

The Coffee Industry of Angola
The Coffee Industry of Angola

in the Nineteenth Century

by

Yonah Ngalaba Selati

A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in
partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of
Master of Arts in History.

University of Zambia

Lusaka

1982

The Coffee Industry of Angola
in the Nineteenth Century

I hereby declare that this dissertation
represents my own work and that it has
not previously been ^{by} submitted for any
degree at this or any other University.

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Signatures of Examiners Dates

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..... 19/10/82

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..... 19/10/82

3. Balam Ayeko
..... 19th October 1982

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Approved as Fulfilling Part of the Requirements
for the Award of the Degree of Master of Arts
in History of the University of Zambia

In Memory of a Faithful Father

Taken Away by Immortalities

Whilst the Son was Farther

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1. *J. M. Kamb*
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Your Seed will Continue Budding.

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ABSTRACT

The relations between the Mbundu of Northern Angola and the Portuguese, which for centuries had been dominated by the slave trade, were transformed in the nineteenth century. The emergence of the coffee industry in Kwanza North affords an opportunity to study the transition from the Portuguese control of the slave trade to the control of commodity production. When the development of capitalism in Europe undermined the slave trade, some enlightened Portuguese authorities in Angola saw that the future of the colony lay in the land. Through their efforts the coffee industry emerged as a local reaction to the economic crisis. Coffee grew wild in

In Memory of a Faithful Father missionaries as stated by David Livingstone. Initially the Mbundu and maradores dominated the industry as they foraged the forests for coffee berries.

Whilst the Son was Farther

The abolition of the slave trade in all Portuguese colonies in **Away Separated by Mortalities** the growth of the coffee industry, and an increasing number of Portuguese turned to its exploitation. In

Your Seed will Continue Budding. the control of trade to the control of production. It was official policy to encourage European settlement in Angola but for most of the period they did not have settlement plans. The Portuguese authorities desired to develop their African colonies without the required resources. In this way they maintained oppressive labour policies which exploited the Mbundu.

In order to promote European settlement the Government of Angola capitulated to settlers' demands for more labour allowing the perpetuation of slavery and forced labour.

ABSTRACT

The lack of capital continued to hamper the development of the industry until in 1864 when the Banco Nacional Ultramarino Portuguese, which for centuries had been dominated by the slave trade, were transformed in the nineteenth century. The emergence of the coffee industry in Kwanza North affords an opportunity to study the transition from the Portuguese control of the slave trade to the control of commodity production. When the development of capitalism in Europe undermined the slave trade, some enlightened Portuguese authorities in Angola saw that the future of the colony lay in the land. Through their efforts the coffee industry emerged as a local reaction to the economic crisis. Coffee grew wild in transport from Donda to Luanda.

Angola and was not introduced by missionaries as stated by David Livingstone. Initially the Mbundu and moradores dominated the economy through land and labour spoliation. As the forces of the industry as they foraged the forests for coffee berries.

The abolition of the slave trade in all Portuguese colonies encroached on the Mbundu, they came in conflict with demands of in 1836 added impetus to the growth of the coffee industry, and an increasing number of Portuguese turned to its exploitation. In Mbundu. The mono-economy of Kwanza North was fragile in that this way the Portuguese moved from the control of trade to the control of production. It was official policy to encourage and decline of the industry. In the period before 1895 the steady European settlement in Angola but for most of the period they did not have settlement plans. The Portuguese authorities desired to develop their African colonies without the required resources. In this way they maintained oppressive labour policies which exploited the Mbundu.

In order to promote European settlement the Government of Angola capitulated to settler demands for more labour allowing the perpetuation of slavery and forced labour.

PREFACE

The lack of capital continued to hamper the development of the industry until in 1864 when the Banco Nacional Ultramarino (B.N.U.) was formed for the exploitation of the colonies. The Bank quickly identified the coffee industry as a potential area of investment. The credits advanced to settler planters helped in expanding their enterprises and assisted during droughts and epidemics. But owing to the frequency of droughts and epidemics many planters found themselves in liquidation and their plantations taken over by the B.N.U. The Bank controlled not only the coffee industry by the end of the nineteenth century, but also river transport from Dondo to Luanda. The development of the coffee industry undermined Mbundu economy through land and labour spoliation. As the forces deriving their strength from the development of capitalism encroached on the Mbundu, they came in conflict with demands of Mbundu society and eventually led to the subjugation of the Mbundu. The mono-economy of Kwanza North was fragile in that the fluctuations of the coffee price contributed to the growth and decline of the industry. In the period before 1895 the steady price of coffee led to increased production whilst the fall of the price led to the decline and stagnation of the industry. Efforts to diversify the economy were realised only in the twentieth century.

My interest in coffee was derived from studies on agricultural histories during my undergraduate years. The particular orientation of these studies was to study the roots of rural poverty. I have attempted to answer two main questions. The first is, why and how did

PREFACE

Coffee has played an important role in the economy of Angola since the nineteenth century. By 1895 it occupied the first place in the value of exports and thereafter declined. Since the end of the second world war coffee has re-asserted itself as one of the major foreign exchange earner occupying first place in the value of exports in 1946 and 1947. By 1978 coffee was second only to oil earning 224 million American dollars while oil earned 628 million dollars. Besides the importance of coffee to the Angolan economy, Angola was the fourth largest world producer of coffee by 1977. Although coffee has always been important to the economy of Angola historians have paid little attention to the development of the coffee industry.

The nineteenth century coffee industry which is the subject of this study formed an important foundation for the twentieth century industry. Despite the 40 year decline and stagnation of the coffee industry which began after 1895 the nineteenth century coffee industry established three fundamental bases for the twentieth century industry. Firstly, the potential of coffee as a viable commercial crop had been established. Secondly, Angolan society had been transformed to release labour for capitalist production and lastly an alliance between national capital and settler production had been created. All these nineteenth century developments were a prelude to the successful twentieth century coffee industry.

My interest in coffee was derived from studies on agricultural histories during my undergraduate years. The particular orientation of these studies was to study the roots of rural poverty. I have attempted to answer two main questions. The first is, why and how di

coffee become the major capitalist export commodity for Northern Angola in the nineteenth century. Secondly I have attempted to show the effects on Mbundu society of the transition from the merchant capitalist slave trade to capitalist production. Although these questions were conceived in the marxist problematic I have thought it best in the study of this dimension to confine myself to a concrete analysis of a concrete situation. I have therefore avoided as far as possible engaging in extensive theoretical discussions.

Since, unfortunately, research in Angola was not possible I confined myself to the libraries and archives in Lisbon and Lusaka. In this study I drew upon both primary and secondary sources. However, secondary sources proved quite inadequate to answer my questions. Published primary sources were of importance in illuminating government policies and settler reactions. Of particular value were the annual reports of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino which appear to be available only in the Biblioteca da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa. It appears to have been little used by historians of Angola. For unpublished primary sources I was unable to use the archives of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino or the archives in Luanda. I relied mostly on material in Arquivo Historico Ultramarino.

The Arquivo Historico Ultramarino present many difficulties for researchers using them for the first time. The problem was acute for me because I was still sharpening my language skill. The only series I was allowed access to was the 'Correspondence of the Governors General' which is poorly organised. The documents are stored in boxes without any order or guide as to what they contain

Although I was told of the existence of a rudimentary card catalogue I was not allowed to use it. Besides its disorganisation the Arquivo historico Ultramarino is undoubtedly the most complete source for the history of Portuguese Africa in the nineteenth century. District reports were conspicuously absent in these archives.

I have presented the material in chronological order according to the development of the industry. In the first chapter I have looked at the Mbundu and the inception of the industry. In the second chapter I have considered the government's attempts at encouraging coffee production. The third chapter covers the spectacular transformation of the coffee industry and in particular the role of the B.N.U. I have also discussed in each of these chapters the Mbundu response to the rise of the coffee industry. In the final chapter I attempted to show the causes of the decline of the industry and how this work fits in the historiography of Angola.

It is usual to thank all those who have aided in this type of work. This is always a formidable task especially if one bears in mind the social nature and length of time involved in every academic process. Besides the usual stress my work was compounded by the death of my father and the new expectations of a married life.

My debt is greatest to the labouring masses of Zambia who provided finance for this study through the Staff Development Office of the University of Zambia. I am greatly indebted to Dr. M.S. Muntamba for interesting me in Portuguese Africa. My other gratitude goes to Dr. J.K. Thornton for supervising the formulating of the research proposal and the launching of the research. Professor David Birmingham's perceptive advice encouraged me to actualise my

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interest in Angolan coffee. Whilst in Lisbon Dr. J.R. Dias was very helpful in introducing me to the staff of the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino and Biblioteca de Sociedade de Geografia.

I am also very grateful to her for giving me two of her works, one not yet published. The Zambia Embassy Staff, Zambian Students and Mr. John Walters afforded me rare kindness and help while in Lisbon.

The process of writing was long and disturbed from time to time by my own sickness. I am also greatly indebted to Professor J.K. Rennie, my supervisor after the departure of Dr. Thornton, for his patience and interest in my work and welfare. His Portuguese tapes together with Ms. A. Wilsons' efforts introduced me to the Portuguese language. Our discussions and his comments on draft chapters were invaluable. My gratitude is extended to various members of staff in the libraries of the University of Zambia, National Library of Portugal, Instituto Superior de Agronomia, Biblioteca de Sociedade de Geografia and the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. I am very thankful to Mr. Sontwa Sinkala who kindly drew the three maps.

Lastly, I must thank my wife, Julie, for her warm encouragement, my closest friends, the Kalengas and many others too numerous to be named. To my peers at UNZA whose discussions and company instilled hope in me, I say to them 'A luta continua! A Vitoria e Certo!

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Note on Currency

Throughout this dissertation we have used Portuguese
Currency save where the text has dictated otherwise.

The smallest unit of LIST OF MAPS is the real or
reis in plural. The real was used throughout the period
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Glossary

Note on Currency

Throughout this dissertation we have used Portuguese Currency save where the text has dictated otherwise. The smallest unit of currency was the real or reis in plural. The real was used throughout the period of study as the escudo was only introduced in 1910, the end of our study. Nonetheless we have used the real and the escudo interchangeably. It should be noted that the escudo was worth 1,000 reis. The exchange rate of the real with the pound fluctuated greatly throughout the period. Generally the exchange rate was around 4,500 reis to a pound.

Libertos

Governor-General

Nakota

Free man

Noradores

Counsellors of the Chief

Nubika

Portuguese who had made Angola their home

Presidio

Domestic slave

Equivalent to Baza in British

Servicais

Administration

Sesmaria

Servants/workers

Soba

Land grant

Sobado

Chief

Vassalagem

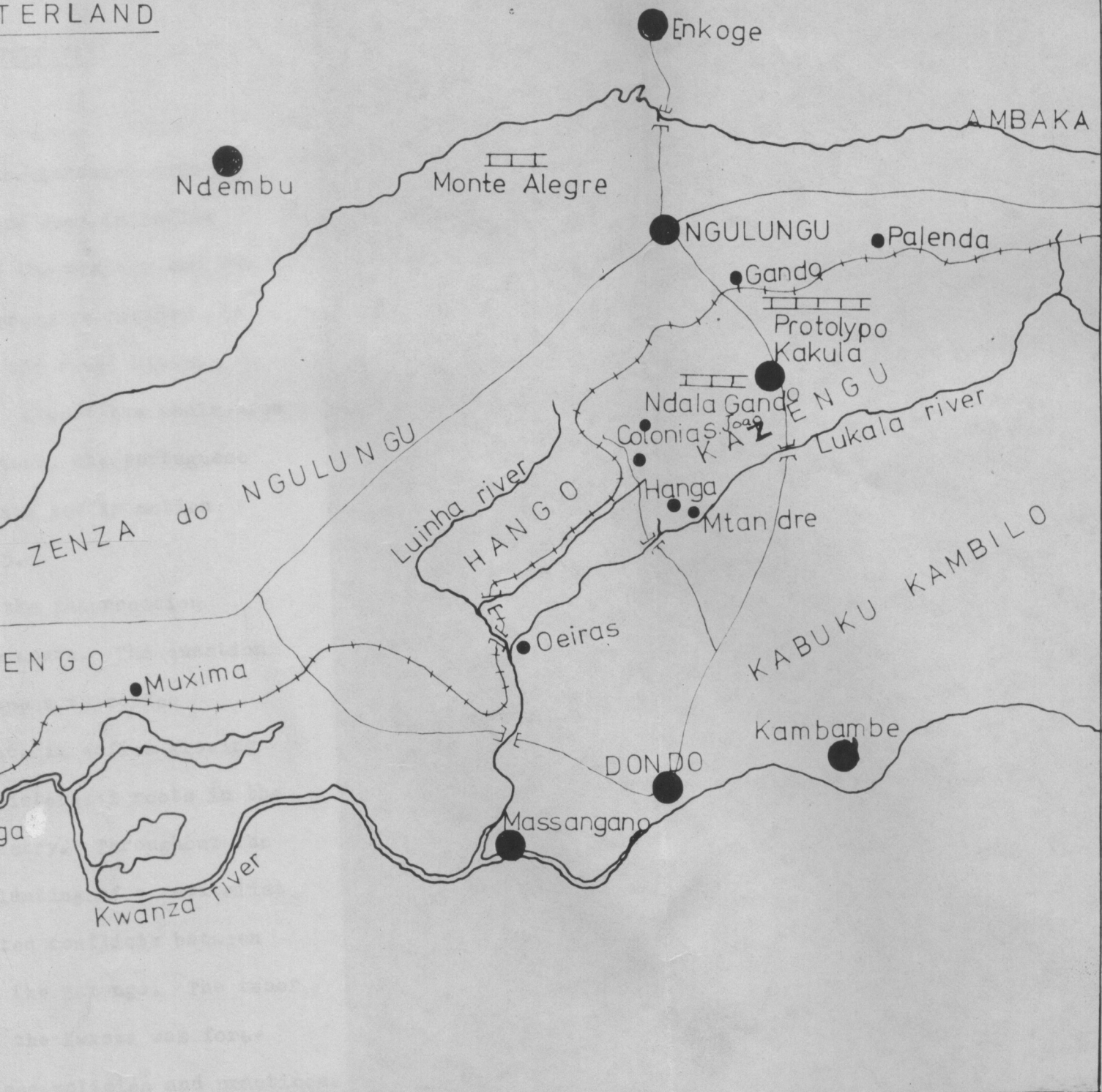
Chieftain

Vassalage

Glossary

Aguardente	rum
Carregadores	Head bearers
Chefes	District Administrator
Colonos	Colonist
Concelhos	Council
Conquistadores	Conquerors
Credit predial	Mortgage
Curadores	Labour recruiter
Degredados	Convict Settlers
Fazenda	Plantation
Faxendeiros	White planters
Governador Geral	Governor-General
Libertos	Freed men
Makota	Counsellors of the Chief
Moradores	Portuguese who had made Angola their home
Mubika	Domestic slave
Presidio	Equivalent to Boma in British Administration
Serviçais	Servants/workers
Sesmaria	Land grant
Soba	Chief
Sobado	Chiefdom
Vassalegem	Vassalage

TERLAND



LEGEND

Administrative Post

▨ B.N.U. Property

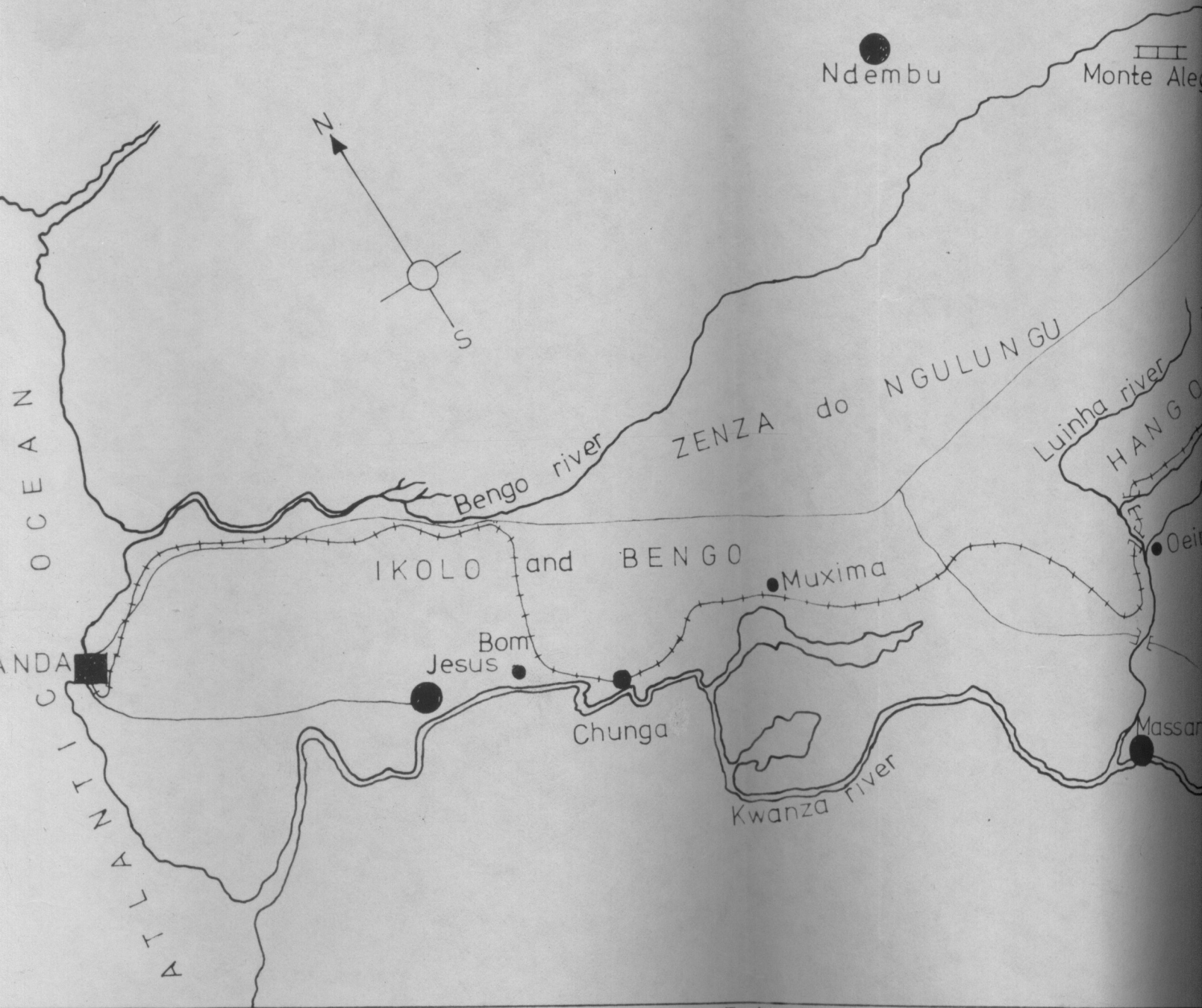
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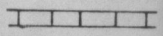
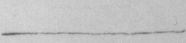

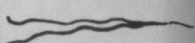
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LUANDA AND ITS HINTERLAND



LEGEND

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
|  Railways |  Administrative Post |  B.N.U. |
|  Roads |  Plantation |  River |

SCALE (Approx.) 1 : 800,000

CHAPTER ONE

THE MBUNDU AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE COFFEE INDUSTRY

1800-1840

The first gunshots against the Portuguese colonial rule which heralded the armed revolt in Angola were shot in coffee plantations in the north. On March 15, 1961 the Bakonga and the Mbundu launched an offensive against the oppressive regime. In coffee plantations, planters fell victim to the rebel attacks forcing them to abandon their plantations.¹ Almost the whole area north of the Kwanza witnessed skirmishes between the Portuguese and the insurgents. The armed revolt was thus set in motion culminating in Angola's independence in 1975.

A number of questions arise as to why the insurrection surfaced north of the Kwanza and not in the south. The question which needs to be answered is why did it happen in coffee plantations. The surfacing of the insurgence in coffee growing areas was not accidental since it had its historical roots in the century-long development of the coffee industry. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the implanting of a capitalist economy through the coffee industry generated conflicts between the Portuguese and the Mbundu and later on the Bakongo. The tenor of Portuguese control of the area north of the Kwanza was foreshadowed in the nineteenth century Portuguese policies and practices.

In order to understand fully twentieth century Angolan history such as the insurrection against the Portuguese in 1961, it is imperative to study nineteenth century Angolan history. This work has focused on this development of the coffee industry in the nineteenth century which has received little attention from historians

The plateau regions were covered with thick forest. Monteiro
In this study we look at the interaction between the
passing through the region in the 1870s - remarked:
Portuguese and the Mbundu. During the nineteenth century the
Mountains and deep valleys filled with magnificent
Portuguese intensified their activities and contact with Mbundu
springs of the clearest water abound and the valleys
societies which led to Portuguese control of this region by the
and butterflies. Most wonderful and varied effects
end of the century. We shall look at both causes and results
in this earthly paradise.
of this intensification of relations. In the nineteenth century
The land of the region was very fertile and more especially that
Mbundu commercial activities grew remarkably as a response to
of Kazengu and Ngulungu. Due to its high fertility Kazengu was
rising international demands for raw materials. The rising demand
very populous in the period before 1850.
was a consequence of the developments which led to colonialism and
Almost all the Kwanza valley was fertile. The region annually
entailed securing the sources of raw materials through social,
experienced a rainy and a dry season called Kakimbo by the Mbundu.
political and economic domination.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE MBUNDU COUNTRY

In describing these changes this work focuses mainly on the
suitable for whites than the coastal climate of Luanda with an
Mbundu, occupying the country between the Kwanza and Nzenza rivers.
average temperature of 21°C to 23°C. The region was suitable for
This area formed the centre of Portuguese colonial occupation in
human habitation and it was occupied by the Mbundu or their
the nineteenth century. The name Kwanza North, which is used in
predecessors for centuries.
this thesis, is derived from the Portuguese administrative division
MBUNDU SOCIAL STRUCTURE
of Kwanza North District.² The districts which fell into this
The word Mbundu is a descriptive word which embraces other
province by the end of the nineteenth century were Pungo, Andongo,
groups. This group is constituted by the Ndongo, Ambaka, Ndembu
Cambambe, Kazengu, Ambaka, Ngulungu, Enkoge and Ndembu. These
and the Mbundu proper. Owing to their sharing of traditions and
districts or conselhos were each headed by a District Administrator
customs they are normally referred to as the Mbundu.
called a chefe.

To achieve the task of examining Mbundu social structure we
This region was well supplied by perennial rivers including
have attempted to look at how they produced and shared their wealth.
the Kwanza, Lucala and its tributaries, Luinha and the Nzenza. The
In order to see how they ruled themselves we have looked briefly
region comprised both low and high land. Places such as Enkoge,
at their social structure. The Mbundu communities were basically
Kazengu and Ngulungu were mountainous and were covered by a
agricultural. The most important activity of the people was food
volcanic rock. The average altitude of the area was 750m. above
production through the growing of crops. All other human activities
sea level except for the river valleys. The region was rich in
such as mining, manufacturing, building, trade and politics were
minerals such as feldspar, potassium and iron.³ The Mbundu were
necessary to agriculture and could not have been carried out without
known to be ironworkers.

The plateau regions were covered with thick forest. Monteiro passing through the region in the 1870s remarked:

Mountains and deep valleys filled with magnificent virgin forests cover the country. Streams and springs of the clearest water abound and the valleys are full of monkeys and beautifully coloured birds and butterflies. Most wonderful and varied effects of rolling mists, sunrise and sunset are to be seen in this earthly paradise.⁴

The land of the region was very fertile and more especially that of Kazengu and Ngulungu. Due to its high fertility Kazengu was very populous in the period before 1850.⁵

Almost all the Kwanza valley was fertile. The region annually experienced a rainy and a dry season called Kakimbo by the Mbundu. The rains were irregular which frequently led to drought and ultimately famine.⁶ The climate on this plateau was much more suitable for whites than the coastal climate of Luanda with an average temperature of 21⁰C to 23⁰C. The region was suitable for human habitation and it was occupied by the Mbundu or their predecessors for centuries.⁷

MBUNDU SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The word Mbundu is a descriptive word which embraces other groups. This group is constituted by the Ndongo, Ambaka, Ndembu and the Mbundu proper. Owing to their sharing of traditions and customs they are normally referred to as the Mbundu.⁸

To achieve the task of examining Mbundu social structure we have attempted to look at how they produced and shared their wealth. In order to see how they ruled themselves we have looked briefly at their social structure. The Mbundu communities were basically agricultural. The most important activity of the people was food production through the growing of crops. All other human activities such as mining, manufacturing, building, trade and politics were secondary to agriculture and could not have been carried out without

The earliest Portuguese travellers have borne witness to the agricultural activities of these people.⁹ The Kwanza North area had been the centre of European activities from the sixteenth century because of its agricultural potential which sustained many people. This land contrasts greatly with the coastal area of Luanda which was often desolate, dry and the land poor.¹⁰ Little wonder then that the population of Luanda looked to the fertile Bengo and Kwanza river valleys for food and fresh water. This historical tendency to look to the Kwanza valley for basic food supplies influenced the expansion of European rule into the interior.

The crops available to the Mbundu appear to have been numerous. In 1586 a priest Diogo da Costa observed that Musseke which had much water, streams and fountains, had the following crops, maize, beans, sweet potatoes, bananas, fruits and vegetables.¹¹ Other products by 1569 were palm oil and palm wine.¹² Tobacco also grew well in the swampy land.¹³

The introduction of new food crops particularly maize, cassava and groundnuts had transformed the scope and scale but not the techniques of Mbundu agriculture before 1800, and presumably increased resistance to famine.¹⁴ The drought resistance qualities of cassava and the possibility of doubling previous yields from the same cultivated area led the Mbundu to take it up as their staple food.

Despite increased published research to the contrary, some historians still brand the agricultural techniques of Africans as being primitive and unsuitable. One such historian who has described Mbundu agricultural techniques as primitive is Dr. J.R. Dias.¹⁵ The settlement patterns in the Luanda hinterland were influenced by the

fluctuations of the tsetse fly belts together with the local and annual variations in rainfall. Mbundu agriculture was able to support large populations of the Kwanza valley for years. The soils of this area just as those of South and Central Africa are not suited to intensive or continuous cultivation. This is a fact recognised by Africans whose practice of shifting cultivation, much derided by European observers, has long been recognised to have been a perfectly sensible response to the environment.¹⁶

The Mbundu shared a system of cultivating cassava, maize, beans, groundnuts and vegetables like their northern neighbours the Kongo and their eastern neighbours the Chokwe.¹⁷ Among the Mbundu each individual had rights to land but this was lineage land. Mbundu families exploited the land they required as long as they pleased. In case of conflicts over land with members of another clan the elders presided, but it was rare that conflicts over land occurred within the lineage. The cultivation of land involved much work demanding most of the labour resources in the community.

