

*Memoir relative to the Captaincy of the RIOS DE SENNA, a Portuguese Settlement, on the South-East Coast of Africa. By the late Governor TERAQ.**

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

STATISTICS is a science which teaches the origin, the distribution, the use, and administration of the productions, riches, and force of a state; and is a sort of inventory or table in which is collected all the means and power a nation can use to augment the public prosperity. Population, and the means of subsisting it, are the two essential bases of this science; hence it may be observed, that agriculture, commerce, internal and external navigation, industry, the arts as well as public education, the rents of the state, and the troops, are other elements, and become essential points in the combinations of statistics:—by an analysis of all these articles, it will be found whether a country derives from them every advantage of which it is susceptible—its situation and fertility being considered; this, therefore, is the science of public men and ministers of state.

The Captaincy of the Rios de Senna, from the backwardness and infancy of all its different branches of administration, furnishes but insufficient data for a complete statistical account, which proves the necessity of examining its actual state, that the source of such evils, together with the remedy, may at once be found; and the causes of its backward condition be known and obviated. But since the nature of those circumstances, of which I am about to treat, does not permit me to enter into detail, I shall resume each separate article whenever it is possible; touching, transiently under their proper heads, upon the existing abuses, and the means of avoiding them; finally, I shall make a comparison of the actual state of the Colony, with what it might be under a different Constitution and Administration, and under a new order of things.

For the sake of simplicity and clearness, I shall divide my subject into different sections, treating 1st of the extent and limits of the Captaincy; 2ndly, of its population; 3rdly, of its agriculture, and productions in the three kingdoms of nature; 4thly, of its commerce and navigation; 5thly, of its industry and system of public education; 6thly, of the ground rents to Government; 7thly, of its military force; and lastly, of the administration.

* This gentleman was governor of the Captaincy, and a young man of much promise, but was, shortly after writing the "Memoir" in 1820, stabbed by one of his own officers. The Portuguese manuscript was obtained by Captain OWEN, of H. M. S. *Leven*, while surveying the South-East Coast, and to the liberality of that gentleman we are indebted for the translation, a copy of which has been kindly furnished us by Mr. JARDINE.—(*Eds.*)

ARTICLE I.

Of the Extent and Limits of the Captaincy of the Rios de Senna.

The Captaincy of the Rios de Senna, is situated on the eastern coast of Africa, between 15° and 20° of south latitude, and 27° to 37° east of London; its extent east and west is 120 leagues more or less, from the sea to the vicinity of Chicova; but its dimensions north and south, cannot be so easily determined, since the River Zambezi sometimes serves for its northern boundary, and because beyond this river there is a zone of land belonging to Caffres called Maraves; but it may be taken at a mean breadth of thirty leagues of latitude, making, consequently, a territory containing 3,600 square leagues.—It is bounded by the sea on the east; on the south by the mountains of Sofala: its boundary passes through the Kingdoms of Quitère and Barné, following afterwards the countries bordering the Empire of Monopotapa, and to the Zambezi on the S. E.; on the west, to the neighbourhood of Chicova: the northern part contains the district of Quillimane, with all the Caffres of the north Bogoros, to the vicinity of the mountains of Morumbale, where the Zambezi divides into two branches, and thence to the pass in the hills of Lupata, the same Zambezi serves as a limit to the lands of the Colony. All the countries to the northward of that river, appertain to the independent kings of the Maraves. From that part where the Zambezi issues from the Lupata chain of mountains, to the neighbourhood of Chicova, the crown lands extend on either margin of it, the northern part of them continuing to serve as boundaries to the independent Maraves. From this topographical description, we perceive that the Zambezi, whether as a cover to the land of the Captaincy, or as serving as a limit to them, presents a commodious means for commerce and exportation by a contiguous and immediate navigation. The local situation and latitude clearly show the climate of the different seasons. The state of Agriculture is another sure means of judging of its wholesome qualities, since experience and known physical principles, show that climates change and improve or become less healthy and more wild, in proportion as agriculture advances or becomes retrograde; and certain it is, that in those countries, watered by the rivers of Senna, the heat is only insupportable by those who are unaccustomed to it, —since, except during a few days in the hottest season, there is always a refreshing breeze from the southward. As to the salubrity of the climate, in spite of the uncultivated state of the country arising from a feeble and scanty population, the most common disease is the intermittent fever, in a very mild form, and even this, at some future period we may hope to see either entirely extinguished,

or at least much less prevalent, when agriculture shall have made a moderate advance.

ARTICLE II.

On Population.

The population of the Rios de Senna. is composed of three classes of people:—1st. The whites and free mulattoes who pay taxes: 2d. Slaves of both sexes and all ages: 3d. Free negroes, and the cultivators of the land, called colonists. Even amongst civilized nations, it is very difficult to obtain a correct enumeration of the population, even with the assistance rendered by arts and taxation,—much more so then must it be in a colony inhabited by different nations of Caffres, who pay no regular contribution, nor keep any register or memorandum of births or deaths: no table, therefore, of the different classes of inhabitants can be made up, except of those who are capitated,—such as the Portuguese, the Creoles and Asiatics, and some Mulattoes of the country. The number of Slaves, male and female, can also be estimated, because their proprietors keep accurate lists of them; but there is no possible way of ascertaining the numbers of the fixed colonists who inhabit the country, and constitute by far the greater part of the population. These people are not capitated, and even do not pay their rents to their landlords regularly; both these means therefore fail us. The principal reasons why the holders of crown lands cannot calculate the number of colonists by their rents, is because they neither pay by the head, nor by the family. Each village has a chief called Fume, or Tuacoava, who pays for it an arbitrary number of measures of millet, or baskets of cotton wool: and as the villages do not contain any certain number of families, nor are always existing on the same places, there is no certain method of obtaining a correct statement of the number of their inhabitants, particularly as the Caffres are used to a wandering life, and remove from one part of the country to another, or even to the independent states, with great facility. It is only known, that the divisions of the greatest magnitude, contain from ten to fifteen thousand colonists, or more, by arbitrary estimation, but this population is generally very much diminished by the violence they suffer from the holders of crown lands, by occasional years of famine, and by the invasion of neighbouring independent Caffres, who live by plunder, and have reduced the neighbourhood of Tette to a desert: having made these reflections, I shall merely give tables of the population of the different classes of whites, of capitated mulattoes, and of the slaves in 1806.

