

**A Visual Struggle for Mozambique.
Revisiting Narratives, Interpreting Photographs (1850-1930)**

Rui Assubuji

A Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of the Western Cape

July 2020

Supervisor: Professor Patricia Hayes

DECLARATION

I declare that *Visual Struggle for Mozambique. Revisiting Narratives, Interpreting Photographs (1850-1930)* is my own work and has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Rui Assubuji

28 July 2020

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Rui Assubuji', with a stylized flourish at the end.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I cannot but dedicate this moment to my father, Caria Assubuji, who was not in total agreement with what I was pursuing, yet always encouraged me to navigate my life. His major request was to follow the principles of honesty and fairness, and to always have a straight and respectful attitude towards those I interact with. This filled me with a great sense of responsibility. Even though our relationship was not always smooth, besides the irreverence of a youth affected by times of change in a country that just achieved its independence in 1975 to enter a fratricide civil war, he never stopped trusting his children. He would be here, very proud and happy for the achievement, yet would suggest that it is now time to really conduct my life as a grown-up. To him and my mother, Laura Assubuji, who offered me the first book I really cared for, I dedicate my PhD, since thinking about them, particularly during so many moments of terrible frustration, kept me going. Others in my family were also exceptional especially my dear sister Paula, her husband Manuel Ruas, who made their house my house for several years in Cape Town, providing me a very warm family environment. My brothers Sérgio and Paulo and their families, my baby sisters Mariza and Sandra, were all there for me whenever I needed assistance.

Other members of my family are great contributors to the work that has been accomplished. On top of the list is my wife Pearl Boltman Assubuji. For her companionship and dedication, enduring the tensions of my temperamental character, being at my side all the sleepless nights, compromising her free time grounded in front of her laptop, checking my spelling and finding me references, I thank you. Left on the side so many times, insecure about our future, she never stopped making herself available for the most boring part of an history research project. Then there are my uncles and cousins Lito and Juca, Luis de Noronha in Maputo, always ready to provide me with delicious food and pleasant company. Friends of old times such as Orlando Dias also helped me enormously, by opening his photocopy shop and allowing me to use his machines free of charge, to copy hundreds of pages from books and other printed documents. I thank my friends John Hassan, Chris Ledochowski, Motheo, Lebo and Jochan Lucksheister, Jaco Maria, Janne, Asante and Carla Rantala, Sebastião Matshinhe, mama Agnes and Colin Darch. My in-laws and other members of the Boltman family cared for me immensely. The list is endless, yet they stood out from the very inception of my

writing, encouraging me and keeping me motivated till the end. I am forever grateful for their friendship.

I owe this to my supervisor Patricia Hayes, Professor in the History Department at the University of the Western Cape. From her I took many very insightful moments. Her influential dedication to knowledge production, to scholarship in general, to photography and their practitioners, and to life, were great inspiration to me. Yet not completely formed, she enthusiastically embraced the idea of the research topic and suggested the title for the PhD that was the guideline of this research. All along the years she encouraged me to develop my own interpretations in fuller form and trusted in my capacity more than myself. Her dedication was once more demonstrated through the efforts made to grasp and to help me understand my own ideas, and she patiently corrected enormous quantity of grammar and fixed my writing. I also owe many thanks to Paolo Israel and family, Ciraj Rassool, Leslie Witz, other professors and colleagues as well as the administrative personnel Jane and Janine at the History Department, and Lameez Lalkhen, Miceala Felix and others at the Centre for the Humanities Research (CHR).

At the CHR I found an extended family among the colleagues that I learned to appreciate as human beings. I should mention Premesh, Heidi, Maurits, Bidandi, Fred, Aidan, Lauren, Thozama, Jacob, to mention just few of a long list. They all have imparted a sense of their commitment and contagious enthusiasm as academics and social scientists, formed or in formation. I am also in debt to Iona Gilbert who polished the text and to a great extent shaped the last form of my dissertation. I have no words!

I'm thankful to Dr Eric Morier-Genoud from the School of History & Anthropology at Queen's University who suggested some sites and referred me to institutions. One was the Institut et Musée des Suisses dans le Monde; Dr Laure Eynard, responsible for the scientific partnerships at Fondation pour l'histoire des Suisses dans le Monde at Pregny. They generously gave me access to the Liengme archives as well as permission to reproduce some very significant visual material that is incorporated in my dissertation.

The scholarship given by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation was significant. It allowed my fieldwork in Portugal where I found most of the material for this dissertation. Dra Margarida Abecasis, Director of the Bursary Service, and Margarida Cunha in administration, received me in Lisbon and made sure I would have a productive sojourn. In Portugal Dra Ana Canas, Director of the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino authorized my access to very exquisite old

photographs. I was cordially received in diverse archives and libraries such as Torre do Tombo, Biblioteca Nacional and Hemeroteca de Lisboa. For the entire duration of my time in the Portugal, Idília Ruas offered me accommodation in her beautiful apartment in the city. The comradely presence of Afonso Benfica, brother from home, and Alexandre Pomar, erudite journalist and art commentator familiar with the Mozambican photographic archive, made me feel less a stranger. In Porto, Alexandre Souto and his family introduced me to the ‘francezinhas’. The encounters with Manecas, Zé Sérgio, and others were remarkable.

My gratitude extends to all the colleagues at the Bayreuth Academy and at Iwalewaha in Germany. In Mozambique, Yussuf Adam was in fact my enormously knowledgeable mentor. António Sopa, Alda Costa and Matteu Angius from Instituto Camões are always helpful. At the Moçambique Historical Archive (AHM), my research was facilitated by Dr. Joel Tembe its director, Simão Jaime, Maria Deolinda Chamango, Maria E. Pindela and other colleagues in the reading room, who attended to my requests with care. Carlos Fernandes from the Center of African Studies (CEA) and Democlito Manhiça from the main library at the University Eduardo Mondlane (UEM) were good companions on this journey. Special thanks also to Liz Blumenthal for making available the typed transcription of the missionary George Liengme diary and to Sandra van Reenen from Foreign Languages Department UWC, for its translation from French to English. Surely, the PhD journey was an intense human experience and, even if accidental, the various encounters along the way played a part in the process of making this dissertation. It is impossible to cite them all, but they are nevertheless acknowledged.

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of funding institutions. I received funding as a Research Assistant through the Arts Faculty Research Committee of UWC, a doctoral fellowship from the National Research Foundation through the SARChI Chair in Visual History & Theory (Unique Grant 98911), and further doctoral support through the CHR and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

To all the people and institutions cited and not cited, I owe you my immense gratitude.

Rui Assubuji

Cape Town, 26 July 2019.

Abstract

‘A Visual Struggle for Mozambique. Revisiting narratives, interpreting photographs (1850 – 1930)’ is a study that requires an engagement with the historiography of the Portuguese empire, with reference to Mozambique. This is initially to provide some context for the East African situation in which photography began to feature in the mid- to late 19th century. But the other purpose is to see what impact the inclusion of visual archives has on the existing debates concerning Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique, and elsewhere. The rationale for this study, therefore, is to see what difference photographs will make to our interpretation and understanding of this past.

The central issue is the ‘visual struggle’ undertaken to explore and dominate the territory of Mozambique. Deprived of their ‘historical rights’ by the requirements of the Berlin Treaties that insisted on ‘effective occupation’, the Portuguese started to employ a complex of knowledge-producing activities in which photography was crucially involved. Constituting part of the Pacification Campaigns that led to the territorial occupation, photographic translations of action taken to control the different regions in fact define the southern, central and northern regions of the country.

The chapters propose ways to analyze photographs that cover issues related to different forms of knowledge construction. The resulting detail sometimes diverges from expectations associated with their archival history, such as the name of the photographers and exact dates, which are often unavailable.¹ In discussing processes of memorialization, the thesis argues that memory is fragile. The notion of ellipsis is applied to enrich the potential narratives of the photographs. The thesis reads them against the grain in search of counter-narratives, underpinned by the concept of ‘visual dissonances’, which challenges the official history or stories attached to the photographs. Besides a participation in the general debates about the work of photography in particular, this research is driven by the need to find new ways to access the history of Mozambique. Ultimately the project will facilitate these photographic archives to re-enter public awareness, and help to promote critical approaches in the arts and humanities in this part of southern Africa.

¹ In this sense see for example, Christopher Wright, *The Echo of Things. The Lives of Photographs in the Solomon Islands* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 167.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	vi
Table of contents	vii
List of Figures in the chapters	xi
List of Figures in Annexures	xiii
Chapter 1. Introduction.	1
Mozambique History and Photography	2
Four propositions about photography	6
Existing Historiography	8
Conceptual Approach	12
Methodology	14
Thesis structure	19
Conclusion	22
Chapter 2. Penetrating Africa. The portal of Sena Fort as a gateway to history.	23
Livingstone and the Expedition to Zambezi 1858 - 1863	28
The Fort of Sena	33
A Past Introduced	37
Village of Sena	39
Prazos da Coroa (Crown Estates)	43
Secondary States	46
Landlords, Warlords: the case of Manuel António de Sousa	47

Companhia de Moçambique and the Effective Occupation	50
Picturing a Monument	53

Chapter 3. The war of flags: an introduction to the southern region of Mozambique. 63

Introduction.	63
The Rise of a Portuguese town in Africa	64
Lourenço Marques, Xilunguíne, Kamfuma	68
The City and its Photographers	71
Toppling the Gaza Empire	77
The Multiple Constructions of Ngungunyane	81
The Meeting Between Almeida and Ngungunyane	86
Deconstruction	87
In the Heart of the Gaza Empire: documenting the final days	92
The <i>Benguvo</i> Ceremony. Mandlakazi in October 1894	97
Cavalry and the end of the Gaza empire	100

Chapter 4. Stopping for the Camera: Photography and the Portuguese expedition to

Báruè in 1902.	107
Introduction	107
Creating a Hero	110
Before the Time of the Photographs	116
The Time of the Photographs: A textual narrative	120
In the Tonga Homeland. The First Phase of the Campaign	124
Second Phase of the Campaign - From Chiramba to Inhangone	126
Third Phase, the End of the Campaign	128

The Time of the Photographs: A Visual Narration	131
Tongaland	131
Báruèland	134
Regular soldiers	137
Sepoys: irregular soldiers	142
Aringas ou Gutas	146
Baobab trees	150
Celebration	153
Conclusion	155

Chapter 5. A Photographic Event: Mozambique and the First World War (1914 – 1918).

Introduction: overview	162
The Photographs	167
Producing the Event: Portugal Enters the War	169
Performers and Performance: The Military Expeditions to Mozambique	171
The First Expedition, 1914	173
The Second Expedition and the Reoccupation of Quionga in 1915	175
First Attempt to Cross the Rovuma River: A Bloody Disaster	179
The Third Expedition, 1916	184
Crossing the River on a Trestle Bridge	187
The Conquest of New Territory	192
The Fourth Expedition, 1917	197
Conclusion: Visual Dissonances	202
- Visual Dissonance 1	203

- Visual Dissonance 2	204
- Visual Dissonance 3	207
Conclusion	212
Annexures	222
Bibliography	267

LIST OF FIGURES IN THE CHAPTERS

Chapter 2. Penetrating Africa: the Portal of Sena Fort as a Gateway to History

- Figure 1: Map of the states of Butua and Muenemutapa
- Figure 2: Lupata Gorge, 1859. Drawn from Kirk's papers Collection
- Figure 3: Portuguese Fortress at Sena, 21st March 1859. From Kirk's papers Collection
- Figure 4: The Fortress Gateway. Photograph from Portuguese Military Archive (AHM). Date unknown
- Figure 5: Northern Mozambique, Sixteenth to Eighteenth centuries
- Figure 6: Map of Core area of the Secondary States
- Figure 7: Engraving – Major Forbes arresting Colonel de Andrade at the Umtassa Kraal, November 1890. From Zimbabwe National Archive
- Figure 8: Map of Zambezi Prazos and Company Holdings (1750-1920)
- Figure 9: Fortress of São Marçal. Stone Monument built in 1906
- Figure 10: A Historical Site. The Gateway of the Sena Fortress

Chapter 3. The War of Flags: an Introduction to the Southern Region of Mozambique

- Figure 1: *Pavilion* at Polana Beach of Lourenço Marques, later 1800 early 1900.
- Figure 2: Map of the Lourenço Marques Bay in 1873.
- Figure 3: Mouzinho de Albuquerque and Dr. Cabral.
- Figure 4: The Court of Mouzinho de Albuquerque in Lourenço Marques.
- Figure 5: African Court. Ngungunyane arrested. Photograph from Arquivo Científico Tropical. (Digital repository)
- Figure 6: African Court. Ngungunyane arrested. Image credited to Angela Camila Castelo-Branco and António Faria Collection.
- Figure 7: Ngungunyane. Photograph taken outside of the hut where he was captured.
- Figure 8: Composition published in the book, Patrick Harries, *Junod e as Sociedades Africanas*.
- Figure 9: Ngungunyane photographed by an official photographer.
- Figure 10: Ngungunyane photographed by a missionary amateur photographer.
- Figure 11: Ngungunyane and José Joaquim d'Almeida (Mandlakazi 11th August, 1890). Photograph from Arquivo Científico Tropical. (Digital repository)
- Figure 12: Ngungunyane and José Joaquim d'Almeida. Deconstruction.

- Figure 13: Ngungunyane. Detail of a photograph.
- Figure 14: Ngungunyane. Engraving from the photograph.
- Figure 15: Ngungunyane. Photograph available online at Arquivo Científico Tropical. (Digital repository)
- Figure 16: Engraving of a photograph published in José Telo, *Moçambique 1895. Campanha de Todos os Heróis*.
- Figure 17: Mug in Portuguese faience. Image in, José Telo, *Moçambique 1895. Campanha de Todos os Heróis*.
- Figure 18: A soup dish in Portuguese faience. Image in José Telo, *Moçambique 1895. Campanha de Todos os Heróis*.
- Figure 19: Cover of the book *História de Moçambique*., Vol I. (UEM, 200).
- Figure 20: Ngungunyane. Engraving published in A. Rocha, *Moçambique, História e Cultura*, 26.
- Figure 21: Gaza Queen looking at photographs. Liengme collection.
- Figure 22: Son of Ngungunyane during the great dances. Liengme collection.
- Figure 23: Aspect of the Ngungunyane forces scared on the plains of Mandlakazi. Liengme collection.
- Figure 24: A temporary shelter called metchacha. Liengme collection.
- Figure 25: Composition. The Benguyo ceremony. Photograph from Liengme collection.
- Figure 26: Dismantling the monument.
- Figure 27: The Ngungunyane's coffin at Fortaleza de Maputo.
- Figure 28: Mouzinho de Albuquerque on horseback.
- Figure 29: Mouzinho's monument on permanent exhibition.
- Figure 30: Portuguese cavalry in Mandlakazi.
- Figure 31: Portuguese cavalry in Mandlakazi.
- Figure 32: The horse of Ornelas. Photograph from Liengme collection.
- Figure 33: The horse of Ornelas and his servant. Image published in A. Ornelas, *Colectânea das Suas Principais Obras*.

Chapter 4. Stopping for the Camera: Photography and the Portuguese Expedition to Bárúè in 1902.

- Figure 1: Photograph, João de Azevedo Coutinho.
- Figure 2: Detail cut excerpted from Map I. Mozambique circa 1973.

- Figure 3: Map of Báruè and surrounding Area.
- Figure 4: Photograph, Officers in the command of the Campaign to Báruè 1902.
- Figure 5: Photograph, Báruè landscape.
- Figure 6: Photograph, European and African Soldiers during the campaign to Báruè 1902.
- Figure 7: Photograph, the Sepoys.
- Figure 8: Photograph, Portuguese official in pose with artillery pieces.
- Figure 9: Photograph, Soldiers posing on a baobab tree.
- Figure 10: Photograph, Portuguese military officials in celebration.

Chapter 5. A Photographic Event: Mozambique and the First World War (1914 – 1918)

- Figure 1: Map of the Rovuma border.
- Figure 2: Crossing the River over a bridge launched in Navioto
- Figure 3: Trestle bridge built by engineering after the crossing of the Rovuma River.
- Figure 4: Visual Dissonance I.
- Figure 5: Visual Dissonance II.
- Figure 6: Detail of photograph of Visual Dissonance II.
- Figure 7: The Crossing of the Rovuma River 19 September 1916. Photograph from AHM, Lisbon Military Archive.

LIST OF FIGURES IN ANNEXURES

Chapter 2

Annexure 1 Photographs of the Portal of the Sena fortress

- Figure 1: Photograph of the Portal of Sena fortress. Date is unknown.
- Figure 2: Family photographed in front of the Portal of the Sena fortress in 1940.

Chapter 3

Annexure 1 Lourenço Marques: the road to Polana beach

- Figure 1: Sketched view of ‘Ponta Vermelha. Lourenco Marques’ around 1891.
- Figure 2: Polana beach. Caracol road in an early stage of its construction, around 1910.

- Figure 3: Image from postcard, The Caracol road almost concluded.
- Figure 4 'Partial View of the Polana beach – Lourenco Marques' after 1913.
- Figure 5: Image from postcard. 'Light house, Reuben Point' built in 1892.
- Figure 6: Image from postcard, 'Lourenço Marques Delagoa Bay'. The exact date is unknown.

Chapter 3

Annexure 2 Lourenço Marques in the South African archive

- Figure 1: Polana beach.
- Figure 2: Polana beach.
- Figure 3: Polana beach.
- Figure 4: Polana beach.
- Figure 5: Polana beach and beach road.
- Figure 6: Fishing harbour.
- Figure 7: Railway station.
- Figure 8: View of the city.
- Figure 9: Monument to the First World War.

Chapter 3

Annexure 3 Liengme in Mandlakazi: Photographs and Diary

- Figure 1: Stop at Nkomati River, 1892. Source: Family folder.
- Figure 2: Liengme in Hammock. Source: Family folder.
- Figure 3: Travel in the country. Source: Penthes archive.
- Figure 4: Travel in the country. Source: Penthes archive.
- Figure 5: 'Mandlakazi, King Ngungunyane chairing his court of justice in the presence of Dr G.L. and Breyner, early 1892.' Photograph taken by Liengme. Source: Family folder.

- Figure 6: 'The infirmary at Mandlakazi: standing: Paulus (whose original name was Quandjissa) Dr. G.L.'s nurse 1892 – 1895'. Source: Family folder.
- Figure 7: The infirmary at Mandlakazi. Source: Penthes archive.
- Figure 8: Liengme at the infirmary in Mandlakazi. Source: Penthes archive.
- Figure 9: Slave woman and her child. Source: Penthes archive.
- Figure 10: Liengme with King's nominal mother. Source: Family folder.
- Figure 11: Sea travel from L. Marques to Inhambane, 1895. Source: Penthes archive.
- Figure 12: Sea travel to Inhambane, 1895. Source: Family folder.
- Figure 13: 'Great trek'. Source: Penthes archive.
- Figure 14: Arrival at Shilovane, 1896. Source: Family folder.

Chapter 5

Annexure 1 *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 1914 -1918

- Figure 1: Image above: the manoeuvres at Tancos; image below: seizure of German ships in Lourenço Marques harbour.
- Figure 2: Newspaper page reporting on the process of mobilizing private resources.
- Figure 3: The mobilization of private assets in Lisbon.
- Figure 4: 'The Portuguese effort'.
- Figure 5: Front page of the newspaper. The caption of the photograph is: 'Embarkation of another Portuguese expedition to Africa'.
- Figure 6: Departure, troops to Mozambique.
- Figure 7: Departure, troops to Mozambique.
- Figure 8: Departure. Troops to Mozambique.
- Figure 9: Departure. Troops to Mozambique.
- Figure 10: Expeditionary march through the streets of Lisbon, heading to the harbor for embarkation.

- Figure 11: Expeditionary soldiers embarking.
- Figure 12: Embarkation. A view from inside the ship.
- Figure 13: Departure of an expeditionary force.
- Figure 14: ‘Portuguese expedition to East Africa’.
- Figure 15: Headquarters in Porto Amélia.
- Figure 16: Page title: ‘Portugal at War’.
- Figure 17: ‘The Portuguese in Kionga’.
- Figure 18: Newspaper page with images from Kionga.
- Figure 19: ‘Portugal at War’.
- Figure 20: Newspaper page where the author of many well-known photographs of the war, Andre Moura, also appears.
- Figure 21: ‘Our Campaign in Africa’.
- Figure 22: ‘For the Fatherland’.
- Figure 23: ‘Portuguese in the campaign in Africa’.
- Figure 24: ‘The Portuguese effort in Africa’.
- Figure 25: ‘Our effort in Africa’.
- Figure 26: ‘Our war in Africa’.
- Figure 27: ‘In East Africa’.

Chapter 5

Annexure 2 Andre Moura

- Figure 1: ‘Kionga A Moura Exp 1915 Deposito de generos’.
- Figure 2: ‘A Moura Kionga - Pretas Pilando Milho’.
- Figure 3: ‘AM. 016 Migomba - Companhia Indigena Bivacada’.
- Figure 4: ‘A Moura 1916 Porto Amelia’.

- Figure 5: Detail of the image in Figure 4.
- Figure 6: ‘AM Palma – Como se faz a descarga 1916.’ (‘AM Palma – how disembarkation is done’).
- Figure 7: Cropped detail from Figure 6: ‘AM Palma – Como se faz a descarga 1916’.
- Figure 8: ‘Abastecimento de carne. A Moura East Alemão German Portuguese Expedition 1916’. (‘Meat supply. A Moura East German Portuguese Expedition 1916’).
- Figure 9: ‘A Moura Namoto 1916’.
- Figures 10: Caption disputed.
- Figures 11 to 26: Andre Moura exhibited photographs.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

History begins with bodies and artefacts, living brains, fossils, texts and buildings.... A castle, a fort, a battlefield, a church, all these things bigger than we that we infuse with the reality the past lives, seem to speak with an immensity of which we know little except that we are part of it ...¹

Like documents, photographs are sources of history. This dissertation inquires into their contribution to the history of Mozambique, especially earlier photographs taken in the region. They are evidence of a past to be viewed with contemporary eyes, ‘always new’ to someone who engages with them for the first time. The reading of old photographs enriches our understanding of the present and stimulates a vision of new futures for them. Once exposed and available to researchers and the general public, they can potentially be a dynamic contributor to the production of knowledge about the country.

This study closely considers groups of photographs from 1850-1918 but extends into the 1930s to include visual references by such producers as the Lazzarus brothers (1901), Santos Rufino (1929), Ignácio Pó (1930s) and Wexelsen (1940s).² The year 1930 in fact signals the end of an era we call ‘Imperial Eye’ whose mission was occupation.³ Transformed by the rise of the fascist regime, the subsequent period has a different dynamic. The mission then changed to the rational exploitation of the colonies’ resources and the display of their importance for the progress of the Portuguese Republic.⁴ Rui M. Pereira describes events such as the *Exposição Colonial do Porto* (1935) that preceded the *Exposição do Mundo Português* (1940), as well as the various congresses, dispositions and legislative regulations as all

¹ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 29-30. Cited in Elizabeth Edwards, *The Camera as Historian, Amateur Photographers and Historical Imagination, 1885-1918* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 68.

² To be introduced further in this chapter.

³ In fact, that was the initial photographic material available to the research. This thesis named ‘Imperial Eye’ to this early photographic period in which the photographers operated to promote the progress of colonial enterprise for the greatness of the empire.

⁴ This follows references of the ‘notable transformations’ in the Portuguese colonialism introduced by the Salazarism in 1930s. See A.M. Gentili, ‘A Subverção no Distrito de Cabo Delgado 1950-1960.’ In Alexandrino F. José e Maria Paula M. Meneses, *Focos, Problema, Metodologias, Desafios para a Década de 1990*. V.1 (Maputo: Coleção Painel Moçambicano, 1991), 239.

organized or issued for an ‘effective exercise of colonial administration.’⁵ To control the press, for example, the Decree n. 22469 of 11 April 1933 instituted a coercive legal instrument called ‘censura prévia’.⁶

Despite its repressive regime, the post-1930 period produced a rich output. The public enterprises, industrial, agricultural, health, and other state institutions are contributors to eloquent but little-explored visual archives. For example, the Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações Coloniais, created in 1936 to co-ordinate and promote scientific research in and on the colonies, offers diverse collections.⁷ It is also possible to attribute a creolization of the photographic environment to this period, influenced by the presence of non-white photographers. Among them, Ricardo Rangel (1950s) constitutes his own Mozambican visual paradigm. This dissertation, however, is focused on the earlier period referred to as ‘Imperial Eye’.⁸

The study seeks to understand what differences photographs can make to our interpretation and understanding of the history of Mozambique. It is argued that most of the photographs from this period were a ‘tool of empire,’ produced by colonial representatives and favouring the colonial enterprise. In a post-colonial time, these pictures can offer different perspectives. Is it possible therefore to transform the ‘tools of empire’ into tools of Mozambican history?

Mozambique, History and Photography

By 1460, innovations in technology allowed the Portuguese to sail down to the Guinea Coast in 1460. On the route to southern India, Vasco da Gama entered the

⁵ Rui Mateus Pereira, ‘A Missão Etnográfica de Moçambique. A Codificação dos Usos e Costumes Indígenas no Direito Colonial Português. Notas de Investigação’ (Cadernos de Estudos Africanos 1|2001. Varia: Open Edition Journal, 2014), 15. [Http://journals.openedition.org/cea/1628](http://journals.openedition.org/cea/1628) accessed 3 February 2020.

⁶ Previous Censorship decree instituted that nothing could be published before verification made by a state nominated service commission. António Sopa, ‘Liberdade de Imprensa e Regime de censura Prévia: O caso de Moçambicano (1854-1935)’. In A.F. José e M.P. Meneses, *Focos, Problema, Metodologias, Desafios para a Década de 1990*, 254-255.

⁷ On Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações Coloniais see Luís Manuel Neves da Costa, ‘Conhecer para Ocupar. Ocupar para Dominar. Ocupação Científica do Ultramar Português e o Estado Novo’ (Porto: Historia. Revista da FLUP IV série vol. 3. Portugal, 2013), 41-58.

⁸ A reference for the study of this and later periods is Drew Thompson, ‘AIM, Focus, Shoot: Photographic Narratives of Imagination and Independence in Mozambique, 1960 to 1993’ (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2013).

Indian Ocean and contacted the Swahili towns of East Africa in 1497.⁹ Though the Portuguese described their activities as Christian and righteous, ‘their motives were mercenary’.¹⁰ Their initial contact with the ‘black’ continent was sparse, limited to stations along the coast where their ships stopped for resupply of food and possible repairs. Thus began the first encounters between the Europeans and local African peoples. From such contact, a perception developed among the Portuguese that the hinterlands contained unexplored riches they decided to control. Gold was the main attraction.

In competition with Swahili commercial dominance, Portugal established an Indian Ocean trading empire that initially exchanged African gold from Sofala with spices in India that were destined for a European market that demanded exotic products. But the rise of the slave trade overshadowed the original interest in African gold. Portugal developed limited trade with various settlements in Elmina on the Gold Coast, in the Congo Kingdom, in Angola, on Mozambique Island, and in Mombasa.¹¹ Though its ships mostly bypassed Africa for the Orient, the Portuguese were really the first to ‘harness Africa to Europe’. The Dutch, British and French began to replace Portuguese traders in the mid-1500s.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the nations of Europe began to wage intensified struggles for what had now become formal colonial expansion. Phyllis Martin and others argue that this ‘expansion generally was facilitated by the innumerable technological advancements of the nineteenth century which consequently also changed their relationships with local people.’¹² The techniques and the patterns of the eventual conquests, however, were most strikingly a ‘product of the gun revolution and the resulting disparity of firepower between Africans and Europeans’. This helps to explain why, by 1914, over ‘eighty-four percent of the world’s land area was European-dominated.’¹³

⁹ Phyllis M. Martin and Patrick O’Meara, eds., *Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 116.

¹⁰ John Reader, *Africa: A Bibliography of the Continent* (London: Penguin Books, 1998), 354

¹¹ On slavery in colonial Mozambique see for example, José Capela, *O Escravismo Colonial em Moçambique* (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1993).

¹² Martin and O’Meara, *Africa*, 116.

¹³ Martin and O’Meara, *Africa*, 3.

Visual images such as photographs also played a role in convincing the world that new lands were discovered and possessed, even if that was only partially the case. Africa started to be systematically photographed circa 1870, when professionals and amateurs involved in commercial enterprises or scientific expeditions, ordered and financed by metropolitan governments and geographical societies, travelled over the continent preparing the way for military and other forms of occupation. The rivers were the highways for the exploration and domination of the continent's interior. The expedition of David Livingstone to the Zambezi River in 1858-63 was probably the first involving amateur and professional visual operators.¹⁴ The work of these explorers may have had an influence on the results of the Berlin Conference in 1884-1885, which defined the rules for claiming colonial territories among European empires. Portugal saw its 'Historical Rights' argument dismissed by the new decision in favour of 'Effective Occupation'.¹⁵

Another consequence of Livingstone's expeditions might have been the growing British influence over the banks of the Cuanza, the Zaire (Congo), and the Zambezi Rivers. Despite the establishment of the borders in 1891, the rivalry between Britain and Germany for East African territory had to be contained by a secret agreement they made in 1898: in case of Portuguese collapse, Great Britain would take the south and Germany the north of the Zambezi River. Conscious of its weaknesses, Portugal had to convince other European powers and their publics about its effective presence in Africa. This is when photography potentially became an important 'tool of empire' that contributed to the creation of a 'virtual colony'.¹⁶

The first Portuguese official photographic expedition in Mozambique took place in 1890, in the middle of the most difficult period of the relationship between Portugal

¹⁴ T. Jack Thompson. 2004. *Images of Africa: Missionary photography in the 19th century. An Introduction*. Occasional Paper. Copenhagen: Centre for African Studies.

https://teol.ku.dk/cas/publications/publications/occ_papers/occ_thompson.pdf

¹⁵ Marquês do Lavradio, *Portugal em África depois de 1851: subsídios para a história* (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias. Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, 1936), 152.

¹⁶ Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981). 'Virtual Colony' is in reference to the article of Lieutenant Colonel João José de Sousa Cruz, 'O Enigma de uma Colónia Virtual – África Oriental Portuguesa (vulgo Moçambique),' in *Revista Militar*, accessed October 4, 2018, <https://www.revistamilitar.pt/artigo/344>. In this article, Cruz considers the presence of Portugal in East Africa from 1505 to 1975 as an enigma, taking place despite its financial and material weakness.

and Great Britain. This period in fact culminated in the release of the Ultimatum in which England urged Portugal to retire from a vast area around the Chire River and highlands that later became part of Southern Rhodesia. This deeply affected Portuguese politics and society and to a great extent determined the fall of its monarchical regime.¹⁷ The 1890-91 expedition was led by the photographer and urbanist Manoel Pereira, recruited in Portugal. For a long time, many of the resulting photographs were arranged in albums, displayed in national and international exhibitions, and engraved and featured as illustrations in many books, articles, and other publications.¹⁸

Over time, several other photographers produced photographic works that depicted the development of these overseas territories. Reference can be made to the brothers Lazzarus, who by the end of the 1890s opened a studio in Lourenço Marques and a branch in the second most important city of the country, Beira, and later in the Transvaal Republic, then a neighboring ally. The Lazzarus brothers' published album, with views of the city of Lourenço Marques, is an important reference for this early period of photography in Mozambique. Santos Rufino is another reference. He was a businessman who produced postcards and albums with engravings from photographs showing the progress made in the overseas Portuguese province. In 1929, he published the famous collection of 10 *Álbuns Fotográficos e Descritivos da Colónia de Moçambique (Descriptive Photographic Albums of the Colony of Mozambique)*, whose Portuguese text was translated into English and French.¹⁹ Along with views of cities and progress, the publications included photographs from actual expeditions. Rufino contracted professional photographers such as Inácio Pó, whose photographic work (still barely explored) is also important to the history of photography in Mozambique.²⁰ Rufino's publications depict economic, ethnographic, zoological, and

¹⁷ In Portugal, the monarchy ended in 1910 and was replaced by an unstable Republican regime. This matter will be briefly tackled later in Chapter Four of this thesis.

¹⁸ For detailed research on Manoel Pereira see Luísa Vilarinho Pereira, *Moçambique II, Manoel Joaquim Romão Pereira (1846 – 1894), novas revelações sobre a coleção Fotográfica* (Lisboa: Luísa Vilarinho Pereira, 2017).

¹⁹ More info here: <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/AFDCM.aspx>

²⁰ Of Goan descent, Inácio Pó was certainly one of the first local non-European professional photographers in Mozambique. He worked extensively for the railway company Caminhos de Ferro de Moçambique (CFM). Many of his photographs are included in famous colonial exhibitions and publications.

botanic aspects of the territory. The edition of the albums was sponsored by Brito Camacho, the Governor General of the Portuguese Province of Mozambique.

Yet, much photographic work from the colonial period remains unknown. Such photographs are authentic traces of the past they depict but are buried in archives and silenced in history.²¹ As illustrated versions of the events that created images, photographs are testimonies of many stories already told. However, as argued by several scholars, the indexicality of photographs produces an effect of excess that transcends their initial meaning and challenges the history in which they are inserted. They are remarkable sources for the continuous construction and reinterpretation of historical knowledge.²² Neglected and even mistreated, many have already disappeared or are in the process of disappearing in archives. This thesis takes an opportunity to ‘excavate’ accessible archives and bring to light some of these visual testimonies. The final task is to engage them in a productive new kind of story-telling that, regardless of chronology, contributes to a better understanding of our societies.

Four propositions about photography

Pratt speaks of the colonizers as ‘conquering their colonial subjects by writing them’ and ‘creating the space that they later filled with meaning’, whose ‘imperial eyes passively looked out and possessed.’²³ For this thesis, the camera – usually found in the hands of the colonizer – is considered a tool of empire. But beyond Headrick’s notion, it is useful to engage with Hevia’s concept of the ‘photography complex’: a ‘novel form of agency’ that has the capacity to ‘mobilize and deploy elements for generating new material realities.’²⁴ As understood in this study, such a ‘complex’ incorporates almost every component of photographic production, display and

²¹ For a concept of silence in history see Jacques Depelchin, *Silences in African History: Between the Syndromes of Discovery and Abolition* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki Na Nyota Publishers, 2005).

²² We accept the challenge to understand photographs as keystones of historical explanation. See Jennifer Tucker with Tina Campt, ‘Entwined Practices: Engagements with Photography in Historical Inquiry,’ *History and Theory*, 48, no. 4 (December 2009).

²³ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 80. See also Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); John K. Noyes, *Colonial Space: Spatiality in the Discourse of German South West Africa 1884-1915* (London: Routledge, 1992), 6; Jaques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, trans. Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

²⁴ James L. Hevia, ‘The Photography Complex. Exposing Boxer-Era China (1900-1901), Making Civilization,’ in *Photographies East: The camera and its histories in East and Southeast Asia*, ed. Rosalind C. Morris (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 80-81.

archive, but also exceeds this. This complex might help to explain Portugal's imperial position and project through its visual traces while also providing counter-narratives whose implications go beyond the colonial to address some of the 'new realities' that photography brought to the history of the country. This thesis therefore works on the basis of the following propositions:

1. The photographs were produced to serve the European empire, but the resulting pictures allow different perspectives on existing historical narratives. Due to their intrinsic indexical 'excess', the photographer is not in total control of the images and their outcomes.
2. Meaning is not fixed, as opposed to the image, which is a frozen moment captured in the flow of the time (and event) and fixed on a photosensitized surface. Several factors, including the viewers' different cultural backgrounds, influence the reading of a photograph.
3. The meaning of an image can be inferred at the moment of its construction but alters as a result of the effect of time on the surface of its hosting material (glass, plastic or paper). The process of revelation (development) continues after its appearance as an image. Yet, the alterations of its materiality as well as of related memories can influence its reading at different times.
4. The chosen photographs offer a visualization of the actual territorial formation of Mozambique. The deconstruction of such images produces readings that run counter to their initial purposes: it destabilizes chronological order and allows a co-presence of different historical times and perspectives in the process of knowledge construction derived from their interpretation. The once 'latent image' becomes 'latent knowledge', and the developing process of both image and knowledge keep on going until, at least, the total disappearance of the picture.

Yet it is not only through photographs that we encounter the eyes of the colonizer, as it were; it is also through documents. Though it ignited the competition known as the Scramble for Africa, what were the writings by various parties in response to Livingstone's expedition? What are the different discourses employed to state different national and imperial positions and claims? It becomes necessary to immerse ourselves to some extent in this literature that is coeval with the photographic record. The contextualization provided here is an attempt to establish a common ground and a

kind of backdrop against which the photographs are analyzed. In its conclusion, the thesis will argue that the reinterpretation of old photographs will assist the always commendable exercise of questioning official histories, and stimulate inquiries that help us to think with different pasts, presents, and futures of the country.

Existing historiography

This thesis undertakes a critical reading of photographs taken in Mozambique at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, a period associated with Effective Occupation, which helps to visualize the territorial formation of the country that took place between the 1880s and 1918. It argues that despite their provenance as visual documents mostly produced by colonial officers and ostensibly favouring colonial interests, the photographs offer different perspectives that challenge their initial purposes.

The most general category of literature addressed in this thesis concerns the phase of European imperial expansion in Africa. Hobsbawm argues that this period (the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century) was crucial, and this research resonates with the ‘new situation’ of the Age of Empire. The cultural and technical features that arose help us to understand more about the processes of formation of the colonial empires. Along these lines, Martin and O’Meara’s *Africa* argues that despite the different patterns of occupation and administration adopted by colonial powers throughout the continent, colonialism in general came to effect systems of political, economic and cultural domination.²⁵

Mostly in the hands of colonial officers, the camera as ‘tool of empire’ served imperial goals by facilitating broader visual access to remote areas and helping the expansion of empires and sciences.²⁶ However scientific research, as pointed out by Jean-Paul Sartre, is no more than an effort to appropriate.²⁷ Documented information

²⁵ For the aspects related to the European colonial occupation of Africa, a broader understanding was also facilitated by the readings of P. Curtin, S. Feierman, L. Thompson and J. Vansina, *African History* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1978); Thomas Pakenham, *The Scramble For Africa 1876-1912* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1991).

²⁶ ‘Tool of empire’ is a concept advanced by Headrick, where the camera represents another technical development such as the modern repeating rifle, opening paths to colonial domination.

²⁷ Jean-Paul Sartre, *Existential Psychoanalysis* (Washington: Gateway Editions, 1962).

was accumulated mostly for the purpose of economic and military control. Heroic status was given to soldiers and scientists who legitimized the colonizer's acts of appropriation. Echoing Shohat, if writing cultures were embedded in the ideology of power, visualizing cultures documented not only the 'other' but also the assumed power of science to decipher the 'other'.²⁸

Edwards argues that photography was not simply 'representation' but sets of material practices entangled with practices of governance through complex and sometimes ambiguous demands to produce information that inflected governmental practices. Therefore, despite the promise of 'mechanical objectivity,' the 'truth-claims' of photographic evidence are highly negotiated, and historically and spatially specific.²⁹ Yet, as argued by Rojinsky, the camera cannot discriminate and filter out strands of information.³⁰ The images it produces are indexical and include an excess of detail, which is vulnerable to alternative interpretations. I agree with Pinney's argument that the photographer cannot fully control the understanding of the resulting photograph, and it is that lack of control and the resulting excess that permits not only a capacity to record, but to bring unintended visible and invisible aspects to the surface, and enable a 'looking past.'³¹ On these grounds, Walter Benjamin advanced the notion of an 'optical unconscious', which encourages an approach to early photographs that scrutinizes the hidden depths of an indexical trace.³²

As Belting suggests, an image is more than a product of perception. He makes a further important point that an image is defined not merely by its visibility, but by the beholder's invested symbolic meaning and mental framework. The creation of meaning is a result of personal or collective knowledge and intention.³³ This argument resonates with Hevia's concept of the 'photography complex'. This concept might

²⁸ Ella Shohat, 'Imaging Terra Incognita: The Disciplinary Gaze of Empire' in *Public Culture* 3, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 42, doi:10.1215/08992363-3-2-41.

²⁹ Elizabeth Edwards, 'Photographic Uncertainties: Between Evidence and Reassurance,' *History and Anthropology* 25, no. 2 (March 2014): accessed 1 February, 2016, doi:10.1080/02757206.2014.882834.

³⁰ David Rojinsky, *Companion to Empire. A Genealogy of the Written Word in Spain and New Spain, c.550–1550* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010).

³¹ Christopher Pinney and Nicolas Peterson, eds., *Photography's Other Histories* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 6.

³² For discussion around the optical unconscious see for example Shawn M. Smith and Sharon Sliwinski, eds., *Photography and the Optical Unconscious* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017).

³³ Hans Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 9.

help to explain Portugal's imperial position and project its networks make palpable through such visual traces, but which also considers all the human and non-human factors that might interfere with the intended purpose of the image. In the visual traces of the imperial project, those interferences help viewers today to move beyond the colonial to discuss the pre- and postcolonial periods of the country.³⁴ Such interferences are also analyzed in terms of my own concept of 'visual dissonances' in the later part of the thesis.

I engage with Mozambican historiography here as a means of providing an existing interpretive framework about the histories in which the photos are involved. That is a necessary part of each chapter. This is not to explain the photos as such, but to provide an analytical foil based on documents against or along which photos can be read, opening up points of interrogation about aspects in which photography is situated. For a specific literature on the longer history of Mozambique, significant references are Newitt, Lobato, Pélissier, Isaacman, Santa-Rita and Capela, and among the more contemporary voices of the country I engage with Carlos Serra, Amélia Souto, Yussuf Adam and António Sopa.

The period dominated by territorial 'effective occupation' that was the preoccupation of the colonial powers after the Berlin conference (1894-5) is central to this study. This preoccupation set in place the so-called Pacification Campaigns which, in Pélissier's perspective, constituted Europe's declaration of war against Africa, since 'each imperialism' had to ascertain their claims 'with arms in hand.' For Mozambique, António Ennes, Aires de Ornelas, Mouzinho de Albuquerque, and Azevedo Coutinho are prominent Portuguese colonial figures of the period, whose writings have a very direct relation with the photographs analyzed in this study. A different perspective from these colonial officials is provided by the historian Allen Isaacman's arguments that African peoples have fought colonial domination since the sixteenth century.

The period covered by the photographs selected here extends to the First World War, which in a sense can also be considered part of the 'effective occupation' since the

³⁴ See the Conclusion of this thesis.

north, in the hands of the Companhia do Niassa, was poorly dominated.³⁵ The images depict the military presence along the border between Mozambique and Tanganyika, demarcated by the Rovuma River. Portuguese authors such as Arrifes, Afonso, Gomes, Telo and Martins are important sources for the reading of the images. The German strategy went from diplomacy to successful operational and tactical military action in a forgotten theatre of war which, argues Arrifes, obliged the Portuguese and English to muster resources to a level rather too high for such limited gains in their pursuit of an ‘elusive enemy.’³⁶

Portuguese newspapers are further textual sources for the analysis of the First World War in Mozambique, particularly the *Diário* and *Século*, which had an illustrated supplement, and *Ilustração Portuguesa*. They reported on the situation of the country despite official censorship and published many photographs of the soldiers in Portugal and Africa. These newspapers had the greatest print runs and were among the most important instruments of mass media communication, despite the high illiteracy level in Portuguese society, estimated at around 75% at the end of the nineteenth century.³⁷ The newspapers issued during the war period (1914-1918) were consulted closely for the purposes of this research. For an understanding of the bigger picture, the testimonies of participant soldiers, who complained about the poor organization of the operations and the dramatic situations they endured, were extremely important. The images, I argue, do represent what can be read in their published monographs.

The engagement with this literature is important, not only because it constitutes a backdrop against which the visuals will be analyzed and the photographic collections discussed. Beyond context, such a historical frame is part of the ‘photography complex’ mentioned earlier. There is a kind of dialogue flowing between the reader (of the images), the images, the institutions that host them, and other referential sources. Some photographs were inserted into spaces in which they could ‘express’

³⁵ The Niassa Company or Nyassa Chartered Company was a royal company in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique, then known as Portuguese East Africa, that had the concession of the lands that include the present provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa between 1891 and 1929.

³⁶ Among the greater contributions to this discussion we find Aniceto Afonso and Carlos de Matos Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra 1914-1918* (Aveleda: Versos da História, 2013); Marco Fortunato Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na África Portuguesa, Angola e Moçambique (1914-1918)* (Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 2004).

³⁷ See Ana Crabrera, ed., *Jornais, Jornalistas e Jornalismo: sec. XIX e XX* (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 2012).

themselves and have effects, and these are considered in relation to the historiography of the country.

Conceptual approach

Photographs escape their intended audiences, contexts, and spaces. They might even take on new meanings, different from the ones they were meant to convey. Stuart Hall argues that ‘meaning is not straightforward or transparent, and does not survive intact the passage through representation. It is a slippery customer, changing and shifting with context, usage and historical circumstances. It is therefore never finally fixed. It is always putting off or “deferring” its rendezvous with Absolute Truth. It is always being negotiated and inflated, to resonate with new situations.’³⁸

This recalls Elkins’ discussion about the performance of the image. He refers to a posed ‘something’ that offers a visible, constructed meaning: an ‘image idea’³⁹, which is ‘defined not by its mere visibility, but by the symbolic meaning and the mental “frame” invested by the beholder.’⁴⁰ Yet, as suggested by other authors, such a mental frame is also not gratuitous, as the beholder might already have been informed by other sources of history or influenced by his or her own cultural associations. Therefore, it is assumed here that when the pictures were made, they were charged with ideas that are easily overlooked if one focuses on the denotative aspect of the image. What seems obvious is really a provocation, ‘an invitation to look more closely, and to ask questions.’⁴¹ For further interrogation, we follow W.J.T. Mitchell’s prescribed question: what do these photographs want?⁴²

On the other hand, there is a call here for the issues related to Belting’s discussion about medium and technology. The ‘much lamented excess of image production’ of today tends to stimulate and anaesthetize, at the same time as images come and disappear from sight with equal speed, putting our body’s ‘locus of the image’ to

³⁸ Stuart Hall, ed., *Representation. Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997), 9-10.

³⁹ James Elkins, ed., *Photography Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 12.

⁴⁰ Belting, *An Anthropology of Images*, 9.

⁴¹ Philip Gourevitch quoted by Tucker and Camp, ‘Entwined Practices,’ 1.

⁴² This question is drawn from W. J. T. Mitchell, "What Do Pictures "Really" Want?", October 77 (Summer 1996): 71, doi:10.2307/778960.

work in its own defense. Belting argues that while some images are just consumed and forgotten, others endowed with meaning are ‘admitted into memory’.⁴³ How is the endowed meaning translated into the images? In what ways is an image memorialized? These and other questions frame and theoretically shape the analysis in this thesis.

The notions of ‘chance’ in historical photographs, as suggested by Robin Kelsey and John Tagg, are applied here not to think about the construction of the image but to the construction of meaning.⁴⁴ For example, during the process of interpreting historical photographs, the image produces an effect of inflection on the mind, thus projecting viewers back into the past, to remind us of the event directly related to that specific image. Since the image is seen at a time or times after it was produced, the process also contains a reflection effect, which is stimulated by the knowledge of what happened after that particular photograph was taken. For a viewer who stands looking at the moment of the photograph, the reflection is a projection of a future. Yet, a possible first-time experience of a past occurs every time the picture is looked at ‘without a subjective intermediary’.⁴⁵ According to Michael S. Roth, the reading of a photograph is disturbing because, while transporting the viewers to the depicted past, memory keeps them aware of what happened after the picture was taken. The frozen moment is preserved from vanishing with the flow of passing time, but it ‘also reminds us of the death and decay outside the image.’⁴⁶

For the historical reading of photographs, this study employs a concept of ellipsis, introduced as a device characterized by a multiple form of time that interferes with the chronological order of the narrative. In textual form it is represented by the three dots that avoid long descriptions. Hemingway is referred to as one of the earliest authors to apply ellipsis as a narrative device, presenting the ‘ice-berg theory, also called the theory of omission.’⁴⁷ In cinema, it makes it possible to tell a story of many

⁴³ These concepts and ideas were either borrowed or inspired by Belting, *An Anthropology of Images*, 16.

⁴⁴ Robin Kelsey, *Photography and the Art of Chance* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2015).

⁴⁵ Michael S. Roth, *Memory, Trauma, and History: Essays on Living with the Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 197

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ ‘What is Hemingway’ "Ice-Berg Theory ", Academia.edu - Share Research, accessed August 3, 2019, https://www.academia.edu/33353933/What_is_Hemingway_Ice-Berg_theory .

years in the one and half hours of a movie. A given example is Stanley Kubrick's *2001 A Space Odyssey*, considered a 'giant chronological leap.'⁴⁸ Applied in this study, ellipsis is 'an exercise of symbolic compression', though each image carries symbolic and iconic representations that 'require unpacking' on the part of the reader.⁴⁹ It allows images to convey different historical times and points of perception of that history. Ellipsis facilitates different narratives to cross each other, one of the characteristics of the relationship between history and photography.

Methodology

Analytical reflection starts from our experience of the world and ... subjects us to a condition of possibility distinct from that experience, revealing the all-embracing synthesis as that without which there would be no world. To this extent it ceases to remain part of our experience and offers, in place of an account, a reconstruction.⁵⁰

The idea is to let pictures speak. The hypotheses proposed in relation to the photographs here are created either by cross-reference to different sources and collections, or by analyzing details of the recorded evidence. In this spirit, and in contrast to the treatment of photographs as just illustration, an attempt is made here to release a new energy from pictures, sustained by the 'narrative potential of photography'.⁵¹ The first task of the research was to identify archives, collections, and other bodies of photographic work reflecting particular events recognized as historical, with some direct implication in the process of colonization of Mozambique. The next was to cross-reference different bodies of photographic work with other direct contextual documentation (to find clues as to their production), and to compare different collections that are directly related to each other (thus suggesting their historical construction). Ultimately, the method is to analyze photographs against a

⁴⁸ Philip Kuberski, *Kubrick's Total Cinema: Philosophical Themes and Formal Qualities* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2012), 49-50.

⁴⁹ Louis Kaplan, *American Exposures: Photography and Community in the Twentieth Century* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 134.

⁵⁰ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962), x.

⁵¹ For this discussion, see Roslyn Poignant and Axel Poignant, *Encounter at Nagalarramba* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1996), 16.

backdrop of the contextual present, assess how they can become inserted into ongoing debates, and trace the possible counter-narratives that result from the exercise.

Inspired by concepts such as the ‘photography complex’, the research explores old published and unpublished photographs from different archives, libraries and collections. Since technology has a direct implication in the development and circulation of the medium, drawings, lithographs and linotypes are also considered. It may happen that contemporary photographic images, either produced specifically for discussion in this study or collected from other sources, will be added as a way of discussing the work of photography and its implication in the construction of specific empirical knowledge, as well as its relation to representation and the construction of meaning in visual form more broadly.

Another strategy of inquiry used here is, as suggested by John Berger, to search for what was there before a photograph. In his idea, the ‘before refers not only to confronting, or standing before a photograph but also to the fact that a photograph implies a time prior to its making and a time afterward, thus linking subject, maker, and viewer.’⁵² Yet photographs have been considered as the ‘material reality of the past’, not ‘a copy of reality but an emanation of a past reality.’⁵³ And this is probably where the memorialization of images can be found. Furthermore, compositional and aesthetic references can also play a part and are considered, for example, in the image of a man with his gaze projected to the horizon, in which the detail of points of view (seen from a below) is important in interpreting the event. Such details are part of the language of visual communication.

Tucker argues that accessing the past is the triumph of photography, but this is only accessible in image-like terms. A photo archive resembles a ‘store house of presence’. Taxonomic arrangements of ‘archival consignations’ are not the only intellectual or ideological practices but material ones that place information, both visual and textual, in physical relation in order to convey meaning. In the thesis, this becomes one

⁵² John Berger, cited by Judith Freyer Davidov, ‘Narratives of Places: History and Memory and the Evidential Force of Photography in Work by Meridel Rubenstein and Jon Meyers,’ in *Phototextualities: Intersections of Photography and Narrative*, ed. Alex Hughes and Andrea Noble (Albuquerque: University of Mexico Press, 2003), 41.

⁵³ This time Judith Davidov cites Roland Barthes. Ibid, 41.

‘interpretative strategy through which the shape and scale of aspiration for photographs can be understood’.⁵⁴

Yet, the photographs are themselves archives.⁵⁵ In this research, it is assumed that photography is simultaneously a form of documentary evidence and an archival record of such transactions.

The archive as a representation of the taxonomy, classification, and annotation of knowledge and information could also be understood as a representative historical form, defined as a field of archaeological inquiry, a journey through time and space.⁵⁶

In terms of its method, this study anchors visual research in notions of archaeology and forensic processing. On the one hand, it considers the image’s materiality: the photographic object is a body on which empirical signs are possible to identify, its condition of existence is imprinted on the surface; the image content can be immediately recognized, its surface meaning easily identified even if read ‘against the grain.’ The forensic has to do with what is there but is not immediately visible. This suggests Hayes’ concept of the distinction between visibility and visibility.⁵⁷ What emanates from these images? Is it sometimes appropriate (despite what Benjamin claims) to say photographs have an aura? ⁵⁸ The identification of possible meanings needs more refined instruments, and it is therefore useful here to deploy the notion of the forensic to investigate the photographic image. The bottom line, as suggested by Batchen, is ‘to articulate photographs as, simultaneously material and cultural’.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Elizabeth Edwards, ‘Photography and the Material performance of the Past,’ *History and Theory* 48, no. 4 (December 2009): 142, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25621444>.

⁵⁵ Okwui Enwezor, ‘Archive Fever: Photography between History and the Monument,’ in *Archive Fever: Uses of the Document in Contemporary Art*, ed. Okwui Enwezor (New York: International Center for Photography, 2008), 11-12.

⁵⁶ Enwezor, ‘Archive Fever’, 16.

⁵⁷ It understands that visibility deals with questions of physical presence, absence and metaphorical agency while Visibility is concerned with sight and sociocultural aspects. See, Cory Willmott’s review of Patricia Hayes, ed. *Visual Genders, Visual Histories: A Special Issue of Gender Studies in Visual Anthropology Review*, 26 (1 Spring 2010): 44. https://www.academia.edu/19725775/Visual_Genders_Visual_Histories_A_Special_Issue_of_Gender_and_History_by_Patricia_Hayes_ed

⁵⁸ Aura, a ‘unique manifestation of a remoteness, however close.’ Walter Benjamin, ‘Brief History of Photography,’ in *One-Way Street and Other Writings*, translated by J.A. Underwood (London: Penguin UK, 2009), 184.

⁵⁹ Geoffrey Batchen, *Each Wild Idea. Writing Photography History* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002), 11.

The archive is an archaeological site where empirical signs from the past are buried. From the archaeological search in the archives of Mozambique, Portugal, Switzerland and South Africa, bodies of visual remains were found, exhumed, and prepared for forensic investigation. The preparation involved a certain level of intervention with the aid of technology. Scanning or reproduction with the photographic camera was used and the pictures submitted to a ‘rejuvenating’ process in order to obtain a better view of image content. Some aspects of visual evidence were retrieved from online sites. At this stage of the investigation, what is important is not keeping the original condition of the evidence but to obtain a clearer image. At the end, we will hopefully obtain a body of visual knowledge from which the potential meaning that emanates will offer some compensation for the lack of direct references:

[the] self-proximity of an object, becomes the condition for an abyssal freedom in which the decentered subject finds itself overwritten by a signifying network that exceeds it: its own desire is registered as the desire of the Other.⁶⁰

The act of searching for these images from the past is a ritual in which old photographs are ‘exhumed from their burial sites’ and submitted to a forensic inquiry in order to identify residual tissues in their indexical organisms. For the practitioners of the ritual, there is a strong belief that photographs are just in a ‘dormant’ status, and the act of bringing them to the light keeps them ‘alive’, their existence hopefully prolonged for the benefit of knowledge. The ritual of exploring old photographs is, so to speak, a form of restoring life. But to avoid the ritual becoming merely an external envelope concealing a variety of mental operations, one must approach this activity holistically.

Various elements form part of a ritual. These include formalism and traditionalism, where there is ‘The attempt to make a set of activities appear to be identical to or thoroughly consistent with older cultural precedents.’ There is also invariance: ‘A disciplined set of actions marked by precise repetition and physical control.’⁶¹

⁶⁰ Andrew Benjamin, ed., *Walter Benjamin and History* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing PLC, 2005), 92.

⁶¹ Timothy Insoll, *Archaeology, Ritual, Religion* (London: Routledge, 2004), 11.

However, ritual can be both odd and routine, it can be undertaken within the prism of the ‘focusing lens’ or elsewhere; it is both the context and the act which are crucial in understanding ritual.⁶² Ritual is an element of the wider whole and its archaeological recovery should be a reflection of this, rather than a means to an end in itself.⁶³

By applying the same analytical strategy, the images of the collections are contextualized in their past and present histories and discussed critically. The past refers to the event they depict and the historical period in which this event occurred. The present refers to the time of the viewer and the relations that can be made following the history from the time the photographs were taken to the time they are seen. This study adopts a socio-historical perspective suggested by Matos, Morais, and Pereira, for the analysis of film.⁶⁴ They indicate two fundamental keys for the interpretation exercise: one is the description of the film, which they call de-composition; and the other is the interpretation which is the establishment and comprehension of the relation between the resulting elements of the de-composition. While they refer to film, for this thesis photographs are considered a cultural product of a socio-historical context.

For the methodology of the analysis, therefore, the discussion begins with a textual description of the image in the photograph, the ‘de-composition’ of what Oguibe calls ‘substance’.⁶⁵ This is a necessary exercise that conducts viewers to a single image in the first instance: to see with a ‘common eye’ as the departure point for the understanding of what is communicated in this study.⁶⁶ The diversity of individual

⁶² Jonathan Z. Smith, ‘The Bare Facts of Ritual,’ *History of Religions* 20, no. 1/2 (August/November 1980): 114, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1062338>.

⁶³ Timothy Insoll, ‘Are Archaeologists Afraid of Gods? Some Thoughts on Archaeology and Religion,’ in *Belief in the past: the proceedings of the 2002 Manchester Conference on Archaeology and Religion* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2004), 3, https://www.academia.edu/15652068/2004_Are_Archaeologists_Afraid_of_Gods_Some_Thoughts_on_Archaeology_and_Religion_In_Insoll_T.ed._Belief_in_the_Past.The_Proceedings_of_the_2002_Manchester_Conference_on_Archaeology_and_Religion_BAR_S1212_Oxford_Archaeopress_pp.1-6.

⁶⁴ Regiane Augusto de Mattos, Carolina Maira Gomes Morais, and Matheus Serva Pereira, eds., *Encontros com Moçambique* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora PUC, 2016), PDF e-book, 98.

⁶⁵ See Christopher Pinney, ‘Notes from the surface of the Image: Photography, postcolonialism, and vernacular modernism,’ in *Photography's Other Histories* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 204.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 205. The common eye here is the opposite of the ‘autopticism’ suggested by Pinney that was one characteristic of nineteenth century travel photography.

seeing belongs to a subsequent step: an engaging discussion in which participants speak the ‘same language’ and welcome to express different points of view.

Thesis structure

As an Introduction, this first chapter presents the overarching drive of the study and opens up theories and concepts of photography and history for discussion. It offers a literature review and brief excursion into the methods of analysis applied.

The second chapter is concerned with how Portuguese colonialism started to find its way into the African continent and offers an account of the early stages of the colonial enterprise under the system of the *Prazos da Coroa*, which prevailed in the Zambezi Valley from the sixteenth century. The Zambezi River is one of the principal highways that provided colonial access to the mysterious interior of a continent that remained unknown to the white man for a long time, and provided most of the goods traded at the ports along the coast. It was the mirage of these riches coming from the hinterland that eventually prompted the Portuguese decision to settle and explore the sources of that wealth.

The discussion is ignited by a photograph of the old Portuguese fort at Sena, which was erected during Livingstone’s second excursion to the Zambezi.⁶⁷ Being the first structure of that kind to be built inland, the thesis treats it as a strong visual landmark – a departure point for the invasive European forces on their mission of conquest into the African interior. Thus it also operated as a marker of the Portuguese long-term historical presence in the late nineteenth century when competing European claims emerged. More than five hundred years after being built, remnants of the fortress still exist and despite its physical transformation it is preserved as an historical site, highlighted as a tourist attraction in the central region of Mozambique.

In the third chapter, the focus moves to the south of the territory claimed as Portuguese East Africa. Far from the routes of the gold trade and thus previously ‘neglected’, the region started to gain importance with the increasing interest in the

⁶⁷ The photograph referred to here was retrieved from a microfilm copy of Kirk’s papers found in the Repository and Archives of the University of Cape Town, South Africa.

trade in ivory (and to a lesser extent slaves) with which the hinterland was generously provided. The Portuguese appeared in the region during the second half of 1500. Delagoa Bay became appreciated as an important access point to the sea for the peoples established inland, and a focus of the attention of imperial powers such as the Dutch, Austrians, and British, who at times disputed the territory. Portugal also fought local powers, such as in the 1894-1895 military campaign against the Gaza empire, in order to establish its authority over the location. The chapter is introduced by a photograph of the Polana Beach of Lourenço Marques – a small settlement that started as a *presidio* and later emerged as the capital city.⁶⁸

The military expedition against the last great African empire in the region departed from Lourenço Marques. The climax of this chapter is the so-called ‘campaign of all the heroes’ (1894-95), considered to be the first in the context of ‘effective occupation’ and marking the end of African sovereignty in Gaza. This African empire is briefly visited through the photographs and written diary of George Liengme: a Swiss medical doctor and missionary who for the last two years of the Gaza empire lived in its capital, Mandlakazi, close to the home of its Emperor, Ngungunyane, with whom he apparently developed a close relationship. The chapter offers a series of exercises in which the photographs of Ngungunyane in particular are de-constructed and compared, leading to an understanding of how images are recreated and differently utilized, which we could hypothesize as the ‘other lives of the image’.⁶⁹

In Chapter 4, titled ‘Stopping for the Camera’, the discussion centers on twelve photographs found in the Military History Archive in Lisbon. These are contained in an envelope labelled ‘Expedition to Bárúè in 1902 commanded by João de Azevedo Coutinho’. (But only one photograph names the officials in the image). These photographs depict part of a remarkable episode in the life of the region, which sparks the desire to understand what the images are about, what their origin is, and why they were created. This chapter gives context to the history of the images of this expedition, using various textual references and research made by scholars of the

⁶⁸ The *presidio* was built as a place for convicts from Portugal, but was mostly a fortified place for colonial authority and a storehouse of products either to exchange in local markets or for consumption. The *presidio* at Lourenço Marques also hosted a limited number of slaves.

⁶⁹ This was the theme adopted by an international workshop on Visual History held at the University of the Western Cape in 2019.

same subject. It is assumed that the pictures were constructed with preconceived ideologies and motivations, clearly visible in the aesthetics of the images. Precise meaning was inferred during the construction of the images to form a discourse intended to convey messages, obviously favoring imperial goals, the grandeur of the colonial force, and their triumph. But, as also argued by Sontag, any photograph has multiple meanings and here the ultimate wisdom is to interrogate ‘what is beyond it’.⁷⁰ This chapter suggests possible different understandings of the photographic images.

The fifth chapter, ‘A Photographic Event’, discusses the First World War and argues that the war against Germany in East Africa contributed to the consolidation of the northern border of Mozambique. By 1914, the Portuguese had not occupied much of their claimed northern territory in Cabo Delgado and Niassa, or the lands west of Ribáuè and north of Nacaróa in Nampula province. The threat of a German invasion from Tanganyika forced Portugal to extend its military influence into its northern Mozambique provinces. Further insights are given regarding Portugal’s association with the war, after Germany declared war against the country on 9 March 1916. The reoccupation of lost territories, and the gaining of new territory by invading German Tanganyika, are associated with some of the most dramatic events in Portuguese military history.⁷¹ This had a ripple effect on the definition of the border and the layout of the country.

Despite censorship, the press became the major social force of the time.⁷² The government opted to silence voices of opposition and, in various ways, used the press in its favor. The photographs, even if published some time after being taken, do not really contribute to a clear picture of the reality in remote battlefields. The chapter suggests that this aspect, in terms of photographic interpretation, is related to two temporal extremes: the immediate time of the photograph, and the enduring time of

⁷⁰ Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Rosetta Books, 2005) PDF e-book, 17.

⁷¹ See Captain António Pires, ‘O Portal da História Portugal Na Primeira Guerra Mundial: Moçambique,’ Manuel Amaral 2000-2010, accessed August 1, 2018, http://www.arqnet.pt/portal/portugal/grandeguerra/pgm_mocam03.html.

⁷² Cabrera, *Jornais, Jornalistas e Jornalismo: século XIX e XX*, 93.

the archive.⁷³ It understands the invasion of enemy territory as a photographic event and other photographs in the archive reveal how the moment was celebrated.⁷⁴ As a way to ‘keep the conversations going’, the thesis offers a series of annexures attached to the different chapters. They are constructed from additional archival material collected during the fieldwork. The presentation of different photographs and related information enriches the overall image provided in the chapters, thereby reinforcing the perception of the disputes among the different European and African powers concerning how Mozambique was constituted. The annexures are also an opportunity to think about much that, due to space constraints, needed to be left ‘out of the frame’ in the chapters of this thesis. The annexures contribute to the larger goal of this research, which is to bring a wider range of old photographs to life.

Conclusion

Most of the historical written and visual documents produced by European historians, missionaries, administrators, and other officials can be considered products of colonialism. The pictures in this study seem to portray moments of celebration of achieved successes rather than a reportage of what really happened in the field. They represent selective, deliberate efforts by the Portuguese seemingly to create particular kinds of memory: the impression of Portugal as a winning presence in its African territories. But the ultimate details in the images question the absolute nature of this victorious discourse, the fragilities of the ground on which the empire is built, and its impact into the present, and eventually pose a challenge to the future. The title of this thesis - ‘A Visual Struggle for Mozambique’ – therefore suggests the camera both as a tool of empire that produced a visual narrative intended to favour imperial goals, and its residual archival result: photographs that can produce counter-narratives as a tool of Mozambican history.

⁷³ This concept was borrowed from Lisbon municipality presentation text of *Século Ilustrado*. See José António Leitão, ‘Pensar a Fotografia a Partir da Ilustração Portuguesa. Um roteiro,’ *Imagens Da República | Fotografia E Cidadania*, accessed March 12, 2019, <http://imagensdarepublica.ipt.pt/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/Ilustra%C3%A7%C3%A3o-Fotogr%C3%A1fica1.pdf>. The time of the photograph is referred to when the photograph was taken, and that of the archive is the moment the photograph is analyzed.

⁷⁴ See in Chapter 5, Visual Dissonance 2.

CHAPTER 2

PENETRATING AFRICA: THE PORTAL OF SENA FORT AS A GATEWAY TO HISTORY

The Berlin Conference of 1885, and the Ultimatum of 1890, forced Portugal to look more closely at its African dominions; ... the time of historical rights had passed ... in order to preserve the much that remained to us, it was indispensable that the occupation be a reality and that colonization was not a vain word.¹

Since before the eleventh century, commercial activity developed between Africans, Arab and Swahili traders in the Indian Ocean.² Africa provided gold, ivory, rhino horn, ambergris, pearls, animal skin, turtle shells and other such products, and their durability and relatively reduced volume facilitated their transport in great quantities to Asian markets where they were considered luxury goods. It was mostly exchanged for Indian cloth and manufactured products, such as beads and ornaments, highly appreciated by the African aristocracy. Asian commodities found space in local and regional markets that consumed cereals, cattle, salt and other food articles, pottery, working tools, metal goods, herbal medicine, and locally produced cotton textiles.³ Sheriff writes that at the rim of Indian Ocean, the trade gave ‘birth to cosmopolitan populations and cultures,’ because it ‘multiplied the opportunities for social interaction between the sailors, traders and their hosts.’ He argues that ‘the global world of

¹ Marquês do Lavradio, *Portugal em África depois de 1851. Subsídios para a História* (Agência Geral das Colónias, Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, 1936), 175. A descendent of the aristocratic family where the 2nd Marquês do Lavradio was Viceroy of Brasil (1769-1778), the author is a prominent figure particularly during the final period of the monarchist system. A personal friend and secretary of Dom Manuel II, the last King of Portugal, the author accompanied him into exile in 1910. Later in his life, the author, Don José Luís de Almeida, the 6th Marquês do Lavradio, published several works under the seal of the Agência Geral das Colónias, considered relevant historical documents for that period of the history of Portugal. Among them can be referenced: *A Abolição da Escravatura e a Ocupação de Ambriz*, published in 1934; *Campanha do Bailundo*, 1935; *General Massano de Amorim*, 1941; *Marechal Gomes da Costa*, 1942; *A Diplomacia do Império*, 1943; *D. João VI e a Independência do Brasil*. The book cited in this dissertation is considered one of the classical studies made by Portuguese authors of the twentieth century. See Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, ed., *O Império Colonial em Questão (sécs. XIX-XX): poderes, Saberes e Instituições* (Lisboa: Coleção História e Sociedade, 2013), 94.

² Carlos Serra et al., *História de Moçambique Volume 1*, Aurélio Rocha et al. (Maputo: Imprensa Universitária, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 2000), 53.

³ António Rita-Ferreira, *Presença luso-asiática e mudanças culturais no sul de Moçambique (até c. 1900)* (Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical/Junto de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1982), 58.

the Indian Ocean' had already 'matured by the fifteenth century', when the Portuguese arrived.⁴

The first Portuguese reached East Africa in 1497. They were looking for the pathway to India, attracted by the spices that were so popular in European markets. Backed by the Portuguese navy, they established themselves along the coast, unaware of the monsoons and their implications for local navigation. There were about eighty-five identified islands in the territory later named Mozambique, but only the following had military and economic importance: Mozambique Island, Angoche, the Quirimbas Archipelago (of which Ibo is the most prominent), Bazaruto, Inhaca, and Xefina. Roughly six kilometers long, Mozambique Island was immediately appreciated for the friendliness of its inhabitants and its bay that could shelter many ships from the sea winds. The Portuguese used the location from as early as 1502 but only settled there from 1907. The Island became the first Portuguese trading station and refreshment port in the region for the 'Carreiras da India'.⁵ Angoche and the northern islands of Quirimba Archipelago were occupied during the sixteenth century. Mozambican scholar Rafael da Conceição claims that 'The occupation of the coast is more connected to the history of the Ocean'.⁶ In fact, from the beginning of the seventeenth century, there was a small population of Portuguese and Christian settlers that grew due to the profits of the slave trade that continued in Cabo Delgado until the first decades of the twentieth century.

By then, gold became the primary reason for the Portuguese presence in Mozambique. It was valuable in Indian markets, exchanged for the exotic products greatly in demand in Europe.⁷ Information about the 'fabulous richness of Oriental Africa' reached Portugal thanks to Pêro da Covilhã, who sent the news through José de Lamego, a traveler he met in Cairo.⁸ That

⁴ Abdul Sherrif, *Dhow Cultures and the Indian Ocean: Cosmopolitanism, Commerce and Islam* (London: C. Hurst & Co Publishers, 2010).

⁵ 'Carreiras da India' was the travel line that annually connected Lisbon to Goa. In, Ana C. Roque, 'Mozambique Ports in the 16th Century: Trade Routes, Changes, and Knowledge in the Indian Ocean Under Portuguese Rule,' *History Research* 3, no. 3 (March 2013): 11, https://www.academia.edu/28576343/A.C._Roque_2013_Mozambique_Ports_in_the_16th_Century_Trade_Routes_Changes_and_Knowledge_in_the_Indian_Ocean_Under_Portuguese_Rule.

⁶ António Rafael da Conceição, *Entre o mar e a terra: situações identitárias do norte de Moçambique (Cabo Delgado)* (Maputo: Prómedia. 2006), 211.

⁷ Serra, *História de Moçambique Volume 1*, 55.

⁸ Pêro da Covilhã (circa 1460- 1526) was a Portuguese diplomat and traveller, a prominent figure in Portugal's history of 'discoveries', known for 'explorations in the Near East and the adjoining regions of Asia and Africa'. 'Pêro Da Covilhã,' Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia, last modified August 31, 2004, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/P%C3%A0ro_da_Covilh%C3%A3#:~:targetText=Pedro%2C%20or%20P%C3%

information was later ‘confirmed by Vasco da Gama and others.’⁹ Such rumours exacerbated the greed of the metropolis and strengthened their desire to control regions they imagined abundant in gold and other treasures. Echoing other authors, Birmingham also argues that the south coast and later the Zambezi delta ports of Mozambique were the routes through which the gold reached Asian markets.¹⁰ The map below locates great hinterland African powers, the states of Butua and Muenemutapa, and their dependent “provinces”, during the sixteenth century. Particular interest is given to Muenemutapa, territory of the gold mines. The map also shows the principal regional rivers such as the Zambezi, Save, Limpopo and some their effluents. As demonstrated along this thesis, these and other rivers played a crucial role in the process of colonization.