* The land was prepared for cultivation by clearing forests. These were burnt and the ashes provided the much needed minerals for the sustenance of the crops. The tilling and hoeing of the land was done with a heart-shaped hoe on a V-shaped handle.¹⁸ The land thus tilled was usually abandoned after two or three sowings to lie fallow for a number of years. Under the ecological conditions of the plateau the fallow period guaranteed the complete regeneration of natural soil fertility.¹⁹ The system of Mbundu agriculture shows that in their many years of interaction with the environment they had acquired knowledge of how to maintain soil fertility. This led to an ecological balance which was disturbed in later years by European

methods of agriculture which did not take into consideration the ecological constraints obtaining in the region.

The work of clearing the bush was done in winter months. The uplands were cultivated just before the rainy season which begun in October. The valleys were tilled during the dry season.²⁰ The Mbundu had developed a technique for reducing the labour input by planting two kinds of crops on the same land. Maize was usually intercropped with beans and manioc with sweet potatoes or groundnuts.²¹ This technique contributed to the maintenance of the fertility of the land, Instead of waiting for one planting season to come to an end before planting or rotating the crop, it was all done in one planting season. The system thus showed considerable sophistication and historians should hesitate before dubbing the precapitalist agriculture techniques as primitive. They used iron implements such as hoes and axes for agricultural purposes.²² Smelting was an important activity for agricultural communities.

In Mbundu agriculture there was division of labour based on sex and age. The men cleared the forests and left the tilling of the land and planting to the women.²³ The homestead, the man, his wife and children formed a production unit but often the whole village came together to help one another in tilling. The Mbundu augmented their labour requirement by employing slaves to till the land.²⁴ In Mbundu society there existed a slave like status called

Hirringhan, Dias and Sarmento considered this region as the granary of the country.²⁸

Mubika. Disobedient young people and especially nephews risked being exchanged as slaves against other goods. In times of difficulties such as famine, nephews were pawned for food. In this way the Mbundu gave opportunity to the existence of Mubika. A Mubika could be adopted in the society by granting him full lineage membership which was lost.²⁵ This in short was domestic slavery practiced in many Angolan Societies. Domestic slavery seems to have been socially accepted as its practice among the Mbundu was widespread.²⁶ In agriculture the coordination of the labour process was limited in most cases to the homesteads although there was some cooperation between homesteads. It is most likely that the chiefs levied men from these lineages villages but evidence for this was hard to come by. Among the Kasange with whom the Mbundu shared traditions the chiefs levied men from villages and this led to cleavages.

In spite of the wide range of crops and effectiveness of the hoe cultivation Mbundu agriculture was fragile because of the frequent occurrence of droughts. Almost everywhere in Angola the droughts were sufficient to cause hunger as the Africans had not yet developed storage techniques which would have stored food for more than a year or two.²⁷ If the rains came later or were insufficient the crops failed to grow and this led to famine. But in times when rain was regular the Mbundu had abundant food to support themselves. In fact Birmingham, Dias and Sarmento considered this region as the granary of the country.²⁸

HERDING

Keeping of domestic livestock mitigated dependence on crops for food. Among the Mbundu cultivation was combined with the husbandry of domestic livestock such as goats, pigs and hens. Cattle herding was restricted to tsetse fly free areas. In most districts north of the Kwanza river cattle were reared. Large herds were known to thrive on the open grassland plateau to the north east. Over twenty thousand heads of cattle were reported to exist in the Mbaka, Kambambe and Pungo Andongo districts by the 1830s.²⁹ Nzenza of Ngulungu which had been in the jurisdiction of Ngulungu until the beginning of the nineteenth century was said to have had plenty of cattle.³⁰ Goats, which were resistant to trypanosomiasis were kept in almost all the districts. Among the Mbundu cattle were prized as a source of wealth and social status and were seldom sold.³¹

Cattle were grazed in open country and the African techniques of extensive herding made it possible to rotate around the local seasonal patchwork of sweet and sour grasses. There was no individual ownership of grazing land although cattle were owned by individuals during their life time.³² Herding did not require the labour of grown men but of boys. In this way the elderly people in society could still attend to agricultural work. Cattle were an important source of wealth but it did not dominate agricultural activities as it was an adjunct to it.

HUNTING AND GATHERING

Hunting and gathering were also important activities among the Mbundu. The Mbundu who were iron workers had developed

hunting skills for trapping animals which were a menace to their crops.³³ The Mbundu hunted game to supplement their diet. Gathering of wild fruits and vegetables was done throughout the region. Although hunting and gathering activities were not pronounced during normal years, they were intensified in times of droughts.³⁴ Hunting drew upon male labour while gathering was done by women and children. By and large hunting and gathering were peripheral to the Mbundu economy, and merely supplemented agriculture.

The Mbundu had knowledge of ironworking by the time the Portuguese visited the area. Iron working was quite widespread among the Mbundu. Renowned areas of iron working were Kazengu, Ngulungu, Pungo Andongo and Ambaka. They made knives, axes, arrows and hoes which they called temo.³⁵ They also made bracelets and the Kissange, a favourite musical instrument among the Mbundu. Some iron implements were a monopoly of elders, which were used in marriage exchanges. Because of this monopoly elders were able to influence the late marriage of young men. Although iron implements were very important to Mbundu society / ironworking did not embrace all the people.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANISATION

Every one in the Mbundu farmer society belonged to two fundamental kinship groups, the village and the lineage. The lineage membership was the fundamental determinant of social status for all the Mbundu. Among the Mbundu matrilineally linked males formed the core of the village.³⁶ The smallest

social unit was the homestead. It was also the smallest production unit. Normally a village had more than one homestead. Each village enjoyed some autonomy from the others. A homestead was led by an elderly person. At the head of homesteads was a village headman. The hierarchy of chiefs and headmen existed for the purpose of arbitrating in the allocation of land and the distribution of food. The chiefs were supported by elders called makota³⁷. Although chiefly authority had emerged the Mbundu villages continued to enjoy their relative autonomy.

Centralised political powers among the Mbundu emerged in the sixteenth century. According to Birmingham, initial attempts at centralisation were connected with rain making and the ritual symbol of iron, the Ngola³⁸. Although centralised authority had arisen and dominated other lineages, the organisation and unification of the society remained to be the responsibility of elders.

Among the Mbundu reproduction of the social conditions was in the first place demographic reproduction of the production unit. The other important factor was the availability of enough land. In order to ensure the reproduction of the conditions of production the elders seized control of men and land.³⁹ They controlled when and where the young men under them were going to marry. This control came about because the elders controlled women and some goods used for dowry.⁴⁰ By invoking the traditions the elders could punish erring members of the society, in this way they maintained law and order.⁴¹

In conclusion we note that the Mbundu were agriculturists and agriculture dominated all other economic activities. Land belonged to the lineage and individuals had right to land as long they lived. Each lineage was associated with its specific land. The coordination of labour was restricted first to the homestead and then to the village. All that was produced was meant for consumption within the society and any surplus was exchanged for other goods. In this way Mbundu society was basically subsistence-oriented. Although there existed chiefly power, it was the lineage elders who were in control of production and ultimately in control of the lineage.⁴² In the area of jurisprudence, whenever conflicts arose the elders arbitrated and in this way they were in control of production and the people.

TRANSFORMATION OF MBUNDU SOCIAL FORMATION TO 1800

The nineteenth century Mbundu society had already undergone some transformation through contact with the Portuguese since the sixteenth century. The Portuguese changed their approach of christian co-existence in the Kongo to military conquest in Angola. The occupation of the Kwanza valley was started in earnest by Paulo Dias, the first of the many conquistadores, in 1571. The Portuguese in Angola were essentially a military - commercial caste who penetrated the African territory by a series of conquistas or islands of control. Although the Portuguese had superior weapons they did not sweep

the African peoples before them. In fact the occupation of Pungo Andongo took the Portuguese a long time. The Portuguese obtained African allies because on their own they could not have contained the resistance from the Mbundu. But when they obtained African allies they brought them into a paternalist system of subservience called Vassalagem or vassalage.

The Portuguese did not come to Angola to civilise the Mbundu; they were looking for slaves to work in their plantations in Latin America. Their presence was commercial although there was missionary work. Sobas (chiefs) who signed formal treaties with them were obliged, in theory at least, to aid the Portuguese allies in military campaigns, to provide men to carry trade goods and procure slaves. The system of vassalage was used by the Portuguese to extract men to ship out as slaves. The Portuguese managed to obtain men from the Mbundu not only because of their own initiative. The desire for foreign goods encouraged African chiefs to participate in the slave trade. It was easy for Mbundu chiefs to levy men from the lineages under them and later on dispose them as slaves to the Portuguese. It was made easier by the existence of the institution of abika which already provided a channel for the enslaving of men. The Mbundu institution of abika was thus distorted to serve Portuguese interests.

Another observable change was that by 1800 the Portuguese had established the nuclei of their administration. This area

came under Portuguese control by the mid eighteenth century with the conquest of Kambambe in 1745 and the presidio of Saint Jose' of Enkoge in 1758.⁴³ The Ndembu of the northern part were not subdued until early this century. Most of the chiefs therefore became vassals paying tax to the Portuguese. The choosing of places for the presidies⁴⁴ followed the established trading posts. The traders in Angola were the advance party of the colonising forces, opening the door to Portuguese colonialism. Besides following the trading posts, Portuguese officials also considered the security of the Portuguese living in the interior. But most of these posts were nothing but military posts. Throughout the eighteenth century the district administrators, Chefes were military men who performed military functions and not all of them were salaried.⁴⁵ They collected tax designated dizimos on behalf of the treasury retaining 12 per cent for their personal use as remuneration for their work.⁴⁶ This led to extortions which continued unchecked into the nineteenth century⁴⁷. In addition to this the chefes had been given authority to levy men from chiefs for 'public' works which in most cases were not for the benefit of the public but of Portuguese.

In this period there existed a stratum of Africanised Europeans who were called moradores by J.R. Dias,⁴⁸ Euro-Africans by J.C. Miller and 'transfrontiersmen' by Isaacman.⁴⁹ We shall hereafter refer to them as moradores because later on the word also referred to Africans who qualified by virtue of

acquiring wealth and status in society.⁵⁰ Initially they were people of Portuguese descent who settled inland so that they could carry out their commercial activities without interference from the authorities at Luanda. The moradores married into chiefly families so that they could wield more influence and power to promote their enterprises. The presence of the moradores who at times wielded more power than the chiefs served to undermine chiefly authority. They undermined the control of certain goods by elders because they easily sold them openly to whoever was in position to buy. The presence of the moradores contributed greatly in transforming local trade as they introduced new items. The small markets which had been in existence were also likewise transformed. The markets were initially set up at the courts of the chiefs but as their power was being washed away the markets spread in the country side. These markets were later controlled by government agents through the pretext of abolishing prevalent abuses.⁵¹

By 1800 the moradores and some Africans from the Kwanza valley and the Bengo valley supplied Luanda with food. The moradores in this way contributed to the introduction of commercial agriculture in Angola. It is most likely that they possessed large estates for the purpose of producing produce for sale.⁵² The crops which were grown were beans, groundnuts and maize. African crop production was further stimulated by the Portuguese government authorities who asked for tax in produce. The food which was taxed from the Mbundu was used to

feed the slaves en route to Brazil and also was required for the feeding of the soldiers. To estimate the quantity of African crops paid to the Portuguese as tax look at table 1 below. For the whole country, more tax was drawn from agricultural produce than anything else. The Mbundu were forced into serving the needs of other people other than themselves. The Portuguese had started to siphon out the people's surpluses for their own benefit and did not provide any services in return for the tax they exacted.

TABLE 1.

REVENUE FROM PRODUCE FROM PRESIMOS A AND JURISDIÇÕES OF ANGOLA
(IN 000 REIS.) BY 1799.

PLACE	AGRICULTURE	FISHING	TOTAL
LUANDA	—	1,600	1,600
AMBAKA	6,100		6,100
MUXIMA & LAGOONS	630	450	1,080
MASANGANO & LAGOONS	2,500	400	2,900
NGULUNGU & LAGOON	1,300		1,500
EKOLO	1,500		1,500
DAULE	1,500	600	2,100
BENGO	1,500		1,500
KWANZA	1,500		1,500
BENGWELA	2,500		2,500
ENGOGE	2,500		2,500
KAMBAMBE	2,500		2,500
KAKONDA	2,500		2,500
TOTAL	26,730,000	3,050,000	29,780,000

From Elias Alexandre da Silva Corrêa, Historia de Angola vol. 1 (1937), 167.

These figures refer to the end of the eighteenth century.

Although agricultural production was stimulated, it remained an appendage of the slave trade.⁵³ The Mbundu participation in production for the markets was marginal to their activities. Slave raiding was not being carried out in this territory by the beginning of the nineteenth century as the field had moved further inland. This means that there was some peaceful co-existence with the Portuguese. Although chiefly power had begun to dissipate, life in the lineage was not affected much by the Atlantic slave trade and embryonic colonial demands.⁵⁴ Although the Portuguese managed to exact tax among the Mbundu, they had not broken African control of their own lives. The chiefs and lineage headmen were still in control of the people under them. In fact the Portuguese relied on them to rule their colony. The position of the Portuguese was precarious and they depended on alliances with African chiefs. For most of the Mbundu production remained to be for subsistence, mainly to ensure the reproduction of the lineage. The slave trade contributed to the expansion of centralised authority initially but when they stood in the way of the Portuguese, they were crushed. The existence of strong centralised state was not desirable to the Portuguese.⁵⁵ By the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was no one single powerful chief among the Mbundu. The lineage was still the most important social group, the Portuguese had established 9 nuclei of colonial administration and the slave trade was the main source of revenue.

OF

THE SLAVE ECONOMY AND THE BEGINNING/LEGITIMATE COMMERCE

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Angolan economy experienced an economic crisis caused by the slump in the slave trade.⁵⁶ Angolan traders therefore had to look for alternative economic activities for their livelihood. Furthermore, some enlightened Portuguese officials did not see Angola's future as lying in the declining slave trade. A number of Governors-General deplored the economic stagnation. Francisco Inocencio de Sousa Coutinho, one of the soldiers appointed Governor of Angola by the Marques de Pombal in 1764, undertook measures to develop agriculture in Angola.⁵⁷ He also undertook to repossess the land which had not been utilised by the Portuguese. Among the agricultural projects he proposed were the planting of indigo from which dye could be made. He also proposed that soldiers became involved in agriculture. Coutinho was one of the few enlightened Portuguese colonial officials who thought that African labour should be used within Angola. Convinced that the wealth of the country lay in the soil he encouraged white settlement in Angola.

Governor General Manuel Vieira Tovar de Albuquerque appointed in 1820 also tried to tap the wealth of Angola.⁵⁸ He had rightly observed that the lucrative commerce of the slave trade had overshadowed all other economic activities and that the situation needed to be restructured. One of his observations was that the slave trade discouraged and undermined agricultural enterprises which he wished to promote. The initiative to grow

coffee in Angola was first taken by Tovar in 1820. He also encouraged the growing of groundnuts, cotton and rice.⁵⁹ Given time and care, he said, these attempts would lead to good results and the ending of the slave basis of the Angolan economy. Tovar did not stay long enough to see his plans mature as he resigned in 1821 on medical grounds.

The initiative to diversify the economy of Angola was thus first taken within the colony. The plans of Governors Coutinho and Tovar were not directed from the metropole where Portuguese colonial officials cared little about Angola. However the projects to diversify the economy were modest and not comprehensive. They failed to achieve their goals for a number of reasons. Although declining, the slave trade undermined agricultural activities. Moreover, the moves lacked support. From the 1830s, no development schemes emanated from the metropole. The Portuguese authorities had neglected and abandoned their responsibility towards the African colonies to such an extent that they were unable to pay the officials in Angola. This situation coupled with a policy of sending convicts called degredados⁶⁰ to Angola led to extortions and plundering of the people of Angola.

A third reason for the failure of the economic initiatives may be found in the economy of Portugal. Portugal did not have money to invest in colonies. Her own existence depended on foreign exchange from the colonies, especially Brazil. Portugal herself was economically dependent on Britain dating

from the Methuen treaty in 1703.⁶¹ The dependence was reflected in the negative balance of payments which Portugal suffered throughout the eighteenth and part of the nineteenth century. The money raised from the colonies was channeled to servicing the British debt as their revenue from Portuguese wine exports was insufficient. This partly explains why Portugal lacked an industrial base and came to depend on other countries for the manufactured goods sold in the colonies. Thus there was no capital left for the development of Portugal and later on the African possessions.

The transition from the slave trade-dominated economy to legitimate trade was a slow process because there were no metropolitan industries to demand raw materials. The Angolan attempts mentioned above represented merely individual local efforts in reaction to the slave trade. However, during the first three

decades of the nineteenth century there appeared external forces which promoted change in Angola. Portuguese relations with

their African possessions were changed by a chain reaction initiated by Napoleon's invasion of Portugal, which forced the Portuguese royal family to flee Portugal for Brazil under the protection of the British fleet at the end of 1807.⁶²

Immediately after the Prince Regent's arrival in Brazil, British pressure was brought to bear on him to open Brazilian ports to trade with Portugal's allies, in this case meaning the British.⁶³ This step completely contravened the mercantilist principles of the Portuguese empire. The Portuguese did not allow foreign nations to trade with their colonies lest they

flood them with their cheap merchandise. Thus the closure of Portuguese ports due to the war situation and the opening of the Brazilian ports to all friendly nations disrupted the Portuguese commercial system. The opening of Brazilian ports in 1810 was followed by Brazilian independence in 1822.

The loss of Brazil marked and aggravated the economic crisis in Portugal. The Portuguese were now forced to look to their other colonies, including Angola, to fill the gap. The view contradicts that of Hammond that the Portuguese ruling class only began to be consistently imperialist at the end of the nineteenth century.⁶⁴ The turning of the Portuguese attention to Angola and other colonies was for financial gain aimed at helping Portugal's economy. Among the African possessions Angola was the most promising.

ORIGINS OF THE COFFEE INDUSTRY

The question of the origin of Angolan coffee baffled David Livingstone. When he passed through Angola in the 1850s he saw coffee flourishing and thus directed his mind to the task of finding out where it originated. His conclusion was that coffee which grew spontaneously in the forests had been introduced by missionaries before the nineteenth century.⁶⁵ He believed that the coffee had been disseminated in the forest by the agency of the slaves as it scattered from the bags which they carried to the coast. When Livingstone visited Kazengulu in 1854 he wrote:

quite erroneous to say that the coffee tree was introduced in Angola. It is a question of considerable interest whether the coffee is really indigenous as moca or only self-sown, that is by means of birds and company from certain plants introduced by the missionaries. I investigated the matter with a predilection in favour of the missionaries and found that the soil in which it flourishes is a red clay. ⁶⁶

Condé da Fialho in 1884, the numerous species of coffee

Although Livingstone recognised the existence of what he called 'coffee brother' he did not give it serious consideration.

By the end of the nineteenth century there was a contrary view which considered Angolan coffee as indigenous. Angolan coffee was neither Arabica nor Liberia but it was classified as coffee Welwitsh, Canephora or Robusta. The coffee planted in Brazil was coffee Arabica and this could have been the most likely to be introduced by the Portuguese in Angola. In fact the type of coffee which was known to the Europeans was coffee Arabica. The pattern of the spreading of coffee indicates that it was brought from Arabica and Abssynia.⁶⁷ It was here where it was just taken as solid food, afterwards as beer, medicine and later as a drink. The knowledge of coffee as a drink spread to France, Italy and the rest of Europe by the middle of the seventeenth century.⁶⁸ This point goes a long way in demonstrating that Livingstones' missionaries could only have introduced Arabica coffee and not Robusta because it was not known to Europeans as yet. ⁷²

A renowned expert on African plants, Hieron, remarked that 'the coffee tree is native in nearly all virgin forests of the mountainous districts chiefly in elevated positions. It is in Angola before and this is one of the earliest references to it.

quite erroneous to say that the coffee tree was introduced in Angola by missionaries.⁶⁹ But Livingstone was not the only one with a defective view of the origins of Angolan coffee.

When Plantas Uteis Africa Portugese was produced by

1821/30	190,880	100
1831/40	625,800	328
1841/50	1,102,022	580
1851/60	1,640,340	860
1861/70	1,746,180	916
1871/80	1,950,540	1,023
1881/90	2,097,860	1,625

Conde de Ficalho in 1884, the numerous species of coffee indigenous in Africa were not differentiated.⁷⁰ After this date a number of monographs appeared by authors such as Froechuer, Pierre and Wildermann which corrected the errors of classification. Angolan coffee was therefore said to be indigenous and not exotic.

Another point of interests is that the coffee tree found in Angola was well known by local people who called it Mulyamu Seshya (Muriain Sexa in Portuguese orthography).⁷¹ The name

is African and there is no way that it could have been derived from any European name or word referring to coffee. These points discussed here demonstrated that coffee was indigenous in Angola and was of a different type called Robusta. Besides they also show that coffee in Angola was a nineteenth century crop. In fact by the beginning of this century coffee was not listed as one of the crops grown in Angola in the books consulted. Even for Brazil the successful coffee culture had only developed greatly from the 1830s as shown in the table below.⁷²

When Governor Tovar set out to encourage agricultural activities as a source of wealth in Angola, coffee was one of the crops mentioned. This crop had not been planted in Angola before and this is one of the earliest references to it.

TABLE NO. 2

EXPORTATION OF BRAZILIAN COFFEE IN THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY

YEAR	TONES	INDEX
1821/30	190,680	100
1831/40	625,800	328
1841/50	1,102,022	580
1851/60	1,640,340	860
1861/70	1,746,180	916
1871/80	1,950,540	1,023
1881/1890	3,097,860	1,625

Source: I.A. Loureiro, 'Cafeeiro em Angola', 45.

Birmingham mentioned that the coffee industry started in Kazengu.⁷³

But there is evidence indicating that it was first identified in Enkoge by 1820. It was through the investigations and orders of Governor General Cristovao Avelino Dias, appointed in 1823,

that coffee was for the first time taken from Enkoge to Luanda.⁷⁴

It is most likely that those investigations were inspired by the crisis which had hit Portugal. The coffee was collected and taken to the coast by the Africans for sale and for display, so as to bring the existence of coffee to the attention of other people.

Commerce in coffee although on a small scale started in Enkoge with the Mbundu. Besides taking up coffee the Mbundu also provided gum for export for the first time during the same period. This coffee was said to be of an inferior quality to

that of Brazil although it was hoped that it would improve with the passage of time.⁷⁵

After the knowledge of coffee and the suitability of Enkoge for it, other places within the province were easily identified. It is not easy to find the dates and places where coffee spread. Knowledge about the exploitation of coffee was transmitted from place to place by the Africans of the region. It was easy for them to take up coffee because they could identify the trees in the bushes around them. Alferes Tome whose identity is difficult to trace, interviewed some old Africans about the origin of the coffee industry in a northern district of Uige and was told:

At the time in this country we had in Enkoge every year a big market. People frequented this place where they met many blacks from many other regions. By these relations we began to know coffee.⁷⁶

Through such contacts the knowledge of coffee spread to other regions. Apart from this informal means of communication, the knowledge of coffee was disseminated officially through displays and correspondence with district administrators.⁷⁷

The major activity in the coffee industry of Angola was mainly the foraging of the berries from these coffee trees which grew wild in the forests. People had first to clear the thickets around the coffee trees. The berries were collected and prepared for market. This task involved much work and only families with sufficient labour at their command could participate. The initial

beneficiaries were therefore the chiefs (). It was easy for chiefs to organise labour because by tradition they could levy men from villages. When it came to transporting coffee to the coast chiefs easily organised men to take the coffee. For some time coffee remained in the Mbundu hands and some moradores. Owing to their influence and power they also mobilised labour without difficulties. They owned slaves and they channeled this labour into the collection and transporting of coffee.⁷⁸ This group of people also had the advantage of having access to the coast as they had been trading between the two points. The Angolan coffee industry started as a local affair with few participants. This continued to be the situation until the abolition of the slave trade in Portuguese territories.

THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND ANGOLAN COFFEE

The legal abolition of the slave trade in Portuguese territories in 1836 gave an impetus to the coffee industry of Angola which lasted throughout the nineteenth century. The accession to power of the liberal monarch in 1834 ushered in a new spirit of economic activity. The Portuguese economy was liberated from the protective policies of the ancien regime when they declared industrial freedom in 1834. After the disappearance of the Junta for Commerce which controlled the industrial development, industrialists were given a free hand to innovate and invest their capital. In commerce the liberals reacted against protectionism and this removed most of the tariffs.⁷⁹ This change had a bearing on Portuguese activities in Africa. The change in the Portuguese

attitude towards the economy of Angola could be seen from the following words of Sa'da Bandeira:

To appreciate the true value of Portuguese overseas domination, we must take into account not what they are today, but what they are capable of becoming. This present position is due not only to bad government in the mother country but also to the almost exclusive attention which the government paid to Brazil.... There are rich deposits of gold, copper, iron and other precious stones in overseas provinces.... There is nothing in America which cannot be cultivated in Africa.... Only European industry and capital are needed for the cultivation. If European settlement is promoted, industry developed and capital employed, if new measures of colonisation are taken, it will take only a few years to produce great results.⁸⁰

This attitude was very helpful to the coffee industry. The contribution of the changed mind on Africa and the outlawing of the slave trade culminated in increased attempts to develop Angola. The Portuguese traders, the moradores and the Mbundu chiefs eking out a living from the slave trade found their life line cut. Some did not accept the change and continued with the slave trade. A few, however, took to coffee as an alternative source of revenue. The Portuguese traders and moradores found themselves in a region endowed with new natural wealth. Apart from the abundant coffee forests, cotton also grew wild. The availability of these products made the transition from the slave trade to commodity production less difficult.

