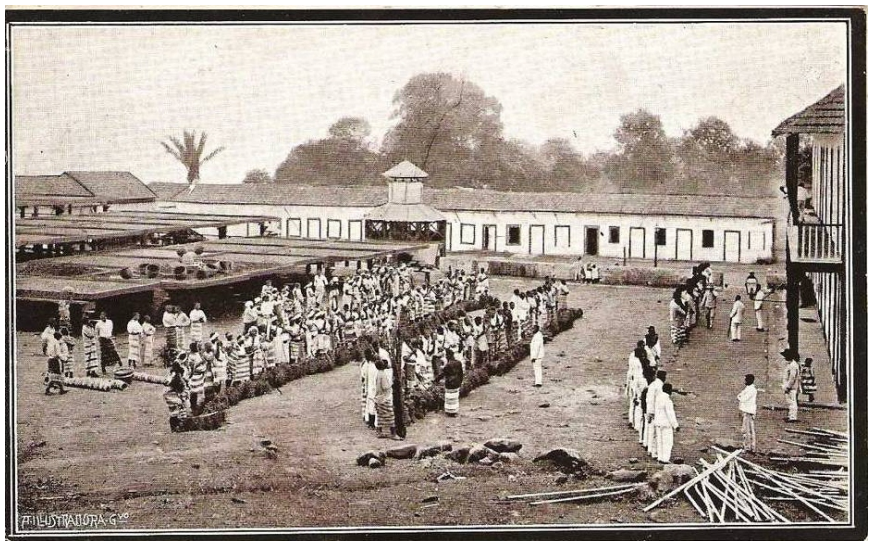


Figure 4.119. Untitled postcard showing roll-call after a days work at the Roça Colónia Açoreana. pub. by A Ilustradora (Carinhas), São Tomé. c.1907.

In the example, no obvious sign of any particular ethnic or cultural origin is discernible from the labourers' appearance. They now belong to the plantation, a condition to which the military-style organisation and the uniformity of their striped cotton clothes clearly bears witness. Having survived the rite of passage, unlike many of those who accompanied them on their long march from the interior of Angola, they have forfeited their individuality and culture and have become an asset to be exploited by the plantation-owner. Yet, seen at the time, by the average European who sent or received the card, the image would have provided powerful evidence of the organisation and discipline which prevailed on the plantations, proof of the "redemption of black savages" through hard work under paternal European supervision, and of the economic progress brought to the islands under the "benevolent rule" of the colonising nation. [1713]

[1713] Commenting on the "obrigação", Juvenal Marinho writes:
338-Ás seis, todo o ano já noite cerrada,
Toca para no terreiro a formatura,
Por cada a obrigação é apresentada
Do Mato trazendo coisas com fartura.
339-Lenha para a cosinha, pinhas de andim
Andála de palmeira para os cuáes,
Erva para o gado, aqui chamado capim,
Tudo coisas de utilidade geraes. Juvenal Marinho Op.cit 1928, p.61

In vivid contrast with the dark and realistic imagery of the previous example, the intensely-coloured postcard of roll-call at Roça Agua-Izé, below, shows a group of "serviçais", together with "moleques", or children of the labourers, carefully lined up closest to the camera according to size. The hand-tinted card, showing the model plantation with its railway line, is part of a series which, as well as bearing witness to the enterprise of the publisher and photographer, undoubtedly demonstrates a sensitivity to the criticisms raised by the humanitarian campaign.



Figure 4.120. Hand-coloured postcard "Roça Água-Izé-Forma de serviçaes". pub. by Auspício Meneses, São Tomé c.1910

Ironically, it recalls the idyllic coloured views of Bournville, "the factory in a garden" or "the Worcestershire Eden", with its white-clad workers playing bowls on the recreation lawns - they, too, just as carefully contrived and intended to remind the reader of the employers' generous and humanitarian treatment of their workers, as the picture which follows proudly advertises. The illustration appeared in Richard Cadbury's apologetic work on "Cocoa", which was published in the early eighteen-nineties, when cacao was already being imported from São Tomé. [1714]

[1714] See **Figure 4.121.** "Girl's Playground and Waterfall at Bournville. (From Photographs)" The caption reads:"We cannot do better than transport our readers to Bournville " The Worcestershire Eden", as it has been aptly termed, for the surroundings of the place have a charm of their own that banishes the thought of smoke and machinery, and gives quite a zest for this happy and busy scene of labour". In "Historicus" [Richard Cadbury (1835-1899)] *Cocoa. All about it*. Sampson Low, Marston and Co. London: 1892. Opposite p.54. Although cacao was already being imported from São Tomé, Richard Cadbury's book refers only to the British colony of Trinidad as a supplier.



Figure 4.121. Lithographed illustration from Richard Cadbury's *Cocoa. All about it.* 1892

Different stages in the transport and preparation of the cocoa beans are also shown in certain cards, processes which were mechanised, to an extent, on some of the larger plantations such as Uba-Budo or Agua-Izé, where miles of rail track were laid down as the business became more lucrative and difficulties in obtaining labour grew. The following postcard of the Uba Buda plantation, which ostensibly shows the transport of labourers to their place of work by narrow-gauge railway, was undoubtedly designed to present a more humane side to the plantations and offer evidence that the working conditions of the "serviçais" were far from the monotonous toil described by humanitarian campaigners.



Figure 4.122. Postcard. "Roça Uba Budo. Conducção dos serviçaes ao trabalho." Pub. A Illustradora (Carinhas). São Tomé c.1910.

On many of the less accessible "roças", intensive labour and animal traction remained the only solution, however, as the postcard below, published by Osório and Seabra in Luanda, exemplifies.[1715]



Figure 4.123. Postcard. "153. S.Thomé. Trafego do Cacáu." [sic] Pub. Osório e Seabra, Luanda c.1903.



Figure 4.124. Postcard. "Serviçaes caboverdianos carregando cacao do matto, para fermentação. Roça Nova Cuba, Príncipé" [sic]. Pub. José Teixeira Barbosa. Bazar Africano. São Tomé. c. 1910.

[1715] In 1909, Raúl Mesnier de Ponsard (1849-1914), the remarkable Portuguese engineer who designed funicular railways for Lisbon, Oporto and Braga, carried out a study for an overhead railway, which he estimated would have reduced the labour requirements on the Porto Alegre plantation from 359 to 36. Unfortunately it was never built. See Raúl Mesnier de Ponsard. *Études coloniales perfectionnées. Le travail et le main d'oeuvre. Plantation Roça Porto-Alegre dans L'ile de S.Thomé (Afrique occidentale Portugaise)* Typographie do Commercio, Lisboa: 1912. See **Figure 4.123.** This undivided card shows two aspects of the work on an unidentified plantation, the transport of the sacks of cocoa on the shoulders of male labourers and the shelling of cocoa pods, carried out mainly by women.

The postcard, above, of Roça Nova Cuba, on the island of Princípe, showing the transport of cocoa beans in sawn-off wooden wine casks, testifies to the use of men, women and boys from the Cape Verde Islands as labourers. [1716] Cape Verdians were driven to accept limited contracts at times of famine which periodically affected their own colony due to prolonged periods of drought. [1717] Though making up only a small part of the total contingent of contract labourers on the plantations before 1908, they usually enjoyed a superior statute to Angolan labourers, which was due in part to the more receptive attitude of the European employees towards their mixed race and to the fact that many of them had gone through some form of education, a significant number having learned to read and write. After 1908, however, the number of Cape Verdians working on the plantations of Príncipe gradually grew to exceed those from Angola and they were employed in all aspects of plantation work. [1718]

Contrasting with images showing the labour force of the plantations under the control and supervision of a small number of Europeans, the hand-tinted postcard, shown below, offers a rare close-up of a small group of contract labourers, accompanied by their children, breaking open cocoa pods to remove the beans. [1719] The terrible, glazed look of tired resignation on their faces, possibly symptomatic of ill-health, mixed with undisguised indifference or hostility towards the photographer, who, of course, did not require their permission to take the picture - is poignant testimony to their monotonous

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[1716] **Figure 4.124.** Bruto da Costa's report quotes a figure of 150 for the number of Cape Verdians on the island of Príncipe in 1908, a figure which had grown to 2120, at the time of writing, compared with 1529 Angolans. Bruto da Costa. *Sleeping Sickness* 1916, p.34. Some 14,000 Cape Verdian contracted labourers were sent to São Tomé and Príncipe between 1903 and 1915. See António Carreira. *The People of the Cape Verde Islands: Exploitation and Emigration* Archon, London: 1983. Esp. Ch.4 and annexes.

[1717] Juvenal Marinho recorded his indignation at the plight of Cape Verdians in the following verses:

122- Durante o ano de mil e novecentos e trez,
Pela mortífera fome acossados,
Levas de caboverdeanos no convez
Marcharam para as ilhas contractados.

123- Seria bom expediente de occasião,
Gente livre, bem sabendo lêr e escrever,
Equiparada aos selvagens do sertão
Cinco anos as cardas ali indo bater?

287- Entre a tôrre do sino e a cozinha
O casarão do pessoal caboverdeano,
Na escala social em descida mesquinha,
Para esta ilha recrutada por engano. Juvenal Marinho Op.cit. 1928, p.24 (first two verses), p.53 (third verse)

[1718] See Francisco de Paula Cid. *La main d'oeuvre aux îles de Cabo Verde.* Congrés International d'Agriculture Tropicale III Londres, 1914. Editora Limitada, Lisbonne: 1914, p.15.

[1719] **Figure 4.125.** Roça Vista Alegre was a subsidiary of the Santa Margarida plantation.

and gruelling existence, far from the homes they would very probably never see again. Ironically, in the absence of oral records, the photographs have given a voice, a century later, to those who were otherwise unable to express their feelings of despair or suppressed revolt, and its eloquence is merely reinforced by the attempt to relieve the sense of tragedy captured by the photograph, by the use of lurid tints.



Figure 4.125. Hand-coloured postcard. "Quebra do cacao-Roça Vista Alegre-S. Thomé." Published by Casa Parisiense. São Tomé. c. 1911.

It is worth recalling that this picture postcard, which today would have made a convincing poster against the system, was sent home as a souvenir of a stay in São Tomé, soon after the proclamation of the Republic and at the height of the campaign against contract labour. Today, it bears eloquent witness to the way unremitting militancy, struggle and sacrifice have partially succeeded, over time, in changing public perceptions and attitudes towards race and working conditions.

Several postcards show groups of "serviçais" queuing patiently to receive their food allowance or pay.[1720] Such cards provided indirect reinforcement of the dominant narrative regarding contract labour, and were very probably put on sale not just for their picturesque value but as evidence of the orderly organisation of the plantations, and as

[1720] Under the 1903 legislation 60% of the labourer's pay was retained in a "repatriation fund", which was intended to be handed over to the contract labourer, when and if repatriation actually took place.

incontestable visual proof that the workers were, in fact, paid for their labours and, as such, could not be considered slaves. [1721]

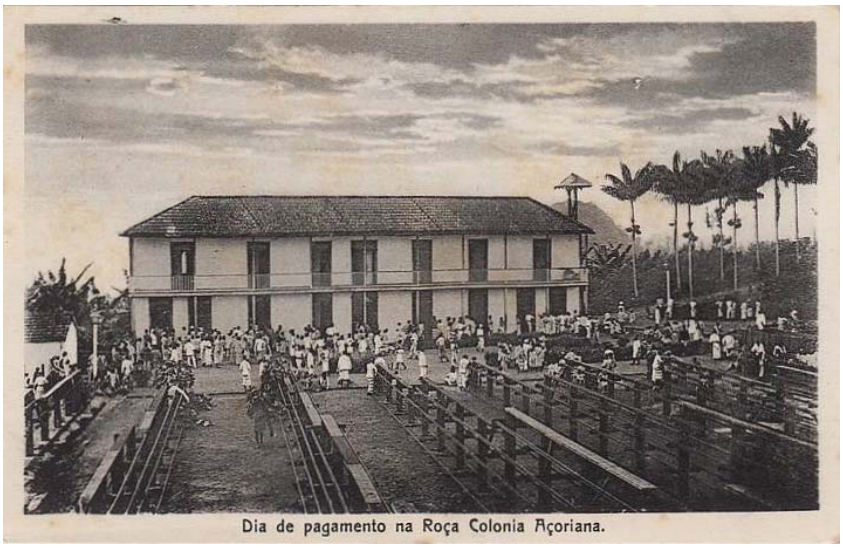


Figure 4.126. Postcard. "Dia de pagamento na Roça Colonia Açoriana." [sic] Pub. Unknown. São Tomé c.1911.



Figure 4.127. Postcard "*35. Um batuque de serviçaes*." Publisher José Pimenta. São Tomé c. 1907.

One or two cards show the so-called "batuque" when the "servicais", possibly fired up by an extra wine ration on one of their few rest days, were allowed to dissipate accumulated frustration and celebrate their cultural origins by dancing and playing improvised musical

[1721] The card is part of the same series as the "Curadoria" card. (**Fig. 4.108**) Much of the labourers' available earnings was spent in the makeshift stores run on, or near, the "roças", often by "forros", which, in addition to alcohol, also stocked a limited number of products such as soap and cheap second-hand clothing.

instruments.[1722] Incidentally, there was also the chance that the labourers would momentarily forget the life of confinement to which they were subjected and do their part in increasing the future labour force of the plantation. The dancers in the image above are shown with their backs to the photographer, whose camera was located some distance away. Clearly this was no "ethnic display" for European eyes, but there were few such opportunities for a photographer on the plantations, and it must have been considered sufficiently picturesque and photogenic to justify a slide, whilst, yet again, there was the added advantage that the picture offered proof that the "serviçais" did, indeed, enjoy the rest periods they were legally entitled to and even had their moments of high-spirits. [1723]

Many of the postcards from this period tend to offer a picturesque and utopian portrayal of the life of the contract labourers. The postcards of contract-labourers working in the compound of the Boa Entrada plantation exemplify what gradually became the "politically correct" defining-image for the whole contract labour system.[1724]



Figures 4.128 Hand-tinted postcard. "Serviçaes trabalhando nos terreiros-roça Boa Entrada - S. Thomé". Pub. António Joaquim Braz, São Tomé, c.1909

[1722] However, "batuques" also took place as a form of wake on the death of a fellow "serviçal".
[1723] Writing on the problem of alcoholism on the plantations on Príncipe in 1915, Bruto da Costa explains that cane rum or "aguardente" was distilled only on Roça Infante D. Henrique from sugar cane produced on the plantation and was not available to "serviçais", who were given a daily ration of wine. In his report Bruto da Costa advocates the introduction of severe restrictions to create a "formidable barrier against the worst vice of the negro race." Bruto da Costa et al. Op.cit. 1916, p.163-164.
[1724] See **Figures 4.128, 4.129 and 4.130.** Some of these photographs of Roça Boa Entrada also appeared in a postcard edition by Casa Parisiense, São Tomé. An album containing a complete series of postcards with perforated or "rouletted" margins, issued by the São Tomé publisher António Joaquim Braz, is held in the Archives of the Museu de Etnologia in Lisbon. This series probably dates from the early nineteen-twenties.

In fact, these colourful images of industry and happy dedication to the task-in-hand were so popular that identical ones were still being published in the early thirties using the new four colour-printing process which accurately reproduced the original hand-tinted effect.



Figure 4.129. Hand-tinted postcard. "Serviçaes trabalhando nos terreiros-roça Boa Entrada - S.Thomé" Pub. António Joaquim Braz, São Tomé, c.1909



Figure 4.130. Postcard with perforated margins. Four-colour offset printing. "Forma do pessoal na dependencia da roça Boa Entrada. S. Thomé" Pub. António Joaquim Braz. São Tomé c.1920.

Gone were the parades of workers lined-up with their gangers at their side, which conveyed an atmosphere of discipline and authority under firm but muscular European supervision- such cards now offered a view of what appeared to be enviable employment conditions and satisfied and unsupervised workers. But perhaps for those who needed reassurance that the role of the European would still be required for as long as the islands

remained a plantation colony, one of the postcards in the series showed roll-call, women lined up on one side, men to the other, facing the "homens do mato" or chargehands, whilst a white foreman stands confidently, legs apart, facing the camera, the undisputed master of his brigade of agricultural labourers. The publisher was clearly attempting to cater for his traditional customers at a time when the postcard image of the plantations was evolving in response to the pressure of the anti-slavery campaign.

As the demand for collectable cards was reaching its peak, many other contemporary postcards were hand-tinted and a whole series was published to commemorate the official visit to São Tomé of Prince Luíz Filippe, the heir to the throne, in 1907.[1725]



Figure 4.131. Hand-tinted postcard. "S.Thomé. S.A.Real saindo da egreja depois do Te Deum." Pub. António Joaquim Braz. São Tomé. 1907.

Amongst other scenes these cards show the Prince and the newly-appointed Governor, Lt. Capt. Pedro Berquó, being rowed to the landing pier in lighters and a crowd greeting the Prince as he left a mass held in his honour, in an open carriage.

[1725] Three of the photographs (**Figures 4.134, 4.135, 4.136**) appeared in the August 30th, 1907 issue of *O Occidente* and were taken by the local photographer Maximiano Lopes, who published his own series of about 20 postcards to commemorate the Prince's visit. Lopes' original black and white prints of Rua Conde de Valle Flor and Rua Alberto Garrido, together with two other original prints of the royal visit, are held in the safekeeping of the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino. (6092 PRA/PM429. 22.8 x 16.8 cm and 6093 PRA/PM430. 16.7 x 23.0 cm).
For an excellent selection of postcards covering the royal visit, the majority based on Lopes' photographs, see João Loureiro. *Postais Antigos de S. Tomé e Príncipe.* Tipografia Peres. Lisbon: 1999, pp. 118-127. For more on the royal visit see Ana Vicente and António Pedro Vicente. *O Príncipe Real Luiz Filipe de Bragança 1887-1908.* Colecção Palavra e Imagem. Edições INAPA, Lisboa: 1998.



Figure 4.132. Hand-coloured postcard. "S.Thomé. S.A. vindo da Camara Municipal." Pub. António Joaquim Braz. São Tomé. 1907.



Figure 4.133. Hand-tinted postcard. " S.Thomé. Casa Lima e Gama na chegada de S.A." Pub. António Joaquim Braz. São Tomé. 1907.

Other cards show the public buildings and streets of the run-down capital [1726] decorated with lanterns, flags and bunting, much of which had been purchased at considerable expense by the Conde (afterwards Marquês) de Valle-Flôr.[1727]

[1726] […] eu fui com Pedro Berquó vêr o hospital que é mil vezes mais infecto do que o velho de Lourenço Marques. É uma vergonha nacional a todos os respeitos." Ayres d'Ornellas. Op.cit 1928, p.28.
[1727] "[…] Sr Conde de Valle-Flor também comprou dois mil e tantos balões venezianos todos de grande effeito"[…]."A Viagem do Príncipe Real."*O Século*. June 15th 1907,p.1."Em São Thomé dois republicanos



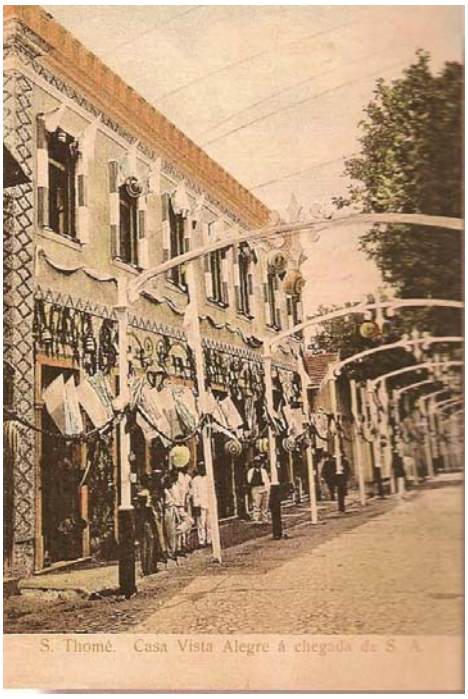


Figure 4.134. (Left) Hand-tinted postcard. "S.Thomé. Rua Alberto Garrido à chegada de S.A. o Principe Real." **Figure 4.135.** (Right) Hand-tinted postcard. "S.Thomé. Casa Vista Alegre à chegada de S.A". Both cards were published by António Joaquim Braz. São Tomé, 1907. Photos by Maximiliano Lopes.



Figure 4.136. Hand-coloured postcard. "S.Thomé. Arco na rua Conde Valle Flor á chegada de S.A. o Principe Real." Pub António Joaquim Braz. 1907. Photo Maximiliano Lopes.

None, however, show the Prince's visit to the plantations - a surprising omission given the glowing reports which were sent by Ayres d'Ornellas during the visit and the fact that

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a quem a comissão dos festejos não mandára balões para iluminar as suas casas foram a Camara Municipal pedil-os e concorreram para as festas." Ayres d'Ornellas Op.cit 1928, p.26.

they were the principal objective of the royal visit to the islands. This may have been due to the grave situation of unrest on the island of Príncipe and the fear, before the visits, that the contract-labourers might have taken advantage of the Prince's presence to express their discontentment or their desire for repatriation.

As can be seen from the stamps and dates of the messages, many of these cards survived the fall of the Monarchy unchanged, and some were reprinted in slightly different versions over several decades. Curiously, the postcard of Rua Alberto Garrido, shown above, was posted in 1920, thirteen years after the royal visit and ten years after the overthrow of the Monarchy. The hand-tinted postcard of the manager's residence at Roça Amparo, shown below, was still in circulation in 1917, as the date stamp confirms. [1728] The illustration shows that the flag flying over the building was clearly that of the Monarchy, but the artist who coloured the photograph had substituted the blue of the flag by red, which apparently was enough to satisfy the postal authorities of the Republic.



Figure 4.137. Postcard. "Roça Amparo - Casa da Administração". First pub. by Auspício Menezes. São Tomé. c.1907.

As might be expected from the fact that many of the customers for picture postcards were plantation employees whose stay in the islands did not normally exceed a few years, a number of cards dating from this period show certain aspects of the leisure activities of Europeans, including picnics, excursions and musical groups. Predictably, such cards

[1728] See **Figure 4.137.** The card was probably hand-coloured in France, as the majority were.

offer a picture of an equatorial paradise in which the simple pleasures of nature were a refuge from the daily routine of work. Although cards such as these may not have been deliberately conceived to offer a favourable view of life on the islands, viewed today, next to many of the postcard images of the plantations, they underline the gulf between the life of the white employees, despite the absence of the luxuries of home, and the monotonous, unrelenting toil of the African labourers.



Figure 4.138. Postcard. "Ilha do Príncipe - Roça Esperança. A ida para um pic-nic". Pub. A.C. Príncipe c.1914

Typical of the genre is the card above showing a picnic on the island of Príncipe organised by the manager of Roça Esperança, which incidentally confirms that the colonial form of transport for Europeans which was widespread on the mainland, litter and hammock, was also used on the cocoa islands at this time, probably in this case for the ladies of the party, whilst some of the plantation employees followed on horseback. [1729] Other cards show a group of white-suited European employees on an excursion to Rolas, a small island at the southern tip of São Tomé, or a group of amateur musicians and singers. Most of the Europeans shown in postcards of this kind would have been employed in local government offices or in commerce in the town but some may have been plantation personnel. Such occasions were, of course, few and far between, and the life on the islands, even for Europeans was undoubtedly uneventful and repetitive, with long

[1729] See **Figure 4.138.** The card was still in circulation in the early twenties. A second postcard shows the return of the same group. Esperança was the plantation where Juvenal Marinho was first employed in 1905.

working hours, particularly on the plantations, whilst endemic diseases and even the equatorial climate, itself, were deterrants to emigration.





Figure 4.139. (top) Postcard. "Grupo de excurcionistas [sic] ao Ilheu das Rollas." Pub. A Illustradora (Carinhas) São Tomé c.1910 . **Figure 4.140.** (bottom) Postcard. "3. Tunantes a sombra de coqueiros." Pub. António Duarte de Oliveira e Cia. c.1920

Even so, the islands were seen by many young Portuguese men as an adventurous alternative to permanent immigration to Brazil, [1730] for instance, and at the turn of the century, there were more European emigrants to the islands than were actually required

[1730] At this time an average of 15000 Portuguese emigrants left for Brazil, every year.

on the plantations or in local businesses, and a number had to be repatriated at the expense of the local authorities. [1731]

Substantial differences can be identified between the portrayal of plantation labourers and the local inhabitants of S. Tomé - the so-called "forros", or "filhos da terra" as they preferred to be called, most of whom were the descendants of slaves, freed generations before, or "angolares",[1732] a fiercely independent colony of fisher-folk who, according to tradition, had descended from Angolan slaves shipwrecked centuries earlier on their way to the Americas.[1733]

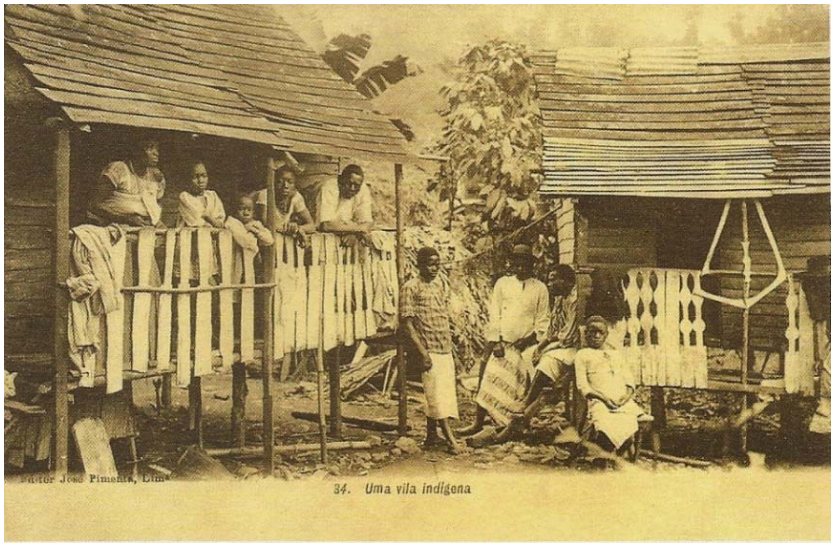


Figure 4.141. Postcard. "34. Uma vila indigena." Pub. José Pimenta lda. São Tomé c. 1920

The local inhabitants of the islands, the "forros", [1734] are either portrayed as mere bystanders in the towns or in family groups next to their makeshift homes built of wooden planks and raised on stilts, clearly impoverished but proudly independent of the plantations. The impression conveyed by such cards is of an indolent existence, "a sombra

[1731] Nascimento emphasises the fact that plantation employees were temporary emigrants rather than colonists, a situation which from the late 1880's onwards led to unemployment problems when the arrival of European immigrants began to exceed the needs of the *roçeiros*. See Augusto Nascimento. *S.Tomé e Príncipe no Século XIX.* In Valentim Alexandre (coord.) *O Império Africano. Séculos XIX e XX,* pp.112-113 Colibri. Lisboa: 2000. In fact an association, named Pró-Pátria, was founded in 1902 to provide assistance to destitute or unemployed Europeans and to help them return home. Notably supported by the future President of the Republic, António José de Almeida.

[1732] For the original explanation for the *Angolares* see António de Almeida. *Da origem dos Angolares habitantes da Ilha de S. Tomé.* Separata das "Memórias" Academia das Ciências de Lisboa: 1962.

[1733] Three explanations for their origins are discussed by Gerhard Seibert in "Os Angolares da Ilha de São Tomé: Náufragos, Autóctones ou Quilombolas?" *Textos de História* vol. 12, no. 1-2, 2004, pp.43-64

[1734] To many local inhabitants the word "forro" had a negative connotation as it reminded them of the time when their ancestors were slaves.

da bananeira". Contemporary Portuguese writers unanimously criticised the reluctance of the "forros" to accept remunerated work, particularly on the plantations, and the "lazy native" trope was reinforced by the exclusion of images which show the local inhabitants carrying out any kind of activity, except indirectly in scenes of markets or fishermen unloading their catch, which were a popular choice for publishers due to their picturesque appeal.

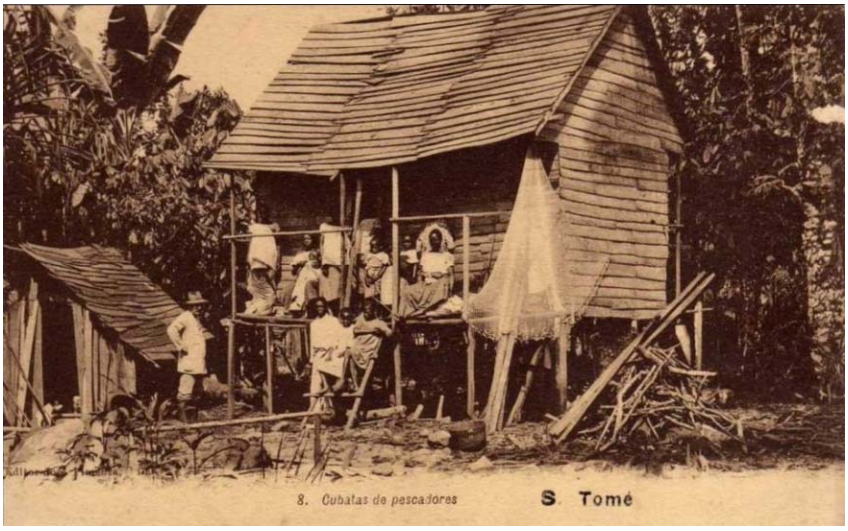


Figure 4.142. Postcard. "8. Cubatas de Pescadores". Pub. José Pimenta lda. São Tomé c.1920

In his study of São Tomé, published in 1893, A.F.Nogueira offers a typical European assessment of the *forros*, whom he describes as "worse than a plague of rats":

> […] tendo pertencido á classe dos escravos […] adquiriram por qualquer forma a sua liberdade, uns, o menor numero, dedicou-se honestamente ao trabalho […] outros, por temperamento e pelas noções falsas que adquiriram acerca do trabalho, deixaram-se ficar numa vida ociosa e parasitaria. […] Creatura inerte e degenerada, o forro vive quasi exclusivamente do furto. […] [1735]

The previous postcard showing fishermen's shacks undoubtedly conveys this idea of indolence and lack of ambition. In fact, although often accused of idleness and living by expedient and petty crime, many local families were dependent upon the produce of their

[1735] A.F.Nogueira. Op.cit 1893. pp.30-32.
Writing almost a generation later, Sampayo e Mello was of the same view: "Faz excepção a esta regra a provincia de São Thomé e Principe, cujo incomparável grau de valorisaçaõ agricola é conhecido em todo o mundo, e que não podendo contar com a população local, **indolentissima, depravada** e pouco numerosa, carece de importação d'um forte contingente de trabalhadores exoticos." Lopo Vaz de Sampayo e Mello. Op.cit, 1910, p.303. (my bold)

carefully-tended vegetable plots or "quintés", images of which, however, rarely appear in postcards. Almada Negreiros, however, elects the Angolar community, which, by then, depended principally on fishing, as the most industrious local community on the island of São Tomé - the product of their response, over time, to permanent adversity:

> […] os angolares, que representam um typo inferior na sua proveniência são , no entamto, os indigenas que mais dignos de estudo se tornam, porque consolidando a sua raça, n'uma adversidade permanente, despertada pela sua propria ignorancia, tiveram que recorrer á agricultura e á industria para prover aos meios de subsistencia.[1736]

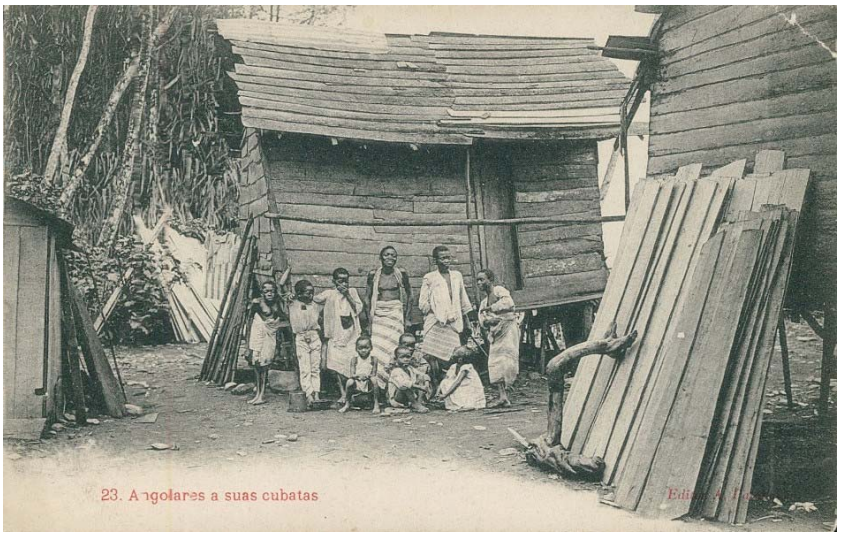


Figure 4.143. "23. Angolares e suas cubatas". Pub. Aimé Palanque. São Tomé. c.1908

The emphasis on industry - activity in images of the "serviçais" on the plantations and idleness - inactivity in the case of the "forros" is yet another of the contrasts which were a common feature of the visual imagery of São Tomé and Príncipe during the colonial period. Due to the economic demands of colonialism, the romantic notion of simple people peacefully living off the fruits of the land in an equatorial paradise, which had been common at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had given way to a stereotyped image of indolence and lack of ambition in the midst of plenty. [1737]

[1736]António Almada Negreiros. *Historia Ethnographica da Ilha de S. Thomé.* Antiga Casa Bertrand: Lisboa, 1895. p.109. Nascimento elects the symbolic occupation of the town of Angolares in 1878 as a decisive landmark in the subjugation of this community, coinciding, as it did, with the expropriation of extensive tracts of land in the South of the island of São Tomé, which, however were only turned into plantations several years later. See Augusto Nascimento *S. Tomé e Príncipe no Século XIX e XX,* p.106 in Valentim Alexandre. Ed. Op. cit 2000. There were probably fewer than 1500 *Angolares* at the turn of the century.
[1737] See Jan Nederveen Pieterse. *White on Black. Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture.* Yale University Press. New Haven and London: 1992, p.91.

4.11 Postcards from the Rand: the other side of the coin

> "One looks at these matters in a different light when it affects one's own interests, but **I do feel that there is a vast difference between the cultivation of cocoa and gold or diamond mining**, and I should be sorry needlessly to injure a cultivation that as far as I can judge provides labour of the very best kind that is to be found in the tropics.[…]" [1738]

Many thousands of labourers from the southern provinces of Portuguese East Africa had been going to work in the diamond mines [1739] and sugar plantations of South Africa for several decades before António Ennes' recommendation that it should be obligatory for Africans to seek employment.[1740] Ironically, by the time his proposals became law on November 9th 1899, there was little work of any consequence to be had in the Province, except in the neighbourhood of the cities of Lourenço Marques and Beira, and recruitment agents for the Transvaal gold mines were already combing the countryside for recruits who would accept 18-month contracts, payable at twice the best local wage.[1741] At the time of Ennes' decree more than half of all the workers on the Rand were from Mozambique, but soon afterwards the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War would put a stop to mining for the duration of the hostilities, leaving tens of thousands unemployed and many interned in camps.[1742] Understandably, the Rand was one of the primary objectives

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[1738] William Cadbury to Joseph Sturge, Quaker anti-slavery activist. June 10th 1901. CP Ms 4/4. (my bold) The mines of South Africa were clearly considered by Cadbury to be a notorious example of unsatisfactory working conditions.

[1739] John Hobson waxes eloquent on the sinister terms of employment in the diamond mines: **"The Compound system in the Kimberley and de Beers mines, according to which a so-called voluntary labour contract is converted into a term of imprisonment with hard labour is not merely a gross violation of the spirit of personal freedom but is a specific establishment of that evil principle of "truck", which all progressive legislation has denounced.** The large employment of convict labour in the diamond mines is another instance of the convenient alliance between politics and industrial capitalism." (my bold) J.A. Hobson *Capitalism and Imperialism in South Africa.* Tucker, New York: 1902 pp.12-13. (originally published in the *Contemporary Review* vol. 77, January 1900, p.1) Hobson was the South Africa correspondent of the Manchester Guardian during the second Anglo-Boer War.

[1740] As it was in Madagascar and the other "French islands". See James Duffy Op.cit. 1967, p.141.

[1741] Commercial quantities of gold were discovered in 1896, twenty years after the exploitation of diamonds in the Northern Cape. See J.S. Harington, N.D. McGlashan and E.Z. Chelkowska. "A century of migrant labour in the gold mines of South Africa". *The Journal of The South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* March 2004, p.65.

[1742] The South African War lasted between 1899 and 1902.

of General Lord Roberts' forces and by the summer of 1900 the area had been occupied by British troops and military rule imposed.

In mid-October 1901, direct negotiations to enable the resumption of the flow of labourers began between the Governor-General of Mozambique, Manuel Gorjão, and Capt. Fritz Crowe, the British Consul in Lourenço Marques.[1743] The subsequent agreement, "pending the conclusion of a definitive convention", established that labour contracts were to be for one-year periods with a mandatory 6-month interval before renewal and the treatment of the Mozambican miners would be monitored by a Portuguese-appointed Curator or labour inspector in Johannesburg.[1744] To compensate for the labour drain much of the trade of the Transvaal was to be directed through the port of Delagoa Bay. [1745] By 1903 and despite the emergency measures, the number of workers in the mines had fallen to half the total before the war. Two-thirds had been recruited in the southern part of Mozambique.[1746]

In his 1905 overview of the mines, J.H.Curie explained the mineowners' preference for labourers from the Portuguese colony, using the pragmatic racial generalisations which were typical of the day. According to Curie, recruits from Basuto, Bechuanaland and Cape Province were somewhat "capricious" and few in number, those from the Northern Districts were of "inferior" quality and, although the natives of Natal, Swaziland and Zululand were "fine" workers, they refused to go underground. Mozambicans, on the other hand, raised no objections and "really did the bulk of the work." In the same study,

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[1743] Fritz Crowe to Sir Alfred Milner. October 17th 1901. FO 2/789. The report sets out the pretensions of the Portuguese authorities which included a provision to the effect that they were to be responsible for recruitment, transport and food for the labourers, and in addition would receive 41s. 6d. for each recruit. The food ration would include a small measure of wine with meals. The latter proposal was rejected out of hand as was the part relating to recruitment which was unacceptable to the Chamber of Mines. See also Sir Alfred Milner to Fritz Crowe October 30th 1901. FO 2/789.The final agreement provided for recruitment by WNLA agents "*under strict Portuguese supervision*". See Milner's Memorandum of December 5th 1901. FO 2/789.

[1744] See Malyn Newitt. *A History of Mozambique*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington: 1995, pp 488-490. The reaction in Portugal was unfavourable towards the resumption of recruitment by the WNLA and *O Século* demanded that emigration from Zambezia should be stopped. See *O Século* October 28th 1901, cited by Ramos de Almeida Op.cit. 1979 (Século XX), p.16.

[1745] Known as the "Modus Vivendi", the supposedly "temporary" arrangement which was dated December 18th 1901, would last until 1909. See Felizardo Bouene and Maciel Santos. "O *modus vivendi* entre Moçambique e o Transvaal (1901-1909). Um caso de "imperialismo ferroviário". *Africana Studia* 9, Porto: 2006, pp. 243 and 246.

[1746] By the Witwatersrand Native Labour Agency, known at the time as the WNLA or the "Wenela". The agency was given exclusive rights to recruit in Mozambican territories to the south of 22ºS latitude. By 1912 Mozambique supplied 48% of the total labour force of about 180 thousand on the Rand.

however, Curie expressed doubts as to whether Mozambicans would continue to travel the four or five hundred miles to the Rand, as, at the time of writing, the wages of the "kaffirs" had been unilaterally reduced by the all-powerful Chamber of Mines from 55 shillings to 30 shillings a month, supposedly due to the effects of the War. [1747]

The import of Chinese labour from Shandong province, an area where British influence was dominant at the time, seemed at first to be an expedient solution to the growing demand for labourers and the first 10,000 miners arrived in May 1904 on three to four-year contracts. Their number would increase to a maximum of 60,000 over the next four years.[1748] From the outset, however, a campaign was launched in Britain against what became known as Chinese "slave labour", ostensibly in protest against the conditions of employment in the mines, but essentially inspired by a fear that the Chinese would take over the better-paid, skilled work which was carried out by white immigrant miners.[1749] Led by Liberal philanthropists and Labour trade unionists [1750] the ensuing campaign would be instrumental in the 1906 landslide victory which brought the Liberals, under Campbell-Bannerman, back into power with an unprecedented majority in Parliament.[1751] Honouring the Liberal Party's election promises, most of the Chinese contract labourers would be shipped back to their port of origin over the following months, the last group being repatriated in 1910. One of the principal effects of the demise of the short-lived

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[1747] J.H. Curie "The Gold Mines of the World" 3rd edition. Routledge, London: 1905, pp.19-20.

[1748] Typical of the Chamber of Mines' lack of good faith in dealing with employees of other origins, the contracts of Chinese employees stipulated that they were obliged to accept low rates of pay for at least six months to pay back the costs of recruitment and their passage from China. For an excellent analysis of the working conditions of the Chinese miners see Peter Richardson. "Coolies and Randlords: The North Randfontein Chinese Miners' Strike of 1905" *Journal of Southern African Studies* Vol. 2, No. 2 (Apr., 1976), pp.151-177, which deals with the go-slow organised by 2000 Chinese miners, in 1905, and the military intervention which followed the imprisonment of the 60 or so "ringleaders." Richardson gives a figure of 63,695 for the total number of Chinese labourers who embarked for the Transvaal. Op. cit. 1976, pp. 167-168. See also Tu T. Huynh "*The Chinese Labor Question and Reconstitution of Race - Indentured Chinese Labor in South Africa's Black-White Binary, 1903-1910"* Stellenbosch Univ. South Africa: 1911.

[1749] White miners on the Rand went on strike in 1907 against the increased use of Chinese miners which they saw as a threat to their jobs and pay. They were already paid on average five times the wages of black miners at this time. See Lucien van der Walt. "The First Globalisation and Transnational Labour Activism in Southern Africa: White Labourism, the IWW, and the ICU, 1904–1934." *African Studies*, 66, 2-3, Aug.-Dec. 2007, p.227.

[1750] The Trades Union movement in Britain and South Africa was influenced at this time by the "White Labourism" ideology which had first gained ground amongst the Australian Trade Unions. It was only with the growth of the Industrial Workers of the World ("wobblies") movement in the USA, after 1905, that international and cross-racial solidarity would gain predominance.

[1751] A number of the postcards published on the Rand between 1904 and 1910 portray Chinese labourers at work and at leisure, undoubtedly as a response to publicity that the issue of Chinese slave labour was given in the press.

experiment would be that the demand for African labourers, primarily from Mozambique but also from as far afield as Angola and Madagascar, would continue to grow.

South Africa, like neighbouring Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola was not immune to the postcard craze which swept across the world at the turn of the twentieth century. [1752] Many of the cards from the Rand feature the towering "headgear" of the deep mines and the associated cyanide tanks used in the process to separate the gold from pyrites. Typical of this kind of postcard was the hand-coloured example below, showing the largest gold mine of all, the Simmer and Jack mine at Germiston, which, by 1905, employed over 4,000 black African miners on temporary contracts, most of them from Mozambique.

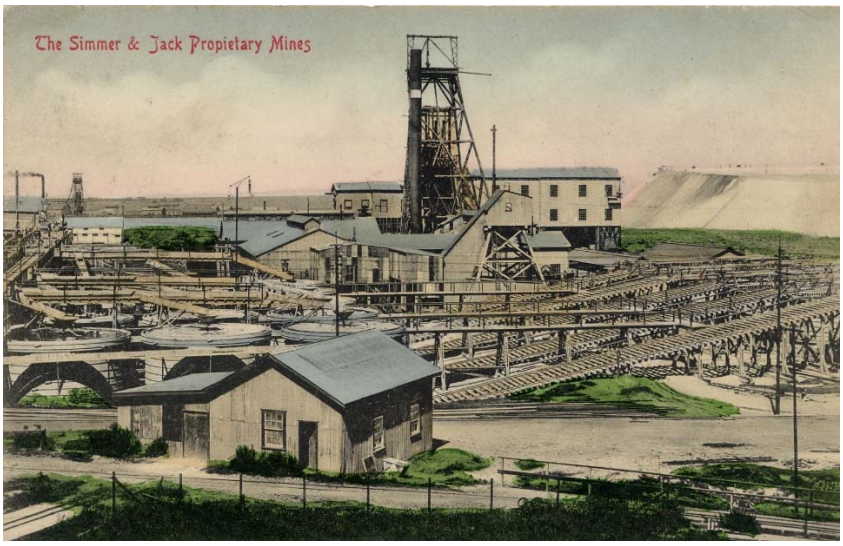


Figure 4.146. Postcard. "The Simmer and Jack Propietary [sic] Mines". Pub. Sallo Epstein c.1908

Few of the photographs taken above ground show the miners themselves and it is rare to see more than a handful of figures in photographs of this kind.[1753] This was undoubtedly a deliberate strategy on the part of the publishers and those who commissioned the cards, which were intended to convey an impression of industry and progress and successful private investment, an impression which would not have been enhanced by the presence of gangs of poorly-equipped, African or Chinese workers waiting in line for the cage to

[1752] Curiously, although there are many examples of Mozambican postcards showing evidence of the intense exchange of goods and services with South Africa, including cards in both Portuguese and English, no cards show migrant labourers either going to or returning to the Rand.
[1753] There is an excellent selection of postcards of the Transvaal gold mines, published at the turn of the century, on the webpage of the collector Martin Nicholson. Most show exterior views of the mines. (Accessed 4/8/2018). http://www.martin-nicholson.info/goldmining/goldmining2.htm

descend the mineshafts. Similarly, the contemporary postcard, below, by a different publisher, shows the modern Geldenhuis facility near Johannesburg, which also looks strangely deserted.

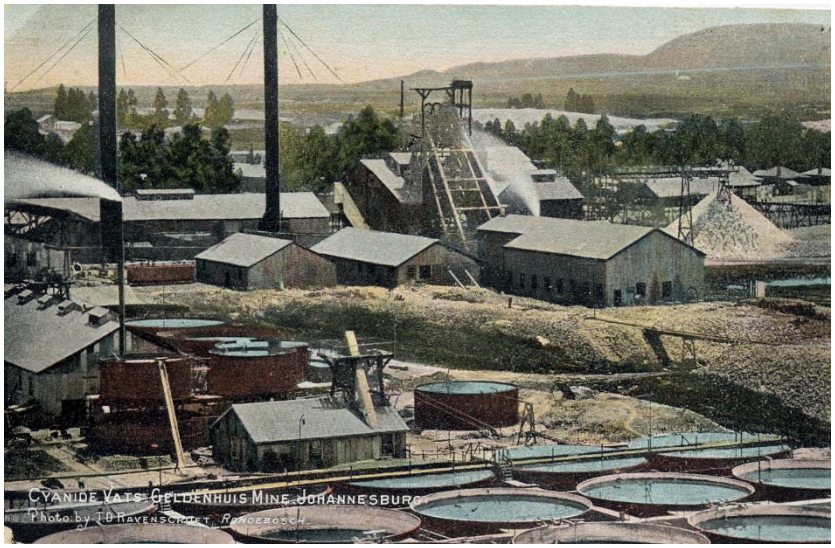


Figure 4.145. Hand-coloured Postcard. "Cyanide Vats. Geldenhuis Mine. Johannesburg." Photo by T.D.Ravenscroft. c.1904

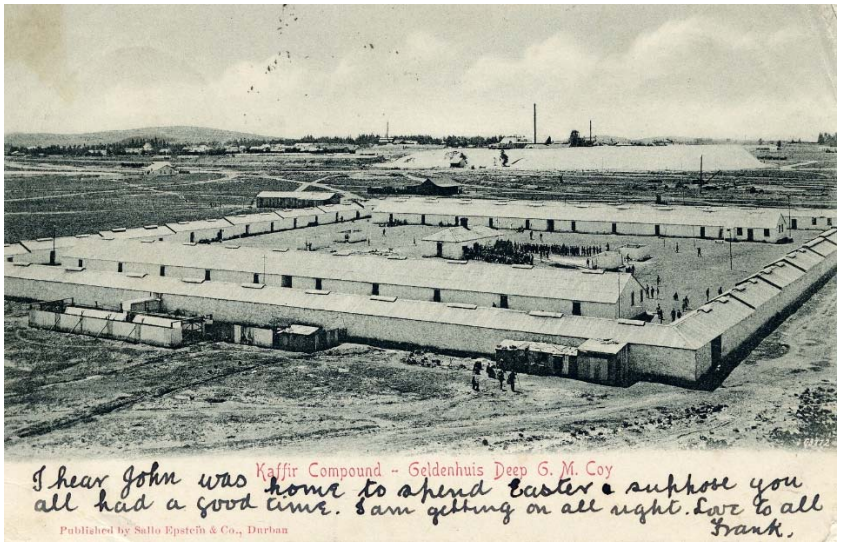


Figure 4.146. "Kaffir Compound- Geldenhuis Deep G.M. Coy." Pub. Sallo Epstein and Co. Durban c.1904

Few cards display the living and working conditions of the miners. Normally there were separate compounds for workers of different ethnic origins, to allow more effective control of the workforce and prevent incidents. The example above shows the prison-like compound and the barrack-style living quarters of the "kaffir" miners at the Geldenhuis

Deep gold mine, which was locked down between shifts and patrolled by armed security guards. The rare card which follows, which was posted in February 1904 but dates from a year or two before, offers a revealing portrayal of a group of African employees of the Simmer and Jack mine.[1754] Almost 300 labourers have been herded together into a confined space in the open air, undoubtedly for the purpose of the photograph. They are surrounded by twenty to thirty black security guards, probably from other ethnic communities, armed with clubs, spears and shields. The labourers are wearing a range of clothes and some are wrapped in blankets, possibly suggesting that they are new arrivals. A white overseer stands in the midst of the squatting Africans, carrying a long bull-whip - a symbol of authority. The image is a visual metaphor for white supremacy and power.



Figure 4.147. Handcoloured postcard."Native Employees of the Simmer and Jack G.M. Co. Johannesburg." Pub.W.Saphra c.1903

Contrasting with the repressive atmosphere of the previous photograph, the unusual hand-coloured postcard of the "mine boys" of the Geldenhuis Deep Mine attempts to suggest a more relaxed and cooperative working environment.[1755] Although the photograph was staged hierarchically with the security guards and chargehands standing in line behind the white managers, the principal aim was probably not to convey an impression of racial supremacy or coercion, but to acknowledge the disciplined contribution of the African

[1754] The edge of the image has been removed in the darkroom to allow space for the name of the publisher, the title of the card and the sender's message.
[1755] Possibly published by Sallo Epstein, judging by the type of lettering.

workforce, evidently under white supervision and guidance. The only element which does not contribute to the predominant narrative is the imposing figure of the head overseer, a black African who stands, legs apart, carrying the "sjambok" or hide whip which was the symbol of his status, authority and delegated power.

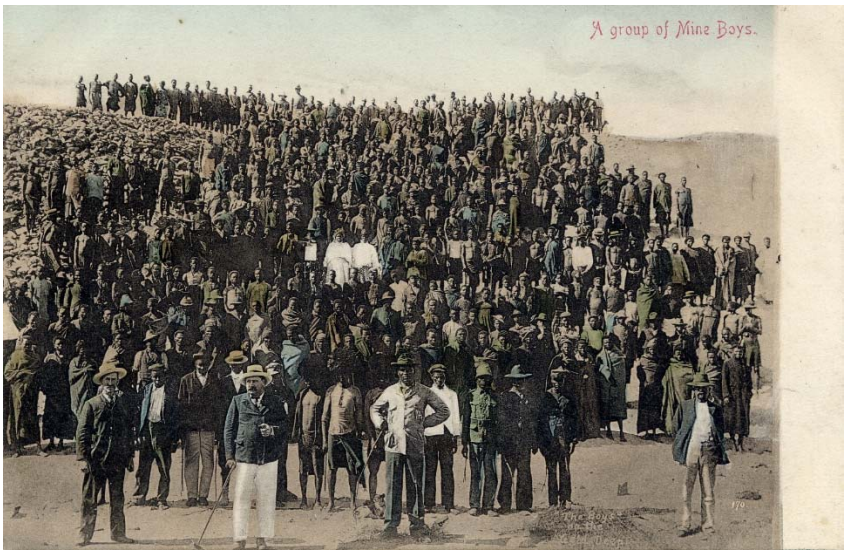


Figure 4.148. Handcoloured postcard. "A group of Mine Boys. «The Boys" of the Geld Deep» No.170 " Pub. unknown. c.1906

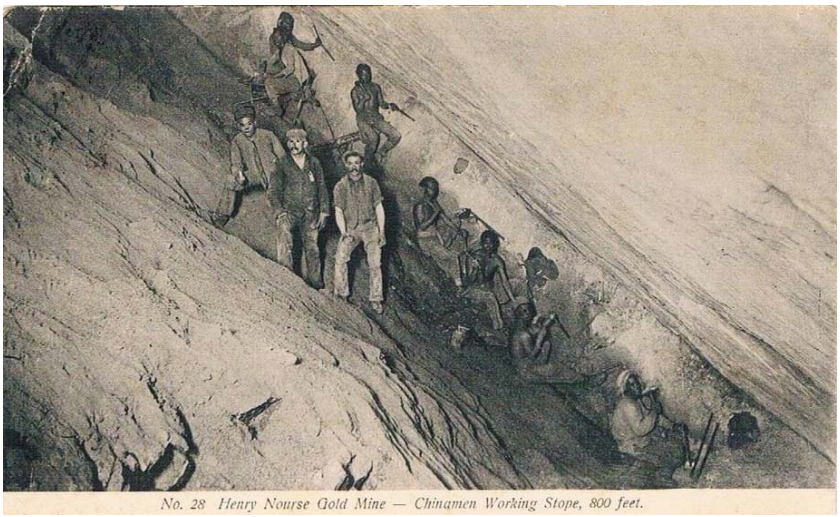


Figure 4.149. Postcard. "No.28 Henry Nourse Gold Mine - Chinamen Working Stope, 800 feet." Pub. Unknown c.1906

A handful of cards show small groups of African and Chinese miners working at the bottom of the mines in the difficult and dangerous conditions which were faced by miners all over the world at that time. The card above shows Chinese "hammer boys" working

with hammer and chisel on a steeply sloping seam at a depth of 250 metres, accompanied by their European chargehands. The interior view below shows black and white miners using a compression drill in an unidentified deep mine. [1756]A mechanical jack provides a small measure of security against the collapse of the roof above them. As was the custom of the day, the miners wore neither helmets nor protective clothing and lighting was provided by portable kerosene lamps. Typically, both Chinese and African miners worked a ten-hour day, six days a week with Sundays off, on night or day shifts.



Figure 4.150. Handcoloured card."In a Rand Mine-A machine drill". Pub. Sallo Epstein. Durban, c.1906



Figure 4.151. Handcoloured card. "In a Rand Mine-A drive" Pub. Sallo Epstein. Durban c.1906

[1756] Possibly taken at the Ferreira Deep Gold Mining Co.

The working conditions were unhealthy and often precarious, as the photographs suggest, and coercion and corporal punishment, the latter relatively common in the case of African indentured labourers, were everyday facts of life. Living conditions on the Rand were promiscuous and inadequate and contributed to the incidence of illnesses and the high mortality rate. Moreover, the miners were not allowed to abandon the compounds on their day off. The card above, from the same series, shows that the African miner was not even provided with boots.

Yet in total contrast with the long and vigorous campaign against forced labour in Portuguese West Africa, the two British Anti-Slavery Societies almost entirely avoided the issue of recruitment for the Rand from Portuguese East Africa and the conditions of life in the mines.[1757] What was particularly irksome to Portuguese apologists of the contract-labour system was that the same laws and local regulations applied in both Angola and Mozambique and yet British philanthropists were accused of applying a different yardstick to the two recruitment systems, allegedly due to the fact that the Mozambican labourers were destined for a British colony. Although there was undoubtedly an element of truth in this suspicion, there were a number of factors which distinguished the two situations. First and foremost, although WNLA agents often employed unscrupulous recruitment practices in Mozambique, contracts were relatively short and labourers were allowed to return to their homes at the end of their period of service, repatriation being part of the labour agreement. Effective repatriation was certainly not the case in São Tomé before 1908 and, even when it began in earnest, the ports of disembarkation were separated from the recruitment areas in the interior of Angola by weeks of trek across difficult terrain, which undermined the feasibility of the whole procedure until railways were built into the interior.

The living and working conditions on the Rand were undoubtedly worse for African labourers than on the plantations of São Tomé and Príncipe, but endemic disease, especially on the island of Príncipe where sleeping sickness was rife, meant that the death rate on the islands was far higher than in the Transvaal, notwithstanding the long-term

[1757] With the exception of the "Chinese Slavery" campaign in which they played an active part. See Kevin Grant."«Chinese Slavery» in South Africa and Great Britain, 1902-1910." In Grant Op.cit 2005, pp.79-107.

effects of silicosis, which inevitably reduced the life expectancy of those who returned to the mines on successive contracts.[1758]

Early Portuguese opposition to the export of labourers, who came mainly from the Zambezia region, derived mainly from the shortage of available hands for agriculture and a legitimate fear of desertification. On the other hand, the economy of the colony had grown to depend on the revenue created by emigration to the mines and none of the Governors-General after the turn of the century could have afforded to create obstacles to recruitment. Indeed, most of them openly welcomed the revenue which came into the province as a result. However, when the campaign against the export of labour to the cocoa islands gained momentum, humanitarian arguments against the labour drain to South Africa began to appear in the Portuguese press, principally as a strategy to counter the criticisms which were being directed against the contract-labour system and the form of recruitment in Angola.[1759] With the advent of the Republic and the founding of the Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society greater attention began to be paid to the working conditions of Mozambican miners on the Rand. At the beginning of January 1911, Magalhães Lima led a deputation of the Society which met with the Minister of the Colonies to demand more rigorous standards of recruitment, including the exclusion of minors and the elderly, and strict compliance with the one year repatriation clause in the agreement between the Nyassa Company and the WNLA. Reminding the Minister that working in the mines reduced life expectancy by 7 1/2 years and that the mortality rates had led the British Government to forbid emigration of natives from British Central Africa to the Transvaal, Magalhães Lima also recommended proper medical examinations on departure and return, regular visits to the mines by Portuguese doctors and the permanent attachment of a Portuguese doctor to the Johannesburg "Curadoria".[1760]

[1758] "A mortalidade dos pretos no Rand é quasi igual a guerra russo-japonesa"- Freire de Andrade in his address to a meeting on the labour drain to the Rand organised by the Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society at the Journalists Association on December 21st 1910. See *O Século* December 22nd 1910, pp.1-2.
Leotte do Rego had presented a report to the Society at the end of November in which he referred to the high death rate for both Mozambican and British Central African labourers which, as stated in an official South African report, was due to the climate and the poor ventilation of the mines. The labourers died of pneumonia and tuberculosis, and on average lasted no more than 7 1/2 years before falling ill. See "O Rand sorvedouro dos negros. É o proprio governo de Africa do Sul que lealmente o confessa. A Sociedade Anti-esclavagista portugueza procura remediar o mal." *A Capital.* November 30th 1910, p.1.
[1759] Particularly from 1906 onwards.
[1760] "A emigração para o Rand. A Sociedade anti-esclavagista portugueza sugere ao governo diversos alvitres para reprimir abusos."*A Capital.* January 5th 1911, p.2.

4.12 “Purity” challenged: the role of advertising in the “slave-grown cocoa” controversy

By the turn of the twentieth century, advertising in Britain, unlike Portugal, had already reached an advanced level of sophistication and over a generation had gone by since Cadbury Bros. had authorised the use of a lantern-slide carrying the image of a happy “little black Sambo” with his arms full of cocoa pods. [1761] Both Cadbury’s and Fry’s proudly boasted Royal patronage as a guarantee of quality to potential customers, and in the wake of the new-found popularity of the Monarchy after the Golden Jubilee, proof of Royal preference did not stop at the reproduction of the Royal coat-of-arms, as the advertisement below showing the Queen-Empress reveals.