The market supply came from the resource-rich African hinterland, connected to the sea by rivers along which several trading posts were located. The Save River was probably the earliest passage, used to bring gold from the Muenemutapa plateau to the coastal establishments. Sofala was the greatest commercial centre, and this attracted the Portuguese to the place.¹¹ Sofala hosted the first Portuguese factory fortress built in 1505, called São Caetano. Ruled by Captain Pero d’Anaiá, it was initially a ‘precarious wooden construction’ on a sandy beach located at a distance from the settlement. Sofala became the symbolic capital of Portuguese colonial power from where they intended to take over the monopoly of the gold trade and other local wealth. Ana Cristina Roque describes the negative effect of the Portuguese occupation:

Ruined, with a petty military garrison and defective supervision, Sofala stimulated contraband and, very soon, was believed to be the land of easy fortune to where, inexplicably, the Portuguese authorities started to send prisoners and deportees...¹²

[AAro%20da%20Covilh%C3%A3,a%20Portuguese%20diplomat%20and%20explorer.&targetText=His%20detailed%20report%20was%20eagerly,global%20geography%20and%20trade%20routes.](#)

⁹ José Justino Teixeira Botelho, *História Política e Militar dos Portugueses em Moçambique, da descoberta a 1833* (Lisboa: Centro Tipográfico Colonial, 1934), 4.

¹⁰ David Birmingham, *Frontline Nationalism in Angola and Mozambique* (London: James Currey, 1992), 10-11.

¹¹ For information about the Save River (formerly Sabi), see <http://zimfieldguide.com/manicaland/save-river-formerly-sabi> accessed November 4, 2018.

¹² Roque, ‘Mozambique Ports in the 16th Century,’ 188-204.

These Portuguese men were ‘motivated to try their luck in the inland areas’. Received at local chieftaincies, some were granted land, married local women, and absorbed local customs.¹³ By 1764, the Sofala settlement had grown into a village and was ruled by a Portuguese Governor. In 1820, the fortress became a garrison that housed cannons in each of its four walls of stone and lime. However, the often-mentioned deterioration of products and other goods for the market suggests deficient storage conditions.¹⁴

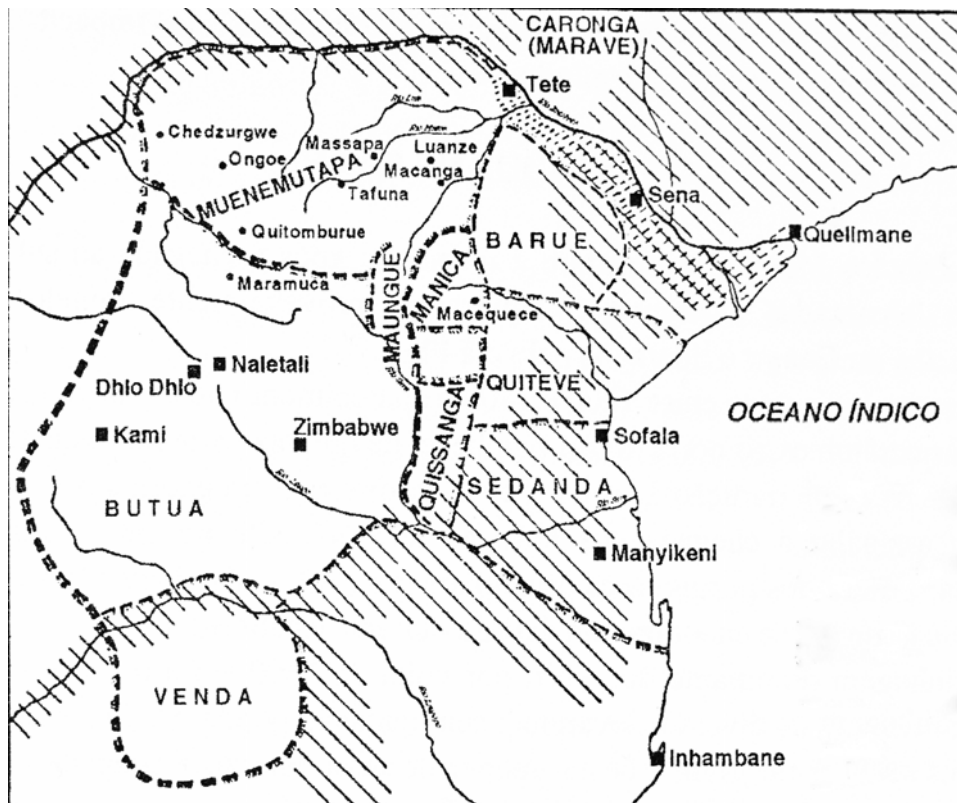


Figure 1. Map of the Butua and Muenemutapa states and their dependent ‘provinces’.¹⁵

Once part of the Muenemutapa empire, the northern side of the Zimbabwean plateau suffered political, economic, and social transformations that made the access to the goldfields from Sofala difficult. That is cited as one of the reasons for the reorganization of the traditional

¹³ In João Julião da Silva, Zacarias Herculano da Silva, and Guilherme Hermenegildo Ezequiel da Silva, *Memórias de Sofala: etnografia e história das identidades e da violência entre os diferentes poderes no centro de Moçambique, séculos XVIII e XIX*, ed. José Fialho Feliciano and Victor Hugo Nicolau (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações Descobrimientos Portugueses, 1998). This book contains accounts of Sofala before the Portuguese effective domination of the territory, written by three generations of a family resident there.

¹⁴ Roque, ‘Mozambique Ports in the 16th Century’; Silva, Silva, and Silva, *Memórias de Sofala*, 36.

¹⁵ In, *História de Moçambique Volume 1* (Maputo: Imprensa Universitária, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 2000), 45.

trade routes. New fairs arose in Zumbo, Tete, and Angoche, and the transit was diverted to Quelimane. The Zambezi River became the principal access to the Muenemutapa's gold mines. As the routes moved to the north, the traffic in Save and Sofala declined. It is also argued that new routes were found by earlier traders seeking to avoid Portuguese domination. In addition, the invasion and raids of the Nguni warriors during the 1830s depleted the region of its cattle, crop field production, and people.¹⁶ Sofala lost its priority and changed to a sailing and trading backup port in the area.¹⁷

After the Berlin Conference, colonial purpose expanded into deep territorial concerns. For the Portuguese strongholds on the East African coast, the rivers were crucial pathways to access the places believed to have the sources of Africa's rich mineral resources, such as the goldmines from Muenemutapa and the mythical silver mines of Chicova. According to Xavier Botelho, 'the silver mines of Chicova [sic]' were greatly celebrated by Portuguese historians of old times (particularly the chronicler Diogo Couto), yet no traces of the mines were found by the Portuguese who explored that territory. The search cost the lives of Francisco Barreto, Diogo Simões, and Vasco Fernandes and his companions.¹⁸ Later, the same rivers were used to bring colonial armies close to the centres of non-submissive local powers.

Confrontation was not limited to the Portuguese and the local African authorities; it involved other colonial interests such as the 'conjunction between commerce and Christianity' where David Livingstone is an unavoidable figure.¹⁹ This Chapter begins the process of looping back into this history from a selection of some of the earliest photographs that refer to the East Africa territory. This small selection, starting from Livingstone's expedition to the Zambezi between 1858 – 1863, requires that we examine the antecedents of things captured in the image in order to develop some idea of what is being brought together in the frame and what impact it had historically. In this thesis, the social and geographical apprehension of the

¹⁶ Silva, Silva, and Silva, *Memórias de Sofala*, 86-91. The invasion of the Nguni people is related to the great migratory movement called the Mfecane, originating to a great extent from environmental problems that contributed to the fracturing of the Zulu nation. On this matter see Elizabeth Edwards, 'Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, C. 1800-30: The 'Mfecane' Reconsidered,' *The Journal of African History* 33, no. 1 (1992), accessed August 25, 2012, www.jstor.org/stable/182273.

¹⁷ Roque, 'Mozambique Ports in the 16th Century', 197.

¹⁸ Sebastião X. Botelho, *Memória Estatística dos Portugueses na África Oriental* (Lisboa: Typografia de José Batista Morando, 1835), 22. The men mentioned were Portuguese officials, soldiers, governors, among the early agents of the colonial enterprise. There is more on Botelho later in this Chapter.

¹⁹ Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, *Livros Brancos, Almas Negras: A "missão civilizadora" do colonialismo português (1870-1830)* (Lisboa: Imprensa das Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa, 2010), 71.

Zambezi Valley is assumed as the space where the history of colonial occupation began in Mozambique.

Livingstone and the expedition to Zambezi, 1858-1863

Before the publication in 1835 of Xavier Botelho's important document 'Memória Estatística Sobre os Domínios Portugueses na África Oriental' (Statistical Memory about the Portuguese domains in Oriental Africa), knowledge about Zambezi was very limited in Europe, with the exception of a small circle who had access to the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*.²⁰ David Livingstone is said to have initiated the scientific exploration of central Africa, thus opening the continent to European competition, and the Portuguese saw him as a great threat to their ambitions in the continent.²¹ His reports on the evidence of slave trade in Portuguese territories justified the increasing presence of Great Britain in the region. Although assuring their diplomatic support for the Scottish scientific expedition, diffident Portugal associated Livingstone with the needs of the cotton industry and trade. In their view, England wanted 'independence from the United States' in terms of access to a new source of raw materials.²²

In Portugal, English Protestantism was seen as an enemy involved in advancing the establishment of English commerce and influence. It was argued that missionaries were amongst the most powerful means of extending the British Empire.²³ Despite the pioneering presence of the missionaries in the epic of maritime discoveries, their relationship with the Portuguese government was uneasy.²⁴ Expelled from all Portuguese territories in 1759, the Jesuits were accused of being commercially driven and disrupting the official colonial order. Their religious congregations were abolished in 1834.²⁵ However, their role in facilitating the

²⁰ It refers to the reports made by Captain William Owen based on recovered journals of three naval officers of the HMS *Leven* that made a reconnaissance up the Zambezi River between July and October 1823. In Lawrence Dritsas, *Zambesi: David Livingstone and Expeditionary Science in Africa* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2010), 6.

²¹ Many Portuguese colonial officials have this opinion but the point here reflects what is written by Lieutenant Colonel Sousa e Silva, *Distrito de Tete (Alta Zambezia) Característicos, Historia, Fomento* (Lisboa: Livraria Portugalia Editora, 1927). The Portuguese colonial authorities followed Livingstone's travels in the region very attentively, and his presence was reported several times in the *Boletim Oficial*.

²² Marquês do Lavradio, *Portugal em África Depois de 1851*, 110-111.

²³ Dritsas, *Zambesi*, 2.

²⁴ For narratives about the early Dominican missionaries and their activities in Portuguese territories see Frei João dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental: Vária História de Cousas Notáveis do Oriente* (Lisboa: Biblioteca dos Clássicos Portugueses, 1891).

²⁵ Marquês do Lavradio, *Portugal em África depois de 1851*, 29-30.

colonial process was recognized and eventually tolerated. The Scramble for Africa began in the 1850s, and the missionaries played a significant part. At the Brussels conference of 1876, Portugal protested against the increasing Catholic and Protestant missionary institutions of different nationalities in the areas of Congo and Niassa.²⁶ The unsettled relations among the different European competitors led to the Berlin Conference of 1894-5.

To oppose early explorers such as Livingstone, Stanley, Brazza and others (later including Cecil Rhodes), the Portuguese supported Silva Porto, Serpa Pinto, Hermenegildo Capelo, Roberto Ivens, Augusto Cardoso, and Freire de Andrade on great expeditions in central Africa. The Portuguese claims to historical rights were contradicted by other European powers, who made accusations about Portugal's involvement in the slave trade. This justified the expansion of missionary activities, seen by the Portuguese colonial authorities as a powerful instrument of territorial penetration. The establishment of the Scottish mission on the banks of Lake Niassa was considered as treason. Officials in Lisbon argued that the presence of Livingstone in the region was facilitated by the absence of Portuguese religious congregations, and this deficit could only be resolved by a more modern missionary approach.²⁷ Seen with suspicion, Livingstone's first passage through Tete was reported in the official 'Boletim, Notícias da Província':

Dr. David Livingstone (English) arrived in Tete on the 2nd, having just crossed the immense stretch that extends to Loanda, which he had left on September 14, 1854; Accompanying this illustrious traveler were 110 Cafres with some ivory; And it is probable that these connoisseurs of the road leading to Tete bring the ivory from their lands closer to this Villa than from the west coast.'²⁸

²⁶ This name is spelled differently in different sources. Here is adopted the actual official Mozambican spelling, Niassa.

²⁷ See. Miguel B. Jerónimo, ed., *O império colonial em questão (sécs. XIX-XX): poderes, saberes e instituições* (Lisboa: Coleção História e Sociedade, 2013), 122. This argues that missionaries needed multiple socio-professional abilities such as teaching or diplomacy with regards to direct contact with the local chiefs of recognized importance. See also Benedito Marine, 'Breve retrospectiva ao historial de relacionamento entre a Igreja Católica e o Estado em Moçambique' (Paper presented at Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos (IESE), Maputo, September 21, 2017).

²⁸ In 'News from the Province' of the *Boletim do Governo da Provincia de Moçambique*, No 15 issued on 12 April 1856. The Official Bulletins of Overseas were authorized by a decree of December 7, 1836. Their function was to make public the 'orders, excerpts from the Regulatory Decrees sent by the respective Ministry to the Overseas Governments; as well as Maritime news, current prices, statistical information and everything that is interesting for public knowledge.' In Mozambique, the first number was issued on Saturday 13 May 1854. Its four pages included the sections of 'News from the Continent', 'News from the Province' and 'News from Abroad'. See Raul Neves Dias, *Quatro Centenários em Moçambique, 1854 – 1954* (Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional de Moçambique, 1954), 5 and 22.

Livingstone's journey on the Zambezi from 1858 to 1863 was one of the major European expeditions to sub-Saharan Africa. Visual technicians included in the expeditionary party attest to the importance of the image. It was the first expedition to incorporate an official photographer: Charles Livingstone, who was technically employed as a Congregationalist minister. He was aided by the renowned painter Thomas Baines and accomplished photographer John Kirk, who was also a medical doctor, naturalist, and keen botanist. They produced images of the journey that contributed to Livingstone's legacy and were greatly appreciated by different segments of British and other European societies. Their work keeps inspiring artists and researchers, as is evident by the exhibition *Picturing Africa*, which was held at the National Library of Scotland in celebration of the bicentenary of Livingstone's birth. The exhibition presented 'numerous and lavish illustrations' in Kirk's books, 'created in Britain by artists and engravers from notes and sketches and photographs made in Africa.'²⁹

David Livingstone, the leader of the expedition, gave the photographer – his brother Charles – specific instructions about the kind of photographs required:

You will endeavor to secure characteristic specimens of the different tribes residing or visiting Tete for the purpose of Ethnology. Do not choose the ugliest but, (as among ourselves) the better class of natives who are believed to be characteristic of the race ... and, if possible, get men, women and children grouped together.³⁰

Apparently, only a few photographs resulted from Charles Livingstone's work during the expedition. Still, in its early days, photography was a complicated practice that required knowledge of chemistry and physics. In the act of capturing the image, different chemical products had to be mixed to photosensitize, develop (reveal), and then fix the photographic plates. An understanding of physics was needed for the operation of the camera and lens and for the calculation of the exposure time of the photosensitized surface to register the image. Space was also needed to store all the chemical reagents and plates, which had to be handled

The mention of the ivory in their luggage is, in my opinion, a subliminal denunciation of the parallel interests of Livingstone's mission. Ivory was a valuable product and the authorization for its acquisition, trade and even transit through controlled routes and territory were subject to taxation.

²⁹ The exhibition also contained sketches and photographs. See the website of the National Library of Scotland, www.nls.com. Accessed 3th November 2018. For a study of publications from Livingstone's archive see L. Dritsas, *Zambezi: David Livingstone and Expeditionary Science in Africa* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010).

³⁰ H.H. Johnston, *Livingstone and the Explorations of Central Africa* (London: George Philip & Son, 1891).

with particular caution due to their fragility. The photographic cameras were also bulky and had to be mounted on tripods due to their weight and the need to hold the camera still for long exposure periods. Fionnbharr Ó Súilleabháin, analogue photographer and printmaker, commented that Livingstone used the wet collodion process, which ‘was not the best technique to be employed in such climate conditions.’³¹ Dissemination was also an issue because of reproducibility. Lithographs, and photographs later, were reproduced by engraving techniques in order to be disseminated in illustrated books and other printed material.

As noted, the expedition included other visual practitioners. Thomas Baines was an artist of repute whose watercolours and other paintings are now well known from various publications, including catalogues and prints. Apparently, it was not only art that moved Baines into Africa. A London newspaper reported a protest ‘made through the Governor of Quelimane, Senhor Barahona e Costa, against the so-called concessions granted to Thomas Baines of certain auriferous tracts north of the Limpopo.’³² The second photographer of the Scottish party, John Kirk, according to Súilleabháin, ‘worked with calotype, which was more adequate for the environment.’³³ The work of these three men illustrated Livingstone’s official account. It helped to construct a narrative of the journey, and, besides contributing to their popularity and earning great appreciation from different spheres of the British and other European societies, provided a testimony of the expedition’s presence in those places.

Kirk’s *Zambezi Journals* (edited by Foskett) offers a ‘more detailed and quite independent appreciation’, a ‘more balanced judgment on the controversies that involved various members of the expedition.’³⁴ Kirk’s photographs are ‘perhaps his great contribution to the African expedition, ... [and] resulted from his role as the expedition unofficial photographer.’ Foskett also writes that the shipwreck on the Quebrabassa rapids on the Zambezi caused the loss of a great part of Kirk’s journal and botanical notes.³⁵ That accident might have

³¹ Fionnbharr Ó Súilleabháin is an expert on photographic techniques in the nineteenth century. Originally from Ireland he is based in Maputo and, working with calotype, intends to reproduce Kirk’s *Oliphant Marsh* by travelling up the Shire River to the exact location where the original calotype image was taken during Livingstone’s journey to Lake Niassa. See fionnbharr.com. Accessed 6 November 2018.

³² *The London Gazette*, January 17, 1890. 277. www.the-gazette.co.uk. Accessed 7th October 2018.

³³ See fionnbharr.com. accessed 6th November 2018.

³⁴ Reginald Foskett the husband of Kirk’s granddaughter Daphne Foskett edited, *Zambezi: The Zambezi Journal and Letters of Dr John Kirk* – 2 vol. (Edinburgh & London: Oliver & Boyd, 1965).

³⁵ Reginald Foskett, ‘The Zambezi Doctors. D. Livingstone’s Letters to Dr. Kirk 1868-1863. African Journal 1853 – 1856’. *Victorian Studies*, Vol 9 (June 1966), 410-413.

happened not far from the location of the picture in Figure 2. Another written account states it happened on 24 November 1858. In the image, the hills and the river are rendered in proportion by the presence of two men on the bottom left side of the frame. These tiny figures stand on a rock, ‘together with a camera on a tripod... almost certainly Charles and David Livingstone, for Kirk recorded in his Journal that Charles Livingstone took one photograph of the rapids.’³⁶

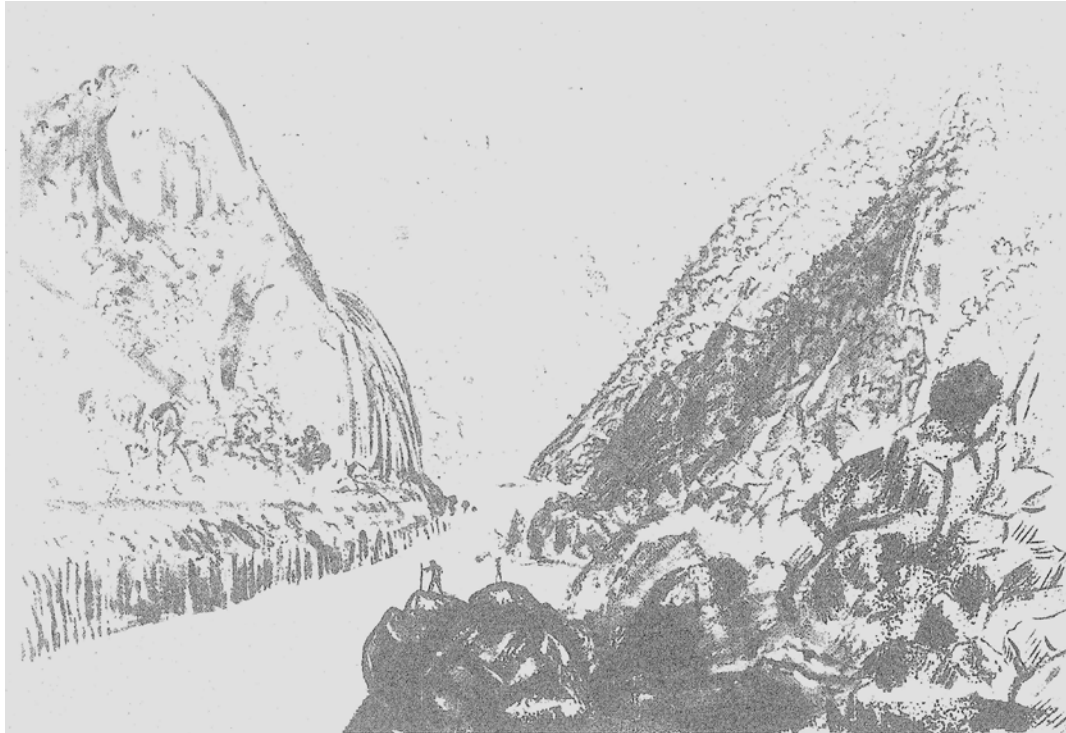


Figure 2. The location is indicated as Lupata Gorge. The data attached also states this is an oil painting, probably reproduced here in black and white for microfilm and archival purposes.³⁷

The number of landscape drawings, paintings, and photographs suggests the artists’ aesthetic backgrounds, influenced by ‘the Victorian need to indulge in “productive leisure”’ that privileged the record of ‘views from nature’ in ‘search of beauty and the sublime.’³⁸ Kirk’s detailed drawings and sketches brought many botanical aspects of this travel to the world and to science; some species are even named after him. From lithographs and photographs

³⁶ T. Jack Thompson, occasional paper, ‘Images of Africa: Missionary Photography in the Nineteenth Century: an Introduction (Copenhagen: Centre of African Studies, University of Copenhagen, February 2004), 7.

³⁷ The picture is archived in black and white in ‘Africa Through Western Eyes - Part 4: Papers of Sir John Kirk (1832-1922)’. From the National Library of Scotland – Microfilm. Adam Matthew Publications Ltd and National Library of Scotland – 2006. A microfilm copy is held at the Repository and Archives of the University of Cape Town (UCT) in South Africa.

³⁸ This is the opinion of Fionnbharr who saw the Victorian needs as driven by the Protestant work ethic, at www.fionnbharr.com, accessed 3rd November 2018.

reproduced in different publications, it is possible to verify the accuracy of his observations. The image of the Fort of Sena is of particular interest to this dissertation. Kirk's two photographs of its crumbling façade are important evidence of the pitiful state of the Portuguese administrative structures of occupation and of the total absence of colonial authority in most of the territories claimed. This was of course denied by the Portuguese authorities, which at the time focused on the control of trade routes rather than occupation.

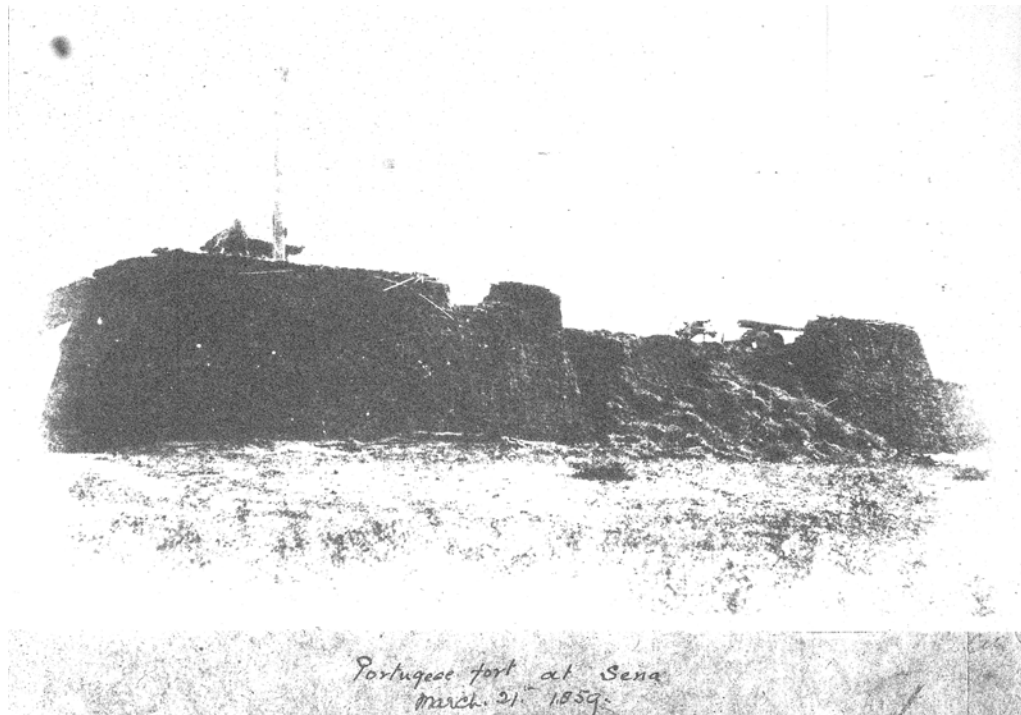


Figure 3. Handwritten caption at the bottom of the image: 'Portuguese fort at Sena. March. 21st. 1859.'³⁹

The fort of Sena

More than sixty years after the Portuguese built Sofala – their first fort on the East Africa coast – they began their decisive progression into the interior of the territory. Between 1572 and 1590, they erected the fort of Sena – the first of its kind built in the hinterland. It was attached to a small settlement located on the flat alluvial plain more or less opposite to the

³⁹ 'Africa Through Western Eyes - Part 4: Papers of Sir John Kirk (1832 – 1922)', National Library of Scotland – Microfilm (Adam Matthew Publications Ltd and National Library of Scotland – 2006). Since this picture was found amongst others from the expedition, the photograph was probably taken by J. Kirk who besides making sketches, also took photographs during the expedition. The National Library of Scotland Manuscripts Division holds the 'Out of Africa' Papers of Sir John Kirk, GCMB KCB and Lady Kirk, née Cooke, Acc. 9942. The collection contains papers and photographs. The catalogue is available online at <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/online.cnmi/inventories.acc9942.pdf>. Accessed 6 November 2018.

confluence of the Zambezi and Chire Rivers, and it was the point of departure for the Portuguese military expedition to subdue Muenemutapa. The fort was initially made of wood and mud, which was later replaced by stone and lime. In its interior, there was the chapel of Saint Marçal, a factory (warehouse), and a house where the captain lived. Its four bastions covered with straw and adobe were bolstered by fourteen artillery pieces (of eight, six, four, and three gauges) and housed fifty soldiers. Sena played an important role in the history of Mozambique as the first place where the Portuguese established a base in their efforts to move into the territory from the coast. From there, in 1530, they intended to control the market in the region, cutting the Swahili routes and approach to Muenemutapa where the gold mines – the reason for an intense commercial traffic in the region – were located.

A systematic conquest of the Zambezi Valley started with Barreto's expedition between 1569 and 1575.⁴⁰ According to Lobato, a great expansion in the region followed this expedition and Sena became a great commercial center in the Zambezia hinterland in the early 1600s.⁴¹ However, in 1618 the only substantial building inside the fortress was the factory that 'stored the annual consignment of imported cloth,' mostly used as a form of monetary exchange for local goods. Rebuilt in 1708, its maintenance was made the responsibility of the few colonists inhabiting Sena, but they had no means to keep it in good shape. In 1884, lieutenant José Maria, then the interim governor of Quelimane, reported to the Governor General in Mozambique that the fort was collapsing, with the warehouses crumbling and rain pouring into the soldiers' barracks. A wall made on wooden sticks had replaced the demolished façade overlooking the river, but not before it had been denounced by Livingstone in 1885 as part of his argument that the Portuguese had no effective occupation of the territory and allowed the slave trade to continue.

Sena is located within the extensive territory of the Zambezi Valley that was leased to the Companhia de Moçambique which had assumed the maintenance of the fort, which they called Square of São Marçal. The Company bulletin of 17 September 1899 (No 148) reported on its degraded condition. At the end of the campaign to Bárue in 1902, the structure (in

⁴⁰ Barreto's expedition was also one of the innumerable failures of the Portuguese attempts at domination. The horses were killed by tsetse fly, and most of the expedition members including its leader perished from fever.

⁴¹ Capela, *Donas, Senhores e Escravos* (Porto: Edições Afrontamento), 25.

ruins) was completely useless.⁴² However, considering the fort's historical value, the Company proposed the restoration of its gateway to the government, and to let the rest of the structure crumble. In 1905, reinforced by stone appendices on the sides, the portal of the fort at Sena became a historical landmark. The monument was completed with a new plaque mounted in 1906. At the military museum archive in Lisbon, the photograph shows the door and a ruined building in the background. No walls exist on the sides, which is an indication of the time that had passed since the fort was photographed by Livingstone's crew.⁴³

Dominant in the image, a stone structure forms an arcade in the fort's gateway. On the wall, a written plaque gives some information about its construction: the year and the name of the distinguished official who ordered its building. Planted on the floor on both sides of the entrance, two cannons appear in the foreground of the image, and a white man leans on one of them. On top of the wall and on both sides of the entrance gate, two other European men are seated in deliberate poses. They seem to be having an amusing time. The coat of arms of Portugal is embossed on the arc that shapes the top of the door. A group of black men is standing between the two sides of the entrance; two of the men are holding a machila (palanquin) on their shoulders. An old building is visible in the background and is presumably part of the fortress. Nothing is said about the photographer and the date on which the photograph was taken. Besides its location, there is no other direct reference. However, from what the image depicts, much can be theorized. Of the fortress, it seems that very little remained: the gateway, the two canons half-buried on each side of the entrance, and the ruined structure situated far back.

The remnants of the building, the white men, and the machila speak to the significant historical changes that have taken place since the fortress structure was built in 1590. The machila carried by black men indicates that the photograph might have been taken in the early twentieth century. How did the two men get to the top of the gateway where they are seated? Their attire and attitude suggest they are making a short visit to this historical site. The photograph is therefore evidence that the fortress was already in ruins long before colonialism was completely established in the territory. Their 'trophy' poses, however, make

⁴² In 1902 the military expedition to Bárue under the command of lieutenant João de Azevedo Coutinho successfully crushed the rebellious state of Bárue and its Tonga ally, and the pacification of the entire territory was considered achieved. For more, see Chapter 4 of this thesis.

⁴³ For the brief history of the fort of Sena see António Sopa, 'Fortaleza de Sena, São Marçal, Sofala, Moçambique' - Arquitetura militar. <http://www.hpip.org>, accessed 26/8/2017.

it seem as if European men were making progress in the domination of the African continent. The image somehow expresses a contradiction as these colonists happily pose on top of a ruined structure of colonial enforcement. Despite the victorious attitude of the white men, Mozambican scholars argue that occupation was only achieved in 1954. The elements in the image are indications of different historical periods.



Figure 4. Gateway of the fortress in Sena. The photograph is from the Portuguese Military Archive in Lisbon. The date of this picture is not provided, neither is the name of the photographer.⁴⁴

Such a reading can be better understood through the concept of ellipsis, in which photography compresses time and one picture comes to represent either an entire event or several historical periods. Ellipsis is more commonly known as a series of dots that indicate material that has been left out of a written text (. . .). In cinema, ellipsis makes it possible for a story of many years to be compressed into a few hours or even minutes. In this thesis, ellipsis is conceived as a multiple form of time that interferes with chronology and characterizes the relationship between history and photography.⁴⁵ The concept of ellipsis helps explain how different narratives can intersect within a single photograph and allow the

⁴⁴ Military Museum Archive of Lisbon, AHM, reference PT AHM-FE-110-B7-PQ-8.41.

⁴⁵ As in literary writing, in image description the ellipsis is an omission that not affects the narrative.

image to convey different historical times and perspectives. Ellipsis will feature again in later chapters.

However, it is not only through photographs but also through documents that we encounter the eyes of the colonizer. What are the writings by various parties in response to Livingstone's expedition? What are the different discourses employed to state different national and imperial positions and claims? How is that history celebrated in contemporary times? It becomes necessary to immerse ourselves to some extent in this literature that is coeval with the photographic record. The contextualization provided here is an attempt to establish a common ground and a kind of backdrop for the analysis of the photographs.

A past introduced

It is not easy to reconstruct the history of a people who live exclusively on traditions, especially when the people being of inferior race, narrow intelligence, absolutely null instruction, has neither time consciousness nor awareness of facts. Legends and more legends piled up without the analysis and criticism cannot discriminate what is real, what is true, or even what is likely in these vague versions, undefined, transmitted from generation to generation, in conversations around campfires, in talks under the shadow of trees. ... These considerations should serve to justify the prior confession I make, that these little bits of knowledge thrown on paper, and harvested in lengthy conversations with black "great" men of the region, should not merit absolute trust.⁴⁶

Africans and their pasts are mostly described by documents produced by non-Africans. These are sources for the study of Africa's history. Many of the documents used in this thesis were produced by colonial officials whose methods of inquiry included the collection of oral stories. However, as Coutinho expressed, complete trust should not be given to those accounts. I suggest that many of these stories were likely included because they appeared sympathetic to the colonial enterprise. Over time, these speakers were probably influenced by the bias of those capturing their accounts. As expressed by the Mozambican scholar Yussuf Adam, 'sources are always instrument in the hands of the ones that hold the power.'⁴⁷

⁴⁶ João de Azevedo Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Soldado e Marinheiro na África* (Lisboa: Livraria Bertrand, 1941), 538. Coutinho is an important colonial official, unavoidable in the history of the Zambezi Valley in particular, and the history of Mozambique which he governed. See Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

⁴⁷ Yussuf Adam in conversation with Rui Assubuji. Cape Town, September 2018. Adam is a Mozambican historian, founder of the Centro de Estudos Africanos. He teaches at the History Department at Eduardo Mondlane University.

the north of the Zambezi and the Karanga and Tonga in the central south. The Tonga occupied the whole region from Inhambane to the hinterland of Sofala, the Zambezi Valley, and the escarpment. According to Newitt, 'Language and cults characterize the Tonga people who believed that ancestors helped to maintain the prosperity of their descendants. For them, the Spirit medium of dead chiefs is associated with the power of the mambos'.⁵⁰ First occupying the favored areas of the highveld, they retreated to the lower region of the Zambezi and took refuge in remote mountainous regions when they were pressured by the people from the south during the fourteenth century. The retreat was still occurring when the Portuguese arrived. As argued by Rita-Ferreira:

Pockets of Tonga population retained an autonomous existence among the Karanga into the seventeenth century, while the stone terraces and walls that cover so much of the hillsides in the Inyanga mountains point to the survival of a well-organized, if somewhat isolated, Tonga population well into the eighteenth century.⁵¹

Village of Sena

During the fifteenth century, the Arabs controlled the Zanzibar Coast, the Lower Zambezi, and Sofala, but they made little ingress into the interior. Sofala, Sena, Mozambique (Island), Zanzibar, Mombasa, Malindi, and Lamu were tributaries of the sultanate at Kilwa. Many Arab traders were settled in these places when at the end of the sixteenth century the Portuguese arrived at the town of Sena. It was an unhealthy place, sandwiched between the Zambezi and Shire rivers, whose waters periodically soaked large areas of its lowlands, thus favoring mosquitoes and fevers. But the strategic south bank of the location was a reason for it to become the first site beyond Sofala occupied by the Portuguese in their early movement towards the interior of the continent.⁵²

⁵⁰ Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 32. Mambo is an indigenous territorial chief. In Allen Isaacman & Barbara S. Isaacman, *Escravos, escravagistas, Guerreiros e Caçadores, A Saga dos Achikundas do Vale do Zambeze* (Maputo: Promédia, 2006), 426.

⁵¹ For a brief description of the origins of the different peoples inhabiting the region see António Rita-Ferreira, *Fixação Portuguesa e História Pré-Colonial de Moçambique. Estudos, Ensaios e Documentos* (Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1982), 142. See page 73 for the origins of the Bárue Kingdom, there Rita-Ferreira cites Terence Ranger, Allen Isaacman and David Beach.

⁵² Sir Harry Hamilton Johnston, *Livingstone and the Explorations of Central Africa* (London: George Philip & Son, 1891), 31 and 229. The Cuama and Sena Rivers encompassed the territory between the Zambezi delta and the Zumbo region, notably the towns of Quelimane, Sena, Tete and Zumbo, and they dominated the central region. The first three towns were important, according to Newitt, and at their height 'were centers of commercial, administrative and ecclesiastic life and had churches, schools, government buildings, and artisan

In other words, when the Portuguese finally realized that the wealth of the Zambezi was escaping their vigilance and therefore their custodianship through the royal goods depot at Sofala by taking the route to Angoche via the river delta, ‘a certain captain Pegado established a trading center in the midst of a small Arab community’ at a place afterwards called Sena. In 1571 that small settlement on the south bank of the Zambezi River Valley was a ‘town of straw huts’ where about twenty substantial Muslim merchants were doing business, particularly in the trade of gold and a cotton cloth called machira. According to Lobato, the Portuguese occupation of the town was made peacefully as they just ‘audaciously presented themselves in the place... only taking Cambaia cloths and Venice beads.’⁵³

By contrast, Newitt argues there was nothing pacific about it. He writes that Barreto took over Sena after the massacre of the principal Muslim merchants and built the first stone fort dedicated to Saint Marçal. The governorship was given to Vasco Homem, who created a formal establishment with a mayor in charge of the fortress, a manager in charge of the warehouse, a notary, a priest, a constable, blacksmiths, and craftsmen.⁵⁴ The Portuguese had their own village at ‘gunshot distance’ and lived in thatched mud houses. Besides the ‘Moorish traffic’ of contraband through Angoche, using the Cuama River as a penetration route, another reason for the Portuguese occupation was the action of the chief Inhamunda of Sofala, who closed the roads to prevent rulers from the interior trading directly with the Portuguese merchants.⁵⁵

Gerhard Liesegang argues that the Empire was not only preoccupied with local politics but also with the growing power of its fellow settlers (from Europe and from India), who absorbed local customs and began to challenge colonial authority. Nevertheless, they were actually convenient markers of the Portuguese presence in the region.⁵⁶ Since the 1580s

workshops.’ Distant from the Zambezi, Manica was nevertheless considered part of the Cuama and Sena Rivers because of its important centers of commercial activity around gold mines and markets. See Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 127-146.

⁵³ Alexandre Lobato, *Expansão Portuguesa em Moçambique* (Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1954), 14-16.

⁵⁴ Alcaide was the representative of the king to whom he was accountable, acting as governor of a fortified village or town with administrative, magistrate and military functions. Given to aristocrats, the title was hereditary and from the eighteenth century became more a sign of honor and prestige. Feitor was the administrator of the fortress. In ‘Artigos de Apoio Infopédia’ (em linha) (Porto: Porto Editora, 2003-2018), <https://www.infopedia.pt/apoio/artigos/alcaide> and <https://infopedia.pt/dicionarios/lingua-portuguesa/feitor>. Accessed 6 December 2018.

⁵⁵ Cuama was the designation of the Zambezi River and its principal tributaries. The Portuguese referred to Muslims as Moors, with whom they had an antagonistic history.

⁵⁶ See preface of Amina Mamane, *Subsídios para a História de Sena* (Maputo: Promédia, 2000).

Portuguese merchants and adventurers had gathered large tracts of land on both banks of the Zambezi River and imposed their rule over the local population. Active individuals, some from Europe but mainly from Catholic India and the imperial city of Goa, spread an urban culture of imperial cosmopolitanism among the rural peoples of the valley.⁵⁷ Viewed as potential colonial agents, the government conceded to these settlers royal titles to crown estates (called *prazos da corôa*) in return for ‘swearing fealty, paying annual rents, and providing soldiers to reinforce the small garrisons in the villages of Sena and Tete.’⁵⁸ The two villages had river ports that were points of departure for trading and military expeditions bound for the interior. These often led to great loss of life and the burning of many African villages. The Portuguese went up to the Zambezi River in 1571 aiming to force people to accept Christianity and to expel the Muslims, but the mission was a tragic failure, and Barreto’s expedition withdrew in 1575. The incoming capitães-mor (captains-major) were regional Portuguese colonial officers, who began contracts with imposed conditions on the sharing of profits from the trade.⁵⁹

Lobato considers 1607 a milestone of the Portuguese presence in Zambezi Valley. According to him, alliances with local chiefs facilitated the establishment of colonial authority in Sofala, Quelimane, Sena, and Tete. In exchange for aid in confronting internal threats, Muenemutapa conceded mines to Portugal, which claimed sovereignty over all the countries already occupied by Portuguese settlers.⁶⁰ According to Capela, the challenges posed to Muenemutapa were the invasion of the Marave peoples coming from the north of the Zambezi River and from the west of Lake Niassa that coincided with the penetration of the Portuguese. It was in the context of this alliance that first the mines of silver, then gold, copper, iron, and finally lead were given to Portugal.

The colonizing process included a series of initiatives, from the exploitation of the mines to the increase of European settlers in the colony.⁶¹ By the end of the sixteenth century, Sena

⁵⁷ David Birmingham, *Frontline Nationalism in Angola & Mozambique*, 11.

⁵⁸ Isaacman and Isaacman, *Dams, Displacement, and the Delusion of Development. Cahora Bassa and Its Legacies in Mozambique, 1965-2007* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press. 2014), 33.

⁵⁹ Capitão-mor (in Portuguese) is translated as captain-major in André Van Dokkum, *Nationalism and Territoriality in Barue and Mozambique: Independence, Belonging, Contradiction* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, the Netherlands. 2020), 46. See further in this thesis.

⁶⁰ Responsible for the businesses of the Rivers, Simões Madeira received from Muenemutapa the donation of all mines to the King of Portugal in exchange for military aid against Matuziane. See Capela, *Donas, Senhores e Escravos*, 137.

⁶¹ José Capela, *Moçambique pela sua História* (Famalicão: Edições Húmus, Lda., 2010), 21.

was a town of some size having fifty Portuguese residents and around 800 Christians. It became the center of the government of ‘the Rivers of Sena,’ as the Zambezi Valley was known. At that time, the Zambezi Valley comprised the present-day provinces of Zambézia, Tete, Manica and Sofala. This was a geographical space where for centuries a system of specific characteristics was developed and the prazos were instituted.⁶² Until the end of the nineteenth century, the system was the major institutional manifestation of the presence of the Portuguese in Mozambique. It constituted a political, economic, and social structure that circumscribed in hegemonic ways all the spiritual and material activities and deeply conditioned the peoples of the region.⁶³ With the introduction of the already referred to administrative authority of the capitão-mor, soldiers were placed at each trading point.

Newitt explains that the capitão-mor was normally an appointed settler who acted as a deputy for the higher authorities. These capitães-mor also ‘raised African troops, recruited boatmen, carriers or workmen, heard cases according to native law and conducted diplomacy with neighboring independent chiefs.’ In Rios de Sena (the administrative jurisdiction of the Zambezi Valley), the most famous capitão-mor was Francisco Brochado, who lived near Luabo and ‘had boats destined to assist shipwrecked sailors or ships in trouble along the treacherous coast between Quelimane and Sofala.’⁶⁴ The title of capitão-mor was also attributed to local allied chiefs who bridged the relationship with the local population.⁶⁵ For Maugham, the title of capitão-mor was difficult to define but usually related to military command. They are figures of crucial importance for the history of colonialism, particularly in the central region of Mozambique discussed here.

The decline of Sena by the second half of the eighteenth century and the transfer of the seat of government from Sena to Tete in 1767 reflect the increasing importance of the gold trade in Zumbo and the new markets in Maravi territory. However, in 1778 there still existed at

⁶² ‘Prazo literally means a period of time. In this context, it refers to the system of landholding on the Zambezi’. In Malyn D. D. Newitt and P.S. Garlake, ‘The Aringa at Massangano,’ *Journal of African History*, Vol. 8, No 1, 1967, 133-156. Published online on 22 January 2009 at <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853700006861>. Accessed 11 December 2018.

⁶³ Capela speaks about the Africanization of a European institution that also explains the maintenance of this system until late into the nineteenth century and how it marked the Zambezi ethos. Capela, *Moçambique pela sua História*, 29.

⁶⁴ Newitt, *History of Mozambique*, 120. Francisco Brochado is several times mentioned in the accounts of pioneer Dominican missionary Frei João. Frei João was the author of an important monograph, *Ethiopia Oriental: Vária História de Cousas Notáveis do Oriente* (Lisboa: Biblioteca dos Clássicos Portugueses, 1891).

⁶⁵ Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 125.

least seventeen houses in the village of Sena, including those of the resident Europeans and Indians (also called canarins) and those born in the country. The houses had mud walls and thatch but some were luxurious. The ‘cafres’ surrounded the village.⁶⁶ But, by 1806 it was an ‘unhappy settlement’ of which ‘nothing could be seen but ruins.’ Arguing that the infant mortality was four times higher than Tete, Villas Boas Truão attributed the decline of Sena village to its extremely unhealthy location.⁶⁷

By the end of the nineteenth century, gold and ivory had disappeared and were insufficiently replaced by wax, cereals, and oilseed plants. Sugar cane produced in Caia and Marromeu and cotton from Chemba became the new major products to be exploited, and goods from the hinterland began to flow to Beira, the region’s access to the sea. Sena drastically diminished in importance and ceased to be the main settlement in the region. Maugham, navigating the Zambezi River in that period described Sena as ‘a ruined village containing half a dozen stone houses and a few mud huts surrounded by a feeble palisade scarcely worthy of the name of fortification.’⁶⁸ The point of departure for caravans and military expeditions to Muenemutapa and the Karanga trading fairs, and the centre of the Rios de Sena government, was then abandoned. Its geostrategic importance had disappeared, but residues of its past remained in the place, as landmarks of historical importance.

Prazos da Coroa (Crown Estates)

On 18 October 1677, a great number of settlers were sent from Portugal to populate the Zambezi Valley, according to Sousa e Silva. Among them were many artisans, farmers, and eight converts and female orphans endowed by the government and sent to marry Portuguese men located in the area. The expedition embarked on four ships; the number of people is calculated at 2,000 and included five missionaries. In Zambezia, writes Capela, ‘the conditions of reception did not correspond to the enthusiasm that had encouraged the embarkation in Lisbon.’ They were decimated by several epidemics, and only in June 1680

⁶⁶ Cafres or Kafiri is a derogative term for African peoples.

⁶⁷ António Norberto de Villas-Boas Truão was the governor of the Rios de Sena captaincy, by then moved to Tete. He is the author of a manuscript plan for the constitution of a new economic policy in the captaincy of the Rivers of Sena, from which an excerpt was published with the title *Estatística da Capitania dos Rios de Sena do anno de 1806 / pelo governador da mesma capitania António Norberto de Barbosa de Villas Boas Truão* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1889). The document is crucial to understanding the Portuguese priorities in Africa. It contains a project to penetrate the continent and to occupy its principal commercial routes.

⁶⁸ See Reginald Charles Fulk Maugham, *Zambezia* (London: John Murray, 1910). eBook available at http://www.archives.org/details/cu_31924028621641.

did 28 men, 29 women, and 21 children reach the Rivers. But the high mortality and low birth rate kept the number of Europeans at an insignificant level, and they therefore did nothing to advance the development of the colony.

Nevertheless, this was probably how the regime of *Prazos da Coroa* began in the region. Introduced in the seventeenth century, the system aimed to increase the white population. The land along the Zambezi River was divided into estates. Initially, the concessions were supposed to be given to European women for three generations passing through the female line, the purpose being to attract European men. At the end of the initial concession, the title could be revalidated and kept by the family in cases of good administration.⁶⁹ Simultaneously, the system would provide property titles of the land claimed by the Portuguese already settled in the region. The adoption of the *prazo* system occurred at a time when some Portuguese occupied the land surrounding Sena – a fact that increased its importance. Although not offering the necessary infrastructure, the Sena settlement was raised to the status of village in 1762, thus it became the political, military, administrative, economic and socio-cultural center of central Mozambique.

According to Lobato, from 1753 Sena had the status of captaincy over twenty-nine lands, including the *prazos* south of the delta and south of the Zambezi, those on both sides of the village of Sena, and some in front of and others along the road connecting Sena to Bárue and Manica. The village of Sena was for a long time the capital of the so-called Rios de Sena: a vast territory that comprised the entire Zambezi Valley, from the Zumbo to the Zambezi River delta and encompassing Tete, Sena, Quelimane and Manica. In the eighteenth century, during the reign of the Portuguese King Dom José, an administrative division determined two main authorities for the entire Portuguese territory in East Africa: one in Mozambique (Island), and another in the village of Sena, the capital of the Rios de Sena jurisdiction, which stretched from the Luabo to the Luenha River. It included the lands of Sofala and followed the Quiteve and Bárue Rivers. It also included the lands of Muenemutapa as far as the Zambezi River.

⁶⁹ Tenente Coronel Sousa e Silva, *Distrito de Tete – Alta Zambezia. Características, História, Fomento* (Lisboa: Livraria Portugalia Editora, 1927), 23. The system of emphyteusis can be explained as a given royal right over something that belongs to someone else by which the emphyteuta has direct possession of the thing, being able to use it completely or alienate and transmit it by inheritance, while the direct landlord, who is the owner of the item, just keeps it in his name.

Failing to attract a significant number of Europeans, concessions were also given to Portuguese of Indian origin (from Goa). Some of the initial beneficiaries did not reside in the territory, and the prazos were managed on their behalf by family members or representatives.⁷⁰ In general, the effective users of the prazos became absolute lords of the land and did not pay the annual rent as initially foreseen. In other cases, marriages with local women (mostly from African royal houses) generated mixed race descendants who gradually inherited the concessions. The ends for which the system was introduced were therefore completely subverted.

Cultivation was not the main source of income. The collection of land taxes, commerce, gold mining, and transport along the Zambezi River are also included. But the exploitation of gold proved less productive than originally promised. Ivory became the main export commodity in quantity and value. Its intense demand decimated the elephant population and resulted in the scarcity of this merchandise. Slaves then became the main commodity and its trade intensified. At the end of the eighteenth century, cloth was the great exchange currency and the export of slaves an important long-distance business.

With the prazos turned mostly towards the cantonment of slaves and settlers, their owners began to export the peasants and then the *achicunda* (the war slaves whose function was to protect their lords' lands militarily) to assault neighboring societies and enslave captured people.⁷¹ Many of these warlike slaves ran away and organized themselves in predatory bands, attacking and destroying the commercial hinterland network.⁷² The situation was aggravated by the incursion of Nguni warriors who began to raid the region, capturing men and women, burning settlements, and collecting tribute. As a consequence, the entire valley became depopulated which seriously affected the agricultural production. All this contributed to the decline of the prazos of the crown, and in 1854 a decree issued by the new Portuguese liberal monarchy declared the system extinct.⁷³

⁷⁰ There was even a tenant who sold free blacks living in the prazos to his representatives. Ibid.

⁷¹ *Achikunda*, *chikunda* or *achicunda* (the latter Portuguese spelling is adopted in this thesis) were the warriors, hunters and police of the prazos, later referred to as *sepoys* (*sipaio*s).

⁷² Here, particular attention is given to the *Companhia de Moçambique* for its relevance in the definition of the central region of Mozambique. The replacement of the feudal system of prazos with the capitalist method of the majestic companies in Portugal is directly related to the emergence of the liberal monarchy. This is discussed in the section dedicated to Azevedo Coutinho in Chapter 4.

⁷³ Tenente Coronel Sousa e Silva, *Distrito de Tete*, 23. See also José Capela, 'How the aringas became maroon communities in Mozambique', *Tempo* (Niteroi) Vol 10, Number 20 January, 2006, 74. Accessed online

Secondary States

At its height, the village of Sena was the centre of a ‘new urban culture’ of this rural region. The image of its crumbling fortress façade is a visual representation of the deteriorated, dominant political system of nineteenth-century Zambezia, which had resulted in a power vacuum. This allowed for the rise of new states (also called secondary states) ruled by powerful Luso-Afro-Islamic families that rented the prazos. Mostly located between the Indian Ocean and Zumbo, ‘the entire southern bank of the Zambezi river was virtually divided between Massangano, controlled by the Cruz family (Bonga), and the Sena-Tonga state of Gorongosa ruled by Gouveia.’⁷⁴ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the interior, eastern Shona-speaking peoples of Ndau and Manica declared their autonomy from Muenemutapa, and this new political subdivision formed the larger states of Teve, Manica and Bárue. This was treated earlier as transformations in the areas of the Zimbabwean plateau, responsible for the decline of Sena.

In Manica, the famous inland markets later dominated by the Portuguese also included traditional commerce and survived into the nineteenth century, but drought and the Nguni invasions forced their abandonment in 1835. Accounts referring to this period tend to differ. Rita-Ferreira specifies that during the first great invasion of Manica in 1830 the region was ransacked and most of the cattle taken, and six years later ‘the small market was devastated by other Angune [Nguni] invaders.’ Manica was absorbed by the Gaza Empire while Portuguese soldiers of the small garrison at Macequeesse and Manica markets were inactive, demoralized by their decrepit weapons and irregularly paid stipends.⁷⁵ Paiva de Andrade offers a slightly different account. He argues that the invasion of the Manica Kingdom by neighbouring states of Maconi and Bárue forced the Manica King to contract Nguni military

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S1413-77042006000100005> . See also Capela, *Donas, Senhoras e Escravos*, 38-9; *História de Moçambique* Vol 1, 252-3.

⁷⁴ Allen Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 22. See also *História de Moçambique*. Vol 1 (Maputo: Imprensa Universitária, 2000), 256-7. According to Capela, the Cruz family was the most troublesome in nineteenth century Zambezia. One of his descendants, the well-known Bonga, was the lord of the Massangano, a remarkable aringa in the military history of Zambezia. The above mentioned Gouveia (also called Muzungo Gouveia by local populations) is Manuel António de Sousa, the lord of Gorongosa and capitão-mor of Manica and Quiteve. He has several times mentioned in this thesis, particularly in Chapters dealing with the central region of Mozambique. For a brief narrative of this personage in the history of Bárue see, André Van Dokkum, *Nationalism and Territoriality in Barue and Mozambique*, 45-52. In this thesis he will be called Manuel António.

⁷⁵ António Rita-Ferreira, *Fixação Portuguesa e História Pré-Colonial de Moçambique* (Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1982), 142 and 238.

aid, but they were bitterly defeated. Advised by the *mphondoro*⁷⁶, the King then turned to Manuel António, the Afro-Portuguese lord of Gorongosa, who employed his force of achicundas equipped with firearms to successfully repel the invaders.⁷⁷ ‘Some soil removed from the dwelling of the spirit medium Manzina’, was sent to him, observes Rita-Ferreira, ‘symbolizing the rendering of vassalage.’⁷⁸ The various accounts of this historical period are unanimous on the fact that the foreign presence altered the initial composition of local peoples and their societal organization in the region.

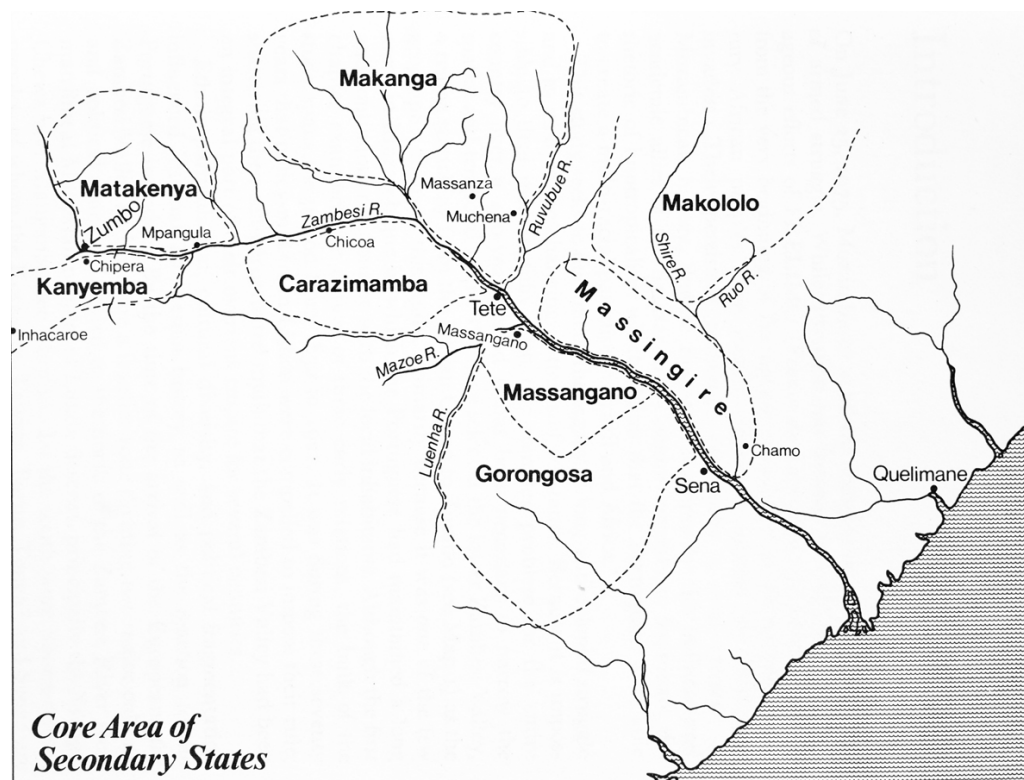


Figure 6. The map indicates the location of the main prazos along the Zambezi River. They were the strongholds of powerful warlords, friendly to Portuguese authority while other populations were hostile.⁷⁹

Landlords and warlords: the case of Manuel António de Sousa

In 1840 and 1850 the Portuguese prazos of Sena district and the chiefs of Bárúè and Manica were forced to pay tribute to Sochangane, the king of Gaza. The highest value was accorded to ivory which was then in great market demand. The gold traders who mainly journeyed

⁷⁶ Mphondoro, also spelled Pondoro or Mhondoro, are the spirits of powerful ancestors who communicate through spirit mediums among the Tonga peoples.

⁷⁷ See more of this landlord further in this Chapter. He will be also cited in Chapter four of this thesis.

⁷⁸ Rita-Ferreira, *Fixação Portuguesa e História Pré-Colonial de Moçambique*, 238; A.V. Dokkum, *Nationalism and Territoriality in Barue and Mozambique*, 47.

⁷⁹ Isaacman *Tradition of Resistance*, 19.

inland to Bárúè and Manica were replaced by ivory traders and professional hunters in the service of Portuguese or Indian merchants. These men ‘disrupted the traditional African hunting fashion’ by the use of firearms.⁸⁰ That is the case of the already mentioned Manuel António de Sousa, who quickly accumulated fortune through ivory trading by employing armed elephant hunters. He formed a private army and became the most powerful warlord in the lower Zambezi. ‘Using to his advantage the influences and the force given to him by the Portuguese government,’ observes Péllisier, ‘the now capitão-mor of Manica and Quiteve negotiated and enriched himself without paying any income to the state.’ Manuel António obtained an extraordinary degree of prestige in the region.⁸¹

Considered a ‘courageous man, [an] extraordinary ambitious and distinct politician’, Manuel António wanted to absorb the Bárúè Kingdom.⁸² He married Adriana, a daughter of Xipapata, one of the contenders disputing the Bárúè throne. Taking advantage of the disagreements within the royal family, Manuel António bribed some ‘great men’ close to King Macombe to advocate his cause. He established his own bastion in Gorongosa: a place whose residents never paid tribute to the Gaza Empire and which became the destination of many people running away from the Nguni raids.⁸³

Operating independently from one another, the armies of the secondary states of Massingire, Massangano, and Gorongosa dislodged the Nguni from key regions in the lower Zambezi between 1850 and 1870.⁸⁴ In Gorongosa, Manuel António withstood the attack of 3000 men from Muzila’s force. His line of about forty fortified settlements called aringas, located between the Zambezi and Punguè Rivers, obliged the Nguni warriors to take a longer route through Cheringoma for the collection of tax in the lower and upper Zambezi regions and thus completely eradicated their raids in Bárúè.⁸⁵

The position of Manuel António’s aringas was not only military but also strategically economic, as some of them were in a region of wax production while others across the river

⁸⁰ Newitt, *History of Mozambique*, 288.

⁸¹ Manuel António replaced the previous capitão-mor, Isidro Correia Pereira, colonel of Sena militia in 1863. See Réne Péllisier, *Naissance du Mozambique, Résistance et Révoltes Anticoloniales* (1854 – 1918), Vol 1, 75.

⁸² Coutinho, *Memórias*, 539.

⁸³ Rita-Ferreira, *Fixação Portuguesa e História Pré-Colonial de Moçambique*, 190.

⁸⁴ Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 32.

⁸⁵ See the section on aringas in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

facilitated the washing of fluvial gold sands.⁸⁶ By helping its king Xipapata to defeat the Nguni warriors, he almost completely dominated Bárúè Kingdom. When Xipapata died, Manuel António determined the successor. In Isaacman's terms, he usurped the power and violated the traditional process of investiture by claiming the kingship for his heirs, which challenged the most sacred values and beliefs of the Bárúè people. This transgression triggered violent reactions among sectors of Bárúè society, and despite measures taken to control the situation, tensions 'periodically flared into open confrontation.'⁸⁷ Nevertheless, Manuel António's activities flourished and his enterprises were considered of great prestige.⁸⁸



Figure 7. The caption: Major Forbes arresting Col. D Andrade at Umtasa kraal, Nov 1890.⁸⁹

Internationally, the tensions between Portugal and England intensified dramatically, and the use of force began to threaten diplomacy. Manuel António was close to the Portuguese authorities from whom he received support and guns. His expertise in local affairs and his influence facilitated the implantation of colonial authority. Manuel António and another

⁸⁶ Coutinho, *Memórias*, 542.

⁸⁷ Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 50.

⁸⁸ Coutinho, *Memórias*, 542.

⁸⁹ This print was collected from the National Archives of Zimbabwe. I went to the photographic section in search of old photographs of Mozambique. Although some have data attached, the majority of photographic prints and reproduced engravings are not individually referenced.

colonial officer João de Resende were with Paiva de Andrade in Manica when the three were arrested by the police of the British South Africa Company in Mutare in 1890.⁹⁰ In response, a battalion of volunteers organized in Lourenço Marques and commanded by Caldas Xavier departed on 10 December 1890. The expedition, however, ended in Beira. The case of the arrest was resolved diplomatically shortly after it occurred. But during the imprisonment of the Portuguese representatives, Manuel António's aringas were taken over by his achicunda Lieutenants. Upon his release, he tried to re-establish his control over them. He was wounded and killed during the attack on the Missongue aringa in December 1891.⁹¹ The particular attention given here to Manuel António is justified by the way it illuminates certain patterns that continue to mark the narratives of rebellion or resistance in the central region of Mozambique to this day.⁹²

Companhia de Moçambique and the Effective Occupation

Around 1870, the district of Quelimane was the only area where Portugal exerted some effective authority in the centre of Mozambique.⁹³ Aided by a repressive force of sipaios, the state-mandated agents of authority undertook the colonial state administration. Besides the main activity of collecting tax (the 'mussoco'), and responsive to local customs, they also judged cases (locally called milandos), punished offenders, and controlled local chiefs.⁹⁴ Their activities were always complicated by the constant dispersals of people within the extensive territory aggravated by the 'Zambézia Wars'.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Joaquim Carlos Paiva de Andrade, a Portuguese military official, initially formed the Société des Fondateurs de la Compagnie Général du Zambéze in 1878/9. This was changed to the Companhia do Ophir in 1884 and then finally became the Companhia de Moçambique in 1888. João de Azevedo Coutinho referred to Manuel António as 'great supplier of blacks' who were used as porters or soldiers. In J. A. Coutinho, 'O Combate de Macequece.' (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1935), 4.

⁹¹ This episode is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 (see page 119).

⁹² Three years after its independence from Portugal (1975), Mozambique became involved in an armed conflict that grew from Gorongosa and spread throughout the country. The so-called civil war (1979-1994) resulted in great human and economic losses. The instability continues to affect the country's political landscape and Gorongosa, as the stronghold of the armed opposition, still poses an armed challenge to the central power of Mozambique's government. Coincidentally, Manuel António was the name of the founder of *naparama*, an armed local militia that appeared in Nampula and Zambezia Provinces during the civil war in the 1980s and 1990s.

⁹³ Interesting economic and social aspects of Quelimane and Zambezia can be read in Adolphe Linder, *Os Suiços em Moçambique* (Maputo: Estudos 17. Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, 2001).

⁹⁴ Sipaios or cipais, as it is written in Portuguese. Cypois and Cypais are other forms of spelling the word. Milando is a local native expression for a serious problem among people.

⁹⁵ Carlos Serra ed., *História de Moçambique* Vol I, 266. The Zambézia Wars extend from the second half of the nineteenth century until 1902, to the end of the Bárue campaign. In Amélia N. Souto, *Guia Bibliográfico* (Maputo: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1996), 93. See Chapter 4 of this thesis.

The ‘effective occupation’ decided during the Berlin conference forced Portugal to turn to private capital, and large portions of the territory were rented to companies. According to Mamdani, these were concessions made during the Scramble for Africa (between 1888 and 1894) in which the Portuguese state leased out large tracts of land to British, German, French, and Swiss concessionaire companies for the establishment of sisal, copra, sugar, and tea plantations. This was in order to secure its claimed central African territory.⁹⁶

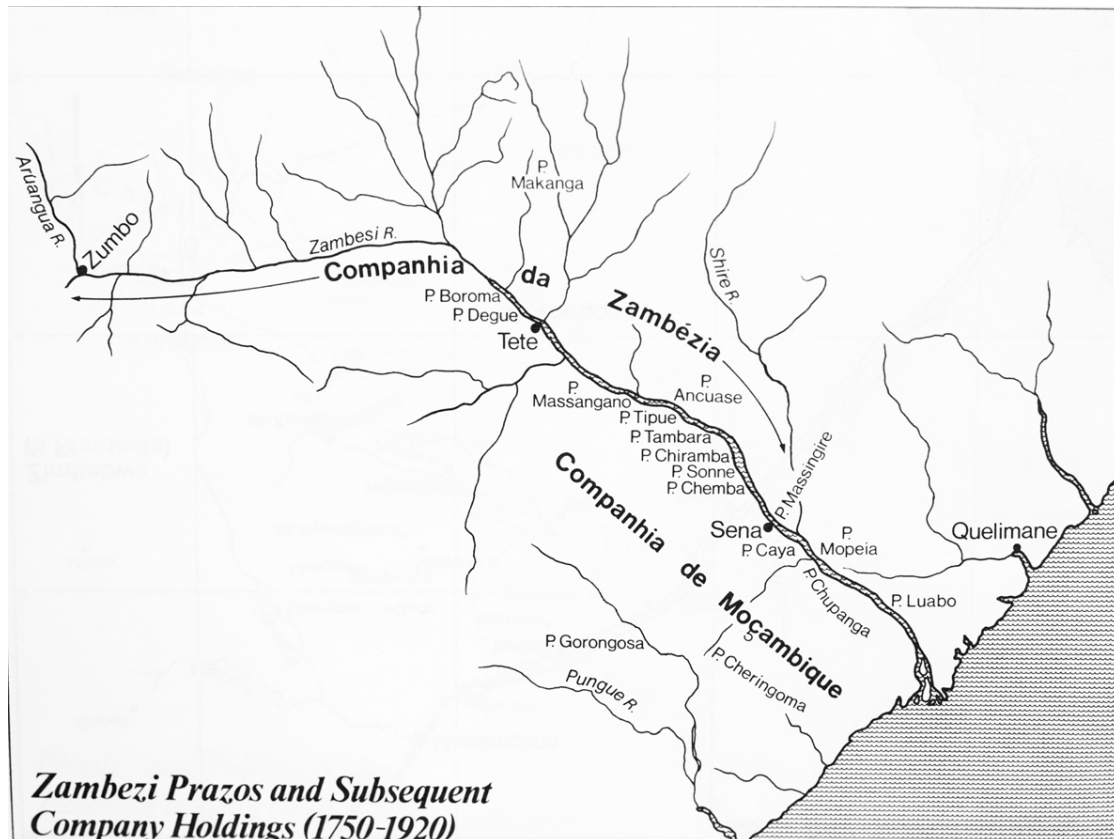


Figure 8. Map extracted from Allen Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance in Mozambique* (London: Heinemann, 1976), xviii.

By ceding two-thirds of Mozambican territory to the companies, Portugal demanded a share of the profits: for example, from the Companhia de Moçambique, which alone occupied a quarter of Mozambique, (Portugal) received ten percent of the shares and seven and a half percent of the total profit. In exchange, Portugal abstained from collecting taxes in the concession of the Company.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject. Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 153.

⁹⁷ Carlos Serra ed., *História de Moçambique* Vol 1, 176. For more about the Companhia de Moçambique see Chapter 4 of this thesis.

Controlled by British financial interests, the Companhia de Moçambique was the most successful and longest-lived.⁹⁸ Created to safeguard Portuguese interests in the region, the Company obstructed the advances of Cecil Rhodes backed by Great Britain. The Company's agreement (or compromise) to facilitate the actions of the Portuguese forces in the region eventually became its *raison d'être*. The Company was responsible for the growth of the city of Beira and was actively involved in the official work for the demarcation of the border between Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia.

The Companhia de Moçambique also marked the transition from a mercantile to a capitalist system.⁹⁹ Its headquarters were in Lisbon, and branches were supposed to be opened in Paris, London, Brussels, and Lourenço Marques.¹⁰⁰ The company occupied the territory of Manica and Sofala: an area of 134.822 square kilometers demarcated by the Indian Ocean on the East, the Zambezi River in the north and northeast, the 22nd Parallel in the south, and Rhodesia to the west. But within this territory were the problematic Bárue and the Tonga prazos of Sansa and Tambara over which, according to the above mentioned important colonial official João de Azevedo Coutinho, Portugal 'never exerted sovereignty.'¹⁰¹ The empire was claiming territory it had not conquered.

In 1902, Coutinho commanded the military force intended to dominate Bárue completely. The aringa at Tambara was the first to be attacked. It opened the pathway to the core of the African kingdom. By the end of the year, local resistance was broken and Portugal considered the total domination to have been achieved in Mozambique. But in 1917, another great rebellion erupted in Bárue and challenged the Portuguese authorities who were by now confronting German forces from Tanganyika during the First World War.¹⁰² The Portuguese crushed this new rebellion but did not resolve the problem of perpetual unrest in the region

⁹⁸ 'While drawing from direct economic activities, the ability to supply contract labour to sub concessionary employers became the company's mainly successful base.' See Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, 153.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 302-3.

¹⁰⁰ Estudos Coloniais Portugueses. *Portugal e Capital Multinacional em Moçambique, 1500-1973*. Esboço Histórico, Vol II (Kastrup: African Studies Editorial, 1975), 18.

¹⁰¹ Painful as it might have been for some important Portuguese figures, here is a hero of the Pacification Campaigns and unavoidable figure in the history of Zambézia recognizing the weaknesses of the Empire. See J. A. Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro e Soldado de África*, 538. Parts of this book will be discussed further in this thesis, see Chapter four. On the First World War in Mozambique see Chapter 5.

¹⁰² The need for manpower to combat the Germans was the main reason for the revolt. On the First World War, see in this thesis, Chapter 5.

once called Rios de Sena. The monument of Sena fortress is a metaphor for the dysfunctionality of the colonial apparatus.¹⁰³

Picturing a Monument

In the Portuguese Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), a different photograph of the portal appears. The caption reads ‘Fortress of S. Marçal at Sena [stone monument rebuilt in 1906].’¹⁰⁴ J. Wexelsen is the given name of the photographer. This photograph features in several publications, such as the catalogue for the great colonial exhibitions,¹⁰⁵ and the book of Amina Maman, *Subsídios para a História de Sena (Aids for the History of Sena)*. The picture is also among the illustrations of the more than five-hundred-page monograph *Zambezia*, written by F.C. Maugham and published in 1909. In the monograph, the caption of the photograph states: ‘The original Gateway at Sena’.¹⁰⁶ The image depicts a cement structure (wall) with an open space in the centre and an arch on top. At the open space between the two sides of the gateway, three women are standing with what seem to be earthenware pots on their heads – a ‘classical’ portrait image of African women. The photograph gives more space to the right side of the structure to keep the plaque encrusted on the wall in the frame. This contains an inscription that reads:

In the reign of D. Carlos I, being Governor General of the Province of Mozambique João António d’Azevedo Coutinho Fragoso de Sequeira and Governor of the Territory of Manica and Sofala Alberto Celestino Ferreira Pinto Basto, ordered the Company of Mozambique to rebuild this monument in the year 1906.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ The Campaign to Bárúè in 1902 is treated in Chapter 4, ‘Stopping for the Camera.’ The almost permanent state of rebellion will also be considered further in this thesis.

¹⁰⁴ Author’s translation.

¹⁰⁵ *Território de Manica e Sofala – sob a administração da Companhia de Moçambique*. Monografias – apresentadas na Exposição Colonial Internacional de Paris (Lisboa: Sociedade Nacional de tipografia, 1931). Article available at UWC Library, Allen Isaacman collection AIC 967.9 COL.

¹⁰⁶ R.C.F. Maugham, *Zambezia* (London: John Murray, 1910). Book retrieved at www.archives.org/details/cu31924028621641.

¹⁰⁷ <http://actd.iict.pt/view/actd:AHUD23092>. Last accessed on 20/08/2017.