In this period after the abolition of the slave trade coffee ceased to be an item of purely local trade. In the post 1836 period the Portuguese, moradores and the Mbundu took to coffee

increasingly. In Kazengu there were about four Portuguese settlers involved in the coffee industry. These were P. Carolina owner of Colonial de S. Jois, Pascoal Rebello dos Santos and Engracia Fernandes Torres, all of Kazengu.⁸¹ Coffee exports became sufficiently significant to be recorded from 1830-32 when 1,400 kg was exported through Angola.⁸² Of all the places where coffee was known Kazengu was soon singled out as the most suitable area for European enterprise.⁸³

The first known European enterprise of significance was set up in Kazengu by a Brazilian farmer Joao Guilherme Pereira Barbosa in 1833.⁸⁴ He developed coffee plantation in Kazengu and therefore provided an incentive to others. By 1838 he had 600 trees which he had secured since his coming to Kazengu. Another area which became important for its coffee was Ngulungu to the north of Kazengu. By the end of the 1830s the coffee industry presented a bright prospect for the future although it was merely in its infancy and contributed very little to the treasury.

CONCLUSION

The period 1800 to 1840 was characterised by the transition from the slave trade dominated economy to commodity production, particularly of coffee. Initially the production of coffee was a question of collection of berries from wild forests flourishing in the region. The industry was local, involving

- mostly the Mbundu and some moradores. It involved little re-
organisation of capital and labour and it was largely a
redirection of the activities of the Mbundu and the moradores.
But after 1840 new features entered the scene. The effects
of the abolition of the slave trade begun to be felt. The
Angolan government demonstrated great interest in coffee by
encouraging planters through promulgation of favourable laws.
The coming of new settlers from Brazil was another feature of
the next period. The next chapter **focuses** on showing how
these features affected the development of the industry.
1. J. R. Dias, 'Famine and Disease in the History of Angola 1830-1930', *Journal of African History* (1981), (in press at time of writing).
 2. D. Birmingham, 'Central Africa from Cameroon to the Zambezi' in *Cambridge History of Africa*, ed., H. Gray, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) 3, 350.
 3. Wheeler, Angola, 8.
 4. M.R. Pombo, ed., Diogo Cão vol. 1, 2 (Luanda: 1933), 14.
 5. Wheeler, Angola, 5.
 6. Pombo, Diogo Cão, 2, 1 (1933), 14. The region called Musseke referred to the area between the Kwanza and Nzeza Rivers.
 7. Pombo, Diogo Cão, 2, 1 (1933), 21.
 8. Pombo, Diogo Cão, 2 (1934), 215.
 9. J.R. Dias, 'The Changing Patterns of Power in the Luanda Hinterland: The Impact of Trade and Colonisation on the Mbundu 1845-1920', Manuscript (Lisbon: 1978) I am very grateful to Dr. Dias who kindly made this paper available to me. See also J.B. Statham, Through Angola a Coming Colony (London: William Blackwood, 1922), 331-333.
 10. Dias, 'Famine and Disease', 2.

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16. D.N. Parsons and R.H. Palmer, eds., The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa, (London: Heinemann, 1977), 6. There is a short reappraisal of
1. D. Wheeler and R. Pelissier Angola (London: Pall Mall, 1971).
17. J.G. Miller, 'Slaves, Slavers and Social Change in
2. See Map referring to divisions of Angola. The administrative divisions of Angola in decreasing order of size were, the districto, concelho and circumscriçao.
18. Monteiro, Angola and the River Congo, 2, 95. He saw
3. A. Carreira, 'Estacão Agronomia de Cazengo', Boletim de 'Agricultura Pecuaria & Fomento' (1919), P. 131-133.
4. J.J. Monteiro, Angola and the River Congo Vol. 2 (1875; reprinted, London: Frank Cass, 1968), P. 85.
- See H. Passinger, 'Interrelations between Economic and
5. D. Birmingham, 'Coffee Barons of Cazengo', Journal of African History 19, 2 (1978), 525. See also population estimates in Annaes do Conselho Ultramarino 1 (1858), 475-476; I. Schapera, ed., Livingstone's African Journal 1853-56 vol. 1 (London: Chatto and Windus, 1963), 141.
141. Shaw, Angola a Coming Colony, 331.
6. J. Dias, 'Famine and Disease in the History of Angola' 1830-1930', Journal of African History (1981), (in press at time of writing).
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12. Pombo, Diogo Cão, 2, 1 (1933), 21.
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14. J.R. Dias, 'The Changing Patterns of Power in the Luanda Hinterland: The Impact of Trade and Colonisation on the Mbundu 1845-1920', Manuscript (Lisbon: 1978) I am very grateful to Dr. Dias who kindly made this paper available to me. See also J.B. Statham, Through Angola a Coming Colony (London: William Blackwood, 1922), 331-333.
15. Dias, 'Famine and Disease', 2.

16. Q.N. Parsons and R.H. Palmer, eds., The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa, (London: Heinemann, 1977), 6. There is a short reappraisal of this perspective.
17. J.C. Miller, 'Slaves, Slavers and Social Change in Nineteenth Century Kasange', in Social Change in Angola ed., F. Heimer (Miancham: Weltform Verlag, 1974).
18. Monteiro, Angola and The River Congo, 2, 95. He saw this type of hoe being used in the Kwanza Valley and the surrounding area.
19. Among the Ovimbundu of Southern Angola the land was left to follow for years so that it gained its fertility. See H. Passinger, 'Interrelations between Economic and Social Change in Rural Africa: The Case Of the Ovumbundu Of Angola', in Social Change in Angola, 33.
20. Statham, Angola a Coming Colony, 331.
21. Statham, Angola a Coming Colony, 331.
22. A. Sarmiento, Os Sertões D' Africa: Apontamento de Uma Viagem (Lisbon: Editor Proprietario, 1880), 173.
23. A.A.S. Corrêa, História de Angola vol. 1. (Lisbon: Imperio, Africans, 1937), 113.
24. Dias, 'Changing Patterns Of Power', 2. Miller, 'Slaves, Slavers In Kasange', Corrêa, História de Angola vol. 1, 113.
25. H. Chatelain, Folk-Tales of Angola (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1894), 9.
26. Monteiro, Angola and the River Congo, vol. 2; Chatelain, Folk-Tales of Angola, 10.
27. Dias, 'Famine and Disease', 3.
28. Birmingham, 'Coffee Barons of Cazengo', 525; Dias, 'Changing Patterns of Power', 3; Sarmiento, História de Angola, 1, 175.
29. Dias, 'Changing Patterns of Power', 4. Monteiro, Angola and the River Congo, 2, 79.
30. Sarmiento, Os Sertões de' Africa, 173.

31. Monteiro, Angola and The River Congo, 2. 79. See Parsons, Roots of Rural Poverty on cattle complex.
32. G. Clarence - Smith, Slaves, Peasants and Capitalists in Southern Angola 1840-1926, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 58-59.
33. Pombo, Diogo Cão, 2, 1 (1933), 22.
34. Dias, 'Famine and Disease', 2.
35. Pombo, Diogo Cão, 2, 7 (1934), 215.
36. Miller, 'Slaves, Slavers in Kasange', 12.
37. Chatelain, Folk-Tales of Angola, 7-9.
Pombo Diogo Cão 2, 7 (1934), 217.
38. Birmingham, 'Central Africa from Cameroon to Zambezi' 534-537; Trade and Conflict in Angola (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).
39. Miller, 'Slaves, Slavers in Kasange', 13.
40. Chatelain, Folk-Tales of Angola, 9. M.A.
41. Brito, 'Noticias de Alguns dos Districtos de que Se Compoe esta Província', A.C.U., 2 (1860), 86.
42. Chatelain, Folk-Tales of Angola, 10.
43. See J.C. Miller (1973) for the conflicts between the elders and chiefs. These cleavages existed among the Mbundu since they shared the same traditions.
44. Sarmiento, Os Sertões d' Africa, 198.
45. Presidio was an administrative division equivalent to a boma in British colonial administration.
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CHAPTER TWO

THE EXPANSION OF THE COFFEE INDUSTRY

1840 - 1864

This chapter focuses on the transition from the Atlantic slave trade to legitimate trade, a transition better covered in the literature on West Africa than on West Central Africa. In this chapter we trace the early expansion of the coffee industry from 1840 to 1864. After 1864 the coffee industry became revolutionized in nature and extent. The development of the coffee industry involved not merely the discovery of wild coffee trees in the forest but also the mobilisation of human resources, capital and markets. In this chapter we have attempted to assess the Portuguese and Mbundu involvement in coffee production and the conflict to which this gave rise.

FACTORS LEADING TO THE EXPANSION

Although the existence of coffee was previously known to the Mbundu and the Portuguese, its economic viability came to be realised only in the period after 1840. Thus effects of the abolition of the slave trade were not immediately felt because the Portuguese traders and moradores were reluctant to give up their most lucrative business. Livingstone noted in 1854 that the slave trade was being carried out secretly.¹ There was much correspondence between the British Consul at Luanda and

the Portuguese authorities on the perpetuation of the slave trade in Angola.² The question of the slave trade was an important issue in Angolan politics. There was conflict between the metropolitan settlers and the moradores over access to slaves. During the early years of the nineteenth century the metropolitan traders had been weakened by the economic crisis in Portugal leaving the moradores in control of the Slave trade.

The effects of the abolition of the slave trade were felt more in the period after 1840. In this period diplomatic pressure was exerted on the Portuguese government to end the evasion of the ban. The British attitude to the Portuguese was arrogant, and the methods employed harsh. The British used gunboats on the coast to search Portuguese ships going to Brazil.³ These measures helped the Portuguese to turn to other alternatives as Livingstone noted:

They are prevented by our cruizers from following their former nefarious traffic in human flesh, and now turn eagerly to coffee, cotton, sugar, as sources of wealth.⁴

The government at Luanda made attempts at encouraging European settlement and agriculture in Angola. Sa da Bandeira, a remarkable Portuguese premier, encouraged European settlement and agriculture in the colonies. He thought that Angola should be settled by decent colonists rather than the convicted criminals who had always been sent in the past.⁵ Although these aspirations were not all fulfilled there were attempts to implement them.

One way in which the Luanda based Government attempted to implement the plans was through the introduction of new crops to the interior.

In 1840, the Governor General of Angola stepped up the search for alternative agricultural enterprises. He instructed his men to examine the coffee growing areas and ascertain their extent. This exploration revealed that coffee grew abundantly in Kazengu particularly in Kangulungalo in the territory belonging to Chief Kakalinda and Ngola Mbumba. There was more coffee growing spontaneously in Gombe Amubanda.⁶ Experiments in cocoa were also conducted.⁷

SPREADING OF THE INDUSTRY

Interest in coffee spread rapidly to other places in Kwanza North embracing areas such as Duque de Branganza where wild coffee was said to be abundant in the region of Harri.⁸ By 1849 the orders to explore the forests in search of coffee trees had been extended to the Ndembu district. After exploration, the district administrator sent 100 coffee trees to Luanda as evidence of coffee in the area.⁹ Coffee was also known in Kalumbo where it was sent to be experimented on. In 1846 the district administrator of Nzenza de Ngulungu recommended the development of the coffee culture in the district.¹⁰

Kwanza North was initially the centre of the coffee industry of Angola. The knowledge of coffee spread from this province to others. In the period before 1865, coffee trees and seeds were sent from this Province to other provinces such as Mossamedes.

MAP 2:

DISTRICTS OF ANGOLA
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.



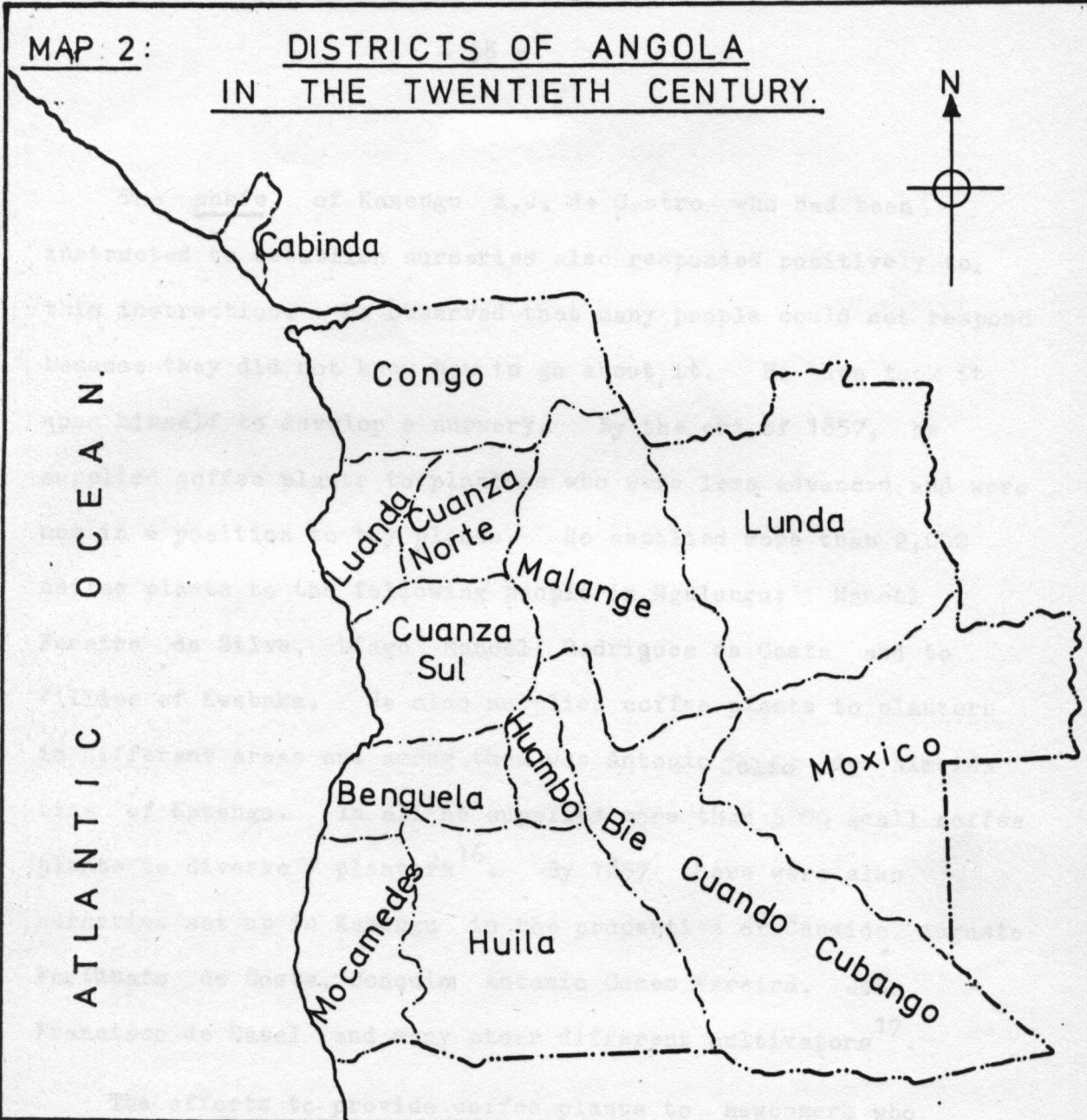
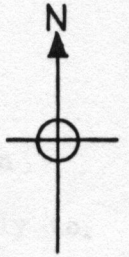
Thus we see that in 1855 coffee trees were sent to Dombe Grande so that it could be grown there. In 1856 coffee plants were sent from Kazengu to Benguela where it was to be introduced.¹¹ Three years later many coffee plants were sent to Mossamedes by a Kazengu planter Josa Francisco de Casal.¹² In all these activities the government was trying through its officials to encourage the development of the coffee industry. In addition to government's efforts, the planters themselves helped the new colonos with coffee plants, under conditions not yet known to us.

The Government of Angola stepped up its efforts to encourage the development of the industry by asking the planters to set up nurseries where the seedlings could be obtained for distribution to the less privileged planters. In 1857 the Chefes of Ngulungu was instructed to establish a nursery for coffee.¹³ Francisco Joaquim Corrêa Monção in Ngulungu was one of the planters who responded to the government's call by setting up a nursery. He distributed the seedlings to people in the province who requested for them. In Kazengu the chefes of the district was actively involved in the distribution of coffee plants. Joaquim António Gomes Ferreira one of the famous 'Kazengu barons' had a nursery or nurseries from which he obtained plants which he distributed to other planters.¹⁴ In 1866 Joaquim António Gomes Ferreira wrote the Governor General requesting to be honoured for the services he had been rendering in Kazengu and other places in promoting the cultivation of coffee. Ferreira had sent coffee plants to Malange, Mossamedes and to Ndembu district.¹⁵

LEGEND
 - - - - - International boundary
 - - - - - District boundary

MAP 2:

DISTRICTS OF ANGOLA
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.



LEGEND.

- International boundary.
- District boundary.

SCALE (approx.) 0 200 500 Km.

The chefe of Kazengu A.J. de Castro who had been instructed to establish nurseries also responded positively to this instruction. He observed that many people could not respond because they did not know how to go about it. He then took it upon himself to develop a nursery. By the end of 1857, he supplied coffee plants to planters who were less advanced and were not in a position to buy plants. He supplied more than 2,000 coffee plants to the following people in Ngulungu; Manoel Pereira da Silva, Diago Manoel Rodrigues da Costa and to Fillipe of Kwebaka. He also supplied coffee plants to planters in different areas and among them was Antonio Julio de Almeida Lima of Kazengu. In all he supplied more than 5000 small coffee plants to diverse planters¹⁶. By 1857 there were also nurseries set up in Kazengu in the properties of Candido Augusto Fortunato de Costa, Joaquim Antonio Gomes Fereira, Joao Francisco de Casal and many other different cultivators¹⁷.

The efforts to provide coffee plants to newcomers who were not in a position to buy were considered most satisfactory as the high demand was not met. This situation forced prominent coffee planter Joaquin Antonio Gomes Fereira of Kazengu to suggest that the government itself should move in directly in setting up nurseries and employing full time workers to run the nurseries. Although much was said about setting up nurseries the government failed to set up state nurseries in this period probably owing to the lack of money.

The spread of the coffee culture in this period was done in two ways. The first was by mere discovering of coffee forests and then developing them by clearing the bushes around them. It is most likely that the coffee the Mbundu traded was acquired through this way. This does not mean that there were no colonos who acquired properties in this way. In the period after 1850 there was an intensification of the planting of coffee which necessitated the establishing of nurseries to provide seedlings to the colonos.

WHITE SETTLEMENT

The coming of the liberals to power in Portugal in the 1830's had many promises for Angola, including the economic development of the colony. Wheeler has characterised this period as one of expansion. The decree of Sa da Bandeira abolishing the slave trade was accompanied by a report and plan which envisaged a renovated Angola and Mozambique through colonising and annexation of territory.¹⁸ The policy of promoting white settlement in Angola originated from Sa da Bandeira. Unfortunately most of his plans for the transformation of the economy of Angola were never implemented. By 1840 very little had been done in Angola on European settlements.

The plans of Sa da Bandeira were not completely forgotten. In Kwanza North a good number of settlers were attracted by the coffee of Kazengu and Ngulungu. Before 1840 there were five known coffee planters of European descent in Kazengu. The most famous was Barbosa who came in 1833 but there were others such as

Francisco Gabriel Pereira do Crus¹⁹, Paulino and Carolina, Pascoal Rebello do Santos who had set up his estate in 1836 together with Engracie Fernandes Torres. One of Angola's famous estates in the nineteenth century, Colonia de S. Joao was in fact established in the period before 1840. Coffee also attracted some white settlers to Ngulungu.

The period 1840 to 1865 witnessed a big surge in the number of European settlers in Kwanza North. In 1840 there were only three officially known Europeans who registered their estates in Kazengu, Joao Kibeiro da Silva, Matheus Mendes Machado and Francisco Miguel Mendes²⁰. For the size of the estates and their production as by 1856 see table 3. There was an upswing in the number of settlers in Kazengu from 1844. Almost every year a new settler registered a coffee estate.

In 1844 D. Martha Maria d' Assumpção registered a coffee plantation. In 1845 two more planters registered estates in Kazengu. Francisco Goncalves d' Almeida established Boa Vista while Orfaos do Joaquim Pinto registered Providencia in 1845. David Livingstone described Pinto as a flourishing coffee planter²¹. In 1847 Antonio Julio d' Almeida who had been supplied with coffee plants by Antonio Joaquim de Castro in 1857 registered an estate designated Colónia de S. António²². In 1848 and 1849 two other plantations Cabanda and Zambe were registered in Kazengu belonging to I.A. d' Almeida and B. de Sousa Cardoso respectively. In 1857 when Cardoso was faced with hardships he deplored the role of the state in meeting settler demands²³.

In the period 1850-1856 nine estates were registered and were generally bigger than those registered in the forties. (See table 3 for details). In 1851 Candido Augustos Fortunato da Costa, who had been a trader of Kazange from 1845 to 1850 registered the third largest plantation in Kazengu called Agoas-doces²⁴. João António Gomes Ferreira, renowned for the help he rendered to other settlers registered the second largest plantation in 1854 known as Palmeira. Prototipo the most famous and the largest plantation in Kazengu by 1857 was registered by Albino José Soares in 1855. The size of the estate compelled Soares to employ João Augusto da Silva who had been in Kazengu since 1851 as a full time administrator²⁵.

The phenomenon described above was not restricted to Kazengu as in Ngulungu also coffee attracted many colonos. Among them was José Aurelio de Oliveira and his son Manoel Jose de Oliveira who owned two plantations separately²⁶. Joaquim Rodrique Graça owned and developed Mount Allegre, another important plantation. He was commended by Livingstone when he visited the estate in 1854 for the praiseworthy efforts made in clearing the locality of brushwood²⁷. Joaquim José Pacheco who had been a trader also took up coffee planting²⁸. In 1857, Antonio Joaquim de Castro the chefe of Ngulungu was deeply involved in the coffee culture supplying five new colonos with coffee plants from his nursery. In Enkoge and Ndembu districts more coffee estates were established but Enkoge ceased to be the centre of the coffee industry. In districts such as Ambaka and Pungo Andongo coffee was not yet widespread.

TABLE 3. SETTLERS AND THEIR PLANTATIONS IN KAZENGU BY 1857.

YR ESTABLISHED	NAME OF SETTLER	NAME OF PLANTATION	NO OF TRESS	HARVEST IN KG
1834	Paulino and Carolina	Colónia de S. João	12000	13500
1836	Pascoal Rebello dos Santos	-	4000	450
1836	Eugracia Ferandes Torres	-	200	450
1840	João Rebeiro da Silva	-	2000	1050
1840	Matheus Mendes Machado	-	4000	405
1840	Francisco Miguel Mendes	-	8600	585
1844	A. Martha Maria d'Assumpção	-	-	240
1845	Francisco Gonçalves d'Almeida	Boa Vista	-	480
1845	Orfaos de Joaquim Pinto	Providencia	3000	1350
1844	António Julio d'Almeida Lima	Colónia des. António	50000	750
1848	João António Almeida	Cabada	4800	150
1849	Bernardo de Sousa Pereira C.	Zambe	4000	2250
1850	Francisco Gomes de Sampaio	Cabando	7000	165
1851	Francisco Fernandes Purheiro	Zande	250	450
1851	Menoel Rosa Freire	Kippe	80000	-
1851	Candido Augusto Fortunato C.	Agoas-doces	132000	750
1854	João António Gomes Ferreira	Pabuneira	170000	-
1854	Ofaos de Mancel Maria	-	10000	-
1854	Different cultivators	-	139000	1470
1855	Albino Jose' Soares	Colonia Prototypo	1400000	-
1856	João Francisco do Casal.	Virginia	22000	-

Source: BOLETIM OFFICIAL, JANUARY 1857 'Mappa Agricola de distrito de Cazengó'.

The coffee industry was not only a product of European plantations. The Mbundu participated actively in the collecting and later the planting of coffee. The number of Mbundu plantations was probably more than the figure of 200 estimated by Calvario in 1884.²⁹ This was after the Mbundu planters had been displaced by many years of land alienation. But before 1865 the Portuguese authorities and planters did not feel threatened by the Mbundu participation in this industry. The Portuguese authorities in fact encouraged soba Ndala Tando to take up coffee collection as it was abundant in his territory. Soba Ndala Tando was shown the advantages of coffee collection and planting.³⁰ Two important sobas Kakulu Kamwinza and Hoka owned plantations in Kazengu.³¹ Soba Ngola Pumba who lived in the vicinity of Kazengu was also said to participate in the development of the coffee industry.³² It is difficult to give an account of the Mbundu participation which would indicate the number of people involved, owing to the lack of documentation. The Luanda archives which were not accessible to me may yield such information. The coffee industry during this period was therefore a joint venture between the settlers, moradores and the Mbundu who turned to the coffee wealth.

COFFEE PRODUCTION.

The expansion of the coffee industry was also reflected in the quantities produced. The export figures indicate only what was exported officially and they must therefore be an underestimate of what was produced since there was no mechanism for data collection on production. The figures indicate a

TABLE 4

production minimum and also give some idea of the rate of increase.

(1830 - 64)

In the period before 1840 annual coffee exports did not exceed a thousand kilogrammes.³³ Coffee exports in the 1840s and 1850s corresponded to the increase in the number of settlers taking up coffee production in Kwanza North. In this period the coffee exports from Luanda rose from 1500 kg in 1840 to 27,495 kg for 1856.³⁴ Coffee from Enkoge and Ndambu was also exported through the northern port of Ambriz.³⁵ Most of these exports were done clandestinely and could not be accounted for accurately. Exports of coffee through Ambriz showed an increase as can be demonstrated by the 1862 and the 1864 figures shown in the table below.

The increase in the exports of coffee and the number of settlers compel us to characterise this period as one of the expansion of the coffee industry. Although we have worked with scanty material yet it is undeniable that there was increased activity within the coffee industry. Actually there was a general increase in the exports of agrarian produce in this period. Groundnuts, palm oil, wax and gum are examples of other products whose export figures rose.³⁶ This therefore indicates a broad change in the Angolan economy in the middle of the nineteenth century.

TABLE 4

LACK OF CAPITAL

COFFEE EXPORTS FROM ANGOLA FOR SELECTED YEARS

(1830 - 64)

Angola required more investments in addition to the increased number of plant (Kg). Portuguese colonial officials

YEAR	LUANDA	AMBRIZ
1830-32	1,400	-
1840	1,500	-
1844	3,000	-
1845	6,000	-
1856	27,000	-
1858	73,000	1,200
1862	-	1,300
1863	-	3,400
1864	-	8,400

Sources: Relatório de Governadores da Província de Angola 1887, P. 28.