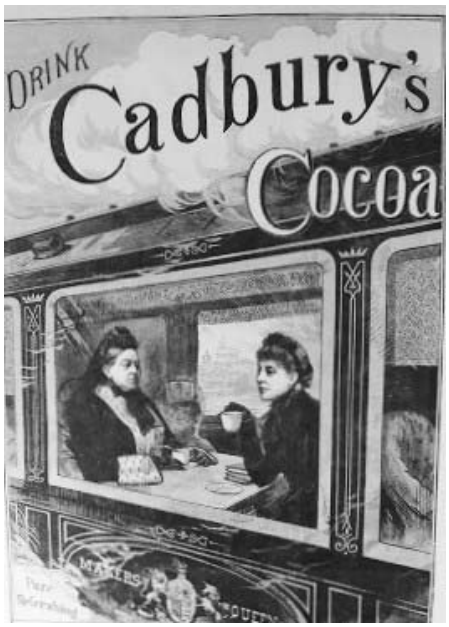




Figure 4.152. (Left) “Drink Cadbury’s Cocoa.”Advertisement c.1890. **Figure 4.153.** (Right) “Drink Cadbury’s Cocoa.” Advertisement. c. 1890

Another advertisement from the same period shows the future Edward VII and Princess Alexandra in a similar intimate pose, drinking cocoa together in the state cabin of a passenger liner. [1762] From the point of view of the Monarchy, such images offered a welcome opportunity to convey the message that the members of the Royal Family were

[1761] See **Figures 3.2 and 3.3**
[1762] Probably the royal visit to Ireland in 1885.

"out and about", busily engaged in official visits to the different corners of the Realm, whilst offering their ordinary subjects the rare chance to "catch a glimpse" of them in a more relaxed atmosphere. [1763] No greater manifestation of royal approval could have been granted and Cadbury´s were undoubtedly optimistic that it would place the reputation of their products above all suspicion. They, however, like Fry's, their fellow Quakers, still felt the need to emphasise that their cocoa was "pure", at a time when other, less-scrupulous manufacturers adulterated their products with additives. [1764] And, additionally, there was the advantage that the commercial aims of Cadbury's and Fry's would be identified with Britain itself, an important trump card in a competitive market in which well-known foreign brands of chocolate such as Van Houten's and Suchard's still held sway.

As far as the chocolate - makers were concerned, the association with the Royal family added additional support to a marketing strategy which, at this time, promoted the idea that their drinking chocolate was a healthy substitute for alcohol, a cause dear to the hearts of the Quaker manufacturers and to Protestant reformers in general.[1765] Indeed, there are constant references in the advertising of both Cadbury's and Fry's to the recommendations of the "medical press" regarding the benefits of drinking cocoa, at a time when the destructive effects of excessive alcohol consumption had been identified by both medical specialists and well-meaning churchmen as the principal cause of what they perceived as "the physiological and moral decadence of the labouring classes" at the close of the nineteenth century.

[1763] Fully aware of the need for exposure to her subjects, Queen Victoria was a great admirer of Madame Tussaud and her wax models and she not only gave her approval to the portrait of herself and those of members of the Royal Family which were on permanent exhibition, but encouraged its younger members to make regular "educational visits" to Tussaud's exhibition. Equally, Victoria and Albert exploited the popularity of cartes de visite, and photographs of the Royal Family in this popular format were circulated, as Schama affirms, in their hundreds of thousands and were "prized, collected and traded as cherished objects". See Simon Schama. *A History of Britain*. Vol.3 *The Age of Empire (1776-2000)* BBC Worldwide, London: 2002, p.196. Nuno Borges de Araújo offers the figure of 300 to 400 million cartes de visite sold annually in Britain alone in the mid-1860's when the craze for this precursor of the picture postcard reached its peak. See Nuno Borges de Araújo. **"**A fotografia e o postal ilustrado: origens e influências" In Martins, M. L. (Ed.), *Os postais ilustrados na vida da comunidade*. CECS - Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Sociedade da Universidade do Minho, Braga: 2012, p.58.

[1764] At first, Cadbury's resisted creating an alkalised cocoa (a product made less bitter by adding harmless carbonate of potash) having emphasised the purity of their own product. But, eventually, the company realised that alkalised cocoa was the future and launched Bournville Cocoa in 1906 as a way of countering Van Houten's predominant share of the British market.

[1765] The sale of alcohol of any kind was banned in Bournville until 2015.

Many of Cadbury's advertisements, like those of Fry's, focussed on the supposedly healthy, wholesome qualities of their products and often featured young men of the upper classes actively involved in sporting activities - as role models and paragons of manliness - like the rugby player in the example below, who stands ball in hand, head and shoulders above the older linesman, who waits patiently and somewhat subserviently while the athlete drinks his half-time cocoa, or the oarsman (the "stroke", who led the crew) in the other contemporary example.



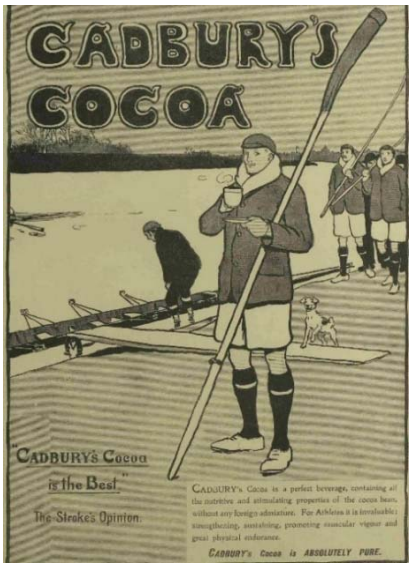


Figure 4.154. (Left) "Absolutely Pure therefore Best. Cadbury's Cocoa." Newspaper unknown c.1903. **Figure 4.155.** (Right) "Cadbury's Cocoa is the Best. The Stroke's Opinion." *Illustrated London News.* March 31st, 1900.

Cadbury's were also quick to take advantage of their proud reputation as model employers as the full-page advertisement below, which was published simultaneously in both the *London Illustrated News*, and the *Graphic*, clearly shows. The model village of Bournville was inaugurated in 1895, by which time Cadbury's employed 1500 workers, and eleven years after its foundation the town already boasted 3000 residents. Bournville, [1766] like Rowntree's New Earswick near York, [1767] was in the vanguard of the Garden

[1766] "By 1900 there were 140 of Cadbury's mock-medieval worker's dwellings, and to complete the effect he had bought two authentically old houses, the 13th century Minworth Greaves and the Tudor Selly Manor, which he had moved to Bournville and lovingly restored. [...] At Bournville, Cadbury even reinvented the old traditions of manorial feasting, organising fetes and theatricals and day trips for other workers in the Birmingham area to see what life might be like under the new industrial baronies." Simon Schama. *A History of Britain. The Fate of Empire 1776-2000*. BBC Worldwide Ltd., London: 2000, p.413.

[1767] New Earswick, a self-governing garden village with its own facilities and generous open green space, was planned and built by Joseph Rowntree in 1904 as an alternative to the overcrowded and insanitary

City movement, and in Cadbury Bros.' publicity the employees who lived there were advertised as fortunate beneficiaries of benevolent Quaker paternalism.

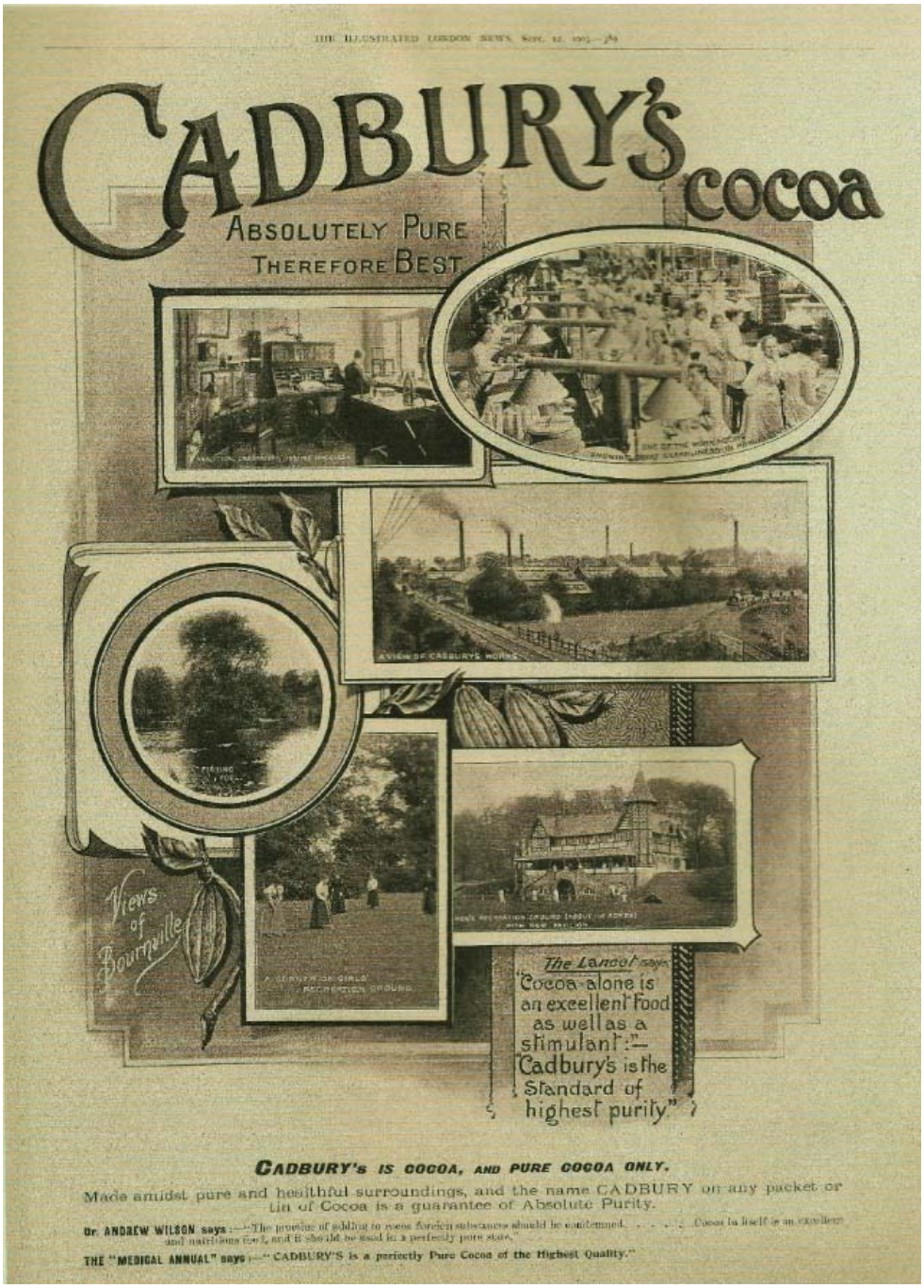


Figure 4.156. "Absolutely Pure Therefore Best […] Made amidst pure and healthful surroundings […]". Cadbury's full-page advertisement in the Illustrated London News. September 12th, 1903.

housing then available to workers. The first 28 houses were built between 1902 and 1904 by the architect Raymond Unwin, after which the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust (now the Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust) was established to continue building and manage the new village. No alcohol was served in the village until the 1980's.

Guided tours for the public at large began in 1902 and Cadbury's also took care to issue regular invitations to groups of "representatives of the British Press". Writing in *The Times* after one of the tours, a journalist commented that […] the death rate was 7.5 per thousand whereas in the working class districts of Birmingham the rate was three times as high," adding that "Everywhere there was ordered activity […]" and "the visitors had the opportunity of seeing some of the healthful outdoor recreations which Messrs. Cadbury encourage their employés [sic] to pursue." [1768] Both their products and the working environment in which they were made are described in the advertisement as "pure and healthful" and additional guarantees are offered by the testimony of a Dr. Andrew Wilson and the "Medical Annual".[1769] The advertisement shows that many of the "tricks of the trade" had already been invented and that Cadbury's were not slow to take advantage of them.

It was precisely at this time that a book entitled *Cocoa, the food of the Gods*, appeared in the bookshops. Profusely illustrated, it was written by Brandon Head and presented as a popular overview of world production of chocolate and cocoa from the raw material to the final product. In truth of fact it seems to have been no more than a public relations exercise promoted by Cadbury Bros. A whole chapter and no fewer than fourteen photographs were devoted to Bournville, "The Factory in a Garden" and the enviable working and living conditions of Cadbury's employees, whilst others showed their small plantation in the Maracas Valley of Trinidad, which the writer had been invited to visit. Head not only described the installations and working conditions at Bournville at length but also pictured their Caribbean plantation as something of a holiday camp for the indentured labourers, who were predominantly Indian migrants. He offers his impressions of the Maracas plantation in the following words:

> Nearly all the work is in pleasant shade, and none of it harder than the duties of a market gardener in our own country; indeed, the work is less exacting, for daylight lasts at most but thirteen hours, limiting the time that a man can see in the forest: ten hours per day, with rests for meals, is the average time spent on the estate. Wages

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[1768] *The Times*. September 26th 1906, p.3.

[1769] Surprisingly the same Dr. Andrew Wilson also added his medical seal of approval to the products of Cadbury's competitor Fry's: "I have had **Fry's Pure Concentrated Cocoa** again analysed, and as a result I find **no flaw or weakness in my constant claim for it**, that it represents an **ABSOLUTELY PURE AND PERFECT FOOD**". Quoted in John Bradley. *Cadbury's Purple Reign*. Wiley and Sons. Chichester, 2008. [original bold and capitals]

are paid once a month, and a whole holiday follows pay-day, when the stores in town are visited for needful supplies. Other holidays are not infrequent, and between crops the slacker days give ample time for the cultivation of private gardens. [1770]



Figure 4.157. Illustration. "East India Coolies on a Trinidad Cacao Estate." [Maracas]

As idyllic as the description undoubtedly attempts to be,[1771] it soon becomes apparent from Head's account that the labourers worked at least ten hours a day, with perhaps one day's rest a month, a regime which was similar to, if not worse than the provisions of the new labour legislation for São Tomé and Príncipe. Furthermore, a careful reading of his description of the working conditions shows that attitudes in the Maracas Valley towards repatriation were virtually identical to those which existed in the cocoa islands and that indentured or contracted labourers were not entirely "free":

> Labourers from India are largely imported by the Government under contract with the planters, and the strictest regulations are observed in the matter of housing, medical aid, etc. At the expiration of the term of contract (about six years) **a free pass is granted to return to India, if desired**. Many, however, **prefer to remain in their adopted home**, and become planters themselves, or continue to labour on the smaller estates, which are **generally worked by free labour**, as the preparations for contracted labour are expensive, and can only be undertaken on a large scale.[1772]

[1770] Brandon Head. *Cocoa, the Food of the Gods. A Popular Account of Cocoa.* Brimley Johnson, London: 1903. Pp 44-45. Quite obviously Head's book, though carefully researched, was intended for "the man in the street", as its title suggests, and given the fact that a whole chapter is devoted to Cadbury's works at Bournville it is clear that it merely served as a façade to disguise Cadbury's marketing and advertising strategy which resorted to every available measure to present a picture of idyllic employment. No fewer than fourteen of the sixty-six illustrations are of Bournville, itself.

[1771] **Figure 4.157**. "East India Coolies on a Trinidad Cacao Estate." In Brandon Head. Op.cit. 1903. Frontispiece.

[1772] Idem, ibidem. (my bold).

Undoubtedly apprised of Cadbury's concerns regarding labour conditions and friction between different ethnic groups, Head goes on to comment on the import of coolie labour from British India: "The natives of India work on very friendly terms with the coloured people of the islands, the descendants of the old African slaves, and the cocoa estate provides a healthy life for all, with a home amid surroundings of the most congenial kind." [1773]

The fact that contracts were for "about six years", and that many of Cadbury's Indian labourers preferred to remain in Trinidad instead of returning home, inevitably raises doubts concerning the moral authority of the chocolate makers to criticise labour practices in São Tomé and Príncipe, where contracts were, in principle, limited to five years, although, admittedly, Angolan labourers would have to wait at least until 1908 for repatriation to become a realistic option. In fact, it is worth remembering that, throughout the controversy, even the fiercest critics of the contract labour system grudgingly recognised that the labour legislation was reasonable and the treatment of the labourers satisfactory once they had reached the islands, the crux of the matter being the form and practice of their recruitment in Angola and the absence of repatriation.

The consistent quality of the photographs of the factory and its surroundings are such that there can be no doubt that they were staged by professionals and were probably supplied to the writer by the chocolate-makers themselves. [1774] In fact, it seems highly likely that the book was actually commissioned by Cadbury Bros., although there has never been any recognition of the fact. This was advertising at its most sophisticated, the desired message being ventriloquised through what was ostensibly an independent and uncommitted observer, a device that Cadbury's would later use in their campaign to promote labour reforms in Portuguese West Africa. [1775]

[1773] Idem, ibidem. The Colonial Office List of 1912 shows that 2500 coolies were imported annually and in 1906 only 622 were repatriated.

[1774] **Figure 4.158** Illustration. "Cacao Drying in the Sun, Maracas, Trinidad." Idem. Facing p.39;

Figure 4.159 Illustration. "The Dinner Hour, Bournville." Idem. Facing p.54 "[…] on a summer's day few prettier sights could be found than the numbers of white-robed girls who stream across in the dinner-hour to revel in the sunshine of the open fields or sit in groups beneath the shady trees, enjoying a picnic lunch." Idem p.49.

Figure 4.160 Illustration. "Girl's Dining Hall, Bournville". Idem. Facing p.51

[1775] For example Charles A. Swan, who was asked to hide the fact that his investigations were being financed by Cadbury's, or E.D. Morel, whose newspaper the *African Mail* was almost entirely secretly funded by William Cadbury.



Cacao Drying in the Sun, Maracas, Trinidad.

Figure 4.158 Illustration. "Cacao Drying in the Sun, Maracas, Trinidad."



The Dinner Hour, Bournville.

Figure 4.159 Illustration. "The Dinner Hour, Bournville."



Girls' Dining Hall, Bournville.

Figure 4.160 Illustration. "Girl's Dining Hall, Bournville".

Despite their common Quaker background and business objectives, substantial differences can be identified between the type of advertising employed by Cadbury's during the period under study, and that of Fry's, their partners in the "slave-grown cocoa" campaign. One of Fry's cocoa advertisements from the period which was designed to appeal to the upper-middle class readership of *The Strand Magazine*, used the now familiar eye-catching association of a pretty girl with the product, an advertising ploy which was launched at the outset of the Victorian period and which still survives today. The advertisement, which first appeared towards the end of 1904, was quickly withdrawn, however, as the accompanying slogan read "enslaves the palate", a particularly unfortunate coincidence, as the first rumblings regarding the source of the chocolate-maker's "slave-grown cocoa" began to make themselves heard soon after the appearance of the advertisement in the press. [1776]



Figure 4.161. "Enslaves the palate." Fry's Cocoa advertisement. *The Strand Magazine* c.1904-5.

As pacifists who had actively opposed the Boer war, Cadbury Bros. were naturally reluctant to associate their products with an image of Britain which was openly

[1776] In 1914, Fry's of Bristol launched "Turkish Delight"- a chocolate-covered, rose-coloured lokum advertised under the slogan "Full of Eastern Promise", suggesting a product from a far-off land which was sensual and exotic. The pretty, wholesome girl in the cocoa advertisement had evolved in a decade into the promise of an experience which was mysterious, licentious and possibly forbidden in polite society, but was available cheaply in a purple wrapper to anyone who had the courage to take the risk.

imperialist, but a newspaper advertisement from 1907 shows that Cadbury's were acutely aware of the British Empire as a wider market for their products. The focus of the advertisement is, of course, Great Britain itself, placed strategically at the centre of the map and portrayed as the "The Mother Country", bestowing gifts and rewards upon the people of her colonies, who are bound to her by family ties. The interests of Britain and Cadbury's are cleverly presented as being one and the same, whilst the colonial origins of the raw material and those who produced it under questionable labour conditions, were conveniently ignored.



Figure 4.162. "The tie that binds". Cadbury's cocoa essence newspaper advertisement. 1907. Origin unknown.

Fry's, on the other hand, as Anandi Ramamurthy has shown, were happy to use the traditional image of John Bull in their advertising, [1777] as exemplified in the 1908 newspaper advertisement, shown below, with the imposing figure of the portly and benevolent patriarch towering over yet another ingratiating "little black sambo". The caption reads "Dat's for Massa Fry cos it's de best."[1778] By the time the advertisement appeared, only three months before the boycott, both Cadbury's and Fry's were discreetly buying cocoa from the British Gold Coast colony and shared well-founded concerns that the quality of the raw material was less consistent than that of São Tomé.[1779] The advertisement was clearly designed to dispel any doubts regarding the quality of the

[1777] **See Figure 4.162.** Reproduced in Anandi Ramamurthy. *Imperial Persuaders. Images of Africa and Asia in British Advertising.* Manchester University Press, Manchester: 2003, p.84.
[1778] Pidgin English, designed to draw a condescending smile.
[1779] In fact Cadbury's actually did the purchasing of the raw material for Fry's on the Gold Coast. Fry's would merge with Cadbury's in 1919.

product, with, on the one hand, the familiar figure of John Bull representing a guarantee to the public of British business integrity, whilst on the other, the African small-holder portrayed as a likeable and well-meaning, but somewhat clownish man-child, a well-worn racist trope which was still widely-disseminated in Britain and many other colonising nations, including Portugal. In their advertisements over the next few years Fry's continued to use the figure of the boy to symbolise the African small-holder, publicising the role and contribution of the African producer in the chain of production.



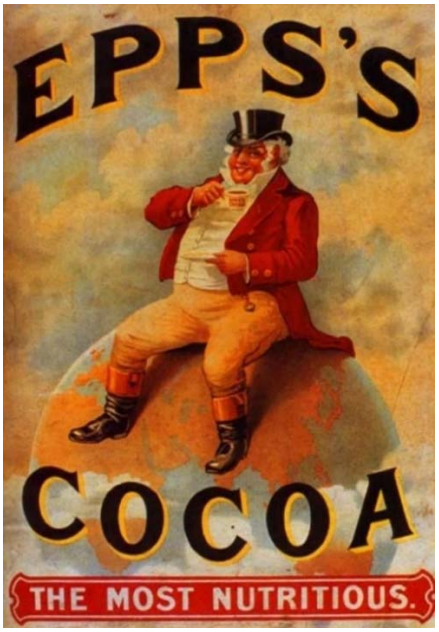


Figure 4.163. (Left) Fry's Cocoa advertisement. "Has won more awards that any other." From *The Graphic*. December 26th, 1908. **Figure 4.164.** (Right) "The most nutritious". Poster for Epp's Cocoa. Probably after 1910.

In 1909, Fry's returned to the image of John Bull in an advertisement, this time holding up a lantern to illuminate the words "British Made".[1780] It was clearly an appeal to its traditional customers not to abandon their products at a time when they had taken the risk of transferring their purchases, as much for political as commercial and humanitarian reasons, to the British West African colonies. [1781] Curiously, the same iconic figure of

[1780] John Bull was often used as a symbol of "Free Trade", an ideology very much in vogue amongst both Liberal Imperialists and Third-Party idealists, and was, by this time: "the very embodiment of free trade orthodoxy". See Miles Taylor. "John Bull and the iconography of Public Opinion in England c.c 1712-1929" *Past and Present* 134. February 1992, pp. 93-128.

[1781] Cadbury's had bought their first "small parcel" of Gold Coast cacao in 1906. See Roger J. Southall *Cadbury's on the Gold Coast 1907-1938: the dilemma of the model firm in a colonial economy.* Ph.D. thesis. Univ. Birmingham 1975. p. 54. A year later they sent out an agent to set up the business which, after the boycott, would largely replace their cacao purchases from São Tomé and Príncipe. And in March 1908

John Bull appears again in a contemporary poster for Epp's cocoa, wearing the traditional black top hat, rather than the white "tropical issue" of Fry's advertisement. [1782] Here, he sits proudly astride the globe, smiling in self-congratulation as he leisurely drinks his cup of cocoa, a symbol of Britain's far-reaching imperial presence and dominion.

As far as advertising was concerned, Rowntree's of York, who, unlike Epp's, were directly involved in the boycott with Cadbury's and Fry's, were extremely reserved by comparison with their fellow Quaker chocolate - makers, and were reluctant at first to recognise its importance.



Figure 4.165. Poster. "Rowntrees Elect Cocoa". Begarstaff Bros. design c.1910

Joseph Rowntree, the doyen of the firm, held strong views on the ethics of advertising, and, convinced that it often resorted to speculative and possibly untruthful claims, he preferred to allow the quality of his products to act as the best recommendation to the potential purchaser. He was a shrewd businessman, however, and as Gillian Wagner writes, when he was finally persuaded that "[…] advertising was the key to increased sales and revenue, he sanctioned it." [1783] Although Rowntrees' publicity, at the time, was

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Cadbury wrote to E.D. Morel asking him to write favourable articles in the *African Mail* regarding Gold Coast cocoa prospects. See Cadbury to Morel March 26th 1908. CP Ms. 180/776. Yet another case of surreptitious manipulation of public opinion.

[1782] **Figure 4.164.** Epp's, like Fuller's and Suchard were quick to deny any link to Portuguese cocoa in the days following the boycott.

[1783] Gillian Wagner. *The Chocolate Conscience* Chatto and Windus. London: 1987, pp.103-104 See also Francis Goodall's chapter on "Marketing consumer products before 1914: Rowntree and Elect Cocoa" in

still remarkably low-key, they, too, employed the figure of John Bull, allowing the famous Beggarstaff brothers' art nouveau design to speak for itself. [1784]

As Catherine Higgs has noted, after the December 1909 Standard libel case Cadbury's were bombarded by complaints containing clippings of their newspaper advertisements. And though the number of supportive letters to the Board far exceeded those accusing the firm of hypocrisy, those which criticised the chocolate maker's claims of guaranteeing "purity" and impeccable working conditions were numerous enough to be taken seriously.[1785] Of the three Quaker firms, Cadbury's had been on particularly dangerous ground from the outset of the humanitarian campaign as their advertising in the press made a point of emphasising the excellent working conditions of their employees in Britain, whilst studiously avoiding any mention of the way the raw material was produced in Africa. [1786] It was this contradiction which became the target for the most pointed and caustic accusation in the *Standard*'s famous editorial, and it was what ultimately led Cadbury's to sue the newspaper's owners for libel. [1787]

Shortly after the boycott, Cadbury's returned in their advertising to the theme of labour conditions at Bournville, ignoring the serious charges which had been made regarding their source of supply in Portuguese West Africa. Once again they exploited the pages of the influential *Illustrated London News*, which brought out a special supplement on the factory, under the headings "The Eden of the Worker" and "Labour in Ideal Surroundings".The ILN advertisement, presented in the form of an independent article

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R.P.T.Davenport-Hines ed. *Markets and Bagmen: Studies in the History of Marketing and British Industrial Performance, 1830-1939* Ashgate, Aldershot: 1986 p.16ff. [esp. p.21]

[1784] Joseph Rowntree, however, like George Cadbury, was fully aware of the power of the press and in 1903 he acquired the *Northern Echo*, a regional newspaper published in Darlington, to act as a mouthpiece for the social reform and anti-war policies he held dear.

[1785] See Catherine Higgs Op.cit 2012 p.152-3. Citing Cadbury Papers CP 179/1-86. "Critical letters after the Trial." Dec 1909. Indeed, one of the critical letters went as far as to alter Cadbury's slogan "Absolutely Pure therefore Best" (See **Figure 4.156**) to read "Absolutely Slave Grown Cocoa".
The implication of the purity claim was that other brands were somehow "impure" or contaminated. George Cadbury had carried out a campaign against food adulteration, and was involved in the debate leading to the 1872 and 1875 Adulteration of Foods Acts. The purity claim had originated in 1866 with Cadbury's launch of unadulterated cocoa essence, but had acquired other broader associations over the years - **now, even Bournville and its surroundings were "pure".** (my bold)

[1786] It is interesting to note that Cadbury's decided to deal with their advertising themselves from 1905 onwards, coinciding with the beginning of the public phase of the scandal when Nevinson's articles began to appear in the press. Previously it had been dealt with outside the firm. See Iolo Williams. *The Firm of Cadbury.* Constable and Co. London: 1931, p.85.

[1787] The *Standard*. Editorial. September 26th, 1908, p.1.The editor of the *Standard* was H.A.Gwynne, a firm imperialist and an admirer of Alfred Milner, the High Comissioner of Southern Africa from 1897 to 1905. See Chapter 2.2 of this dissertation for more on the Cadbury Bros.v the *Standard* trial.

praising the outstanding record of the firm in the field of labour relations, is an early example of this sophisticated and surreptitious way of influencing public opinion. It came at a time when the reputation of the Quaker chocolate-makers had been profoundly shaken both by the boycott and the ensuing *Standard* libel case and it had become necessary to remind their customers and the public in general of their outstanding philanthropic pedigree and the model, albeit paternalistic, relationship they proudly cultivated with their employees at Bournville. The article, which is accompanied by photographs of the superb recreational and sporting facilities for employees, is predictably encomiastic, referring to the controversy only indirectly:

> "If one had a scintilla of doubt left as to the benevolent thoroughness of the firm's methods, a walk round the workaday buildings would summarily dismiss it." And referring to the suggestion boxes and the "elaborate pension scheme", in even more cloying terms, the writer affirms that it showed "what Fairy Kindheart can do when she finds such willing servants as the Cadbury family". [1788]

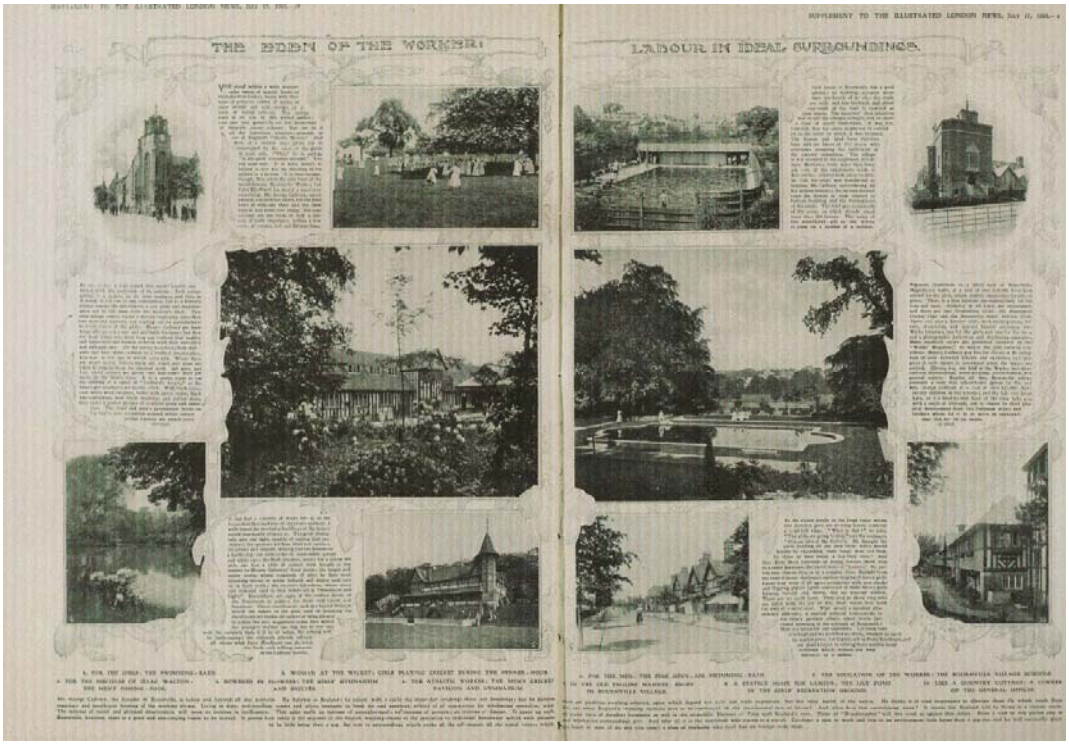


Figure 4.166. "The Eden of the Worker**.** Labour in ideal surroundings". Supplement to the *Illustrated London News*. July 17th, 1909.

[1788] By 1914 Cadbury's had about 7000 employees whilst Fry's and Rowntree's employed 4-5000. In 1919 Cadbury's took full control of Fry's, retaining the brand name, however. The largest Portuguese chocolate manufacturing firm at the time had a staff of no more than 30.

Fry's too, were sensitive to the possible effects of the boycott and the subsequent transfer of purchases to the Gold Coast on both their sales and their worldwide reputation as a long-established family firm, known for its quality products. This was particularly true at the end of 1909, when it became apparent that the libel case which had been brought against the *Standard* newspaper by their fellow Quakers, Cadbury's, would undoubtedly revive the attention of the Tory press to the more unsavoury side of the cocoa business.

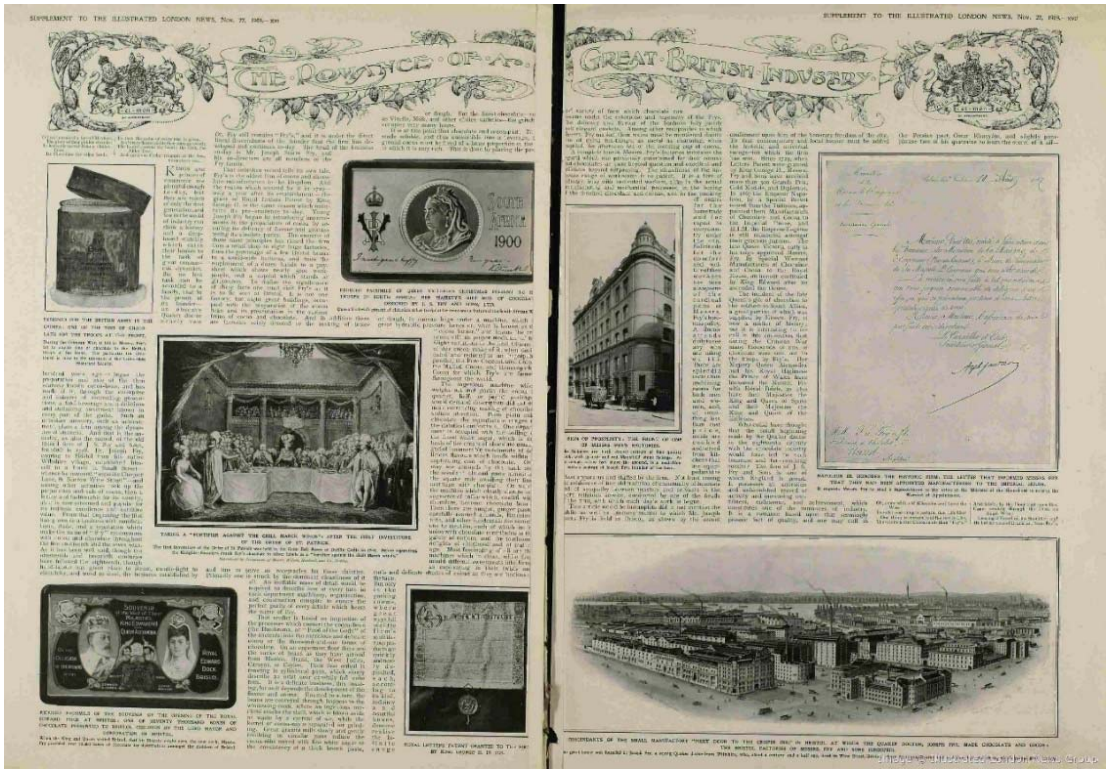


Figure 4.167. "The Romance of a Great British Industry". Supplement to the Illustrated London News. November 27th, 1909. Centre pages.

Yet again, The *Illustrated London News* was chosen as the vehicle for a costly public relations initiative on behalf of the chocolate-makers, just a few days before the opening of the case at Birmingham Assizes. Like the previous exercise on behalf of Cadbury's, the profusely illustrated article came out in a separate supplement. But rather than the enviable working conditions provided by an enlightened employer, the emphasis on this occasion was on the pedigree, the "unbroken ancestry" of the firm, which dated back to 1728, reinforced by the royal preference granted to its products. In addition to the Royal seals which proudly headed the article and the picture of Queen Victoria on the tin of Fry's chocolates which had been sent as a gift to the soldiers during the Boer War, there were references to the heads of State of Greece and Spain as well as a facsimile of a letter

sent by the Emperor Napoleon to Fry's in 1867, appointing them official suppliers to the Imperial Household. The purchaser of Fry's products was unquestionably in good company.

Again in 1909, Cadbury's felt the need to offer reassurance to the loyal readers of the *Daily News*, a newspaper owned by George Cadbury which supported the Liberal Party and had campaigned against the exploitation of sweated labour in both Britain and the Transvaal whilst cautiously avoiding any mention of the "slave-grown cocoa" controversy. The full-page advertisement, which appeared a few months after the boycott and shortly before the *Standard* libel trial, guaranteed that the quality of the products which emanated from Bournville would be unaffected by the changes which had taken place regarding the sourcing of the raw-material. [1789]

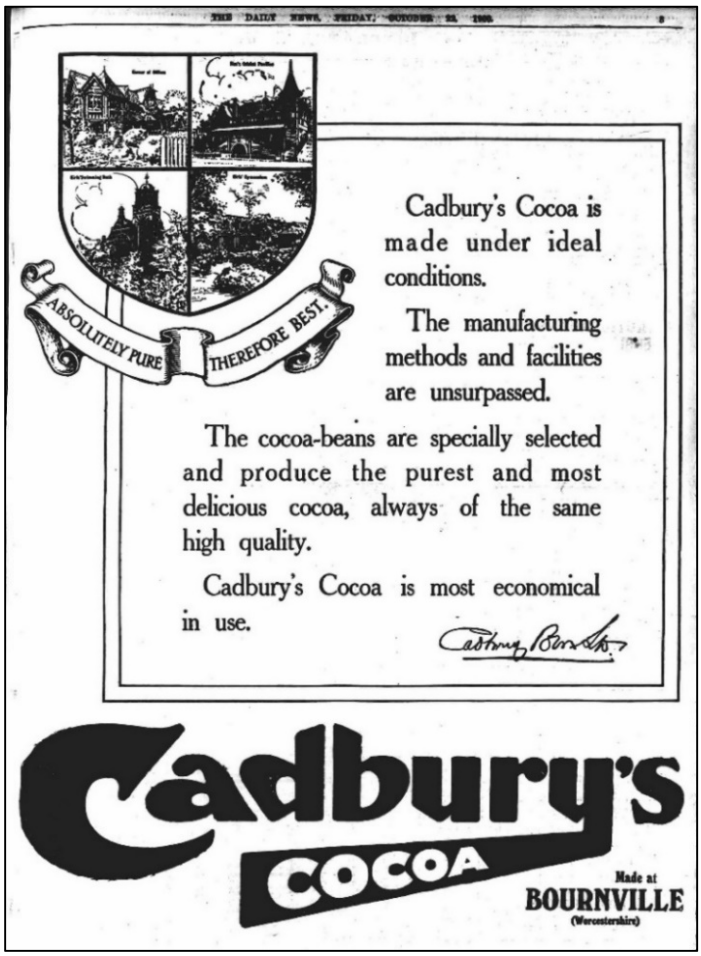


Figure 4.168. Cadbury's Cocoa Advertisement. The *Daily News*, October 23rd 1909. Full page

[1789] **Figure 4.168.** Note the new "Cadbury's Cocoa" experiment in graphic design.

In an attempt to convey a sense of inherited standards and nobility of purpose, the advertisement, which claims that "Cadbury's cocoa [was] made under ideal conditions", carries a mock coat-of-arms, a shield with views of Bournville, bearing the motto or slogan "Absolutely Pure. Therefore Best". The signature of the firm below the statement was undoubtedly intended to be construed as an additional "personal" guarantee to potential purchasers.

Despite the efforts of the chocolate makers to gloss over working conditions at the source of their raw material, Sir Edward Carson, the leading defence lawyer in the Cadbury v. the *Standard* libel case, made full use of Cadbury's advertisements during the trial, displaying "example after example" to demonstrate the hypocrisy of claiming that manufacturing conditions were ideal when the cocoa islands were known to employ labour recruitment methods which were reprehensible.[1790] Later, however, in his summing-up, Justice Pickford warned the jury that "the stance of the *Daily News* on Chinese coolie labour or Cadbury's use of its philanthropic activities in its advertisements" should not be taken into consideration when coming to a verdict. It is clear, however, that the jurors ignored the judge's counsel, quickly reaching their own conclusions and announcing a verdict which left neither side wholly satisfied.[1791]

By the following year, however, Cadbury's had already recovered from the temporary setback caused by the *Standard* libel case and once again their advertising returned to the guarantee of purity of their cocoa and their labour policy at Bournville.[1792] The advertisement boasts of the number of new jobs created, "greater than that of any previous year", and growth which was "striking proof of the world's appreciation". Clearly, Cadbury´s were claiming that they had been absolved and compensated by worldwide public opinion for the reputational damage they had suffered as a result of the jury's salomonic decision in their case against the *Standard*, which had undoubtedly left a bitter aftertaste in the mouths of the Quaker chocolate makers.

[1790] "Carson displayed example after example of Cadbury's advertisements showing the idyllic setting of Bournville while making no mention of São Tomé." Lowell J.Satre. Op.cit. 2005, p.164.
[1791] Idem., p.173.
[1792] In the December 1909 libel case against the Standard newspaper, held at Birmingham Assizes, the jury, which reached a verdict in less than an hour, awarded Cadbury's "contemptuous damages" of a farthing. This was seen by many, at the time, as a sign that the jury had recognised that there had been a degree of procrastination on their part.

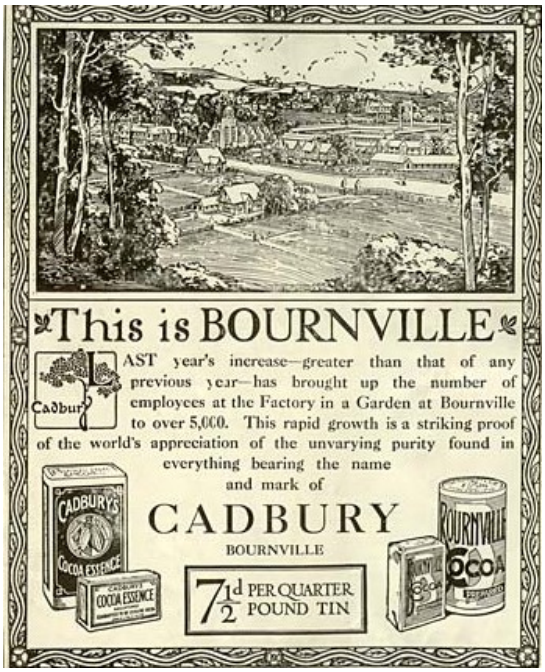


Figure 4.169. "This is Bournville". Cadbury's newspaper advertisement, November 1910.

Anandi Ramamurthy discusses another of Cadbury's Cocoa advertisements from the same period which illustrates the firm's concern regarding the "happy partnership" they aspired to between the African producer and the European consumer. The image, shown below, which appeared as both a poster and a free postcard soon after Cadbury's took over its own advertising, features two children of the same age - a healthy-looking, dark-skinned boy and a pretty, fair-haired and fair-skinned girl, sharing a rug in the open air. [1793] The contrast between their body-language could not be greater. The girl reclines leisurely, occupying the "lion's share" of the rug, whilst the boy sits stiffly, upright and cross-legged near the edge, apparently enjoying a rare moment of privilege. He is bare-footed and wears what might be construed as a local farm boy's "Sunday best" - a clean, check shirt and shorts with a broad-brimmed, possibly straw hat, and is smiling shyly at the girl, in anticipation of her approval. Dressed, doll-like, in a diaphanous, white frock, she looks confidently straight-ahead, certainly aware of, but unwilling to acknowledge his admiring gaze. Unquestionably, she, alone, personifies the immaculate "purity" in Cadbury Bros. slogan, a purity which is further emphasised by the absolute contrast between white and black. Clearly, such an informal and intimate encounter was only

[1793] See **Figure 4.170.** Also distributed as a postcard. See Anandi Ramamurthy. Op.cit. 2003, pp.72-3.

admissible, even in the fantasy world of advertising, because the two were children.[1794] The portrayal in a cocoa advertisement of black and white adults sharing the same rug, was then unthinkable and even now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is still considered daring.

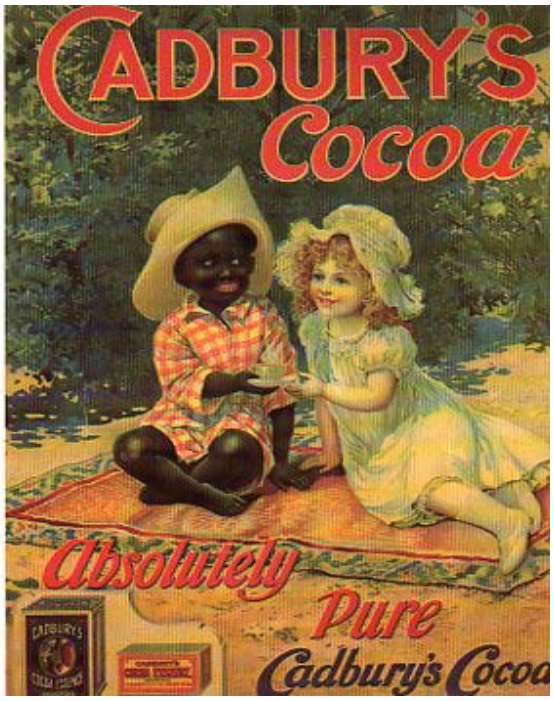


Figure 4.170. "Absolutely Pure". Cadbury's Cocoa advertisement c.1910

At first glance the two children appear to be holding a cup of drinking chocolate together, but on closer examination it is quite clear that the boy is handing it to the girl. Emphasising their differences, the underlying message is that despite the insuperable gulf of race and social class which was widely thought to separate white and black, they are part of a business partnership within the same economic system, one from which both the African producer and supplier and the European manufacturer and consumer would derive benefits, albeit unequal ones. The advertisement sums up, in a metaphorical nutshell, the way Cadbury's viewed the whole African labour question as they prepared to transfer the main source of their supply from the plantation cocoa of São Tomé and Príncipe to the smallholder production of the British colony of the Gold Coast. As surprising as this example may seem, this was not an isolated case of imperialist and racist advertising in

[1794] As Pieterse perceptively notes: "Hierarchical integration permits physical proximity on condition that a clear relationship of superiority-inferiority is maintained." Jan Nederveen Pieterse. Op. cit 1992, p.130.

the recent history of the two Quaker firms. It is clear, in hindsight, that Fry's never attained the sophistication of Cadbury's in their advertising, and occasionally they sank to scraping the bottom of the barrel of racist imagery, as the supposedly humorous poster showing a motley crew of black "ragamuffins" clearly demonstrates. As advertising specialists well knew, the old trope of black children wearing odd, tattered and ill-fitting clothes could always be depended upon to raise a condescending smile on the face of a white, middle-class potential customer. [1795]

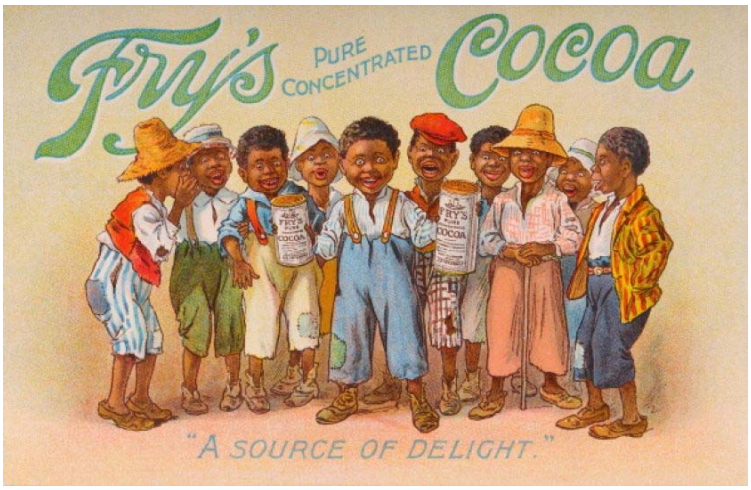


Figure 4.171. Postcard and Poster. Fry's Cocoa. "A Source of Delight"**.** Signed H.T. Pub. by A. Vivian Mansell. London, c.1910.

Shortly before the turn of the century, an advertisement for Fry's cocoa had appeared in the periodical press with an engraved photographic image of a smartly-dressed, black servant boy bringing a cup of cocoa on a tray, and the caption "Cocoa sah!" As in all such advertisements, the African never appears to attain adulthood, undoubtedly because advertising specialists soon realised that the average European had a far less suspicious attitude towards black children than to adults. The underlying message of the advertisement was that Anglo-Saxons, as "a superior race", were quite naturally entitled to be waited on by Africans and treated with due respect, and that even the least privileged customer of Fry's cocoa was entitled to feel proud to be both white and British. The advertisement was withdrawn during the peak of "slave-grown cocoa" scandal, but the

[1795] See **Figure 4.171.** Evidently no potential customer would assume that the black children were typical consumers. Note that although the healthy-looking boys wear shoes, none have laces. The "barefoot stigma" of earlier caricatures of this kind had been carefully attenuated for this advertisement.

same caption reappeared in 1912 in association with a different image, long after Fry's and Cadbury's had transferred their purchases of cocoa to British West Africa.



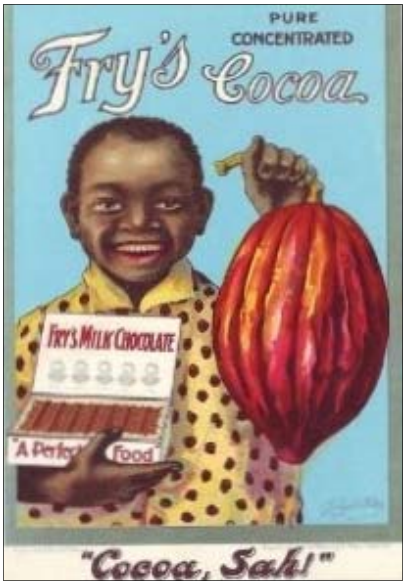


Figure 4.172. (Left) "Cocoa Sah!" Fry's advertisement. Wild World Magazine, 1899. **Figure 4.173** (Right) **"**Cocoa Sah!*"* Fry's advertisement and poster c.1912. Artist Edgar Filby.

Here, a smiling black boy who is wearing a gay, polka-dotted shirt, (perhaps a crude attempt by Filby at the facial reincarnation of the boy in the earlier advertisement),[1796] raises a huge cocoa pod in one hand and a box of milk chocolates in the other, symbolising the satisfied African smallholder displaying the fruits of his labour, and, incidentally, the contribution of European technology to the final product, without which his toil would have been in vain. It would have been obvious to all, of course, that the chocolates were not for his own consumption. And lest there be any doubt about who played the subordinate role in the commercial transaction - the caption "Cocoa sah!" had returned from temporary oblivion to make it absolutely clear. It could be argued, perhaps, that there had been a qualitative transition in the portrayal of the black African, from the mere servant, a decade earlier, to the recognition of his essential role as a producer of the raw material, but the similarity between the Sambo-like portrayals of the black boy in the advertisement and in the Cadbury's lantern slide of a generation before reveals that the same underlying attitudes had survived, virtually unaltered. [1797]

[1796] Clearly, the photograph-based drawing in the earlier advertisement was a bit "too realistic" for prewar tastes.
[1797] See **Figure 3.2**

After the boycott, Cadbury's "Third-party" option to limit the vast majority of their cacao purchases to what was then small-holder production on the Gold Coast entered into open conflict with the labour policies of some of the greatest British manufacturers of colonial products. One of the foremost critics of "Third-party" ideas was the famous soap and detergent manufacturer William Hesketh Lever, whose campaign in favour of British-managed plantation agriculture in the west African colonies lasted until his death in 1925. [1798]

Another leading opponent of the "Third-party" policy was the Scots manufacturer Sir Thomas Lipton, who countered Cadbury's proud claim that their wares were made in a "factory in a garden" by advertising his extensive tea, coffee and cocoa plantations in Ceylon, as gardens themselves.



Figure 4.174. "Cocoa planter. Ceylon." Lipton newspaper advertisement. c. 1900

And unlike the Quaker manufacturers, who were notoriously reluctant to disclose the source of their raw material before the boycott, Lipton was quite open about the origins of his tea and cocoa. [1799] Evidence of this undisguised preference for the plantation economy as opposed to local small-holder production can be seen in the newspaper

[1798] Like Cadbury's, Lever Bros., were enlightened employers by British contemporary standards, and they built model accommodation for their local workers at Port Sunlight, on Merseyside, as Cadbury's did at Bournville.
[1799] **Figure 4.172.** Reproduced in Ramamurthy, Op.cit, p.78.

advertisement shown above, marked "Ceylon", featuring a white-whiskered European manager, "in tropical attire", giving instructions to half-naked, dark-skinned labourers who are working in one of Lipton's own cocoa "gardens", next to a factory with his name on the roof. The message of the advertisement was unequivocal - under the supervision of experienced European management, the colonial plantation system offered a guarantee of employment to the local inhabitants, whilst assuring the quality of the final product and its export to lucrative markets. [1800]



Figure 4.175. "O Capital Inglez visita Portugal." Illustração Portugueza. June 12th, 1911.

[1800] Both of the British anti-slavery societies were critical of forced labour in the British colonies, and Ceylon was singled out as one of the places where employment practices with similarities to slavery were still alive at the outset of the twentieth century. Indeed, as late as 1917, in the wake of unrest between the Buddhist and Islamic communities, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* returned to the Ceylon question, with an article on "Coolie labour" in the Crown Colony. "Coolie Labour in Ceylon." *Anti-Slavery Reporter* No.7, 1917, pp. 17-19.

Interestingly, the photograph above, which was published in June 1911 in the Portuguese magazine *Ilustração Portugueza*, shows the Foreign Minister Bernardino Machado standing beside Sir Thomas Lipton after a meeting which took place on his ocean-going yacht Erin, during a brief stopover in Lisbon. In view of the strict protocol for such occasions, the fact that the Foreign Minister had gone out of his way to visit the yacht in person, is an indication that the meeting was seen by the Portuguese government as an opportunity to signal its appreciation for Lipton's stand in favour of plantation economies and may have been an attempt to convince "o grande industrial milionário" to speak out in favour of the São Tomé planters or even to invest in the Portuguese colonies, given the title of Benoliel's photograph of this historic encounter. [1801] Although neither of the possibilities ultimately came to pass, early in the following year negotiations would be initiated, under the benevolent eye of Finance Minister Sidónio Pais, for the purchase of a number of the São Tomé cocoa plantations by an Anglo-French business consortium led by E.J.Frewen and André Joucla, which had been set up especially for the purpose.[1802] Several meetings were held and there was an atmosphere of some optimism, until the fall of the Augusto de Vasconcellos Government effectively put an end to the talks. [1803]

At the time of the controversy, Portuguese press advertisements for cocoa and chocolate were singularly unsophisticated in comparison with the imaginative and costly campaigns of manufacturers elsewhere in Europe. The advertising business in Portugal was at an early stage in its development, the internal market was small and competition was minimal. Hence there was no call for manufacturers to invest heavily in the promotion of their products, in contrast with Britain and the United States, for instance, where free trade was beginning to falter in certain sectors due to the growing dominance of large-scale enterprises. As a consequence, advertising in Portugal tended to be informative, repetitive and textual and was often relegated to the final pages of newspapers and magazines.

[1801] **Figure 4.175.** In *Illustração Portugueza*. No. 277. June 12th, 1911, p.766. Photograph by Joshua Benoliel. The 1240 ton steam yacht "Erin" was frequently used by Sir Thomas Lipton to lavishly entertain influential and distinguished guests.

[1802] According to an article in the *The Times,* the Anglo-French syndicate was intending to buy 10 plantations in São Tomé and was also seeking to purchase cocoa plantations in the French Congo. See "The Big Cocoa Enterprise. Further Developments" *The Times* April 17th, 1912, p.23 and also "Anglo-French Cocoa Group" The *Financial Times*. April 22nd 1912, p.5.

[1803] Interestingly, **Sir Thomas Lipton had previously bankrolled a Frewen-led syndicate** in an attempt to control the oldest Irish nationalist newspaper *The Freeman*'s *Journal.* (my bold)

The modest advertisements of the chocolate makers A.J. Iniguez e Iniguez, for instance, which proudly imported its raw material directly from the Boa Entrada plantation in São Tomé, offer a stark contrast to the sophistication of the advertising campaigns sustained by the comparatively unlimited resources and insatiable commercial ambitions of the British Quaker chocolate makers. However, just as in the contemporary advertisements for similar products in Britain and America, which emphasised the healthy qualities of cocoa and chocolate, Iniguez ensured that the supposedly medicinal effects of drinking cocoa were clearly brought to the fore in its advertising. [1804]



Figure 4.176. "Cacau, Cakula e Chocolate". Iniguez newspaper advertisement.c.1906.

In April 1906, two of the main producers of cacao-based products, the "Companhia de Chocolates a Vapor Iniguez" and "Companhia Frigorífica Portuguêsa" were both present at the Colonial Exhibition, which was held at the Sociedade de Geografia in Lisbon, displaying a wide range of their products. [1805] Together with a pamphlet putting forward the official position on the contract labour system, published in Portuguese and English in June 1906, the Colonial Exhibition marked the beginning of Portuguese attempts to respond to the serious accusations which had been made in Nevinson's articles and which

[1804] See **Figure 4.176.** Note the triangular trademark and the suggestion in the letter" A" of a pair of compasses, which would have drawn the attention of fellow freemasons to the product. Cakula was a blend of cola nuts, cocoa and sugar which was reputed to have medicinal qualities.

[1805] **Figure 4.177.** Illustration from "Exposição Colonial na Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa." *O Occidente* April 20th, 1906, p.83. See also Ernesto de Vasconcellos. (ed.) *Exposição Colonial de Algodão, Borracha, Cacao e Café. Catálogo.* Sociedade de Geografia. Lisbon: 1906. The XV International Medical Congress, which brought over 2000 delegates to Lisbon, took place during the initiative, and foreign participants were encouraged to take advantage of the opportunity to visit the exhibition.

would become the topic of British parliamentary debates after the delivery to the Foreign Office in the same year of Consul Nightingale's report on his lengthy tour of inspection to São Tomé and Príncipe. [1806]

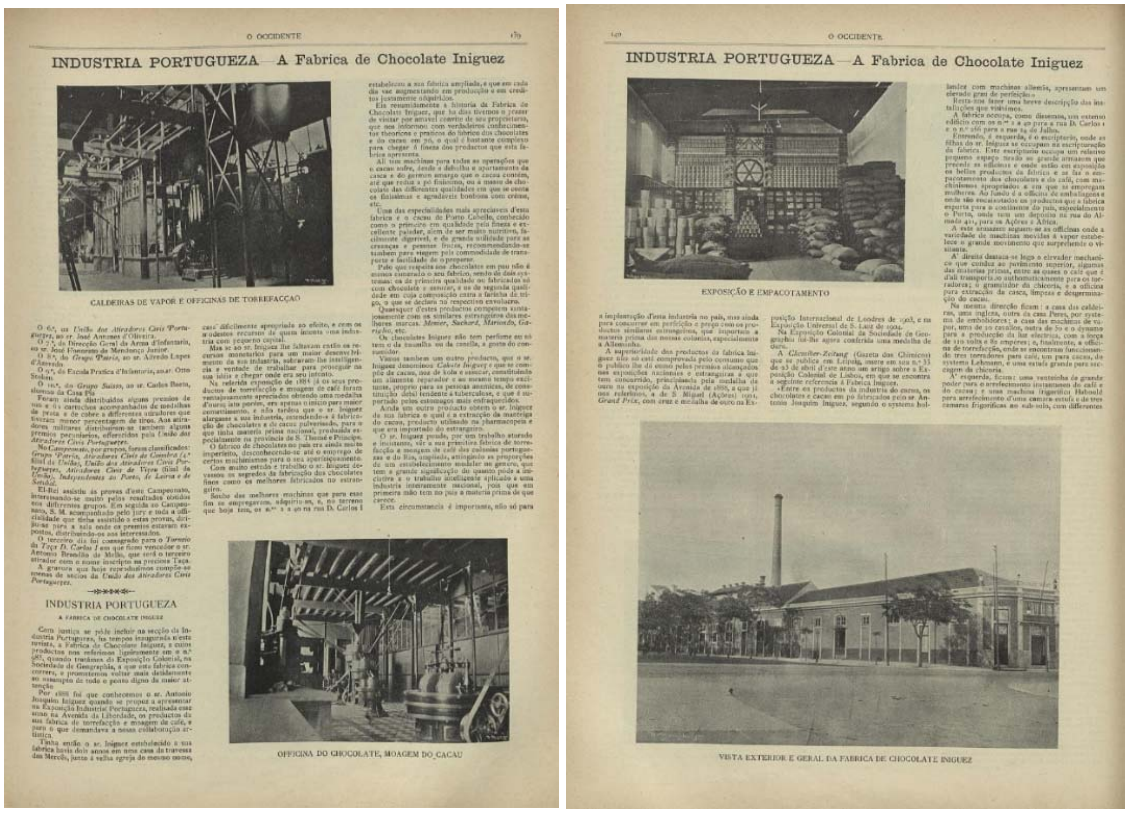


Figure 4.177. Illustration from "Exposição Colonial na Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa" in *O Occidente,* showing display cases with colonial products.

