

LUBUKU

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A FEW REMARKS ON

MR. LATROBE BATEMAN'S BOOK

ENTITLED

THE FIRST ASCENT OF THE KASAI

BY

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TO THE PORTUGUESE PRESS

The following remarks have reference, though partially, to one of the most vital questions for the Portuguese Nation — the integrity of her African empire — which every body abroad seems bent on undermining.

They are not the result of superficial views of an irresponsible writer, but dictated by the deep-rooted convictions and experience of one who has spent nearly the whole useful time of his life in the African Continent on service of his country.

I inscribe these pages to the Portuguese Press, with an earnest appeal to all organs of political parties, to all writers, publicists and public men sincerely devoted to their nation's welfare, in order that they may forego their contentions, their competitions, their labours in the interests of school or faction and strain their whole energies, and join and unite in the struggle going on for the maintenance of our rights to that which has cost us so much of life-blood and treasures.

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I may solicit indulgence from the impartial reader for any fault due to the haste in answering to the strictures on the character of some Portuguese and on Portuguese influence in Africa, contained in the narrative, at other respects interesting, lately published in London by a British subject, Mr. Charles Somerville Latrobe Bateman, sometime an officer in the Congo Free State, entitled—*The first ascent of the Kasai, being some records of service under the Lone Star.*

Some facts I have stated are, I am sure, known only of a few, and I have availed myself of the opportunity to put the reading world in general *au fait* of certain circumstances concerning the Congo Free State, recent African explorers, the eternal slave question, the rights of priority to discovery, occupation or civilization in African regions, in short of Portuguese action in the so called Dark Continent, and especially in Lubuku; some of these subjects being more fully treated and with more detail in the series of volumes in course of publication, embodying the work accomplished by the Expedition I had the honour to lead, by order of His Most Faithful Majesty's Government, to the Lunda land in Central Africa, during the years 1884-1888.

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The Portuguese Nation has been and continues sincerely and with the greatest honesty of purpose to be a decided foe to slave trade, and the author cited is himself reluctantly compelled by the irresistible force of truth to acknowledge

that in Portuguese territory ¹ the living merchandise of the slaver is valueless or almost so, since Portugal has made serious professions of suppressing the slave trade.

Of all powers interested in the extinction of slavery Great Britain knows too well how much loss, heart-burnings and insult we have borne; the Nation will never forget, in our earnest wish to be true to our engagements; a name — **Charles et Georges** — and we need not add one word more to the confusion of our defamers.

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The International Conference for the discussion of the grand question, involving unostensibly most certainly many other correlative and of no meaner importance in Africa for the civilized world, is on the eve of being inaugurated at Brussels. Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, Italy, in short all powers who have more or less interests at stake in the African Continent, will not fail to advocate in that assembly these interests simultaneously with those of humanity. Well then, let us not be behind hand in collecting all the evidence which may concur to put in the clearest light, before the eyes of those who perversely will not see, *our rights* and *our wrongs*.

Let the Nation just stricken deeply by the loss of a King who, to the gifts of an excellent prince, united the qualities of a good citizen and a sincere patriot; let Government, let the Press, let the public at large contribute their share of means, of action, of advice and encouragement for the pursuance of

¹ Op. cit., p. 157.

this our national aim — the maintenance of our African dominion — and if we all have the same will, we shall most assuredly have the power to uphold it.

Henrique Augusto Dias de Carvalho.

October 1889.

12, R. Castilho — Lisbon.

LUBUKU

After the publication of the letter I had the honour of addressing, on the 1st of August, to His Majesty the King of Belgium: *L'influence de la civilisation et de la colonisation latine et surtout portugaise en Afrique*, my friend the distinguished Portuguese consul at Newcastle, Sr. Jayme Batalha Reis, called most particularly my attention to the book of Mr. Charles Somerville Latrobe Bateman, sometime Captain and Adjutant of gendarmerie in the Congo Free State entitled: *The first ascent of the Kasai, being some records of service under the Lone Star*, Liverpool, 1889.

This work, embracing a period from 30 of September 1885 to the close of 1886, is not yet generally known in Portugal. As it may serve to ground conclusions which might painfully surprise us concerning the doings of our countrymen who were found trading in the Baluba⁴ territory by

⁴ We follow in this paper mr. Bateman's orthography for the native names.

Captain Bateman, I think it advisable on my part to dispel whatever may tend to bring reproach on the character of the same Portuguese to whom the author as well as the *personnel* under the Lone Star and the distinguished German explorers before them, are in indebtedness for many favours and services of no mean value.

I think it will not be unseasonable, to furnish at this moment some information partly of more ancient and partly of more modern date, than that presented in the said book, by means of which the impartial reader may judge of the responsibilities pertaining to the Portuguese traders accused of carrying on *«with varying success an unostentatious species of slave-dealing»* (*Op. cit.*, p. 84).

I must also remark that in Mr. Bateman's narrative concerning these regions, and more particularly respecting Lubuku, there are deficiencies and lack of precision as to dates of facts which may at some future time likewise lead the historian to ignore, not only the influence exercised by the Portuguese in these parts but besides, that amongst Europeans we were the first to visit this part of Africa and to qualify and prepare the natives for the evolution which put them on an upper level in regard to their neighbours, as observed by Dr. Paul Pogge five years previous to Mr. Bateman's acquaintance with them.

Finally I must add, that the information and data contained in this paper will serve to put in evidence the irregular and authoritative proceedings of the agents of the Free State who, not only compete with private traders in conditions highly disadvantageous to the same, adopting the same system used in the country of unostentatious slave-dealing, but violate the contracts made in due form with free men, inducing them to enlist in the service of the Free State.

In order to follow Mr. Ch. Bateman's statements, I must have recourse to my books in course of publication, and call to mind what cannot be easily forgotten by German explo-

rers, who succeeded in penetrating into the country of the Baluba with the protection of the Portuguese government and the valuable help of its European and African subjects, free from all duties paid by Portuguese traders, in consideration of their scientific aims.

We deemed it convenient to present also these remarks in the English language, in order it may not be said at any time, as it has been frequently the case, that the defense or explanation of the rights and proceedings of the Portuguese in Africa is made in a language not generally understood out of Portugal.

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In his voyage across the African continent from the east to Loanda by the southern borders of the Balunda territory in 1854, Livingstone confirms what Joaquim Rodrigues Graça had said in his progress from Golungo Alto by the Bihé to the Mussumba of the Matjambo, viz., that the Matchioko did not pass northwards beyond the 10° S. lat.

During the Kasange war from 1857 to 1860 some tribes of Matchioko headed by their chiefs Kissenge, Kiniâma, Mushiko, Kongolo and Mukanjanga had advanced and established their residences between the rivers Luange and Chiumbue going not beyond the 9° S. lat.

Before that time the Portuguese trader Carneiro had already founded at Kimbundu a large trading factory, giving afterwards partnership to his employé Saturnino de Sousa Machado, to whom he eventually transferred it.

The most considerable business of this factory after 1860 was transacted directly with the neighbouring tribes of Matchioko by allowing goods on credit to their chiefs, who were elephant hunters, and by means of its agents (*aviadôs*) who traded with the subjects of Matjambo.

Until 1850 in the time of the Matjambo Noéji and at his request, some Matchioko hunters of Ndumbá Tembué and

the greatest nobles of his states held their meetings yearly for the purpose of elephant hunting between the rivers Lulua and Lubilachi.

Still in 1864 Carneiro, in company of his Matchioko neighbours, was in the habit of going out for a week or so to hunt that noble animal in the woods not far from his residence on the southern side of the Chikapa, and on his part alone he used to kill three or four.

Ivory was in great request and this accounts for the scarcity after 1866 of elephants below the 8° S. lat. The people from the Mussumba of Matjambo went northwards in their search for them to Kanhiúka and eastwardly in the vicinity of the Lubilachi. The Matchioko after that time dispersed, going towards the north following the rivers Chikapa and Chiumbue, their villages however passing not beyond the 8° S.

As game became every day more scarce, an elephant being only met by chance and alone in their excursions up to the 7th degree, the famous Matchioko huntsman Mukanjanga, better known as Kilunga, set out with some of his most adventurous companions to the north, following the left bank of the Chikapa.

It is well known that when the Matchioko go out on their travels, they always take with them the members of their family, who carry all movables with fear of not finding a single one on their return, and they always depart with the reserved intention of settling where they can find a site, offering more advantageous conditions than the one left behind and where they may not have to fear the opposition on the part of the people among whom they go to settle. For this reason they never forget to bring divers seeds, particularly that of *Cannabis Indica*, lhiamba¹.

The Matchioko men and women will not go without their

¹ We say either: *li*, *ri* or *di-amba*.

*mutopa*² and the lhiamba leaves, previously prepared, to smoke during the hours of rest or when engaged in company.

Kilunga and his large caravan went to camp on the Kichasa, beyond the confluence of the Chikapa with the Kasai, and he set about immediately to establish friendly intercourse with his northern neighbours, whose chiefs were Kindâma, Kingunzo Marimba, Tundo-ia-Nzambi and Makambi, who I was told belonged to the Tupeinde tribe. These new friends advised Kilunga and the hunters to pass to the other side of the Kasai, where they would meet the Bashilangé-Baluba, who had a large quantity of ivory and caught elephants by means of traps.

Kilunga sent messengers to their more powerful chief Kichimbo Kassango with the customary present, announcing his friendly visit; the present consisted of a uniform, and a gun and a keg of powder to kill the elephant in place of waiting till he chose to be ensnared.

The chief Kichimbo had in fact a large quantity of ivory he knew not the value of, having his residence all around fenced with elephant tusks for fear of nightly attacks of the larger beasts of prey. Besides these, many tusks lay on the ground amongst the high grass exposed to the weather. He felt surprised at the sight of the present and he thought the sender must be a great man. Desiring to make use immediately of the gun and powder he dispatched his people to the river side to receive Kilunga and escort him to his presence.

In result of the interview Kichimbo allotted the place for the newly arrived people to encamp, and on that same day the whole caravan crossed the Kasai, and proceeded to raise their huts, while Kilunga smoked in company with his new friend, awakening his curiosity by what he related of the great things he new and had seen among civilized people.

² Gourd from which they smoke.