Calheiros & Menez; Relatório de Governadore da Província de Angola 1861.

Pery, Geographia e Statistica Geral de Portugal e colónia, B0, January, 1857.

A.H.U.C.G. Maco 46 1876 of 26-6-1866.

LACK OF CAPITAL

The successful development of the coffee industry in Angola required more capital investments in addition to the increased number of planters. Portuguese colonial officials desired to develop the colonies but failed to supply the necessary financial resources. This meant that the colonies had to fend for themselves. The situation arose out of the financial standing of Portugal. We have already indicated that Portugal was dependent on Britain and that this dependence was worsened by the French invasion and the independence of Brazil. The economy of Portugal could not support the mother country and later on the colonies. The instability brought by the liberal resolution in Portugal gave little hope to the colonies. Between 1839 and 1851 there were 18 changes of government,³⁷ and certainly the Portuguese concentrated their attention to the turbulent situation at home. These changes meant that little attention had been given to the development of colonies.

The slow rate of development of the Portuguese economy particularly in the area of industrialisation did not provide rapid increase of capital which could have found its way into colonies. Besides, the Portuguese investors were not willing to have anything to do with colonies and this meant that investments from the public sector were also not forthcoming.³⁸ But if the colonies were to be of any significance to her, they needed to be supplied with capital. For Portugal

any attempt to develop the colonies meant a sacrifice of her scarce domestic capital.³⁹ In this period Angola did not receive support from the metropole, but made to do with the little that was locally available.

The sources of capital invested in the industry came from individuals. Some settlers from Portugal such as Soares of Kazengu came with some capital which they invested in developing their coffee estates. Another source of capital invested in the coffee industry was from settlers coming from Brazil. Pereira Cardoso, one of the first planters to come from Brazil, claimed that his costs had only been a fraction of the one hundred odd million reis which such an estate would have cost him in Brazil.⁴⁰ The major sources of investment were reinvested profits from the slave and retail trading. The moradores and other Portuguese traders supplied this capital. In Kazengu an example is Cândido Augusto Fortunato da Costa who had been a trader in Kasange since 1845. In 1851 he moved to Kazengu where he invested his capital in the coffee plantation.⁴¹ His estate was one of the biggest in the region. In Ngulungu we also have an example of a trader, Joaquim Jose Pacheco who invested part of his profits in the coffee plantation.⁴²

LAND

Birmingham has also indicated that another source of capital used to plant coffee may have been tax revenue. This suggestion may receive support from the participation of a good number of district officials in the coffee industry. Antonio Joaquim de Castro of Ngulungu who was district

administrator in 1857 had a big plantation, of coffee.

The early district officers paid a flat-tax to the government for their district and they retained 12 per cent of what they collected⁴³ for their own purposes. Some of this capital

may have found its way in the coffee industry. Apart from the capital used in this way the administrator may have used the labour resources at their disposal to develop plantations.

In Kazengu a number of well known coffee barons served as district administrators. Costa served as an administrator of Kazengu from 1854 to 1858.⁴⁴

The Commandant of Enkoge was either a coffee planter or trader as he was trading in coffee in 1854.⁴⁵

This type of capital which was available in this period for the development of the coffee industry was not enough.

It is evident that most of the new planters were without capital to develop estates. This prompted those who were well off to

help the poorer, possibly through credit or share-cropping, although the data do not illuminate this point. The situation

meant that the coffee industry had to develop at a slow pace.

Many coffee planters were disappointed with the government role in promoting the coffee industry.⁴⁶

LAND

In considering the question of land in the Kwanza North, we have discussed two periods, characterised by the changing laws of governing the allocation of land. In the first period the Portuguese control of land was loose, by which is meant that the laws and means of controlling its distribution were not

yet developed to reflect the importance of land in the economy of Angola. This period lasted until 1856. The land laws of 1856 reflected the increased Portuguese awareness of the value of land.

to grant such claims was vested in the Governor General who in turn allowed district administrators to Mbundu chiefs and their followers were considered Portuguese vassals by virtue of conquest. Due to the claimed sovereignty all unoccupied land was held to belong to the state or the crown. In this way the Governor General was empowered to allocate the 'unoccupied land' to foreigners. Prior to 1856 the major way of obtaining land for foreigners was by taking up a sesmaria.⁴⁷ The land grant was permanent and inheritable provided cultivation was begun within five years. The sesmaria holder was forbidden to interfere with the previously cultivated land of any third party.⁴⁸ The Mbundu were allowed rights to the use of land following their established local customs. This provision in the land continued in the twentieth century but it did not carry any weight when it came to grabbing land from them.⁴⁹ Among the Mbundu, every one had rights to land and no chief or headman had the right to exclude anyone from using land.

The granting of sesmaria vested land ownership in individuals. In the period before 1865 individual land ownership among the Mbundu was not widespread although it was being practised by a few. Birmingham noted that in the first half of the nineteenth century chiefs played an invidious role in the scramble, not only as claimants, but also as witnesses who guaranteed that land was vacant.⁵⁰ He continues

by showing that 'In 1856 Antonio Julio d'Almeida Lima, the infamous of coffee barons got eleven such witnesses to measure his sesmaria of 1500 fathoms from the kings highway'.⁵¹ The authority to grant such claims was vested in the Governor General, who in turn had allowed district administrators to administer this on his behalf.

Land in this period could also be bought from individuals and from the government although this practice was not widespread. The Commandant at Trombelo near Ngulungu bought land from the state. He first cleared a considerable tract of land and planted 900 coffee trees on it before applying to the government. The land cost him six pounds sterling.⁵² In 1855, Joaquim Pinto was said to have confessed that in addition to his sesmaria he also had a farm bought from a 'free black woman'.⁵³ In addition to private purchases land was leased out. In Ngulungu some land was rented. Land was annually leased by the National Treasury. Of these portions of land, many belonged to old converts. The annual rentals for such land ranged from one shilling to three pounds sterling.⁵⁴ In this period Africans who wanted to buy land could do so, but most of them continued to use land as before. Although land was owned by the crown the majority of the Mbundu were not aware of the change as they still regarded the land as belonging to the lineage and as such their rights to it were taken for granted. Due to the unbroken chiefly control over the population and the resources, Portuguese control of land was not strong as yet.

The changing of Portuguese attitude towards its African possessions was reflected in their desire to bring under their control the resources of the possessions. The control of the allocation of land in the possessions intensified with the passing of a law in 1856 which regulated the alienation of unoccupied land.⁵⁵ The first thing the law did was to register land which had already been alienated. Land owners were required to show the improvements they had carried out on their sesmarias before the authorities could approve the sesmarias. The law regularised the selling and leasing of land by laying down procedure. The 1856 land law vested the authority to alienate land up to 500 hectares in the district administrator. To help colonos acquire land they allowed them to buy land in instalments up to ten years.⁵⁶ There is also evidence that they were advanced some money to help them set up farms.⁵⁷ All land to be alienated had to be registered at the district office. The registering of all newly acquired territories was meant to enable the authorities exact tax. All the tax, fines on undeveloped land and money from purchase of land was to be deposited in the Special Fund for colonisation which was set up by the law of 1852. This meant that there was a deliberate policy to forge ahead with colonisation of Angola. Already they had begun using funds from the colonies to advance Portuguese interests. In the period before 1865 we note that the stage for more land alienation was set. The legal framework transferred the arbitration over land allocation from chiefs, and headmen to district administrators.

The changes in the administration of land in Angola opened the way to a whole set of disputes over land. Disputes over land were infrequent before 1865. Most of them were petty conflicts between individuals. It was common for lawsuits to be carried on for years about division of land. These petty conflicts were among the Mbundu who understood individual land tenure and as a result they were limited to areas of new administrative centres. The conflicts over land led to corrupt practices among the colonial officials. Livingstone observed that each complainant gave something, either bullocks or beeswax to the commandant and each one expected in vain to get the affair settled in his favour.⁵⁸ In 1863 Soba Kabuku Kambilo protested against the extortions practised by the district judge.⁵⁹ The Soba was not happy with decision of the judge of Kambambe who conceded land belonging to Kabuku. He organised his men, about three hundred, for the purpose of overrunning Soba Lwitungo who was granted the disputed land. This action resulted in the death of fourteen people.⁶⁰ During this period the conflicts over land between the Mbundu and Portuguese were not yet pronounced.

LABOUR AND TAXATION

A key problem of the coffee industry was the question of labour, particularly how to organise the available labour. The reconversion of the once exported slave labour for employment within the colony was one interesting issue in the nineteenth century. In the period 1840 to 1864 there was a depression in

the slave trade as slaves fetched very little at the coast. This meant that the African slaves had to be retained for agricultural work within the colony. One such area was in the coffee industry of Kwanza North.

The situation of abundant surplus labour was not known in Kwanza North. In fact it was not a slave - supplying region by the end of the eighteenth century. The slave frontier had moved further in land. Labour was all locked up in either African homesteads or with the moradores. By 1840 when new settlers came in with more demands for labour, there was no free labour they could mobilise for their labour intensive coffee culture. The setting up of plantations required men to clear the forests. This applied to both the planters and the collectors as they still needed to cut the bushes around the coffee trees.⁶¹ The travellers' descriptions of Mbundu villages do not show that there was abundant labour.⁶² It is probable that the slave trade had siphoned off the surplus labour and that what remained was sufficient for the up-keep of the Mbundu agriculture.

The shortage of labour meant that every one had to struggle for what little was available. The government attempted to help the settlers by assuming the responsibility of mobilising labour for them. The district administrators requisitioned men from Mbundu chiefs. Mbundu chiefs were required to raise men who were sent to the boma to perform government duties. From there the district administrators would provide men to



The Portuguese planters turned their attention to the settlers. Thus in 1846, 24 such men were conceded to João Guilherme Pereira Barbosa of Kazengu to be employed in the development of coffee.⁶³ But this method was not suitable as it was prone to corruption and nepotism. In fact the Governor General expressed concern over this system such that in 1851 he instructed the district-administrator of Kazengu in the way labour should be mobilised.⁶⁴ The administrator was evidently commenting on the instructions of the Governor General that sobas should be allowed to mobilise labour for European planters and traders, employing the traditional mode used when mobilising labour for their iron works. He wanted to avoid the use of force in mobilising labour for the settlers. A year later the district administrator of Kazengu confessed that he had difficulties in finding carregadores (headbearers) and labourers to supply to planters.⁶⁵ He noted that this hindered the progress of agriculture. He complained that the number of workers he got was insufficient. He sought ways of asking the chiefs to increase the supply of labour. The administrator thought that what was needed from the sobas was obedience to orders on mobilisation of labour. In this letter the administrator disagreed with the Governor General's instructions on labour mobilisation and pointed out that his methods of supplying labour was arbitrary as it did not take into consideration the different requirements of settlers and the circumstances in the area. The labourer mobilised in this way was not different from that accorded to slaves.

The Portuguese planters turned their attention to the Mbundu for their labour requirements. They did this by saying that the Mbundu were indolent and they needed to be civilised by making them work. The accusing of the Mbundu of being indolent was part of the Portuguese efforts to mobilise labour by implying that work was defined as only that in the service of settlers. Barbosa also judged the Mbundu of being indolent but explained that their indolence was a result of the little needs which they had.⁶⁶ Barbosa the district administrator, argued that it was absolutely essential to create more necessities. At a meeting in 1847 he addressed the chiefs of Kazengu on the new tax in money. In the past they used to pay tax in produce, for Kazengu a good number gave one tanga (woven cotton material) per year as tax.⁶⁷ Coffee was another commodity accepted for the paying of tax. The introduction of money and commercial crops for tax compelled Africans to take up some kind of commercial agriculture or employment with the settlers. The effect was that those Africans who failed to pay tax were forced to enrol for work for the planters or on public projects for no pay. The practice was abused by the Portuguese authorities who started compelling or forcing people to work for settlers for no pay as a means of paying their taxes. The settlers who got such labour paid a small fee to the government.⁶⁸ The system of forced service became widespread in Kwanza North during the 1840's. The treatment given to the labourer mobilised in this way was not different from that accorded to slaves.

Throughout this period coffee plantations were largely worked by slaves.⁶⁹ Although the slave trade had been abolished in Portuguese territories, slavery continued until the twentieth century. Most African workers were not anything other than slaves. Most planters owned slaves whom they

The status of the slaves did not change with legislation. They continued to sleep in crowded huts and to be treated by their masters. Although forced service was abolished there was always pressure on Mbundu to enlist for work on plantations. The African reaction to increased tax was to emigrate from Portuguese controlled areas. In Kwanza, the people revolted when the tax was raised in 1857.⁷⁵ The chief wrote to the Secretary of State explaining the cause of the revolt

The abolition of slavery came in gradually in the Portuguese territories. It was first overshadowed by a number of decrees and proposals. The abolition of slavery by the metropolitan legislators met with some opposition from the Angolan colonists. It was in the interest of the planters to own slaves because they did not have the money to pay free labour. To abolish slavery meant the cutting of their livelihood. Nonetheless, in 1845 it was proposed in parliament that the children of slaves be free.⁷⁰ In 1855 a limited abolition decreed by Sá da Bandeira became law.⁷¹ The main clauses dealt with government slaves who were declared libertos (free), the registering of slaves within the Portuguese controlled territories and also the redemption of slaves. The libertos were obliged to work for their masters for a certain number of years. In 1857 even the forced service was abolished

In addition to continuing the slavery, the planters

legally although it continued to be practised into the present century. Finally in April 1858, abolition of all forms of slavery was set for twenty years hence. All the slaves marked for emancipation were called libertos.⁷²

The status of the slaves did not change with legislation. They continued to sleep in crowded huts and to be mistreated by their masters.⁷³ Although forced service was abolished there

was always pressure on Mbundu to enlist for work on plantations.

The African reaction to increased tax was to emigrate from markets due to its quality.⁷⁴ Although coffee from Portuguese controlled areas. In Kambambe the people revolted when the tax was raised in 1857.⁷⁵ The chief wrote to the Secretary of State explaining the cause of the revolt and also exonerated the people from accusations of indolence.⁷⁶

The most widespread African reaction was emigration and desertion by the slaves. The people of Kissama provided refuge to the deserters and emigrants.⁷⁷ The European response to

the labour shortage was increased violence and maltreatment of their slaves. In 1861, the Governor-General Calheiros observed rightly that 'while Angola suffered a labour shortage, the new farms and plantations and a constant death of porters, the freedmen, instead of working within the European sector, tended to drift away beyond the frontiers or into vagabondage'.⁷⁸

His conclusion was that free labour was an impossibility in Angola; the state could not allow the libertos to become truly emancipated. This was supported by settlers who argued that European agriculture in Angola was impossible without forced labour.⁷⁹ In addition to continuing the slavery, the planters

market had no previous experience in coffee culture.

and European traders devised methods of beating the labour shortage. Some of these planters never allowed workers, once requisitioned, to leave at the end of the stipulated time, others cheated by claiming that they had been given sick workers and thus they needed some more.⁸⁰ Labour shortages continued to be the order of the day in this period.

MARKETING OF COFFEE

Angolan coffee faced one disadvantage on the European markets due to its quality. Although coffee from Kazengu was said to be high quality coffee its treatment deprived it of the income.⁸¹ Most of Angolan coffee was treated by the dry method. The berries were collected from the trees before the first rains in October. The dry method of treating coffee comprised of five processes while the humid had nine processes. In the dry method they harvested all the berries without making any distinction of maturation. After the harvest, the berries were fermented in the backyard and were left there to dry in the sun. Then the berries were husked, heaped and polished - at which point they were then ready for the markets. The harvesting of berries which were not mature plus impurities worsened the coffee produced in this manner.⁸² This process was however cheaper and faster for the planters but yielded less profit. The other reason why the coffee planters continued to use this method is that they lacked knowledge of the humid method of treating coffee.⁸³ A good number of the people involved in coffee planting and preparation for the market had no previous experience in the coffee culture.

Although there was an increase in the amounts of coffee produced in the province, the trade in coffee remained in the hands of individuals. The Portuguese backwood traders continued to buy coffee from the Mbundu. Birmingham noted that these backwood traders set up shops with slender resources and engaged in the buying of coffee from producers. The prosperity of Dondo has been attributed to the participation of the trading houses in the commerce of harvested coffee.⁸⁴ In fact Dondo was the centre of the commerce in coffee in that all the coffee from Kazengu and most from Ngulungu passed through Dondo. Its importance grew out of its favourable position as trade routes converged there.

Most European planters who had come to the province first concentrated on trading in African coffee to build up capital for further development of their estates. A number of outstanding coffee planters were described as both trader and planter. Joaquim Jose Pacheco of Ngulungu was not only known as a coffee planter but as a trader also.⁸⁵ In Kazengu Candido Fortunatos Augustus Costa who had been a trader at Kasenge took up coffee planting and continued to be a trader.⁸⁶ The list of such traders can be extended.

Another group of people who were involved in the commerce of coffee from Kwanza North were the African traders. The Mubire traders had long been involved in trading in Angola. Most of them were found in the districts of Enkoge and Ndembu. Another well known group of African traders were the Ambaquistas, the people of the district of Ambaka.⁸⁷ The coffee grown in

the districts of Enkoge and Ndembu was transacted between Africans themselves and did not pass through Dondo. Most of the coffee which was shipped from Ambriz came from these northern districts. Monteiro observed that most Africans brought their own produce to Dondo to trade with the white men.⁸⁸ It is most likely that African traders did not mount long-distance caravans to the coast as this was expensive and risky. From the observation made by Monteiro it may be safely said that they restricted themselves to local trade.⁸⁹ This means that most of the coffee commerce was carried out by the Europeans with marginal participation by the Mbundu.

The coffee produced in this period was meant for European markets. The markets for Angolan coffee were limited to Portugal as the Portuguese did not allow other nations to participate in the marketing of its coffee from the colonies. The Portuguese markets were open also to Brazilian coffee and that from Sao Thome. Material on the organisation of the overseas markets and prices was hard to come by. There was no evidence indicating the existence of propaganda for the promotion of Angolan coffee in this period. In this regard then the Portuguese colonial authorities could be said to have done little in promoting sales from Angola. In fact the mounting of propaganda for the promotion of Angolan coffee was only launched by the Governor General Henrique de Paiva Conceiro in 1907.⁹⁰ In fact the district administrators the Portuguese colonial authorities were shifting the control of human resources from the moradores and Mbundu chiefs.

TRANSPORT

The system of carregadores was carried out with much violence. The conveyance of produce to the coast presented a problem of great magnitude in Angola. The problem lay with to enrol for such service. The Africans avoided the the means used in transporting produce to the coast. Before the abolition of the slave trade in 1836, all merchandise not different from slaves. Whenever they were tired and felt from the interior was carried by slaves. With the abolition like rasting they were given corporal punishment. The traders of the slave trade the system was expected to come to an end although it persisted on for some good time. The mode of could not work without force. In 1853 the Visconde de transporting goods in this way was very cheap as the only Pinheiro forbade this arbitrary punishment. The real end expenses incurred were on victuals provided to the slaves. to this system was pronounced in 1856.

On 3 November 1856 a law was passed which prohibited This system was superceded by the system of carregadores, the forced service of carregadores. The intention of the Porters. Livingstone suggested that this might have happened around 1845.⁹¹ The system hinged on the district administrator traders protested against the law. In one of their protests as he was supposed to requisition new from the chiefs. The they maintained that the act was retrogressive and not in line district administrators levied men from the chiefs and then supplied the traders. The system faced the same problem that the use of carregadores formed the major system of which was the shortage of men to take such service. The transport and by abolishing it they were reducing the commerce. carregadores thus enlisted were supposed to be paid a small amount of money as remuneration. In most cases this they would not at any time volunteer to be porters even if was not paid and this tended to discourage Africans from money was offered. They called on the government to implement taking up such work. In most cases Africans were forced to their policies gradually. be porters as a means of paying tax. The tax defaulters were made to be porters as a means of punishment.⁹² By vesting the authority of mobilising labour and porters in district administrators the Portuguese colonial authorities were shifting the control of human resources from the moradores and Mbundu chiefs.

nations with paper legislation. The eloquence of the law was not matched by concrete plans providing alternatives. The system of carregadores was carried out with much violence. This was compelled by the reluctance of the Mbundu. This law was from the beginning one of those faltering steps to enrol for such service. The Africans avoided the taken by the Portuguese as they struggled to get the colony service because of the treatment accorded them. They were on its feet. The Portuguese pressure on the coffee traders not different from slaves. Whenever they were tired and felt was later on transferred to the Mbundu as they continued to like resting they were given corporal punishment. The traders levied men for the service. claimed that the punishment was correctional and the Mbundu could not work without force. In 1853 the Visconde de Pinheiro forbade this arbitrary punishment.⁹³ The real end to this system was pronounced in 1856.

On 3 November 1856 a law was passed which prohibited the forced service of carregadores.⁹⁴ The intention of the law was to force traders to pay wages to porters. The traders protested against the law. In one of their protests they maintained that the act was retrogressive and not in line with the desired development of the state.⁹⁵ They argued that the use of carregadores formed the major system of transport and by abolishing it they were reducing the commerce. As usual they claimed that the Africans were indolent and apathetic. The district administrator of Amboim, Arsenio, was said to be one of the enlightened Portuguese with a plan to renovate the mode of transport in Angola. Arsenio encountered only apathy from his kinsmen within the Province. The passing of this law served as a constraint on the growth of the coffee industry. It served as a constraint in a number of ways. Human portage has a limited capacity and it is slow and expensive. Had the Portuguese resorted to the using of scotch carts they would have reduced the time by half. The use of men in transporting hurt their kin or because they merely desired to appease other

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nations with paper legislation. The eloquence of the law was not matched by concrete plans providing alternatives. This law was from the beginning one of those faltering steps taken by the Portuguese as they struggled to get the colony on its feet. The Portuguese pressure on the coffee traders was later on transferred to the Mbundu as they continued to levy men for the service.

The Portuguese traders and planters in the interior were conservative as they would not accept any suggestions to change the mode of transport. When Livingstone passed through Angola he deplored the system of transport being used.⁹⁶ One of Livingstone's suggestions of employing oxen for pulling scotch carts for transporting merchandise was not considered immediately. Although the Governor-General was ordered to introduce oxen in the province to be used for transporting merchandise, the order was never carried out in Kwanza North.⁹⁷ The district administrator of Ambaka, Arsenio, was said to be one of the enlightened Portuguese with a plan to renovate the mode of transport in Angola.⁹⁸ Arsenio encountered only apathy from his kinsmen within the Province.

The perpetuation of this mode of transport served as a constraint on the growth of the coffee industry. It served as a constraint in a number of ways. Human portorage has a limited capacity and it is slow and expensive. Had the Portuguese resorted to the using of scotch carts they would have reduced the time by half. The use of men in transporting

coffee reduced the number available for production and the profits available for investment in production.

1, 185.

2. See Wheeler, Angola, 52.

CONCLUSION

3. Chamberlain (ed), Some Letters of Livingstone

The arrival of new settlers led to the increased demand

225.

for labour. The levying of men from Mbundu societies through chiefs and chefes initiated changes undermining their

4. Schapera, Livingstone's African Journal, 1, 185.

5. Egerton, Angola in Perspective, 64.

autonomy. Due to the rising demand and competition for labour and land, the metropolitan government passed legislation aimed

6. A.H.U.C.G. Angola 3, 1840 From João

at controlling these resources of the colony. By the end

7. Boletim Oficial de Governadores de Angola (a.o.)

of the period the settlers had entrenched themselves in

competition against the moradores and chiefs. But having

entrenched themselves they faced problems of capitalisation.

to District Administrator of Nambo.

The situation gave an opportunity to the coming in of overseas

10. B.O. No. 61, 26 November 1846.

capital. The next chapter discusses the participation of

overseas capital in the coffee industry.

11. B.O. No. 553, 18 April 1856.

12. B.O. No. 780, 12 February 1859. He sent 10,000 coffee plants.

13. B.O. 639, 25 December 1857.

14. B.O. 639, 25 December 1857; A.H.U.C.G. Angola, Mace 36, 1866, António Gomes Pereira to Governor General, 16 June 1866.

15. A.H.U.C.G. Mace 36, 1866 António Pereira to Governor General, 16 June 1866.

16. B.O. 639 25 December 1857 António Joaquim de Castro, Governor of Ngulungu to State Secretary 14 December 1857. This letter was copied to João Joaquim Pereira of Kazengu.

17. B.O. January 1857 'Mapa Agricola de Districto de Cazengo'.

18. D. Wheeler, Portuguese Expansion in Angola Since 1836:

NOTES. Re-Examination. (Central African Historical Association:

20. 1967), 2.

1. I. Schapera, Livingstone's African Journal 1853-56,
1, 185.

19. Comercantil e Agricola, 31 July 1862.

2. See Wheeler, Angola, 52.

3. D. Chamberlin (ed), Some Letters of Livingstone
1840-1872 (London: Oxford University Press,
225. 225.

4. Schapera, Livingstone's African Journal, 1, 185.

5. Egerton, Angola in Perspective, 64.

6. A.H.U.C.G. Angola Blago 3 1840 From João
Pereira Barbosa to Governor General 24 March
1840.

7. Boletim Official de Governadores de Angola (B.O.)
August, 1846.

8. B.O. Supplement to No. 47, 4 August 1846.

9. B.O. No. 181, 17 March 1849, From Secretary of State
to District Administrator of Ndembu.

10. B.O. No. 61, 16 November 1846.

11. B.O. No. 553, 18 April 1856,

12. B.O. No. 780, 12 February 1859. He sent 10,000
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18. D. Wheeler, Portuguese Expansion in Angola Since 1836: A Re-Examination. (Central African Historical Association: 20, 1967), 2.
19. Revista Mercantil e Agricola. 31 July 1862.
20. B.O. January 1857 'Mappa Agricola de districto de Cazengo'.
21. D. Livingstone, Missionary Travels in Central Africa, 407.
22. B.O., 639, 25 December 1857. From A.J. Castro Governor of Ngulungu.
23. B.O., 639, 25 December 1857. From Bernardo de Sousa Cardoso to Secretary of State, 1 December 1857.
24. Schapera, Livingstone African Journal, 1, 164.
25. H.A.D. Carvalho, Expedição Portuguesa do Muatiamvua Descrição da Viagem vol. 1 (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1890), 131.
26. Schapera, Livingstone's African Journal, 1, 191.
27. Schapera, Livingstone's African Journal, 1, 174.
28. M.A. Francina, 'Viagem a Cazengo Pelo Quanza e Regresso Por Terra'. A.C.U. 1 (1828), 462. See also A.H.U.C.G. Angola. Maio 3, 1840 From Barbosa to Governor General of 24 March 1840.
29. Carvalho, Viagem do Mussumba, 121.
30. Francina, 'Viagem a Cazengo', 461.
31. Dias, 'Black Chiefs, White Traders and Colonial Policy Near the Kwanza: Kabuku Kambilo and the Portuguese', J.A.H. 17, 2 (1936), 248.
32. Francina, 'Viagem a Cazengo', 459.
33. G.A.B. Capello, 'Relatório dos Governador da Angola 1887', in Relatorios dos Governadores das Provincias Ultramarinas. (Lisbon: 1889), 28.
34. A.H.U. Angola Diversos Maço 823, 1856 'Memorial Sobre Angola'.
35. U.I. Pinto, Legislação Mediana Angola de Alheacas dos terrenos na Provincia de Angola. (Lisbon: Typographia do Governo, 1866), 3.
36. Pinto, Legislação sobre dos terrenos. 17.

