

Um episódio do "*slave cocoa*" 0  
Relatório Nightingale de 1906

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# Um episódio do '*slave cocoa*' - o relatório Nightingale de 1906

Maciel Morais Santos\*

Apartir do ano de 1904 desenvolveu-se o que, especialmente em Inglaterra e nos Estados Unidos, se designou como a campanha do *slave cocoa*: uma denúncia internacional do recrutamento de trabalho forçado para as plantações de cacau na colónia portuguesa de S. Tomé e Príncipe. Apesar da publicidade que na época lhe foi dada, o processo conserva vários pontos não totalmente esclarecidos, nomeadamente no que respeita aos interesses que envolveu e aos agentes que nela participaram.

Como seria de esperar no que começou por uma campanha de imprensa, muitas informações importantes circularam publicamente: nos jornais, em declarações parlamentares, em notas diplomáticas publicadas. Contudo, não estão ainda totalmente exploradas os chamados testemunhos involuntários: aqueles que os actores mais directos produziram e que não se destinavam a públicos exteriores. A correspondência trocada internamente no Foreign Office - a Secretaria de Estado da potência colonial hegemónica da época - está naturalmente neste último caso. É neste contexto que deve ser avaliada a importância de que se reveste o principal documento produzido pelos seus funcionários durante o primeiro ano da campanha anti-esclavagista - o relatório consular Nightingale, tal como foi lido e interpolado pelos assessores do Ministro Grey.

O interesse histórico deste relatório não se prende apenas com os efeitos diplomáticos que teve no imediato. Atendendo a que as deficiências estatísticas da administração portuguesa demoraram - e por razões que se prendem com o próprio desenvolvimento da questão do *slave cocoa* - a ser corrigidas, as informações transmitidas pelo cônsul Nightingale devem ser consideradas como um contributo importante para o conhecimento da sociedade de S. Tomé durante o início do ciclo do cacau. Como tal, e tratando-se de um documento que embora impresso nunca circulou publicamente a não ser numa versão censurada, parece haver razões a justificar a sua publicação integral.

## 1. A conjuntura colonial

Em 1905, as suspeitas de que as autoridades coloniais portuguesas em Angola e em S. Tomé e Príncipe facilitavam a captura e venda de escravos para as plantações de cacau tornaram cada vez mais difícil aos governos português e, sobretudo, ao inglês, manter o silêncio. Na Grã-Bretanha, desde 1882 que se acumulavam acusações por parte de comerciantes (1884), de deputados (Pease em 1894), de missionários (1904) e de jornalistas. Apartir de 1894, começaram também a figurar em relatórios consulares, nomeadamente dos agentes creditados em Luanda (Pickersgill e Brooks em 1894 e 1897).

No entanto, desde a guerra anglo-boer que os interesses coloniais ingleses, nomeadamente os sul-africanos, faziam diminuir a pressão de Londres sobre Lisboa. Desde que em 1895 se concluíra a linha ferroviária entre Moçambique a Joanesburgo que a indústria mineira do Rand dependia cada vez mais da força de trabalho moçambicana.<sup>1</sup> A guerra bóer interrompeu praticamente a laboração das minas mas ainda antes de as operações militares terem terminado, em 1901, já as

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autoridades inglesas e portuguesas tinham negociado um acordo para esse efeito. Tratava-se de um convénio que em termos muito directos trocava trabalhadores por tarifas ferroviárias: a administração colonial de Moçambique facilitava o recrutamento mineiro para o Rand e a administração do Transvaal estabelecia diferenciais ferroviários aos produtos que circulassem entre Joanesburgo e Lourenço Marques. Sendo pouco mais do que um acordo informal, ficou conhecido como o *modus vivendi*.

Nos anos seguintes, percentagens crescentes do trânsito ferroviário do Transvaal passaram a seguir a via de Lourenço Marques. Embora isso já acontecesse antes do *modus vivendi*, a escala em que passou a verificar-se então o desvio do trânsito parecia pôr em causa o equilíbrio de interesses entre as regiões da futura União<sup>2</sup>. Para o Alto-Comissariado do Cabo tornou-se claro que os diferenciais ferroviários deveriam ser revistos mas sabia-se que, ao fazê-lo, se arriscava a provocar a rescisão do acordo e, em consequência, a suspender a ida de trabalhadores moçambicanos para as minas sul-africanas. Nestas condições, a diplomacia inglesa via-se condicionada perante as posições de Lisboa e, em especial, sobre o recrutamento para as plantações de S. Tomé.

As dificuldades aumentaram no contexto da campanha contra o Congo Belga. Em 1905, as acusações das associações anti-esclavagistas ao Estado Livre estenderam-se às autoridades coloniais portuguesas e, através do jornalista Nevinson, começaram a publicar-se nos Estados Unidos artigos descrevendo o tráfico de escravos em Angola. O governo inglês considerou inevitável tomar alguma iniciativa que, assegurando alguma satisfação ao seu eleitorado -no qual se incluía a maioria dos *dissents* abolicionistas - não prejudicasse as negociações entre Moçambique e o Transvaal. Para esse efeito, em Outubro desse ano foi resolvido informar a Câmara dos Comuns que as preocupações humanitárias tinham justificado a elaboração de um relatório consular, destinado a habilitar o gabinete na decisão de notificar o governo português sobre o recrutamento africano.

O agente encarregado de elaborar o relatório foi o cônsul Nightingale, anteriormente colocado em Luanda e, na altura, em Boma, no Congo belga. A sua estadia no arquipélago de S. Tomé foi relativamente curta: entre 24 de Novembro de 1905 e 9 de Fevereiro de 1906. Nos meses seguintes, Nightingale não deu indicações sobre a data do envio do relatório. Não tendo nenhuma pressa em aprofundar o assunto, Londres dificilmente o pressionaria em sentido contrário mas a partir de Julho de 1906, as questões parlamentares colocadas pelo lobby abolicionista voltaram a colocar o governo liberal na necessidade de se justificar. O cônsul Nightingale acabou por ser notificado para enviar o relatório com urgência quer por ofício quer por telegrama, e o documento foi enviado de Boma no dia 28 de Julho.<sup>3</sup>

Pela minuta da Secretaria de Estado apensa a um dos telegramas recebidos de Boma pode deduzir-se que não seriam exactamente os seus destinatários oficiais quem mais ansiava por ele: "*The philanthropists have been waiting for this report for a long time*".<sup>4</sup>

## 2. O relatório no Foreign Office

Quando o documento chegou a Londres já tinha uma importância política muito superior à que se poderia imaginar quando foi encomendado. A partir de julho de 1906, tinha-se transformado no único argumento do Foreign Office para adiar uma tomada de posição oficial junto do governo português. Como tal, foi objecto de uma atenção especial da parte da Secretaria de Estado: durante a semana seguinte à sua recepção (20 de Agosto), um alto funcionário, G.H. Locock, foi encarregado de o resumir e em Setembro foi publicado internamente como *Confidential Print* (número de série 8806).