Figure 9. Caption: Fortaleza de S. Marçal de Sena - padrão reconstruído em 1906.¹⁰⁸

The women in the photograph appear to be standing in very pre-determined positions and poses constructed for the picture. The woman on the left is turned towards the camera with her arms lifted, probably to steady the clay pot on her head, which might have contained water. The woman beside her is also turned towards the camera, her arms hanging straight down her body, hands folded behind her back. Balanced on her head, the clay pot stands on its own. Behind her, the third woman stands with her back to the camera, and while one arm hangs down her body, the other holds a pot that seems to be of smaller dimensions, which reinforces the impression that this last woman is younger than the others, maybe just a girl.

¹⁰⁸ http://actd.iict.pt/eserv/actd:AHUD23092/web_n5390.jpg.

Visible in the distance are the ruins of another building whose roof has disappeared, and which is definitely part of the fort. Above the arc of the entrance, the Portuguese coat of arms is a strong visual sign that stands out from the ornamental arabesques of the door. In the foreground, one old cannon turned into a decorative feature sprouts from the ground. The photograph was carefully constructed, with the structure precisely framed and the human figures positioned in an aesthetically considered way.

The photograph features in the monograph *Zambezia* which is ‘an accurate description’ of the Zambezi River valley ‘from its delta to the Aroangwa’. The book examines the history, agriculture, flora, fauna and ethnography of the Zambezi Valley. The author, Reginald Charles Fulke Maugham, who served as H.B.M. (British) consul for Portuguese East Africa, dedicated the book to ‘His most faithful Don Manuel II, the King of Portugal.’ In the preface, he mentioned his ‘long desire for the task of writing some account of the Portuguese section of the Zambezi River.’ Interestingly, the book opens with a full-page portrait of the Portuguese official Captain Freire de Andrade who, among other roles, was the founder of the Companhia de Moçambique. Maugham’s narrative of the journey up to the Zambezi River mentions recognizable elements, traces and signs that connect different times in history.

Chapter three of Maugham’s *Zambezia* is mostly dedicated to the river. It says that the Zambezi arises at the border between Angola and the Lunda countries, and its estimated total course of 200 miles drains an area of more than 600,000 square miles. Its headwaters, Maugham notes, have hardly been explored. The river enters the Portuguese Province of Mozambique at Zumbo, the small settlement at the confluence with the Louangwa, an important waterway that for many miles draws the western Anglo-Portuguese borderline. For his excursion along the river, Maugham considered three major Portuguese settlements, Sena, Tete, and Zumbo. He describes Sena at the end of nineteenth century as ‘a ruined village containing half a dozen of stone houses and a few mud thatched huts surrounded by a feeble palisade scarcely worth the name of fortification.’ He attributed its decline, as mentioned earlier, to the extremely unhealthy state of its location. Infant mortality was four times higher than in Tete, which was in the same condition of abandonment. To Maugham, Zumbo was a ‘mere village of thatched mud huts inhabited by natives.’

In the course of the one hundred and fifty miles that separate Sena from Tete, several crocodiles were shot among the many resting on every exposed sandbank. At a certain point during the journey, Maugham and his crew passed the Portuguese gunboat called Tete, ‘on her way down to the coast’.¹⁰⁹ It was early in the morning when they arrived at the fort of Tambara, ‘a whitewashed stone structure like the old Portuguese strongholds,’ strategically positioned on one extreme of a high-rise overlooking the river. It was ‘a fine commanding position’ that, ‘considering the character of the natives against whom defense has been advised, it must have cost about eight or ten times the amount of money and labor that it needed have done.’¹¹⁰ This observation indicates the strength of the African opposition to colonial domination. The fort was far more impressive than some of the government facilities already described and points to the capacity of private enterprise to build costly infrastructure and participate in the process of ‘effective occupation’. According to Maugham, the building described was the dwelling of the sub-district collector, who worked under the direction of the chief official based in Sena.¹¹¹

Maugham describes the sparsely populated banks of the Zambezi, where gardens of maize, millet, and other crops extending towards the river’s edge were punctuated by the straw and reed life-sized figures of men holding fake guns. These were intended to scare away hippopotami, which otherwise greatly damaged the native crops.¹¹² Henry Faulkner, a sportsman who travelled the Zambezi River wrote that these animals were often seen in large herds and to kill them was sometimes complicated because they would sink into the waters. He recalled how one hippopotamus he had shot at night had sunk below the waters and was only bagged in the morning when it came ‘floating past the camp’. He confirms that hippopotami and crocodiles densely populated the river and were seen every day.¹¹³ The wildlife that represented such a problem to local populations in fact attracted many Europeans to those remote areas.

¹⁰⁹ This Portuguese gunboat is one of the recognizable elements of the effective occupation process. It ended tragically during the First World War when, as a consequence of poor maintenance, one of the boilers exploded, killing the captain and his family.

¹¹⁰ Tambara is another recognizable element, it was the first aringa attacked during the Campaign to Bárue in 1902. See chapter 4 of this thesis.

¹¹¹ One of the income sources from leased territories was the mussoco, tax paid by the inhabitants to the owner of the land. This was probably the main work of the district collector.

¹¹² Maugham, *Zambezia*, 6.

¹¹³ Henry Faulkner, *Elephant Hunt: A sports man’s narrative of the search for Doctor Livingstone, with scenes of elephant, buffalo, and hippopotami hunting* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1868), 39 and 26.

These adventurous accounts of wildlife hunting describe hazardous natural environments and exciting scenery. In going up the Zambezi River, one of the peak moments would be the ‘dangerous passage of the Lupata Gorge’. Maugham classified it as ‘the most entrancing piece of the river’, appearing almost suddenly with hills that present ‘few if any distinctive features until the Bandar at the entrance of the gorge’. The place is surrounded by a local myth, and several publications describe the ceremonies performed by locals at the crossing of the gorge. In Maugham’s narrative: ‘On the approaching, therefore, they (the locals) invariably remove their head coverings, and pass by in silence.’ From time to time, continued the description, locals deposit certain offerings at ‘the foot of the baobab tree.’¹¹⁴

Another picture that prominently features in Maugham’s *Zambezia* monograph is also reproduced in postcard format with the caption, ‘Camping at Lupata Gorge’.¹¹⁵ The landscape shows the magnificence of the hill cutting into the river while on the shore more than eight people (probably Africans) are seated on the ground, and near the boat a man is standing. In the image, it seems that on the roof of the boat animal skins are stretched out to dry, perhaps the skin of the crocodiles they shot? This postcard exists in different archives.¹¹⁶

In the preface of his 1909 monograph, Maugham acknowledges many contributors and cites photographers such as Mr C. A. Reid and Mr J. Lazarus of Lisbon. He emphasizes ‘the pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to Mr J. Wexelsen of Beira who supplied me with the more important of many views of the river Zambezi, for the photographs I have’.¹¹⁷ The photographer J. Wexelsen was a British soldier from the Marshall’s Horses regiment, with the rank of Private during the Anglo-Boer war. It is possibly after the war that he established himself in Beira. The database of the Basel Mission Archive suggests a probable time period, from 1911- 1940.¹¹⁸ He is also the author of the photograph of the fortress gateway discussed earlier (figure 9), and he signed many of his commercial prints as Wexelsen C^a. His postcards can be retrieved in a few archives and online sites, such as the Basel Mission Archives, the University of Southern California Libraries, and the Netherlands

¹¹⁴ Maugham, *Zambezia*, 82. The baobab tree is a significant reference in this thesis (see Chapter 4).

¹¹⁵ Lupata Gorge is another reference in the history of the Zambezi River. In Kirk’s collection, David and Charles Livingstone are depicted in a view of the Lupata gorge.

¹¹⁶ ‘Camping in the Lupata Gorge.’ Copyright J. Wexelsen Co., Beira. - *BMArchives*, No. 606. Smithsonian Institute online catalogue of postcard collection, <http://www.bmarchives.org/items/show/81153>. Accessed August 17, 2017.

¹¹⁷ Maugham, *Zambezia*, 22.

¹¹⁸ The small amount of military information on Wexelsen was found in the Anglo-Boer war records 1899-1902, at www.angloboerwar.com/forum/7-genalogy. Accessed in February, 2017.

Museum of Photography. Several images of his postcards with the different views of the Zambezi River also feature as illustrations in the monograph *Zambezia*, indicating that either the photographer accompanied the author on the tour down the Zambezi River or photographs in his archive might have been used to illustrate the monograph.¹¹⁹ Echoing Livingstone, Maugham highlights Great Britain's beneficial influence in the region:

companies were formed to cultivate large areas, and did so; waste lands began to produce sugar, coconuts and other commodities; and with the effective occupation by Great Britain in the later eighties of those neighbouring colonies known as Nyassaland and Rhodesia, a method was shown to Portugal whereby she might do likewise... she has not been slow to adopt.¹²⁰

At the end of the nineteenth century, there was an 'almost insatiable appetite' for Africa, as several published travelogues attest to. Newitt argues that 'travel writing is one of the most accessible but also one of the most treacherous of all resources for historians.' In his article 'British Travellers' Accounts of Portuguese Africa in Nineteenth Century', he situates them close to fiction, and thus a literary genre. They take the form of an ideal adventurous journey in which the writer is 'a man on a quest' undergoing a pilgrimage or a 'self-discovery journey, ... himself the hero of his own tale'. Newitt points to the need for awareness of the conscious and unconscious purposes and devices of the writer. Yet the travelogue is not just about the self but also the readership, 'a book to be read and sold.'¹²¹

The Victorian public wanted 'mostly scientific discoveries, demonstrations of superior intelligence, courage and technical skills, ... descriptions of moral and physical degradation of Africa yet earthly paradise, ... whose childlike people were naturally innocent and good' The colonizers, argues Zohdi, 'internalized their own superiority' and this gave legitimacy to exploitative European policies.¹²² An interesting parallel can be established here with the

¹¹⁹ Some of Wexelsen's postcards are coloured. Such is the one in which his wife features, seated in a rickshaw pulled by two African men. 'Black power – Beira' is written on the surface of the print beside his name. See <https://d4capulana.files.wordpress.com>. For more Wexelsen photographs see <https://www.delcampe.fr/fr/collections/search?>

¹²⁰ Maugham, *Zambezia*, 7.

¹²¹ Malyn Newitt, 'British Travellers' Accounts of Portuguese Africa in Nineteenth Century'. In *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses* N. 11 (Lisboa: FTC- Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia / FCSH, 2002) 104.

¹²² Esmael Zhodi, 'Lost Identity; A result of "Hybridity" and "Ambivalence" in Tayeb Salili's Season of Migration to the North,' *International Journal of Applied Linguistics & English Literature* at www.ijalel.aiac.org.au accessed 12 June 2019.

hopefulness and deceptiveness of Portuguese photographs and writings. Yet, in what relates to colonial competition, an Anglo-Luso cooperation was necessary to promote British investments and therefore the construction of more benevolent images particularly after the British Ultimatum to Portugal.¹²³

In fact, the relationship between Great Britain and Portugal had periods of strong tension. Territorial concerns were at the core of serious conflicts that affected the longstanding relationship between the two colonial powers. It was Portugal's privilege to occupy considerable territory along the coast. It reached an agreement with the Boer Republics in 1869 for free trade through Delagoa Bay and the construction of a Pretoria-Lourenço Marques railway line. This was not easily accepted by Great Britain, which had annexed Natal to close off the Boer Republics' access to the sea. Southern Mozambique then became a very sensitive area, and dispute over its control culminated in the international arbitration that conferred the ownership of Delagoa Bay to Portugal in 1875.¹²⁴

Narratives of paradise lost and regained reflect the 'potential for progress under British political and moral influence' and are, according to Newitt, propagated by British travel writers, including Livingstone. His epic account of 1853-56 'became the most influential and widely read of African travel narratives.'¹²⁵ He returned to Africa in 1858 to direct a major scientific expedition and spent five years exploring the lower Zambezi and Shire Valley. From this journey resulted some of the images discussed in this chapter.

Later, Mozambique represented an investment opportunity for British capital, and the Sena Sugar Estates Company is evidence of a period of goodwill between the two empires. This was the time in which R.F.C. Maugham, the British Consul who spent many years in northern Mozambique, wrote three books based on his travels in the region. In the preface to his monograph *Zambezia*, he recognized the prolific production of writings about that 'great continent' and highlighted his own willingness to call attention to that 'large and important

¹²³ Newitt, 'British Travellers' Accounts of Portuguese Africa', 103. The British Ultimatum to Portugal will be tackled further in this thesis. It greatly contributed for the modern territorial borders of the region now called Southern Africa.

¹²⁴ Issues around these matters will be tackled further in this thesis. But in this thesis, it mostly serves to illustrate the colonial competition.

¹²⁵ Newitt 'British Travellers', 346. He cites David Livingstone, *Journeys and Researches in South Africa* (London: Amalgamated Press, 1905.)

territory.¹²⁶ As said, his book features the photograph of the gateway of the Sena fort (Figure 9). Wexelsen, the photographer, was based in Beira, which, like Benguela in the Atlantic coast, were considered Anglo-Portuguese city harbours. The photograph is in the AHU archive. The same picture had more prominence, making the cover of the monograph *Subsídios para a História de Sena* from the Mozambican author, Amina Maman. On the introduction of her study on the village of Sena, she wrote:

On the village road, you cross a road that leads to the Zambezi river bridge, leaving the main road parallel to the river valley that continues to Chemba (apparently this road passes through the main housing area of 1860-70). Away from the main road still surrounded by houses at the edge of the current village stands the eighteenth-century gate of the old fort built in the 19th century. Of the bastions and walls there are only mounds of earth..., of the ancient Sena today there is only the “portal” of the fortress of S. Marçal and a cemetery (1507-1539).¹²⁷

As already mentioned, the portal faced a serious risk of complete destruction. Its imminent collapse due to a fracture in its arch forced new interventions, and in 1914 a cement shoe was added on both sides of the portal structure, but at a certain point its demolition was considered. Portuguese architect Areal da Silva visited the site in 1949. Suggestions were made concerning its transfer to a military history museum whose construction was projected for the city of Lourenço Marques. However, during the anti-colonial struggle (1964-1974) the military authorities planned to build barracks on the site. It was blocked by the Commission of Monuments and Historical Relics of Mozambique in 1969. António Sopa writes:

The portal of the main entrance (of the fortress) was a high-quality piece, characteristic of a late-seventeenth-century design, with round arch and curved pediment, defined by two flaps and flanked by pinnacles, displaying an inscription in the center and on it the Portuguese shield made of stone.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Maugham, *Zambezia*, 7.

¹²⁷ Amina Maman, *Subsídios para a História de Sena* (Promédia, Maputo 2000), 10.

¹²⁸ According to Mozambican historian António Sopa, the configuration can be seen through photographs published in the magazine *Monumenta* No 5, 1969 (following page 45).

After independence, the Mozambican government expressed its intention to preserve the ruins. On 11 June 2008, the Mozambican journalist Galiza Matos posted online the ‘re-birth of that symbol of Portuguese colonialism.’¹²⁹ The post was related to the celebration of 247 years of the award of administrative status of ‘village’ to Sena. For the occasion, a series of activities were organized to restore that ‘historical-cultural legacy in the Caia district of Sofala.’ Cleaning, deforestation, and fencing the historical and cultural site were among the initiatives carried out with the participation of the local population and businessmen. The intention, according to Matos, was to transform the site into a ‘leisure zone to welcome tourists and researchers of our rich historical and cultural mosaic. Economic agents respond positively to the initiative setting up benches where people can sit and enjoy the place’. The initiative, according to the post, was to be extended to other historical places in the province, such as the site of the ‘massacre of Sena and the old Frelimo base of Licoma’.¹³⁰ The post contains a much more recent photograph of the portal of Sena.



Figure 10. Sena Portal. Colonial History Monument.¹³¹

The photograph shows an exhibitionary complex that includes cannons mounted on blocks of concrete in front of the portal of the fort. Positioned as if ready to fire against enemies, it is an attempted mimicry of historically incorporated stories. These are features of colonial

¹²⁹ Edmundo Galiza Matos, ‘Comentários Etiquetas: Fortaleza de Sena, História, Moçambique.’ <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/118110154>. Accessed 19 November 2017.

¹³⁰ Ibid. For other photographs of the portal see Annexure 1 of this chapter.

¹³¹ Photograph downloaded from <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/118110154>

ambivalence in an apparently remote place in Africa.¹³² The fort of Sena was a stronghold of colonial domination, a point of departure from where forces spread through the entire Zambezi Valley in the mission to control the territory and explore its natural resources and became a landmark of the empire. Affected by time, it changed in form and significance. The artificial presence of the concrete shoes made to prevent the portal from crumbling is very clear. These supports resonate with the entire colonial structure: both are difficult to create and a burden to maintain. The photograph is an invitation to enter a hybrid space in which signs of the past collide with the present and display various efforts of memorial preservation. The portal of Sena is a gateway to history: its picture unravels a ‘complex interplay of space and time’, a ‘multilocal’ and a ‘polytemporal’ construct that allows projections of pasts and futures to emerge within the monument’s representation.¹³³ Indeed, the last photograph is evidence of how fragile memory can be, even if carved in iron or etched on stone.

¹³² For ideas on ambivalence, hybridity, mimicry and difference, consider Homi Bhabha who according to Zohdi developed such concepts to describe ways in which the colonized people have resisted the colonizer. Here the concept is applied to the image which invites the viewer to enter its hybrid space.

¹³³ The concept is borrowed from Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power. Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth Century British Painting* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 224.

CHAPTER 3

THE WAR OF FLAGS: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SOUTHERN REGION OF MOZAMBIQUE

Introduction

Dr. Livingstone's revelation of the slave trade in East Africa and the establishment of the Scottish mission in Nyasaland encouraged the European empires to take a growing interest in African territories claimed by Portugal. While the north of the Zambezi River was the focus of great attention, the region to the south was less known. This territory located between the Zambezi delta and the Maputo River was also claimed by Portugal, whose presence in the region dates from the second half of the sixteenth century, but the majority of the area belonged to the local chiefs. This was a view expressed by Parker Gillmore, a traveler, hunter, explorer, and British official, whose opinion received little attention, according to Portuguese historian, Jerónimo.¹ In the bay, the Portuguese had essentially a prison for Portuguese convicts, and this place was called the Presidio. The portion of land occupied by the Portuguese was named Lourenço Marques Bay. Around 1835, most of the southern region fell under the control of the Gaza Empire founded by Sochangane: the Nguni warrior leader who came with his people from Natal in 1821. They established themselves south of what is today called Maputo and expanded their influence from the Limpopo River to Niassa.²

Ivory brought from the generous hinterland and traded along the rivers and posts along the coast initially attracted the Portuguese to Bahia da Lagoa (Delagoa Bay). Hedges refers to a favourable report on the potential of that south-east coast resulting from the exploration by Lourenço Marques and António Caldeira in 1554.³ The potential of the region attracted other

¹ In Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, *Livros Brancos, Almas Negras. A missão civilizadora do colonialismo português, c. 1870-1930* (Lisboa: Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, 2010), 13. Jerónimo quotes Guillmore's testimony that for permission to trade along the Zambesi River, and for the safety of its men particularly in Sena and Tete, Portugal paid an annual large subsidy to the Matabele king.

² José Capela, 'Moçambique no século XIX', in Valentim Alexandre, *O Império Africano sec XIX e XIX* (Lisboa: Edições Colibri. Instituto de História Contemporânea da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2008), 126-7; Aurélio Rocha, *Moçambique História e Cultura* (Maputo: Texto Editores, 2006), 24-5.

³ David William Hedges, 'Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and Zululand in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century' (PhD thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1978), 108-110.

colonial powers as well, and serious disputes started around 1889 when British business firms launched expeditions to meet local chiefs and to obtain rights to trade and mining concessions.⁴ As the Portuguese settlement expanded from the coast, the natives coined it *Xilungwine*, ‘the city of the whites.’⁵

The rise of a Portuguese town in Africa



Figure 1. Pavilion at the Polana beach of Lourenço Marques city. The photograph was probably taken between the late 1800s and the early 1900s. Arquivo Histórico Militar (AHM), Lisbon, Portugal.

The above photograph, found in the Military Historical Archive in Lisbon, has no direct information attached. By comparison with photographs from different archives, the place depicted is recognizable as the famous Pavilion at the Polana beach of Lourenço Marques city and the photograph was probably taken between the late 1800s and the early 1900s. Significantly, many photographs from different angles of the Tea Salon at Polana beach can

⁴ Philip R. Warhurst, *Anglo-Portuguese Relations in South-Central Africa 1890-1900* (London: Longman, 1962). See also Hedges, ‘Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique’, 11.

⁵ Alexandre Lobato, *Lourenço Marques, Xilunguine. Biografia da Cidade* (Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1970), 83.

be found at the Transnet Historical Archive in Johannesburg.⁶ As one of the earliest sites of this kind in the African colony, it was a tourist attraction. From its colonial to post-colonial history the Pavilion grew from a bathing beach and a very exclusive coffee and tea salon to today's club for nautical sports and leisure.

On the right side of the frame, near the top of the hill that constitutes most of the photographic background, the roof of a hut is visible. It is the 'Miradouro' built on the Caracol road.⁷ The spiral road was the only access to the Polana beach, coming down from the residential neighborhood of the Ponta Vermelha, commonly known by navigators as the Reuben Point of Delagoa Bay. The Miradouro hut still exists on the hillside on the narrow road that connects Polana, the upper-class residential area of Maputo city, to the beach road that goes along the shoreline.⁸ Intriguingly, there is a British flag on the right side of the frame. One of the obvious questions is why that flag is raised in the middle of the seawater in front of a great beach in Portuguese territory?

When I began examining this image alongside additional documentation, I encountered several complex historical narratives. The concept of ellipsis became helpful as it allows us to understand the potential of a single image to condense time. The images in this chapter compress several historical points and perspectives, which becomes evident in the dialogues between image and text. In the photograph with the British flag, the location is described by Noronha, a Portuguese colonial officer, as follows:

The bay of Lourenço Marques (also known as Formosa or the Lagoa) stretched a distance of 25 miles from the hills called Cutfield up to the point of Inhaca Island to

⁶ The Transnet Museum archives keep diverse documentation concerning the railway line connecting the Transvaal to the seaport of Delagoa Bay. A synthesis of its 'dramatic history' is published in a catalogue produced to celebrate the centenary of the Maputo – Pretoria railway line. It recalls that the first steps for its realization got funds from the Netherlands South African Railway Company (NZASM), whose monopoly included provisions for governmental intervention in case of crises. For issues related to this history it suggests: D.J. Coetzee, *Spoorwegontwikkeling in die Suid – Afrikaanse Republiek (1872-1899)* (Kaapstad: Nasionale Pears, 1940) and others. See Eric Conradie, *The Iron Road to The Sea. Maputo Pretoria 1895-1995* (Johannesburg: Transnet 1995). See Chapter 3 Annexure 2 for some photographs from Johannesburg's Transnet archive.

⁷ The Miradouro (Golden View) is a public small, open rondavel hut most probably for people passing to or from the Polana beach. It is located up hill in the Caracol Road, that connects the residential neighborhood with the beachfront.

⁸ See more photographs in www.delagoabayworld.wordpress.com. On that site, one photograph taken from a different angle clearly shows the buildings of the Pavilion as they appear in the photograph above. According to the caption it was taken around 1910. See other photographs of the site in Chapter 3 Annexure 1.

the south and from there to the Ponta Vermelha (Red Point) approximately 18 miles west. This magnificent entrance has some low sand banks and between them are profoundly deep channels that allow for the entrance of big vessels and naval ships to pass through... At the entrance of the bay the extension of the Inhaca Island is called Portuguese Island due to the presence of great number of Portuguese merchants involved in the ivory trade and the amount of Portuguese who were buried there as a result of vessels sinking.⁹

The Portuguese claimed to have discovered the place called Baía da Lagoa (Delagoa Bay) and named it Lourenço Marques Bay after the navigator and trader from Mozambique (Island) who, on behalf of the Portuguese Empire, took possession of it in 1544.¹⁰ According to the Swiss missionary Henry Junod, the bay was ‘one of the first places visited by Europeans in South Africa,’ and a ‘considerable native trade developed.’¹¹ Merchants, mostly from Mozambique (Island), would come only to trade and leave with their merchandise as soon as the natural conditions of the sea currents allowed, as navigation through the Mozambique Channel depended heavily on the monsoons. Besides a prison for convicts from Portugal and a small station, very few attempts were made to establish any substantial settlement.¹²

⁹ Eduardo de Noronha, *O Districto de Lourenço Marques e a África do Sul* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1895), 35. Noronha was an important author who published extensively. Besides his collaboration with several newspapers in Mozambique and in Portugal, he wrote historical romances and other literary works. He began his military career at the age of 20 in Mozambique, where he stayed for fifteen years, from 1879 to 1894, and participated in several campaigns against local powers. He held various administrative positions in the Government and in the Municipality of Lourenço Marques.

¹⁰ In Julião Quintinha e Francisco Toscano, *A Derrocada do Império Vátua e Mouzinho de Albuquerque*, Vol 1, third edition (Lisboa: Nunes de Carvalho, 1935), 37. This publication won the First Prize of Colonial Literature in 1930. Although considering this an important source for the history of Gaza, Gerard J. Liesegang alerts us to its purposeful attempt to create colonial myths that distort the historical context, a view with which this thesis largely agrees, given that such myths affect much colonial literature and various forms of documentation, including photographs. Toscano was one of the Portuguese officials involved in the work of the delimitation of the southern border of Mozambique. He was a soldier under the command of Mouzinho de Albuquerque and participated in the pursuit of Magigwane, the commander of Ngungunyane's troops. In 1926, Toscano lived in Manjacaze (the Portuguese spelling of Mandlakazi) and administered the circumscription of Muchopes, a division of Inhambane District. Baía da Lagoa is called Delagoa Bay in English.

¹¹ Henri Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe. Mental Life*, Vol. II (New York: University Books Inc, 1962), 140-141.

¹² Marquês do Lavradio, *Portugal em África depois de 1851* (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1936), 54.

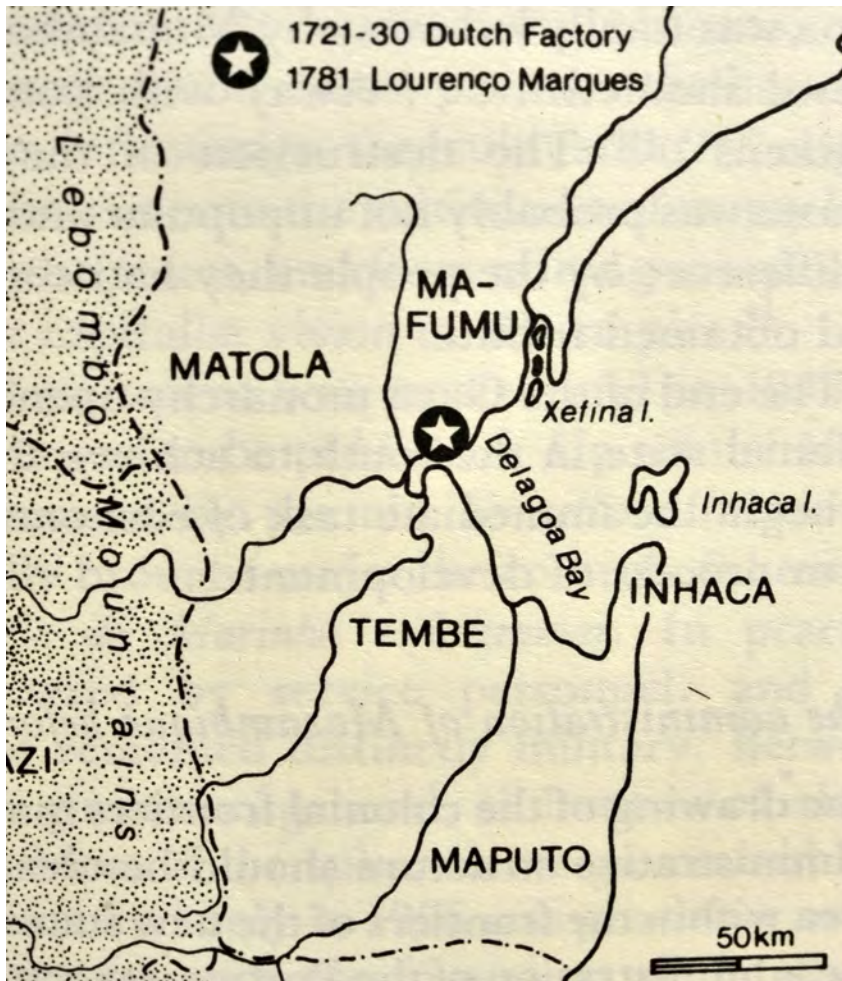


Figure 2. Map of Southern Mozambique in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹³ The star within the black circle locates the city of Lourenço Marques.

Other European navigators arrived. The natural shelter offered by the bay was ideal for ships in transit and also offered a strategic post in the Indian Ocean. Interests in the location increased when the convergence of several rivers into the bay turned it into a favoured route for ivory retrieved from the hinterland. In exchange, local people accessed beads, brass and cloth that reached the interior through routes that, from sea posts in the bay, followed trading posts in settlements or villages along the rivers.¹⁴ As mentioned previously, the rivers allowed the penetration of European goods to inland peoples while also providing Europeans with access to the unknown but promising interior of the continent. The rivers became important pathways through which the colonial army transported men, animals, and provisions when it later came to confrontation with local peoples.¹⁵

¹³ Map reproduced from Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (London: Hurst & Company 1995), 377.

¹⁴ Hedges, 'Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique', 108-109.

¹⁵ The rivers will be discussed further in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

A Dutch party from the Cape came to Delagoa Bay in the 1720s, with the intention to use its rivers to reach the Monomotapa gold mines. They were also interested in slaves, but this trade was not practised as it was in the northern islands of Mozambique, Angoche, and Quirimbas. In this southern region, only war captives were sold as slaves. The Dutch lost interest in the place when they could not find a route to the gold mines, and the low density of the potential slave market did not justify the very expensive material and human enterprise. Almost abandoned, the bay was occupied by an Austrian expedition whose commander, William Bolt, acquired the two banks of the bay and the Inhaca island in exchange for goods with local chiefs. In 1777 they established a trading station intended to be a refreshment stop for their ships involved in the commerce with East Africa and India. However, they also found the site to be unsuitable and, when a Portuguese expedition organized in Goa with the intention to reoccupy the bay arrived in 1781, the place was again virtually abandoned. The Austrian buildings were dismantled, replaced by a prison for convicts from Portugal and a warehouse run by the society of trades of Lourenço Marques. Destroyed by a French force during the Napoleonic war, in 1796, the small settlement was then rebuilt with support from established merchants from Mozambique (Island) who, interested in the ivory traded in the area, shipped in lime, boards and slabs to reconstruct buildings.

The Portuguese thus remained in the bay and in 1801 built the so-called *Presídio*, a reed-fenced enclosure with a house for the commandant of the detachment, one storehouse, and six circular houses for the soldiers and a kitchen. On the outside of the enclosure area, there were huts occupied by expatriates, artisans, and other workers. The little settlement became the destination of the undesired from Portugal who, together with the *Presídio*'s governor (an expatriate called Luis José) launched the foundations of what became one of the most important cities in southern Africa: the capital of Mozambique.

Lourenço Marques, Xilunguine, Kamfuma

The Portuguese governor had a relationship with important local chiefs Capela and Moamba, who often visited the Portuguese territory and received *saguates*, a local expression for the payments made through offered gifts, in most cases, drinks, clothes and other valuable assets. Local areas such as Mafumo and Polana were donated to the king of Portugal by chief Moamba in 1805. However, around the tiny stretch of land where the *presídio* was located,

skirmishes between Portuguese and other local chiefs frequently happened. The Portuguese settlement was attacked in 1813 and the fighting extended to the neighbor areas of Mavota and Magaia. It is said that the quarrels resulted from a disagreement between the Portuguese governor and the important chief Capela, who then sought aid from William Fritz Owen, an English naval captain in command of the British corvettes *Leven* and *Barracuda*, then in Lourenço Marques for 'hydrographic and geographic observations' authorized by Portugal. The flag of Great Britain was hoisted at the border between the land of Capela and Portuguese territory.

From 1822, Owen made several trips between Lourenço Marques and Mozambique (Island) on a coastal exploration mission, but he reported extensively on the slave trade in Portuguese ports. Disquieted by the English intentions, the Portuguese authorities granted exceptional privileges to a commercial company formed in Lisbon that belonged to a very active merchant whose ships were involved in the slave trade and who had powerful connections in Brazil. For an exclusive right to trade ivory, Tomas Vicente dos Santos promised shipping connections between Lisbon, Lourenço Marques, Inhambane and Moçambique (Island), facilitating the transport of Portuguese settlers, soldiers, expatriates as well as supplies. The first ship from Portugal arrived in Lourenço Marques in 1826, after 97 days of travel. The company ostensibly focused their interests in the business of ivory, while the slave trade went underground.

As mentioned earlier, the slave trade was not an extensive practice in the south. Only prisoners from wars between local chiefs were made slaves, but they were to serve within their chiefdoms and never to be traded with Europeans which was considered an abomination. However, some chiefs did sell prisoners to the Portuguese, who conveniently instigated petty wars between the chiefdoms, providing guns to chiefs whose prisoners they would acquire and keep in the Presídio until the arrival of the next annual vessel from Moçambique (Island). The trade was nevertheless of very low intensity at least until early 1897. It increased with the distress caused by the invasion of the Vátua (Nguni) warriors who subjugated most of the local chiefdoms from the Limpopo to Zambezi Rivers, creating the Gaza Empire. Their presence in the area disrupted the normal production of food, the ivory trade and other commercial activities, resulting in famine and scarcity. Many locals voluntarily rendered themselves to slavery to avoid starvation.

During the nineteenth century, the main destination of the slaves from Gaza were the French Indian Ocean islands of Madagascar and Mascarenhas. The growing weight of protest against slavery justified British intervention through naval patrols along the coasts of Portuguese African territories. On 28 July 1860, Henry Kepple, the commander-in-chief of the British force at the Cape of Good Hope, entered Lourenço Marques Bay aboard the ship *Brisk* and established a boundary between the Portuguese and English possessions: ‘the southern part of the South territory belonged to the British Crown by assignment in 1823’. From the Cape, another military party aboard the *Narcissus* arrived in Delagoa Bay on 5 November 1861 to seize and attach the islands of Inhaca and Elephants to the colony of Natal.¹⁶ The islands were considered a strategic location to combat the slave trade.¹⁷ The importance of Delagoa Bay increased with the independence of the Orange Free State. The Pretoria to Lourenço Marques route became the only lifeline to the sea for the Transvaal Republics surrounded by the British protectorate (Botswana), and after the annexation of Zululand to Natal. The Luso-British disputes over the bay led to the 1875 international arbitration decided in favour to Portugal by the French president Marshall Mac-Mahon.

The city of Lourenço Marques gained a new pace in the 1870s. Its port, with long-haul international shipping, had an influx of seafarers and traders, and storehouses were built by firms after the establishment of regular connections with Durban and the rest of the world made the Union Steamship in 1877, joined by British India and Deutsche Maritime companies. The railway line from Delagoa Bay to Pretoria was formally opened in June 1895. Passing through a number of goldfields such as Komati, Lydenburg, and De Kaap, the line connects Johannesburg to Lourenço Marques via Pretoria.¹⁸

¹⁶ Lobato, *Xilunguine*, 58. The Gaza Empire is the focus of the second half of this chapter.

¹⁷ Lavradio, *Portugal em África Depois de 1851*, 6.

¹⁸ George Jesset Montague, *The Key to South Africa: Delagoa Bay* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1899), 125-126. ‘Lourenço Marques has become an important seaport, in close relation with the miners of Johannesburg who receive their supplies via Delagoa Bay... The fashion of going to the Transvaal mines, to earn money, has become so universal that a Thonga man would think he had in some sort failed if he had not made a stay in town’. In Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, Vol. I, 147. Echoing these considerations, Rita-Ferreira argues that the discovery of gold in the regions of Lydenburg and Pilgrims Rest moved the cheap labour preferences from the sugar cane plantations in Natal to the Transvaal minefields. Their movement is part of the history of the railway line. From the British claims to parts of the Lourenço Marques Bay, Mac-Mahon’s arbitration of 1895 opened the possibility of buying or selling the Bay. In António Rita-Ferreira, *Colectânea de Documentos, Notas Soltas e Ensaíos Inéditos Para a História de Moçambique*. ‘The Secular Importance of Lourenço Marques Bay in Commercial Exchanges with the Interior’ (Portugal: Author’s Edition, 2012), 267-273. The cover of the *Delagoa Directory* of 1899 highlighted the town and the port of Lourenço Marques together with an article on the Kaap Goldfields. The Directory was a bilingual yearbook of information regarding the town and its port, advertising products, companies and commercial houses based in Lourenço Marques and elsewhere.

The city and its photographers

Lourenço Marques is built between a barrier of hills and the vast drainage of the rivers Espírito Santo and Tembe, on low ground, formed by the sands of these rivers and sediments of those hills, and still now drenched in part by the sweet waters that flow from the heights and salty waters that the tides spill... the town resembles a corpulent spider stuck in the corner of a web of avenues and streets in draft, underway or executed. The avenues decorated with pompous historical names or aspiring to history - Dom Manuel, Vasco da Gama, Álvares Cabral, Luciano Cordeiro.¹⁹

In its early days, the town was entirely concentrated in a narrow area with the buildings distributed through two principal and a few transversal roads, close to the growing harbor. In the center of this conglomeration, a space was dedicated to leisure, which the city council in its session of 30 September 1888 decided to landscape. The famous city square called *Praça 7 de Março* was the first gardening project in Lourenço Marques and was based on a proposal made by Manoel Joaquim Romão Pereira, a photographer and designer commissioned by the government 'to take views of the Province'. Pereira's arrival from Portugal, accompanied by an assistant, was reported in the only local newspaper at the time.²⁰

This was the first official Photographic Expedition to the 'province of Mozambique', and it took place during a period of rising tensions between Portugal and England. When the British Ultimatum was delivered to Portugal in 1890, the photographer Pereira was already in the field. He accompanied Counsellor Marianno Cyrilo de Carvalho, former Finance Minister in Portugal, whose official target was an inventory of the economic resources of the colony now threatened by British interests. This was quite a historical moment, because 'never before had such a high-ranking public figure been sent to the colony'.²¹ For six months, Carvalho travelled almost the entire territory, encountered different local realities, and prepared a

¹⁹ Ennes, *A Guerra da África em 1895*, 38 and 4.

²⁰ The only local newspaper was the *O Districto de Lourenço Marques*, and the advertisement appeared in its edition of December 1888. Romão Pereira is the author of three photographs with different views of the praça 7 de Março in the city of Lourenço Marques, published in Luísa Villarinho Pereira, *Moçambique, Manoel Joaquim Romão Pereira (1815 – 1895). Fotógrafo comissionado pelo Governo Português* (Lisboa: Luísa Villarinho Pereira, 2013), 113. One of the photographs also features in Lobato, *Xilunguine*, illustration n. 212. The caption states that the photograph was taken for the photographic expedition of 1890. It shows the district government building, people working in the garden (in the forefront), two white men standing and, further back, early lampposts used for street illumination.

²¹ Paulo Jorge Fernandes, 'A súbita vocação Africanista de um ex-ministro: A viagem de Mariano de Carvalho a Moçambique em 1890'. In *Africana Studia*, n°17 (Porto: Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto, 2011).

report advising a broad program of financial reforms. A collection of 115 photographs signed by Manoel Joaquim Romão Pereira featured in a published album titled *Missão de Marianno de Carvalho à Província de Moçambique, em 1890. Photographias*.²²

Pereira must have been the first professional photographer to open a studio in Lourenço Marques (in 1888). He advertised in the local newspaper to be selling ‘photographs of different points and buildings of this city at 300 reis per album’, and take portraits at clients’ houses at an advantageous price. The advertisement gives the photographer’s ‘Residence and studio between Avenida D. Manuel and Largo da Igreja.’²³ Apparently, photography and urbanism were not his only activities. On 2 February 1889, the same newspaper issued another advertisement:

Attention! On sale at Pereira’s photographic studio in front of the parish residence, good corn, pigs, and piglets. Deal with the dealer from 6 to 9 am.²⁴

The photographic work was still being carried out in the field when Lisbon started to request pictures. Acknowledging the receipt of 52 photographs depicting buildings and landscapes, on 25 August 1890 the secretariat of the Geographical Society of Lisbon (SGL) asked for ‘each photograph to be accompanied by precise and clear designation which was lacking.’²⁵ The photographs depicted peaceful relations between colonial officers and the native population, the existence of schools, as well as the mineral exploration. The photographic work was concluded in 1891 and Pereira returned to Lisbon shortly afterwards. Many of these photographs were copied in anonymous engravings published by the magazine *O Occidente*, to illustrate texts of the Portuguese official Augusto Castilho. Three hundred photographs were exhibited during the celebration of the Fifth Centenary of the birth of Infante D. Henrique in the famous Crystal Palace of Porto city in 1894, and many are in diverse archives, collections, and publications.²⁶ It means that the empire was visually

²² ‘*The Mission of Mariano de Carvalho to the Province of Mozambique in 1890. Photographs*’. My translation.

²³ Published in, *Distrito de Lourenço Marques* (December 1888). It was probably the first non-official newspaper in Mozambique and started to be published in the town (1888). Reis was the currency of the time, later changed to escudos.

²⁴ Alfredo Pereira de Lima, *Pedras que já não falam*, 121.

²⁵ Pereira, *Moçambique*, 147.

²⁶ Pereira, *Moçambique*, 123-171. Infante refers to the son of the ruling monarch of Spain or Portugal other than the heir to the throne, specifically the second son.

exposed both nationally and internationally. The photographs of such remote areas proved Portugal's effective presence in its African possession.

Pereira's 'Atelier Portuguez de Photographia' (Portuguese Photo Studio) was possibly the first in town, located close to the street named Transvaal. Yet there might have been an earlier location: a long shed with broken windows in the same street where, sometime later, another photographer Louis Hily resided, also invited by the Portuguese authorities to work in the colony. Hily arrived in 1889, opened his studio during the 1890s, and photographed the construction of the Lourenço Marques railway line extensively.²⁷ Postcard production is amongst his best-known commercial work and his family kept the business until the country's independence in 1975 – a remarkably long presence in town.²⁸

These above-cited commercial photographers produced rich visual documentation of the Portuguese efforts towards an effective occupation of Mozambique, particularly during the period of tense relations with Great Britain. Their work was used in different ways and to achieve different ends, from private and commercial to official and propaganda. The SGL's request for the photographs of Manoel Pereira to be accompanied by specific locations in which they were taken is an indication of the entire image operation. Hily's cartes de visite speak about the personal or the exotic. He also extensively photographed the construction of the railway line to Transvaal, showing the prosperity of the colony. The commissioning of this photographer during the Ngungunyane campaign is important evidence of the involvement of photography in the making of the colonial empire. It shows Portugal's firm colonial presence. Hily's pictures celebrate the end of the Gaza Empire. Among the most widely-circulated photographs of the event were images of the captured African king and the

²⁷ Hily's photographs on the railway construction can be found on various online history archives and tertiary education sites such as <https://www.europeana.eu/portal/en/search?mlt=%2F10501%2F53443&page=2&q=Foto+L.+Hily>. Last accessed 28 March 2018. The name of the photographer is spelled differently: L.V. Pereira spelled Hilly. In the blog of the Portuguese Association of Photography (APPH) it is also spelt as Louis Hilly. See apphotographia.blogspot.com, posted 5 July, 2007. But in the AHU Portuguese Digital Repository archives cited above the name is spelled Hily as does the Mozambican historian António Sopa in 'Um País em Imagens', a brochure published for the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Mozambican Association of Photography (Maputo: Prodata, February 2006), 4. This thesis, adopt Hily as his signature on the surface of printed photographs. See for example in this chapter Figure 5.

²⁸ Another well-known commercial house is the J. & M. Lazarus. These two brothers arrived from the Transvaal Republic in 1899, opened a studio in the center of Lourenço Marques and a branch in Beira, the second city of the colony. Their photographic activities extended to neighbouring territories such as Nyasaland (today Malawi). They published the first photographic album completely dedicated to the city, *A souvenir of Lourenço Marques: an album of views of the town* (Lourenço Marques: J&M Lazarus, 1901).

victorious Portuguese military commander, projecting the consolidation of the Portuguese authority in the south of Mozambique.

Although operating as a commercial photographer running a private business, Pereira also had a farm and produced food for local consumption, which suggests he could not make a living from photography alone. As an urban planner, he designed the first embellished park that later became an important social site in the city. Hily in turn is reported to have been very active on the barricades of the town during the attacks by the rebel chiefs Mahazulo and Zixaxa in 1894.²⁹ Apparently, he had a friendship with Mouzinho de Albuquerque, the Portuguese official who became the Governor of Mozambique (1876) and took photographs of him on different occasions.

Invited by the Portuguese authorities the photographer Louis Hily opened a commercial studio in the busiest part of the city. His friendly relationship with the Governor might have facilitated his official photographic work. The portraits of Mouzinho de Albuquerque accompanied by Dr. Baltazar Cabral (Figure 3) were probably taken in his studio.³⁰ The full frame of the picture reveals an artificial natural background, which brings into the resulting portrait a suggestive sense of dominated territory: the wild African landscape, without its savage inhabitants. The military governor and the civil General Secretary in the image transmit an idea of civilization through decisive administration. They seem to be tense, each of them with one hand gripping a studio accessory which helps them to stand still for the long time required by photographic exposure, but their body language and facial expressions allow for some speculation.

The photograph in Figure 3 is available online from the site of Arquivo Científico Tropical, which shows ‘Varios aspectos relacionados com Mouzinho de Albuquerque em Lourenço

²⁹ Figure 224 in Lobato’s *Xilunguine* is a photograph that depicts part of the Lourenço Marques barricade with artillery pieces and a few men standing looking to the camera. The caption states that it was taken in Lourenço Marques in 1894, specifying the street (Avenida da Republica) with civilian defence volunteers. The caption identifies the collection that contains the photograph but not the photographer. Might it be Hily?

³⁰ Mouzinho de Albuquerque, the Comissário Régio (Royal commissioner) of Mozambique (1896-7) requested the presence of Dr. Cabral with whom he had a long and close relationship. Cabral was appointed Secretary-General of the province on 26 March 1896. He temporarily replaced the artillery Captain João Pereira de Eça and acted as Governor of Lourenço Marques District. A friend of all the District Governors, the young man, ‘later returned to Europe where [as] a skilled and intelligent businessman [he] marked his position in the world of Portuguese high finance.’ In João de Azevedo Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro e Soldado de África* (Lisboa: Livraria Bertrand, 1945). The photograph is available at <https://actd.iict.pt>.

Marques' (several aspects related to Mouzinho de Albuquerque in L. M.). The original is a fiber-based paper print 50x60cm, ID n. 5313.



Figure 3. Mouzinho de Albuquerque on the left and Dr. Cabral on the right. The date is unknown.

Nominated *Comissário Régio* (Royal Commissioner) on 25 November 1896, Mouzinho de Albuquerque openly criticized Portuguese policy in relation to the colonies and denounced corruption within the government. He became even more disappointed when a decree issued on 7 July 1898 changed *Comissário Régio* to General Governor. This reduced his autonomy in the management of the colony and transferred the decision-making to Lisbon. The change precipitated his resignation, which was accepted by the Maritime and Overseas Minister José Luciano de Castro on 19 July 1898. Upon his return to Portugal, Mouzinho became the tutor of the Portuguese prince Infante Dom Henriques.³¹ Shortly afterwards, he ended his life, shooting himself with a pistol, apparently disgusted with the corruption prevailing within the Portuguese aristocracy and the empire's government.

³¹ The prince Dom Henriques and his father King Dom Carlos were assassinated on the eve of the events that marked the end of the old constitutional monarchy that had been adopting a more liberal programme, yet not enough to save the system from a republican regime.



Figure 4. ‘The “court” of Mouzinho de Albuquerque in Lourenço Marques. Left to right, sitting: Vieira de Rocha, field helper; Dr. Baltasar Cabral, Secretary General; Engineer Luis Gavião; Maria José Mouzinho and Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque. In the background, standing, conde da Ponte (Manuel Ferrão), field helper; Aires de Ornelas, Chief of Staff; ordinance and servants (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal).’³²

Hily also made a group photograph of the most ‘honorable’ members of the province’s administration on the balcony of the ‘Red Point Palace’, the house of the *Comissário Régio* in Lourenço Marques.³³ Among the military and civilian personnel, there is Dr. Baltasar Cabral already seen in the previous portrait with Mouzinho, the engineer Luís Gavião (who will feature later during discussion of the Báruè campaign of 1902), and Aires de Ornelas – a colonial official and published author. The *Comissário Régio*, Mouzinho de Albuquerque, his wife, Maria José Mouzinho, and most of the officials are seated on very stylish chairs.

³² This is the caption of the photograph published in Paulo Jorge Fernandes, *Mouzinho de Albuquerque. Um Soldado ao Serviço do Império. Biografia* (Lisboa: A Esfera dos Livros, 2010). In this book, the photographs have dedicated pages and those are not numbered but his one can be found between pages 256 and 257.

³³ Ennes was the first *Comissário Régio* to inhabit the house. Ornelas recalls the day Ennes disembarked in Lourenço Marques and in an ‘offensive spirit’ decided to reside at Red Point, a location out of the ‘Blockhouses’ line’ that surrounded the city around the fortress and the harbour, whereas the rest was bush where a ‘fermenting rebellion was sensed and attacks were expected’. According to Ornelas, when Ennes and his escort riding horses arrived at Ponta Vermelha it was dark, they could hardly see the path to the house. That led to an accident that immobilized one officials of the delegation for several months. See the description in Ornelas, *Colectânea das Suas Principais Obras Militares Coloniais*, 66.

In the foreground, a black boy (mufana) is seated on the floor beside the dog lying at the feet of the lady. There are some military officials in a standing position. One of them, Aires de Ornelas, leans casually on the back of the chair on which the Major and Comissário Régio are seated.³⁴ Several black servants, clean and dressed in seemingly white clothes (one cannot be certain as the photograph is in black and white), are also standing at the rear of the officials. It is interesting to note that Mouzinho and his wife Maria José are the only ones who are not looking towards the camera; their gazes are instead turned towards one another. The stamp of the photographer is engraved at the bottom right hand side of the print.

Toppling the Gaza Empire

The instability around the growing settlement of Lourenço Marques was not only a colonial competition but also involved the surrounding local chiefdoms, such as Capela, Maputo, Matola and Inhaka. But, the most significant challenge to Portuguese authority in the south became the Gaza Empire, formed by the subjection of most of these local chiefdoms to the Nguni warriors.³⁵ Quintinha and Toscano argue that ‘the establishment of the Vátuas in East Africa was posterior to the Portuguese occupation’, and, therefore, the annihilation of the African power was an ‘unquestionable political necessity’ to Portuguese control over the territory.³⁶ The ‘Vátua gave the name of Camfuma to the city of Lourenço Marques.’³⁷ Portuguese ownership of the bay was not recognized by this African power.

The campaign against King Ngungunyane in 1894-5 is considered the beginning of the Effective Occupation executed by Portugal after the Berlin Conference. The dates of great

³⁴ Aires de Ornelas, also an important military colonial figure and author of several publications will be mentioned further in this chapter.

³⁵ Ornelas explains that from the Zulu Empire, two lines broke away: the Matabele commanded by Mozilikate (Mzilikazi) who crossed the Rand and raided in the Transvaal, and the Nguni warriors commanded by Manicussi (also called Sochangana, the Ngungunyane’s grandfather) that devastated the Amatongas, crossed the Incomati River and settled in Bilene. The latter was the origin of the Vátua Empire, better known as the Gaza Empire. In Aires de Ornelas, *Colectânea das Suas Principais Obras Militares Coloniais*, Vol I (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1934), 337.

³⁶ Julião Quintinha e Francisco Toscano, *A Derrocada do Império Vátua e Mouzinho d’Albuquerque*, Vol I, 25. Rita-Ferreira speaks of the earlier presence of emigrant descendants of Karanga people from Great Zimbabwe in the bay already in the fifteenth century. During the nineteenth century, these people at the coast had commercial contacts with the Nguni. Stronger militarily, the Nguni turned the peoples from the coast into their tributaries. The control of the bay’s commercial routes was strategic to the African powers, particularly for access to firearms not allowed through the British’s port of Natal and the Transvaal Boer Republic. See Rita-Ferreira, *Colectânea de Documentos*, 267-273. For a deeper study on this subject see Eric Axelson, *Portugal and the Scramble for Africa (1875-1891)* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1967).

³⁷ Quintinha e Toscano, *A Derrocada do Império Vátua*, 37. Camfuma (also spelled Kamfumo) means the house of the local chief Mfumo and his people.

battles are celebrated in both colonial and postcolonial times. Monument at Marracuene, just forty kilometers far from the city of Lourenço Marques and, slightly further north (Chibuto District), the monument at Coolela, are landmarks of the battles that marked the end of the Gaza Empire. Two photographs of religious services celebrate the return of the soldiers from the battle of Marracuene. In a publication of the book by Ennes, *A Guerra de África em 1895*, the caption says ‘A missa campal celebrada a 10 de Fevereiro de 1895, no regresso de Marracuene (The camp mass celebrated on February 10, 1895, on the return from Marracuene).’³⁸ In Ornelas *Colectânea das suas Principais obras Militares e Coloniais*, a different photograph is published and the caption reads: ‘Missa campal na Ponta Vermelha – Distribuição de recompensas à coluna de Marracuene, 16 de Fevereiro de 1895 (Mass at Red Point – Distribution of Rewards to the Marracuene Column, February 16, 1895).’³⁹ With the end of the campaign, Portuguese authority was extended into the region between the Maputo and Save Rivers. Apparently, that ‘pacification’ helped Lourenço Marques to prosper, but not without challenges that are, perhaps, signalled by its numerous photographs.

Hily also photographed Ngungunyane and his entourage.⁴⁰ These photographs are from the series of his commissioned work during the campaign against the Gaza Empire in 1895. The image in Figure 5 shows that, although a prisoner, the African potentate seems to have been given special treatment because he is not seated on the floor and still holds his symbolic stick.⁴¹ The seven wives (Namatuco, Fussi, Patihina, Muzamussi, Maxaxa, Xesipe and Dabondi) accompanied him into exile.⁴² They are kneeling, as they could not be seated directly on the floor according to custom. They are similarly dressed with cloths over their shoulders and bangles on their arms.

³⁸ ‘The camp mass celebrated on February 10, 1895, on the return from Marracuene.’ (my translation of the caption) in António Ennes, *A Guerra da África em 1895* (Lisboa: Prefácio, Edição de Livros e Revistas, Lda, 2002), 91.

³⁹ Ornelas, *Colectânea das Suas Principais Obras Militares Coloniais*, 112. This caption also states that during the religious service, rewards were distributed to the participants of the column. In postcolonial Mozambique, a political and cultural event continues to celebrate the battle in the district of Marracuene, called ‘Gaza Mtini’.

⁴⁰ Ngungunyane, or Gungunhana in Portuguese spelling, was the last King of the Gaza Empire whose influence crossed the Zambezi River and reached Niassa. This thesis adopts the spelling used by Gerard Liesegang, one of the most important authors of history of the Gaza Empire in Mozambican historiography. However, the Portuguese spelling is kept on quotes or to express Portuguese colonial positions. Ngungunyane is one of the central figures of this chapter.

⁴¹ This is in reference to the moment in his capture, when Mouzinho ordered him to seat on the ground to reinforce his new position as ‘amatonga’, an ordinary person deprived of social rights. See further in this chapter.

⁴² After a short period in Lisbon, they were sent to Cape Verde and Mozambique.

The other figures in the photograph are the uncle of Ngungunyane, Molungo, standing behind him, and on the right, Ngungunyane's son, Godide. All the Africans in the picture went into exile in Portugal. The women were later deported to St. Tomé and Angola, separated from their husbands for the sin of polygamy. After spending eleven years in their place of exile in the Azores, those who survived were deported back to their homeland of Mozambique.⁴³ Enclosing the rows of the prisoners, two armed police guards provide a visual reassurance that Ngungunyane is arrested.

The image in Figure 5 bears the stamp of Foto Hily Lda., which indicates the photographer.⁴⁴ The photograph is also available online from the Digital Repository hosted by the Arquivo Científico Tropical in Portugal. The caption reads, 'Portrait of Gungunhana and his seven wives next to military' and is archived under the theme 'Several aspects related to Mouzinho de Albuquerque, in Lourenço Marques'. In his book *Mouzinho De Albuquerque*, Paulo Fernandes published the same image with the caption 'na prisão em Lourenço Marques, acompanhado pelas mulheres capturadas pelas forças portuguesas' (in the prison of Lourenço Marques, accompanied by his wives, captured by Portuguese forces).⁴⁵

In the article by Rodrigo and Almeida in the catalogue of the exhibition *Gungunhana em exílio*, a similar image is published without Hily's signature stamp (Figure 6).⁴⁶ The caption states that it was taken in a prison in Lisbon. The Portuguese photographic collector Ângela Camila Castelo-Branco published the photograph in her blog and attached the information: 'Forte of Monsanto, Lisbon 1896. Standing: Zixaxa and Godide (son of Gungunhana). Gungunhana is seated, and his seven wives before they embarked to the Azores'.⁴⁷

⁴³ The life in exile and the return of these women to their homeland is narrated fictionally in Ungulani Baka Khosa, *Gungunhana* (Lisboa: Porto Editora, 2017), 97-183. This photograph is also on the cover of romances dedicated to Ngungunyane written by famous Mozambican writers, Ungulani Baka Khossa and Mia Couto, published in 2017.

⁴⁴ The stamp of L. Hily studio can be seen in some of the photographs discussed in this Chapter. See for example Figure 5.

⁴⁵ The photographs published in Paulo Jorge Fernandes, *Mouzinho de Albuquerque*, have no page numbers. They are inserted between pages 128 and 129.

⁴⁶ *Gungunhana em exílio*. Exhibition opened at Torre de Belém in Lisbon, 1993.

⁴⁷ Published in 'Os retratos de Gungunhana', *Grandmonde.blogspot.com*, 20 Abril 2007. (last time accessed 27 March 2019). The photograph is credited to Ângela Camila Castelo-Branco and António Faria collection.



Figure 5. 'Portrait of Ngungunyane and his seven wives next to military.' Image retrieved from the Arquivo Científico Tropical Digital Repository.⁴⁸



Figure 6. Image retrieved from the blog, Grande Monde, 'Da Imagem da Fotografia em Portugal.'

⁴⁸ The image was digitized from the original proof (24x30cm, PRA/PM365) in January 2007 by the Institute of Tropical Scientific Research. Note in Figure 5, the signature of the photographer imprinted on the right bottom side of the frame. Retrieved from site <https://actd.iict.pt> last accessed in 28/02/2018.

At first glance, it seems that Figures 5 and 6 are the same, but evidence indicates that at least two photographs were taken on the occasion. In comparison with the image in Figure 5, the point of view in Figure 6 moved slightly to the left. Either the camera changed position or two cameras placed side by side were used.

In this reading, the existence of two similar photographs of the subject and photographic moment underlines the significance ascribed to that occasion. There are contradictions in relation to the location where the photograph was taken: Lourenço Marques or Lisbon? Did Hily accompany the delegation to Europe? There are no other Hily photographs from Europe in the archive. This thesis is inclined to believe that the photographs (Figures 5 and 6) were taken in Lourenço Marques; given the bars in the window on the wall behind, there is very little doubt that the photographs were taken outside the prison cell. The zinc sheet leaning against the wall towards the back is a reference to the fire that destroyed the town in 1875.⁴⁹

The multiple constructions of Ngungunyane

This research accessed a transcription of the diary written by Swiss missionary George Liengme during the time he lived in Africa. Liengme made various visits to Gaza before he settled in Mandlakazi, his first visit being in 1891.⁵⁰ In 1892 he received authorization from Ngungunyane and in 1893 he moved in there with his wife, the nurse Berthe-Julie Ryff, and their daughter Berthlette. He established a station and practiced medical and missionary work. The Portuguese quartermaster in Mandlakazi, Mr. Júdice Breyner, introduced George Liengme to Ngungunyane and a certain relationship developed between the two. On several occasions, the African king benefitted from the missionary's medical assistance.

Besides his medical and missionary work, Liengme also took photographs. Some of them are known, featured in different publications and exhibitions. The Family folder contain 17 printed black and white photographs he took, mostly in Mandlakazi: the village capital of the Gaza Empire, where its king Ngungunyane had his kraal. The negatives of these photographs can be found among his other lesser-known photographs in the George Liengme's collection

⁴⁹ Previously the buildings in the Lourenço Marques settlement were built with local materials and thatched roofs. After the great fire that destroyed the village, this kind of structure was forbidden and replaced by stone houses covered with French tiles or zinc sheets. See Adolphe Linder, *Os Suiços em Moçambique* (Cape Town: Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, 2001), 27.

⁵⁰ See on this chapter annexure 3 for a brief exposition on Liengme.

archive at the Musée des Suisses dans le Monde in Switzerland. The photo collections, the diary, and other material animate this discussion.

The traffic into that African capital was intense, visited by journalists, government officials and businessmen seeking to meet the king or to establish commercial relations within his empire. The different colonial powers in dispute of that territory considered Ngungunyane to be a very important ally. Liengme's diary reveals that he became a greatly desired yet elusive photographic subject. Despite his prominence, there is a gulf between the desire for his image and the apparent lack of photographs of Ngungunyane; only a few could be found for this research, some taken by Hily and some by Liengeme while others are uncredited.

The photograph of Ngungunyane in Figure 7 is another case of an image that has been replicated and appropriated; it is published in Fernandes' *Mouzinho de Albuquerque*, 2010. The caption reads 'King at the moment of his arrest in Chaimite. (PT - Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino).' It also features in Miranda's romance, without a caption and without credit.⁵¹

The same photograph is also published and commented upon by the historian Patrick Harries in his discussion of the Swiss missionary Henri Junod's work, whose methodology 'helped to rebuild the image of a pure and authentic Thonga community.'⁵² According to Harries, the man photographed is Ntchoungi, a Xhosa sub-chief from near Antioka.⁵³ The caption explains that the man has an ebony snuffbox hanging on his chest, holds a staff with a sculptured head, and wears a serval (wild cat) skin around the waist, which means that he was considered a *Khela* – an adult man allowed to wear a circlet on his head (called *ngiyana* in the Ronga language). The signature of the photographer is not visible here.

⁵¹ Paulo Jorge Fernandes, *Mouzinho de Albuquerque, Um Soldado ao Serviço do Império* Biografia (Lisboa: A Esfera dos Livros, 2010), 128-129; Manuel Ricardo Miranda, *O Último Rei de Moçambique* (Lisboa: A Esfera dos Livros, 2013). In both publications, the pages containing illustrations are not numbered.

⁵² Henri Junod was a member of the Swiss Romande Mission. He came to Mozambique in 1889 and was based at the Rikatla mission station, producing detailed studies of the Bathonga peoples inhabiting the south of Mozambique. He is the author of the well-known monograph *The Life of a South African Tribe*, published for the first time in 1912.

⁵³ Antioka, a village of the Lourenço Marques District, had an important missionary station.



Figure 7. Photograph taken outside the hut where he was arrested (online site PT AHU).⁵⁴



Figure 8. Composition copied from Patrick Harries, *Junod e as Sociedades Africanas. Impacto dos Missionários Suíços em Moçambique* (Maputo: Edições Paulinas, 2007), 258.

⁵⁴ Note the signature of the photographer at the right bottom side of the print (Figure 7). From ACTD- Arquivo Científico Tropical, Digital Repository.

Figure 8 (a composite of two images) is extracted from Patrick Harries' published study, which points out the construction methodologies employed by Junod. Based on the photograph on the left; the image on the right was made by an anonymous illustrator and was used by Junod. The European-style manufactured chair that features in the photograph is 'carefully omitted' in the sketch. Harries argues that 'although aware that chairs had become a symbol of royal power in the area', Junod chose to exclude that piece of furniture from the image because it 'conflicted with his idea of what constituted an authentic African chief.' The original photograph is apparently in the Swiss Mission Archive in Lausanne.⁵⁵

The photograph from Figure 8 (the left image) is the same in Figure 7 and 9, and is attributed to Louis Hily, the Portuguese official photographer during the military campaign of 1894-5. Beside this image is placed a photograph of Ngungunyane taken by Liengme (Figure 10). Although they have a common purpose to produce the visual reference of an important African king, the two photographs express very different points of view. The image on the left (Figure 9) is, according to Portuguese archives, a portrait of 'the king at the moment of his arrest in Chaimite', not far from the place where Muzila, his father and the former African king, was buried. It is said that Ngungunyane was there seeking ancestral protection.⁵⁶

The archives containing Figures 7, 8, and 9 claims that this image was taken outside the hut where Ngungunyane 'was hiding at the moment of his arrest.' Although the neutral artificial background eliminates the hut, the tiny bamboo canes traditionally used to build the walls of the huts are visible at the bottom of the backdrop behind the depicted king. The photographer tried to erase any visual clutter or interference from the image of the king. This is a very common technique often used in anthropology to photograph 'types'. The neutral background represents a kind of 'deterritorialization': Extracted from his original environment, the African subject can be inserted into any other context.

The chair Ngungunyane supports himself on is of a European make. Such chairs were adopted in many African milieus as a utilitarian object reserved for the privileged, but this featured stance is possibly significant.⁵⁷ It is alleged that Mouzinho de Albuquerque charged

⁵⁵ Harries, *Junod*, 257. This publication doesn't give the name of the photographer nor the date on which the photograph was taken.

⁵⁶ Photograph and caption in Fernandes, *Mouzinho de Albuquerque. Um Soldado ao Serviço do Império*. The illustrations of the book are published in unnumbered pages.

⁵⁷ Harries, *Junod e as Sociedades Africanas*, 257.

on horseback into the fenced kraal where Ngungunyane was sheltering and, in front of his hut, ordered the defiant king to come out and to sit on the ground. That, according to Mouzinho de Albuquerque would reinforce the king's new condition as a 'matonga' (common man).⁵⁸ According to Portuguese sources, news of the defeat of Ngungunyane was well-received by many local peoples.⁵⁹

Despite knowing that he was defeated and most of his soldiers had abandoned him, it was difficult to ascertain what might await the invaders inside the enclosure because its high palisades hindered any possible view of the interior. The presence of the powerful king suggested the possibility of strong resistance, maybe from his bodyguards. Was the photographer present on the site when the event actually happened, or might he have come later, after the heat of the action so that he could conceptualize and organize the scene for the photographic session? Was he carrying the backdrop for his portraits? Was this photograph prepared in advance prior to the arrest? In the narratives consulted, the presence of the photographer during the campaign is not acknowledged, nor does any account of the taking of this photograph appear.

The neutral backdrop extracted Ngungunyane from his natural environment, and, considering that he was the king, serves politically to express the loss of a great empire, reduced to a few symbols of power, such as the stick and the alien chair on which he might not even be allowed to sit. The image displaying Ngungunyane as 'the other' together with his cultural symbols also serves an anthropological purpose of documenting the African before 'contamination' by Europeans.

The more naturalistic photograph in Figure 10 was published and exhibited several times. Taken against a very bright background, he seems to be standing in the middle of a path under the shade of a tree, holding a stick in one hand. He looks straight into the camera, with a relaxed, even amused expression, and the background suggests a semi-arid space dotted with scattered trees and few people. Behind him on the left, two individuals are standing, one partly cut off by the frame of the image; the other stands holding a stick in a pose similar to

⁵⁸ For the peoples of the south, the term Matonga meant a common man, deprived of any power, or political and social privilege. See Fernandes, *Mouzinho de Albuquerque*, 44.

⁵⁹ Fernandes, *Mouzinho de Albuquerque*, 44. In more or less the same terms, the scene was also described in António José Telo, *Moçambique 1895. A Campanha de Todos os Heróis* (Lisboa: Tribuna da História, 2004), 84-85.

the king's. Far back, other silhouettes are an allusion to the distance between the king and the common people. There is also a line that seems to be a palisade, perhaps demarcating the royal area. The glare of the excess of the light from the back gives an impression of divinity. The subject is not extracted from his environment; he seems to be comfortable with the presence of the camera and has a natural pose. An attitude of consent emanates from his posture as well as a sense of spontaneity. The evident unpreparedness suggests a kind of photographic opportunity whereby Liengme was lucky enough to take an almost intimate portrait of Ngungunyane.



Fig 9. Ngungunyane photographed by L. Hily Fig 10. Ngungunyane photographed by G. Liengme

The meeting between Almeida and Ngungunyane

At least two photographs were taken on the occasion of a meeting between Mr. Almeida (a Portuguese representative) and Ngungunyane. They belong to a collection of photographs taken during the Geographical and Geodesic expeditions for the delimitation of the borders of Lourenço Marques of 1890-91, available online.⁶⁰ Three names are given as the authors of

⁶⁰ '[\[Álbum fotográfico nº3\] Comissão de Delimitação de Fronteira de Lourenço Marques 1890-91.](#)' ACTD-Arquivo Científico Tropical, Digital Repository. This photograph will be discussed further in this chapter. Note that Lourenço Marques here is in reference not to the town but to the district whose area combines various districts of what is today Maputo Province.

the photographs: Alfredo Freire de Andrade, Etelvino Mezzena and José António Mateus Serrano.⁶¹

Not confident of its military capacity, the Portuguese used diplomacy to negotiate with different African powers. Officials were appointed as counsellors and names such as José Casaleiro Rodrigues, Marques Geraldês, Paiva Raposo and Vieira Braga are referred to as having produced interesting information about the Gaza Empire in particular. The Comissário Régio António Ennes used ‘resident ambassadors’ who lived close to Ngungunyane to bridge the communication between the two empires.⁶² The first was Joaquim Júdice Breyner, initially an employee of the Companhia de Moçambique. Based near the mouth of the Limpopo River, he picked up on the discontent of various African chiefs with their king. Since the Portuguese needed to keep smooth relations with the latter, Breyner was instructed not to react to the complaints.

According to Liesegang, the ‘most salient’ among the resident counselors who produced consistent information about the Gaza Empire was Mr. José Joaquim de Almeida.⁶³ Almeida met Ngungunyane several times, and on one occasion, two similar photographs were taken. His accessibility to the Gaza king was seen with distrust by António Ennes, but this might have been one of the reasons why Almeida was assigned by the colonial authorities to deliver an ultimatum demanding that the king hand over Nwamantibyane Mfumu and Mahazule Mbayaya: two rebel chiefs who had disturbed the region near Lourenço Marques and escaped from territories considered Portuguese after the Marracuene combat in August 1894.⁶⁴ They took refuge in Gaza and were protected by Ngungunyane.

Deconstruction

The following analysis using Figure 11 (which I call a ‘deconstruction’) is intended to demonstrate how an image can generate other images, which, once created, can be inserted

⁶¹ As mentioned earlier, Mezzena and Serrano carried out accurate surveys of the banks of the Incomati River.

⁶² These resident ‘ambassadors’ or representatives, also called counsellors, operated as quartermasters.

⁶³ José Joaquim de Almeida produced a collection of documents published in 1898 called *Dezoito Anos em África*. The major reason for their publication was his defence against accusations made against him by Ennes, Mouzinho and other members of the colony’s administration between 1895-96. The collection became an important source for the history of that period. See Gerhard J. Liesegang, *Ngungunyane, a figura de Ngungunyane, Rei de Gaza 1884-18895 e o desaparecimento do seu Estado* (Maputo: ARPAC, 1986), 5. Gerard Liesegang is extensively published, particularly in what regards the Gaza Empire’s history. For him, Almeida was unfairly treated by the Comissário Régio in 1895-96.

⁶⁴ The Portuguese called Nwamantibyane Mfumu by the name Matibjana, chief of Zichacaha or Zixaxa, by which name he was also known. This is according to Ornelas, *Colecção das suas Principais Obras Militares e Coloniais*, 67.

into different contexts, eventually with different captions. In some cases, the new image is not even related to the original photograph. In Figure 12, I have divided the photograph from Figure 11 into three panels and enlarged the middle image of the king. Figure 11 also features in the monograph by Villarinho Pereira *Moçambique, Manoel Pereira (1815-1894)* on page 50 and the caption reads: ‘Gungunhana and José Joaquim d’Almeida (Manjacase, 11.08.1890). Photo. Elvino Mezzena – IICT/AHU doc141/4022.’⁶⁵ Figure 11 depicts Ngungunyane and Almeida, sitting together on chairs and facing the camera. The photographer clearly moved them from the shade of the tree to the sun for a better exposure.



Figure 11. The photograph is available at <http://actd.iict.pt/view/actd:AHUD5177>.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Luísa Villarinho Pereira *Moçambique, Manoel Pereira (1815-1894). Fotografia Comissionado pelo Governo Português* (Lisboa: Luísa Villarinho Pereira, 2013), 50.

⁶⁶ Arquivo Científico Tropical (ACT), Digital Repository. Note that in such important Portuguese archive the photographs of Ngungunyane and his people are inserted in a collection called ‘The Border Delimitation Commission of Lourenço Marques, 1890-91’. This reinforces the argument followed in this thesis that the Gaza Empire was a significant matter in the definition of the south of Mozambique.



Figure 12. Deconstruction: Photograph Figure 11 divided.

The process of deconstruction is used in this thesis to stress visually how the original image was disassembled. The middle panel in Figure 12 is isolated in Figure 13 and placed beside a reproduction (the engraving in Figure 14).