In a follow-up to the Colonial exhibition, *O Occidente* published a three-page illustrated article on Iniguez's new factory. Though diminutive in scale by the standards of its British counterparts, it was portrayed as a paragon of up-to-date industrial procedures and model working conditions. The main emphasis of the piece was on the quality of the final product, which used "matéria prima nacional, produzida especialmente em S. Thomé e

[1806] The pamphlet in question was entitled *O Trabalho Indígena nas Colonias Portuguesas: Memória Justificativa.* Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa: 1906, and was probably written by Ayres d'Ornellas. An English version was published in June 1906. It may have been a pre-emptive strike to counteract any criticisms which might be raised by Consul Nightingale. Nightingale's report is dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 1.3 of this dissertation. Arthur Nightingale visited São Tomé and Príncipe between November 24th 1905 and February 9th 1906 and his report was received at the FO on August 20th 1906. It was, however, never published. Essentially, Nightingale commended the planters on their treatment of the labourers but emphasised that the problem lay with the means of recruitment in Angola and the absence of repatriation. See FO 367/18, 28370 Nightingale 28/7/1906.
Douglas Wheeler identifies a connection between Nevinson's articles and the creation of the Sociedade Propaganda de Portugal in February 1906. The SPP was launched to advertise the attractions of Portugal to potential tourists from abroad and to represent Portugal in favourable terms in the foreign press. See Douglas Wheeler. "Remembering Portugal" in *Portuguese Studies Review* vol.5, no.2 1996-7, pp. 13-15.

Príncipe" and had been awarded a gold medal at the London International Exhibition of 1903, comparing favourably with those of well-known international manufacturers, such as "Menier, Suchard, Mariondo, Gariglio etc." [1807]



INDUSTRIA PORTUGUEZA — A Fabrica de Chocolate Iniguez

CALDEIRAS DE VAPOR E OFFICINAS DE TORREFACÇÃO

INDUSTRIA PORTUGUEZA

OFFICINA DO CHOCOLATE, MOAGEM DO CACAU

INDUSTRIA PORTUGUEZA — A Fabrica de Chocolate Iniguez

EXPOSIÇÃO E EMPACOTAMENTO

VISTA EXTERIOR E GERAL DA FABRICA DE CHOCOLATE INIGUEZ

Figure 4.178. "Industria Portugueza. A Fabrica de Chocolate Iniguez". Article in *O Occidente.* 30th June 1906

Though there was no mention of the slave-grown cocoa campaign, nor indeed any reference to the British chocolate manufacturers, the article was clearly an indirect attempt to counter the adverse publicity which had appeared in the international press by diverting public attention to the quality of Portuguese chocolate and, by association, to the excellence of the raw material produced in São Tomé and Príncipe.

From 1906 onwards, having learned, perhaps, from what was one of the most successful marketing strategies of the British manufacturers, the Iniguez family company began organising guided tours of the factory, which would be patriotically re-inaugurated, after

[1807] **Figure 4.178.** *In O Occidente.* 30th June 1906, pp.139 -141.

further improvements to the premises, on New Year's Eve 1910, by the Finance Minister of the new Republic, Brito Camacho.



Figure 4.179. Newspaper advertisement. "Fabrica a Vapor de Chocolate Iniguez". c.1914

4.13 The royal visit to São Tomé and the planters' defence in the press

In their attempt to defend their reputations in the field of human rights, the planters were supported by successive Portuguese governments both before and after the fall of the Monarchy. The state visit of D. Luíz Filippe - the heir to the throne - to the African colonies in 1907, the first ever by a member of the Portuguese Royal Family, was a crucial part of the Government's defensive strategy.[1808] The royal tour of the colonies, essentially a public relations exercise, was engendered by Ayres d'Ornellas, the Minister of the Colonies [1809] and the Portuguese Minister in London, Soveral, as a direct response to the "slave-grown cocoa" campaign and to the general insecurity surrounding Portugal's African territories. The initiative was designed as much to silence dissenting voices at home as criticism from abroad.[1810]

The planters were careful to ensure that the royal visit to São Tomé did not go unnoticed and amongst the initiatives which was launched was an album of photographs, commemorating the occasion of the Prince's visit to the Boa Entrada plantation, which was later presented to influential personalities. Indeed, the copy of the album which exists in the Cadbury Papers testifies to the fact that the British chocolate makers were made fully aware that the Portuguese Royal Family had given its seal of approval to the contract labour system in São Tomé and Príncipe. Moreover, due to the close relationship between the ruling families of Portugal and Britain and the proximity of Soveral to the crown, the royal visit was brought to the attention of King Edward VII and is quite possible that he, too, would have been presented with a copy of the album. [1811] Oddly, none of the

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[1808] D. Luiz, the grandfather of the Crown Prince, had made a brief visit to Angola when an officer in the Portuguese Navy. Gomes dos Santos writes: "É a segunda vez que um membro da família real portugueza vista as colónias de África. A primeira visita realisou-a o augusto avô do actual príncipe […] Era então infante e não sonhava vir a ser rei de Portugal. Visitou Angola como capitão de mar e guerra, commandante d'uma corveta […]" In *Portugal em África.* July 20th 1907, pp.355-7.

[1809] His title was *Ministro da Marinha e Ultramar.* The Ministry was renamed *Ministério da Marinha e Colónias* in 1910 and was divided in 1911 into two separate entities *Ministério da Marinha* and *Ministério das Colonias.*

[1810] Ayres d'Ornellas. *Viagem do Príncipe Real*. Escola Tipográfica Oficinas de S. José, Lisboa: 1928 p.6. The monarchist regime was particularly unpopular at the time of the Royal Tour due to the fact that the King had allowed João Franco to "governar à Turca", or essentially as a dictator, from April 12th, 1907, so that the Crown Prince´s absence abroad and the associated publicity was a welcome opportunity.

[1811] In a telegram dated June 13th 1907, Soveral writes: "Na entrevista que tive hoje com MNE referiu-me também a visita do Príncipe Real a algumas das nossas possessões. **S.M o rei Eduardo já m'o tinha**

photographs show the heir to the throne himself, nor indeed any member of his party, and the overriding impression is of an empty and artificially pristine scenario awaiting the arrival of the principal actor.





Figure 4.180. Two photographs from the album showing the plantation buildings decorated for the royal visit. Photographer unknown, possibly Monteiro de Mendonça himself. 1907.

From the public relations viewpoint, the collection of photographs could not have been less impressive or persuasive. [1812] The only photograph which might be considered at all

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affirmado, e S.Exa. repetiu a grata impressão que essa notícia aqui tinha causado […]" AHD. Legação de Londres. Caixa 1086, 1907. (my bold)

[1812] Photograph album. *Recordação da visita de Sua Alteza e Príncipe Real D. Luiz Filippe á roça "Boa Entrada" em 13 de Julho de 1907.* Cadbury Papers: CP /187 1907. Twelve copies of the album of gelatin

convincing from the propaganda angle is a panoramic view of the model Boa Entrada plantation from an extremely high vantage point, showing the well-laid out buildings completely surrounded by cocoa groves and equatorial forest.[1813] Amongst the remaining photographs there are two which show the interior of Monteiro de Mendonça's residence on the plantation, tastefully decorated for the occasion with strategically-draped shawls and a portrait of the Prince on the wall, a rare opportunity today to see inside the living quarters of a plantation manager at the turn of the century.

Other photographs offer picturesque views of a waterfall, a magnificent specimen of a local shade tree and a small lake, whilst several, which were clearly taken before the Prince's arrival, feature the plantation buildings decorated with the ornamental palm fronds and bunting which had been hung to celebrate the royal visit.[1814]



Figure 4.181. Photograph showing the monumental arch on the Boa Entrada Plantation. 1907

prints were made and the copy which was presented to Ayres d'Ornellas is held in the archives of the Fundação Mário Soares. Arquivo Histórico de São Tomé e Príncipe. Pasta:10138.001. It is signed and dated July 1908 by Henrique Monteiro de Mendonça. There is no indication of the photographer's identity but it may have been Monteiro de Mendonça himself, who was described by the specialist magazine *Echo Photographico* as a "grande capitalista e amador distincto". See *Echo Photographico*. Anno 4. No. 35. 1909, p.12.

[1813] The photograph in question was probably taken in 1905 as it is similar to the one published as an illustration in Monteiro de Mendonça's *The Boa Entrada Plantations*, published in English in 1907. (Views of the Boa Entrada Plantations) The photograph also appears in *Illustração Portuguesa,* July 22nd 1907, p.115 and in Mantero's *Manual Labour* of 1910, opposite p.100.

[1814] See **Figure 4.180**.

Two of the other images, however, were clearly taken to display the employees and "serviçais" to good effect. One shows the whole workforce crossing the main compound against the background of the solidly-built labourer's quarters, and the other a group of "serviçais" lined-up along the narrow-gauge railway, women to one side and men to the other - hats in hand, presumably as they would line up later to greet their distinguished visitor. [1815]



Figure 4.182. Photograph showing workers lined up at the Boa Entrada Plantation to greet the Crown Prince. 1907.

At the end of the corridor, mule-drawn rail carriages for the transport of cocoa sacks can be seen. Rather than showing pictures of the Prince inspecting what was considered to be a model enterprise in full operation, which, though a greater challenge for the photographer, would have provided more convincing evidence to support the planter's arguments, Monteiro de Mendonça mysteriously chose to focus on his preparations to receive the royal visitor. If it was intended as a public relations exercise, it clearly failed.

Back at home, however, the planter's lobby had ensured that the royal visit was given ample coverage in the illustrated press.[1816] The fortnightly magazine *Brasil-Portugal*

[1815] **Figs. 181** and **182** show patterning as they were copied from an unidentified film shown on the ARTE television channel.

[1816] In one of the earliest studies on the "Portuguese Slavery" controversy, Robert Nartey recognises that the Centro Colonial de Lisboa had "spawned at least five colonial lobbies in Lisbon, with a clear domination of São Tomé and Angolan interests". See Robert Nii Nartey. *From Slave to Serviçal. Labor in the*

offered photographs of the Crown Prince's official tour of the African colonies in several of its issues, unfortunately displaying a total lack of coordination between the timing of the photographs and the accompanying text, testifying to the difficulties in communication between Portugal's African territories and the "Metropole". The issue of July 16th, 1907 carried an official portrait of the Prince on the cover and a series of photographs inside featuring the members of the Royal Family, the Prime Minister João Franco and the military and religious authorities who were present at the Prince's departure. [1817]



Figures 4.183. (Left) "Visita ás nossas Colonias d'Africa. Sua Alteza o Principe Real Senhor D. Luiz Filippe." Cover. *Brasil-Portugal* no. 204. July 16th 1907. (Right) "Retrato de S.A. Principe Real. (Cliché de phot.Bobone)" Cover. *Illustração Portugueza* no.74. July 22nd 1907. Special Supplement.

Plantation economy of São Tomé and Príncipe, 1876-1932. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation. Univ. Illinois 1986, pp. 98-99.

[1817] José Luiz de Almeida (Marquês de Lavradío), then a Lieutenant in the Portuguese Navy ("oficial as ordens" or equerry to the Crown Prince) notes in his *Memórias* that no member of the Regenerador Party was there to see the Prince off, nor any representative of the Sociedade de Geografia. See Ana e António Pedro Vicente. Op.cit.1998, p.53 quoting *Memórias do sexto Marquês de Lavradío.* Lisboa, Edições Atica, 1947. The political situation was particularly tense at this point due to the fact that João Franco was effectively governing as a dictator, in the absence of Parliamentary control.

The article describes the visit in typically bombastic terms, as being "of high patriotic significance" and suggests that it would offer the chance of demonstrating to those abroad "the steadfast desire [of Portugal] to keep its glorious heritage intact", whilst the Prince would acquire a knowledge of the needs of the "vassals of many different races" who were supposedly united around the throne, admitting proudly, however, that it was only "the bravery of [our] soldiers and the charity of [our] missionaries which dominate these warrior peoples and keep them at bay". [1818]

The September 1st issue of *Brasil-Portugal*, which covers the royal visit to São Tomé, offers in full the speech of General Souza e Faro, given to commemorate the Prince's visit to the Agua-Izé Plantation. [1819] In the flowery oratory reserved for distinguished guests, Souza e Faro, the plantation manager, regurgitates the well-worn arguments against the compulsory repatriation of Angolan labourers, concluding by saying that the plantations were justly recognised by foreign observers as "the Black Man's Paradise."[1820] It was only in the issue of November 16th, however, that the long-awaited photographs of the

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[1818] *Brasil-Portugal* no. 204. July 16th, 1907, pp 179-181. (my translation). Ayres d'Ornellas would soon discover that the Prince´s knowledge of Portuguese history was shaky, to say the least, as was his preparation for the State visit. Ornellas found he had to give daily lessons on the more significant issues to the heir to the throne: "**Durante esta travessia dei largas lições ao Príncipe, sobre coisas coloniais**[…] não vinha preparado para um curso, que é afinal o que tenho feito. Comecei pela história das nossas relações com a África do Sul desde a viagem do Vasco da Gama até às nossas campanhas de África. Depois a história da nossa administração colonial; o que tinha sido a nossa política colonial desde o Infante D. Henrique, Afonso de Albuquerque, passando pelo marquês de Pombal até aos nossos dias.[…] **era tudo novo para elle**. Peguei depois nos ingleses desde o seu desembarque no Cabo, a origem e a formação das colónias do Cabo e do Natal, a sua história, a formação da Rodésia, Cecil Rhodes e a sua política. Seguiu-se naturalmente a história do Transvaal, o raid do Jameson até à guerra inclusive. […] finalmente as relações do Transvaal connosco, a política imperialista, a questão indígena, as tarifas ferroviárias, os fretes marítimos, a indústria do oiro e a sua influência na política." Ayres d'Ornellas, Op. cit.1928. pp 24-25 (my bold).
Brito Camacho, writing in the republican newspaper *Lucta,* on the Prince's return, appears to have got wind of this: **"[…] Grande coisa é nascer príncipe! Os filhos dos reis, além de possuirem uma intelligência superior, muitíssimo superior aos restantes mortaes, nascem logo com uma tal cópia dos conhecimentos, que dificilmente se encontram na maior parte dos eruditos, tendo consumido annos e annos debruçados sobre os livros, a folhear cartapácios […]"** "No regresso" *A Lucta*. September 28th 1907, p.1. (my bold)
[1819]*Brasil-Portugal* no. 207. September 1st1907, pp.235-7. The Água-Izé plantation belonged to the Companhia Agrícola da Ilha do Príncipe and boasted 30 kms of rail track.
[1820] The "Black Man's Paradise" was apparently not viewed as such by some of the contract labourers, however, as shortly before the Prince's arrival, there had been a revolt on the Roça D. Infante Henrique, on the island of Príncipe, involving 500 of the labourers, which had led to the murder of the manager Ferreira Duarte and the cancellation of the Prince's visit to the island. Telegrams from the planters describing the situation and demanding the removal of the "Curador" are held by the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. One of the messages from the Governor of Príncipe to the Overseas Ministry reads: "Tem havido tentativas repetidas assassinatos. Estou empregando meios de repressão poder manter ordem sem auxílio novos elementos mas parece-me necessário delegado curador geral seja desde já substituido por administrador concelho ou outro funcionário." AHU. Copiador de S.Tomé. Livro 345, p.74.

royal visit to São Tomé would finally appear. [1821] Attributed to the local studio Photographia Africana, they show the arrival of the Prince's lighter and the decorated streets of the capital.

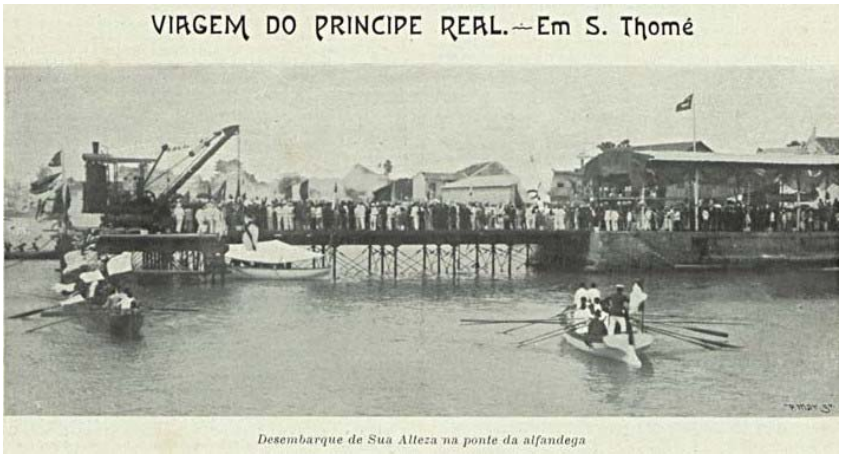


Figure 4.184. "Desembarque da Sua Alteza na ponte de alfandega. [São Tomé]". In *Brasil-Portugal.* September 1st 1907.

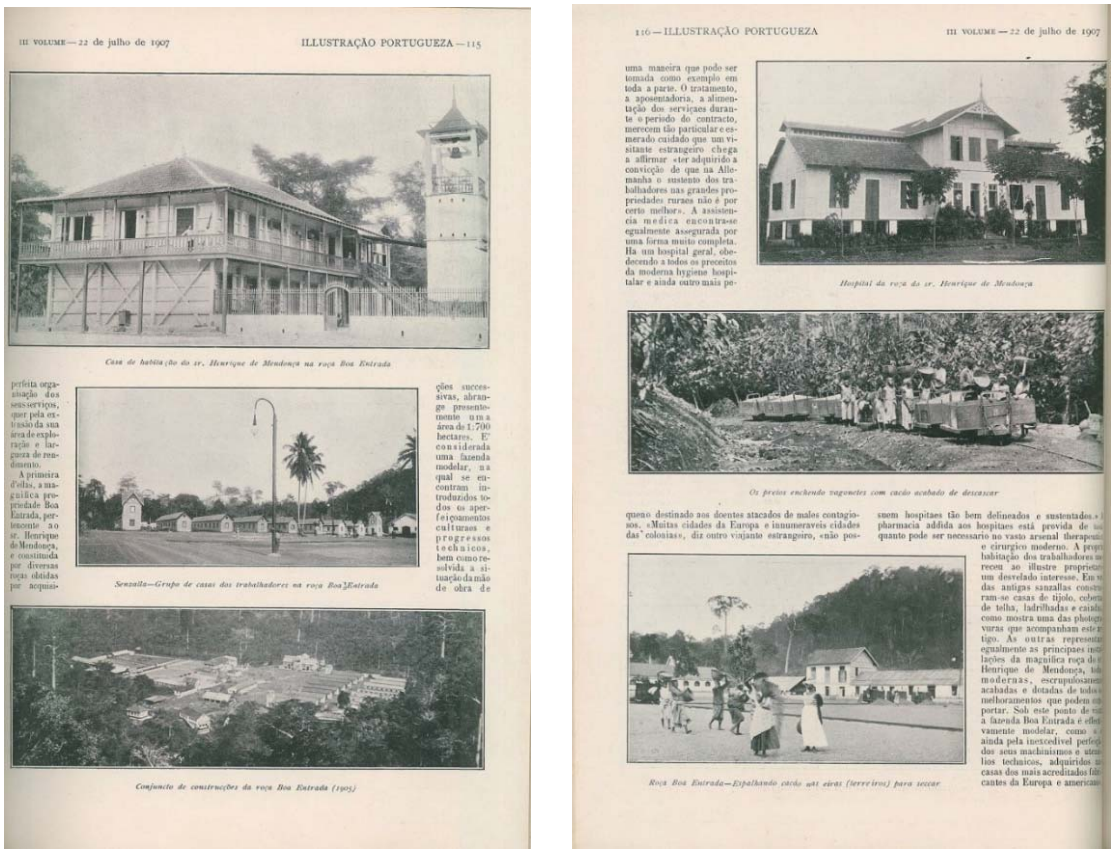
Photographs from the same series were later published in São Tomé in the form of hand-tinted postcards commemorating the royal visit.[1822]



Figure 4.185. Hand-tinted postcard. "S.Thomé. S.A. timonando o bote na aproximação a S. Thomé." Pub. António Joaquim Braz. São Tomé, 1907.

[1821] "Desembarque da Sua Alteza na ponte de alfandega. [São Tomé]" *Brasil-Portugal* no. 212. November 16th 1907. Pp. 312-314.
[1822] In **Figure 4.185.** the disparity between the hand-written message ("Há sorrisos que ferem como punhães") and the visual narrative reveals that the card was chosen either randomly or due to lack of choice.

Amongst the other periodicals which provided illustrated coverage of the Royal tour was the popular weekly *Illustração Portugueza,* published by *O Século*. The special issue of July 22nd, 1907 is of of particular interest within the context of the controversy. Carrying the official photograph of the heir to the throne on the cover, it was entirely devoted to São Tomé, one of the principal propaganda objectives of the Prince's voyage. [1823] Like all distinguished visitors to the islands, the Prince was given a guided tour of the showcase plantations - Boa Entrada, belonging to Henrique Monteiro de Mendonça; Rio d'Ouro, owned by the Conde de Valle-Flôr; and Água-Izé, managed by General Souza e Faro, with brief detours to the Monte Café coffee plantation, owned by Claudina Chamiço, and the Blu-Blu plantation, the latter to see a famous waterfall.


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Casa de habitação do sr. Henrique de Mendonça na roça Boa Entrada

Senzalla—Grupo de casas dos trabalhadores na roça Boa Entrada

Conjuncto de construcções da roça Boa Entrada (1905)

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Hospital da roça do sr. Henrique de Mendonça

Os preços enchendo vagonetes com cacáo acabado de descascar

Roça Boa Entrada—Espalhando cacáo nas eiras (terreiros) para seccar

Figure 4.186. Excerpt from an article in *Illustração Portuguesa,* July 22nd 1907, showing the Boa Entrada plantation.

[1823] **Figure 4.186**. *Illustração Portugueza*. nº 74. July 22nd, 1907, pp.115 and 116. The *Século*, itself, had set out the main reason for the first stage of the royal visit a fortnight earlier, under the heading: **"**A nossa opulência colonial. A valorização do cacau. Porque aumentou o seu preço - a boycottage dos compradores estrangeiros e o accordo dos exportadores portuguezes - O Futuro de S.Thomé: as crises de braços, estradas e caminhos de ferro." *O Século.* June 12th , p.2.

The article concentrates on two of the model plantations, Boa Entrada, and Rio d'Ouro - where the heir to the throne spent the night - and offers photographic portraits of the two plantation owners and the, by then, familiar pictures of labourers' housing and the hospital facilities, together with a predictably acritical description of the plantations and their products, avoiding any direct mention of the campaign against slave labour. [1824]

The living and working conditions of the contract labourers on the Boa Entrada plantation, with its 1700 hectares of land, were once again chosen to exemplify the "model" organisation of labour on the islands, and are described in the following terms:

> O tratamento, a aposentadoria, a alimentação dos serviçaes durante o período do contracto, merecem tão particular e esmerado cuidado que um visitante estrangeiro chega a affirmar "ter adquirido a convicção de que na Allemanha o sustento dos trabalhadores nas grandes propriedades ruraes não é por certo melhor." [1825]

And, according to the writer, yet another unidentified "foreign traveller" had been equally impressed by the hospital facilities of the plantation, commenting that: "Muitas cidades de Europa e innumeráveis cidades das colónias não possuem hospitaes tão bem delineados e sustentados". The more perspicacious readers of the magazine might, perhaps, have realised that in view of the allegedly excellent living and working conditions on the plantation, the need for such a well-equipped hospital required some explanation. In fact, Roça Boa Entrada was situated at low altitude and surrounded by swampy land which meant that the prevalence of disease-carrying mosquitoes was a constant peril. The mortality rate on the plantation, despite its resident doctor and what were admirable hospital facilities for the time, was one of the highest on the island of São Tomé, which meant in its turn that the import of labourers was also extremely high. Quite obviously, no mention was made in the article of this, a still insoluble conundrum.

Photographic coverage of the royal tour was also provided by another popular illustrated magazine of the time - *O Occidente*, which came out three times a month. Its report on the royal tour, however, was much delayed by comparison with its principal competitor

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[1824] In his account of the royal visit to S. Tomé, Ornellas describes the Prince's speech at the dinner which followed the visit to the Boa Entrada plantation, and his toast to Valle-Flôr and Monteiro de Mendonça : "[...] dizendo que muitas vezes se tinha orgulhado de ser portuguez mas nunca como agora que estava vendo a colonização portugueza." Ayres d'Ornellas. Op.cit.1928, p.30. At the end of the three-day visit, Valle-Flôr was made a Marquess and Mendonça was offered the title of Conde, which he declined.
[1825] In *Illustração Portugueza*. July 22nd 1907, pp. 115 and 116.

Illustração Portugueza. Though providing photographs of D. Luiz Filippe's departure in its July 10th issue, pictures of the Prince's reception in São Tomé and Angola were only published six weeks later in the issue of August 30th.[1826]



Viagem de Sua Alteza o Principe D. Luis Filipe ás Colonias

S. Thomé deve a sua crescente prosperidade ás condições excepcionaes do seu solo cultural, e quanto mais não desenvolveria sua riquêsa, se os melhoramentos do porto, vias de comunicação interna, transportes e saneamentos se posessem em pratica.

Seria esta a primeira colonia de expansão para os que precisam emigrar da metropole, seguros de que ali encontrariam um centro de atividade e de saude melhor garantida.

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No dia 12 de manhan chegava o *Africa* a S. Thomé e de bordo logo se viu que a ilha estava em festa, divisando-se bandeiras multicores, que se balouçavam ao vento, e a população acudia á beira mar, em grande massa, para assistir ao desembarque do Principe Real.

Todos os navios no porto estavam embandeirados em arco assim como os barcos que se dirigiam para bordo do *Africa*, condusindo as auto-

Em Loanda — Desembarque de Sua Alteza na ponte da Capitania

ridades da terra, que vinham apresentar seus primeiros cumprimentos a Sua Altera. Assim logo ali compareceram o governador da provincia sr. capitão tenente Pedro Berquó, engenheiro diretor das obras publicas sr. Guedes Quinhones, presidente da camara sr. Policarpo de Barros, capitão do porto, commandante do *Adamastor*, guarda-mór da alfandega, e os proprietarios agricultores srs. conde de Valflôr e Henrique de Mendonça, etc., etc.

A's 11 horas desembarcou o Principe Real acompanhado de sua comitiva e do sr. ministro da marinha, rompendo então as salvas do *Adamastor* e do forte de S. Sebastião, ao mesmo tempo que se ouvia o hinno nacional e ao ar subiam girandolas de foguetes, em alegre festa, mais animada pelos vivas e aclamações da população que se apinhoava na ponte e imediações do desembarque.

Foi no meio do mais caloroso entusiasmo popular que Sua Alteza saltou em terra, repetindo-se os vivas e aclamações do povo, por todo o trajéto até á Sé, onde se cantou *Te Deum* em ação de graças pela chegada do Principe Real.

Pelas ruas, vistosamente decoradas seguiu depois o cortejo até á Camara, onde foi lida pelo sr. presidente uma mensagem de boas vindas a Sua Alteza, e agradecendo em nome dos habitantes de S. Thomé a

Con.º Ayres d'Ornellas Conde da Ponte Alferes Tudella Coronel Antonio Costa
Marquez de Lavradio S. A. D. Luis Filipe Tenente Teixeira
Visconde do Alto Dande

Grupo feito no regresso da Fazenda Tentativa

Em Loanda — Passagem do cortejo na rua da Alfandega, Sua Alteza segue debaixo do Palio para a Sé

(Clichès da Fotografia Lisbonense, de Loanda)

Figure 4.187. Photographs of the royal visit to Angola published in *O Occidente*. August 30th 1907.

The accompanying article describes the Rio d'Ouro plantation with its 50 square kilometres of land, its 2000 "serviçais", and the excellent hospital and nursery facilities for the children of the labourers, adding that all 400 or so had been hurriedly baptised just

[1826] *O Occidente.* nº.1032. August 30th, 1907, pp. 187-191.

a few days before the royal visit. According to the writer "nothing was lacking" and the labourers were better treated and better paid than anywhere else.

One of the photographs accompanying the article shows the Prince carrying a hunting rifle in an appropriately masculine pose reminiscent of his father D. Carlos, [1827] after a visit to the Fazenda Tentativa in the north of Angola, a sugar plantation owned by Manuel Pereira Guedes, the Visconde de Alto Dande, which is described as a "model plantation […] with the same working conditions and agricultural production" as those of São Tomé. [1828]

The choice of this venue for the Prince's visit was unquestionably symbolic. In addition to being one of the largest agricultural enterprises in Angola it was the one which, in early 1902, had been the target of a scathing dispatch written by Roger Casement, HM Consul at Boma in the neighbouring Congo, who was then also responsible for reporting on Angola and São Tomé.[1829] After a week's stay on the "fazenda", Consul Casement had reported to the Foreign Office that he had seen 220 "serviçais" who had been bought at 100 "milreis" a head, many of whom were suffering from sleeping sickness. He had emphasised that the annual death rate for labourers was between 15 and 20% and that payment was made with vouchers which could be used only at the plantation store, where the favourite merchandise was rum. The owner decided who was to be married to whom and "serviçais" were not allowed to cross the plantation limits. The report offered an unequivocal condemnation of the system:

> The so called contract labour existing in Angola whether it be for internal use or export to the islands of San Thomé and Principé [sic] is nothing else but a system of slavery having

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[1827] Like his father, D. Luís Filippe was apparently fond of shooting. His letters to his younger brother are remarkable for the candour with which he confesses to spending much of his free time on the sea voyage taking potshots at any creature, fish or fowl, which came into his rifle sights.

[1828] A telegram to the Ministry from Ornellas dated July 18th, 1907 refers to the visit to Fazenda Tentativa and the labour question : "**Igualmente pôde a Sua Alteza verificar como os contractos dos servicaes teem egual applicação aqui e em São Thomé, e como o indigena se civiliza e nacionaliza pelo trabalho**, **encontrando operários perfeitos em vários misteres."** (my bold) See AHU. Copiador Angola 18.9.1907 p.70 and Ornellas, Op.cit 1928, p.61. Also referred to in Ana e António Pedro Vicente. Op.cit. 1998, p.66.

[1829] Sir Roger Casement (1864-1916) was one of the prime movers behind the Congo campaign and later wrote the famous report denouncing the Putumayo labour scandal. Casement was also appointed HM Consul in Luanda between November 1898 and September 1899 and produced the Annual Report on trade in the Colony for 1898 in which he denounced the use of bonded labour in the cocoa islands. Despite being of English Protestant extraction he later became involved with radical Irish Home Rule activists and was hung for treason during WWI after being found guilty of attempting to import arms from Germany for Irish nationalist forces.

> the sanction of legal forms [...] not one single native of the many thousand shipped to the cocoa plantations in San Thomé and Principé had been known to return to Angola. [1830]

Contrasting with the tone of Casement's report, Ayres d' Ornellas describes the plantation in enthusiastic terms in his description of the Prince's visit: "[…] é uma magnífica propriedade com bella fábrica de assucar, optimas installações, caminho de ferro decauville, enfim uma propriedade como se vê em África e não se faz ideia na Europa" *1831*

The royal visit to Angola was marred, however, by the refusal of the Republican-led Associação Comercial de Luanda to take any part in the proceedings, in protest against crushing import tariffs and the continuing export of much-needed labour to São Tomé.[1832] Ornellas was predictably disparaging: "A Associação Comercial, por vermelha, não se assoçiou as festas, só fazendo com que fossem mais ruidosas as vivas e acclamações deante das casas que não tinham ornamentações. […]" *1833*

The meetings held by Cadbury and Burtt with the planters at the end of 1907 to discuss Burtt's report and the consequent concessions made by the planters, followed by the assassination of the King of Portugal and the heir to the throne on February 1st of the following year, led to a brief lull in the campaign against forced labour in the British press. At the same time, however, the two Anti-Slavery Societies continued to pursue the matter in their publications and through their contacts in Parliament, whilst the chocolate-makers accelerated their preparations to transfer their purchases to British West Africa, insuring themselves against the real possibility that negotiations and Government pressure would finally fail.

[1830] Roger Casement, British Consul at Gomba, to Lansdowne, September 17th, 1902. FO 63/1447. See also James Duffy, Op.cit. 1967. pp168-169. On August 13th 1913, Norton de Matos, the Governor-General of Angola, visited the same plantation and 700 labourers begged him for their release. The rebellion was quickly put down and the labourers were recontracted under the provisions of the 1911 legislation. (See J. de Almada, *Apontamentos históricos sôbre a escravatura e o trabalho indígena nas colónias portuguesas.* Tip. Imp. Nacional, Lisboa : 1932, p.101.

[1831] Ayres d'Ornellas. Op.cit.1928, pp. 32-3.

[1832] On November 12th, 1906, the Board of the Associação Comercial de Luanda had petitioned the Governor-General demanding autonomy for Angola in line with similar moves towards decentralisation taking place in British and French Africa. See Chapter 2.7 of this dissertation and Douglas Wheeler. "Angola Is Whose House? Early Stirrings of Angolan Nationalism and Protest, 1822-1910" in *African Historical Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1.(1969), pp.1-22.

[1833] Ayres d'Ornellas. Op.cit 1928, p.34. The republican activist José de Macedo had undoubtedly left an ideological legacy at the Associação Comercial de Luanda.

Soon after the chocolate-makers' boycott a series of photographs publicising the São Tomé plantations was sent by the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa to the Dresden International Photography Exhibition, which took place from May to October, 1909.[1834] It is significant that in view of the drastic measures taken by the British chocolate makers, the newly-elected President of the Sociedade, Consiglieri Pedroso, saw no problem in supporting what was now seen by many of his fellow republicans as a "patriotic initiative".

In fact, Germany was of great importance in the controversy for several reasons. Hamburg was one of the world's principal cocoa exchanges and, before the First World War, much of the raw material which found its way both to European and American manufacturers was bought and sold there, whilst the most influential cocoa trade magazine, the "Gordian" was also published in the city.[1835] More particularly, the German West-African colony of the Cameroon was more inclined towards plantation agriculture rather than the smallholder production of British West Africa, as an official tour of the São Tomé plantations by leading German agricultural specialists would soon confirm. And first and foremost, Stollwerck, the German chocolate manufacturers where William Cadbury had served his apprenticeship in the cocoa business, had been the only non-British firm to finance Joseph Burtt's investigations in Africa.[1836]

The planters' lobby did not allow the São Tomé question to become a dead letter in the illustrated press even after the British chocolate makers had ceased to buy Portuguese cacao, and no opportunity was missed to remind readers of the "disloyal" and "unfair" campaign which was being waged against Portugal's most prosperous African possession. In December 1909, in its section on "Figuras e Factos", for example, the weekly *Illustração Portugueza* announced the visit of a German delegation to the islands, accompanied by an official photograph of Wilhelm Kemner, the director of the Victoria Plantations in the German colony of the Cameroon. [1837] In an undisguised attempt to

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[1834] Together with photographs of Goa, Portugal's colony in India. See Augusto Nascimento. *Olhar as Mudanças Sociais* Op.cit. 2015, p.161.
[1835] *Der Gordian. Zeitschrift für die Kakao Schokoladen und Zuckerwarenindustrie*. Founded in Hamburg in 1895.
[1836] Whilst offering its moral support, the great American chocolate-manufacturing firm of Walter Baker had declined to provide financial backing for the initiative.
[1837] There was a regular flow of foreign visitors to the cocoa islands from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards, particularly from the French, German and Belgian cacao-producing colonies in West

isolate the British campaign, the photograph was accompanied by a reference to Germany's esteem for what was described as: *"*a nossa colossal obra agrícola de S.Thomé" at a time when the English chocolate manufacturers "injustamente nos compromettem perante a civilisação como mantenedores de uma desfarçada escravatura". Betraying its common origin, the same portrait would be used two years later to illustrate an apologetic article in *Illustracão Portugueza*'s competitor *O Occidente*. [1838]


FIGURAS E FACTOS

WILHELM KERNER — O eminente director da Companhia de exploração agrícola «*Victoria*», nos Camarões, que em breves dias deve visitar as plantações de cacau de S. Thomé, acompanhado pelo principe de Lonsnstein-Wertheim-Frendenberg, presidente do conselho fiscal da mesma companhia, e pelo sr. Van de Loo, vem com a sua visita trazer a Portugal, no momento em que os chocolateiros inglezes injustamente nos compromettem perante a civilisação como mantenedores d'uma disfarçada escravatura, o testemunho do apreço em que a Allemanha tem a nossa colossal obra agricola de S. Thomé.

Figure 4.188. *Figuras e Factos. Wilhelm Kemner. Illustração Portugueza.* no.198, December 6th, 1909.

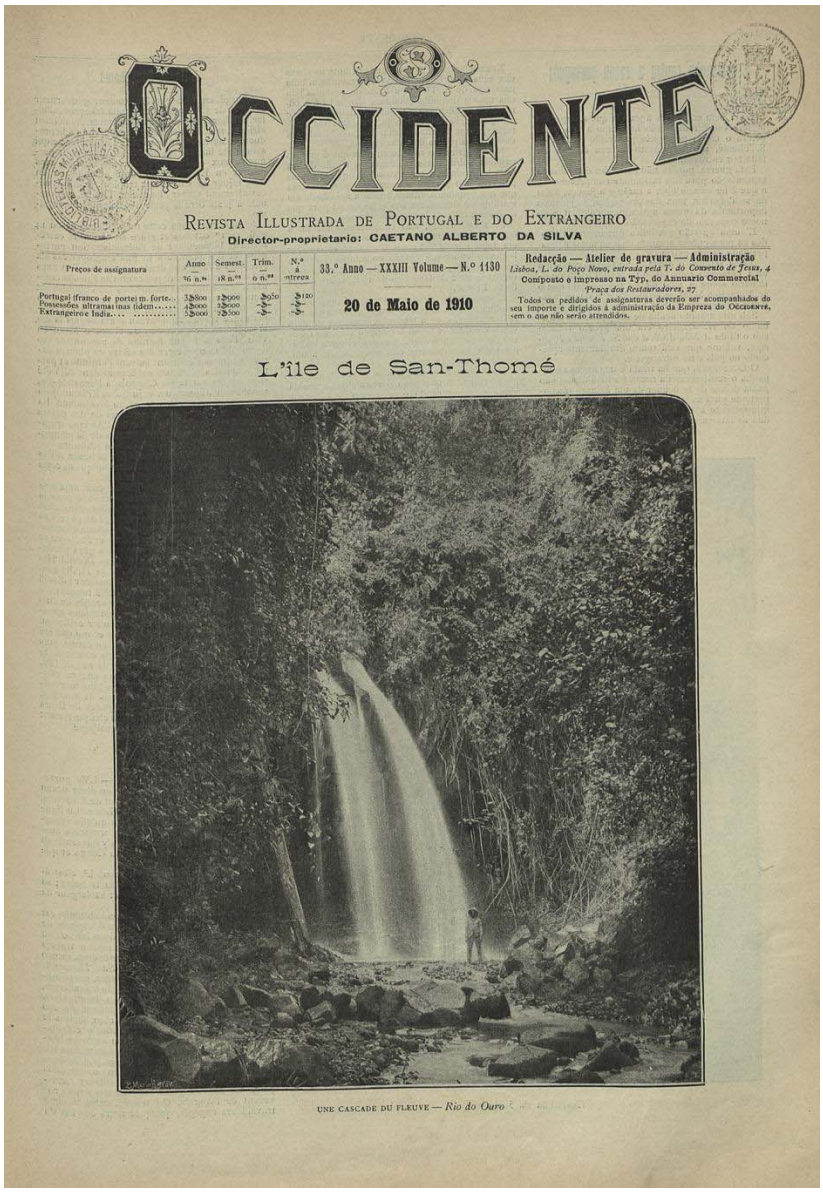
Of particular significance in the planters' response to the slave-grown cocoa campaign was the publication of an entire issue of *O Occidente* devoted to São Tomé, a year after the boycott had been declared, at a time when there was some optimism that the chocolate makers would soon begin purchasing once again. In addition to a series of photographs displaying the impressive scenery of the islands and the inevitable model plantations of Boa Entrada and Rio d'Ouro, the whole of the magazine, which was published for a comparatively well-educated, but relatively untravelled, middle-class readership of no

Africa. See Maria do Mar Gago et al. "Surveying São Tomé: Paul Drousie" from *Old and New Worlds: the Global Challenges of Rural History***.** International Conference, Lisbon, ISCTE-IUL, 27-30th January 2016.

[1838] A virtually identical, full-page photograph of Kemner was also reproduced in *Manual Labour in S.Thomé*, Mantero's defence of the planters and the contract labour system. Op.cit.1910, opp.p124

more than a thousand subscribers, was devoted to a lecture, printed in the original French - "a universal lingua francesa".

The editorial reads: "*O Occidente* […] não podia deixar de se ocupar de um assunto tão importante para os interesses da nossa patria […] assim injustamente atacados nesta guerra moderna de luta de interesses." Referring to São Tomé and Príncipe as the "preciosa joia dos nossos dominios coloniaes", the magazine offered its readers, "[…] por meio de gravuras […] a opulencia da vegetação daquelle país e a importancia das suas, hoje, consideráveis plantações, feitas á custa de um trabalho colossal para desbravar aquellas florestas virgens."


O CCIDENTE

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Possessões ultramarinas (idem)	$000	$000		
Estrangeiro e India	$000	$500		

33.º Anno — XXXIII Volume — N.º 1130

20 de Maio de 1910

Redacção — Atelier de gravura — Administração
Lisboa, L. do Poço Novo, entrada pela T. do Convento de Jesus, 4
Composto e impresso na Typ. do Annuario Commercial
Praça dos Restauradores, 27

Todos os pedidos de assignaturas deverão ser acompanhados do seu importe e dirigidos á administração da Empreza do OCCIDENTE, sem o que não serão attendidos.

L'île de San-Thomé

UNE CASCADE DU FLEUVE — *Rio do Ouro*

Figure 4.189. "L'île de San-Thomé. Une Cascade du Fleuve - Rio de Ouro." *O Occidente*, no.1130. May 20th, 1910. Cover.

The article had not been chosen for its topicality, however, as the lecture had originally been given by the French botanical expert Prof. Auguste Chevalier in Paris, four years earlier, after returning from a fact-finding visit to São Tomé. Clearly, this special issue, which was indicative of the far-reaching influence and financial power of the planters' lobby, was intended to be read as much by readers abroad as by its usual readership at home and was undoubtedly circulated to selected targets around Europe.

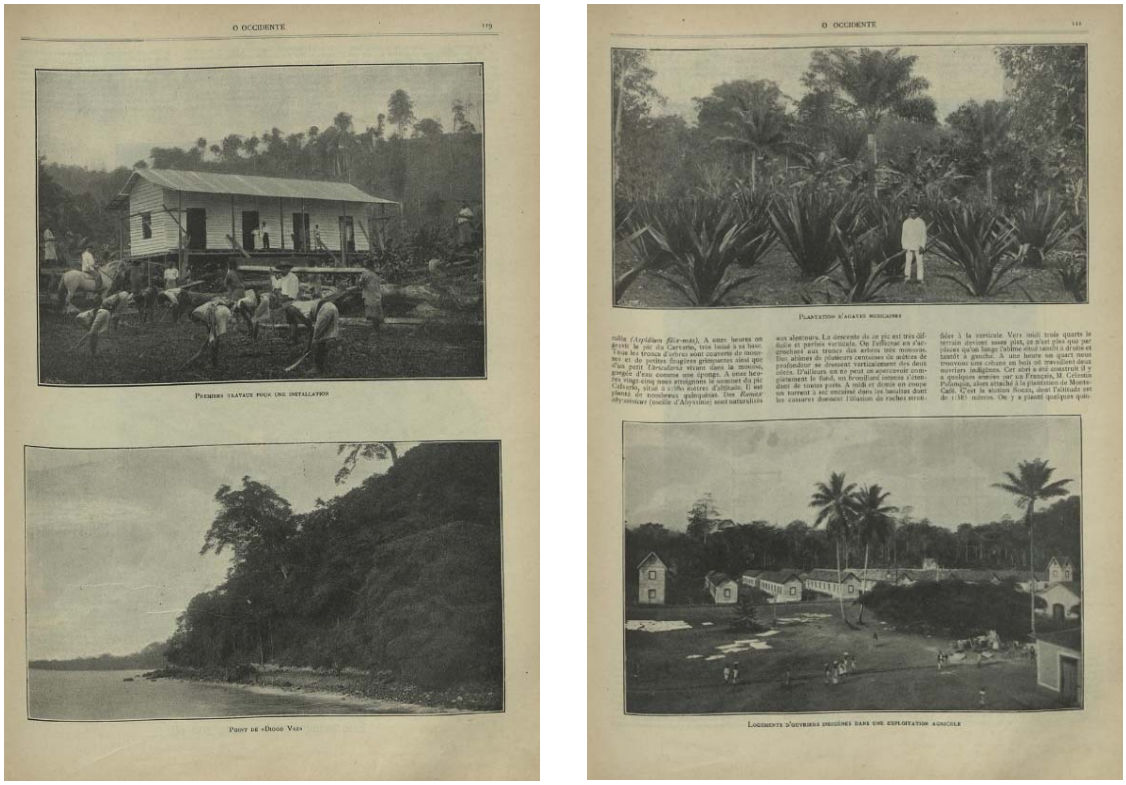
Indeed, it was no accident that the publication of this special issue was timed to coincide with the Brussels International Congress on Tropical Agriculture, where its impact would undoubtedly have been more far-reaching than in Portugal. [1839] Very probably it was intended for free distribution to those who attended the projection of the film which had been commissioned by the Sociedade de Geografia to defend the contract labour system, adding expert support in French to the novelty of the moving but silent images.

At first glance the illustrations seem to contribute little towards the planter's cause. The photographs were taken at some considerable distance from the subjects, clearly using a heavy tripod camera and low shutter speeds, and rather than providing visual evidence in favour of the working conditions on the islands, they seem to have been inspired by a quest for the picturesque. Although aesthetically pleasing, on the whole, they appear at first glance to add little more than ornamental or curiosity value to what was originally a lecture intended for an audience of specialists which studiously avoided any direct criticism of the São Tomé contract labour system. [1840] And yet they do, indirectly, achieve their purpose, offering a portrait of lush, exotic and apparently idyllic natural surroundings in which Man was dwarfed by Nature, very far from the harrowing descriptions in the humanitarian press of a sinister and unhealthy island environment fit only for the intensive exploitation of slave labour.

[1839] Second International Congress of Tropical Agriculture and Colonial Development, Brussels, 20-23rd May 1910. The film is discussed towards the end of the present chapter.

[1840] Chevalier's article, as published in *O Occidente,* was summarised in the Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, confirming the success of the initiative. The Bulletin comments, however, on the "frightful" mortality rate on the islands and while referring to the "serious charges" concerning labour recruitment, was guardedly optimistic about the effects of the new legislation. "[…] It is expected that the law of July 17, 1909, will do away with the evils that have disgraced the recruiting system; and new currents of immigration from Mozambique and the Cape Verde islands will help towards a solution of the labor problem." In the *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, Vol. 42, No. 9 (1910), pp. 661-666.

At the same time, these images of "nature in the raw" suggested that the land was somehow vacant, a potential God-given paradise left to itself by the native people of the islands and thus rightfully available for "development" by the coloniser. [1841] Contrasting with the images of untouched nature, other illustrations showed the "oases of progress" created by Portuguese colonial enterprise and industry - the model plantations, with their "admirable organisation and labour practices".



Figures 4.190. Two pages from the illustrated article in *O Occidente.* No.1130. May 20th, 1910.

It was a celebratory visual narrative which circumvented the more controversial and potentially reprehensible aspects of the plantation economy and was clearly in tune with the usual rosy and romantic vision of the world that the readers of this popular magazine had learned to expect. Those who bothered to read Chevalier's lecture, however, would have undoubtedly felt uncomfortable about his guarded reference to the labour problems of the colony and more particularly his comment on the death-rate:

[1841] Pieterse identifies this kind of portrayal of an unexploited African wilderness, which he likens to the Roman concept of "terra nullius", as a typical nineteenth-century cliché – with the intrepid white explorer leading the way, machete in hand, into previously "impenetrable jungle", opening it up for the coloniser to cultivate. Pieterse, Op.cit, 1992 p.35

> La question du recrutement de la main d'oeuvre est un autre grave problème qui est loin d'être resolu. Les travailleurs sont enrôlés sur la côte d'Angola, à Benguella, Novo redondo [sic] et Loanda, par un procédé qui a été l'objet de vives attaques dans ces derniers temps. Les travailleurs demeurent indéfiniment à la plantation qui les a engagés; le nombre des femmes et des hommes est à peu près le même et presque tous se marient peu de temps après leur introduction; les naissances sont assez nombreuses, mais une mortalité infantile de plus de 80 p.100 (Almada Negreiros) entrave le peuplement de l'ile par les éléments travailleurs importés, de sorte qu'il faut renouveler constamment par des nouveaux apports, les vides causés par les décès s'élevant à près de 10 p.100 par an, en moyenne, sur les travailleurs adultes. [1842]

Despite this gloomy diagnosis, Chevalier concluded his lecture with generous praise for Portuguese colonial methods: "Nulle part peut-être au monde, à notre époque, autant de travail n'a été accompli en un temps si limité et avec si peu de bras et si peu de moyens."

O Occidente was to devote yet another whole issue to the São Tomé question in March 1911, two years after the boycott and shortly after Francisco Mantero's lecture at the Associação de Agricultura Portuguesa, in which he condemned Nevinson and others as "British pseudo-humanitarians", and accused them of using "dubious statistics and an erroneous interpretation of facts".[1843] Nevinson had been chosen by the planters' lobby as the main target for their attacks as he had been identified as the weak link in the campaign due to his public support for anarchist and socialist causes, which, it was suggested, poisoned his judgement and objectivity. The link to "other pseudo-humanitarians" was a subtle attempt to discredit by association, other, less vulnerable members of the campaign such as William Cadbury and Travers Buxton, exploiting yet another of the sophisticated weapons of propaganda in the planters' armoury.

In his article, Mantero describes the Portuguese colonial system as the best in the whole of Africa for the black man, and argues that the Portuguese authorities were inspired by a "constant desire to protect the natives and to prevent any abuses which might harm them". The special issue of *O Occidente* was illustrated by several of the engravings of figures taken from Mantero's book on São Tomé which had been published the year

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[1842] Chevalier was referring to Almada's report to L'Exposition Universelle de Paris, 1900. See Almada Negreiros. *Colonies Portugaises. Ile de San-Thomé.* Augustin Challamel, Paris: 1901, p.34.
[1843] On February 13th, 1911 Mantero had spoken on *"A Mão de Obra em São Thomé"* at a meeting chaired by the Minister of the Colonies which had been promoted by the Associação Central da Agricultura Portuguesa. His lecture was later published in pamphlet form in Portuguese, French and English.

before, notably a portrait of his ancestor Francisco Assis Belard - "Um dos iniciadores da moderna grande agricultura da Ilha de S. Thomé," which figured on the cover of the magazine and served as a reminder that Mantero, himself, was no "parvenu". There are also portraits of distinguished foreign personalities who had given their support to the planters' arguments, Prince Alfred zu Löwenstein and Wilhelm Kemner,[1844] who had recently visited the islands, and Lt. Col. J.A. Wyllie, formerly of the British Indian Army, who had taken up the defence of the São Tomé labour system in the British press.

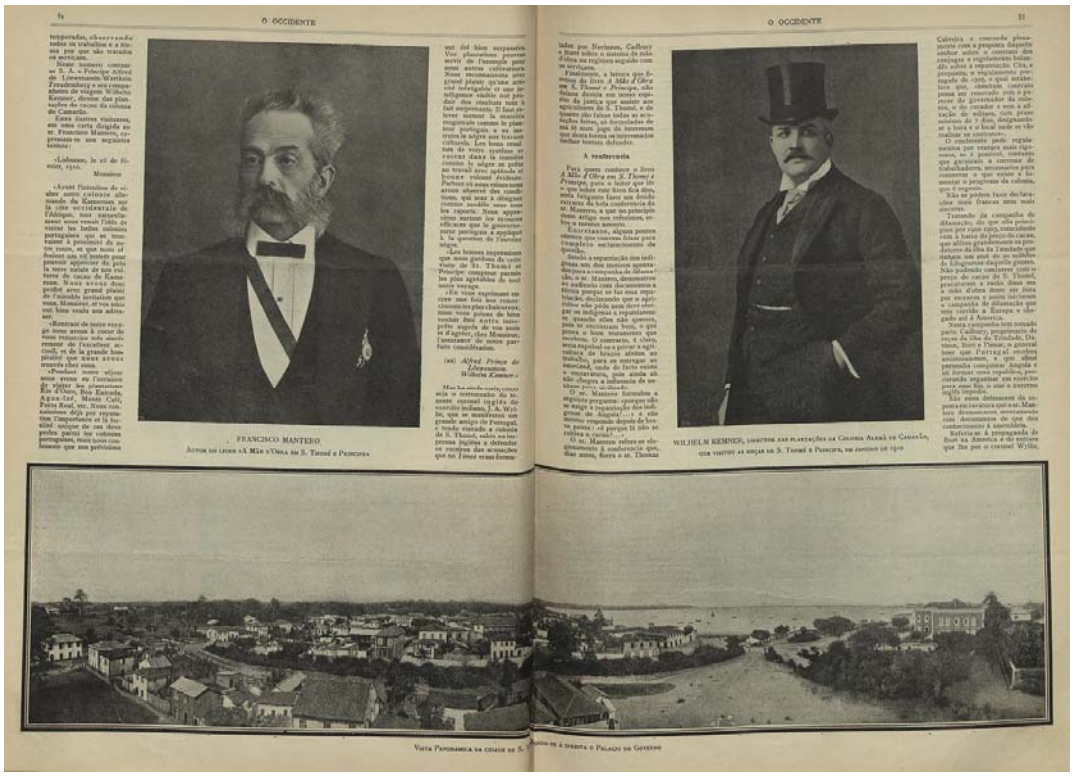


Figure 4.191. Francisco Mantero and Wilhelm Kemner. Article in *O Occidente* no.1159, March 10th, 1911

It was a typical example of "testimonial propaganda", in which the favourable message presented to the reader is enhanced by the apparent social status and reliability of supposedly "expert" witnesses, with the studio portraits playing their part in reinforcing the authority and prestige of those involved. [1845] The portraits were accompanied by a panoramic view of the capital, cleverly made up from a series of contiguous photographs,

[1844] Löwenstein was the Chairman of the Board of the Westafrikanische Pflanzungsgesellschaft Victoria in the German colony of the Cameroons. (WAPV). Kemner was the managing director of the Victoria cocoa plantations.

[1845] **Figure 4.189.** *O Occidente* no.1159, March 10th, 1911, pp. 50-56. (Pages 52 and 53 shown above.)

which, when seen from a distance, as it usually was in contemporary photographs, appeared orderly and picturesque, disguising the virtual abandon to which the town had been condemned by successive central governments.

Unlike the issue of the previous year which had been published in French, the article was clearly intended for the magazine's local readership, at a time when progressive Republican leaders were courageously initiating reforms in the recruitment and repatriation of contract labourers and the planter's lobby sensed it was beginning to lose ground in the political confrontation. In addition to offering visual arguments in favour of the contract labour system, the two articles in *O Occidente* exemplify the extremes of language employed by much of the Portuguese press towards critical views expressed by foreigners concerning Portugal and its colonies.

On the one hand, there was a deliberate tendency to discredit and denigrate any negative or critical commentary from abroad - however well-founded - as anti-Portuguese, whilst, on the other, any favourable opinion was accompanied by exaggerated praise concerning the origins, social status, intelligence and reliability of the persons concerned. Lt. Col. Wyllie, for instance, a relatively undistinguished Indian Army officer who had taken up an interest in tropical agriculture on his retirement,[1846] was given front-page honours in the Portuguese press on his passage through Lisbon after returning from a short, fact-finding tour in São Tomé at the invitation of the planters. [1847] There is no firm evidence

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[1846] Lt. Col. John Alfred Wyllie F.R.G.S. (1855-1939) spent his military career in the British Indian Army, rising to command the 9th Native Infantry Regiment of Madras. He retired from active service on April 7th 1909, shortly after the Boycott was announced. At one point he was the only officer in British India who was fluent in Portuguese, a language he had first picked up in a morganatic relationship with Dominga Rodrigues, the daughter of a Portuguese spice trader. Wyllie later returned to Scotland with the five year-old son of the union and married into the local gentry as a bachelor.
See http://www.wyllie.com.br/BR/familia_texto.htm. (Consulted online on 1/1/2017).
On his return from São Tomè Wyllie was interviewed by the *Século* which began with the following introduction: "Ouvir o sr. Wyllie sobre as impressões da sua viagem a S. Thomé era, além de uma questão de interesse, uma obra de patriotismo, mormente depois da arguiçaõ de esclavagistas que nos foi lançada por um grupo de chocolateiros inglezes, por isso nos apressamos a procural-o, confiados demais em que **o seu testemunho é insuspeito e a sua opinião auctorisada, dada a sua qualidade de official de exercito e o facto de ser também um antigo colonial**. [...]" "Questões Coloniaes. A Mão d'Obra em S. Tomé. Não há escravatura n'aquella ilha. Afirma-se a um representante do "Século" o coronel Sr. Wyllie, que alli foi para conhecer os nossos processos de engajamento-os chocolateiros inglezes forçados a renderem-se para seu interesse" *O Século*.August 12th 1909, pp. 1-2.
[1847] Lt. Col. Wyllie first appears in the Portuguese press in December 1906, significantly with a photo. "Tenente Coronel James [sic] Wyllie." *O Século*, December 10th, 1906, p.2. Wyllie's translation of Monteiro de Mendonça's apologetic treatise on his Boa Entrada plantation would be published the following year in Edinburgh, Wyllie's home town. Henrique José Monteiro de Mendonça. *The Boa Entrada Plantations of S.Thomé."La perle des colonies portugaises"* Trans. by J.A. Wyllie. Oliphant, Anderson, Ferrier. Edinburgh, London: 1907. On June 16th 1909, in an interview given before his trip to São Tomé to

that Wyllie was actually in the paid employment of the planter's lobby at this time, but as he later travelled to the United States on their behalf to counter the effects of Joseph Burtt's campaign, it would seem quite possible.[1848] The generous press coverage included a page of photographs in *Illustração Portugueza* under the heading "Viajantes Ilustres" which he shared with the French and Italian ambassadresses.



Figure 4.192. "Viajantes Illustres." *Illustração Portugueza* no.324. May 6th 1912.p.585

the *Diário de Notícias* and later reproduced in the BCCL no. 4, Wyllie would suggest that the solution to the philanthropic campaign was to recruit labourers from India. In November 1911,Wyllie would be made an honorary member of the Centro Colonial and in 1920 the President of the Republic, António José de Almeida, rewarded Wyllie with the Comenda da Ordem Militar de Aviz, in recognition of his services to Portugal.

[1848] E.D. Morel seems to have had little doubt about this. He accused Wyllie of "posing as a disinterested friend of the Portuguese" in the *African Mail* of March 17th 1911. The correspondence between Francisco Mantero and Teixeira Gomes regarding the pamphlet "Portuguese Planters" suggests, however, that Wyllie was **"incansavel e desinteressadamente a batalhar do nosso lado […]"** See Francisco Mantero to Teixeira Gomes. October 3rd 1911. Fundação Mário Soares. Pasta: 08077.025 (my bold). Mantero also refers in the same letter to Wyllie's speech in defence of the planters at the League of Honour which Wyllie had printed in pamphlet form, declining Mantero's offer to pay for its publication.

Wyllie is shown in fine humour, being welcomed by Francisco Mantero and other representatives of the planters association, and is given the rare privilege of an inset close-up. [1849] The accompanying caption reads: "O Coronel inglez Willie [sic] que visitou em missão de estudo parte das nossas colonias mostrando ácêrca da sua colonisação as mais favoraveis opiniões […]".

Wyllie's articles and letters in the British press were an attempt by the planters' lobby to oppose an often-xenophobic campaign which hinted that any "arguments put forward by the Portuguese" in favour of the contract labour system were inherently flawed by the fact that they were "not British", and thus less likely to be either honest or sensitive to the finer points of the issue. In the Portuguese press, Wyllie, though a Scot, came to personify the "traditional Englishman"- "an officer and gentleman", who corresponded, even in his physical appearance, to the stereotyped image of Portugal's ancient, loyal and stalwart ally, as opposed to certain of his fellow-countrymen who represented the other side of the coin - the "treacherous and disloyal Albion" of the "Ultimatum", which was still painfully fresh in the collective memory of the nation. [1850]

Wyllie was portrayed as a man whose word was his bond, someone who could be trusted to speak the truth in all circumstances, the personification in real life , perhaps, of the tall, upstanding and resilient Brown in Eça de Queirós' *"Os Maias"*. Nevinson, by way of contrast, was demonised in the press as a conniving mischief-maker with dangerous political leanings,[1851] intent on destabilising the "pearl" of the Portuguese colonies.