<sup>2</sup> Curtis, um alto funcionário sul-africano, constatava que entre 1902 e 1906 a percentagem do tráfico ferroviário do Rand para Lourenço Marques tinha passado de 21 para 56%. HAMMOND, R.J., *op. cit.*, p. 327.

<sup>3</sup> PRO FO 367/18, 28370. Cônsul Nightingale, 28/7/1906. No ofício que acompanhava o relatório, Nightingale explicava que o atraso no seu envio se devia apenas a dificuldades de redacção, dadas as obrigações consulares a que estava obrigado em Boma.

<sup>4</sup> PRO FO 367/18, 25287. Cônsul Nightingale, 21/7/1906

## 2.1. O historial do recrutamento

Nightingale tinha permanecido apenas cerca de dois meses em S. Tomé mas o seu relatório inclui informações sobre legislação, práticas administrativas e de comércio em Angola que o cônsul só poderia ter recolhido durante o seu tempo de serviço em Luanda.

O relatório começava por uma retrospectiva do sistema de trabalho em vigor nas ilhas desde a lei abolicionista de 1875 e continha um resumo do primeiro Regulamento de trabalho, de Agosto de 1876. O conhecimento do contexto da questão por parte de ex-cônsul revela-se sobretudo neste ponto visto que, ao historiar a legislação do início do ciclo do cacau, Nightingale acabou por descrever o processo da reorganização do mercado de escravos em Angola. Enumerando primeiro os factores que determinavam a procura nas ilhas (deserção dos antigos escravos das roças, impossibilidade de transformar os "forros" em assalariados, epidemia de varíola em 1875-76), depois os da oferta (continuação da escravatura doméstica no continente, circuitos da borracha utilizados pelos traficantes), retirava a seguinte conclusão:

*"It being impossible for the planters to rely on the local resources for labour, they had perforce to look to Angola, from whence the slaves had been obtained in bygone days, and where the traffic in human beings was still rife amongst the tribes in the interior."*

Nightingale apercebeu-se igualmente que o aparecimento de um mercado de trabalho com essas características explicava também a evolução da própria legislação colonial. Até 1900 a borracha tinha estado em alta; quando as suas cotações baixaram, tal como as do café, desencadeou-se uma verdadeira recessão comercial: para os fornecedores nativos de borracha, para os comerciantes do litoral e para os plantadores europeus. Com a diminuição da circulação de mercadorias, e consequentemente das caravanas, diminuiu a oferta de escravos que eram trazidos aos portos de embarque, o que lhes fez subir o preço. Uma das consequências dessa alta foi ter-se desenvolvido em Angola um forte movimento de oposição ao recrutamento para as ilhas, envolvendo simultaneamente "traders" e "planters". Os plantadores locais não tinham os recursos proporcionados pelos lucros do cacau e estavam impossibilitados de concorrer com os de S. Tomé no resgate. Por outro lado, o aumento do preço dos escravos levou a maiores violências sobre as áreas populosas, o que originou a revolta do Bailundo. As operações militares que se seguiram contribuíram ainda mais para a rarefacção da oferta.

Este contexto obrigara as autoridades coloniais a impor novas regras de recrutamento, o que foi feito através do novo Regulamento de 1903.

## 2.2. As conclusões

Depois de descrever as novas disposições legais em vigor, o relatório avaliava o resultado da sua aplicação sobre as condições de vida dos "serviçais", desde o seu resgate em Angola até S. Tomé. A partir do texto, a apreciação de Nightingale pode ser classificada do seguinte modo:

Transporte marítimo	Positiva
Alimentação	Positiva
Instalações e assistência médica	Positiva
Intensidade do trabalho	Positiva
Maus tratos	Positiva
Taxa de mortalidade adulta	Positiva: taxa em regressão
Taxa de mortalidade infantil	Negativa: taxa muito elevada
Salário monetário	Negativa
Educação	Negativa
Repatriação	Negativa

Estas informações qualitativas eram complementadas por 5 anexos com informação quantitativa: -1 e 2 : fichas individuais das 59 roças nas duas ilhas;  
 -3: listagem dietética da ração alimentar padrão  
 -4: estatística da emigração de serviçais em 1905  
 -5: estatística alfandegária da exportação de cacau e café

Os anexos 1 e 2 contêm, para cada roça, informações sobre a produção de cacau, a força de trabalho adquirida e os investimentos de capital fixo. Tratavam-se das variáveis que permitiam ter maior visibilidade sobre o futuro próximo do recrutamento em Angola. As variáveis da produção agrícola incluem as áreas das propriedades, a extensão em cultivo, as produções efectivas e as potenciais. A partir dos números de Nightingale, obtêm-se os seguintes resultados médios:

**Quadro 1 - Área cultivada (em hectares)**

Área das roças	101 541
Área em cultivo	46 240,3
% em cultivo	42,6
Total de roças com informação	59

**Quadro 2 - Produção de cacau (em toneladas)**

Produção em 1905	11463,5
Produção potencial	29 809,3
Rácio prod. potencial / prod. real	2,6
Total de roças com informação	55

**Quadro 3 - Produção de cacau por hectare (em toneladas)**

Área em cultivo (ha)	45 940,3
Produção média (ton)	11 733,5
Produção (ton)/hectare	0,26
Total de roças com informação	57

**Quadro 4 - Força de trabalho por hectare**

Área em cultivo (ha)	46 240,3
Total de trabalhadores adultos	18146
Trabalhadores adultos / hectare	0,39
Total de roças com informação	59

Dos quadros deduz-se - e Nightingale coligira certamente a informação para esse efeito - que, excluída a reprodução natural das populações, se deveria esperar a ampliação do resgate de escravos. As razões eram simples: menos de metade das roças de S. Tomé estava transformada em cacau, a produção poderia quase triplicar e a densidade da força de trabalho era baixa (um trabalhador para cada 2,6 hectares).