1.	Infants to 7 years old, (male)	- - -	39
2.	Boys from 7 to 15 years old,	- - -	42
3.	Adult men from 15 to 60,	- - -	194
4.	Old men from 60 to 90,	- - -	4
5.	Female infants to 7 years	- - -	35
6.	Girls from 7 to 12,	- - -	44
7.	Women from 40 years old and upwards,		43
8.	Women from 12 to 40,	- - -	101
		Total	502
9.	Number of births,	- - -	36
10.	Deaths,	- - -	32
11.	Marriages,	- - -	6

This was the population of the capitated inhabitants of both sexes in the three towns of Quillemane, Senna, and Tette, as well as in the ports of Zumbo and Manna; that is scarcely 502 inhabitants in a territory containing 3600 square leagues, or one person for 7 square leagues, which, in the above ratio of excess of births to deaths, cannot be materially increased for ages to come.

The limits of this memoir forbid me to enter into minute details respecting the causes of the great want of population in a country so vast and fertile, and consequently well calculated for the increase of families. I have merely undertaken the task of suggesting cursorily remedies for such an evil.

When in a country naturally fertile and abundant, we behold agriculture in its infancy or decay, when lands which might subsist innumerable families, scarcely afford the means of a wretched existence to a scanty population; the cause of such a phenomenon can only be ascribed to a faulty legislation,—this alone can account for the deficiency of the necessaries of life, and the consequent want of inhabitants. The constitution of the crownlands in the Captaincy of the Rios de Senna, is adverse to the prosperity of the country; and whilst the causes remain, the results must be as deplorable. The uninhabited and waste condition of this territory arises—

1. From the want of security in the rights of proprietorship, because the tenants hold their lands for their lives, and consequently are liable to incur forfeiture, and thus lose their estates:—
2. From the enormous quantity of land contained in each estate, rendering it impossible that one individual can properly attend to its cultivation and management, from which cause also it arises, that some families live in abundance, whilst others have scarcely the means of subsistence;—
3. The great abuses of permitting Goa and Mozambique families to hold estates in the Captaincy of the Rios de Senna, drawing from thence their rents, but making no return whatever; whilst the under renters, unable to hold them in their own right, are contented to find subsistence for themselves,

treating the slaves and colonists with great violence and injustice,—it cannot therefore be wondered at that the population decreases by frequent emigrations to the neighbouring independent states, and that the ground is left without hands to cultivate it.—The fourth cause may be ascribed to the violent deportment and oppressive conduct of the Dominican Friars, who as curates of the parishes in the Captaincy, throw every obstacle in the way of matrimony, even in the marriages of the poorest people, for the sole purpose of extorting money, in every possible manner, however indecent, unjust, and tyrannical. This will account for their debauchery and immorality, many living in a state of open and public concubinage rather than pay the exorbitant fees imposed upon the marriage rites. Another abuse not less prejudicial and inimical to the advance of population, is the suffering these forced celibats to hold immense estates of crown lands, which might afford ample establishments for numerous families, whose children would spread over the country. These lands are in the worst condition of any in the colony, many of them laying quite waste, without inhabitants, who have fled from the violence and oppression of their hard taskmasters: these are even more destructive to the welfare of the state than absentee proprietors, since their immediate interest so far from depending on agriculturing pursuits, rest chiefly upon the fines imposed for crimes and absolutions, to the utter ruin and destruction of the colonists.

The second class of individuals, who compose the population of the Captaincy, as I before said, is the slaves of both sexes and all ages, employed in different sorts of labor, not all of them of equal importance. Why the inhabitants derive so little advantage from their numerous slaves, requires some explanation. Many have from 5 to 600, and scarcely call a third part of them into exertion; the remainder live in perfect idleness, or are merely occupied in providing for their own individual subsistence which requires but little labour in this part of Africa. Hence arise the difficulties which occur in training and discipling slaves not used to work, when provisions fail them, as well as the numerous desertions which take place, the number of run-aways being equal to those who remain, as may be seen by the following table, shewing the quantity of slaves, as well present as absent, of both sexes and all ages:

	Present.	Absent.
Slaves of Tette, Zumbo, and their districts	6220	6224
Do. do. Senna, Manice, ditto	2217	2513
Do. do. Quilimane, ditto	2523	2130
	10,960	10,867
Total	21827	

When we consider the number of slaves, and the very small proportion of those who possess them, it is evident, that each proprietor, were he so inclined, would have sufficient hands to employ in agricultural pursuits: some even possess from six or eight hundred to a thousand slaves, and might easily augment that number to any amount. A comparison between the mutual advantages possessed in this respect, by the American colonists and the inhabitants of this Captaincy, places the latter in a very favourable point of view, to which it may also be added, that many of the colonists may be procured to work for a particular time, or perform stated services,—or other words free labor is easily procurable.

ARTICLE III.

Of Agriculture, and the Productions in the three Kingdoms of Nature.

In conformity with the principles of statistics, this article ought to comprise three chief points, with the tables relative to each of them. No. 1, should shew the total and absolute mass of productions obtained from the earth. No. 2, the proportion of them consumed in the country. No. 3, a calculation of the quantity and quality of those which are exported, or serve as objects of exterior commerce. But those causes which I have pointed out as invincible obstacles to an exact enumeration of the population, are even more adverse to a complete knowledge of the productions which are cultivated. The colonists compose the greater number of cultivators; but as they do not collect the different articles by any certain method, no accurate account can be given of their consumption, except such of them as are exported from Quillimane;—from which it may be concluded, that were agriculture but moderately advanced throughout this vast and fertile territory, the produce would be immense: that such is not the case, may be attributed to the indolence and apathy of the whites, together with their ignorance of the principles of agriculture, passing their lives as they do in absolute idleness. It frequently happens, that they are obliged to purchase from the colonists, or their independent neighbours, the necessaries of life, whilst the rents of their lands scarcely cover the expenses of their ordinary consumption. Even the wheat which is not used in Tette, and of which about three thousand bushels are exported, is not the growth of the Captaincy's lands alone, more than one-half of it being purchased from the Caffres Maraves, who cultivate it for sale. The only article actually grown and manufactured by the whites is sugar; yet, although they raise sufficient for the consumption at Tette, and a surplus remains for exportation, their vanity and ostentation induce them to purchase a great quantity abroad, which is even of a worse quality. This prejudice has, indeed,