Figure 13. Detail of the photograph in Figure 10.⁶⁷



Figure 14. Engraving.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Figure 13 is a detail of the photograph in Figure 11, as cropped and enlarged in Figure 12.

⁶⁸ The image features in Telo's monograph, *A Campanha de todos os heróis*, 85. The publication credits the author Francisco Pastor, 1895. His name is also inscribed in the print and visible on the bottom left side of the image Figure 14.



Figure 15. Ceramic mug of Portuguese pottery work.⁶⁹ Figure 16. A soup dish in Portuguese faience.⁷⁰

Figure 17 is another photograph also available on ACT digital archive and features as presented here: Ngungunyane is seated alone but the picture seems to have been taken on the same occasion of the photograph in Figure 11. However, the different positions of the stick and the king's leg indicate that at least two photographs were taken on that occasion. It is difficult to assert whether this is a detail of a larger shot that included Mr. Almeida or whether Ngungunyane was 'captured' alone in the picture. What is interesting is the inscription at the bottom left of the image. Is this visible M the signature of Mezzena, who is credited with this image in the monograph by Villarinho Pereira? The M does not appear in the photographic image in Figure 12.

In the ACT Digital Repository archive, the caption of the photograph in Figure 17 reads 'Gungunhana the head of the porters' which is very strange. No explanation has yet been found in the course of this research for such published information. The data provided states that the original source is an albumen print; 13x18 cm, and Alfredo Freire de Andrade, Etelvino Mezena and José António Mateus Serrano are the authors credited. This image of

⁶⁹ Attributable to the manufacture of Afurada, Gaia. Polychrome decoration in part stamped, representing a landscape and figure of King. 13.8 cm. Private collection.

⁷⁰ Manufacture of Coimbra, late 19th century. Polychrome, decoration representing King in the center. Diameter: 21.7 cm. Private collection. Telo, *Moçambique 1895. A Campanha de Todos os Heróis*, 86 - 87.

the king sitting alone has been made into several reproductions using different mediums (see Figures 15, 16, 18).



Figure 17. Photograph available online AHU.



Figure 18. Engraving, also signed by Pastor and published in Telo, *A Moçambique. A Campanha de Todos Os Heróis*, 85.

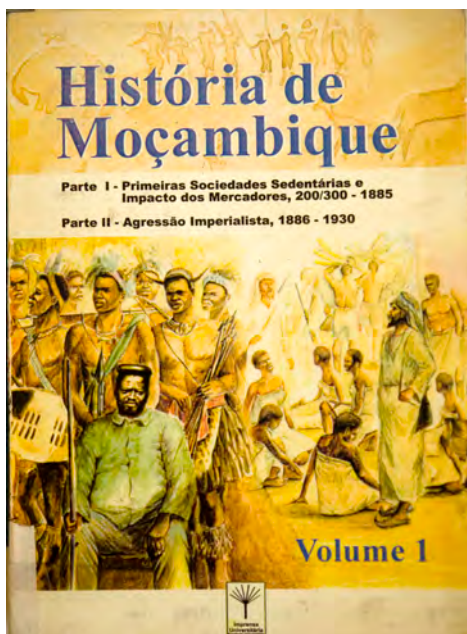


Figure 19. Book cover, *História de Moçambique. Moçambique*.⁷¹

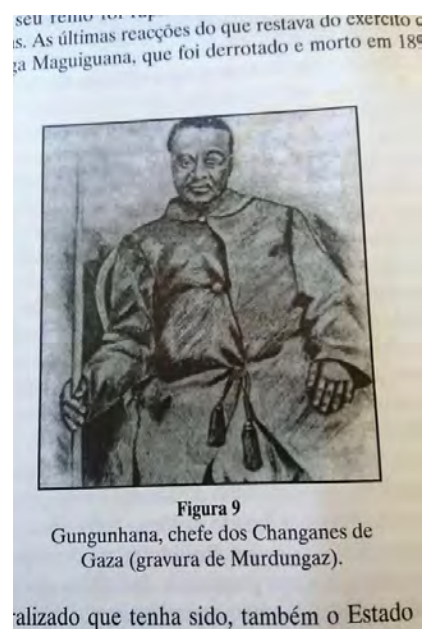


Figure 20. Engraving in A. Rocha,

⁷¹ Aurélio Rocha, *Moçambique, História e Cultura* (Maputo: Texto Editores, 2006), 26. The caption reads ‘Gungunhana, chief of Changanes of Gaza (engraving of Murdungaz)’.

In the heart of the Gaza Empire: documenting the final days

Liengme took photographs depicting aspects and events that occurred in the last few years of the Gaza Empire. His impressions are also vividly described in his diary.⁷² In the Liengme collection, there are a few photographs of missionary activities, such as one in which his wife Berthe is playing the organ for some local people who surround her. The musical instrument together with pictures of saints and biblical scenes were the great attraction and according to Liengme, ‘kept the locals in the religious services.’ Obviously, there are photographs of the ‘converted,’ as the baptized are called in Liengme’s diary. On the envelope that contains the photographic prints are handwritten indications such as: ‘Group of black Christians at missionary service’; ‘A black evangelist’; ‘Christian women’; ‘Group of blacks Occidentalised’. There are some photographs of Liengme’s medical yard and surgical interventions, such as a tooth extraction performed in an open space to the admiration of a curious audience. There are also images of his family and his travels. His most well-known photographs are the ones that depict the ‘tribe’: members of the royal family, some *indunas*, different warriors and a few aspects of the life within the kingdom.⁷³ A great number of the photographs in his collection depict the royal women, either posing or in more spontaneous situations.⁷⁴

In the photograph in Figure 21, two girls and one young man are holding shiny objects in their hands while another girl looks on. The girl in the foreground has her back turned to the photographer; her shoulders are uncovered despite the stylish scarf hanging off her arms. Her slightly turned position reveals her bangles – a sign of aristocracy. A young man whose full body cannot be seen is partially hidden by the young woman in the forefront of the image. He also has a similar object in his hand and seems to be showing it to the girl on his side, and they all seem amused and intrigued by the objects. In the image there is a pet dog, sniffing around their feet. The photograph was taken outdoors, the space encircled by sparsely distributed trees.

⁷² ‘Les Dernières Années du Regne du Roi, selon le Journal et les lettres du Dr. G. L. Liengme, médecin – missionnaire au Mozambique (1891 – 1895)’. Liengme took a photograph of the Portuguese quartermaster Júdice Breyner sitting with Ngungunyane and his *indunas* under the tree where matters of empire were normally discussed. Breyner introduced Liengme to the king and facilitated his move into Mandlakazi. See the photograph in Chapter 3 Annexure 3 Figure 5. The photographs of the two Portuguese representatives (Breyner and Almeida) meeting Ngungunyane will be compared to reflect on what photographs can say about their authors.

⁷³ *Indunas* are chiefs, members of the local aristocracy and close to the king.

⁷⁴ Several photographs taken by Liengme feature in Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, Vol I.



Figure 21. Photograph in the Liengme collection at Switzerland Penthes archive.

The image speaks to an entry in the Liengme diary that recalls a visit of girls from the court on Saturday 1 July:

During the afternoon several of Gungunhana young girls “Batombzane” came to visit us. That means his servants, his slaves, his concubines. They were very many. Some most probably have a better position than the slaves.

In fact, only one of the figures in the photograph wears bangles as well as earrings. Her hair is arranged in a royal style. The other two girls could be helpmates and the man possibly Liengme’s assistant. Apparently, they wanted to see the images of Jesus that were used to evangelize, to listen to hymns played with the organ, and to ‘beg for little presents.’ In that day, the two girls were offered little tin boxes that his wife brought from Durban, much appreciated by local women to use as ‘beautiful snuffboxes.’ Liengme wrote:

They also wanted to see the photographs I took, and one depicting a young girl whom they know well caused exclamations, cries of surprise... I had to lend the photograph, they wanted to show it to Gungunhana.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ From Liengme’s diary, ‘Les Dernières Années du Règne du Roi’. Transcript of 9 November, 1894, 132.

In another photograph (Figure 22), a young boy stands against a background in which a group of men with their backs turned to the camera are involved in a busy group activity. They have sticks in their hands and their movement converges to some point not visible in the image. The action seems to be happening in an open space, without trees or any other shade, and their feet raise dust from the dry sandy ground. Facing the camera but not looking at it, a boy who appears to be the subject of the picture faces a point on the side of the photographer. He does not seem amused, his face expressing more a grimace than a smile. Or is it excitement, or tension, or suspense? On the envelope that contains this photograph, it is written that the boy is a son of Ngungunyane and the picture was taken during the ‘great dances.’⁷⁶



Figure 22. Son of Ngungunyane during the great dances. Photograph from the Liengme collection at Switzerland Penthes archive.

The ‘great dances’ happened in Mandlakazi every February. According to Liengme they lasted several weeks and involved human sacrifices. On the evening of the last day, inside a tightly enclosed kraal, a young cow was slaughtered by hand and a kidnapped boy and girl were executed and their flesh mixed with that of the beef:

⁷⁶ Photographs in the collection of Dr. G.L. Liengme papers in the archive attached to the Musée des Swiss dans le Monde, at Chateau du Penthes in Switzerland. For this research, the photographic collection was briefly consulted in 2014.

Then all the young men are introduced to the kraal, some not willing to eat human flesh, others accepting the invitation. The meal goes on all night, they eat and dance until the morning.⁷⁷

Is the apparent discomfort expressed by the son of the king, a reason for which he turned his back to the dancers? Does the violence expressed in the dances disturb him? According to Liengme, the king's dance anticipated or celebrated the famous raids of the Nguni army. Liengme recalls the event:

When we arrived at our hut, in the village, I found only old men and women. The young males left with a force raised by Gungunhana ... The king needs new 'heads.' ... He sends people to massacre those unfortunate Matchopi already victimized so many times. All is done in secret, in silence... Close to Mandlakazi, the convoy of the heads (slaves) is presented to the king at dawn; the king would also lead the partition of the plunder.⁷⁸

Living near the king allowed Liengme to witness particular events that marked the decline of that African state.⁷⁹ The assembly of Ngungunyane's army in Mandlakazi was definitely one of those moments that he attempted to capture photographically. These are among the most published photographs taken by Liengme in Mandlakazi. He wrote in his diary:

Mandlakazi, October 1894 - the king's army is gathering. Every day troops of 50 to 100 individuals arrive in war costume. When the whole force is reunited, then the great ceremony will come... will distribute the 'war medicine' eaten to fortify their bodies, their courage enhanced to special fury that will push them to valiant combat.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Liengme diary, 121. The collection has several photographs of the occasion, particularly portraits of the royal youngsters dressed and prepared for the event.

⁷⁸ 'Heads' was the term for captured slaves within the kingdom, as Liengme explains in his diary. A certain secrecy covered these 'operations,' firstly to prevent the escape of potential victims, who might be carrying or hiding desired goods. On the other hand, there was some pressure from the colonial authorities, which, though constrained by England's condemnation of the slave trade, tended to allow this practice. Liengme diary, 111. The victims were normally the Matchopi (Muchopis) people whom the Nguni considered an inferior 'caste' and turned into slaves. While insubmissive to the Gaza Kingdom, they were described as a pacific, hardworking people who were friendly to the Portuguese and hated by Ngungunyane. See Quintinha and Toscano, *A Derrocada do Império Vátua*, 110-116. On the impact of the Nguni presence over the Chope in Southern Mozambique see also David J. Webster, *A Sociedade Chope. Indivíduo e Aliança no Sul de Moçambique 1969-1976* (Lisboa: Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, 2009), 44-49.

⁷⁹ See Liesegang, *Ngugunyane. A figura de Ngugunyane Nqumayo, Rei de Gaza 1884 – 1895*.

⁸⁰ Liengme diary, 129.

Many photographs have poor definition and seems to be not carefully framed, but they do show the space and the people. The blurriness in many images is suggestive and invites viewers to consider what is invisible. The photographs depict different spaces and distinct moments in people's lives in Mandlakazi. The photograph on the left (Figure 23) refers to the gathering of Ngungunyane's army. The warriors were in scattered camps on the plains that surrounded Mandlakazi. Liengme wrote about visits to those camps: 'The temporary huts called metchacha, are simple shelters built with branches and grass'.⁸¹ An example of one can be seen in Figure 24.



Fig 23. Forces scattered on the plain of Mandlakazi. Metchacha.⁸²



Fig 24. A temporary shelter called Metchacha.

At the Mangwaniane plain of Mandlakazi, the presence of a great number of men was problematic. There was famine and very poor health conditions and as the days passed the difficulties mounted. The number of sick people increased daily at the missionary station. Many were warriors coming from the temporary shelters. Each day, early in the morning, groups gathered in front of the station 'hospital', and after a short religious service Liengme would start with consultations.

I treat people with back pain and rheumatism in groups. ... I give them a small pot of turpentine mixed with alcohol infused with camphor. ... This medicine stinks, burns

⁸¹ Liengme diary, 130.

⁸² These two photographs Figure 23 and 24 come from the Liengme papers' collection in the archives of the Musée des Suisses dans le Monde at Chateau Penthes, Switzerland. The term metchacha is referenced in the missionary's diary. (see Liengme translation pages 147/148).

and smells. These are the three qualities indigenous people appreciate when it comes to medicine. ... A medicine that is easy to take or swallow or has no nasty taste is not a medicine. I make sure the medicine complies with their ideas and this actually makes my task easier.⁸³

The *Benguvo* ceremony. Mandlakazi in October 1894

In the following set of images (Figure 25), organized as a contact sheet, some photographs give a visual impression of the ceremony called *Benguvo* in which the war medicine is distributed by the king and taken by the warriors.⁸⁴ Liengme also wrote his impressions in the diary:

This morning the whole army that is camping in the vicinity was ordered to come to Mandlakazi. This resembles a revue passing in front of the king. Gungunhana was sitting on his ordinary chair surrounded by some of his main chiefs. I went to greet them, chatted for a moment with him and asked permission to take some photos. He received me warmly and gave me the permission to go ahead...⁸⁵

The King arrived at the local of the ceremony, and the men encircled one of the army chiefs covered with plumage, carrying a shield and assegai in the left hand and a stick of ebony in the right. He made a vow before the king. The whole army made the same vow: ‘Your army, here it is. It has arrived. We are ready to leave. Give the names of those who must be killed...’ Meanwhile, wrote Liengme, warriors came out of their ranks, about 15,000 men dancing or rather performing prodigious leaps. Many had still not yet arrived. The king promised them something after the dances. The missionary considered what was happening to be ‘indescribable’. In the entry of Monday 5 November, he wrote:

I really want to attend the ceremony. It was a unique occasion. The immense Mandlakazi plain, called Shibandla, was encircled by warriors, some were sitting; some were standing. The warriors were in their ranks, so close to one another that it was difficult to move through this tightly packed crowd. There were at least 50 000

⁸³ Ibid, 182-183.

⁸⁴ The war medicine is believed to give particular powers to the warriors and was taken before they departed to war.

⁸⁵ Liengme diary. The identification of these photographs as referring to the *benguvo* ceremony is an informed guess that comes from cross-references between texts and images.

men. If all warrior subjects responded on his call there would probably be at least 500 000 men. The natural healers and the young men formed a guard of honor in the center, which is a place reserved for them.⁸⁶



Figure 25. The Benguyo ceremony. Photographs from the Liengme collection.

‘The *Benguyo* ceremony’ happened from October to November in 1894. Ngungunyane distributed the famous war medicine to the warriors gathered at the Mandlakazi plain. Then the force was dispersed and departed to raid, but the hunting group stayed and were joined by the King who led the hunt. In an entry in his diary from 9 November, Liengme reported that the King returned the same day with antelope, baboons, badgers, rabbits, and other animals. ‘Nothing escapes,’ observed Liengme, ‘in such clubbing expeditions, they kill everything.’

⁸⁶ Liengme diary, 131.

The skins of apes are highly valued by indigenous people.⁸⁷ In general, the skin of small game indicated high rank, worn in both ceremonies and battle.⁸⁸ Hedges suggests a close correlation between warfare and hunting and explains the collaborative tactics employed in encounters with dangerous game. These kinds of activities were part of the initial steps in a warrior's formation. The young unmarried men placed at the fringes of the formation were the first to enter into contact with the seized animal, while the mature men occupied a more protected section in the center of a semi-circle formation. They used a throwing lance, possibly poisoned, for moving animals, and a shorter assegai for 'closer quarter stabbing of animal, or men, and [they] used axes as well'.⁸⁹

Hunting was part of a mixed economy for most the southern Mozambique peoples, 'disproportionally emphasized' in periods of political and economic displacement, and migrations such as the Mfecane.⁹⁰ It was a male specialization and complex rituals and folklore were associated with hunting the big five.⁹¹ It was a collective activity since most African hunters only possessed 'very simple and inadequate weapons' that made it impossible for a single man to hunt big animals.⁹² When the soil allowed, they also used a system of camouflaged pits that could be aligned one after another for a distance of two kilometres, and the game would be chased towards them.⁹³ Junod observed that one of the reasons for the mixed economy attributed to the agriculturists inhabiting southern Mozambique was that the area was extensive and rich in natural game. The sustained field production practiced by agricultural settlements near the rivers needed protection against the invasion of animals.⁹⁴ However, specialization in hunting was adopted by certain groups, 'while the ruling lineage seems to have maintained its eminence by using products of the chase, in trading relationships.' The *inkose* (headmen) would keep the ivory and other exchangeable products and the producers were 'rewarded from the *inkose*'s cattle store.'⁹⁵

⁸⁷ Liengme, 131.

⁸⁸ According to Liesegang, the socio-political structures of the Gaza state lasted in a semi-clandestine fashion until 1897, when an insurgency movement led by Magigwane Khosa aiming to re-instate the king failed and the principal figures of the state were killed or deported, with some fleeing to the Transvaal. See Liesegang, *Ngungunyane*, 10.

⁸⁹ Hedges, 'Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique', 74. Axes were an essential instrument, the cutting of one hamstring was enough to paralyze an elephant. Ibid, 59.

⁹⁰ Hedges, 'Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and Zululand', 56 – 57.

⁹¹ Hedges, 'Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique', 57.

⁹² Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, Vol II, 52.

⁹³ Hedges, 'Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique', 59.

⁹⁴ Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, Vol II, 52. The animals destroyed crops.

⁹⁵ Hedges, 'Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique', 56 and 89.

Cavalry and the end of the Gaza Empire

Mouzinho and Ornelas were cavalry men and this is possibly one of the reasons for the emphasis on the importance of horses in this campaign. They were used in reconnaissance missions that sometimes returned with cattle and other animals taken from the local populations. They stated that the use of the cavalry was decisive in the combat of Coolela, in the subsequent capture of ‘King Gungunhana in Chaimite’, and later in the campaign against the famous warrior called Magigwana, the commander of Ngungunyane’s army.⁹⁶ He was on a mission to call warriors around the kingdom to fight against the Portuguese when the king was arrested. The African commander kept on fighting, resisting submission and challenging colonial authority.⁹⁷ According to enthusiastic accounts by participant soldiers, after being attacked and defying five thousand African warriors, the Portuguese cavalry charged across the sandy and difficult terrain of the Macontene plain, in pursuit of Magigwane who died fighting.⁹⁸

The cavalry drastically compensated the unbalanced number of soldiers in the colonial battlefields. Mouzinho argues that victories would not have been as decisive without horses.⁹⁹ In one well-known photograph he is on horseback (see Figure 27). That photograph might have provided the model for the monument dedicated to him, erected in one of the principal squares of the city of Lourenço Marques, pompously inaugurated in December, 1940. In an interesting ellipsis, the photojournalist Ricardo Rangel photographed the removal of this monument (Figure 26) of the soldier on horseback with its sculpted narration of Ngungunyane’s arrest, before it was removed to the Fortaleza in Maputo.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Spelled Maguiguana by the Portuguese, this thesis assumed Magigwane, as spelled in Liesegang’s *Ngungunyane*.

⁹⁷ Fernandes, *Mouzinho de Albuquerque*, 297.

⁹⁸ Details can be found in Ornelas, *Colectânia das sua Principais Obras Militares e Coloniais*, Vols I, II, III.

⁹⁹ Mouzinho’s famous horse Mike. Mike was the most celebrated horse of the Gaza and Namarrais campaigns. Bought by Aires de Ornelas, in South Africa for £35 from an English lord, he went to Mozambique ... and quickly lost his name to be designated 35, his military number. He arrived in Inhambane in 1895, and was requested by Colonel Gallardo because he was the best and better-trained animal. ... When appointed Comissário Régio, Mouzinho de Albuquerque took him to Mozambique (Island). Mike died in Mussuril. All tenderly regarded him as a ‘great companion in arms. (Telo, *Moçambique*, 94).

¹⁰⁰ To replace Mouzinho, in the same place a monumental statue of Samora Machel was erected in 2013.



Fig 26. Dismantling of the monument, 1975.¹⁰¹ Maputo.¹⁰²

Fig 27. Inside Ngungunyane's room at Fortaleza de



Fig 28. Mouzinho de Albuquerque on horseback.¹⁰³

Fig 29. Part of Mouzinho's monument on permanent exhibition at Fortaleza de Maputo.¹⁰⁴

Many of the horses that were brought into the war eventually died either from gunfire or, as in the case of the great majority, were killed by sickness. Aires de Ornelas, the Portuguese

¹⁰¹ Photograph by Ricardo Rangel in *Saudade de L'Espoir* (Ile de La Reunion: Océan Édition, 2004). The caption of the photograph of the fall of the Mouzinho de Albuquerque monument reads: 'the other destiny of the heroes.'

¹⁰² In their stone and wood constitution, the two memorials, the statue and the coffin, both offer sculpted narratives of a historic event. Photographed by Rui Assubuji. Fortaleza de Maputo, 2019.

¹⁰³ In Telo, *Moçambique*, 94.

¹⁰⁴ Photographed by Rui Assubuji. Fortaleza de Maputo, 2019.

military officer in charge of remount (the supply of fresh horses to the army) recalls the 120 horses requested to be added by the ones already coming from Europe to supply Major Mouzinho de Albuquerque's operation in Gaza. He made trips to the Transvaal and Natal to acquire them.

From Inhambane on 28 June 1895, Ornelas wrote about his imminent departure as commandant of the force escorting the counselor Mr. Almeida to Mandlakazi to deliver the ultimatum to Ngungunyane and demand the handover of the rebel chiefs Mwamantibyana and Mahazule to the Portuguese authorities. They also demanded permission to build Portuguese military posts within the perimeter of the Gaza Empire. During the negotiations, as personal representative of the *Comissário Régio* António Ennes, Ornelas communicated that war could be avoided if these demands were met. And, as a guarantee that the requests and conditions would be complied, the Portuguese requested, in addition to the two hostages, the payment of one thousand pounds in gold and three elephant tusks as tribute. Ngungunyane agreed to pay this imposed tribute, to allow military posts in the territory, and to deliver the rebels as soon as the Portuguese troops were outside of his borders.¹⁰⁵

These details are pertinent because the delivery of the Portuguese ultimatum to Ngungunyane was considered a diplomatic mission, and the occasion allowed the Portuguese cavalry to come close to Mandlakazi for the first time. The Portuguese force was stationed for several days at a nearby settlement called Chikome, about eight hours' walk from Mandlakazi, during the negotiations for the meeting with the powerful *régulo*. They stayed at the residence of the local Portuguese quartermaster, Mr. Almeida. There was no provision for about thirty men and their animals. During that sojourn at Chikome, the Portuguese soldiers received medical assistance from Liengme who also supplied them with four sacks of maize flour.

Mr. Almeida asked for eggs, potatoes, maize ... Ngungunyane's mother ... says she would be looking for some cattle. The king sent ... a basket of potatoes and a basket of corn....¹⁰⁶

The presence of the cavalry within reach of Mandlakazi was documented, and some photographs exist in the Liengme collection in Switzerland. Two photographs, obviously

¹⁰⁵ Ornelas, *Colectânia das sua Principais Obras Militares e Coloniais*, Vol VI, 137.

¹⁰⁶ Liengme diary, 178. The Ngungunyane's 'nominal mother' Impiumbekazane, was later accused of treason and killed.

taken in sequence, depict the cavalry standing in formation from similar positions and angles (Figures 30 and 31). Because they are single plates and not sequentially numbered, it is difficult to specify which image was taken first. Placed together, they allow a perception of the photographer's movements on the field, eventually to take a better shot. In the image, the plants and the sticks in the foreground give an idea of how the photographer changed position. In one image, (Figure 30) the frame concentrates the attention on the soldiers in formation. However, the inadvertent presence of the dog (a blurred black figure in the foreground) recalls an entry in Liengme's diary:

We also often receive children's visits. They had a handsome European dog. It belongs to the king. 'Has the king bought it?' I asked. Yes, he bought it from Banyans. - With what did he pay it? - With a head (young slave girl) The King gave several young girls and boys to the Portuguese local quartermaster.¹⁰⁷

The photograph is part of the exhibition, *Gungunhana em Exílio* (Gungunhana in Exile) which opened at Torre de Belém in Lisbon for the month of photography in June 1993. In the catalogue of the exhibition, the captions of the photographs published say they were taken when Mandlakazi was burned. This study does not agree and suggests that the burning of the village happened when the cavalry came to Mandlakazi for the second time, on 11 November 1895. Accounts say that the soldiers were armed with Kropatshek carbine rifles and spears. Their charge followed an artillery bombardment and met no opposition from within the already abandoned African capital, which was then plundered and burned down by the Portuguese forces. In relation to the picture, the caption might not be accurate since the photograph was taken by Liengme, who left Mandlakazi before the Portuguese attack. His diary provides a sense of the agitation during the days that preceded the destruction of the African capital. The missionary and his family left on a loaded cart that broke down at one point. He wrote that many of their belongings were left behind. He recalls that many of his photographic plates and materials went missing and others got wet when they crossed the Limpopo River.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Liengme diary, 81. Banyans is what persons of Indian descent (mostly merchants) are called, up to the present day in Mozambique.

¹⁰⁸ See Liengme diary, 190–201.



Figures 30 and 31. Portuguese cavalry in Mandlakazi. Photographs by G. Liengme in Liengme collection, Penthes.

In the picture on the right (Figure 31), the horse cut by the frame speaks directly to the horse which in another photograph of the collection is held by a black man said to be the servant of the commander (Figure 32). Ornelas, the commander, expressed a desire to collect photographs and acknowledged Liengme in one of his published letters:¹⁰⁹

Barahona is here in the service of the column and is building a large shed of wood and zinc.¹¹⁰ He already made one for the military administration. He brings a photographic camera and intends to photograph a group of officials. Hope he gives me some to add to my collection. When I was in Gaza the Swiss missionary Liengme gave some ten or twelve that you will be pleased to see... as well some sixty or seventy I've got from the Cape, Port Elizabeth and Natal.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Ornelas, *Colectânia das sua Principais Obras Militares e Coloniais*, 176.

¹¹⁰ Barahona was a captain and engineer in the Portuguese army, serving in Guinee in 1891-1892 where he took portraits of various Guinean ethnic groups and street views. The photographs can be retrieved from the online archive <http://actd.iict.pt/view/actd:AHUD6156>.

¹¹¹ Ornelas, *Colectânia das sua Principais Obras Militares e Coloniais*, 154. A few days later Ornelas received the order to arrest Almeida. Antonio Ennes distrusted the Portuguese counsellor but Ornelas confessed not to understand the reason. He considered Almeida an important Portuguese player in the diplomatic game against Ngungunyane.



Fig 32. Aires d'Ornelas' horse.¹¹²



Fig 33. Image published with caption 'the horse and the servant of Ornelas.'¹¹³

The ultimatum to Ngungunyane and the negotiations were in fact manoeuvres to gain time and divert attention from the Portuguese military forces taking position on the field. Colonel Galhardo, commanding the north column, was concentrating troops in Inhambane, while in the south Mouzinho was calling for action. Ornelas made detailed descriptions of the number of soldiers, their heavy weaponry with machine guns and artillery, and their movements on the fields of Gaza. The boiling sun, the sandy or muddy soil, and the fevers were obstacles posed by the natural environment. The non-existence of roads and maps obliged the Portuguese soldiers to rely on locals for directions and information about the enemy. Often, it was obtained through coercive methods. Incertitude affected the progression of the troops and violence marked their routes. Amongst the most diffused events of that history are the battle at Macontene plain on 21 July 1897, the chase and kill of Magigwane. Only after that, the effective occupation in the south of Mozambique was completed.¹¹⁴ It elevated the enfeebled prestige of the Portuguese army internationally and strengthened the Portuguese nation.

¹¹² Photograph from Liengme collection. Source: Penthes archive.

¹¹³ Telo, Moçambique, 94.

¹¹⁴ For an account see Ornelas, *Colectânia das sua Principais Obras Militares e Coloniais*, Vol II (1934), 353-355. See also Rita-Ferreira, *Fixação Portuguesa*, 189.

Meanwhile, within the African empire, after the king's arrest, his herds kept by different chiefs became a cause of agitation related to ownership disputes. Portuguese soldiers seized all the cattle identified as belonging to Ngungunyane. They mostly served the army, in the wake of their own animal losses during the march. The seizure of the cattle caused great local dissatisfaction, and numerous Nguni and 'Angunized' subjects emigrated to near Lynderburg in the Transvaal.¹¹⁵ Yet the animals did not always make the hauling of wagons and carts with provisions, ammunition, artillery pieces, hospital and various other equipment any easier. Bad draught gear would even make cattle refuse to move, forcing carts to be abandoned during marches, such as the one from Chicomo to the small lake Mpicana near Mandlakazi where, according to Ornelas, it 'took ten hours to cover fifteen kilometres.'¹¹⁶

For the Portuguese colonial occupation of Mozambique, the horses had a crucial role, along with boats and ships. The boats intervened with their firepower in combat and limited enemy movements with their mobile presence along the rivers. The rivers shortened distances to the hinterland targets and were paths for logistical assistance. The Limpopo River brought British weapons for the Gaza King. Later the river was patrolled by the Portuguese navy to prevent southern forces from joining Ngungunyane's Army. The river took Mouzinho de Albuquerque close to Chaimite, where he captured the powerful enemy. Both the captain Mouzinho and the imprisoned King Ngungunyane were taken by boat to the mouth of the river, transferred to ships that took them to Lourenço Marques and to Lisbon. The naval route between Mozambique, Inhambane and Lourenço Marques was established, as was the route to Durban, the Cape, and other global sites. This attracted international investment to the flourishing city of Lourenço Marques and drew increased attention to the Portuguese capital of East Africa. While Portuguese hegemony was consolidated in the south of Mozambique, other campaigns happened in other regions, in other times, with other great soldiers involved, and photography kept on delivering heroes.

¹¹⁵ A Rita-Ferreira, *Fixação Portuguesa e História Pré-Colonial de Moçambique* (Lisboa: IICT/ Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, Estudos, Ensaios e Documentos No. 142, 1982), 198.

¹¹⁶ Ornelas, *Colectânea das sua Principais Obras Militares e Coloniais*, Vol II, 353-355.

Chapter 4

STOPPING FOR THE CAMERA: PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE PORTUGUESE EXPEDITION TO BÁRUÈ IN 1902

Introduction

At the Military History Archive (AHM) in Lisbon, twelve photographs are conserved in an envelope and on its surface is handwritten ‘Expedition to Báruè in 1902 commanded by João de Azevedo Coutinho’.¹ Only one of the photographs has an inscription on the back with the names of the officials portrayed, but no other annotations about the images are immediately available. The military expedition to Báruè was at the time considered the last of the so-called ‘Pacification Campaigns’.² Its ending was cause to celebrate the complete eradication of autonomous local powers and the much yearned-for victory of Portugal’s hegemony over this African territory.

The Báruè Kingdom was once part of the Monomotapa Empire and was located in the mountainous dry inland country of the Lupata Gorge.³ It controlled the roads from the Zambezi River to Manica where the seventeenth and eighteenth century Portuguese trading *feiras* were located. In a treaty signed with its king (called the Macombe) in 1794-95, Portuguese authorities had to pay an annual tribute called *binzo* to guarantee the free transit of its merchants. Another treaty was signed with the new Macombe in 1830 but was not recognized by other chiefs in the region, who had to be paid off separately by the Portuguese.⁴

¹ The name Báruè is written in different ways and in this thesis I have adopted the spelling used in *História de Moçambique*, Vol. I (Maputo: Livraria Universitária, 2000). The envelope with the photographs can be found at AHM, 110/B7/PQ/6. ‘1902 Campanha do Báruè, sob o commando de João de Azevedo Coutinho’. Cota antiga N. 160 a 171. See also André Van Dokkum, *Nationalism and Territoriality in Barue and Mozambique: Independence, Belonging, Contradiction* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, Netherlands 2020).

² After the Berlin Conference of 1884-85, and with low financial resources, the Portuguese colonial authority began to extend their political and military control of Mozambique from coastal areas into the inland, and a series of military expeditions were organized to annihilate insubordinate local powers. Known as ‘Pacification Campaigns’, they were seen as a high priority and essential if the finances of the colony were to attract foreign investment. The two most successful military operations were the conquest and incorporation of Gaza in 1895-97 and Báruè in 1902. See Malyn Newitt, *A history of Mozambique* (London: Hurst & Co. 1995).

³ For more about the Lupata Gorge see Chapter 2 of this thesis. The Livingstone brothers were pictured around this location, on the banks of the Zambezi River.

⁴ António Rita Ferreira, *Fixação Portuguesa e História Pré-colonial de Moçambique. Estudos e Documentos*, 142 (Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical do Ultramar, 1982), 144-239.

According to various sources, the Bárúè people never accepted colonial authority and were in a constant state of rebellion. This was compromising the occupation of the central region of Mozambique and weakening the position of Portugal in relation to other colonial powers, particularly Great Britain, which also had interests in the region. A military operation was set in place to end that situation. Lisbon was able to recruit fourteen African Elite Platoons which were constituted of men from diverse ethnic groups such as ‘the Nguni from Inhambane, the Chope from Lourenço Marques, the Macua from Northern Mozambique and a mix of Angolan peoples.’ Less than three percent of twenty thousand soldiers were of Portuguese descent. Therefore, ‘the support of a great number of African soldiers was crucial for the success of the operation.’⁵

Although ‘not abundant in terms of heroic acts’, argued Marquês do Lavradio, the immediate outcomes of the Bárúè expedition in 1902 were important for the internal and external affairs of the Portuguese Empire and hence a possible motivation for making these photographs.⁶ Made during the expedition, the images were consistently produced, with precise framing and composition. Each was made against a carefully chosen background and in a particular setting and place. The posing subjects appear to denote the agreement and full participation of both the photographer and the photographed.

Since the set-up and the capturing of the images occurred during a time period in which the act of photography was at the centre of military operations and formed part of the proceedings, this chapter considers them as war photographs. Yet, the appearance within the images gives the impression of a moment of suspension in which everything freezes for the creation of a sharp image. ‘Brought to light’ more than a hundred years after being taken, what can these photographs tell us about their existence? This echoes Pinney’s suggestion for an envisioning of history partially ‘determined by struggles occurring at the level of the

⁵ Allen F. Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance in Mozambique. Anti-Colonial Activity in the Zambezi Valley 1850-1921* (London: Heinemann, 1979), 65. Many of the African soldiers later called *cipaios* were earlier called *chicundas*, acting as slave warriors, hunters and police for their landlords. On *chicundas* see the Isaacmans’ *Escravos, Esclavagistas, Guerreiros e Caçadores. A Saga dos Chicundas do Vale do Zambeze* (Maputo: Promédia, 2006). On ‘Prazos da Coroa’ see, J. Capela *Donas Senhoras e Escravos* (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1995), 19-41. See also *História de Moçambique*, Vol. I (Maputo: Imprensa Universitária, 2000), 251-562. *Cipai* is a Portuguese term originating from the word *shipahi* (an Indian soldier serving under the British order). Absorbed in the structure of colonial administration, they worked as guards, civilian soldiers, police or tax collectors. Also spelled *sipai* or *sipai*, the English term *sepoy* is adopted here.

⁶ Marquês do Lavradio, *Portugal em África Depois de 1851* (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1936), 281.

visual.’⁷ A possible way forward derives from John Berger’s call to search for what was there before the photographs, where ‘before’ refers not only to the confrontation, or the standing before a photograph but also the fact that a photograph implies a time prior to its making and a time afterward, thus linking subject, maker, and viewer.’⁸

The whole framework of the image-making suggests that every photograph in this collection was neither accidental nor spontaneous, even in relation to the ones in which subjects appear more informal. Their composition reveals a marked intentionality, easily perceived from the ‘shadows of meaning’ that emanate from the objects and subjects. Like a ritual that occurred during the entire operation, images were constructed to form a discourse intended to convey clear messages. There were precise meanings to be inferred from their aesthetics which favoured imperial goals. This collection conveys the grandeur of the colonial force, an imposed order, domination, acceptance and collaboration, and the confirmation of a winning presence in an inhospitable environment.⁹

In his 1941 memoirs *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro e Soldado de África (Memories of an old sailor and soldier of Africa)*¹⁰, the commandant João de Azevedo Coutinho described that military operation in much detail, but surprisingly, in over five hundred pages, the production of the photographs seems not to be mentioned, at least not in the section dedicated to the Báruè campaign.¹¹ In this chapter, his writings are put into conversation with selected visual references and cross-referenced with the research of other scholars. This discussion creates a historical backdrop against which the eight photographs I have selected of the Báruè campaign can be read and eventually discussed more holistically. Recalling Berger’s

⁷ Christopher Pinney, *Photos of the Gods* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 8.

⁸ John Berger cited in Judit Fryer Davidov, ‘Narratives of Place’, in Alex Hughes and Andrea Noble (eds), *Phototextualities: intersections of photography and narrative* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 41.

⁹ There are five main types of photographic deception. Photographers can focus on certain things and not others, or they can stage a photograph. They also can alter a photograph after it is taken or change the caption, so that the reader will misinterpret the image. Artists can also create photomontages by combining multiple photographs to create one image. On this subject see for example, Scot Macdonald, *Propaganda and information warfare in the twenty-first century: altered images and deception operations* (London: Routledge, 2007).

¹⁰ My translation of the Portuguese title.

¹¹ Another publication specifically dedicated to this campaign, J. A. Coutinho *A Campanha Do Barué Em 1902* (Lisboa: Typ. da Livraria Ferin, 1904), is a less expanded version of the monograph mentioned earlier, only focused on the campaign. It features 21 ‘illustrations’, a folded map of the region between Sena, Tete and Macequece and the itinerary of the military columns involved in the operation. It also contains 3 statistical graphs with temperature and altitude and 73 documents with information of the entire organization and the service of the military columns. Apart from the one depicting the imprisoned African leaders on the way to the exile, the set of photographs published are different from the ones in the archive, but convey the same spirit.

suggestion, the events and the spaces depicted require us to think about pre-colonial, colonial, and even post-colonial phases of a country's history and the links with other regions of the globe and the histories they evoke.

Creating a hero

Figure 1 (below) is the only photograph in the collection that depicts a single man, here isolated on top of a rock. As if placed on a pedestal, the angle of the camera slightly tilted up reinforces the importance of the character, keeping all who look at him in a subaltern position. The viewers, irrespective of their social status, are always placed in an inferior position since they will always see the figure from a lower point of view. It gives the impression of a monument dedicated to a figure in the history of a nation, the celebration of a hero.¹² To think about the potential meanings of this image, it is helpful to explore the possible reasons for the existence of such a photograph and bring it into an encounter with history per se.



Figure 1. João de Azevedo Coutinho. Silver paper print 10x15 cm (circa). Military History Archive, Lisbon. Archival reference: PT AHM-FE-110-B7-PQ-6.12.

¹² This study generally adopts western semiotic conventions yet acknowledges other perspectives, mindful that the meanings of the social enunciations around who is below and above are more complex. For example, in certain parts of Mozambique chiefs tended to sit on straw mats (*esteira*) and talked to servants or to visitors who stand before them.

The man is João de Azevedo Coutinho, commandant of the 1902 military campaign to Bárue, Coutinho was a Portuguese aristocrat who at an early age, started his military career in the cavalry and was transferred to the navy on 10 November 1882. His commission in Africa began during 1890, attached to the Indian Ocean Navy Division in Mozambique. In addition to military operations, he conducted hydrographic work surveying the Mozambican coast, the sandbars and rivers in the bay of Lourenço Marques, access to the Tungue Bay, and rivers such as Moginqual and Muite. The Portuguese Naval Cartography Committee and the British Admiralty published part of his survey.¹³ When he first travelled out to Lourenço Marques from Portugal on board the French ship *Norman Castle*, Coutinho writes that:

During the trip, I met and networked with famous hunter Selous who, a little later, with other prominent men - harassed our legitimate pretension to keep intact our historical rights to the ownership of large tracts of African territory.¹⁴

A military man, politician, and colonial administrator, Coutinho was a soldier of the generation who came to Mozambique to ‘rescue what they could’ of the Portuguese territorial claims ‘ravaged by British company speculators in the southern Shire land of Rhodesia and by Scottish missionaries in the northern hinterland of Malawi.’¹⁵ In command of the gunboat *Cherim*, he served Serpa Pinto on the mission to safeguard Portuguese interests in the Shire and Ruo region on the eve of the British Ultimatum of January 1890. The legendary Portuguese explorer refers to Coutinho in the following terms:

Lieutenant of the Royal Navy, ... commanding the gunboat crew *Cherim* took the fortified village of Chilomo, which was defended by four thousand Makololos,

¹³ See online, Bahia de Tungue, parte Oeste: Província de Moçambique: Costa Oriental da África / Comissão de Cartographia; Levantado em Janeiro de 1888, pelos officiaes da armada Botto, Coutinho e Silva. - Escala 1:10000. - [Lisboa]: Comissão de Cartographia, 1899. - 1 mapa: litografia, color; 42,90x51,90 cm, em folha de 48,70x58,30 cm. <http://purl.pt/1946>. In www.catalogo.bnportugal.gov.pt. Accessed 21/12/2018.

¹⁴ João de Azevedo Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro e Soldado de África* (Lisboa: Livraria Bertrand, 1941), 538. The mention of Selous is important here for his role in events that occurred in the region, particularly in the 1890s and 1900s. He actively contributed to the occupation of Matabeleland and Mashonaland. After decades of hunting in the wilds in an area that includes today's Zimbabwe he was employed as agent for a land-and-gold company in the nearby Essex Valley, where he also acted as official inspector to contain the spread of the rinderpest in the region in 1896. See T. Pakenham, *The Scramble For Africa*. (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 1992), 499-500. The Rhodesian Security Forces later celebrated his name, and the Selous Scout ravaged the young Popular Republic of Mozambique in the 1970s and 1980s. The well-known massacre of Inhazonia occurred on 23 November, 1977, and the massacre of Chimoio, on 19 January 1978. Both places are located in Manica Province, and Inhazonia is part of Bárue district.

¹⁵ For a schematic description of the principal events of the Effective Occupation process in relation to Mozambique, see Pélissier, *Naissance du Mozambique*, 102-6.

putting them to complete rout... he was entrusted with the command of a column that has subjected the country, he managed to pacify... converting losers into friends.¹⁶

Coutinho was greatly acclaimed on his return to Lisbon on 15 January 1891, and, by unanimous decision of the House of Representatives of the Court, was at the young age of 25 proclaimed 'Benefactor of the Fatherland' for his role in the campaigns of conquest and pacification of the Portuguese African colonies. But the foundations of the Constitutional Monarchy were severely shaken by the repercussions of the British Ultimatum (1890), and Republican supporters who pledged themselves to the regeneration of the country took advantage of the situation.¹⁷ The rebellion of 31 January 1891 in the northern city of Porto was the first attempt to implement a republican regime in Portugal.¹⁸

In 1894, Coutinho was part of the military force attached to António Ennes on the mission to control the unrest of the native peoples in southern Mozambique and to counter the pressure exerted by Great Britain over the bay of Lourenço Marques.¹⁹ Ennes recalled that they left Lisbon on 8 December for Marseilles from where, on the night of 12 December, they departed on board the *Iraouaddy* towards the Indian Ocean.²⁰ That military operation, also known as *A Campanha de Todos os Heróis*, ended the Gaza Empire and established the Portuguese authority in the southern region of Mozambique.²¹ Coutinho was honored with the title of Councilor of His Most Faithful Majesty. Promoted to Navy Captain-Lieutenant on 31 December 1904, he was appointed General Governor of Mozambique (1905-1906). In Africa,

¹⁶ Serpa Pinto recalled an event at the core of the major period of tension in the relations between Portugal and Great Britain, whose peak was the release of the Ultimatum that ended the Portuguese 'pink map' dream, and is considered a determining factor in the fall of the Portuguese system of constitutional monarchy. The Makololo people were deeply connected with Livingstone's passage through the region. See Nuno Severiano Teixeira, *O Ultimatum Inglês. Política Externa e política interna no Portugal de 1890* (Lisboa: Alfa. Testemunhos Contemporâneos, 1990); Joel Serrano and António H. de Oliveira Marques, *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa. O Império Africano 1825-1890* (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1998), 646-647.

¹⁷ The British Ultimatum deprived Portugal of the rich region later known as Rhodesia. See Newitt, *History of Mozambique*, 391. On the British Ultimatum, see Teixeira, *O Ultimatum Inglês*.

¹⁸ The uprising initiated by the military was later joined by civilians in support. They met the troops loyal to the monarchy who reacted indiscriminately against the crowd, killing 12 people and wounding 40. Both civilian and military protesters were put on trial by war councils aboard warships and more than 200 people were sentenced from 18 to 15 years in prison. In <http://historianove.webnode.pt/news/a-revolta-de-31-de-janeiro-de-1891/>.

¹⁹ 'A Campanha de Todos os Heróis' started in 1894 and marked the beginning of the 'Pacification Campaigns' in Mozambique. See Chapter 3 of this thesis. For a brief introduction on this campaign see António José Telo, *Moçambique 1895. A Campanha de Todos os Heróis* (Lisboa: Tribuna da História, 2004).

²⁰ António Ennes, *A Guerra de África em 1895* (Lisboa: Prefácio, 2002), 33. The ship belonged to the French company *Messageries Maritimes*. In addition to the Portuguese men sent to launch the military campaign in Mozambique, French officials and soldiers involved in the first preparations for the expedition to Madagascar were also on board.

²¹ See Chapter 3 of this thesis.

he became ‘a true pivot’ around which an aristocracy ‘not so much of extraction but of action’ gravitated. According to Capela, it was that aristocracy of conquest that ‘paved the way for the installation of colonial capitalism.’²² With a distinguished, active military and political career, he was considered a colonial hero.

When the Portuguese King Carlos I (1889-1908) and his eldest son Prince Filipe were assassinated in 9 February 1908, the throne was occupied by Prince Dom Manuel II (1908 - 1910). He promoted a new liberal monarchy with awareness for social concerns and aimed at the restoration of morale within the public life of the country. Close to the monarch, from 1908 to 16 April 1909 Coutinho was the 53rd Civil Governor of the District of Lisbon as the empire’s capital was threatened by imminent insurrection. He became the Minister of Navy and Overseas (1909-1910) during the last period of the Constitutional Monarchy, by which time it had been greatly discredited among the Portuguese urban population.²³ He was awarded the Grand Cross of the Military Order of Christ on 4 January 1909. However, the New Monarchy unsuccessfully tried to revive the ‘exhausted political system’ and ‘failed to reverse the course of the events’ that led to end of the monarchy in Portugal.²⁴ Firmly faithful to monarchical ideals, Coutinho was compulsorily retired by the Republican regime established in 1910.

However, notable figures of the monarchy such as Mouzinho de Albuquerque, António Ennes and others were recovered by a fascist regime that arose from an unstable Portuguese Republican Government.²⁵ Significantly honored by the ‘New State’, Coutinho was solemnly re-admitted in the Navy and promoted to honorary Vice-Admiral in 1942. His life was extolled as replete with episodes of extreme courage, respect for his opponents, interest in African culture, enlightened capacity, and, above all else, the uncompromising fulfillment of his duty with loyalty and honor.²⁶ As a tribute, the Portuguese naval sloop NRP *João*

²² José Capela, *Donas, Senhores e Escravos*, 131.

²³ *1907 no Advento da República*. Mostra bibliográfica 15 de Março a 9 de Junho (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 2007), 7-8.

²⁴ *1910, O Ano da República*. Catálogos (Lisboa: BNP - Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 2010), 11.

²⁵ The initiatives to revive monarchical heroes happened in different parts of the nation including African territories. In Mozambique, a great monument to Mouzinho de Albuquerque, amongst others, was inaugurated in 1940. In the same period, a statue of António Ennes was also erected in Lourenço Marques.

²⁶ The Estado Novo, or the Second Republic, was the corporatist authoritarian fascist regime installed in Portugal in 1933 as a result of a long process of modern authoritarianism that gave birth to the Portuguese National Union, an organization formed in the wake of the coup d’état of 28 May 1926, in reaction to the unstable Republic that from “5 October 1910 to 29 May 1922 had forty-five governments and 29 attempted

Coutinho was launched at sea on 7 March 1970. In the same year, a close-up portrait of his face was used on the 50\$00 escudos (Portuguese currency) banknote printed in Mozambique.²⁷

Coutinho is a particularly crucial colonial figure in the history of the Zambezi conquest. Besides his hydrographic contribution and military action, he published several testimonials in which he expresses his version of historical events, sometimes as narrator and sometimes as a character. Through his writings, the centrality of the Bárúè Kingdom in terms of anti-colonial resistance emerges and ‘something obscure’ is even suggested in relation to Bárúè’s nineteenth-century history.²⁸ This obscure issue has to do with the presence of former slaves in the strongholds known as *aringas*, as Capela points out. In fact, Capela draws attention to the peculiar extent of force and lack of clarity about certain issues in the language used in the reports and memoirs of the ‘conqueror of Zambézia’.²⁹

The first riddle I encountered in reading the descriptions of fighting was what emerged about the firepower and resilience offered by the occupiers of these fortified settlements. Secondly was their number. It is not so much the apparent plethora of military equipment and supplies of Coutinho's campaign, but going to conquer often without his own writings showing a reason for doing so.³⁰

Justifying the dimensions of force employed, Coutinho argued that a campaign to punish rebels must guarantee their complete crushing: ‘To subject ourselves to be beaten by the subjects of our wars is, as far as I am concerned, much worse and more depressing for our authority than to be defeated in droves by external enemies’.³¹ In the case of the Bárúè campaign of 1902, he emphasized the need for auxiliary columns to isolate the borders and the establishment of posts to ensure communication with the rear and to secure the occupation. However, he admitted that faster and less expensive strategies would have also

coups d’état.” See Fernando Rosas, “A Crise do Liberalismo e as Origens do «Autoritarismo Moderno» e do Estado Novo em Portugal”, *Penélope: revista de história e ciências sociais*, No 2 (Fevereiro 1989), 133.

²⁷ Wikipedia, accessed 15/09/2016.

²⁸ Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, xxiii.

²⁹ José Capela, ‘Como as aringas de Moçambique se transformaram em Quilombos (How in Mozambique the aringas became maroons)’, *Tempo*, 10 (20) (2006), 72-97, www.scielo.br/pdf/tem/v10n20/05.pdf accessed 8/01/2017. *Aringas* are large fortified encirclements where the elite lived and to where people from surrounding fields would converge in case of war. See Figure 6.

³⁰ José Capela, ‘Como as aringas de Moçambique se transformaram em Quilombos’, 83.

³¹ João de Azevedo Coutinho, *Memórias*, 571.

been possible: ‘If I had known in advance how things would evolve, I would certainly have given up such great force.’³² In fact, the attempts to dominate Bárue had started long before this campaign. One notable figure killed during the battle of Missongue in 1891 was Manuel António de Sousa, warlord of Gorongosa, Capitão-Mor of Manica and Quiteve, and a great Portuguese Ally. Coutinho, on his way to support the captain, had himself been forced to withdraw from combat at the aringa of Mafunda.³³

In Rita-Ferreira’s opinion, the death of the Macombe (the king of Bárue) in 1887 created a political vacuum and as a consequence disturbances agitated the kingdom.³⁴ In part, the authority of Manuel António contained the turmoil, but when he was killed, his disappearance brought to contention four pretenders supported by their *mpondoros*.³⁵ The prolonged disorder justified the organization of the 1902 Portuguese military campaign. For Marquês do Lavradio, it was also a response to the great defeat of 1891, and Coutinho was chosen to carry out the mission because of his excellent knowledge of the region.

The Portuguese military officer and published author Azambuja Martins considered the campaign to Bárue in 1902 the most well-organized in Mozambique: the great number of chosen cadres of European and indigenous platoons that formed the expeditionary force indicates its superiority in comparison with the others.³⁶ Despite the problems outlined by Coutinho in his memoirs, there was a strong participation of the navy, particularly important for the transportation of men, animals, machinery and provisions to advanced posts inland while also protecting the rear lines. With the 1902 expedition, Portugal seemed to have finally achieved its purpose in Mozambique, and the photographs can be read as confirmation

³² Ibid.

³³ Manuel António de Sousa, mostly known as Mozungo Gouveia in the Zambezi Valley, was referred to as a good ‘black supplier’. See Azevedo Coutinho, *O Combate de Macequece* (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1935), 54; Coutinho, *Manuel António de Sousa, Um Capitão-Mor da Zambézia* (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1936). For a succinct introduction to António Manuel de Sousa, see Joel Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa. O Império Africano 1825-1890* (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1998), 627. More can be found in Eric Axelson, *Portugal and the Scramble for Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1967).

³⁴ Chipapata (1845-1887) reigned in Bárue during approximately thirty years, a period marked by relative stability. See Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 8-11.

³⁵ The term *mpondoro* or *mhondoro* (*pondoro* or *mondoro* in Portuguese spelling) refers to a national or regional ancestral spirit. See glossary of African terms in Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance* (1976). In another source it is also said that *pondoro* or *mondoro* means lion, and refers to specialist spirit medium whose correct name is *swikiro*. They were closely associated with the political powers particularly in matters related to the royal succession. See, *História de Moçambique*, 44-45.

³⁶ For more on Azambuja Martins, see Chapter 5 of this thesis.

of this. It was officially considered the last pacification campaign in Mozambique and the achievement of Effective Occupation of the territory.

But, was the 'Effective Occupation' a total submission of the local people to centralized power? In 1917, Bárúè subjects rebelled against *chibalo* (conscripted African labour). The insurrection was crushed by the colonial authorities in one year and only then, argues Isaacman, did Portugal effectively gain control of the region – more than three hundred years after claiming its sovereignty over the Zambezi Valley. During this process, more than two-thirds of the Bárúè aristocracy either perished or went into exile in Rhodesia.³⁷ The following historical introduction is necessary to gain an initial overview. It is perhaps ambitious to look for continuities between the social history of the Zambezi Valley and the contemporary situation, but the unrest of the peoples in central Mozambique persists up to this day, affecting the social, political, and economic stability of the country in very problematic ways. The past appears less remote than one might think.

Before the time of the photographs

Formerly part of the Muenemutapa Empire, the Bárúè Kingdom remained independent from Afro-Portuguese domination and controlled the roads from the Zambezi River to Manica, where the Portuguese trading fairs were situated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The free transit treaty signed between the Macombe, the king of Bárúè, and the Portuguese was not recognized by other chiefs, who therefore had to be paid off separately.³⁸ Between 1826 and 1830, after the death of the Macombe, the disputes for the succession created chaos within the Bárúè kingdom. The Nguni armies raided, crossing and re-crossing the country, and bands of starving armed men were 'surviving as best as they could in that desolated escarpment territory.'³⁹

³⁷ See Isaacman and Isaacman, *Dams, Displacement and the Delusion of Development*, 35; Rita-Ferreira *Fixação Portuguesa e História Pré-Colonial de Moçambique*, 240.

³⁸ In fact for the 'free transit' of their merchants Portugal has to pay an annual tribute called *binzo* to Macombe, the King of Bárúè around 1794/5. A second treaty was signed in 1830 between the Portuguese and the new Macombe, which was not recognised by other chiefs. In A. Rita-Ferreira, *Fixação Portuguesa e História Pré-Colonial de Moçambique. Estudos Ensaios e Documentos*, n 142 (Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical/Junta de Investigação Científica do Ultramar, 1982), 144 - 239.

³⁹ Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 286-7.

important is the most civilized member of the indigenous population.⁴² Yet despite this good relationship, Chipitura refused total submission to Portugal.

Between 1886 and 1901, the retreat of the Gaza Nguni to the south and the defeat of several local states left the Bárúè Kingdom as the only major regional state outside Portuguese control, which recognized its psychological and strategic significance:

The rebel forces of Makombi (located at Mafunda and Goba) are a constant threat to our people who reside on their frontier and obstruct our expansion into the interior. Mafunda and Goba have become advanced posts that prevent any inland movement and serve as a sanctuary for colonialists who are discontented.⁴³

Here an allusion is made to the equally non-submissive Afro-Portuguese prazos, also referred to as the secondary states.⁴⁴ Isaacman argues that the British threat and the failure of Portuguese authority to co-opt these authentic warlords whom they had provided with modern weapons and allowed a clandestine slave trade left Portugal with no other choice but to bolster its military presence in the region. In 1887, Paiva de Andrade from Companhia de Moçambique, Manuel António de Sousa, and Baron de Rezende, the Governor of Manica, decided to deal ‘once and for all’ with the infamous Bonga – a member of the Cruz family. A force was raised in the Zambezi Valley, largely from Manuel António de Sousa’s warriors.⁴⁵ The Cruz aringa of Massagano fell almost without a struggle to a swift and decisive attack. Manuel António ordered the killing of 32 ‘Greats’ and enslaved a large number of people.⁴⁶ This victory seemed to extinguish the last vestige of feudal independence in the lower Zambezi.⁴⁷

In the meantime, the British South African Company (BSAC) signed a series of treaties with local ‘rebellious’ chiefs in Manica and Mashonaland. The colonial dispute over territory led to events such as the arrest of Manuel António and Paiva de Andrade by the BSAC militia in

⁴² Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 55.

⁴³ Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 59.

⁴⁴ For a brief introduction to the so-called secondary states, see Chapter 2 of this thesis.

⁴⁵ See Chapter 2.

⁴⁶ Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 51. ‘Greats’ refers to important members of the aristocracy, royal advisors and leaders of different chiefdoms within the kingdom.

⁴⁷ Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 340.

Macequece in 1890.⁴⁸ With the warlord arrested, his captains took command of the aringas and adjacent territories. Upon his release, Manuel António asked Coutinho (then commandant of the gunboat *Cherim*) for assistance to restore his domain. The attack against the rebels was launched in December 1891. According to Isaacman, Coutinho commanded more than four thousand soldiers, a large army of mercenaries, and a combination of regular and irregular forces.

The initial success of the combined forces was slowed down by the rainy season. Defeated at the wall of the Missongue's aringa, Manuel António was wounded and killed while trying to escape.⁴⁹ Coutinho was severely burnt by the explosion of an ammunition box that killed and wounded hundreds of his men.⁵⁰ He wrote:

This enormous defeat, the disaster that I suffered at Mafunda to where I was directed to assist the Capitão-Mor Manuel António, was the most mortifying blow in our domain in lands of Bárue, the saddest epilogue of the short Portuguese occupation in that region!⁵¹

The defeat of Manuel António and Coutinho represented the regaining of independence for Bárue, still affected by the unsolved succession disputes.⁵² The state of rebellion continued among the Bárueans whose chiefs 'vowed never to accept European rule.'⁵³ Despite being inside the territory of the Companhia de Moçambique, to 'pacify' the region the Portuguese authority was compelled to intervene with its forces. They planned a surprise attack 'immediately after the rainy season.'⁵⁴ Missongue, the capital of the territory of the

⁴⁸ The BSAC (British South African Company) was founded in 1889 by Cecil John Rhodes and was the basis of the colonial formation of today's Zimbabwe and Zambia. See Axelson, *Portugal and the Scramble for Africa*; P.R. Warhurst, *Anglo-Portuguese relations in South-Central Africa 1890-1900* (London: Royal Commonwealth Society of Imperial Studies n 23, 1962); Rita-Ferreira, *Fixação Portuguesa e História Pré-Colonial de Moçambique*, 240. For an illustration of the 1890 BSAC militia's arrest of Portuguese officials in Macequece, see Chapter 2 of this thesis.

⁴⁹ Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro*, 545. This aspect will be tackled again later in this chapter.

⁵⁰ Severely burned, Coutinho was forced to withdraw and for ten months battled for his life at the aringa of Guêgue. See R. Pelissier, *Naissance Du Mozambique* Vol 2, 448-9. Guêgue was the most ephemeral military state on the north of the Zambezi River between Lupata and the Chire River, and served as a scaling post during the action against Massangano in 1866-70. See A. Souto, *Guia Bibliográfico. Para estudantes de História de Moçambique* (Maputo: Coleção Nosso Chão. Universidade Eduardo Mondlane-Centro de Estudos Africanos, 1996), 92.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 52.

⁵³ Isaacman and Isaacman, *Dams, Displacement and The Delusion of Development*, 342.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 62.

Macombe, and Mungari, the aringa of Chipitura, were the principal targets of the 1902 campaign to Báruè. They were rivals in the succession dispute but great allies in the face of a common enemy, in this case the Portuguese forces.

According to Portuguese estimates, the Báruèans had assembled more or less ten thousand men, several elite units or *ensaka*, and a large national force mobilized in times of crisis. They had in fact built major fortifications at Missongue, Mungari and Mafunda. These aringas had ammunition plants organized and directed by local African ordinance experts.⁵⁵ Most of the Báruè forces were deployed throughout the vast network of aringas and smaller defensive structures known as *sanzoro* that were constructed along critical neighbouring roads and water systems at the limits of Portuguese territory and served as the first line of defence against European incursions and as operational headquarters for offensive forays against enemy positions.

The time of the photographs. A textual narrative

In Lisbon on 19 April 1902, Coutinho boarded a liner heading to Mozambique. In May, he disembarked in Beira and went straight to Quelimane where he took office as the district governor. Immediately working for the campaign, he organized the purchase of supplies and the repairs of equipment. Going upstream to Chinde and Tete, he conferred with local authorities and prazos' tenants who were to provide sepoys and porters. Attached to the campaign were six platoons with war companies coming from Lourenço Marques, four platoons with war companies from Quelimane, two platoons with members of the disciplinary battalion from Inhambane, and a platoon of soldiers from Mozambique (Island).⁵⁶

The soldiers that were considered to have full status as 'expeditionary forces' were European, recruited in Lourenço Marques. Horses and a number of mules were sourced from various districts and provinces of Mozambique and from Durban. Ambulances and other items were reduced to 'engines' whose weight should not exceed 20 kilograms to facilitate their transport by porters.⁵⁷ Originally planned for May or June of 1902, the attack was postponed because

⁵⁵ Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 62.

⁵⁶ The district of Mozambique refers to the actual Mozambique Island.

⁵⁷ The Africans called the packs that were carried by the porters 'engines'.

the preparations and recruitment of Africans could not be completed until the end of July. The strategy was designed to achieve two major goals: the closing of the Bárue frontier to prevent any external aid, and the simultaneous rapid conquest of Missongue and the capital Mungari, where the Macombe lived.⁵⁸

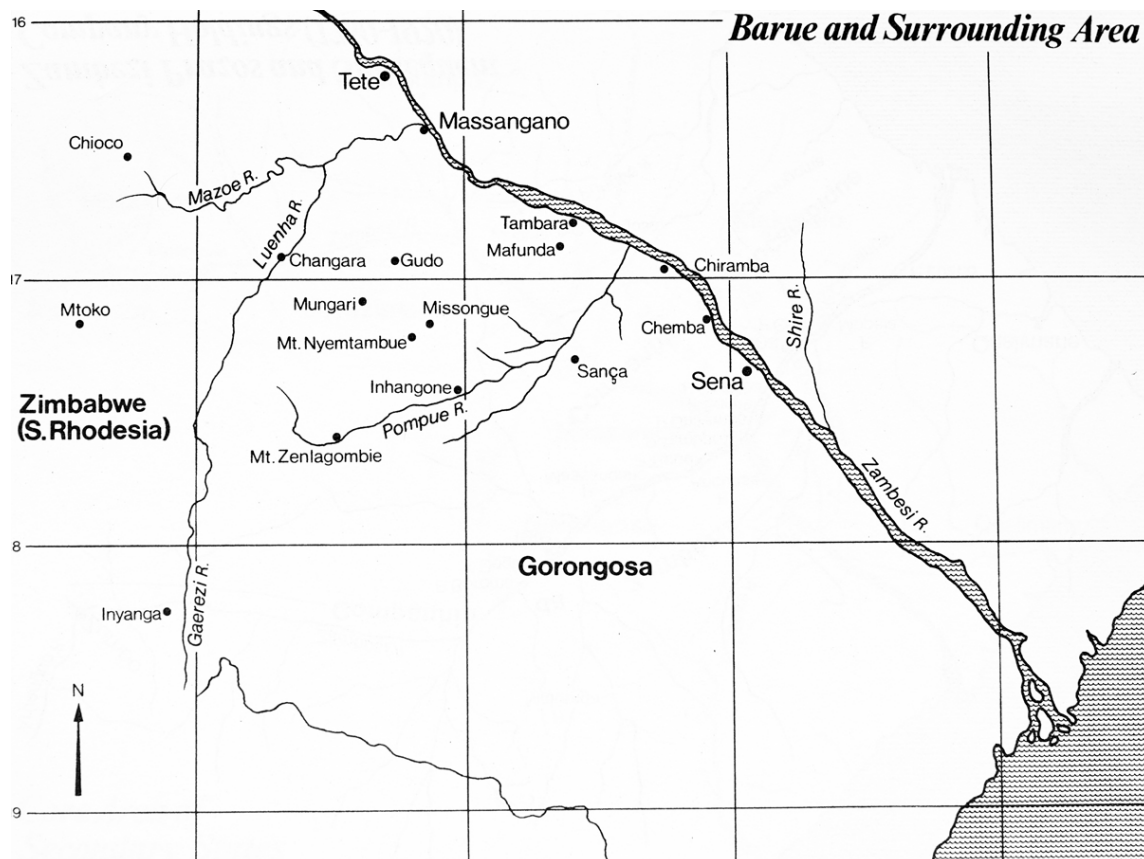


Figure 3. ‘Bárue and surrounding Area’. Map from Isaacman, *The tradition of Resistance*, xvii.⁵⁹

The Portuguese force was divided into separate columns. At the southern borderline posts of Luenha, Gorongosa and Pungue, three auxiliary columns (Gorongosa, Luenha and Macequece) were planned to enclose the territory, preventing the entrance of any aid from neighbouring people and cutting escape lines.⁶⁰ At the northern borderline, delimited by the Zambezi River, the principal column commanded by Coutinho established a base in Chiramba – a prazo within the premises of the Companhia de Moçambique. This force was at the centre of the theatre of operations and a section managed to neutralize Tambara. Nearby, the Macombe’s advanced sentinels of Mafunda and Inhacafura aringas were targeted as the

⁵⁸ Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 63.

⁵⁹ Although not the best for Coutinho’s narrative, by locating the principal aringas this map helps the further descriptions of the military operations during the Bárue campaign of 1902.

⁶⁰ See map in Figure 1 for a reference of these locations.

first points to destroy in order to debilitate African resistance.⁶¹ According to the plan, the principal column would be dismembered after the decisive combats and its forces spread out to follow lines of population flight and to dominate any remaining resistance within Bárúèans territory quickly.

The Portuguese invasion was anticipated by the African leaders who had begun to reinforce their armies already in 1894. Involving Portuguese and Indian merchants and dissatisfied employees of the Companhia de Moçambique, a network of clandestine trade from Salisbury to Beira was established and, in exchange for gold and ivory, modern rifles were acquired as well as artillery pieces and powder captured from the Portuguese army.⁶² In his memoir, Coutinho wrote that the information collected in Beira, Zambézia, Macequece and Gorongosa were all consistent in stating that the Bárúè and its allies could dispose of more than fifteen thousand fighters. These would only be willing to ‘sell their long-running absolute independence very dear.’⁶³

It was said that everyone was well-armed at the Bárúè kingdom; some even had the most modern rifles acquired from foreigners who were prospecting in the country (often illegally). Gunpowder was purchased from the ‘muinhés’ merchandising inland to mix with the poor-quality gunpowder produced in Bárúè.⁶⁴ Rumors spread that the Macombe had foreigners assisting and advising him, which for Coutinho was plausible information given the presence of many unemployed men from southern Africa, ‘sunk back to adventurism’ after the war in Transvaal.⁶⁵ For the Portuguese military authorities, the region was in a state of siege, and therefore those who penetrated Bárúè would be subject to martial law. This was

⁶¹ See map in Figure 3.

⁶² At the aringas of Missongue and Mungari, the Portuguese forces found captured artillery pieces lined along the stockade walls. Coutinho even recognized a machine gun he abandoned during the dramatic attack on Missongue in 1891.

⁶³ Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro*, 561.

⁶⁴ African ordinance directed two plants for the production of munitions as well as the manufacturing of fuses, caps, cannonballs and components for captured artillery pieces in Mungari (the capital of Macombe’s territory) and Missongue (the great settlement of Chipitura, one of the contenders for the throne). See Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 62. Muinhés is a derogatory name given to Indian merchants trading in the interior of the country.

⁶⁵ Also known as the Transvaal Rebellion, it was the first Boer War of 1880-1881 in which the Boers of the Transvaal revolted against the British annexation of 1877. To acknowledge that all South Africans, white and black, were affected by the war and that many were participants, several scholars prefer to call the 1899-1902 war formerly known as the Boer War, the South African War. See, L.S. Amery (ed), *The Times History of the War in South Africa 1899-1902*, a collection of seven volumes published in London by Sampson Low, Marston & Company, between 1900-1909; Bill Nasson, *The South African War 1899-1902* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1979).

communicated to the Rhodesian authorities who, for the entire period of the operation, effectively ‘garrisoned the border with a force of 300 white police and 1000 indigenes.’⁶⁶

Chinde, one of the principal ports along the Zambezi River, was the advance point for the concentration of most of the expedition. Quarters for the arriving forces were built there and, among other activities there, provisions were packed and weapons were repaired. Weapons and badges for sepoy were sent to friendly prazos. Mechanical problems and the sandbars of the river made the usage of government naval resources useless. Fluvial transport had to be hired to bring parts of the column closer to the theater of operations. The move from Quelimane to Chinde began on 19 July 1902,⁶⁷ from where they moved on to Chiramba, the premises of the Companhia de Moçambique, where the Portuguese mounted the rear post.

Chiramba was the limit of the territory conceded to the Companhia de Moçambique.

Clustered between this and Bárúè territories was the homeland of the Tonga: African people allied to Bárúè, who were the frontline of defense against foreign penetration.⁶⁸ From there, the colonial force would start its march towards the core of Bárúèland.⁶⁹ As part of the concentration of regular and irregular forces at Chiramba, different groups of sepoy started arriving on 28 July from the islands controlled by Luís de Brito, and from Guêngue under Jorge de Moctzuma.⁷⁰ The Lieutenant of the provincial garrison was in charge of the sepoy attached to the Companhia de Moçambique. In the afternoon, the auxiliary soldiers from Angonia arrived, towed by the gunboats *Cameron* and *Zambezi*. Sepoy from the Companhia da Zambézia arrived the next day, commanded by Navy First Lieutenant Júlio Botelho

⁶⁶ Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro*, 564. He classified the disaffected Portuguese and Boers negotiating and advising the Macombe as the ‘scum of what is most abject in Europe’ seeking to escape the British authorities. Their presence would be considered a matter of national security.

⁶⁷ Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro*, 583. This is the port of Quelimane, the city at the mouth of an offshoot of the Zambezi river.

⁶⁸ The Tonga of the lower Zambezi are descended from the Chona-Caranga (Shona-Karanga in English orthography), a cultural and linguistically distinguished people, that since the fifteenth century inhabited the extensive lands limited by the rivers Punguè, Zambezi, Luenha, Zangue, Mucua, Mucombeze and Mscadzi. This contradicts H. P. Junod and others’ perception that Tonga (Tsonga) was a derogatory terminology applied to these people by the Nguni invaders. In A. Rita-Ferreira, *Fixação Portuguesa e História Pré-Colonial de Moçambique*, 78-79. See the ‘introduction to the Thonga Tribe’ in Henri Phillipe Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, Vol I (New York: University Books INC, 1962), 13 onwards. On page 15 Junod explains the origin of the spelling Thonga and its significance.

⁶⁹ Chiramba was just before Tambara and when the Companhia de Moçambique finally occupied that territory they built a fort considered by Coutinho to be ‘the best building of this genre I know in Africa’. See Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro*, 587. A mention of this location can be found in Chapter 2, ‘Penetrating the Continent’.

⁷⁰ Guêngue was the most ephemeral military state on the north of the Zambezi River. In A Souto, *Guia Bibliográfico*, 92.

Moniz, one of the officers in the photograph of Figure 4. The missing sepoys from Goma and M'govo had orders to follow along the bank until Tambara, where they would be shipped across the river and take part in the beginning of operations against the Tonga prazos. Tambara and Mafunda were the stronghold aringas that guarded the entrance to the Muira Valley.⁷¹

The commandant, the General Staff, and the rest of the expedition departed aboard three steamers from the port of Chinde at 6.30 am on 30 July to join the expedition. They moored in Anquási to get firewood and docked in Chiramba at 4.15 pm. The commandant was impressed with the location 'splendidly occupied by the Companhia de Moçambique'. The sepoys from Angonia and from Companhia de Moçambique arrived later. In the evening, the ammunition was distributed to the regular forces, and 50 cartridges were given to each sepoy. Porters received their rations.