Relativamente às variáveis que determinavam o saldo fisiológico das populações trabalhadoras, as informações quantitativas podem ser resumidas nos quadros seguintes:

**Quadro 5 - Qualidade do alojamento da força de trabalho**

Roças com alojamento bom	45
Roças com alojamento mau	14
Total de roças com informação	59

**Quadro 6 - Instalações hospitalares e taxa de mortalidade**

Qualidade do hospital	Total de roças	Taxa de mortalidade
Boa ou muito boa	35	5.7
Má	7	7.6
Sem hospital	17	8.7
Total de roças com informação	59	

**Quadro 7 - Fugas de trabalhadores**

Total de trabalhadores	18146
Trabalhadores em fuga	130
% de fugas	0,7

Dos quadros 5 e 6 deduz-se que os investimentos em ordem ao prolongamento do tempo de vida útil dos trabalhadores importados já tinham começado: só menos de um quarto das plantações tinham maus alojamentos e menos de um terço funcionava sem hospital próprio. Os resultados desse investimento em instalações manifestavam-se na correspondente diminuição da taxa de mortalidade, que parece directamente correlacionada com a qualidade das instalações. Note-se que esta mortalidade, embora ainda com valores elevados, inclui um factor anómalo e controlável a prazo: a ponderação da doença do sono na ilha do Príncipe.

Do quadro 7, resultava um desmentido sobre as práticas de violência sobre os trabalhadores das roças, acrescentando Nightingale no texto do relatório que o aparelho repressivo no terreno estava manifestamente desproporcionado com o que seria necessário caso de as acusações da A.P.S. se confirmarem.

Em função do que expunha no relatório e das informações dos anexos, as conclusões gerais eram simples:

*"In conclusion, I have only to reiterate the opinion... that the "serviçal" is well treated and cared for, and that the real evil lies in the manner they are obtained in Angola."*<sup>5</sup>

O "resume" confidencial de Locock permite compreender que as informações deste relatório mais valorizadas pelo Foreign Office eram as que permitiam refutar as acusações da mais activa das associações filantrópicas, a Aborígenes Protection Society (A.P.S.). Desse rol de acusações, os pontos cruciais eram três:

- 1) todos os trabalhadores do cacau de S. Tomé eram comprados em Angola *"in the most unblushing way"*;
- 2) devido à *"harsh and unhealthy servitude"* a taxa de mortalidade nas ilhas era elevadíssima;
- 3) os seus contratos eram vitalícios e não incluíam a repatriação.

Do relatório saíam portanto respostas que apenas parcialmente agradavam ao Foreign Office:

- a situação era satisfatória quanto às condições de vida dos serviçais em S. Tomé, o que era importante para desmentir as acusações de maus tratos e elevada mortalidade;
- a situação era insatisfatória quanto ao recrutamento, visto que o relatório confirmava quase integralmente a condição servil dos trabalhadores: custos elevados dos contratos<sup>6</sup>, irregularidades nos salários, ausência de repatriação.

<sup>5</sup> PRO FO 367/18. Confidential Print, 8806, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Como dizia Locock, *"These prices clearly show that the serviçal becomes the property of the man who contracts him, as no sane person would pay such a fee for a contract unless he were certain of having the life-long service of the labourer"* PRO FO 367/18, 28370, Resume, 28/7/1906. Nightingale usava o mesmo argumento, comparando os custos de recrutamento dos escravos, isto é, custos de aquisição, com os dos assalariados cabo-verdeanos. *"The answer is that one is repatriated and the other is not."* PRO FO 367/18, Confidential Print, p.8

Era também insatisfatórias as previsões a curto prazo pois o estado das culturas indicava que a procura de trabalhadores estaria longe de diminuir.

### 3. Usos e efeitos do relatório

Relativamente aos pontos positivos, o relatório poderia ser utilizado pelo Foreign Office, para tentar imediatamente desmobilizar as associações abolicionistas.

Relativamente aos negativos, Locock sugeria aos seus colegas da Secretaria de Estado como se poderia ganhar tempo sem correr o risco de indispor os lobbies coloniais em Lisboa. Sendo impossível obrigar a administração portuguesa a reprimir um tráfico que, legalmente, não existia, haveria contudo uma forma de aferir, a médio prazo, a extensão da condição servil: a repatriação. Trabalhadores assalariados deveriam contratar-se a termo certo e regressar em número significativo à sua colónia de origem. Consequentemente, as estatísticas da repatriação seriam decisivas e acabariam com as dúvidas. Acontecia que, segundo a própria legislação portuguesa, os verdadeiros contratos tinham começado apenas a partir de 1903, ano do novo regulamento; como a duração máxima permitida aos contratos era de 5 anos, então só em 1908 se poderia objectivamente ajuizar das irregularidades em S. Tomé. Com este argumento o Foreign Office esperava suspender a controvérsia por mais dois ou três anos, permitir à administração portuguesa corrigir os abusos e terminar tranquilamente as suas negociações do *modus vivendi* para Moçambique.

No entanto, a condição essencial para que do relatório não resultassem contrariedades para os interesses diplomáticos em jogo era não ser tornado público. Tendo sido anunciado na Câmara dos Comuns e em correspondência directa com as associações anti-esclavagistas, a solução só poderia ser uma: ser divulgado numa versão truncada, na qual se omitiriam todas as passagens alusivas à continuação do tráfico.

Excluídos os anexos, o texto original dactilografado por Nightingale continha 28 páginas. Os cortes feitos a lápis (provavelmente por Lockock) e uma minuta da Secretaria de Estado de 13 de Setembro definiram a extensão da versão a divulgar: na versão "externa", começaria na letra "A", colocada na pg. 9 (i.e., omitiria o historial até ao Decreto de 1903); seguiria na versão integral até à pg. 22 inclusive (da pg. 9 à 19 Nightingale limitava-se a resumir o Decreto de 1903); finalmente, teria omissões em 5 das 6 páginas seguintes (que comparavam a letra do Decreto com a sua aplicação). Em resumo, cerca de metade do texto original era cortada, bem como partes não identificadas dos anexos 1-2 e todo o anexo 5<sup>7</sup>, irrelevante para a discussão em causa.

Em contrapartida, a versão integral deveria ser enviada para Lisboa, para que o governo português se apercebesse da gravidade da situação.

O expediente não resultou - a A.P.S. tomou conhecimento das duas versões - e contribuiu para fragilizar mais a posição da Secretaria de Estado. A campanha anti-esclavagista aumentou de intensidade e o envolvimento oficial inglês nela não pôde ser evitado visto que o Foreign Office se viu interpelado no Parlamento por diversas vezes.. Os seus receios de que as negociações do *modus vivendi* fossem afectadas acabaram por ser parcialmente confirmados: o novo acordo só foi assinado em 1909, e com concessões portuguesas julgadas pouco singnificativas na África do Sul.