35. A.H.U.C.G. Angola Maco 46, 1876. Alfândega do Ambriz 26 June 1876.
36. 'Relatório dos Governadores da Angola 1887', 28.
37. Egerton, Angola in Perspective, 67.
38. S. Sideri, Trade and Power, 208.
39. Sideri, Trade and Power, 208.
40. Birmingham, 'Coffee Barons of Cazengo', p. 3.
41. Schapera, Livingstone's African Journal, 1, 164.
42. Francina, 'Viagem a Kazengo', 462. A.H. U.C.G. Angola, Maço 3, 1840 Doc No. 285.
43. Corrêa, História de Angola, 1, 36; Birmingham 'Coffee Barons Of Cazengo', 527.
44. Schapera, Livingstone's African Journal, 1, 159. Birmingham, 'Coffee Barons of Cazengo', 527.
45. F.S. Ferreira, 'Diário da Viagem Para S. José de Encoge'. A.C.U., 2 (June 1859), 53.
46. B.O., 639, 25 December From Cardoso to Secretary of State, 16 December 1857.
47. Sesmaria means land grant.
48. Birmingham, 'Coffee Barons of Cazengo', 526.
49. Egerton, Angola in Perspective 120-121.
50. Birmingham, 'Coffee Barons of Cazengo', 526.
51. Birmingham, 'Coffee Barons of Cazengo', 526.
52. Schapera, Livingstone's African Journal, 1, 144.
53. Birmingham, 'Coffee Barons of Cazengo', 526.
54. Schapera, Livingstone's African Journal, 1, 192.
55. D.A. Pinto, Legislação Moderna Acerca da Alheacao dos terrenos no Provincia de Angola: (Luanda: Typographia do Governo, 1868), 3.
56. Pinto, Legislação Acerca dos terrenos, 17.

57. A.H.U.C.G. Angola. Maço 33 1864 António de Cunha to Governor General of 16 March 1864.
58. Schapera, Livingstone's African Journal, 1, 136.
59. A.H.U.C.G. Angola Maço 32 1863 Chefe of Kambambe to Secretary Of State 1 September 1863.
60. A.H.U.C.G. Angola Maco 32 1863 Chefe of Kambambe to Secretary of State, 1 September 1863.
61. B.O., 546 15 March 1856 Joaquim Rodorigue Graça, 'Do cultural do Cafe'.
62. Impressions gathered from many articles in A.C.U. 1 - 2.
63. B.O., 67, 6 November 1846.
64. B.O. 313, 26 September 1851.
65. B.O. 359, 14 August 1852.
66. João Guilherme Pereira Barbosa, 'Colónia em Cazengo', A.C.U. 1, (1858) Parte não official.
67. Schapera, Livingstone's African Journal, 1, 172. A.H.U.C.G. Angola Maço 25, 1859. 'Problema do Abasamento do interior da Província Doc. No. 605.
68. A.H.U.C.G. Angola Maço 25 1859 Doc No. 605.
69. A Slave was a person who was denied human rights to determine the course of his life, he could be sold, bought and owned like property.
70. J. Duffy, Portuguese Africa (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959), 151.
71. B.O. 517 25 August 1855.
72. Duffy, Portuguese Africa.
73. Francina, 'Viagem Cazengo', 460.
74. A.H.U.C.G. Angola Maço 25 1859, Sobre O decreto de 3 November 1856.
75. A.H.U.C.G. Maço 25 1859 Problema do Abasamento do interior Doc No. 605.
97. Silva, Indice da Legislação Ultramarina, 43.
98. Schapera, Livingstone's African Journal, 1, 136.

76. B.O. 612, 2 July 1857 From Soba Kabuku
77. A.H.U. Angola Diversos 825 for 476 'Relatório de Presidio de Massanganô' by Franquim Olovo Gamba:
78. Wheeler, Angola, 63.
79. Wheeler, Angola, 63.
80. B.O. 513 28 July 1855.
81. B.O. 30 March 1849 'Estado do Mercado'.
82. A. Careira 'O Cafezeiro', Boletim da Agricultura da Provincia de Angola (1919), 272-282.
83. Careira, 'O Cafezeiro', 272-282. See also B.O., 546, 15 March 1856 'Do Cultura do Cafe' and
84. J.R. Dias, 'Black Chiefs, White Traders and Colonial Policy Near the Kwanza: Kabuku Kambilo and the Portuguese', J.A.H. XVII, 2 (1976), 248.
85. A.H.U.C.G. Angola Maço 3, 1840 and Francina, 'Viagem a Cazengo', 462.
86. Schapera, Livingstone's African Journal, 1.
87. Wheeler, Angola, 94.
88. Monteiro, Angola and the River Congo, 2, 131.
89. Monteiro, Angola and the River Congo, 2, 131.
90. Loureiro, 'Cafeeiro em Angola', 46.
91. Chamberlain, Some Letters of Livingstone 1840-1872, 225.
92. B.O., 359 14 August 1852 From Chefe of Kazengu.
93. B.O., 428, 10 December, From Secretary of State.
94. J.J. da Silva, Indice Remissivo da legislação Ultramarina Desde Epoca dos Descobertas ate 1820. (Lisbon: Typographia de Pinheiro, 1904), 58.
95. A.H.U.C.G. Maço 25 1859 Dos No. 605.
96. Schapera, Livingstone's African Journal, 1, 117.
97. Silva, Indice da Legislação Ultramarina, 43.
98. Schapera, Livingstone's African Journal, 1, 136.

CHAPTER THREETHE TRANSFORMATION OF THE COFFEE INDUSTRY1865 - 1895

The period 1865 to 1895 witnessed the transformation of the coffee industry which was not to be surpassed until after the First World War. In this period the Portuguese colonialists completed the subjugation of the Mbundu through the control of the industry. This was done amidst increased insecurity and acute conflicts between different social groups within the enclave. This chapter has attempted to show the factors which combined in the transformation of the coffee industry and the subsequent dislocation of the Mbundu society.

PRODUCTION

The coffee exports from Angola increased tremendously in this period, reaching a peak not exceeded until after the Second World War. Production of coffee in Angola was stimulated to increase by the factors which will be discussed in this chapter. In 1867 Angola exported 912,505kg of coffee. In the same year the exports of groundnuts and palm oil stood at 1,879,260kg and 1,310,954kg respectively. These figures are higher than those of coffee. Three years later the coffee exports had slightly risen to 980,600kg. The figures of 1872 show a big increase in the coffee exports. The coffee exports of 1872 rose to 2,418,874kg.¹ The increase could have been caused by the failure of the Brazilian industry which

GROUNDNUTS
PAIN OIL
COFFEE
RUBBER

gave impetus to the Angolan coffee industry in the 1870s .

The increase in the exports of coffee in Angola was gradual. In 1884 coffee exports reached 7,000,000kg. The coffee exports were highest in 1895 with 11,066,198kg valued at 2.7 million escudos.² The increase of the coffee exports represents 1,200 per cent rise from 1870 to 1895. In figures the rise was by 10,153,693kg. The increase in coffee exports goes a long way in confirming the transformation of the industry. Other crops did not experience such a remarkable rise. Taking groundnuts, we see that the exports dwindled between 1867 and 1889. Cotton exports were 274,301 kg in 1867,³ and this figure was not surpassed in any year during this period. The only commodity which competed with coffee was rubber. For some good time rubber was the first foreign exchange earner. Coffee enjoyed first position in 1893 and 1895. This was not a mean achievement for the coffee planters. For comparison with other crops see table 5 p73. Although many activities proved to be disastrous, coffee alone continued to give hope to the Portuguese planters in Angola. The transformation of the coffee industry was made possible through a combination of many factors which are discussed below.

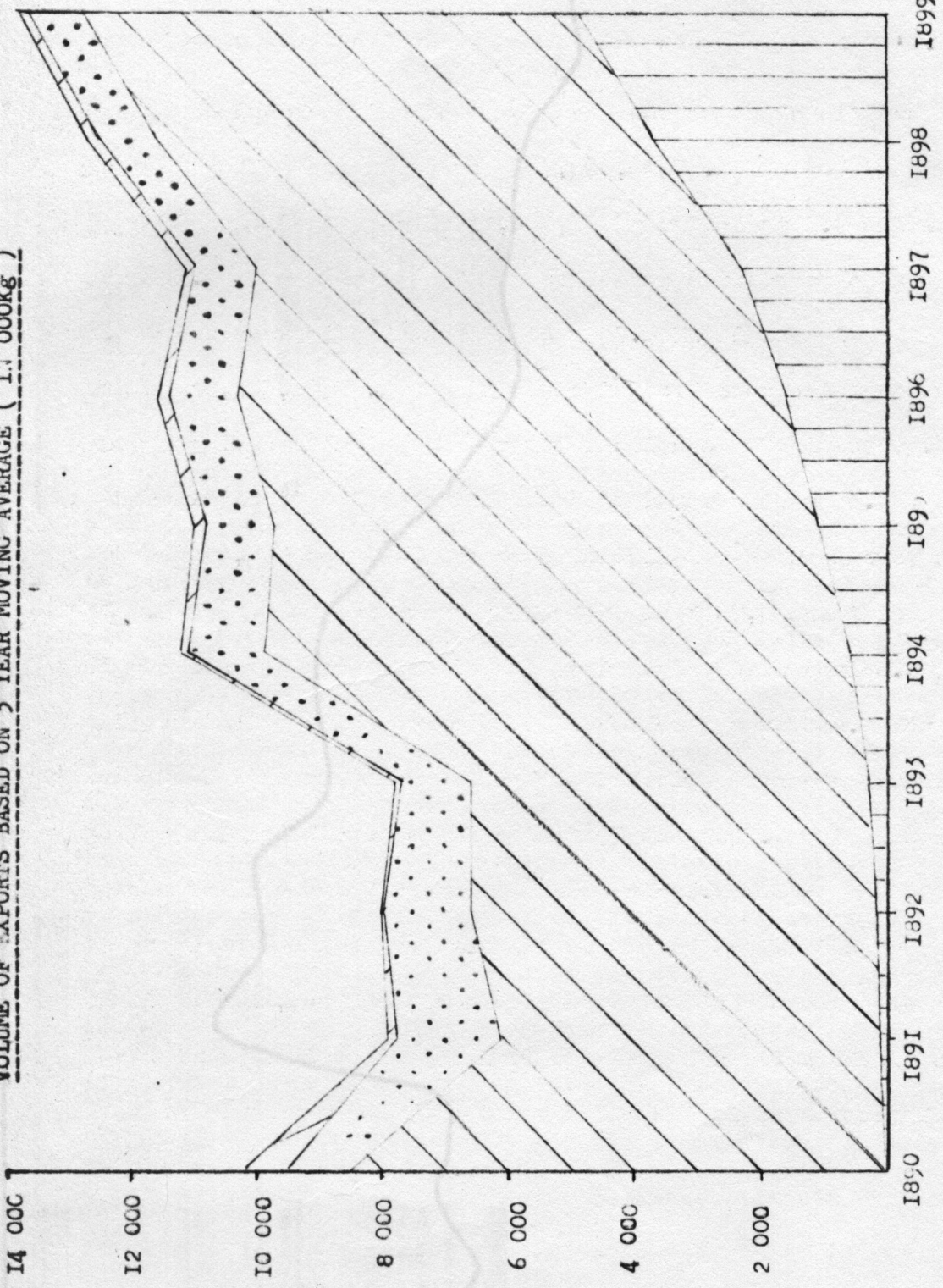
VOLUME OF EXPORTS BASED ON YEAR MOVING AVERAGE (11 YEARS)

1870 1880 1890 1895

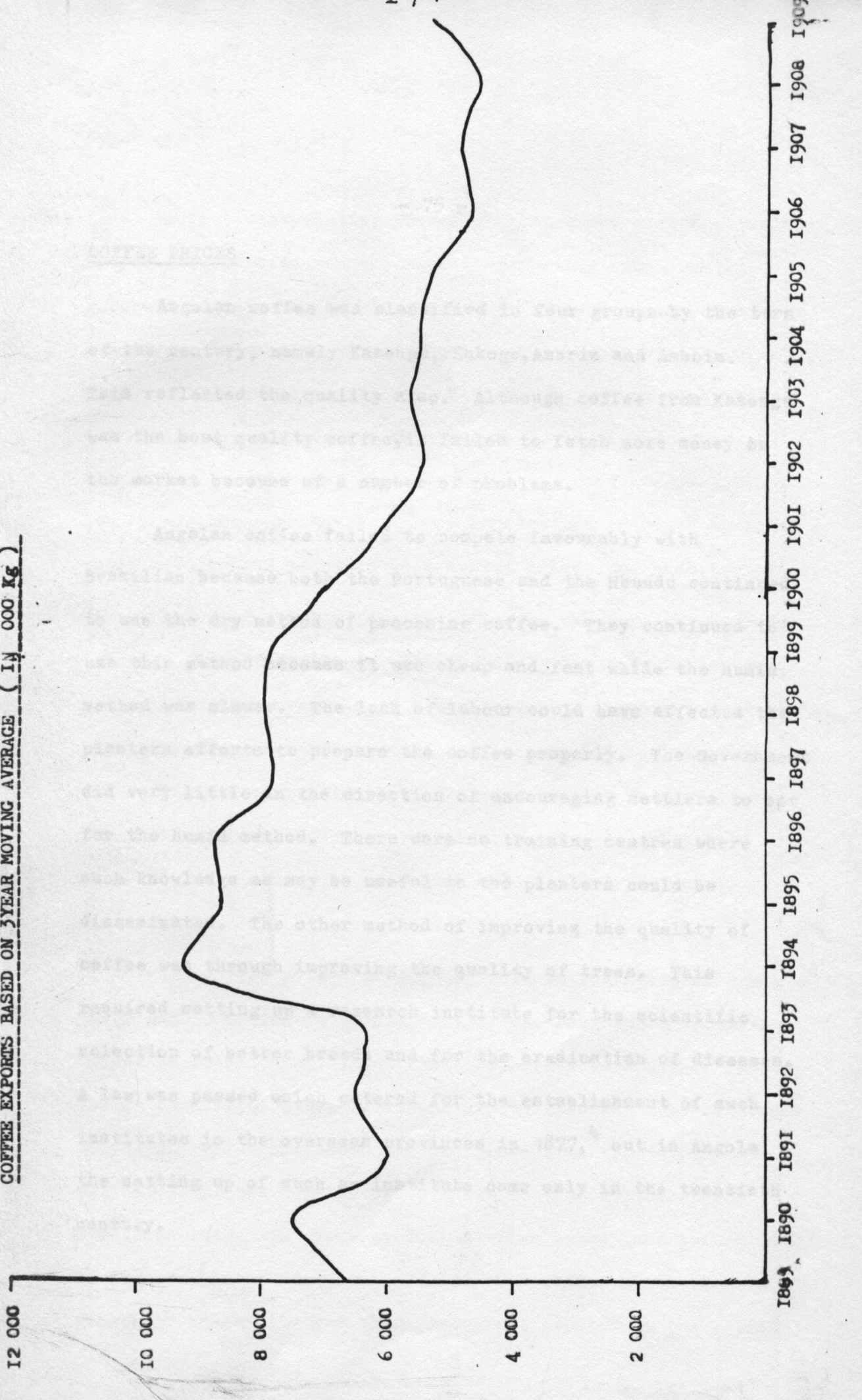
14 000
12 000
10 000
8 000
6 000
4 000
2 000

VOLUME OF EXPORTS BASED ON 3 YEAR MOVING AVERAGE (I. I. 000Kg)

- GROUNDNUTS
- PALM OIL
- COFFEE
- RUBBER



COFFEE EXPORTS BASED ON 3-YEAR MOVING AVERAGE (IN 000 KG)



Another contributing factor affecting the prices of coffee

COFFEE PRICES

markets was the lack of marketing campaigns in

Europe. Angolan coffee was classified in four groups by the turn of the century, namely Kazengu, Enkoge, Ambriz and Amboin.

This reflected the quality also. Although coffee from Kazengu was the best quality coffee, it failed to fetch more money on the market because of a number of problems.

Angolan coffee failed to compete favourably with Brazilian because both the Portuguese and the Mbundu continued

to use the dry method of processing coffee. They continued to use this method because it was cheap and fast while the humid method was slower. The lack of labour could have affected the

planters efforts to prepare the coffee properly. The Government did very little in the direction of encouraging settlers to opt for the humid method. There were no training centres where

such knowledge as may be useful to the planters could be disseminated. The other method of improving the quality of

coffee was through improving the quality of trees. This required setting up a research institute for the scientific selection of better breeds and for the eradication of diseases.

A law was passed which catered for the establishment of such institutes in the overseas provinces in 1877,⁴ but in Angola the setting up of such an institute came only in the twentieth century.

In these periods African owned land passed into Portuguese hands. Between 1870 and 1890 coffee prices were generally favourable and this gave great impetus to the coffee

Another contributing factor affecting the prices of coffee industry. It is in the same period that we observed the great increase in coffee exports from Angola. The success of the European markets for Angolan coffee. The lack of propaganda and vigour in penetrating external markets restricted Angolan coffee to few markets. Looking at table 7, we see that most of the coffee from Luanda was exported to Portugal and other Portuguese territories. Less than one per cent was exported to non Portuguese territories.⁵ The penetration of other markets would have helped maintain good market prices for Angolan coffee.

TABLE 7

The price fluctuations of coffee on the European markets tended to affect Angola in various ways. The fall in coffee prices (see tables) served as a constraint on increased production. In the years after 1895, the fall in prices led to the decline of the coffee industry. Another effect of the low coffee prices was that coffee piled up on the plantations. In the period 1880-1881 great quantities of coffee were still lying uncollected at Prototypo.⁶

When coffee prices were favourable in the European markets there was commotion in Kwanza North. The Portuguese settlers tended to extend their lands when the prices were high. This led to conflicts between Africans owning land and the Portuguese settlers. This phenomenon can be traced from the 1870S when the coffee prices were favourable due to the failure of the Brazilian crop. In these periods African owned land passed into Portuguese hands. Between 1870 and 1890 coffee prices were generally favourable and this gave great impetus to the coffee

industry. It is in the same period that we observed the great increase in coffee exports from Angola. The success of the coffee industry was closely linked with the coffee prices.

Calvorio, a Portuguese traveller in Angola in the late nineteenth century viewed the coffee industry in the following words:

If the coffee prices in the European markets shoot up and if it is maintained for sometime, it is certain that the agriculturists and trader will be liberated from a greater part of the onus under which they have laboured in the last years.⁷

TABLE 7

COFFEE EXPORTS FROM LUANDA (1888) AND ITS IMPORTERS

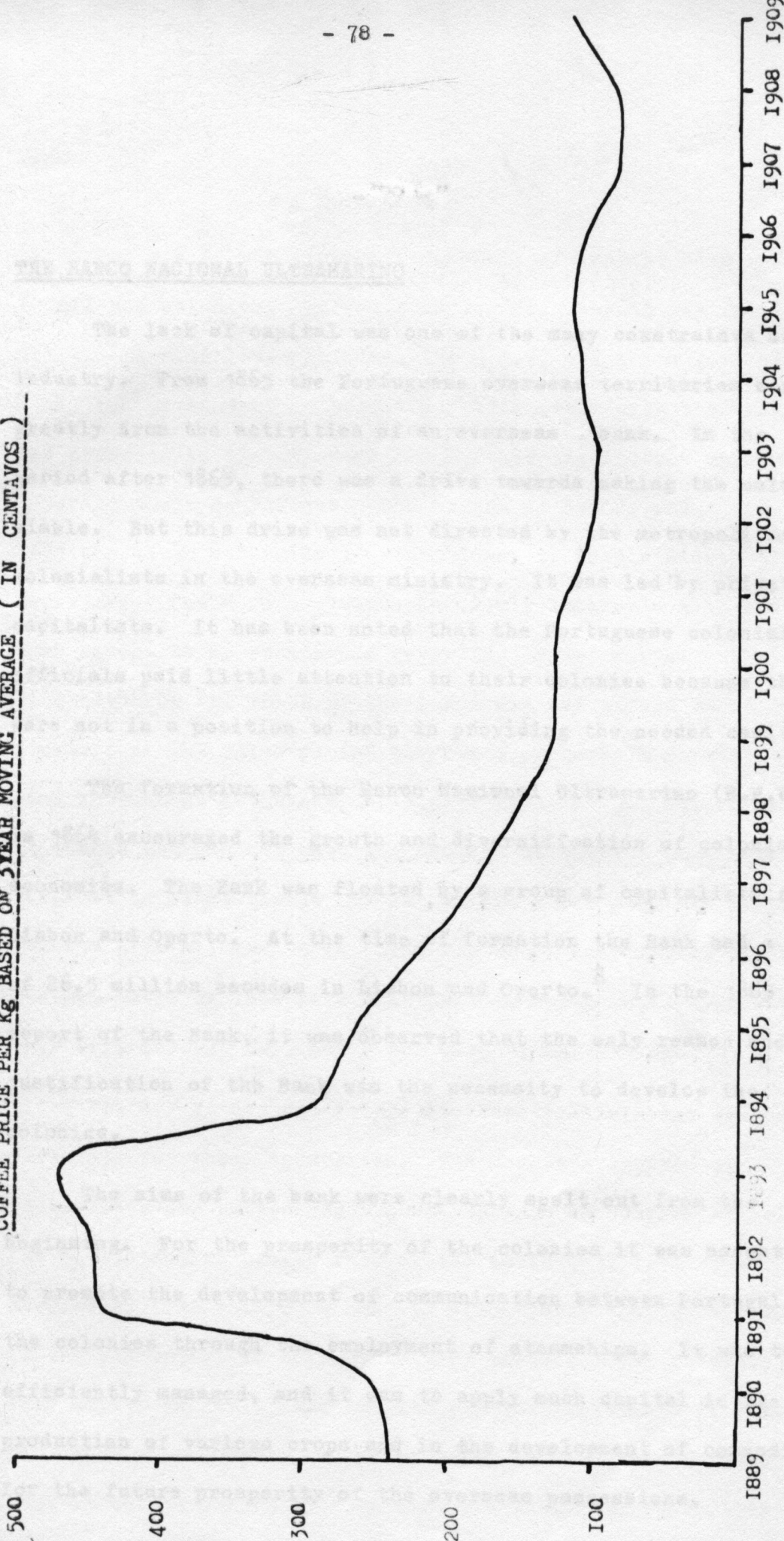
COUNTRIES	UNIT	QUANTITY	VALUE	TAX
PORTUGAL	kg	3,641,422,230	802,070\$266	24,062 \$108
OTHER PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES		290,094	86,055 \$132	4,302 \$750
HAMBURG		20,730	4,836\$ 609	241\$829

Source

A.H.U. Angola, 2nd Repartição 2nd Seccão, Pasta
12, 1888.

TABIE

COFFEE PRICE PER KG BASED ON 3 YEAR MOVING AVERAGE (IN CENTAVOS)



THE BANCO NACIONAL ULTRAMARINO

The lack of capital was one of the many constraints on the industry. From 1865 the Portuguese overseas territories benefited greatly from the activities of an overseas bank. In the period after 1865, there was a drive towards making the colonies viable. But this drive was not directed by the metropolitan colonialists in the overseas ministry. It was led by private capitalists. It has been noted that the Portuguese colonial officials paid little attention to their colonies because they were not in a position to help in providing the needed capital.

The formation of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino (B.N.U.) in 1864 encouraged the growth and diversification of colonial economies. The Bank was floated by a group of capitalists from Lisbon and Oporto. At the time of formation the Bank had a total of 26.5 million escudos in Lisbon and Oporto.⁸ In the 1865 report of the Bank, it was observed that the only reason and justification of the Bank was the necessity to develop the colonies.

The aims of the bank were clearly spelt out from the beginning. For the prosperity of the colonies it was essential to promote the development of communication between Portugal and the colonies through the employment of steamships. It was to be efficiently managed, and it was to apply much capital in the production of various crops and in the development of commodities for the future prosperity of the overseas possessions.

The B.N.U. was given the monopoly of issuing bank notes in all the colonies. It was exempted from paying any tax in all the territories. Although the B.N.U. was not a government bank, the government in Angola worked closely with the Bank. The branches in the colonies had further regulations which governed their operations. The branch at Luanda which opened in 1865 was given authority to grant loans to people within the territory. Loans were given selectively to people with what the Bank deemed to be reasonable security. Under normal circumstances the value of the loans did not exceed three quarters of the value of the borrowers' property. However, the Bank management in Luanda could give up to five thousand escudos to people who did not have the desired security.⁹ The maximum interest it might charge was set at eight per cent for mortgages. (credit predial) and 12 per cent for other operations. The maximum rates of interests continued to apply until 1900 when they were reduced to 7 and 9 per cent. respectively.¹⁰

The B.N.U. was not formed by industrialists who wanted raw materials for their industries. The Bank was created by capitalists who raised their money through commercial activities. The understanding of the role of the banks will further our knowledge. The role of a bank is essentially that of a middleman in the payments. In doing this they transform the inactive money into active capital, that is into capital yielding a profit.¹¹ The banks which merely collected money from various charges and lent it out to others without itself moving into control of industry could be classified as mercantile or commercial capitalism.