They went out hunting together, and Kichimbo quickly recognised the advantage of fire arms, as he had now plenty of meat for his meals; and he also observed that his guest used to smoke much notwithstanding the vomiting and violent cough it used to produce.

Kilunga enlarged on the excellency of such smoking, which stopped hunger, caused oblivion of all the ills that afflict man, transporting him to regions entirely new, where everything is pleasant to the sight, and besides in sleep one came by the knowledge of things which when awake could only be learned by witchcraft.

The above produced great impression on Kichimbo, and of course he wished to try the lhiamba; he smoked a little and soon became intoxicated; he had however such pleasant dreams that on the following day he sowed lhiamba close to his house.

Kilunga having obtained a fair supply of ivory went back to his old place by the Lufi, which flows into the Luat-chimo, not far from the Chikapa, promising to return next year after exchanging with the children of Muene Puto of Kalunga (King of Portugal over the water) his ivory for cloth, beads and other good things they only knew how to make.

In fact he returned again, this time well sure of his way, with packs of guns, powder, beads, salt, cowries, clothing, with the intention not only of hunting, but also of buying all available ivory. He now brought in his company two Ambaquistas (natives of Ambaca), whom he kept in his house to sew his loin-cloths and other garments.

Every year in the dry season the Bashilangé people of Kichimbo expected Kilunga and his fellow hunters, but he failing to appear on 1871 and 1872, was much missed for the sake of his good company, but chiefly on account of the supply of powder and other articles of trade they were much in need of.

Kichimbo shewed much concern for this unaccountable

absence, and one night to invite sleep and drive away his cares he smoked the lhiamba and dreamed; he found himself in the land Kilunga had described to him so often, where he went to the dwelling of the white men and saw lots of clothes, cloth, guns, powder, beads, buying everything in exchange for ivory and bringing it home, and that afterwards the white men of Muene Puto used to come to his place for ivory and bring him many things, and of better sort, than those his Mat-chioko friend used to carry.

So strong was the impression produced on his mind by the dream, that early in the morning he called his brother-in-law Kingenge and his cousins Kapuku, Kimbudu and Umbeia, and related to them what he had seen under the influence of Kilunda's lhiamba, inviting them to set out with him in search of the dwelling place of his friend. They agreed to carry a fine present of ivory and young women, that he might show them the house of the white man where he supplied himself.

Fearing the opposition of the people they had to meet on the way, as it was the first time they left their native place, but considering on the other hand that Kilunga used to come to them for the sake of ivory and young women, they thought that taking an ample supply of both to present to the chiefs of the tribes all obstacles would be removed. Knowing the path followed by Kilunga by the side of the Chikapa, which was agreed would be the one selected, they set about getting ready their caravans well supplied with the above commodities, both for presents and for trade, and to show everybody on the way that their intentions were peaceful, they left behind their bows and arrows carried always for defense.

When passing the Kasā at the port of Muiamba the delegate of Maī Munene, lord of the place, made his appearance to stop them on their way; Kichimbo however immediately gave him to present to his master two tusks of ivory and four girls and for himself one tusk and two girls.

Maĩ Munene's answer was not long in coming, he thought the Bashilangé's journey on the whole a daring enterprise; however, as his delegate had sent word that Kilunga had often visited Kichimbo and as he wished to be on good terms with the Matchioko and with his neighbours, and for other considerations, he thanked them for the present and in return sent them provisions for the way and two trusty men as guides to the border of his dominions. Such treatment obliged Kichimbo to send another present.

Following the banks of the Chikapa, Kichimbo and his band pursued their journey giving small presents here and there, till they reached the site of Mona Kongolo (9° S. lat. nearly) where he found a few people established from Ambaca and Malange. Here they stayed for some time because Mona Kongolo, Kilunga's cousin received them very well; and as many of the young men from his place had belonged to Kilunga's first expedition to the Bashilangé, these wished to entertain some of their friends who accompanied Kichimbo.

Mona Kongolo got a good present of ivory and girls and not wishing to deprive his cousin longer of the satisfaction of receiving his friend, who had come from so far on purpose to see him, supplied the company amply with provisions for the rest of the journey.

On one occasion Kichimbo, when talking with Mona Kongolo, with Joanes Caxavalla (mentioned by Captain Bateman as Manuel Caxavalla Silva da Costa) and his relation Antonio Bezerra Lisboa and with other natives of Ambaca and Malange, he related to them his dream and his earnest wish of making acquaintance with the white men of Muene Puto, know their manner of life, etc., etc.

Antonio Bezerra was accordingly chosen by that chief as one of the persons who was to accompany Kichimbo's band to Kilunga's dwelling at Lufi, and to guide him thence to Saturnino Machado's trading-factory at Kimbundo where Bezerra was employed.

Mukanjanga (Kilunga) was lying sick, but felt agreeably

surprised with the visit of his friend, wondered at his boldness in engaging on such a long journey to see him, received him heartily, but said afterwards to Bezerra: «—I am sorry he has made this journey, he opened the way to his country and spoilt the business.»

Kichimbo presented him with ten tusks of ivory six being of first sort, and twelve maiden girls. Kilunga in return gave him powder, guns, beads, etc. As they wished to exchange their ivory for other commodities he had them escorted to Kimbundo and strongly recommended them to his friend Saturnino Machado, commonly known by the natives as Kisséso. Machado received Kichimbo as a guest in his usual good way, had the company properly lodged and cared for with plenty to eat and drink before entering into any kind of business transaction with his new customers; the custom being generally to begin only after three days rest from the journey.

Saturnino Machado availed himself of the opportunity to enquire from Kichimbo and his kinsfolk all about the customs of their country, of the commodities they could offer for barter to the white man, the ways of business and showed himself ready likewise to satisfy their curiosity concerning the Portuguese.

These frequent conversations were interpreted by Ambaquistas, Malanges, in fact by different parties all from the province of Angola who stayed at Kimbundo and that could more or less make themselves understood by the Bashilangé.

As a matter of course on these occasions all present took their share in the conversation, and everybody remained *au fait* of the advantages in preferring the country of the Bashilangé to that of the Balunda for bartering the small stocks of goods they got on credit from the portuguese stores in the districts to the eastward of Loanda, and of the good use they could make of the knowledge imparted likewise to them by the Portuguese. Machado saw the evident ad-

vantage of conciliating the good will of his new customers and allowed them to choose to their hearts content, and at the established rates, among all his goods, and both Kichimbo and his people supplied themselves of everything they required.

On their way homewards the caravan passed by Kilunga's village and they invited him again to go to them and teach the young men to handle the guns they had got, expressing much satisfaction for the good business made with the white man.

The news of this expedition spread among the Atchibangala of the banks of the Kwango and neighbourhood of the route opened by the Bashilangé-Baluba, and it also became known that they stood in need of salt and cowries in large quantities, of guns and powder, and that they had plenty of ivory and india-rubber.

On arrival at his residential village Kichimbo invited all kinsfolk and the old men of the neighbouring villages to come and see the display of all the riches he had brought from Kilunga's ¹ and to hear the advices he had to give them concerning their welfare.

He advised all who wished to be happy to smoke lhiamba, and that thenceforward he only would accept as his friend the lhiamba smoker; that the knowledge of its virtue he owed to the friendship existing between him and Kilunga, adding that they who promoted the growth of lhiamba would constitute the community of friends — Lubuku — its primary aims being the happiness and welfare of the Baluba and their country and the opening of it to all strangers who wished to maintain amicable intercourse and trade with its inhabitants.

The younger part of the assembly quickly embraced

¹ For a long while they were persuaded that all lands traversed on their route belonged to Kilunga.

these ideas, but they found opposers among the grey-heads, and such people who wished to maintain old usages, and to this may be ascribed the distinction which sprang up of the *Bana-lhiamba* and the *Impelumbo*.

Before forming part of this society of friendship the uninitiated must subject themselves to the performance of a certain number of rites, of which the bathing of the body in a river is the principal one; they constitute what they call *Moio*; some define it as an *oath*, others as *life*, owing to the abandonment after initiation of old habits and usages, and the adoption of new ones instituted by the lhiamba smokers. Presently *Bana-lhiamba* and *Bana-moio* means the same—persons of first rank in the state, who constitute the Lubuku—and from this class are promoted those who at the court of the sovereign go by the title of *Mukelengé*.

Kapuko Kimbundu, Kichimbo's cousin, not wishing to alter completely his old habits, left the place, keeping notwithstanding his allegiance, and established himself with his people on one of the banks of the Muansagoma river, and this tribe, distinguishable immediately by their dress, remind the Cabinda of the coast, wearing instead of the large cotton loin-cloths hanging from the waist to the small of the leg, garments of their own manufacture of textile plant-fibers known as *mabella*.

Kichimbo went again on another journey to Kilunga's and was successful, his people believing that some beneficent spirits watched for the happiness of their chief's dominions, being since then considered as—*Mukengé*—superior to all other chiefs.

This man died in 1873 when on a visit to Kilunga, as it is said, leaving a son still under age. This chieftain sent the youth back to his relations with the news of the father's death, saying at the same time, that to him belonged the succession of the state and if they wished to continue to have the friendship of the Matchioko, to accept his advise.

The brother-in-law of the deceased, Kinguengé, on the

alleged ground that he and his wife, Kichimo's sister, had likewise performed the journey to Kilunga, took to himself the reins of government, as well as the care of educating his nephew to succeed to him after his death, and declared he felt himself strong enough to pursue the work of his brother: the agrandizement of his country and the prosperity of the people. All of the Lubuku were of opinion that he should be Mukengé, and he imparted this resolution to Kilunga, assuring him that he would protect his own nephew and educate him in a suitable manner to succeed in time to his father's state, which he would find in a bettered condition, relying at the same time on the friendship of all his Matchioko kinsfolk, for the success of his plans.

The fact is that, during the government of the present Mukengé, successor to Kichimbo Kassongo, commenced the inflow of caravans of Matchioko from the banks of the rivers between the Kasai and Luangi, of Atchibangala and of various people from Angola, and even the Ambaquistas, people from Malange and other parties belonging to caravans from Angola, who knew how to read and write the Portuguese language and had learned various trades, established temporary residence in the principal town and other villages of Lubuku. Mukengé and the Bana-moio treated them as friends, rewarding them well, with india-rubber and slaves as helps for their domestic labours, for cutting and sewing their clothes, making shoes teaching their children and so forth.