No lado ocidental de África, o episódio teve consequências maiores já que um outro *modus vivendi*, o do recrutamento para S. Tomé, tinha sido seriamente posto em causa. A administração portuguesa voltou a rever os seus procedimentos no terreno e nos anos que se seguiram até à I Guerra, foi levada a restringir a área de recrutamento autorizado.

De modo algum se pode dizer que, com o relatório Nightingale e com a revisão de processos que se seguiu, foi posto um fim no trabalho forçado. Contudo, pode certamente afirmar-se que as suas modalidades mudaram significativamente entre os anos de 1906-09 e que este constituiu o

<sup>7</sup> O relatório estava de tal modo alterado que, quando se discutiu a publicação da versão censurada, os próprios funcionários do Foreign Office tiveram escrúpulos relativamente a Nightingale: "It seems however hardly fair on Mr. Nightingale to publish as his report an edition which has been so eluded as largely to alter its complexion." PRO FO 367/18,36718. Parliamentary Question, 26/10/1906.



primeiro grande período de transformações após a legislação formalmente abolicionista de 1875-6.  
**Conclusões**

Durante a década de 1900 os interesses mineiros sul-africanos condicionaram a atitude geral de Londres para com o tráfico de escravos no interior de Angola e aumentaram a sua permissividade relativamente ao recrutamento de trabalho forçado para S. Tomé.

No entanto, a partir de meados de 1906 tanto o governo inglês como o português estiveram sujeitos a pressões variadas e foram obrigados a pronunciarem-se oficialmente sobre uma prática que durava há décadas. No ano anterior, as iniciativas tomadas pelo Foreign Office tinham-se limitado a pedir um relatório que mostraria como as duas ilhas estavam ainda parcialmente cultivadas, como era previsível que a procura de trabalhadores se intensificasse e também como os capitais agrícolas já procuravam salvar os seus investimentos em escravos, prolongando-lhes o tempo de vida útil.

O relatório confirmava o que as associações anti-esclavagistas já sabiam: que a "*raiz do mal*" não estava nas ilhas mas no Continente. O facto novo não foi portanto o relatório em si mas o significado político que o Foreign Office foi obrigado a dar-lhe em função da pressão parlamentar. Em breve tempo, tornaria irreversíveis algumas mudanças em Angola e, infelizmente para os interesses sul-africanos, a pequenas contrariedades no Transvaal.

#### ANEXO - O RELATÓRIO NIGHTINGALE

O texto do relatório, assim como o do ofício que o acompanhou, segue de acordo com a sua versão original dactilografada<sup>8</sup>.

As passagens entre parênteses rectos correspondem a trechos omitidos na versão divulgada pelo Foreign Office em 1906. São antecedidas pelas interpolações da Secretaria de Estado, aqui reproduzidas em itálico.

A paginação original vem indicado por travessões (/) que em alguns casos são seguidos pelas notas de rodapé da autoria de Nightingale, aqui reproduzidas num corpo menor.

Apresente publicação não inclui os 6 anexos mencionados.

SEPARATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

July 28, 1906.

*To report and to annexes  
 Enclosures*

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith my Report on the Contract Labour (Serviçal) System in the islands of São Thomé and Príncipe, based on observations made during my tour in those islands from the 24<sup>th</sup> November 1905 to the 9<sup>th</sup> February 1906.

I regret that there has been so much delay in sending in this report, but current local affairs have occupied so much of my time that I have only been able to work on it intermittently.

I have the honour to be with highest respect.

Sir,  
 Your most obedient humble Servant.  
 [Nightingale]

M's Principal Secretary of State for  
 foreign affairs, Foreign Office,

<sup>8</sup> Na leitura e transcrição da versão original deve ser mencionada e agradecida a colaboração de Elsa Cardoso, Joana Ribeiro, Sérgio Ferreira, Teresa Pinhal e Teresa Vasconcelos

LONDON. In Cônsul Nightingale's despatch Separate and Confidential July 28, 1906.

Confidential.

REPORT on the treatment of the "Serviçães", or CONTRACT LABOURERS in the Portuguese islands known as the Province of São Thomé and Príncipe.

*Printed*

The "Serviçal" or Contract Labour system in the Province of São Thomé and Príncipe dates its inception back to the year 1875, when by a Decree dated April 29 of that year, it was enacted that the servile condition of the labourers employed in the over-sea colonies of Portugal was to cease, and that one year after the date of publication of that Decree in the different Provinces, of Angola, Moçambique, São Thomé and Príncipe, all slaves existing at the time were to be declared free.

The Decree established that for two years after their emancipation the freed slaves were to be put under the tutelage of Curators General specially appointed in each Province, and that it would be obligatory for them to contract themselves for a term of two years, preference been given to the old masters when both parties were agreeable.

After 1878 that tutelage was to cease.

Note: -This obligation of the Freed Slaves to contract themselves was no doubt established with a view to preventing them from becoming vagabonds, and to safeguard the planters against the total abandonment of their plantations. /

With a view to guaranteeing a constant supply of labour for the Province of São Thomé and Príncipe, special regulations (called Regulamento Especial\*) were drawn up, and much attention seems to have been given to the rules providing for the proper treatment of the contracted labour or "serviçal".

Curators were specially appointed, whose duty was to see that the contracts were made in accordance with the regulations, and to the due carrying out of those contracts by both parties.

The minimum wage was to be 50 reis (2 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> d) a day for a man, 30 reis (1 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> d) for children between the ages of 11 and 15 years. The employer had to feed the labourers according to a scale laid down in the regulations, and to supply them with clothing twice a year, also according to a scale.

Special rules were made with regard to the housing of the labourers and to their medical treatment.

All children between the ages of 7 and 11 years were to receive scholastic instruction on Sundays and Saint Days. All employers of 200 labourers were to maintain a school on the estate where the children were to receive instruction on the days above-mentioned.

Certain alterations and additions were made to the regulations from time to time and subsequent /

\*Came into force in August 1876

experience rendered necessary.

No children under the age of 15 years were to be shipped unless accompanied by the father, mother, or an adult brother; the parentage to be established by legal documents.

The manifest object of these regulations would seem to have been that of entirely eradicating the theretofore servile condition of the labourers.

The Curators were instructed to be most careful in their investigations before permitting the contracts to be drawn up.

How far these elaborate regulations were carried out I shall have occasion to show later on.