However, when bank transforms its operation by being involved directly in the control of industries, its operations are transformed into productive capital. This may involve buying shares in industrial enterprises and also in the provision of loans to the productive sector. In this way loans and investments in agriculture will belong to operations which leads to classifying an enterprise as an industrial capital or as a finance capital institution. Banks which give out loans for investment in industry are classified as finance capital institution. Finance capital is therefore bank capital in money form which is converted into industrial capital.

The B.N.U. did not restrict its activities to mere banking, the aims clearly indicating that its role was in financing productive enterprises such as agriculture. The B.N.U. desired to run its own shipping lines. Although the stated aims said that the Bank would provide the lacking funds to agriculturists in the colonies it went beyond mere lending of money. In Kwanza North, the B.N.U. was the major land owner at the turn of the century. The leading coffee plantation in the region came to be in the hands of the B.N.U. By controlling plantations the Bank was in fact directly controlling production of coffee. The B.N.U. not only dominated the coffee industry, it also invested heavily in the Kwanza steamship. Many planters sold their produce to the Bank, which means that apart from dominating coffee production, it also dominated marketing. By

1900 the Kazengu Agricultural Company was formed by B.N.U. indicating that the B.N.U. had further spread its activities. The B.N.U. had subordinated to their will both commercial and industrial operations due to the concentration of capital into their hands. In Europe the changing role of banks in the nineteenth century was a historical development within a capitalist society. As for the colonies, these developments did not have any local historical roots. The colonial economies were incorporated into the external capitalist system. In Angola the B.N.U. contributed greatly in the transformation of the coffee industry through its supply of capital.

The directors of the Luanda branch rapidly identified the Kwanza North as one of the few places where an agricultural economy was viable. By 1868, the Bank had come together with some plantation owners in Kazengu whose properties were developed.¹² They gave out loans to those with developed plantations so that they had a guarantee for the repayment of the loans. The B.N.U. reports published in Lisbon were very general and therefore do not bring out information needed for a detailed study. In spite of this, we may conclude from the information we have that in the advancing of loans to planters the B.N.U. preferred big planters to small ones since possession of a developed estate was required to secure a loan. Since Portuguese rather than Africans had large estates they were likely to be the recipients of the credits.

was used to fund different government projects.¹⁹ Although most of the loans and credits of the Bank do not indicate the

A number of outstanding Portuguese coffee planters in the Luanda hinterland benefited greatly from the B.N.U. loans. Alberto de Fonseca Abreu e Costa who had become very prominent in the third quarter of the century obtained help from the Bank for his coffee plantation.¹³ Feliciano da Silva Oliveira, a resident of Massangano but with a coffee plantation in Kazengu benefited from the B.N.U. loans when he was struck by misfortunes during the 1873 to 1876 drought.¹⁴ The owners of Prototipo, the biggest plantation in Kazengu, also received money from the Bank to help them in the development of the estate.¹⁵ The owners of one of the oldest plantation in Kazengu, Colonial de S. João, in their efforts to expand the territory for coffee planting got a loan from the B.N.U. in the period before 1890.¹⁶

A few reports shed some light on the amounts of money the Bank had given out in the period. The balance sheet of the Luanda branch as at 30 November 1879 showed a total amount of assets worth 2 million escudos. The Bank had given out loans worth 1.5 million escudos¹⁷ which was more than half of the bank's assets. However, a year later the amounts in credits had dropped to 350,000 escudos.¹⁸ This could have been due to the making of repayments or writing off bad debts during signs of bankruptcy, but it is not clear from the reports.

The Bank used to lend money to the government also. In 1881 the government owed the Bank only 330,000 escudos which was used to fund different government projects.¹⁹ Although most of the loans and credits of the Bank do not indicate the

persons who benefited, it is clear that the amount of money lent out was enough to generate change in the Province. The amount of money lent out does not include the operations of the branch at Mossamedes. The availability of capital helped to fill, in the gap of the previous years, and to extend Portuguese colonialism by promoting the development of the 'barren sovereignty'.²⁰

The B.N.U. allowed its debtors to pay back loans and credits either in produce or in money. The provision to repay the credits and mortgages in kind encouraged the planters to take such chances as it was easier to pay in produce than in money. The Bank also hoped that by such an arrangement more Portuguese people would take up commercial agriculture. It did not take long before the Bank got returns from the credits they had advanced. In 1870 the Luanda branch received consignments of over 100,000 kg of coffee and 30,000 escudos worth of other commodities.²¹ A year later the amount of coffee received had doubled. The branch received 4,327 sacks of dry coffee weighing 200,000kg.²² In 1887 the amount of coffee received from Luanda had risen to 6762 sacks weighing 460,160kg.²³ This trend continued until the bubble burst in the years after 1895.

During times of disaster the B.N.U. was very active in alleviating the plight of the planters. In the drought years of 1873-1876 the B.N.U. advanced money to the struggling planters. From 1873 the Bank's report stated that they had given advances to some planters and traders in different

territories in Angola for different purposes. In Angola they obtained land for the planting of coffee. Although it is not easy to come up with figures of the amount invested in the coffee industry, none the less we may conclude that bank and private banks were a long way toward transforming the coffee industry to the point where it was for a time the greatest foreign exchange earner for Angola. Feliciano da Silva Oliveira was a victim of this drought as he lost his sugar plantation on his estate Boa Jesus. He sustained so much damage that he requested the B.N.U. to give him more money so that he could overcome his difficulties. But since such authority was vested in the council of the Bank in Lisbon, he was only granted his request in 1875.²⁶ The droughts, coupled with epidemics of yellow fever and smallpox, destabilised the coffee industry in the 1870s.²⁷ Smallpox epidemics had first hit the Mbundu in the 1860s and depopulation was noted by contemporaries in several areas by the 1870s. In all these activities the B.N.U. played an important role in re-establishing the confidence of planters. The colonial authorities did not want the Africans to participate as planters of coffee. In the

Apart from the capital from the B.N.U., there were other sources of capital. One useful source was from the settlers who came from Brazil in the 1870s after the failure of the coffee crop.²⁸ In the last quarter of the nineteenth century other nationalities had access to the coffee industry. British capital through companies such as Carnegie was invested in the coffee industry.²⁹ Newton Carnegie and Company possessed vast coffee industry at the expense of small scale producer was a

territories in Angola for different purpose. In Angola they obtained land for the planting of coffee. Although it is not easy to come up with figures of the amounts invested in the coffee industry, nonetheless, we may conclude that bank and private capital went a long way toward transforming the coffee industry to the point where it was for a time the greatest foreign exchange earner for Angola.

WHITE SETTLEMENT

The availability of capital for investment in the coffee industry was just one of the factors which effected its transformation. The promising wealth from coffee planting attracted more Portuguese to Kwanza North. The misfortunes of the Brazilian coffee industry turned out to be the fortune of the Angolan coffee industry as settlers from Brazil took up coffee planting and availed themselves of the credit facilities.

That the Portuguese colonial officials wanted to develop the coffee industry through the use of Portuguese people is irrefutable. The colonial authorities did not want the Africans to participate as planters of coffee. In the development of the colony, the colonial officials hoped it would be spearheaded by the Portuguese while the Africans were to play the role of merely providing labour. Henrique Augusto Dias de Calvario, who had travelled extensively in Angola in the 1880's, argued that the decision made by the Portuguese colonialists in picking on the whites in the development of the coffee industry at the expense of small scale producer was a

great mistake. He maintained:

It would have been better had they given protection to all the Africans because they dedicated themselves to the tilling of their land and there would have been no reason for the Europeans to compete with them in these circumstances.³⁰

Calvario justified his stand by arguing that the whites were not suited to the climate of Angola. They also needed to adopt their agricultural knowledge to the Angolan environment.³¹

Portugal unfortunately did not have pragmatic men in the scheme of European settlement for Angola. The Kwanza North colonial office with the perception of Calvario. What appeared most important to them was that they were in Angola on a civilising mission; Portugal had a moral responsibility to the less civilised people of Angola. The Portuguese were therefore paternalistic, looking at the Africans as children who were not capable of developing the colony. The renowned Portuguese historian Oliveira Martins contributed greatly in influencing thought on the inferiority of the Africans.³²

The Portuguese thinking was that 'to allow Africans to grow coffee was to spoil them as they were indolent and needed to be civilised through work'.³³ The Africans were looked upon as 'beasts of burden' and nothing more. The Portuguese ideology could not have allowed the competition from blacks in the coffee industry.

Although the Portuguese wanted to develop Angola with use of white settlers they did not formulate and implement settlement schemes. The Portuguese colonial authorities continued to look at the colonies as ^a dumping ground for the

'scum' of their society, the convicts who were commonly referred to as degredados. Bender has shown that of all the colonies, Angola received more degredados. Other colonies effectively opposed the sending of degredados by the mid 1880s while Angola remained the only repository for the metropolitan's out-casts.³⁴ The colonial authorities hoped to develop the colonies with such people. The system of penal colonisation as it is called could not be referred to as a systematic scheme of European settlement for Angola. The Kwanza North Province never had any settlement scheme which could have boosted the number of coffee planters.

Besides the lack of official settlement schemes there were some individual efforts to fill the gap. The problem with most plans was that they only ended up in planning offices. Nogueira has an example of a J.J. da Graça who had published his settlement plans intitled 'Projecto de uma Companhia Agricola e Comercial Agricola' where he proposed a plan for the occupation of Angola.³⁵ The settlement plan had a definite purpose of systematically colonising the area. But in the end it was just another of those projects which were never implemented.

The influx of new settlers to Kwanza North was therefore not planned but haphazard. By 1857 there had been 23 planters in Kazengu. By 1878 the number of whites had risen to 161.³⁶ In the period between 1885 and 1895 there was further immigration. Dias noted that in this period ten more settlers came to the state could be parcelled out to the new land seekers for

the cultivation of commercial crops. In the law of 1861
Kazengu to take up coffee planting.³⁷ The phenomenon of
settlers taking up coffee planting was not restricted to
Kazengu. In 1878 the number of whites in the interior
districts was quite high. That there were more whites
settlers coming to Kwanza North has thus been demonstrated.

LAND

The choice of developing Angola through the use of
settlers led to a number of serious consequences for the
Mbundu. The promotion of white settlement meant setting
aside land which would be put to use. From the 1870s to
the end of the period land alienation was practised on a
larger scale than before in Kwanza North. With the increased
number of settlers and as they extended their lands under
cultivation, land became scarce.

The Portuguese authorities responded to this need for
land by promulgating laws which made it easier to alienate
land. Throughout the period under review the major law
on alienation and consession of land remained the 1856 law.
According to this law the land to be alienated was supposed
to be 'unoccupied land' terrenos baldios. The land law of
4 December 1861 added to the vagueness on what type of land
was to be alienated. This law removed the qualifying word of
'unoccupied land' by maintaining that any land belonging to
the state could be parcelled out to the new land seekers for

TABLE NO. 9

TABLE OF LAND CONCEDED TO FOREIGNERS IN KWANZA

(Taken from Index to B.O. 1892)
the cultivation of commercial crops. In the law of 10th October 1865, the alienation of occupied land was specifically allowed.³⁸

The authority to alienate land was vested in the district officials who determined what land was to be alienated. It is likely that all uncultivated land was considered to be unoccupied and could therefore be alienated. Dias observed that "In general European new comers treated the independence of African cultivated areas with scant respect."³⁹ In certain instances they used terror to force the Mbundu to abandon their plots through the burning of huts and crops.⁴⁰ The Government tolerated most of these illegal alienations in the region. In 1878 chief Kakulu Kamwinza of Kazengu lost one of his estates to a third party and protests against this led to his banishment to Luanda.⁴¹

'Clearly the business of land allocation had passed from official grants, through private sale to outright expropriation.'⁴²

24/10/1881 Land alienation was not widespread in Angola in this period. It was only significant in Kwanza North because of the coffee industry and other agricultural pursuits. In Kazengu whole sobadas were absorbed by plantations in the 1880s.⁴³ The alienation and allocation of land was more acute from the 1870s to 1895. The table below tells the whole story of land alienation and allocation.

19/2/1883

25

Lucala

Kazengu

TABLE NO. 9

TABLE OF LAND CONCEDED TO PORTUGUESE IN KWANZA

NORTH. (Taken from Index to B.O. 1892)

DATE	QUANTITIES (Hectares)	LOCATION
27/3/1877	100 hectares	Margins of Kwanza
26/4/84	400 "	"
4/12/84	20 "	Kazengu
12/2/84	130 "	Margins of Kwanza
26/8/84	250 "	Margins of Kwanza
30/3/1877	200 "	Kazengu
30/3/1877	500 "	"
19/9/1877	1800 "	"
11/1/1878	480 "	Kazengu (Hungu)
"	250 "	Kazengu (Hungu)
22/11/1891	1000 "	Mabangano
19/6/1876	800 "	Ngulungu
"	1000 "	Ngulungu
"	1000 "	Kazengu
"	6 "	"
24/10/1878	1000 "	Kazengu
"	450 "	"
17/12/79	1000 "	Kazengu/Ngulungu
	1000 "	Kazengu
	1000 "	Ambaka
21/9/82	500 "	Kazengu/Ngulungu
2/11/82	1000 "	Lucala
19/2/1883	25 "	Kazengu

TABLE NO. 9 (Cont.)

DATE	QUANTITIES (Hectares)	LOCATION
26/4/84	500 Hectres	Kaxengu
4/12/84	35 "	Ambaca
12/2/84	1000 "	Alto Dande
26/8/84	500 "	Kazengu
30/1/85	300 "	Kazengu/Ambaca
28/8/85	552 "	Kazengu/Ngulungu
26/4/1886	1000 "	Kazengu
11/2/1889	10,000 "	Kazengu
18/5/1889	17 "	Kazengu
22/11/1891	450 "	Ambaca
30/6/1892	100 "	Ambaca

This caused panic among the planters of Kazengu. The swift action of the government forces defused this tension. This action against Kabuku serves to show the state's support of settlers over land conflicts. The enmity of successive local officials with the European planters exacerbated the relations between the Mbund and the Portuguese.

Another factor which influenced land alienation was the coffee price fluctuations. It has been noted earlier on that when the coffee prices were favourable Portuguese settlers tended to extend their plantations and often came in conflict with Africans over land. The fall in coffee

Conflicts over land in this period have been recorded in this period by other historians. In the district of Kambambe there was one case which drew much attention. The conflict was between two Mbundu chiefs, Ndembu Kabuku and Don Thome. In 1876 the Governor General allocated disputed land to Don Thome leaving Kabuku dissatisfied.⁴⁴ In early 1880s Kabuku was once again in conflict with a Portuguese planter, H.F. de Fretos who laid a claim to a piece of land which Kabuku wanted as his inheritance in satisfaction of a debt. The conflict dragged on until Kabuku mobilised men along the Lukala.⁴⁵ 'As his followers massed along the Kambambe side of the river the people of Kazengu flocked to meet them clamouring for Kabuku's aid in driving the white fazendeiros from the concelho'.⁴⁶ This caused panic among the planters of Kazengu. The swift action of the government forces defused this tension. This action against Kabuku serves to show the state's support of settlers over land conflicts. The connivance of successive local officials with the European planters exacerbated the relations between the Mbund and the Portuguese.

Another factor which influenced land alienation was the coffee price fluctuations. It has been noted earlier on that when the coffee prices were favourable Portuguese settlers tended to extend their plantations and often came in conflict with Africans over land. The fall in coffee

prices led to the mortgaging of plantations by some planters who could not survive such times without aid from the B.N.U. The Bank seized properties of debtors who failed to repay the loans. Among well known properties which fell in the B.N.U. hands were Prototipo in 1887, S. João de colonial in 1890 and Mount Allegre.⁴⁷ Through such acquisition of land the B.N.U. ended up being the largest land owner in Kwanza North.⁴⁸ Droughts also had a direct bearing in the transfer of land to the new planters. During the 1873-76 drought an unspecified number of Mbundu small estate owners were reported to have sold land to the European planters for coffee planting.⁴⁹

The Mbundu did not sit down idly while their land was being grabbed by the Portuguese settlers. Initially they attempted to seek redress by following the laid down procedure. When this proved to be futile and unhelpful, they resorted to arms. The Mbundu who were in a stronger position, either through the accumulation of wealth or due to their locality, put up armed resistance to the advancing colonial forces. Dias has shown how Kabuku Kambilo capitalised on Portuguese weakness to strength and extend the area under his control.⁵⁰ This situation led to the delayed occupation of his lands. In 1872 six Ndembu Chiefs encouraged by Mubire chiefs, expelled settlers and colonial officials from their lands. In 1879, some Kazengu chiefs signed a petition which they sent to the

Governor-General, threatening similar action if land and labour grievances were not resolved.⁵¹ In 1892 when the price of coffee was high Antonio Fernandos de Freitas found himself besieged by black small land holders when he had attempted to grab land from them.⁵²

The violence arising from land conflicts spread to Ngulungu and Ambaka as well. In 1866 Ngulungu was a hive of activities as the chiefs organised to expel the Portuguese settlers from the area.⁵³ Ambaka had its own spate of violence which included a mutiny by some soldiers in 1874. In Ngulungu some chiefs, namely, Solla Zango, Ganza Hisa Kanzelo and Ngulungu, attacked the people of Shokolo in an attempt to annex the territory but they were repulsed.⁵⁴

African response was not limited to the form we have been discussing above. Most people simply accepted their fate and the best they could do was to emigrate to other areas such as Kissama and Ndembu countries which were not yet under Portuguese colonial rule. Some of these people who were displaced, sought employment on the plantations and on the railway works. This was mostly passive response but others did not just give up as they harassed the Portuguese in different ways.

SOCIAL BANDITRY

A more serious reaction to Portuguese oppression in Kwanza North was that of social banditry. Social banditry

without availability of open resources was empty. This arose from the circumstances which degraded Africans to a situation made it difficult for the Portuguese to put down the level of destitutes. In his study of Huila in Southern Angola Clarence-Smith traced the cause of social banditry in the land spoilation of the 1860s. In that area land spoilation was caused by the settlers growing of cotton.⁵⁵ In the Kwanza region the planting of coffee gave rise to the demand for more land, which left many Mbundu landless. The emergence of social banditry was also an indication of the breaking down of ^{the} mechanism of social control in society. The coming of settlers to Kwanza North generated changes in the Mbundu traditional way of life. In times past the control of the people was the responsibility of elders who used their authority to punish the wrong doers. This authority was vested in land and people. The chiefs and elders lost their grip over land and people as the Portuguese consolidated their control of the area. The loss of control over land and people meant that another system of controlling the people had to be introduced. The Portuguese who had a police force to coerce the people failed to contain the situation. Although the Portuguese were anxious to replace Mbundu authority with their own, they did not have the resources to mount an effective instrument of coercion. The Portuguese desire to use African chiefs and elders in controlling people under them over looked the fact that the chiefly authority

LABOUR

without availability of open resources was empty. This situation made it difficult for the Portuguese to put down these raids by the bandits.

Throughout this period the traders and planters were always terrified by the possibility of attacks from the bandits. The people who organised themselves in groups of bandits were mostly fugitive slaves running away from Portuguese tyranny on the plantations. Others were those who became landless with no other source of a meaningful living. These bandits earned their living through raiding caravans carrying goods to and from the coast.⁵⁶ Their raids were extended to the plantations, where they raided for produce and the slave workers or libertos. The captive slaves were sold to other planters within the region. During the drought period of 1873-76, social banditry increased as Mbundu struggled to survive.

Social banditry was rampant near the Ndembu country and Kissama lands. This was so because they could easily find refuge in these territories which were not conquered as yet. In the district of Ngulungu the rate of social banditry was high.⁵⁷ Apart from attacking caravans they also attacked smaller ships moving between Luanda and Dondo. These attacks were launched by the Kissama.⁵⁸ These attacks fomented insecurity among planters and traders.

was still a recruiting ground of slaves or servants for

LABOUR

In this period, Angola passed through a turbulent situation as the question of the labour shortage continued to torment both the planters and colonial officials. With the increased number of settler farmers and plantations came the high demand for labour. The Portuguese were forced to resort to perpetuating slavery although they branded slavery with less offensive terms. The labour shortage in Angola persisted through out the entire period.

LABOUR SHORTAGE

The cry for more labour could be traced from to 1866. In Ngulungu the district administrator wrote the Governor General complaining of the shortage of labour in his district. In his correspondence he was appealing to the State to supply labour to the traders and agriculturists.⁵⁹ In the same letter he further noted that there was no voluntary labour available for work in plantations. The dearth of labour induced the settlers to launch a smear campaign against the 'indolence of the Africans'. In yet another report from Ngulungu to Luanda, the indolence and repugnance of Africans towards work dominated the correspondence.⁶⁰

The labour situation of the Kwanza North Province was worsened by a number of other factors. This area was still a recruiting ground of slaves or serviçais for

São Thome. These were required to work in cocoa and coffee plantations. The recruitment from this area continued until the twentieth century when it was publicly exposed by the English.⁶¹ Attempts to control this drain of manpower in 1874 led to protest by São Thomean planters claiming that the consequences would be grave.⁶²

The labour situation continued to deteriorate as the epidemic of smallpox claimed many lives of agricultural workers. The increased number of the epidemics could have been due to the declining resistance among the Mbundu due to malnutrition.⁶³ Some planters had attempted to protect the lives of their workers by inoculating them. The continuation of droughts and epidemics had adverse effects on African control of land and on the supply of labour. During the drought of 1873-76 there were many desperate cries for more labour. Africans were forced by hunger and weakness to work for European planters although most of them preferred to migrate to other regions. This pattern of African response to droughts throughout Angola has been documented by Dias.

During the drought of 1873-76 another disease Tunga penetrans attacked the Mbundu workers,⁶⁴ being spread in land through caravan porters. Its toll among the Mbundu who were being attacked simultaneously by hunger and

smallpox was enough to affect the labour supply. Out- immediately throughout the Portuguese empire. The breaks of smallpox continued in 1882-3, 1886-87 and in 1892. These epidemics reduced the number of workers available for agricultural work. In Kazengu and Ngulungu sleeping sickness had always claimed Mbundu lives and it continued to do so throughout this period. The presence of the disease contributed to causing the labour shortage.

Another factor which affected the labour market in this region was the increased colonial demands for labour for its own economic projects such as the construction of roads and railways. All these colonial demands for more labour had to be satisfied by the Mbundu who were already overstretched.

The question of who was to control the limited labour resources within the colony gave rise to conflicts between the local Portuguese colonists and the metropolitan authorities who desired to end slavery by 1878. The emancipation of the slaves was resisted by the planters who perpetuated slavery and forced labour.

The law of 29 April 1858 instituted a period of twenty years at the end of which slavery would be completely abolished. The period of twenty years was considered sufficient for the gradual and orderly transition from slave to free labour on European farms. The reluctance of the

planters induced the colonial authorities in the metropole to pass another decree in 1869 which abolished slavery immediately throughout the Portuguese empire.⁶⁵ The equivocal position of libertos was that they were independent and at the same time were obliged to serve their 'former' masters for ten years. The legislators hoped that the abolition of slavery would improve the social conditions in the region which would attract more Africans to take up employment. But this never materialised because the conditions with Angola militated against it.

The move to end slavery was not accepted in the colonies as the legislation to end slavery went against one fundamental principle of the Angolan society. The bulwark of Portuguese prosperity was the availability of cheap labour in the colonies.

Alberto da Fonseca Abreu e Costa a leading coffee planter of Kazengu rejected the ending of slavery on the grounds that it was badly conceived in law and that it did not consider the different circumstances found in the colonies.⁶⁶ The law should not have been uniform but should have been modified for some colonies:

For some colonies it would not be necessary to impose these obligations which in others are indispensable, because of the state of advancement, indolence and other special circumstances.⁶⁷

Fonseca Abreu e Costa considered the condition in Angola as demanding special attention because no voluntary labour was known despite employers attempts to acquire some. Agriculture

The B.N.U., with such interest in the coffee industry, oppose the emancipation of the slaves. In 1869 the position

was going to be ruined if slavery was abolished.

Felix Meyer, another of the people in Angola who opposed the ending of slavery, argued that the situation in Angola did not allow the substitution of slave labour by free labour.⁶⁸ He maintained that the envisaged reforms would require much work as they would necessitate the changing of African customs. To F. Meyer the Africans were still savages and the task of changing their habits was almost insurmountable.

One of the suggestions from the planters was that the law should include a vagrancy clause and that the government should be responsible for suppressing vagrancy.⁶⁹ Another suggestion was that the slaves should work for their redemption. They thought that the working for their liberty would educate them to appreciate the value of work. The points raised in objection suggested that the metropolitan legislators did not deal with the subject thoroughly. In the law ending slavery there were no clauses which dealt with the educating of the Africans so that they could usefully contribute to the development of the country. All that the agriculturists were calling for was a gradual transition which would have ensured that they had their labour requirements. The legislation on labour emancipation was piecemeal because it did not aim at total emancipation of the slaves.

B.N.U. AND THE LABOUR QUESTION

The B.N.U., with much interest in the coffee industry, opposed the emancipation of the slaves. In 1869 the position

of the Bank was that the transition should be gradual.⁷⁰ The Bank called for prudence in implementing the law. It maintained that the lack of labour would affect European emigration to Angola. The stand of the bank was that the ending of slavery would prejudice the general interest in Angola and that it would affect the operations of the Bank. The Bank argued that a planter without labour but with much land was not of much use. To the Bank labour constituted what they regarded as security. Whenever one of their clients failed to fulfil his obligation towards the bank, they would confiscate his slaves who would be deployed on its estates. This could only work where labour was slave labour because it constituted the client's property. With the emancipation of the slaves, the slaves would cease to be considered as property of their clients.