The Ambaquistas, chiefly on account of their skill in the manufacture of pottery, wooden ware and blacksmith's work realized good profits by making themselves useful.

Our people from Angola by their constant intercourse with the Baluba, and even by intermarrying with them, came at last to introduce into their dialect a great number of Portuguese terms, prefixed already according to the forms of the Ambunda language, supplying in this way the wants they encountered in their vocabulary.

In fine, the growth and developement of a certain civili-

zation showed itself by the change in manners and customs, fostered at the same time by the increased trade due to the inflow of native caravans from different quarters, all of them supplied from our province of Angola.

Among the most frequent visitors to Lubuku, about this time (1874 and afterwards) we find Manuel da Silva Costa, best known as Joannes or Caxavalla, who had made several journeys to the capital of Matjambo and was perfectly *au fait* of business with the Balunda and Matchioko among whom he had lived for a long while.

He had been frequently in the employ of Custodio José de Sousa Machado of Malange and of his brother Saturnino de Sousa Machado at Kimbundo.

On his last return journey from the Balunda capital his kinsman old Lourenço Bezerra, agent of the Machado firm, put him in charge of a large caravan of ivory for the said house, and on crossing the Kasai he fell into an ambuscade prepared by the Chanama, who took him for a sorcerer. This adventure put his life in jeopardy during several days.

Sending messengers to Saturnino Machado who was on the way to the Kasai, but receiving no answer for they had missed him, he contrived to make his escape. Machado succeeded afterwards in recovering a large portion of the sequestered property.

After this adventure Caxavalla took good care not to return again to the Matjambo's dominions and began to frequent Lubuku at one time commissioned by Machado and at other times with goods on credit, sending also his relations thither.

As in fact ivory had never been plentiful at Lubuku because the elephant pursued from the south did not stop here, crossing the Lulua and spreading about the country of the Bakété, Bakuba and Batua, and as these peoples refused admittance to strangers, never requiring cloth which they supplied with their own fabrics, they exchanged their ivory with the Baluba for cowries and slaves.

As the Baluba were the only people with whom they transacted business, the native traders who sought to procure ivory among the Baluba, had to purchase slaves wherever they were to be sold, and in their transactions these were passed on to the above together with cowries, salt, powder, guns and beads. Besides the Baluba of Lubuku, the Banalhiamba, on account of the reformation of their customs, held their wives and children in greater esteem and wanted helps to relieve the family from the performance of a certain kind of domestic drudgery, reputed now as degrading.

This species of slave-dealing as Mr. Bateman calls it, became among these peoples a very natural transaction, as a mean of supplying their wants.

But be it as it may, the fact is that this mode of trafficking is especially indiginous of the African continent and not a novelty introduced by the merchant Saturnino Machado, as Captain Bateman will see by the sequel.

Up to 1874 the caravans going to Lubuku did not cross the Lulua, neither did they go beyond the confluence of Lulua and Kasai bartering the contents of their packs in the very capital town of Mukengé. It is the opportunity now to say that the Turuba of Mai Munéne, the Tubungo, primitive peoples who gave rise to the Matjambo State, and the Mataba from the north believe the Kasai to be the son (affluent) of the Lulua, and call this one Nzaire; the people of Muata Kumbana (Tupeinde), give to the Kasai the name of Nzaire, and the subjects of Muene Puto Kasongo and neighbouring tribes give also to the Kuango, on their lands the same name. If all these nations or tribes have not a perfect notion of what is the true Nzaire, all however know it, and according to the saying of the people the Nzaire should be considered the whole body of united waters of several affluents flowing in the grand canal which debouches into the Ocean.

But this is a matter of name, and it belongs to science to determine by the study of all its affluents which of them should bear the real name of Nzaire. Captain Bateman opines

that the Sankoro, which up to the present had been considered as a lake, even by the last German explorers, should be the Kasai, but the natives have names for their streams, and these ought to be the names they should go by, notwithstanding the maps giving others.

It was only in 1875 that the Mukengé, for the sake of facilitating business, allowed the caravans to stop at Kabau on the left bank of the Lulua in the Baketé land, and at Kapuku on the bank of the Muansangoma, provided they paid him tribute or tax when passing by his residential town, for coming in, and going out of these markets.

It was a mean of attracting his trading neighbours, by which the Baluba profited.

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From 1875 to 1876 Europe did not know of the existence of Lubuku, and yet the province of Angola through the agency of her natives, via Kasange and Malange, had been receiving from that region ivory and india-rubber, being about this time that the German expedition of Drs. Pogge and Lux, with the assistance of the merchant Custodio Machado of Malange, reached Kimbundo, where they were received by Saturnino Machado his brother and lodged in his factory.

Dr. Lux returned and Pogge accompanied by the *pombeiros* of Saturnino Machado and by Vunje, a Matjanvo functionary, residing at the time in Kimbundo for fear of his master, departed to that sovereign's capital by the old route called *o caminho grande* (the great way).

Dr. Pogge was the personification of everything that is gentlemanlike, and he so captivated the brothers Machado by his courtesy that they did all in their power to further his projects, to remove every obstacle in his way and mitigate and render more endurable the asperities of every kind to be met by him who travels through the interior of Africa.

Saturnino Machado, considering that Dr. Pogge was going

to find himself alone amidst people to whom he was a complete stranger, directed Lourenço Bezerra, his agent at the Mussumba, a native already far advanced in years and thoroughly respectful, who spoke good Portuguese and had stayed some years at the court of Matjambo, — being with this the forth sovereign he had known there, — to be always by the side of the doctor, advise him of what passed between Matjambo and his subjects concerning his person and do all in his power to render his sojourn, at least at the Mussumba, as comfortable as possibly it could be.

Dr. Pogge retired in 1876 with the intention of coming back with a companion disposed to go from the Mussumba to the eastern coast whilst he stayed with the Matjambo, endeavouring to ingratiate himself with him and procure his friendship.

The doctor was much esteemed at Malange by the Portuguese from the metropolis, confessing himself most grateful to the brothers Machado. Many a time he used to talk of the difficulties he had met with on the part of Matjambo and his court, on the most frivolous pretences, to let him get out of the enclosure where he had pitched his camp; but he would not be dissuaded notwithstanding Machado showing him that he could expect nothing from that sovereign, the same Chanama, with whom Machado had been several times on bad terms.

He used to persist in saying he would succeed and in that disposition came back to Berlin.

While he went about endeavouring to further his project, somebody at Berlin allowed himself to make a not very fair appreciation of Custodio Machado's conduct respecting the treatment of an explorer who had died in his house and Dr. Pogge most conscientiously took up this gentleman's defense, and in such a manner that the Geographical Society of Berlin sent to Custodio Machado a diploma of membership, and as a *souvenir* of the never to be forgotten services rendered to the Society in the persons of her explorers,

they presented him with a splendid chronometre, especially inscribed.

In 1877 the explorer Otto Schütt appeared at Malange with a recommendation for Custodio Machado. He likewise came with the intention of going to Matjambo's Mussunba, and Machado set about organizing the expedition, advising in the meantime Schütt to follow the route by the N.E., because the path chosen by Dr. Pogge was explored, afforded no trade and was infested at different points by the Matchioko who attacked and robbed the caravans.

Schütt desired to pursue the advised course, but so many were the difficulties encountered before reaching the Kwango, among the neighbouring tribes, that he got discouraged and wished to relinquish the project notwithstanding the heavy expense incurred.

Fortunately he met on his way Saturnino Machado in company with his employé João de Carvalho, surnamed João da Katépa. On being told of what had taken place Machado engaged to arrange him a free passage on the Kwango, and in the mean time João da Katépa was sent to the place of contention between the tribes to avoid that they should get an inkling of the purposed plan. Schütt went afterwards to meet them, but as he thought his supplies inadequate to penetrate to the interior, he kept along with João to Kimbundo while Saturnino, reaching Kasange, raised on his own credit in a Portuguese trading factory a good supply of cloth and other articles, which he accompanied to Kimbundo.

Saturnino Machado was of the same opinion of his brother, *i. e.*, that the explorer should not go by the east, and as he had Matchioko friends on the bank of the Chikapa, João was directed to accompany Schütt by the right bank, for fear the carriers, accustomed to the — caminho grande — should refuse to follow the route to the north.

Schütt, thinking himself in security, dispensed with João's services and a little further, his interpreter and the head-carriers, on hearing reports concerning the trade of Lubuku,

prevailed on the traveller to desist from going to the Mussumba, and follow the way to Lubuku.

On his arriving to the residence of Maï, this chief did not allow him to cross the Kasaï because he would spoil the business. He sent him word to remain in his dominions, to hand him his goods and that he would return the equivalence in ivory. The affair was at this point when Muata Mussemvo of Luatchimo made his appearance, enquiring after the traveller on the part of Matjambo his master, who sent him word to come to the Mussumba, because he had there much ivory to give him; on the other hand he sent Maï orders not to allow the white man to go out of his lands for the cannibals might eat him, and he wished not to be in bad repute with Muene Puto (King of Portugal).

Otto Schütt was in great perplexity on account of these contrarieties, and hearing one night the report of fire arms and thinking it was a menace to his person, to avoid strife, he confided to the interpreter and a few carriers a part of the goods for business and gave orders to retreat.

The interpreter tried to convince him that the firing was due to the celebration of a funeral feast, but a woman who had accompanied him as a his servant wishing to return to Malange for fear of the natives used to deceive him often about the precautions he should take. As he was a complete stranger to the manners and customs of the country, not being even able to make himself understood by the carriers, he insisted in getting back.

Before this on his passing to the north of the 9° S. lat. the Matchioko of Kissengé stopped his way and that affair cost him many days of delay to decide. In the meantime our African explorer and trader Silva Porto passed in the neighbourhood with a large caravan composed of Biheno and Tungobe carriers, going up by the bank of the Kasaï, on his way from his residence at Bihé. When he reached Kissengé's Schütt had already departed for Malange.

Silva Porto left at Kissengé part of his goods, passing the rivers Luatchimo, Chiumbue and the Chikapa on lands of Mona Kongolo and from thence was accompanied by Antonio Bezerra, who said afterwards that this commercial expedition was the largest he had ever seen in the interior of Africa.