The natives proper of the two islands, descendants of old free slaves and Negro colonists from the main land were far too indolent to submit to regular work.

Some of them were owners of small plantations from which they derived sufficient to enable them to lead a life of indolence, whilst others gained a good living as fisherman. They were therefore quite independent of the planters and worked when they liked.

About this time (1875-1876) an epidemic of smallpox swept the islands and almost exterminated the Negro population.

It being impossible for the planters to rely on the local resources for labour they had perforce to look to Angola for whence the slaves had been obtained in / bygone days, and when the traffic in human beings was still rife amongst the tribes in the interior.

The slaves were bought by the rubber traders, who penetrated into the interior as far as the country which now forms the southern part of the Congo Free State. Many of them also came from the Libollo, Quissama, Bailundu, and Ginga countries. They were not always prisoners of war, but were the victims of fetish "palavers", tribal intrigues, or had committed some offence, which, according to native customs, was punishable by banishment. They were brought to the coast to either Bengella, Novo Redondo, or Luanda, under the name of "resgatados", or ransomed slaves, and their contracts were drawn up before a Curator appointed for the purpose in each place.

The farce of drawing up the contracts changed the name of slave to "serviçal" or contracted labourer.

No objection could be taken to the terms of the contracts. The employer would take the old agreement to the Curator and ask for a new one to be drawn up.

It did not suit the Curator to inquire too minutely into things as he received a fee for each contract drawn up before him. /

Possibly a great number of the "serviçaes" were content to remain on in preference to being turned adrift. They knew that they dare not to return to their own country, and in their ignorance submitted to being re-contracted.

The wife might have had another year or two to serve under her contract, or vice versa, which would have meant separation if repatriation had been accepted by either the wife or the husband. The question as to who should have the custody of the children (if any existed) would then arise. In fact the "serviçal" had to choose between Scylla and Charybdis in spite of the most elaborate regulations drawn up by an enlightened European power.

The rule for prohibiting the shipment of children under the age of 15 years was never observed, and the children born on the plantations were contracted when they had reached the age of 11 years.

Up to the year 1900 the slave traffic met with no opposition from the traders of Angola, who were indeed the primary purchasers from the rubber traders. But about that time a sudden fit of jealousy appears to have seized the traders and planters in the interior of Loanda. It was said that the Province was being drained of its most valuable asset merely for the benefit of the planters in São Thomé and Príncipe.

Coffee had gone down to a miserable price in the European markets; very little barter trade was coming / in to the different trading centres in the interior; there was a scarcity of many among the natives, and consequently a smaller demand for the cane rum manufactured by the planters, who found themselves stocked with a large quantity of that article without being able to realize their capital.

The Angola planters could not therefore pay the high price for a "serviçal" that the São Thomé man offered, and consequently found themselves very much handicapped in obtaining labour for their plantations.

Then came the uprising of the natives of the Bailundu country said to have originated through the abuses committed by the Portuguese District Commissioners (Chefs de Districto), who expected a fine in slaves from the chiefs of the different tribes whenever any question arose.

Abuses even went on in Loanda, and one Emigration Agent was prosecuted for having tried to force Negrões, whose contracts had expired, or whose masters had died, to contract themselves for São Thomé. Nothing came of the prosecution as the Emigration Agent had a lot of influential friends at his back.

The price of "services" had gone up very considerably during the last twenty years. In the early eighties an adult man or woman could be obtained for from £4 to £6, and a child of ten for £2, whereas in 1900 the price was £30 to £35 for a man or woman. To-day a "serviçal" costs about £25 put in São Thomé or / Príncipe.

The prices mentioned above clearly prove that the "serviçal" is in reality slave, and becomes the property of the person who contracts him, much the same as if he were a horse or some other marketable commodity.

No sane man would pay such a fee for a contract when the regulations clearly state that the Government fee is 6/4, plus 2/1, the emigration agents tax, unless he were certain of having the life long services of the labourer. The sum paid is more than the labourer can earn in 4 years.

Further on I shall show what the contract for a Cape Verde labourer costs.

As a result of the Bailundu uprising, and the agitation got up by the planters and traders in Loanda, another Decree was established to regulate the recruitment of labourers and colonists in the Provinces of Angola, Moçambique, Guinea, Cabo Verde, and Macao, for service in the Province of São Thomé and Príncipe. This Decree was dated the 29<sup>th</sup> January 1903, and was to come into force ten days after the arrival of the first mail steamer leaving Lisbon after its publication in the official organ of the Government (the *Diário do Governo*).

I give herewith a resume of the principal clauses of the Decree:

A

Chapter L. General Provisions.

Permits the recruitment of natives of either sex in Provinces of Angola, Moçambique, Guinea, Cape Verde / and Macao, for Domestic, industrial, or agricultural service in the Province of São Thomé and Príncipe, provided that the recruitment takes place at the authorized agencies and in conformity with the conditions laid down in the Decree. The Government may itself send native labourers from Angola. \*

Every person wishing to acquire labourers is required to make a request in writing on a prescribed form between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> days of June and December to the Curator General or his Delegate in Príncipe. These requests will be registered and on them will be noted the qualifications each applicant possesses for carrying out his contract with the Negro labourer.

The petitions must then be forwarded to the Secretariat of the Provincial Government.

The distribution of the labourers is to be as follows; If for agricultural purposes, one adult man or woman for each hectare (about 2 1/2 acres) of land; if for domestic service, as many as three for each family of owner, manager, or agent of an estate.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> day of the months of June and December the Provincial Government is to fix the contingent of labourers which the Province requires.

The total contingent was fixed at 3000 for the first six months after the Decree came into force.

The Distribution of those labourers was to

\*This provides for the transportation of vagrants and others who have no visible means of existence. /

to be made as near as possible in ratio to the requests made, and 5 days were to be allowed for all claims to be made against the manner of distribution.

Chapter 2. Central Board in Lisbon.

A Central Board is to be established in Lisbon to deal with all questions connected with the Emigration Labour service for the Province of São Thomé and Príncipe. This Board will be composed of the Director General of the Colonies as President, or such Head of his Department as he may appoint, two Departmental Heads from the Colonial Office, and four proprietors from São Thomé and Príncipe. The election of the four last persons is to be made by the proprietors of the Province residing in Lisbon.

A Local Committee is to be established in São Thomé composed of the Curator General as President, the Director of Public Works, the Assistant Medical Officer, and three residents of the island. This Local Committee is to meet at least once a month and as more often as required, and will report to the Central Board in Lisbon on all matters connected with the labour movement.