been abandoned within the two last years, but with much reluctance. The agriculturists of Quillimane, confine their attention principally to the culture of rice, which is pursued with great success and advantage,—more, however, to be attributed to the natural fertility of the soil, than to the intelligence or activity of the inhabitants. Since from the reasons I have before advanced, it is not possible to estimate the produce of the land, I shall only speak as to its quality, by which it will be seen, that wealth might flow from the productions of the Captaincy, were agriculture sufficiently attended to. All the lands are particularly adapted to the growth of the sugar cane, which is a spontaneous production of the Quillimane district, as well as of Senna and Tette; but is only generally cultivated in the latter, not more than two families in Quillimane and Senna attending to its culture, in which places it is inferior to that of Tette. In the last-mentioned place, there are sixteen families who attend to the sugar manufacture; the quantity made by them in 1806, amounted to two tons of white sugar, and ten tons of muscavado,—altogether seven hundred and four arobas, most of which was consumed at Tette, except a small quantity which was sent to Senna, where, notwithstanding the advantages which they possess, their land being particularly well adapted to the cane, they are too indolent to manufacture it for themselves. Cotton is very common throughout the Captaincy, the lands of which are extremely favourable to its growth; all the colonists cultivate it only to make coarse cloth for their own use. The whites, however, despise it, and absolutely are quite ignorant as to the mode of cultivating it. Coffee and indigo are also indigenous plants, of which no advantage is taken: the latter is a common weed every where; and is not, as in America, liable to destruction by unfavourable seasons, this most fertile province reproducing it spontaneously annually, and uselessly,—so bounteous has nature been in this particular, to those who despise her gifts. Tobacco and rice are cultivated in all the three districts, but they are of a superior quality at Tette. Mandioc is produced abundantly every where; but to the disgrace of the sluggish inhabitants, is only cultivated by a few inhabitants of Tette; whereas it ought to afford ample subsistence to the slaves, during the famines which dry years occasion. The wheat of Tette is also superior to that of Quillimane and Senna, and engages almost all the small share of attention which is turned to agricultural pursuits. Vegetables, such as cabbage, lettuce, spinach, peas and beans of all kinds, and various species of *jugo*, might also be abundantly produced, as well as yams, potatoes, a great quantity of the *carapeteira* or *Recino*, with other oily plants, as the *Mandovo*, &c.

The *carapeteira** is called in the country *aboné*. The medicinal plants most known and common are euphorbia, rhubarb, jalap, senna, and many others which might become articles of commerce, as well as a great variety of colors and dyes, which might be extracted from minerals and vegetables. Millet and maize of every description and quality, are the principal articles cultivated by the colonists and slaves, whose principal sustenance they are; the land produces them in such abundance, that the people are rendered negligent and careless to the proper means of growing them. The articles which form the principal commercial objects, are furnished by the animal and vegetable kingdoms,—they are, first, the Hippopotamus, vulgarly called the Sea-horse, or “Cavalho Marinho,” whose teeth and oil are exported, the flesh serving as food for the slaves; secondly, the Rhinoceros, commonly called Abade, furnishes another export in its horns; and the Tiger is killed for the sake of its skin. In spite of the destruction made amongst the bees, owing to the ignorance of the inhabitants, honey and wax are in the greatest abundance. The mineral productions are various dust. Gold, which is chiefly drawn from the immense interior districts of Quitove, Manica,† Mazezuos, Abatira, Zemba, Maxongo, and Mano, and might be extracted from the mines on the crown lands, where it was formerly found in considerable quantities. Iron, one of the most useful metals, is found in abundance in the district of Senna, and in still greater quantities in the lands of the Caffres Maravés, who manufacture all the hoes used in the Captaincy of Senna, as well as at Mozambique, Inhamban, &c. &c. Copper is found in the districts of Zumbo, Moizas, and Cazembe, said to be on the western side of the range of mountains where the Zambezi has its source. By a despatch from Tette, dated in June, 1822, the Governor of Mozambique was informed, that an embassy had arrived there from Cazembe, amounting to three hundred persons: they invited the Portuguese to send soldiers and merchants to form an establishment in that kingdom, at the head of the river Arangua or Aruangua, which falls into the Atlantic about Angola. This river is said to have its source on the western side of the same ridge of mountains, from which the Zambezi flows. The King sent to say, that he had prepared the way for their safe conduct; he sent three teeth (or tusks) as a present, and eighty for traffic. Abundance of saltpetre is produced in the crown lands, which might become a very material article for exportation; but is wasted through the ignorance and laziness of the inhabitants, who are not

* The oil extracted from the *Carapeteira* is called *Oil d'Abone*.

† In this district the Maneiss or King George's River, is said to have its source amongst the mountains between Sofala and Inhamban.—(OWEN.)

aware that the same lands which produce common salt, will yield in the solution a much greater quantity of saltpetre.

ARTICLE IV.

Of Commerce and Navigation.