They crossed the Chikapa at Ngina Nbanza and followed the course of the Luatchimo, next that of the Chiumbue, passing the Kasaï beyond the meeting of the waters of the two last rivers to the north of the Tubinge at the port of Kambulo Mulonde, the chieftain of a Bashilange tribe, pursuing their route northwards up to the 5° parallel.

During the whole of the journey he maintained good understanding with the Matchioko, doing some business with them; but as the distance to traverse was large and many the villages he had to visit, the outlay in presents to the potentates and portage on rivers was considerable and not below 500 pounds sterling.

At Lubuku he traded with the Baluba, Bakèté and Bakuba, but his delay was of short duration at the different places he visited because the stocks of ivory in market were considerable.

He found already the Bana-Ihiamba or Bana-Moio in the state of development already mentioned; and at the capital of Mukengé he saw a great number of Angolese from the north of the Kwanza, and in various places among the Baluba, which he visited, caravans of Matchioko, of Atchibangala and of other nations, encamped for business purposes.

The Basongo and the Bakuba were already endeavouring to obtain slaves to sell to the Arabs on the Lualaba.

In 1878 the German explorer Dr. Max Büchner, distinguished for his sound learning, modest deportment and gentlemanly address, was highly recommended to Custodio Machado by the African section of the Geographical Society of Berlin, which then worked hand in hand with the Belgian International Association. It is needless to mention that he

was received by Custodio Machado in the same manner as his predecessors.

Knowing well of the reverses experienced by Otto Schütt he organized his expedition with the intention of pursuing the schemes of Dr. Pogge. Leaving for Kimbundo, where he was entertained by Saturnino Machado, he prepared himself there with his assistance to face and remove all expected obstacles on the part of the Matchioko, with a good force of Ambaquistas attached to the expedition, which at the beginning was rather small.

Succeeding in repulsing the armed bands of Kisengé, who pretended to attack him, and who failing in his attempt became his friend, Dr. Büchner pursued his route to the Matjambo's capital.

This distinguished explorer observed and said that the Ambaquistas found among the Balunda their Eldorado *i. e. women for wives*.

The Matjambo Chanama did not behave well towards the persevering and affable doctor, who on his return journey suffered the consequences of insisting to attempt the passage through Kanhiúka to the Kasongo, by the Lualaba, avoiding therefore to conform to the custom of doing business with that prince, which by the bye was tantamount to deliver the whole of the goods into his hands and remain at his disposal, to leave when it might be his pleasure, and that only by coming back to Malange.

Leaving Kaungula's dominions on the bank of the Lovua he attempted entering the lands of Muata Kumbana, and by following the course of the Luangi to find his way to the Nzaire, but the Matjambo's delegate, who accompanied the explorer to the Kaungula by order of his master, fearing he would go to Kanhiúka, intrigued in such a way with that chief and even with the carriers of the caravan, that Dr. Büchner saw himself obliged to burn part of his stock and retreat through the lands of Kapenda Kamulemba.

He encountered still difficulties for pursuing his journey

near the Kwango, being opportunely relieved with supplies he was in need of by the Portuguese merchant S. E. da Cunha, who had a trading house on the bank of that river and went on purpose to meet him with what he required. Dr. Büchner desired immediately to satisfy his indebtedness by negotiating an ivory tusk of first sort, and at his request Cunha presented him to the potentate Capenda, who had already refused to receive him a few days before.

Dr. Max Büchner came back to Loanda in 1881 where I was at the time. Desiring to meet me he found in me a sincere friend.

He once told me that to be unfortunate in everything even his Natural History collections were lost by the wreck of the steam-packet which carried them to Europe.

While the doctor was engaged in the interior of the Continent, Major V. Mechow had arrived at Malange, applying of course to the house of Custodio Machado, who received him as his guest and supplied the indispensable means for his exploration on the Kwango. A few days after his arrival at Malange, Dr. Paul Pogge again reappeared at the place in company with the accomplished young infantry officer of the German army H. Wissmann.

By this time our famous and intrepid explorer Major Serpa Pinto had reached Europe, being enthusiastically greeted everywhere for his glorious and rapid voyage across the Continent, realized with such limited resources both of men and of *materiel* that every body would be led to disbelieve of his success.

Dr. Pogge was informed of the troubles and impediments thrown in the way of Dr. Büchner, but he showed himself now more determined than ever to further his old scheme. He too coveted earnestly for his country, the glory of a voyage across Africa by the Balunda land, devoting himself with ardour to the labours of such an undertaking, notwithstanding the praises for the success of the enterprise he had in mind being reserved for his fellow-traveller.

At this time nobody thought neither at Berlin or at Brussels of Lubuku, from whence was returning the well known African pioneer Silva Porto with the fruits of his hazardous and laborious trading venture across the lands of the Matclioko, the scourge and terror of the Balunda villages and of the Atchibangala and other caravans.

Dr. P. Pogge was well aware that he and his young companion would find themselves at Custodio Machado's house as if they were in their own home; and it was likewise this merchant who organized the new expedition recommending to them Caxavalla as interpreter and Germano for their private attendance.

Machado was then perfectly well informed by his brother, by Caxavalla and others all about Lubuku and of the good understanding existing between Mukengé and the Portuguese African subjects, it being known, that Silva Porto was doing much business there. Every time Dr. Pogge offered an opportunity Machado for these reasons used to try to dissuade him of returning to Matjambo, advising him to effect the voyage by the north.

It was by this time that Antonio Lopes de Carvalho in the employ of Custodio Machado returned from the interior. He found himself in precarious circumstances because of unsuccess in his commercial exploration. Carvalho had come from the Brazil to Africa very young, but had been born in one of the provinces of Portugal, which by the bye was, I think, Beira and not Minas, a province of Brazil, as stated by mistake in Captain Bateman's book.

He had indeed been in Benguella before coming to Malange and had roamed through the interior in the service of the notorious and daring adventurer José do Telhado, who left a name in the centre of Africa. Laborious and enterprising but imbued by this man in not very rigid principles, Carvalho relates many a tale in which his life had been more than once in imminent danger.

This time he had returned to Malange shattered in health

and in debt to Machado's house, when he might have come back with means that would secure him comfort for the rest of his days.

He had set out on a trade venture at his own risk going beyond the 24° E. long. and between 10° and 11° S. lat. To the south of Samba he found ivory in abundance. On his return voyage, wishing to avoid the Matchioko, he penetrated deeply into the Balunda land and there by order of Matjambo he was deprived of the whole of his property and obliged to go to the Mussumba, which he had avoided when in the possession of goods.

Owing to S. Machado's influence and Bezerra and Vieira Carneiro's strenuous efforts, who were both then at the Mussumba, the first engaged in a trading and agricultural enterprise, they succeeded in obtaining his liberty, the Matjambo himself supplying guides and provisions to enable Carvalho to reach Kimbundo.

Carvalho had been plundered by orders of the Matjambo for having gone southwards with packs of merchandise, and for slighting his orders and driving off his people when called to his presence. He paid dearly for his imprudence in not conforming to the usages of the country through which he passed, and sure it was a hard lesson he never forgot and which placed him in a most precarious situation.

Both Carvalho and Dr. Büchner, who were also Machado's guests, did all they could to dissuade Dr. Pogge from attempting to cross by the Mussumba, and both were of opinion that while Chanama held the dignity of Matjambo nobody would succeed in effecting such passage. Carvalho declared his readiness to accompany the German explorers by following the route which he himself had taken to the Luabala; but Dr. Pogge declined to accept the offer because he perceived that Carvalho backed by the Expedition would put him in difficulties, by trying to retrieve part of the losses sustained, and besides because the principal aim of the Geographical Society was to know the amount of ivory the Mat-

jambo's people said existed at Kanhiúca, between the rivers Lulua and Lubilachi, at three day's journey to the north of the Mussumba, and considered to be the property of that prince.

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When the Expedition reached Kimbundo Saturnino Machado, with his practical good sense informed the explorers of everything which had taken place in the interior after Dr. Pogge's return.

He stated that the Matchioko and the Balunda had passed from the quarrels Dr. Büchner had first witnessed to open war, they had killed the greatest chieftain of the Balunda on the other side of the Kasai, Muansansa, lord of Kabango; that the Matjambo had for several times gone out with his armed people to make war on his great vassals between the rivers Kashidish and Lubilachi, to the east and southeast of the Mussumba; that the most enterprising Matchioko from the south were coming up by the right bank of the Kasai, and issued from their villages combined with Mukanza, chief of Mataba, to ravage the country of the Tubongo and Tubingi. Finally considering the situation of the country and the general discontent which prevailed against the Matjambo's power, it was Saturnino Machado's opinion that the most strenuous efforts of the explorers to carry on their project according to Dr. Pogge's views would be fruitless, and he therefore suggested the trial of the route by the Lubuku to the Casongo of Cameron, for in that case it would be more easy to get information on the way concerning the existence of ivory at Kanhiúca and also at Kasheshe, according to Stanley's report. He added that Silva Porto had just returned from an enterprise to obtain ivory which had been carried out in few months, and it was said with success; that their own interpreter Caxavalla was known to the Mukengé and had been on friendly terms with him, and as to the Matchioko, Saturnino was ready to call his

old customer Mona Kongolo, a chieftain much respected by that people, who for a consideration would not refuse to accompany the Expedition.

These reasonings convinced the worthy doctor to change his mind, and Mona Kongolo, with whom he had maintained previous intercourse for some months, showed himself most willing to serve as guide to the Expedition, in return for which he received value in goods to the amount nearly of 12 pounds sterling.

Accordingly they followed the route by the left bank of the Chikapa and after its meeting with the Kasai passed this river at Kikassa striking in the direction of Mukengé's residential-town.

Caxavalla presented the explorers to Mukengé, and so well did he manage things, that in a few days that prince felt himself very happy with his white friends, and, even accompanied them, what is unusual, to the Bassongo land till they reached Kassongo on the Lualaba.

Germano remained behind with a few men from Malange employed in building a house on the bank of the Lulua for a station, whither Dr. Pogge was to return in company with Mukengé after wishing good-bye on the Lualaba to Lieutenant Wissmann, who followed the route to the east coast.

At the Lualaba they met Tippoo Tib, who supplied both explorers with the goods they required. He received a check payable on the east coast, sending also guides to accompany Lieutenant Wissmann to a European station on the Tanganika.

