Neto, Maria da Conceição (2012) In Town and Out of Town: A Social History of Huambo (Angola), 1902-1961. PhD Thesis, SOAS, University of London

http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/13822

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners. A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge. This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s. The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

When referring to this thesis, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given e.g. AUTHOR (year of submission) "Full thesis title", name of the School or Department, PhD Thesis, pagination.

In Town and Out of Town:
A Social History of Huambo (Angola) 1902-1961

MARIA NETO

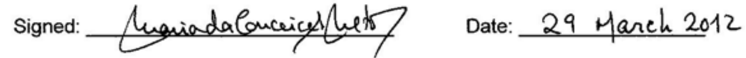
Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD in History

2012

Department of History
School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London

Declaration for PhD thesis

I have read and understood regulation 17.9 of the Regulations for students of the School of Oriental and African Studies concerning plagiarism. I undertake that all the material presented for examination is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part, by any other person. I also undertake that any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in the work which I present for examination.



Abstract

This thesis is a history of the Angolan city of Huambo from 1902 to 1961. It is about social change, focusing mainly on people excluded from citizenship by Portuguese colonial laws: the so-called 'natives', whose activities greatly shaped the economic and social life of the city and changed their own lives in the process. Their experiences in coping with and responding to the economic, social and political constraints of the colonial situation were reconstructed from archival documents, newspapers and bibliographical sources, complemented by a few interviews.

The early twentieth century witnessed far-reaching events in the central highlands of Angola, where Governor Norton de Matos founded the city of Huambo in 1912: the conquest of the Wambu kingdom, the advance of Christian missions, the Portuguese policy of white settlement and the construction of the Benguela Railway heading towards the Belgian Congo. These processes together made Huambo an important trading, administrative and religious centre. Rural-urban interactions are central to this research, since the economy relied almost entirely on peasant production. Trade and transportation were the main activities of Portuguese settlers throughout the period, with only marginal investments in industry.

Religion was another crucial factor in the social history of Huambo's (Angola's most Christianized district by 1960), so the articulation of Christianity, urbanization and social change is analysed, with a focus on the Catholic Missionaries of the Holy Ghost. Renamed Nova Lisboa in 1928, the city supposedly stood as an example of a 'European' town, although blacks living and working in and around it outnumbered whites. The intended racial segregation was never totally achieved: European petty merchants lived in the outskirts and people of all colours shared modest peripheral neighbourhoods. However, racial distinction was firmly established in Angola through the Native Statute, a legal barrier blocking the upward social mobility of non-whites except for a tiny minority able to secure 'citizenship' rights. The abolition of the statute in 1961 marked a new period in Angola's and in Huambo's colonial history, not covered by this research.

Contents

List of Illustrations 6

List of Abbreviations 7

Glossary 8

Acknowledgements 11

Introduction 13

Chapter 1. Angola's central plateau before the colonial conquest 34

The place and the people 35

The remote past 40

Warfare and slave trade 47

The delayed and elusive abolition of slavery 60

Great caravans, great kings: a 'golden age'? 64

Wambu in the nineteenth century 70

Colonial military advances 74

The 1902-1904 war 77

Conclusion 80

Chapter 2. Huambo: A city is born 82

Portuguese imperial expansion and colonial politics (1880 to c. 1920) 83

From rubber traders to maize exporters 94

The meaning of defeat 102

Becoming 'natives' 110

The railway and the foundation of *Cidade do Huambo* 121

Conclusion 137

Chapter 3. Town and countryside: the first thirty years 140

Republicans, High Commissioners and Salazarism 141

From *Cidade do Huambo* to *Nova Lisboa* 148

The Native Statute 156

Working in town, out of town and beyond 166

Conclusion 176

Chapter 4. Christians in town 178

The Catholic Church: from privilege to marginalization and to privilege again 179