LIKE that of other countries, the commerce of the Captaincy of the Rios de Senna, consists of two kinds, exterior and interior; but since in this district the internal is so intimately connected with the external, and is indeed the source of it, and as all the exports are made from the port of Quillimane, I shall not divide the subject, but consider both kinds of traffic under one head. Agricultural produce, as I have before noticed, constitutes but a very small portion of the exports, instead of forming as it should, their principal and most interesting feature. Gold, ivory, and slaves, are the essential articles of commerce in the interior, and even in the lands of the Captaincy. The exports are gold, ivory, slaves, copper, rice, wheat, oil, tobacco, teeth of the Hippopotami, Rhinoceros horns, wax, amber, pease, beans, maize, and millet, onions and garlick. The imports are coarse cotton stuffs from Asia, (for interior traffic,) fine cloths of cotton, woollen, and silk; beads, milk stones, (a large white bead,) false coral, metal beads, coir, pewter, gunpowder, arms, earthenware of all kinds, brandy, wine and other liquors, sugar, soap, salt meat, butter, oil, pitch, salt fish, (azectorias,) olives, tea, coffee, chocolate, spices, bristles of all sorts, iron in bars, &c. &c. The greater proportion of these imported articles, are sent into the interior to barter for slaves, gold, and ivory; the remainder is consumed in the Captaincy. Many of the things before-mentioned serve as money, or media of exchange, such are the coarse stuffs, the valorio, (a kind of bead,) beads, and pewter. The exportations from Quillimane between the 1st Jannary and 31st December, 1806, were gold dust, 6780 maticalls; in the country these would be called sixty-seven partas and eighty maticalls,—each maticall is said to be equal to ten cruzadoes; therefore each parta is a thousand cruzadoes of imaginary money: but the gold is valued by its weight, each parta weighs nineteen ounces and a half. This gold has commonly a cambio of 25 or 30 per cent. and often much more at Mozambique and the Asiatic ports.*

Of ivory, in teeth of all sizes,	No.	4375
Slaves for Mozambique, - - -	- - -	1080
Ditto for the Isle of France, - - -	- - -	404

* The value of a thousand cruzadoes varies from thirty-five to fifty pounds sterling.—(OWEN.)

Alquieres ($\frac{1}{2}$ bushel) of rice for Mozambique, - - - - -	13717
Ditto for the Isle of France, - - - - -	400
Alquieres of wheat, - - - - -	6142
----- of white beans, - - - - -	60
----- of pease, - - - - -	70
----- of maize or Indian corn, - - - - -	50
----- Aurax veira, or millet,* - - - - -	10
Alquieres of barley, - - - - -	14
----- of <i>Mugo</i> , - - - - -	84
Onions, cwt. - - - - -	12
Garlick, do. - - - - -	4
Alquieres of <i>Penha</i> , - - - - -	1
Oil of Almonds (<i>Tranos</i>), - - - - -	132
Hoes, - - - - -	No. 6045

In the same year there were imported into

Quillimane, bars of colored cottons,† - - -	611
Barrels of beads, - - - - -	18
Small barrels of rum, - - - - -	32
----- of wine, - - - - -	61
Pipes of aquadento, - - - - -	10
Cases of ditto, - - - - -	16
Sugar, cwt. - - - - -	34
Tubs of sugar candy, - - - - -	6
Annas de fago, or fire rugs, - - - - -	270
Gunpowder, cwt. - - - - -	33
Soap, do. - - - - -	8
Salt meat, in barrels, - - - - -	8
Butter, do. - - - - -	8
Pewter, cwt. - - - - -	8
Pitch, do. - - - - -	4
Coir, sacks, - - - - -	26
Lavender, bundles, - - - - -	2
Salt fish, barrels, - - - - -	9
Earthenware, cases of, - - - - -	1
Glass, do. - - - - -	2
Tea, boxes of, - - - - -	8
Chocolate do. - - - - -	6
Packages of Coffee, - - - - -	8
Kegs of sweet oil, - - - - -	7
Barrels of oil, - - - - -	6

Within such narrow limits is the commerce of a country confined, which I have shewn to contain 3600 square leagues, and not of it alone, but as I shall hereafter shew of an

* A fermented liquor is made of this millet, as well as a common article of food.—(OWEN.)

† Each bar contains 100 pieces, and each piece 31 brazas or yards.—(OWEN.)

interior of 90,000 square leagues. It is, however, necessary that I should make some reflections on the foregoing tables of exports and imports.

Amongst the importations, are mentioned some articles, which so far from being brought to the Rios de Senna, ought, if the inhabitants were industrious agriculturalists, and the population equivalent to the extent of the country, to be made the principal articles of exportation,—such are rum, sugar, soap, and pitch; and let it be particularly noted, that the culture of sugar is not unknown, and the rum extracted from it, is a great article of consumption in the country, and constitutes at the same time a material part of the interior traffic. The different liquids mentioned cannot be exactly valued, because the barrels are of different sizes and contents; and indeed much confusion arises in the Rios de Senna about measures, an inconvenience which can only be remedied effectually by the residence of artificers capable of making them.

If we except the gold, ivory, and slaves, all the other exports are of little value. It may not here be improper to demonstrate the truth of a proposition too often overlooked by the inhabitants of the Captaincy, viz.:—That any of the ordinary estates held under the crown, if they were brought into cultivation and planted with coffee, cotton, sugar, indigo, tobacco, maize, millet, and legumes, would furnish for exportation ten times more of these articles, than are now procured from an interior country of 27,500 square leagues of surface. To prove which, it will first be necessary to value, at the ordinary prices, all the different articles comprised in the table of exports; to consider the immense territory from which they are drawn, and to compare this result with the value of the above-mentioned agricultural products; taking as a measure of comparison some one of the American isles, about the size of a single crown estate in the Captaincy of the Rios de Senna.

To throw as much advantage as possible into the scale of the present mercantile transactions, I will suppose, against all probability, that the 6726 maticals of gold, with their cambio, to be worth in Mozambique 100,600 cruzadoes. I will suppose the average weight of the teeth to be an arobe, (21 lbs.), that each arobe will fetch 120 cruzadoes; this will amount to 525,000 cruzadoes. Let us value the rice at 8 cruzadoes the half-bushel; this is 112,936 cruzadoes. Supposing the wheat to be worth 10 cruzadoes, it will bring 61,420 cruzadoes, all the other things are very insignificant, and may be at the utmost valued at 30,000 crusadoes, except the slaves, which we will suppose individually to be worth

180 crusadoes in the port of Quillimane,* and let us, instead of valuing the miscellanies at 30,000, which is most probably their value) suppose them to be worth 100,000 crusadoes.