Caxavalla went on with H. Wissmann and afterwards accompanied him to Berlin, and Dr. Pogge, on his return to the Lulua, found a good house built and plots of ground, tilled according to the method used in Ambaca, where the rice was seen thriving on dry soil, all this of Germano's doing.

Dr. Pogge stayed in this house, which he called Lulua-

burg Station, during the years 1882 and 1883, and falling seriously ill he always had Germano by his bedside.

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After the Expedition's departure from Kimbundo to Lubuku, Saturnino Machado, tired of waiting in vain for carriers from Malange to fetch the great number of india-rubber packages which he had in store, and no business doing during months, he entrusted the factory to a native clerk and left for Malange.

He had maintained an active correspondence with his brother, with the view of constituting a partnership for the ivory trade to Lubuku, and being convinced that it would be a successful enterprise, he came to Malange with the purpose of furthering the realization of his scheme.

I was at Loanda during the last months of 1881, when news arrived of the intended scheme of exploration by the brothers Machado, and I then offered myself to the Geographical Society instituted at that city, to accompany the said expedition for the purpose of making different studies on account of the same Society of which I was the Secretary. From January to March of 1882 the Geographical Society kept up correspondence with Custodio Machado on the subject, and by consulting the old newspaper of Loanda *Journal mercantil*, it will be seen to what degree the brothers Machado strained their power to carry out the project.

I am most particular respecting this fact, as well as all connected with the German explorers because Captain Latrobe Bateman in his book (p. 83), after mentioning that Lieutenant Wissmann crossed the continent considerably to the north of lake Moero states:

«...Dr. Pogge returning sick from the Baluba country to Malange *en route* for Loanda where he died. In the meantime, Sr. Saturnino, a half-brother of Sr. Custodio's, entering

into partnership with Sr. Carvalho, determined to set off in the wake of the expedition, and, by availing himself of it as a pioneer-guard, to introduce a considerable quantity of merchandise into the Baluba country, whose resources had been magnified at Malange by the Matchioko, and thus to establish a permanent trading station in the interior by seizing upon the advantage of being the first to enter the newly opened country. They accordingly departed, taking with them a large stock of goods, representing an outlay of several thousand pounds sterling.»

As A. Lopes de Carvalho was in debt to the firm Custodio Machado and without employment, these gentlemen admitted him in the partnership to accompany Saturnino Machado allowing him a third part in the profits.

The expedition began to be organised in 1882, but the idea of it dates from 1881, and it left Malange about the end of October 1883. The number of carriers was about 1:200 and still greater the number of persons attached, Ambaquistas, and Malanges, who went on their own account.

The route pursued was entirely new, unknown to Europeans; they followed the line in the N.E. direction to the Kwango, seeking a port for passage, already beyond the Atchibangala, in the land of the Haris, governed by the potentate Muetto Angimbo. Saturnino's plan on entering the Ma-shingé land was to continue in the same line, and go up the country of Nzavu, a subject of Matjambo: but the way was impracticable for carriers and he went on in a easterly direction to the Kwango, where he then turned to the N.E. to pass the Lôvua to the north of Kaungula, and thence struck directly to Kikassa on the Kasai. The partner Carvalho, as I saw by a letter of his, seems for business considerations to have parted from Saturnino's company, not on the Luangi, but on the Chikapa.

He went northwards meeting with unsuccess, it being thought for some time that he and his party were lost; but afterwards he appeared in the Baluba land to join Satur-

nino, who had established himself at Kapuku, on the banks of the Muansangoma, having visited Kabau, which he saw was a good ivory market, but not inviting as permanent residence as the Bakète people were not to be trusted as close neighbours.

Carvalho surprised his partner and the Portuguese natives of Angola, residing at Lubuku, with the news of an unknown people between the Luangi and Kasai, who had received him badly, and whom he called Tucongo, not to be confounded with the Tucongo already known on the right bank of the Kasai and subjected to Matjambo.

Machado and Carvalho's Expedition crossed the river Kwango on December 1883; Saturnino fixed himself on the bank of the Muansangoma, about the end of February 1884; the Expedition of H. Wissmann came to Malange to organize his company of carriers, in January 1884, and it was after the arrival of this explorer that poor Dr. Pogge was carried into this town in a net on his return journey from the Lulua, accompanied by the faithful Germano. He proceeded afterwards on his journey to Loanda, where he breathed his last on the eve of the day he was to embark for Europe.

Lieutenant Wissmann, on leaving Berlin with the intention of organizing his Expedition at Malange and of getting the supplies he required, undertook to be the bearer of payments for supplies on credit made by the firm Machado to Dr. Pogge's Expedition, concerning which there had been doubts and hems in different quarters. He had also authority to close all accounts of any supplies whatsoever Dr. Pogge might have been in need of during his long stay in the center of the Continent.

From 1883 to 1884 our old allies the English—most likely because they were suspicious of what was a brewing at Berlin *d'accord* with the International Association—showed disposition to put a stop by a treaty with Portugal, to their unlucky Congo question, and while the two governments

were in the way of adjusting the conditions, which were already discussed by the public press, Wissmann's Expedition was on its voyage to Loanda.

Seeing the large number of fire arms and other munitions of war with which this Expedition left Germany, the quantity of horned cattle procured at Malange, and by its destination, Lubuku, it was evident that its chief purpose was not scientific but otherwise; what nobody however could expect was the Conference of Berlin and its *denouement*. I had opportunely advised the Portuguese Government of the large resources of this Expedition and what such preparations suggested, but I could never imagine that the German explorers misusing the hospitality and protection afforded to them by the Portuguese, and taking advantage of the ignorance of Europe, should present themselves as the explorers of a region already explored by our traders, and that they would incorporate it into the great and partly fictitious Free State of the Congo.

But the deed is done, and it is not my purpose to occupy myself of it presently.

It is evident by what has been previously stated that Mr. Bateman in the narrative of his first ascent of the Kasaï, either because he was unsatisfactorily informed, or simply for the sake of brevity, omitted much concerning the organization of Lubuku, the amelioration in the condition of its inhabitants due to Portuguese influence, and the important services rendered constantly by Srs. Machados and other Portuguese to the German explorers; also that the Expedition Machado & Carvalho had been organized and had departed from Malange without that firm or any body else at Angola knowing:

1° That the daring explorer H. Wissmann would return from his memorable voyage across the Continent, to fit out a new expedition to the Lubuku.

2° That the end of this Expedition in combination with H. Stanley would be to trace the limits, in Central Africa by

the southern side, of a State, nobody dreamt of except its promoters, that would absorb as many tribes as possibly could be, without contestation on the part of Europe, taken unawares, and in which the Nzaire with the best part of its branches would be included.

3^o That England, who was actually negotiating with Portugal to recognize the rights of this power to the Congo, imposing conditions whose rigour we were trying to mitigate, should relinquish certain advantages and submit to God knows what German influences at the Conference of Berlin; and that the imaginary State would become a hard reality, swallowing up territories that should by many reasons be considered Portuguese as the Baluba lands of Mukengé or of Kashia Calemba, a denomination by the bye new, which Captain Bateman surprised me with, which we never heard of from the deceased Dr. Pogge, neither from our friend H. Wissmann, nor from the Portuguese natives of Angola and many other Africans, who supplied me with informations about Lubuku and the work accomplished among the Baluba and their neighbours by Wissmann's Expedition and the Free State authorities, who succeeded him; informations I avail myself of to complete this paper.

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Lieutenant Wissmann encountered great difficulties in contracting carriers for his Expedition, in consequence of the scarcity of men in the vicinity of Malange due to the many engagements in Machado's service.

He only got the number of men required about the middle of July 1884, arriving at Luluaburg station on November of the same year.

As soon as Saturnino Machado had news of the Expedition's arrival he immediately left his house, performing a three day's journey to tender his services to his old friend

and guest, and to congratulate him not only for the brilliant success of his voyage across Africa but for having arrived to Lubuku safely without encountering any obstacles on the way.

He had occasion of being useful to him and to his companions on several occasions.

Wissmann was well acquainted with Saturnino Machado's worth and many a time he spoke to me about him in the highest terms, as of a person whose character claimed respect and esteem; he praised him much for his untiring activity and for his way of treating the natives.

Saturnino Machado did not calculate delaying long on his trading exploration, and expected to be able to visit all the ivory markets among the Baluba in six months, and realize the whole of his business as Silva Porto had done, although he had to work constantly, because many of the Bakuba that brought him ivory at night did not choose to stop till the following day, and had to be attended immediately on their arrival.

He knew very well that the people of Malange could not be counted upon longer than the time to perform the journey, six months, the most. They wished to reach their homes before the rainy season, to be able to till the lands for their crops. He therefore had engaged Zingas (Jingas).

The contracts were drawn before the administrative authority of the Malange district, the chiefs or headmen (*Sobas*) of the parties contracted being present, who guaranteed their performance in behalf of their people. The Zingas received an advancement on account of their stipulated wages, equal to the price agreed for the journey with the Malanges, and during the whole time of service received rations as the first, that is, a certain portion of cotton stuff, beads, etc., to barter for provisions.

They bound themselves to accompany the partners during the time the exploration lasted, having to present themselves with one of the said partners at Custodio Ma-

chado's counting house to receive the remainder of their pay, or if otherwise with the proofs that both partners were dead. Custodio Machado was to stand as representative of the partnership at Malange, being answerable to the Sobas for these payments in agreement with the conditions stipulated.

The Sobas, on their side, constituted themselves responsible for the fulfilment of the contracts, and to provide reimbursement to the partnership for thefts or other losses caused by the parties presented by them.

Both the native usages and the Portuguese laws were duly attended to in respect to contracts with free men. There are tribes as the Matchioko and the Bihenos, among whom something more is required; the lives of the persons contracted have a stipulated value for the tribe, so that in the event of death of one of these parties in the service of the contractor, he knows he must pay to the head of the tribe the value of that life, and Silva Porto unhappily by his own experience, knows too well what this usage of his neighbours has cost him.

The period of service was well defined, that is, from the date of departure from Malange to that of return with one or both partners, or before if both were deceased, and this was guaranteed by the Soba according to the custom of the tribe.

The contracts made by the German explorers were always made in the same way, and nobody can say that they are not legal and binding among free people.