In the Tonga homeland. The first phase of the campaign (see Figure 4)

The aringa of Tambara, the major Tonga stronghold at the border with the Companhia de Moçambique, collapsed after two days of heavy fighting involving three elite platoons and more than two thousand reserves of the principal Portuguese column. It opened a gap allowing the incursion of the colonial force to attack other positions in Tongaland.⁷² The immensity of these and other clashes cannot be grasped from Coutinho's memoirs. Instead, he opted for a detailed description of the column's progression on the field, with emphasis on the strenuous efforts of the soldiers in facing the difficult natural environment.

On 2 August, the column left Tambara at around 8 am, marching the four kilometers to the Muira River easily on a trail opened by the Companhia de Moçambique; at the riverbed, they met the sepoys who were designated to flank the column. The march then continued on sandy soil beneath an ardent sun. A few local warriors soon opened fire on the invading column. Chased by sepoys, they fled into the dense woods that bordered the river.⁷³ Later, about 500 meters from the advance guard, a lot of blacks 'pombeirando' fired their weapons on the

⁷¹ Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro*, 585.

⁷² *Ibid*, 64.

⁷³ See map in Figure 3.

column to oppose the march.⁷⁴ ‘I ordered the formation of the square and called on the H. 42mm (artillery piece) carried by the advanced guard, which threw two grenades. They disappeared as if by magic...’ Shortly after, two columns of smoke were seen. It was an aringa burned by the Bárúèans. Thus, ‘Mafunda disappeared!’⁷⁵

During the following day, some sepoys stayed to build a *sanzoro* (small aringa) in the place where the previous aringa was located. Other sepoys went to raid and brought a great deal of meat and some goats and pigs, and learned that the enemy had burned the aringas of Chicoa and Inhachissapa. On 4 August the march continued, bound for Inhacafura. ‘We cut right to Muira River where we arrived at 8.10 am having passed through extensive cultivated floodplain fields of the Mafunda.’ The column walked on the riverbed to reach the Lupata Gorge at Inhacafura at 9.15 am, a very narrow and steep canyon through which the Muira River passes tightly with abundant running water.

Coutinho described the Lupata Gorge as about 6 km in extent, covered with bamboo higher than a man on horseback.⁷⁶ The mountain formation was cut by straight ravines and crowned by very dense forest – impossible to cross in the rainy season. Further afield, eight villages were set on fire by ‘the enemy’.⁷⁷ According to Coutinho, the aringa of Inhacafura, three times bigger than that of Mafunda, had about 500 huts and was connected to a pond with a covered walkway with the name of ‘Elephant Foot’. A place for the Portuguese post was chosen and some sepoys immediately started its construction while others went on reconnaissance missions.⁷⁸

From Chinde, the steamer *Hamburg* arrived in Chiramba on 11 August, transporting the leading naval doctor Silveira, two midshipman, and naval soldiers destined to reinforce the guards of the boats and to defend that advance position. All the material from Lisbon also arrived, transported by the ship *Álvaro de Caminha*. Porters from the prazos of Anguro and Angonia were present, as were all the cattle from Angonia transported by the gunboat *Obuz* from the other side of the Zambezi River. Seventy-five *machileiros* (litter-porters) and sepoys

⁷⁴ Quoted from Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro*, 588. Pombeirar refers to the grimacing, provoking, teasing, jumping and signalling challenges before fighting, or during the drumming before combat.

⁷⁵ It was on the outskirts of Mafunda’s aringa that Coutinho had a traumatic defeat in 1891.

⁷⁶ Lupata Gorge is a great visual reference in the colonial history of Zambezi. See Chapter 2 of this thesis.

⁷⁷ Note that this is paraphrased from Coutinho’s accounts therefore, the ‘enemy’ that burned the aringas is the Africans themselves who intended to leave nothing of their homestead to the colonial forces.

⁷⁸ Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro*, 588-9.

from numerous prazos (56 from Secaneca, 126 from Boror and 134 from Marral) were also there. All these forces took position on the principal trails and encountered little resistance as they took possession of the Muira Valley and established the Inhacafura post that granted ‘peace’ in the area. The first column continued its progress towards the capital of Bárue.⁷⁹

In the meantime, one auxiliary column took the aringa of Chuargua after a fierce battle and set aside the power of Canga Dovunga, principal chief of the Tonga prazos. Marching forward, the column continued to annihilate enemy forces and isolated the Chiramba’s home base in Zambezi. Coutinho claimed that ‘with astonishment and fear, demoralized Barué forces certainly saw how easy and quickly their best and bravest allies were beaten. Strategically, it was a major step towards the annihilation of Bárue, and politically we gained a lot of prestige. The military execution was perfect’.⁸⁰

Second phase of the campaign - From Chiramba to Inhangone

The sepoys coming from Chuargua arrived on 13 August leading many women they had entrapped.⁸¹ The preparation for the march was completed the following day. Many of the soldiers had come with no shoes while others had no helmets. These articles came from Lisbon aboard the *Álvaro de Caminha* and were distributed along with water bottles ordered from Lourenço Marques in such numerous supplies that each officer and European soldier could have two. It was a necessary precaution as water was thought to be scarce in many areas.

Roughly fifty kilometers separated Chiramba from Sança. It was a reasonable road about three meters wide. The sand often made the march fatiguing, yet it was advantageous as water could be easily accessed by digging up the sand near the Pompué riverbed. From Sança, the principal column marched to the Inharuiro River, which at that point had abundant water, quite deep in its sandy bed. Although long, the twenty-kilometer march was made ‘splendidly’, largely due to the concealed sun, cool weather, and relatively good path opened

⁷⁹ Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro*, 592.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 591-2. Bárue is here spelled as Coutinho wrote in his memoir.

⁸¹ Ibid, 593. These sepoys were part of the auxiliary column mentioned above. They destroyed Chargua, one important Tonga aringa in the defense line of Bárue kingdom. Women were of the best trophies sepoys could get, and probably one of the main reasons for their participation in the wars.

by the Companhia de Moçambique. Bárúè lay on the bank opposite the site where the Portuguese force camped the night before the attack.

The first target in Bárúèland was the aringa of Chambo, whose trail, wrote Coutinho, was terribly difficult and extremely stressful. Despite the ‘tremendous work’ directed by engineer Gavião and Alferes Casqueiro to improve the route, deep ravines constantly forced them to dismantle the artillery and sometimes even to dismount the riders.⁸² Around 4 pm the aringa of Chambo was spotted and there were war drums beating. ‘The sepoy of the Zambézia Company that flanked the right side of the column suddenly faced the aringa and being greeted by enemy’s fire threw themselves into combat. The aringa was soon abandoned by the defenders who took the injured and left behind four dead.’⁸³

From the raid made on the next day the sepoy brought a great quantity of meat from Chambo’s stores and from stock on the floodplain. ‘All day we have been involved in a circle of fire ... in their retreat chased by the sepoy, the enemy set fire to the abundant high and dry grass so the heat became very intense and scorching.’⁸⁴ At 7.22 pm of 22 August, leaving the national flag ‘hoisted and fluttering on the first conquered post in Bárúè,’ the Portuguese column resumed the march. The nine kilometers were interrupted several times to allow the passage of artillery through the ravines. The column bivouacked in Vunvuti, near a burned aringa. There were cultivated plains and abundant good water was found in pits opened in the bed of a nearby stream. The sepoy carried on exploring the surroundings and burned grass along the way.

The column moved to cross the Condine range, a very difficult path full of ravines and rough slopes where rolling loose stones necessitated a very slow march. The mountains were crammed by groups of abandoned huts. The Portuguese bivouacked not far from the strong aringa of Inhangone, where the ‘always fearless and daring chief Cambuemba’ had a dominant position.⁸⁵ The attack was decided for early the following day.⁸⁶ The night passed without any extraordinary occurrence. It was a real surprise for the invaders, given the small

⁸² See Figure 5.

⁸³ Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro*, 599.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 600.

⁸⁵ Coutinho wrote that at night, fires were spotted far away in the direction of an old aringa of the late Manuel António of Gorongosa, which had been erected to repel the Nguni. Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro*, 603.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 600.

distance separating them from the ‘dreadful Inhangone’. According to Isaacman, Bárue officials ordered the retreat of chief Cambuemba to Missongue where the whole force gathered for a major combat.⁸⁷ The guides said that the capital Missongue was not far. The sound of drumbeats from Inhangone signaled that people were alerted to the proximity of the Portuguese column.

Third phase. The end of the campaign (see Figure 10)

The Portuguese march resumed at 6.40 am on 24 August and by 11.30 Inhangone was in sight. The Barueans had retreated earlier that day, taking along all the food they could carry while burning the rest with the palisade. At 2.45 pm, the column arrived at the aringa and bivouacked in a square formation. The short distance of about 12 km had been an ‘extremely painful’ march on sandy soil under a broiling sun. Shelters for the soldiers were erected facing outwards from a square formation inside which were built the headquarters, ambulance and administrative services. Water was scarce, but Inhangone (‘lizard land’) was one of the most important points of Bárue given its valuable location near the floodplain and being the residence of Cambuemba. There, as Coutinho notes, ‘I ordered the construction of a fort, the second in Barueland that later should be rebuilt in a healthier place.’ The sepoys left to raid early in the morning and returned by nightfall having burned the already abandoned aringas of Boroma and Macossa.⁸⁸

Heading to the Bárue capital Missongue, the column left the bivouac on 28 August. Time was taken along the march to cut open the overgrown pathway by axe. At 10.30 am, the cavalry commandant ‘announced having seen blacks fleeing towards the aringa.’ Coutinho ordered an immediate advance and lively shooting started. The challenge to ‘explain in their order the successive events that took place during the fight’ was his reason for narrating as a whole (in his subsequent publication) ‘the episodes that constituted the complete defeat of the Macombe’s forces on August 28, 1902.’⁸⁹

In the monograph *Tradition of Resistance*, Isaacman wrote that a force of five thousand soldiers gathered to protect Missongue. The force included elite units and was strategically deployed to prevent a frontal attack. A tactical unit under the direct leadership of

⁸⁷ Isaacman and Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 64.

⁸⁸ Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro*, 603.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 605.

Cambendere was protecting the access road. A combined force of Tonga and Báruè soldiers guarded one flank in conjunction with a smaller group of guerrillas deployed in the caves and lower terraces of the mountain under the command of Cambuamba. Although a rival of Hanga in succession disputes, Cavunda and his supporters protected the other flank. Near the *aringa*, a substantial number of soldiers were held in reserve and ‘pledged to defend the life of Hanga at all costs.’ The royal guard waited inside the capital.⁹⁰

The Báruèans opened fire from their defensive position inflicting a number of injuries on the Portuguese force, which successfully counter-attacked, killing Cambendere. The Báruèans were forced to retreat after a fierce fight against a second unit that scaled up the hill called Nyentambue. Without any orderly withdrawal, precluded by the cutting off of Mungari’s road and the crushing of the African counter-attack, the battle ‘lasted only a few hours.’ According to the Portuguese accounts, the enemy fled by the end of the day.⁹¹

Coutinho recognized how cleverly the Báruè strategists had prepared the ground and conducted the invading force into an unavoidable ‘cul de sac,’ where the column was hit on both front and sides and hardly withstood the converging shots from the Báruè. After a battle that lasted one hour, the column moved on to the *aringa*, which was closer than what they thought it would be. It looked deserted from a high point where an ‘*ensaca*’ of sepoys was positioned. The abandonment of the *aringa* was confirmed; all available joint forces of Macombe and of his powerful ancient rival Chipitura Chavunda who had gathered to face the Portuguese army were completely beaten in the combat at Missongue. According to Coutinho, ‘that was the end, forever, of the legendary power of Macombe in Báruè’.⁹²

The commandant listed one Sergeant, one cavalry soldier, and 16 Indian soldiers among the wounded. Eighteen sepoys were killed and eleven were injured by firearms. On the Báruè side, beside the corpses transported away by relatives, 80 dead were left in the field and over 300 were estimated to have been wounded. A large number of warriors capitulated in the surrounding forests. Hanga, along with several of his principal lieutenants, fled to the central shrine at Zenlagombie to beseech the spirits of the royal ancestors. Subsequently, he gathered

⁹⁰ On *aringas* and the strategies for their defense, see discussion regarding Figure 8.

⁹¹ Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 64.

⁹² Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro*, 611-612.

his wives and crossed the Rhodesian border to settle in Inyanga where he was joined by a large number of followers, including the spirit medium of Kabudo Kagoro.⁹³

The full implementation of their plan, however, required the Portuguese to march to Mungari to confront (chief) Chipitura, then allied to the Macombe, and destroy his power.⁹⁴ However, ‘the *aringa* was abandoned with the doors closed, the huts with their thatched roofs, and many supplies in the stores, which, according to the gentile customs, prove that the régulo did not want war, and delivers the village to the King of Portugal.’⁹⁵

The Bárúè campaign of 1902 lasted two months with a march of approximately 3000 kilometers. The columns entered into fights of major or minor importance in Mafunda, Chambo, Vunvuti, Inhacate, Bindau, Sangara, Vunduzi, Massamba, Nhapando, Damba-Cuxamba, Chiussado, Candia-M’tangue, Choarira, Nhahangara Bexigue, with the most important combat taking place at Chuargua and Missongue.⁹⁶ There were wounded but no dead European soldiers. The commandant was proud of being able to save the ‘best Portuguese blood’, and while lamenting the loss of brave indigenous soldiers, he would ‘preferably sacrifice sepoy’s to preserve regular forces.’⁹⁷ The Portuguese, excluding the ordinary and anonymous warriors who died in combat, claimed that 13 chiefs or important aristocratic relatives were dead, 23 notable as well as ordinary people were imprisoned, 71 aringas were destroyed, and great quantities of supplies were found in the settlements and field camps captured.

In the monograph *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro e Soldado de África*, one photograph depicts five African men standing and six seated. What seems to be a ‘white cloth’ is the backdrop of the picture, but, on the right side of the frame, part of a wooden stairway appears and indicates the kind of place where the photograph was taken. The caption confirms what the image suggests: ‘O Chipitura Chavunda with Mocambe son of Cambuembra and other

⁹³ Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro*, 610-11. See also Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982*, 64-65. Kabudo Kagoro was a former Macombe whose spirit medium called *Sviruko* was believed to have magic powers. Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 62-3; Coutinho *Memórias*, 598.

⁹⁴ As mentioned earlier, Chipitura was friendly to the Portuguese but allied with other African forces in opposition to colonial domination.

⁹⁵ Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro*, 616.

⁹⁶ Surprisingly, despite the two days heavy confrontation, the initial combat at Tambara is not included in the last list.

⁹⁷ Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro*, 630.

greats (indunas) boarded on the *África* heading to Cape Verde.⁹⁸ Cape Verde was the place of exile of many ‘indigenas’ who became inconvenient to the Portuguese regime. Another place of expatriation was São Tomé, where the wives of Ngungunyane were sent from Lisbon. Most of what we are learning by reading is difficult to grasp just by looking at the twelve photographs in the envelope. Again, these appear to exist not to report on the campaign in a comprehensive way but to confirm something desired about the Portuguese military authority in Mozambique.

The Time of the Photographs: A Visual Narration

In the photograph (Figure 4), a group of nine military officials are portrayed. The relaxed postures of the depicted suggest that the picture might not be for official purposes. The photograph could have been taken as a personal memory to celebrate their presence at the location. Or, if it was officially requested, the purpose of the image could be to show that the operation was proceeding on good terms, with confidence and a harmonious ambience between the officers of the command. Hand-written names on the back of the print identify eight of them. The inscription does not indicate in what order we should read who is who, so presumably we should read them from left to right.

Tongaland

In Figure 4, two of the men portrayed are immediately recognizable, they appear in other photographs of the collection: the man dressed in white clothes who does not seem to be a regular soldier, and Coutinho. In his memoir, Coutinho addressed words of appreciation to the officers who worked with him for the successful accomplishment of the mission. Unable to speak about all, the author mentioned only those who, according to him, were most committed to ‘stand out by providing services worthy of note’. Are they the ones posing for the photograph?

⁹⁸ Ibid, 630.

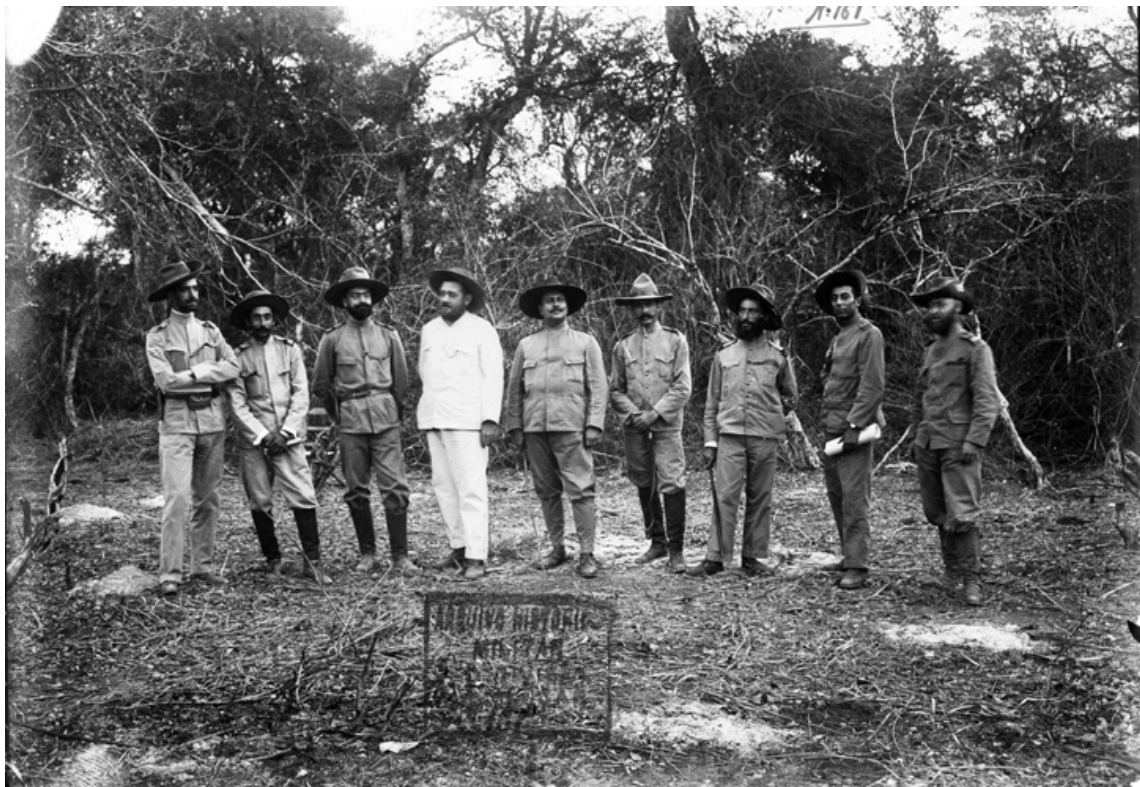


Figure 4. Silver paper print 10x15 cm (circa). Military History Archive, Lisbon. Archival reference: PT AHM-FE-110-B7-PQ-6.2. Written on the back of the print: 2º tenente Gusmão; 2º tenente António de Brito, 2º tenente Mendes de Almeida; 1º tenente Pinto Bastos; João Coutinho; 1º tenente Moniz; 2º tenente Fernando de Magalhães; 2º tenente Roby.

The first person on the left is identified in the book as Navy Second Lieutenant Pedro de Gusmão. He gave ‘evidence of his value’ as Coutinho’s assistant in the previous campaigns of Inhangone and Maganja da Costa and was awarded the post of field adjutant to the commandant of the first platoon of the navy.⁹⁹

The second man in the row (from the left) is Second Lieutenant António Júlio de Brito, who brought 5,000 men from Angónia and Macanga, the prazos he had occupied just a month before. According to Coutinho, de Brito resided in Angónia and was known in the neighbouring English colony as the ‘king of Angónia’. After beating Macanga he was greatly distinguished as a fearless officer, a good comrade for Coutinho during the campaign of Bárue.

The third man is army Second Lieutenant Boaventura Mendes de Almeida, who had considerable strategic knowledge about the region and was an indefatigable worker. He was

⁹⁹ Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro e Soldado de África*, 649.

distinguished in the command of the column section that during the campaign often marched in front position. He took great care of the weaponry in his charge and helped to repair the pieces captured from the enemy in Missongue.¹⁰⁰

The fourth man dressed in white clothes is said to be First Lieutenant Pinto Basto (the Head of the Sena District). Coutinho referred to him as ‘my comrade’ and ‘an energetic and active officer’.¹⁰¹ Basto became an administrator of the Companhia de Moçambique and died a navy admiral. That might explain his white uniform and probably one of the reasons why Coutinho, also a naval officer, refers to him as ‘my comrade’.¹⁰² Coutinho stands beside him.

The sixth man in the picture is army First Lieutenant, Júlio Botelho Moniz, who in 1898 conducted the small steamer ‘Batista de Andrade’ on a ‘risky’ trip from Lisbon to Lourenço Marques. In the absence of the commandant he assumed control of the important and ‘splendid’ encampment of Chiramba – the key position to access the Tonga prazos. He commanded disciplined sepoy who constituted the auxiliary column of Muira which assaulted the hill in the battle of Missongue.

The seventh man is Second Lieutenant Fernando de Magalhães e Menezes, who already included the Namarrais and Gaza campaigns in his career. As commandant of the gunboat *Obuz*, he rendered useful services by loading hundreds of porters and sepoy ‘with good humor and firm intention to serve well.’ On land he commanded his platoon, constituting part of the valuable auxiliary column of Muira.

The eighth man is army Second Lieutenant João de Faria Machado Pinto Roby de Miranda Pereira, deputy chief of the General Staff. Described by Coutinho as ‘a very young officer who started to show courage in Africa’, he was involved in the cavalry charge that dislodged the fighters from the aringa of Cabedendere.¹⁰³ Pereira was one of several aristocratic officers integrated in the expeditions that landed in Mozambique. His military career started with the

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 647.

¹⁰¹ The entire expedition was divided in three columns that depart from different positions in the assault to Bárue. The first column was the principal and was commanded by Azevedo Coutinho himself.

¹⁰² In José Capela, *Donas, Senhores e Escravos*, 131. Besides his crucial position as administrator of Sena, Basto was also a naval officer and this could be one of the reasons for the deference given to him, posing on the right hand side of the commandant.

¹⁰³ Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro e Soldado de África*, 608. The action of Lieutenant Carrilho is also mentioned on page 591 of the book.

campaign against the Namarrais in the north, followed by the Gaza and Zambézia campaigns, ending recklessly and tragically in Angola en route to Portugal.¹⁰⁴

The background in Figure 4 shows the thick and thorny bush that characterized the vegetation on the borders of the Tongaland riverbeds. Although facilitating the progression into the enemy territory, the path was not always easy due to the sandy soil that caused men and animals extra effort under the burning sun. According to Coutinho, walking on the riverbed did not always provide water. In addition, the thickness of the bush covered the retreats of ‘rebels’ after their attacks on the column. Therefore, this picture could have been taken during the initial march, when the Portuguese penetrated Tonga territory following the Muira River, where the column suffered their first ambush which they repelled with the two H.42mm grenades fired on Coutinho’s command.¹⁰⁵

Báruèland

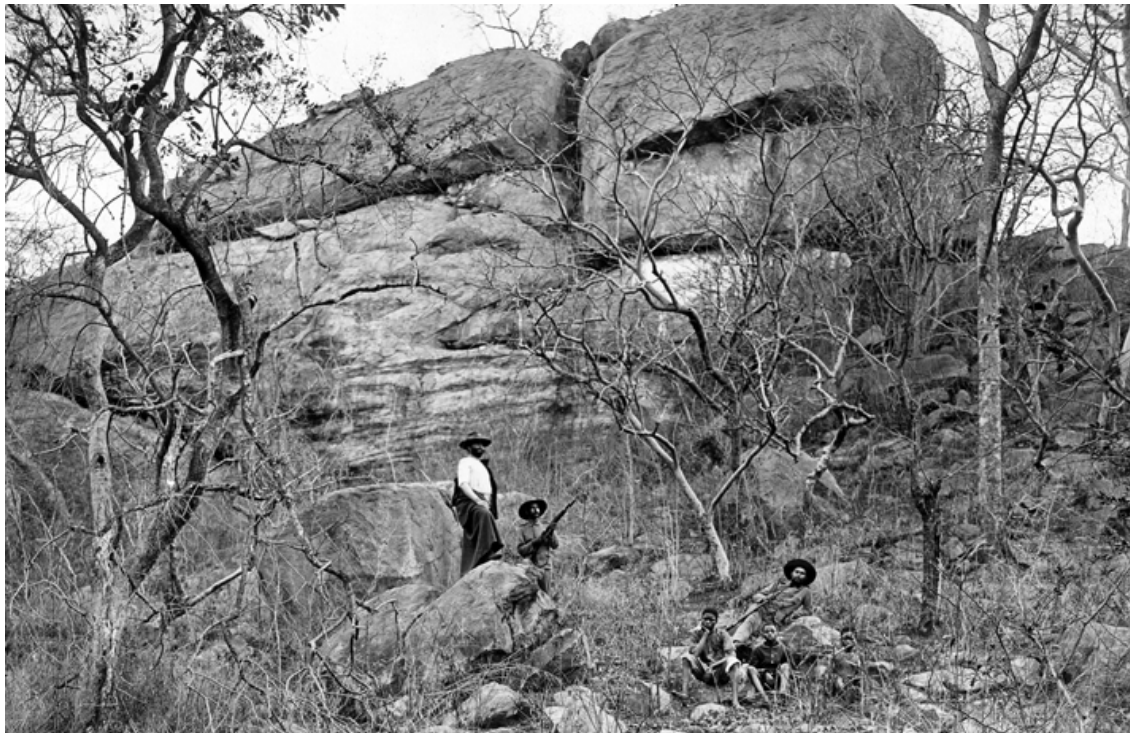


Figure 5. Silver paper print 10x15 cm (circa). Military History Archive, Lisbon. Archival reference: PT AHM-FE-110-B7-PQ-6.6.

¹⁰⁴ José Capela, *Donas, Senhores e Escravos*, 131.

¹⁰⁵ Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro e Soldado de África*, 588.

In Figure 5 six people (three European and three African), some standing and some sitting, pose against a hilly landscape with very dry shrub vegetation. As if in a theatrical performance, the whole rock formation features ‘nature’ and is the stage in which choreographed actors are required to pose, some in a very relaxed attitude. The natural environment dominates the framed scene where a man wearing a white shirt is standing above the others and has a posture of confidence. He wraps part of his body in what appears to be a blanket, has rolled up his sleeves, and leans his right arm on the leg resting on the rocky surface at his feet. Besides not wearing the same uniform as the other soldiers, he apparently carries no firearm.

At first glance, there is a tendency to connect him to Celestino Ferreira Basto, who appears in other photographs also wearing white clothes. But although difficult to ascertain by just comparing the images, it is possible to see the difference in their hats, in the shape of their faces, and in their body language. This man might be another person, probably a civilian since none of the soldiers are posing with a blanket over their shoulders. In his memoir, Coutinho honored certain civilians who took part in the expedition. Among them were the administrators of the prazos and particularly the engineer and his assistants whose role was crucial for the operation.

The forest engineer Luís de Mascarenhas Gavião was not a soldier but took part in several military campaigns, such as the one against the Namarrais in the north and in Zambézia, often exposed in the front of the column. During the Báruè campaign, he was with Coutinho, who recalled that in Inhambere the engineer and his assistants paved the way, deepening the puddles and digging artesian wells to obtain water. Despite their best efforts to open three pits in the dark clay, there were only a few drops of muddy black liquid at the bottom, which ‘not even the porters could drink.’¹⁰⁶

As described, the column left the bivouac on 28 August often stopping to provide time for the engineering corps ‘to pare down the path with an ax.’ Despite the ‘insane’ work of the rock breakers directed by engineer Gavião and Alferes Casqueiro, the path to the Chambo *aringas* was, as stated earlier, ‘extremely stressful’ due to its deep ravines.¹⁰⁷ Coutinho recalls the

¹⁰⁶ Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro e Soldado de África*, 605.

¹⁰⁷ Coutinho, *Memórias de um Velho Marinheiro e Soldado de África*, 599.

difficulties of the routes taken and therefore the importance of the engineering division within the expedition.

In the picture, the soldier standing next to the engineer is on alert with a ready weapon, and his superior firepower seems part of his confidence. Could the soldier in the image be Alferes Casqueiro? It seems that both are looking in the same direction, towards something drawing their attention. Another soldier is reclining on the ground. In the midst of the campaign, he may be called upon to intervene at any moment, and his weapon suggests combat readiness.

The indigenous African youths are unarmed. From their clothes, they seem to be neither soldiers nor sepoys. Instead, they might be either servants of the white men (muleques) or even porters. They are not reclining like the soldier above them but remain seated, giving an indication of their subaltern position. They do not appear to be particularly excited by the performance of the photographic ritual. In this image, their apparent lassitude suggests a passive submission. They look at the white man they serve, the photographer, or ultimately the recipient public (the viewers of the photograph), perhaps questioning the reason for all this, from the violence of their recruitment which comprised a forced estrangement from their families and their routine, to the suffering of the hazardous march, often without water or food, against time, against nature, and against their fellow African man.

The landscape depicted in the photograph is in accordance with Coutinho's description of the path to Chambo, 'terribly difficult and extremely fatiguing.'¹⁰⁸ The photographer clearly intended to bring the nature of that environment to our attention, revealing its wild features as well as the difficulties it poses to the march. They are climbing rocks that constitute a form of resistance to their alien presence. Men and things are proportionally small in that framed natural formation. By acknowledging the insignificant but fearless and confident presence of the white men, the image can be read as a demonstration of power, since the smallness of the men is not an impediment to their dominion over that environment. The figure of the man dressed in white with one foot resting on the rock resembles the pose of the hunter 'hovering

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 599.

triumphantly over a carcass'.¹⁰⁹ And often through photography, the white man claims to be in control of the African landscape.

If we observe them side by side, the photographs in Figures 4 and 5 show that the environment changed from being thick and bushy along the rivers to being rocky and dry further inland. According to Coutinho's descriptions, the majority of the force and equipment attached to the first column was transported in barges to the gathering point at Tambara from where the column started their march by following paths either along or through the bed of the Muira River. It was in this kind of environment that the column suffered its first attack.

Later, Coutinho described the hilly landscape with deep ravines that often forced the struggling troops to proceed by walking. The terrain also forced the column to have long stops as they waited for the engineering brigade to open the trail. The artillery and other machinery often had to be dismantled and transported by men. The pictures therefore indicate the progression of the expedition into the interior of the territory, leaving behind the Tonga lowlands to reach the inhospitable Bárue highlands.

The pose of the man dressed in white is similar to Coutinho's, just facing in the opposite direction.¹¹⁰ From that elevated position, it is as if Coutinho gazes out at the space conquered. Standing on top of the rock formation he assumes a position of verification, evaluating the achievements that also comprise a victory over a difficult natural environment on top of which he stands. By contrast, the engineer Gavião (Figure 5) is looking forward; he evaluates the challenges to follow, in service of the empire.

Regular soldiers

In the image (Figure 6), a group of European and African men stand in a choreography that uses the local natural features, as suggested by the camera point of view and the composition. Read from top left to bottom right, the image shows the subjects posing in rows on the slopes of a rock: a line of African men almost disappearing into the bush behind them, and a group

¹⁰⁹ See Paul Landau's commentary around 'outdoor colonial photography' in W. Hartmann, J. Silvester and P. Hayes (eds), *The Colonizing Camera. Photographs in the Making of Namibian History* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1998), 152.

¹¹⁰ See Figure 1 of this chapter.

of European men almost in the centre of the image. The rock dominates the entire foreground of the frame.



Figure 6. Silver paper print 10x15 cm (circa). Military History Archive, Lisbon. Archival reference: PT AHM-FE-110-B7-PQ-6.98.

All the men in the picture are in uniform. They are regular soldiers of the Portuguese army. At the center of the image, eight Europeans wear a complete uniform of jacket and trousers, with boots and hats. Some have handgun holsters on their waists. They boast a very relaxed pose; five are standing, leaning against the rocky surface, while three are seated. One of the sitters towards the front has his legs stretched and crossed and holds a stick in his hand. There are similarities between him and the man standing alone in Figure 1. He is probably Coutinho. Among the Europeans, besides the one standing, none of the others are looking at the camera. Their gazes are turned to other places beyond the photographer, and their relaxed posture suggests contemplation of the landscape, a posture of the ‘l’homme civilisé’.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation. Essays on Photographs and Histories* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 36.

The African men wear dark long-sleeved jackets and do not have trousers but rather a cloth hanging from their waists. Almost all of them are standing with rifles, lodged on the ground and held by their barrels. In relation to the image, they are positioned in the back, at the beginning of dense, dry, scrubby vegetation. They seem to be protecting the back of the white men and appear as intermediaries in the relation between the European men and African environment. Their pose is not as relaxed as the pose of the white men, and unlike the latter, they ‘submitted their regard at the camera.’¹¹²

The men in the picture are all soldiers of the Portuguese military expedition in full operational mode within the territory of an enemy they intend to dominate. Yet the relaxed pose of the European officers of the Portuguese army does not reveal much of the tension that is normally part of an act of war. The superior firepower of their modern weaponry may be providing them with an impression of invincibility. Their victories as they progress into enemy territory might also contribute to their confident attitude in relation to the final accomplishment of the mission, achieved without much sacrifice except for the hard march in a difficult environment. Nature it seems can be more threatening than the rebels.

As we have noted, the dimensions and apparatus of the expedition were impressive. It comprised modern and sophisticated weaponry, from rifles to machine guns and mortars, boats, horses, the prestige of the commandant, the expertise of the officials and engineers, and numerous different forces with soldiers from Europe, India, and Africa, and sepoys from numerous prazos and warlords. Yet the African soldiers do not appear to be so confident. Perhaps their own cultural and spiritual beliefs would not let them relax. They knew the prestigious spirit medium of Kabudu Kagoro was playing an active role in the defense of the Bárue nation. Special medicines like *nyume* provided by the *svikiro* to African chiefs were reputed to reverse the power of the enemy during the battles. The magic porridge distributed to the warriors during the war ceremonies were believed to ensure individual protection against bullets that would be transformed into water.¹¹³

¹¹² Ibid, 36.

¹¹³ Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 62-3.; Coutinho *Memórias*, 598.

Soon after the Ultimatum, the majority of the Portuguese army came to consist of locally recruited men.¹¹⁴ Besides the problems of adaptation suffered by the European soldiers in Africa, it was less expensive to contract local people.¹¹⁵ Mouzinho de Albuquerque began the recruitment of local people in Mozambique to serve as soldiers in the colony. During his term in office as governor-general of Mozambique between 1896 and 1897, he implemented measures that ‘strengthened the mechanisms of recruitment, the first mixed units of cavalry were created and the uniforms improved, which was described as an aspect of great importance for the African troops, thus symbolizing social ascent’.¹¹⁶ The military barracks were decorated with photographs in which black men impeccably uniformed were showcased as an example of the great soldier. Word spread that good soldiers attracted women.¹¹⁷

The men were recruited far from the region where they served to prevent desertions. The Inhambane district in the south provided five companies for the garrison in the north of the colony. They entered into the operations against the Namarrais and took part in the combat of Mujenga. The platoon was armed with carbines, bayonets, and short spears, taking advantage of the indigenous ability to use the assegai.¹¹⁸ At the end of the Monarchy, the number of soldiers in the colonial army was just over ten thousand distributed throughout the colonial territories, and less than a third came from Europe.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Maria Carrilho, *Forças Armadas e Mudança Política em Portugal no século XX. Para uma Explicação Sociológica do Papel dos Militares* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1985), 110. Portugal dreamed about a coast-to-coast empire from Angola to Mozambique, and the attempt to materialize this was embodied in the 1616 Pink Map. The persistence of the claims represented in the hypothetical Pink Map prompted arguments between Portugal and Great Britain, which culminated with the British Ultimatum of January 1890. Confronted with war threats Portugal immediately withdrew from the zones in conflict and lost African regions whose appropriation was based on its ‘historical rights’. Valentim Alexandre and Jill Dias (eds), *A questão colonial no Portugal Oitocentista, O Império Africano (1825-1890)* (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1998), 115-126.; Ângela Guimarães, *Uma Corrente do Colonialismo Português: a Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa - 1875-1895* (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1984), 15-16. The Portuguese capitulation in response to the British Ultimatum is considered to be the main cause of the fall of the system of monarchy in Portugal.

¹¹⁵ Fátima da Cruz Rodrigues, ‘Antigos Combatentes Africanos das Forças Armadas Portuguesas A Guerra Colonial como Território de (Re)conciliação’ (Coimbra: Tese de Doutoramento apresentada à Faculdade de Economia da Universidade de Coimbra para obtenção do grau de Doutor, 2012), 112. For the Campaigns see also Carrilho, *Forças Armadas e Mudança Política em Portugal no século XX*, 110.

¹¹⁶ Marco Fortunato Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na África Portuguesa. Angola e Moçambique (1914 – 1918)* (Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, Instituto de Defesa Nacional, 2004), 234.

¹¹⁷ Colonel Eduardo A. de Azambuja Martins, *O Soldado Africano de Moçambique* (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1936), 38-9.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, 10.

¹¹⁹ In F. C. Rodrigues, ‘Antigos Combatentes Africanos das Forças Armadas Portuguesas. A Guerra Colonial como Território de (Re)conciliação’, 112.

In the colonies, various forms of recruitment were applied, from persuasion to force. These violent ‘proceedings ranged from the imprisonment of women to compel their husbands to appear at recruiting boards, to the capture and imprisonment of men, then forced to serve in the army.’¹²⁰ For ‘the string recruitment’ the police raided the outskirts of villages to catch ‘vagrants’ who were held together with a rope and locked in the local quarters until they embarked for elsewhere. Designated as ‘compelled’, they had to fulfill military service for a period of 5 years. European soldiers also classified as ‘compelled’ served in the colonies, forming the battalions of hunters.¹²¹ The changes in the logic of local recruitment indicate the failure of Portuguese attempts to persuade Africans to serve in the colonial army voluntarily. Pélissier argues that the form of recruitment mentioned above was applied mostly during the epoch of military campaigns that only ended in 1941.¹²²

Yet in 1958 Jaime Neves witnessed the recruitment he called the ‘volunteers of the rope,’ and described how, after a census was conducted, the administration of Tete had to supply a thousand men to the army. The Tete official met the heads of posts and demanded from each village ‘volunteers’ to fill the quota needed. Provided with a list of names given by the chiefs, the sepoys went to fetch those listed. In cases where men ran away, the first ‘blacks’ found were then grabbed and coerced to adopt the name of the missing ones, with the régulos aware of this.¹²³ The captured men remained prisoners and during their time ‘in service,’ their wives and children were cared for by the régulos, which created various problems.¹²⁴ In Figure 6 the preponderance of African soldiers in the Portuguese army is visible: eight Europeans against more or less 30 African soldiers are organized for the picture. The photography seems to confirm that during the military campaigns for the conquest and defense of African territories, the majority of the ‘Portuguese soldiers’ consisted of locally recruited men.

¹²⁰ Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 244.

¹²¹ See Martins, *O Soldado Africano de Moçambique*, 9-10. However, the European and African soldiers were accommodated in separated barracks, and differently treated in terms of payment, food and other conditions. See Martins, *O Soldado Africano*, 38-9.

¹²² R. Pélissier, *Les campagnes coloniales du Portugal, 1844-1941* (Paris: Pygmalion Flammarion, 2004), 310.

¹²³ Régulo is a Portuguese term, from the Latin *regulus*, a minor king. It was used to denote African customary leaders or chiefs of various kinds – including kings, queens, and sultans – who were empowered (and paid) by the colonial administration to control local communities on behalf of the Portuguese. Some of them were representative of a genuine chiefly tradition; others were simply imposed on communities by the authorities. See Colin Darch (ed), *Historical Dictionary of Mozambique*, 3rd ed. (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, forthcoming).

¹²⁴ José Freire Antunes, *A Guerra de África (1961 -1974)* Vol 1 (Lisbon: Círculo De Leitores, 1995), 388-9. On violent recruitment for military service and particularly for porters, who are often forgotten, see also Ricardo Marques, *Os Fantasmas do Rovuma. A epopeia dos soldados portugueses em África na I Guerra Mundial* (Alfragide: Oficina do Livro, 2012), 209-212.

Sepoys: irregular soldiers¹²⁵

In the eighteenth century, the Portuguese faced recruitment difficulties to fill the infantry regiment of Mozambique. Initially importing sepoys from India, the high mortality they suffered led to the incorporation of local men from the colony, including ‘patricios’ inhabiting the rivers of the Sena region. For the regular army, the Swahili men on the coast were recruited and later men from Mozambique Island.¹²⁶ Relevant here is that in 1767, the State of India sent one company of sepoys with a captain, a lieutenant, two sergeants and 59 regular soldiers to the colony. After completing his commission, one of the sergeants, Nicholas Pascoal da Cruz, remained in Mozambique as a *prazeiro*.¹²⁷ His descendants became unquestionable personages in the anti-colonial history of the Zambezi. The most well-known was called Bonga, who established his stronghold at Massangano. Against him, the Portuguese organized several military expeditions during the campaigns of the nineteenth century.

The recruitment of Indian sepoys followed a long integrating process of colonial exchanges between India and Mozambique.¹²⁸ The establishment of companies of Mozambican sepoys was reflected in military and linguistic terms; progressively, the name extended to any African fighters. Descriptions of nineteenth century military confrontation continually identify Mozambican combatants, both regular soldiers at the service of the Portuguese army, and the irregular forces mobilized by landlords, as sepoys.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ African police, known as ‘sipaio’ (cipai/sepai/cypai), played an important part in supporting the thorough implementation of the régulo’s role. As explained earlier, the word sipaio originated from the word ‘sepoy’ – an Indian soldier serving under the British order. Sipaios worked as guards, civilian soldiers, police or tax collectors. In some cases, the sipaios were more powerful than régulos and even arrested African chiefs who failed to fulfil their duties of collecting taxes and supplying labour. See Sayaka Funada-Classen, *The origins of war in Mozambique: a history of unity and division* (Stellenbosch: African Minds, 2013), 66.

¹²⁶ Patricios means person of the same country or locality to another; compatriot; belonging to the aristocracy; noble; aristocrat (<https://www.dicio.com.br/patricio/>) accessed 5/11/2016.

¹²⁷ Prazeiros were the holders of the Prazos, a land-holding system granted to private individuals by the Portuguese Crown. The system was set in place in the Zambezi Valley in an attempt to populate the area with European natives to consolidate the control over the Mozambican hinterland.

¹²⁸ In 1781, three companies of sepoys arrived from India, which due to disasters, and particularly diseases, were quickly reduced to 11 men. See Lieutenant Colonel João José de Sousa Cruz, *Revista Militar* n. 2545/2546- Fevereiro Março de 2014. <https://www.revistamilitar.pt/artigo/907> accessed 27/9/2016.

¹²⁹ On a-chikunda see Isaacman & Isaacman, *Escravos, Esclavagistas, Guerreiros e Caçadores. A Saga dos Chicundas do Vale do Zambeze* (Maputo: Promédia, 2006). On page 365 the authors explain how the Chicundas were transformed into sepoys.



Figure 7. Silver paper print 10x15 cm (circa). Military History Archive, Lisbon. Archival reference: PT AHM-FE-110-B7-PQ-6.4.

In the above photograph (Figure 7) the group of armed natives are probably sepoys. In the prazo, the entire force of sepoys is called a ‘condo’. In cases of war they are divided into companies called *ensakas*. The whole force (condo) is hierarchically organized as follows: Captain or condo commandant; *Kazembe* or commandant of the *ensaka*; *Sachecunda* (Sergeant) group commandant; and *Mucata*, soldier. There is also the *Canhongo*, an old sepoys generally known for his bravery and good humor, who has a very special role: he is responsible for monitoring all sentinels during the night and transmitting all orders. In combat, the *Canhongo* encourages sepoys with his antics and rhetoric and punishes those who show fear. The sepoys always attack with rifles, in separated *ensakas*. After a long round of shooting, they advance and fight with specific weapons (an axe, knife or spear). Each *ensaka* has its own flag. The *Canhongos* and the wizard (*feiticeiro*) use the war tail (a buffalo tail) that is also present in the ceremonies performed before the war.¹³⁰ The image in Figure 7

¹³⁰ Coutinho, *Memórias*, 63. There is an ‘ensaca’ that did not go to offensive wars, its primary mission was the protection of the great aringa and the Macombe. This is the ‘ensaca of the door’, which in Barue is called the

could well be an *ensaka*, since the men are not wearing the characteristic blazer of the regular native soldiers.¹³¹ Some of the depicted even have nude torsos, with just a blanket across their chest. Within the group depicted it is possible to see three members who wear different upper attire, probably the condo commandant, the *Kazembe*, and the *Sachecunda*. One *mucata* (second from the left in the standing row) is holding a cloth in his right hand. Could this be a flag?

On the left side of the frame, it is possible to see part of what seems to be a strong palisade along which some people are seated. Although unfocused, it is also possible to see other people further back. Some are definitely Africans, most probably porters and other personnel. On the extreme right side of the frame, three European soldiers can be seen standing and having a conversation. The huts in the back and a hilly formation far back suggest that the picture was taken in one of the aringas prepared for war.¹³²

According to Coutinho, ‘in past times, when rich Zambézia saw in its famed *feiras* the trade in gold dust and ivory, there was a need to prevent this wealth and commerce from falling into the hands of Asian traffickers, Moors, gentiles.’ The system of the *prazos* was created to attract Europeans and promote white settlement, thus replacing the authority of the local chiefs. The rich and vast country was divided and the plots given to the colonists who were forced to maintain an indigenous militia to quell any riots or perform achievements, ‘and so the appearance of the first sepoys, whose name came from India, with whom Mozambique has always maintained the most intimate relationships’. Lieutenant Sousa Cruz argued that the system of *prazos* was implemented initially by the State of India, to whom Mozambique was awarded in the seventeenth century, which is the reason why the first *prazeiros* were Goans. In these *prazos*, slaves armed by their masters called ‘*achikundas*’ were the ‘private armies’ of the lord of the *prazo*. These slaves, usually purchased in distant countries, received some rudimentary military training and followed their lords on war expeditions, hunting or merchant activities. Labour such as that of the *machileiro* was given to the people they captured.¹³³ Over the years the sepoys evolved into a privileged aristocratic caste with

Massembas, formed by relatives of the régulo, whom they accompany and defend to the death as true bodyguards. On Massembas, see *Memórias*, 560.

¹³¹ Compare to Figure 6 showing the regular soldiers.

¹³² See discussion on aringas that followed Figure 8.

¹³³ *Machileiros*, the carriers of the palanquin, a kind of litter called *machila* in which Europeans were transported on trips or tours. The *machileiros* were black Africans who were robust and very agile, covering huge distances at a fast pace said to be like the trotting of a horse.

specific habits. They did not pay *mussuco* (hut tax) and had exclusive rights to act as masters of war or the hunt, and they became the forces that opened the way for the second-line troops, the main body of trained soldiers.¹³⁴

In fact, ‘to flank the columns with sepoys, throwing them forward for exploration, always using them to harass,’ were norms that Coutinho said ‘never fell away’ in Zambézia or in similar wars elsewhere. ‘The sepoys save columns from ambushes, and save regular forces from strenuous operations going through the bush.’ During the raids, the barbarous and savage uses and customs of the Africans whose ‘practices are not permitted to civilized people’, inflicted huge losses upon ‘unnumbered fugitives’.¹³⁵ Women were the great trophy for the African men, and that probably explains their participation in considerable numbers in the various wars. Before going to war, all sepoys would gather and ‘jump the war tail’. In Coutinho’s account, those who do not jump according to the rules are sure they will suffer a disaster. In war, the sepoys used a cloth or blanket tightened on their kidneys, believing that it protects them from the bullets. They should not change or wash the clothes during the war and maintained absolute chastity ‘on penalty of certain death.’¹³⁶

In his memoir, Coutinho points out that the recruitment of sepoys for the 1902 campaign was not the major difficulty, whereas the recruitment of porters was. Not only because the ‘black always runs away from service’ but also because of the losses entailed by some prazos’ tenants during the previous campaign against Mataca in Zambézia. Then, they not only provided more sepoys than those required but also provided porters not mentioned in the prazo’s regulations. Coutinho recognized that recruitment of local people to war was depleting the labour force on the prazos.¹³⁷ The work of the porters was very hard and not prestigious. According to Coutinho, the porters also depended on those who recruited them, and only from them would they receive their food, which ‘they still had to carry.’ The

¹³⁴ Tenente-coronel J. J. de Sousa Cruz, ‘A Defesa de Moçambique. Sua evolução,’ *Revista Militar* 2545/2546 – Fevereiro/Março 2014. Yet much has been written about the prazos, see for example Newitt, *History of Mozambique*; Isaacman and Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*; idem, *Chikunda Transfrontiersmen and Transnational Migrations in Pre-Colonial Mozambique*; idem, *Escravos, esclavagistas, guerreiros e caçadores*; and Capela, *Donas, Senhores e Escravos*.

¹³⁵ Coutinho, *Memórias*, 577.

¹³⁶ Coutinho, *Memórias*, 640-641. We should note that Coutinho wrote his memoir in the present tense.

¹³⁷ In a collection of numbered and dated volumes, assembling correspondence from the Administration in Africa of the Company of Zambézia (1892 to 1908), there are letters referring to ‘the damages derived from the campaign of Azevedo Coutinho for the pacification of Maganja da Costa ... for being the moment of the harvests and the collection of the mussuco. Letter No. 23 extra, from M. Machado in Lisbon 2/7.1898.’ In Rita-Ferreira, *Coletânea de Documentos*, 164.

consecutive military campaigns and wars were denuding the region of its population. The labour shortages were beginning to affect the prazo economy. In lower Zambézia where the working force did not reach ‘beyond those required by agricultural labour,’ it was recommended that the majority of the population could not and should not be recruited. Yet the total number of sepoy and porters either represented in the expedition columns or providing the services at the various stages numbered over 15,000.¹³⁸

Aringas or Gutas



Figure 8. Silver paper print 10x15 cm (circa). Military History Archive, Lisbon. Archival reference: PT AHM-FE-110-B7-PQ-6.7.

In Figure 8, the first four men from left to right are definitely high-ranking officers, as indicated by their regimentals with epaulets on the shirt collar and the pistols in holsters on their waists.¹³⁹ One has his holster hanging by the strap that goes around his chest. All four are shaved, without beards, the shape of their moustaches carefully trimmed and maintained (perhaps an indication of their aristocratic ties). They are definitely officers attached to the

¹³⁸ Coutinho, *Memórias*, 641.

¹³⁹ Since 1878 the standard weapon of Portuguese army officers was the revolver m/878 Abadie. Also known as the ‘Lebel revolver’ or the ‘St. Etienne 8mm,’ this was a French service revolver produced by the Manufacture d’armes de Saint-Étienne.

General Staff, and probably expeditionary soldiers in Africa specifically for the mission. The last of the five men on the right wears slightly different attire: he has no epaulets and holds a pistol in his hand. He has a beard and his moustache is not trimmed in the same fashion as the others. He might be an officer of lower rank, possibly part of the force recruited in the colony.¹⁴⁰

They are posing with two artillery pieces, probably seized at the location, such as the ones found lined along the stockade walls at Missongue and Mungari settlements.¹⁴¹ Behind the five Europeans, a few Africans are busy with the roof of one *mussaca*, whose structure is visible. Wooden sticks and branches from trees lie on the ground, as well as thatching grass used for the construction of the *mussaca* and other purposes such as building fires for cooking. The African mastery of this kind of material and construction was recognized by the Portuguese, who used it profusely. The material dispersed on the ground is also a sign of a certain disorder that in this case might indicate displacement, appropriation and violence. Directly behind the five officials, apparently looking at the camera with amusement, a small group of European soldiers seems to be forcing themselves into the picture.¹⁴² Though difficult to ascertain, part of an enormous baobab tree cut by the frame is visible on the left side of the image. The image suggests the photograph was taken in one of the conquered Báruèan settlements.

The Báruè settlements called aringas or gutas were surrounded by very thick, strong and tough palisades of wooden logs built for defense purposes. Their layout is often adapted to the terrain and most follow the principles of fortification. Some aringas, such as at Chambo, Kissodze or Mungari, have flanking towers with bastions and firing points at different heights. In the case of attack, the population living in villages dispersed all over the agricultural field camps nearby would gather into the fortified aringas and join the fighting.¹⁴³ There are other kinds of enclosed settlements called *M'sito* that support one or more of its sides in very tight, dense vegetation of thorny bushes or in rocky ridges that dispense with the need to construct the stockade.¹⁴⁴ When the village is not fortified, the

¹⁴⁰ See the discussion on regular soldiers attached to Figure 6.

¹⁴¹ Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 62.

¹⁴² Photobombing is the act of purposely putting oneself into the view of a photograph, often in order to play a practical joke on the photographer or the subjects.

¹⁴³ Coutinho, *Memórias*, 556-7.

¹⁴⁴ *M'sito* are fortified bush hamlets first developed in the seventeenth century.

palisade is reduced to a small enclosure of vertical wooden poles (collected from small or mid-sized trees) that are slightly parted and designed mostly to keep out wild animals. Coutinho refers to the ‘war of aringas’ in Bárue and all of Zambézia.

The attacker establishes the charge towards the square inside the aringa where the defense is concentrated. The attack is always at full force with prepared fire intended mainly to make the besieged consume their ammunition. Given this fact, the assailant is launched against the aringa, the doors are hacked down with an axe, or part of the palisade is destroyed. This allows the escalation of things inside, where the women are seized and like zombies, passively accept their fate and devote themselves to the new masters. If the attacker is not successful, the defender leaves the aringa and counter-attacks the enemy.

As Coutinho further notes, ‘Skulls can be found on top of the sticks of the aringa’s palisades, and other vanquished and hideous, disgusting, despicable and loathsome spoils of wild mutilations. After drying, the spoils would be thrown into the batuques together with the small bones of the victims.’¹⁴⁵

Correlating them with the Brazilian Kilombos, Capela argued that aringas were strongholds where in Mozambique the runaway slaves gathered in communities. ‘These aringas became maroon communities from which armed slaves called *achicunda* became the most serious opponents to the Portuguese conquests between the late 19th century and the early 20th century.’¹⁴⁶ For example, the aringa of Mafunda in late 1885 was a conglomeration of about 300 round huts covered with thatch, some wells or ‘maticadas’ rising here and there, without order or symmetry.¹⁴⁷ The stockade was old and weak in some spots but according to Coutinho’s description, it had a strong stockade of four to five meters high that formed a fortified core where the inhabitants were protected from enemy attacks and wild animals. Four entrances garrisoned by thorny bushes and defended by a guard of soldiers gave freedom of movement to the people inside, but in the night they were carefully closed. In the middle of the main fence was the ‘seraglio’ defended by palisades and its entry was severely controlled. From west to east runs the Muira River; south of this the Sidié, a small stream that

¹⁴⁵ Coutinho, *Memórias*, 559-560. Batuque is a local word for drums.

¹⁴⁶ José Capela, ‘Como as Aringas de Moçambique se transformaram em Quilombos’.

¹⁴⁷ ‘Paredes maticadas’ in current language mean walls covered with clay.

provides drinking water. The aringas follow one another along this river. The aringa at Mitanda was much better fortified than that at Mafunda, with six bastions on the sides, four observation towers, and a great cistern that could provide water in abundance in case of siege.

With the uprising of the secondary states in the nineteenth century, more elaborate aringas were built. Sets of fortifications larger than the earlier types of defensive structure were reinforced with stonework that offered improved protection against Ngoni assegais and the rifles and light artillery of the Europeans. The structures could also bear the weight of cannons. Much stronger than the rows of wooden logs of the earlier constructions, these aringas were authentic fortresses in which the lords of the prazos or resident warlords lived.¹⁴⁸ They evolved along with the variety and type of weaponry retrieved and used by the locals.

One of the aringas whose description was given in detail was the military ‘republic’ of Maganja de Costa. Its headquarters was built by João Bonifácio Alves da Silva, a *prazeiro* overthrown by Azevedo Coutinho in 1898. ‘The aringa was so big (the biggest I ever saw in my life, and they may have been more than two hundred). In one corner, they fit six thousand sepoy and porters of the expedition! There was certainly room for another twenty thousand or more men.’ A few years before its defeat, the then acting governor of Quelimane Joaquim Lapa visited the aringa and described it:

A vast square with 200 meters on one side closed by a palisade with a single door where two skulls could be seen on the sides: a moat of 4 to 5 meters wide surrounds this fortification. Inside the aringa, the home of the new resident warlord was built next to the one that belonged to the previous owner, which then served as a gunpowder depot. One porch to the right side of the residence was the dining room; in front of the residence the hut of the sepoy’s captain-general and at the rear next to it, some of the *cazembes*’ houses; at the door was the guardhouse where the force of sepoy who manned the aringa were housed. Through the trees preserved within the enclosure, the huts of the sepoy’s officers, the remaining women could be seen.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 26.

¹⁴⁹ Capela, *Donas, Senhoras e Escravos*, 63-5.

The photograph in Figure 8 seems to have been taken in one conquered aringa. In his description, Azevedo states that on arrival at the abandoned aringas they would make provisional shelters for themselves using local materials, to some extent rebuilding those structures destroyed by the locals as they fled the approach of the Portuguese soldiers. The initial intention of the photograph might have been to portray the military officers who commanded the assault posing along with what might be their trophies. However, in this militarized African space, Portugal was in fact confronting the remains of their own earlier incomplete colonial efforts that had been abandoned to local forces in a previous century.

Baobab trees

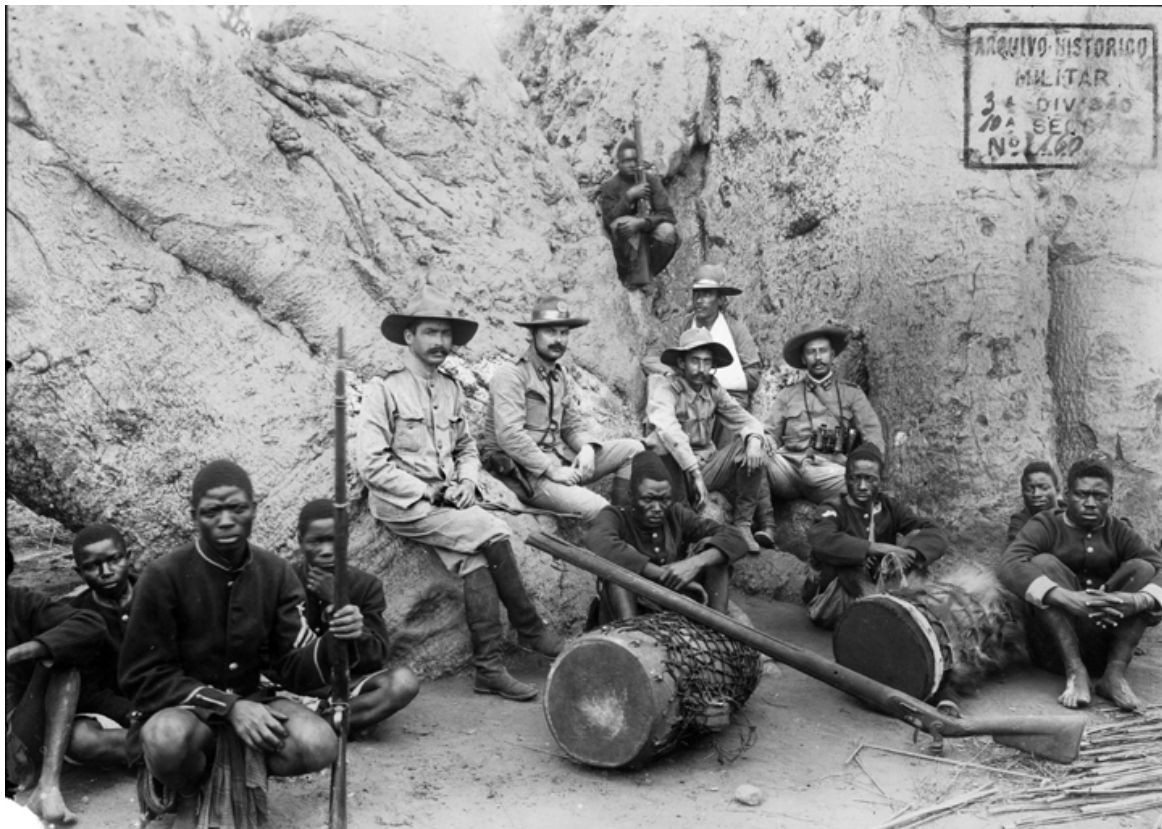


Figure 9. Silver paper print 10x15 cm (circa). Military History Archive, Lisbon. Archival reference: PT AHM-FE-110-B7-PQ-6.11.

Figure 9 depicts five Portuguese officials and nine African soldiers, one partially cut off by the left side of the frame. They are seated and crouching while looking directly towards the camera. Different guns can be seen in the image. One white soldier has a pistol hanging from his waist and another has a pair of binoculars resting on his chest. Behind them, an African soldier is also clutching a firearm, seated in a hollow. One African soldier holds his rifle in

his left hand while sitting on his haunches. A very old rifle is lying upside-down, supported by a drum on the floor. Another slightly different drum is also lying nearby. The photograph is taken against the backdrop of a baobab tree. Although not completely seen, the tree can be recognized by the features of the structure where the soldiers are seated. The way the subjects are positioned in the frame is quite revealing: the Portuguese officials are seated on the tree, while the black soldiers in the front row are seated on the ground. One of the white soldiers has an arm wrapped in a white cloth that goes around his neck (a sling). He could be the sergeant Joaquim Ferreira Gomes Junior, who had been wounded by gunfire during the onslaught on the aringa at Missongue. Baobab trees have a great historical significance that could elude the casual observer of the photograph. It is therefore necessary to move beyond the frame for a deeper understanding.

In his memoir, Coutinho published one photograph of a particular baobab (also called a Melambeira). The photographer was at a certain distance in order to frame the entire tree. He clearly had a 'preoccupation with scale' to show the abnormal dimensions of the enormous tree. People are seated on its upper branches and others are standing around its abnormal trunk. The frame allows us to see sections of structures, including the top of what looks like a palisade right at the back. He wrote:

The aringa of Missongue, very great and populated, was built on the right bank of the Muira, [which gave it] irregular form. Its palisade was not very resistant, and the fact that the huts were conserving their thatch roofs showed clearly that the enemy did not want to be assaulted within it. Hidden in a giant Melambeira,¹⁵⁰ the greatest that I have seen, three skulls could be seen through an existing crack in the trunk. Did they belong to Manuel António de Sousa and the two whites who encountered a horrible death with him in the combat at Inhachindoro (Missongue)?¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ Melambeira is another name for the baobab tree also known as embondeiro, whose fruit is popularly called *Malambe*. The generic name honours Michel Adanson, the French naturalist and explorer who described *Adansonia digitata*. There are eight distinct species and the one occurring in dried parts of Africa is called *Adansonia Digitata* L. sources: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adansonia>; <http://web.utk.edu/~rsmall/Adansonia.pdf>; <http://www.dicionarioweb.com.br/melambeira> accessed 5/10/2016.

¹⁵¹ Coutinho, *Memórias*, 612.

In his description of that attack, he wrote that the Portuguese Lieutenant Freire and two ‘whites’ (Portuguese soldiers) were killed.¹⁵² However, the question mark at the end of the above paragraph reveals Coutinho’s doubts in relation to the information he obtained about those skulls. In his earlier book, published in 1935, he wrote:

In 1891 Manuel António was fighting a great rebellion against almost all his Bárue people except the people from his bastion Gorongosa, and other small prazos along the Zambezi River. In combat, together with lieutenant Freire, they were imprisoned and had their heads severed, their skulls found in 1902, lying within the cavity of a giant baobab in that aringa.¹⁵³

In 1891, Coutinho was the military governor of Chire. As already mentioned earlier, he was called to the aid of Manuel António and it was during that operation that an explosion happened, causing numerous casualties and wounded among the Portuguese forces. He and his men were obliged to make ‘a three-hour cross-country retreat, finally saved by the darkness of the night that stopped the shooting.’¹⁵⁴

In his 1941 memoir, Coutinho describes the weaponry they found in the same aringa, amongst which was a Nerdenfeldt machinegun he abandoned in the Mafunda combat of 1891, two H. 42mm artillery pieces that belonged to Manuel António, a Martini gun that belonged to Cabendere, four old rifles, a double-barrel hunting gun, one hundred and fifty Enfield rifles, and a great number of drums (batuques). According to his descriptions, three kinds of drums are used in the wars: *gum*, *cinzete* and *biri-biri*. The *gum* and *cinzete* are made of wood, have a cylindrical form with three feet high, and are covered on only one side with the skin of a buffalo, antelope or lizard. Where necessary, the skins can be tightened by means of small strips of rubber that keep them adhered to the wooden body. The drums are carried on the neck of the player and played with the hands. The *biri-biri* drum has the form of a thick, short cigar with a cut tip; it is enormous and generally covered with animal skin. It gets tied to a tree or pole and played with sticks. *Biri-biri* signals to neighboring populations that there is either war or preparation for it, announcing the meeting of the war council and

¹⁵² Ibid, 544.

¹⁵³ J.C. Azevedo, *O Combate de Macequece* (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1935), 54.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, 54. As already mentioned in this thesis, Coutinho recalls this event as the ‘serious disaster’ he suffered at the aringa of Mafunda.

fighters. Played during combat, drumming on the larger end signals the advance while drumming on the smaller end signals withdrawal.

Coutinho remarks that the *biri-biri* was also played among the ‘wild populations’, providing a crescendo of sound during the hewing of heads or other mutilations. Some of the drums also carried bones of the defeated enemies.¹⁵⁵ Showing a preoccupation with horror, he ascribes it to African culture and thus denies his own complicity in the barbarities perpetrated during the campaign by the irregular forces operating under his command. He reduces to insignificance the many people killed by Portuguese bullets, the thievery, the burning of entire villages and crops that fragmented entire African societies and condemned many to displacement and starvation. For him and for Portugal, the campaign was a success and deserved celebration.

Celebration



Figure 10. Silver paper print 10x15 cm (circa). Military History Archive, Lisbon. Archival reference: PT AHM-FE-110-B7-PQ-6.8.

In Figure 10, a group of European men standing around a rustic table made of wooden poles raise their tin cups in a gesture of salute directed to the camera, towards which many of them

¹⁵⁵ Coutinho, *Memórias*, 640.

are looking. Perhaps by interacting with the photographer, they are pretending to extend the celebration to their families and other significant absent people through the camera. At least one man, dressed in white, is immediately recognizable as he appears in several other photographs in the collection. He is probably Pinto Bastos (the administrator of Sena district), who contributed many men, soldiers and porters to the campaign.¹⁵⁶ There is a young civilian standing in front on the left side of the frame. As mentioned in this chapter, several civilians were enrolled in the campaign, such as the administrators of the prazos, the major suppliers of labour, and the engineers and their assistants who opened pathways, built shelters in bivouacs, and opened water wells. Among the civilians, Coutinho cited with praise the *Muzungo* Eusébio Ferrão, brother of the capitão-mor of Sena, as a ‘very valiant young man and experienced in this kind of war.’¹⁵⁷ Could this be the young man in front of the left row?

All the others, around eighteen in number, seem to be wearing uniforms indicating they are part of the military. In the image, the commandant Coutinho is the eighth man in the right row. Other men in the picture surrounding those at the table are black soldiers, clearly identified by their military blazers.¹⁵⁸ None of them have cups in their hands, some have cloths wrapped around the waist that serve as lower garments; they are barefoot and some wear white clothes. Standing looking at the camera, their presence is not accidental. It looks as if the African men are there to serve those celebrating.

On the center of the table, two calabashes hold plants as decoration. Some empty plates and some pieces of what seems to be bread are also scattered on the table. In the foreground, there is an improvised bench also made of the same material as the table. No one is occupying it, suggesting that the men took position on the sides in order to face the camera. But the bench is not empty as two hats and one cap rest on top of it. One of the hats has a round hole at the top that seems to have been made by a bullet, which speaks to the violence of the various combats. On the top far left, on a fence or screen made of wooden sticks, other hats are hanging. The fence meets a tree behind the man dressed in white. Far back there seems to be a hut and part of another fence or wall. Apparently, the latter is not a very strong palisade and therefore not prepared for war but perhaps intending to demarcate a space, or possibly for protection against wild animals and other minor adversities.

¹⁵⁶ See the section regarding Figure 4 in this chapter.

¹⁵⁷ Capela, *Donas Senhores e Escravos*, 115.

¹⁵⁸ See discussion regarding Figure 6, Regular Soldiers.

This is a celebration after combat, as the bullet-hole in the hat displayed on the bench ostensibly indicates. The aringa was not burned down. The calabashes used for décor and some of the plates on the table suggest the existence of provisions. Besides the group in the picture, no one else is visible and the aringa seems to be deserted. Had the original inhabitants fled, abandoning the aringa to the invaders? What about the rest of the expedition? Are they also busy celebrating somewhere else? Perhaps the officers are celebrating in the *luane*, the enclosed area inside the aringa where the chief or warlord lives.

The celebration in front of us might have happened in the aringa of Mungari, the capital of the régulo Chipitura (rival and ally to the Macombe). The aringa was abandoned, therefore taken without any resistance and marking the end of the campaign. Coutinho said that the unburned roofs of the huts and the great quantity of provisions found in the stores were signs of submission left by their African inhabitants to the King of Portugal, to whom the village was delivered. Chipitura had relations with Portuguese authorities who backed him in the succession disputes. After taking that aringa, the principal column split and ‘irradiated through the entire Báruè territory to eliminate any residual resistance.’¹⁵⁹

Conclusion

Some of the most serious critics of Portuguese colonialism were the Portuguese themselves: distinguished figures in politics and the administration, academics, and journalists. The fragilities of the colonial administration can be surmised from Coutinho’s admission that the ancient history of Báruè ‘constitutes a period of absolute darkness, impossible for us to penetrate unless it is to recognize that our rule was never exerted in that region.’¹⁶⁰ Thus, despite the Marave and the Nguni invasions, and the succession disputes that divided the state, Báruè has a very long history of insurgency in which the white men were just another set of contenders. The previous failure of the imperial army to overcome local forces was acknowledged by various prestigious Portuguese officials and historians such as Coutinho. The battle of Missongue in 1891 represented a great defeat for the colonial force. The expedition of 1896 resulted in a carnage that colored the waters of the Zambezi River with the blood of Portuguese men.¹⁶¹ That expedition was considered enlightening for its litany of

¹⁵⁹ In Coutinho, *Memórias*, 614.

¹⁶⁰ Coutinho, *Memórias*, 538.

¹⁶¹ This refers to one of the several attempts to defeat the famous Bonga, the war lord of Massangano, located on the northern bank of the Zambezi River, near Tete.

errors prevalent in the military preparation, such as the unreadiness of the soldiers and the poor organization in the field. With the campaign of 1902, Portugal seemed to have finally achieved its purpose, and the photographs can be read as confirmation.

But the innumerable destroyed villages and fields of burned crops with their people displaced or arrested, the deeds of resistant combatants, and the famine and other resulting collateral damage are only grasped by reading written accounts of the events. Contrary to images like the famous Congo photographs taken by Alice Harris, in which the mutilations and barbarous actions taken over the people are revealed, in the photographs analyzed in this chapter the great violence of the campaign is not reflected in the images.¹⁶² Rather than reportage of what really happened on the field, the pictures seem to portray moments of victory and celebration. Constituted as selective memories of the Portuguese army succeeding in African territories, these photographs are a visual polemic and thus contribute to a set of questionable colonial narratives. Thus, we might understand photography's indexicality to be the guarantee of no closure and fixity, but rather of multiple surfaces including the possibility of 'looking at the past' beyond the time frame of the photograph itself.

The image in Figure 1 of Coutinho on top of a rock formation appears to be a monument to European conquest, symbolizing his victory over nature. A broad view of the conquered territory becomes confirmation of the accomplished mission. The photograph celebrates a hero and projects the glory of the empire. But the visible fracture on the rocky ground calls into question the triumphalism of this discourse and speaks about the fragilities of the basis on which the empire is built. Despite the region being directly or indirectly dominated, Bárúè did keep some independence and ongoing unrest affected the whole country and the colonial Empire.¹⁶³ The broken ground can therefore be read retrospectively as a reminder of difficult victories and a warning sign about the still unsettled colonial process. That impenetrable dark

¹⁶² On more about the mutilations in Congo see Óli Jacobsen, *Daniel J. Danielsen and the Congo: Missionary Campaigns and Atrocity Photographs* (Ayrshire: Brethren archivists and historian network, 2014); J. Thompson, 'Light on the Dark Continent: The Photography of Alice Seely Harris and the Congo Atrocities of the Early Twentieth Century', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, October 2002, 146-149. Nancy Rose Hunt, *A Nervous State. Violence, Remedies, and Reverie in Colonial Congo* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Christina Twomey, 'The Incorruptible Kodak. Photography, Human Rights and the Congo Campaign' in Liam Kennedy and Caitlin Patrick (eds), *The Violence of the Image. Photography and International Conflict* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2014).