What did Christian faith 'overcome'? 187

Vakwasikola: 'People of the School' 195

Kanye: 'The Mission is ours' 207

The forging of an elite and the difficult emergence of an African clergy 216

Faith, social control and cultural change. 229

Conclusion 238

Chapter 5. Townspeople but not citizens, c.1945-1961 241

Resisting the winds of change 242

Peasants, workers and many others 246

Shifting limits: town, suburbs and villages 256

Law and order 265

Looking for a way out 279

Conclusion 288

Conclusion 290

Sources and Bibliography 295

Annexes 341

List of Illustrations

Maps

Map 1. The central plateau of Angola. 342

Map 2. Political divisions and historical dates. 343

Map 3. Samisasa, the last independent capital of Wambu. 344

Map 4. The network of the Catholic missions in the 1930s. 345

Map 5. Huambo: the first plan of the city (1912). 346

Map 6. Huambo: detail from the 1947 urban plan. 346

Map 7. Huambo and neighbouring areas (1953). 347

Figures

Figure 1. Catechists from the Huambo (Kwando) mission, 1928. 348

Figure 2. Women from Huambo (Kwando) mission, 1949. 348

Figure 3. The Municipal Council in the late 1920s. 349

Figure 4. A future avenue in the 1920s. 349

Figure 5. Aspect of the city in the late 1950s. 350

Figure 6. Another aspect of the city in the late 1950s. 350

Figures 7, 8, 9 and 10. Pages from a *Caderneta indígena*. 351

Figure 11. *Bilhete de identidade*. 352

Tables

Table 1. Population growth in Huambo *Posto Sede* 1933-1940. 153

Table 2. The four main Angolan cities in 1940. 153

Table 3. Huambo: Religion among 'non civilized' population. 209

List of Abbreviations

ACSSp - Spiritan Archives: Archives générales spiritaines, Chevilly-Larue (Paris).

ACSSp-Lisbon - Spiritan archives in Portugal (Lisbon).

AGC - Agência Geral das Colónias

AHM - Arquivo Histórico Militar (Lisbon)

AHU - Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon)

AHU/MU/GM/GNP - Fundo Ministério do Ultramar, Secção Gabinete do Ministro, Sub-Secção Gabinete dos Negócios Políticos.

ANA - Arquivo Nacional de Angola (Luanda)

ANTT - Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais - Torre do Tombo (Lisbon)

BAGC - Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias

BAGC - Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias/do Ultramar

BO - Boletim Oficial da Província de Angola

BSGL - Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa

CCFB - Companhia do Caminho-de-Ferro de Benguela: The Benguela Railways Company.

CEAUP - Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto

CEHCA - Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga (Lisbon)

CEHCA/IICT - Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga/Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical.

CFB - Caminho-de-Ferro de Benguela: Benguela Railway.

CGD/BNU - Fundo Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Arquivo Caixa Geral de Depósitos (Lisbon)

CJAS - Canadian Journal of African Studies

CNCDP - Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses

IICT - Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical (Lisbon)

IJAHS - International Journal of African Historical Studies

ILO - International Labour Organization

IPAD/MU - Instituto Português de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento. Centro de Documentação. Fundo Ministério do Ultramar.

JACS - Journal of African Cultural Studies

JAH - Journal of African History

JSAS - Journal of Southern African Studies

MPLA - Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola

PO – Provincial Ordinance (Portaria Provincial)

SOAS-SC - SOAS Special Collections: Missionary Archives (London).

UNITA - União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola

Glossary of Umbundu and Portuguese terms

(Terms used only once are not included here but explained in the text. Umbundu words are signalled.)

Administrador - Administrator in charge of a *Circunscrição* or *Concelho*, subdivided into *Postos*. It was a position of responsibility in the colonial administration, below Governor-General (*Governador-Geral*), District or Provincial Governor and District *Intendente*.

Angariador (also *engajador*) - travelling labour recruiter, authorized by the colonial state to recruit so-called 'natives' for working in plantations, fisheries, mines and so on.

Angolar - Angola's official currency between August 1928 and December 1958, when it became the *escudo* again.

Assimilado - loosely meaning any African who adopted many aspects of European culture, it was also used as synonymous with *civilizado* (civilized), the legal term to refer to black and mixed-race people who were not under the Native Statute, being not 'natives' but 'Portuguese citizens'.

Bilhete de identidade - Portuguese identification document extended in the colonies to the so-called 'civilized' who in principle enjoyed the same rights as white Portuguese citizens.