The interest of the Society, nobody can doubt it, would be to realize their transactions in the least time possible, and the longer the delay the more would be the expense in the maintenance of people contracted on such terms.

The partners who, before the arrival of Wissmann's expedition to Lubuku, has succeeded indisposing of a large portion of their merchandise, saw themselves in great straits to negotiate the remainder, for reasons which will be given in the sequel.

Months passed before they could make the most trifling transaction, and it became requisite to go out on excursions to places where the influence of the merchandise spread by the German expedition had not yet reached, to be able to do something.

Captain Latrobe Bateman arrived on the 7th November 1885 to the confluence of the Luebo and Lulua, where he built Luebo station, which remained at his charge.

A. Lopes de Carvalho exchanged some business correspondence with the said officier, concerning the transmission of a portion of ivory belonging to the partnership to the coast by water-carriage, *via* Leopoldville; and it was in consequence of this affair that Saturnino came to Luebo from his trading station at Kapuku to speak with Captain Bateman, and according to what the last says Saturnino came on a bad occasion, for he was suffering from the results of an attack of fever and ague. By my calculations deducted from Mr. Bateman's narrative, this must have taken place about the end of March 1886.

Sr. Saturnino availed himself of the opportunity to make a complaint against the Bakète people, in the neighbourhood of the station, who had attempted to plunder him, and he demanded that they should be duly punished. Mr. Bateman, in place of attending to the request, disregarded Saturnino's statement, and shows himself much satisfied for not having injured the interests of the Free State. I cannot enter myself into the details of this transaction, but I am sure some day or other Saturnino Machado will do it on his return to Angola.

On this same occasion Mr. Bateman as chief of the Luebo station, being in want of cloth and cowries for pay and to buy rations for his people, requested Saturnino Machado, to furnish him with a certain quantity of these articles. Sr. Saturnino showed himself ready to supply the goods, but observed he could not answer for their safe conveyance to the Luebo station on account of the Bakète; he was therefore,

accompanied by six Zanzibaris and a corporal to escort the merchandise he had agreed to send.

To this point I wish more particularly to call the attention of readers, because of its connection with the contracts I mention above, and also as it puts in evidence the proceedings of the Commandant of the Free State station and shows how he returned to Sr. Saturnino Machado the service he rendered of supplying him with what he stood in need of, defalcating his stock for business, and not at exorbitant prices as Mr. Bateman grudgingly will have it, because such goods having been bought at Malange came charged with duties, land-freights, etc., being of course dearer than those procurable in the Free State.

In his book Captain Bateman says, pages 89-90:

«On their return journey they convoyed a number of Sr. Saturnino's Zingas bearing the goods I had purchased from him. These poor fellows, seeing the happier life our people led, absolutely refused to return to their master, and insisted on volunteering for service under the State. On hearing of this, their compatriots still in Sr. Saturnino's service, forthwith, for the most part, forsook him, and came to me, so that, as I enlisted them readily enough, my force was raised to about one hundred men. These proceedings, which I at once notified to Sr. Saturnino, brought us into renewed communication, and eventually his partner, Sr. Carvalho, came to Luebo in no very amiable frame of mind.

«He represented that not only were the enlisted Zingas indebted to him for thefts of his goods committed at various times, but that they were bound by a contract, concluded at Malange in due form before the Commandant of that place, in virtue of which they must remain in his service for an indefinite period at a stipulated remuneration; not to be paid until their return to Angola, and for rations which were to be supplied to them from time to time, and he produced papers in support of his contention.

«What he did *not* state was that the head chief of these

men had practically sold them to Sr. Saturnino, for he had agreed that none of his people taking service under the partners should return to their homes unless accompanied by one or other of their masters, or unless bringing proof of their decease, and that should any of the Zingas return otherwise, they were to be most severely punished practically put to death (!!!). On the other hand I explained to Sr. Carvalho, and demonstrated by documentary evidence, that the laws of the Congo State did not recognize as binding contracts made by «third parties», because people, to be personally and individually bound by a contract, must personally and individually consent to the same, and to that end must understand and be in every way cognisant of the whole conditions of the contract. I then caused the men to be interrogated upon the subject, and found that they had most certainly not committed themselves to the contract, and that being all free men, and not slaves (some of them were petty chiefs), their head chief had acted *ultra vires* in contracting for them. At the same time I examined into the alleged thefts, some of which the Zingas acknowledged. Accordingly I informed Sr. Saturnino that, excepting a few individuals whom he had expressly asked me not to engage, and whom I referred back to him, I was prepared to retain the enlisted Zingas, and to keep back from their pay the amount of their debts to him, for which I gave him a cheque.»

Let us see how Captain Bateman closes his considerations about this most irregular transaction.

«I have every reason to believe that the merchant was as ill pleased with the settlement as I was satisfied, for the Zingas, almost without exception, turned out excellent and trustworthy workmen.»

In common parlance this is simply, cool!

In truth, one can scarcely believe in the forbearance of Sr. Machado; he must have found himself much worn out by fatigue, age and anxiety on account of the bad results

which he foresaw to his entreprize, not to revolt and be grossly shocked at such conduct.

We ask all the distinguished explorers, all travellers who have voyaged in Africa, all landed proprietors in any colony even on the Africa sea-bord, what would they think if any body came to tamper with their contracted carriers or workmen, offering them more comforts or any little increase in the wages they received as stipulated in their contracts?

How can a contract made with free people, before the recognized authorities of the State and of the social body to which they belong, and of their own free will, be rendered void by the authority of an alien, who professes to act in behalf of a friendly State, only because the period of duration of the said contract is dependent of circumstances unforeseeable?

In the first place, when the authorities of the Free State took possession of Lubuku, they had, either to guarantee the security of lives, properties and contracts of the Portuguese who were there established, as subjects of a friendly State, or else advise them to leave the place immediately if they did not choose to subject themselves to certain impositions.

Secondly; the contracts we treat of were made with free men, not only foreigners to the country, but subjects to Portugal, and such contracts were legalized by the authorities of their government at Angola and their tribal authorities which they fully recognize.

Thirdly; if a case unforeseen in the civilized codes of laws, obliged Captain Bateman to adopt the course he did for humanity sake, such course could be justifiable, if he took measures to have his *protégés* conducted to their native country and presented to their own authorities, but never by enlisting them in the service of the State he served, and congratulate himself and rub his hands for having raised his meagre force (which by the bye, notwithstanding the happier life led at Luebo did not tempt the neighbouring

tribe men to volunteer) to about one hundred men who turned out excellent and trustworthy workmen!

And will any body tell us when the new contracts made with the Zingas by Captain Bateman come to a close?

And does Captain Bateman know why Sr. Saturnino expressly requested him not to engage a few individuals whom he referred back to him?

With these men the partners intend to justify themselves before the authorities at home for the non performance of the contracts respecting the parties enlisted in the service of the Free State, and make good their rights for damages and losses due to the recision imposed by the Commandant of the Luebo station.

Unfortunately the whole of Saturnino Machado's correspondence respecting 1886, in which he related the transaction and business affairs of the partnership never reached their destination; of this he complained in his letters written in 1887 which I have in my possession.

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* *

I must now enter upon a subject treated with some detail in my letter addressed on the 1st of August to His Majesty the King of Belgium and from which I transcribe the following paragraphs:

«Parmi les Tchilangues on vend aussi des êtres humains pour du sel, et les caravanes qui vont au Loubouko, entre le Cassaï et le Louloua pour le commerce licite de l'ivoire et du caoutchouc, doivent d'abord se munir de nègres, car sans eux elles n'y feraient aucune transaction.»

.....
 «Les *Bana riamba* ou *Bana moïo*.....
 achètent, en dehors de la tribu, des femmes pour faire ces services et des garçons pour les travaux du labourage, de

transports et autres. Outre les gens qu'ils se procurent à cet effet, ils en ont aussi besoin pour l'achat de l'ivoire qu'ils se procurent dans le nord.»

«Ils acceptent en échange de l'ivoire seulement des fusils, de la poudre, des verroteries, des coquillages, et au moins un jeune homme ou une jeune fille.»

«Les noirs qu'on obtient dans toute cette contrée, sous la qualification d'*esclaves*, sont vendus dans les territoires de l'État Indépendant du Congo, au trafiquant Tippu Tib et à ses compagnons, qui sont sous la protection du dit État, comme de bons et généreux alliés; les noirs achetés, les mains liées et la chaîne au cou, sont conduits, par des chemins que les trafiquants connaissent et qui ont déjà pris leurs noms, à la côte orientale, et de là ils suivent la destination qu'on veut bien leur donner.»

«Les expéditions allemandes qui en 1875, 1877 et 1880 se trouvaient à Lounda, la première et la dernière dans la Moussoumba du Mouatianvoua, pour pouvoir franchir cette contrée, durent respecter les usages et les habitudes des peuples, accepter les cadeaux, qu'on leur faisait de nègres et de les adjoindre dans les caravanes à leur service.»

«Ces cadeaux leur étaient faits pour qu'ils pussent obtenir des compensations de la part d'autres peuples en articles de commerce, ce moyen étant le seul par lequel ils pouvaient se les procurer.»

«Je veux dire par là, que ces expéditions durent profiter d'un usage établi pour pouvoir avancer dans ce pays, sans quoi elles auraient dû rebrousser chemin, ne pouvant même pas trouver des aliments, puisqu'on ne leur en vendrait qu'à ce prix.»

«L'État Indépendant du Congo, pour pouvoir se main-

tenir, ainsi que les expéditions scientifiques et commerciales pour atteindre leur but à travers la contrée centrale du continent, et les différentes stations civilisatrices européennes à l'occident, pour pouvoir suivre leur marche, ont dû accepter la vente des noirs comme une institution sociale des habitants de ces contrées, et les nouvelles associations humanitaires ainsi que tous ceux qui prétendent coopérer à l'organisation et à la régénération des indigènes ne peuvent le faire qu'en se servant de ce moyen.»

«Peut-on éviter que le commerce pénètre au centre du continent? Non. Eh bien, quelque insignifiant que soit ce commerce, il y donnera de nouvelles forces à cette institution.»