¹⁶³ The indirect domination refers to the secondary states of the Zambezi Valley in the middle of the nineteenth century, which, although constituting a powerful force that ensured Portuguese presence in the valley, were run by powerful dynasties that would only accept the crown's sovereignty if the slave trade were permitted. See *História de Moçambique*, Vol I, 259.

fracture in the image comes to represent resistance metaphorically. In his memoir, Coutinho speaks about darkness and admits ignorance in relation to the workings of African society that always elude the Portuguese colonialists. As if echoing these thoughts, Mbembe is said to have ironically quoted Hegel's considerations about the distinguishing 'intractable character of the negro'.¹⁶⁴ Could this elusiveness be associated to that 'something particular' in relation to the history of Bárúè expressed by Isaacman?¹⁶⁵ The fracture furthermore serves as an emblem of what happens to the local African society already divided by the ambition of its aristocracy, besides the profound impact of the newly-dominant presence of European elements, which can also be interrogated through photographs.

Figure 6 depicts eight European soldiers standing amid more than thirty African soldiers. The photograph confirms that the majority of the Portuguese soldiers were black men. Consecutive military campaigns and wars depopulated the region and affected the local *prazo* economy. This contributed to the ongoing difficulties in recruiting porters. Almost naked, they carried the cargo or luggage on their lacerated heads or scrawny shoulders. Conquered spaces were either ignited by the people running away or transformed into repressive colonial outposts with clear objectives to exploit the local resources, placing great burdens on its men charged either with the *mussoco* or turned into a cheap labour force. Many were then compulsorily recruited as soldiers or porters.¹⁶⁶

The importance of such men is also evident in Figure 8, which shows Portuguese officers posing with their trophies – artillery probably abandoned during the dramatic previous assaults – while in the background several Africans are building the roof of one *mussaca*. This speaks about a local organization, for the history of the aringas is the history of Bárúè. Yet the Portuguese claimed all the glory. This is also evident in Figure 10, where the Portuguese toast their victory while the Africans stand in the background, waiting to serve. These gestures of celebration hide the violence behind such a military operation in colonial territory and therefore does not allow the whole event to be 'seen directly in the picture.'¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ <http://www.publicseminar.org/2016/09/mbembe/> accessed 22 /5/2019.

¹⁶⁵ Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, xxiii.

¹⁶⁶ Many of these practices have strong resonance with Hunt's compelling accounts of Belgian Congo history in *A Nervous State*.

¹⁶⁷ Miriam Bratu Hansen, 'Kracauer's Photography Essay. Dot Matrix-General (An-)Archive-Film' in Gerd Genüden and Johannes von Moltke (eds), *Culture in the Anteroom: The Legacies of Siegfried Kracauer* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 96.

However, in the image, the bullet hole in the hat reveals violent resistance, and the position of the African men speaks about other constituents of that history.

In Figure 7, the well-organized rows of sepoys show the influence of European discipline. It can be argued as some evidence of a ‘civilizing’ influence. The clothing on these African figures displays a certain uniformity and reinforces the idea of a unit. Tame and disciplined, the sepoys submit themselves to the inquisitive look of the camera, suggesting their consent to the crushing of fellow Africans. What the photograph does not show might be grasped by enquiring what motivations they had to join a war that was not theirs, and to think about the ways its historical significance is manifested. One point to consider is that the sepoys were given the same privileges held by the chikundas: to plunder the conquered populations and abduct women.

In Figure 9, aspects of the Portuguese process of colonization are legible in the picture where Portuguese officers are encircled by signs of traditional culture (the drums on the ground and the indigenous troops). It also raises questions about the European adoption of local values without which they would never have been able to claim the colony. The depicted are interacting with a baobab tree, not completely visible in the image. In the context of precolonial northern Namibia, Hayes considers such trees as resembling ‘an explosion of nature’ whose heavy presence offered defensive possibilities, ‘a natural fortress’ for people frequently raided from the east prior to the colonial enterprise.¹⁶⁸ The tree provides complex intersections between photographs. A baobab tree is, for example, also visible in the photograph of Portuguese officers posing with artillery (Figure 8).

Such visual insinuations like the baobab tree trigger other impressions and encourage a reading that transcends the frame. They are teasers for a search of ‘remnants’ discharged by the larger history that the photographs were supposed to capture. Haunted by the quality of early photographs suggested by Benjamin, this chapter is an attempt to go beyond the producer’s intention and look at the history told by these pictures from a different perspective, perhaps to pick up on that ‘something that cannot be silenced.’¹⁶⁹ Here, we can think again along Mbembe’s terms, ‘that something’ was invented and had a fundamental

¹⁶⁸ See Patricia Hayes, ‘Northern exposures: The Photography of CHL Hahn’ in J.R.Forte, P Israel, L. Witz (eds), *Out of History. Re-Imagining South African Pasts* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2016), 149.

¹⁶⁹ These ideas are inspired by the reading of Hansen, ‘Kracauer’s Photography Essay’, 96-7.

role in the ‘West’s apologetic concerns and exclusionary and brutal practices toward others.’¹⁷⁰

A critical study of images and text leads to the understanding that, although divided, the African community remained cohesive in the face of an external enemy. Differences were overcome and the old values of its culture and tradition prevailed even at the cost of many lives, ancestral lands, and other possessions. After the defeat of 1902, Bárue remained in a state of unrest and, as a result of colonial administrative excesses, another great rebellion erupted in 1917. This prompted that year’s campaign, an additional undertaking on top of the serious confrontation in the midst of World War One. The success of the operation required the use of modern weaponry including gunboats, and the involvement of mercenaries and troops from other countries. The rebellion was overcome in twelve months, but is said to have ultimately opened a path for a Mozambican nationalism led by Frelimo which assumed power in the country after its independence from colonial Portugal in 1975. But these are contested understandings. Dokkum and others, for example, argue that in any form opposition takes in Zambezia, ‘very little derives from 1917.’¹⁷¹

Yet, not even the new Mozambican people’s regime succeeded in bringing peace to the now democratic country. People continue to reject total submission and defy the central power, particularly in the very region once called the Zambezi Valley that today comprises the provinces of Sofala, Manica, Tete, Zambézia and Nampula. With the headquarters installed in the south, the forces of the post-colonial government continue to be defeated in Gorongosa by the opposing forces of Renamo.¹⁷² Bárue is still at the center of the battlefield and in search of safe living conditions, its people carry on moving across the national borders.¹⁷³ This corroborates the arguments in this thesis that past events are coterminous with contemporary

¹⁷⁰ Achille Mbembe, *On the Post Colony* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2015), 2.

¹⁷¹ See Dokkum, *Nationalism and Territoriality in Barue and Mozambique*, 64. See also Regiane A. de Mattos, ‘A Dinâmica das Relações no Norte de Moçambique no Final do Século XIX e Início do Século XX’, *Revista de História* n. 171, Junho/Dezembro 2014). <http://dx.doi.org/10.11606/issn2316-9141.89017>. Accessed 3 April 2020.

¹⁷² Shortly after the independence of Mozambique, Renamo started what became to be known the war of sixteen years that ended with a peace agreement in 1992. Renamo became the major party in opposition to the government of Frelimo, in power since 1975.

¹⁷³ *Jornal Savana*, 31 March 2017. According to the article ‘Deslocados Indecisos’, many refugees were encouraged to stay in the camps to reduce local support of Renamo guerrillas. Mozambican press reported the discovery of mass graves in the Province of Manica and nothing is known about those buried. In the refugee camps in Zimbabwe and Malawi, people denounce atrocities perpetrated by the government forces, from whom they ran away.

times, which is also reflected in other practices such as the abduction of women, kidnapping, forced recruitment and other forms of violence that comprise expropriation, displacement, and the loss of civil rights. For some it is rebellion, for others, resistance. The bottom line is that in Mozambique, democracy as an adopted system for pacification is still practiced with guns in hand.¹⁷⁴

To return to the photographs studied in this chapter, ‘Stopping for the Camera’ discusses war photography and challenges the concept of chance.¹⁷⁵ The photographs were taken during military operations inside the enemy’s territory. The stiff yet relaxed postures expressed by many of the depicted contradict the idea of action inherent to the occasion in which the pictures were taken. The immobility of the subjects may have resulted from technical photographic procedures, such as the long exposure required for the slowness of the photosensitized surface to register sharp images.¹⁷⁶ However, the contradiction between the action and the lack of movement in the image can be seen as a visual discourse that speaks about ‘pacification.’

The factor of ‘luck’, I would argue, is a nonexistent aspect in this case.¹⁷⁷ The images suggest an ‘institutional and discursive frame’ determining ‘photographic meaning.’ Echoing Feldman, ‘the absence of a war event becomes a weapon of the war’.¹⁷⁸ For history, it is the photographs’ inability to exclude that makes it textured and fertile: ‘beneath its skin’ an encoded ‘excess lays waiting to resurface.’¹⁷⁹ Despite the mastery of the photographer in narrowing the reading of the image to what it might represent, the ideological interpretation differs from viewer to viewer and civilization can be read as domination, submission as exploitation, and rebellion as resistance. Is this the case with Báruè, where armed guerrillas and a looting arm of state still disrupt people’s lives and challenge the stability of the country in 2020?

¹⁷⁴ The ongoing peace negotiations between Renamo and Frelimo government are occurring sporadically but total agreement is never achieved. The recent armed attacks in villages of Cabo Delgado (2018) bear witness to other forces surfacing in the country.

¹⁷⁵ Some concepts are borrowed from Robin Kelsey, ‘Of Fish, Birds, Cats, Mice, Spiders, Flies, Pigs, And, Chimpanzees: How Chance Casts the Historic Action Photograph into Doubt’ in *History and Theory*, Vol 48 (2009), 60.

¹⁷⁶ This aspect was also briefly tackled in Chapter 3.

¹⁷⁷ Kelsey, ‘Of Fish, Birds, Cats’, 60.

¹⁷⁸ Allen Feldman, *Archives of the Insensible: Of War, Photopolitics, and Dead Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 172.

¹⁷⁹ Christopher Pinney and Nicolas Peterson (eds), *Photography’s other Histories* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 6.

In other words, the camera has the capacity to stop people, freeze movement and arrest time. There is a sense of achievement that emanates from its resulting photographs. They are moments extracted from the flow of life that never stops and, as images of past events, they can be kept for the future as unaltered depictions of what was captured on the photosensitized surface. However, the immobility of the subjects in the images is contradicted by the mobility of the pictures across viewers, significance, time, places, contexts, and hosting institutions. The meaning of the images is not fixed in the multiplicity of stories they contain. The interpretation of preserved pasts is a dynamic process with the capacity to change understandings of what is seen. Thus, as I argue in the chapter, what the camera cannot stop is history, which can be challenged by looking at the photographs closely and reading them against the grain.

CHAPTER 5

A PHOTOGRAPHIC EVENT: MOZAMBIQUE AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR (1914-1918)

Introduction: overview

As a neutral country at the beginning of the world-wide conflict of 1914-1918 in Africa, Portugal limited its actions to securing its possessions. Military expeditions were organized in continental Portugal and strategically spread along the borderlines of its colonial territories.¹ For the republican politicians and military the conflict was viewed as an opportunity to divert controversies within a society deeply marked by a long discontent with the monarchical regime which had only recently fallen.²

Despite its initial neutral position assumed in relation to the world conflict, Portugal needed financial support to refurbish its army and prepare the country's defenses in case of attack. That could be obtained through its more 'defined' presence in the conflict on the side of the Allies. The neutral status was lost in 1916 when Germany finally declared war against the country and the entire society became involved. The war declaration won the undivided attention of not only the politicians and military representatives but also the public and private sectors, mobilized so that resources could be directed to feed various needs. An economy of war was built that included factories to produce military uniforms, ammunition, pharmaceutical products and food. Many fishing vessels and coastal and engine boats were mobilized and adapted

¹ In various documents of the colonial epoch, 'Portugal continental' is how the country's territory in Europe is referred to. For more information about the posts along the borderlines see Marcos Fortunato Arrifes, *A Primeira Guerra na África Portuguesa, Angola e Moçambique (1914-1918)* (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos: Instituto de Defesa Nacional Lisboa, 2004), 64, and Aniceto Afonso and Carlos M. Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra* (Vila do Conde: Verso da História, 2013). After the declaration of war, new legislation was launched in which the conditions for the creation of a military Auxiliary Division were established. It was later designated Expeditionary Portuguese Corps (CEP) and it was under this division that the military expeditions were organized and sent to the battlefields in France and in Angola and Mozambique. Among the amendments, the prerequisites for men to enter into military service were reduced. It also introduced the death penalty for certain war crimes. See Luís Alves de Fraga, Portugal, 'Mobilizações para a Guerra,' in Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*, 263.

² The monarchy had been replaced by the establishment of the Republic in 1910, whose unstable government allowed the rise of a fascist regime in the 1940s.

to military service. Even private horses and mules (including their harnesses) were ‘recruited’ to serve in the army.³

Portugal was immersed in an escalating crisis and social tensions increased as they had to contend with queues for bread, currency devaluation, and a scarcity of basic goods and jobs. Meanwhile, audiovisual and print media were among the instruments used to recruit men for the army and to call for society’s support and engagement. From July 1916, military parades and exercises began to appear more frequently in the press and public space. Such was the case with the highly acclaimed *Manobras em Tancos*, referred to as a sensational military film in which twenty thousand soldiers paraded in a military demonstration in preparation for the war. In newspapers, good-sized announcements advertised that the film was being screened several times a day in at least two great cinemas in Lisbon. Prominent dignitaries of the country, including the President and other distinguished guests, attended the premier, crowds of ordinary citizens also went to see the show. Many other initiatives were organized to promote the ‘heroic’ spirit of war, including an exhibition of high-quality photographs of the British Army in Lisbon. Accompanied by prominent national and international dignitaries, the President of the Republic then opened a photographic exhibition about the Portuguese Army. It was hosted by the Lisbon Geographic Society, which also promoted other initiatives.⁴

There was also an increased focus on the topic of the war in print media. Five volumes of the second series edition of *Portugal em Guerra* (Portugal in the War) were published and put on sale on 17 November 1916. Its first volume is mainly focused on the entire issue of legal-diplomatic exchanges of a political and economic nature in relation to the conflict between Portugal and Germany. Another volume of *História Ilustrada da Grande Guerra* (Illustrated History of the Great War) was

³ António José Telo, ‘Estratégia Naval Portuguesa (1916-1918),’ in Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*, 251. The boats were adapted to mine detection and coast patrol. See for example the newspaper *Diário de Notícias* of Tuesday, 12 September 1916. Portuguese companies such as the railways complained about the toll taken on their employees. Industrially, accidents also produced serious losses, with explosions and burns in the ammunition and uniform factories. For a brief comment on the fall of the Monarchy and rise of the Republican regime in Portugal see Chapter 4 on the discussion regarding Figure 1, João de Azevedo Coutinho.

⁴ *Ilustração Portuguesa* number 588, 28 May 1917. Numbers of this newspaper can be found online. The one cited above is on the website: Hemeroteca Digital, ‘Ilustração Portuguesa no. 588 of 28 May 1917’, Accessed 19 July 2016. <http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/>.

released for sale later in the same month. Among other themes, the volumes examined the 1915 summer campaigns on the Western Front, the French offensive at Champagna, and the importance of the railways during the war.⁵

The ‘Associação Fraternidade Militar’ offered five hundred illustrated postal cards to all Portuguese expeditionary forces. The recently created Cinematographic and Photographic Military Department also started to publish postcards to distribute among the soldiers and to support the more disadvantaged families. The ‘Sociedade Propaganda de Educação Popular’, a civil organization whose nucleus started the distribution of a manifesto in Lisbon during early 1917, organized a series of talks and conferences with important military and governmental officials.⁶

Postal censorship was introduced initially under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In November 1916, the service was remodeled and the supervision passed to the Ministry of War, Public Instruction and Social Security, and, according to the Governmental instruction, only public officials could be appointed for the job.⁷ Shortly after the announcement was divulged through the Press, empty spaces started to appear in several newspapers, particularly in the columns of articles related to the war.⁸ As the tensions increased in Portugal, some newspapers were suspended for a period of time, and several journalists were arrested while others hid in fear of being

⁵ In *Diário de Notícias*, 14 November 1916. During the war, France was the only country in Europe to receive Portuguese expeditionary forces, and Flandres and the battle of La Lys are its saddest memories. In this battle, about five thousand soldiers and officers were imprisoned by the German forces. See Adriano Beça in *Livro de Ouro da Infantaria 1914-1918* (Lisboa: Tipografia Fernandes, 1922), 70. European battlefields had more coverage from the professional press. From Africa, the news came mostly through the collaboration of elements in the army, letters, and reports by officials or Government communications published in the press.

⁶ Patriotic leagues proliferated after the Ultimatum, and concentrated efforts to recover the sense of lost political and economic independence. In Fernando Abecassis et al., *A Grande Guerra em Moçambique* (Lisboa: Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa: Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 2014), 23.

⁷ See for example *Diário de Notícias*, 24 November 1916.

⁸ Under the rubric of ‘Our Troops in France’, the *Ilustração Portuguesa* of 24 June 1918 commented that the cuts made by the censors on the article ‘Our forces in the war’ could not have passed unnoticed by the public, and created fertile ground for ‘speculations’.

persecuted.⁹ Another problem that afflicted the national press was the lack of paper which led to its rising price.¹⁰

Despite the attempts at control, the Press became ‘the major social force of the time’, and their reports on the country’s situation did not always contribute to bringing good news of the war.¹¹ On the contrary, they often embarrassed the government, which was interested in the public dissemination of official announcements. Portuguese politicians believed that the occupation of deserted and newly conquered territories was necessary for international recognition, hence the newspapers showcased the Portuguese Army actively present in European and African battlefields.

Diário de Notícias, the *Século* and its weekly supplement *Ilustração Portuguesa* are among the newspapers that distributed news and images of Portugal in Europe and in its African colonies. Later, they reported on incessant rumors related to the lack of information from the battlefields. In retrospect, the Portuguese themselves are the first to criticize Portugal’s active participation in the war.

In the Great War of 1914-18, the Portuguese Army suffered its biggest defeat in Africa since Alcácer Quibir. In northern Mozambique, Portuguese soldiers died more than in Flanders. Not so much by the aid of German bullets but mostly by hunger, thirst, disease and neglect. Undermined by shame, World War I in Mozambique ended being doomed to oblivion. It had no place in a nation that until 1974 dreamed of an overseas empire.¹²

⁹ The suspension of the newspapers was not only based on their political bias (monarchists against republicans) but also on the news they reported. At the time, a series of violent events agitated society particularly in Lisbon, bombs were exploding, commerce was closed, and people were arrested. Some newspapers spoke about a revolutionary movement. In Portugal, the state of siege was imposed on 13 December 1916.

¹⁰ The price of paper increased six times in twelve months, and there were calls for a concerted press position on the matter. See *Diário de Notícias* of 6 January 1917.

¹¹ Ana Cabrera, *Jornais, Jornalistas e Jornalismo (Século XIX e XX)* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2011), 93.

¹² Manuel Carvalho and Manuel Roberto, ‘A Grande Guerra Que Portugal Quis Esquecer’. <http://www.publico.pt/culturaipsilon/noticia/a-grande-guerra-que-portugal-quis-esquecer-1664212>. Last accessed 24/11/2015. See also Afonso e Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra 1914-1918* (Vila do Conde: Verso da História, 2013).

The remoteness of Mozambique was given as one of the causes for the delays and the ‘often scarce’ information from the war front.¹³ The contradictions that are possible to grasp in the different communications, documents, and publications contribute to a reading of certain photographs discussed in this chapter. Ultimately, this reading of photographs tends to concur with the argument that the war was less about military competence against the European enemy and more about consolidating the delineation of the northern border of Mozambique.

The chapter takes up the issues around Quionga: a small territory on the border with German East Africa (now Tanzania) that had been seized by a German naval force on 16 June 1894 and which was considered by the Portuguese newspapers as an unresolved matter, a question of national pride.¹⁴ The repossession of the ‘Triangle’ at the mouth of the Rovuma River was the first military offensive action of the country since Portugal entered into the war.¹⁵ The initiative was followed by attempts to occupy and control German territories along the border between Mozambique and Tanganyika.

Unable to maintain such an ambition, Portugal withdrew, its territory was invaded, and for some time the German troops raided into Mozambique, inflicting great material and human losses. However, in contrast to the horrific images from Europe that showed destroyed cities and villages and corpses lying in the trenches of desolated battlefields, violence is not always visible in many photographs of the war in Africa. Although not intentional, the images partially display the much-denounced precariousness of Portuguese military organization. This chapter attempts to see what can be grasped through a reading of even just a fraction of this First World War Portuguese archive.

¹³ For example, the Lisbon newspaper *Diário de Notícias* of 13 July 1916 transcribed an article from the Lourenço Marques newspaper *O Africano* of 10 July 1916 reporting the population’s growing concern regarding the daily increase of the lack of information about the troops in Nyassa. The African newspaper was created and directed by João Albasini. See Chapter 3 for references.

¹⁴ Quionga, which is the actual spelling for Kionga, will be revisited later in this chapter.

¹⁵ At the end of the war, under the Treaty of Versailles, the ‘Kionga triangle’ (approximately, 395 square km) became Portugal’s only territorial re-acquisition. See <https://www.britannica.com/place/Quionga>.

The photographs

The discussion in this chapter is based to a great extent, on about a hundred small photographic prints (9 x 11cm approximately), mounted in album 110/B7/PQ/ at the Arquivo Histórico Militar (Military Historical Archive) in Lisbon. There are images of the Portuguese Army actively operating in the north of Mozambique during the First World War, aspects of military camps, outposts, and their equipment. Some landscapes show the overall view of the location, including the Rovuma River with its wide sandy banks. The pictures range from depicting troops in the trenches, and Portuguese military officers posing or seated in their tents, to showing communication stations as well as a bread oven. Some images of poor definition give an idea of the campaign hospitals for soldiers: one for the Europeans and another for the indigenous. Although they appear in many images, very few photographs specifically depict Africans as soldiers, workers, or porters.

In the collection, some photographs were published in monographs and books already mentioned here. A few were printed in a larger size, and some fixed on passe-partout (mounting board) or on black cardboard, which is an indication that they might have been exhibited. Some trouble was taken to show what is in effect the magnificence of the Portuguese Army making progress in the field. Notable here are the pictures of Quionga: the position of the machine gun in Namoto (one of the border posts), which is firing towards the enemy territory, and the soldiers crossing the river that borders Portuguese and German-African territories through an improvised bridge and on rafts tooled by engine boats.

There are images of European soldiers depicted in groups organized for the camera, some standing, some seated, and others stretched on the ground, ‘after the crossing of the river’ as the captions say.¹⁶ Some of these photographs have useful information inscribed on their surfaces. The photographer A. Moura’s name appears on several photographs in this series. The date is given as 1916, and the following places are named: Palma, Quionga, Namoto, Migoma and Namiranga.¹⁷ The reoccupation of lost

¹⁶ In Arquivo Histórico Militar de Lisboa (AHML), ref 110/B7/PQ28 – from 1 to 91. The photograph is number 90.

¹⁷ This research suggests that André Moura produced the most allusive and composed photographs. A telegrapher, he was photographed in his campaign station. The picture is published on a page of the

territories and the gaining of new ones by invading German Tanganyika are the moments ‘glorified’ by the photographs of military action in places whose names are associated with some of the most dramatic events in the history of the Portuguese military.

The research in this chapter also looks at some photographs published in Portuguese newspapers. Amateur photographers and collaborators from the provinces in Portugal depicted the movements of soldiers from different barrack locations to the seaport in Lisbon, where they embarked onto ships for their destinations at the war fronts. The *Ilustração Portuguesa* published many photographs received from amateur photographers and acknowledged them. The press photographer Joshua Benoliel took a substantial number of photographs of the passage of the expeditionary forces through Lisbon. He covered the parades, the marches through the city, the soldiers’ embarkation, and their departure in crowded ships.

In the supplement *Ilustração Portuguesa*, the majority of the published photographs from Africa acknowledge the collaboration of mainly soldiers and amateur photographers. Some pictures were credited to the photographic sector of the Portuguese Army. The visual presence of expeditionary soldiers in the press increased with time. Although published several weeks after being taken, the appearance of these belated images in newspapers gave the impression that they were current. Moreover, only a glimpse of the conditions of the African theatres are comprehensible due to the diffused presentation of the images and their subjects, as well as the landscapes in which they were shot.

The contradictions between official notes and other voices, or between what is seen and what is said, are easy to understand by reading newspapers. They were an embarrassment to a government that always tried to minimize its failures by releasing misleading comments and imposing silences.¹⁸ The photographs are a reminder of ‘The Great War Portugal wanted to forget’ and possibly the reason why most of these

Ilustração Portuguesa that also features some photographs he signed. See his photographs in the Annexure 3 (A. Moura).

¹⁸ It is argued that one of the Government’s strategies of defence was the silencing of opposition voices. See Cabrera ‘Jornais, Jornalistas e Jornalismo,’ 93.

images are seldom seen and poorly diffused.¹⁹ The conflict that killed thousands of Mozambicans and condemned many others to famine and crippling despair is almost non-existent in Mozambican historiography. This chapter attempts to revive moments of that historical event by dissecting these photographs and the history that produced them.

Producing the Event: Portugal enters the War

Because Portugal was a neutral country at the beginning of the conflict in 1914, German vessel owners seeking protection from attacks and losses sheltered their ships and cargo in Portuguese ports in Europe and on the African coastline. In the meantime, an active and timely lusophone presence in the battlefield, operating in coordination with the allies against the German troops, was perceived as fundamental for Portugal to benefit from the expected post-war colonial partition.

With the perception that a more defined role in the war would benefit the country in the postwar re-scrabble for Africa, the political authorities in Lisbon and Lourenço Marques created conditions conducive to a change in their neutral status. On 23 February, based on the Decree Number 2.229 released on 24 February 1916, the Portuguese authorities seized all the German ships in their European and African ports. This act resulted in a German declaration of war against Portugal on 9 March 1916.²⁰

Portugal directly intervened militarily in France, Angola, and Mozambique. Over one hundred thousand men were mobilized, and more than eight thousand lost their lives. During the First World War, nearly half of the Portuguese military effort was directed towards its empire. The biggest expeditions were sent from Portugal to Angola (12.500 men) and Mozambique (19.438 men). These numbers did not include local

¹⁹ 'A Grande Guerra que Portugal Quis Esquecer' is the title of one of the articles in a series dedicated to the centenary of World War 1 published, by the Portuguese newspaper *Público* in 2015. <https://plus.google.com/share?url=http://www.publico.pt/culturaipilon/noticia/a-grande-guerra-que-portugal-quis-esquecer-1664212>. Accessed 24 November 2015.

²⁰ According to Portuguese researchers, the seizure of the ships was made in such a solemn manner that it could not be but a provocation. The ships were baptized with Portuguese names and 80 % of this maritime tonnage was conceded to England, operating with Portuguese flags. The rest reinforced the country's naval capacity. Fraga, 'Navios Alemães Declaração de Guerra,' in Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*, 245-249.

mobilization, which was ten times more than the largest expeditions of the nineteenth century.²¹ Interestingly, it shows that the number of European people ‘had substantially increased’ in the colonies.

Between 1914 and 1918 more than fifty thousand men were mobilized in Europe for Africa, and four thousand would never return to Portugal, victimized mostly by disease. To that number is added more than three thousand African soldiers killed, not counting the number of invalids, missing and imprisoned.²²

Most of this force ended up simply fighting in the so-called Pacification Campaigns: local peoples’ rebellions were still occurring in the territory considered ‘pacified’ since the end of the Bárue campaign in 1902.²³ Only a minority of the expeditionary soldiers fought against German forces and their supporting indigenous troops, the well-known askari.²⁴ It is difficult, however, to define African losses precisely as different sources have different estimates. For the duration of the war, about one hundred thousand African men were successively incorporated as soldiers, porters and assistants. Some of them were ‘mobilized’ to serve in the allied British forces.²⁵

Newitt writes that Portugal’s official entry into the war alongside the allies returned no immediate consequences for Mozambique. The exception was the reoccupation of Quionga in April 1915. Without railways or navigable rivers, military operations in that region made use of porters, who were necessary in large numbers, thus thousands

²¹ José Telo, ‘A Marinha e o Apoio Ao Império,’ in Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*, 260.

²² Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 23.

²³ The already mentioned Bárue rebellion of 1917 is a concrete example of the continued unrest in the territory. The episode had wide coverage in the Portuguese press. The newspaper *O Século* from 8 July 1917 quotes the *Beira Post*, a newspaper in Mozambique, which reported that one of the leaders of the rebellion was the son of ‘Macombi’ (the King). The article also reports that the army dispersed the rebels entrenched at the ruins of the old fort at Tambara, where they found abundant cattle and sheep. See Chapter 4 of this thesis.

²⁴ Telo, ‘A Marinha e o Apoio Ao Império,’ in Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*, 260.

²⁵ See also Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 238-256, for a relatively detailed study of the recruitment and use of African men during the war.

of men were ‘recruited’ in the *prazos* of Zambezia (porters and sepoys) and in the southern Save Valley (the Landins) for military and police service.²⁶ Telo states that:

In March 1916, when Portugal entered the war, allied troops pushed von Lettow [the German East African commander] to the south, towards Mozambique; From Kenya, under the command of General Smuts, South Africans were pressing the Germans. From April, the front was helped by a Belgian Congo offensive, and from July by the North Rhodesian front.²⁷

The allied forces were numerically superior to the Germans and, in addition, only a small part of the German contingent was at the Rovuma border. The international context of the war was pointing to a quick submission of the German colony in East Africa.²⁸ According to Telo, it seemed that the Portuguese would have a very easy military campaign. The surrender of Germany and the end of the campaign before the Portuguese reoccupation of Quionga and annexation of the northern bank of the Rovuma became the major concern for the politicians in Lisbon interested in obtaining international recognition for Portugal. The original 1914 intention to secure territorial possession changed in 1916 to an urgency around offensive action to gain more territorial occupation.

Performers and Performance: The Military Expeditions to Mozambique during the First World War (1914-1918)

‘The composition of the troops, their weapons, and the nature of the colony of Mozambique, all combined to create unprecedented difficulties,’ argued Captain António Pires. For him, the campaign in Portuguese East Africa was done under conditions that made it ‘absolutely unique in history’. The forces were operating over a 200 km distance from headquarters at intervals of the same distance or more between the posts on the line they needed to defend. According to Pires, there were no communications between the various posts, and the troops lacked the necessary

²⁶ Newitt, *History of Mozambique*, 416. It is calculated that the Portuguese provided sixty thousand porters for their own army and thirty thousand to the British forces during the war. Some forms of recruitment have already been described in this thesis.

²⁷ António José Telo, ‘Campanha de Moçambique 1916-1918,’ in Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*, 427.

²⁸ Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 127.

initiative. ‘From suffering and resignation to bloody fighting in flat fields and in maneuver warfare, the Mozambique campaign can be said to be unknown to the general public.’²⁹ This chapter attempts to understand how, to a great extent, such disinformation was favoured, and what its impact was on Portuguese society.

From the summer of 1914 until the end of the war in 1918, four military expeditions (almost one per year) were sent to the north of Mozambique, initially to secure the border with German Tanganyika. In the region, the only place with very few facilities was Porto Amélia – the capital city of the north. It became the base for the first expedition. Portugal limited its action to the reinforcement of military positions along the border at the Rovuma River. As part of the offensive action, the headquarters were transferred to Palma by the sea, and operations were characterized by a great level of improvisation and disorganization.³⁰

The first two expeditions to Mozambique saw no actual military confrontation with German troops, although the second regained the city of Quionga, which was already ‘abandoned by the Teutonic’.³¹ This was the first ‘offensive action’ that took place in 1915. The lost territory was recuperated without a single shot.³² But, we should note that while the Second Expedition is credited with the ‘victory of Quionga’, they later suffered the great defeat at Namiranga.³³ (Later in this chapter, we will read about this ‘tragedy’ from different sources.)

The same fate as befell the Second Expedition can be suggested in relation to the Third Expedition (1916): the ‘victory’ of the river-crossing and successful occupation of the German fort of Nevala ended in the great defeat of a hasty retreat from the briefly-conquered enemy territory. The Fourth Expedition is associated with the combat of Ngomano on 25 November 1917: the day on which (according to Marques)

²⁹ Capitão António J. Pires, *A Grande Guerra em Moçambique*. Publicação ilustrada, comemorativa do 6º aniversário do Armistício. Colaboração de alguns combatentes (Illustrated publication in celebration of the 6th anniversary of the end of the WWI). In the Biblioteca da Marinha, Lisbon. Ref. 75 4Y38 -30.

³⁰ The authors cited in this thesis are a sample of numerous others who produced research and documents about Portugal’s participation in the world conflict, and agree that disorganization and improvisation characterized Portugal’s entire participation.

³¹ Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 160.

³² *Ibid*, 160.

³³ This referred to the first attempt to cross the river and invade German Tanganyika on 27 May 1916, also known as the tragedy of the Rovuma (see later in this chapter).

one of the bloodiest pages of the Portuguese campaigns in Mozambique was written.³⁴ The narratives strongly condemn the ignorance of the politicians, the corruption of the government, and the incompetence of the spheres of command as well as highlighting the great degree of improvisation that was necessary to survive.³⁵

Recent publications draw immensely on monographs written by soldiers. The majority of these accounts express discontent and even revolt, denouncing the unpreparedness of the Portuguese Army. They are very critical of the politicians who, fat from the battlefields, praised any gains no matter what the cost. Most of these narratives provide a rather different image than, for example, the photographs signed by André Moura.³⁶



Figure 1. Map extract from Fernando Rita 'A Grande Guerra em Moçambique (1914-1918)'.

The First Expedition, 1914

Lieutenant Colonel Pedro Francisco Massano de Amorim commanded the First Expedition to Mozambique. The main objectives were to strengthen the garrison already installed and to defend the colony. The force should also subordinate any indigenous rebellion 'instigated by the enemy' and co-operate with the British and other allied forces operating in the colonies. According to one Portuguese source however, there was a threat from the Makonde people and little direct communication

³⁴ Ricardo Marques, *Os Fantomas do Rovuma. A Epopeia dos Soldados Portugueses em África na I Guerra Mundial* (Alfragide: Oficina do Livro, 2012), 222.

³⁵ See Lieutenant Ernesto Moreira dos Santos, *Cobiça de Moçambique. O Combate de Ngomano. Seus heróis e seus inimigos. Memórias*, 2ª edição (Braga: Oficinas Gráficas PAX, 1961).

³⁶ See A. Moura's photographs in this chapter's Annexure 2.

as yet with the British. Some voices insisted that German spies in Porto Amélia apparently kept von Lettow-Vorbeck well informed about Portuguese actions. The governor of Niassa Company was accused of being a pro-German paid agent, a source of information for the German administrator based in Lindi.³⁷

This highly symbolic expeditionary force set out from Lisbon on 11 September 1914 and arrived in Lourenço Marques on 16 October in a rather poor condition. The ship was neither properly prepared nor equipped to transport troops and had serious hygiene problems, with conditions worsening during the month's journey. According to various accounts, in Porto Amélia nothing was done to receive the men. Rainwater poured into the shelters and transformed the camp into a swamp, flooded with animal waste. In the words of later researchers, this expedition was 'little more than a handful of sick soldiers launched into a hostile environment with few restraints.'³⁸

The operation was affected not only by the lack of preparation and provisions but also the contradictory instructions continually received from both Lisbon and the Governor in Porto Amélia during the ten-month mission. The 'remarkable' achievement of the First Expedition was the building of infrastructure to support a sustained presence, and with it came the demystification of the local Makonde threat. Under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Amorim the expedition set up a line of military posts along the border, opened part of the Makonde plateau with a 300 km road, and established a telegraph line between Mocímboa of Rovuma and Porto Amélia.³⁹

³⁷ It was considered that the Germans were instigating the natives to rebel against Portuguese authority with promises of the ending of taxation. See for example, <http://thedisorderofthings.com2014/05/Mozambique-and-invisible-bodies-contrapuntual-reading-of-the-great-war-1914-1918/> accessed on 5 June 2018. The employment of spies was no secret, it involved both Europeans and indigenous agents. However, while the judgement of captured Europeans was carefully treated, summary public executions of captured indigenous took place, as a means to discourage others. See E. M. dos Santos, *Cobiça de Moçambique. O Combate de Negomano*, 160-161. Although I cite them extensively here, this researcher is aware of the problems potentially contained in soldiers' accounts.

³⁸ On the conditions of maritime travel from Portugal to Mozambique and the conditions of the expeditioners on their arrival in the destination see for example Dr. Américo Pires de Lima, *Na Costa D'África. Memórias de um médico expedicionário a Moçambique* (Edições Pátria. Gaia. Portugal 1933), 7-27.; E. Santos, *A Cobiça de Moçambique. O Combate de Negomano*, 37-51; R. Marques, *Os Fantasmas do Rovuma*, 28-34.

³⁹ Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*, 367-371. To some extent the Makonde are defined by resistance against slavery. They were never fully incorporated into Portuguese rule. Isolated in Mueda plateau, surrounded by an area of dense bush, a myth evolved around this ethnic group. Their

The Second Expedition and the Reoccupation of Quionga in 1915

It is said that ‘political whims’ favoured the election of artillery official Major Moura Mendes for the command of the Second Portuguese Expedition to Mozambique. With an undefined mission, he expanded the network of outposts stretching over the 900 km along the Rovuma River, the border with German Tanganyika. When the war was declared in March 1916, the reoccupation of the Quionga triangle was decided and, on 10 April, at 4.30 am before dawn on a rainy night, a column formed by European and indigenous forces set off towards Quionga. Major Moura and his commandants rode on horseback while all the others marched. Food supplies and luggage followed in a boat, whose pilot was directed by a local *anaoda* (a captain of a traditional sailing boat). Local captains were generally considered reliable and knowledgeable about the coast.⁴⁰

Around 8:30 am, after crossing the narrow and deep Kirondo River, the column penetrated into ‘German territory’ that was unmarked but nevertheless recognizable by the cultivation of the land and the state of the roads. In the indigenous village of Kirondo, the German flag was replaced by the Portuguese flag. The population crowded into their doorways but did not flee. The local chief was arrested and led away in the tail of the column, along with other suspect indigenous men.⁴¹

Quionga was spotted at 10.30 am. Divided into three groups, the Portuguese Army encountered no resistance and occupied a clean and well-arranged town. The huts were aligned along the streets, the cemented wells had pumps, the land was cultivated, and there were plenty of coconut, palm and other trees everywhere. Open trenches surrounded the town. A great quantity of dynamite-laden coffers, 50 rifles, and sundry groceries were found. At 11 am, the whole force grouped at the square in

increased resistance against the demands of the war was partially defied by the mobilization of 2000 Yao warriors who were well-armed and serviced the Portuguese Army. See a brief comment on <http://thedisorderofthings.com/2014/11/05/mozambique-and-invisible-bodies-contrapuntual-reading-of-great-war-1914-1918/>. Accessed 5 June 2018. For other references on the Makonde, see: Jorge Dias, *Os Macondes de Moçambique*. Vol.1 Aspectos Históricos e Económicos (Lisbon: Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, 1964).

⁴⁰ *Anaoda* is the designation of the captain/pilot of the traditional sailing boats (dhows). This is one example of how the Portuguese army relied on local expertise to fulfil its own goals.

⁴¹ The so-called Triangle of Quionga was considered German territory since its occupation in 1894, but was never totally accepted by the Portuguese authorities.

front of the ‘beautiful house’ of the German resident where, with solemnity, the German flag was lowered and the Portuguese flag hoisted.⁴²

According to da Silva, the Germans evacuated the Quionga Triangle before the arrival of the Portuguese Army. Occupied without a single shot, the place became the eastern support for the Portuguese network of defensive posts between the Indian Ocean and Lake Niassa. These posts were garrisoned by troops who had a ‘vague idea’ of the mission and little trust in their officers. Their preoccupation was, above all, survival. Consequently, when attacks were suspected they tended to abandon their positions, a trend that lasted throughout the entire duration of the war.

The brutal occupation of the Quionga Bay by the Germans twenty years earlier was avenged.⁴³ In *Ilustração Portuguesa*, its reoccupation was reported as a ‘brilliant feat’ of the national army. Two days later the newspaper *O Século* gave details about its importance. The newspaper’s column ‘Portugal in the War’ had a section called ‘Our action in East Africa’: it stated that the Portuguese Army had had their first armed confrontation with the enemy. The article transcribed parts of a short letter written by the commander of the expedition to the President of the Republic. He wrote that his column ‘washed away the German affront of 1894.’⁴⁴

Major Mendes justified the exaggeration of the brilliance of the forces’ work ‘for morale purposes.’ He also pointed out the importance of the place for its natural resources and described the local abundance of plants (such as coconut trees and others from which oil is extracted), coal deposits, ivory, wax, cotton and coffee, almost all unexploited and uncultivated. In his argument, the re-occupied region provided free passage to the territory conceded to the Niassa Company.⁴⁵ The illustrated weekly supplement issued articles about the ‘Portuguese in Quionga’ across several editions. These focused on how the village and surrounding areas

⁴² Tenente-Coronel Julio Rodrigues da Silva, *Monografia do 3º Batalhão Expedicionário do RI nº 21 à província de Moçambique 1915*. Facsimile version, 50. In one copy of the first edition the author wrote: Printed in 1937 by order of the War Ministry - decree n. 2536 of 19 November 1920 (OE n.14 - 1st series - 1920. jog. 681). In the collection, there are some photographs from Quionga. They depict aspects of the Portuguese occupation of the place. Some photographs were published in the newspaper *Ilustração Portuguesa*.

⁴³ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 10 April 1916.

⁴⁴ On zones of influence see Marquês do Lavradio, *Portugal em África depois de 1851* (Lisboa: Editores Ática Limitada, 1936).

⁴⁵ *O Século*, 12 April 1916.

constituted a great base of operations for the Portuguese administration. The articles were clearly intended to promote the military action and to give importance to what had been achieved. One profusely illustrated edition said:

Portugal in the War. The news of the taking of Quionga by the Portuguese by telegraph or post did not have enough prominence to give patriots an idea of the heroism of the act.... The photographs have a proven value. Through them we see the important movement of troops ... Quionga is back in Portuguese hands. In the campaign on the eastern coast of Africa that was the most to which we could aspire.⁴⁶

The author of the illustrations is an amateur photographer acknowledged as Mr. Joaquim Fernandes, 2nd Sergeant of the Health Brigade. All the photographs focused on the Portuguese in the field. More than bringing an image of the place, the preoccupation is to prove the presence of the Portuguese force and their acts of occupation and organization. The commander of the expedition and other officials are the central figures in the visual reportage.

In retaliation for the occupation of Quionga, the Germans attacked several Portuguese outposts along the Rovuma River. ‘When we arrived in Palma, beginning of July 1916, the expedition of the previous year was exhausted’ wrote Pires de Lima, the medical doctor of the Third Expedition.⁴⁷ He argued that the Second Expedition ‘stood out as a win and a disaster’: the conquest of Quionga followed by the disastrous first attempt to cross the Rovuma River. For him, due to distance and other reasons, information arrived in the metropolis about these events was greatly distorted.⁴⁸

Dissonant voices express the contradictions between politicians and military leadership in the Portuguese government. Interviewed in Lisbon by the *O Século* newspaper, the top commandant of the national military naval division, Mr. Leote do

⁴⁶ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 8 September 1916. See Chapter 5 Annexure 1 for thumbnail of illustrated pages of this newspaper.

⁴⁷ A. P. Lima, *Na Costa d’África.*, 47.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

Rego, considered the conquest of Quionga an expensive sacrifice, without any compensating features. In his opinion, it was a trap ‘not worth a handful of European soldiers’. He argued that:

Wars in Africa should be made with black forces, though framed between white forces... Moreover, we have in Mozambique a contingent ranging up to 1,000 European soldiers and 10,000 to 12,000 landins.⁴⁹ The expedition to be made, therefore, should be organized with these troops, headed by the heroic Massanos de Amorims, the Teles and the Cunhas.⁵⁰

‘Lisbon seemed to rave about the victory of Quionga,’ wrote the medical doctor Américo Pires de Lima. The Germans retired in good order, aware of the mighty Rovuma at their back, during the approach of the Portuguese column. Somewhat sarcastically, he argued that the Portuguese victory - achieved without a shot - did not preclude the ‘indigenous in Lisbon’ from enjoying great celebrations. The ‘indigenous in Lisbon’ is a reference to the politicians to whom several critics attributed to a great extent the responsibility for the bloody disaster that followed, as the expedition went on to carry out the ‘worst war operation’ of the Portuguese Army.⁵¹

The following paragraphs are based on accounts made by participants and by Portuguese newspapers, *Ilustração Portuguesa*, *O Século*, and *Diário de Notícias*.⁵² These sources will allow different readings of the photographs in this Chapter as well as giving a glimpse of the war’s impact on Portuguese society.

⁴⁹ Landins is the name given to people from the south of Mozambique up to Inhambane. Seen as close to Zulu warriors in terms of fighting ability, their predilection for war was recognized by the colonial military authorities who treated them as favoured indigenous soldiers. During the Colonial Exhibition in Porto in 1930, these indigenous soldiers were exhibited and subjected to anthropometric measurements and tests.

⁵⁰ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 23 March 1916. The ‘heroes’ mentioned are distinguished Portuguese military officials with great experience of campaigns in Africa. Leote do Rego became the President of the country during the first Republic.

⁵¹ A. P. Lima, *Na Costa D’África*, 54.; see also A. Telo in Afonso e Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*, 260- 261.

⁵² These are important newspapers, possibly the ones with greater number of copies per edition. For a brief comment on these newspapers see the Introduction to this thesis.

First Attempt to Cross the Rovuma River: A Bloody Disaster

On 27 May 1916, backed by artillery and naval reinforcements, Mendes and his troops tried to cross the Rovuma with the intention to occupy the posts of Namaca and Namiranga. Thirty-three Portuguese were killed and eight were taken prisoner in the subsequent, ‘infamous’ Namiranga battle.⁵³ How did this happen?

‘The Government seeks political gains in Mozambique without showing concern about the actual military situation,’ was the accusation made by Afonso and Gomes. The unpreparedness of the forces for an offensive operation was striking. Although a great number of troops were unfit for combat due to poor health, their commanders were subjected to pressure from the government and politicians.

Major Moura Mendes, head of the military command, tried to remedy deficiencies in the field without great results. In a letter to Lisbon, he considered it possible to occupy Quionga if his effective forces could be reinforced by ‘six officers, ten sergeants, two indigenous companies and one battery of machine guns’. Lisbon answered with their decision to send the Third Expedition (but only in April) and insisted upon immediate action.⁵⁴

In pursuit of these instructions, some Portuguese sailors explored the northern bank of the river and ascertained that the Germans had abandoned the area around a local cotton factory – the first target of the operation. This information caused a great sensation and immediately land and sea forces combined for a coup that would ‘echo in Lisbon’. One indigenous company, a battery of machine guns, and a force of marines crammed into the lifeboats that were towed by an engine boat that slowly approached the enemy bank of the river.⁵⁵

⁵³ This refers to the ‘tragedy of the Rovuma’ already mentioned in which, according to Telo, the Portuguese force suffered more than a hundred losses. See António José Telo, ‘A Marinha e o Apoio ao Império,’ in Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*, 261.

⁵⁴ Telo, ‘A Campanha de Moçambique,’ in Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*, 427.

⁵⁵ Various accounts mention that a few days before the operation, the gunboat *Adamastor* bombarded the bank close to an old cotton factory. A group of sailors disembarked on the bank, explored the place and burned several huts that surrounded the premises of the factory. They sent excited reports that the area was abandoned which also gave the command the confidence to move quickly.

‘There followed successive bursts of machinegun fire that easily and accurately harvested a true human cluster accumulated on the boats,’ recalled Dr. Lima.⁵⁶ According to his description, the soldiers were caught exposed defenseless in the middle of the river and ‘were literally slaughtered, and within minutes out of that confident troop were only heaps of cadavers in boats that drifted down the river with the current.’ Dr. Lima met one official who he suggested was the sole survivor. Hit by three bullets, this officer was one of the first to be wounded. Falling to the bottom of the boat, he was saved from certain death by a barrier of corpses that piled up over him. Fortunately, ‘the current pushed the boat to the Portuguese border, where he was collected and assisted. Thus ended the first attempt to cross the Rovuma.’⁵⁷

Telo argued that it was one of the worst operations planned and executed in the entire war in Africa, in which the lack of preparation and deficient equipment were clearly evident.⁵⁸ On the few lifeboats towed by an engine boat, the soldiers were so crowded that they could hardly move or use individual weapons. The crossfire of several machine guns caught the boats near the north bank and ‘some were left stranded, filled with corpses that kept standing, so tight against each other. The researchers estimated more than 100 casualties in this operation.’⁵⁹ Other accounts provide more details that help to picture the ‘predicted disaster.’ Dr. Cann, for example, recalled that the ‘Battle of Namiranga’ happened a few days after a ‘terrible’ messy attempt to land a force at the mouth of the river.

The boats beached, they forgot to bring food, landed in a place where there was no fresh water, started operations at dusk, having spent the entire day to decide this after sighting the enemy and finally they were decimated by enemy machine guns which I warned them about and the entire force was killed or captured.... Portuguese troops resisted hopelessly ... due to the death of 600 men, of whom 460 had literally disappeared without a trace ... dead or abandoned.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ A. P. Lima, *Na Costa D’África*, 48.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Telo, ‘A Marinha e o Apoio ao Império,’ in Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*, 260.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 261.

⁶⁰ Dr. John P. Cann, ‘Moçambique, África Oriental Alemã e a Grande Guerra,’ *Revista militar* n° 5 – (Maio 2002), 361-392.

One explanation is that the landing on the German side of the bank was planned to happen simultaneously by forces from both Namiranga and Namaca. These were the new Portuguese posts established 1500 meters from each other only days before. The gunboats *Adamastor* and *Chaimite*, assisted by the entire artillery of the expedition, bombarded the enemy bank without any responding fire from the other side. After the bombardment, the infantry went down to the edge of the islands and, lying in the sand, waited for the vessels.

One participant at Namaca recalled that finally, after a long wait, two lifeboats appeared, one towed by a petrol boat and the other by a steam dinghy. Immediately, a mixture of Portuguese and indigenous infantry soldiers embarked. From the battalion, Lieutenant Amorim Pessoa and Sergeant Pedro were nominated to follow with the first 25 European privates of whom only 18 boarded because there were already indigenous soldiers in the lifeboats. The lifeboats would take 25-30 people each trip, and return repeatedly for the conveyance of the remaining forces. Just 60 meters from the German bank, the lifeboats were destroyed by violent and devastating fire. The petrol boat and its crew were the focus of the fire and were soon immobilized as well as the towed boat. 'The pilot had already found his grave in the riverbed when undirected boats became stranded on an island near the German border.'⁶¹

Another account recalls that the steam longboat, hit by the shooting, left with full speed towards the Portuguese gunboats down the river and could thus be saved. Separated at the beginning of the rush, the towed whaling boat with most of its passengers killed or injured became bogged down without direction in the river. Some soldiers swam and managed to reach the Portuguese side. Besides the ones lying wounded on the bottom of the rafts, protected by the bodies of their comrades (as happened to Sergeant Pedro), those who escaped but could not swim were captured.

The newspaper *O Século* reproduced an excerpt transcribed from a newspaper called *Pátria* from the Mozambican city of Beira:

⁶¹ Carlos Bessa, 'O Combate de Muite: Aspectos relacionados com a participação Portuguesa na Grande Guerra de 1814-1818 em Moçambique.' Academia Portuguesa da História. Separata dos anais II série, vol.31 (Lisboa: Oficina Gráfica de Barbosa & Xavier, 1936), 66.

On board of the vessel *Africa*, anchored at 5 pm here at port (in Beira city), coming from Palma, there are several soldiers wounded in the recent fighting caught in Namaka 29th May. Lieutenant Ferreira explained the purpose of the combat:

The goal of our forces was to occupy a large cotton factory that the Germans possessed in front of Namaka Island. A marine infantry force had visited the place earlier, found no sign of enemy forces and burned several huts in the surroundings.... [they] planned the advance...⁶²

After having received instructions, since early morning sections of the Portuguese forces awaited at the crossing point for their shipment in lifeboats that finally arrived hours later. The Portuguese forces initiated the movement over the river, convinced that the enemy had withdrawn. Only a few meters before they reached the enemy's river bank, four German machine guns commenced firing. In a moment Lieutenant Francisco Ferreira found himself surrounded by corpses of indigenous soldiers aboard a lifeboat riddled with holes that was taking in water, 'drifting down the river without control, to beach on the German shore.'⁶³ Amongst those who disappeared were First Lieutenant Matos Preto, commander of the gunboat *Chaimite*, Janeiro, a steersman of one of the lifeboats; Alpoim, the Captain of infantry machineguns; Amorim, the militia lieutenant of infantry; two sailors of the *Adamastor* and various indigenous soldiers. The article also said that the enemy had a large number of casualties, but this was not mentioned in any other account.

Days later under the same rubric of 'Our action in Africa,' the newspaper published a letter from a military participant in the combat. He argued that the number of the dead was about sixty. He could not be certain about the death of Captain Alpoim, who fell wounded into the river and disappeared. He argued that some losses would certainly have been avoided 'if the damn river was not full of sandbanks and therefore impossible to make an advance or a retreat at all.'⁶⁴ It was reported that on the same

⁶² Newspaper *O Século* 6 July 1916, rubric 'A Nossa Acção em África.'

⁶³ The article was extracted from the weekly Beira newspaper called *Pátria*, and published in Lisbon by the newspaper *O Século* on Thursday 6 July 1916 under the rubric 'Our action in Africa. Detail of the combat at Namaca.'

⁶⁴ *O Século*, 26 July 1916 - 'Portugal no conflito Europa' (letter from a newspaper collaborator).

day ‘when the tide was out,’ the commander of the gunboat *Chaimite*, first Lieutenant Matos Preto and six sepoy tried to release the lifeboats stranded on the shore. Only two sepoy returned from this mission and what happened to the rest was uncertain. While this was taking place in Namaca, the other column in Namiranga made ‘a brilliant withdrawal so that only one soldier was wounded in the heel.’ Presumed dead, the commander of *Chaimite*, first Lieutenant Matos Preto, appeared a few days later.

As is apparent from the above, the level of disorganization of the operation is indicated by the uncertain number of casualties that varies in different accounts. Equally varied are the numbers given in relation to the entire war operation.⁶⁵ The press divulged the following official notes from the government:

The rumors spreading over a supposed disaster of our forces on operations in the region of Quionga are absolutely unfounded. The rumors were mentioned a few days ago by an evening newspaper. In the Ministry of the Colonies nothing is stated in this regard, it only received a telegram sent by the general commander of the forces that the Minister of Colonies hurried to promulgate.⁶⁶

As mentioned in the note, the telegram reports on the German attack on the post of Nangadi in which the enemy were repelled with heavy losses and infantry Lieutenant Reis Pereira was wounded. The Government’s note stated that a new expedition to Mozambique was under preparation, incorporating up to 1,000 men.⁶⁷

Obviously, the Government minimized the losses and expenses to reassure the public of its capacity to respond. Unlike the case of the photographs sent to Portugal by ship which justified the delay in their publication, the information that was telegraphed was delayed on purpose with misleading official accounts. Yet, the same newspaper also released announcements regarding the compensation to those families who lost

⁶⁵ Such symptoms can be extended to the whole First World War campaign, though the Portuguese statistics presented at the post war conference were not accurate. See Carlos Bessa, ‘O Combate de Muite’, 133-270.

⁶⁶ Newspaper *O Século*, 9 August 1916.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

members serving in the war.⁶⁸ Despite the lasting impression of so little received in exchange for so much given, there was recognition in Portugal of the majority of families who lost members during the war. From the many graves spread out in Africa, it is possible to trace the origins of their Portuguese occupants, even the ones from the most recondite European villages. That did not happen in relation to the Africans, and the unbalanced numbers in statistical tables are very revealing in terms of participants and losses. Totally different from named, individual European soldiers, Africans, either soldiers or porters, are mostly treated as units.

The Third Expedition, 1916

As referred to earlier, the Third Expedition was the largest of the four sent from Portugal to Africa during the war. Its ambitious mission consisted of a movement towards the north, along the coast, to occupy the German ports of Mikindani, Lindi, and Kilwa. It would go as far as the Rufiji River, a total distance of 300 km within German territory on their side of the Rovuma. The purpose was to defend the Portuguese border with Germany in East Africa and increase Portugal's international visibility. Its initial commander, the African veteran Colonel Garcia Rosado, seriously questioned the viability of the operation. He was controversially replaced by General José César Ferreira Gil, who was going to Africa for the first time, without experience in any theatre of war.⁶⁹

This was the greatest of the expeditions sent to Africa from Portugal during the world conflict. It was a force with three infantry battalions, three artillery batteries, three machine guns and support services for a total of 159 officers and 4.483 private soldiers. Apparently, the expedition incorporated a photographer since there are quite a number of photographs depicting its different phases, from the disembarkation of

⁶⁸ The newspaper announcement reads (in translation): 'The sailors killed in the Rovuma - The body of the board of sailors invites the heirs of the dead and missing private navy soldiers (in combat at the Rovuma and part of the crew of the Adamastor cruiser), to attend the secretary of the same board... in order to receive the sums below mentioned:

- N. 682; 1° sailor José A. Almendo, a widow with three children 118\$95. N. 948; 1° artillery Adelino Pinheiro, widow 18\$30. N. 133; 1° sailor Bento José Gordo, two brothers 183\$30; N. 753, 1° cabin boy William J. Martins, parents, \$83 ... N. 30 artillery Manuel Augusto, mother, 83\$30 ... 2nd fireman João Dias Galego, mother 71\$30.'

⁶⁹ Dr. John P. Cann, 'Moçambique, África Oriental Alemã e a Grande Guerra,' *Revista militar* n° 5 – May, 2002, 380-382. General Ferreira Gil was the commander of the third Expedition to Mozambique in 1916, criticized for his controversial nomination and action during the campaign. For a brief outline of General Gil consult https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9_C%C3%A9sar_Ferreira_Gil.

the soldiers and material to aspects of the force's progress in Africa. Yet, things did not go smoothly. Many recruits in the expedition were stationed at the Mafra headquarters in Portugal undergoing military preparation. They became insubordinate and refused instructions. The government ordered their transfer to Lisbon and immediate shipment to Mozambique without completing combat training and on a ship that was inadequately prepared.⁷⁰ Altogether, between May and June 1916, the Third Expedition was sent to their destination in four ocean liners in poor condition.⁷¹ When the first arrived in July, no reception had been prepared and in a few days two hospital ships were asked to assist. Seventy per cent of the previous Second Expedition was re-incorporated into this one.

In the Mocimboa da Praia camp everything proceeded badly, complained Lieutenant E. M. dos Santos. The troops bivouacked on the plateau, just one kilometer from the beach. This was the base of operations after the withdrawal from Palma. Here, they started to build barracks for the arrival of the Infantry Regiment Battalion No 31, expected soon. Lieutenant Santos describes the appalling conditions: 'My company bivouacked in a former cemetery for black lepers. On the terrible days of heat, miasmas from the rotten underground mounted into the air. Dozens of years were inhaled by our breath...'⁷²

The men slept poorly, assaulted by mosquitoes and often 'startled by rats that passed with their sharp nails over our faces, leaving a rotten smell'. Lima recalls the torrential rain, 'usually accompanied by a tremendous thunderstorm that caused chills in the body' and immediately flooded the whole encampment. 'In this environment of our chosen place, hundreds of soldiers perished without taking a shot.' He wrote about the increasing number of burials. The first dead were accompanied to the

⁷⁰ It was said that one of the reasons for the rebellion was the discrimination in the selection of soldiers being sent to France and to Africa. The best families had their members closer by in Europe, but that 'didn't prevent many from a fateful destiny'. Related to this and also discrepancies in stipend, the resignation of commandant Rosado was clouded in secrecy. See Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 126.

⁷¹ See Annexure 2 for thumbnail photographs of the departure of expeditions in Lisbon. The journey by sea is very briefly covered in this thesis. For better description read Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*; Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 181-4.; A. P. Lima, *Na Costa d'África*, 7; Ricardo Marques, *Os Fantasmas do Rovuma* (Mirandela: Oficina do Livro, 2012).

⁷² Lieutenant E. Moreira dos Santos, *A Cobiça de Moçambique, Combate de Negomano seus heróis e seus inimigos. Memórias*, 49-53.

cemetery, but soon ‘the bodies were piled up without coffins and sent to Portugal in the galleys.’⁷³

The government pressures the forces. A telegram sent to the front 5 September 1916 say ‘the government foresees a decrease in our prestige as a belligerent nation, by not performing the offensive as soon as possible.’⁷⁴ For that reason it urged annexation of territory beyond the Rovuma, such action to be taken ‘under any conditions.’⁷⁵ According to Martins, it was a violent telegram received by the expedition on 9 September.⁷⁶ A naval military operation to cross the Rovuma River was launched, involving the cruiser *Adamastor* and the gunboat *Chaimite*. The first objective was easily achieved: on 19 September 1916, a force of 3 columns with 4.000 men, supported by 10 machine guns and 14 artillery pieces, crossed the Rovuma River in Namoto. They invaded neighboring German territory and ‘marked an important fact in Portuguese colonial history.’⁷⁷

Once in Tanganyika, the Portuguese began to demarcate bases for a future Portuguese administration in the region, proceeding to occupy enemy posts and divide the territory into two more captaincies with the capital in the city of Nevala. Two columns were organized and supposed to operate in collaboration: one to take the town of Massassi, and the other to conquer the fortified Nevala about two hundred kilometers north of the river. The Portuguese reached the fort of Nevala on 26 October, and with the German troops abandoning their position, the Portuguese occupation was effectuated without combat. Afonso and Gomes classified it as ‘another easy victory’.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ See, Telo, ‘Campanha de Moçambique 1916-1918.’ In Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*, 429.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ That telegram was used ears later, as a ‘political gun’ against the government. See Eduardo Augusto Azambuja Martins, *Nevala: Expedição a Moçambique* (Famalicão: Tipografia Minerva, 1935), 84.

⁷⁷ Dr. John P. Cann, ‘Moçambique, África Oriental Alemã e a Grande Guerra,’ *Revista Militar* n. 5 – Maio 2002, 380-382.

Crossing the river on a trestle bridge ⁷⁸



Figure 2. The caption reads: At Rovuma: Infantry n° 24 crossing the river over bridge launched at Naviôto.⁷⁹

In the photograph above (Figure 2), the image shows a bridge made of wooden planks laid on wooden pillars, built over a watercourse. Despite its rudimentary and fragile appearance, the bridge allows the Portuguese Army to cross the river. A column of people follows three men on horseback. In the background, still on the shore, are the rest of the troops with some supplies on the ground and four horse-drawn wagons lined up, ready to follow the column across the bridge. The photographer is already on the other side, occupying a slightly elevated position in order to capture an overall view of the scene.

⁷⁸ Original captions are translated from Portuguese by the author of this thesis.

⁷⁹ Photograph published in *Ilustração Portuguesa* on 5 March 1917. This is a weekly illustrated supplement of the Lisbon newspaper *O Século*, one of the principal newspapers of the country at the time. Caption translated by the author of the thesis.

The photograph was published six months after being taken.⁸⁰ The event was already reported earlier in the newspaper *O Século* on 2 October 1916 without any illustrations. It announced the ‘new commitments’ of the Portuguese Army fighting against the Germans in Africa. The article stated that the commandant General Ferreira Gil wrote ‘a real poem’ in a humble manner, ‘and reports the crossing of the Rovuma in a few clear lines.’ This refers to a telegram sent from the advanced post of Namoto in Quionga on 22 September:

Detailing, I communicate that the N'hica column advanced another 12 kilometers through Mikindane road and has held Miombo without resistance. The left column occupied Katibus and German barracks, having afterwards followed to Nakoas. The columns of the center and right went to the barracks of Migomba through Mikindane road, reaching Tocoto at the Rovuma Bay. The enemy withdrew towards Sassawara, west of Lindi. The indigenous population accepts and welcomes the Portuguese domain. National flags were placed in the occupied points. I praised the troops for an energetic crossing of the Rovuma in a difficult war operation...⁸¹

Following controversies that involved his commission in Mozambique, General Gil later wrote a report that contained more details of the operation. It is however interesting to note that the N'hica column (Nhica for the Portuguese), also called the ‘black column’ (*coluna negra*), was the first to cross the river by walking through the shallow water. In the following days and without any opposition they occupied the German posts of Mayembe and Tshyda.⁸² The African soldiers performed the most difficult part during these operations so glamorously claimed by the Portuguese forces.⁸³

⁸⁰ *Ilustração Portuguesa* is cited as ‘one of the most outstanding magazines of the last century’, among the ones that introduced to the Portuguese readers a ‘taste for news magazines’, already very successful in other countries. See Patricia Fonseca, ‘A pioneira Flama,’ *Revista JJ*, Lisboa, Jul/Set, 2007. www.clubedejornalistas.pt/uploads/jj31/jj31_54.pdf pp 12-63. (Accessed 7 December 2015.)

⁸¹ *O Século*. Saturday 23 September 1916.

⁸² Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 306.

⁸³ These kinds of missions were called ‘mission of sacrifice’ by the expeditionary soldiers, and seen as a death sentence.

Major Azambuja Martins wrote that the passage of the Rovuma was made in three columns on the morning of 19 September 1916, when the tide was low and the river fog eased the crossing. A tenuous moonlight during the first night facilitated the approach of the troops to the crossing points, already reconnoitered beforehand.⁸⁴ On 16 September, the General proceeded on horseback to Namoto, inspecting the works for the river crossing. Two days later, on 18 September, he met the commanders of the columns and the heads of services and gave specific instructions for the coordination between the different forces.⁸⁵ That night, recalled A. Martins, there was false alarm caused by the nervousness of the patrols near the force of men building the bridge (*ponteiros*), who were working under infantry and machine gun protection. Although the Portuguese forces expected to endure a tenacious resistance during the crossing of the Rovuma River, it was carried out without any opposition. The German troops had already abandoned their entrenchment two days earlier.

It was ‘the peak moment’ of the expeditionary force, according to A. Martins more than twenty years afterwards.⁸⁶ Although being an official with a military career, he could not but admit the precarious physical and emotional condition of the soldiers and denounced deliberate misinformation. He also manifested a certain disillusion with the politicians to whom the military owed obedience and criticized newspapers that released insufferable comments and opinions from civil society and politicians who opposed the Government. His monograph *Nevala* features a different photograph of the crossing of the river. This photograph was also published in *Portugal e a Grande Guerra 1914-1918* and its caption reads: ‘The crossing of the Rovuma through an improvised bridge’.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Ironically, one of the crossing points of the river was revealed to the Portuguese by a German unit withdrawing after an attack on the Portuguese side.

⁸⁵ A. Martins, *Nevala: Expedição a Moçambique*, 99. Author of several publications about the Portuguese Army, Major Azambuja Martins was the Portuguese Chief of Staff during the Rovuma operation and in his monograph *Nevala*, he narrated aspects of the Portuguese operation along the river.

⁸⁶ A. Martins, *Nevala*, 96-100. It is also spelled Newala in other documents. The thesis adopts the Portuguese spelling *Nevala*.

⁸⁷ Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra: 1914-1918*, 430.



Ponte de cavaletes construída pela engenharia após a passagem do Rovuma

(Gravura cedida pela *Revista Militar* da comemoração da Grande Guerra em 1919)

Figure 3. The caption reads: ‘Trestle bridge built by engineering after the crossing of the Rovuma’. The written inscription on the bottom right of the image reads: ‘1917 A. Moura Ponte sobre o Rovuma’.⁸⁸ Published in Martins, *Nevala*, 105.

In the picture in Figure 3, taken from a different angle than Figure 2, the bridge is no longer shown from a frontal view. The camera was moved to one side, and a diagonal line allows a better view of the structure and its extension. The image, if read from left to the right, reveals that the soldiers are moving forward across the bridge into German territory, from where the photograph was taken. Highlighting the quality of initiative in the theater of war, the image marks a moment: the photograph portrays an action that successfully combines the engineering, artillery, infantry and navy divisions. It celebrates the efficiency of the Portuguese Army. On the bridge, the principal column directly commanded by General Gil is crossing the Rovuma from Namoto, a location close to the mouth of the river, where the headquarters for the operation was installed.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ The image is courtesy of the Portuguese *Revista Militar* issued in 1919 for the commemoration of World War. Since the operation took place in 1916 the year indicated on the picture must be either a misreading or an accidental error during the inscription.

⁸⁹ Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 306.

According to A. Martins' description, demonstration exercises were performed on 17 and 18 September. The greater part of the operation was scheduled for the dawn of 19 September. While moonlight had facilitated the approach to the crossing points early that evening, the now low tide and the fog allowed a safer crossing. The three columns crossed the river in different ways: via the trestle bridge, on rafts, and by wading through the river.⁹⁰ There are only photographs of the bridge and raft crossings in the collection. These are aesthetically composed and staged to show the action and its location. A question I will come back to is why don't we have a photograph of the column that waded through the river?

In various published and unpublished photographs, General Gil and his staff pose for the moment. In one picture they are standing on a clearly landed raft which is also evident in other photographs of the occasion. In the picture, the General and his staff are accompanied by some African men placed on the sides of the raft, some apparently occupied with the raft's stability in the water, who were not distracted by the camera work. Because they do not wear uniform, they are not soldiers.⁹¹ The caption reads 'The General and his staff crossing the river on a raft.' The general was also pictured posing with his men on the trestle bridge, which means that he was photographed in the two locations where the crossing took place with the contribution of the engineering division and the naval division. Did the general ever cross the river?

In another photograph, the General and his staff are inside a trench, standing and looking at the camera. An African soldier, probably the translator, is close to the General. In the archive, there are several different, posed photographs taken in the same places. In other pictures, the photographer was clearly positioned before and prepared to capture the moment. Such considerations allow us to think of the First World War in Mozambique as a distinctly 'photographic event.'

⁹⁰ On 19 September they crossed the Rovuma by bridge, on rafts, or wading through on horseback (cavalry), under the protection of the artillery, with three columns of the battalion and machine guns organized in two wings and a general reserve. See Nuno Correia B. de Lemos Pires, 'Recordar o Esforço Português em Moçambique Durante a Grande Guerra (1914-1918) Através da Revista Militar,' <http://www.revistamilitar.pt>. Accessed 9 April 2018.

⁹¹ For a comment on the difference between regular and irregular soldiers see Chapter 4 of this thesis.

The conquest of new territory

The Portuguese Army crossed the river border on 18 and 19 October 1916 and occupied one German fort located two hundred kilometers north of the Rovuma. As already stated, it was the ‘highest moment of the Portuguese Army’ in the conflict. The approach to the fort was made through a sandy escarpment more than 60 meters high with dense vegetation that made contact between the troops difficult. It took about five hours to get close to its walls, recalled A. Martins. ‘After an exchange of shots, an explosion was heard. Then, the German flag was taken and the fort became silent. The little right column had the initiative of the attack; a battery of machine guns took position, protected by the 22nd indigenous platoon’⁹².

Then, ‘The 17th indigenous company, singing their war songs entered the fort through a hole in its wall. It was a relief to find the fort deserted.’⁹³ The cans of strychnine found indicated poison in the water of the reservoir. The 21st indigenous and the republican companies were sent on to advanced posts as a precaution and for security. These kinds of missions, known as ‘missions of sacrifice’, were given to the best, wrote A. Martins. ‘In the plateau, after the occupation of Nevala there was cold, tiredness, hunger and thirst.’ He argued that the strenuous effort made many soldiers sick; and when it came to achieving concrete military action, ‘there was a lack of pride among the soldiers.’⁹⁴

Meanwhile, a Lisbon newspaper announced ‘another victory over the Germans.’ It stated that the Portuguese forces fought the enemy brilliantly, occupied Nevala and apprehended war material. It released a telegram from General Gil with information about the operations. He wrote that on the left flank, after a 200 km route (80 km of which was without road) and with great communication and refueling difficulties, the columns beat the enemy and occupied the advanced defense points of Nevala. The position was taken on 26 October at six o’clock in the evening.

After very intense fighting and having destroyed and burned the fortifications with dynamite, the enemy hastily withdrew under the energetic action and

⁹² A. Martins, *Nevala*, 131.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 131.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 130.

harassment of our forces... large quantities of tools and war material were seized, including an artillery piece. Our losses were insignificant.⁹⁵

Further, with the intention to conquer Massassi, a column of one thousand men (23 officers, 347 Europeans, 399 indigenous soldiers and 33 porters) left Nevala in the direction of Lulindi on 8 November. Ambushed, its commandant Major Leopoldo da Silva was immediately injured and within a few minutes, it became a general rout. The survivors returned to the fort, which was surrounded and attacked on 22 November.

From the field, another dramatic account of this operation was described by Captain F. Moreira de Sá, engineer of communications in charge of the telegraph station (TSF) used in the operation. In his words, they were completely isolated in Nevala. The heavy station (telegraph without cable) transported from Palma was mounted on the edge of a clearing of 300 or 400 meters in radius, in the center of which the ‘Nevala fortress faces thick bush from where the Germans battered the position,’ writes the captain. ‘From inside the entrenchment, I could see my station in the middle of the clearing, completely torn down by the shooting... its mast fell along the base of the device where the car and the TSF engine were kept aligned’.⁹⁶

Moreira de Sá described the attempts made during day and night to dismantle the station and bring it into the entrenchment with the help of two indigenous platoons. These efforts failed after a few minutes of being confronted by the ‘accurate fire of German machine guns.’ Only on the following morning, with a fraction of the 28th indigenous infantry company, the dismantled station was brought into the fort. Badly damaged, it was fixed in two days and one night and ‘only after that could Palma finally be aware of what was going on in Nevala. And so, from 200 km away, the High Command could transmit instructions.’⁹⁷

⁹⁵ *O Século*, 31 October 1916, under the heading ‘Portugueses em África.’ In a telegram, the Portuguese Ministry of War Norton de Matos published the note of command n° 54 where he congratulates the achievement and urges the troops to proceed.