The Bank criticised Portuguese colonial authorities for not having made necessary preparations for the transition. It remonstrated that it had not been given notice so that it could make necessary precautions which would make their capital secure. The Bank was worried about the repayments of credits by the planters whose prosperity was based on cheap labour. For most planters their aim was to minimise the costs and maximise the profits, one way of doing that was to use slave labour. The Bank talked about the co-existence of the whites and blacks as being complementary - the rider and the horse relationship.

role played by the state was in the provision of curadores

The B.N.U. complained that the emancipation of the slaves would breed instability and insecurity since the laws did not have practical disposition in looking after the interests of the workers and the employers. They argued that the legislators were so imbued with improving the conditions of libertos that they did not even consider the security of the planters. They accused the law of providing an opportunity to the Mbundu to settle their vendetta against the whites. The bank was concerned with security because security was necessary for development. The fear that Africans could attack European planters was not only a threat to the planters but to the Bank also. In all those objections the Bank wanted to ensure that its operations continued undisrupted.⁷¹

GOVERNMENT ACTION

The Bank and the European planters put pressure on the administration in Angola to ignore the anti-slavery legislation. This pressure was so strong that it forced the administration to capitulate. This resulted in the colonial administration turning a blind eye to abuses. The pressure was felt not only by colonial officials in Angola, but also by the metropolitan colonial officials. The law of 1878 and that of 1880 contained a vagrancy clause whereas the 1869 law and 1873 proposed law did not have such a clause.⁷² This is an indication that the state took up some of the suggestions from the planters. The other role played by the state was in the provision of curadóres

(labour recruiters) who had no difficulties in finding enough vagrants to satisfy the settler labour demand.⁷³

In order to strengthen its control of the security of the area the Portuguese authorities increased the number of soldiers. In Kazengu we know that there were no soldiers who were stationed there in the first half of the nineteenth century. Travellers accounts of the last quarter of the century show that there were more soldiers station in the region. Birmingham noted that there were two companies of the second line troops of the mobile line in Kazengu whose number was about 150 men.⁷⁴ Calvario observed a number of police posts in Kazengu.⁷⁵ The Portuguese government's attempts at systematically colonising Angola induced them to increase their military presence in the region which they also used to quell Africans' resistance.

AFRICAN REACTION

The Africans who were employed or contracted by the Portuguese reacted to the harsh working conditions in various ways. The reactions were largely determined by the hostile environment.⁷⁶ The Portuguese could not allow collective bargaining nor were the Mbundu ready for such a process. In addition to the impossibility of collective bargaining the Portuguese did not allow free labour to exist. Almost all the labour was locked up through the serviçais system. No serviçais were allowed to terminate their contracts when the other party failed to fulfil the

terms of the contracts. The options left to the Africans engaged in the coffee industry were very limited. In this study, the most pronounced reaction of the Africans which was possible to investigate was that of desertion. But we should note that when the situation allowed, the Africans preferred to work on other public works than in plantations. In this way they demonstrated that they were able to undertake rational decisions when choosing which employer to work for. Thus during the construction of the Luanda-Ambaka railway from 1887 many plantation workers fled to go and work on the railway.⁷⁷

The desertions from the plantations by the serviçais were done individually and collectively. In 1866 411 slaves and libertos belonging to Albino Jose Soares owner of Protozipo ran away to Kissama.⁷⁸ In the same year the libertos and slaves of J.G. Sarmento of Dondo fled. There are numerous examples of slaves running away in the Kwanza North Province. The Boletim Oficial is full of cases of captured slaves. In fact before 1878 the slaves were put on sale if they were not claimed by the owners within 30 days. Desertion was a widespread reaction which entranced the whole region. With these factors prevailing the labour shortage continued in this region.

Although the Portuguese employed coercive measures to procure labour and to alienate land the Mbundu were not

intimidated at all. The use of violence to control the Mbundu produced mutatis mutandis violence from the Africans which made the situation more explosive. The reaction of the Mbundu against Portuguese manoeuvres was a clear indication that the Mbundu were developing a consciousness of the exploited. The reaction of Mbundu against the colonial presence in the region could be looked at as an early reaction against colonialism. In this reaction against colonialism, the Mbundu, had some advocates of their interests, who attacked Portuguese colonialism. Jose de Fontes Pereira, a journalist, was outspoken on Portuguese oppression especially in the Luanda hinterland.⁷⁹ This clearly indicates that the Mbundu were not mere cogs in the process of colonialism. The response of the Mbundu induced a sense of insecurity among the planters. In the last instance ~~it~~ was the Portuguese and not the Mbundu who served as a major distabilising agent in the region. The Mbundu merely reacted to their manoeuvres.

In Angola coffee was either sold to middlemen, traders or due sold at the coast by the planters. Although no single body handled coffee from planters, the B.N.U. soon became the biggest marketing body with the Luanda hinterland. The paying back of credits in coffee to the B.N.U. enhanced its position in marketing. This meant that part of the coffee fell into the hands of the B.N.U. The Bank managed

fever and sleeping sickness decimated the number of carregadores.⁸⁰ to control the machines which were used in grading coffee. The shortage of carregadores led to the billing of carregadores in the plantations. The Portuguese responded to this shortage very few planters and traders owned such machines. This gave the advantage to the Bank with resources to buy such machines.⁸¹ Apart from the participation of the B.N.U. in the marketing of coffee, the old channels still continued. The Portuguese and African traders and planters continued to buy coffee from the Africans who were still producing nearly half between 1876 and 1892.⁸² The use of carregadores was the major means of transporting coffee to business in the hands of individuals. Their only income came from tax on produce and from land sales and rent. The failure to provide a marketing board which would buy all the coffee from the planters in the interior denied them the opportunity of generating more revenue. This continued to be the situation until in the 1940s when the Junta de Exportação do Cafe came into existence. The marketing of coffee appears not to have been well coordinated in this period of study. The transporting of coffee was another factor of marketing.

TRANSPORT

One of the major constraints of the coffee industry was transport. The use of human backs in transporting coffee to Luanda continued in the last quarter of the century. Through this period agriculturists and traders relied on the use of carregadores. The epidemics of smallpox, yellow

fever and sleeping sickness decimated the number of carregadores. The shortage of carregadores led to the piling up of coffee in the plantations. The Portuguese responded to this shortage by recruiting people from other regions. By 1880 the transport of goods between the interior and the coast was almost entirely provided by Ovumbundu carregadores.⁸³ According to official statistics consulted by Dias the population of the concelhos in the Luanda hinterland fell nearly by half between 1878 and 1892.⁸⁴ The use of carregadores was the major means of transporting coffee to the river port of Dondo when steamships were introduced. carregadores continued throughout the century. The shortage of carregadores continued to affect the industry in this period. Another method which the planters and traders used was to own or engage carregadores on a contract basis. This was aided by the new system of signing contracts for any work for longer periods. At the estate of Prototypo, 400 carregadores were in employment.⁸⁵ Jose António Pereira, Commandant of the first line of mobile police, manager of the business house of António Pereira maintained 150 carregadores moving to and from Dondo. Another measure taken in meeting the demand for carregadores was through recruiting the repatriated libertos from Sao Thome. In 1878 more than two thousand libertos were recruited to be porters and agricultural workers.⁸⁶ But all these measures fell short of meeting the increasing demand for more transport.

THE KWANZA STEAMSHIP

In 1865, a seemingly permanent solution to the lack of meaningful transport was envisaged. The Kwanza steamship company was formed through the initiative of an American merchant, A.A. Silva who was given the monopoly of steamship carriage on the Kwanza river for fifteen years.⁸⁷ The Kwanza Steamship Company was financed by British capital.⁸⁸ The shareholders of the Company resided in London and major decisions on the running of the company came from London. Although the Portuguese colonial authorities desired to develop the coffee industry, they were reluctant to develop the infrastructure which would have boosted the production of coffee.

The steamers, belonging to the Kwanza Steamship company, shuttled between Luanda and Dondo, the farthest navigable point on the Kwanza river. By the middle of the nineteenth century most coffee from Kazengu and Ngulungu passed through Dondo. It was from Dondo that coffee was shipped to the coast and later on to Lisbon. The steamships provided quicker means of transporting produce from the interior to the coast.⁸⁹ Although the steamship ushered in a new era in Angola its effectiveness did not live up to the expectations and aspirations of the planters and the government. The Company did not provide good service because of a number of problems. Most of the problems encountered by the Steamship Company were due to geographical factors. The Kwanza river

had many obstacles which needed to be cleared. As long as these were not cleared the steamers would be delayed. The question of clearing the Kwanza was not resolved immediately because neither the company nor the government were prepared to bear the expenses of clearing the obstacles.⁹⁰

Another problem which the company faced was the water level of the Kwanza. This was quite irregular and during the dry season it was difficult for the steamers to move easily. In other years such as the years after the 1873-76 drought the river flooded and thereby making it difficult for the steamers.⁹¹ In addition to these problems, there was one mechanical problem. The steamers used to break down quite frequently and in the process delaying the transportation of produce.⁹²

The authorities were aware of these problems but the lack of money meant that very little could be done about it. The Portuguese authorities attempted to solve this problem by forcing Africans said to be 'vagrants' to work on clearing the river. In 1877, this type of labour was engaged to work on the route from Dondo to Kazengu.⁹³ The clearing of the Kwanza required more regular labour than the government could supply. These problems culminated in the reduction of the trips between Dondo and Luanda. The number of trips were reduced more during the dry season (kakimbo) when the level of water was low. It was during this season also that coffee was

five engineers. An English company was engaged to construct ships.⁹⁷ The formation of the Kwanza Navigation Company by

the B.N.U. followed the Government's decision to revoke the contract with A.A. Silva and company whose ships the problems made the use of steamers not as effective as desired. B.N.U. took over. The ships which were known to operate

It is not surprising then that by 1869, the government had started voicing dissatisfaction with the service provided by A.A. Silva Company. The government accused the company of not doing much in transporting produce to the coast.⁹⁴ The government was concerned because fewer trips meant loss of tax revenue on the produce. The government urged the company to increase the number of trips and ships moving between Luanda and Dondo to facilitate the transporting of produce. In 1870 Governor-General

Jose Rodrigues Coelho da Amaral requested A.A. da Silva to make 48 trips to Dondo annually.⁹⁵ Despite the increase in number of trips, the company failed to meet the planters' demands for more transport. In order to contain the situation the government revoked the monopoly granted to A.A. Silva. The launching of 'Fanny', another steamer, by Isaac Zagury in 1869 was the first act to indicate the changed policy.⁹⁶ Zagury complained that A.A. Silva had failed to cope with the situation and therefore there was need for other people to augment his efforts.

In 1876, the Banco Nacional Ultramarino was granted a concession to organise a company to navigate in the Kwanza river. The B.N.U. proceeded by acquiring ships and engaged five engineers. An English company was engaged to construct ships.⁹⁷ The formation of the Kwanza Navigation Company by

the B.N.U. followed the Government's decision to revoke the contract with A.A. Silva and Company⁹⁸ whose ships the B.N.U. took over. The ships which were known to operate between Dondo and Luanda by 1874 were Cunga, Oliveira Sarmiento and Dona Ant6nio. The monopoly of transporting produce from the interior fell in the B.N.U. hands. In order to reduce the inefficiencies which the previous company experienced they instituted repairing services. They also increased the fleet of ships for the transporting of produce. In addition to these efforts some traders also owned some vessels which they put to use in transporting produce from the interior.

In spite of all these efforts river transport remained unreliable, because nothing could be done to control the water level during the dry season. The obstacles in the river continued to be an impediment to ships. Geographical factors aside, the high freight charges discouraged planters from using river transport. Another factor which made river transport unfavourable was that this way of transporting goods was not safe as it passed through regions which were not yet under Portuguese control. The Kissama on the left margins of the Kwanza attacked the ships and in most cases there was no meaningful resistance as the vessels were small.⁹⁹ This threats and attacks from the Kissama persisted throughout this period. River transport proved to be unsuitable for meeting the planters' and in general agriculturists' demands.

RAILWAY

It is not surprising then that the agriculturists of the Kwanza North Province campaigned vigorously for the construction of the railway to Dambaka from Luanda. It was hoped that the railway would ease the transport difficulties they were experiencing. Alberto da Fonseca, the Kazengu coffee planter, campaigned for the construction of the railway to Dambaka.¹⁰⁰ The campaigners used the coffee wealth as the factor which justified the construction of the railway. The Banco Nacional Ultramarino put forward a learned argument for the construction of the railway in 1875. They argued that from the statistics of traffic between Luanda and Dondo, the idea of constructing a railway to tap the wealth of Kazengu and Ngulungu was not myopic nor utopian.¹⁰¹

Although the B.N.U. campaigned vigorously for the railway to Dambaka, they were not prepared to pay for its construction.¹⁰² The construction of the railway was carried out by the Railway Across Africa Company which was granted the concession in September 1885.¹⁰³ The Government guaranteed the profits before a tender was raised as few if any investors were willing to take up the task. The expenditure on railways and public works in the colonies showed a steep increase in the years when the Luanda-Dambaka railway was being constructed. For the period 1880 to 1899, 1600 contos were spent on such ventures and this was enough to affect the treasury.¹⁰⁴ The result of this venture is that it drained or consumed a large part of Angola's meagre resources and bankrupted its treasury.

At the beginning, the railway outdid the river transport and planters were very enthusiastic about using it. In 1893, the B.N.U. which was running the steamship company on the Kwanza, complained that the railway was affecting their operations.¹⁰⁵ By 1898 the management of steamship company reported that their services were almost paralysed by the operation of the railway to Ambaka.¹⁰⁶ But this enthusiasm from the planters was thwarted by the high freight charges, delays and pilferage caused by the shortage of railway stock.¹⁰⁷

In practice, the problems which compounded river transport also bedevilled the railway system much to the chagrin of the coffee planters and in general the agriculturists. Owing to the railway's perpetual drain on the treasury, the Government redeemed the concession in 1917.¹⁰⁸ By the end of this period we see that the question of transport remained unresolved as it continued to torment the agriculturalists. That there was improvement in the means of transport has been demonstrated in this brief discussion. But the problem of the shortage of transport was not solved. The production of coffee was also transformed by the efforts which had been injected in by the various factors.

NOTES.

CONCLUSION

The participation of finance capital in the coffee industry of Kwanza North completely restructured the society, led to the domination of the Mbundu and the control of the industry and also improved communication. The coming of finance capital coincided with increased demand of coffee which raised the price thereby stimulating production. In Kwanza North it was only coffee production which went a long way in restructuring Mbundu society because it was the only plantation crop requiring much labour and land. Other crops such as rubber and palm oil were collected and did not involve much labour and land alienation. Groundnuts production was peasant oriented. So coffee was the commodity through which capital penetrated and dominated Northern Angola by the end of the nineteenth century. The ensuing problems from this transformation are covered in Chapter Four.

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17. R.B.N.U., 1 (1879), 542.
18. R.B.N.U., 1 (1880), 581.
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22. R.B.N.U., 1 (1871), 208.
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103. A.H.U. Angola Diversos 825, Relatório da 4^a Repartição Sobre a Questão de Ambaka, 1909.
104. R.A. Almeida, Administração Financeira das Províncias Ultramarinas (Coimbra; 1917), 275.
105. R.B.N.U. (1898), 17.
106. R.B.N.U. (1898), 18.
107. Birmingham, 'Coffee Barons of Cazengo', 533.
108. A.H.U. Angola Diversos 825. Relatório da 4^a Repartição Sobre A Questão de Ambaka from Colonial Office 20 July 1917.

STAGNATION OF THE INDUSTRY.

The stagnation of the coffee industry in Angola after 1895 was due largely to the overproduction of the Brazilian

CHAPTER FOUR

AFTERMATH AND CONCLUSION

Thus far the narration of the rise of the coffee industry has been carried to 1895, the zenith of the industry in the nineteenth century. The rising world consumption of coffee in the nineteenth century gave great impetus to this Angolan coffee industry.¹ However, the success of the industry was short-lived owing to a crisis caused by the fall of coffee prices on European markets. In writing this section we are not merely concerned with the stagnation of the industry but rather in demonstrating that this was a manifestation of the incorporation of Kwanza North into the capitalist system through the coffee industry. Periodic crises and depressions are endemic in the development of capitalism. Here we are concerned with how the coffee planters, the B.N.U. and the government responded to this crisis. In the second section of the Chapter we have discussed the effects on Mbundu society of this incorporation into the capitalist system. In the last section of the chapter we have shown how the developments in Kwanza North affects the chronology of colonialism in Angola and the envisaged contribution of this work to Angolan historiography.

STAGNATION OF THE INDUSTRY.

The stagnation of the coffee industry in Angola after 1895 was due largely to the overproduction of the Brazilian

coffee which easily met the rising world consumption of coffee, resulting in the fall of coffee prices in European markets. Brazilian coffee exports had already reached the mark of 3,000,000 tons by 1890 while the world consumption by 1912 was still at 1,131,000 tons.² This imbalance between production and the expansion of markets led to the fall of the coffee prices. The fall of the Angola coffee prices is depicted by looking at 1895, the peak year and 1910 when we come to this end of this study. In 1895 the price of coffee per kilogramme was 245 reis while the price had fallen to 159 reis in 1910.³

Although the fall in the prices of coffee overshadowed all the other factors contributing to the decline of the Angolan industry, they are nonetheless important. Angolan coffee failed to get a big share of the market due to its poor quality and the lack of marketing strategies. The quality of coffee from Angola only began to improve in the twentieth century. Another factor was that there was a crisis in the export - oriented economy caused by the depression in the prices of rubber in European markets due to the arrival of rubber from Java.⁴ The difficulties emanating from external factors were accentuated by the occurrence of a drought and epidemics in the same period.⁵ Other factors such as high transport costs, labour shortages and the insecurity of both settlers and Mbundu continued to pervade the coffee industry in this period.

of capital by the B.S.B. in Angola is a mere reflection of

The effects and responses to the fall in the coffee prices served to demonstrate how Kwanza North had been structured by the capitalist demands. During this period of uncertainties about the future of the coffee industry, the B.N.U. did not have sufficient capital for loans and it withdrew its credit facilities.⁶ This measure greatly affected the fragile settler agriculture which depended on loans to survive such crises. The result of this was that many settlers gave up coffee planting. In 1912 Amaral Reis an agronomist in Angola, observed that settlers had abandoned their plantations due to the lack of capital.⁷ When John Gossweller, the government botanist, travelled in the countryside in 1918 he found abandoned plantations and coffee trees in Tando.⁸ In the absence of statistics the testimony of these men may be considered sufficient.

The abandonment of plantations by settlers directly affected the B.N.U. which had its capital loaned out to some of these settlers. In response to the crisis the B.N.U. was forced to acquire these plantations causing it to be the largest land owner in Kwanza North.⁹ A subsidiary company the Kazengue Agricultural Company (Companhia Agricola de Cazengo) was formed in 1900 to take care of the plantations under the B.N.U.¹⁰ Its initial capital was 3,500 contos. By 1903 the company had acquired Bom Jesus one of the famous plantations in Angola at the time.¹¹ The concentration and centralisation of capital by the B.N.U. in Angola is a mere reflection of

the development of capitalism.

While others were giving up, some planters made frantic efforts to survive the crisis by attempting to diversify through taking up other crops with better remuneration. The planting of sugar came for the making of aguardente (rum) provided an easy and quick alternative. The alternative was advantageous in that sugar cane could easily be planted and also the products could be consumed internally.¹² The production of sugar for exportation was given impetus by the prohibition on the production of Aguardente at the conference of Brussels by 1900.¹³ In 1893 only 85kg was exported while in 1910, 1.7 million kg of sugar was exported reflecting the amounting attention to sugar cane planting.

The settlers were not alone in the search for alternatives as they were soon joined by the Kazengu Agricultural Company. The directors requested the management to take up Cocoa and sugar cane planting so that they could offset the difficulties arising from the depressed coffee industry. The management who did not see a panacea in diversification disagreed with the directors. The management contended that coffee had proved to be viable and all that was required was to attend to the problems affecting the industry.¹⁴ They argued that the proposed measure for the diversification into other crops would be more expensive than the taking of corrective measures to revive the industry. The directors with a hope

of finding an 'eldorado' from the planting of cocoa responded by demoting Neuparth, one of the managers.¹⁵

The Government's reaction to the depressed coffee industry was a recognition of the new structures and a further entrenchment of the export-oriented economy. It took positive steps in revitalising the coffee industry by tackling technical problems affecting the quality of coffee. In 1907 the Government established the Kazengu Agricultural Research Station in the estate of St. Luiz.¹⁶ It was set up for the dissemination of scientific knowledge on how to improve the yield and quality of coffee. The setting up of the research station heralded a new era in the history of the coffee industry which was accredited to Governor General Henrique de Paiva Conceiro.¹⁷ This work of improving the quality of coffee through schemes of technical assistance was continued by this Colonial Coffee Export Office established in 1941.¹⁸

The question of the lack of markets for Angolan coffee which had contributed to the stagnation of the industry began to be tackled with the initiation of a movement of propagating and penetration of foreign markets by Governor General Henrique de Paiva Conceiro in 1907.¹⁹ It did not take long before results could be seen as in 1908 South Africa was added to the list of markets.²⁰ By 1918 England, France and Germany, the principal coffee consumers in Europe, were importing coffee from Angola.²¹

The campaign for the penetration of foreign markets

continued to pre-occupy the Colonial Coffee Export Office.²²

The problems in the transporting of coffee continued to perturb the planters. The railway tariffs continued to be high such that by 1904, the charge for coffee stood at 126 reis per ton from Kazengu. In this situation the K.A.C. undertook austerity measures by transporting their coffee by river.²³ This response of the Company forced the railway authorities to reduce their tariff to 77 reis.²⁴ In order to cut down on transport expenses the company explored and began using the Lucala river. The high tariffs led Governor General Paiva Conceiro to suggest that all the railways should belong to the State.²⁵ Although measures were being taken to reduce freight charges, the problems of delays in both river and railway transport had become structural.²⁶

By the end of 1910, the labour problems remained unchanged. The tradition of using forced labour persisted unabated until they began attracting international attention. Nevinson and William Cadbury's investigations revealed the appalling labour conditions in the plantations in Angola and São Thomé.²⁷ Although a labour force had been created by expropriating the Mbundu, the use of force and underpayment persisted to be a feature of Angola. A predominantly free wage-labour force was not in existence by the end of 1910. Land continued to be alienated as in 1913; 50 concessions amounting to 1,176,000 hectares were given out to land seekers in Kwanza North.²⁸

All the measures discussed above are a proof of the restructured Kwanza North. The coffee industry of Angola put on Mbundu societies pressures which could not be resisted. Throughout the nineteenth century it was principally through coffee that the Mbundu economic and social structures were reorganised to serve the needs of the Europeans. The next section looks at the transformation of Mbundu Society.

DISLOCATION OF MBUNDU SOCIETY

As Kwanza North became incorporated in the capitalist orbit Mbundu Society ceased to evolve on the basis of its internal dynamics leading to its underdevelopment. This process can not be fully understood if it is considered in abstraction from the capitalist system as a whole. One of the focal points of this work is that the subjugation of the Mbundu by the Portuguese in the nineteenth century was quickened by the inception and development of the coffee industry. It was the industry than anything else which brought the region in close contact with the capitalist system in the nineteenth century.

The initial contact between the Mbundu and the Portuguese, which lasted for almost four centuries was through the slave trade. The mode of operation of this relationship was the exchange of men for European manufactures.

This study has argued that the slave trade merely exploited the contradictions prevalent in Mbundu Society although at first, force was employed in the plunder of human resources.²⁹ The stability of the slave trade owed its existence to contradictions in the society. The proliferation of trading posts in the interior quickened the decomposition of centralised states such that by the beginning of the nineteenth century there were no centralised States in Kwanza North. The slave trade did not undermine Mbundu autonomy.

The development of capitalism in Europe in the eighteenth century made the use of slave labour obsolete leading to its abolition at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The changing importance of slaves in the capitalist system caused a depression in the Angolan slave trade from the end of the eighteenth century. Efforts to find alternative source of revenue led to the transition from the slave trade oriented economy to one based on commodity production. This transition was protracted and for Kwanza North it came through the production of coffee from the 1820s. In the first twenty years of the industry coffee was foraged from wild bushes by the Mbundu and poragoves without modifications of the society. In this period the Portuguese authorities, eager to earn more revenue, encouraged the Mbundu to produce coffee. The demands on the Mbundu were quite minimal.

The influx of colonos to take up coffee planting and the effects of the abolition of the slave trade led to increased Portuguese participation in the coffee industry. Increased Portuguese participation led to increased demands on the Mbundu which eventually led the restructuring of Mbundu society. Production of coffee required enormous land and labour resources. One of the conclusions of this study is that it was the exaction of labour from Mbundu society and the alienation of land which combined to undermine Mbundu society.

In the period after 1840 the Portuguese intensified their assault of the essence of Mbundu Society which lay in availability of enough land. The alienation of fallow land meant that this resource was becoming limited and thereby disadvantaging Mbundu society. Alienation of land in Kazengu where it was widespread undermined Mbundu economy and eventually the social and political fabric of Mbundu Society. The power to allocate land ceased to be vested in chiefs, the land belonged to the State and access to it was controlled by the State. In Kazengu, Birmingham noted that at the end of the nineteenth century out of the numerous chiefs only four were still recognised.³⁰ It was in Kazengu where whole sobados were alienated. It is argued here that in Mbundu Society there could be no chiefdom without availability of land. As land was alienated Mbundu autonomy was being undermined.

Apart from Portuguese manipulations of land policies, natural disasters also contributed to the loss of Mbundu land to the Portuguese. The Governor General of Angola in 1874, Francisco Joaquim Pereira de Amaral, pointed out that white proprietors absorbed small estates belonging to Africans principally during the famine of 1873-76.³¹ In Kwanza North the question of land was not closely linked with labour mobilisation as in the case of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Zambia.³²

The Portuguese labour policies were determined by their under capitalisation. In Kwanza North we have discussed two phenomena. While the Portuguese were not strong they relied on Mbundu chiefs for the mobilisation of labour to work in the plantation and in carrying coffee. Mbundu chiefs were required to send men for public works, although this labour found itself on white plantations.³³ With increased demand for labour by settlers and traders Mbundu chiefs failed to cope with the demand. The Portuguese introduced the system of forced labour so that they could mobilise enough labour. The use of chiefs in the mobilisation of labour meant that these Mbundu institutions ceased to operate primarily on the basis of their own dynamics as they became subordinated to forces deriving their strength from the development of the capitalist system.

The abolition of slavery happened simultaneously with the decomposition of chiefly power in Kwanza North. This meant that chiefs were not able to supply labour to the Portuguese planters, this posed a major problem which was solved by introducing a vagrancy clause in labour laws of 1878 and 1881.³⁴ In the implementation of this law the Portuguese used force in getting 'vagrants.' The vesting of power in curadores to determine what was vagrancy or not led to reducing almost all the Mbundu living independently as vagrants. Commenting on Portuguese labour practices Walter Rodney said:

Portuguese attempts to use the labour of Angola during this epoch of industrial capitalism were moulded by their own backwardness and by the historical traditions of slavery and brutality which had been established in that part of Africa.³⁵

The Portuguese were without shame in their perpetuation of these draconian practices which reduced Africans to mere 'beasts of burden'. Oliveira Santos, ex-colonial governor, made the following reply to the statements of E.A. Ross³⁶ on Angolan labour practices:

The American missionaries do not doubt nor does Prof. Ross doubt that it is the negro who must open the bowels of the earth and extract from them the precious riches which they contain. Neither have they any doubt that it is the negro who must open up and fertilise swamps and cut down forests and clear the ground.... It is on this principle that the administration of Angola (has based its laws) and among them the laws for regulating and organisation of labour.... Native labour was regulated by the most equitable, just and humane laws that are to be found on this subject in the colonial world.³⁷

That was the official mind on labour practices in Angola in the period up to 1920.