These practices were not introduced at Lubuku or elsewhere by the Portuguese merchants Machado and Carvalho, as anybody might be led to believe on reading Captain Bateman statement, pag. 84-85:

«They proceeded to establish themselves on the Muan-sangoma, where they built a store and dwelling-house combined, and continued to transact business with the natives with varying success. Their trade, unostentatious species of slave-dealing, I will explain. Their *modus operandi* was as follows: Finding it impossible to obtain ivory from the Bakuba or Bakété without exchanging slaves, they purchased from the Baluba slaves of that or kindred races in exchange for cloth, which was valueless to the Bakuba, whose requirements their own native manufacture more than sufficed.

.....

«The slaves so obtained were passed on to the Bakuba or Bakété, together with other goods, in exchange for ivory. As a sample of the value given and received I submit the following statement from original and authentic memoranda in my possession. In return for one slightly damaged «point of ivory» (*apunta avariada custou o' seguinte*) sr. Carvalho gave:

Two young girls.
 Five crosses of copper.
 5:000 cowries.
 200 twisted Venitian beads.

That such practice was not of Saturnino Machado's liking I can prove by some passages of a most interesting letter in my possession dated from Lubuku, December 1887, which I think worth while transcribing as it also shows the reasons why the writer has been so long delayed in transacting his business.

«After the arrival of Wissmann's Expedition to Lubuku

 The country has passed by a complete change, the value of everything, either articles of trade or victuals has increased, cotton stuffs have been spread everywhere with profusion; india-rubber, which was sold at exceedingly low prices, costs now thrice as much, there being very little to be had, ivory has become a rarity, and that which appears is sold at very high prices and will not suit at any market of our Province.

«The caravans of the Matchioko, Bangala and Malange come in we may say daily. At present there are in this country more than two thousand of these people, who swarm all over the territory of Lubuku, leaving not one single ball of india-rubber, or a single *slave*. We must however agree that it is not this kind of people who make more harm to lawful trade, they make bad bargains, trading without count or measure, carrying the india-rubber to the markets of our province and keeping the slaves as helps for their labours.

«What is however in the highest degree injurious we may say baneful, are the caravans of Bihénos, who land at Kabau on their way from the east. These are a regular plague, a real calamity; it is owing to them that we are making acquaintance with distress and experiencing the most severe losses.

«We have made several journeys to Kabau, the last one

in May, and we have had always the misfortune to meet with this plague, being obliged to turn back with our merchandise, as it is impossible to do business in competition with those traffickers in human flesh.

«These banditti do not carry to Kabau one single cowrie, one single bead, their sole commodity to barter for ivory being *numerous gangs of slaves*, whom they sale to the Bakuba at exceedingly low prices.

«To form an idea of this disgraceful trade suffice is to say that they give a slave for a small tusk of ivory weighing 4 pounds; two slaves for one of 10, six for one of 20, ten for one of 30; for a tusk weighing from 50 to 60 pounds they will give twenty slaves, in fine they gave *fifty four slaves* for a piece weighing 92 pounds!

«At first it seems incredible that this can be done, but alas it is a melancoly truth!

«The Bakuba, while they can make business in this kind of way, will not give their ivory for articles of lawful trade, or, if they do it, demand the equivalent to the value of slaves in cowries. Now the price of a slave at Kabau is five thousand cowries, a fixed price all over the country, so that whoever wishes to buy a tusk similar to the one sold for forty five slaves, must give two hundred and twenty five thousand cowries, the equivalent of 225 kilograms weight. The price of this article coming from Malange will be at Kabau 700 réis the kilogram, and the buying of such a tusk would amount to 157\$500 réis, about 35 pounds sterling.

«This shows how the ivory trade stands, owing to the nefarious slave dealing. But people may say, how is it possible that the Bihénos can afford to give such a large number of slaves for one single tusk of ivory?

«The reason is most simple, and I will explain it because I had an opportunity of witnessing one of these transactions on the journey I performed to the basins of the rivers Sankoro and Lumami, where I met a caravane of Tungombe. These people having left Bihé repaired to Katema on the

river Dilolo; from thence they crossed the tract of country between Samba and Matjambo to Kanhiuca. Afterwards they passed to the right bank of the Lubilachi, in the Balungo country, where they began to purchase slaves. Going over the extensive country of cannibals, between the Lubilachi and the Lumami, they went on buying slaves from Lupungo, Sappoo-Sab and other potentates, giving a kilogram barrel of powder or a gun for five slaves, four yards of calico for one, etc. They descended then with the course of the Sankoro to the country of the Basongo, crossing the river to the left side and entering Kabau where they supplant the lawful trade with their own of slaves, which they obtained at the lowest prices.

«It was in November 1886 that I met at Sappoo-Sab's three of these caravans going to Kabau, conducting upwards of eight hundred slaves!

«These, exchanged for ivory at the rate they paid them, leaves an astonishing profit.

«I submitted the fact to Baron de Macar, political chief of the District, and told him that it was impossible we should be sustaining loss in our business interests in this way, not being able to do any lawful transaction beside such competitors, and if he was unable to remedy this state of things, by repressing energetically the slave dealers, that I would myself be under the necessity of collecting a sufficient force to expel them.

«He showed himself very much concerned, but could do nothing in our behalf, because the Luluaburg station has not got one single man capable of handling a gun, and the Luebo station about 12 miles distant has only six Zanzibaris, who are unable to cope with a caravan of Bihénos, armed to the teeth and with plenty of ammunitions.

«At four hours distance from the Luebo station slave trade is carried on, and the *personnel* of the Free State who took possession of the country cannot put a stop to it.»

The necessity of submitting to the conditions of trade in the country compelled A. Lopes de Carvalho to exchange slaves, the circulating medium there, for ivory; against this hard necessity Sr. Saturnino protested as shown by the complaint preferred against the traffic to the chief of the Lulua-burg district, and the memorandum which Captain Bateman says he has in his possession confided to him by A. Lopes de Carvalho, of whom he professes to be a friend, has as much weight as what the explorer Wissmann told me in July 1884, that in his first journey to Lubuku, before Saturnino Machado came into the country, there were handsome girls to be sold for a gun (3 shillings worth).

The great drawback to honest trade consists in what the French and Dutch consuls have complained of to their governments, *i. e.* that the Congo Free State does business in a large scale in conditions highly disadvantageous to the interest of private merchants who have factories, and to all other people who explore the trade in that region; and what is worse, the said government is accused also by the same parties, and this is confirmed by the native traders of our province on their return from Lubuku, that, on the most paltry pretexts, the authorities of the State make war upon different tribes, surprise the native villages carrying away prisoners, whom they either deliver or sale in exchange for ivory!

From another of Saturnino's letters, dated 1887, we extract the following paragraphs, in confirmation of some of the facts stated:

«The articles of trade obtained at Malange at the rate of 2\$000 réis sale at Luebo for 225 réis.»

«Cowries, the principal commodity for the ivory trade with the Bakuba (when there are no slaves to offer) cost at Malange 6\$500 réis the *arroba* (15 kilograms) and reach the Luebo so burdened with charges, that nobody can sell them for less than 10\$000 réis.

«Well, in the Free State every ten thousand cowries, which is more than an *arroba*, sells for 4\$500 réis.

«This is owing not alone to the facilities of carriage, but to the difference in sea freights and import duties.

«What advantage can now find by lawful trade the caravans which in the last fifteen years used to repair to Lubuku markets from Malange and its neighbourhood, if they now meet there better merchandise than they can carry, or as good as theirs for 50 per cent, or even less, than the price paid at Malange?

«The firm Sanford connected with the American Company who intends building the railway from Vivi to Leopoldville, with the purpose of certifying if there will be trade enough to feed that railway, has established in the government stations, under certain conditions, stores of merchandise to barter for ivory and india-rubber, and M. Legat at Luebo, in the months of June, July and August purchased upwards of 1:000 kilograms of ivory and 4:000 kilograms of india-rubber, this last being sold by natives of Angola, who go about the country doing their business. The prices of articles offered in exchange for the two staple commodities do not exceed the cost, freight, etc; the price of india-rubber is 3 d. a pound, and of ivory, whatever the sort 2 s. do.

«As the end of this Company is only to recognize the trading capabilities and resources of the region, it is no wonder they do business in this away. But how can the regular merchant carry on competition on such terms.

«The distance from thence to Leopoldville is 600 miles, and the profits are 1 d. for every kilogram of ivory. For what price will they sell their ivory at the European markets?

«A new Company has now been started under the name of *Compagnie du Congo pour le commerce et l'Industrie*, intending to navigate on all the Congo affluents for trade.

«They do not establish factories; business is made on board special steamers appropriated to the purpose.

«At the sight of such projects, what can be the future prospects of the trade to the east of Loanda?

«It is calculated that the mouth of the Kasai is situated at $3^{\circ} 14' 4''$ S. lat., and above it is said there is an affluent, proceeding from our province, which is navigable to a certain height. The Kuango is navigable nearly up to the gates of Malange, and the Kuflo and the Luangué will allow some say, of navigation by steam launches. The river Kasai is navigable from its mouth to the Peinde. If all these water roads are put to good use by the Free State, most certainly the results will be in great degree injurious to the northern portion of our province of Angola?

«The language spoken at the Congo stations is Portuguese, any other would be with difficulty understood, as the Portuguese were the first, twenty years back, to open the country, and they are met about everywhere in this region.

«It was owing to this fortunate circumstance that the explorer Wissmann and his party could take possession of Lubuku without the least opposition.

«To show the importance of the Portuguese element it is enough to say that the caravans of petty merchants arrive here from Angola nearly every week. All the india-rubber exported from Loanda is carried thence by the Matchioko, Bangala and people from Malange and Pungo-Andongo, and the Tungombés carry it to Benguella. This may be said for the last ten years, because from the Balunda territory little or no india-rubber whatever has appeared during the said period.

«The fact however is that in Lubuku things are taking the same turn as at the Balunda region; its forests are nearly destroyed. The caravans lately arrived are selling their goods for less than half the prices established here, and even so they do not succeed in disposing of their stock in consequence of the stations.

«Before the arrival of Wissmann's Expedition a gun or a kilogram barrel of powder was equivalent to a thousand

india-rubber balls, at present a gun will only fetch four hundred and the barrel three hundred; an ox or cow, which was valued at twelve thousand balls, will not sell for more than four thousand. Not long ago a thousand balls weighed more or less 40 kilograms, now the same quantity will not reach 30 kilograms.