Caderneta indígena - identification document for so-called 'natives'. Beginning as a working pass (*certificado de trabalho*) in 1913, in time it included the registering of taxes, workplaces, travel and so on. It lasted until the abolition of the Native Statute in 1961.

Capitania-Mor - political and military administrative subdivision of the colony, before civilian administration in the twentieth century replaced it with *'circunscrição'* or *'concelho'*.

Capitão-mor - captain-major, the official in charge of a capitania-mor.

Chefe de Posto - chief of the *Posto*, the lowest level of the colonial administrative division.

*Cipaio (*pl. *cipaios)* - member of the 'native' police force used by the Portuguese administration.

Curador - in this context, guardian, someone responsible for protecting the rights and the well-being of a certain group. *Curador dos serviçais*: *Serviçais'* Guardian; *Curador dos indígenas:* Natives' Guardian; *Curadoria dos Indígenas*: Natives' Guardian Office.

Ensino rudimentar - the rudimentary education 'natives' should complete before entering primary (*elementar*) level or trade schools. The 1941 statute entrusted the Catholic missions with it. In 1956, it was renamed *Ensino de adaptação*.

Escudo - official currency in colonial Angola between 1911 and 1928 and between 1959 and 1975. The Angolan *escudo*, not equivalent to the Portuguese *escudo*, circulated only in Angola.

Gentílico, gentílica - referring to so-called 'non-civilized' Africans: *questões gentílicas* (native cases), *autoridades gentílicas* (native chiefs).

Gentio (pl. *gentios*) - In Angola, it first meant non-Christian, then any African not yet submitted to Portuguese rule or not influenced by European culture. It was also used as a derogatory term meaning uncivilized.

Imposto de palhota or *imposto de cubata* - literally hut tax, after 1919 substituted by a poll-tax, *imposto indígena.*

Indígena (pl. *indígenas*) - originally meaning native, autochthon, the word was used in most of the twentieth-century Portuguese empire to define a legal status restricting the rights of the vast majority of the non-white population in the colonial society. It was regulated by the Native Statute (*Estatuto dos Indígenas*), first promulgated in 1926, last updated in 1954 and finally abolished in 1961.

Indigenato - the judicial and political system used in some Portuguese colonies (Angola, Mozambique and Guinea) between 1926 and 1961, based on the Native Statute applied to 'blacks and their descendants'.

Jagas (sing. *jaga*) - a name given to different groups, but in most of Angola synonymous with the wandering bands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also known as Imbangala, which met European slave traders on the coast and then had a decisive role in the politics of the region, either helping or fighting the Portuguese. Their warrior brotherhood and lifestyle included violent rituals, the rejection of kinship and getting young new members from the peoples they attacked.

Kilombo (Kimbundu), *quilombo* (Portuguese) - in Angola, it was the war camp and the militarized political organization of the Imbangala or Jaga warrior bands. In Umbundu *ocilombo* (pl. *ovilombo* or *ilombo*) also means the night camp of a long-distance commercial caravan and, in some areas, the secluded place of boys' circumcision rites.

Mestiço (pl. *mestiços*) - a broad term for a mixed-race person who has black and white ancestry.

Morador (pl. *moradores*) - means resident but in this context it was someone from the Portuguese colony living and trading in the still independent African kingdoms.

Ocumbo (Umbundu) - a special garden near the house; a kitchen garden.

Olofumbelo (sing. *fumbelo*) (Umbundu) - currently meaning both 'rich' and 'merchant', it once meant wealthy caravan traders.

Ombala (pl. *olombala*) (Umbundu) - main village or seat of kingdom.

Onaka (pl. *olonaka*) (Umbundu) - a field cultivated on low and wet lands near streams.

Palmatória - flat paddle made of hard wood, with holes in it, once used for corporal punishment in schools. In the colonies, it had a much wider use against adult 'natives'. The strokes with a *palmatória* were *palmatoadas*.

Portaria - ordinance; by-law.

Posto Sede - the *Posto* was the basic unit of the twentieth-century Portuguese colonial administration and the seat (*sede*) of the *Circunscrição* or *Concelho* was inside the *Posto Sede*.