⁹⁶ The TSF was a very heavy engine, transported by wagon. Accounts narrated the immense difficulties in moving it through those areas without roads and the inadequacies of the means of locomotion, from their engines to their tyres that were inappropriate for the terrain.

⁹⁷ F. M. de Sá in A. Martins, *Nevala*, 79-80.

A rescue column was sent but ambushed along the way and thus never reached Nevala. Its retreat precipitated the withdrawal of the troops in the fort, who decided to abandon the position after four weeks of confrontation with disease and with German troops. On 28 November, the Portuguese troops in small groups moved in the direction of the Rovuma. The material that could not be transported was destroyed and at 11:30 pm ‘when the already lengthy column queue was engulfed by the intricacies of the forest en route to the saving waters ..., ax and pick gave the death blow to our TSF station in the trench at Nevala.’⁹⁸

The Germans reoccupied the fort and captured food provisions and arms, amongst which were four mountain artillery cannons, seven Maxim machineguns, two Fiat lorries and tons of ammunition.⁹⁹ Arrifes considers this one of ‘the most important confrontations in which the Portuguese troops were involved’.¹⁰⁰ According to Freire, the Nevala operation was a military failure; the action saw ‘great losses for the Portuguese Army, whose troops, also in precarious sanitary conditions, were morally affected and discouraged.’¹⁰¹ Taking into account that they had rebelled in Portugal and were sent to Africa unprepared, the fear of the harsh consequences accompanying refusal was probably the only reason for their presence. Their reaction to the enemy attacks would be just a matter of survival.

Echoing critical arguments made by many participants and researchers writing about the conflict, Portugal was still celebrating their previous achievement as this setback consumed the expeditionary force in Africa. The situation highlights the delays in sending news from remote battlefields, which allowed the spread of misleading public information about what was going on. The press and Government officials both later reported:

⁹⁸ Ibid, 81-82.

⁹⁹ Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*, 430-431; Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 161-162.

¹⁰⁰ Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 162.

¹⁰¹ J. Freire, *Do Controlo do Mar ao Controlo da Terra. A Marinha, entre o combate ao tráfico negreiro e a imposição de soberania no norte de Moçambique 1840 – 1930* (Lisboa: Edições Culturais da Marinha, 2013), 327. The service order n° 29 instructed the troupe to improvise recurring to local resources such as hunting. Two professional Boer hunters were contracted. A. Martins, *Nevala*, 113.

An important battle - the situation of our troops - a siege of 80 days ... (The information from the Government to the Chamber of Deputies).

In the deepest silence Mr. President went on to read the following communication.... received last Monday by the Ministry of the Colonies, a statement from General Gil dated 1 December reports that numerous German forces and askaris numbering 2,000 men from Mahenge and Massassi with diverse gauges and numerous machine guns, attacked the fort of Nevala first taking the water that supplied the post and then a 12-hour battle with three bayonet assaults supported by our troops ...

General Gil ordered a quickly organized column to connect Mahuta and Nevala, forced to withdraw after violent combat. ... After resisting a tight siege for eight days, our troops left on the night of 28 November in duly organized column ... after the long struggle the enemy forced our forces to leave Mahuta and Chichiuta posts.

As it turned out, said the Head of Government in Lisbon,

on the one hand this news can have an unpleasant aspect, on the other hand it's comforting, because the achievement that will stay in the history of our campaigns of Africa is brightened by the heroism and value demonstrated by our soldiers, and proved how intelligent and timely was the dispatch of an expedition there.¹⁰²

The *Ilustração Portuguesa* of 4 December 1916 reported that the Artillery Major Leopoldo da Silva, commander of the Massassi column, who was badly injured by the Germans near the village of Kiwanda, died in Mozambique.¹⁰³ 'He was a distinguished officer who had already taken part in many campaigns against Gungunhana.'¹⁰⁴ The article mentioned a great victory over a very powerful enemy not only to praise the soldier but to recall a colonial success largely celebrated in

¹⁰² The newspaper *Século*, 6 December 1916.

¹⁰³ In the report, the name of the village was incorrectly spelt. It was Kiwambo, also spelt Quivambo in Portuguese.

¹⁰⁴ The newspaper *Século*, 6 December 1916.

Portugal and elsewhere. The loss of a soldier is justified by the great achievements that honor the country. In its edition on 18 December 1916, the supplement stated:

We continue to fight in eastern Africa against the Germans. Though the luck of weapons has not always been favorable to us... the fact is that our troops have already won triumphs and benefits more than enough to compensate for any disaster.

Clearly a government communication, the article also reports a parliamentary session where those who claimed they were not being told the whole truth about the evolution of the war, due to the partial news concerning the reality in the African battlefield, were attacked. The article states that ‘to go to war just to win, just to gain, are claims that can only fit in certain narrow brains’ and considered the losses in Africa relatively small in comparison with the proportions of the objectives.¹⁰⁵ The article also reports that the troops under the command of General F. Gil continued their advance in Africa that ‘cannot but be slow to be safe.’¹⁰⁶

On 7 January 1917, the *Diário de Notícias*, another important Lisbon newspaper, issued on its front page an official note listing the injured, missing, and imprisoned, each European soldier perfectly identified by name, number, and military company. At the bottom of the list, a number was provided for the Africans lost. The Minister of Colonies requested the rectification of an incorrect list of the fatalities and missing persons during the combat. The commander of the expedition in Mozambique provided a new list that was published in an official note:

European Personnel: dead; soldiers Joaquim de Almeida Macoida, n.131 of 28 10th infantry company; Adrianos Rodrigues, n. 35 of the 10th infantry company 23; second sergeants Manuel Gomes, of 17th indigenous company and António Francisco Duarte, of 9th company of the infantry 26; Mountain artillery; Second Sergeant 487 Alberto António Iglezini. Indigenous staff: privates and soldiers 21 killed, 41 injured and 43 missing.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Newspaper *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 18 December 1916

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Diário de Notícias*, 7 January 1917.

In the first half of 1917, *Ilustração Portuguesa* reported that from Portugal 1200 men had left for Mozambique to strengthen those battling against the Germans. The article relates how proud people were to see the soldiers embody the tradition of the old, gallant Portuguese soldier, with the faces of their commanders showing a legitimate satisfaction as faith was restored to a public mind that had been weighed down by what the Government considered ‘criminal pessimism’. On 5 March, an update on their campaign in Africa related that another contingent of Portuguese troops left for East Africa, where the war had been intense and fevers caused more losses than enemy weapons. It also stated that the end of the war was forecast in Europe as the summer of 1917 and therefore it would be unlikely that new forces would leave for Mozambique.¹⁰⁸

Among the photographs published in this *Ilustração Portuguesa* edition are images of Sergeants and corporals embarking, parade of forces at the Cais de Areia (the name of the harbour, Sand pier, my translation) in Lisbon, the military forces who boarded the steamer for Mozambique, the Infantry n° 24 crossing the river on the bridge launched across the Rovuma River. There are also images of the General F. Gil and his Staff command.¹⁰⁹

At the same time as the unsuccessful armed actions and great incidence of sickness were admitted, the published photographs - months after when they were actually taken - were celebrating the successful action of the Third Expedition to Mozambique, the crossing of the Rovuma River and the progression onto enemy territory. The delay in the photographs’ publication helped to delay the public awareness of the military setback and masked the real situation on the battlefields.

The Fourth Expedition, 1917

During the first half of 1917, the Portuguese forces were reinforced by metropolitan units and adopted a defensive strategy lined up along the Rovuma. The book *Portugal e a Grande Guerra* argues that the same error of the previous episode was repeated:

¹⁰⁸ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 15 January 1917.

¹⁰⁹ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 5 March 1916. From the photographs of the departures it is possible to picture life on board described by passengers, and later informing accounts about Portugal and the Great War in Mozambique.

the only practical effect of having two dozen stations along a border of hundreds of kilometers was to disperse the forces available. At all events, the ‘intention to go on the offensive passed and the Lisbon government did not insist on this note’.¹¹⁰ In turn, Arrifes argued that on its arrival on 12 September 1917, the Fourth Expedition still had the objective to conduct offensive operations within German territory in collaboration with the Allies.

However, during the period between the departure of F. Gil (the commander of the third expedition) and the arrival of this new shipment some major changes occurred in the theatre of operations. The growing pressure exerted by Belgian and English troops on the German forces pushed their commander von Lettow-Vorbeck towards the border areas of the Rovuma. In this way and within the general framework of the British strategy, ‘General van Denver insists that Portuguese troops do not exceed the Rovuma and remain in a defensive position on Mozambican banks.’¹¹¹

Under increased pressure, von Lettow-Vorbeck’s men had little difficulty in crossing the Rovuma to attack the Portuguese positions in Mozambique and ensure their refills of food and ammunition. On 25 November 1917, the Germans surprised the Portuguese forces in Negomano, causing a massacre of 8 officers, 14 European soldiers, and 28 African soldiers.¹¹² The wounded were over 70 men and among the 150 released prisoners, 28 were officers. The Germans kept many black men to be used as porters. However, according to Telo, the numbers changed depending on different sources including von Lettow-Vorbeck, who guaranteed they had buried around two hundred corpses.¹¹³ Only presumptions remain, particularly in relation to Africans soldiers who are treated as numbers with their ‘provenance’ impossible to identify. The worst scenario is in relation to porters who were only counted in units. The German forces retrieved provisions and ammunition from the Negomano Portuguese military post, and the askaris exchanged their old 1877 Mausers for the

¹¹⁰ Telo, ‘Campanha de Moçambique,’ in Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*, 431.

¹¹¹ Arrifes, *A Primeira Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 131.

¹¹² Forty-three years after the battle of Negomano that happened on the 25 November 1917, a Portuguese participant soldier, Lieutenant Ernesto Moreira Santos described it and complained that very little had been done in relation to the abandoned corpses of the Portuguese who perished in the fight. See E. M. Santos, *Cobiça de Moçambique. Combate de Negomano Seus Heróis e Seus Inimigos*, 131-149.

¹¹³ Telo, ‘A Campanha de Moçambique,’ in Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande*, 432 - 433.

1907 Mausers in use by the Portuguese army.¹¹⁴ Marching south and using guerrilla tactics, von Lettow-Vorbeck began to position himself as a real danger to the main Portuguese Nyasa bases in the area. To prevent this threat, the Portuguese government authorized British troops to enter Mozambican soil and settle in Porto Amelia. From 9 February 1918, the British General van Denver took over command of all forces in Mozambique, including Portuguese troops.¹¹⁵

After a period of silence in Lisbon, the newspapers restarted divulging information about the Portuguese African front recognizing that the campaigns had reached remarkable proportions. The press reports relate that, pressed from further north by the English and Belgian armies, the German forces were unleashing violent attacks on Portuguese fronts in the south of Tanganyika.¹¹⁶

‘Our Campaign in Africa’

Our military authorities have also captured large number of indigenous who were paid by the Germans, who went about spying on our lines and inciting the uprising of tribes who had already provided oaths of fealty. Some of them found to have greater responsibility were shot in the presence of those remaining.¹¹⁷

The press acknowledged that nothing was known about the East African campaign for a long time, which brought great anxiety to the families of the expeditionary soldiers. Away from the major centers, the lack of regular communication with those regions was ‘almost solely’ the cause of such news scarcity. Praising the soldiers for executing invaluable deeds, one article referred to military actions conducted against ‘many tribes that did not always pay allegiance.’ There was an acknowledgement of the services of a ‘large number of Indigenous incorporated in auxiliary sections’, who ‘truly facilitate our action in Africa against the Teutonic barbarism that threatens our

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 432.

¹¹⁵ Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 131 - 132.

¹¹⁶ The *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 29 July 1918.

¹¹⁷ The *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 12 August 1918. Here a public announcement of the summary execution of spies is minimized almost to the point of an ordinary incident in the war. The names of the executed are probably unknown and most probably, their families might not have been informed.

colonial integrity.’ The army Photographic Section attached to the expedition provided the article’s illustrations.¹¹⁸

According to Telo, during the First World War almost half of the Portuguese military effort was directed towards the empire. The largest consignments saw 19.438 men sent to Mozambique, and 12.500 men to Angola. The numbers mobilized locally are not included. These were ten times larger than any nineteenth century expedition. As stated already, ‘The majority of these forces ended up participating in pacification campaigns and only a small minority fought the Germans.’¹¹⁹ Since the pacification of the entire territory was claimed to have been achieved by the end of the 1902 Bárúè campaign, this aspect was publicly treated with caution. It was, however, important to publicize the crushing of the new Bárúè rebellion in 1917 though a Portuguese victory that provided good news in the midst of so many setbacks from the Rovuma war. Although reported in the press, in contrast to the 1902 campaign (see Chapter 4), my research did not find any visual evidence of the 1917 Bárúè campaign.¹²⁰

Researchers speak about the ‘improvised indigenous mobilization’ in Mozambique from 1916 to 1918. Afonso and Gomes write of the need in 1918 to establish ‘indigenous sergeants for lack of European sergeants and corporals.’ The given titles were provisional and ceased at the end of the campaign before they could be legalized so as ‘to not add weight to the budget’.¹²¹ Such cases of unfair treatment affected not only Africans but also Portuguese. The top command was accused of discrimination, sending men from the middle and privileged classes of Portuguese society to the

¹¹⁸ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 26 August 1918.

¹¹⁹ Telo, ‘A Marinha e o Apoio ao Império,’ in Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Guerra*, 260; this also refers the Bárúè rebellion of 1917, caused by colonial excesses with regard to compulsory military recruitment of men, forced labour service that included women, and unfulfilled promises to review taxation. The Bárúè /Makombe leaders successfully co-coordinated other ethnic groupings that included the Chikunda in a huge uprising against colonial rule. ‘In comparison to the rather feeble numbers and state of the troops deployed against the Germans, the Portuguese rapidly deployed 20,000 well-armed, well-paid Ngoni mercenaries, licensed to plunder women and resources, to put down the rebels with as much force as possible.’ In <http://thedisorderofthings.com2014/05/Mozambique-and-invisible-bodies-contrapuntual-reading-of-the-great-war-1914-1918/>, accessed in 5 June 2018. Colonel A. Martins, *Operações Militares no Barué em 1917 - Seus Precedentes e Ensinamentos* (Lisboa: Tipografia da L.C.G.G., 1937). Biblioteca do Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique - Cota B 62 (b) Ex 2). For issues related to Bárúè see also Chapter 4 of this thesis.

¹²⁰ Arrifes, *A Primeira Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 23.

¹²¹ Afonso and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*, 98-99. This tells us that although acting in the same capacity, the African soldiers were never paid the equivalent of their European counterparts.

Western front in Europe while the poor, uneducated Portuguese men were sent to Africa to operate with conscripted African soldiers.¹²²

To France went politicians, writers, literates and known military, to Mozambique went the ones that were only military or soldiers ... far away, fighting against all possible and imaginary drawbacks, fighting in silence, and silently dying for the homeland, ... the task of most officers became very difficult aggravated by the variety of languages of indigenous soldiers from remote regions, impossible to understand and more impossible to speak.¹²³

These sentiments, already mentioned in this chapter, prompted a revolt of the soldiers and involved some officers. Issues concerning the maintenance of equipment, assistance, and salaries of the officers affected the chain of command, fracturing its structure. In addition, corruption in various industries, from food and pharmaceuticals to the production of various materials and equipment that fed the army, all aggravated the dramatic situation and had a great impact on Portuguese society.¹²⁴

The entire conjuncture was masked by an inability to communicate this to the public. The work of the press was constrained by a censorship that eventually ‘suppressed history’.¹²⁵ Subject to manipulation, the dramatic weight of such an event as World War I takes on ‘the dimension of myth’, as Arrifes suggests. Its function, he argues, ‘goes beyond an instrument of political and ideological conflict and comprises the manipulation of memory.’¹²⁶ According to him, ‘the National Ideal is achieved through a complex functionality’ in which, I suggest, photography took part. This is apparent because the images seem unable to reflect most of the problems affecting a society in conflict, particularly the situation in the remote African battlefields. The photographers’ main preoccupation seems to be the reassurance of the Portuguese presence in the field and the celebration of great moments. Were the photographs also

¹²² During the war, France was the only country in Europe to receive considerable reinforcement from the Portuguese army.

¹²³ The African soldiers and porters were recruited from various and different ethnic groups mostly faraway regions to avoid desertion and to help enforce discipline.

¹²⁴ This matter was poignantly criticized by the expeditionary medical doctor A. P. Lima in, *Na Costa D’África*, 67-69.

¹²⁵ It is easy to find empty spaces within the columns in the pages of newspapers, particularly regarding aspects related to the war. For example, see *Diário de Notícias*, 20 September 1916.

¹²⁶ Arrifes, *A Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 145.

conscripted or were their authors just seeking a more dignified portrait of themselves as a kind of antidote to the prevailing ‘pessimism’ condemned by the government? On the side of the gun, the act of photographing could have been a mission given to the soldiers acknowledged as amateur photographers, who captured most of the pictures from the colonies of Angola and Mozambique.

In Portugal, press photographers followed the movement of the army crossing the streets of the cities and the concentration of soldiers at departure points to the front. These professionals produced conventional images inserted in articles that praised the country’s engagement and capacity to sustain the war. Photographs, however, frequently offer different nuances to the stories they were asked to illustrate, whether this is planned surreptitiously by a photographer facing censorship or captured accidentally and only noticed later during a critical deconstruction of the image. As a way to conclude, the following section attempts to provide some examples of narrative disruption in photographs taken in Portuguese territory during the First World War.

Conclusion: Visual Dissonances

I use the term ‘visual dissonances’ to engage with images that, although produced for specific purposes, carry something within the frame that disrupts these narratives. This influences one’s understanding of the initial image and allows for different readings and perceptions. From an unnoticed object to an accidental presence, the disruptive element might be a detail in the picture, disregarded as irrelevant, or just overlooked amongst the flow of its indexicalities.

Yet, along the spectrum from an expression to a posture, from light to colour, from ignorance to knowledge, the disruptive element does not need to be visible in the sense that it does not need to be in the image in order to have an effect. It does not even need to be directly related to the photograph under scrutiny or belong to either the same time or event. Yet it sheds light that can clarify or darken the understanding of the image. As an indication of so much ‘left out of the frame’, visual dissonances induce other images, such as the ones mentally framed, that project viewers to other spaces beyond the realm of the image.

Visual dissonance 1

Since Portugal started to send their men to the different war fronts, the passage of the troops through villages and cities became very common and almost unnoticed after initially attracting many crowds besides family members of the ones departing. A certain desolation already accompanied the expeditionary soldier from home. In the image below, a troop is marching through the streets of Lisbon. Somewhere in the city, the soldiers were concentrated in the barracks before they embarked on ships at the city's main harbour called Cais de Areia (Sand Pier).

Such pictures became a constant in newspapers. The photographer that fed the public with this kind of image never stopped covering the passage and departure of such expeditions. The photographs accompanied reports and comments in the illustrated press. Since the intention here is to epitomize a situation that goes beyond the specificity of the image, the precise data of the picture below is not important at this moment of the discussion. Its content and aesthetics contribute to a larger reflection of the event in which the depicted moment is inserted.



Figure 4. Photograph published in *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 27 March 1916, page 390.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ In the publication, the caption reads 'returning to the barracks.' In *Ilustração Portuguesa*, March 1916, 390. Photograph by J. Benoliel.

The soldiers were in preparation for a mission of which they had very little idea. In the picture, they are led by an officer marching at the side of the column of soldiers. Publicly, the disjunctions between the military and the politicians as well as contradictions within the military command were pointed out several times. It was also denounced that politically driven reasons sustained the appointment of military officers nominated for command duties. The military criticized the uninformed politicians whose contradictory instructions revealed an ignorance of the conditions in Africa. This is given as one of the reasons for so much improvisation that characterized the whole operation in Mozambique during the First World War. As part of the entire conjuncture, civil society was also involved and the country was submerged in discontent.

The photograph above might conceivably elucidate these disjunctions. In the image, the city seems to be deserted as very few civilians are seen. On the left side of the frame, as if incapable of any reaction but a passive observation from a distance, one or maybe two civilians are standing. On the right side of the frame, a few other civilians are also observing, but others accompany the march of the column of soldiers that partially occupies the center of the frame in a diagonal line. They march as a unit, at a synchronized pace. However, while the entire body of soldiers and civilians have the same leg projected to the front as they move, the more senior military officer to the side has a different leg forward. Almost imperceptible, that detail in the image is quite revealing: the Portuguese command is out of step.

Visual dissonance 2

In the archival collections on World War 1 there are a few photographs of the crossing of a trestle bridge over the Rovuma River. As already noted earlier, this was considered the 'peak moment' of the Portuguese participation in the war. Organized in three columns that crossed the river in different ways and locations, the maneuver took place on 19 September 1916. A heavy force comprising infantry, cavalry, artillery and communications together with porters and engine vehicles proceeded into German Tanganyika in order to conquer territory that would be useful during the expected re-scramble for Africa at the end of the conflict.

According to Captain F. Moreira de Sá, the communications engineer in charge of the telegraph station (TSF), they were ‘in full enemy territory beyond the Rovuma.’ With the communications cut off, they were completely isolated at Nevala fort which was more than 40 kilometers distant from the nearest point at the Portuguese bank and about 200 km from the General Headquarters of the expedition installed in Palma.

The action of crossing the river was realized by the Third Expedition sent in 1916 – the biggest during the war. The photograph below seems to have been taken at the end of the crossing operation since there are no signs of the cavalry, soldiers or vehicles in the image. General F. Gil, its commander, is in the picture, recognizable because he appears in several other photographs of the expedition. He was criticized for keeping himself far from the battlefield. There are two officers close to him in the foreground, and behind them a line of soldiers stretched along the bridge. Further back are some Africans not wearing uniform and therefore not soldiers. Curiously, firearms are not visible and everybody on the bridge is posing for the photograph. Are we looking at the ones who stayed behind?



Figure 5. On the trestle bridge over the Rovuma River. PT AHM-FE-110-B7-GR-1.10.

A zoom into the image exposes a detail. The last Portuguese soldier in the line is in an embrace with a young African woman. From the monographs written by participant soldiers or researchers, it is well known that on the Mozambican front line the level of anarchy and improvisation allowed for irregular practices of subsistence, widely accepted as a way of surviving. Such were the huts on the fringes of the military encampment inhabited by soldiers who could afford it. Some huts were privately ordered and built. In other cases, the ones arriving would buy the huts of the ones departing. The transaction often comprised the hut with everything inside it, including ‘the black servant and eventually, a black woman.’¹²⁸ Some huts became social and commercial points, selling often forbidden items such as alcohol and tobacco.¹²⁹



Figure 6. Detail of Figure 5.

In what seems to be a photo opportunity, the rest of the crew gathered on the stage where the ‘peak moment’ of the Portuguese participation in the Great War was performed. A successful maneuver had another moment of celebration and it was registered. Is it not meaningful that no gun is in sight? Are the soldiers behind the General the engineering brigade that built the bridge? Or are they the ones who did

¹²⁸ This aspect was also commented upon with reference to the sexual life of expeditionary soldiers in campaign in Africa. See Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 216-217.

¹²⁹ Several accounts denounce the fact that some products on sale at those irregular markets came from the exhausted storerooms of the expedition. See for example Marques, *Os Fantomas do Rovuma*, 33.

not join the force? In the picture, despite their number and important contribution towards the survival of the Europeans, the black men are at the back of the line, as if to confirm their position: the last to benefit from the goods, whatever they were constituted of, the last to eat if there is food, the last to drink if there is water, the last to get comfort if there is any, the last to be looked after, yet the first to be sent on the ‘missions of sacrifice’.

Visual dissonance 3

In the collection, a different moment of the crossing of the river is also depicted. It is one of the photographs on whose emulsion is inscribed the name of the photographer, the place where the photograph was taken, the action depicted and the date. The image shows a group of Portuguese soldiers aboard a raft, posing for the camera. An engine boat was assigned to drag the rafts to the other bank. According to the inscription on its surface, Moura shot the photograph below on 19 September 1916.¹³⁰

By looking at the photograph more critically, however, we see that instead of celebrating the Portuguese army’s success, as would be suggested by the caption, the photograph points to a more troublesome history. The effect of looking at the image is very disturbing since it resonates strongly with the event that occurred a few months earlier on 27 May when, as detailed previously, the soldiers of the Second Expedition attempted to cross the river almost in the same way by being towed across the water. Struck by enemy machine guns before reaching the German bank, many African and European soldiers died, others disappeared, and others were made prisoners.¹³¹ The understanding of the 1916 photograph is strikingly dominated by a feeling expressed by Roland Barthes on seeing Lewis Payne’s portrait: ‘I observe with horror an anterior future of which death is the stake.’¹³²

Now, as the photograph shows, the soldiers are alive looking at the camera, posing, perhaps also having some fun out of the entire act of photography. Yet, caught in the

¹³⁰ Other photographs in the archive reveal how the moment was celebrated. See Annexure 2 of this chapter.

¹³¹ As already highlighted in this chapter, this episode was considered a ‘bloody disaster’, also referred to as the ‘tragedy of the Rovuma’.

¹³² Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1982), 95. He comments on the portrait of Lewis Payne, taken moments before his execution.

river, many did not reach any bank thereafter and disappeared under the water.¹³³ An image of the ‘anterior future’ transmits to the mind a constructed image of the past.¹³⁴ And that past is assumed as the depicted present, whose future is here, under the eyes of the viewers: ‘those men were dead and they were going to die.’¹³⁵ While photography complicates chronology, memory obfuscates vision: the picture is no longer from the successful 18 September 1916 crossing of the Rovuma River but from the 27 May 1916 disaster.

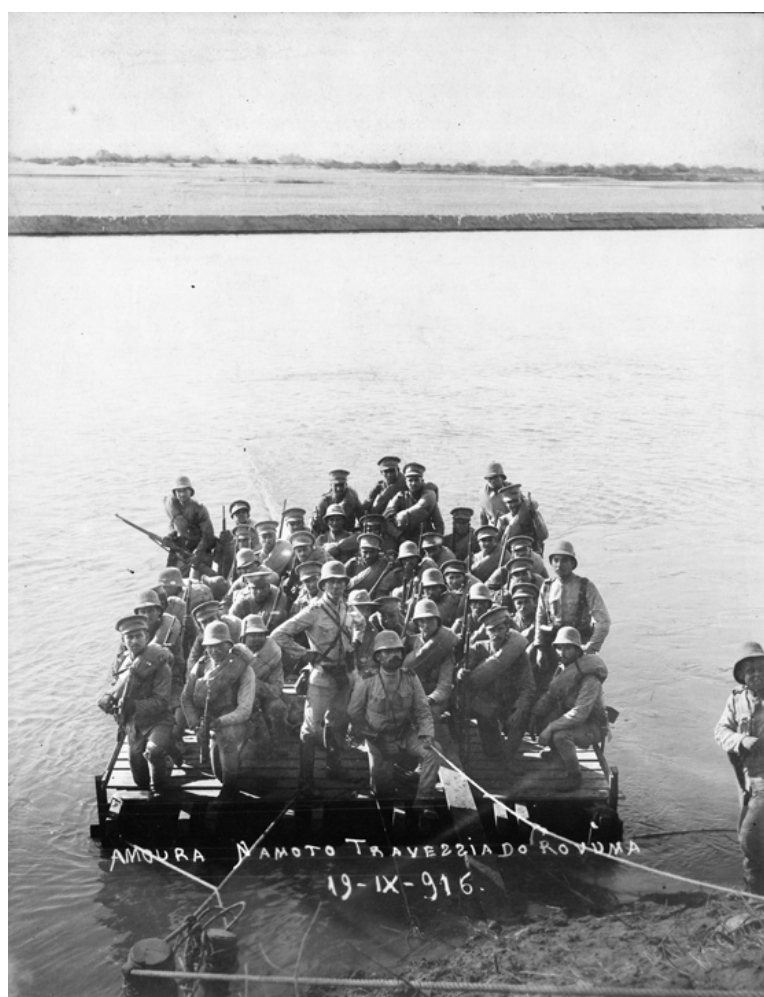


Figure 7. Inscription on the print surface: A.Moura Namoto Travessia do Rovuma 19-IX-916.¹³⁶

¹³³ For descriptions of this episode see the section on the second expedition in this chapter.

¹³⁴ This concept is borrowed from Nancy Rose Hunt, *A Nervous State*, 8.

¹³⁵ See also Kaja Silverman, *The Miracle of Analogy or The History of Photography, Part 1* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 2-3.

¹³⁶ A. Moura Namoto ‘Crossing of the Rovuma 19 September 1916’. Photograph from Lisbon Military Archive (AHM), reference PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.8.

There are other photographs similar to this one, such as the one that was actually published in an illustrated magazine. In that photograph, the General is on the raft accompanied by some of his staff. They are posing for the camera. On the raft there are also some Africans not in uniform.¹³⁷ Some of them are seated while a few are standing on the boards of the raft and looking at the water, as if controlling the stability of the raft. On the bank near the raft, an African soldier is holding a horse drinking from the river. Maybe it's the General's horse?¹³⁸

Other photographs of this 'collection' also have inscribed on their surface the date of '1916', which indicates they are from the Third Expedition: the greatest expedition sent to Africa by Portugal during the First World War. In Tanganyika, the Portuguese columns started their advance to Nevala and Massassi. However, as with the 'Maneuver of Tancos', the crossing of the Rovuma suggests a propaganda exercise.¹³⁹

In general, the dimension of the war in Europe is easily grasped from the profuse photography of villages and cities in ruins, the corpses of soldiers and horses or mules spread half buried in the battlefields, and the drama of the trenches. The images transmit the deafening silence of the dead and the desolation of the world after battle. The war was brought closer and made real. But although exposed to many photographs of war, what kind of image was diffused to the Portuguese public of their own expeditionary force in France? How realistic were the communications delivered from the Government? In the Golden Book of Portuguese Infantry, difficult questions are glossed over. It states that 'the defeat is not always inglorious for the troops that suffered it'. It recalls Nevala and other defeats and argues that these names should be remembered forever because they demonstrate the extraordinary resistance and bravery of the Portuguese soldier.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ See Chapter 4 on regular and irregular soldiers and sepoys.

¹³⁸ See Figure 20 in Annexure 1 of Chapter 5 for the picture published in *Ilustração Portuguesa*. Mentioned earlier in this chapter, A. Martins recalled that the general on horseback visited the crossing points and gave instructions.

¹³⁹ R. Marques, *Os Fantasmas do Rovuma*, 110.

¹⁴⁰ In *Livro de Ouro da Infantaria 1914-1918*, 138.

With regard to Nevala, the withdrawal is described as a notable maneuver that prevented the fall of the whole garrison into the hands of the enemy.¹⁴¹ The publication recognizes the role of the indigenous soldiers, a ‘powerful element in the process of nationalization, not only of the Province of Mozambique but other colonies as well.’ It states that the black soldier kept intact the glorious traditions of the Portuguese infantry and, ‘worthy of old traditions,’ marks a new page in the history of Portugal, deserving to be inserted in the Golden Book of Portuguese Infantry.¹⁴²

In Africa, old cemeteries with graves of European soldiers are landmarks of today’s almost imperceptible Great War. Barely acknowledging the unknown African soldier, existing monuments scarcely connect Africans with the event. In Mozambique, the most representative monument to the war is located in one of the great squares of the city formerly known as Lourenço Marques. The square was named after the French president MacMahon, who mediated the seriously disputed ownership of Delagoa Bay in favor of Portugal. After the country’s independence in 1975, a new name was given to the square in what is now Maputo city: it is called ‘Praça dos Trabalhadores’ and is dedicated to Mozambican workers.

Images of the First World War in Mozambique might convey suffering and the precarity among the men directly involved in the theater of operations, but they are less dramatic compared to the images from Europe. They do not display the corpses of soldiers on battlefields, the cities and villages in ruins, and the ravaged landscape. Américo Pires de Lima, medical doctor on the Third Expedition to Mozambique in 1916 and author of a much-cited monograph *Na Costa d’África*, lamented the lack of photographic documentation and ideally a cinematographic record, which he considered the only way to produce a document that could reveal the greatness, in its entirety, of the dimensions of the expeditionary forces’ suffering.¹⁴³ Therefore, the way photography took place could be one of the reasons why the scale of the Great War in Africa was considered almost unknown in Portugal. At the same time, the diffusion of carefully composed images suggests the depiction of the War as ‘A Photographic Event’, organized for the sake of Portugal’s international recognition.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 139.

¹⁴² Ibid, 135-6.

¹⁴³ A. P. Lima, *Na Costa d’África*, 97.

For contemporary Mozambicans, even if photographic archives that depict African soldiers in the Great War exist, the conflict almost never happened.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ Thanks to João Paulo Borges Coelho, the First World War is appearing in the panorama of Mozambican literature. The celebration of the First World War centenary has increased the interest in its history.

CONCLUSION

It is from the proverbial scramble for Africa, which began in the second half of the nineteenth century, that we must date the start of the Portuguese conquest of what is now Mozambique.¹

The chapters of this thesis interrogate photographic images from Mozambique that depict different places and historical processes and allow a visualization of its territorial constitution. Early historical documents, both written and visual, were produced by European administrators, military officials, and missionaries. It is possible to look at past events through such lenses, but the stories remain partial. Most notably, the extreme violence exerted over African people during the process of colonization is seldom reflected. This inquiry incorporates works of various historians and researchers and uses different practices of data collection and sources in an attempt to produce a fuller image and better understand the past.

This photographic enquiry began with an analysis of a photograph of the fortress of São (Saint) Marçal at the village of Sena – the centre of a ‘new urban culture’ in the region. The image of its crumbling façade is a visual representation of the deterioration of the Portuguese political system. The subsequent power vacuum allowed the rise of ‘new states’ ruled by powerful Luso-Afro-Islamic families that in the nineteenth century ‘rented’ great parcels of territory (the *prazos*) in the Zambezi Valley and challenged colonial authority.² At the mouth of the Zambezi River, Sena became an evacuated historical space or structure that crystallized the problem of Portuguese colonialism. Engraved on the walls of its fortress, the Portuguese imperial shell claims territorial occupation.

Another photograph depicts the remnants of the Sena fortress, its gateway transformed into a monument to the implantation of Portugal’s authority in the colony. In fact, since the sixteenth century, the Portuguese political authorities requested detailed reports and accounts of Portugal’s historical rights. MacGonagle

¹ Eduardo Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique* (London: Penguin Books, 1969), 26.

² New States were also called secondary states. See Isaacman, *The Tradition of Resistance*, 22.

considers this extensive documentary production a treasure that ‘whets the appetite of the researchers’ with substantial information about the early histories of the region.³ Visited as a site of historical significance, the portal of Sena was continually photographed, and these images show its transformation, affected by time and human intervention. The ‘Portal of S. Marçal fortress’ at Sena was preserved from total destruction, and after the independence of the country in 1975, it gained new meanings that possibly celebrate the victory of the formerly colonized.

Some of the most serious critics of Portuguese society and empire in the late nineteenth century were themselves Portuguese: distinguished politicians and administrators, academics, journalists, and other notable figures. Botelho considered the expedition to Mozambique in 1869 very instructive for the repetition of the deficiencies that rendered Portuguese military organization infirm. Like others, it ‘resulted in disaster very sensitive to the prestige of our arms.’⁴ In 1891, however, António Ennes argued that sending troops from Europe to Africa helped to calm national public opinion. An academic article by Paulo Jorge Fernandes echoes this argument and states that the reason for beginning the war in East Africa was more ‘related to internal propaganda than to the affirmation of sovereignty by the way of armed force.’⁵ But disasters kept happening, and defeats were experienced during the battle of Missongue in 1891 and during the events of the First World War.⁶

Nevertheless, colonial domination was considered to have been successfully imposed by 1902 with the help of technological developments in warfare and transport. There was significant participation by the cavalry and the navy in the Effective Occupation of the Portuguese African territory. They transported men, animals, machinery and provisions to the advanced inland posts while protecting and guaranteeing the safety of the rear lines. Such colonial penetration also brought the inland plateaus such as Bárue into the realm of European knowledge. (Bárue had previously been little-

³ Elizabeth MacGonagle, *Crafting identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 33.

⁴ José Justino Teixeira Botelho, *História Militar e Política dos Portugueses em Moçambique da Descoberta a 1833* (Lisboa: Centro Tipográfico Colonial, 1934). The expedition of 1869 confronted the warlord Bonga and resulted in enormous carnage in which many Portuguese found ‘the most horrible, useless and inglorious death’. In Coutinho, *Memórias*, 587.

⁵ *Africa Studia* No 17, ‘Exploração Científica em África Na Época Colonial’, 35.

⁶ This refers to the battle at Missongue in which Manuel António was killed and Coutinho himself was seriously wounded. This is discussed in Chapter 4, in the section that discusses Figure 9.

known because of its isolation between the Zambezi and Punguè Rivers.) While artillery, machine guns, and boats are among the very important assets of the colonial army, according to cavalry captain Mouzinho de Albuquerque, horses were crucial for the military campaign that ended the Gaza Empire. In fact, the Portuguese appear constantly to use modern technology together with more archaic modes of fighting and representation. The horse is memorialized in monuments, historical illustrations, and photographs dedicated to Mouzinho de Albuquerque – the greatest Portuguese hero of the so-called ‘Pacification Campaigns’ in Africa. The contribution of African soldiers, sepoys, and porters was also crucial for the implantation of colonial authority.

Chapter 3 compares different photographic styles in depictions of the beginning of the ‘Pacification Campaigns’ that assured Portugal’s effective authority over the south of Mozambique. The last days of the Gaza Empire are distinctively narrated: in the festive atmosphere of the Portuguese capital city Lourenço Marques, the official photographer Louis Hily depicted the embellished ‘Arc of Triumph’ in celebration of the arrival of the captured leader Ngungunyane. There are controversies over pictures of the African king in front of the hut where he was located at the moment of his arrest, near the burial site of his ancestors, at a place called Chaimite. The photograph is claimed by two completely different authors with different provenances. And while the photograph of Ngungunyane seated on a chair and surrounded by some of his companions in exile (a row enclosed by armed European policemen) was said to be taken at the prison in Lourenço Marques, another archive specifies the location of a similar photograph as the fort of Monsanto (the prison in Lisbon). Yet according to Leonor P. Martins, the portrait of Ngungunyane in the boat on the way to exile was the first photograph published in the press, by the newspaper *O Occidente* in 1896.⁷ The dispute over photographic authorship, the dates and location of subjects, and photographic diffusion is, in a sense, a visual struggle for Mozambique.

Another unquestionably important contributor to this struggle was the Swiss missionary George Liengme (himself an amateur photographer), whose commitment

⁷ Inês Vieira Gomes, ‘Leonor Pires Martins, Um Império de Papel. Imagens do Colonialismo Português na Imprensa Periódica Ilustrada (1875-1949)’ (Lisboa: Edições 70), In *Comunicação e Sociedade*, vol. 29, 2016, 415-419. Doi: [http://dx.doi.org/10.17231/comsc.29\(2016\)2428](http://dx.doi.org/10.17231/comsc.29(2016)2428).

to photographic production is possible to grasp from his archive. Perhaps aware of the privilege of living near the powerful African king in Mandlakazi, he photographed important events at the end of Gaza, ‘the last of the Mozambican traditional empires.’⁸ Liengme has a more intimate portrait of African society. Among other aspects, he depicted the queens in their village at Mandlakazi. While some images seem a spontaneous depiction of their ordinary daily life, other images are clearly organized and depict symbols of a stratified social organization.

Liengme’s portrait of King Ngungunyane seem to be more spontaneous, without any particular intervention by the photographer. Even if not intentional, the slightly lower angle of the camera results in a sign of respect. That is one of the very few Ngungunyane photographs in this collection. One of the reasons for this paucity might be that part of his photographic production and other family belongings were left behind in their rushed departure from Mandlakazi a few days before it was assaulted by the Portuguese forces; these items were possibly destroyed by the fire that burned down the entire African capital. Portuguese accounts report that explosions from Liengme’s house during the fire proved his involvement in local politics, promoting and materially supporting the non-submission of the African potentate. Officially expelled from Portuguese territories, Liengme and his family went to the neighbouring Boer Republic of the Transvaal where many other fleeing Africans also settled.

There is a sketch (not a photograph) depicting Mandlakazi burning as Portuguese soldiers follow orders to charge given by a mounted commandant located prominently in the foreground of the image, against a backdrop of flames.⁹ The caption reads, ‘Occupation of Manjacase, last military operation before Chaimite.’ This research found no photographs of this particular event or of the destruction of the innumerable other villages destroyed in the passage of the European army, which were officially reported. Nor are there photographs of the corpses of those killed in the battlefields of Mozambique.

⁸ Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique*, 27.

⁹ The sketch is published in the Paulo Fernandes’ book, *Mouzinho de Albuquerque*. The pages with the photographs or illustrations are not numbered. The author of the sketch could not be identified in this research.

Again, no direct reflection of violence in the ‘pacification campaign’ in Bárue emerges in the photographs examined in Chapter 4. But details in the images question the absoluteness of the victorious discourse around the Bárue campaign. The fragilities of Portugal’s colonial claim can be understood from Coutinho’s admission that the old history of Bárue constitutes a period of absolute darkness, impossible for the Portuguese to penetrate ‘unless to recognize that our domain was never exerted in that region.’¹⁰ The photographs taken during the military operation against Bárue in 1902 appear to confirm that Portugal seemed to have finally achieved its purpose of hegemony. In general, rather than reportage of what really happened on the field, the photographs seem to portray moments of success. But on close reading, these images expose the fragilities of the ground on which the empire is built and its destructive impact on the local natural and social environment.

The notion of ‘Stopping for the Camera’ is used in Chapter 4 to discuss the still, seemingly relaxed postures of those photographed inside enemy territory during military operations, concealing the action inherent to the war. The ritual of the photograph might also have slowed down the march, which seems to point out the importance of this ‘tool of empire.’ Rather than being fixed, the photographic indexicality is open to multiple temporalities. Photographs also allude to much that is out of Portuguese control. It is intriguing that at the time of writing, unrest still marks the central region of Mozambique in which Bárue is located.

Chapter 5 examines photographs of the First World War in Mozambique, whose battlefields were mostly located along the Rovuma River bordering the territories claimed by Portugal and Germany. Despite many posed photographs, the pictures give a sense of reportage. The crossing of the river by means of a trestle bridge is one example: cameras, angles, and even the soldiers’ column were settled in place before the action was authorized, this time not by the military commander but by the photographer. The sense of movement is reinforced by the diagonal point of view that favored a clearer view of the bridge, showing the efficiency of its engineering and the discipline of the soldiers.

¹⁰ Coutinho, *Memórias*, 38.

The same cannot be said of the photograph of the group that crossed the river in towed rafts. The frontality in relation to the camera makes it a much more static image and the subjects are clearly in direct contact with the photographer. There are more than thirty men on the raft and many seem amused or excited, not so much by the adventure of crossing the river into enemy territory but in relation to the photograph. Yet it was a photograph taken in the midst of a military operation: the ‘peak moment’ of Portuguese military activity during the four years of the Great War.

In both the Báruè campaign and the First World War, the immobility of the subjects in the images is assumed to be meaningful. The semiotic contradiction between the action and the lack of movement can be understood as a discourse of the ‘pacification campaigns’. The capture and preservation of moments of patriotic exaltation are acts of historical memorialization but also served other purposes. Portugal entered the Great War in 1916 on the side of the allies intending to conquer a ‘place in the sun’ at the end of the war. More than just maintaining possession of its colonies, Portugal hoped to gain more territory as part of the rewards that would be distributed in the postwar re-scramble for Africa. The First World War was a traumatic experience with great material and human losses. Fifty thousand European soldiers were sent to Africa and almost four thousand Portuguese men never returned, with many of these deaths attributed to disease and deficient organization. The imprecise but much greater number of indigenous soldiers and porters (many coercively recruited) who were killed, went missing, went imprisoned, or wounded make any evaluation of African losses very difficult.¹¹

The grandeur of the drama during the war in Europe is shown by the profusion of images of ruined cities, the suffering in the trenches, corpses, and destroyed machinery scattered on the battlefields. Much of the destructive impact of this war on that continent was published in the press and in academic and literary essays. This output is massive compared to the attention given to Africa and the participation of Africans in the conflict, both in Africa and in Europe, where the African men not only served as soldiers on the battlefronts but also in peripheral works such as the opening

¹¹ Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 23.

of trenches, felling trees to support these trenches, and the loading and unloading of ships in European ports.

Unlike the images of the war in Europe, the pictures analyzed in this study do not reveal, at first glance, the dimension of the sacrifice endured by the Europeans and Africans who were directly or indirectly involved the war in Mozambique. This dimension comes out in written accounts by various participants, some in poorly circulated publications or newspaper articles of the time, and in more recent historical research papers.¹² In Mozambique, the graves of the Portuguese soldiers in the Maputo cemetery and the cemetery of the British soldiers in Lumbo are authentic monuments. There are graves of expeditionary soldiers in Pemba (Porto Amélia), and some fast disappearing in the bush of Palma and Mocímboa. Many headstones identify the European soldiers with names and categories, claiming them as part of a European memory.

Conversely, of the soldiers and other Africans who perished in the same war, little trace exists.¹³ The expeditionary officer Colonel A. Martins recalled the monument to the dead of the Great War erected in Inhambane. But these dead have no names, no origins, and their number is uncertain – a testament too to how many families lost all trace of their loved ones. There are also the often-forgotten victims affected by the famine resulting from the intense demands for food production required by the fronts in Africa and Europe, as well as the devastation of the fields by starving soldiers on the campaigns.

To return to the photographs of the Rovuma crossing, the dynamic image with the diagonal line of the trestle bridge on which the soldiers are moving into German territory can be read as a technical documentation of the engineering capabilities of the army. Another more frontal image of the forces on the bridge moving in the

¹² Ordinance 2536 of November 19, 1920 ordered the commanders of the regiments involved in the African campaigns to appoint one of their officers to produce regimental monographs, which should be delivered to the Ministry of War by June 30, 1921. A monetary award was promised for the best work, and for that reason few monographs were drawn up and ‘some are merely chronological records of the actions of their respective regiments, while others are true literary pieces with political and historiographic ambitions, and contain a lot of important information.’ In Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na África Portuguesa*, 39-40.

¹³ Tenente-Coronel Julio Rodrigues da Silva, *Monografia do 3º Batalhão Expedicionário do RI nº 21 à província de Moçambique 1915*. Facsimile version, 50.

direction of the viewer enhances a sense of invasion. The photographer was already in Tanganyika when the column arrived. Thus, two different photographs of the same moment feed the idea of a 'photographic event'. However, Captain António Pires considered the unique conditions suffered by Portuguese participants in the East African war to have been unknown 'to the general public' in Portugal.¹⁴

Despite this, there is clearly something important about these photographs, whose production was part of the strategy of the expedition to the Rovuma and into Tanganyika. The inscription of Andre Moura's name, and the names of the places where the photographs were taken, also signal an awareness of their historical import. They recall the most dramatic events in the Portuguese history of war. But the pictures are striking on another level: the men 'were already dead and they are going to die'.¹⁵ Perhaps we should acknowledge the existence of 'another punctum' which Barthes called the 'stigmatum', a visual detail that is 'no longer of form but of intensity'. Translated into this discussion, there is the knowledge of a future that constitutes 'the lacerating emphasis of the noeme', with time providing a pure representation of 'that – has – been,' together constituting a chronological disruption.¹⁶

The lack of temporal precision (for the viewer) is also reflected spatially in photography's inability to exclude that which makes it so textured and so fertile. Encoded beneath the photograph's skin lies an excess 'waiting to resurface.'¹⁷ Despite the photographer's intention to show 'civilization' and 'submission', the photographs can speak of domination, exploitation, and resistance. The photographs certainly want to communicate but the dialogue is only possible if we equip ourselves with the tools to decode them. Then they can be seen to reveal a moment extending beyond what is captured on that photosensitized surfaces: a moment opening up to multiple and often different narratives. This capacity for ellipsis underpins how a photograph can stand for an event or a period in history.

¹⁴ Colonel A. Martins published several articles as well as an important monograph, *Nevala* (1935). As cited in Chapter 5, other Portuguese expeditionary soldiers also authored published monographs with poignant descriptions of the situation on the field.

¹⁵ As discussed in Chapter 5.

¹⁶ For the ideas elaborated in this paragraph see Barthes' discussion in *Camera Lucida*, 92-116.

¹⁷ Christopher Pinney and Nicolas Peterson, *Photography's other Histories* (Durham: Duke University press, 2003), 6.

The photographic developing process continues through time, affecting the photographs both physically and philosophically in an interconnected way. The image remains open to the different readings allowed by its deconstruction. As physical objects, photographs are subject to the impact of time on their materiality, which has implications not only for their storage and management but also for the platforms on which they can be accessed. Interpretation is also affected by the inflections resulting from the image fading, scratches, or the dust absorbed on photographic surfaces. A latent image imprinted in the photosensitized substrates becomes ‘latent knowledge’¹⁸ imprinted within the image. The processes of revelation carry on, projecting pasts into near and far futures. Some meanings are achieved simply because the photographs survived long after being taken. In this way, the past influences the future.

But the future can also influence the past. Such was the discussion around the photographs of the crossing of the Rovuma River. A photograph taken on 19 September 1916 strongly resonates with an event that occurred months earlier, on 29 March, in which many soldiers died. For an informed viewer, the men photographed on the raft in September were already dead in March. The inability of the lens to ‘discriminate’ will ensure a ‘substrate’ or a ‘margin of excess’, the ‘subversive code’ that opens the image to other interpretations and uses, no matter what their ‘institutional and discursive frame’. The image is alive, moving viewers back and forth across different times.¹⁹

In the reading of photographs as historical documents, mental images affect what we see and contribute to photographic deconstruction. Initially, the photographs studied here confirm the success of the colonial enterprise but then go beyond such propaganda. There is an unpredictability in the image. In a sense, it can be paralleled to a latent knowledge that completes the image with details that cannot be seen. Today they show much more as their different meanings are claimed by the interpretations of different eyes and become part of a ‘Visual Struggle for Mozambique’. The title of this thesis suggests both the camera as a ‘tool of empire’,

¹⁸ Nancy Rose Hunt, *A Nervous State. Violence, Remedies, and Reverie in Colonial Congo* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 11.

¹⁹ Some of the terms in quotation marks here are suggested by Hunt, *A Nervous State*. The insistence on these references is also to underline the similarities and the eventual connections between the colonial history of these African regions.

producing an imperial visual narrative, and its residual archival result, a photograph that can produce counter narratives, a ‘tool of a visual history of the country.’²⁰

²⁰ The concepts used in the last paragraphs are borrowed from Kelsey, ‘Of Fish, Birds, Cats, Mice’, 60. The title of this thesis ‘A Visual Struggle for Mozambique’ was borrowed from the title of a book written by the first president of Frelimo, Eduardo Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique* (London: Penguin Books, 1969). The first Portuguese edition was titled, *Lutar Por Moçambique* (Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, 1975). After Independence the new Mozambican government printed and distributed fifty thousand copies of the book for free.

ANNEXURES

Chapter 2 Annexure 1

Photographs of the Portal of the Sena fortress

Two additional photographs of the portal at Sena are shared here. They are from different periods. The first photograph in Figure 1 was probably taken soon after the Companhia de Moçambique secured the portal and placed the carved plaque on the wall in 1906. The cannons have their mouths fixed into the ground, perhaps to make them more prominent. The space is well-maintained. This seems to be an official photograph of the monument.



Figure 1. The photographer and date of the photograph are not provided. Retrieved from <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/122268244#>.

In Figure 2, the photograph depicts a group of people in front of the monument. The caption provides the date, 1940, and identifies the people. On the left stand the wife of Ramiro Vidigal (the chief of the post of Sena) and their children. On the right are

Ramiro Vidigal, his child and Fernando Vidigal (brother of Ramiro). The caption also speaks about the Mr. Fernandes, who was the radio-telegrapher at the post of the village of Sena. He is possibly the photographer; the shadow on the left corner of the frame reveals his presence. It is possible to see the physical alterations made to the monument in 1914 with the addition of the cement ‘shoes’ (supports) on the sides of the structure. But the overgrown grass gives a sense of carelessness and abandonment. A certain poetics suggests the end of a historical period: the prazos are giving way to the Company, which facilitated the installation of a decadent colonial administration.



Figure 2. The people are identified and the date is known (see above). Retrieved from <https://delagoabayworld.wordpress.com/category/lugares/sena-fortaleza/>.

The more recent colour photograph taken in 2000 in Chapter 2 (see Figure 10) shows the cannons mounted in cement blocks placed on the sides of the portal. The guns were disinterred and used as if to protect that gateway to history. The monument thus gained a new meaning in Mozambique after independence.

Chapter 3 Annexure 1

Lourenço Marques: the road to Polana beach

This annexure shares a number of images of the infrastructure that developed around Polana beach in the city of Lourenço Marques: the site that opens the discussion in Chapter 3. The city is located in Delagoa Bay, which apparently resulted from a peculiar geological and morphological formation. In addition, several rivers flow into the bay, discharging huge amounts of sand that possibly contributed to the formation of the Xefina and Inhaca islands.¹ From the soggy and sandy area where the city was born, a considerable platform of red earth arises smoothly and ends abruptly on the seaside facing Catembe. This promontory was forested and sparsely populated when the Europeans arrived in the bay. The Portuguese called it Ponta Vermelha and the English called it Reuben Point, which is how it was commonly known among the many who sailed to Delagoa Bay (Lourenço Marques Bay).

The sketch below depicts the Ponta Vermelha, as seen from the town of Lourenço Marques in 1891. The structure with the flag was built in 1877 and was replaced by a limestone lighthouse in 1892. Further downhill, rocks protected the headland against the winds and sea currents, but later, when the hill started to be inhabited, a beach space was found between the rocks and was called the Polana beach.



Figure 1. 'Ponta Vermelha. Lourenço Marques'.²

¹ Delagoabayworld.wordpress.com. Accessed 9 November 2017.

² Ibid.

The Ponta Vermelha offered better living conditions compared to the downtown area below the hill. It was less affected by mosquitos and had fresh air. The Portuguese began to inhabit the promontory late in the nineteenth century, after a 3 km access road and water supply were provided. As the Chapter 3 mentions, one of its earliest inhabitants was António Ennes, nominated Comissário Régio for Mozambique in 1984.³ In 1896, Mouzinho and his team were photographed on the veranda of the house of the Portuguese General Governor. After the independence of the country in 1975, that house became the presidential ‘Palácio da Ponta Vermelha’ and every new government cabinet was subsequently photographed at its entrance. Ponta Vermelha became integrated into the growing city, and the Polana neighborhood continues to be one of the most privileged suburbs of Maputo, the capital of the Republic of Mozambique. There is a road running along the sea line that connects the city to the Polana beach, but for many years there was only one access road to the beach: Caracol Road built around 1910. It went from Polana down to the coast, where the beach was located. The two images that follow show different phases of the road to Polana beach.⁴



Figure 2. Polana beach. Caracol road in an early stage of its construction.

³ Government houses were also built at the Ponta Vermelha. See Aires de Ornelas, *Colectanea Das Suas Principais Obras Militares e Coloniais*, Volumes I and II (Agência Geral das Colónias 1934), 66 and 28.

⁴ The construction of the beach road was photographed by Ricardo Rangel in the 1950s. The image shows a line of black men working on the road and was published with the caption ‘Spaghetti’.



Figure 3. Polana beach. The Caracol road almost concluded.



Figure 4. 'Partial View of the Polana beach – Lourenço Marques'.⁵

Figure 2 shows Caracol road in an early stage of its construction. Initially, the place had some shacks and the 'Pontão do Almeida' (known as Almeida pier) – the structure going into the water. The postcard (Figure 3) has a bilingual caption inscribed in the image, which suggests it was intended to promote tourism. With time, other infrastructures appeared in this location, such as the famous Pavilion, the Tea

⁵ A more recent postcard shows the Polana beach enclosed area that protects the swimmers from shark attacks. The Clube Naval is visible further back. In <https://maputophotoblog.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/lm-bay-oud.jpg>, accessed 15 April 2019.

Salon, and later the Clube Naval, built in 1913. The Polana beach was one of the first attractions in the region for tourists from South Africa. It was a significant city venue particularly for its European residents.⁶

Yet the city's growth was primarily due to the development of the port and the railways. Navigation in the bay was, however, hindered by the silting up of sand, and the passage of ships was only possible through a canal. To enable the development of the port, a series of buoys and lighthouses were placed at the limits of the bay from 1875. The lights of Ponta Vermelha and Catembe and a beacon oriented the ships heading to the harbour.⁷ Initially raised on an iron tripod in 1877, the beacon was replaced by a stone lighthouse in 1892. In Figures 5 and 6, two postcards depict the 'Reuben Point Light' (Farol da Ponta Vermelha). In Figure 5, despite its short stature, the light had a focal plane of 42 meters (138 ft).⁸ Apparently, this first building was altered because at that height its light was confused with the lights of the developing town.⁹

In Figure 6, on the postcard is written 'Light house, Reuben Point, Lourenço Marques'. The copyright of the postcard is attributed to J & M Lazarus, Lourenço Marques. According to A.P. Lima, this was the first 'elegant' stone lighthouse built at Ponta Vermelha. It was 6 meters high and the lighting device made by 'Barbier et Bennard' was kept on all night. Like the Polana beach, the lighthouse at Reuben Point was another ex-libris of the town: a postcard image of Lourenço Marques at Delagoa Bay.

⁶ Among other sources, this annexure consulted the Delagoabayworld.wordpress.com (blog accessed 9 November 2017); the Delagoa Directory; Raymond W. Bixier, 'Anglo-Portuguese Rivalry for Delagoa Bay,' *Journal of Modern History* 6, no.4 (Dec., 1934): 425-440. At <https://doi.org/10.1086/236173>.

⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maputo_Bay. Accessed 18 June 2019.

⁸ The postcards are from the collection of Michel Forand. Images in this section are believed to be in the public domain. The Lighthouse Directory site is copyright 2005 Russ Rowlett and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. www.ibiblio.org/lighthouse/moz.htm. The post is from June 2005, accessed 18 June 2019.

⁹ Alfredo Pereira de Lima, *As Pedras que já não Falam*, 210.



Figure 5. Image from postcard: 'Light house, Reuben Point'.



Figure 6. Image from postcard, 'Lourenço Marques Delagoa Bay'.

Chapter 3 Annexure 2

Lourenço Marques in the South African archive

The photographs in this annexure are from the archive formerly known as the South African Railways and Harbours (SARH) Archive. They give an insight into the city of Lourenço Marques-after 1913. This date is suggested by the presence of the Clube Naval that was built near the Pavilion at the Polana beach (Figure 4) in 1913. The impulse to document and archive by SARH suggests a very close South African interest in the city and its infrastructure, probably in relation to its own infrastructure and economy centred on the former Transvaal, which needed access to both labour (for the mines) and the sea (for export). The selected photographs here are divided into two sections that reference firstly the Polana beach and secondly the main railway station and its relationship to the harbour in Lourenço Marques. The last photograph shows the monument built to commemorate those who died in the First World War, located outside the city's central railway station. In the SARH archive the negatives of the photographs have reference numbers, presented further.

1. Polana beach



Fig 1. Polana beach.



Fig 2. Polana beach.



Fig 3. Polana Beach.



Fig 4. Polana Beach



Fig 5. Polana beach and beach road.

It is easy to understand how the Polana beach becomes a particular subject in this archive, as it was intensely photographed from different angles and aspects. What is presented here are just a few photographs of the exterior of the Pavilion building, its location, and a general view of the place. The picture in Figure 2 shows the Pavilion and the wooden structure of the ‘Almeida Pier’ leading out into the water, used mostly by those fond of fishing. Figure 5 is a panorama of the coastline. The Clube Naval, built in 1913, appears on the bottom right. Further back is the Pavilion and an enclosure intended to protect swimmers. Parts of this structure were still visible in the waters along the coast line road of Maputo in 2019.

2. Transport: railways, harbour and roads



Fig 6. Fishing Harbour.

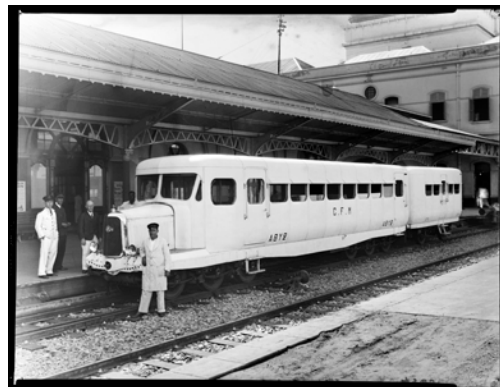


Fig 7. Railway Station.



Fig 8. A View of the City.



Fig 9. First World War Monument.

Figure 6 is a photograph of the fishing harbour, which is a section of the main city harbour. The harbour is the driving force and the centre of the city's growth. Figure 7 is a photograph taken at the railway station in 1930. It depicts 'part of the fun of the old South African Railways (SAR) "Round in Nine" tours', which was a railway ride to explore 'the beauties of Mozambique.'¹⁰ The image in Figure 8 is a panorama showing the harbour and the main railway station. The 'Praça do Trabalhadores' (Worker's Square) has since been erected in front of it. This Square hosts the monument to the unknown soldier of the First World War (visible on the left side of

¹⁰ E. Conradie, *The Iron Road to the Sea*, 32.

the frame), whose battlefield was the region of the Rovuma River (the northern border of the country). Figure 9 is a photograph of the monument itself. The following is inscribed on its surface: ‘Aos combatentes Europeus e Africanos da Primeira Guerra, Portugal’ (transl. ‘To the European and African combatants of the First War, Portugal’). On the monument are also inscribed names of the principal battlefields. M’kula is one of the names visible in the picture.

Reference numbers of the negatives of the photographs in the SARH archive collection:

Fig 1. Ref. 43651. Fig 2. ref. 43649. Fig 3. Ref. 43653. Fig 4. Ref. 43658.

Fig 5. Ref. 43659. Fig 6. Ref. 43637. Fig 7. Ref. 43656. Fig 8. Ref. 43633.

Fig 9. Ref. 43645.

Chapter 3 Annexure 3

Liengme in Mandlakazi: Photographs and Diary

This annexure combines Liengme's photographs with parts of his written diary. In this way, the research intends to share with readers additional archival material that was not inserted in Chapter 3. Many photographs are from the collection titled 'Doctor George Liengme Papers,' held in the archive attached to the Musée des Suisses dans le Monde at Phentes, Genève. The archive contains around fifty uncatalogued glass plate negatives distributed in three boxes. They have small (contact sheet) paper print copies kept in envelopes that have a hand-written text on the surface. The archivists generously allowed me to photograph a number of the prints.

Some additional photographs presented here are from a folder made available to me by a distant family member of Liengme in South Africa. It contains a transcription of the Liengme diary, some transcribed newspaper clippings, diverse correspondence, the author's brief biography, and seventeen black and white 10 x15 cm photographic prints. They all have handwritten text inscribed on the back of the emulsion which have been used as captions for the photographs included here. Originally in French, the text was translated into English for this research. We decided to call it the Family folder.

While there are many subjects to discuss among the photographs (portraits, different activities, warriors), the comments in this annexure will be confined to Liengme's photographs of his journeys, the meeting place in Mandlakazi, the infirmary, and women of different status. The photographs are placed together with parts of the written diary in an attempt to recognize some of the relations between the text and the images – a dialogue already initiated in Chapter 3.

Liengme: a brief introduction

George Liengme was born on 14 March 1859 as the fifth of eight children to a poor family. He lost his father and left school to work at the age of thirteen. When he reached seventeen, he converted to the Romande mission to combat his alcoholic

dependency. The mission supported his medical studies and internships in hospitals in Switzerland and England. In 1882, he married Bertha Ryff, an instructor and medical nurse, and the couple moved to Lourenco Marques where they stayed for one year to learn the local language. In 1883, he and his family (wife and daughter) moved to Mandlakazi where they lived until 1885.

Liengme made three trips to the Gaza capital before he was able to settle there. Introduced to King Ngungunyane by the Portuguese quartermaster, Mr. Judice Breyner, Liengme was invited to build his house not far from the powerful King's village. He, his family, and his crew of porters departed from Magoule on 28 November 1883 and arrived in Mandlakazi on 4 December 1883. The mission station was then built and, with a contribution from the Portuguese quartermaster, medical facilities were arranged. Liengme left Mandlakazi a few days before it was destroyed by the Portuguese expeditionary force. The colonial authorities then expelled the Swiss missionaries from Portuguese territory in 1895.

Liengme's Travels



Figure 1. Stop at Nkomati River. Source: Family folder.¹¹

The photograph in Figure 1 depicts a stop during Liengme's travels along the Nkomati River. In a diary entry of 12 November 1892, Liengme wrote:

Navigation on the Komati River is at present very difficult because the water level is very low. Winter was extraordinary dry because the rain did not come.

¹¹ The caption of the photograph (Figure 1) reads: Antioka. Travelling by small boats from L.M. to Antioka on the Nkomati River, a trip that took three weeks. Photo of camping en route (1890-1892).

There is famine in the whole country. The rainy season is near and it will bring heat, fever, violent winds and storms. Soon it will be what we call here 'winter' though the temperature in our room is often 30 degrees.¹²



Figure 2. Liengme in Hammock. Source: Family folder.

The photograph in Figure 2, was also reproduced from the family folder, and the handwritten text behind the print reads: 'Antioka. Dr. G.L. with his daughter Berthele in a hammock he made in 1893 to carry his wife and his daughter to Gungunhana's place'. Liengme speaks about the hammock in the diary:

I have started to transform a stretcher into a portable hammock, called a machila in the text. It is a narrow lightweight bed used to carry European ladies and men in tropical countries. This is then carried by the indigenous persons. Six to eight men take turns to carry the person. Bertha and Berthelette will undertake the trip to Mandlakazi in such a machila.¹³

Figures 3 and 4 (below) are from the Penthes Archive, which houses the original negatives. The photographs in this collection are not yet catalogued but offer a good

¹² Transcribed version of Liengme's diary, 'Les Dernières Années du Règne du Roi Gungunhana, Selon le Journal et les Lettres du Dr. G.L. Liengme, Médecin-Missionnaire au Mozambique (1891-1895).' From Family folder. In the translated text (26/30) at the end of the quote are the page numbers.

¹³ Transcribed version of Liengme's diary, 'Les Dernières Années du Règne du Roi Gungunhana, Selon le Journal et les Lettres du Dr. G.L. Liengme, Médecin-Missionnaire au Mozambique (1891-1895).' From Family folder. In the translated text (34-38) at the end of the quote are the page numbers.

view of the different aspects of missionary life in Mozambique. Many of their visual descriptions seem to have a direct correspondence with the written descriptions in the diary, particularly those depicting the travels from Lourenço Marques to Mandlakazi. These were authentic expeditions and Liengme speaks about the difficulties of finding enough porters to get the group ready for travel. In his diary, he writes of being informed by his confidant Ouandjissa that ‘my group of porters (consisting of more than 30 men, women, young girls and boys) are sleeping three quarters of an hour away from the mission station. They would arrive the next day.’ The following diary entry describes conditions that can be seen in Figures 3 and 4:

The road was never-ending. On our way all of us said it was not the correct road. We floundered through water for three quarters of an hour. Sometimes the donkeys were up to their chests in the water.¹⁴



Figure 3. Travel in the country.



Figure 4. Travel in the country.¹⁵

Liengme in Mandlakazi

The photograph in Figure 5 (below, also from the Family folder) might have been taken on one of Liengme’s first visits to Mandlakazi. According to the information attached to the picture, Breyner is seated with Ngungunyane and counselors under the shade of a tree, probably the space called *Houvo*: the ‘big area’ where the business of

¹⁴ Diary entry, early 1892.

¹⁵ Both photographs Figure 3 and 4 are from Penthes Archive.

the Kingdom was discussed, judicial cases heard, and people received by the King.¹⁶ In his diary, Liengme recalls:

Since our first encounter I asked the steward (Mr. Breyner) to introduce me [15/19]¹⁷ to Gungunhana. The following day he had to go to the chief to discuss important business.



Figure 5. 'Mandlakazi, photo taken by Dr. G.L. The King Gungunhana chairing his court of justice in the presence of Dr. G.L. and Breyner, early 1892.'¹⁸

The image suggests a certain spontaneity in the taking of the photograph since, although aware of the camera, the people were apparently photographed quite normally as they were seated, and no particular spatial arrangement or even poses were requested by the photographer. In the shade, they appear more as silhouettes against the surrounding bright sunlight. On the back of the print is handwritten: 'Mandlakazi, photo by George Liengme. The King Gungunhana chairing his court of

¹⁶ See Chapter 3.

¹⁷ Note of the translator from the French manuscript: 'This page is following on page 18, but has the number 15 (typed). From here on the pages will carry the typed number as well as the handwritten number. (This page is therefore numbered 15/19.)'

¹⁸ Source: Family folder.

justice in the presence of the notables and Mr. Breyner, the Portuguese secretary, early 1892'. The same photograph features in the book by Adolphe Linder, *Os Suiços em Moçambique*. In this publication, however, it has a different caption: 'Dr. George Liengme with Gungunyane, his uncles and counselors.'¹⁹

The image Figure 5 is a very distinctive photographic moment, compared with Figure 11 discussed in Chapter 3 (a photograph from a different archive). It also depicts Ngungunyane, but he is in a meeting with a different Portuguese representative, Mr. Almeida. The photographer was Etelvino Mezzena, a Portuguese official involved in the official border demarcation. The photographic moment was neither spontaneous nor incidental and resulted in a more elaborate image. The two subjects in the image evidently followed instructions given by the photographer. For example, chairs were moved from the shade to the sun for a better exposure.

In the Figure 11 of Chapter 3, the men are seated facing the camera and not each other, which is meaningful. In the picture with the Portuguese representative Mr. Almeida, Ngungunyane holds his stick with one hand. He might have been asked to wear the coat given to him by the King of Portugal. He had been given a Portuguese military rank, which came with its respective ceremonial coat and badges, symbols of African submission to the King of Portugal. Ngungunyane had agreed to maintain a relationship already assumed by his father, who had received military support enabling him to assume power during earlier succession disputes. Long before his capture in Chaimite, Ngungunyane was already challenged, subjected to the photographer's will, and ultimately arrested by that final photograph taken in Mandlakazi.

The Infirmary at Mandlakazi

The infirmary at Mandlakazi is also referenced in both Liengme's diary and the photographs. To be in the heart of the Gaza Empire was a strategic move. Here, according to Liengme, medical assistance would attract many people who would then

¹⁹ Adolphe Linder, *Os Suiços em Moçambique* (Cape Town: Estudos 17. Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, 2001), 126. The caption indicates the source of the photograph, *Tempo*, 3.9.1978. It is not clear if it refers to the *Tempo* magazine published in Lourenço Marques/Maputo, and the date of that publication is unclear.

to be introduced to God. Liengme was kept busy with a wide variety of patients and often saw up to thirty people a day.



Figure 6. ‘The infirmary at Mandlakazi: standing: Paulus (whose original name was Quandjissa) Dr. G.L.’s nurse 1892 – 1895’.²⁰

Like the other photographs in the Family folder, the caption for the photograph (Figure 6) is written on the back of the print. Similar photographs can be found in Liengme’s collection in Switzerland. It looks as if the camera was placed in front of the infirmary. In Figure 7, Paulus is standing with another man in front of him, both looking at the camera.

²⁰ Source: family folder.



Figure 7. The infirmary at Mandlakazi



Figure 8. Liengme at the infirmary in Mandlakazi.²¹

Both photographs Figures 7 and 8 were taken almost from the same point of view and angle. The shadows on the ground suggest the same occasion. In Figure 8, however, it is not Paulus in the picture but Liengme himself, seated behind a kind of small table, attending to a patient while others seated on the floor around are probably waiting

²¹ Both pictures Figures 7 and 8 are from Penthes Archive.

their turn to be seen by the doctor. Since the African assistant Paulus is not in the picture, it is possibly him behind the camera. Liengme in fact comments on his relationship with the practice of photography in Mandlakazi:

At certain times I had very eccentric groups around me: Chiefs, subjects, the very old, Bangonis, Batchopis, Bathongas. If only I could discreetly take photos of the people here without them noticing, I would have been able to capture them in a much more natural pose. The preparations and the time it takes between photos spoil the natural pose of the subjects.

The collection has other photographs of the medical work, such as one in which Paulus is extracting a patient's tooth.

Women in Mandlakazi

Women were one of Liengme's most photographed subjects. the following two photographs depict the different social status of women in Gaza. On the left is a picture of a slave, perhaps a Chopi woman.²² The photograph in Figure 9 has written on the envelope: 'Slave and her child' (my translation from French). An entry in Liengme diary reads:

Thursday, 20 [precise month and year not given, ca 1892-95]

The king has given several young girls and [82/86] boys to the Portuguese quartermaster. He even gave a servant to Mr. Breyner as a gift. This man, who actually had the status of a slave, acted as an interpreter between the Portuguese and the king.²³ This gift included a woman and two of her children. They have just been captured. The father and the husband escaped death because Gungunhana had mercy on them. He was satisfied to take away the wife, children and all their possessions. The normal situation is as follows: when the Portuguese employee comes to the king's place with his 'heads'

²² See Chapter 3 for a commentary on the particular targeting of Chopi groups by raiding parties from Gaza.