Mbundu reluctance to accept imminent change led them to resist Portuguese encroachment on their autonomy. They reacted against the exploitation by taking up arms against this Portuguese, at times meeting with success. The emergence of social banditry disturbed the peace in the area leading to outcries about security from planters. Desertions from plantations greatly inconvenienced planters who were hard pressed by the shortage of labour. Land spoilation and the plunder of Mbundu labour combined to undermine Mbundu agriculture such that during epidemics many Mbundu lives were lost due to lack of resistance caused by manutrition.³⁸

A compendium of Portuguese colonialism should accentuate its hyper-exploitative feature. This is best explicated by a consideration of Portuguese capitalism. Portuguese colonialism tended to be brutal and inhuman because it was supported by a capitalist system with insufficient capital to export to colonies.³⁹ This resulted in the perpetuation of slavery, forced labour and unattractive poor working conditions since they aimed at profit maximisation and cost minimisation. This process made the emergence of a free wage-labour force difficult and slow in the coffee industry.

The subjugation of the Mbundu was a product of the faltering policies of the Portuguese during the nineteenth century. To begin with, the coffee industry was inaugurated because of a crisis in Portuguese economy concussed by the loss of Brazil. Although they desired to develop the industry with Portuguese settlers, they lacked development and settlement plans. The Portuguese colonialists left the development of the industry in private hands. By the end of the nineteenth century the infrastructure belonged and was maintained by private capital. The B.N.U. monopolised the industry, owning much land and controlled banking, credit facilities and river transport. The state raised its revenue only through taxation.

The settlers in Kwanza North manipulated the state machinery to achieve their goals. This was epitomised by the State's recapitulation on labour policies and on conflicts over land. Although the State was faced with contradictory interest of settlers and the Mbundu, it always arbitrated in favour of the settlers and thereby making this study different from Lonsdale's on Kenya.⁴⁰ The settlers and the B.N.U. used the State to crush Mbundu resistance. The State played an important role therefore in creating conditions favourable to the rapid development of the coffee industry and in removing obstacles which impeded this process. In this way the Mbundu were incorporated in the capitalist system leading to their underdevelopment.

it is more like a catalogue of works on Angola. 48
A REAPPRAISAL OF ANGOLAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

concern of the next few pages is to show that it is time
some accepted notions on Angolan history began to be
re-examined in light of new material which is unfolding.

It remains to place this study within the wide context
of Angolan historiography. This study should be regarded
as a contribution to filling in the missing gap. A quick

In light of this study it is argued that Wheeler's
re-examination of Portuguese expansion in Angola since 1636
itself requires re-examination. The ground for such
re-examination is on the chronology of Portuguese expansion

schools influenced by different theoretical frameworks.

The first of these is the imperial school which endeavoured
to highlight Portuguese activities in Angola as the only
history worth writing.⁴¹ They maintained that the

expansion of control in the nineteenth century is three
stages as stated below:

Portuguese had a moral responsibility civilising the
Africans through christianity.⁴² They insisted on proving
that Portuguese imperialism was uneconomic.⁴³

of the slave trade, 1636 to 1661. A second
concentration, 1661 to 1699, and the third
1699 to 1899, which falls generally within the

The second school of anti-imperial representation of
Angola history focused on proving that:

(1) The Africans had their own history worth studying.⁴⁴

(2) The Portuguese were racialists⁴⁵ and

(3) That Portuguese imperialism was economic.⁴⁶ This

school is dominated by Africanists, writing history from
view

the African/point. The third group is of Marxists and
dependence theorists who take a class analysis of Angola
society. They also attempt to explain the backwardness of
Angola as being a product of the capitalist development.⁴⁷

The third school has emerged out of dissatisfaction with
the two schools mentioned above. Bender and Isaacman's
article on Angolan historiography is quite useful although

imperialism'. Wheeler has argued that the 'barren sovereignty'

it is more like a catalogue of works on Angola.⁴⁸ The concern of the next few pages is to show that it is time some accepted axioms on Angola history began to be re-examined in light of more material which is unfolding.

In light of this study it is argued that Wheeler's Re-examination of Portuguese expansion in Angola since 1836 itself requires a re-examination.⁴⁹ The ground for this re-examination is on the chronology of Portuguese expansion in the nineteenth century. He conceived Portuguese expansion of control in the nineteenth century in three stages as stated below:

First there was a period of initial expansion which coincided with a gradual abolition of the slave trade, 1836 to 1861. A second period of comparative withdrawal and coastal concentration, 1861 to about 1877; and the third period of expansion into the plateaux from 1877 to 1891, which falls generally within the well known era of European activity in other parts of Tropical Africa.⁵⁰

This conception of Portuguese expansion in Angola is misleading because it is based on one type of expansion, military and territorial expansion. This approach is reminiscent of colonial history which viewed expansion through Portuguese spectacles. His concentration on political expansion of the Portuguese in Angola has led to depicting Portuguese colonialism as having commenced seriously during the period of the scramble of Africa. This is a stereo-typed conception of Portuguese expansion in Angola which tends to render support to Hammonds 'uneconomic imperialism'. Wheeler has argued that the 'barren sovereignty'

participation of finance capital of the B.N.U. took place long before the epoch of the scramble of Africa. It was again during the period of 'barren Sovereignty' that Angola began to reduce its deficit through the production of coffee.⁵⁴ The Portuguese control of the area was greatly enhanced by their control of the coffee industry.

In our view this consideration of Portuguese economic activities has called for a re-examination of Wheeler's Portuguese expansion in the nineteenth century. Although this is a regional study, Clarence-Smith's study of Mossamedes discussing the implanting of capitalist relations of production renders support.⁵⁵ Besides this area constituted the core of Portuguese territory. The economic advances in the period before 1877 could not be described as 'extremely weak.' These economic advances in the interior provided a useful foundation of Portuguese colonialism in Angola. The point of contention is that Portuguese expansion should be pushed back as it was during the period before the scramble of Africa that the barren Sovereignty began to bear fruit. This was a period of expansion of control of Angola which we should not allow to be overshadowed by political military and territorial campaigns of the 1880's and 1890's.

The second point arising from this discussion is that the mode of Portuguese penetration and control calls for attention. A study of the coffee industry has epitomised the

Portuguese move from controlling trade to controlling production. While Portuguese relations with the Mbundu were through trade their impact on Mbundu society was marginal. The Portuguese managed to restructure Mbundu society only when they moved to control the production and the export of coffee. The contact through trade did not involve many people whereas the implanting of an export - oriented economy based on coffee production involved many people. The demands of the coffee industry led to the restructuring of Mbundu Society. The domination of the Mbundu economy by the capitalist relations of production has been illustrated in this study. Another unique feature of the coffee industry is the participation of finance capital which became involved in the colonies quite early. The participation of finance capital from Portugal in the coffee industry contributed to drawing Kwanza North into the wider capitalist system. This growth of international economic connections was referred to by Bukharin as the extensive growth of world economy.⁵⁶ As Kwanza North was drawn in these international connections it began to lose its own autonomy leading to its domination by the Portuguese.

The discussion of the mode of colonial penetration leads to a consideration of the issue of 'uneconomic imperialism'. The chief architect of this view was Hammond. This view is presented in three of his works.⁵⁷

A synopsis of this argument is as follows; Portugal did not derive economic benefits from its African colonies, if anything they drained the Portuguese treasury through subsidies; Portugal was underdeveloped and backward, it inherited colonies in Africa by historical accident and set out to develop them for reasons of humiliated pride.⁵⁸

A.H. de Oliveira Marques a reputable Portuguese historian wrote:

As a matter of fact, it is safe to say that the major stimulus to Portuguese conquest of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea was the foreign competition and the growing Portuguese fear of being robbed of what they regarded as parts of Portugal. This uneconomic imperialism ... must be emphasized to understand Portugal's stand in the nineteenth century and attitude toward her colonies down to the present. Only in the twentieth century did economic advantages clearly justify the Portuguese occupation of continental Africa.⁵⁹

According to this view the Portuguese were in Angola on humanitarian grounds to civilize the Africans.

The claims of uneconomic imperialism have been answered in a number of ways by different writers. Duffy's work attempted to show that the claim was false by looking at the exploitative nature of Portuguese colonialism. He showed that this perpetuation of slavery under different guises was motivated by economic gain which had blessings from the State.⁶⁰ Davidson also exposed the exploitative nature of Portuguese colonialism.⁶¹ O'Brien traces the exploitative nature of Portuguese colonialism as emanating from the underdevelopment of the metropole country.⁶² Sideri points out that 'it was not the colonies which were uneconomic

but it was their ruling class which prevented Portugal from exploiting her colonies as ~~it~~ sacrificed national interests to British for the sake of maintaining themselves in power'.⁶³ Clarence - Smith by studying the colonial capitalist system in Southern Angola has shown that theorists of uneconomic imperialism have forgotten about this.⁶⁴

This study has provided further support for the critics of the theory of uneconomic imperialism. The purpose for turning to coffee production was economic and it derived its impetus from the policies of da Bandeira well before the overt competition for colonies. The emergence of a settler capitalist group involved in the coffee industry show that they were deeply involved in the pursuit of wealth.

The participation of finance capital in the coffee industry from 1865 is a clear demonstration of Portuguese imperialism based on externalising of profits from coffee. The development of the infrastructure to boost the export - oriented economy render uneconomic imperialism as baseless and ahistorical. It is rendered ahistorical because there is no capitalist development which is based on non-profit making basis. The operations of the B.N.U. has clearly revealed the capitalistic nature of the coffee industry.

The role of the state in creating conditions favourable to the rapid development of the coffee industry is endemic of capitalist development. The State recapitulated on labour laws such that it perpetuated slavery and forced labour.

In this way the settlers and the B.N.U. exploited the Mbundu. The State in Angola benefited from these enterprises as they taxed the planters for the land used and the exports of coffee. In fact it was not only the individual Portuguese who benefited, even the metropole government benefited in that coffee and other agricultural products reduced Angola's dependence on Portugal. In short the claim of uneconomic imperialism is ahistorical as it does not concur with historical facts and economic theory on imperialism.

In a broader perspective, it is hoped that this study will prove useful for the understanding of Portuguese colonial penetration in Kwanza North. Although this work is not a treatise in marxist writings it has derived its inspiration from marxist theory. This approach should be of intrinsic interest to historians. This study should be valued because it is one of the few agricultural histories on Angola. In other parts of Africa this work is receiving great attention. A study of the coffee industry reveals that effects of Portuguese colonialism were not uniform throughout Angola. The dislocation of the Mbundu came earlier than that of the Ovambo because of the intensity of Portuguese colonial demands.⁶⁵ As a regional study it is meant to help fill in the lacuna. Lastly the problems of the twentieth century coffee industry had their roots in the nineteenth century and a study of this type provides a necessary background for the understanding of these problems.

NOTES

1. World coffee consumption rose as follows, in 1888, was 600,000 tons, by 1912 it rose to 1,131,000 tons. See Trancoso, Angola, 39.
2. Loureiro, 'Cafeeiro em Angola', 44-46 for comparison with world consumption of coffee see above note.
3. Calculated from figures given by Trancoso, Angola.
4. Loureiro, 'Cafeeiro em Angola', 44-46. See also S. Lara, 'Crise Agricola e Commercial em Angola, suas Causas o que se Tem Feito e o que Urge Fazer' in Congresso Colonial Nacional: Conferencias Preliminares 4 (1901).
5. Dias, 'Famine and Disease', 24.
6. R.B.N.U. (1897), 16-17.
7. F.A. Reis, 'Os Serviços Agricola da Provincia de Angola' Boletim de Agricultura da Provincia de Angola, 3-5 (1912), 148.
8. Gossweiller, 'Reconhecimento Fitogeografico', 33.
9. R.B.N.U. (1898), 12. Reis, 'Os serviços Agricolas', 148.
10. Ruy Enes Ulrich, Political Colonial, 627.
11. Relatorio de Companhia Agricola de Cazengo (1905), 4. See also Ulrich, Political Colonial, 627.
12. C. Serão, A Agricultura e a Industria na Provincia de Angola. (Luanda: Imprensa nacional, 1912), 5.
13. Clarence-Smith, Slaves, Peasants And Capitalists, 54 see also customs returns in Relatórios e Informações (1918), 105.
14. E.A. Neuparth, Apontamentos Para A História da Companhia Agricola de Cazengo (Lisbon: Typographia do Commercio; 1904), 9.
15. Neuparth, Companhia de Cazengo, 43.
16. 'O Horto Experimental da Cazengo' in Boletim de Agricultura Pecuaria e Fomento (1908-1909), 16.

17. Loureiro, 'Cafeeiro em Angola', 46. For more activities of Paiva Couceiro see his book entitled Angola (pous Amos de Governo, Junho 1907-Julio 1909) Historia E Commentarios (1910).
18. 'High Standard of Angola Coffee', in Revista do Ultramarino, 10 (1948), 26.
19. Loureiro 'Cafeeiro em Angola', 46.
20. 'O Horto Experimental de Cazengo', 32.
21. J. Mesquites, 'Relatório de Comissão Nomeada para o Estudo de Pautas de Angola', in Relatórios e Informações (1918), 519.
22. 'High Standard of Angolan Coffee', 26. See also Van Dongen, 'Coffee Trade, Coffee Regions and Coffee Ports in Angola', in Economic Geography, 37, 4 (October 1961), 223. This paper concentrates on Post second world war period.
23. Neuparth, Companhia de Cazengo, 25. For more information on railway tariffs see p. Couceiro Angola História e Commentarios, 113-129.
24. Neuparth, Companhia de Cazengo, 25.
25. Couceiro, Angola História e Commentarios, 118.
26. Neuparth, Companhia de Cazengo, 26. Sometimes ships took three months to make a round trip between Oeiras and Luanda.
27. Nevington, A Modern Slavery; Cadbury, Labour In Portuguese West Africa. E.A. Ross Report On Employment Of Native Labour in Portuguese Africa. (New York: Abbott Press, 1975). 'Angola The Last Foothold Of Slavery', National Geography Magazine, 2 (1910), 625-630. These articles are on the use of Slaves by the Portuguese.
28. H. Galvao Informação Economica Sobre Angola, (1932) Taken from table on Cancellation of land to Individuals.
29. For a theoretical discussion of this see G. Dupre and P. Rey 'Reflections on the Pertinence of Theory of the History of Exchange', Economy And Society (1973), 144-163.
30. Birmingham 'Coffee Barons Of Cazengo', Barbosa, 'Descrição d'este districto', 470 Listed twenty chiefs by 1847.

31. Oliveira, Angolana, 1, 188.
32. G. Arrighi, 'Labour Supplies in Historical Perspective: A Study of the Proletarianisation of the African Peasantry in Rhodesia', Journal of Development Studies, 6, 1970.
C. Bundy, The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry. (London: Heinemann, 1977).
33. B. Andrade, 'Apontamento de Uma Viagem a Encoge', A.C.U. i (October 1858), 517.
34. Regulamento para os Contractos de Servicais • Colonos. (1881).
35. W. Rodney, 'European Activity and African Reaction in Angola', in T.O. Ranger, ed., Aspects of Central African History, (London: Heinemann, 1968), 63-64.
36. Ross, Native Labour in Portuguese Africa.
37. O. Santos, Reply to the Accusations Addressed to the League of Nations by E.A. Ross against the Portuguese in Angola. (Lisbon: 1931), 81.
38. Dias, 'Famine and Disease', 6-10.
39. Jay O'Brien, 'Portugal and Africa: A dying Imperialism', Monthly Review, 26 (May 1974). Sideri, Trade and Power, 183-208.
40. J. Lonsdale and B. Berman 'Coping with the Contradictions: The development of the Colonial State in Kenya', J.A.H. 20,4 (1979).
41. Examples of this are António de Oliveira de Cadornega, Historia Geral das Guerras Angolanas Vol. 1-3; E.A. da Silva Correa, Historia de Angola Vol. 1-2; A.A. Felner, Angola Apontamentos sobre a Colonisação dos Planaltos. For further comments on this issue see G. Bender and A. Isaacman, 'Changing historiography of Angola and Mozambique', in African Studies Since 1945 C. Fyfe, ed., (Edinburgh: Longman, 1975).
42. Bender, Angola Under Portuguese for a critique of this view. Hammond, Portugal and Africa 205-206. A.H. de Oliveira Marques, History of Portugal, 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 80-83, for representation of this view.
43. Hammond, Portugal and Africa; 'Economic Imperialism, Sidelights on a Stereo-type', Journal of Economic History 21, 4(1961); 'Uneconomic Imperialism: Portugal in Africa Before 1910', Colonialism in Africa -

1870-1960, I.H. Gann and P. Duignan eds., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 352-383.

44. This is a very broad group encompassing 'the Trade and Politics' represented by Gray and Birmingham, Pre-colonial African Trade see W. Rodney's Review of Gray and Birmingham Pre-colonial African Trade in Trans African Journal Of History, 2, 1 (1972). Another set of works in this group are by Vansina Kingdoms; Miller, Kings and Kingmen; 'Slaves and Slavers'. For a critique of these works see Depelchin, 'Towards a Problematic of African history', in UFAHAMU (1978).
45. See C.R. Boxer, Race Relations in The Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415-1925 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963); Bender, Angola Under the Portuguese.
46. Duffy, J. A Question of Slavery, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1967); - Portuguese Africa; Sideri, Trade And Power; Davidson, In the Eye of the Storm.
47. Rodney 'European Activity and African Reaction in Angola', Soremekun, 'Trade and dependency in Central Africa: The Ovimbundu in the Nineteenth Century,' in Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa. Clarence - Smith, Slaves, Peasants and Capitalists; 'Underdevelopment and Class Formation in Ovamboland 1845-1915', in Roots of Rural Poverty.
48. Bender and Isaacmann, 'The Changing Historiography of Angola and Mozambique'.
49. D. Wheeler, Portuguese Expansion in Angola Since 1836: A Re-examination. (The Central Africa Historical Association local Series 20 1967).
50. Wheeler, Portuguese Expansion in Angola, 2.
51. Wheeler, Angola, 58-68.
52. Wheeler, Angola, 57.
53. Dias, 'Kabuku Kambilo and the Portuguese'.
54. Sideri, Trade and Power, 180.
55. Clarence-Smith, Slaves Peasants and Capitalists.
56. N. Bukharin, 'World Economy and National Economy' in International Firms and Modern Imperialism. H. Radice, ed., (London: Penguin Books, 1979), 25.

57. See footnote 43.
58. See Clarence-Smith, Slaves Peasants And Capitalists, 3.
59. Oliveira Marques, History Of Portugal II, 81.
60. Refer to footnote 46 for a list of Duffy's works.
61. Davidson, In the Eye of the Storm.
62. O'Brien, 'Portugal And Africa: A dying Imperialism'.
63. Sideri, Trade And Power. 181-183.
64. Clarence-Smith Slaves Peasants And Capitalists. -
'The Myth of Uneconomic Imperialism: The Portuguese
in Angola 1836-1926' J.S.A.S. (1979).
65. Compare Portuguese penetration of Kwanza
North and Mossamedes and its hinterland.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

- A.C.U. Anaes do Conselho Ultramarino (Parte não Official). Vol. 1 (1854-58)- Vol. 2 (1859-1860) Lisbon: Imprensa nacional, 1867.
- A.H.U. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa
- A.H.U.C.G. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa, Correspondencia de Governadores: Angola.
- A.H.U. - 2R Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa, Segunda Secção, Segunda Repartição
- B.A.P.A. Boletim de Agricultura de Província de Angola, Luanda: 1912-1916.
- B.A.P.F. Boletim de Agricultura Pecuaria e Fomento, Luanda: 1908-1909.
- B.O. Boletim Official da Província de Angola.
- J.A.H. Journal of African History, Lóndon: Cambridge University Press.
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- No. 373 Sobre O estado da Província, 1 December 1865.
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Mação 36, 1865 Mappa da exportação.

- No. 275 Sobre O estado da Província.

Mação 36, 1866 Relatório da Chefe de Golungo Alto.
G.G. 23 January 1866.

- No. 253, 8 November 1866.
- No. 260, G.G. to Minister, 3 October 1866.
- No. 325, Sobre Banco Nacional Ultramarino, 29 November 1866.
- Tratando da Obstrução dos rios Quanza e Lucala, 13 September 1866

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- Minister to G.G. over contractos, paying tax, 16 November 1869.
- Sobre o Estado da Província, 23 February 1869.

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- No. 270, Sobre os Capitulos por que era accusado por Isaac Zagury, 25 November 1870.

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- No. 121 Sobre O Estado da Província, 1 May 1874.
- No. 152, Relatórios dos Governadores dos districtos, 28 May 1874.
- No. 179, Relatórios dos Governadores dos districtos, 26 June 1874.
- No. 215, Tratado do interior da Província, 28 July 1874.
- No. 253, Newton Carnegie and Company^{to}/Secretary of State, 19 September 1874.
- No. 271, Relatórios dos Governadores dos districtos, 21 September 1874.
- Reply from the agriculturists of S. Thome on the Prohibition of sending the Libertos to S. Thome, 28 March 1874.
- No. 337, A questão d' abolição do serviços dos libertos, 28 December 1874.

Maço 46, 1876.

- Chefe of Encoge-Relatório, 24 February 1876.
- Relatório dos occorrença do Concelho de Ambaca 19 February 1876.
- Chefe of Cazengo to Secretary of State 19 February 1876.

Maço 46, 1876.

- No. 25, Sobre O Estado da Província, 24 March 1876.

Alberto Pacheco to G.G. 24 May 1876.

Alfandêga do Ambriz, 26 June 1866.

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Curadória Geral, 26 June 1878.

Curadória Geral, 3 July 1878.

- No. 150, Representação feita por Oliveira Massangano 1 May 1878.

A.H.U., 2R-1P, No. 168, 22 May 1880.

A.H.U., 2P-1P, Representação por alguns negociantes, 30 September 1880.

A.H.U., 2P-1P, Solicitando a remessa de uma porcao de semente, 21 September 1880.

A.H.U., 2P-1P Communicado que a Situação financeira da província, 27 March 1880.

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- A.H.U., 2P-3P, Sobre Newton Carnegie, 16 June 1883.
- A.H.U., 2P-2P, Sobre O Banco Nacional Ultramarino 4 December 1882.
- A.H.U., 2P-8P, Coffee exports from Loanda - 1888.
- A.H.U., 2P-1P, Projecto de Regulamento especial da Curadória Geral, 24 January 1881.
- A.H.U., Angola Diversos 823, Memoria Sobre Angola 1846.
- A.H.U., Angola Diverso 825, Esboço do Caminto percorrido pelas expedicas ao Cubango 1885.
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- A.H.U., Angola Diversos 825, A questão do Ambaca. pela Companhia dos Cominhos de Ferro Atravez d'Africa, 30 May 1917.
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APPENDIX
TABLES OF SELECTED EXPORTS

Coffee exports

<u>Year</u>	<u>wt in kg</u>	<u>value in Escudos</u>
1844	6,000	-
1888	5.018.257	1.073.557
1889	6.928.034	1.630.500
1890	8.300.267	2.301.716
1891	7.454.252	1.943.264
1892	2.380.507	1.874.511
1893	9.813.876	2.888.718
1894	6.957.713	2.322.346
1895	11.066.198	2.707.392
1896	7.862.451	1.722.659
1897	7.363.653	1.527.831
1898	7.968.092	970.236
1899	8.520.576	1.056.024
1900	6.983.329	1.073.104
1901	5.399.311	624.542
1902	5.627.566	587.953
1903	5.382.861	500.605
1904	6.000.695	643.906
1905	4.937.681	652.271
1906	5.043.451	587.242
1907	4.012.760	331.041
1908	5.247.460	420.660
1909	4.471.606	521.475
1910	6.140.177	976.153

Palm Oil exportation

<u>Year</u>	<u>Kg</u>	<u>Value in Escudos</u>
1888	1.530.947	116.515
1889	1.895.363	154.058
1890	2.144.249	173.817
1891	2.076.147	159.584
1892	866.976	76.178
1893	1.180.702	97.990
1894	1.010.368	94.115
1895	1.291.970	104.416
1896	1.030.906	91.424
1897	912.069	70.363
1898	794.241	62.683
1899	755.018	60.024
1900	1.100.032	85.587
1901	46.746	3.282
1902	1.161.146	81.464
1903	976.282	70.337
1905	1.161.048	85.401
1910	1.307.407	109.359

From F. Trancoso, Angola, 45.

Groundnuts

<u>Year</u>	<u>Kg</u>	<u>Value in Escudos</u>
1888	271.186	14.184
1889	193.211	64.301
1890	422.567	22.815
1891	3.814	313
1892	10.454	564
1893	648	32
1894	9.494	512
1895	216.297	11.795
1896	115.926	6.180
1897	252.360	12.850
1898	36.952	2.970
1899	230.155	12.427
1900	9.591	517
1906	234.288	15.400

From F. Trancoso, Angola, 46.

COTTON

<u>Year</u>	<u>Kg</u>
1870	207.876
1880	122.065
1890	201.862
1900	43.267
1910	144.306
1915	64.551

From F. Trancoso, Angola, 29.

Rubber

<u>Year</u>	Tons	<u>Kg</u>	<u>Value in Escudos</u>
1890	47	2.109.154	1.651.523
1892	62	2.662.615	2.166.700
1893	108	3.369.735	2.678.939
1894	274	2.134.885	2.119.689
1895	531	2.707.371	2.517.070
1896	1.115	2.874.949	2.784.755
1897	1.679	3.348.247	4.050.520
1898	2.014	3.894.625	5.975.135
1899	3.402	3.959.237	6.133.193
1900	5.698	2.407.201	3.928.411
1901	5.748	2.294.655	3.050.623
1905	6.108	2.629.463	3.508.422
1910	4.059	3.654.077	6.608.737

From F. Trancoso, Angola, 35.