[1849] A photograph of Wyllie also appeared in "O Século" under the same headline. The newspaper confirmed the warm reception, worthy of an ambassador, which Wyllie was given on his arrival at the "Disinfection" Clinic by *"representantes das provincias de S.Thomé e de Angola, do Centro Colonial, director e redactores da Reforma, jornal colonial etc."*

[1850] An example of this kind of perception of the Portuguese within the context of the "Portuguese Slavery" campaign, can be deduced from the following openly xenophobic and racist comment which was expressed in writing to the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, by the British ambassador Sir Arthur Hardinge: "[…] I hope you won't think I am too 'active' and 'energetic' in pushing out various claims and interests... but I should never get anything done if I did not deal directly with the departments concerned... **the Portuguese are not every-day Europeans, and I believe that if you found yourself face to face with this inert and corrupt mass** you would be the first, now and then, to use the goad." Hardinge to Grey, May 13th 1912, F.O. 800/71. The letter, erroneously dated November 12th 1911, is reproduced in J. D. Vincent-Smith. *The Portuguese Republic and Britain, 1910-14.* Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Oct., 1975), p.713. (my bold)

[1851] Wyllie actually accused Nevinson of being a dangerous anarchist who had acted against British interests in India. See "A Questão das Roças de S.Thomé" in BCCL no.6, September 15th 1909, pp. 39-41, which reproduces a recent interview given to the *Diário de Notícias* by Wyllie. "[…] Nevinson - diz o tenente-coronel Wyllie, conseguiu revolucionar a India Ingleza, onde principalmente em Calcutta, medicos, advogados, estudantes das Universidades etc., abraçaram as suas doutrinas."

D. Thomaz de Noronha's description of Wyllie in the *Século* was typical of the growing myth which surrounded him in the Portuguese press:

> Mr. Wyllie é um d'estes escocezes que teem espalhado na physionomia o caracter simples, honesto e bom de certas personagens de Walter Scott. Os paizes das montanhas produzem ainda d'estes typos e a Escocia conserva no olho azul dos seus valentes montanhezes a clara reminiscencia de toda a sanidade moral do seu antigo clan.[1852]

Noronha had met Wyllie when he was serving as a magistrate in Bombay and it was probably he who had first recommended the Scot to the São Tomé planters because of the latter's knowledge of Portuguese.[1853] It was Wyllie, in fact, who later translated one of the earliest apologetic treatises on the São Tomé question - Henrique José Monteiro de Mendonça's *The Boa Entrada Plantations,* which was published in 1907, and he would remain a loyal and active champion of the planters and their interests for the next twenty years.

4.14. The planters' lobby and the propaganda war

Like the more ambitious work published the following year by the Conde de Souza e Faro - *A Ilha de S.Thomé e A Roça de Agua Izé,* [1854] which, however, was never translated into other languages,[1855] Henrique Monteiro de Mendonça's slim volume[1856] openly confessed to being published in response to the humanitarian campaign and was liberally illustrated

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[1852] "Questões Coloniaes. O cacau de S. Thomé. A segunda carta." *O Século* June 29th 1909, p.3.
[1853] Lt. Col. Wyllie was apparently recommended to the planters as a linguist by both D.Thomaz de Noronha and D.Miguel de Alarcão, prominent figures in Portuguese society who had met him when he was employed as a Justice of the Peace in Bombay. He was also given the honour of a full-page photograph in Francisco Mantero´s "*Manual Labour".* Op.cit. 1910, opposite p.80.
[1854] Conde de Souza e Faro. *A Ilha de S.Thomé e a Roça Agua-Izé.* Typ. do Annuario Commercial, Lisboa: 1908.
[1855] In an interview first published in the *Diário de Notícias* on June 16th 1909, Wyllie mentioned his translation of Monteiro de Mendonça's book and expressed his intention to translate Souza e Faro's text. See "O Cacau de S. Thomé. Um tenente-coronel do exercito inglez que aprecia a campanha dos seus compatriotas." BCCL no.4, July 15th, 1909. p.35, in which Wyllie's visit to the cocoa islands is announced.
[1856] Henrique José Monteiro de Mendonça. *The Boa Entrada Plantations. S. Thomé, Portuguese West Africa" La perle des Colonies Portugaises."* Trans. J.A.Wyllie FRGS. Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, Edinburgh: 1907. Also published in Portuguese and French.

with recent photographic views of the plantation and its model installations. Contrasting sharply with contemporary photographs of the well-equipped facilities of the Roça Boa Entrada, there were older pictures of a "group of old hands (1892)", shown below, and a "group of children born on the plantation (1894)", presumably an attempt to address criticisms regarding the death-rate. [1857]



Figure 4.193. Illustration. "Group of Old Hands (1892)". In *The Boa Entrada Plantations. S.Thomé.*

Astonishingly, Monteiro de Mendonça's vindication of the form of plantation agriculture employed on the islands was forwarded to *The Graphic* by William Cadbury, himself. Cadbury presumably wished to exempt Mendonça, with whom he maintained a cordial relationship and perhaps considered a potential ally, from the chorus of criticism which was being directed towards the plantation owners, considering, perhaps naively, that the illustrations might be of interest to the magazine, which was the destination of a significant part of the firm's advertising budget.[1858] Although the photographs did not appear, perhaps due to the embarrassment of the magazine, which had previously lambasted the planters at the instigation of the chocolate-makers, the editor commented as follows:

[1857] **Figure 4.193.** In Monteiro de Mendonça. Op.cit 1907. The illustration appears in the List of Views at the end of the book as number viii. Mendonça's modest text was edited and supplemented by the colonial specialist Augusto Ribeiro. Lt. Col. Wyllie, the translator, also contributed his own comments to the final work . Thirty-three of the hundred or so pages were full-page photographic illustrations.

[1858] William Cadbury mentions reading Monteiro de Mendonça's book "which describes such excellent estate management" in his *Labour in Portuguese West Africa.*

> It will be a relief to persons interested in the recent disclosures of Portuguese cocoa slavery to know that at least one grower on the island of S. Thomé has the well-being of his labourers at heart.[…] The owner of this beautiful property, Sr. H. de Mendonça, has taken great pains to ensure the health and comfort of his workpeople.[1859]

Dissatisfied with the editor's complimentary remarks, Cadbury, even more remarkably, followed up with clarification, and the editor of *The Graphic* dutifully published a further note:

> […] the Boa Entrada cocoa plantations do not form the only well-equipped estate in the Portuguese colony of S. Thomé, but are **one of many such estates**. He [William Cadbury] assures us that **the workpeople are well-cared for** and that the worst abuse has always taken place on the mainland in collecting the labourers. Indeed, he says, **the Portuguese have made their island of S. Thomé by far the most advanced cocoa-growing colony in the world**.[1860]

Though printed in black and white, the photographs of Roça Boa Entrada recall the popular hand-coloured picture postcards of the same plantation which had become the defining image of São Tomé for many visitors to the islands.[1861] One such photograph, shown below, shows "servicais" casually scattering cocoa on the "barbacues" [sic] [1862] to dry in the sun, whilst yet another offers a stark contrast, bearing witness to the efforts of the medical staff of the plantation to keep the labourers fit for work.

Indeed, a whole section of Monteiro de Mendonça's apologetic work was devoted to a "Medical Report" written in 1904 and 1905 by the Boa Entrada Plantation's doctors António José de Almeida [1863] and his successor José António Salvado Motta. Almeida, who was extremely complimentary about the "intelligent and methodical good will of Senhor Henrique de Mendonça", identifies the effects of dysentery on the workforce as

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[1859] *The Graphic* February 15th, 1908, p.235.
[1860] *The Graphic* February 29th, 1908, p.287. (my bold). Significantly, however, *The Graphic* published a Benoliel portrait of D. Manuel on the same page as the clarification, under the heading "The Latest Portrait of King Manuel II."
[1861] Photographs of Roça Boa Entrada supplied by Monteiro de Mendonça were also used by Silva Vianna to illustrate his publication *A ilha de S. Thomé* in 1905. See *A ilha de S. Thomé. Conferência feita no Ateneu Comercial de Lisboa em 23 de Outubro de 1904.* Pub. Autor. [s.n.] Lisboa: 1905.
[1862]The same photograph appears in the article on the royal visit to the Boa Entrada plantation in *Illustração Portugueza* July 27th 1907, p.116. (see **Figure 4.186**).The perforated "watermark" on the left in **Figure 4.192** identifies the original book as having belonged to the Library of the University of Michigan. The "patterning" on the reproduction was evidently not present on the original photograph.
[1863]Antonio José de Almeida served as a doctor on the Boa Entrada Plantation for a two-year period beginning in July 1901, thereafter returning to Portugal to resume his political activities as one of the most distinguished Republican leaders. The death-rate amongst the "serviçais" at the time was about 9 %.

"disastrous", and candidly admits that the geographical location of the plantation meant that "Boa Entrada [would] never be able to reduce its death rate to a minimum figure […] despite the money spent and the care taken".



Figure 4.194. Illustration. **"**Drying Cocoa on the Barbacues." In *The Boa Entrada Plantations. S.Thomé.*



Figure 4.195. Illustration. "Infirmary". In *The Boa Entrada Plantations. S.Thomé.*

In his explanation of the death-rate Salvado Motta refers more specifically to the scourge of alcoholism, which, when brandy or rum was not available from the "forros", or what he calls "the army of parasites" surrounding the plantations, led the "serviçaes" to "imbibe with delight camphorated spirit, tincture of quinine, tincture of arnica and even a

concentrated alcoholic solution of thymol". He also deals at length with the "vice" of geophagy or the eating of earth, an ingrained habit which he alleges some of the labourers had brought with them from Angola. [1864]

In addition to a long series of portraits of distinguished civilian and military personalities who had contributed to the prosperity and prestige of the colony over the years, [1865] Francisco Mantero's costly and profusely-illustrated *Manual Labour in S. Thome and Principe* which was published in 1910, [1866] includes a collection of photographs taken on the plantations, which invite closer analysis. [1867] Evidently with his English-speaking readers in mind,[1868] Mantero chose to separate the labourers shown in the group photographs, into "types" of Angolans, "types" from Cabinda and so on, following the widely-accepted contemporary way of classifying and hierarchising ethnic groupings. [1869]

The choice of the illustrations and the content of certain of the photographs provides unequivocable evidence of the notions of racial hierarchy and white superiority which underpinned Mantero's arguments in favour of the contract labour system, notions which were shared at the time by many Europeans of different nationalities, and particularly

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[1864] Mendonça.Op.cit 1907, p.31.Other contemporary authors suggest that this was a "malingering" technique used by labourers to get off work.

[1865] As Diogo Ramada Curto puts it in his preface to a recent book, photographs such as these were used to evoke "as glórias de um discurso muito próximo dos valores da missão civilizadora conduzida por um bem ordenado Estado colonial […]". See the preface, especially pp.20-21, in Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo. *Livros Brancos, Almas Negras: A Missão Civilizadora do Colonialismo Português (c.1870-1930)* Imprensa de Ciências Sociais. Univ. Lisboa: 2009.

[1866] Mantero explains in a letter to Teixeira Gomes that the idea of writing the vindication came up at a meeting held at the Ministério de Ultramar in November 1909, which had been called to prepare Portuguese participation at the International Congress on Tropical Agriculture to be held in Brussels, the following May. Portugal had requested the inclusion of a section on "Labour in the Colonies" precisely to offer a defence against the "accusações de esclavagistas", which had been made by "um certo grupo de philanthropistas inglezes", six years earlier. He goes on to say it was translated into English and French and **5000 copies of each of the three versions were published**. (my bold) Mantero writes that he paid for publication and distribution out of his own pocket. Most of the French copies were distributed in Brussels, at the Congress, whilst the English edition was "espalhada pelos cinco partes do mundo". Francisco Mantero to Teixeira Gomes. October 3rd 1911. Fundação Mário Soares. Pasta: 08077.025

[1867] The illustrations are signed by the well-known, Lisbon-based studio photographer and engraver Marinho, but most of the illustrations in *O Occidente* which are signed P. Marinho were actually taken by other photographers - including the well-known Joshua Benoliel.

[1868] In a letter to Alfredo Henrique da Silva, William Cadbury comments on the book as follows: **" Mantero has sent his large book in English to every newspaper editor, but it has at present received very little attention.** Fortunately at the same time I received Paiva Couceiro's book on "Angola" and was able to translate the chapter on S.Thomé labour and send it to the press, so that one will a little counteract the other. **I think that Couceiro's statement is the clearest thing yet written by a responsible Portuguese,** and ought to be spread widely in your country." WA Cadbury to AH da Silva. August 8th 1910. (my bold) PT-AHS-ICS-AHSilva-ESC-SER-6-A-04.

[1869] See illustrations in Francisco Mantero's "*Manual Labour"*. Op.cit. 1910, pp.52 and 55.

those who worked in Africa or Asian colonies or traded in colonial products. Mantero reserves a section in his book for a description of the labourers from each of the different Portuguese African colonies, referring to those from Angola in the following terms, which exemplify the often-encountered tropes of "children of nature" and the supposedly primitive, animal-like sexuality of the African "savage":

> They are children of nature, without ideas of morality, or of obedience to any principles. They are born, they grow and multiply, living in a promiscuousness of sexes, in primitive nakedness favoured by the climate, impelled by their animal instincts and merely restrained by the fanatical superstitions of gross fetichism. [1870]

Those from Cabinda, on the other hand, at the same time as they recognised that the Portuguese were "a superior race": […] appreciate the benefits of progress, subordination, discipline, order […] are robust, well-proportioned, and their features are pleasanter than those of the majority of Africans in other regions […]. [1871]

The implication was that not only were they more intelligent and, hence, more obedient, but also closer to the European norm as far as appearance was concerned. Closer, perhaps, to the ideal of the "noble savage ", which was still so popular at the beginning of the previous century, and indeed "higher up on the evolutionary scale" than Angolan workers of other origins, as many postulated at the time. Mantero was clearly influenced by the "scientific" rhetoric on racial differences which was widely disseminated during the period under study and which doubtlessly inspired such racist attitudes. It is worth recalling at this point that even the most widely-travelled and better-informed European specialists on Sub-Saharan Africa and its peoples, such as Sir Harry Johnston, whose study *British Central Africa* was mentioned earlier, would not have found such descriptions inappropriate or distasteful, and even the active organising secretary of the Aborigine's Protection Society, Henry Fox Bourne, expressed similar, if less primary, racist views at the Paris Conference on Colonial Sociology in 1900, whilst defending the right of Africans to fair and voluntary contracts.[1872]

[1870] Mantero, Op.cit. 1910, p.37.
[1871] Idem, pp.39-40.
[1872] "[…] **Ignorant and barbaric communities, like undisciplined or perverse children, require patient and judicious education to enable them to associate satisfactorily with people more intelligent and capable than themselves. The best education may not place them on an equality with their teachers, but, unless the teaching and control are of the right sort, neither side can really profit by the intercourse"** H. R. Fox Bourne, *The claims of uncivilized races: a paper submitted to the International*

Other illustrations in Mantero's book show unidentified individuals representing different local "types" and showing varying degrees of "Europeanisation." A studio portrait showing "native planters", dressed in European finery and sporting magnificent whiskers, is presented alone without comment or date, and like many of the illustrations, seems, at first, completely unrelated to the accompanying arguments on the previous and ensuing pages. Readers were allowed to draw their own conclusions, which might have been that there were plantation owners of African origin in São Tomé who saw nothing wrong in making their fortunes by exploiting contract labour from Angola, just like those of European origin, and that, quite naturally, they aspired to emulate the prosperous appearance of their European peers, a situation which Joseph Burtt witnessed during his stay on the islands in 1905.



Figure 4.196. Illustration. "Native Planters and their children. Island of S. Thomé." From Mantero, Op.cit. 1910.

The photograph, however, may well have been taken some years before, as Mantero used illustrations from a number of different sources, including photographs taken a generation earlier when the "filhos da terra", or natives of the islands, owned much more of the land suited to coffee and cocoa plantations.[1873] As Augusto Nascimento perceptively notes,

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Congress on Colonial Sociology, held in Paris in August, 1900. Aborigine's Protection Society, London: 1900. (my bold)

[1873] See **Figure 3.5**

studio photographs such as this also offer proof that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the wealthier local inhabitants of São Tomé and Príncipe were acquiring European notions of social class and already recognised the value of photography in the confirmation and enhancement of their status in society.[1874]

Amongst the most disconcerting photographs in Mantero's book are those which feature the children of contract labourers, ostensibly at play, as in the example shown below. The children in the pictures are noticeably self-conscious and the fact that they are carefully lined up by size reveals that they were following the photographer's instructions.



Figure 4.197. Illustration. "Labourers' children in the Boa Entrada Plantation, engaged in sports. Island of S. Thomé".

It could be argued that the clearly contrived appearance of the photographs was due to the technical limitations of the camera, which needed to be set up in advance on a tripod in front of the scene to be photographed, but the impact of what might otherwise have been a persuasive image has inevitably been compromised, raising well-founded suspicions as to how far other photographs were also similarly contrived to achieve the

[1874] Augusto Nascimento. "Olhar as Mudanças Sociais em São Tomé e Príncipe através das Fotografias." In Filipa Lowndes Marques (Coord.) *O Império da Visão. Fotografia no Contexto Colonial Português (1860-1960)*. Edições 70. Lisboa: 2015, p.160.

desired effect. These pictures were, evidently, included in Mantero's vindication in response to allegations from abroad that children who were born on the plantations became the property of the plantation owner, and consequently part of the labour force, as did those who came from Angola with their parents, despite the fact that the legislation in force unequivocally prohibited child labour and set out provisions for elementary education on the plantations. [1875] The sensitive nature of this accusation can also be seen from one of the photographs giving prominence to the "moleques" born on the Agua-Izé Plantation, shown below, which illustrates Souza e Faro's earlier book, written, as he emphasises, in response to the accusations of the Aborigine's Protection Society. [1876]



Figure 4.198. Illustration in Conde de Souza e Faro. *A Ilha de S.Thomé.*1908. "Grupo de moleques, de diversas edades, nascidos na sède da roça, vendo-se os mais novos ao collo das mães."

There is no evidence to support the contention that children were mistreated or forced to carry out the work of adults, but older children were commonly expected to do light work, especially on the smaller plantations, and were seen by most of the planters as part of the solution for the labour shortage in times to come.[1877] Indeed, the plantation owners had

[1875] **Figure 4.197**. In Francis Mantero. Op.cit 1910, opposite p.136.
[1876] See **Figure 4.198.** In Conde de Souza e Faro. *A Ilha de S.Thomé.* Lisboa : Typ. Annuario Commercial, Lisboa: 1908, p.83. Consul Drummond Hay's report on his visit to Água-Izé is given in HMSO Africa no.2 1912, p.109. The death-rate amongst children born on the Água-Izé plantation had reached the horrendous figure of 28% p.a. when Joseph Burtt visited in 1905. See Catherine Higgs. Op.cit.2012, p.33.
[1877] Children on the "roças" were often kept busy gathering the so-called "cacau dos ratos", cocoa-pods which had fallen to the ground and would otherwise be valueless. See Júlio Henriques' report on his scientific tour of the plantations in 1903: "A vida nas roças é toda de trabalho, tanto para dirigentes como

every reason to encourage procreation and treat the labourers' children well, as the birth rate was remarkably low and the death rate amongst children shockingly high, particularly on the island of Príncipe. Most of the smaller plantations did not provide specific facilities for children, however, and they were often left in the care of one of the older children whilst their mothers worked in the cocoa groves.

William Cadbury's report on his visit to São Tomé in 1908 was, however, reassuring regarding the treatment of children on the plantations he was shown:

> The children on all estates are well-treated, and seem to have a happy existence in the crèche under the care of one or more black nurses, or playing around the steps leading to the verandah of the manager's house. […] at the age of ten they begin to do light work for the estate, and at fourteen may contract themselves as labourers, from this time until the age of twenty-one, all money earned is paid to the parents .[1878]

Significantly, several of the pictures which Cadbury and Burtt took on their visit to São Tomé and which accompanied the first edition of their report in a separate album, also show children playing on one of the plantations, adequately clothed and apparently well-fed. [1879]

And again, further evidence of this sensitivity to the same issue can be seen in one of the many remarkable artefacts in the collection of the Sociedade de Geografia in Lisbon, a fine, free-standing monoscopic viewer for photographs, designed especially to be part of a colonial exhibition, possibly abroad, in which many of the postcard-size photographs, which are of the Rio d'Ouro plantation, show the children of labourers at play. A second, similar, mechanical monoscopic viewer, marked Roça Boa Entrada, also forms part of the same collection and judging by the original photographs, which have been carefully

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para dirigidos, não exceptuando mesmo os pequenos pretitos que em muitas roças colhem «o cacau dos ratos»". In *Boletim da Sociedade Brotériana* No. 27, Impr. Universidade, Coimbra: 1917, p.117.

[1878] William Cadbury. Op.cit.1910, p.52.

[1879] Juvenal Marinho refers to the plantation children in his rhymed account of his stay on Príncipe Is.:

211- Nas horas do serviço as creanças
Folgam e divertem-se pelo terreiro,
Das aldeias portuguesas as semelhanças
Com elas rindo o patrão prazenteiro.

212- A aprendizagem a rir vão fazendo
Desde[sic] ou daquele serviço na ajuda
Na roça nascidos a [sic] n'ela vivendo
Não esperam por repatriação nem muda. Juvenal Marinho. Op.cit 1928, pp.39-40.

preserved, dates from the period under study, like those of the Rio d'Ouro plantation.[1880] The care involved in the public presentation of these images offers further evidence of the planters' awareness of the importance of photographs of this kind in the propaganda war surrounding the "slave-grown cocoa" dispute.

In April 1913, shortly after the "Alma Negra!" scandal had ceased to dominate its front pages, a full-page article appeared in the *Século* newspaper, illustrated with photographs which had already appeared in earlier vindications of the plantations and the contract-labour system. Entitled simply "S.Tomé", the article began with an introduction which left no doubt as to the "patriotic intentions" of its author. Referring to "a campanha de descrédito contra Portugal" he wrote:

> "Toda essa campanha não é mais do que uma luta mesquinha de interesses commerciaes, hipocriticamente mascarada com uma filanthropia que, para qualquer dos seus paladinos, está bem longe de ser sincera. A publicação da presente pagina obedece, como as demais queja temos feito, a um fim patriotico de propaganda e valorisação.[1881]

A series of interviews followed, dealing with the future prospects of the islands and the urgent measures which needed to be taken. They included the opinions of Freire de Andrade, the Director-General of the Colonies; the retiring Governor of São Tomé, Marianno Martins; Arnaldo Vidal, a former "Curador" and Francisco Mantero, the principal spokesman for the planters. The accompanying photographs were the much-reproduced "Habitações modelares de serviçaes" on Roça Boa Entrada,[1882] "Carregando os secadores de cacao" on Roça Colónia Açoreana,[1883] "Secagem de cacao pelo sol" on Roça Santa Cecília [1884] and "Condução dos serviçaes ao trabalho" on Roça Uba Budo.[1885] Rounding off the article there was a picturesque view of the town of São Tomé, taken from a suitable distance. All of the photographs, with the possible exception of the panoramic view of the town, had appeared as hand-coloured postcards. After the shock

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[1880] Judging by their design and the content of the photographs,which are "postcard-sized" they may have been designed to be shown at the International Photographic Exhibition which was held at Dresden in May-October 1909, and which included a selection of photographs on São Tomé and Príncipe, organized, with the planters' support, by the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa. The photographs were shown in the Ethnographic section *Länder und Völkerkunde*.
[1881] "S.Tomé" *O Século*. May 6th 1913, pp. 4-5.
[1882] One of the most frequently-reproduced photographs in vindications of the contract-labour system. Postcard published by A Illustradora c.1910.
[1883] See **figure 4.105.**
[1884] Postcard published by A Illustradora c. 1910.
[1885] See **figure 4.122.**

of the divisive *"Alma Negra!"* scandal, the initiative clearly came as a timely attempt by the planters' lobby to shore up their defences against the campaign which had been relaunched in the British Parliament and press against the contract-labour system. Presented as a series of opinions by a representative sample of well-informed personalities, some of whom had previously diverged in their views, the article cleverly succeeded in aligning the different solutions put forward under a single banner of patriotic indignation against what the writer described as a commercially-motivated campaign to undermine the province. The illustrations, which had been used time and time again to convey the idea of progress under enlightened Portuguese colonial rule, and as proof of the benevolent treatment of the African workforce, clearly played a significant part in creating an atmosphere which was conducive to principal propaganda aim of the initiative - to reassure the general public that, despite the campaign, business was going ahead as usual and Portuguese colonial enterprise had come through the struggle unscathed.

In February 1914, a far more ambitious public relations initiative was launched in the influential weekly *African World and Cape - Cairo Express,* clearly directed towards a more specific and potentially-receptive audience.[1886] James Finlay, the assistant editor, was invited by the planters to tour São Tomé and, on his return, he published an enthusiastic account of his visit, profusely illustrated with views of the plantations, many of which had previously appeared in previous vindications of the contract labour system. The article included an interview with the Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe, Pedro Botto Machado, and the section headings made it quite clear where the newspaper stood in the controversy: **"**Progress in San Thomé, The Cocoa Industry, Methods of Recruiting, The Ideal Conditions of Labourers on the Cocoa Plantations, Labour absolutely free." Finlay made it quite clear that the methods employed in the Portuguese colonies differed little, if at all, from those which were employed in the British African colonies and that nothing was to be gained by criticising them further.[1887]

[1886] Devoted to "Commerce, Exploration, Mining, Finance", the *African World and Cape-Cairo Express*, which was published in London, was the principal vehicle of information and propaganda for the Anglo-African business world in the first decades of the 20th century. From 1912 onwards, the magazine also sent out film cameramen to make documentary and propaganda films in South and Central Africa. These became popular in Britain at "bioscope matinées" enthusiastically attended by two to three thousand people. See Guido Convents. "Documentaries and propaganda before 1914: a view on early cinema and colonial history." *Framework: the Journal of Cinema and Media.* No.35, 1988, pp. 104-113.

[1887] *O Século* published a translation of the "*curioso artigo do African World"* by James Finlay on November 28th 1913, which was based on several meetings with Botto Machado, the Governor of São Tomé

The *African World* returned to the subject of Portuguese West Africa in July 1914 with a special article protesting against the resumption of the Anti-Slavery Society's campaign, together with an interview in London with Governor-General Norton de Matos.[1888] The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* was so incensed by the magazine's accusation that it had "distorted official despatches" and had "taken no account of the efforts of the Portuguese to introduce reforms" that it accused Finlay and the magazine itself, of being "the official mouthpiece for the Portuguese," offering as evidence the previous article on São Tomé "with a number of portraits of officials and other illustrations and details of all kinds on the trade, shipping and products of the colony". [1889] The articles in the *African World* had clearly hit the mark and were a clear sign that the Centro Colonial had learned a great deal since the beginning of the "slave-grown cocoa" controversy about the power of propaganda and, in particular, the persuasive role of photographic imagery.

The last of the apologetic treatises on the cocoa islands to be published before Balfour's statement recommending the lifting of the chocolate-makers' boycott, was the report written by the Portuguese expert in tropical medicine, Bernardo Bruto da Costa and a team of colleagues, on their remarkable four-year struggle against *glossina palpalis*, the tsetse fly, on the island of Príncipe. [1890] In addition to offering a contribution of undeniable importance to the science of tropical medicine, Bruto da Costa´s report, which was expertly translated, once again, by the ever-diligent Lt. Col. Wyllie, played an important

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and Príncipe. It came out, clearly not by chance, the day before he presented his resignation. "Em Volta de S.Thomé e Príncipe. A própria imprensa inglesa se encarrega de desmentir a campanha dos chocolateiros." *O Século* November 28th 1913, p.2.

[1888] On the occasion of the projection of the film "O Caminho de Ferro de Benguela". See Chapter 4.15 of this dissertation.

[1889] *Anti-Slavery Reporter and the Aborigines' Friend*. October 1914, pp. 97-99.

[1890] Bernardo Bruto da Costa (1878-1948) was of Goan origin, a leading specialist in tropical medicine and a military officer. See B.F.Bruto da Costa et al. *Sleeping Sickness: A record of four year's war against it in the Island of Príncipe.* Trans. by J.A.Wyllie F.R.G.S. Bailliere, Tindall & Cox, London: 1916. First published in Portuguese in *Archivos de Hygiene e Pathologias Exoticas. Vol V.* March 30th, 1915. A previous and less ambitious report had also been published in an English translation by Wyllie. Bruto da Costa. *Sleeping Sickness in the Island of Príncipe. Sanitation, statistics, hospital services, and work of the official conservancy brigade.* Trans. by J.A. Wyllie. Bailliere, Tindall & Cox. London: 1913. This was the translation of Bernardo Bruto da Costa's original report. *Trabalhos sobre a Doença do Somno na Ilha do Príncipe.*Typo. A Editora, Lisboa: 1913. Wyllie wrote to the Portuguese Minister in London, Teixeira Gomes, in October of 1913 claiming that the publication had put paid to the Anti-Slavery Society's petition to suppress the export of labourers to Príncipe: "deve-se á magnifica obra de saneamento pelo benemerito Dr.B.F.Bruto da Costa exposta no relatório cuja traducção tem sido recebida com tanto interesse e sympathia pelos medicos especialisados em doenças dos trópicos em Liverpool e Londres.[…]" Lt.Col. J.A.Wyllie to Manuel Teixeira Gomes. October 28th 1913. Fundação Mário Soares. DTE - Documentos Manuel Teixeira Gomes. Pasta: 08079.152.

role in the planters' strategy. Published in English, in London,[1891] at precisely at the time that Consul Hall Hall was drawing up his report to Balfour on contract labour, the detailed study was intended to finally refute the arguments of those who, confronted with the undeniable evidence of repatriation and the recruitment of Mozambican and Cape Verdian labourers on shorter contracts, now argued that the cocoa islands - Príncipe, in particular - were unfit to be exploited as a plantation colony due to the ravages of sleeping sickness and other endemic diseases. Indeed, citing the example of the Roça Príncipe Real on the island of Príncipe, Bruto da Costa provides hair-raising mortality statistics from before the turn of the century, which would have justified such a radical course, had decisive action not been taken to remedy the conditions:

> In the year 1894 the Roça Port Real (Príncipe) brought from Angola some 600 serviçaes, almost all from the Cazengo Region. At the end of five years these men had completely disappeared, almost all of them slain by this disease [sleeping sickness]- some had no doubt brought the germs with them but others had contracted it locally. According to the statements of eye-witnesses, the labourers comprising this levy used to die at the rate of ten a day.[1892]

In fact, the author candidly confesses that the situation had become so grave at one point that the Portuguese Government had seriously considered abandoning the island. He summarises the consequences of the perilous situation caused by the "scourge of sleeping sickness" in the following words:

> […] The incessant loss of life; the enormous risk to both the European and the African colonist; the difficulties in the way of getting labour; the heavy charges falling upon agricultural finance; the uphill work of maintaining the plantations at their maximum of output […] amply justified the Government of Portugal in taking into serious consideration proposals made for the definite abandonment of the island.[1893]

In the body of the report Bruto da Costa proposed a series of prophylactic measures which would improve the general health of the workforce of the plantations and preclude greater outlay in the treatment of disease and the recruitment of fresh labourers. Amongst them were proposals to limit the quantity of alcohol sold to the plantation workers; the provision of a system of latrines discharging into septic tanks around the *terreiros*; and the acquisition of footwear for labourers, to prevent fungal diseases and the ulceration of

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[1891] On the initiative of the Centro Colonial de Lisboa.
[1892] Idem., p.2.
[1893] Idem., p.7.

the lower limbs, which he wrote "drives doctors to despair". [1894] The convicts and prisoners of war who made up the majority of Bruto da Costa's sanitation brigade, though mainly from Angola, were eventually reinforced by a group of 70 Indian prisoners especially drafted in for the purpose. Still insufficient for requirements, the contingent was bolstered on a monthly basis by groups of convicted "serviçais" from São Tomé, serving short sentences, who were finally followed by a group of 40 Cape Verdians on contract. Commenting on the employment and aptitudes of the different groups, the author relates that the heavy work of forest-clearing was carried out by the Angolans, whilst the Indians, in contrast, proved to be inadaptable to the tasks they were given and were finally handed over to the municipal authorities to do light work. According to the author, however, it was the local inhabitants and the convicts from São Tomé who were by far the most difficult and unruly workers.[1895]

Profusely illustrated with tables and photographs, the report describes a series of extreme measures, taken over the four-year period between 1911 and 1914, which finally led to the total elimination of the disease from the island of Príncipe. [1896] These included the laborious tasks of draining swamps and clearing forest and undergrowth; the slaughtering of all domestic and feral pigs, dogs and civet cats and any other potential carriers of tripanosis; and, finally, the trapping of the glossina fly itself. [1897] As can be seen from the photograph below, the method devised for entrapment, which would doubtless be considered unacceptable today, involved the use of a special detail made up of the most dispendable – the "oldest and weakest" men, "so long as they had the use of their lower limbs"- who acted as human bait for the flies.[1898] Dressed in special uniforms with sacking covered in viscous fluid on their backs, the members of the special detail paced up and

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[1894] It should be remembered, at this point, that many people still went barefoot in Portugal itself, and sanitary facilities for agricultural labourers, not to mention the rural population as a whole, were often rudimentary or simply non-existent.
[1895] He describes the brigade at one point as "a cesspool for the scum of the two islands." Idem., p.66.
[1896] There were 68 full-page photographs in all, a remarkable number for any scientific study at the time.
[1897] "[…] A «fight to a finish» became necessary, but the terror of the white residents was not sufficiently great for them to submit to the measures ordered by the first chief of the mission, Dr. C. Mendes. A new outbreak of the disease rendered the danger still more serious. The Government then resolved to give full administrative powers to Dr. B. Costa. This doctor set to work somewhat rigorously, but he has succeeded well. At the present time there are no Glossina in the Island of Principe, and no sleeping sickness […]" Prof. Francisco Xavier da Silva Telles of Lisbon University, in *Proceedings of the Third International Congress of Tropical Agriculture*. Imperial Institute, J. Bale and sons & Danielsson, London: 1914, p.98.
[1898] Idem., p.68

down those areas which had been identified by the specialists as “hotspots”, returning to camp at the end of the day with their harvest of disease-carrying insects.

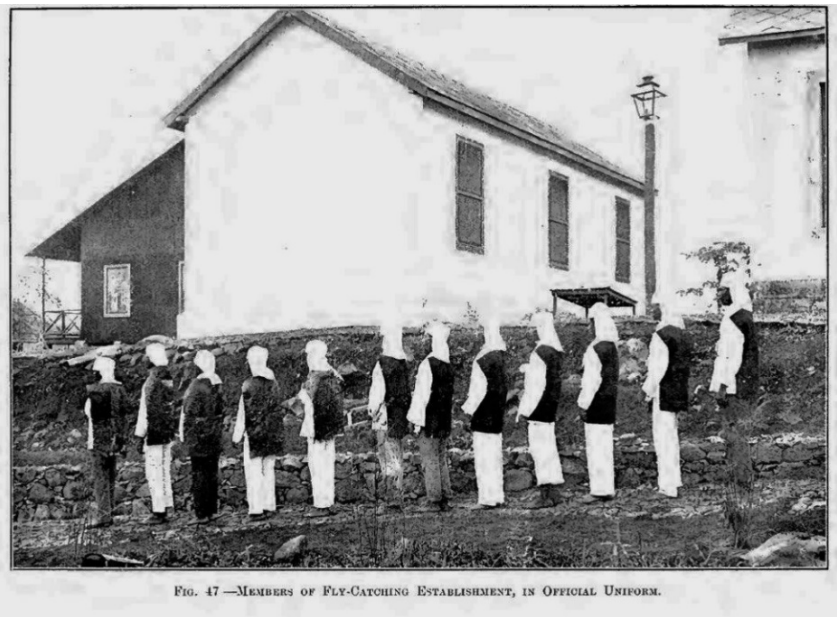


Figure 4.199. Illustration. “Fig.47 - Members of Fly-Catching Establishment, in Official Uniform.”





Figure 4.200. (Left) “Fig.35. Entrance to tunnel giving exit to waters of swamp on Ribeira Gallinha, Roça Porto Real.” **Figure 4.201**. (Right) “Fig. 37. Drainage work on Swamp of Boa-Vista, Roça Santa Rita.”

Fortnightly injections of atoxyl were administered to those involved and of the four hundred men who passed through the brigade only four had died by the time the report was written, with another seven suffering from the disease. [1899] As drastic and cold-blooded as the methodology appears today, it undeniably achieved the desired results, as the number of flies caught declined from almost 400,000 in the first two years to no more than a handful at the end of the campaign.

In addition to new hospital buildings and laboratory facilities, many of the illustrations, like the ones above, show the land surrounding the plantations, both before and after extensive clearing and drainage works.[1900]



Fig. 57.—Site of Former Swamp of Praia Caixão at Mouth of Rio Banzé, now completely dry: Roça Porto Real.

Figure 4.202. "Fig.57.- Site of Former Swamp of Praia Caixão at mouth of Rio Banzé, now completely dry; Roça Porto Real."

Amongst the most striking illustrations in the report, however, are photographs of European employees, sometimes with members of their families, apparently spending their leisure time at places which would previously have been the exclusive haunt of the glossina fly. The two examples, shown above and below, are typical of this kind of

[1899] Atoxyl, which was not a cure but attenuated symptoms, was formerly used to treat syphilis and sleeping-sickness but was gradually abandoned as it caused blindness.

[1900] **Figure 4.200.** Idem., p.84.
Figure 4.201. Idem., p.87.

photograph. Quite clearly there was an element of propaganda in these illustrations which exceeded what might be expected from a strictly scientific treatise. [1901]



Fig 64.—Paved Channel for draining Swamp on Beach of Roça Abade.

Figure 4.203. "Fig.64. - Paved Channel for Draining Swamp on Beach of Roça Abade."

So successful was the campaign against sleeping sickness on the Island of Príncipe, that in a review of the report, the British Medical Journal offered what constituted the ultimate accolade for the team of scientists and the best possible news for the planters' cause:

> "The colonial system of Portugal has not infrequently been made the object of severe strictures in England: one may doubt whether any country could show a better record of a campaign waged against a relentless disease than is to be found here." [1902]

But as convincing as the declarations of the British specialists were, the chocolate - makers had moved on, and the first signs of a new and damaging pestilence - swollen shoot disease - was beginning to affect the cocoa plantations, a plague which would have far more serious repercussions on the production and sale of Portuguese cacao than the international boycott. [1903]

[1901] **Figure 4.202.** Idem., p.129.
Figure 4.203. Idem., p.155.

[1902] Sleeping Sickness in Príncipe. *The British Medical Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 2877 (Feb. 19, 1916), p. 285.

[1903] The thrips insect which caused the disease (Physopus rubrocincta nov. sp) thrived in places where there was more sunlight, and the planters had unwittingly aggravated the problem by cutting down many of the shade trees, in so-called "derrubadas", which led to a temporary but illusory increase in production. The disease became particularly severe from 1918 onwards: "As dificuldades agravar-se-iam mais tarde mormente com as quebras da produção de cacau provocadas pela praga do «rubrocinta» de 1918, quebras

4.15 Moving pictures and the planters' offensive strategy

No stone was left unturned in the planters' attempts to defend their reputations and business interests. Possibly the most remarkable propaganda initiative, given its precocity and the substantial resources it involved, was the decision to commission documentary films to display the true situation on the plantations - seen, of course, from the owners' viewpoint - to those in Portugal who might have harboured doubts about the system, and those abroad who might be effective in silencing criticism or influencing public opinion. Little mention has previously been made of this early propaganda use of the most up-to-date technology in the slave-grown cocoa controversy, perhaps because no more than a fragment of the earliest film on the plantations of São Tomé still survives in the National Film Archives of Portugal.

In general terms, most of the earliest Portuguese films, like those made elsewhere at the same time, offered a record of contemporary events, particularly those of public or historical importance, including short "newsreels" of official ceremonies and religious processions, visits of heads of state, political rallies and demonstrations, military parades, fairs and festivities. The earliest Portuguese film-makers, most of whom were also studio photographers, saw themselves as "image-hunters", endeavouring to make an objective and accurate record of topical events for posterity.[1904] At the same time, however, the more ambitious amongst them were already beginning to exploit the cine-camera as a tool for the creation of fictional entertainment, emulating their peers in other European countries and the United States. [1905]

The São Tomé propaganda documentaries of 1909 were amongst the first films ever made by Portuguese directors and certainly amongst the earliest of any kind made in Africa,

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acentuadas em meados da década de 20." Augusto Nascimento. "O Quotidiano dos Europeus nas Roças de S. Tomé nas Primeiras Décadas de Novecentos*." Arquipélago. História,* 2ª Série, Vol. IV, nº2, 2000, p.380. See also Auguste Chevalier. "Alerte aux plantations de Cacaoyers dans l'Ouest africain". Revue Internationale de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale. Bulletin 283-284. Mai-Juin 1945, pp. 161-165 and José Eduardo Mendes Ferrão. "A investigação agronómica em São Tomé e Príncipe durante a administração portuguesa" in Roque, Ana Cristina; Seibert, Gerhard; Marques, Vitor Rosado, co-ords. *Actas do Colóquio Internacional sobre São Tomé e Príncipe de uma perspectiva pluridisciplinar, diacrónica e sincronica.* Centro de Estudos Africanos, Lisboa: 2012, especially pp. 259-261.

[1904] From 1910 onwards Portuguese filmmakers supplied documentary material to Pathé and Gaumont.

[1905] The first Portuguese full-length fictional film "Os Crimes de Diogo Alves" was made only in 1911.

and there is evidence to suggest that no fewer than six different versions or "cuts" were made, in this, the year of the boycott, by two entirely separate film crews. The earliest fragment which has survived is of a 35mm. black and white, silent film, entitled "A Cultura do Cacau (Em S.Thomé)", probably originally divided into 11 parts, which was made by the Portuguese film-director Ernesto de Albuquerque.[1906] According to a specialist magazine published after the Great War, the film, which was "seen by audiences around the world", was commissioned by the Sociedade de Geografia.[1907]

The two stills which illustrate this text are taken from the surviving footage, which is little more than two minutes long, of Albuquerque's film. They show a group of "serviçais" and the sliding "tabuleiros" or cocoa drying racks of one of the more advanced plantations, and are part of a well-choreographed, panoramic sequence. The action was filmed by a single, fixed camera located at a vantage point above and to one side of the scene. In the surviving fragment, a sizeable group of "serviçais", men and women, quickly crosses the spectator's view from left to right, whilst a second group walks slowly in single file from right to left along a raised deck or gangway, carrying baskets on their heads to a warehouse, under the watchful eyes of the plantation manager or owner.

Both the European manager and the workers are dressed in impeccable white, the women wearing white headscarves. A small child, probably belonging to one of the labourers, runs to stand next to the manager, displaying neither shyness nor fear. The impression conveyed to the spectator, even today, is one of discipline and efficiency, of modern, labour-intensive agriculture under benevolent but strict European supervision, organised

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[1906] A recent study suggests that Albuquerque's film was co-authored by Capt. Carlos Nogueira Ferrão, who, after being recalled to active service by Norton de Matos, would become one of the principal Portuguese filmmakers during the Great War. See Maria do Carmo Piçarra. "Irmãos de Armas. O CEP no cinema de propaganda da Primeira Guerra Mundial." *Análise Social* no. 227, 2018, pp.438-457.

[1907] Ernesto de Albuquerque (1883-1940) was a professional photographer whose film career as a producer and director began in 1908, and extended, in Portugal at least, to the early twenties. In 1925 Albuquerque emigrated to Brazil where he appears to have abandoned the cinema, earning a living by writing articles for magazines and newspapers. A "prolific documentarist", Albuquerque directed a film in 1913 entitled *"Presos na Penitenciária de Lisboa"* at the height of the campaign led by the Duchess of Bedford against the treatment of Monarchist prisoners. In 1916 he made two documentary films showing the preparations of the Portuguese navy for the war. In the second part of his short career made a number of comedy films. Regarding the film Albuquerque made in São Tomé, F. Gomes de Sousa, an actor who would appear in one of Albuquerque's later films " A Morgadinha de Val-flor" (1923), writes: "Ei-lo em S. Thomé; depois de uma viagem no "Malange" e na altura em que um inglez de nome exquisito fazia a propaganda contra o cacau escravo. Albuquerque, d'accordo com a Sociedade de Geographia, faz a sua primeira fita, "A cultura do Cacau". Luctando com deficiencias de material, com os obstaculos […] conseguiu fazer um trabalho tão bom ou tão mau que foi exibido nos principais "écrans" do mundo.[…]" in Cine-Revista, Anno IV no.44, 15th November 1920, pp.1-2.

along lines which would have been familiar to contemporary specialists in colonial agriculture in many parts of the world - much as in the picture postcards published during this period, or the photographs which illustrate the apologetic writing of Portuguese proponents of the system.

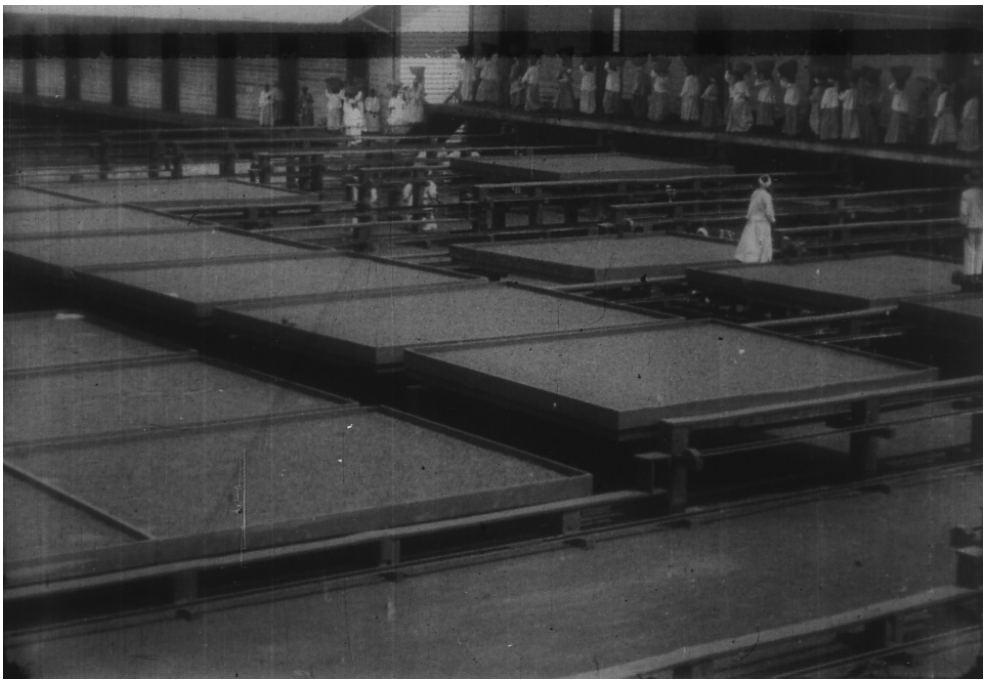




Figure 4.204 and 4.205 Two stills from the documentary film "*A Cultura do Cacau (Em S.Thomé)*" 1909, directed by Ernesto de Albuquerque. ANIM

Indeed, the scene is reminiscent of a contemporary postcard of the Água-Izé plantation [1908] and also brings to mind the Portuguese Consul's reference to Wyllie's comment, in the Ceylon Observer, on the readiness of the "little niggers" on the plantations to engage with Europeans.[1909] And just as in some of the hand-tinted postcards from the time of the boycott there is also a hint of the "idyllic" and hygienic working conditions of Bournville with its white-clothed female employees. Nothing could have been further from the truth.

Another documentary entitled "A Cultura do Café" is reported to have been filmed in São Tomé at the same time, presumably by Albuquerque and his assistants. Unfortunately, no trace of it has emerged.

Remarkably, a second film was independently commissioned by the Planters' Association as part of its propaganda campaign, with the support of the Sociedade de Geografia. The March 1909 edition of *Echo Photographico*, a specialist magazine for photography enthusiasts, directed by Soares de Andrade, describes the birth of the initiative, commenting on the campaign in unequivocally critical terms:

> Fins puramente commerciaes teem feito com que os chocolateiros inglezes, por todos as formas e por todos os preços, tenham feito contra a nossa bela colonia occidental uma campanha de descrédito que nos está vexando perante todo o mundo civilisado, sem que da nossa parte nada se tenha feito para mostrar a calumnia das suas affirmativas.[…]os inglezes depois de energicos e mentirosos artigos, lançaram mãos dos primeiros jornaes d' Inglaterra, sucessivamente, de parlamentares, de padres etc. e **finalmente da photographia**.[1910]

According to the writer's version of events, the chocolate-makers' boycott was being discussed by the members of the editorial committee of the magazine when it was suggested that the only way to "derrubar o castello de calumnias" was to make a film which would accurately document the life of the contract labourers, whilst displaying, at the same time, the charms of what he calls the "Eldorado portuguez". The writer adds that Ernesto de Vasconcellos, the Hon. Secretary of the Sociedade de Geografia - who is described in encomiastic terms - had unreservedly welcomed the proposal, having

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[1908] See **Figure 4.103.**
[1909] Quoted by Visconde de Valle da Costa, the Portuguese Consul in the United States, in his attempt to defend the planters and the contract labour system in *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*.
[1910] *Echo Photographico: jornal de propaganda photographica.* Typographia Bayard, Lisboa: March 1909, p.120. (my bold)

contributed several of his own ideas.[1911] Manuel Cardoso Furtado, the founder of the Lisbon studio Photographia Central, who was chosen to direct the film by the editors of the magazine, though described as still unknown to the general public at the time, is praised as one of the most respected members of the photographic profession. Cardoso Furtado was reported to have left for São Tomé on April 1st 1909 and, quite unrealistically, the film "was expected in Lisbon two weeks later." [1912] Several months would pass by, however, before Furtado's film was projected publicly in Lisbon.



Figure 4.206. Theatro Phantástico. Lisbon c.1912. Photographer unknown

According to information supplied by the National Film Archive, a film, entitled "Vida nas Roças de São Tomé e Príncipe", commissioned by Ernesto de Vasconcelos of the Sociedade de Geografia and made by a Cardoso Furtado, was shown to the public for the first time on December 11th, 1909 at the recently inaugurated Theatro Phantástico, which is shown above. [1913] The choice of venue for the projection suggests that the first version shown in public was intended to appeal to a non-specialist audience.

[1911] Admiral Ernesto de Vasconcellos (1852-1930). Naval Officer, freemason, explorer, geographer and author of over 50 scientific works.
[1912] The sea voyage alone took 12 days…
[1913] See **Figure 4.206**. The Theatro Phantástico (1909-1918) was situated close to the Sociedade de Geografia in Rua do Jardim do Regedor, Lisbon. In 1915 it changed its name to Salão Paradis and the following year to Salão Rubi. According to information supplied by ANIM a silent, black and white, 35mm film "A Vida nas Roças de S. Thomé" was made in 1909, in 9 parts, by M. Cardoso Furtado and J. Soares de Andrade, and produced by Ernesto de Vasconcellos. See also "Por Iniciativa do Conselheiro Ernesto de Vasconcellos." *Diário de Notícias*, December 11th 1909, p.1.

The film was described as covering "the cultivation of sugar-cane; cacao and its treatment; the working routine of the "serviçais", several aspects of their daily life; the transport of cacao and coffee to the point of embarkation; stretches of the railway-line leading to the plantations; a panoramic view of streets of the town and a procession in Guadalupe." [1914] Hence, in addition to the picturesque scenes which were typical of the content of the short documentary films of the day, a significant part of the film was devoted to the life and work of the "serviçais", undoubtedly as a direct response to the "slave-grown cocoa" campaign. [1915] Again, according to the National Film Archive, yet another cut or version entitled "Trechos da Roça do Senhor Henrique de Mendonça, da Água-Isé [sic] e Outras", was made in 1909 by the same film crew. Its whereabouts are unknown and there appear to be no records of it having been projected in public.

A news item which appeared in the Lisbon newspaper *O Século*, in mid-January 1910, mentions, however, that a copy of a film on São Tomé, financed by subscription amongst the planters and made by "Ecco Photographico" [sic], was to be presented to the Sociedade de Geografia, which was sending two members of its Board abroad "to defend the colony against foreign propaganda".[1916] Surprisingly, given the original urgency of the initiative, the documentary, which was entitled "O Cacau Escravo e o Trabalho Indígena em S. Tomé", would only be shown in public for the first time on April 16th, 1910, over a year after the article had appeared in *Echo Photographico*. The film was projected in the "Sala Portugal", the main auditorium of the Sociedade de Geografia in Lisbon and was introduced by Ernesto de Vasconcellos, himself. [1917]

[1914] The procession at Guadalupe may indicate that the other scenes were filmed at the nearby Roça Rio d'Ouro which belonged to the Marquês de Valle-Flôr.

[1915] It is interesting to note that these early documentary films share much the same content as contemporary postcards of S. Tomé and Príncipe.

[1916] "Vae ser offerecida á Sociedade de Geographia a fita animatographica organisada recentemente pelo Ecco Photographico, representando o trabalho nas roças de S. Thomé. A acquisição da fita é feita por meio de subscrição entre os proprietarios da ilha e a offerta tem, n'este momento, tanto maior valor quanto é certo que a Sociedade de Geographia envia ao estrangeiro dois dos seus directores, para combaterem practicamente a propaganda contra aquella colonia portugueza." "A Propaganda Animatógraphica do trabalho de S. Tomé." *O Século*. January 12th 1910, p.1.

The *Boletim do Centro Colonial de Lisboa* refers to the December 6th meeting of the Board of the Sociedade de Geografia at which its president Consiglieri Pedroso proposed the sending of its two secretary-generals to London and Paris to speak before their sister organisations and defend **"o nosso pundonor de nação honrada**", which had been hurt more by the boycott than by the material interests of colonial trade. BCCL no. 9. December 1909, p.33. (my bold)

[1917] There is also a brief reference to the projection of this film in: *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia*. 28ª série, 1910, p.207.

A caustic article entitled "Museu de M.me Tussaud", published in the *Economista Portuguez*, which had always expressed a critical view of the contract-labour system, [1918] disapproved of the involvement of the Sociedade de Geografia in the making of the film, admitting, however, that its views went counter to the virtual unanimity of the "bonne presse" which the initiative had enjoyed. Beginning by commenting sarcastically on the "dreadful acoustics" of the Sala Portugal, the writer, who was almost certainly its editor, Augusto Soares, relates that the President of the Lisbon Geographical Society had done his best, in difficult circumstances, to convince the audience of the *"*alto effeito moral que a demonstração cinematographica das condições do trabalho indígena em S.T. e P deveria produzir no espírito nacional e estrangeiro". He went on to relate that Consiglieri Pedroso, the President of the Society, had presented the film as an "irrespondível argumento de propaganda" against the arguments of Cadbury, Burtt and Swan, adding that Eduardo de Vasconcellos' "economic geography lesson" on São Tomé and Príncipe, which followed, had been greeted with noisy impatience by the audience, most of whom had merely come to see the moving pictures. The film itself began with what the writer calls a "segunda edição do Album das Glórias" […] " os bustos de algumas personagens que mais teem concorrido para os progressos da ilhas" [1919] which was followed by coverage of the visit of the Prince of Löwenstein;[1920] clips of the local scenery and

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The webpage of the Instituto Camões offers the following: "De Manuel Cardoso Furtado são escassos os dados biográficos, mas sabe-se que em 1909 partiu para São Tomé e Príncipe para aí rodar três filmes de carácter documental: Serviçal e Senhor, Vida nas Roças de São Tomé e Príncipe e O Cacau Escravo e o Trabalho Indígena em São Tomé. Este último, em especial, tentava resgatar a imagem deveras negativa que holandeses[sic] e ingleses davam de Portugal ao acusarem o governo (ainda do regime monárquico) de utilizar mão-de-obra escrava na exploração do cacau naquele arquipélago. Ainda nesse ano, o filme foi inclusivamente exibido durante um congresso colonial realizado em Bruxelas, **integrando-se numa fase do cinema português em que era nítido o aproveitamento político das virtualidades deste novo meio."** *O Cinema na África Lusófona* http://cvc.instituto-camoes.pt/cinema/cronologia/cro012.html (accessed on 2/12/2012.) (my bold)

[1918] "Museu de M.me Tousseaud." [sic] *Economista Portuguez* No. 202. April 24th 1910, p.306.

[1919] Revealing the same historical strategy of using the testimonials of the "great and good" which Mantero would use in his illustrations to *Manual Labour* in 1910.

The reference to the "Album das Glórias" is to Bordallo Pinheiro's corrosive caricatures of leading figures in the political and social sphere in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. See Raphael Bordallo Pinheiro; João Rialto. *Album das Glórias.* Typ. Editora Rocio, Lisboa : 1880-1902.

The writer comments that the portrait of "o distinto official de armada Vieira da Fonseca" caused some surprise as it was widely known that he was about to be exonerated as Governor because he had fallen foul of the "altos influentes locais." He adds sarcastically: "A homenagem electro-luminosa que a S.G.L lhe prestou é pois de surprehender." [Lieut. José Augusto Vieira da Fonseca, Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe from 13th March 1909 to 13th June 1910]

[1920] A hand-tinted postcard was also published at the time in São Tomé, showing gaily-dressed "serviçais" lined up to welcome the Prince as he disembarked at Roça Água-Izé.

agricultural facilities; scenes of rural life and so on. The writer concluded from the total lack of spontaneity in the film that the majority of the scenes had been deliberately staged,[1921] offering as examples the workers' "comboio de recreação",[1922] and several scenes in which the "serviçaes se apresentavam vestidos de branco, como se fosse esse o seu traje habitual de trabalho". He concludes with the wry comment: "Ficamos assim com a sensação de que se tratava apenas de um mal desfarcado réclame aos complets en coutil de 10 fr.75 da Belle Jardinière. "[1923]

A second, 35mm. black and white, silent film, in four parts, more conservatively entitled "Serviçal e Senhor", possibly an edited version of the previous film, was presented at "a colonial congress in Brussels", presumably the Congrès International d'Agronomie Coloniale et Tropicale, which was held between 20th and 23rd May, 1910, as part of the Exposition Universelle et Industrielle de Bruxelles. [1924]

Public interest in moving pictures grew rapidly over the coming years, just as in other parts of Europe and, as a result of the demand, the Republican regime witnessed an increase in the number of cinemas and films made by Portuguese directors. Realising the propaganda potential of the new medium, Norton de Matos, the new Governor-General of Angola, invited Arthur Pereira to produce a newsreel on the railway from Benguela to the interior which had been under construction since the signing of the Williams Concession in 1903. Entitled "O Caminho de Ferro de Benguella" and completed in 1913, it was the first film to be made in Angola. [1925] In a well-timed public relations exercise, the documentary was shown in July 1914 at a "Bioscope Matinée" organised by the *African World* magazine at the London Opera House. Pereira's documentary was one of a series of three films under the title "Africa on Film" extolling the virtues of colonial enterprise, which were seen by almost three thousand spectators. According to the report in the *African World* the distinguished guests at the screening included the Governor-

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[1921] The word "trucage" is used in the original article.
[1922] See **Figure 4.122**.
[1923] "Outfits in mattress ticking"
[1924] The Exposition Universelle et Industrielle de Bruxelles, held between April 23rd and November 1st, 1910. Portugal, as such, was absent, and Mozambique alone was represented by a small pavillion, which meant that the film would almost certainly have been seen by a specialist audience at the Musée du Congo Belge, Tervuren, which had been inaugurated to coincide with the Brussels Exhibition of 1897.
[1925] Silent, filmed in black and white, 35mm. Entitled "The Benguella Railway" in London.

General of Angola, the Portuguese Minister in London and other members of the "Diplomatic corps and High Finance".[1926]

Information on the content of the first films made in São Tomé is unfortunately scarce, based, as it is, on the limited footage which has survived, newspaper reports and clues provided by other visual resources such as contemporary photographs and postcards. Fortunately, however, the National Film Archive has succeeded in restoring the second part of a documentary film made in 1929 by Augusto Seara for the Agência Geral das Colónias, which shows aspects of life on the plantations of the cocoa islands. [1927] The film, entitled "São Tomé Agrícola e Industrial", is clearly intended, like those made twenty years earlier, to focus on Portugal's historical vocation as a colonising nation and vindicate the contract labour system, which was still very much in force despite the many well-meaning but never fully-implemented legislative reforms which had been introduced since the beginning of the century.