The gold, with the cambio,	- - -	100,000
Ivory,	- - - - -	525,000
Slaves,	- - - - -	192,000
Rice,	- - - - -	112,000
Wheat,	- - - - -	61,420
Miscellanies,	- - - - -	100,000

Sum Total, in crusadoes, 1,090,420.

Our commercial affairs in this part of Africa extend over an immense territory, whose length from North to South is about 350 leagues, from Cuzembe to Manica, and 200 leagues from East to West, from Quillimane to Zumbo. But as the merchants send their goods far beyond these places, we may safely add 50 leagues to the above dimensions. The mercantile transactions, therefore, of the Captaincy of the Rios de Senna, extend over a space of 87,500 square leagues of surface, all of which only produce to the value of 1,090,420 crusadoes in exports, and this too in provincial currency, which, reduced to hard cash, would be 547,210 hard crusadoes (about 138,400 Spanish dollars).—In order to make an estimation of what the produce in coffee, cotton, indigo tobacco, &c. of a single estate in this country might be, I will compare it with the French island of Martinique, which is about 16 leagues long, and 8 broad, the common size of a crown estate, though they are often much larger. Some French economists have stated the exports of this island to Europe in 1769, when it was not in its greatest prosperity, in the articles of sugar, coffee, and indigo, as worth 5,500,000 crusadoes in hard Portoguese coin. Now as this part of Africa is much more fertile than the Antilles, and has moreover the advantage of slaves, for one twentieth part of the price, there paid for them, I think my position is fairly made out: that one single estate, if properly cultivated, might export more than ten times the value of what is now done by a territory of 87,500 square leagues, that estate being 16 leagues long by 8 broad. The whole territory of the Captaincy of the Rios de Senna might, by similar efforts, be brought to export to the value of 151 millions of crusadoes, even allowing a fair proportion of waste and mountainous land. For this reason I took Martinique as a standard of comparison, because it is more mountainous than our lands; and in 1769, a great part of it was uncultivated.

* We saw one sold at Mozambique for 80 crusadoes.—(OWEN.)

Of Navigation.

From navigation, commerce receives most essential help; indeed, were it not for its assistance in the Captaincy of the Rios de Senna, that must altogether fail, since there are neither public roads, nor beasts of burden. It is true that the commerce of the interior is carried on by slave carriers, besides which the river Zambezi presents the means of transporting goods through a great space, whilst the principal returns are made without much difficulty; gold to a very great amount being contained in a small compass, and the Slave requiring no conveyance. Throughout the Captaincy, interior navigation on a larger scale than in any other part of Africa, might be established, indeed the chief part of America falls short of it, in this respect, which points out most forcibly the objects which ought to form the primary pursuits of the Colony, viz: mercantile transactions, founded on agricultural produce, instead of the distant and less profitable interior trade. The Zambezi might be rendered navigable throughout the year, as far as 900 miles above Quillimane, into the interior of Zumbo, if two obstacles were removed. The first of which is, some rocks impeding the navigation at a place called Cabrabaça, between Chicova and Tette, where boats can never pass. This hinderance, however, is beyond the limits of the colony, and would not, therefore, obstruct the exportation of its produce. The second one might be easily removed as it only impedes the navigation six months in the year.—The Zambezi divides into two branches, about thirty leagues above Quillimane, the left branch of which passes the town, and is only navigable in the winter season on account of the sands which collect at the point of separation. The waters of the river in the other season pass down the right arm, and discharge themselves into the sea at the bar of Ohrida.—By opening a canal half a league in length, the left branch might be pursued at all seasons of the year with great facility.—Notwithstanding this difficulty, the navigation is made [although] laboriously, by means of a canal, which communicates with another branch of the river, and affords a passage to numerous small craft, assisted by the tide waters which communicate from without, through the medium of the before-mentioned canal, called Rio Maindo.—Inferior rivers fall into the Zambezi, and water the land of the interior, thus affording great facilities to the inland commerce. Such is the river Ravugo, which rises to the northward of the Zambezi in the Marave's country, and falls into it half a league below Tette. The river Aroanha, which passing through Monopotapa, joins the Zambezi on its right bank between Tette and the pass of Lupata.—The river Cline, a large stream, whose source we are ignorant of, which, after passing through the territory

of the Caffres Maraves, forms a junction with the Zambezi near Senna.—Morambala is equidistant from Senna and Quillimane. Such are the advantages which the Captaincy affords for internal navigation, and consequently for the export of its productions.—The external navigation is only carried on from Quillimane through Mozambique; the present narrow limits of the export trade not requiring a custom-house at the former place.—The trading vessels are small, on account of the shallowness of the bar: but this would be no hinderance to mercantile transactions, for as the one increased, so would the other in number; and experience teaches us, that small craft are, under many circumstances, better adapted than larger ones to the furtherance of commerce, from the facility with which their cargoes are completed, and the consequent reduction of expense.

Of the Industry and Education.

It is held as a maxim of colonial policy by all European nations, not to admit into their establishments those productions, which are the principal objects of commercial speculations,—it would be superfluous, here, to give reasons for such conduct. There are two kinds of industry, without which no colony can ever flourish; without which it must for ever remain in an unprofitable and infant condition. The first is that species of application, on which the progress and improvement of different branches of agriculture depends, as well as the manufactures which result from, and are inherent in, many of the productions cultivated: such are the manufactories of sugar and indigo, without which it would be quite useless to rear the plants which afford them.—Such undertakings require more industry and intelligence than is generally imagined, depending as they do on a knowledge of the first order of sciences. The second kind of indispensable industry, is that which is subservient to the arts and trades; these are of primary necessity, and without them no political society can exist,—such are the occupations of carpenters, smiths, &c. The whole mass of colonial industry may be reduced to a single point of view, of which the object is to obtain from the lands the greatest possible produce, of those articles which are calculated for the soil and climate, and to furnish sufficient quantities for the purposes of export, commerce, and navigation. Such colonies as do not yield these advantages, and fall short in agriculture and industry, are but a dead and abortive weight upon the mother country; and whatever violence I may offer to my self-love by such an acknowledgement, I must confess this to be the case with the Captaincy of the Rios de Senna; I am, however, impe-

riously called on to make such a sacrifice of my feelings to the welfare of the country, and not to smother but point out the many vices which exist throughout it, in order that a remedy may be found and applied.