Regedor (pl. *regedores*) - 1. A semi-official representative of the colonial state in areas where a proper administrative staff was non-existent. 2. A so-called 'native' chief appointed by Portuguese authorities in the absence of, or with disregard for, traditional rulers.

Sanzala (Portuguese, from Kimbundu) or *sanjala* (Umbundu) - an African neighbourhood not far from an urban centre and supposedly only for so-called 'natives'. In Portuguese it also meant an African village.

Sekulu (pl. *olosekulu*) (Umbundu); *secúlo* (pl. *secúlos*) (Portuguese) - a village headman or a dignitary. In Portuguese, its use was extended to elders in general.

Serviçais (also *serviçaes*, sing. *serviçal*) - the term, meaning servants, was largely in use in the early twentieth century to designate labourers, recruited mostly by force. Later on, *'contratado'* (contract worker) became a more common word.

Soba, sova (Portuguese from Kimbundu *sóvà*, pl. *jisòvá*.), or *soma* (Umbundu) (pl. *olosoma*) - African chief ruling over a number of villages and subordinate headmen. In Umbundu, *soma inene* (great *soma*) designated a 'king' ruling over other *olosoma*. In Portuguese, *soba* came to include any chief or headman.

Sobado - the area ruled by a *soma* or *soba.*

Tribunal Privativo dos Indígenas - literally, Natives' Private Court. The promulgation of the Native Statute implied a distinct system of justice for the so-called 'natives'. A 'Native Court' functioned in each administrative centre, run by the Portuguese authority.

Tratado de vassalagem - vassal treaty. Anachronistic term used until the late nineteenth century for a solemn agreement between Portuguese and African authorities, both expecting to promote trade and to get military support if necessary. The African chief was baptized with a Christian name and declared to be a 'vassal' of the king of Portugal.

Aknowledgements

Traditionally, this is the place to thank those who encouraged and supported me in the many years before I decided to start this thesis and the many years it took me to finish it. I am sure I cannot, in a few paragraphs, thank all the people to whom I am in debt intellectually or otherwise. The years of my research and writing up were also marked by the death of close relatives and friends, making it even more difficult to acknowledge all the people I would like to thank. So, I will keep this short and simple. I hope that those who are not mentioned do not feel themselves forgotten, because they are not.

John Parker, as a supervisor, gave me the freedom I wanted but also the advice I needed to curb my tendency to write long chapters and digressive footnotes. John's patience and generosity went well beyond his duties as a supervisor, and I owe him special thanks. I could never have come to SOAS without support from my own university, Universidade Agostinho Neto in Luanda, which secured me a three year scholarship from the Angolan Government, thanks to professor Kiamvo Tamo. While in Britain, the Angolan Embassy provided support whenever I needed it and I am very grateful for that. I would never have finished my thesis, after the scholarship ended, without the financial contribution from my family and also from several friends in Britain, Angola and Portugal. I do not want to risk embarrassing them by mentioning their names. But thank you all!

Without the warm hospitality of Ana Maria Carreira and Mário de Almeida (Kasesa) and, later on, Marga Holness, in London, this would most probably be an unfinished thesis. I appreciate their support more than I can tell and I hope Marga does not think her efforts to teach me good English were in vain. Although Canterbury is not round the corner, Elizabeth and David Birmingham made me feel that they were always there for me. David was also responsible, together with the late Jill Dias, for my coming to SOAS, and I owe him a lot.

A researcher depends greatly on the staff in the archives where research is carried on. I would like to thank every person in archives who helped me on many different occasions, but the Angolan National Archives have a special place in my work and in my heart. Its directors, first Rosa Cruz e Silva and then Alexandra Aparício, as well as all the staff there, were very supportive of my research; a special thanks must go to Mateus Neto, in the *Códices* section. The archives of the Spiritans in France deserve a special reference too, not only for the professional skills of