The criticisms of the Ross Report on contract labour in Portuguese West Africa, which had been published four years earlier [1928] and the consequent revival of the humanitarian campaign, was, without doubt, the catalysing force which triggered off this attempt by the nationalist regime to defend Portugal's record in the field of human rights .[1929] Seara's film on São Tomé, the first in a series of four made between 1929 and 1931, ostensibly at the request of the Governors-General of the African colonies, was the outcome of an ambitious earlier project, which appears to have undergone a number of changes before

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[1926] Report in the *African World* July 18th 1914. Norton de Matos was undoubtedly impressed by the enthusiastic reception of London filmgoers to these propaganda documentaries and he would be instrumental in creating the Secção Fotográfica e Cinematográfica do Exército (SFCE) when Minister of War, just two weeks before the Portuguese expeditionary force departed for Flanders. (Despacho 12 de Janeiro 1917). [Norton de Matos served as Minister for War from July 22nd 1915 to December 8th 1917]. A number of documentary films on the preparations for war were made in collaboration with the War Ministry before Norton de Matos' appointment, however, nine in 1914, alone.

[1927] *São Tomé Agrícola e Industrial*. Amber-tinted, Silent film. 35mm. Second Part 11mins. 47secs. Directed by Augusto Seara in 1929 for the Agência Geral da Colónias. ANIM, accessible online. Lieut. Augusto Seara was one of the most prolific film-makers of the SFCE.

[1928] Edward Alsworth Ross, *Report on Employment of Native Labor in Portuguese Africa.* Abbott Press, New York: 1925. Edward Ross, an American sociologist, travelled across Angola for several weeks in 1924, to investigate labour conditions on behalf of the Temporary Slavery Commission of the League of Nations. For more on the Ross Report, which is beyond the scope of this dissertation, see: Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo. *A Missão Civilizadora do Colonialismo Português (c.1870-1930).* Imprensa de Ciências Sociais. Univ. Lisboa: 2009, pp. 211-226.

[1929] The new, nationalist dictatorship would only be overthrown by the revolution of April 25th 1974.

reaching partial fruition. In mid-1928, the specialist magazine *De Cinema* referred to plans for a full-length film entitled "Atravez do Portugal Maior" with the aim of displaying the "natural beauty" of mainland Portugal, the Atlantic Islands and the Colonies, which was to be made by a "brigade" led by the geographer Pedro Muralha, with João Fernandes Thomaz as its technical director.[1930] The article was illustrated with portraits of the two members of the team and a sketch showing the projected route of their ambitious round-the-world tour, taking in the Portuguese African and Asian colonies, with stop-offs in New Bedford, San Francisco, Honolulu, Rangoon and Shanghai.

The reporter defines the scope of the mission in the typically pompous and xenophobic prose cultivated by the apologists of the new regime:

> Parte ainda este mês, para a sua grande viagem, a Brigada Ciné-Portuguêsa composta por Pedro Muralha - director e organisadôr - e João Fernandes Tomaz, director técnico. Partem para produzir um filme de cerca de 20.000 metros que será exibido nas principais salas cinematográficas de Lisboa e Pôrto, assim como na Exposição de Sevilha.
> A Brigada Ciné-Portuguêsa vai com o fim patriotico de mostrar ao universo as nossas belêsas que todos os filmes estrangeiros do mesmo teor, esquecem. Esquecem, porque a isso os obriga a sua bôa vontade de mostrarem aos outros que só as suas belêsas… são autenticas. **Todos os filmes coloniais que têm passado pelas nossas telas, não são mais do que filhos de uma grande propaganda colonial estrangeira**.[…][1931]

The campaign seems to have depended to a certain extent upon private funding, which apparently was far from assured, as the article refers to the fact that "valiosissimas adesões" were still being received and it was hoped that " a ideia não aborte, como é uso e costume na nossa terra". The writer expressed his own wish that Thomaz would fully comprehend the importance of the project he was about to undertake and that the departure of the "brigade" to what he called "as inhospitas plagas africanas" would be the beginning of a new era for the Portuguese cinema. It appears that the worst fears of the journalist were confirmed and that the ambitious project did not, in the end, attract all the

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[1930] In 1924 Pedro Muralha had written an idyllic account of his visit to the "roças" and offered a view which was was diametrically opposed to Cadbury's accusations. See Pedro Muralha. *Terras de África: S. Tomé e Angola.* Publicitas, Lisboa : 1924.
[1931] "A Brigada Cine-Portuguêsa." in *De Cinema : revista mensal ilustrada*, nº 3, July 1928, pp. 8-9.(my bold)

financial support it required, but that the authorities intervened to prevent the part related to the African colonies from falling by the wayside.

Though also shown to cinema-goers in "metropolitan" Portugal, Seara's film, which was made under the auspices of the Agência-Geral das Colónias, with the logistical support of the newly-formed Army film unit, was especially conceived to be projected to international audiences at the forthcoming colonial exhibitions of Seville, Antwerp and Paris.[1932] That same year, Seara and his assistants also made a documentary film centred on traditional forms of agriculture in Portuguese Guinea, which was essentially ethnographical in content and scope. As part of the same programme, a second "brigada cinematográphica" consisting of the film-making partnership of António Antunes da Mata and José César de Sá, was dispatched to Angola [1933] and a third, to Mozambique, led by João Fernandes Thomaz, the technical director of the original project.[1934] According to information supplied by the National Film Archive, it appears that Fernandes Thomaz accepted a commission from the planters to make yet another documentary on the cocoa plantations when he stopped off at São Tomé on his way to Mozambique in 1929.[1935] Extracts from this series of films on the Portuguese African colonies, produced by the Agência Geral das Colónias, were later re-edited and projected in several different versions over the next few years.

[1932] Exposición Ibero-americana de Sevilla, May 9th 1929 - June 21st 1930; Exposition Coloniale Internationale, Anvers, May 3rd - November 3rd, 1930; Exposition Coloniale Internationale de Paris, May 6th - November 15th, 1931.

[1933] Amongst the films made by the brigade in Angola were: *Quedas do Dala - Angola,* José César de Sá and António Antunes da Mata. 1930, Black and white, 35mm. Silent, 6 mins. *Planalto de Huila*. José César de Sá and António Antunes da Mata. 1931, Black and White, 35mm. Silent, 17 mins. *Aspectos do Rio Quanza - Quedas do Lucala.* José César de Sá and António Antunes da Mata. 1930, Black and white, 35mm. Silent. 14 mins. 30 sec.

[1934] *Costumes Primitivos dos Indígenas em Moçambique*. João Fernandes Thomaz. 1929, Black and White and Coloured Stock. 35mm. Silent, 15 mins. Thomaz's pioneering ethnographical documentary gained an award at the Paris Colonial Exhibition of 1931. See also *A Cidade de Lourenço Marques.* João Fernandes Thomaz .1929 35mm. Coloured stock. Silent 12 mins.

[1935] "A Brigada Cine-Portuguêsa." in *De Cinema : revista mensal ilustrada*, nº 3, July 1928. Pp 8-9. The project was first announced in the *Diário de Lisboa* newspaper on April 12th, 1928. " O fotógrafo João Fernandes Thomaz organizou uma brigada de operadores para produzir um filme patriótico que começará na ilha da Madeira e abrangerá Açores, Cabo Verde, Guiné, S. Tomé e Príncipe, Enclave de Cabinda, Angola, Moçambique e Índia Portuguesa, fazendo a propaganda das suas possibilidades económicas e de aproveitamento português." Maria do Carmo Piçarra confirms that Fernandes Thomaz's film on Roça Rio de Ouro was made and was entitled "Uma visita às propriedades da sociedade agricola Valle Flôr Limitada, na ilha de S. Thomé." See Maria do Carmo Piçarra. "O império contra-ataca: a produção secreta de propaganda feita por estrangeiros para projecção internacional de «Portugal do Ultramar»" *Media & Jornalismo,* vol.16, no.29, December 2016.

The similarities between the images of the plantations and the labourers in Seara's film and those which appear in photographs and postcards of São Tomé and Príncipe published a decade or more before, suggest that, despite the political and ideological upheaval brought about by the military coup of 1926, no great change had yet taken place in the way the question was viewed and portrayed by both the Portuguese authorities and the planters. [1936] At the time, the head of the Agência-Geral das Colónias [1937] was the agronomist and cartographical historian Armando Cortesão, [1938] who had been in charge of the Department of Agriculture of São Tomé and Príncipe between 1916 and 1920, having presumably consolidated his views on the issue of contract labour during his previous appointment.[1939]

Given the similarity between the official discourse during the second half of the period under study and that which transpires from Seara's film, it is reasonable to suppose that, despite enjoying better funding and technical resources due to the financial backing of the State and the logistical support of the Army film unit,[1940] the film may not have

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[1936]The innocuous series of black and white postcards issued by the Government of São Tomé in 1928 tends to confirm this impression. It would only be in 1932 that the openly imperialist policy of the Estado Novo would be unveiled.

[1937] Founded on September 30th 1924.

[1938] Armando Cortesão (1891-1977) would continue to serve the new regime for five more years, despite the arrest and exile of his brother, Jaime Cortesão, in 1927. The fierce repression which followed the failed military coup of 1931, which was allegedly organised from Madrid by the so-called *"Budas"*, of which his brother was one of the leading figures, eventually led to his dismissal as head of the Agência on March 14th 1932 and his own exile in October 1933, after a short period in which he edited the clandestine republican newspaper *A Verdade* ("O jornal mais ávidamente lido em Portugal") and possibly authored the articles on agriculture which were fiercely critical of the Minister for the Colonies, Armindo Monteiro. He would then spend the next twenty years in public opposition to the "Estado Novo" regime in Spain, England and France. In 1952 Cortesão returned to Portugal, after an amnesty, to take up the Chair of Historical Cartography at Coimbra University. Evidence of his views on the colonies at the start of the sixties can be drawn from the controversy in the press in which he defended the regime's revamped "Luso-tropicalist" ideology against his former colleague and friend, the British historian Charles Boxer. See J.S. Cummings and L. de Sousa Rebelo,"The Controversy over Charles Boxer's Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire,1415-1825" in *Portuguese Studies*.University College/ King's College, London: 2001, nº7, pp.233-246; Diogo Ramada Curto."The Debate on Race Relations in the Portuguese Empire and Charles R. Boxer's Position"in *e- Journal of Portuguese History.*Vol II no.1, Summer 2013, Univ. Porto / Brown Univ. and Rui S. Andrade. *Armando Cortesão (1891-1977) - Subsídios para uma Biobibliografia.* FLUL Fac. História. 2013, p.20.

[1939] "**Cremos que é em S. Tomé que o português melhor tem mostrado nos tempos modernos de quanto é capaz de o seu esforço. Não vimos em colónia alguma das que visitámos nada que pudesse comparar-se com a grande obra que a iniciativa particular tem realizado em S. Tomé, nem em extensão nem em grandeza**". A.Cortesão. Relatório de uma missão às Índias Ocidentais. *Revista Agronómica* , Ano XII, 2ª série, vol.5, nº 25-36, Lisboa, Jan-Dec. 1916, p. 88. (my bold). See also A. Cortesão. "O significado de certas acusações que como coloniais nos fazem", *A Vanguarda.*, Número Especial de Propaganda, dedicado a assuntos coloniais, Ano XV, 3ª série, nº 3725, [Lisboa], January 1st 1926, p. 5.

[1940] Serviços Cinematográphicos do Exército.

differed greatly, in its objectives, approach or content from those made by Ernesto Albuquerque and Manuel Cardoso Furtado. Just as in 1909, much of Seara's film was made on the model plantation Boa Entrada and several scenes are devoted to different views showing a new batch of "serviçais" - now entitled "trabalhadores agricolas"- going ashore; their registration on arrival; and aspects of their work on the plantation. In so far as it is possible to judge from what has survived of Albuquerque's earlier footage on São Tomé, the main difference between the two films is that the technical progress which had taken place over the previous two decades enabled Seara to film certain scenes "live", as they took place, unlike the earlier film where a far greater measure of planning and staging would have been required to ensure acceptable results. Contrasting with the less ambitious film Seara made that same year for the Agência-Geral das Colonias, which dealt with traditional forms of agriculture in Portuguese Guinea, the São Tomé film was printed on amber-tinted stock, a relatively uncommon treatment in Portugal at this time, almost certainly due to the fact that it was intended to be projected abroad, as well as at home. [1941]

The fact that it was publicised so extensively and shown at three major international colonial exhibitions testifies to the importance which the new regime attributed to the allegations in the Ross Report regarding the persistence of dubious recruiting practices in Angola and the use of forced labour in São Tomé and Príncipe. [1942] Although Seara's film did not yet reflect the new attitude of the Estado Novo towards the colonies, or its profoundly conservative, nationalist ideology, the postcard, illustrated below, which celebrates Raul Lino's architectural design for the Portuguese pavillion at the 1931 Paris Exhibition, where the film was projected - proudly boasts the iconic trappings of the new regime, which would survive virtually unchanged for almost half a century.[1943]

[1941] Seara made another documentary for the Agência Geral do Ultramar, in 1929, entitled *Guiné : Aspectos Industriais e Agricultura.* Black and White, 35mm, Silent.

[1942] See Anon. [Portuguese Delegation to the VI Assembly of the League of Nations.] *Some Observations on Professor Ross's Report. Submitted for the Information of the temporary Slavery Commission of the League of Nations.* (Translation) Imprimerie du Journal de Genève, Genève: 1925.

[1943] See **Figure 4.207.** Postcard of the Portuguese pavillion designed by Raúl Lino at the Paris International Exhibition of 1931. Lino's "Manueline" pastiche included the symbolic cross of the Order of Christ. The Paris Exhibition provided a template for the 1ª Exposição Colonial Portugueza of 1934, held at the Palácio de Cristal in Oporto, where "typical villages" from the colonies, complete with "inhabitants", could be visited.

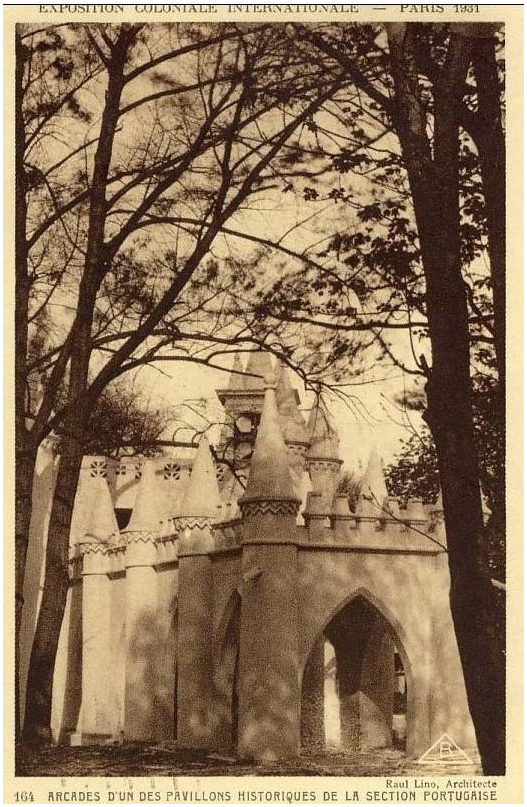


Figure 4.207. Postcard. "Exposition Coloniale Internationale-Paris 1931. Raúl Lino, Architecte. 164. Arcades d'un des Pavillons Historiques de la Section Portugaise". Pub. Exposition Paris, 1931.

Just as the advent of the cinema was exploited by the planters and the Portuguese authorities to defend the contract-labour system and promote an idyllic and progressive view of the Portuguese colonies, from 1913 onwards Cadbury's began showing a specially-commissioned promotional film at the start of each guided tour of their Bournville factory, which included a section underlining the excellent quality of cocoa they purchased from the Gold Coast, by then the world's largest producer. [1944] Over 10,000 people visited the factory every year, a number which would grow exponentially in the years before World War II. New promotional films were made in the years that followed, using well-known actors and technicians from Hollywood, and were shown all over Britain by four fully-equipped travelling cinemas. In 1935 alone, over half-a-million people saw one of Cadbury's films, now accompanied by a sound commentary.[1945]

[1944] John Mackenzie. *Propaganda and Empire.* Manchester University Press. Manchester: 1986, p.73 Cadbury's, of course, though having ceased to buy Portuguese cocoa in 1909, had made their first purchases in the British West African colony as early as 1907.
[1945] John Bradley. *Cadbury's Purple Reign*. Wiley, Chichester: 2008, pp.91-2.

Part III

1. Overview : Race, Empire and Humanitarianism

> In Africa, Australia and in America, in all the myriad islands of the southern seas inferior races dwell. They have their names, their paltry racial differences, some are jet black, some copper-coloured, flat-nosed. High featured, tall, short, hideous or handsome- what is that to us? We lump them all together as niggers, being convinced that their chief quality is their difference from ourselves.[…] [1946]

These words, steeped in bitter irony, were written at the height of British Imperial rule by the prolific Scots author and radical politician Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham, who, sadly, has largely been forgotten. They are taken from "Niggers", his violent satire on racism, imperialism and the exploitation of the colonised peoples of the world which was published in 1897, the year of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, in one of the first issues of the twopenny socialist magazine *Social Democrat*.[1947] The piece is also included in a collection of Cunninghame Graham's short stories which appeared in January 1899, just a month before Rudyard Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden" was published in *McClure's Magazine*, to immediate public acclaim.[1948] Kipling, who believed, like many others at the time, that "the white man" had inherited the duty to bring "the benefits of civilisation to the darker-skinned inhabitants of far-off lands", exhorts Americans to take up the challenge of empire in the Philippines, where an insurrection against colonial rule had just broken out.

[1946] The quotation is taken from R.B Cunninghame Graham. "Niggers". *The Ipané.* T. Fisher Unwin, London: 1899, p.252.

[1947] The *Social Democrat,* which was founded in 1897 by the marxist Harry Quelch, became the *British Socialist* in 1912, the year after the British Socialist Party was formed. From 1903 onwards its readership steadily declined but it struggled on until the last issue came out in 1913. At the end of WWI the British Socialist party re-emerged as a radical force which would contribute towards the formation of the Communist Party of Great Britain in August 1920.

[1948] Rudyard Kipling. "The White Man's Burden: The United States and The Philippine Islands,1899" *McClure's Magazine,* February 12th 1899. Also, simultaneously, in *The Times*. The war between the newly-declared independent Republic of the Phillipines and the United States lasted between February 4th, 1899 and July 2nd, 1902. Spain had previously ceded its colony to the USA after its defeat in the Spanish-American War of 1898. The Phillipines would only gain independence in 1946.

In total opposition to the notion of white supremacy which inspires Kipling's triumphalist verses, [1949] Cunninghame Graham rails in Biblical style against imperialism and the idea that white men had been favoured by God and granted the moral qualities which justified the imposition of their will over other peoples, particularly, it seemed, those who were less well-armed.[1950] Moreover, contrasting with Kipling's exhortation that those who were to be "sent forth" to rule over "sullen" peoples, should be "the best ye breed", Graham summarily dismisses them as "tweed clad satraps expedited from the public schools" [1951] and ironises on the magnitude of their presumption and self righteousness:

> Saxon stolidity and Celtic guile, Teutonic dullness, Norman pride, all tempered with the east wind, baptized with the mist, narrowed by insularity, swollen with good fortune, and rendered overbearing with much wealth, have worked together to produce the type […] quick to compassion for the sufferers from the injustice of their neighbours; thinking that they themselves can do no wrong […] clear-headed in their views of life, priding themselves most chiefly on their faults, and resolute to carry all those virtues which they lack at home to other lands. Thus through the mist of time, the Celto-Saxon race emerged from heathendom and woad, and, in the fullness of the Creator's pleasure, became the tweed-clad Englishman.[1952]

Launching the full force of his corrosive wit against England's vision of itself as a nation predestined to set an example of imperial rule for the rest of the world, Graham goes on to satirise British arrogance towards Latin nations, who were supposedly "weltering in their attempts to copy us", and to accuse those who considered themselves superior to darker-skinned peoples of harbouring the same feelings of contempt towards the victims of poverty:

[1949] The first verse of Kipling's poem reads as follows:
"TAKE up the White Man's burden -
Send forth the best ye breed -
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness
On fluttered folk and wild –
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child."

[1950] Cunninghame Graham writes with wry humour: "That the first man in the fair garden by the Euphrates was white, I think, we take for granted". Idem., p.244.

[1951] "Petty local dictators", in this context. The word is used in the Bible to identify provincial governors in the ancient Persian Empire.

[1952] Idem., pp. 248-250.

> Men of the Latin races, though not born free, can purchase freedom with a price, that is, if they conform to our ideas, are rich and wash, ride bicycles and gamble on the Stock Exchange. If they are poor then woe betide them, let them paint their faces white with all the ceruse which ever Venice furnished, to the black favour shall they come. A plague of pigments, blackness is in the heart, not in the face, and poverty, no matter how it washes, still is black. Niggers are niggers, whether black or white, but the archtype [sic] is to be found in Africa.[1953]

But it is to underline the treatment of Africans, particularly African women, by white men, that Graham reserves his most corrosive prose:

> Niggers who have no cannons have no rights. Their land is ours, their cattle and their fields, their houses ours; their arms, their poor utensils, and everything they have; their women too, are ours to use as concubines, to beat, exchange, to barter off for gunpowder or gin, ours to infect with syphilis, leave with child, outrage, torment, and make by contact with the vilest of our vile, more vile than beasts. [1954]

He concludes with a tongue-in-cheek, Kipling-like call to arms:

> England's great heart is sound, it beats for all the sorrows of mankind; we must press on, we owe it to ourselves and to our God; ours is to perform our duty, his to provide the field, the world is ours, let us press on to do our mutual will, and lose no time, in case inferior aping nations may forestall us […][1955]

Cunninghame Graham's excoriating diatribe, written at a time when few dared to question the merits of imperial rule or the moral right of the colonising nations to exploit the people of the weaker nations of the world,[1956] exposes the often hypocritical, racist arguments

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[1953] Idem. pp. 253-254.
[1954] Idem. p. 255.
[1955] Idem. p. 256.
[1956] Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham (1852-1936) was a prolific writer who published works on history, biography, politics and travel as well as seventeen collections of short stories. Though a socialist, he was elected in 1886 as a Liberal MP on a radical platform which called for the abolition of the House of Lords, universal suffrage, nationalisation of the land, mines and other industries, free school meals, disestablishment of the Church of England, Scottish Home Rule and the eight-hour-day. A remarkable orator, Graham's principal concerns were the plight of the unemployed and the defence of civil liberties. He was twice suspended from Parliament for his "disrespectful" remarks and was arrested and badly beaten by the police in Trafalgar Square on "Bloody Sunday", November 13th 1887, whilst taking part in a peaceful demonstration alongside the Liberal union leader John Burns. He stood once again for Parliament as a Scottish Labour candidate in 1892 but was defeated. Graham retained his interest in politics and was elected President of the National Party of Scotland in 1928. For more on Graham and his extraordinary life see Cedric Watts and Laurence Davies. *Cunninghame Graham. A Critical Biography.* CUP, Cambridge: 1979.

which were put forward by politicians, military leaders, administrators and missionaries to justify their actions in the colonies. Crucially, too, he reminds his readers that Englishmen, firm in the conviction of the righteousness of their "civilising mission" and bolstered by their nation's military might, were quick to express compassion for the victims of other nations, whilst ignoring the wrongs which they, themselves, committed in their overseas possessions. [1957]

Graham's views on racism and imperialism were evidently far ahead of his time, whilst Kipling's widely-propagated stories and poems were eagerly read, in his day, by millions around the world, quickly becoming the most popular literary view of the British Empire at the turn of the twentieth century. Moreover, the racist attitudes that Graham denounces were neither exclusive to Britain nor professed by the majority of the British population[1958] but no other nation in Europe was then as powerful, or ruled over so many colonial subjects, and a great many, both at home and abroad, looked to Great Britain and the British Empire to set an example of colonial rule for the rest of the world.

Indeed, the whole controversy over "Portuguese slave-grown cocoa" was underpinned by the conviction, which was held by an influential part of the British ruling class, that Portugal, as "a second-rate power" inhabited by "a mixed race", [1959] was essentially unfit, both mentally and morally,[1960] to rule over the supposedly "inferior races" of the world,

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[1957] Though justified, in certain cases, by the extent and gravity of the atrocities committed, such as in the Congo Free State at the end of the nineteenth century, such criticism was inspired by a sense of moral superiority which would be shaken first by the nation-wide campaign against the use of coolie labour in the Transvaal gold mines and later by the startling revelations concerning the cruel exploitation and treatment of local labourers by British rubber enterprises in the Putumayo region of Colombia.
The collective amnesia concerning the long period of slavery which seemed to afflict the nation was, of course, not shared by all: Fox Bourne of the Aborigine's Protection Society, who, otherwise, had a somewhat paternalistic attitude towards the "uncivilized races" confessed: "[…] **it is but a small part of our duty to make such reparation as we can for the wrong-doing of our forefathers.**" H. R. Fox Bourne. *The claims of uncivilized races: a paper submitted to the International Congress on Colonial Sociology, held in Paris in August, 1900* Aborigine's Protection Society, London: 1900 (my bold)

[1958] Cunninghame Graham was essentially directing his ire against the English and their sense of arrogant superiority towards other nations - even the Scots, Irish and Welsh.

[1959] Typical of such attitudes was the revealing racist comment on the Portuguese in Angola, made by the Scottish Brethren Missionary Daniel Crawford in his book "Thinking Black": "**Certes, what the average man from the Tagus seems to need is a subcutaneous injection of the busy spirit of John Bull**. In moments of extreme exuberance, our sallow friend from Lisbon has actually been known to walk, but the average attitude is notoriously one of repose. The oleaginous collection of messes which they eat from the points of their knives accounts for it all." Daniel Crawford. Op.cit. 1912, p.5. (my bold)

[1960] A remarkable report, dated January 1907, produced by John Glen Leary, a magistrate, and H. M. Taberer of the Native Affairs Department, entitled "Confidential Enquiry into Alleged Prevalence of Unnatural Vice amongst Natives in Mine Compounds on the Witwatersrand", went as far to suggest that migrant workers

and that only "truly white men" of Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic extraction were capable of setting an example in the African colonies which would be lasting and effective.[1961]

Founded on a misguided sense of superiority based on popular notions of race and religion, the conviction that Britain was morally entitled to question the treatment of the indigenous populations of colonies other than its own, also derived, in part, from the fact that it had been one of the first nations to abolish slavery in its overseas possessions - the successful culmination of a long campaign against the Atlantic slave trade which had begun in the 1770's.[1962] The legislation to put an end to the trade had finally been passed by Parliament in 1807 and slave-trading was made a criminal offence in 1811. Soon afterwards the British Government began to devote its attentions to those countries which had not yet abandoned the trade, principally due to its natural discomfort regarding the economic advantages they continued to enjoy. Portugal, as an ally and a major beneficiary of the slave trade, was naturally singled out as a prime target for diplomatic pressure. Negotiations between Britain and Portugal concerning slavery would continue along the whole of the nineteenth century, as successive attempts to put an end, first to the Atlantic slave trade and then to slavery itself, met with dogged resistance, particularly in Portugal's African possessions.

Legislation forbidding the transport of slaves from the Portuguese colonies south of the Equator would finally be introduced by the Marquês Sá da Bandeira on December 10th 1836, two years after the Slavery Abolition Act had freed hundreds of thousands of slaves

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from Mozambique were more prone to "improper behaviour" because the Portuguese set a bad example for the peoples of their colony. See Ross G. Forman. "Randy on the Rand: Portuguese African Labor and the Discourse on "Unnatural Vice" in the Transvaal in the Early Twentieth Century." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* Volume 11, Number 4, October 2002, pp. 570-609. According to Forman: "it situates turn-of-the-century ideas associating male-male sexual contact with contamination and contagion in several contexts: **the expansion of Portuguese power in southern Mozambique; the British disapproval of Portuguese methods of colonization across the world; and the conception of the Portuguese within Europe as a marginalized «Other».**" (my bold)

[1961] James Duffy offers many mainly-nineteenth-century examples of biased, supercilious and often openly-racist commentaries made by British officials and travellers regarding the Portuguese in Africa, in the chapter entitled "Voices of Protest", which forms part of his pioneering work on the "slave-grown cocoa" controversy, published over half a century ago. See James Duffy. Chapter V. "Voices of Protest". *A Question of Slavery.* Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.: 1967.

[1962] The Abolition of the Slave Trade Act was passed in 1807 but slaving would not be completely eliminated in the British Empire for many decades. One of the principal consequences of the Act was to furnish the moral authority for the launch of a campaign against other countries which continued with the export of slaves.

in the British colonies of the Caribbean and South Africa. [1963] Unsurprisingly, given the fragility of the local administration, the circumscription of effective Portuguese control to the coastal regions and, above all, the vital importance of the trade to the African colonies, the impact of the new legislation was minimal, and three years later a unilateral decision was taken by the British Parliament to authorise the Royal Navy to stop, search and arrest Portuguese merchant vessels off the coast of Africa which were suspected of carrying slaves. [1964] The policy would become effective in 1842 under the terms of an Anglo-Portuguese Treaty negotiated between the Duque de Palmela and Lord Howard de Walden,[1965] which conceded to Britain what has been described by several historians as a tutorial role.[1966]

At the same time, the wave of compassionate humanitarianism, which had inspired Quakers and evangelical Protestants in the years before the Emancipation Act, led to the internationalisation of the antislavery campaign and the foundation, in 1837, of the Aborigines' Protection Society, [1967] which was followed two years later by the British

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[1963] But not in India or Britain´s other eastern possessions.The Slavery Abolition Act became law on August 1st 1834. An "apprenticeship" arrangement would last for four more years in some colonies.

[1964] The Bill was put forward by Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, and was greeted in Portugal by indignant protests against what was seen as British high-handedness. See Viscount de Sá da Bandeira.*The Slave Trade, and Lord Palmerston's Bill.* 1840. The work originally appeared under the title *O Bill de Lord Palmerston e o tráfico da escravatura.* Typ. J. Villeneuve, Rio de Janeiro: 1840 and was also translated into German that same year. In his protest Sá da Bandeira quoted a translation of his own speech to the Portuguese Parliament when presenting the 1836 Antislavery Bill. Referring to Portugal's African possessions, he had said "[…] great results may be accomplished within a few years, but […] in order to obtain them, it is necessary to reform the colonial legislation and *that as indispensable preliminary to all other measures*, Ministers propose for the sanction of Her Majesty, the Queen, *the decree for the total and complete abolition of the Slave Trade in the Portuguese dominions*." (italics in original), Op.cit. p.23.
The self interest of the British side in the unsuccessful negotiations which preceded Palmerston's Bill are revealed in a note from Palmerston to Howard de Walden: "We shall not care a fig for S. [da Bandeira]'s pride and national dignity.**There are several of her colonies that would suit us remarkably well**." Quoted in Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade.* CUP, Cambridge: 1970, p.155.(my bold)

[1965] Baron Howard de Walden (1799-1868) was the British Minister in Lisbon between 1833 and 1846. He owned several sugar plantations in the West Indies and had notoriously reduced the wages paid to newly emancipated slaves to increase profits.

[1966] For example: "**Portugal became not only England's oldest ally, but also her first European colony**". W.H.C.Smith. *Anglo-Portuguese Relations 1851-61*, Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, Lisboa: 1970, p.4. (my bold)

[1967] The Aborigines' Protection Society was originally more concerned with abuses in British possessions. Towards the end of the nineteenth century it became essentially a "one-man show", depending entirely on Fox Bourne, its uncompromising Organising Secretary. Unlike the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the APS was far less inspired by Protestant evangelical ideology and Fox Bourne was of the view that "free trade" and economic progress in the "less civilised" regions of the world was to be preferred to the efforts of the missionary if slavery were to be truly abolished. The BFASS would only welcome women as part of its committee in 1906, when Alice Harris became an influential force, whereas the APS had allowed women to join a few years earlier. See Dean Pavlakis. Op cit. 2015, p.106.

and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which was dedicated to the extinction of slavery worldwide.[1968] It was in the same year that the Vatican first condemned the slave trade.[1969]

Despite the threat of joint naval patrols along the Angolan Coast, the export of African slaves to Brazil and Cuba continued to be carried out openly until the early 1840's and, thereafter, as an illicit trade. In fact, the Atlantic slave trade actually increased up to 1850,[1970] before declining rapidly, provoking far-reaching changes in the social fabric of indigenous communities in the interior of Portuguese West Africa and leading to a substantial increase in the number of slaves "resgatadas" or rescued from African rulers who were destined for plantations within Angola, itself .[1971] Yet another consequence of the embargo was an increase in the number of Angolans who were sent to work in the coffee plantations of São Tomé and Príncipe,[1972] partly due to the exploitation of a loophole in the 1842 treaty which allowed residents to travel accompanied by up to ten domestic slaves. It became common practice for plantation owners or their agents to make several trips to Angola every year to reinforce their labour supply, [1973] a subterfuge which

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[1968] In his address to the Sociedade de Geografia in December 1923, the planters' champion, Lt. Col. James Wyllie, commented sarcastically on the extension of the role of the Anti-Slavery Societies to the rest of the world after abolition in the British West Indies: " No caso dos vossos *bons amigos* da Sociedade Anti-esclavagista, a sua situaçao, após a abolição da escravatura nas Antilhas inglesas, foi salva pela introdução de trez palavras no seu título official. Na arvore moribunda de anti-esclavagismo, foi enxertada a viçosa parasita de «protecção dos aborigines»" (italics in the original) Coronel James Wyllie. *Plantadores portuguezes e humanitarios inglezes. A origem e desenvolvimento da mentira da escravatura portugueza. Conferencia realisada em 3 de dezembro de 1923.* Sociedade de Geografia. Typog. America , Lisboa: 1923.

[1969] In 1839 Pope Gregory XVI issued an apostolic letter entitled *In Supremo* which condemned the slave trade in unequivocal terms. See J.F. Maxwell. *Slavery and the Catholic Church: the history of Catholic teaching concerning the moral legitimacy of the institution of slavery.* Antislavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights. Chichester: 1975, pp.73-74. As Suzanne Miers notes: "the abolition movement in Portugal was even weaker than in France, **being limited to a small group of liberals without popular or Church support**." See Roberts and Miers Eds. Op.cit 1988, p.15. (my bold)

[1970] Lord Palmerston drew the attention of the Portuguese Government to the fact that 42,000 slaves had arrived in Brazil in 1847. In fact, the real total was probably closer to 60,000. See José de Almada Op.cit. 1932, p.33. As a consequence, a protocol was signed on August 12th 1847 between the two Governments allowing Royal Navy cruisers to enter Portuguese African ports to inspect merchant vessels.

[1971] With the end of the Atlantic slave-trade, the internal market for slaves in Angola increased substantially, as did the range of "legal products" for export, particularly ivory, bees wax and, later, rubber. See, for example, Jill Dias. "Relações Portuguesas com as Sociedades Áfricanas em Angola" in *O Império Àfricano (Séculos XIX-XX)* Ed. Colibri, Lisboa: 2000, pp.69-93, especially pp. 78-81.

[1972] According to J.J. Lopes de Lima, the total population of São Tomé and Príncipe was 13753 in 1843, of which 6514 were slaves. See Pedro Ramos de Almeida, Op.cit. 1978 (Século XIX) pp.86-87. Lovejoy notes too that half the population of Luanda was enslaved in 1850. (6020 in a total of 12565) See Paul Lovejoy. *Transformations in Slavery.* CUP, Cambridge: 1983, p.237.

[1973] The practice was first denounced by the British authorities in 1856, and six years later the British Government threatened to occupy the islands if stiff measures were not taken to stop the traffic. In fact between October and December 1862, 467 Angolans were disembarked in São Tomé, (22 as domestic slaves, 48 as "libertos" and 397 as "pretos livres") See Pedro Ramos de Almeida. Op.cit.1978 (Século XIX) p.94.

was soon identified by the British authorities and severely criticised in diplomatic correspondence.

In 1858 a new emancipation law was introduced by the Marquês Sá da Bandeira,[1974] which formally declared that slavery in the Portuguese possessions would come to an end on the same day twenty years on. Paradoxically, however, the "de facto" transformation of slaves into "libertos",which was confirmed by further legislation in 1869,[1975] led to a situation in which hundreds of Angolans who were obliged by law to serve the same master for ten more years found themselves being shipped to São Tomé and Príncipe, on supposedly limited contracts. [1976]

On April 29th 1875, however, the Foreign Minister, João de Andrade Corvo, introduced legislation which ended the transitory provisions created in 1869 and declared that state tutelage over the "libertos" would finally come to an end a year later.[1977] Former slaves and "libertos" were, from then on, entitled by law to contract their services freely, but were, at the same time, obliged to give preference to their former masters for a period of two years. Subcontracting out was not allowed, the separation of couples was forbidden and all contracts were to be celebrated before a "Curador" or magistrate. It was a significant step in the right direction.[1978]

From 1863 onwards the Portuguese authorities altered their stance towards the labour traffic to the islands, describing the labourers as "free immigrants". In his report to the Temporary Slavery Committee of the League of Nations, in 1924, Freire de Andrade defended Portuguese efforts against illegal exports, presenting figures showing that between 1839 and 1857, sixty-five merchant vessels transporting slaves from Angola to São Tomé and Cape Verde had been arrested by joint patrols, with similar figures for the Mozambican slave traffic.

[1974] The legislation of April 29th 1858 established April 29th 1878 as the final date for the emancipation of slaves in the Portuguese territories.

[1975] The legislation of February 25th 1869 obliged emancipated slaves to continue working for their masters as "libertos" or freedmen for a period of ten years.

[1976] See José de Almada. Op.cit. 1932, pp. 33-34.

[1977] João de Andrade Corvo (1824-1890). Military officer, agronomist, physician and writer. He also served as Minister of Public Works and as Minister for the Overseas Territories (Marinha e Ultramar) but is best remembered for his time as Foreign Minister in Fontes Pereira de Melo's Government between September 1871 and January 1878. An anglophile, Andrade Corvo devoted a significant part of his time as Foreign Minister to solving the differences which arose between Portugal and Great Britain concerning the Zaire Basin, Lourenço Marques and India and attempting to shore up the ancient alliance between the two countries. See Douglas L. Wheeler. *The Portuguese in Angola, 1836-1891: a study in expansion and administration*. Ph.D Dissertation. Boston Univ. Boston: 1963, pp. 263-266.

[1978] José de Almada, writing over half a century later, praises Andrade Corvo's Law as "magistral" and "das mais adiantadas que há ainda hoje". See José de Almada. Op.cit 1932, pp. 42-43.

Andrade Corvo's study on the Islands sets down with great clarity the problems and opportunities which confronted them after the abolition of slavery. Sadly, his progressive views on labour recruitment were set

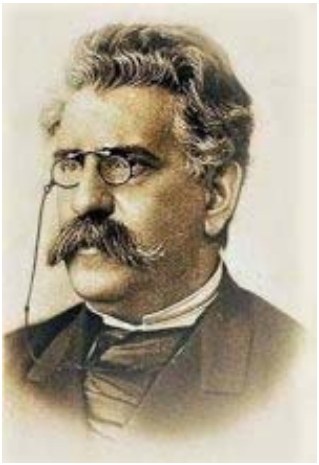


Figure 5.1 João de Andrade Corvo. c.1875. Photographer unknown.

But despite its immediate impact, the long-term effects of the reform would be undermined by the resistance of powerful vested interests in São Tomé and Príncipe and the resilience of traditional indigenous trading practices in Angola, which would conjugate to ensure a constant supply of labourers for the plantations.[1979] Further labour regulations were introduced in 1878 which, in their essence, would remain in force in Portugal's overseas territories until 1911.[1980] Though relatively liberal for the day, the regulations retained a vagrancy clause which meant that any Angolan could be summarily

aside, in practice, over the coming generation. See João de Andrade Corvo. *Estudos sobre as Provincias Ultramarinas* Academia real das Ciências, Lisboa : 1883, vol I, pp.119-144.

[1979] Fola Soremekum describes the way in which long-range, Ovimbundu trade caravans from the interior of Angola to Katumbela and Benguela grew in importance in the half century between 1840 and 1890 as a result of the end of the Atlantic slave-trade - a period " in which they dominated the exchange of goods between the interior and the coast". See Fola Soremekum."Trade and dependency in Central Angola" in Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons eds. *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa.* Heinemann, London; 1977, pp. 82-95. "

[…] A par dos géneros de exportação, afluíam á praça grandes levas de escravos (mais tarde designadas por: moleques, serviçaes, resgates e contractos actualmente). Comprava-se anualmente milhares de serviçaes trazidos pelas comitivas dos territórios do Bihé, Ganguellas e Lunda. A maior parte d'esses serviçaes eram exportados para S. Thomé e Principe, e para diversos pontos do littoral da Provincia (como ainda hoje)" In Augusto Bastos *Monographia de Catumbella*. Tip. Universal, Lisboa: 1912, p.18.

[1980] Almada was equally complimentary about the 1878 labour regulations which he writes were inspired by the highest humanitarian principles and marked the transition from slavery to "indigenous labour". Idem. p.43. Further labour legislation was introduced in 1899 and 1903, but the principal features of Andrade Corvo's Law of 1875 and Thomaz Ribeiro's regulations of 1878 would remain in force until the advent of the Republican regime. In São Tomé and Príncipe, however, the "libertos" had been released from their obligation to continue with their present masters by a local ordinance issued by the Governor on November 8th 1875, after a peaceful but threatening protest in the capital of the Colony. Up to six thousand "serviçais" abandoned the plantations over the following days, many taking refuge in the surrounding forest. Many of the smaller plantations were unable to survive. See Chapter 1.1 of this dissertation.

convicted of malingering and shipped off to the São Tomé plantations or forcibly recruited for "public works".

Notwithstanding the positive, if tardy, legislative reforms introduced by successive Portuguese Governments and the effective collaboration between the two countries in the suppression of the Atlantic slave trade, the persistence of covert and illegal practices of labour recruitment, aided and abetted by badly-paid colonial public servants [1981] and compounded by systematic obstruction of reforms in the colonies themselves, led to a lasting atmosphere of distrust at Whitehall regarding the willingness and capability of the Portuguese authorities to implement the law. By 1878, however, the Foreign Office had become reconciled to the fact that the constant influx of hands to the islands from Angola was, to all intents and purposes, legitimate indentured labour and, as such, it was no longer obliged to pursue the matter further.[1982] In fact, once the Atlantic slave trade had ended and Britain had atoned, to its own satisfaction at least, for its earlier conduct in the matter,[1983] its major concern, as far as South-Central Africa was concerned, was the consolidation of the frontiers of territories under the British flag and the resolution of the disputes which arose with the other European colonising powers, as the competition between them grew.[1984]

Prior to the beginning of the eighteen-eighties, India," the jewel of the Crown" and the essentially "white colonies" of Canada, Australasia and, with certain reservations, parts of southern and eastern Africa, were considered to represent the future of the British Empire. The first priority of the Foreign Office was to protect and secure the trade routes to the East through the Suez Canal and around the Cape, whilst attempting to promote the

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[1981] British Chargé d'Affaires Edward Lytton, writing to Foreign Minister José Maria Cazal Ribeiro admitted that it was difficult for minor public servants in the colonies "to maintain a standard of public virtue so high as to be beyond the reach of temptation." Edward Lytton to J.M. Cazal Ribeiro. August 14th 1866. FO 84/1258. Quoted in James Duffy. Op.cit 1967, p.37.

[1982] In a test case which was examined by the Law Officers of the Crown in 1877, they concluded that the transport of labourers in such conditions did not constitute a violation of the 1842 Treaty, as the purchase of slaves to obtain their liberty was not the "transport of negroes by sea for the purpose of consigning them to slavery." Law Officers to Lord Salisbury. May 11th 1878. FO 84/1447. Discussed in James Duffy. Op.cit 1967, pp. 80-82.

[1983] The British banking system and, indeed, the Industrial Revolution itself, owed much to the revenue from the Atlantic slave trade and yet the History taught in British secondary schools is only now attempting to come to terms with Britain's role in the slave-trade before abolition.

[1984] See Robert Robinson, John Gallagher and Alice Denny. *Africa and the Victorians.The Official Mind of Imperialism.* Macmillan, London: 1961, pp. 8-17.

removal of restrictive tariffs and ensure that "free trade" prevailed in the African colonies of the other European nations, a situation which evidently favoured what was then the greatest trading nation on earth. All of this would quickly change, however, in the final decades of the nineteenth century as other European powers began to send out expeditions into the virtually unexplored interior of the continent with the aim of laying down claims to enormous swathes of territory which had previously been left to indigenous rule. [1985] Driven by the economic strategies of the rapidly-industrialising European nations, a new, more aggressive phase of imperialism had been inaugurated, justified, in official discourse, as an unselfish mission to bring the benefits of "Christian civilisation" to the needy peoples of the African continent.

By this time Portuguese doctrine on the question of labour for the island plantations had evolved from its previous defensive stance to one of imperialistic pride in what was now advertised as a national enterprise of great moral substance.[1986] In fact, the Portuguese authorities now alleged that slavery existed only in the minds of the Africans themselves. According to the official narrative, "savages", bound into domestic slavery in the "unpacified" interior of Angola, were being rescued from the hands of "cruel and despotic" local chiefs and, after being briefly questioned by a magistrate on their willingness to enlist, they were baptised and conveyed on regular passenger vessels to São Tomé and Príncipe, where they were given the opportunity of enjoying a productive existence in a "morally dignifying" working environment.

There was an iota of truth in this, as in all such vindications, but however well the "contract-labourers" might be treated on the islands, the fact that they had been forced to leave their homes and would never see them again, still marked them as slaves, as critics

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[1985] This would quickly change, however, after Britain's military intervention in Egypt in 1882 and the Berlin Conference of 1884-5. A new surge of imperialism began, largely driven by the economic depression in Europe and the desire of the major powers to discover new sources of raw materials for their manufacturing industries and new markets for cheap export goods.

[1986] The creation of the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa in 1875, during the reign of D. Luis I, signalled a new phase in Portugal's attitude towards Africa. A proactive approach towards the African colonies was launched through a programme of lectures and exhibitions and the Sociedade would provide support to expeditions into the interior of the continent, essentially to reinforce Portuguese claims to territories where European presence was sparse. Duffy quotes the report in the *Jornal do Commercio* of December 14th 1886 on the patriotic celebrations held at the Sociedade de Geografia on the return from Africa of the explorers Serpa Pinto and Augusto Cardozo. **The King was congratulated "on the freedom he had granted to the Negro Race."** (my bold) See James Duffy. Op.cit. 1967, p.97 (footnote).

of the system would continue to insist over the years to come. Henceforth, the initiative in the antislavery dispute with Portugal would pass from the Foreign Office to the two British antislavery societies [1987] which soon began to receive reports of forced recruitment and slave-raiding from the British, American and Swiss Protestant missionaries who began to settle in the Portuguese Congo and on the Bié plateau after the Berlin Conference. [1988] Much had changed since the days of the abolitionist campaigns at the beginning of the century, however. The British antislavery movement could no longer mobilise the mass support it used to enjoy and the two philanthropic societies now depended for moral and financial backing on a small number of ageing activists, many of whom were leading members of evangelical Protestant communities. The limited human and financial resources of both societies were further taxed by the dispersion of their efforts, not merely in the struggle against the undisguised forms of slavery which still survived in many parts of the world,[1989] but also against the plethora of forced labour practices which had emerged after abolition.

As far as Portugal's African territories were concerned, the attention of the Foreign Office was now concentrated on East Africa - primarily on ensuring access to the deepwater port of Delagoa Bay but also on putting an end to arab slave-trading through Mozambique. Over the next two decades British consuls would carry out only occasional visits to the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe. In 1882, H.M. Consul Cohen reported to Lord Granville that although the labourers, on the whole, were well-fed and housed and received medical treatment, the death rate was alarming [1990] and as the "serviçais" never

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[1987] The two philanthropic societies - the Aborigine's Protection Society and the Anti-Slavery Society, partially depended on information provided by local administrators of British territories bordering on colonies belonging to other countries such as France, Portugal and Belgium, most of whom had been educated to believe that no nation was as well-prepared to administer its colonies as Britain. To a great extent this belief also was shared by British missionaries, some of whom, however, such as the Plymouth Brethren, put their religious goals before those of the British Empire.

[1988] See Douglas Wheeler. Op.cit 1963, p.288, citing AHU. Angola, Pasta I-1, no. 11, 23rd June 1879. Governor-General, and AHU. Angola Pasta I-1, 24th March 1881, No. 224, Governor-General. There would soon be complaints from Governor-General Ferreira do Amaral that, unlike their Protestant counterparts, Portuguese Catholic missionaries were reluctant and ill-prepared to venture into the interior of Angola. Idem. ibidem. February 15th 1884, Governor-General.
Samuels notes that of the 39 missionaries who left the Catholic Training School at Cernache between 1866 and 1879, only four had gone to Angola. See Michael Samuels. Op.cit.1970, p.14.

[1989] Including the British Empire. In Zanzibar, for example, which became a British Protectorate in 1890 and where slavery was still legal until 1897. In truth of fact it was only fully eliminated in 1909, as William Allbright of the Anti-Slavery Society confessed at the meeting in Lisbon between himself,William Cadbury and the Minister of the Colonies on March 22nd 1911.

[1990] Allegedly approaching 20% p.a.

returned to Angola, the system differed little, in its essence, from slavery. [1991]As serious as Cohen's allegations were, the issue was eclipsed by the negotiations between the two nations concerning the territories along the mouth of the Congo, [1992] and in view of the recent Law Officers' ruling the report was shelved.[1993]

The first consular reports concerning serious abuses of human rights in the Congo Free State, which shared hundreds of miles of unpatrolled borders with northern and eastern Angola, began to reach the FO at the end of the eighteen-eighties. A decade earlier, Leopold II of Belgium had succeeded in convincing British missionary societies to support his supposedly philanthropic project for extensive, disputed areas along the Congo river, mainly due to his commitment to allow both Protestant and Catholic missionaries unlimited access to the territories which would come under his rule.[1994] Deciding against the claims of Portugal and France, the Berlin Act of February 1885 had awarded the territories under dispute to Leopold's so-called Association Internationale du Congo, a philanthropic facade which he would cynically dispense with only six months later.[1995] From then on, a ruthless administrative and military campaign would be set in motion to exploit the resources of the upper reaches of the Congo, using local forced labour. The system of quotas imposed on the population was enforced by a native militia which was given a virtually free hand to execute the demands of the regime and its concessionaries. Kidnapping, rape, torture, pillage and cannibalism became regular

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[1991] On the positive side, however, the planters had successfully used their considerable influence in Lisbon to end the use of the islands as a virtual penal colony in 1881. See Almada, Vicente P.L. Machado de Mello. (Visconde de Pindela) *As Ilhas de S. Thomé*, pp.47-64 and R.J Hammond Op.cit. 1966, p.318.

[1992] The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty on the Congo was signed in 1884 against the pretensions of France and Leopold II to territories claimed by Portugal along the Congo estuary. It was never ratified and would soon become a dead letter with the signing of the Berlin Act of 1885 which established the principle of "effective occupation" and declared the Congo basin a free trade zone.

[1993] Consul A. Cohen to Lord Granville. July 18th 1882. FO 84/1616. See Lowell J. Satre. Op.cit. 2005, p.45.

[1994] But also other influential lobbies such as the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, presided over by the shipowner Sir Alfred Jones, who was later made Consul of the Congo Free State and had a monopoly on the Congo-Antwerp mail traffic.

[1995] Sir Charles Dilke summed up the British Government's thinking at the Berlin Conference in a speech in the Commons in 1897: "[…]At that Conference the Foreign Office desired to promote what they called «the permanent advantage of Africa,» by which «**the blessings of Christianity and civilisation**» were to be brought nearer to the people. It was on these grounds that they recognised the Congo State, and that they provided a large area in which «the trade of all nations would enjoy complete freedom,» and in which they prohibited «monopoly or privilege,» and declared their intention to be «**the preservation of the native populations, improvement of their moral and material conditions, and suppression of slavery and the slave trade.**»" Sir Charles Dilke. Hansard. Africa (European Powers). House of Commons Debate. April 2nd 1897, vol. 48 c 426. (my bold).

occurrences and whole villages quickly disappeared as the social fabric and traditional way of life of African communities were mercilessly destroyed. Despite their proximity to the suffering population and first-hand proof of atrocities, missionaries, whether Protestant or Catholic, were reluctant to speak out, fearing that their activities would be restricted or terminated by the authorities.

One of the principal justifications put forward by those who defended the Congo Free State was the need to curb the Muslim slave trade, an argument which was often advanced by European colonising nations to justify their imperialist expansion policies in Africa. The launching of Cardinal Lavigerie's anti-slavery crusade in 1888 added to the growing swell of Christian imperialist militancy and was one of the principal factors leading to the Brussels Conference of 1890 which agreed to initiate military repression of Arab slaving whilst creating a free-trade zone across much of central Africa and suppressing the sale of firarms and alcohol to indigenous populations.[1996] The Conference came hard on the heels of the dispute between Britain and Portugal over territories situated between Angola and Mozambique, which would lead to a British ultimatum in January 1890 and the Portugal's reluctant withdrawal of claims to extensive territories in central Africa, leaving lasting scars on the diplomatic relationship between the two countries, and supplying Portuguese republicans with more ammunition for their campaign against the ruling Monarchy. [1997]

The first report in the British press denouncing the Congo regime would only appear in *The Times* in November of 1895.[1998] The following year, HM Consul William Clayton

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[1996] Five years after the Berlin Conference, a second agreement was drawn up in Brussels dealing with the colonization of the African interior. It was agreed to end the arab slave trade by military force, establish a line of forts and promote effective communications and rail transport between the major colonial towns. The sale of firearms was suspended for twelve years and the manufacture and sale of alcohol was forbidden across the whole of central Africa. The conference powers also agreed to free trade and access, on equal terms, to much of West Africa and the Congo, British East Africa, and Northern Rhodesia.

[1997] Viewed in Britain as little more than a spat and soon forgotten, in Portugal the whole affair was portrayed in the press as a national humiliation and proof of the treachery of Portugal's ancient ally. It should be remembered, however, that the settler population of Angola was less than 10,000 and despite the vehement protests there can be no doubt that the effective occupation of the territories between Angola and Mozambique was beyond the capabilities of Portugal this time. The British Government's arrogant stance in the whole affair was a reflection of the low esteem in which Portugal's colonial rule in Africa was held. Ironically, however, within a decade Britain would be asking for Portugal's neutrality and discreet support in its war against the Boers.

[1998] John Murphy, an Irish missionary of the American Baptist Missionary Union at Bolenge, revealed that forced labour was widely used and that punitive expeditions were carried out by state militia to capture

Pickersgill, a former agent of the London Missionary Society, travelled upriver to Bolenge and interviewed missionaries of the American Baptist Missionary Union, later confirming their accounts of atrocities in a report to the FO. Notwithstanding a second critical report from Pickersgill, followed by a ground-breaking speech in Parliament by Sir Charles Dilke condemning Leopold's regime[1999] and a written protest from Fox-Bourne of the Aborigine's Protection Society,[2000] the British Government remained unmoved, resisting any action which might jeopardise its strategic alliance with Belgium in Europe.

The turmoil in the Congo Free State was a symptom of the rapid surge of imperialist expansion which was being felt across the whole of south-central Africa in the final years of the nineteenth century.[2001] The so-called "delirio de borracha" which lasted from the mid-eighties until the first years of the new century,[2002] also stimulated rapid growth in the frequency and size of the long-range trading caravans which linked the bordering Angolan territories to the port of Benguella.[2003] At the same time, the demand for drinking chocolate in Europe and the United States was leading to a rapid increase in the area of land devoted to cacao production in São Tomé and Príncipe and, as a consequence, to a

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hostages. In an even more shocking revelation, Murphy denounced the practice of the severing of the hands of victims by native soldiers to prove to their officers that cartridges had not been wasted. In *The Times* November 18th 1895, p.6. See Dean Pavlakis. *British Humanitarianism and the Congo Reform Movement(1896-1913).* Routledge, London: 2015, p.32.

[1999] "As regarded the Congo, the State, presided over by the King of the Belgians, was violating every clause in the Brussels Act, of which our Foreign Office were bound, individually as well as collectively, with the other Powers, to watch the due execution." Sir Charles Dilke. Hansard. House of Commons Debate. "Africa (European Powers)" April 2nd 1897. vol. 48 cc 425-50. Dilke, a radical Liberal, had been the negotiator of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1884, which was never ratified, and was the leading spokesman for the Aborigine's Protection Society in Parliament.

[2000] See Ruth Slade. "English missionaries and the Beginning of the Anti- Congolese Campaign in England" *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 1955, 33-1, p. 41.

[2001] Essentially, an ancient collector-gatherer system in a remote part of central Africa was now being subjected to previously unimaginable strain by the distant demands of European capitalism.

[2002] The wild rubber trade was catastrophically undermined by the surge of cheaper plantation rubber from the British Asian colonies.

[2003] Linda Heywood notes that up to 100,000 Ovimbundu worked as bearers (porters) towards the end of the nineteenth century and in 1911, when the railway arrived in Huambo, 77,000 people were still employed in porterage. See Linda Marinda Heywood. Op.cit. 2000, p.46.
Citing early twentieth-century maps, Vellut remarks that the volume of trade during the rubber boom was such that even "ox-drawn wagons of the south-african type" were used by Ovimbundu traders and that the trails they opened up allowed travellers "to walk twelve abreast." He quotes the testimony of a Belgian officer in 1901 who "estimated that in one year, seven Ovimbundu caravans of up to 5000 members in each had traded in the Lunda country". See Jean Luc Vellut. "Rural Poverty in Western Shaba c.1890-1930" in Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons eds. Op.cit 1977, p.296 and note on p.313.

pressing need for more plantation labourers.[2004] The labour requirements of the "roças" were further aggravated by the high mortality rate amongst Angolan arrivals, principally due to a lack of sanitary conditions and to endemic tropical diseases, notwithstanding significant investments in living and hospital facilities on the larger plantations.

It was a time, as Vellut observes, in which "the trader often walked hand in hand with the warrior".[2005] Lunda villages on both sides of the Angola-Congo frontier were regularly raided by Batetela rebels who were supplied with alcohol, guns, ammunition and cloth by Ovimbundu traders in exchange for rubber, ivory and slaves, many of whom were marched to the coast or sold to European agents as contract-labourers for the cocoa islands. In hindsight, there can be little doubt that certain of the native peoples of Angola acted as conscious accomplices in cruel and disruptive practises which may have brought a small measure of prosperity to their own communities but only added to the misery of others.[2006] It has been argued, with justification, that they were no more than cogs in a colonial machine which operated on the basis of supply and demand, having little choice but to survive as best they could in circumstances over which they had little or no control, but in this specific case, it is indisputable that before the advent of rail communications to the interior,[2007] the Ovimbundu and their allies played a vital, if accessory, role in sustaining the growth and prosperity of the island plantations, at incalculable cost to the backlands of Angola and the well-being of its peoples.[2008]

[2004] Statistics published in the *Diário de Notícias* on November 4th 1904, which were based on official returns, showed that between 1876 and the end of 1900, almost 59,000 contract labourers were sent from Angola to São Tomé and Príncipe, increasing in number towards the end of the century - an average of over 2500 a year. None had returned. The figures are quoted in table form in James Duffy. Op.cit 1967, p.98.

[2005] Idem.ibidem.

[2006] In hindsight, any blame has to be shared proportionately between the European and American chocolate manufacturers whose burgeoning demands for high-quality cacao acted as a catalyst for the expansion of the island plantations; successive Portuguese Governments who proved helpless to implement often well-meaning legislation in their African colonies; the São Tomé planters who cared little or nothing about how labourers were recruited on the mainland; the intermediaries who purchased captives from traders with Martini-Henry muzzle-loaders, gunpowder, bolts of Lancashire calico, and locally-made cane rum; and the Ovimbundu and their allies who ensured a regular supply of captive bearers, most of whom were taken from other ethno-linguistic communities, hundreds of miles away from the Atlantic ports.
In a nutshell, the knock-on effects of a system which had first flourished in the sixteenth century on the colossal profits of transantlantic slavery and plantation agriculture. (my bold)

[2007] The railway from the coast reached Huambo in 1911, by then the European population of the highlands had grown to total 2000. See Linda Marinda Heywood. Op.cit. 2000, p.47.