From what I have already advanced, it is evident that the inhabitants of this colony, are an idle and indolent race. From a general view of their want of industry, I shall turn to those particular points where it is most conspicuous,—one of which is the growth and manufacture of sugar at Tette. At this place, as has been observed, a small quantity is annually made, but it is cultivated without any principle; improper places are selected for the plantations, and consequently many of them altogether fail,—a failure which is attributed to the bad qualities of the soil, instead of being laid to the account, as it ought, of those who choose improper situations. If we pass from the growth of the cane to the manufacture of the sugar, we see machines to the last degree clumsy, and devoid of mechanical principle, totally adverse both to the economy of time and labour—Machines on which are employed a multiplicity of hands, which might be most advantageously engaged in other pursuits, and at the same time their place might be supplied by the elements, or animals. Throughout the colony, there is not a single machine worked by any other than human labour; other means are altogether neglected. The cotton culture is most miserably conducted, left as it is to the ignorance of the colonists, who reap but very insignificant crops of it,—both because it is planted in improper places, and the manner and machines for cleaning it are at once clumsy and awkward to a degree; more than two months being requisite for one person to clean a quarter of a hundred weight: so ignorant are they of the most common processes which are made use of in other countries for that purpose. Indigo, though the spontaneous production of every part of the country, has never yet been manufactured into a dye; nor was it even known that the plant could be raised by cultivation. The first indigo extracted was in 1806, and in 1807 the first manufactory was established: similar observations will be made with respect to coffee, and other valuable vegetable productions; and it may be added, that although some persons do prosecute the culture of mandioc, they have not the means of reducing it to flour, but make use of the dry roots as food for their slaves. The trades and arts cannot be said to exist, since it would be prostituting such names to apply them to the mechanical efforts of the slaves, whose clumsy and ill-devised tools can hardly perform the most ordinary work.

That there are no public tradesmen and artists, may be attributed to the indolence of the whites, who all abandon

their occupations for the more easy means of obtaining subsistence, by petty mercantile transactions; the abuse of this custom brings with it other evils, which shall be noticed. Hence it is that each family is obliged to employ slaves who work extremely ill in their different crafts of smiths, carpenters, goldsmiths, &c. &c., besides the necessary tools for such occupations. The causes of the indolence, ignorance, and inactivity, which are so prevalent, arise from the abuse of commerce; and in a still greater degree, from a faulty public education. The inhabitants of a warm and debilitating country, whilst they can find easier means of subsistence, will never be roused to bodily or mental exertion.

All the inhabitants of the Rios de Senna, live by the interior commerce, and the fruits ill or well cultivated on their lands by the natives. The mercantile transactions are entirely carried on by slaves belonging to the inhabitants, who have acquired a knowledge of the country, they are called Massambazes; and go forth every year attended by other slaves as carriers of goods proper for the trade, and in due time they return with gold, ivory, and slaves; others, besides this commerce, keep a number of slaves employed in the mines, which yield them gold at a trifling expense. The indolent and inactive lord (*senhor*) whose business requires neither a speculation, nor even a combination of ideas, passes his days either in sleeping, smoking, or drinking tea, or if by any chance he should sally forth from his house, it is at sun-rise, when he offers a ridiculous spectacle of fastidious state, and indolent stupidity, being swung in a hammock (*machila*) which is carried by four miserable slaves. The abundance and cheapness of provisions enables the inferior classes, without either funds or means of their own, to subsist in perfect idleness, following up the same kind of traffic, in which they are willingly assisted by people who are ready to lend goods of every kind on credit. Such tradespeople as are banished, or come from Europe to seek their fortunes, instantly abandon their former occupations for commercial undertakings, and follow at a venture in the same track; the liberality of the inhabitants encouraging an idleness at once fatal to their own and the public welfare; continuing, moreover, as they still do, to practise the same criminal vice which caused their banishment. Such is the manner in which commerce is here abused, and the slow progress of agriculture marks its bad effects; totally adverse, as it is, to energy or persevering care, or the rendering of superior intelligence and combined ideas of any sort of value.

A good education can alone eradicate these mistaken notions, and instil other and better ones into the minds of the people; but for this we may seek in vain, throughout the

Captaincy: there is not even one solitary instance, either public or private, of a proper course of instruction, by which I would not be understood to mean that kind of education which is essential to men who are destined to scientific pursuits, but merely such a one as would enable them to superintend their domestic concerns with intelligence and advantage, such a one as would enable them, by expanding their minds and imparting to their hearts proper feelings and sentiments, to become good and industrious citizens, and worthy fathers of families. Hopeless without this will be our search for that physical education which is essentially necessary to the formation of an energetic and active mind, and to counteract the baneful influence of tropical climates, by preserving those who live in them from the indolence and stupidity which they are too apt to induce. Nature has been most liberal to the Captaincy of the Rios de Senna, let us hope that it will receive the further assistance of a proper legislation: at present there is not a single establishment for the instruction of youth, nor are there any funds which are so applied; hence it follows that the children of each family are imperfectly instructed at home, no persons being found who are capable of undertaking such a charge, however willing parents might be to remunerate them. The dominican priests, who are called the Missionaries of Africa, ought at least to teach evangelical morality to the whites, since for that end were they appointed to their parishes. But even if their profound ignorance, was not a sufficient bar to the performance of their duties, little or no benefit could be derived from the instruction of people of depraved and infamous habits, who make a commercial speculation of their ministry, inasmuch as they never administer the sacraments but to those who can pay for them. In 1805, the inhabitants of Tette made choice of a poor unbenficed friar, as a fit person to instruct their children in reading, writing, and the christian doctrines. The other friars used all their power and intrigues to get him removed to Senna, where he now is, in utter idleness, and without any employment whatever;—this they did from pure malignity, proving themselves to be bitter enemies to the public welfare.

ARTICLE VI.

Of the Public Revenues.