The other duties of the Local Committee will be: -The keeping of the funds of the Labour and Emigration Department, which must be banked in the Banco Nacional at São Thomé or its agency in Príncipe. The appointing of Emigration Agents where necessary. /

The drawing up of the maps of charts of distribution. The distribution among the petitioners for

labour those labourers who have been compelled by the Government to emigrate.

To see to the due carrying out of the contracts, especially in regard to the housing, feeding, sanitation, medical attendance, and repatriation and renewing of contracts.

The fixing of gratuities to the Agents.

And the monthly and yearly rendering of accounts and balance sheets to the Provincial Treasury.

#### Chapter 3. Distribution of Labourers.

The applicants for labourers come under two classes, called privileged and general. The privileged class comprises the owners of agricultural, commercial, and industrial enterprises, and the Captains and Masters of vessels, who are all engaged in their respective undertakings at the time of the Decree coming into force. These will receive annually 10% of the number of labourers actually in their service at the time of making their applications. The general class comprises those applicants referred to above among whom will be distributed the surplus of labourers remaining after all other legal claims have been satisfied. No one will be allowed to receive more than 200 labourers in any one six months except when all other claims have been dealt with.

#### Chapter 4. Agencies.

Permits the establishment of agencies in Angola, Moçam / bique, Guinea, Cape Verde, and Macao. With the exception of Moçambique the recruitment at these places must be solely for the Province of São Thomé and Príncipe, and it is expressly forbidden to recruit for any other destination.

Each agency must provide itself with a licence from the Governor of the province or district in which it is established. A deposit of Rs.500\$000 (about £110) must be made by each agent as caution money

Each agent must pay for this licence a tax of 500 reis (about 2/1) for each labourer contracted through him and sent to São Thomé, and provided that the total amount of these taxes is not less than Rs.50\$000 a year (£ 10:10:0), he will be exempted from paying the usual industrial tax for exercising his profession.

A stamp tax of Rs.5/000 (about £1:1:0) is charged for each agent's licence.

These licences may be cancelled at any time by the Governor of the province without compensation.

The agents must be careful to obtain from meddling directly or indirectly in questions between the authorities and the natives, and especially must they keep out of native politics. They must be careful to obtain all information possible for identifying the labourers who contract for service, particularly in regard to getting their proper names and the names of the chiefs of their tribes or villages. They must be careful to prevent illicit emigration, and above all must not use violence or fraudulent means to induce labourers to / engage for service.

#### Chapter 5. Contracts.

All contracts must be drawn up before a duly authorized official appointed for the purpose, usually the Curators or their Delegates, or in their absence the person exercising administrative functions. In a foreign port the contracts must be drawn up before a Portuguese Consular Official. The fee for each contract so drawn up will be Rs. 1\$500 (about 6/4). These fees are to be applied exclusively to the Provincial and Consular expenses in connection with the emigration service.

The labourer may receive an advance of 2 months wages on signing the contract, and the employer will reimburse himself by discounting the sum advanced from the first deposits he has to make to the Repatriation Fund. The amount advanced must be stated on the contract. It is permissible for the labourer to have a part of his wages paid into the Public Treasury at the port of departure for distribution to his family. The duration of the contract is limited to 5 years. But sole paragraph of Article 31 states that contracts made in Moçambique during the first year of the coming into force of the Regulations must be for at least one full year, and those made in Guinea and Cape Verde for at least two years.

In the event of the plantations, or industrial and commercial enterprises, or the vessels changing hands the new proprietors are to assume the responsibilities / of the contracts until they expire.

Each labourer is to receive a copy of his registration and a metal medallion with his registered

number, date of contract, and name of the agency at which the agreement was drawn up.

#### Chapter 6. Transport of Labourers.

The transport of labourers may take place on Portuguese steamers registered for the purpose, or by foreign ships duly authorized by the Governor of São Thomé provided that the captains give a written undertaking to submit to all the regulations applicable thereto.

Any vessel carrying more than 10 labourers or colonists will be considered as being specially engaged in this service, and a Bond or a deposit of Rs. 2000\$000 (about £440) will be required as caution money.

The number of labourers that each vessel may carry will be regulated according to its tonnage. Article 41 prohibits the shipment of aged, sick, or crazy people, people suffering from sores, or sleeping sickness. Those labourers who do not show signs of having had the small pox, or have no vaccination marks, must be vaccinated at the port of discharge before disembarking.

At the termination of the voyage, and the regulations having been complied with, the Master of the vessel will obtain a defeasance of his Bond from the Governor of the Province.

#### Chapter 7. Wages.

The minimum monthly wage is fixed at Rs. 2\$500 / (about 10/8) for a man, and Rs. 1\$800 (about 7/8) for a woman. Each labourer is entitled to receive two-fifths of his or her wages each month. When the wages exceed that minimum the same proportion will be paid, but all gratifications will be paid at the end of each month.

The "bonus" or balance of accumulated wages must be deposited in the coffers of the Repatriation Fund every three months and will be held for each labourer, or applied to the maintenance of his family as provided in Article 32.

The employer must provide suitable living quarters, food, clothing, and medical treatment, and pay the expenses of repatriation of the time-expired labourers.

The balance due to the labourer from the Repatriation Fund will be paid him at the port of destination by the local emigration agent in the presence of the Master of the vessel.

If at the termination of his contract a labourer wishes to seek re-engagement his wages must be increased 10% on the old contract. The labourer who re-contracts will be entitled to receive 6% of his "bonus" or accumulated wages every three months, the surplus of the old "bonuses" together with the "bonuses" deposited under the new contract remaining with the Repatriation Fund until such time as repatriation takes place.

In all cases of renewals of contracts preference will be given to the previous employer the conditions being equal. /

Loss of time by desertion or absence without leave must be made up before the labourer has the right to repatriation.

#### Chapter 8. Repatriation Fund.

This chapter provides for the establishment of a Deposit Office to be called the Coffer of Labour and Emigration. The employer's obligations cease with the death of the labourer. Sole paragraph of Article 59 provides that all deposits made up to the time of death shall be applied towards defraying the expenses of the Labour and Emigration Department.

#### Chapters 9, 10, and Appendix.

The concluding chapters and Appendix (the appendix amends some of the conditions in the body of the Regulations) establish that every employer of more than 50 labourers and whose plantation is situated at a distance of over 10 kilometres from a hospital, must maintain separate infirmaries for sick labourers of both sexes, where they are to be treated gratuitously by qualified attendants.