[2008] "The whole district is thickly populated with natives, whose principal occupation outside their kraals is that of «carrying», or travelling for their headmen, **to distant Lunda, the Kassai region, and Barotseland, in search of wax, rubber, and boys to fill gaps in the ranks of servicaes, all of which find their way eventually to the coast ports.**[...] a considerable portion of the total exports of native produce from Benguella is obtained by the Bihenos, who act as intermediaries between the natives of the rubber-

Despite the annual increases in the number of Angolan labourers being sent to the islands, the issue of slavery in Portuguese West Africa slipped into relative insignificance in British philanthropic circles until 1894, [2009] when the Liberal MP Joseph Pease questioned Sir Edward Grey [2010] in Parliament, on the transport of slaves from Angola to São Tomé and its implications under the Brussels Act. Grey defended the Government's line on the matter, replying that if there were any "slaves", a fact of which his office had no knowledge, they became free on arrival in the islands. [2011] At Pease's insistence, however, the Foreign Office launched an enquiry through William Brock, the Acting Consul in Luanda. Brock, a local merchant, was dismissive and advised that the *serviçal* was "well-treated and cared for" and that any alteration in the existing system would ruin São Tomé.[2012] A few months later, however, Consul Pickersgill argued, on his return to post, that the contract-labour system was merely "a form of the slave trade" which encouraged local chiefs to make wars and take prisoners.[2013]

Sensing the threat of unwanted and untimely complications, Sir Thomas Anderson, the Permanent Under-Secretary at the FO, advised that "for the present we had better leave it alone".[2014] Two years later, the issue was raised again in Parliament by the tireless

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producing districts of the Congo basin and the European trading houses. The journeys they make are extensive enough to be remarkable, and they frequently extend over considerable periods of time. **These journeys, commencing in undisciplined raids for slaves, have gradually, by the action of economic laws, and under the direction of white traders, been systematized into their present extensive commercial ventures**." From Cap. Boyd Cuninghame's account of the Bihé district in "A Pioneer Journey in Angola". In *The Geographical Journal.* August 1904, pp. 156-157. (my bold)

[2009] Despite recent reports of slavery and slave-trading in Angola published by explorers such as Cdr. Verney Lovett Cameron Op.cit, 1877 (Portuguese translation 1880) and the Earl of Mayo Op.cit.1883, which provoked indignant reactions in the Portuguese press. See Chapter 1.1 of this dissertation.

[2010] Then Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Gladstone Government.

[2011] Joseph Pease MP: "I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he has any information as to the shipment of slaves from Portuguese territories in West Africa to the Islands of San Thomè and Principè[sic]; whether the shipment of such slaves is in contravention of the General Act of the Brussels Conference to which Portugal affixed her signature; and whether steps will be taken to put a stop to this practice? Sir Edward Grey: "Slavery is abolished in the Colony of Angola, and in the Islands of San Thomè and Principe.[sic] If in spite of this there were a slave traffic, of which we have no knowledge, **the slaves would become free when landed in the islands**." *Slave Traffic In West Africa*. Hansard. House of Commons Debate. June 4th 1894 vol 25 cc 285-6. (my bold) See also Joseph Pease MP to Sir Edward Grey. June 5th 1884. FO 63/1447. Pease, a Quaker who was close to the Fry family, could boast of a long family line of antislavery activists.

[2012] See W.S.R Brock to Lord Kimberley August 28th 1894. FO 63/1447.

[2013] See W.C. Pickersgill to Lord Kimberley. December 15th1894. FO 63/1447.

[2014] Idem. Note on minutes by Head of African Dept. January 12th 1895. The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* reserved no more than a brief mention for the export of labourers from Angola in its annual summary, however, under the heading "Portugal and the Slave Trade", noting, however, that: "This traffic differs but slightly from the Slave-trade proper and doubtless is the cause of many raids in the Western part of the African Continent." *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. January 1895, p.12.

antislavery campaigner, Sir Charles Dilke, and soon afterwards was followed by another critical report from Consul Clayton Pickersgill, but, overshadowed by weightier and more urgent issues involving territorial disputes with the French along the White Nile and with the Afrikaners in the Orange Free State, the matter was shelved yet again. [2015]

The first significant Portuguese protests against the contract-labour system appeared in the radical press at the end of the 1890's, echoing generalised dissatisfaction in Angola over punitive customs duties [2016] and chronic labour shortages, further aggravated by the spread of sleeping sickness in the north of the province. Adding to their difficulties in obtaining hands, the Angolan "fazendeiros" were now being outbid by the more prosperous São Tomé planters for the captive bearers who were brought from the far interior by the Ovimbundu trading caravans. At the same time, the protests revealed the growing impatience of republican activists towards the inertia of the monarchist regime and its notorious neglect of the African colonies, whilst demonstrating the survival of liberal ideals which had been kept alive throughout the second half of the nineteenth century by progressive politicians and enlightened freemasons. The protests, however, would never evolve into a mass movement, despite the success of such activists in coordinating their efforts with the pro-autonomy campaigners in Angola. [2017]

Although the publications of the British and Foreign Antislavery Society periodically returned to the subject both before and after the turn of the century,[2018] the antislavery

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[2015] See W.C. Pickersgill to Lord Salisbury. March 16th 1897. FO 63/1447. Minute by Francis Bertie, Under-Secretary to the African Dept, advising that no action should be taken.

[2016] Commenting on Consul Nightingale's recent report from Luanda, underlining the dissatisfaction of the Angolan farmers, *The Times* of November 1st 1901, on p.4, noted that it described Angola "[…]as passing through a great crisis which may grow into a calamity unless carefully treated by the Administration." This was **due to the 1892 tariff which had proved "disastrous for the colony"** and "advantageous to a few merchants in Lisbon and Oporto". The writer went on to advocate free trade as a solution: " […] The open door policy is required for Angola to induce capitalists to assist in developing the colony, where thousands of square miles await the plough and the harrow." (my bold)

[2017] See Chapter 1.2 of this dissertation. The most active voice in the Portuguese press was the Lisbon republican daily *A Vanguarda*, which intensified its campaign in the first years of the new century after protests broke out in the Angolan capital against the export of labour to the cocoa islands.

[2018] A report in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* featured the efforts of the Swiss-American missionary Héli Chatelain to launch what he called the Phil-African Liberators' League, which planned to create safe havens for freed Angolan slaves where they could be evangelised. See "The Open Sore of the World and its healing" *Anti-Slavery Reporter* Aug-Oct.1897, pp.210-216 and the follow-up after Chatelain had established a mission station at Caconda which he had named Lincoln: "In Darkest Africa. The Phil-African Liberators' League"*Anti-Slavery Reporter.* March-June 1898, pp.116-117. Significantly, the article emphasises that Chatelain was starting a crusade to free "domestic slaves" and had enjoyed the support of the Portuguese authorities on the ground. See chapter 4.1 of this dissertation.

campaign in the radical Portuguese press was inspired by ideals which had little in common with the evangelical Christian crusade of the majority of British philanthropists and was clearly autonomous. Many republicans had anticlerical views and accused the Roman Catholic Church of being as much to blame as the Portuguese Monarchy for what they saw as the decadence of the nation and the state of virtual abandonment to which the African colonies had been condemned. [2019] Moreover, with the humiliation of the "Ultimatum" still fresh in public memory, the Portuguese antislavery campaigners were keen to avoid any suspicion of lack of patriotism, and steered clear of any direct links with their British counterparts. Though debatable to what extent the motives of the republican campaigners were inspired by humanitarian ideals, it is significant that, during the short-lived revolutionary period after the fall of the Monarchy, it would be leading figures of the same anti-slavery lobby who would impose the first substantial reforms in labour practises in Portuguese West Africa to be taken since Amorim's purge.[2020]

Paradoxically, though no holds were barred in the republican press where the Portuguese Monarchy was concerned, other royalist regimes were spared the same treatment.[2021] In fact, Britain was occasionally singled out for praise as a country where, unlike Portugal during the Monarchy, the parliamentary system functioned well and the constitutional monarchy played a discreet and effective role.[2022] Even more remarkably, despite the

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[2019] Although there was undoubtedly a readiness on the part of the Republican leadership to accept the support of the small Portuguese Protestant movement after the fall of the Monarchy. See chapter 4.6 of this dissertation.

[2020] It was the same group of activists, many of whom were freemasons, who would also be instrumental in founding the Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society in 1911. Some anglophone historians have treated the Portuguese radical anti-slavery campaign with disdain, possibly due to Consul Nightingale's sarcastic comment after his visit of inspection to São Tomé in 1906: "[…] Up to the year 1900 the slave traffic met with no opposition from the traders of Angola, who were indeed the primary purchasers from the rubber traders. But about that time **a sudden fit of jealousy** appears to have seized the traders and planters in the interior of Loanda. It was said that the province was being drained of its most valuable asset merely for the benefit of the planters in San Thomé and Príncipe. […]" Consul Nightingale's report. July 28th 1906. FO 367/18, 28370. (my bold)

[2021] Notwithstanding the links between leading Portuguese freemasons and counterparts in France and Britain, most republican politicians seem to have studiously avoided the logical conclusion that all royalist regimes were the product of the same outdated and undemocratic hereditary system. Although Britain had been fiercely criticised for its "arrogance" during the dispute over the "rose-coloured map" in 1890, the real target of the protests was the Portuguese monarchist regime and its inability to stand up for the nation's historic claims to the territories between Angola and Mozambique. Portuguese republicans had by now adopted a more cautious, statesmanlike approach to relations between the two countries, sensing perhaps that they would have to count on Britain's good will or neutrality when they came to power.

[2022] Even after the fall of the Portuguese Monarchy such feelings were openly expressed in the more moderate republican newspapers. An article published shortly after the Parliament Bill had been passed, limiting the power of the House of Lords, is a remarkable example of this kind of prose: "**Nobre e bello paiz, este, que ao mundo a cada momento dá as provas assombrosas da maior sabedoria e poderoso**

fierce criticism of abuses of human rights in Portuguese West Africa, the atrocities in Leopold's "domain privé" were largely ignored by the republican press, and the excesses committed in the British African colonies only began to attract criticism after the Anglo-Boer War, when British humanitarians began to be accused of applying a double standard towards the treatment of contract labourers in the "cocoa islands" and that of the far more numerous contingent of migrant workers employed in the gold mines of the Transvaal, most of whom were recruited in Portuguese East Africa.

At the same time as "anti-slavery" protests began to appear in the republican press, a group of influential colonial specialists were arguing in favour of coercive or tax-induced labour, a strategy which was proving successful in the British colonies. Led by António Ennes, the former Royal Commissioner for Mozambique, they were behind the provisions of the hardline labour legislation of November 9th 1899, which had much in common with legislation in force in the Cape Colony.[2023] Whilst attempting to discipline recruitment practises and define contractual conditions, the new decree was primarily designed to ensure a steady supply of labourers for agriculture and public works by obliging every inhabitant of the colonies to seek paid employment. [2024]

Shortly before the introduction of the new labour law, negotiations had been taking place in London between the Foreign Secretary Lord Salisbury [2025] and the Marquês de Soveral to assure Portuguese neutrality in the second Anglo-Boer war, whilst securing British

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bom senso. Tudo que atravez dos tempos tem sido n'outros povos ou sonho ou transitoria situação, toda a formula politica, economica ou scientifica que tortura o espirito e não teve sequencia ou a teve incoherente n'outro logar,[...] **tudo ali fecunda e se desenvolve n'uma expansão maravilhosa n'um rythmo que desconcerta os mais desprecavidos**.[...] **D'onde lhe vem esta força unica, este magico poder? Da sua propria natureza dos caracteres ethnicos d'essa raça espantosa**, cujas qualidades civicas teem a expressão d'um rigor quasi mathematico. **Assim é que a triada philosophica egualdade, fraternidade e liberdade, que tiveram a sua maxima expressão no espirito francez, ja estava ethnicamente representada no anglo-saxão** [...]" The article was clearly a message in favour of moderation in Portuguese social affairs directed towards the newspaper's readership - and a broad hint that the followers of Antonio José de Almeida were on the side of reason (the word "evolução" is used several times). "A Inglaterra". *O Século.* August 13th 1911, p.1. (my bold).

[2023] The Labour Decree was clearly inspired by similar legislation introduced five years earlier in the Cape Colony. See Chapter 1.1 of this dissertation.

[2024] Though not covering the distribution of farmland to Africans as the 1894 Glen Grey Act did. Compulsory labour and greater autonomy for the African colonies would both be discussed at the at the first National Colonial Congress, which was held at the Sociedade de Geografia, in Lisbon, under royal patronage in 1901.

[2025] The Marquess of Salisbury occupied the posts of Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary of the Unionist Government between June 1895 and November 1900.

access to Delagoa Bay and preventing the passage of Afrikaner troops and supplies across Mozambique.[2026] In recognition of Portugal's support, the terms of the centuries-old Treaty of Windsor, which guaranteed that Portugal and its overseas possessions would be defended by Britain in the event of attack, were renewed on October 14th 1899.[2027] This demonstration of goodwill and mutual trust had been secretly compromised, however, just a few months earlier, by a machiavellian understanding with Germany which established that in the event of Portugal's financial collapse or default, its African colonies would be divided between the two nations.[2028] The same cynical duplicity would preside over British diplomacy in the years before the Great War when Germany's ambitions for a "place in the sun", once again at Portugal's expense, would be seriously entertained by a British Government, now led by the Liberals.

After the Anglo-Boer War, however, Britain's main priority, as far as Portugal was concerned, was to ensure a steady flow of migrant labour from Mozambique to the Transvaal gold mines,[2029] but the Foreign Office would continue to keep a watchful eye on Portuguese West Africa in the first years of the twentieth century through its representatives at Luanda and Boma. Critical reports on the use of forced labour in São Tomé and Príncipe and in the north of Angola were delivered by Consuls Nightingale and Casement to Lord Lansdowne, the new Foreign Secretary, who proved reluctant to raise problems with Portugal whilst negotiations on the Transvaal labour question were under way. Representations based on the Berlin and Brussels Acts made by Fox Bourne of the Aborigine's Protection Society were greeted in Whitehall with the same apparent indifference. [2030] Periodical reports appearing in the journals of the two philanthropic

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[2026] Several hundred Afrikaner refugees and prisoners were transferred from Mozambique to Portugal during the war, and interned for over a year in small towns such as Caldas da Rainha, Peniche and Alenquer, leaving behind them the memory of the first games of rugby football to be played in Portugal.
[2027] First signed in 1386 with the threat of a Spanish invasion in mind.
[2028] Despite the renewal of the "Ancient Alliance", negotiations along the same lines between Great Britain and Germany would recommence in 1912 and would only be finally abandoned due to the onset of WWI.
[2029] See Chapter 4.11 of this dissertation. Milner's "modus vivendi" would remain in force until a full agreement was signed in 1907.
[2030] Fox Bourne wrote to the FO after a meeting with the missionary Matthew Z. Stober, complaining that slavery under the name of forced labour was on the increase in Angola in violation of articles six and nine of the Berlin General Act. Basing his arguments on the reports of Consuls Pickersgill, Casement and Nightingale, he voiced his suspicions that labour was coming from the Congo Basin. In Fox Bourne to Marquess of Lansdowne. June 11th 1902. FO 63/1447. Loath to create problems whilst negotiations for labour for the Transvaal were under way, Lansdowne forwarded the letter to Roger Casement at Boma, who confirmed the accusations in a letter to Lansdowne on September 17th 1902. Fox Bourne's letter was also sent by the FO to Nightingale for his comments. See James Duffy Op.cit, 1967, p.170, Kevin Grant.

societies also seemed to have little effect, and it was only in 1901 after a direct approach to Fox Bourne and to Cadbury Bros, the Quaker chocolate-makers, by the Scots missionary Matthew Stober, that the question of "Portuguese slavery" finally began to be taken more seriously, at least in British humanitarian circles. [2031] As inopportune as the issue was to the Foreign Office, it was far more threatening to Cadbury Bros., due to the risk of public exposure, as they had been making purchases of high-quality cacao from São Tomé and Príncipe since the end of the 1880's.

In retrospect, it now seems certain that some, if not all, of the members of the Board of Cadbury Bros. had been aware of the allegations which had appeared in the pages of the Anti-Slavery Reporter before Stober's visit to Bournville, but they had clearly decided to put the business interests of the firm before their humanitarian concerns, until the risk of a public scandal became too serious to ignore.[2032] After receiving further confirmation of the accusations, the Board nominated William Cadbury to deal with the problem and recommended he should approach leading members of the Quaker community for advice. Cadbury's first inclination was to allow the situation to follow its course and trust that "free trade" and persistent missionary work would be instrumental in bringing about the necessary reforms, but he soon realised that this would take too long and some form of action would need to be taken.[2033] Seven years would pass by, however, before the chocolate-makers finally surrendered to the chorus of protest against their dilatory manoeuvres and ceased to purchase Portuguese cacao. [2034]

By 1902, the "anti-slavery" protests in Portugal had gained a fresh impetus due to the Bailundo revolt, an uprising of the Ovimbundu and their allies, the origins of which can be traced back to the growing demand for labourers in São Tomé and Príncipe and the

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Op.cit 2005, p.122 and Glyn Stone. Op.cit. 2009, p.167. Lansdowne was sensitive to the fact that Britain had "skeletons in its own cupboard", and was afraid of drawing attention to the treatment of the aborigines in Australia, for example.

[2031] Stober was active in the North of Angola where slave-raiding was also frequent. He was the first to trace the labour problem in Portuguese West Africa back to Britain and Cadbury's dependence on Portuguese cacao. He was undoubtedly aware of the proud Quaker anti-slavery tradition and hence the possibility of forcing them to impose a boycott.

[2032] See Chapter 1.4 of this dissertation. Cadbury Bros. had enquired about labour practises in Portuguese West Africa in correspondence with Consul Nightingale as early as December 1899.

[2033] It was in 1903 that William Cadbury first began to correspond with E.D.Morel, who had already begun Congo crusade. Morel would become a major influence over Cadbury and his strategy in the "slave-grown cocoa" campaign during the coming years.

[2034] Not the least from their fellow Quakers.

consequent pressure placed on the peoples of the Angolan highlands by unscrupulous recruiting agents. The bulk of the rebellion was put down after only a few months, but there were hundreds of casualties amongst the indigenous population and the traditional trading routes from the interior to the coast were disrupted for several years.[2035] After a thorough enquiry, carried out at the Governor-General's request by Capt. Pedro Massano de Amorim, a significant number of local traders were expelled from the Province and stern measures were taken to end the complicity of the military authorities in the trade of captive bearers destined for the coast.

In the wake of the revolt and in response to the continuing protests of a significant part of the Angolan elite, the Lisbon Government introduced alterations to the labour legislation to allow "emigration" to São Tomé and Príncipe from the other African colonies and Macao. The decree, which was signed in January 1903, established a five-year contract period for Angolans and the retention of two-thirds of the labourer's wages, which were to be payable as a lump sum at the end of the contract. Repatriation, however, was not made compulsory and in fact, only a handful of those recruited in 1903 would be returned to Angola five years later, a hollow gesture which merely served to exacerbate the protests of the philanthropists at home and abroad. It was the first serious attempt to impose some degree of control over the recruitment process since the contract-labour system had begun, but its moralising effects were sadly short-lived.[2036]

The new legislation was published just two months before William Cadbury's fact-finding trip to Lisbon, which took place in March 1903. Cadbury, who was accompanied by Stober, was reassured by his business contacts and by the planters that the contract-labourers were well-treated on the islands and though there might be issues regarding recruitment on the mainland which needed to be resolved, they would be addressed by the recent alterations to the law. The planters emphasised that Cadbury, as a business associate, was welcome to visit the islands and see the situation for himself, whilst Sir Martin Gosselin, the British Minister, mindful of the ongoing negotiations concerning Mozambican labour for the Transvaal, recommended he should wait for a year before

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[2035] Although the final focus of resistance was only extinguished in 1904.
[2036] References to the Bailundo Revolt and Capt. Pedro Massano de Amorim's purge appear at several points in this dissertation. See for example Chapter 1.2.

accepting the planters' invitation, ostensibly to allow the new legislation to take effect.[2037] Although encouraged by what he had been told, Cadbury was evidently not fully convinced, as, on his return, he took a series of discreet but effective measures to protect Cadbury Bros.' reputation as progressive and humanitarian employers, whilst taking the additional precaution of instructing his purchasing agent to procure alternative sources of high-quality cacao.

The following year witnessed the foundation of the Congo Reform Association, the product of an alliance between the evangelical philanthropism of Grattan Guiness of the Regions Beyond Missionary Union and other leading Protestant religious leaders,[2038] and the "free trade" humanitarianism of E.D.Morel and John Holt of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce.[2039] Roger Casement, who had delivered a damning report to the Foreign Office on human rights abuses in the Congo Free State just a few months before, would also play an important but necessarily discreet role in the foundation of the CRA.[2040] Despite their disparate aims, both factions were essentially inspired by the same

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[2037] Sir Harry Johnston had recently written a long article in *The Times* in which he advocated recruiting labourers for South Africa from the whole of Portuguese Africa, as well as British Central Africa: "[…] The Portuguese Government has been most obliging in allowing extensive recruiting for labour to go on in South-East Africa. It can have had no reason whatsoever to regret this good nature on its part towards the adjacent British colonies, since as an eye witness, I can vouch for the improvement which this large employment of Portuguese negroes has made in the interior districts of South-East Africa." Native Labour in South Africa. *The Times* December 22nd 1902 p.12. In fact, **in June 1903, Sir Martin Gosselin would be asked by the FO to sound out the Portuguese Government on the possibility of the WNLA carrying out recruitment in Angola for the Rand.** See Ramos de Almeida. Op.cit 1979, p.25.(my bold)

[2038] According to Pavlakis just over half of the religious leaders in the 45 member executive committee of the CRA were nonconformists and the rest were Anglicans-**none were Catholics and none were women**. The overwhelming majority of those with political affiliations belonged to the Liberal Party. See Dean Pavlakis Op.cit. 2015, pp.106-7 (my bold). The same balance would be found in the support for the British "slave-grown cocoa" campaign although there would be no mass movement nor indeed an executive committee as such.

[2039] Morel had previously been impatient with British missionaries in the Congo but now realised he needed their support for the CRA to be successful. As early as 1901, he had protested in the Manchester Guardian that they had been turning a blind eye to the atrocities for far too long: "Missionaries who shut their eyes to the nameless atrocities and excesses which the system […] daily entails may, if they wish, continue to endeavour to influence public opinion, but if so, they must be prepared for the protests of others who interpret differently the teachings of the religion of which such missionaries are professed followers and expounders." *Manchester Guardian*. September 13th 1901. Quoted in Kevin Grant Op.cit 2005, p.51. Grant suggests that Fox Bourne may have welcomed the support of the Liverpool and Manchester Chambers of Commerce in his humanitarian endeavours but in fact he was reluctant to accept closer links with organisations which he realised had a vested interest in the outcome of the campaign.

[2040] The Congo Reform Association was instituted at a public meeting at the Philharmonic Hall, Liverpool on March 23rd 1904. Amongst the founders were William Cadbury, John Holt and John Morley, and several senior religious figures and members of the House of Lords. Its first President was a Liberal peer, Earl Beauchamp, and its Hon. Secretary E.D.Morel. Their declared intentions were to obtain "just and secure treatment" of the inhabitants of the Congo including restoration of individual freedom and land rights, an issue which was close to the heart of the "third party" lobby.

paternalist sense of responsibility towards the peoples of Central Africa, who were seen as the unfortunate victims of reckless foreign rule. The campaign was bolstered by the findings of an independent commission on the Congo, published in 1905, which, to the consternation of the Belgian authorities, confirmed missionary allegations and the essential features of Casement's shocking report. Under Morel's dynamic leadership, the CRA would launch a campaign which would attract thousands to its mass meetings all over Britain, using photography and lantern slides to provide vivid evidence of atrocities and abuse of human rights.

As part of the defensive strategy he had devised after the Lisbon visit, William Cadbury would become one of the principal sources of financial backing for the CRA, a gesture which, although in line with the firm's traditional support for humanitarian causes, conveniently came at a time when their purchasing policy was threatened by public scrutiny.[2041] Like Morel, Cadbury was convinced that the Congo atrocities were infinitely more serious than anything which might be taking place in Portuguese West Africa [2042] and he was undoubtedly relieved when Morel's forceful campaign quickly overshadowed the allegations of the two philanthropic societies concerning Portuguese "slave-grown cocoa". From 1905 onwards Cadbury would also secretly finance Morel's *West African Mail*, an illustrated trade journal which he had founded two years earlier with John Holt's support, to give a wider hearing to his views on the Congo Free State. [2043]

The creation of the CRA in March 1904 signalled the revival of British philanthropy as a mass movement and simultaneously, against the background of growing working-class militancy and the rise of the Labour Party, the onset of a new political era. Over the

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[2041] The sum in question, £1000, donated in June 1905, more than covered the whole of the CRA's accumulated debt and was clearly intended to keep the organisation afloat for the foreseeable future. From 1905 onwards Cadbury Bros. would take over direct responsibility for its own advertising and that same year the first design for the Cadbury logo would be commissioned from the famous French graphic artist Georges Auriol, who designed the Paris metro stations.

[2042] "[…]**The condition of things in San Thomé cannot be compared with the utterly reckless management of the Congo Free State**, but at the same time there seems little doubt that public opinion would condemn the existing conditions of labour if the facts could be made known." (my bold) From minutes of meeting Board of Cadbury's on July 5th 1904, quoted by Sir Edward Carson in the Cadbury v. *Standard* Trial. Reported in *The Times* December 3rd 1909, p.4.

[2043] Sir Alfred Jones, the Chairman of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce and one of Leopold II's principal supporters in Britain, also funded the *West African Mail* during its first two years, in a vain attempt to curb Morel's campaign against the Congo Free State. He withdrew, however, as soon as it became obvious that Morel was firmly set on reform. William Cadbury became a life-long supporter of Morel's causes as well as a major benefactor to his family.

previous decades there had been an attempt on the part of imperialist politicians and evangelical missionary societies to divert public attention from social issues at home to those further afield.[2044] The strategy had been given new life by the coronation of Edward VII in 1902 and the Empire was once again presented as "the panacea for all ills, the answer to unemployment with better living conditions for the working classes and an expanded overseas market for surplus goods".[2045] Humanitarian struggles, situated in "far-off lands", now vied with sweated labour in Britain as topics of public debate and partisan politics, and the idea that Britain had a "Christian duty" to spread the benefits of civilisation to other parts of the world had become a popular theme for both preachers and politicians. Indeed, in the remaining years before the First World War, the atrocities in the Congo Free State would rival in Parliament and the press with the issues of "Chinese slavery in the Transvaal" and "Portuguese slavery", and, on more than one occasion, Morel would privately lament that the public was being distracted by lesser issues from the urgent need for action in the Congo.

Although by 1905 there was a degree of consensus amongst British politicians regarding the Congo question, the bitter, xenophobic campaign against coolie labour in the Rand pitted progressive Liberals and Labour trade unionists against Balfour's Unionist Government and would lead to a Liberal "landslide" in the 1906 General Election and the ensuing appointment of Sir Edward Grey to the post of Foreign Secretary, a position he would hold for the next eleven years.[2046] From then on, the Tories, whose patience had already been sorely tested by the Liberal newspapers during the Anglo-Boer War, [2047] began to exploit the so-called "Portuguese slave-grown cocoa" issue for political gain in the press and Parliament, and, more specifically, its links to the three Quaker chocolate manufacturing companies, Cadbury's, Rowntree's and Fry's, who publicly supported the Liberal Party.

[2044] The Pleasant Sunday Afternoon movement (PSA), for example, had been launched in 1875 to provide an alternative to the local public house for working-class men. Meetings were held in chapel halls and attracted crowds to hear talks on different subjects, most of which were given by nonconformist activists.
[2045] Annie E. Coombes. "Museums and the Formation of National and Cultural Identities" Oxford Art Journal, 1988, Vol. 11, No. 2, p. 57.
[2046] Over the same period the average length of time a Foreign Secretary remained in post in Portugal was about four months.
[2047] George Cadbury's *Daily News* was one of the foremost critics of the war.

Identifying an opportunity to defer what would then have been a difficult decision, [2048] William Cadbury came to the conclusion, after returning from Lisbon, that instead of accepting the planters' invitation to visit the plantations himself, it would be strategically advantageous to send a representative of the three British chocolate makers and their German associates Stollwerck, to carry out a thorough investigation on both the cocoa islands and the mainland. He consulted Holt, Fox Bourne and Morel regarding possible candidates for the job, but received several refusals due to the length of stay in Africa which he had decided their agent would require. Another year would pass by before he finally settled on Joseph Burtt, a personal acquaintance of twenty years standing and a fellow Quaker.

By then, however, Henry Nevinson, a well-known British journalist who had made a reputation through his vivid reports from the front in the Anglo-Boer War, had received an invitation from the American illustrated magazine *Harper's Monthly* to write a series of articles on the slave - trade in Africa, and although he later gave several different explanations for his decision, it appears that it may have been Fox Bourne, who had already spoken to Cadbury on the matter, who first suggested that Nevinson should investigate the reports on the survival of the slave-trade in Portuguese West Africa. [2049] In fact, it had always been Fox Bourne's contention that the links between the Congo rubber scandal and the slave-trade in Angola implied that the latter came within the scope of the Berlin General Act, hence permitting the intervention of the signatory powers, an argument which Morel and Cadbury both rejected on tactical grounds, preferring to concentrate the CRA's campaign on the grave situation in the Congo Free State.[2050]

[2048] Had Cadbury's decided to cease purchasing Portuguese cacao at this point they would have had great difficulty in finding a source of the same quality of raw material and according to William Cadbury's testimony at the Cadbury Bros. v *Standard* libel trial, it would have meant the loss of many jobs at Bournville.

[2049] See chapter 1.3 of this dissertation. The timing of the invitation from *Harper's Monthly*, mid-September 1904, raises suspicions that it may have had some link with the campaign against the atrocities in the Congo Free State, news of which had already reached America - possibly an attempt on the part of King Leopold's supporters to deflect public attention or at least to suggest that it was not exclusively in the Congo that abuses were committed. Twain's *King Leopold's Soliloquy* was only published in 1905 but according to Alice Seeley Harris, Leopold II had already "bought off "a number of leading Americans with concessions in the Congo: "Leopold had got to the Americans first and had granted some Congo rights to very prominent American citizens including John D. Rockefeller […]" Judy Pollard Smith. Op.cit 2014, p.106.

[2050] See H.R.Fox Bourne to William Cadbury. August 14th 1905. CP 4/177. Fox Bourne published his own condemnation of the misrule in the Congo Free State in 1903, pointing out the links between the Congo and the illicit trade with the adjoining territories, particularly Angola. In the same book he also refers to the Portuguese Royal Labour Decree of 1899 in which a term of "corrective labour" was prescribed for all

In October of 1904, Nevinson, who was planning to spend six months in Africa on behalf of *Harper's*, met with William Cadbury to offer his services as Cadbury Bros.' agent. Despite being on the payroll of George Cadbury's *Daily News,* his offer was declined, according to Cadbury because he had no knowledge of Portuguese and was unwilling to spend any longer in Africa than he thought absolutely necessary for the investigation. [2051] It is quite clear that at this point the chocolate makers were in no hurry to take any action which might jeopardise their business interests and they had already decided that their envoy would need to spend far longer away from Britain, either because they genuinely believed that it would require more time to draw up a credible report, or because the whole exercise was designed to allow enough time for an alternative and "untainted" source of high-quality cacao to be found, a growing suspicion which would later provoke a scathing leader in the *Standard* accusing Cadbury Bros. of deliberate procrastination, leading to a famous libel case against the newspaper at the end of 1909.[2052]

Nevinson's reports hd begun appearing in *Harper's* in August of 1905, soon after he had arrived back in Liverpool after spending four months in Angola and two weeks in the cocoa islands. On his voyage home, his path had crossed in São Tomé with Burtt, who had recently arrived after spending several months in Oporto learning Portuguese, and they were able to exchange views and visit one or two of the plantations together. Burtt would spend another six months in the islands as the guest of the planters, and although his first impressions regarding the way the "serviçais" were treated were generally favourable, the information he picked up regarding the alarming death rate on the plantations and Nevinson's critical reports in *Harper's* of what he had heard and witnessed on his travels along the caravan route into the interior meant that when he finally left for the mainland he was already prepared for the worst. He would be accompanied on his journey into the interior by W. Claude Horton, a doctor from

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those who were unable to prove that they were gainfully employed as "labourers, carriers, artisans etc", noting that Consul Nightingale had pointed out that **" to ensure the better carrying out of this law, a gratuity is offered to all persons including native chiefs and heads of villages for each vagrant or vagabond presented to the authorities"**. H.R.Fox Bourne.*Civilisation in Congoland.* P.S.King and Son. London: 2003, p.287. See Fox Bourne to William Cadbury. August 14th 1905. CP 4/177.

[2051] Cadbury, however, gave Nevinson an introduction to A.G.Ceffala, the head of the submarine cable company in São Tomé, and provided him with a translation of the Portuguese labour legislation. See CP 180/845-54.

[2052] The *Standard*'s leader came out on on September 28th 1908. See chapter 2.2 of this dissertation for more on the trial.

Birmingham General Hospital, who William Cadbury had sent out after Burtt had suffered several bouts of ill-health.[2053] Like all European travellers, their journey along the path between Benguella and the interior was made possible by the aid of many African bearers, some of whom were undoubtedly domestic slaves, an irony that neither Burtt or Nevinson chose to reveal.

Both Burtt and Nevinson stayed with British, American and Swiss missionaries of different Protestant persuasions along the "great slave route" from Benguella to Kavungu on the border with the Congo, and much of the information they gathered was based on the missionaries' local knowledge and first-hand experience, which in some cases dated back over twenty years. Their interlocutors, however, were far from disinterested parties in the matter, as most of them resented the official status of the Roman Catholic religion and the preference given to Catholic missionaries by the provincial government and its representatives.[2054] Moreover, whilst maintaining a working relationship with the authorities, many were reluctant to use the Portuguese language in their dealings with the local people, and often intervened in their favour in disputes with Portuguese officials. Indeed, with the possible exception of the Plymouth Brethren, who were careful to avoid taking sides on what they considered to be "worldly" affairs, the majority would have been pleased to see British rule over the whole of central Africa, particularly over those territories which were administered by the European Powers which favoured the Roman Catholic Church.

Despite their illustrations and undoubted popular appeal, Henry Nevinson's articles failed to provoke the wave of indignation he had anticipated, due to their appearance at the height of the ongoing campaigns against the Congo atrocities and "slave" labour in the Transvaal. [2055] Encouraged by Nevinson's first-hand testimony, however, Fox Bourne wrote to the Foreign Office arguing the need for urgent action.[2056] And in the wake of

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[2053] Both Burtt and Nevinson suffered from severe attacks of fever in Angola and doubts persist regarding the latter's state of health when he wrote in his accounts that he had been deliberately poisoned due to his revelations.
[2054] Sometimes in direct competition, as at São Salvador in the Portuguese Congo. See chapter 2.9 of this dissertation.
[2055] Nevinson's compilation of his articles appeared, with illustrations, in book form, under the title *A Modern Slavery* soon after his return to Britain, in 1906. See Chapter 4.3 of this dissertation.
[2056] For instance Fox Bourne to Lansdowne, July 25th 1905 and August 19th 1905, both FO63/1447, the latter immediately after Nevinson's return to Britain.

Nevinson's report, supporters of the two anti-slavery societies would launch a concerted cross-party offensive in June of that year to keep the issue of Labour in Portuguese West Africa alive and on the agenda of Parliamentary debates. Lobbying would last until the onset of the First World War. Confronted by the threat of questions in Parliament, Lord Lansdowne instructed Consul Arthur Nightingale to visit São Tomé and Príncipe "to obtain full and reliable information in regard to the actual conditions of the labourers", a strategy which, in addition to gaining valuable time, would divert attention away from recruitment in Angola to the hitherto undisputed employment conditions on the plantations. [2057]

In the meanwhile, however, in January 1906, in the wake of the successful Liberal electoral campaign to replace the Unionist Government, William Cadbury had made a relatively-unpublicised, second visit to Lisbon to assess what progress had been made since the introduction of the 1903 legislation. After meetings with Francisco Mantero, one of the most influential planters,[2058] the banker Baron de Merck, both of whom he had consulted on his previous visit, and Henry Fletcher, the Secretary of the American legation, Cadbury concluded that, as far as it was possible to ascertain, the plantation labourers were treated humanely, but little improvement had occurred in the way recruitment was carried out and no repatriation was taking place. [2059]

In March 1906, two weeks before the AGM's of the two antislavery societies, Fox Bourne and Nevinson were finally received by Sir Eric Barrington at the Foreign Office, and their allegations were subsequently conveyed to the Marquês de Soveral, the Portuguese Minister in London. [2060] It was only then that the planters fully realised that they would have to take the campaign seriously. From this time on they would coordinate their defence through the Centro Colonial, in Lisbon, and endeavour to liaise with those in charge of the Foreign and Colonial Ministries, who would come and go with

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[2057] FO to Nightingale, October 18th 1905. FO63/1447.
[2058] It was after this meeting that Mantero decided to undertake the direct recruitment of labourers on his own behalf in Mozambique, acquiring a "prazo" to facilitate matters. Clearly he had already realised which way the wind was blowing. See Chapter 1.5 of this dissertation.
[2059] Cadbury presented a report on his trip to Lisbon to the AGM of the Anti-Slavery Society in March 1906. See the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. March-May 1906, p.29. He had previously commented in a letter to Fox Bourne that the repatriation clause in the 1903 legislation was "practically a dead letter". William Cadbury to H.R.Fox Bourne. February 6th 1906. Copy in CP180 32-33.
[2060] Barrington's report on the meeting is held at FO 367/18/24 no. 9864.

disconcerting celerity in the years ahead. A defensive campaign would be launched through the press to reinforce the conviction of the majority of the population that slavery in Portuguese West Africa was a thing of the past and that the growing chorus of opprobrium was not only unfounded but driven by commercial motives. At the same time every opportunity would be taken to defend the contract labour system abroad. The first signs of a coordinated defence appeared in June 1906. On the instructions of Moreira Junior, the Minister for the Overseas Territories, a "Justifying Memorial" was drawn up defending Portugal's honour and good faith in the dispute, [2061] and the Governor of Angola, Ferreira da Costa, was instructed to carry out an enquiry into the conditions under which labourers reached the coast and to take whatever measures were required to put an end to any abuses. The consequences would be negligible.

Following Lansdowne's instructions, Consul Nightingale had remained on the cocoa islands for almost three months and visited sixty plantations. His confidential report, dated July 28th 1906 , [2062] was received by Sir Edward Grey, the new Foreign Secretary, on August 20th,[2063] at a particularly delicate moment for ongoing Anglo-Portuguese negotiations. The successful conclusion of the talks concerning Mozambican labour for the Rand had now become crucial to the Liberal Government´s compliance with its electoral promise to return the coolie labourers to China. Though Nightingale was highly complimentary in his report on the treatment of the labourers,[2064] Grey realised that his

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[2061] Ministro de Ultramar 1904-1906. Manuel Moreira Junior would leave the post in March 1906. The *Memória Justificativa* would be published in June 1906 in Portuguese and English.

[2062] Arthur Nightingale. *Report on the Treatment of the "Serviçaes" or Contract labourers in the Portuguese Islands known as the Province of São Thomé and Principe.* July 28th 1906. F.O. Confidential Print no. 8806. FO367/17, 28370/06 [unpublished]. On January 17th 1906, whilst still in São Tomé, Nightingale recommended the appointment of A.G.Ceffala, the manager of the submarine cable telegraph station, as resident Vice-Consul for the islands. See FO 367/18/3 Folios 3-5. 5276

[2063] Sir Edward Grey, a Liberal Imperialist, considered Foreign Policy to be above party politics and ideology, remaining unaltered whichever party were in power. In his view, it was not a moral exercise. On December 30th 1905, Grey received a ten-page FO briefing on the whole issue of Portuguese contract labour over the period from 1876 to 1905. See E.F.Gye. *Memorandum respecting Contract Labour (Serviçaes) for San Thomé e Príncipe.* FO 367/18 no. 23071.

[2064] "It is my opinion that the labourers are well-treated in every respect and great credit is due to the planters for the care they bestow upon the people.They are certainly better-fed and housed, not to speak of the medical attention, than the Krooboy or Kabinda man who works in the trading factories along the coast. They are far better treated than the free labourer from Monrovia and Sierra Leone I saw working in Fernando Po when I visited that island in 1901-1902.[…] **The only black spot and it is a big black spot, on the whole system is the non-repatriation of the Angolan labourer. It is the one great evil, and it behoves the present Portuguese Government to put an end to the present mode of recruiting labourers in Angola as soon as possible.[…]"**(my bold)This part of the annexes, together with the rest of the same paragraph, was one of those omitted in the redacted version which was delivered to the Anti-

historical preamble, along with the references to the death rate, recruitment procedures and the absence of repatriation, would provide ammunition for the philanthropists and probably offend the Portuguese authorities. Consequently, in mid-September, Fox Bourne received a heavily redacted version, excluding the introduction and the references to recruitment, [2065] with the proviso that it was not for publication.[2066] Soveral would have to wait until January 1907, but would receive the full report. [2067]

Though inspired by entirely different motives, the dilatory tactics of the Foreign Office and the Quaker chocolate manufacturers had thus far conjugated to thwart the concerted efforts of Nevinson, Fox Bourne and the other anti-slavery activists to force some form of decisive action to be taken. Grey was naturally reluctant to antagonise the Portuguese authorities before reaching an agreement to satisfy the labour requirements of the Transvaal gold mines, whilst Cadbury, for his part, had no wish to be rushed into a boycott before an alternative source of high quality cacao had been found. Both would offer rosier explanations for their actions, however. Cadbury argued that his company's power to influence the planters would have been forfeited if they had stopped buying Portuguese cacao, whilst Grey would maintain that, in this case, as in many others, patience and diplomatic pressure was preferable to confrontation. At a meeting with Grey and Barrington at the Foreign Office on October 27th 1906, George and William Cadbury, who admitted that they were now prepared to make some form of sacrifice in favour of the contract labourers, were persuaded to postpone any further action until Burtt's report was delivered to the Portuguese Government, despite growing pressure from the philanthropic lobby and their fellow Quakers. [2068]

Slavery Societies. In Nightingale to FO. Sent from Boma on July 28th 1906. FO 367/18 28370. See Maciel Moreira Santos Op.cit. 2004, p.981.

[2065] In fact almost half of the original 28-page report had been excised in one way or another, together with significant parts of the annexed documents.

[2066] Foreign Office to the Aborigines' Protection Society, September 12th 1906. FO367/17, 28370/06. See Maciel Moreira Santos Op.cit. 2004, pp. 968 and 972 and Suzanne Miers Op.cit. 2003, p.55. Fox Bourne managed to get his hands on a leaked, complete copy, however.

[2067] See File 69/07 F.O. 367/46 passim.

[2068] On May 14th 1907, "The board of Cadbury's decides that they would not allow the matter to be indefinitely delayed by the FO and they gave notice that they would wait only six months for reforms to be brought about and that then they would publish Burtt's report and bring about an agitation which must have a considerable bearing with the Portuguese." From *The Times* December 7th 1909, p.4 [*Standard* libel case-Rufus Isaacs' closing speech for the Plaintiff]

Frustrated by the Foreign Office's stonewalling tactics and Cadbury Bros.' apparent procrastination, Nevinson now turned to the powerful Liverpool Chamber of Commerce for support.[2069] It was a well-calculated move. The Chairman of the Chamber, the shipping magnate, Sir Alfred Jones, was the most prominent supporter of the Congo Free State in Britain, and evidently welcomed any opportunity of diverting attention from the campaign against the "Congo Atrocities", which was then at its height. [2070] Moreover, Nevinson was confident that the members of the Chamber would support any action which would reinforce British interests in Africa.

Prior to the meeting, Nevinson published an explosive article in the *Fortnightly Review* under the heading "The Angola Slave Trade", ignoring an attempt by the Rowntree's solicitor to dissuade him.[2071] In the article he accused those in Britain who purchased Portuguese cacao of complicity in the scandal, whilst affirming that the only action that would precipitate change was an international boycott. As unerring as he was in his analysis, not even Nevinson could have anticipated that it would require a change of regime for the necessary reforms to be implemented on the ground.

Ironically, the Liverpool meeting would take place two days after the return of the Crown Prince of Portugal from a three-month State Visit to the Portuguese African colonies. The tour had been devised by Soveral and Ayres d'Ornellas, the Minister for the Overseas Territories, as a public relations exercise to divert public attention from the political and economic problems of the regime, whilst demonstrating to the critics of Portuguese colonial administration, both at home and abroad, that all was well, especially in Angola

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[2069] The first contact with Sir Alfred Jones was probably made by the missionary Matthew Stober, who was on leave.

[2070] In fact, there would be an unpleasant confrontation between John Holt and Sir Alfred Jones at the later meeting of the full Council. Holt presented a speech, written by E.D.Morel, which denounced the links of the Chamber through its President to Leopold II's regime, accusing them of hypocrisy by daring to criticise slave-grown cocoa, whilst supporting a far greater evil in the Congo. It was clearly a desperate attempt by Morel, Cadbury and Holt to draw public attention back to the Congo Atrocities Scandal, as the reports on the incident in the next day's press reveal. See "The Congo State." *The Times* October 22nd 1907. p.11 and November 6th 1907, p.13.

[2071] The meeting of the African Trade Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce took place on September 28th 1907 and was addressed by Henry Nevinson and the missionary M.Z.Stober, who was home on leave. Nevinson and Fox Bourne were still unaware of William Cadbury's collusion with E.D.Morel to prioritise the Congo Scandal to the detriment of the "slave-grown cocoa" campaign. Morel, like John Holt, was a leading member of the African Trade Section.

and São Tomé.[2072] Despite ample photographic coverage in the Portuguese periodical press, the international repercussions of the Royal Tour were limited, and though achieving some small success among supporters of the regime in Portugal, the initiative was largely overshadowed by the problems of the Franco Government, now governing with the King's tacit consent without the checks and balances provided by Parliament, which had not been reconvened.

Predictably, after listening to Nevinson's damning speech on the forced recruitment of labourers in Angola, the West African Trade Section approved a motion recommending decisive Government action and suggesting that the chocolate makers should consider ceasing purchases. William Cadbury, who was unable to be present, was incensed by the content of Nevinson's speech, which effectively attributed part of the responsibility for the impasse to the Quaker chocolate manufacturers, and demanded that his company's side of the issue should be heard as soon as possible. [2073] On October 21st 1907, together with representatives from Rowntree's and Fry's, Cadbury presented the chocolate-makers' case to a full meeting of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, emphasising that they had been asked by the Foreign Office to delay any action until the delivery of the Burtt Report to the Portuguese Government. By the end of the meeting Cadbury had managed to gain the support of the members for his strategy but it was now patently clear that further delays were out of the question.

In its essence, the Burtt Report confirmed most of Nevinson's findings regarding the iniquities of the recruitment system in Angola. Surprisingly, however, Burtt was enthusiastic about the contract-labour system as it operated in the Transvaal, revealing how far he had been influenced by his meetings with high-level officials in South Africa. His comments were even more remarkable as his visit came in the wake of the Chinese slavery scandal and the official enquiry into the conditions in the gold mines of the Rand,

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[2072] For more on the Royal visit, see Ana Vicente; António Pedro Vicente, Op.cit.1998. and chapter 1.5 of this dissertation.

[2073] Cadbury remarked a week later that "Sir Alfred Jones will do all he can to boom (sic) the Angola affair with a view of quieting interest in the Congo". In Cadbury Bros. to Rowntree and Co. Ltd. October 7th 1907. CP Ms 6/16. Quoted In Kevin Grant Op.cit. 2005 p.128. Cadbury's friend John Holt, a member of the African trade section and an adversary of Sir Alfred Jones, was equally appalled and wrote: "The proceedings were at once published, and incidentally by this course of action, as Mr. Cadbury subsequently informed us, no little embarassment was caused to the Foreign Office." In "The Congo Free State" *The Times* November 6th 1907, p. 13.

which had been commissioned due to the inordinately high accident rate amongst African miners.[2074] The contrast between the time and care he took in establishing a case against the Portuguese Government and the São Tomé estate owners and his comparatively short trip to South Africa to rubber-stamp the system in the Transvaal is revealing of the different approach to the two situations. Admittedly, Burtt's prime objective in going to Africa was for Cadbury Bros. to obtain credible evidence to justify a likely decision to end purchases of Portuguese cacao and in so doing to acquit the chocolate makers from blame in the affair - but his readiness to accept the official British narrative regarding the recruitment and treatment of Mozambican labourers and his dependence on hearsay inevitably raises doubts as to the soundness of the whole exercise.[2075]

At the end of November 1907, William Cadbury and Joseph Burtt travelled to Lisbon to present the findings of the Burtt Report to the Portuguese Government and the São Tomé estate owners. Although guarded in his response to Cadbury's recommendation of compulsory repatriation of the Angolan labourers, Ayres d'Ornellas, the Minister for the Overseas Territories, confirmed his Government's readiness to reinforce local

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[2074] See chapter 4.10 of this dissertation. *The Times* of March 16th 1908, p.13, under the heading "Labour on the Rand", commented on the recently-published report of the official enquiry: "[…] Already it requires a considerable amount of dialectical subtlety, for which indeed we must give Mr. Churchill full credit, **to distinguish between the conditions which were denounced as slavery in the case of the Chinese and those which apply to the natives whose return is stipulated by the Portuguese Government**." (my bold) African mortality on the Rand mines in 1907 was several times as great as that for Chinese labourers. See Hansard. H.C Debate February 24th 1908 vol 184 cc1350. Also the article by H.J.Simons entitled "Death in South African mines" which cites the Mining Industry Commission report of 1907. Simons notes that references to the supposed limitations of African workers were common at the time: "Typical of the comments that appeared in the early reports of the Government Mining Engineers was the assertion that though they were «**docile and quick to learn certain simple classes of work, their brain capacity does not enable them to understand the reason of things**, or to realize the danger resulting from disobedience to orders, or from the many complex conditions of work underground.»" (my bold) (Consulted online on 11/12/2019.) https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/DC/asjul61.8/asjul61.8.pdf

[2075] In his report Joseph Burtt wrote: "[…]I spent a fortnight at Lorenzo Marques[sic], and was struck by the conditions of labour there obtaining, as contrasted with that on the west coast. Not only were the natives eager to volunteer for work in the Transvaal mines, but I saw them returning to their homes when the period of work for which they had indentured had expired. From all sides I heard of the free and contented lot of the native in that colony. This was confirmed by further enquiries which I made during a stay of three weeks in the Transvaal.[…]" William A. Cadbury. Op.cit 1910. Appendix A [Burtt report], p.128.
Burtt also wrote favourably of the labour conditions in Mozambique, itself, demonstrating,yet again, his cursory examination of the issue: "[…] It is this freedom enjoyed in Portuguese East Africa that civilization demands for the West Coast, convinced that, if it be granted, not merely in the admirable existing Portuguese laws, but in actual administration, it will of itself check existing abuses." See "Slave Labour on Cocoa Plantations." *Contemporary Review* no.96, July-December 1909, p.473.
Ironically, Burtt, who had been quick to criticise Henry Nevinson for his dependency on hearsay and the brevity of his stay on the cocoa islands, was content to do the same in the case of Portuguese East Africa and Mozambican migrant labour for the Rand.

supervision over recruitment and offered to send Cdr. Francisco Paula Cid, his Chief of Staff, to Angola to investigate the situation on the ground. In the meeting which followed at the Centro Colonial, the planters reluctantly conceded that reforms in the recruitment procedure on the mainland were necessary, whilst vigorously denying that there was ill-treatment on the plantations, an allegation which Burtt would partially withdraw.[2076]

Despite indignant reports on the meeting in the Portuguese press, Cadbury left Lisbon in a mood of guarded optimism and on his return to Britain, he issued a press release confirming the positive outcome of the meetings.[2077] In view of the promised reforms, the Anti-Slavery Societies would effectively suspend their campaign for several months. The moratorium would later be extended due to the political turmoil which followed the assassination of the King of Portugal, D. Carlos and the heir to the throne, D. Luiz Fillipe, at the beginning of February 1908. [2078]

By the middle of the year, however, William Cadbury's attitude had changed. At the beginning of July, he wrote to the planters warning that feelings in Britain were running high and that they might be obliged to cease buying Portuguese cacao unless decisive action were taken. Confronted by the planters refusal to bow to his demands for immediate and compulsory repatriation, [2079] Cadbury decided to travel to Portuguese West Africa to assess the situation with his own eyes.[2080] Accompanied by Joseph Burtt,

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[2076] See "Conference held in Lisbon between the Committee representing S. Thome proprietors, and W. A. Cadbury and Joseph Burtt representing cocoa makers in England. Nov. 28, 1907." Typescript. CP /119 1907.

[2077] Several major newspapers printed Cadbury Bros. press release of December 16th 1907 on the results of the Lisbon meeting, including, of course, George Cadbury's *Daily News*.

[2078] The King and the heir to the throne were assassinated together by republican activists on February 1st 1908.

[2079] Cadbury had written "[…]we again insist that prompt and energetic measures be taken.[…] that you, without taking into consideration the cost and inconvenience, repatriate[d] men, women and their families, from the plantations to their homes on the Continent, and that this repatriation will continue in the future." W.A.Cadbury to Francisco Mantero. July 6th 1908. The planters replied as follows: "[…]with respect to the repatriation of Angola labourers, the committee of planters informed you here[…] that though obligatory for the planter, it was voluntary for the labourers […] to send them forcibly, against their will, cannot be reasonably expected[…]." Francisco Mantero to W.A. Cadbury. July 14th 1908. The excerpts were reproduced in Francis Mantero. Op. cit. 1910, pp.101-102.

[2080] The "Portuguese slavery" campaign had been revived both in Parliament and the press, and now, even Cadburys' fellow Quakers were clamouring for a decisive gesture. Moreover, the evidence which had accumulated over the previous five years from both official and private enquiries was already more than sufficient to support a boycott, and Cadbury Bros. could no longer allege that their hands were tied, as six months had gone by since the Burtt Report had been presented to the Portuguese Government, as they had agreed with the Foreign Office.

he would spend two weeks in São Tomé and would be afforded a warm reception by the planters who undoubtedly hoped his visit would finally put an end to the dispute. Cadbury and Burtt then spent another six weeks in Angola, where they visited the main coastal towns and witnessed the transport of labourers to the cocoa islands. Finally, Cadbury would spend two months on the Gold Coast, where the agents of the firm had discovered an alternative source of high-quality cacao.[2081]

Further developments in Britain would soon add to the growing pressure on the chocolate makers. On September 26th 1908, shortly after Cadbury and Burtt had left for Africa, the conservative *Standard* published a biting leader accusing Cadbury Bros. of hypocrisy and dilatory tactics. [2082] It was the latest round in the war of words between Liberals and Tories which had begun with the Anglo-Boer War, reached its apogee with the Chinese slavery scandal and was now playing out a final, bitter episode as the newspaper sought retribution for the embarrassments and political damage caused to the Unionist Government over humanitarian issues. Confronted by the threat of possible future disclosures and concerned to protect their firm's reputation as enlightened employers, the chocolate makers felt they had no alternative but to to sue the *Standard* for libel.[2083] In a pyrrhic victory at a much-publicised show trial held at Birmingham Assizes over a year later, Cadbury Bros. would gain a partial vindication for their course of action but would be awarded only trifling damages by the jury.[2084] As vehemently as both of the opposing parties claimed victory in the case, in truth of fact, neither side could admit to being truly satisfied with its outcome.[2085]

[2081] Cadbury and Burtt would leave Luanda for the Gold Coast on December 11th 1909.

[2082] Public Meetings promoted by the Anti-Slavery Societies would take place during Cadbury's absence at the Westminster Palace Hotel on October 22nd 1908 and at Caxton Hall on December 4th 1908. A week after the Caxton Hall meeting, Sir Edward Grey met in the Commons with a small group of those present which included Nevinson, and admitted that a boycott was almost certainly the best way forward.

[2083] Undoubtedly with the proud example in mind of the Quaker anti-slavery activists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

[2084] One farthing, then the smallest coin in the currency. In his excellent study of the humanitarian conflicts of the Edwardian era, entitled "A Civilised Savagery", Grant cites the amount in question as one pound sterling, which is a slip. Kevin Grant Op.cit 2005, p.131.The *Standard* would be sentenced to pay the substantial costs of the case, however.

[2085] The trial was held in the first week of December 1909. See Lowell J. Satre Op.cit.2005, pp.149-183 and chapter 2.2 of this dissertation. Both sides agreed from the start that the accumulated evidence was sufficient to condemn the contract-labour system as a form of slavery and in fact the case, historically, has been interpreted as one more nail in the coffin of Portuguese slavery, rather than a mere libel case.

By November 1908, the Congo had been formally annexed by Belgium after Leopold II was forced by international pressure to sell off his interests in the Congo Free State. Buoyed by their success, the Anti-Slavery Societies could now concentrate their efforts on what they saw as their next great challenge, the "Portuguese slavery question". E.D.Morel of the Congo Reform Association and his fellow-campaigners, the former Congo missionaries, John and Alice Harris, also began to lend their support to the Portuguese campaign and St. Loe Strachey, the editor of the conservative periodical *The Spectator,* opened its pages to the campaigners, conscious of the embarrassment it would cause to the Quaker chocolate-makers and the Liberal Government they supported.

The writing was on the wall as far as William Cadbury's future course of action was concerned. Although wishing to be seen as acting in the best of faith by all sides, he had undoubtedly decided to stop buying Portuguese cacao even before he left Britain for São Tomé. [2086] In fact, far from being ready to change his mind on the issue after visiting the plantations, as the planters hoped, Cadbury had previously taken the precaution of sending Charles A. Swan on a secret mission into the interior of Angola to gather the testimony of fellow missionaries on the forced recruitment of labourers for the plantations. [2087] To safeguard the supposedly independent character of Swan's mission, any information which was exchanged between them came through the offices of the Brethren newspaper *Echoes of Service* and neither Swan nor Cadbury would reveal the real purpose of the initiative nor the source of its funding.[2088] Moreover, in accordance with Cadbury's instructions, Swan would send his findings directly to the Foreign Office on his return to Britain.[2089]

The growing signs of a potentially satisfactory conclusion to the labour question had come too late. Neither the disembarkation, during Cadbury's stay in Angola, of the first token

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[2086] See note 386 in Chapter 1.4 of this dissertation.
[2087] Swan, a Brethren missionary who was, by then, active in Lisbon, left for Africa on October 1st 1908, so that his stay in Angola partially coincided with Cadbury and Burtt's trip. He would return to Lisbon on April 11th , departing for Britain on May 5th 1909.
[2088] Cadbury had personally financed Swan's fact-finding initiative to the tune of £400.
[2089] Swan asked Cadbury to vet his report, which he declined to do. See "Report by Mr C. Swan on his recent Journey to Africa". Charles A. Swan to Foreign Office. June 2nd 1909. FO 403/407. In June 1909 Swan's report would be published as a profusely-illustrated book entitled *The Slavery of Today,* followed closely on June 22nd 1909 by a damning letter in *The Times,* undersigned anonymously by the nineteen missionaries who had provided him with eye-witness accounts of the slave trade.

handful of "serviçais" who had been repatriated under the provisions of the 1903 labour legislation, [2090] nor his encouraging meetings in Benguela with the Portuguese Government's special commissioner Francisco Paula Cid had persuaded him to change his plans.[2091] Even the arrival in the cocoa islands of hundreds of Mozambican labourers on short contracts, as the philanthropists had recommended, would fail to shake his resolve.[2092]

On January 12th 1909, William Cadbury wrote to fellow Quaker chocolate manufacturers Fry and Sons and Rowntree and Co. advising of his decision to cease purchasing Portuguese cacao.[2093] On March 15th 1909, two weeks after he had returned from Africa, the three firms would inform the Foreign Office of their joint decision not to make any further purchases and, two days later, a statement appeared in *The Times* to the same effect. The following day, Stollwerck Bros., the German manufacturers who had joined the three British firms in financing Burtt's fact-finding tour, also announced that they would no longer buy Portuguese cacao.