²³ Working from the family folder, the translator's note reads, 'it seems as if something is missing here between the previous sentence and the one following it'.

(slaves) the father would run after them calling out: ‘Take good care of them. I am going to the mines to earn money. I will buy them back’.²⁴



Fig 9. Slave woman and her child.²⁵



Fig 10. Liengme with king’s nominal mother.²⁶

But some women from the Gaza aristocracy had a strong influence and were consulted in many political affairs of the Kingdom. Such was the mother of the king, called Yoziyo. When she died in 1887, she was replaced by another woman called Impiumbekazane. She is featured in Figure 10 with Liengme. On the reverse side of the print is written: ‘Dr. George-Louis Liengme, medical missionary with the King Gungunhana’s “nominal mother”. Mandlakazi 1894.’ Impiumbekazane is a very controversial personage in the history of the empire. Seen as responsible for the lack of rain, she was accused of betrayal and killed in 1897 by warriors who continued to resist Portuguese domination after the defeat of the king.²⁷ Regarding another prominent Gaza aristocratic woman, Liengme wrote:

She was only a woman. She had no men over whom she ruled. She was simply Gungunhana’s sister. The king placed her here so that she could select a

²⁴ Note that the numbers in brackets in the quote are inserted in the translated text and referred to the page numbers of the original French transcription.

²⁵ Photograph from Penthes Archive.

²⁶ Photograph from the Family folder.

²⁷ See Liesegang, *Ngungunyane*, 43.

husband that she desires ... etc.’ This was not really encouraging because I thought Mogowehia was an outstanding female chief with great authority. What I learned showed me that I was wrong... Mogowehia’s village consisted of three huts. It was surrounded according to Zulu tradition, with a strong fence made of dry branches. There was only one narrow entrance. Near the entrance to the village in the shade of a tree was an African antechamber; that means a place where one sits before being introduced. It is there that men normally just sit, doing nothing. Once arrived, we sat in this completely deserted place.

The preliminary discussions took place near the fire. Business was discussed in the hut. My men received a small basket filled with peanuts. I received a pineapple and a dish of broad beans prepared in the local style. From my side I paid respect to the head woman by giving her four very colourful padded cloths, the size of a big handkerchief. What we learned on our way about her status was true. Mogowehia hardly ruled as a chief. She was Gungunhana’s sister and she was without a doubt placed among the other chiefs to watch them and to send news of their activities to her noble brother. She has the right to choose and to call to her the chiefs that surround her. She would sometimes have one chief who serves as a husband and at other times she would choose a husband from several whom she called to live in her village. It is without a doubt the surest way to be informed of all that is going on. [42/46]²⁸

Liengme’s travels

Once settled with his family in Mandlakazi, Liengme made trips to Lourenço Marques as the tensions between the colonial and African powers rose. One particular voyage has a visual correspondence. One diary entry reads: The trip of ‘G.L. to L.M. via Antioka and a return trip via Inhambane, 12 June to beginning of July 1895.’²⁹ The missionary was to meet António Ennes, the Portuguese Royal Commissioner (Comissário Régio) of Mozambique and make himself available to mediate the

²⁸ ‘Les Dernières Années du Règne do Roi Gungunhana’ (The Last Years of King Gungunhana’s Reign) is the title of the G. Liengme diary in the family folder. Inserted in brackets are the page numbers of the French transcription.

²⁹ The original text is partially underlined as it is in the translated text.

conflict between Ngungunyane and the colonial state. The meeting was not very successful, and his collaboration was refused. Liengme failed to convince Ennes who offered him and his companions tickets on the ship to Inhambane from where they reach Mandlakazi by land. These journeys are vividly described in the diary and have corresponding visuals:

Dr. Liengme's diary 6 July, 1895

The few days spent in L.M. were very busy. I hardly spent time with our friends. A change in our return itinerary also complicated things. I have planned to cross the Nkomati at Marakwène, to see Mahazoule to cross the Limpopo at Inhampowa and from there it would have taken me two days to get back to Mandlakazi with my entire group. This trip would have taken 10 days. The royal commissioner discreetly insisted that I return via Inhambane. He offered me tickets for all members of my group. It was necessary to leave. The steamer left us no time to make other arrangements. The idea of taking the steamer, the trip by boat, that in itself made me nauseous. My men Miguet and Chigwada in the meanwhile were very happy to see a steamer and to go back by boat. The steamer's name was Inanda and we would spend two nights on it. It was too much. This would mean we would only arrive at Inhambane on Thursday, the 27th of June. And so it happened that we had left L.M. on the Tuesday morning. This was wasted time but I consoled myself when I learnt that Mr. d'Almeida was still in town...

The photographs in Figure 11 and 12 are from the Liengme collection in the Penthes archive. They were taken on board the ship that transported Liengme and his companions from Lourenço Marques to Inhambane, from where they reached Mandlakazi by land. Yet, the meeting with the Ennes was not very successful, and the mistrust towards the missionary's influence over the local population grew. Expelled from Mozambique by the Portuguese colonial authorities, Liengme, his family, and some of their close African collaborators moved to the Transvaal and established a medical post in Shilovane, where they also assisted many soldiers and people affected by the South African War (1899-1902). The wagons in the photographs show a

company name (perhaps Bryant, though it is difficult to tell) on the canvas and appear to come from Johannesburg.



Fig 11. Sea travel from L. Marques to Inhambane.³⁰ Fig 12. Sea travel to Inhambane.³¹



Fig 13. 'Great trek.'³²

Fig 14. Arrival at Shilovane.³³

³⁰ Source: Penthes Archive.

³¹ Source: Family folder.

³² Source: Penthes Archive.

³³ Source: Family folder. The caption reads: "The great trek". 'Pretoria to Shilovani. (Arrival at Shilovane). Ms B. Liengme-Ryff standing next to the wagon 1896.'

This visual and textual narratives are in fact a testimony of the last days of the Gaza empire. Liengme left Mandlakazi a few days before it was burned down by the Portuguese forces. Soon after, Ngungunyane was arrested in Chaimite, judged in Lourenço Marques, and deported to the Azores. In one of the numerous clipping attached to the Family folder, it is said that Ngungunyane testified in favour of Liengme:

Mid-January 1896. The missionary P. Loze's account.

Gungunhana's deposition in favour of Dr. Liengme (French-speaking mission bulletin, vol. IX, p 53): The chief had especially been asked about the nature of the relations he had with Dogodela (Dr. G.L.). Did the latter not push him to revolt? Why did he flee with Gungunhana's wives? Didn't he sell arms and ammunition to him?

To this Gungunhana replied: 'He came to teach me to pray and to treat my people who were ill; he did not flee with my wives but has sent his wife and his sick child to Khocène; finally, he had never sold anything but cloth. Why,' he added 'would I accuse an innocent person? The one who dragged me into this unfortunate business is Nouamantibyane and nobody else.³⁴ I am a man and an Ngoni and if I must die I die alone. I don't need another man to be killed with me.'³⁵

³⁴ Nouamantibyane or Nwamantibyana (according to Liesegang), also called Mantibejana (Portuguese spelling), was one of the rebellious chiefs who took refuge and was protected by Ngugunyane, and ended up going with him into exile.

³⁵ Clipping from the Family folder, 171.

Chapter 5 Annexure 1

Ilustração Portuguesa, 1914 -1918

This annexure shares pages from one of the most active illustrated newspapers to provided Portuguese audiences with images of the war in Portugal as well as from other European and African battlefields. The selected pages reflect events directly connected with Mozambique during the First World War. They are organized in sections according to the events they report. Initially, the presentation follows the chronology provided by Chapter 5 and provides more information with the intention to bring further evidence to the analysis of photographs in that chapter.

Portugal enters the war



Figure 1. Image above: the manoeuvres at Tancos; image below: seizure of German ships in Lourenço Marques harbour.³⁶

³⁶ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 10 July 1916.

In Figure 1, the top photograph reports on the ‘Manobra de Tancos’. The lower image depicts the Kronprinz and Admiral, which were the two most important German ships apprehended in Lourenço Marques. The entire process of seizure was not peaceful, many vessels were sabotaged by the removal of crucial engine pieces. In Lisbon, an entire Portuguese crew who occupied one of the ships died apparently from food poisoning. The caption in the photograph above reports that the very complicated missing piece in the Admiral’s engine was fixed by virtue of the CFM (Mozambique Railways Company) workshop, and that the ship was ready for work.

The mobilization of private means of transport to serve the army



Figure 2. Newspaper page reporting on the process of mobilizing private resources.³⁷

³⁷ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 15 May 1916.

A REQUISIÇÃO DE ANIMAES

A entrega dos animais requisitados aos particulares, mediante os preços de uma avaliação escrupulosa, para os serviços do exercito, tem-se feito sem o menor obstaculo. Quem possuia umas modestas muaras para tiro de carroças cedeu as que lhe requisitaram, com a mesma conformação

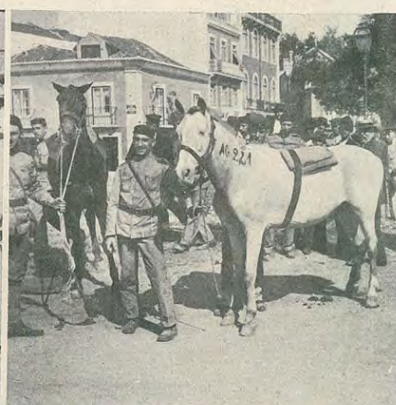


O gado requisitado, junto á praça do Campo Pequeno, esperando a ocasião de ser entregue

nhoras gentis, ou caracolando sob os calções d'um «sportsman» consagrado, do que vê de cabeça erguida, bem alimentadas e mordendo o freio espumantes, adiante das suas carretas, umas pobres mulas que uma semana antes puxavam vagarosas e cabisbaixas uma carroça de carga



Identificando um cavalo



Solpede já entregue e numerado

que mostraram os capitalistas, ao levarem-lhes as suas soberbas parellhas, e os nossos cavaleiros ao despedirem-se dos seus corceis mais garbosos. E não é menos curioso reconhecer-se agora, ajaezados para a guerra e com as ventas fumegantes como se já respirassem o fumo



Um aspecto da entrega do gado em Belem — (Cliché Benolle).

ainda mais ordinaria do que elas.

Mas o mais curioso será vêr os animais que voltam ileso para a posse dos seus donos e, se depois de se terem afeito á mais horrorosa carnificina que se desencadeou sobre a terra, tomando n'ela uma parte certamente vitoriosa, ainda se sujeitam a vir puchar

estimulante da polvora, esses belos e dóceis cavalos ha pouco atrelados a um trem de luxo, cheio de se-

chorrentemente: uns, um «landau» de luxo, outros, uma carroça de entulho!

Figure 3. The mobilization of private assets in Lisbon.³⁸

The two pages above report on the mobilization of private cars and animals in Lisbon. It states that the owners, owners, whether prosperous capitalists or ordinary citizens, equally resigned their belongings selected for army service. Their compensation

³⁸ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 2 October 1916.

followed a meticulous inspection. As mentioned in the chapter, during the war Portuguese society passed through a very difficult period characterized by political instability, poverty and increased state repression. The economy was directed to assist militarization and industry with the involvement of the entire society. This newspaper further reports accidents in factories and other production sites that also caused a great number of human losses, in Portugal, England and the United States of America. The page below is interesting because it illustrates different aspects of the Portuguese population's intervention in the war. One photograph depicts women transporting grenades destined for France to the vessel. The other photograph depicts the interior of a Portuguese factory workshop.



Figure 4. 'The Portuguese effort'.³⁹

³⁹ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 27 August, 1917.

The page in Figure 4 is a depiction of how the entire society was involved in the war. It is also a reminder that the war caused losses even far from the battlefields.

Departure of military expeditions from Lisbon to the battlefields



Figure 5. Front page of the newspaper. The caption of the photograph is: ‘Embarkation of another Portuguese expedition to Africa.’⁴⁰

⁴⁰ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 6 June 1916.



Figure 6. Departure, troops to Mozambique. Mozambique.



Figure 7. Departure, troops to Mozambique.



Figure 8. Departure. Troops to Mozambique.⁴¹



Figure 9. Departure. Troops to Mozambique.⁴²

⁴¹ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 5 March 1917.

⁴² *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 9 April 1917.

Some of the photographs published in the newspaper *Ilustração Portuguesa* can also be found in the collections of Lisbon's Historical Military Archive.



Figure 10. Expeditionary march through the streets of Lisbon, heading to the harbour for embarkation.⁴³



Figure 11. Expeditionary soldiers embarking.⁴⁴

⁴³ PT AHM-FE-110-B7-PQ-10.47.

⁴⁴ PT AHM-FE-110-B7-PQ-10.50.



Figure 12. Embarkation. A view from inside the ship.⁴⁵

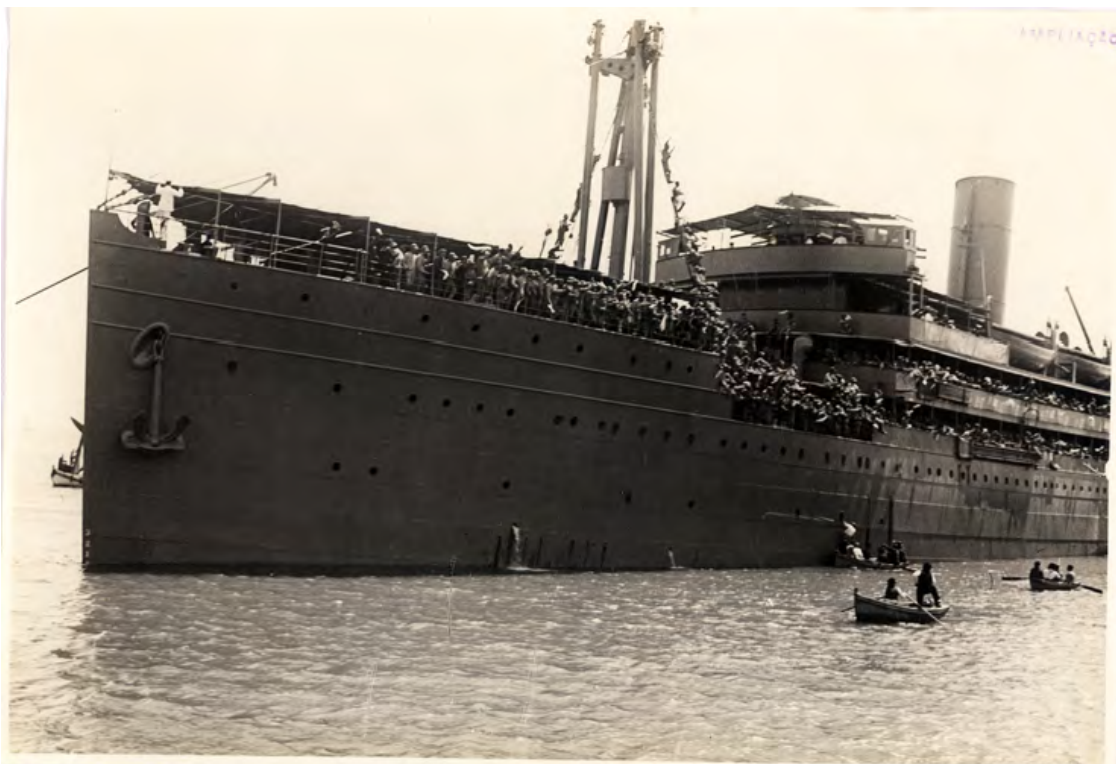


Figure 13. Departure of an expeditionary force.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ PT AHM-FE-110-B7-PQ-10.51.

⁴⁶ PT AHM-FE-110-B7-PQ-10.26.

The pages of the illustrated newspaper and the photographs in the military archive report on the various departures of the Portuguese expeditions. From the different recruitment posts, the troops were brought to Lisbon and embarked on ships. The soldiers marched through the streets of the city to the harbour called Caes d'Areia, which was the departure point of ships to France, Angola and Mozambique. From the photographs, it is possible to relate the images to the conditions of travel discussed in Chapter 5.

Portugal in the War



Fig 14. 'Portuguese expedition to East Africa.'⁴⁷



Fig 15. Headquarters in Porto Amélia.

The above pages of the newspaper give the first impressions of Africa to the Portuguese audience. The first and the second expeditions landed in Porto Amélia (today Pemba), where the military headquarters were initially installed in

⁴⁷ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 12 July 1915.

Mozambique in 1914-5. Portugal was not at war but moved to protect their African northern border against potential German invasion.



Figure 16. Page title: 'Portugal at War'.⁴⁸

In Figure 16, the text comments on the Kionga victory, and accuses the Germans of having taken the bay for 'all sorts of contraband', including guns and gunpowder to Tanganyika.⁴⁹ The top photograph on the page is a portrait of the commander of the second expedition, Lieutenant-Coronel Moura Mendes. In the photograph at the

⁴⁸ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 24 April 1916.

⁴⁹ Kionga was the earlier way of spelling the name of the place. It is only used in this annexure for consistency with the pages of the newspaper. The thesis adopts the actual spelling, Quionga.

bottom, the caption identifies the group of Africans seated on the foreground as ‘the sepoys attached to the expedition’. They seem to be very young, probably not yet of military age. It says the photograph was taken by a distinct amateur, Mr. Carlos Vilhena.

The pages of the newspaper presented below refer to the first Portuguese military offensive after the declaration of war. The recovery of Kionga was celebrated in more than one edition of this illustrated newspaper. Visually rich, the reports from Kionga were illustrated by photographs of the reoccupation, showing the presence of Portuguese soldiers in different moments of their lives in the place.



Figure 17. Page title: ‘The Portuguese in Kionga’.

In Figure 17 the top photograph on the page depicts the commander Moura Mendes in his Porto Amélia's office. The bottom photograph depicts the German administration building in Kionga. In front of the building there is the tent where the Portuguese governor stayed while visiting the village.

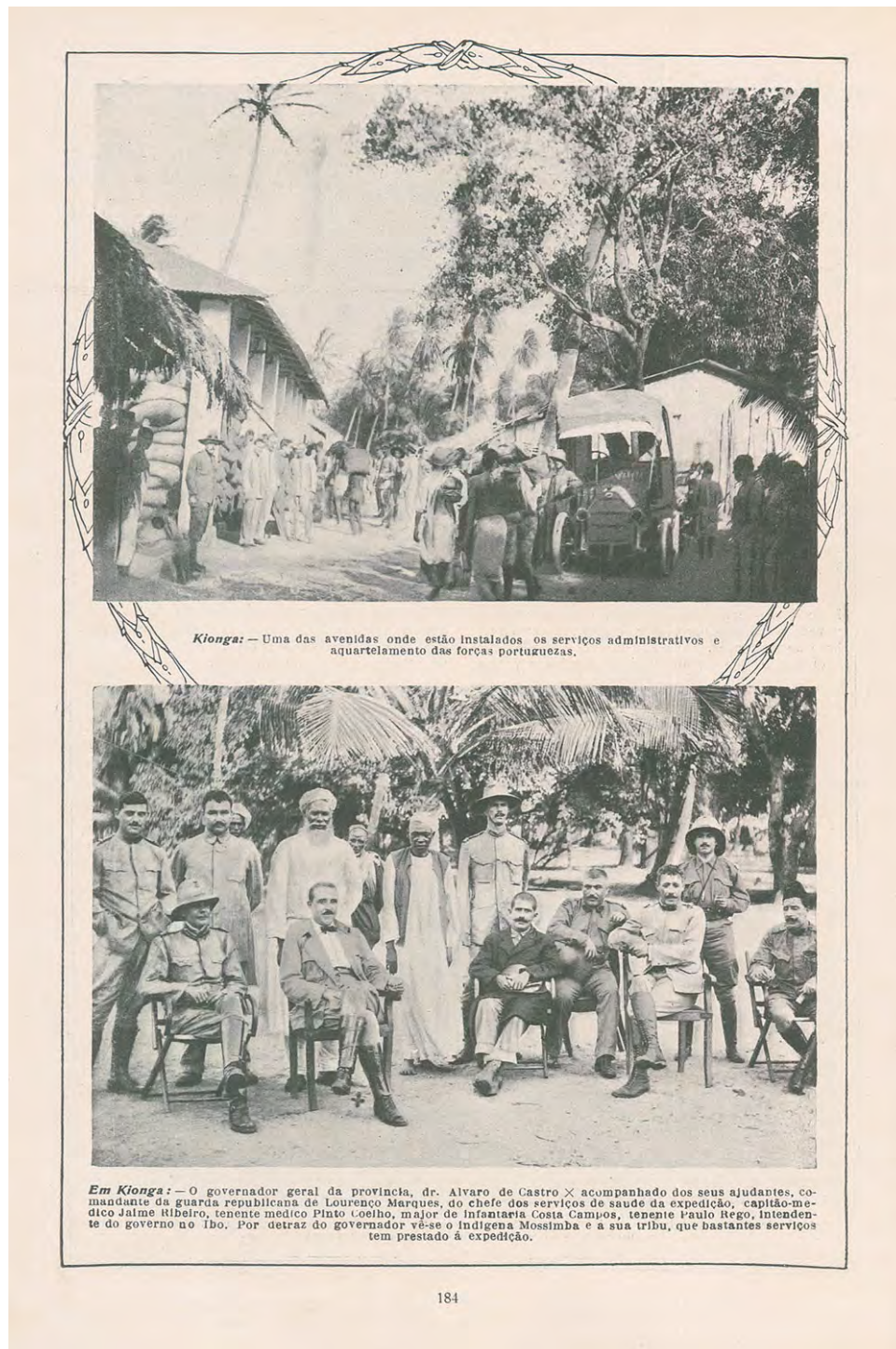


Figure 18. Newspaper page with images from Kionga.

In Figure 18, which shows a page with two photographs from Kionga, the upper image depicts an avenue where the Portuguese administration and headquarters were installed. The lower photograph depicts the Portuguese governor, his personnel and the local authorities that ‘much helped the expedition’.⁵⁰ It is as if the photographer was there to cover the visit of the Governor General of the Province, Mr. Castro.



Figure 19. Page title: ‘Portugal in War’.⁵¹

⁵⁰ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 4 September 1916.

⁵¹ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 18 December 1916.

In the upper photograph of Figure 19, the commander of the third expedition to Mozambique General Gilberto Gil is depicted inside a trench, accompanied by his staff and the African sepoy translator, walking behind him in the picture. The caption of the photograph at the bottom states that the general and his staff are on a raft to cross the river. The reportage say that Portugal continues the combat against the Germans in East Africa. As a result of the cowardly fighting strategies of the enemy, the combat did not always favour Portuguese arms whose triumphs were, apparently, already enough to compensate any occurring disaster.



Figure 20. Newspaper page where the producer of many well-known photographs of the war, André Moura, also appears.

As promised in Chapter 5, Figure 20 features André Moura's photographs and a portrait of the photographer himself close to his campaign telegraphic station. The

terrible news of the loss of their son to a devastated family, but they were ‘comforted’ by the idea that ‘the valiant young man did nothing more than fulfil his duty.’ A photograph of Jorge de Sousa Gorgulho, pilot of the airplane that crashed in Mozambique, features in the page on Figure 23.



Fig 24. ‘The Portuguese effort in Africa’.⁵⁵



Fig 25. ‘Our effort in Africa’.⁵⁶

In Figure 24, the newspaper dedicates the page to the indigenous soldiers, praised for being on the side of the Portuguese soldiers and for their exceptional warrior abilities and environmental endurance. The page is illustrated with three photographs. The top is a picture of soldiers on parade in Palma, which seems to be an indigenous company. The second image is the controversial photograph (discussed in Chapter 5). The bottom image is a photograph of a trench near the Rovuma River with soldiers at ease.

⁵⁵ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 3 December 1917.

⁵⁶ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 6 May 1918.

In Figures 26 the photographs depict soldiers that seem to be having a very easy war. The images however are from the convalescent military facilities in the district of Lourenço Marques: one in Goba, located on the hills at the border with South Africa, and the other in Xefina Island. Both locations were considered climacterically adequate for the fast recovery of wounded and sick soldiers.



Fig 26. Page header: 'Our war in Africa'.⁵⁷



Fig 27. Page header: 'In East Africa'.⁵⁸

In Figure 27 the photographs depict soldiers stationed on the banks of Lake Niassa. The conditions in the image contrast with the devastating descriptions in the monographs written by participant soldiers. One of the photographs (top right) is a different portrait of the author of the photographs, Mr. Faro, this time presented as 2nd Sergeant of Infantry. The text reports that Portuguese Army were succeeding and gradually pacifying the natives who rebelled against Portuguese sovereignty, such as the revolt started by Bárúean leaders in 1917 (see Chapter 4). The text states that the submission of tribes who could be efficiently exploited was important as they 'render

⁵⁷ *Ilustração Portuguesa* 28 January 1918.

⁵⁸ *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 16 September 1918.

great services of considerable usefulness, proven in numerous battles in which the indigenous troops have been outstanding.’

Chapter 5 Annexure 2

André Moura's photographs

This Annexure puts together the photographs signed by André Moura, a telegraphist of the Portuguese army, sent to Mozambique with the third military expedition in 1916. Despite being an amateur photographer, the quality of his photographs and his preoccupation with the insertion of metadata reveals a professional practice. That is perhaps why his photographs were reproduced several times in different contexts and formats. Some of his photographs as well as a portrait of him feature in an edition of the *Ilustração Portuguesa*, the weekly illustrated Portuguese newspaper, an important source for this thesis.⁵⁹ This Annexure is organized into two sections: the first presents the small prints kept in albums. The second section presents the prints mounted on different cardboards. All the photographs presented in this Annexure are from the Military Historical Archive in Lisbon (the AHM).

Section 1

The first three photographs of this Annexure depict an economy of war. On the left in Figure 1, a well-built structure serves as depot and storeroom for supplies. It is possible to see two Portuguese soldiers, who seem to be in control of access. On the right side of the image, the façade of a smaller building can be seen, as well as ordinary huts. There are Africans seated along the wall, or walking. What is striking in the image is the fact that the African men keep a distance from the storeroom. Most of the photographs have hand-written inscriptions on their surface indicating the name of the photographer, the year the photograph was taken, and the place. They are the original captions of the photographs, transcribed and translated by the author of this thesis. The figures below show the original captions, which I have transcribed and translated.

⁵⁹ See Chapter 5 Annexure number 1 on *Ilustração Portuguesa*.



Figure 1. 'Kionga A Moura Exp 1915 Deposito de generos.' (Kionga A Moura Exp 1915 Supply depot.) PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.11.⁶⁰

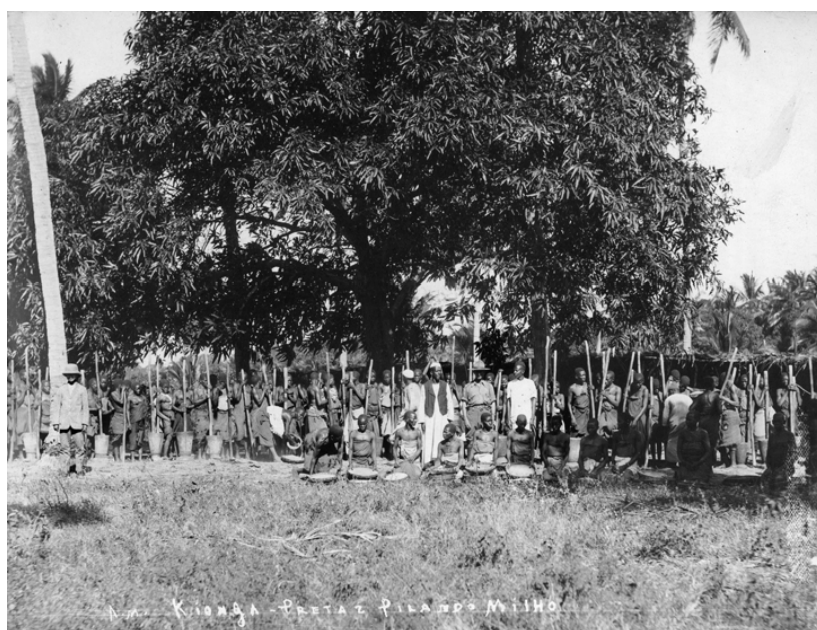


Figure 2. 'A Moura Kionga - Pretas Pilando Milho' (A Moura Kionga - black women grinding maize). PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.14.

In Figure 2, rows of black women with their large pestles and grain baskets are organized for the photograph. A few men, who stand among them, seem to be in charge of the women and what they are doing. It is in fact the 'factory' that prepared

⁶⁰ This photograph was also published in Aniceto e Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*, 428.

pounded maize meal for the soldiers. Diverted from their own activities to serve the war, this implies that the war affected not only those directly involved (such as the soldiers) but also the much broader society. Many denounced the hunger and even famine in several parts of the continent when food production was required to feed Europe.

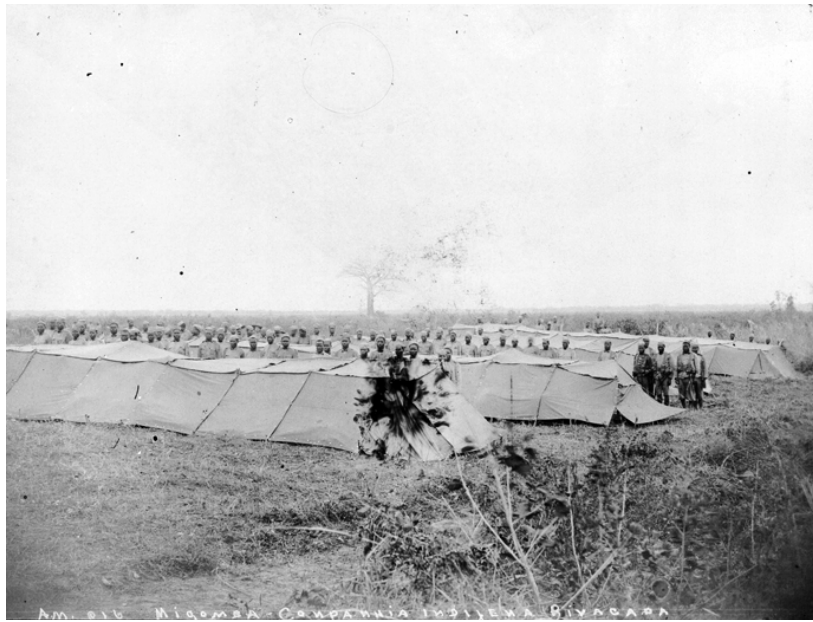


Figure 3. 'AM. 016 Migomba - Companhia Indigena Bivacada.' (AM. 016 Migomba - Indigenous Company bivouac.) PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.13.



Figure 4. 'A Moura 1916 Porto Amelia.' PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.6.



Figure 5. Detail of the image in Figure 4.

The image (Figure 4) on the sea is the full photograph as it appears in print. Porto Amélia is the capital city harbour of the northern district of Cabo Delgado, the initial base of operations where the Portuguese adopted a defensive position. The next image (Figure 5) zooms in to highlight a detail that resonates with how the transport across water was done: engine boats pulling loaded rafts. The base moved to Palma when the army began its offensive operation.



Figure 6. 'AM Palma – Como Se faz a Descarga 1916.' (AM Palma – how disembarkation is done'.) PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.7.



Figure 7. Cropped detail from Figure 6: ‘AM Palma – Como se faz a descarga 1916.’

Palma was the place near the mouth of the Rovuma River where the Portuguese mounted the headquarters for the offensive phase of the field operation. In the next image (Figure 7), a detail of the image in Figure 6 is presented in landscape form. It is an interesting detail that might show how the wooden parts used to build the bridge across the Rovuma River were unloaded. This bridge enabled the expedition to cross on 18 November 1916.⁶¹



Figure 8. ‘Abastecimento de carne. A Moura East Alemão German Portuguese Expedition 1916’. (Meat supply. A Moura East German Portuguese Expedition 1916.) PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.15.

⁶¹ This photograph was also published in Arrifes, *A Primeira Grande Guerra na Africa Portuguesa*, 313.



Figure 9. 'A Moura Namoto 1916'. The kind of activity here can be identified by the inscription on the plaque hanging on the trunk to the left. It says 'Matadouro' (abattoir). PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.18.



Figure 10. Caption dispute (see comments below). PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.17.

The photograph (Figure 10) is controversial. In one source its caption reads: ‘Column of Portuguese troops in the north of Mozambique’.⁶² In another, the caption of the same photograph says: ‘Aspects of the roads and trucks in Angola’.⁶³

Section 2

The purpose of this section is to suggest how some photographs of A. Moura might have been selected for exhibition. On many prints, the hand-written inscription on the cardboard (passepartout) reads: *Operações de Guerra das Forças Portuguesas contra a Africa Oriental Alemã* (War Operations of the Portuguese Forces against German East Africa). On the stamp below (on the left of the passpartout) it states: *Museu Português da Grande Guerra* (Portuguese Museum of the Great War).

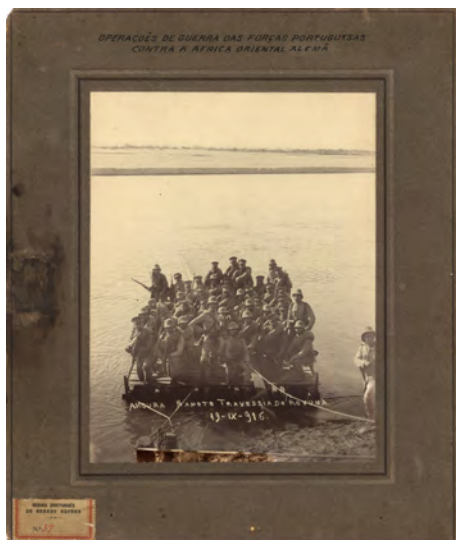


Figure 11. PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.8



Figure 12. PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.9

⁶² Aniceto and Gomes, *Portugal e a Grande Guerra*, 147. ‘Coluna de tropas portuguesas no norte de Mozambique. (AHM)’.

⁶³ Arrifes, *A Primeira Guerra Mundial na África Portuguesa*, 313. The caption reads: ‘Aspecto das estradas e camiões em Angola.’



Figure 13. PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.11



Figure 14. PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.6



Figure 15. PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.7



Figure 16. PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.12



Figure 17. PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.13



Figure 18. PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.14



Figure 19. PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.15



Figure 20. PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.17



Figure 21. PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.18



Figure 22. PT AHM-FE-110-C7-PQ-9.18



Figure 23. PT AHM-FE-110-B7-GR-1.5



Figure 24. PT AHM-FE-110-B7-GR-1.3



Figure 25. PT AHM-FE-110-B7-GR-1.10



Figure 26. PT AHM-FE-110-B7-GR-1.1

The last four pictures (Figures 23-26) have a slightly different presentation. Printed in a bigger size (about 10x15cm) in comparison to the prints in the albums, they seem to be working copies mounted on black cardboard. That is how they appear in the collection at the Military Historical Archive. As the discussion demonstrates, many of these photographs feature in publications and are perhaps the most widely circulated photographs of the Portuguese Army in Mozambique during the First World War.

Bibliography

Archives and Libraries consulted:

Archive at *Musée des Swiss dans le monde*. Chateau du Penthes, Switzerland.

Arquivo Científico Tropical, Digital Repository (ACTD)

Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique (AHM)

Arquivo Histórico Militar de Lisboa (AHM-Lisboa)

Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU)

Cape Town National Archive

Emeroteca de Lisboa

Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP)

National Archives of Zimbabwe

University of Cape Town Library

University of the Western Cape Library

University of Bayreuth Library

Johannesburg Library

Pretoria Library

Yussuf Adam's Library (Mozambique)

Torre do Tombo Lisbon

Books, book chapters and journal articles:

Abecassis et al., Fernando. *A Grande Guerra Em Moçambique*. Lisboa: Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 2014. PDF e-book.

Afonso, Aniceto, e Carlos Matos Gomes. *Portugal e a Grande Guerra: 1914-1918*. Vila do Conde: Verso da História, 2010.

Africa Through Western Eyes. Part 4: Papers of Sir John Kirk (1832-1922) from the National Library of Scotland. 2006. London, England: Adam Mathew Publications Ltd and National Library of Scotland, 2006.

Alexandre, Valentim, and Jill R. Dias. 'A Questão Colonial no Portugal Oitocentista.' In *O Império Africano: 1825-1890*, 115-126. Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1998.

- Alexandre, Valentim. *O Império Africano sec XIX e XIX*. Lisboa: Edições Colibri. Instituto de História Contemporânea da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2008.
- Antunes, José Freire. *A Guerra de África (1961 -1974)* Vol 1. Lisbon: Círculo De Leitores, 1995.
- Arrifes, Marco F. *A Primeira Guerra Mundial na África Portuguesa: Angola e Moçambique (1914-1918)*. Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, Instituto de Defesa Nacional, 2004.
- Axelson, Eric, *Portugal and the Scramble for Africa (1875-1891)*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1967.
- Batchen, Geoffrey. *Each Wild Idea: Writing, Photography, History*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002.
- Belting, Hans. *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*. Translated by Thomas Dunlap. 2011.
- Benjamin, Andrew, editor. *Walter Benjamin and History*. London: A&C Black, 2005.
- Benjamin, Walter. "Brief History of Photography." In *One-Way Street and Other Writings*, 172-192. London: Penguin UK, 2009.
- Bernardo, Manuel A. *Marcello e Spínola: A Ruptura; As Forças Armadas e a Imprensa na Queda do Estado Novo; 1973-1974*, 3rd ed. Lisboa: Edições Margem, 1994.
- Bessa, Carlos. *O combate de Muíte; aspectos relacionados com a participação portuguesa na guerra de 1914-18 em Moçambique*. Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1936.
- Birmingham, David. *Frontline nationalism in Angola & Mozambique*. London: James Currey, 1992.
- Botelho, José J. *História Militar e Política dos Portugueses em Moçambique*. Lisboa: Centro Tipográfico Colonial, 1934.
- Botelho, Sebastião Xavier. *Memória Estatística dos Portugueses na África Oriental*. Lisboa: Typografia de José Batista Morando, 1835.
- Braga-Pinto, César, and Fátima Mendonça. *João Albasini e as luzes de Nwanzengele: Jornalismo e Política em Moçambique*. Lisboa: Alcance Editores, 2012.
- Cabrera, Ana, editor. *Jornais, Jornalistas e Jornalismo: séculos XIX-XX*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 2012.
- Caetano, Marcello. *As Campanhas de Moçambique em 1895, segundo os contemporâneos*. Lisboa: Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, Agência Geral das Colónias, 1947.
- Capela, José. *O Escravismo Colonial em Moçambique*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1993.
- Capela, José. *Donas, Senhores e Escravos*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1995.

- Capela, José. *Moçambique Pela Sua História*. Famalicão: Edições Húmus, Lda, 2010.
- Carrilho, Maria. *Forças armadas e mudança política em Portugal no séc. XX: para uma explicação sociológica do papel dos militares*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1985.
- Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.
- Coelho, João P. *O Olho de Hertzog*. Mozambique: Grupo Leya Editora, 2010.
- Conceição, António Rafael da, *Entre o Mar e a Terra. Situações Identitárias do Norte de Moçambique (Cabo Delgado)*. Maputo: Prómedia. 2006.
- Conradie, Eric. *The iron road to the sea: Pretoria - Maputo, one hundred years*. Johannesburg: Transnet Heritage Foundation, 1995.
- Coutinho, João de Azevedo. *A Campanha dDo Barué eEm 1902*. Lisboa: Typografia da Livraria Ferin, 1904.
- Coutinho, João de Azevedo. *Memórias de um velho marinheiro e soldado de África*. Mozambique: Livraria Bertrand, 1941.
- Coutinho, João de Azevedo. *O combate de Macequece: notas sobre algumas das determinantes próximas e remotas do conflito*. Lisboa: Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca. Agência Geral das Colónias, 1935.
- Couto, Jorge, and Manuela Rêgo, editores. *1907: No advento da República*. Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional, 2007.
- Couto, Jorge. *1910 O Ano da República*. Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 2010.
- Curtin, Philip, Steven Feierman, Leonard Thompson, and Jan Vansina. *African History: From Earliest Times to Independence*, 2nd ed. Harlow: Pearson Longman, 1995. Curtin, P., S. Feierman, L. Thompson, and J. Vansina, *African History*. London: Longman Group Limited, 1978.
- Darch, Colin. *Historical Dictionary of Mozambique*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2018. (Forthcoming)
- Davidov, Judith Fryer. 'Narratives of Places: History and Memory and the Evidential Force of Photography in Work by Meridel Rubenstein and Joan Meyers.' In *Phototextualities: Intersections of Photography and Narrative*, edited by Alex Hughes and Andrea Noble. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.
- Depelchin, Jacques. *Silences in African History: Between the Syndromes of Discovery and Abolition*. Dar es Salaam: Mkuki Na Nyoka, 2005.

- Dias, Jorge. *Os Macondes de Moçambique*. Vol.1 Aspectos Históricos e Económicos. Lisbon: Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, 1964.
- Dias, Raul Neves, *Quatro Centenários em Moçambique, 1854-1954*, 2nd edition. Lourenço Marques: Imprensa Nacional de Moçambique, 1954.
- Dokkum, André Van, *Nationalism and Territoriality in Barue and Mozambique: Independence, Belonging, Contradiction*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2020.
- Dritsas, Lawrence. *Zambesi: David Livingstone and Expeditionary Science in Africa*. London: I.B.Tauris, 2010.
- Edwards, Elizabeth. 'Photography and the material performance of the past.' in *Photography and Historical Interpretation* 48, no. 4 (December 2009), 142.
- Edwards, Elizabeth. 'Photographic Uncertainties: Between Evidence and Reassurance.' *History and Anthropology* 25, no. 2 (2014). doi:10.1080/02757206.2014.882834.
- Edwards, Elizabeth. *The Camera as Historian: Amateur Photographers and Historical Imagination, 1885–1918*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.
- Eldredge, Elizabeth A. *Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, Ca 1800-1830: The 'mfecane Reconsidered*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Elkins, James, editor. *Photography Theory (The Art Seminar)*. London, England: Routledge, 2007.
- Ennes, António. *A Guerra de África em 1895. Cartas inéditas e um estudo de Paiva Couceiro. Prefácio de Afonso Lopes Vieira*. Lisboa: Prefácio, 2002.
- Enwezor, Okwui. *Archive Fever: Photography between History and the Monument*. New York: International Center of Photography, 2007.
- Faulkner, Henry. *Elephant Haunts: Being a Sportsman's Narrative of the Search for Doctor Livingstone, with Scenes of Elephant, Buffalo, and Hippopotamus Hunting*. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1868.
- Feldman, Allen. *Archives of the Insensible: Of War, Photopolitics, and Dead Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.
- Fernandes, Paulo J. 'A súbita vocação "africanista" de um ex-ministro :ministro: a viagem de Mariano de Carvalho a Moçambique em 1890'. In *Africana Studia*. Portugal: Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto, 2010.
- Fernandes, Paulo J. *Mouzinho de Albuquerque. Um Soldado ao Serviço do Império*. (Biografia). Lisboa: A Esfera dos Livros, 2010.
- Ferreira, Eduardo de Sousa. *Portuguese Colonialism in Africa: The End of an Era: the Effects of Portuguese Colonialism on Education, Science, Culture and Information*. Paris:

- The Unesco Press, 1974. Souto, Amélia Neves, *Guia bibliográfico para o estudante de história de Moçambique: (200/300-1930)*. Maputo: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Centro de Estudos Africanos, 1996.
- Forte, Jung R., Paolo Israel, and Leslie Witz. *Out of History: Re-Imagining South African Pasts*. Cape Town: HSRC Publishers, 2016.
- Foskett, Reginald ed. *Zambezi: The Zambezi Journal and Letters of Dr John Kirk – 2 vol.* Edinburgh & London: Oliver & Boyd, 1965.
- Freire, J. *Do Controlo do Mar ao Controlo da Terra. A Marinha, entre o combate ao tráfico negreiro e a imposição de soberania no norte de Moçambique 1840 – 1930*. Lisboa: Edições Culturais da Marinha, 2013.
- Funada-Classen, Sayaka. *The origins of war in Mozambique: a history of unity and division*. Stellenbosch: African Minds, 2013.
- Guimarães, Ângela. *Uma Corrente do Colonialismo Português: a Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa - 1875-1895*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1984.
- Hall, Stuart, editor. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices (Culture, Media and Identities Series)*. London Thousand Oaks New Delhi, CA: SAGE Publications & The Open University, 1997.
- Harries, Patrick. *Junod e as sociedades Africanas: impacto dos missionários suíços na África austral*. Maputo: Edições Paulinas, 2007.
- Hartmann, Wolfram, Jeremy Silvester, and Patricia Hayes, editors. *The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the Making of Namibian History*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press, 1998.
- Headrick, Daniel R. *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Hevia, James L. ‘The Photography Complex. Exposing Boxer-Era China (1900-1901), Making Civilization’, in Rosalind C. Morris ed, *Photographies East*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).
- Huges, Alex, and Andrea Noble (eds). *Phototextualities. Intersection of Photography and Narrative*. Albuquerque: University of Mexico Press. 2003.
- Hunt, Nancy R. *A Nervous State. Violence, Remedies, and Reverie in Colonial Congo*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Insoll, Timothy. *Archaeology, Ritual, Religion. Themes in Archaeology*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2004.

- Isaacman, Allen F. *The Tradition of Resistance in Mozambique: Anti-Colonial Activity in the Zambesi Valley, 1850-1921*. London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1976.
- Isaacman, Allen F., and Barbara S. Isaacman. *Dams, Displacement, and the Delusion of Development: Cahora Bassa and Its Legacies in Mozambique, 1965–2007*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2013.
- Isaacman, Allen F., and Barbara S. Isaacman. *Escravos, Esclavagistas, Guerreiros e Caçadores: a saga dos Chicundas do Vale do Zambeze*. Maputo: Promédia, 2006.
- Isaacman, Allen, and Barbara Isaacman. *Mozambique: From Colonialism To Revolution, 1900-1982*. Colorado: Westview Press, 1983.
- Jacobsen, Óli. *Daniel J. Danielsen and the Congo: Missionary Campaigns and Atrocity Photographs*. Ayrshire: The Brethren Archivists and Historians Network, 2014.
- Jerónimo, Miguel Bandeira. *Livros Brancos, Almas Negras. A 'Missão Civilizadora' do Colonialismo Português (1870-1830)*. Lisboa: Imprensa das Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa, 2010.
- Jessett, Montague G. *The Key to South Africa: Delagoa Bay*. London: Fisher Unwin Pateroster Square, 1899.
- João, Frei. *Ethiopia Oriental: Vária História de Cousas Notáveis do Oriente*. Lisboa: Biblioteca dos Clássicos Portugueses, 1891.
- José, Alexandrino F. e Meneses, Maria Paula. *Moçambique – 16 anos de historiografia: focus, problemas, desafios para a década de 90*. Maputo: Coleção Painel Moçambicano, 1991.
- Johnston, Sir Harry H. *Livingstone and the Exploration of Central Africa*. London: Philip & Son, 1891.
- Junod, Henri A. *The Life of a South African Tribe, Vol. 1 Social Life*. New York: University books Inc., 1962.
- Junod, Henri A. *The Life of a South African Tribe, Vol. 2: Mental Life*. New York: University Book Inc., 1962.
- Kaplan, Louis, *American Exposures: Photography and community in the Twentieth Century*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.
- Kelsey, Robin. *Photography and the Art of Chance*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015.
- Keltie, Sir J. *The Partition of Africa*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1895. PDF e-book.

- Kennedy, Liam and Caitlin Patrick (eds), *The Violence of the Image. Photography and International Conflict*. London: I.B.Tauris, 2014.
- Khosa, Ungulani B. *Gungunhana*. Portugal: Porto Editora, 2017.
- Kuberski, Philip. *Kubrick's Total Cinema: Philosophical Themes and Formal Qualities*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2012.
- Lavrado, Marquês do. *Portugal em África depois de 1851: subsídios para a história*. Lisboa: Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca. Agência Geral das Colónias, 1936.
- Lazarus, J., and M. Lazarus. *A Souvenir of Lourenço Marques: An Album of Views of the Town*. Lourenço Marques: J. & M. Lazarus, 1901.
- Le Goff, Jacques, Steven Randall, and Elizabeth Claman. *History and Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.
- Leibbrandt, H. C. *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requesten (memorials)*. pt. 1-5. Cape Town: W.A. Richards & Sons, 1898.
- Liengme, George. *The Last years of the reign of the King Gungunhana. The diary and letters of Liengme, Swiss medical doctor and missionary in Mozambique, 1891 – 1895*. Typed manuscript translated from French to English by Sandra van Reenen.
- Liesegang, Gerhard. *Ngungunyane: a figura de Ngungunyane Nqumayo, Rei de Gaza, 1884-1895 e o desaparecimento do seu estado*. Maputo: Coleção Embondeiro, 1996.
- Lieutenant Colonel Pedro Augusto de Sousa e Silva. Distrito de Tete (Alta Zambézia) Característicos, Historia, Fomento. Lisboa: Livraria Portugalia Editora, 1927.
- Lima, Alfredo P. *Pedras que já não falam*. Moçambique: Tipografia Notícias, 1972.
- Lima, Américo Pires de, *Na Costa d'África. Memórias de um Médico Expedicionário a Moçambique*. Gaia: Edições Pátria, 1936.
- Linder, Adolphe. *Os Suíços em Moçambique*. Cape Town: Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique, 2001.
- Livingstone, David. *Journeys and Researches in South Africa*. London: Amalgamated Press, 1905.
- Lobato, Alexandre. *Expansão Portuguesa em Moçambique*. Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1954.
- Lobato, Alexandre. *História do Presídio de Lourenço Marques: 1787-1799*. Lisboa: Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, 1960.
- Lobato, Alexandre. *Lourenço Marques, Xilunguine: biografia da cidade*. Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1970.

- Macdonald, Scot. *Propaganda and information warfare in the twenty-first century: altered images and deception operations*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- MacGonagle, Elizabeth. *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique*. Rochester: University Rochester Press, 2007.
- Mamane, Amina. *Subsídios para a História de Sena*. Maputo: Promédia, 2000.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Marques, Ricardo, *Os Fantasmas do Rovuma. A epopeia dos soldados portugueses em África na I Guerra Mundial*. Alfragide: Oficina do Livro, 2012.
- Martin, Phyllis, and Patrick O'Meara. *Africa*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995.
- Martins, Colonel E. A. Azambuja. *Operações Militares no Bárue em 1917 - Seus Precedentes e Ensinos*. Lisboa: Tipografia da L.C.G.G., 1937.
- Martins, Eduardo A. de Azambuja. *O Soldado Africano de Moçambique*. Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1936.
- Martins, Eduardo Augusto Azambuja, *Nevala: Expedição a Moçambique*. Famalicão: Tipografia Minerva, 1935.
- Martins, Eduardo Azambuja *O Soldado Africano de Moçambique*. Lisboa: Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca. Agência Geral das Colónias, 1936.
- Martins, Elísio J. *Portugal e capital multinacional em Moçambique: 1500-1973; esboço histórico*. Denmark: African Studies Editorial, 1975.
- Maugham, Reginald C. *Zambezia: A General Description of the Valley of the Zambezi River, from Its Delta to the River Aroangwa, with Its History, Agriculture, Flora, Fauna, and Ethnography; with Map and Illustrations*. London: John Murray, 1910.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. *Phenomenology of Perception*. New York: Routledge, 1962.
- Miranda, Manuel Ricardo. *Gungunhana: o último rei de Moçambique*. Lisboa: A Esfera dos Livros, 2013.
- Mitchell, W. J. T., *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Mondlane, Eduardo. *Lutar por Moçambique*. Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, 1975.
- Mondlane, Eduardo. *The struggle for Mozambique*. London: Penguin Books, 1969.
- Mondlane, Eduardo, *Lutar Por Moçambique*. Penguin Books. London: Cox & Wyman Ltd, 1969.

- Newitt, Malyn D. *A History of Mozambique*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.
- Newitt, Malyn. 'British Travellers' Accounts of Portuguese Africa in Nineteenth Century'.
In *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses* N. 11. Lisboa: FTC- Fundação para a
Ciência e Tecnologia / FCSH, 2002.
- Noronha, Eduardo de. *O Districto de Lourenço Marques e a Africa do Sul*. Lisboa: Imprensa
Nacional, 1895.
- Noyes John K. *Colonial Space. Spatiality in the Discourse of German South West Africa
1884-1915*. London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 1992.
- Ornelas, Aires de. *Colectânea das Suas Principais Obras Militares e Coloniais*. Lisboa:
Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca. Agência Geral das Colónias, 1934.
- Pakenham, Thomas. *The Scramble for Africa: 1876-1912*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball
Publishers, 1992.
- Pélissier, René. *Naissance du Mozambique: résistance et révoltes anticoloniales (1854-
1918)*. Vol 1 and 2. Orgeval: Pélissier, 1984.
- Pereira, Luísa Vilarinho, *Moçambique II, Manoel Joaquim Romão Pereira (1846 – 1894),
novas revelações sobre a colecção Fotográfica*. Lisboa: Luísa Villarinho Pereira,
2017.
- Pereira, Luísa Vilarinho. *Moçambique: Manoel Pereira (1815-1894). Fotógrafo
comissionado pelo Governo Português*. Lisboa: Luísa Villarinho Pereira, 2013.
- Pinney, Christopher, and Nicolas Peterson, editors. *Photography's Other Histories*. Durham:
Duke University Press, 2003.
- Pinney, Christopher. *Photos of the Gods*. London: Reaktion Books, 2009.
- Pinto, Jaime Neves. *Jogos africanos*. Lisboa: A Esfera dos Livros, 2008.
- Poignant, Roslyn, and Axel Poignant. *Encounter at Nagalarramba*. Canberra, Australia:
Vantage Press, 1996.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes, Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group, 1992.
- Quintinha, Julião e Francisco Toscano, *A Derrocada do Império Vátua e Mouzinho de
Albuquerque*, Vol 1, (third edition). Lisboa: Nunes de Carvalho, 1935.
- Reader, John. *Africa. Bibliography of the Continent*. LondonEngland: Penguin Books, 1998.
- Rita-Ferreira, António. *Coletânea de Documentos, Notas Soltas e Ensaíos Inéditos para a
Historia de Moçambique*. Lisboa: António Rita-Ferreira, 2012.

- Rita-Ferreira, António. *Fixação portuguesa e história pré-colonial de Moçambique*. Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical/Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1982.
- Rita-Ferreira, António. *Presença luso-asiática e mutações culturais no sul de Moçambique*. Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical/Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1982.
- Rocha, Aurélio. *Moçambique: História e Cultura*. Maputo: Texto Editores, 2006.
- Rodrigues, Fátima da Cruz, 'Antigos Combatentes Africanos das Forças Armadas Portuguesas A Guerra Colonial como Território de (Re)conciliação' Coimbra: Tese de Doutoramento apresentada à Faculdade de Economia da Universidade de Coimbra para obtenção do grau de Doutor, 2012.
- Rodrigues, Soledade A. *O Mito do Herói Explorador. A Aventura de Travessia de África de Serpa Pinto*. Lisboa: Prefácio. Edição de Livros e Revistas Lda, 2009.
- Rojinsky, David. *Companion to Empire: A Genealogy of the Written Word in Spain and New Spain, C.550-1550*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010.
- Santos, Frei João dos. *Ethiopia Oriental: Vária História de Cousas Notáveis do Oriente*. Lisboa: Biblioteca dos Clássicos Portugueses, 1891.
- Santos, Lieutenant Ernesto Moreira dos. *Cobiça de Moçambique. O Combate de Ngomano. Seus heróis e seus inimigos. Memórias* (2ª edição). Braga: Oficinas Gráficas PAX, 1961.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul. *Existential Psychoanalysis*. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co, 1969.
- Sekula, Allan. "Reading an Archive: Photography Between Labour and Capitalism." In *The Photography Reader*, edited by Liz Wells. London: Psychology Press, 2003.
- Serra, Carlos, (direção). *História de Moçambique, Parte I: Primeiras sociedades sedentárias e impacto dos mercadores, 200/330-1885. Parte II: Agressão imperialista, 1886-1930*. Maputo: Imprensa Universitária, 2000.
- Serrão, Joel, and António Henrique R. De Oliveira Marques. *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa: O Império Africano, 1890-1930*. Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1998.
- Sheriff, Abdul. *Dhow Cultures and the Indian Ocean: Cosmopolitanism, Commerce, and Islam*. London: Hurst, 2010.
- Shohat, Ella. 'Imaging Terra Incognita: The Disciplinary Gaze of Empire.' *Public Culture* 3, no. 2 (1991). doi:10.1215/08992363-3-2-41.
- Silva, João Julião da, Zacarias Herculano da Silva, and Guilherme Hermenegildo Ezequiel da Silva. *Memórias de Sofala: etnografia e história das identidades e da violência entre*

- os diferentes poderes no centro de Moçambique, séculos XVIII e XIX*. Edited by José Fialho Feliciano and Victor Hugo Nicolau. Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações Descobrimientos Portugueses, 1998.
- Silverman, Kaja. *The Miracle of Analogy or The History of Photography, Part 1*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015.
- Smith, Shawn M., and Sharon Sliwinski, editors. *Photography and the Optical Unconscious*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2017.
- Sontag, Susan. On Photography. New York: Rosetta Books, 2005. PDF e-book. Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. London: Penguin UK, 2014.
- Sousa e Silva, Pedro A. de. *Distrito de Tete, Alta Zambezia: Características, Historia, Fomento*. Lisboa: Livraria Portugália Editora, 1927.
- Tagg, John. *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.
- Teixeira, Nuno Severiano,. *O Ultimatum Inglês: Política Externa e Política Interna no Portugal de 1890*. Lisboa: Publicações Alfa, 1990.
- Telo, António J. *Moçambique 1895. A Campanha de Todos os Heróis*. Lisboa: Tribuna da História, 2004.
- Thompson, T. Jack. 'Light on the Dark Continent: The Photography of Alice Seely Harris and the Congo Atrocities of the Early Twentieth Century.' *International Bulletin of Mission Research* 26, no. 4 (October 2002), 146-149.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/239693930202600401>.
- Thompson, T. J. *Images of Africa: Missionary Photography in the Nineteenth Century: an Introduction*. Copenhagen: Centre of African Studies University of Copenhagen, 2004. https://teol.ku.dk/cas/publications/publications/occ._papers/occ_thompson.pdf.
- Tobin, Beth Fowkes. *Picturing Imperial Power. Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth Century British Painting* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1999).
- Toscano, Francisco, and Julião Quintinha. *A derrocada do império Vátua e Mousinho de Albuquerque*. Lisboa: Nunes de Carvalho, 1935.
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1995.
- Tucker, Jennifer. 'Entwined Practices: Engagements with Photography in Historical Inquiry.' *Photography and Historical Interpretation* 48, no. 4 (December 2009).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2303.2009.00513.x>.

- Warhurst, P. R. *Anglo-Portuguese relations in south-central Africa 1890-1900*. California: Longmans, 1962.
- Webster, David J. *A Sociedade Chope. Indivíduo e Aliança no Sul de Moçambique 1969-1976* (Lisboa: Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, 2009).
- Wright, Christopher. *The Echo of Things: The Lives of Photographs in the Solomon Islands*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2013.

Papers, Thesis, Brochures:

- Boletim do Governo da Provincia de Moçambique*, (No 15. 12 April). Moçambique: Imprensa National. 1856.
- Boletim do Governo da Provincia de Moçambique*. Moçambique: Imprensa National, 1855.
- Can, Dr John P. 'Moçambique, África Oriental Alemã e a Grande Guerra,' *Revista militar* n° 5. Maio 2002.
- Couto, Jorge edorg. *1910, O Ano da República*. Catálogos. Lisboa: BNP - Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 2010.
- Estudos Coloniais Portugueses. *Portugal e Capital Multinacional em Moçambique, 1500-1973*. Esboço Histórico, Vol II. Kastrup: African Studies Editorial, 1975.
- Foskett, Reginald, 'The Zambezi Doctors. D. Livingstone's Letters to Dr Kirk 1868-1863. African Journal 1853 – 1856'. *Victorian Studies*, Vol 9 (June 1966), 410 -413.
- Hedges, David William, 'Trade and Politics in Southern Mozambique and Zululand in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century'. PhD thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1978.
- Elias, António. *Newspaper Savana*, (Maputo: Mediacoop, Jornalistas Associados), March, 2017, 31.
- Kirk, Sir John (1832 – 1922) Papers 'Africa Through Western Eyes - Part 4'. From the National Library of Scotland – Microfilm. Adam Matthew Publications Ltd and National Library of Scotland – 2006. A microfilm copy is held at the Repository and Archives of UCT, the University of Cape Town in South Africa.
- Marine, Benedito. "Breve retrospectiva ao historial de relacionamento entre a Igreja Católica e o Estado em Mocambique." Paper presented at Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos (IESE), Maputo, September 21, 2017. International Conference organized by IESE (Mozambique Institute for Social and Economic Studies) in Maputo, 21 September 2017.

- Pires, Capitão António J. *A Grande Guerra em Moçambique*. Publicação ilustrada, comemorativa do 6º aniversário do Armistício. Colaboração de alguns combatentes (Illustrated publication made in collaboration with some combatants, in celebration of the 6th anniversary of the end of the WWI). In the Biblioteca da Marinha, Lisbon. Ref. 75 4Y38 -30.
- Rodrigo, A. Lino, and Isabel C. Almeida. *Gungunhana Em Exílio*. Lisbon: Torre de Belém, 1993. Exhibition catalog, organised for Photography Month in June 1993
- Rodrigues, Fátima da Cruz. 'Antigos Combatentes Africanos das Forças Armadas Portuguesas A Guerra Colonial como Território de (Re)conciliação' Coimbra: Tese de Doutoramento apresentada à Faculdade de Economia da Universidade de Coimbra para obtenção do grau de Doutor, 2012.
- Silva, Tenente-Coronel Julio Rodrigues da. *Monografia do 3º Batalhão Expedicionário do RI nº 21 à província de Moçambique 1915*. Facsimile version. Copy of the author's first edition.
- Smith, Jonathan Z. "The Bare Facts of Ritual." *History of Religions* 20, no. 1/2 (1980), 112-127. doi:10.1086/462864.
- Sopa, António. 'Um País em Imagens', (brochure). Maputo: Prodata, February 2006.
- Território de Manica e Sofala – sob a administração da Companhia de Moçambique*. Monografias – apresentadas na Exposição Colonial Internacional de Paris. Lisboa: Sociedade Nacional de tipografia, 1931.
- Thompson, J. 'Light on the Dark Continent: The Photography of Alice Seely Harris and the Congo Atrocities of the Early Twentieth Century', *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, October 2002, 146-149.
- Timothy Insoll ed., 'Are Archaeologists Afraid of Gods? Some Thoughts on Archaeology and Religion.' In *Belief in the Past. The Proceedings of the 2002 Manchester Conference on Archaeology and Religion*, 1-6. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004.
- Tucker, Jennifer ed., *History and Theory*, Theme Issue 48. Malden: Wesleyan University, 2009.
- Willmott, Cory. "'Visual Genders, Visual Histories: A Special Issue of Gender and History. In Patricia Hayes, ed.'" *Visual Anthropology Review* 26, no. 1 (2010), 44-46. doi:10.1111/j.1548-7458.2010.01052.x.

Sourced Online

- ‘A revolta de 31 de Janeiro de 1891.’ *Historia Nove*. <https://historianove.webnode.pt/news/a-revolta-de-31-de-janeiro-de-1891/>. Accessed June 10, 2017.
- ‘Adansonia.’ Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopaedia. Last modified March 23, 2019. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adansonia>.
- ‘Camping in the Lupata Gorge.’ BM Archives. Accessed March 4, 2018. <http://www.bmarchives.org/items/show/81153>.
- ‘Ellipsis.’ Literary Devices. Last modified November 1, 2018. <https://literarydevices.net/ellipsis/>.
- ‘Fortaleza De S. Marçal De Sena [padrão Reconstruído Em 1906].’ Home - ACTD. Accessed February 25, 2018. <http://actd.iict.pt/view/actd:AHUD23092>. “Fortaleza De S. Marçal De Sena [padrão Reconstruído Em 1906].” Home - ACTD. Accessed February 25, 2017. <http://actd.iict.pt/view/actd:AHUD23092>.
- ‘José César Ferreira Gil.’ Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia. Last modified February 8, 2010. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jos%C3%A9_C%C3%A9sar_Ferreira_Gil.
- ‘Patrício.’ Dicio. Accessed November 5, 2016. <https://www.dicio.com.br/patricio/>. <https://www.dicio.com.br/patricio/>. Accessed 5 November, 2016.
- ‘Pensar a fotografia a partir da "Ilustração Portuguesa": Um Roteiro.’ *Imagens Da República | Fotografia E Cidadania*. Accessed March 12, 2019. <http://imagensdarepublica.ipt.pt/wpcontent/uploads/2011/05/Ilustra%C3%A7%C3%A3o-Fotogr%C3%A1fica1.pdf>.
- ‘Quionga.’ *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Accessed August 2, 2016. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Quionga>.
- ‘Significado De Melambeira.’ <http://www.dicionarioweb.com.br/melambeira/>. Accessed 5 October 2016.
- ‘The Save River (formerly Sabi).’ *Zimbabwe Field Guide | Information on Historic, Cultural and Wildlife Sites in Zimbabwe*. Accessed November 4, 2018. <http://zimfieldguide.com/manicaland/save-river-formerly-sabi>. “The Save River (formerly Sabi).” *Zimbabwe Field Guide | Information on Historic, Cultural and Wildlife Sites in Zimbabwe*. <http://zimfieldguide.com/manicaland/save-river-formerly-sabi>. Accessed 16 August , 2018.
- Axelsson, Eric. ‘Portugal and the Scramble for Africa, 1875–1891.’ *Moçambique Established* 9, no. 2 (April 1967). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853700008951>.

- Baum, David A., Randall L. Small, and Jonathan F. Wendel. "Biogeography and Floral Evolution of Baobabs (*Adansonia*, Bombacaceae) as Inferred from Multiple Data Sets". <http://web.utk.edu/~rsmall/Adansonia.pdf>. Accessed October 5, 2016.
- Biblioteca Nacional De Portugal. Accessed December 21, 2018.
www.catalogo.bnportugal.gov.pt.
- Biggins, David. "Genealogy and Family Research - Boer War Forum." Anglo Boer War - Home. Accessed July 16, 2017. <http://www.angloboerwar.com/forum/7-genealogy>.
- Botelho de Melo, António. THE DELAGOA BAY WORLD. Accessed April 9, 2017.
<http://www.delagoabayworld.wordpress.com>.
- Capela, José. 'How the aringas became maroon communities in Mozambique.' *Tempo* 10, no. 20 (January 2006), 74. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S1413-77042006000100005>.
- Carvalho Palma, Manuel, and Manuel Roberto. "A Grande Guerra Que Portugal Quis Esquecer." PÚBLICO. Last modified 28, 2014.
<http://www.publico.pt/culturaipsilon/noticia/a-grande-guerra-que-portugal-quis-esquecer-1664212>.
- Castelo-Branco, Angela C. Grand Monde. Accessed November 20, 2017.
<http://Grandmonde.blogspot.com>.
- Cruz, Tenente-coronel João José de Sousa, 'A Defesa* De Moçambique. Sua Evolução.' *Revista Militar*. <https://www.revistamilitar.pt/artigo/907>. Accessed September 27, 2016.
- Cruz, Tenente-Coronel João José de Sousa, 'O Enigma de uma Colónia Virtual – África Oriental Portuguesa (vulgo Moçambique)' in *Revista Militar*, Nº 2482, November 2008. <https://www.revistamilitar.pt/artigo/344>, accessed October 2018.
- Da Cruz Rodrigues, Fátima. 'Antigos Combatentes Africanos das Forças Armadas Portuguesas A Guerra Colonial como Território de (Re)conciliação.' PhD diss., Universidade de Coimbra, 2012.
https://www.academia.edu/10700228/Antigos_Combatentes_Africanos_das_For%C3%A7as_Armadas_Portuguesas_-_A_Guerra_Colonial_como_Territ%C3%B3rio_de_Re_concilia%C3%A7%C3%A3o
- De Sousa Cruz, João José. "O Enigma de uma Colónia Virtual – África Oriental Portuguesa (Vulgo Moçambique)." *Portuguese Military Magazine*, November 2008. Accessed October, 2018. <http://www.revistamilitar.pt/artigo/344>.
- Fonseca, Patricia, 'A pioneira Flama,' *Revista JJ*, Lisboa, Jul/Set, 2007.
www.clubedejornalistas.pt/uploads/jj31/jj31_54.pdf. Accessed 7 December, 2015.

- Hemeroteca Digital. Accessed February 5, 2016. <http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/>.
- Infopédia. ‘Definição Ou Significado De Feitor No Dicionário Infopédia da Língua Portuguesa.’ Infopédia - Dicionários Porto Editora. Accessed 12 October 2017. <https://infopedia.pt/dicionarios/lingua-portuguesa/feitor>.
- Isaacman, Allen. ‘Chikunda transfrontiersmen and transnational migrations in pre-colonial South Central Africa, ca 1850-1900.’ *Zambezia* 27, no. 2 (January 2000), 109. https://journals.co.za/content/zambezia/27/2/AJA03790622_4?TRACK=RSS.
- Kelsey, Robin. ‘Of fish, birds, cats, mice, spiders, flies, pigs, and chimpanzees: how chance casts the historic action photograph into doubt.’ *History and Theory. Special Issue: Photography and Historical Interpretation*, edited by Jennifer Tucker, vol 48, no. 4 (December 2009), 59-76. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2303.2009.00518.x>.
- Matos, Edmundo Galiza, ‘Comentários Etiquetas: Fortaleza de Sena, História, Moçambique.’ <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/118110154>. Accessed 19 November 2017.
- Mattos, Regiane Augusto de (2014). ‘A dinâmica das relações no norte de Moçambique no final do século xix e início do século xx.’ *Revista de História* (171): 383-419. <https://dx.doi.org/10.11606/issn.2316-9141.rh.2014.89017>. Accessed 12 April 2020.
- McKenzie, Wark, ‘Africa Contra Hegel.’ Public Seminar. <http://www.publicseminar.org/2016/09/mbembe/>. Accessed 22 May 2019.
- Meera. ‘Mozambique and the Invisible Bodies: A Contrapuntal Reading of the Great War (1914-1918).’ *The Disorder Of Things*. Last modified 7 November 2014. <https://thedisorderofthings.com/2014/11/05/mozambique-and-the-invisible-bodies-a-contrapuntal-reading-of-the-great-war-1914-1918/>.
- Morais, Carolina Maíra G., Matheus Serva Pereira, and Regiane Augusto De Mattos. *Encontros com Moçambique*. Rio de Janeiro: PUC-Rio, 2016. PDF e-book.
- National Library of Scotland. <http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/online.cnmi/inventories.acc9942.pdf>. Accessed 6 November 2018.
- Newitt, Malyn D. D. and P.S. Garlake, ‘The Aringa at Massangano,’ *Journal of African History*, Vol. 8, No 1, 1967, 133-156. Published online on 22 January 2009 at <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853700006861>. Accessed 11 December 2018.
- Penvenne, Jeanne M. ‘João dos Santos Albasini (1876–1922): The Contradictions of Politics and Identity in Colonial Mozambique.’ *The Journal of African History* 37, no. 03 (1996), 419. [http:// www.jstor.org/stable/182500](http://www.jstor.org/stable/182500).

- Pires, Captain António. 'O Portal Da História Portugal Na Primeira Guerra Mundial: Moçambique.' Manuel Amaral 2000-2010. Accessed August 1, 2018.
http://www.arqnet.pt/portal/portugal/grandeguerra/pgm_mocam03.html.
- Pires, Nuno Correia B. De Lemos. 'Recordar o Esforço Português em Moçambique Durante a Grande Guerra (1914-1918) Através da Revista Militar,' <http://www.revistamilitar.pt>. Accessed 9 April 2018.
- Silva, Ana Marcia. 'A Revolta De 31 De Janeiro De 1891.'
<http://historianove.webnode.pt/news/a-revolta-de-31-de-janeiro-de-1891/>. Accessed 8 January 2018.
- Smith, Jonathan Z. 'The Bare Facts of Ritual.' *History of Religions* 20, no. 1/2 (August 1980). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1062338>.
- Sopa, António, 'Fortaleza de Sena, São Marçal, Sofala, Moçambique'.
<https://www.hpip.org/en/Heritage/Details/2054>. Accessed 26 August 2017.
- Súilleabháin, Fionnbharr Ó. Fionnbharr Ó Súilleabháin. <http://www.fionnbharr.com>. Accessed 10 February 2018.
- Wexelsen, J. 'Fortaleza de S. Marçal de Sena [padrão reconstruído em 1906].' *Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical*. 2007. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino.
<https://actd.iict.pt/view/actd:AHUD23092>. Accessed 20 August 2017.
- Zhodi, Esmael, 'Lost Identity; A result of "Hybridity" and "Ambivalence" in Tayeb Salili's Season of Migration to the North,' *International Journal of Applied Linguistics & English Literature* at. www.ijalel.aiac.org.au accessed 12 June 2019.