The Medical Officer's visits are to be: -

For 50 labourers, one visit a month.

For 50 to 100 labourers, two visits a month.

For 100 to 300 labourers, three visits a month.

For 300 to 500 labourers, four visits a month.

For 500 labourers and over, one visit daily. /

Women labourers are to be allowed to rest from work for 10 days previous and 20 days subsequent to their accouchement (without loss of wages), and whilst suckling the child they must only be put on light work.

Each employer of labour must provide a "creche" for the children under seven years of age (no matter how small the number of children), and the necessary number of nurses must be provided for the purpose. The "creches" are to be erected in accordance with the instructions of the Assistant Medical Officer. It is prohibited for the mothers to be accompanied to their work by children under the age of seven years.

A Visiting Committee composed of the Curator General, the Director of Public Works, and the Assistant Medical Officer will make an annual inspection of the labourers dwelling quarters, infirmaries, and "creches" and report upon their sanitary condition, and point out the necessary improvements or additions that must be made. Any employer who after 6 months from the time of the inspection shall not have erected quarters, hospitals or infirmaries, and "creches", or who shall not have made the improvements or additions ordered by the Committee will be liable to a fine of from Rs. 100/000 (£22) to Rs. 500/000 (£110).

If the Committee expresses satisfaction with the existing arrangements no further improvements or additions will be required for the following 3 years. /

Boys from the age of 14 to 16 may be employed on the same work as the men with the exception of felling trees and shucking coffee.

The women and girls over 14 years old may be employed in picking coffee and cocoa, looking after sick people, working on the coffee and cocoa drying grounds, domestic work, and portage according to their strength. They are not to be employed in felling trees or shucking coffee.

Children between 11 and 14 years of age must only be employed in picking fruit, looking after the nurseries (for young plants), the poultry, and for domestic service.

It is absolutely prohibited for the labourers to work in water that comes over the knees.

Non-observance of the rules relating to the treatment of pregnant women, the maintenance of "creches", and the working of children will be punished by a fine of from Rs. 50/000 (£11) to Rs. 200/000 (£44).

Until the Emigration Agencies are established the Curators or their Delegates are to see to the proper carrying out of these regulations, and during this transitory period those persons holding Powers of Attorney from the proprietors in São Thomé and Príncipe will be allowed to act as provisional emigration agents.

All surplus receipts remaining in the coffers of the Labour and Emigration Fund are to be applied towards the expenses of the up-keep of Agricultural and Industrial Schools to be established in São Thomé e Príncipe." /

Before making any comments on these Regulations I will first deal with my visits to the two islands:

I arrived at Príncipe on the morning of 24<sup>th</sup> November 1905, and remained there until the night of 8<sup>th</sup> December, during which time I visited the principal "roças" or plantations on the island to the number of 21.

On the morning of the 9<sup>th</sup> December I landed at São Thomé, where I spent two months in visiting 39 of the most important "roças", making a complete tour of the island.

In order to convey an approximate idea of the conditions in which I found each estate visited by me, I do not think I could do better than give copies of my notes taken at each place. These notes, which I

Annexes 1 and 2

send as Annexes 1 and 2, shew the relative importance of each "roça" according to its producing capacity and the number of hands employed, the condition in which I found the dwelling houses and hospitals; besides giving the death rate and the prevailing maladies from which the labourers suffer.

### Annex 3.

Is a typical list of the ration chart which is to be found in every "roça". The quantity, supplemented by the free permission to pick the bananas, plantains, and other fruits appeared to me to be amply sufficient, and the quality of the food served out seemed to be of the best. On many of the "roças" they are adopting / the system of having the food prepared for the labourers instead of leaving the cooking to be done by each one as used to be the custom. This plan has met with excellent results so far as the general health of the labourers is concerned.

### TransportWork.

By introducing pack-mules and bullock carts the planters are endeavouring to reduce as much as possible the head-carrying by the labourers, a work that plays havoc with most of them.

### Clearing of the rest.

The work of clearing the ground and felling the trees is the cause of much sickness and mortality, and it is worthy of note that on those plantations where the work of clearing the land has terminated the sickness and death rate has lowered very considerably.

### Death Rate.

It will be noticed that the mortality in the island of Príncipe is much higher than in São Thomé. Sleeping-sickness seems to be the chief cause and is due to the existence of the Tsetse Fly. This fly does not exist in São Thomé and the only cases of sleeping-sickness that have occurred on this latter island have been amongst the new arrivals from Angola.

### Heavy Mortality Amongst the children. 35% to 50%

On some of the "roças" I was told that only about 10 % of the children survived the first year after birth. Some say that it is owing to weakness of the parents brought about through syphilis, whilst others attribute it to the disinterestedness of the mothers. There is no reliable data of the mortality among children in the interior of Angola / thereby making it impossible to form any conclusion by comparisons; but it is only natural to presume that a native woman would be less inclined to rear children whilst living under a certain restraint than if she were leading a life of "dolce far niente" in her own native village. On most of the "roças" a premium is given to the mother whose babe lives six months - Rs. 4/000 (about 18/-) is the usual amount, and if the child lives over one year the premium is doubled.

### Earth-eaters.

All the people from Angola are addicted to Geophagism, which is the cause of serious intestinal troubles, and may be one of the chief causes of the high death rate of the children. Any sort of earth of an argillaceous nature seems to attract them.

### Education.

It is a regrettable fact that the new regulations do not provide for scholastic instruction for the children. This means that they must ever remain in the same state of ignorance as their parents so long as the present system lasts.

### Cape Verde Labourers.

So long as the planters can obtain a sufficient supply of people from Angola I do not think they are likely to recruit to any great extent in Cape Verde. The Angola native is more docile than the Cape Verde man who has a smattering of education acquired by contact with the semi-european element which exists in all the islands of the Cape Verde group; he is much on a par with the native of Sierra Leone, and knows that he has the law to protect him. On most / of the estates the idea of employing people from Cape Verde was scouted; still I found that they gave satisfaction on the



estates where I found them employed.

*Omit*

[I was shown an invoice of the expenses of a batch of some 10 labourers contracted in S. Thiago, and the cost per head (Contract fees, agents commission, and passage) worked out at Rs. 20/000 (about £4:8:0). One naturally asks why there should be such a great difference between the cost of engaging an Angola "serviçal" (who is not near so intelligent) and a Cape Verde labourer. The answer is that one is repatriated and the other is not.]

General treatment of the labourers.