In view of William Cadbury's concern with the verdict of history,[2094] the timing of the announcement could not have been more ill-chosen. The boycott came hard on the heels of a drop in the market price of the raw material and after Cadbury had received confirmation that Gold Coast cacao, produced by local smallholders, would soon be of sufficient quality and quantity to satisfy all his firm's requirements.[2095] And Cadbury

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[2090] Landed at Novo Redondo on December 4th 1908.
[2091] Paula Cid had informed Cadbury that his report would recommend sweeping reforms in recruitment procedures and compulsory repatriation.
[2092] The first batch of 539 Mozambican labourers arrived in São Tomé in late December 1908, under the provisions of a new contract published on December 15th 1908. See William A. Cadbury. Op.cit 1910. Appendix I, pp.158-160 for a translation of the contract. Further legislation concerning recruitment and working conditions for plantation labourers was published on December 31st 1908. See "Assumptos Ultramarinos. A Ilha de S. Thomé e a Roça Agua-Izé."*O Século.* December 31st 1909 p.1 and "Mão d'Obra em S. Thomé. O novo regulamento para admissão dos serviçaes em S. Thomé. É melhorada a assistência médica e regulamentada a repatriação." *O Século* January 10th 1909, p.2.
[2093] CP 7/113. See also Catherine Higgs, Op.cit 2102, p.147.
[2094] In 1910 Cadbury would publish his version of the affair in a 187-page book entitled *Labour in Portuguese West Africa*, and four decades later, concerned with the widespread idea that it had been Nevinson who had goaded him into action, Cadbury return to the affair in a final attempt to defend his reputation. William A. Cadbury. *A Private Inside History of the Connection of Cadbury Bros. Ltd. with African Slavery.* Unpublished Typescript. Nov. 5th 1949. Univ. Birmingham. Cadbury Papers. Ms. 183.
[2095] Ramamurthy notes that in 1909/1910 Cadbury's paid 50% more than other buyers for good quality Gold Coast cocoa "as long as the beans were properly fermented" (17s. per 60lb. in comparison with 12/6 paid by rival firms). See Anandi Ramamurthy. Op.cit 2003, p.83.

Bros., like Fry's, had ensured they had stockpiled enough Portuguese cacao to cover their immediate needs.[2096] Resisting mounting pressure from anti-slavery activists and humanitarians, the chocolate makers had chosen to wait until there was clear evidence that reforms were finally being implemented to make good the threat which had been hanging over the heads of the planters and the Portuguese authorities for so long.

Although Cadbury Bros. would be judged innocent of wrongdoing by the jury in the libel case against the *Standard* later that year, doubts persist as to the true reasons behind the length of time the firm allowed to pass before declaring the boycott.[2097] Equally, the way William Cadbury used his firm's ample financial resources to manipulate public opinion through secret payments to Morel and Swan also raises questions as to how far "Quaker ethics" had guided his hand in the dispute. But as cynically as he appears to have acted throughout, Cadbury had done his job well - the reputations of the Quaker chocolate manufacturers had been protected, their earnings had continued to grow over the whole period [2098] and they could now rest in the assurance that the chocolate which brought delight to customers all over the world was, once again, as "pure" as their advertisements had continued to proclaim. [2099]

Sadly, H.R.Fox-Bourne, the driving force behind the Aborigines' Protection Society, who had battled tirelessly for such an outcome, did not live to witness the announcement of the boycott. His death at the beginning of February 1909, shortly after publishing an overview of the evidence against the contract-labour system under the title "Slave traffic

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[2096] In fact, Fry's had made a inordinately large purchase of Portuguese cacao the day before the boycott was announced.

[2097] Even Charles Dellheim, who paints a generous picture of Cadbury's employment policies at Bournville and justly praises the family's philanthropic activities, admits that their delay in declaring a boycott suggests that their business goals had overridden other concerns: "Given the Quaker abhorrence of slavery, one would have expected the Cadburys to have acted quickly and unequivocally. But although their will was good, **their judgement was dubious and their actions were slow**. They relied on the advice of the Foreign Office - rarely a wise idea - but even when we take this into account, **it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that commercial interests constrained their actions**. Charles Dellheim. "The Creation of a Company Culture: Cadburys, 1861-1931" *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 92, no. 1, February 1987, p.36. (my bold) Other writers have been even more charitable towards William Cadbury and his strategy, among them, unsurprisingly, the firm's two official biographers, Iolo Williams and A.G. Gardiner.

[2098] Cadbury's sales more than doubled between 1905 and the onset of the War. See Charles Dellheim. Op.cit 1987, pp.21-22.

[2099] Had Cadbury and his agents been prepared to look more carefully they would have been forced to admit that not everything on the Gold Coast was as rosy as they made out. Heavy sacks of the raw material were still carried over long distances by bonded female and child labour. The use of pack animals on the Gold Coast was out of the question at this time due to the prevalence of sleeping sickness.

in Portuguese Africa", [2100] left the Society, which had depended entirely in recent years on his energy and tenacity, with no one ready to take over the helm. Ironically, his disappearance allowed the two Anti-Slavery Societies, which had always pursued similar objectives, to merge and retrench under the title of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society. [2101] The new organisation would be led in future years by a partnership which would prove to be as stubborn and difficult to silence as Fox-Bourne had been - the former missionaries John H. Harris and his wife Alice Seeley Harris, who, after returning from the Congo Free State, had devoted most of their time and energy to the nation-wide campaign against the "Congo Atrocities" and the subsequent campaign in the United States. [2102]

In Portugal, the chocolate makers' decision was greeted in the mainstream press with a mixture of astonishment, indignation and patriotic defiance, reminiscent of the days of the "Ultimatum". The first concessions to the British campaign were beginning to take effect and news of Paula Cid's report was expected at any moment, so that such reactions were to be expected. The articles also emphasised that any damage which might be caused by the British boycott would be to the planters' reputations rather than to their pockets, arguing that alternative markets would absorb most of the surplus production, the signs of which were already visible, as American buyers quickly reacted to the falling prices of Portuguese cacao in the aftermath of the boycott.[2103]

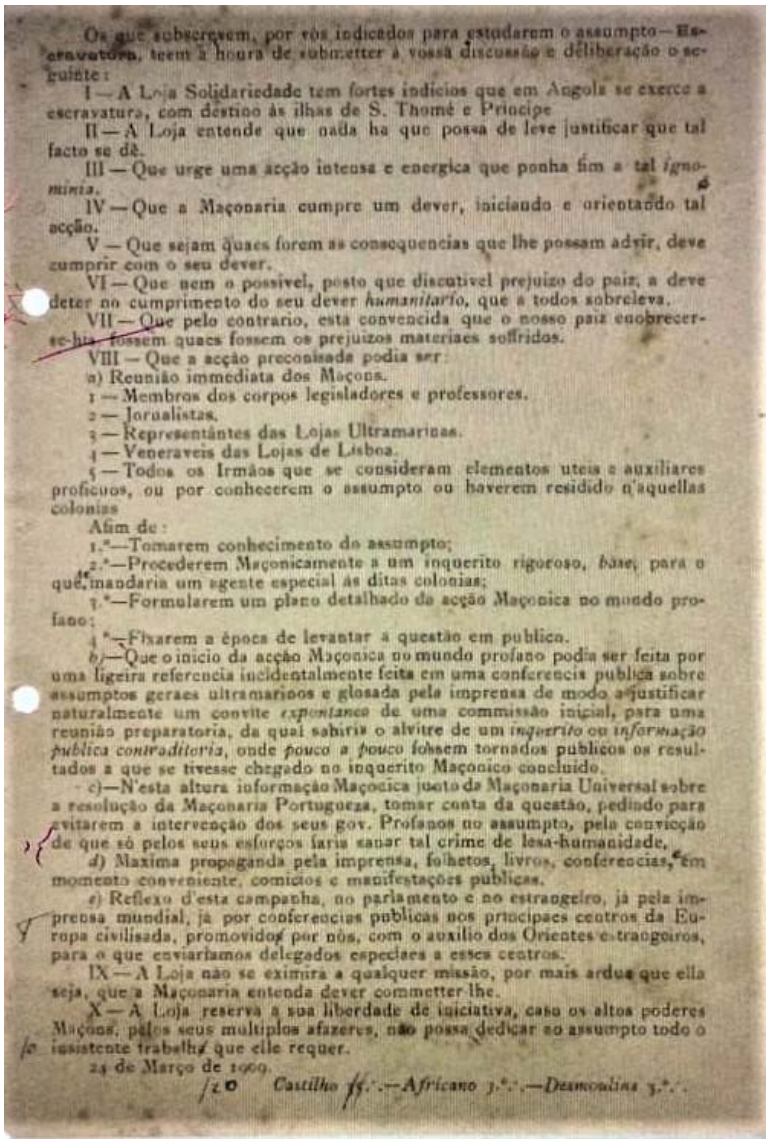
[2100] In a letter to *The Economist* Henry Nevinson referred to the accounts of Cameron, Arnot, Harding and Mayo and recommended Fox Bourne's pamphlet of 1908 "Slave traffic in Portuguese Africa" as the best account **"for a rapid acquaintance with the facts."** (my bold) "The Angola and San Thomé Slavery" *The Economist* November 27th 1909, pp.1102-3.

[2101] "The wish for amalgamation, which had hung fire since the close of the nineteenth century, became a burning issue in 1908. Negotiations were begun, but amalgamation was always deferred by personal equations on both sides. All the evidence suggests that the move within the A.P.S. toward unity with the A.S.S. was checked by the personality of Fox Bourne; and the Anti-Slavery leadership, knowing that the man would accept no other post than Secretary of the amalgamated Society, preferred to postpone the inevitable.[...] On 24 June 1909, the union was officially sealed.[...]" Kenneth D. Nworah. Op.cit.1971, pp.89-90.

[2102] See Chapter 4.2 of this dissertation.

[2103] For example, *O Século*, which was still acting as an informal mouthpiece for the Centro Colonial, wrote in a front-page article: "[…]**O prejuizo economico, proveniente do boycottage dos chocolateiros, não pode ser grande para Portugal. O prejuizo moral, porém, é que não é para desprezar**[...]E esse compete ao governo evital-o, acabando de vez, por todos os meios ao seu alcance, com a campanha de descredito que no estrangeiro se move contra este mal fadado paiz." See "Governar na casa alheia. Os chocolateiros inglezes impõem a «boycottage» ao cacau portuguez. Uma lucta de interesses, mascarada com o rotulo de campanha humanitaria - O trabalho em S. Thomé transformado em balão que se lança… no momento oportuno" *O Século.* April 6th 1909, p.1.(my bold)

One small but influential sector of Portuguese society, however, took a different stance on the matter.



Os que subscrevem, por vós indicados para estudarem o assumpto—**Escravatura**, teem a honra de submetter á vossa discussão e deliberação o seguinte:

I—A Loja Solidariedade tem fortes indicios que em Angola se exerce a escravatura, com destino ás ilhas de S. Thomé e Principe

II—A Loja entende que nada ha que possa de leve justificar que tal facto se dê.

III—Que urge uma acção intensa e energica que ponha fim a tal *ignominia*.

IV—Que a Maçonaria cumpre um dever, iniciando e orientando tal acção.

V—Que sejam quaes forem as consequencias que lhe possam advir, deve cumprir com o seu dever.

VI—Que nem o possivel, posto que discutivel prejuizo do paiz, a deve deter no cumprimento do seu dever *humanitario*, que a todos sobreleva.

VII—Que pelo contrario, esta convencida que o nosso paiz enobrecer-se-hia fossem quaes fossem os prejuizos materiaes soffridos.

VIII—Que a acção preconisada podia ser:

a) Reunião immediata dos Maçons.

1—Membros dos corpos legisladores e professores.

2—Jornalistas.

3—Representantes das Lojas Ultramarinas.

4—Veneraveis das Lojas de Lisboa.

5—Todos os Irmãos que se consideram elementos uteis e auxiliares proficuos, ou por conhecerem o assumpto ou haverem residido n'aquellas colonias

Afim de:

1.º—Tomarem conhecimento do assumpto;

2.º—Procederem Maçonicamente a um inquerito rigoroso, *base*, para o que mandaria um agente especial ás ditas colonias;

3.º—Formularem um plano detalhado de acção Maçonica no mundo profano;

4.º—Fixarem a época de levantar a questão em publico.

b)—Que o inicio da acção Maçonica no mundo profano podia ser feita por uma ligeira referencia incidentalmente feita em uma conferencia publica sobre assumptos geraes ultramarinos e glosada pela imprensa de modo a justificar naturalmente um convite *espontaneo* de uma commissão inicial, para uma reunião preparatoria, da qual sahiria o alvitre de um *inquerito* ou *informação publica contraditoria*, onde *pouco a pouco* fossem tornados publicos os resultados a que se tivesse chegado no inquerito Maçonico concluido.

c)—N'esta altura informação Maçonica junto da Maçonaria Universal sobre a resolução da Maçonaria Portugueza, tomar conta da questão, pedindo para evitarem a intervenção dos seus gov. Profanos no assumpto, pela convicção de que só pelos seus esforços iria sanar tal crime de lesa-humanidade.

d) Maxima propaganda pela imprensa, folhetos, livros, conferencias, em momento conveniente, comicios e manifestações publicas.

e) Reflexo d'esta campanha, no parlamento e no estrangeiro, já pela imprensa mundial, já por conferencias publicas nos principaes centros da Europa civilisada, promovidos por nós, com o auxilio dos Orientes estrangeiros, para o que enviariamos delegados especiaes a esses centros.

IX—A Loja não se eximira a qualquer missão, por mais ardua que ella seja, que a Maçonaria entenda dever commetter-lhe.

X—A Loja reserva a sua liberdade de iniciativa, caso os altos poderes Maçons, pelos seus multiplos afazeres, não possa dedicar ao assumpto todo o assistente trabalho que elle requer.

24 de Março de 1909.

Castilho ff.·.—Africano 3.º·.—Desmoulins 3.º·.

Figure 5.2 Internal document dated March 24th 1909. "Solidariedade" masonic lodge. Documentos Carvalhão Duarte/Simões Raposo. Fundação Mário Soares.

A week after the boycott was announced, radical freemasons who had, for years, accused successive monarchist governments of encouraging slavery and had resisted the efforts of the planters' lobby to brand the anti-slavery campaign as a malicious, commercially-motivated exercise, met at the Solidariedade Lodge in Lisbon, to define a strategy which, at the same time as acknowledging the urgent need for labour reforms in the colonies, would draw upon masonic contacts at home and abroad to further their humanitarian

agenda.[2104] It was leading members of this same progressive, pro-republican faction who would be instrumental in bringing about substantial improvements to the contract-labour system after the fall of the Monarchy.[2105]

After the delivery of Paula Cid's report at the end of March, it was finally recognised in Government circles that previous alterations to the legislation had failed to achieve the desired results. On July 17th 1909 yet another labour decree was published, limiting the parts of Angola where recruitment could take place, as well as the number of labourers who could be recruited annually. The routes to the coast taken by caravans and stopping points were also clearly defined to enable surveillance to be carried out effectively, in accordance with the recommendations of the Paula Cid report. On the other hand, contrary to Cid's recommendations and in contrast with the tenor of the other provisions, repatriation was not made obligatory and Angolans convicted of "vagrancy" could still be forced to sign up as plantation labourers for São Tomé and Príncipe - possibly a last-minute concession to the planters.[2106]

Two weeks later, Manuel da Terra Vianna, the Minister for the Colonies, suspended all recruiting in Angola for a three-month period to allow the necessary changes to be introduced, excluding from the provisions of the decree any future "serviçais" who were already on their way to the islands. By this time, the more influential planters were beginning to admit that a moratorium on the importation of Angolan labourers was the only way to regain the confidence of their customers abroad.[2107]

[2104] See Chapter 2.1 of this dissertation for more on this initiative. The confidential internal document of the "Solidariedade" masonic lodge is reproduced above as **Figure 5.2**.

[2105] See Chapters 2.4 and 2.5 of this dissertation. In general, historians have failed to do justice to the altruistic motives of this significant anti-slavery lobby. Douglas Wheeler, however, recognises the contribution of the republicans, particularly that of José de Macedo and the *Defesa de Angola*: […] "From Macedo's crusade one can observe that **in the republican press, republicanism and humanitarian reformism went hand in hand, especially in the 1900-1910 era, attacking slavery in plateau Angola and the export of servicaes to Sao Tomé,** as well as criticising Portugal's tight financial control over Angola.[…]" Douglas Wheeler. "«Angola Is Whose House?» Early Stirrings of Angolan Nationalism and Protest, 1822-1910" in *African Historical Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1,1969, pp. 1-22. (my bold)

[2106] Francisco Mantero had met with Terra Viana the week before the decree was published. See *O Século* July 8th 1909, p.1. "Mão d'Obra em S. Thomé. O projecto de regulamento para contracto de servicaes. Principaes disposições deste projecto." The whole of the July 17th 1909 legislation is reproduced in the Bulletin of the Centro Colonial. "Regulamento Geral da Emigração de Indígenas para S. Thomé e Príncipe", BCCL no.5, August 1909, pp 22-63 and in translation in HMSO *Africa no. 2, 1912,* pp.3-21.

[2107] "[…] Dissemos sempre que os roceiros de S. Thomé não faziam escravatura, mas se as apparencias o podiam fazer supôr, acabam-se com essas apparencias e mostra-se a Inglaterra e ao mundo inteiro que

Reacting to the substantial increase of American purchases of Portuguese cacao, the Anti-Slavery Society had, in the meanwhile, sent Joseph Burtt and his wife on a four-month lecture tour of the Eastern United States, to persuade American consumers and manufacturers to join the boycott. The tour, which was funded by public subscription, was supported by American activists of the Congo Reform Association, who used their influence in evangelical and Quaker circles to secure the same venues which had been used in the "Congo Atrocities" campaign and issued frequent, nation-wide press releases through the principal news agencies . The often lurid articles, which quickly appeared across the whole of America, undoubtedly had an impact on public opinion, but the concrete results of Burtt's initiative on American consumers would, in the end, be minimal, as it proved an impossible task to trace the origins of the imported raw material back to the cocoa islands. [2108]

At a plenary meeting of the Centro Colonial called on October 25th 1909 to discuss the first reports on Burtt's trip to the United States, the planters agreed to request diplomatic support to defend their reputations abroad and decided to launch a public relations campaign in the international press to counter accusations which they continued to consider unfounded. At the same time, in a momentous decision which marked a watershed in the whole controversy, it was decided that repatriation should go ahead without further delay and the Government should be asked to suspend recruitment from Angola for a two-year period. [2109]

Coinciding felicitously with the State Visit to Britain of the new Monarch, D. Manuel II, the period of suspension would be extended on November 22nd 1909 until February 1st 1910, ostensibly due to the difficulties encountered in implementing the decree in the

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estamos todos unidos para fazer desapparecer qualquer suspeita […]" BCCL no.5, August 15th 1909, p.19. Statement by the Board of the CCL.

[2108] For more on Burtt's American tour see Chapter 4.7 of this dissertation. Despite the success of his talks the American boycott failed to materialise and by 1912 half of the cocoa exported from São Tomé and Príncipe was going to the United States.

[2109] See BCCL no.8, November 15th 1909, pp. 30-36 for the minutes of the meeting, which was attended by 20 of the planters.

interior of Angola. [2110] At the end of January, Lt. Col. Alves Roçadas, the last Governor-General of Angola before the fall of the Monarchy, issued provincial regulations placing recruiting agents under stricter local supervision and restricting recruitment to areas where Portuguese administrative and military control was effective, but despite these safeguards recruitment would not be resumed for three years. [2111]

Much of the credit for the suspension was unquestionably due to the persistence of the anti-slavery campaigners and the diplomatic pressure exercised by the Foreign Office, but despite this undeniable victory, there would be no let up in the humanitarian campaign. The attention of the Anti-Slavery Society and its allies would now turn to the death rate on the cocoa islands, the absence or inadequacy of payments to the repatriated labourers, the slowness and inefficiency of the repatriation process and the labour situation in Angola, itself.

The overthrow of the Portuguese Monarchy at the beginning of October 1910, followed by the Proclamation of the Republic and the subsequent formation of a Provisional Government would temporarily weaken the political influence of the planter's lobby and create conditions which were conducive to the reform of the contract-labour system. But as radical as they were on other issues, the republican leaders differed little from their monarchist adversaries in their vision of Portugal's imperial role in Africa [2112] and though keen to settle the lengthy dispute over "slave-labour", they were divided on how to approach the problem of repatriation.[2113] Indeed, three months before the fall of the Monarchy, at secret meetings in Paris and London with representatives of the press,

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[2110] Sir Edward Grey was able to voice his satisfaction regarding the suspension at a meeting at the FO with the Portuguese Foreign Minister Roma du Bocage, who had accompanied the King on his State Visit to Madrid, London and Paris. For a brief report on the meeting see HMSO *Africa no.2 1912*, [cd. 6322], p.26.
[2111] The vast majority of new "servicais" during this period would come from Mozambique, whilst a significant number, mostly destined for the Island of Príncipe, would come from the Cape Verde Islands.
[2112] "[…]a elite republicana daquele tempo, em grande parte, correspondia a chamada «geração do Ultimato», com a seguinte matriz ideológica e valorativa: patriotas convictos, democratas, anticlericais, **defensores de um projecto colonial desenvolvimentista** e lutadores sociais impregnados de uma fé inquebrantável no progresso, cientismo e positivismo". Pedro Ramos Brandão; António Chaves Fidalgo. *A maçonaria e a participação de Portugal na Primeira Guerra Mundial: sangue, lágrimas e aventais na Europa e em África.* Casa das Letras. Alfragide: 2014, p.80. (my bold)
[2113] The divergence between the more radical members of the Republican Party who supported compulsory repatriation and the moderate factions who were reluctant to take measures which might jeopardise the prosperity of the islands would become clearer after May 28th 1911 and the Constituent Assembly after which the republicans divided into the radical Democrats, led by Afonso Costa, the Evolutionists led by António José de Almeida and the more moderate Unionists led by Brito Camacho.

politics and finance, the emissaries of the Republican Party, José Relvas and Sebastião Magalhães Lima had offered reassurance regarding their Party's commitment to existing international agreements, in the event of its rise to power, but when questioned on the issue of labour in the cocoa islands at a private gathering of progressive humanitarians in London, José Relvas had expressed his annoyance at what he considered to be the unfounded accusations of the anti-slavery activists, whilst guaranteeing, on the other hand, that a future Republican government would place the issue of human rights in the colonies high on its list of priorities. [2114]

The intentions of the Republican leaders would be confirmed soon after the proclamation of the new regime. [2115] One of the first positive signs was the revival, on October 21st 1910, of the Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society. [2116] Significantly, those behind the initiative belonged to the same group of freemasons who had met at the Solidariedade masonic lodge in Lisbon to discuss their response to the boycott, a week after it had been declared. The founders included the Grand Master of Portuguese freemasonry, Sebastião Magalhães Lima; Capt. Norton de Matos, who would later be appointed Governor-General of Angola and Cdr. Leotte do Rego, who, in his brief stay as Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe in 1909, had taken firm measures to reform the administration.[2117] Due, in great part, to the insistence of the first Secretary of this pressure group, Alfredo Henrique da Silva,[2118] a note was sent by the Provisional Government to the Anti-Slavery

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[2114] Henry Nevinson was present and spoke to Magalhães Lima. See Chapter 2.4 of this dissertation.

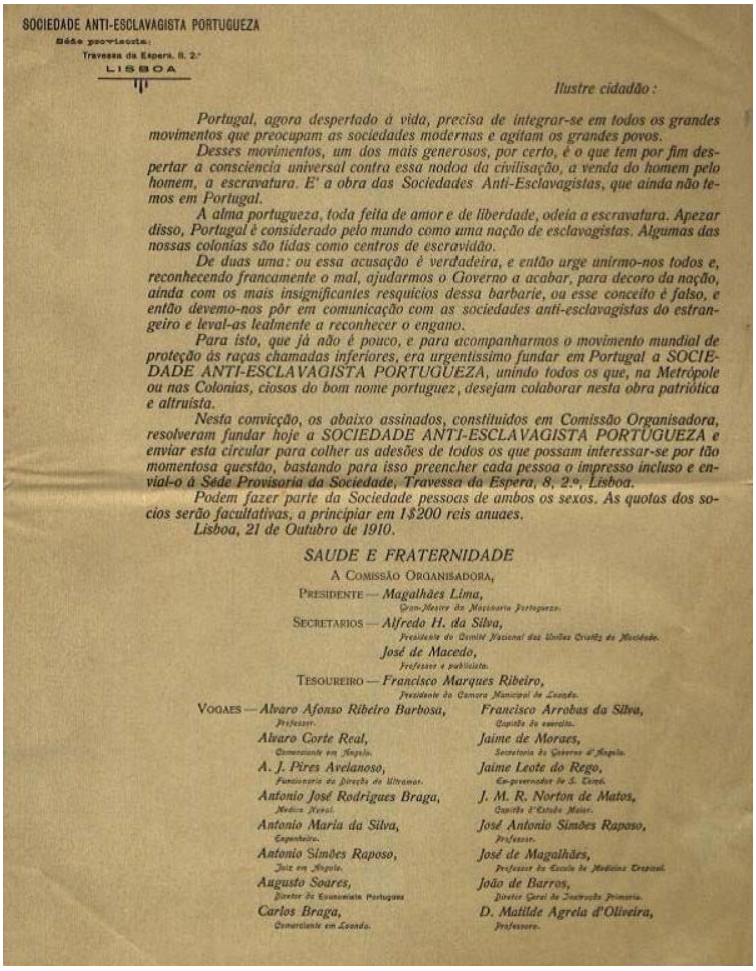
[2115] Correspondence between William Cadbury and members of the provisional Government began with a letter from Cadbury on October 13th 1910, just a week after the Proclamation of the Republic. See " Labour Conditions in Portuguese West Africa. The Projected reforms." *The Times*. November 16th 1910, p.21. Six of the eight members of the Provisional Government were freemasons.

[2116] The first meeting of the Sociedade Anti-esclavagista was held on October 21st 1909, but its foundation was only announced publicly on November 16th, the day the British Anti-Slavery deputation arrived in Lisbon. A copy of the Flyer announcing the foundation of the Society is held in the Arquivo de História Social-ICS in the Alfredo Henrique da Silva Collection. See **Figure 5.3** below.

[2117] Which included João de Barros (1881-1960), writer, educationalist and Foreign Minister in one of the last Governments of the Republic. The Society's first Secretaries were Alfredo Henrique da Silva, the Methodist educationalist and friend of William Cadbury who had taught Portuguese to Joseph Burtt before his first stay in Portuguese West Africa and José de Macedo, who had edited the *Defeza de Angola*.

[2118] In his defence in the "Alma Negra!" affair Silva discloses the wording of the statement which he forwarded to the Anti-Slavery Society: "[…] o governo da republica portugueza declara que ha de resolver a questão da mão de obra em S. Tomé e outras colonias, usando de absoluta justiça e garantindo a liberdade dos indígenas. No entretanto, vae fazer cumprir rigorosamente as leis atuaes de protecção aos indigenas e que lhes garantem a liberdade, principalmente no que respeita ao recrutamento e repatriação dos servicaes. Esta declaração sera imediatamente comunicada as autoridades de S. Tomé e Principe." "A Defeza de Alfredo da Silva." *O Século*. April 15th 1913, p.3.

Society in London, announcing its intention to introduce significant labour reforms. [2119] Sensing a chance to end the situation once and for all, the Society decided to send a deputation to Lisbon, which would be interpreted by their Portuguese counterparts and by the Government as a gesture of goodwill and acknowledgement of the new regime's sincerity and readiness to tackle the problem.



SOCIEDADE ANTI-ESCLAVAGISTA PORTUGUEZA

Séde provisoria:
Travessa da Espera, 8, 2.º
LISBOA

Ilustre cidadão:

Portugal, agora despertado á vida, precisa de integrar-se em todos os grandes movimentos que preocupam as sociedades modernas e agitam os grandes povos.

Desses movimentos, um dos mais generosos, por certo, é o que tem por fim despertar a consciencia universal contra essa nodoa da civilisação, a venda do homem pelo homem, a escravatura. E' a obra das Sociedades Anti-Esclavagistas, que ainda não temos em Portugal.

A alma portugueza, toda feita de amor e de liberdade, odeia a escravatura. Apezar disso, Portugal é considerado pelo mundo como uma nação de esclavagistas. Algumas das nossas colonias são tidas como centros de escravidão.

De duas uma: ou essa acusação é verdadeira, e então urge unirmo-nos todos e, reconhecendo francamente o mal, ajudarmos o Governo a acabar, para decoro da nação, ainda com os mais insignificantes resquicios dessa barbarie, ou esse conceito é falso, e então devemo-nos pôr em comunicação com as sociedades anti-esclavagistas do estrangeiro e leval-as lealmente a reconhecer o engano.

Para isto, que já não é pouco, e para acompanharmos o movimento mundial de protecção ás raças chamadas inferiores, era urgentissimo fundar em Portugal a SOCIEDADE ANTI-ESCLAVAGISTA PORTUGUEZA, unindo todos os que, na Metrópole ou nas Colonias, ciosos do bom nome portuguez, desejam colaborar nesta obra patriótica e altruista.

Nesta convicção, os abaixo assinados, constituidos em Comissão Organisadora, resolveram fundar hoje a SOCIEDADE ANTI-ESCLAVAGISTA PORTUGUEZA e enviar esta circular para colher as adesões de todos os que possam interessar-se por tão momentosa questão, bastando para isso preencher cada pessoa o impresso incluso e envial-o á Séde Provisoria da Sociedade, Travessa da Espera, 8, 2.º, Lisboa.

Podem fazer parte da Sociedade pessoas de ambos os sexos. As quotas dos socios serão facultativas, a principiar em 1$200 reis anuaes.

Lisboa, 21 de Outubro de 1910.

SAUDE E FRATERNIDADE

A Comissão Organisadora,

Presidente — Magalhães Lima,
Gran-Mestre da Maçonaria Portugueza.

Secretarios — Alfredo H. da Silva,
Presidente da Comité Nacional das Uniões Cristãs da Mocidade.

José de Macedo,
Professor e publicista.

Tesoureiro — Francisco Marques Ribeiro,
Presidente da Camara Municipal de Loanda.

Vogaes — Alvaro Afonso Ribeiro Barbosa, Professor.
Alvaro Corte Real, Comerciante em Angola.
A. J. Pires Avelanoso, Funccionario da direcção do Ultramar.
Antonio José Rodrigues Braga, Medico Naval.
Antonio Maria da Silva, Engenheiro.
Antonio Simões Raposo, Juiz em Angola.
Augusto Soares, Director do Ecomomista Portuguez
Carlos Braga, Comerciante em Loanda.
Francisco Arrobas da Silva, Capitão do exercito.
Jaime de Moraes, Secretario do Governo d'Angola.
Jaime Leote do Rego, Ex-governador de S. Thomé.
J. M. R. Norton de Matos, Capitão d'Estado Maior.
José Antonio Simões Raposo, Professor.
José de Magalhães, Professor da Escola de Medicina Tropical.
João de Barros, Director Geral da Instrucção Primaria.
D. Matilde Agrela d'Oliveira, Professora.

Figure 5.3 Flyer announcing the foundation of the Sociedade Anti-Esclavagista Portugueza. October 21st 1910. AHS - ICS. Alfredo Henrique da Silva Collection.

The members of the deputation, who included John H. Harris, Henry Nevinson and Joseph Burtt, were received warmly by Foreign Minister Bernardino Machado who

[2119] A short note appeared in *The Times* referring to a message received by the AS and AP Society from the Provisional Government "tendering assurances as to the indentured labourers of San Thomé and Príncipe." It added that the Society's Board had unanimously agreed to send a mission to Lisbon which would depart on 12th November. "The Portuguese Government and Indentured Labour". *The Times* November 5th 1910, p.12.

thanked them for their efforts and offered assurances regarding the new Government's commitment to repatriation and improved recruitment procedures. Meetings were also held with the Portuguese Anti-Slavery Society which took advantage of the opportunity to voice its concerns over the treatment of Mozambican labourers on the Rand. Contrasting with the optimistic tone of official press releases on both sides, however, Harris and Nevinson, who were rarely in agreement otherwise, later separately criticised the absence of a written declaration guaranteeing the repatriation of all the labourers already on the islands, a pledge which, had it been given, would have undoubtedly been viewed in Portugal as capitulation to foreign pressure. [2120]

The Provisional Government was true to its word. In the first months of the new regime Governors were appointed to Portuguese Africa with instructions to impose labour reforms. All, however, met with varying degrees of local resistance. In Angola, systematic opposition from a significant part of the settler population led to the resignation of Col. Manuel Maria Coelho, only a year after taking office as Governor-General in January 1911 and announcing his intention to replace the existing recruiting agents by government-appointed officials. [2121] Similarly, Capt. Carvalhal Henriques, who had been appointed Governor of Moçamedes (now Namibe) with a brief to put an end to the old system of renting-out of African labourers by their "owners", [2122] came up against strong local resistance to reforms and was exonerated in March 1912. In São Tomé and Príncipe the appointment of António Miranda Guedes as Governor in November 1910 quickly led to the introduction of a series of administrative measures and to the repatriation to Angola

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[2120] Harris commented favourably on the outcome of the meetings to the British Minister Villiers in Lisbon, but would change his tune on his return, after realising that repatriation was not going to be compulsory.

[2121] Maj. Manuel Maria Coelho, who was exiled in Angola after the failed republican military coup of January 31st 1891, later lived for a time in São Tomé before returning to Lisbon after the fall of the Monarchy.

[2122] Bonded labourers were hired out by private "owners" to farmers and even to to the public works department. See the article written by Alexandre de Mattos on February 26th 1912, in *A Capital* p.2, under the heading "Questões Coloniaes. A escravatura em Mossamedes que ali existe sob o nome de «aluguer de serviçaes» tem de ser extincta mas sem a disciplina de acampamentos e quarteis." The article comments on the open letter to the President of the Republic from Mossamedes farmers, industrialists and tradesmen, entitled *A escravatura em Mossamedes : carta aberta dirigida a S. Ex. o presidente da Republica por um grupo de agricultores, industriaes e commerciantes de Mossamedes*. Lisboa : Typographia do Comercio, 1912, which recognised the situation and asked that something should be done about it, gradually and without violence, allowing the labourers to be replaced in an orderly fashion without damaging the interests of employers and labourers. It was "the kiss of death" for Capt. Carvalhal Henriques.

of the first significant contingent of contract labourers,[2123] but just as on the mainland, powerful vested interests succeeded in undermining his courageous efforts to implement labour reforms and initiate long-awaited public works, and he was transferred to Macao after only six months in the post.[2124] Miranda Guedes was followed by Cdr. Leotte do Rego, who in his brief term of office in 1909 had demonstrated an energetic approach to the Governorship. He too would face stern local opposition and resigned in frustration after only three months. [2125] It would only be in June 1912, with the appointment of Norton de Matos as Governor-General of Angola, that the balance would tip decisively in favour of reform in Portuguese West Africa.

In the meanwhile, in a surprising turn of events, William Cadbury had returned to Portugal in March 1911 [2126] accompanied by his wife Emmeline and the anti-slavery activist and fellow Quaker William Albright.[2127] With Alfredo Henrique da Silva acting as interpreter, Cadbury and Albright were received by Azevedo Gomes, the Minister for the Colonies, who assured them that compulsory repatriation of newly-contracted labourers would go ahead as announced and that recruitment would be carried out according to the "liberal principles of the Republic". Little or nothing seems to have come out of the meeting, however, as Cadbury offered nothing concrete in exchange and in a joint article with Morel in the *Nineteenth Century*, eighteen months later,[2128] rather than

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[2123] "[…] Começou realmente a repatriação dos servicaes para Angola e se honra foi esse inicio pertence-me ella não ha duvida.[...]" Porto e nova alfândega de S. Thome. Serviçaes de obras públicas repatriados em Janeiro do corrente ano. *O Século.* July 10th 1911, p.3. Interview with Miranda Guedes on his way through Lisbon to Macao. Those repatriated totalled 229 adults accompanied by children. The article was iIllustrated by a photograph of contract labourers employed in public works who had been repatriated in January 1911.

[2124] Miranda Guedes also lacked the support of the more radical republicans, which meant that he was fair game in the power struggle which followed his appointment.

[2125] "Em Angola e S. Tomé cometiam-se irregularidades e tinham se criado interesses que a lei de 27 de Maio 1911 ia ferir. **Naturalmente aqueles que por ela eram feridos procuraram resistir.** E o que isso prova senão que o Govêrno da república tem tomado medidas rigorosas, ferindo interêsses ilegais, procurando evitar a repetição dos antigos males[...]"Alfredo Augusto Freire de Andrade, *Relatório acerca do livro "Portuguese slavery", escripto pelo Sr. John Harris.* Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa: 1913, p.74 (my bold). Leotte do Rego would publish his political testament on his brief stay as Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe in three articles in *O Século* on December 9th, p.2; 14th, p.2; and 19th, p.3; all 1911.

[2126] Cadbury would describe the initiative as "a private visit".

[2127] The visit came as a surprise to the Portuguese authorities as his firm had apparently distanced itself from the controversy and endorsed the Foreign Office's policy. Alfredo Henrique da Silva, a Protestant and a firm republican, was keen to build bridges between his friend Cadbury and the new Government which he believed was sincerely committed to labour reforms in Africa. In his eagerness to see the boycott removed he undoubtedly overestimated Cadbury's readiness to make concessions.

[2128] Cadbury, William A. and Morel, E.D. "The West African Slave Traffic: Britain's Duty towards Angola and San Thomé." *Nineteenth Century and After.* no.72. Oct.1912. pp 836-851.

acknowledging the improvements which had been made, he revealed that his attitude towards the Portuguese authorities had become more deeply entrenched.

At the end of May 1911 the Republican Government revised the labour legislation for the Colonies, as it had announced at the meeting with the British Anti-Slavery Society. Although contracts were limited to a two-year period and a number of other positive measures were introduced,[2129] the remaining provisions would come as a disappointment both to members of the more progressive faction of the regime as to those in Britain who had been expecting more ambitious reforms. [2130] As in the previous Decree of 1899, the obligation of the "natives of the Colonies" to seek paid employment for a certain number of days a year was reaffirmed and, contradicting earlier commitments, no provision for compulsory repatriation at the end of each contract was included. The planters' lobby had succeeded, once again, in imposing its will. [2131]

Repatriation, such as it was, was not going smoothly either. [2132] That same month Consul Drummond-Hay reported from Luanda that Vice-Consul Fussell in Lobito had complained that repatriated labourers were loitering on the docks and spending what little money they had been given on drink. None were returning to their old villages in the

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[2129] Corporal punishment was abolished (but according to article 18 the labourers could be punished with moderation , **"as if they were minors"**) (my bold)

[2130] *Regulamento do Trabalho Indigena nas Colónias Portuguesas.* May 27th 1911

[2131] In fact, according to the wording of the new legislation, employers were obliged to offer repatriation but contract labourers could recontract if they so wished. Renewals of contracts could only be carried out before the Curador. See José de Almada. Op.cit. 1932, pp 46-47. (my bold) In a note to Sir Francis Villiers on February 14th 1911, Foreign Minister Bernardino Machado reported that the Minister of the Colonies had given instructions for repatriation of all the workers who so wished at the end of their contracts, but explained they were provisional. In HMSO *Africa no.2.1912* [Cd.6322] p.45.
Originally the plan was to introduce one-year contracts with compulsory repatriation, as in the WNLA contracts for Mozambican labourers in the Rand. In fact local regulations had been issued in São Tomé and Príncipe on December 8th 1910 to this effect. The planters argued, however, that if the legislation were implemented it would be the ruin of the islands and an attack on freedom itself, as there were labourers who had been in São Tomé for twenty years or more and no longer remembered where they were from and wished to stay. See " Interesses coloniaes. Exportação do cacau. Servicaes de S. Thomé." *A Capital* January 20th 1911 p.2. and "A repatriação dos Serviçaes de S. Tomé. É recebida pelo Ministro da Marinha a Commissão do Centro Colonial encarregada de tratar deste assumpto." *O Século* February 3rd 1911, p.2. According to the Lisbon correspondent of *The Times*, the Minister of the Interior [António José de Almeida] had been used by the planters to put pressure on the Minister of the Colonies. See "Slavery in the Portuguese Colonies. Movement against the New Law." *The Times.* February 1st 1911, p.7.

[2132] Armando de Campos, writing in the progressive Luanda weekly *A Reforma*, and Hermano Neves in the Lisbon republican paper *A Capital*, were both particularly scathing in their criticism of the absence of adequate preparations to receive the repatriated "serviçaes".

interior.[2133] In fact, there were those who thought that the whole procedure was so badly organised that the underlying objective might be to prove that repatriation was unworkable. Nevertheless, despite the barrage of criticism from all sides, it was undeniable that a start had been made. [2134]

In 1911, in an attempt to regain some measure of Government respect and rekindle public support for humanitarian campaigns which, to all intents, had already achieved their principal goals, the Board of the Anti-Slavery Society sent its Organising Secretaries John and Alice Seeley Harris to the British, Belgian and Portuguese West African colonies with the declared aim of comparing their administrations and assessing their future prospects. The Harrises spent a year travelling across Africa, covering many thousands of miles often on foot or by canoe, but stayed for only two weeks in Angola and little more than two days in São Tomé. Their brief stay was enough, however, for Harris to expound his views on "Portuguese Slavery" with new-found authority, in an ambitious volume entitled *Dawn in Darkest Africa*, [2135] profusely-illustrated with a selection of Alice Harris' photographs, which would also be used in exhibitions and the many lantern-slide lectures they gave over the next two years, both in Britain and abroad.

Consular reports on labour in the cocoa islands in the months which followed the recognition *de jure* of the new Republic, were mixed in tone and sometimes contradictory.[2136] One problem, however, which was of as much concern to the planters as to foreign observers was the catastrophic mortality rate amongst the plantation labourers, caused predominantly by sleeping sickness, which was endemic in the northern

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[2133] HM Consul Drummond-Hay (Loanda) to Sir Edward Grey. May 15th 1911. FO 367/234. In HMSO *Africa no.2 1912.* [Cd 6322] pp.53-54.

[2134] Consul Drummond-Hay confirmed in a report to the FO that up to February 1912, no new labourers had arrived from Angola whilst 1037 labourers had been repatriated, 385 of them to Angola.

[2135] With a preface by Lord Cromer. See Chapter 4.7 of this dissertation for more on this book.

[2136] "De jure" recognition of the new regime by the principal European Powers was granted on September 11th 1911 (Britain, Spain, Germany, Italy and Austro-Hungary - all monarchies).
Consul Drummond-Hay presented a detailed report in March 1912 which underlined the desultory fashion in which the "serviçais" were repatriated. On the other hand, just the next day, he reported that Vice-Consul Montgomery, writing from São Tomé, had informed that "a list of repatriated and recruited «serviçaes» will be published monthly in the «Official Gazette» of San Thomé". Clearly, though the majority of the contract labourers to be repatriated first were the old and sick, many of whom were given little or no money, there was an honest attempt on the part of the authorities to implement improvements and make the whole process more transparent. See Consul Drummond-Hay (Loanda), to Sir Edward Grey. March 18th 1912 and March 19th 1912. With Enclosure no.53: Return of " Serviçaes repatriated from San Thomé and Príncipe in the Second Half of 1911. Reproduced in HMSO. *Africa no.2. August 1912*. [Cd.6322], pp 84-91.

part of the island of Príncipe. Although specialists in tropical medicine had identified the causes several years earlier, it was only in 1911 that Bruto da Costa's mission began a vigorous campaign to exterminate the tsetse fly and destroy its breeding places. The epidemic, which had led the Government to consider abandoning the island, would be virtually eliminated within four years, an extraordinary achievement,[2137] which, however, employed radical methods were only conceivable at a time when the expendability of members of the so-called "lower races" was taken for granted, even by scientists.[2138]

The anti-slavery campaign would run in parallel, from this time on, with negotiations to revise the secret Anglo-German understanding of 1898, which had defined spheres of influence in south-central Africa and devised a strategy which hinged on the premise that the Portuguese authorities might be persuaded to offer their colonies as collateral against a joint loan to the depleted Portuguese exchequer.[2139] Aware of Germany's ambition to expand its colonial empire at Portugal's expense and anxious to avoid any pretext for direct confrontation, senior officials in the Foreign Office had initiated private talks with German diplomatic representatives in August of 1911.[2140] By the end of 1912, and

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[2137] For more on the campaign to eliminate the tsetse fly, see Chapter 4.14 of this dissertation. The substitution of Angolan recruits, some of whom were already infected when they arrived, by labourers from Mozambique and Cape Verde, provided an important contribution to the success of the campaign.

[2138] It would take many years for popular attitudes towards "race" to change but signs of evolution, in scientific circles, were displayed at the Universal Races Congress which was held at the University of London between July 26th-29th 1911.The congress was attended by over 2000 delegates from more than 50 nations. Amongst the many distinguished participants were W.E.B. du Bois, Franz Boas and Sir Harry Johnston. In a remarkable statement for the day, one of the principal organisers, Gustav Spiller (1864-1940), the Hungarian-born sociologist, summed up his group's findings as follows: **"[…]We are then under the necessity of concluding that an impartial investigator would be inclined to look upon the various important peoples of the world as, to all intents and purposes, essentially equal in intellect, enterprise, morality and physique."** Gustav Spiller. *Papers on inter-racial problems, communicated to the first Universal Races Congress, held at the University of London, July 26-29, 1911*. P.S. King & son, London: 1911. (my bold)

[2139] "**In 1898 Count Hatzfeld and Mr. Balfour had signed a secret agreement dividing the Portuguese colonies into economic spheres of influence between us and England.** As the Government of Portugal had neither the power or the means to open up her extensive possessions or to administer them properly, she had already thought of selling them before and thus relieving her financial burdens. An agreement had been come to between us and England which defined the interests of both parties, and which was of the greater value **because Portugal is entirely dependent on England, as generally known.** On the face of it this agreement was to safeguard the integrity and independence of the Portuguese State, and merely declared the intention of being of financial and economic assistance to the Portuguese. Literally, therefore it did not contravene the ancient Portuguese Alliance [...]" Karl Max, Prince Lichnowsky. Op.cit.1918, pp.14-15. (my bold)

[2140] Germany and France had reached the brink of armed confrontation in July 1911, over German ambitions in Western Morocco.The ongoing Agadir crisis had underlined the need for talks between Britain and Germany to defuse the threat of war. An agreement was eventually reached between France and Germany which involved the transfer of part of the French Congo to German rule in exchange for German recognition

notwithstanding British official denials of the existence of any such negotiations,[2141] a provisional agreement would be reached on the transfer to German sovereignty of São Tomé and Príncipe, most of Angola and part of Mozambique, in the event of Portugal's financial default. [2142]

Ironically, amongst the most vociferous advocates of the transfer of territories occupied by other European Powers to the trusteeship of Germany,[2143] were leaders of the human rights campaigns in the Belgian Congo and Portuguese West Africa. At one time or another over the next two years Strachey, Harris, Cromer, Morel and Cadbury would all suggest that the Portuguese, Belgian or French African colonies might be transferred, at a price, to Germany, supposedly "to the advantage of all concerned." [2144]

The disparity between the Anti-Slavery Society's unmitigated criticism of labour recruitment in Angola and its perfunctory attention to the recruitment of Mozambican

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that Morocco was within France's sphere of influence. For Germany the deal created an encouraging precedent for a possible future carve-up of the Portuguese African territories.

[2141] Based on British assurances, Foreign Minister António Macieira made an official statement in the Portuguese Parliament, in February 1913, denying the existence of any such agreement or negotiations. See note 930 of this dissertation.

[2142] Meetings were being held all over Britain in 1912-13 in favour of an understanding with Germany, many of them promoted by radical members of the Liberal Party.There was significant opposition within the FO to the negotiations, however, notably from Eyre Crow, who, in August 1912, became the principle interlocutor for the Portuguese Minister in London, Teixeira Gomes. Hammond, in the excellent chapter in his 1966 book on "The Anglo-German treaties of 1898" emphasises that when Grey complained of the lack of investment in Angola in 1911, he seemed to be unaware that the 1898 understanding largely precluded the raising of capital by the Portuguese for the territories covered by the agreement. See Hammond Op.cit. 1966, especially pp. 259-263.

Grey did, however, realise the impossibility of persuading the Portuguese authorities to give up their colonies, as he wrote the following in a confidential note to Goschen, the British Ambassador in Berlin: "[…] **And Portugal won't part with her colonies ... for when nations have gone downhill until they are at their last gasp, their pride remains undiminished if indeed it is not increased.** It clings to them as Tacitus says the love of dissimulation clung to Tiberius at his last gasp." (my bold) Grey to Goschen, 29th Dec. 1911, Grey Papers, F.O. 800/61. Quoted in Richard Langhorne. Op.cit.1973, p. 369.

[2143] Unsurprisingly, the alienation of British colonies would be summarily dismissed by all such advocates.

[2144] See Chapter 2.7 and note 773 in this dissertation. In the final chapter, of his book *Dawn in Darkest Africa*, entitled "The map of Africa rearranged" Harris discusses the sale of the French and Belgian colonies to Germany, but surprisingly, given his obstinate campaign against "slave-grown cocoa", he argues against the transfer of the Portuguese colonies, principally due to his recognition that the Germans were less humane in their treatment of Africans than the Portuguese: "[…]for though I admit that a number of colonial Portuguese are slave traders, and that slavery is prevalent on the mainland and on the islands, I must, in fairness to the Portuguese, point out first that the Portuguese have a kindly nature to which one can appeal, and secondly that **signs are not wanting of an awakening of conscience of the Portuguese nation** in a manner which may lead to a thorough cleansing of the colonial possessions of the Republic. Thirdly there is no colour bar in the Portuguese dominions." John H. Harris. Op.cit. 1912, p.296. (my bold)

In his preface to the book, Lord Cromer argues that any discussion of Harris' proposals to transfer the French Congo to Germany would jeopardise Anglo-French relations but admits that some "rearrangement" might be contemplated in the case of the Belgian Congo and Portuguese West Africa. Idem. pp. xx and xxi.

labourers for the Transvaal had become glaringly apparent during the three-year moratorium. The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* had hardly touched the subject of labour for the Transvaal since the end of the coolie labour scandal in 1906 and it was clearly deemed sufficient guarantee that the Portuguese authorities had nothing to do with recruitment, the whole affair being the responsibility of the WNLA and the British authorities in South Africa. Clearly, a different yardstick was applied where British representatives or British interests were involved. Over the same period, Sir Edward Grey frequently expressed concern to his colleagues at the FO regarding the methods used by Portuguese agents in Mozambique in the recruitment of the comparatively diminutive number of labourers for the cocoa islands, and at the beginning of 1912 he insisted that Arthur Hardinge, the British Minister in Lisbon should raise the matter with Prime Minister Augusto de Vasconcellos.[2145]

If the news from Mozambique gave Grey cause for concern, the reports from Angola were more encouraging. In the first few months of 1912, the Foreign Office had begun to receive favourable despatches from consular officials, in direct contrast with the critical tone of the correspondence which had been coming from the philanthropists since the revival of the anti-slavery campaign. More positive reports would follow the appointment of Norton de Matos in June 1912 and only three months after the new Governor-General's arrival, Consul Smallbones reported that he was convinced of the his determination to put an end to the old system and its abuses.[2146] In effect, now only the most inveterate members of the anti-slavery lobby seemed capable of ignoring the proliferating signs of change.

Reacting swiftly to the chorus of criticism in the press, one of Norton de Matos' first measures had been to create conditions for the reception of repatriated contract-labourers, with the concession of agricultural land in designated settlements and the provision of

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[2145] Vasconcellos made a tongue-in-cheek threat to curtail all recruitment of migrant labour in both Angola and Moçambique, suggesting that if Portugal did so it would be "accused in the British press even more vehemently of damaging Britain's commercial interests". Idem p.165, citing Hardinge to Sir Edward Grey January 24th and 29th 1912. FO 367/289.
Duffy's chapter on "Labour from Moçambique", particularly with regard to the Transvaal, covers much more ground than is feasible within the scope of this dissertation. See James Duffy. Op.cit. 1967, p.164 passim.

[2146] See Chapter 2.7 of this dissertation and note 827.

shelter, tools, seeds and specialist support. [2147] Soon afterwards the so-called "segunda linha" was abolished - an indigenous militia which had been systematically employed in unremunerated public works. [2148] A series of other reforms followed in quick succession. A ten-hour working day was introduced, wages had to be paid in cash and the sale of alcohol was prohibited in the vicinity of "fazendas". Employers could no longer use corporal punishment or dock the labourers' wages for misbehaviour and it was forbidden for labourers to be locked up in their barracks at night.[2149] Finally, all contracts were made retroactive to May 27th 1911, the date of the most recent labour decree.

Predictably, after the first shock had worn off, the Governor-General would face fierce opposition from many of the European settlers due to what they saw as a potential threat to white supremacy. Unlike most of his predecessors, however, who failed to leave a lasting legacy, he remained in office until 1915, allowing many of the far-reaching changes he introduced to take effect. Further initiatives launched in his first year of office included the extension of the railway from Benguela into the interior of Angola, the founding of the city of Huambo [2150] and an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to promote the colonisation of the central plateau by white settlers.[2151]

As undeniably progressive and humanitarian as most of these measures were, Norton de Matos, like many of his fellow freemasons, was inspired by the ideas of the Positivist thinkers of the nineteenth century, who advocated a scientific and pragmatic approach to social issues whilst accepting the widespread contemporary view that white Europeans represented the pinnacle of human evolution. Though favourable towards greater

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[2147] Order in Council of October 7th1912. Such settlements were by no means as successful as hoped, however, as most of the repatriated labourers wanted to return to their homes in the interior. See F.E. Drummond-Hay to Sir Edward Grey. Loanda, March 12th 1913. Reproduced in HMSO. *Africa no.1 (1914)* [Cd.7279] p.21.

[2148] Order in Council of November 21st 1912.

[2149] Order in Council of December 20th 1912. The restrictions imposed upon employers by the new regulations offer some idea of the abuses which were undoubtedly committed previously.

[2150] The city of Huambo (Nova Lisboa) was founded on August 8th 1912 at km. 423 on the Benguela railway, literally only weeks after Norton de Matos had taken office.

[2151] See J. Pereira Nascimento. *A colonização do planalto de Benguela.* J. Rodrigues, Lisboa : 1912.
In his overview of the "Third Portuguese Empire", Clarence-Smith is highly critical of Norton de Matos' lack of control over expenditure in the Province, which he identifies as one of the reasons for the financial difficulties that Republican Governments were to face. See Gervase Clarence-Smith. *O III Império Português : 1825-1975.* Teorema, Lisboa :1985, p.122.

autonomy of the province [2152] and ready from the outset to listen to the views of leading Angolans, Norton de Matos was quick to move against any signs of black Angolan militancy. [2153]

Satisfied that the measures which had been introduced offered sufficient guarantees, on July 20th 1912, Cerveira de Albuquerque, the Minister of the Colonies, authorised the resumption of recruitment from Angola under the supervision of a seven-man recruiting board which was to be established along the lines of the WNLA.[2154] The three-year moratorium on recruitment from Angola had finally come to an end. [2155] Notwithstanding the new legislation, however, over the coming years most of the labourers would still be recruited in Mozambique, with the exception of the island of Príncipe, where because of restrictions due to sleeping sickness, Cape Verdians would continue to predominate. [2156]

[2152] An admirer, at the time, of British colonial administration, Norton de Matos, like his fellow freemason José de Macedo, was in favour of a significant degree of autonomy in Angola. In an article in *A Capital* in 1912, Macedo recalls Norton de Matos' reaction to the publication of his work "Autonomia de Angola": […] Sr. Norton de Matos escrevia-me [sic] uma carta em que dizia, entre muitas outras coisas, que o systema administrativa que eu propunha seria talvez **« o unico meio de transformar rapidamente Angola, já não digo n'uma Australia mas pelo menos n'um Brasil.»**" "Federação do Atlântico. Federação colonial sim, do Atlântico, não." *A Capital* November 21st 1912, p.3. (my bold)

[2153] The case of the Luanda civil servant António Joaquim de Miranda, a leading member of the Liga Africana, exemplifies Norton de Matos' firm opposition to black or "assimilado" movements. According to Fish and Durost's account, on March 12th 1911 "Hundreds of people led by Miranda peacefully marched to the home of Governor-General Manuel Maria Coêlho and presented him with a copy of the petition [a petition calling for specific reforms in Angolan public education]. What stood out to witnesses was that almost all the marchers were African. They were holding the first demonstration by an African group to call for reforms from the Portuguese government." Three years later Norton de Matos suspended Miranda from his civil service job as a "recebedor da Fazenda" and expelled him to Cabinda after he was charged with forming a secret political society and trying to overthrow Portuguese rule in Angola. See Bruce Fish and Betty Durost. *Angola, 1880 to the Present, Slavery, Exploitation and Revolt.* Chelsea House, NYC : 2001, pp. 114-119.

[2154] The length of contract had previously been increased on March 30th 1912 to three years and the so-called "craft apprenticeship" to five years. On the creation of the recruitment board see : "Vae organisar-se uma sociedade para recrutamento de trabalhadores para S. Thomé." *A Capital* April 29th 1912, p.1. Much criticism was directed towards its composition, as the Board of the Centro Colonial de Lisboa, which was made up of the leading São Tomé planters, provided the majority of the members. See, for example, the interview with Norton de Matos in *O Século* in which he comments: "[…]Afinal o que é a junta de recrutamento? E uma entidade de proveniencia particular.[…] pouco diverge, na realidade, de **uma agencia de emigração, trabalhando por conta dos roceiros.**[…]" "Assuntos Coloniais. Mão d'Obra em S. Tomé e o recrutamento de servicaes." *O Século* May 20th 1912, pp.1-2. (my bold)

[2155] Col. Joaquim Cerveira e Sousa de Albuquerque e Castro (1853-1925), who would later reach the rank of general, served as Minister of the Colonies in the governments led by Augusto de Vasconcellos from January 29th to June 16th 1912, and Duarte Leite from June 6th 1912 to January 9th 1913. The new labour legislation - "Decreto regulando o recrutamento dos serviçais de Angola para os serviços agrícolas das ilhas de S. Tomé e Príncipe" was published in Diário do Governo, no.173, July 20th 1912 and the statutes of the recruitment board in Diário do Governo, no. 263, November 8th 1912.

[2156] Interviewed by *O Século* in early 1913, Lt. Marianno Martins, the former Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe, confirmed that Mozambican labourers were not authorised to work in Príncipe because of sleeping sickness: "[…]Não tendo sido consentido aos agricultores da Ilha do Principe recrutar servicaes em

In the meanwhile, shortly after another protest meeting at the Westminster Palace Hotel "To consider Portuguese slavery and British responsibility", [2157] the Foreign Office issued the first of five white papers dealing with Labour in Portuguese West Africa, in response to the campaign in Parliament which had continued during the absence of the Harrises in Africa. The white papers would contain correspondence between consular officials and the FO dating from after the boycott until early 1917, together with detailed statistics covering the numbers of labourers contracted and repatriated, those who had perished over the reporting period and payments to labourers made from the Repatriation Fund.

The first of the series, dated August 1912,[2158] was immediately interpreted by Harris and Travers Buxton as official recognition of what they had been saying all along - that the whole contract-labour system was no more than a form of slavery, a conclusion which was considered abusive by the Foreign Office, which had intended the document solely as a record and a justification of its actions over the three-year period since the boycott.[2159] In fact, throughout 1912 and 1913 the more intransigent campaigners, led by John H. Harris and St. Loe Strachey of *The Spectator,* would continue to devalue or simply ignore the encouraging developments in Angola and view with suspicion every effort of the Portuguese authorities to enforce labour reforms and improve recruitment procedures. Over the same period the anti-slavery campaigners would keep the issue alive with questions raised in both Houses of Parliament, articles judiciously placed in the national and regional press and lantern lectures given by the Harrises on their African expedition and the iniquities of the contract-labour system. [2160]

Moçambique viram-se eles sujeitos, tão sómente ao pequenissimo recrutamento que oferece Cabo Verde [...]". "S.Tomé". *O Século* May 6th 1913, pp.5-6.

[2157] It was the first such meeting at which the official Portuguese side of the affair was put to those present. Though the atmosphere of the meeting was clearly hostile, the Portuguese Minister, Teixeira Gomes, made sure that the national press and the FO were aware of what had been said. St. Loe Strachey moved a resolution at the meeting for the Government to terminate the Alliance with Portugal unless slavery on the Portuguese islands was abolished. This was carried. See "Labour in Portuguese Colonies" *The Times* June 26th 1912, p.10 and Chapter 2.7 of this dissertation for more on the Westminster Palace Hotel Meeting.

[2158] The first white paper or "white book" in the series covered correspondence and statistics beginning on July 15th 1909 and ending on June 15th 1912. HMSO. *Africa no.2. Correspondence respecting Contract Labour in Portuguese West Africa.* August 1912.[Cd. 6322]

[2159] See T.F.Buxton and J.H.Harris of the AS and APS to the FO. November 8th 1912. FO 367/286 47707.

[2160] The anti-slavery campaign was given a welcome fillip by the success of the public lectures given in 1912 by the missionary Daniel Crawford who had returned home after spending over twenty years in the "long grass" of South-Central Africa where he had witnessed caravans of "slaves" on their way to the coast of Angola. Though dating from before the turn of the century, his eye-witness accounts were repeated in the press when his book "Thinking Black" was published to wide acclaim that same year. See note 1492.