THE public revenues of the Captaincy are of two kinds, the first, arising from the custom-house dues, paid at Mozambique on all articles imported into the Captaincy, the second from certain fines and tenths paid by the holders of crown lands. As there is no custom-house at Quillimane, all the

duties on articles of colonial import are paid at Mozambique, but the articles of export to that place are free of all impost, unless they be re-exported. I shall not, since there is no custom-house in the Captaincy, attempt to give any account of these duties, but shall merely state those which are collected in the colony, viz.: the fines and tenths. All the lands of the Captaincy are either crown or exchequer estates, except a very few small establishments which may at any time be alienated.

				Cruzadoes.
The crown estates in the district of Tette,				
are 48, which pay in fines and tenths,	-	-	-	708,522 $\frac{1}{2}$
Exchequer estates ditto, 6,	-	-	-	56,077 $\frac{1}{2}$
Crown estates in the district of Senna, 27,	-	-	-	1,527,917 $\frac{1}{2}$
Fiscal Estates do. do. 4,	-	-	-	97,375
Crown Estates of Quillimane, 13,	-	-	-	421,441 $\frac{1}{2}$
Fiscal do. 2,	-	-	-	88,666
Total fines and tenths in Cruzadoes,				2,900,000

Besides the 48 crown, and 6 fiscal estates in the district of Tette, 13 others have been annexed to the crown lands by conquest, part in 1804, and part in 1807. Seven of these estates were let in the name of his royal highness (for his establishment) to other families, the rest of them also paying fines and tenths for the same purpose. The 15 estates conquered in 1804, were the territory of Queen Sazora, in the land of the Caffres Maravés, which border on the ancient lands of the colony to the northward of the Zambezi. This Queen had usurped and invaded some of the territory of the Captaincy, and had, moreover, given an asylum to run-away slaves, so that it became expedient to expel her, and extend our conquests by force of arms. The other estate it was found necessary to conquer in the present year, 1807, for the greater security and peace of the colony and its inhabitants; it belonged to King Bive, also a Maravée. These are the most fertile of all the interior countries, and their productions are at once most valuable and abundant. Gold is found in the mines, and a great quantity of iron, which might be made a very considerable export: all the iron instruments or tools for domestic or agricultural uses, are fabricated in the Maravées country.

Such are the revenues derived from the Captaincy of the Rios de Senna, which might be incomparably greater, were the crown lands held on a different tenure, if they were more equally divided, and if the legislative authorities turned their attention to agricultural productions as the most proper commercial articles. This, as I have so often insisted upon,

is of the greatest importance; because on it depends the reciprocal and public property* of every individual throughout the mass of population, and I cannot help making some interesting observations, tending to shew the necessity of a thorough reform and improvement.

Comparing the number of crown estates in the district of Tette, with those of Senna, and their corresponding rents, it is evident that the 27 Senna estates pay more than twice as much as all the 48 of Tette. The imposts laid on all the estates are settled by the members of the royal factory, without any certain rule or regularity; but the great disproportion in the rents of the lands in these districts, proceeds, besides this cause, from the great inequality in the size of the estates, those of Tette being small, whilst those of Senna are unreasonably large, the natural consequence of which, is, that they are badly regulated and cultivated, which would still be the case, even if the population in colonists or slaves were equal to the establishments of the whites. Reason and experience teach us, in support of the opinions of Dr. Franklin, and other political economists, that the primary equality of distribution of the lands in British America, gave such opportunities and advantages to marriage and the support of families, that the population was doubled in the space of 15 or 20 years. To this we may add another circumstance not less prejudicial to the public good, viz. that the holders have not the power of alienating their estates, which prevents those duties from accruing to the state, which would fall to it, were the estate free to be sold or transferred, or if they were allowed to be sub-divided by inheritance, according to the usual custom amongst the whites. Such a reform in the constitution and distribution of the crown estates, would be the means of increasing the population, and consequently the following revenues: 1st, a great increase of fines and tenths; 2d, a new tax on the houses, and on the sales and purchases of lands; 3d, such a considerable increase of import and export, as will bring a large revenue to the custom-house. All the gold exported from the Rios de Senna does not pay the fifth, as was anciently the case in America, nor even the tenth. At present this tribute falls short, because the mines on the crown lands are exhausted, and almost all the gold is purchased in the interior, and in the independent countries. The government might, however, impose a new tax on gold, without prejudice to commerce; if at Quillimane or Mozambique, there was established a mint to reduce all to current coin, the value of it would by this means be so much increased, that it could well afford to pay

* So it stands in MS.

one and a half, two, or three per cent. whilst the Cambio on it would still remain the same in the Northern Asiatic ports, since it is payable on coined as well as uncoined gold. To enforce this my opinion, I shall here quote a writer on political economy, who informs us, that before the year 1750, the Spanish colony of Chili only paid the twentieth on 50,220 pounds of gold: in that year a mint being established, was attended with such favourable consequences, that in 1771 the Royal duties were paid on 200,032 lbs. and was still increasing: moreover, an establishment of this nature lately decreed by Alvarà for the Portuguese districts of America, where the mines are, clearly and evidently shews its utility and benefit to the state.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the Troops.

The troops of the Captaincy are composed of infantry and militia. The infantry garrison the three towns of Tette, Senna, and Quillimane, as well as the commercial establishments of Manica and Quimbo. There are also five regiments of militia, bearing the names of the towns. They are established on the same plan as those lately raised in the mother country; but are incomplete in officers; and the soldiers being without proper arms, are consequently without discipline.* From this source spring many evils.

A table of the number of regular troops which garrison each of the presidencies of the Rios de Senna:

Garrison of Tette, in two Companies, 94 men.

Senna, one Company, - 49

Quillimane, one do. - 72

Zumbo, one do. - 37

Manica, one do. - 12

Total number of soldiers, 264

So small is the number of troops employed to garrison the different posts of the Captaincy, which would at least require 1200 men not only for its defence but for the protection of commerce, which, for the want of such safeguards, is prosecuted with little advantage or security. Tette and Senna have town-majors and *sargentos mores*, because they are fortresses, if we can so designate places which are so ill fortified as to be totally incapable of defence.

ARTICLE VIII.

On the General Administration.