It is my opinion that the labourers are well treated in every respect, and great credit is due to the planters for the care they bestow upon the people. They are certainly better fed and housed, not to speak of the medical attention, than the Krooboy or Kabinda man who works in the trading factories along the coast. They are far better treated than the free labourer from Monrovia and Sierra Leone I saw working in Fernando Po when I visited that island in 1901-1902. The proof that the treatment is not bad is seen by the continuance of the Cape Verde labourers, who would undoubtedly object to submit to anything approaching harsh treatment. Again there is an entire absence of any armed force or police on the "roças". Surely an estate employing as many as 2000 labourers having no armed force to protect the whites from a sudden attack / or revolt on the part of the labourers is sufficient proof that no harsh treatment exists.

*Omit*

[The only black spot, and it is a big black spot, on the whole system is the non-repatriation of the Angola labourer. That is the one great evil, and it behoves the Portuguese Government to put an end to the present mode of recruiting labourers in Angola as soon as possible. I am in sympathy with the planter, who is an important contributor to the revenue of the State, and it is the duty of the Government to help him in every way possible. But what has the Government done for the planter? Nothing, except receive the heavy import duties and export duties. With the exception of three roads about 4 miles long (each), leading out of the town of S. Thomé, and another road of about 6 miles in length on the other side of the island nothing has been done by the Government to improve the means of transport. In fact the planter gets absolutely nothing in return for the heavy taxes he pays to the Government.

Annex 4.

Gives the number of labourers imported from Angola for the 10 months ended October 1905.

Full statistics of Death rates and Census of the islands.

*Omit*

[I regret to say that although these returns were promised me by the Curator General when I was in São Thomé they have not yet reached me. ]

Customs Returns. (Annex 5)

*Omit*

[Although this report deals more especially with the labour system on the islands of São Thomé and Príncipe, it will not, I think, be out of place to give the Customs Returns (Exports) for 1905, and compare them with the Returns given in my Consular Report No. 2922, from /which will be seen the rapidity with which the production of Cocoa has increased in the last 4 years.]

I now come to the new Regulations.

My object in giving so extensive a resume of the Regulations of January 29, 1903, is with a view to showing how far they have been carried out. I will deal with each chapter as it comes.

## Chapter 1.

The recruitment of the labourers has, so far, only been made in Angola (principally) and Cape Verde.

## Chapter 2.

Although I believe the Central Board has been established in Lisbon I could not discover if the Local Committee in São Thomé had been formed.

## Chapter 3.

The system of distribution has not been put into force, owing, no doubt, to the non-existence of the Local Committee. Apparently the planters deal direct with the Emigration Agents in Angola without applying to the Curator General except to get their Powers of Attorney viséed. The accompanying translated extract (Annex 6) taken from an Agent's letter supports my statement.

*... of the special Emigration Agent has not altered the situation.*

*Omit*

*B*

[The appointment of special Emigration Agents has in no way improved the situation; it has merely made them authorized slave dealers, and they not only buy from the merchants but send their agents into the interior to purchase people.]

## Chapter 5.

*C*

The contracts are

*Omit*

[certainly]

drawn up in due legal form as has always been the custom,

*Omit*

[but the wishes of the "serviçal" are not consulted.] /

## Chapter 6.

The transport of the labourers is all done under the Portuguese flag by the steamers of the Empreza Nacional, and the accommodation is equal to that afforded to deck passengers travelling on the English and German steamers plying along the West Coast. More attention should be given to the medical examination of the labourers at the port of departure. On one "roça" I saw 7 people who were in the most wretched condition and the medical officer (resident on the plantation) informed me that they were suffering from diseases that must have been apparent to the medical officer who examined them at the port of departure. The manager of the plantation showed me 7 robust labourers who had been sent (grátis) to replace the other 7. On another "roça" I saw a boy suffering from a withered leg who had not done a day's work the whole six years he had been on the estate.

## Chapter 7.

From what I could gather the labourers are not getting the minimum pay as laid down in the Regulations. One of the managers told me confidentially that it would create a great deal of dissatisfaction among the older people if they saw the new comers getting higher wages than they get. The new arrivals are, therefore, put on the minimum wages of the old hands. Some of the old

hands, such as masons, carpenters, and black-smiths earn as much as Rs. 6/000 (£1.6.0) a month.

Chapter 8.

The Repatriation Fund does not appear to exist, and no deposits had been made by the planters. The Cape Verde people who had served their time of two / years received the balance of their wages on the spot.

Chapters 9 and 10.

The rules relating to the housing of the labourers, the hospitaís, and medical attendance, appear to be strictly adhered to in ali but one or two instances, but the "creches" are conspicuous by their absence.

It is too early to make any remarks about repatriation under these new Regulations - I refer to the people of Angola, who are contracted for 5 years; and we must wait until 1908, when the first contracts expire.

The repatriation question is, in my opinion, the most important part of the Regulations, and it is to be hoped that the Portuguese Government will insist on the people being sent back to Angola. The question is a difficult one to handle when we consider that

*Omit part in brackets*

[ali]

the people

*Omit part in brackets*

[have ali been (primarily) purchased as slaves, and, consequently,]

in most cases dare not return to their tribes or countries. They would find themselves dumped down at Loanda, Novo-Redondo, or Benguella, without knowing where to turn or what to do; and would, in ali probability find themselves in a worse condition than if they remained on at São Thomé or Príncipe.

The difficulty might be got over by employing them in the Public Works, or small grants of land might be made for agricultural purposes. But in any case the Government should be careful to see that the deferred / pay was judiciously doled out to each one instead of handing over the lump sum. These are merely suggestions of my own; it remains to be seen what steps the Government will take when the time for repatriation arrives.

During the whole of my sojourn on the two islands I heard of no "successful shoots" as that mentioned by Mr. Nevinson in his tale in the February number of Harper's Monthly (page 335), but if such an occurrence did take place I feel sure that the perpetrators did not escape unpunished.

Ill-treatment or flogging is absolutely prohibited by law, and the Curator General deals very severely with any case of the kind that is brought to his notice. It would be absurd for me to say that no abuses exist, and I have before me several Bullotins in which are published the sentences passed on people who have been found to have flogged their labourers. There is one thing that the "serviçal" is not ignorant of - his right to appeal to the Curator General, or his Delegates, against ill-treatment, and he avails himself of that right. The maximum penalty for flogging is Rs. 180\$000 (about £40) or 360 days imprisonment.

In conclusion I have only to reiterate the opinion already given in this report that the "serviçal" is well treated and cared for,

*Omit part in brackets*

[and that the real evil lies in the manner they are obtained in Angola.]