Partly due to Harris' obstinacy, the Foreign Office's relationship with the Anti-Slavery Society, which had never been good, deteriorated further in the period before the War as officials lost confidence in the reliability of the Society's sources and became increasingly impatient with its Organising Secretary's one-sided and often abusive interpretation of consular reports. [2161] Over the same period Harris would express growing frustration with Grey's support in Parliament for the behaviour of an allied government which, he argued, continued to condone a system akin to slavery, suggesting in correspondence that if the FO did not share the Society's interpretation of the situation the Society might be obliged to look more closely at British colonial practice in Africa, a veiled threat which, unsurprisingly, did nothing to improve relations with the African desk.[2162] Frustrated by the lack of support from the Foreign Office, Harris now took steps to broaden the appeal of the campaign, and in an attempt to involve other European nations he warned of the dangers of sending labourers to the islands on short contracts from other west African colonies, due to the threat of sleeping sickness. It was followed closely by press releases alleging that a significant number of the contract labourers were natives of neighbouring colonies who had been kidnapped from the territories bordering on Angola. It must have seemed, even to firm supporters of the cause, that its leaders were now grasping at straws to keep public interest alive.[2163]

The publication of the Government white paper was received with surprise and consternation by the Portuguese press, which, over the previous months had emphasised the contrast between Sir Edward Grey's Parliamentary defence of the Portuguese authorities and the criticisms of the philanthropic lobby, which were portrayed as malevolent and misinformed. In October 1912, embarassment turned to indignation on the publication of an article signed by William Cadbury and E.D. Morel in the *Nineteenth Century and After* which accused the Portuguese authorities of condoning cruel and

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[2161] By mid-1913 Sir Edward Grey would limit meetings with representatives of the Anti-Slavery Society to Parliament. In 1910, for example, shortly after the Proclamation of the Republic, Harris was still quoting Maj. Colin Harding's account which referred to his travels in Barotseland in 1900! See *The Spectator* October 15th 1910, pp. 588-589.

[2162] J.H.Harris to F.O. October 24th 1912. FO 367/286. Quoted in James Duffy. Op.cit 1967, pp.219-220. In August 1912 Walter Langley was replaced as Teixeira Gomes' interlocutor at the FO by Eyre Crow, who was more sympathetic to Portugal.

[2163] The recruits were destined for São Tomé, not Príncipe, where the tsetse fly was still a constant peril.

anachronical labour practises in Africa and proposed that as Portugal was manifestly incapable of developing its colonies it should transfer them by "friendly agreement" to a "first class colonial power". It was clear that Cadbury had finally abandoned any hope he might have cherished of seeing the whole contingent of contract labourers return to their homeland and that Morel, the principal author of the article, having brought the Congo campaign to a successful conclusion, was now, like many Liberals, more concerned with the growing danger of war in Europe and the need for a policy of appeasement towards Germany. [2164]

Once again the humanitarian ideals which had been at the origin of the British anti-slavery campaign were taking second place to political and strategic goals. Over the preceding decade the issue of forced labour in Portuguese West Africa had been exploited in campaigns which often owed less to altruistic motives than to the desire to acquire political advantage. In the first years of the century Portuguese republicans had used the scandal of slavery against the ruling monarchy, whilst in Britain, after 1906, it had provided fuel for the political struggle between the Tory opposition and the Liberal Government. Now, the pacifist lobby in Britain was using accusations of slavery in an attempt to create the political conditions which might lead to the fulfillment of Germany's ambitions to expand its empire at Portugal's expense.

After the publication of Morel and Cadbury's article it became clear that nothing was to be gained from further talks with the chocolate-makers. Exasperated by the content and tone of the article, Alfredo Freire de Andrade responded to William Cadbury in an intemperate open letter in the *Nineteenth Century*.[2165] Having survived a period of political turmoil during which he had consolidated his role as Director-General of the Colonial Office, Freire de Andrade would, from this time on take the lead in assuring the official response to the anti-slavery campaign during the troubled years before the war, effectively guaranteeing a measure of continuity despite the frequent changes at Government level.[2166] The whole emphasis of the official strategy, now more closely

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[2164] The link between Cadbury and Morel was undoubtedly reinforced by their shared pacifist views, which Morel may have picked up from his mother, who was a Quaker.

[2165] See Chapter 2.7 of this dissertation for more on the exchange in the *Nineteenth Century and After*. A translation would later appear in the first issue of the *Revista Colonial* in January 1913.

[2166] J.M.Sardica recalls the instability which plagued the Republican regime over its sixteen years of existence, with constant changes in Governments and ministerial posts - an expressive contrast with the

coordinated with the Centro Colonial, would be to give the maximum publicity to the reforms which had been introduced, whilst attempting to convince the Foreign Office of Portugal's good faith in the matter.

A great deal had been done to improve labour conditions in Portuguese West Africa since the advent of the Republic and even some of the formerly-critical voices in Britain had begun to admit as much. But the Anti-Slavery Society was not prepared to relinquish what was now its principal rallying banner, especially during the centenary year of Livingstone's birth.[2167] After a series of lantern lectures by Alice Seeley Harris in Switzerland, followed by a campaign in the Francophone press organised by the leader of the now-revamped Swiss CRA René Claparéde, Freire de Andrade was forced to return to the fray with a pamphlet in French refuting arguments many of which were out of date or increasingly detached from reality. [2168]

Despite his own first-hand experience of the repatriation of contract labourers during his stay in Angola, and recent positive reports from missionaries, John H.Harris stubbornly refused to recognise the progress which had been made. The second white paper on Labour in Portuguese West Africa, which was presented to Parliament in February 1913, reinforced the conviction of the anti-slavery activists that the campaign continued to be justified, whilst providing evidence, in their view, that the Foreign Office was doing little more than accumulating growing evidence of Portugal's procrastination and lack of good faith. Strachey, who was now a member of the Board of the Society, was particularly

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relative stability of British Governments over the same period: **"[…] 45 governments (an average life-span of 4 months each), 30 different prime-ministers, a similar number of military or civilian conspiracies and failed coups of various political shades, 7 parliaments (4 of which were dismissed due to military intervention), and 8 Presidents, of whom only one, António José de Almeida, managed to complete his four-year term, between 1919 and 1923.[…]"** (my bold) In José Miguel Sardica "The Memory of the Portuguese First Republic throughout the Twentieth Century". e-Journal of Portuguese History, Vol. 9, number 1, Summer 2011, p.67. [Brown and Oporto Universities]

[2167] Although the Congo Free State had been transferred to the control of Belgium in 1908, satisfying the principal objective of the CRA and its campaign, the Association only dissolved on June 16th 1913 at a public meeting held at the Westminster Palace Hotel attended, amongst others, by the Archbishop of York, Sir Harry Johnston, Lord Cromer, Lord Mayo, Lord Aberdeen, Sir Roger Casement, R.B.Cunninghame Graham, Josiah Wedgewood MP and Sir T. Powell Buxton. See "End of the Congo Reform Association. Tributes to Mr E.D.Morel" *The Times* June 17th 1913, p.7.

[2168] Andrade, Alfredo Augusto Freire de, et al. *Nouveaux documents sur la main d'oeuvre a Saint-Thomé et a L'ile du Prince. Réponse aux accusations contre le Portugal.* Neukomm & Zimmermann, Berne: 1913. See Chapter 4.9 of this dissertation.

incensed and in an ill-tempered article in *The Spectator* he accused the Foreign Office of attempting to bury the whole affair. [2169]

Although the second white paper had brought some small encouragement to the Republican authorities it was quickly followed by further embarassment and more international opprobrium. It was Freire de Andrade, again, who would take the lead in dealing with the scandal which erupted after the publication of excerpts in English from "*Alma Negra!",* an anti-slavery pamphlet which had first appeared in Portugal some months before.[2170] Ostensibly written by Jerónimo Paiva de Carvalho, a former "Curador" on the island of Príncipe, the pamphlet had been translated by Joseph Burtt and published by the Anti-Slavery Society with the support of William Cadbury. Seeing a chance to settle accounts with the internal opposition to his policy on the issue, Freire de Andrade took advantage of the *"Alma Negra !*" affair to exhume the official narrative from the time of the Monarchy, which had been replaced in the first months of the republican regime by a partial admission of the facts. The British anti-slavery campaign was once again portrayed in the press as part of a conspiracy to undermine Portugal's most prosperous overseas possession, whilst criticism from abroad was invariably described as misinformed and ultimately driven by the desire to see Portugal's African colonies in other hands. Accordingly, any Portuguese citizen who supported the campaign was guilty, at the least, of a criminal lack of patriotism.[2171] In effect, the last thing that Freire de

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[2169] Indeed the Foreign Office now admitted that "**in the main the conditions now appear to be satisfied"**- Eyre Crow summarising the situation in the second white paper, quoted in "Labour in Portuguese West Africa." *The Times* p. March 1st 1913. It was a significant setback for the antislavery campaign, which despite the success of its efforts to revive public support would never fully regain the backing of the Foreign Office.

[2170] Entitled "Slavery in West Africa. Portuguese Revelations", the excerpts were translated by Joseph Burtt from the original pamphlet in Portuguese, which had been published and paid for by William Cadbury through his friend and intermediary in Oporto, Alfredo Henrique da Silva. The English version was quickly followed by the publication of extracts in *The Spectator.* For more on Freire de Andrade's role in the *"Alma Negra!"* scandal, see Chapter 2.6 of this dissertation.

[2171] "Fiquei espantadissimo! Então a Republica que tinha tomado o compromisso publico de dizer ao paiz toda a verdade e de acabar com essa chaga da escravatura ia perseguir alguém pelo simples facto de depor sobre a questão.[...] Desprezei o assunto mas vi logo que **pelas altas esferas da governação os ventos tinham mudado extraordinariamente.[…] No Porto informaram-me alguns amigos que o Sr. Freire de Andrade abocanhava o meu nome."** (my bold) Alfredo Henrique da Silva in the second part of an interview in *O Século* regarding the Portuguese publication of "Alma Negra!" and the persecution which followed. See "Alma Negra" *O Século.* April 18th 1912, p.3.
In fact certain voices in the press would declare that anyone who supported Cadbury would be behaving in a "treasonable fashion". See "Alma Negra !" and "A Campanha Chocolateira. Alta Traição" both in *A Capital.* April 15th 1913, p.1. Though unsigned, the articles were probably written by Hermano Neves who had taken it upon himself to defend the São Tomé planters in the newspaper even before his much-vaunted visit to the islands.

Andrade needed, in his efforts to convince the Foreign Office of Portugal's good faith in the matter, were voices of dissent, and he took steps to ensure that the pamphlet was discredited by the mainstream republican press and that Paiva de Carvalho was dragged through the courts on charges which had been trumped up by local adversaries during his first posting as "Curador" in Príncipe.[2172]

But there was more to come. Shortly after the appointment of Afonso Costa as Prime Minister in January 1913, the atmosphere of suspicion which had pervaded the corridors of power since the unsuccessful general strike of January 1912 and Paiva Couceiro's monarchist incursion of July 1912 intensified further, as the international press brought more bad news in the guise of another British protest, this time against the conditions in which political prisoners were being held in Portuguese penitenciaries.[2173]

The time was ripe. Since the first days of the Republican regime, conservative British and Irish journalists had been protesting against the repression of the Catholic Church and accusing successive Governments of encouraging an atmosphere of fear and anarchy. Bolstered by the adverse coverage of the new regime in the mainstream press and the sympathy evoked by the deposed King of Portugal's choice of Britain as his place of exile, the new campaign quickly grew in strength and soon attracted the support of distinguished public figures. Following the successful strategy of earlier humanitarian campaigns, critical articles were judiciously placed in the press, propaganda was widely-distributed and public rallies were held. Within weeks, under the leadership of Adeline, Duchess of Bedford - a well-known prison reform activist - the campaign gained the support of indignant Catholics and supporters of the monarchy as well as many of the well-meaning, middle-class citizens who had been shocked by the lurid revelations concerning slavery in the Portuguese colonies. [2174]

[2172] The charges against Paiva de Carvalho would be dismissed but his career as a colonial magistrate was over. Remarkably, he would would always deny having written "Alma Negra!". See chapter 2.6 of this dissertation.

[2173] See Chapter 2.8 of this dissertation for more on the Portuguese Political Prisoner's Campaign.

[2174] The Portuguese Political Prisoners campaign offered an opportunity for conservatives to divert attention from the ongoing controversy over prison treatment in Britain, whilst embarrassing the Liberal Government which considered the conditions of incarceration in Portugal a matter for the local authorities. On May 29th 1912 the third Conciliation Bill, which would have given a million women the vote, was defeated in the Commons by 14 votes, 8 of which were those of members of the Liberal Government. This led to an exacerbation of the suffragette campaign and many arrests over the coming months. Significantly, aristocratic prisoners were quickly released whilst working-class militants on hunger strike were subjected

Alerted by the speed of events and influenced by the prevailing atmosphere of conspiracy, Teixeira Gomes suspected that the protests were linked to the anti-slavery campaign. [2175] Their common target, philanthropic origins and similar tactics all seemed to point in the same direction, but although both campaigns seemed intent on discrediting the new regime and both used public pressure in an attempt to force the Foreign Office to act against the Portuguese authorities, any signs of collusion between them were almost certainly the fruit of coincidence rather than of concerted effort. [2176] Yet, as distinct as the two campaigns ultimately were, the language they shared betrayed the same symptoms of imperial hubris - Portugal was often treated as little more than a British protectorate - an attitude which had found encouragement in the susceptibility of the Portuguese authorities to British pressure, particularly during the previous regime. [2177]

Reassured by earlier reports after visits to the new Penitentiary by Sir Arthur Hardinge, the British Minister, and more recently by an invited group of British journalists, [2178] the Portuguese authorities reacted to the protests by inviting the Duchess of Bedford to see the conditions with her own eyes. [2179] It was a miscalculation they would quickly regret.

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to forced feeding. **There was much debate in the British press at the time as to whether suffragettes should be treated as political prisoners, a statute which did not exist under British Law.** (my bold) The Duchess of Bedford had declined to join the ranks of the anti-suffragists in 1910, however.

[2175] Manuel Teixeira Gomes, the Portuguese Minister in London.

[2176] In a recent book, Gary Thorn underlines the importance of the role of the writer and historian E.M. Tenison in the organisation of the Portuguese Political Prisoners campaign and is of the view that the links between the two campaigns were more substantive than I have suggested here: Gary Thorn. *The Locusts: British Critics of Portugal before the First World War.* Sussex Academic Press: 2019.

[2177] As Cunninghame Graham had lucidly denounced a decade earlier.

[2178] In mid-February 1913, several members of the British International Journalists Association who were touring Portugal at the invitation of the the Sociedade Propaganda de Portugal visited the Lisbon Penitentiary and were apparently impressed by what they saw. See, for example, Ethel C. Hargrove's *Progressive Portugal.* T. W. Laurie Ltd., London: 1914. At the height of the Duchess's campaign an article appeared in the conservative *Yorkshire Post* by one of the journalists who had visited the Penitentiary. Whilst recalling that "in all parts we were received the warmest of welcomes and the greatest kindness", the anonymous "Special Correspondent" emphasised that there were "no fewer than 1200 political prisoners still languishing in the prisons" at the time of their visit, but that it was only fair to say that the only "barbarity" was that the **"best elements of the community"** were kept for so long without trial, emphasising that there had been **"no attempt to torture or specially ill-treat them."** He went on to write that "**in many respects the Portuguese prison regime is less severe than our own and the great new Penitentiary in Lisbon which I visited appeared to me to be quite a model institution of its kind […]**. (my bold) "The Portuguese Republic and its Prisoners." *The Yorkshire Post.* April 10th, 1913.

[2179] Remarkably, given the painful recollections of the "Ultimatum", the embarassment of the anti-slavery campaign and the rumours in the press regarding the negotiations with Germany, Portugal's seemingly unshakeable and generally unreciprocated goodwill towards Britain would be demonstrated, yet again, in the reaction of Afonso Costa's Government to this latest challenge to the nation's honour. Evidently, no one at the time could have contemplated the possibility of a foreign campaigner being allowed to inspect a British prison!

By then the Duchess was in no position to withdraw the accusations and any possibility of compromise had been set aside long before she left Britain. [2180] Her vivid reports on her visits to the royalist prisoners were given generous coverage in the British and American press [2181] and the campaign quickly gained in authority as she was portrayed as having bravely risked the dangers of a country in post-revolutionary turmoil.

Most republicans recognised that reforms in prison conditions were long overdue. The regime of isolation and the wearing of the prison hood were abolished at a ceremony attended by the Prime Minister, Afonso Costa on February 6th 1913, [2182] but the question of an amnesty for political prisoners had already become a divisive issue amongst republicans months before the launch of the British campaign. Amongst those in favour, the President of the Republic, Manuel de Arriaga, was particularly anxious to have the problem solved as quickly as possible, as was Bernardino Machado, then the Portuguese Minister in Brazil. Though politically close to Afonso Costa, Machado insisted, as did Brito Camacho and António José de Almeida, the leaders of the Unionists and the Evolutionists, that an amnesty for political prisoners was the only way to silence criticism from abroad whilst ending the trial backlog and the consequent overcrowding in the antiquated prisons inherited from the previous regime.[2183] Afonso Costa, on the other hand, backed by the rank and file of his own party, would ignore the appeals for an amnesty for over a year and it would fall to his successor Bernardino Machado - the leader of a "non-partisan" Government convened in early 1914 to pacify the situation - to introduce the necessary legislation.[2184]

Though temporarily overshadowed in the press by the Political Prisoners protests, the anti-slavery campaign had lost none of its sense of purpose and a series of coordinated

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[2180] The Duchess showed no interest in the syndicalists who had been arrested due to the General Strike – as far as she was concerned only the royalist rebels were worthy of British public concern and, of those, only the most aristocratic amongst them were singled out for mention.
[2181] The Duchess of Bedford's revelations appeared, on her return, in *The Times* on April 5th 1913 and in the popular *Daily Mail* two days later.
[2182] See *O Mundo* February 7th 1913, p.1.
[2183]António José de Almeida had proposed an amnesty for monarchist prisoners on March 5th 1912, coinciding with the launch of his moderate Evolutionist Party. Some of the delays in trying the royalist prisoners was due to their own lawyers, as many of those arrested preferred the prison regime to possible exile.
[2184] President Manuel Arriaga took a risky and possibly even unconstitutional step in replacing the Afonso Costa Government, given that Costa's Party, the PRP (usually termed the Democratic Party) had a majority in Parliament and maintained confidence in its leader.

initiatives were launched in Parliament in an attempt to force the Liberal Government to change its policy on the issue.[2185] Questions were raised in the Commons by members of the anti-slavery lobby on two occasions in the first half of the year but it was on July 23rd 1913, just a month after the publication of a compilation of historical evidence on the persistence of slavery in Portuguese West Africa by John H. Harris, [2186] that the issue was raised in the House of Lords for the first time. The debate was opened by Lord Mayo, who offered evidence from Paiva de Carvalho's pamphlet and spoke of his own experience of slavery in Portuguese West Africa over thirty years before.[2187] He would be supported by Lord Cromer, who focussed on Britain's commitment to defend Portugal in the event of attack, an obligation which he alleged would place the nation "in a delicate and embarassing position" if it were needed to take up arms to protect "a slave state". [2188] Speaking for the Government, Lord Morley admitted that human rights abuses had been serious in the past but argued that most of the accusations which had been put forward against the Portuguese authorities were now being addressed and it was necessary to give the reforms time to take full effect. In a disappointing development for the philanthropists, Morley was supported in his appeal for moderation by the former Foreign Secretary Lord Lansdowne, a Unionist, who recognised that "the occasion was not one for violent representations" and reminded the House that "Portugal was our old ally" and that the two countries were "bound by a series of ancient Treaties".[2189] Clearly, for many in the House, the damning revelations of the Casement report on the Putumayo atrocities [2190]

[2185] Strachey had accused the Foreign Office, in *The Spectator,* of finding itself in "the intolerable and humiliating position of standing forth as the apologist of Portuguese slavery". *The Spectator.* March 8th 1913, pp.389-90.

[2186] John H. Harris *Portuguese Slavery. Britain's Dilemma.* London: Methuen, 1913.

[2187] The Earl of Mayo would put forward a request for a further white paper on Labour in Portuguese Africa providing details of repatriation and payments from the repatriation fund.

[2188] After the Lords'debate, *The Times* commented on the climate of instability in Portugal: "[…] **The question is being asked with increasing insistence both in England and elsewhere whether those who show so little capacity for civilized government at home are capable of administering the great tracts of African territory committed to their care."** The writer went on to comment on the Lords' debate, underlining Cromer's reference to the alliance : "**There is a certain section of opinion, of which Lord Cromer made himself the mouthpiece, which would denounce the Portuguese treaty without more ado**, **while even more drastic measures are advocated by certain writers in the Press**. For our own part we should deprecate any action calculated to offend the susceptibilities of our ancient friends and allies, but everyone will endorse the warning addressed by Lord Lansdowne to the Portuguese Government "that **if they were not careful a condition of things might arise in which we should be confronted on the one hand by our treaty obligations and on the other by a very strong and almost irresistible outburst of public opinion in this country**." (my bold) "More Troubles in Portugal" *The Times.* July 30th, p.9.

[2189] For more on the House of Lords' debate on "Native Labour In Portuguese West Africa" see Chapter 2.7 of this dissertation.

[2190] José de Almada's article in *A Capital*, which summarises the whole affair, shows that the Portuguese authorities were well aware of the scandal. See "Os Humanitários. As Atrocidades de Putomayo." *A Capital*

and the rattling of swords in central Europe had put the issue of human rights in Portugal's African colonies into a totally different perspective.

Towards the end of 1913, British consular officials began to report signs that repatriation had been slowing down.[2191] Many of the smaller plantations were facing financial difficulties due to the falling price of cacao on the international markets, increasing competition from the Gold Coast and higher taxes.[2192] Taking advantage of the political turmoil in the "metropole" and emerging divisions in the Republican regime, the planters had seized the opportunity to stem the flow of contract labourers returning to Angola. Their stonewalling tactics had been further encouraged by the appointment of Pedro Botto Machado as Governor of São Tomé and Príncipe. Botto Machado, a "historical" republican with considerable political sway and an interest in a local plantation, had introduced local legislation terminating the contracts of labourers awaiting for repatriation and reemploying them on minimum wages, ostensibly until transport could be found, effectively blocking the legislation which had been introduced earlier in the year to authorise the repatriation of labourers recruited before 1903.[2193] He then dismissed the "Curador", who opposed his dilatory tactics. The conflict between the Governor and

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September 6th 1912. It followed Almada's interview of the previous day, in which he forecast the resumption of the antislavery campaign the following autumn, as announced in Cadbury and Morel's article. Surprisingly, the Portuguese newspapers made surprisingly little of the Casement report on the Putumayo atrocities which effectively undermined the moral authority of the British Government to criticise the infinitely lesser ills of the contract-labour system and the treatment of imported labour on the cocoa islands.

[2191] And yet Francisco Tenreiro identifies 1913 as the year in which cacao exports reached their peak: "[...] de 1890 a 1899 os níveis de exportação subiram de 3,000 t para mais de 10,000 t anuais, mas foi sobretudo a partir daquele último ano, e até 1919, que o ritmo de exportação a importância de cacau no valor das exportações se vincou. **Em 1913 a exportação atingiu o máximo de sempre 36,500 t** […] mais do que as modificações (pouco prováveis) do ambiente, as pragas, flagelos ou moléstias, a diminuição da produção de cacau nas Ilhas de São Tomé relaciona-se antes com o envelhecimento das plantações, enfraquecimento gradual dos solos, além das oscilações e aviltamentos das cotações por virtude da forte concorrencia de outros produtores." Francisco Tenreiro. Op.cit.1961, pp.226-7.

[2192] Ramamurthy notes that self-employed Africans on the Gold Coast were willing to work for a fraction of the income of a wage-earner. She quotes a paper presented to the British Cotton-Growing Association in 1907 which argues that self-employed Africans were willing to accept less than sixpence-a-day for the privilege of distancing themselves from the coloniser whereas a wage earner would expect three times as much. See Anandi Ramamurthy. Op.cit 2003, p.82.

[2193] "O decreto de 8 de Fevereiro 1913 referendado pelo Ministro Artur Rodrigues de Almeida Ribeiro, é um documento honroso para quem o assinou e para a própria República. **Aquele decreto é a condenação do estado de escravidão em que de facto, embora não de direito, viveram durante a vigência da monarquia muitos milhares de homens e mulheres nas ilhas de S. Tomé e Príncipe. É o pagamento de uma dívida de honra efectuado pelo Estado Português reabilitado, dignificado e glorificado pela República."** (my bold) Artur Marinha de Campos. "Relatório oficial sôbre o regime de trabalho africano em S. Tomé e Príncipe." *Diário do Governo*. No. 229. September 30th 1913, p. 3665.

the authorities in Lisbon would last for several months, the solution coming only after a change in Government.

When, in November 1913, he was confronted with the statistics on repatriation by Lancelot Carnegie, the new British Minister in Lisbon, Prime Minister Afonso Costa offered the excuse that steamers returning from São Tomé to Angola were often already full but guaranteed that every effort would be made to acquire more vessels to carry repatriated labourers.[2194] Sir Edward Grey had instructed Carnegie to inform the Portuguese Government that Britain planned to appoint special consular officers for West Africa, including a Consul-General whom he hoped would be given every facility to inspect labour conditions. The Minister added that if the Consul's report were favourable "His Majesty's Government were prepared to do all that they properly could to promote a supply of labour for San Thomé and Principe." [2195] It was a sign that the Foreign Office was finally inclined to believe in Portugal's good faith and was now prepared to change its approach to the issue.

The third white paper on Labour in Portuguese West Africa would be presented to Parliament in April 1914,[2196] in the midst of a growing controversy surrounding the arrest of a British missionary in the Portuguese Congo, which had occurred in the aftermath of a serious indigenous revolt against the local authorities.[2197] It presented an excellent opportunity for the philanthropic lobby to raise the issue of Portuguese Slavery again in the House of Lords, whilst the scandal provided much-needed ammunition for the

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[2194] Afonso Costa said he welcomed the appointment of British consuls and looked forward to their reports. **He pointed out that long before he assumed office he had inveighed against the "iniquitous system which had existed in the Portuguese possessions on the West Coast of Africa" and was "most anxious to do all in his power to enable Portugal to face the world" without fearing accusations of slavery.** Translation quoted in HMSO. *Africa no.1. Further Correspondence respecting Contract Labour in Portuguese West Africa. (In continuation of Africa no.2, 1913)* April 1914, p.77. (my bold)

[2195] See Kathleen Simon. Op.cit 1929, pp. 155-156 and *Annual Report on Portugal for 1913.* FO 881/10399 February 17th, 1914, p.7.The stick was now accompanied by a carrot, but the conditions required to qualify for the prize were either never fulfilled or the promise was conveniently forgotten.The British Government, however, did not actively oppose the recruitment of labourers for short contracts in São Tomé from the British West African colonies.

[2196] HMSO. *Africa no. l. Further Correspondence respecting Contract Labour in Portuguese West Africa. (In continuation of Africa no.2 1913*) April 1914. [Cd. 7279]. Henry Nevinson welcomed the white paper in an open letter to the editor of the *Nation,* noting that it not only represented official confirmation of the philanthropists' accusations but marked "**almost the final stage in a long and bitter controversy […]** and that **[…] eight years ago I could not hope to see so much […]".** (my bold) Henry W. Nevinson. "The Cocoa Slavery. The Case established." *The Nation* May 2nd 1914, pp.177-178.

[2197] For a summary of the Bowskill Affair see Chapter 2.9 of this dissertation.

philanthropists at a time when the campaign was beginning to show signs of losing momentum. The Earl of Mayo introduced the debate as he had done the year before, this time armed with fresh evidence of the effects of forced recruitment in the form of a vivid account of the attack on the town of São Salvador in the Portuguese Congo and the subsequent arrest of the Baptist missionary Bowskill, charged with collusion after acting as a go-between in peace negotiations between the local Portuguese authorities and the rebels. Lord Mayo went on to quote excerpts from the third white paper, commenting specifically on the unsatisfactory repatriation figures and suspicions of fraud regarding the repatriation fund. Demanding a formal apology from the Portuguese Government regarding the Bowskill Affair and the reform of a system which was "tantamount to slavery", Mayo once again moved for papers, ensuring that a fourth white paper would be presented to Parliament in a year's time. [2198] Speaking for the Government, Lord Morley countered that there had been a remarkable improvement in the situation, quoting figures to show that repatriation had increased substantially over the first five months of the current year.

Morley's statement would have come as no surprise to the philanthropic lobby. Indeed, by the beginning of 1914 there were already signs that relations between the two Governments were improving.[2199] Diplomatic tension had eased with the appointment of Lancelot Carnegie as Minister in Lisbon [2200] and the atmosphere would improve still further in May 1914 with the appointment of Freire de Andrade to the post of Foreign Minister in the Machado Government.[2201] Teixeira Gomes' persistent diplomatic activity in London was also beginning to bear fruit and in October 1914 a Commercial Treaty [2202]

[2198] See Hansard. House of Lords Debate. July 27th 1914 vol.17, cc. 160-82.
[2199] But relations had apparently not improved enough to warrant the visit of a Royal Navy vessel to Lisbon as the Portuguese Government ardently desired. Negotiations for the release of the remainder of the personal belongings of the Portuguese Royal family were continuing and George V was taking a personal interest, which made any such courtesies remote. See, for example, Sir Edward Grey to Sir Lancelot Carnegie. May 27th 1914 and reply Carnegie to Grey. July 2nd 1914. FO 800/71.
[2200] Replacing the abrasive Sir Arthur Hardinge who was transferred to Madrid.
[2201] Freire de Andrade was well respected at the FO and on his departure from the post in December 1914 Lancelot Carnegie was able to extract a message from the normally reserved Grey, thanking Freire de Andrade for "cordial and loyal manner" he had shown in his dealings with the British authorities. Grey to Carnegie. Private telegram. December 13th 1914. FO 800/71.
[2202] See "Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of Commerce." *The Times* October 25th 1914, p.12.

would be signed between the two countries, coinciding with Britain's invitation to Portugal to join the War against Germany. [2203]

The Portuguese authorities were now optimistic that the whole cocoa slavery affair was over, "bar the shouting",[2204] and indeed, the strident protests of the philanthropists were amongst the early casualties of the war, drowned by the deafening thunder of heavy artillery across much of Europe.[2205] Indeed, in a remarkable volte-face, the previously intransigent John H.Harris would discreetly shelve the Anti-Slavery Society's campaign against "Portuguese Slavery" to concentrate on human rights abuses in the German colonies. Proof of the change of tack came in April 1915, when, for the first time, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* published favourable reports from missionaries in Angola "many of them the same whose evidence was quoted by Mr Swan in his book […]", who testified to "the active endeavours of Portuguese officials to put down slave-trading". Ironically, Harris' change of heart was clearly due more to Portugal's alignment with Britain in the War than to the evidence coming out of Angola - a sad reflection his previous obstinacy and his peculiar brand of Christian-Imperialistic idealism. Later in the year, Cadbury, too, whilst expressing reservations regarding delays in repatriation in the *Bournville Works Magazine,* would acknowledge that labourers were now contracting freely for the islands.[2206]

But although Cadbury Bros. now conceded that the situation had changed for the better and that the conditions for the resumption of purchasing had largely been fulfilled, they remained unmoved as far as the boycott was concerned. Already, in an open letter to the *Birmingham Post* at the end of 1914, after the visit to Bournville of a deputation from the

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[2203] Britain invited Portugal to join the group of allied nations on October 10th 1914 and on November 23rd 1914 a special Parliamentary Assembly authorised the Portuguese Government to take part in the War.

[2204] In a letter written, in 1917, to Lancelot Carnegie, the British Minister in Lisbon, Foreign Minister Augusto Soares confirms that the **Portuguese Government was convinced that the third White Paper (Africa no.1, 1914), should have satisfied the chocolate-makers**. See Augusto Soares to Sir Lancelot Carnegie. January 26th 1917. AHD Maço 768 Processo 27. (my bold)

[2205] An early consequence of the War was that international cacao trading moved to London: " […] cocoa that would have come to Hamburg has come to London to be sold […] the execution of these [orders]has swelled the export figures from this country very considerably.[…] **It is hoped that the diversion of the cocoa market from Hamburg to London will be permanent and if so it will be a good case of capturing the enemies' trade**.[…]" (my bold) "Increased Exports of Cocoa. Neutral Countries not assisting Germany." *Financial Times.* November 29th 1914, p.2.

[2206] William Cadbury. "Labour in Portuguese West Africa." *Bournville Works Magazine*. September 1915, pp. 232-34.

Associação Commercial de Lisboa,[2207] William Cadbury had emphasised that purchasing would only resume when consular reports confirmed that conditions were "entirely satisfactory". Over the next two years, despite increasingly favourable reports from Consuls in Portuguese West Africa, Cadbury Bros. would justify their continuing reluctance to resume purchases by the fact that the mortality rate on the cocoa islands was too high, whereas in truth of fact, the real reason for their apparent intransigence was that they had been investing heavily in Gold Coast smallholder production since 1908 and felt no need or desire to return to purchases of Portuguese plantation-produced cacao.

There would be two further white papers on Labour in Portuguese West Africa in 1915 and 1917 providing detailed reports on British consular visits to the cocoa island plantations to inspect labour conditions and witness recontracting, together with statistics confirming the regular repatriation of contract-labourers.[2208] Neither included correspondence on the issue with the Anti-Slavery Society which had virtually dwindled to a halt after the onset of the War. By October 1916, Consul Hall Hall was recommending that the chocolate-makers should resume purchasing as the mortality rate on the islands had fallen to an "acceptable" figure of about 5%, similar to that in the gold mines of the Transvaal where Mozambican labourers continued to supply most of the labour force. [2209]

Despite Portuguese compliance with the conditions which the chocolate-makers had set down in their statement in the *Birmingham Post* and a declaration made by Sir Edward Grey's successor, Arthur Balfour, in February 1917 to the effect that the British Government was now convinced that contracting was free and repatriation was effective,[2210] Cadbury Bros., to the dismay of those in Portugal who had campaigned in favour of reforms, would never again purchase Portuguese cacao. In a letter to Balfour on April 17th 1917, Cadbury Bros. announced that whilst lifting the boycott they would

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[2207] See letter from William Cadbury to Associação Commercial de Lisboa, reproduced in Corrêa de Aguiar Op.cit, 1919, pp.187-188. For more on Cadbury Bros.' position see Chapter 2.10 of this dissertation.
[2208] HMSO. *Africa no. 1. Further Correspondence respecting Contract Labour in Portuguese West Africa. (In continuation of Africa no.l, 1914)* July 1915 and HMSO. Africa no.2 *Further Correspondence respecting Contract Labour in Portuguese West Africa. (In continuation of Africa no. 1, 1915)* April 1917.
[2209] Consul Hall Hall to Sir Edward Grey. October 30th 1917, in HMSO. *Africa no.2. Further Correspondence respecting Contract Labour in Portuguese West Africa. (In continuation of Africa no. 1, 1915)* April 1917, pp.66-69.
[2210] Arthur Balfour to Lancelot Carnegie. February 27th 1917. Idem. p.70

continue to acquire their raw material from the Gold Coast.[2211] It was a cynical statement, in patent contradiction with the assurances they had always given, and a sad but somehow appropriate end to their role in the campaign, which was driven as much by commercial as by humanitarian motives.

2. Conclusions

Most Anglophone historians have subscribed to the view that a system closely akin to slavery survived in Portuguese West Africa at the turn of the twentieth century and that it was the resolute humanitarian campaign conducted by the two British anti-slavery societies, together with persistent diplomatic pressure exerted by the Foreign Office which finally led to significant improvements in recruitment procedures. With roots in the heroic days of abolitionism, it is a historical narrative which exemplifies what Hayden White described, half a century ago, as " […] the drama of the triumph of good over evil, of virtue over vice, of light over darkness […]" [2212] - an inspiring story of determination and unselfish endeavour, which includes many of the elements of a religious crusade.

Contrasting with this romantic narrative, the conventional view held by many in Portugal who have taken an interest in the controversy over the last hundred years, is that the antislavery campaign was initially devised to undermine Portugal's most successful colony and lower the price of its high-quality cacao, later being revived, despite the suspension of recruitment of labour from Angola and the implementation of far-reaching reforms, to furnish a pretext for the division of the Portuguese African colonies between Germany and Britain. As damning and down-to-earth as this interpretation appears to be, it too, in its essence, is a romantic narrative which glorifies the epic struggle of a small yet proud nation, unfairly judged and finally betrayed by a powerful and covetous ally -

[2211] William Cadbury to Arthur Balfour, FO. April 19th 1917. CP 250/5 Copy of said letter.
[2212] Hayden White. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in 19th-century Europe*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore: 1973, p.9.

"a pérfida Albion".[2213] Reminiscent of the biblical parable of David and Goliath - albeit divested of its miracle, it ends, inevitably, in what its protagonists saw as a "moral", rather than an outright victory.

As might be expected, both of these apparently contradictory tropes contain a measure of truth, but as in all such historical accounts, the facts in each case were selected and filtered to reinforce the overarching "emplotment",[2214] as the present study has endeavoured to show. Significantly, the two narratives share certain fundamental omissions. Both devalue the importance of the campaign against the contract-labour system undertaken by an enlightened and influential minority of the Portuguese bourgeoisie [2215] and both underplay the role of successive Angolan revolts against the authorities and the part played by coercion and forced labour recruitment in creating the conditions for such armed insurrections.[2216] With the benefit of hindsight, it is clear that due recognition of the vital contribution of these factors to the introduction of reforms would have detracted from the compelling simplicity of each of the opposing heroic narratives.

The heroes of each of the versions are also flawed. Rather than fighting a battle exclusively motivated by Christian altruism or the defence of national honour, the main protagonists on both sides acted in accordance with the priorities of their ideological or diplomatic agendas, exploiting the pretext of civilisation and human rights to further the interests they defended. Above all, the "slave-grown cocoa" scandal enabled missionaries, members of the anti-slavery societies and politicians, on the one hand, and

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[2213] The origins of the narrative also date back to before the controversy. The epithet was first used by the Hispano-French diplomat Augustin Ximenez shortly after the French revolution and was revived by Camilo Castelo Branco a century later in a bitter attack against what he saw as British "treachery" in the port wine industry. See Camilo Castelo Branco. *Vinho do Porto. Processo de uma Bestialidade Inglesa.* Livraria Civilização, Porto: 1884. The expression was widely used by Portuguese writers at the time of the "Ultimatum."

[2214] Hayden White coined the expression "emplotment" to describe what he considered a process of constructing an inherently moralising story or myth from the raw data of historical events.

[2215] Most of those who have dealt with the subject have emphasised the economic or political aspects of the republican campaign against slavery in Portuguese West Africa to the detriment of the humanitarian motivations of those involved. Essentially a masonic campaign led by those who were the first to take decisive action to reform the system after the fall of the monarchy, the high ideals of its leaders have been systematically devalued or even derided, unlike those of the British humanitarians.

[2216] The Bailundo Revolt, in 1902, is a significant example. Perhaps the only historical overview which fully emphasises the links between the successive revolts against the authorities and slavery and forced recruitment is Pelissier's exhaustive account of the "pacification" campaigns in Angola. See René Pelissier. *História das Campanhas de Angola: resistência e revoltas (1845-1941).* Editorial Estampa, Lisboa: 1986.

supporters of the contract-labour system, on the other, to preserve and reinforce a benevolent but essentially fictional self-image of their own countries as traditional bastions of enlightened values, and their activities as an unselfish and patriotic crusade to defend them.[2217]

Whichever of the two predominant versions is favoured, it is now universally accepted that the contract-labour system, as it operated in Portuguese West Africa at the turn of the twentieth century, was in urgent need of concrete reforms, as were other, not unsimilar systems in different parts of the world which had emerged in the aftermath of abolition. [2218] Portugal, evidently, was not alone in employing forced labour recruitment in its African colonies and in several parts of the British Empire there were similar practises which were subject to frequent abuse, as the annual reports of the the two British anti-slavery societies regularly denounced along the final decades of the nineteenth century. Slavery in its unmitigated form, for instance, remained legal in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar until 1897 and was only totally eliminated in 1909, whilst even otherwise exemplary employers such as Cadbury Bros. depended, at the turn of the twentieth century, on the importation of Indian indentured labourers on six-year contracts, for their "model" plantation in Trinidad. [2219]

Though slavery had been legally abolished in the Portuguese colonies a generation earlier, coercion was still widespread in Angola at the turn of the century and it was an accepted fact that the labourers who were forcibly recruited for the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe never returned to their homes on the mainland. Far from the centres of legislation, local interpretation and lack of proper enforcement often proved to be the stumbling blocks for legislation which attempted to reconcile what was seen by colonial

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[2217] Darwin, who was always against the slave trade and "equated slavery with the moral debasement of a whole society" as Bethencourt affirms, was fully conscious of his own nation's responsibility : "[…]we Englishmen and our American descendants, with their boastful cry of liberty, have been and are so guilty, but it is a consolation to reflect that we have at least made a greater sacrifice than ever made by any nation to expiate our sins." Francisco Bethencourt. Op. cit.2013, quoting Charles Darwin. *Evolutionary Writings.* OUP. Oxford 2008, pp. 88-89.

[2218] "Freedom did not come with the stroke of a pen". Kevin Grant. Op.cit. 225, p.4. British Government reports on the use of forced labour in the first decade of the twentieth century admit to the use in several British-run colonies and protectorates of a range of practises which were closely scrutinised by both anti-slavery societies.

[2219] See chapter 4.12 of this dissertation. The import of Indian indentured labour along these lines was ended in 1917.

administrators as the need to compel the native population to work for the "common good", whilst ensuring that the line between forced labour for "public works" and private gain was duly respected. The absence of a consolidated administration in the interior of Angola and the dependency on trading caravans for the transport of goods to and from the coast meant that however well-meaning the legislation might be, control over recruitment was illusory until the railway was extended into the interior. Nevertheless, despite abundant evidence to the contrary, the official Portuguese narrative would continue to maintain throughout the final years of the monarchy that, having been "rescued" from their former, supposedly precarious existence in the interior and generously and humanely treated on the "cocoa islands", the plantation workers had no wish to return to their homeland.

At the same time, however, inspired by the ideals of the Positivist thinkers and liberal politicians of the early nineteenth century, Portuguese republican activists began to convey a diametrically opposite view in the newspapers they controlled, unequivocally condemning the contract-labour system as a disgrace to the nation. Though admitting the existence of such protests, several academic studies have questioned the true motives behind them, partly due to the fact that the survival of practises akin to slavery provided a pretext for political factions in both Portugal and Britain to criticise their adversaries, at times leaving those who were the potential beneficiaries of labour reforms as little more than ammunition in the cut and thrust of party politics. [2220]

There is ample evidence, however, to confirm the commitment of this group of progressive reformers and the sincerity of their humanitarian ideals. In the first years of the new century, the leaders of the group, most of whom were freemasons, set up direct links to the Angolan protest movement which opposed the labour drain to São Tomé and Príncipe, and in the euphoric days which followed the overthrow of the Monarchy it was the same enlightened campaigners who re-established the long-defunct Portuguese Antislavery Society, later implementing the first concrete measures to ensure that the repatriation of Angolan labourers became a systematic procedure. Although their protests

[2220] In Britain, both Liberals and Conservatives, when in opposition, exploited the issue of slavery to criticise the government of the day, whilst, in Portugal, the republican opposition made good use of the scandal to fustigate the ruling monarchy and its successive governments.

never gained unanimous support amongst republicans,[2221] and would not attain anything like the same scale or notoriety as the British campaign, the commitment of these radical idealists is eloquently demonstrated in Marinha de Campos' report, published in the *Diário do Governo* in the form of a manifesto, in August 1913, which portrays the reform of labour conditions in Portuguese West Africa as a patriotic duty and a matter of national honour.

The British anti-slavery societies, which had lost much of the popular support they enjoyed in the first half of the nineteenth century and had gradually dwindled to a handful of elderly, mainly non-conformist activists, had discovered a new sense of purpose as the shocking details of atrocities in the Congo began to emerge in the final decade of Queen Victoria's reign. The Congo campaign mobilised many thousands of sympathisers who flocked to lectures held from one end of Britain to the other, attracted by the novelty of photographic evidence in the form of lantern slides, sometimes supported by eye-witness testimony. The protests soon spread to the United States after the formation of a tactical alliance between evangelical humanitarians and human-rights campaigners under the banner of the Congo Reform Association, founded by E.D.Morel in 1904. Popular authors such as Mark Twain and Arthur Conan Doyle added their influential voices to the growing chorus of protest and the attention of the British public was temporarily diverted from political disputes closer to home, such as Irish Home Rule, "sweated labour" and the struggle for wider electoral suffrage to issues in "far off lands", at the same time as the arguments of those who were critical of the treatment of the "natives" in the British Empire were silenced by the gravity of the human rights abuses in the Congo.

The "Portuguese slavery" campaign in Britain undoubtedly thrived on the lessons learned during the ongoing Congo struggle and it is clear that it would never have attained such visibility and importance had it not been carried forward on the same wave of righteous indignation and imperial pride. Indeed, despite Morel and Cadbury's efforts to prioritise the far more serious offences which were being committed against the people of the

[2221] The notes of the Treasurer of the Portuguese Anti-slavery Society, Francisco Marques Ribeiro, reveal, however, that the Society's paying membership reached a total of 74 in 1911. One of the last names on the list was that of Alfredo Freire de Andrade. See Copiador de Correspondência. PT-AHS-ICS-AHSilva-ESC-SAP-1-08. An early defection was that of Leotte do Rego who resigned in March 1911, as Alfredo Henrique da Silva's correspondence shows.

Congo, the "Congo Atrocities" and "Portuguese Slavery" campaigns were considered by many non-conformist missionaries and other antislavery activists as part and parcel of the same crusade to evangelise Central Africa and bring the benefits of civilisation and empire to its inhabitants. Moreover, after the death of Fox-Bourne and the first successes of the Congo campaign, the initiative was grasped by the evangelical faction through the former Congo missionaries John and Alice Harris, newly appointed to the leadership of the now-amalgamated Antislavery Society, who saw the "Portuguese slavery" campaign not merely as the Society's next great rallying cause but as a new step forward in their personal African crusade.

It would be the Harrises, after their fact-finding tour of the West African colonies, together with their principal ally, the Liberal Unionist, St. Loe Strachey of the *Spectator*, who would be responsible, as much as the radical journalist Henry Nevinson, for keeping public interest in "slave-grown cocoa" alive during the three-year suspension of labour recruitment from Angola and for the relaunch of the campaign in the press and Parliament in 1912. Harris, unlike Fox Bourne, had always been sensitive to the political relationship between Britain and other colonising nations and against the background of German militarism he would demand the termination of the "ancient alliance" if far-reaching labour reforms failed to be implemented in Portugal's African colonies. Ironically, however, the Antislavery Society did not consider the labour conditions in the Rand gold mines nor the associated labour recruitment procedures in Mozambique to be deserving of the same attention as Portuguese West Africa, despite the dangerous and unhealthy conditions in the mines and compounds, not just because the labourers were destined for a British colony, as their Portuguese critics alleged, but because contracts were shorter and the majority of the labourers returned to their homes upon their termination.

Conscious of the skeletons concealed in its own cupboard, [2222] the Foreign Office had long viewed the activities of the two anti-slavery societies as little more than a nuisance

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[2222] Henry Nevinson did not fail to refer to Britain's failures in the field of human rights, in his book *A Modern Slavery*: **"There was a time when we used to hear fine stories of slaves falling on the beach when they touched British territory and kissing the soil of freedom. But that was long ago, and since then England has grown rich and fallen from her high estate. Her hands are no longer clean, and when people think of Johannesburg and Queensland and western Australia, all she may say of freedom becomes an empty sound, impressing no one."** Henry W. Nevinson. *A Modern Slavery.* Schocken, NYC : 1968, p.201. (my bold) Nevinson is referring here to the Boer War and the treatment of

where the British Empire was concerned, and was equally dubious about their campaigns against forced labour in other nations, which often proved difficult to reconcile with its own diplomatic priorities. Furthermore, as the anti-slavery societies were usually loath to release the indentity of their sources of information, the Foreign Office was reluctant to accept the evidence they supplied in support what often seemed to be exaggerated or outdated accusations. The FO was equally distrustful of the activities of human-rights campaigners such as Morel and Nevinson [2223] who were seen as meddling in areas which were considered to be the exclusive domain of its own consular representatives. In particular, Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary for most of the period , was notoriously averse to allowing ethical concerns to interfere with what he saw as Britain's interests overseas, as the secret negotiations with Germany regarding spheres of influence in South-Central Africa reveal. Consequently, when Portugal's goodwill and cooperation became a priority in the aftermath of the Boer War, particularly with regard to the supply of Mozambican labourers for the Transvaal gold mines, the cocoa planters and the Portuguese authorities were able to enjoy a measure of respite due to the FO's efforts to delay and defuse the impact of the antislavery campaign. Despite its reservations, however, the Foreign Office did not hesitate to exploit the popular feeling which was aroused by humanitarian campaigns when they were seen to be conducive to Britain's interests abroad.

Though portrayed in contrasting terms, Protestant missionaries were prominent figures in both of the dominant narratives. Active in West-Central Africa from the eighteen-eighties, they were forced to proceed with caution in both the Congo and Angola to avoid compromising their relationship with the colonial authorities, reserving the main thrust of their antislavery protests for receptive audiences at home, whilst preserving anonymity, wherever possible, in public testimony. Situated far from "centres of civilisation" and often under-funded, they were obliged, in order to survive, to trade and cooperate with their neighbours and consequently to reconcile themselves to practises which they often

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Aboriginal people in Australia, where the 1901 Constitution had declared that they would not be counted in the census. (my bold)

[2223] The heroic antislavery narrative which linked the Congo and Portuguese West Africa was personified by what Morel's biographer Seymour Cox significantly called two "knights-errant", E. D. Morel and Henry Nevinson. Both would later write accounts of their respective campaigns and would claim much of the credit for their successful outcome. Men of ideals, both were political radicals who went on to fight other battles - opposition to the Great War in Morel's case and women's suffrage in the case of Nevinson.

found reprehensible, whilst resorting to the exploitation of the local people in ways which were, themselves, closely reminiscent of domestic slavery. Moreover, convinced of the need not merely to offer Christian "salvation" to their followers but what they perceived as the moral and economic benefits of empire, many missionaries attempted to replace the local culture and traditions by others which they considered to be essentially superior, often manifesting a lack of understanding and tolerance for customs which had evolved over centuries.[2224] Though ultimately meritorious, their efforts to denounce forced labour recruitment in Angola came up against ingrained local practises, the distrust of the authorities and obstruction by local traders, obstacles which were sometimes compounded by the insufficient resources they commanded and a limited knowledge of Portuguese and the local languages. [2225]

Henry Nevinson's sensational articles on the "modern slave-trade" in *Harper's Magazine* in 1905/6, at the height of the Congo campaign, and his ensuing personal crusade, added a new political dimension to the question of labour coercion in Portuguese West Africa by focussing the onus of blame not merely on the planters and the Portuguese authorities but on the driving force behind the whole chain of events - Bournville, itself - the principal source of the growing demand for the raw material, whilst identifying endemic disease and its decimating effects on the labour force of the islands as the main reason for the persistence of slave-raiding in the interior of Angola. Nevinson's articles inevitably deflected part of the attention of the public away from the Congo to Portuguese West Africa, and for many months newspapers in Britain not only carried reports and articles of opinion on the two related campaigns, but also on the Transvaal where Chinese indentured labourers were being imported in their thousands to toil under pitiful conditions in the gold mines, side by side with migrant workers from Portuguese East Africa. Unlike the two other campaigns with their humanitarian goals, the protests against

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[2224] There were, however, notable exceptions - such as Héli Chatelain, who collected local artefacts in Angola for the Smithsonian Museum and published an anthology of Kimbundu stories, and Henri-Alexandre Junod, a ethnographer and collector of music in Mozambique, both, significantly, of Swiss origin.

[2225] Nonconformists had been swift to realise that missionary work gave them an opportunity to demonstrate what they saw as their moral superiority over other Christian persuasions, notably the established Anglican Church, whilst the issue of slavery provided them with the key to financial support for their evangelical activities in "mission fields" which had long been under the benevolent protection of the Catholic Church. Though generally averse to the use of Portuguese in their contacts with the local people, most had a working knowledge of the local languages and one or two of them published grammars and translations of "the scriptures".

"Chinese Slavery" mobilised trades union activists and the Labour Party itself, inspired by the fear that European skilled labour would eventually be replaced by cheaper "coolie" labour in the mines. In fact, rather than the Chinese "slaves", the campaign emphasised the rights of the workers of British origin whose jobs the Chinese miners supposedly threatened and, hence, it would come as no surprise when the issue was quickly dropped after the Liberals came to power in 1906 on the back of a promise to send the "coolies" back to China.

Contrasting with the favourable way its role is usually portrayed, the firm of Cadbury Bros., was far from straightforward in its dealings during the course of the dispute, laying itself open to contemporary accusations of duplicity and hypocrisy. [2226] In fact, though historically, the chocolate-makers have taken much of the credit for the introduction of labour reforms in Portuguese West Africa due to their boycott of Portuguese cacao, they were slow to be drawn into the anti-slavery campaign and it was only when news of the iniquities of the system threatened to reach the public that they felt obliged to take action. Undoubtedly, by then, some, if not all of the members of Cadbury's board of directors had been aware for several years that the high-quality Portuguese raw material they had been buying since the 1890´s was tainted by suspicions of malpractice, but, unlike the Quaker antislavery campaigners of old, they judiciously weighed the moral and ethical issues at stake against their commercial interests, enabling them to manage the evolution of the scandal and emerge at the close of what was a potentially damaging public dispute with their reputations virtually intact and their coffers generously filled. [2227]

Charged by the board of directors with dealing with the problem, William Cadbury was given a free hand and an apparently unlimited budget, [2228] together with access to the

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[2226] William Cadbury's attempts to hide the fact that his firm paid for Morel's *African Mail,* which carried articles favourable to the firm's strategy, and the missionary Charles Swan's fact-finding mission to Angola are more than sufficient proof of his need to cover their tracks.

[2227] Charles Dellheim, who gives a favourable assessment of Cadbury Bros. behaviour throughout the dispute, nevertheless quotes figures showing that sales rose from £1057 million in 1905 to £2346 million in 1914. See Charles Dellheim. Op. cit. 1987, pp. 21-22.

[2228] In addition to E.D.Morel, whom he supported financially all his life, William Cadbury paid Alfredo Henriques da Silva handsomely for his services as a translator and generously took care of his son's education in Britain. Cadbury would also offer to provide financial support for the education of Charles Swan's son, an offer which was apparently declined, and in addition to the considerable expenses of the fact-finding tours of Swan and Burtt in Africa he rewarded Joseph Burtt with a substantial sum on his return. Cadbury was also generous in his support for the work of the Protestant missionaries he met in Angola.

newspapers controlled by the firm and its friends in the Liberal Party. Undoubtedly sincere in his humanitarian motives but business-like and often secretive in his approach to the issue, Cadbury employed a dilatory strategy which, in view of his firm's impeccable reputation, was questionable, to say the least. At the same time, he did not hesitate to cut off relations, threaten with litigation, or actually take to court any person or organisation which publicly criticised his firm's behaviour in the matter. [2229] Indeed, in contradiction with the jury's vindication of the firm in the Cadbury Bros. v *Standard* libel case, the weight of evidence suggests that the long delay between the time Cadbury Bros. admitted to becoming aware of the use of forced recruitment in Angola and their cessation of purchases from São Tomé and Príncipe was partly caused by their need to find an alternative source of raw material - and was not, as they have always claimed, the exclusive consequence of the Foreign Office's request for a moratorium to allow diplomatic pressure to take effect.

From the earliest days of the controversy William Cadbury had exchanged correspondence with E.D.Morel,[2230] who shared many of his own liberal and pacifist views and became a close personal friend. Morel advised Cadbury throughout the affair and placed the trade newspaper he edited at his disposal, whilst Cadbury, in his turn, paid a substantial part of Morel's expenses out of his own pocket. It also seems likely that it was Morel who first suggested that Cadbury should consider the smallholder cocoa producers of British West Africa as a possible alternative source of raw material to the plantations of São Tomé, an option which was closer to the "third-party" ideas they shared. [2231] After the Congo was turned over to the Belgian Government in 1908 Morel was able to devote more of his time and energy to the "Portuguese Slavery" issue, collaborating anonymously with William Cadbury on his report on "Labour in Portuguese West Africa" in 1910, and in 1912 on a jointly-signed, provocative article in the

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[2229] William Cadbury cut off relations with Fox Bourne, the long-serving coordinator of the Aborigine's Protection Society in 1908 and John H. Harris of the Antislavery Society in 1911, whilst newspapers like the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Graphic* and the weekly magazine *John Bull* which ran critical articles were threatened with legal action and forced to retract, whilst the *Standard* was actually sued for libel. Cadbury's also attempted, through Rowntree's solicitor, to dissuade Henry Nevinson from publishing an article in the *Fortnightly Review* in 1907, and in 1909 actually considered taking legal action against him.

[2230] From September 1903, at least. See Cadbury to Morel. September 2nd 1903. Morel Papers LSE. Morel F8/11/1

[2231] For more on the "Third-party" ideas of Mary Kingsley, John Holt, Fox Bourne, Roger Casement, E.D.Morel et al. regarding "native property rights" and "cultural relativism" see Kevin Grant. Op.cit. 2005, particularly pp.35-36.

Nineteenth Century which carried the hallmark of his writing, suggesting that the Portuguese colonies should be transferred to a "first-class power".

The article, though intended essentially for British readers, merely reinforced the suspicions of those in Portugal who suspected that the renewal of the campaign, despite the three-year suspension of recruitment in Angola and the commencement of effective repatriation, was somehow linked to the secret negotiations concerning the pretensions of Germany to expand its African possessions at the expense of Portugal. [2232] The net result of its publication was that any surviving sympathy in Portugal for the British antislavery campaign would be alienated and William Cadbury would never again be considered a bona fide interlocutor by the Republican authorities.

Though predominantly a battle of words, the Anglo-Portuguese controversy over "slave-grown cocoa" was also a testing ground for new forms of propaganda which had rapidly developed over the second half of the nineteenth century, primarily as a result of the proliferation and growing accessibility of photographic illustrations in newspapers, magazines and books, but also their transformation into lantern slides and picture postcards which multiplied their impact and widened their public appeal. As this study has attempted to show, such sophisticated forms of persuasion were exploited to good effect by both sides in the controversy, as were paid advertisements in the press and even moving pictures which were just beginning to emerge, towards the end of the period under study, as a persuasive means of conveying the predominant narratives to a wider sector of public opinion in both Europe and America. In truth, the main issue at stake in the whole affair was ultimately not the damage to financial revenue caused by the trade boycott but rather of the damage to national honour caused by accusations coming from a nation seen, despite the lingering scars of the "Ultimatum", by most of those who were involved in the dispute on the Portuguese side, whether monarchists or republicans, not merely as an "ancient ally" but an example of colonial administration worthy of emulation.

[2232] Morel was one of the leading figures in the lobby which favoured the appeasement of Germany before the Great War, if necessary at Portugal's expense.

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4. Abbreviations

ABCFM American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

ABIR Anglo-Belgian India Rubber Company

AF Aborigines' Friend

AGM Annual General Meeting

AHD Arquivo Histórico Diplomático

AHM Arquivo Histórico Militar

AHS Arquivo de História Social

AHU Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino

ANIM Arquivo Nacional da Imagem em Movimento

APS Aborigines' Protection Society

ASI Anti-Slavery International

ASP Anti-Slavery Papers

ASPC Anti-Slavery Photographic Collection

ASR and AF Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend

ASR Anti-Slavery Reporter

ASS Anti-Slavery Society

B.D. *British Documents on the Origins of the War, (1898-1914)* eds. Gooch and Temperley.

BCCL Boletim do Centro Colonial de Lisboa

BFASS British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society

BGUC Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra

BMS Baptist Missionary Society

BNU Banco Nacional Ultramarino

BSGL Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa

CCL Centro Colonial de Lisboa

CP Cadbury Papers

CRA Congo Reform Association

FCSH Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas

FLUL Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa

FLUP Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Porto

FO Foreign Office

HC House of Commons

HL House of Lords

HM His/Her Majesty's

HMSO His Majesty's Stationery Office

ICS Instituto de Ciências Sociais (Universidade de Lisboa)

ILN Illustrated London News

ISCTE Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa

JHHC John H.Harris Collection

KC King's Counsel

LSE London School of Economics

MP Member of Parliament

MSS Manuscripts

p.a. per annum

PRO Public Records Office

RCI Royal Commonwealth Institute

SGL Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa

SPP Sociedade Propaganda de Portugal

WCAM West Central African Mission

WNLA Witwatersrand Native Labour Association

WWI First World War