Father Gérard Vieira, but also for the hospitality provided in their own house. This thesis owes much to people from Huambo or who have lived there who shared their knowledge with me. Apart from the interviewees listed as oral sources, my thanks to Zaida Daskalos, Manuel Dias Nogueira, Father Bongo, José Soveral Dias, among others. Shula Marks and Phyllis Martin provided sound advice at different stages of my too ambitious project. In this age of e-mailing, distance did not hinder stimulating discussions on subjects related to my thesis, like the ones I recall with Sandra Roque, Didier Péclard, Fernando Pacheco, Michel Cahen, Aida Freudenthal, Marcelo Bittencourt, Paula Tavares, Franz Heimer, Cláudia Castelo, Maria Emília Madeira Santos, Fernando Florêncio, Jessica Dionne and Helena Janeiro. And I certainly miss Christine Messiant and her passion for going deeper into the understanding of social processes. Again, I extend my thanks to many other people, in the academic field or outside it, who helped to keep alive my interest in researching and teaching history. Among them, a special word for my past and future students in Angola, who, I hope, will go much further than me.

At home, in Luanda, many friends did their part to make this thesis possible but I feel my debt is greatest to Leonel Eduardo (Nelito) and Wanda Lara. In Lisbon, the list of friends is long, with Paula Tavares having a very special place. But in Portugal my greatest debt is to my mother, Maria José, and my stepfather, Vasco Martins Silva, who considered it their job to do whatever necessary to ensure that I would not give up. Vasco could not see the result of his efforts but this thesis is dedicated to him.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a history of the Angolan city of Huambo and its hinterland from 1902 to 1961. When the town was officially founded in a solemn ceremony in September 1912, it was little more than a modest railway station and a temporary building housing the Portuguese colonial administration. By 1974, on the eve of Angola's independence, Huambo (renamed Nova Lisboa) was the country's second largest city. It was badly affected by the post-independence wars, both in terms of its built environment and its social fabric, before peace returned to Angola in 2002. These days in Huambo, memories of the past are either fading rapidly or tending to idealize the colonial period before the town was ravaged by the civil war. This social history will hopefully give the city the place it deserves in the history of Angola.

This thesis was inspired, in part, by an international conference on Africa's urban past held in 1996 at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.[1] In their introduction to the resulting edited volume, David Anderson and Richard Rathbone synthesized the state of urban history in Africa.[2] Research into Africa's towns and cities, they argued, had traditionally been dominated by geographers, sociologists and anthropologists, while historians had worked more on peasant societies or on elites involved in nationalist struggles. But the situation was changing and historians were urged to 'move towards a greater awareness of those factors which may be unique to a particular urban experience and those which may allow a more comparative approach'.[3] The Angolan city of Huambo was certainly unique in

[1] See David M. Anderson and Richard Rathbone (eds), *Africa's Urban Past* (Oxford, 2000). The SOAS conference came ten years after a conference in Paris on the same subject: see Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch (ed.), *Processus d'urbanisation en Afrique*, 2 vols (Paris, 1988); and Michel Cahen (ed.), *'Vilas' et cidades': Bourgs et villes en Afrique lusophone* (Paris, 1989).

[2] Anderson and Rathbone, *Africa's Urban Past*, 1-17.

[3] Ibid, 9.

some aspects, but it was also a railway city, an administrative and commercial centre, and an outpost of European settlement, comparable to others in Africa and beyond.

Anderson and Rathbone also stressed that 'even where colonial cities are explicitly modern creations…the peoples who have come to live in those places have brought their own cultural values and aspirations with them, fashioning distinctive forms of urbanism'.[4] They underlined two tendencies restricting the development of a social history of African urbanism from the 1970s: first, historians accepted too easily the idea of the town as a colonial and modern creation; second, comparative studies were also hampered because those histories of cities which had been written were linked into regional historiographies with their own particularities. They optimistically noted that a 'critical mass of urban historical research' had been reached and comparative work was expected to flourish.[5]

This, however, it is still not the case for the former Portuguese colonies, especially Angola. Angola's 'colonial cities' have only recently caught the attention of historians. The few significant studies, mostly concentrating on the capital Luanda, have tended to be written by geographers, sociologists, architects and anthropologists.[6] One notable exception is Marissa Moorman's recent book on the history of popular music and politics in Luanda in the late colonial period.[7] Yet for the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, written sources are abundant in archives in

---

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid, 11.