The general administration is carried on in the different towns by governors, *capitães mores*, and commandants, who

* A part of this sentence has been omitted, as the manuscript appears imperfect.—EDS.

have the direction of all appointments, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, for which they are accountable to the governor. Justice is administered by ordinary judges, who lay all cases of great importance before the Ouvidor of Mozambique, to whom they are responsible for the receipts from the sale of the effects of absentees and deceased persons. The chambers have no funds even for their ordinary expenses; courts are, therefore, held at the different residences of the judges at Senna, Tette, and Quillimane. This may be accounted for because there are no unappropriated lands which can be let out, in these towns and districts, all belonging to the Crown; from which results an inconvenience which is another obstacle to the increase of towns and families, who own no places where they can build houses, nor can they cultivate any land as their own.

To the members of the royal factory in these three towns and their districts, belong all that relates to the interest of the royal company. They levy all the duties due to the company, and sequester the goods of its debtors. They decide all disputes relative to the limits of the lands, and arbitrate the fines and tenths which are to be paid, managing entirely this fund on account of the junta of the royal factory at Mozambique.

CONCLUSION.

Particular Statistics of the Government of the Rios de Senna.

All the projects which have been proposed in this memoir, have two ends in view, equally intended to augment the prosperity of the country and the good of the state. First to impress on the minds of the inhabitants, that their labour and industry ought to be directed to the important commerce derived from agricultural pursuits, in preference to that with the interior; and secondly, to demonstrate clearly and practically this weighty truth, removing by the evidence of incontestible facts, all those objections usually advanced against undertakings which require energy and industry, by ignorant, idle, and prejudiced persons. In a colony so extensive, so fertile, and well calculated for various and most valuable productions; divided by navigable rivers through all its principal points, situated in the very centre of Africa, where slaves may be easily and cheaply procured, having communication with the sea at Quillimane (by a long river like the Zambezi,) within a month's sail from the Asiatic ports, which would return many commodities that find a market in Europe, thus creating a great and advantageous balance of trade in favour of the metropolis; if, therefore, in such a colony, the commerce of its agricultural productions (which always keep pace with the industry and application of

its inhabitants) be so desirable an end, it should be the duty of those who govern and know these important truths, to give a fresh impulse and direction to the labour of the husbandman, both by precept and example.

In the year 1805 one small plantation of cotton was made; the season being far advanced when it was undertaken, the rest of the year was occupied in preparing a piece of waste ground for a plantation in the following year. In 1806, a piece of 852,060 square yards was planted and produced 630,000 cotton trees, which bore pods four months after they were planted, and yielded 6,700 lbs. of cotton. This appears a small quantity, considering the number of plants; but it must also be recollected, that they were not five months old, and many of the pods unripe: they therefore produced as much as could possibly be expected,—promising a more abundant crop in the following year. In 1807, many new and valuable plantations were made, and the one above-mentioned being augmented by a piece of land of 101,088 square yards, bore 75,816 trees, which flowered in a very promising manner. A piece of ground of 51,233 square yards, was planted with indigo, which succeeded so extremely well, that some of the plants were eight feet high. This plant is found wild in every part of the Captaincy; but its improvement under cultivation, is extremely great. An indigo manufactory was established, on such a scale as experience and calculation have proved to be most advantageous to the proprietor, since the dye produced does not bear proportion to the magnitude of the undertaking. This establishment is situated on the right bank of the Zansbezi, near Tette, conveniently placed for procuring water, which is drawn from the river by an hydraulic machine of new invention. The manufactory consists of two tanks, the fermenting one is ten feet square by three deep, the battery is a tank close to the other, being eleven feet by six square, and six deep. A third tank is generally used; but it was found to be unnecessary here, as the dye might be obtained more expeditiously and with less trouble without one; moreover, the nature of the ground did not admit it. All that has been done here, was effected by 120 slaves of both sexes, which remained out of 300 purchased for the purpose on various occasions. There is no kind of regulation throughout the Captaincy for the labor of slaves, and they are generally living in a state of extreme idleness. In such undertakings, however, it is of vital importance that order and regularity should be established. This is, however, not an easy task, with such an example of idleness set by other slaves, which will account for the deficiency of the hands originally destined to this manufactory, nearly 180 having deserted. This difficulty should not by any means

discourage these pursuits; the loss of thirty slaves here not being of such consequence as of two in America, since here they can easily and certainly be replaced, together with the assistance which the colonial farmers derive from the births of slaves in their own houses, and on their lands. This, however, was not the case in the present establishment, which was of necessity undertaken with slaves newly purchased from the interior, who of course were not equal to those, who being born in the colony, were attached to their native place, and were more willing to work than those brought from the interior to labor in a strange land; and who, moreover, took every opportunity of returning to their homes. But if we consider the difference of price here and in America, where one slave costs 100 dollars, and in the colony of the Rios de Senna only four, the loss becomes comparatively trifling. In addition to this, the Captaincy possesses another advantage over America, which is, that two or three hundred slaves may at any time be procured in as many months.

All these reflections tend to prove what I have continually advanced, that the Captaincy of the Rios de Senna may, from the numerous advantages to be derived from it, be made a most beneficial and useful colony. But that this desirable end may be obtained, it is essentially necessary that the industry of the inhabitants should be directed to the commerce of agricultural productions hitherto totally neglected. Every possible means, too, should be used to augment the population, as without a great increase of that nothing can be undertaken. And when it shall be so enlarged, that the interior commerce cannot satisfy all of them, necessity will lead them to become husbandmen, from whose labours, more solid wealth will be derived, than from a very hazardous and precarious traffic, and from mines nearly exhausted.

Tette, 14th July, 1820.

*Extracts, &c. calculated to assist inquiry as to the probable or actual existence of Coal in any given district.**

Characters of the Coal formation.—Though the appearance of the outward surface gives no certain or infallible rule to judge of the kinds of strata lying beneath, yet it gives a probable one; for it is generally found that a chain of mountains or hills

* A prevailing belief that Coal exists on the South-East coast of the colony, and that accurate examination is alone requisite to discover it, has suggested the propriety of introducing the "Extracts, &c."—(Eds.)