The caravans I met on my way when returning from Lubuku, used to say that the *inguereses* (English), for them the Germans and other Europeans under the service of the Free State are all English, supplied guns to the men they had brought from Malange and afterwards to the Baluba, and fired on the Bashilangé, who refused to pay tribute to Mukenge; that they carried away people tied with ropes, to whom they only allowed their liberty in exchange for ivory, or else were delivered to Mukenge, who sent them to the Bakuba, from whom he received ivory which he passed to the *inguereses*.

The people of many of these caravans appeared before me completely naked and starved with hunger, complaining because on their journey back from Lubuku with their india-rubber loads they had been robbed by the Bashilangué of the banks of the Kasai, to indemnify themselves for the damages and robberies made by the Malange and Baluba armed with the guns of Mukenge's friends.

Other caravans, bringing slaves, said they had bought them from the carriers and soldiers of the *inguereses* who required salt and cloth, and that the *inguereses* paid only with slaves. Some I met also were carrying horned cattle and goods for Mukenge to give to his friends (*inguereses*), which he paid in slaves they stood then in need of.

Captain Bateman most certainly did not expect that any body in Portugal would be so well informed concerning the Baluba territory of Mukenge to be able to answer before the civilized world to his rather one sided and heedless charge against the Portuguese, whom he found already established in the country.

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Saturnino Machado after being so cavalierly thanked by Captain Bateman for the prompt supply to enable him to pay his people, this officier remaining with Saturnino's carriers who took him the goods and with their compatriots to all of whom he paid rations with that merchant's supplies; notwithstanding all this, this victim of his own magnanimity, or of his philosophy, as his friends at Malange used to call it, when a few days afterwards he heard of H. Wissmann's arrival to Lubuku, he readily complied with this indefatigable explorer's request by sending new supplies to the Luebo and Luluaburg stations. And he did so, notwithstanding the struggle he was engaged in against the ruinous competition of goods introduced at the time by the Free State into Lubuku with a value 50 per cent less than his own, some of them being moreover of superior quality.

It was only in 1887 that Machado sent in the check of Wissmann's expedition, and as there were doubts raised at the Congo for its payment, at his request I wrote in 1888 to the explorer Wissmann at Berlin to be good enough to tell me when and where it could be paid; but as this officier had by this time left Berlin with a military commission from his Government, I received as reply from one of the Administrators that it was indispensable Sr. Machado should send an invoice of the goods supplied to be duly paid. This answer I sent to Sr. Machado in the beginning of the current year.

Respecting the first exploring voyage of H. Wissmann, it was requisite to wait till he had completed his celebrated journey across the Continent and that he should come a second time to Malange, in order that the credits in debt might be paid. Presently we are led to believe, by the delay, that he is expected to come back a third time to Malange to settle this business.

And I must say that if these facts will be now publicly known, it is not in consequence of any reclamation whatsoever on the part of these kind and hospitable Portuguese, but to make evident the contrast between their conduct and that of the Free State delegates who, taking advantage of their serviceableness, present them notwithstanding to the public as Mr. Bateman did in his cap. vi in such unfavourable light.

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And it is now the occasion to remind that Antonio Lopes de Carvalho, for whom Captain Bateman shows however a partiality, even undertook during his absence to supply his place in the management of the Luebo station where he had established temporary residence to superintend the building of some large canoes for the business of the partnership. Mr. Bateman does not conceal his obligations to him for this and other important services, such as exposing his life to accompany him on dangerous excursions, and shows he duly appreciated the advice Carvalho could often give concerning the mode of proceeding towards the natives, and his intercourse with him during the last eight months he stayed at Luebo.

Did not Antonio Lopes de Carvalho, formerly in the employ of the brothers Machado and now their partner, the Angolese Caxavalla, the loyal head interpreter of Lieutenant Wissmann's Expedition, the gentleman whom Mr. Bateman so justly praises, or the German explorers themselves with whom he met during his service under the Lone Star, did they not enlighten the Commandant of the Luebo station concerning the mode of dealing among the Baluba, the Bakète, the Bakuba and the Basongo, who in exchange for their ivory must receive slaves, which the two last sell to the Arabs who come among them for that purpose, these in their turn carrying them to the eastern markets?

The Bihénos who came during his time to the vicinity of Luebo, to barter their living merchandise for ivory, show that this kind of business was not a novelty, it being most common. Baron de Macar at Luluaburg and Mr. Legat, who took his place at Luebo, are unsuspected witnesses for Mr. Bateman, and the produce of the razzias the Matchioko made among the Balunda people during the years 1886-1888 was sold to the Bakuba without the Portuguese from Europe and natives from our province of Angola who were established at Lubuku having anything to say with such transactions.

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Captain Bateman before handing over the command of the Luebo station to his successor M. Legat states that he was obliged to punish with two year's hard labour on board the hulks, for slave dealing and breach of trust, the native of Angola João Domingos, who knew how to speak and write the Portuguese language and to whom he had entrusted the guard of the flock of goats belonging to the station.

This mode of procedure seems to me arbitrary.

The inhabitants of Lubuku or the people who went to settle in this country did not recognise as lawful save their usages and customs and the power of their acknowledged authorities. In this case what I think would have been more regular would be to expel the offender, or better still to hand him to the Portuguese authority on the Congo with whom the highest functionary of the Free State maintains constant intercourse.

I can not guess what will be the end of João Domingos, but I know of the case of a Portuguese subject native of Angola of the name Santos, contracted at Malange by the explorer Wissmann for the service of his Expedition, and by

him recommended to remain in one of the station where he met an awful death!

Santos was trying to separate two natives in a scuffle, and gave a push to one of them who was the most obstinate, and as he turned upon him, Santos struck him a blow on the face; this was enough for the other natives who were by to fall upon him, and handcuff, beat and wound him.

Santos had acted as an employé of the station with the desire of maintaining good order among the servants under his vigilance; but M. de Macar, head of the District, thought right to detain him three days in a prison, and as the clamour of the natives demanding the offender was great, Santos was delivered to them and **burned alive!**

I am sure that Mr. de Macar must have seen himself in great straits to surrender the prisoner and never supposed he would be put to such a horrible death, but the fact is that this officer of the Free State, has constantly shown, up to the last news I have from Lubuku, and implacable enmity towards the Portuguese, and if he could he would expel all the caravans that passed on their way from Angola to the Baluba country.

Dr. Summers of Bishop Taylor's mission at Malange, who had naturalized himself a Portuguese subject organized, with means supplied to him by the well known native merchant Narciso Antonio Pascoal, a caravan to go on missionary labours to Lubuku, which was his most ardent desire.

He entered Lubuku, with the Portuguese flag hoisted at the head of the caravan, following the route of my Expedition to the Kuengo; our flag and the interpreters who accompanied him, who were known as subjects to the King of Portugal procuring to the zealous Missionary every facility in his way. Well, M. de Macar rated him vehemently for having hoisted that flag and denied his consent for the prosecution of his labours. Among many flattering compliments addressed by that honourable gentleman to Dr. Summers,—whom I regret not being among the living for he could testify to what I

might then relate,— I shall only mention that M. de Macar did not like to see him carrying the Portuguese flag because the Portuguese were all a set of beasts and thieves.

Now the last appellation fits well to those who have deluded the good and estimable King Leopold II, depriving him of the best of his fortune; guaranteeing profits to him on ivory obtained in exchange for human beings forcibly carried away from their homes on pretence of tribute to a prince, Mukenge, a sort of unconscious *prête-nom*, whom they pretend to impose on the people; it fits well to those who squander that monarch's treasures purchasing merchandise in the markets of Europe to scatter it, we may say, gratuitously among the tribes of the Free State, with the sole purpose of underselling and driving away private trade, that they may continue to despoil the unconscious native, and everything remain in secret among the agents, till one or another disgusted or dissatisfied, as it has been already the case, comes out and divulges all the trickery, disorder, unlawful warfare and slaughter carried on among the tribes, who will not submit readily to the will of the spoilers.

But perhaps sooner than it is expected these tribes will find help and deliverance in other tribes, against whom it will be hard for the State to struggle, if it is not that their agents will have to relinquish the prizes on which they already count.

If Captain Bateman supposes it is an isolated case the one which occurred in July 1886 with Biombé Chiplumba, showing that the Matchioko pretended to intrigue this chief and his people with the authorities of the Congo State, and that the measures adopted to induce Biombe's repentance and contain the neighbouring people in order are sufficient, he is mistaken.

The Matchioko, whom Captain Bateman says were intriguing the authorities with the Biombé, even insisting that they must decide between friendship with the State or with them, are the same Matchioko who in February 1886 passed

close to my encampment; it was the whole force of the prince Mukanjanga, Kilunga, the first Matchioko huntsman who came to the Baluba territory and gained the friendship of Kichimbo Kassongo, in fine the introducer of the lhiamba, one may say the creator of Lubuku, the State or Brotherwood of Friends.

This chief, along with many other Matchioko friends and kinsfolk who joined him with their people, intended to establish their villages on the confluence of the Luachimo with the Chiumbue, already in Bashilangé territory. They forsook their former sites, as no trade passed by and because they deemed themselves entitled to share the profits the Mukenge, now Kashia Kalemba, derived from the caravans coming into the country.

The Matchioko, knowing that the whites coming by the north wished to take possession of Mukenge's territories, they began to stir the attention of the neighbouring chieftains and their old acquaintances, in order that they should tender their submission to them and not to the strangers, for these were coming to spoil the business, preventing them from trading in slaves that they might have it all to themselves.

The rumours were afloat, and on our return journey in August and September 1887, from Mataba to the Kaungula on the Lovua, the Matchioko of Kissenge and of Muchiko, and those of Mataba intended to march and join the Matchioko of Mukanjanga to make war on the Baluba of Mukenge and lend a hand to the Bashilangé-Baluba not subjected yet to this prince.

The latest news received of the wars waged by the authorities of the Free State against a certain number of tribes, are confirmed by intelligence from the Nzaire of September and known already to the Portuguese Press, and as Captain Bateman mentions several cases of chastisement inflicted on various tribes by force of arms, we are led to believe such news: the results of these wars being, the

considerable numbers of prisoners collected and delivered to the Mukenge, that he may in exchange receive ivory from the Baluba, ivory which afterwards will find its way into the hands of the Administrators of the Free State on the Congo to be forwarded to Europe as the proceeds of lawful business.