[6] Ilídio do Amaral, *Luanda: Estudo de Geografia Urbana* (Lisbon, 1968); Ruy Duarte de Carvalho, *Ana a Manda - Os Filhos da Rede - Identidade Colectiva, Criatividade Social e Produção da Diferença Cultural: Um Caso Muxiluanda* (Luanda, 1989); Christine Messiant, 'Luanda (1945-1961): Colonisés, société coloniale et engagement nationaliste', in Cahen, '*Vilas' et 'cidades'*, 125-99; Fernando A. Mourão, *Continuidades e Descontinuidades de um Processo Colonial Através de uma Leitura de Luanda: Uma Interpretação do Desenho Urbano* (São Paulo, 2006); Aida Freudenthal, José Manuel Fernandes and Maria de Lurdes Janeiro, *Angola no Século XIX: Cidades, Território e Arquitecturas* (Lisbon, 2006).

[7] Marissa Moorman, *Intonations: A Social History of Music and Nation, Luanda, Angola, 1945-Recent Times* (Athens, Ohio, 2008). See too Egídio Sousa Santos, *A Cidade de Malanje na Historia de Angola (dos finais do século XIX até 1975)* (Luanda, 2006), which provides useful information but is of little interest for social history.

Angola and Portugal. The absence of urban studies lies mainly in the perception that 'colonial cities' are purely modern colonial constructs with little or no contribution from Africans and in the persistent idea that the 'real Africa', at least in tropical Africa, was to be found in rural villages. As John Parker has noted, the dualism of town and country, abandoned elsewhere, 'proved remarkably persistent in the African and Asian context, where colonial cities were seen as foreign implants distinct from the wider indigenous environment'.[8] The way Angolan urbanites were described in colonial times still resonates in current discourses: city dwellers are seen to be 'lost', 'uprooted', 'detribalized', 'alienated'. The urban environment under Portuguese rule was supposedly shaped only by the white settlers' interests and culture. The small African elites that eventually emerged had been subject to a process of 'assimilation', the price of citizenship being the abandonment or concealment of indigenous languages and cultures. That reinforced the idea of the 'de-Africanization' of the urban population, in contrast with the supposed 'purity' of African cultures surviving in rural areas. Such views completely overlooked two important historical processes: first, the emergence of foreign-induced cultural change around Christian missions in rural areas since the 1880s, accompanying and sometimes preceding colonial occupation; second, the slow but steady growth of the African urban population, which was overwhelmingly comprised not of 'citizens' but of 'natives', who spoke indigenous Bantu languages or were bilingual and retained connections with their rural backgrounds and 'traditions' while adopting new urban lifestyles. Even Luanda in the 1950s was not the 'creole island' still represented in some studies of Angola.[9]

---

[8] John Parker, *Making the Town: Ga State and Society in Early Colonial Accra* (Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 2000), xxi.

[9] Mário António de Oliveira, *Luanda, 'Ilha' Crioula* (Lisbon, 1968), a much quoted work, highlighted one segment of Luanda's population and the characteristics it shared with other Atlantic spaces, rather than studying the urban population as a whole. The model for a 'creole' society in Portuguese colonies was the Cape Verde islands and it should be noted that in colonial Angola, the term *crioulo* was originally synonymous with Cape Verdian identity. *Crioulo* was later extended to groups and societies so diverse in space and time that

Further to these problematic characterizations were dichotomies stressing stark oppositions instead of continuity and relativity: traditional versus modern and rural versus urban. Such dichotomies have been challenged in African history but still have wide currency in studies of Angola. This work on Huambo provides further evidence of a situation where a clear-cut frontier between rural and urban is nonexistent. Rural-urban interaction and continuities are evident in a city whose economy relied almost entirely on peasant production. Trade and transportation were the main activities of Portuguese settlers throughout the period, with only marginal investments in industry. Once the focus turns to the 'peri-urban' areas, the urban-rural continuum becomes apparent, whether in the landscape, in economic activities or in family life.

As Frederick Cooper has written, 'studying colonial history reminds us that in the most oppressive of political systems, people found not just niches in which to hide and fend for themselves, but handles by which the system itself could be moved'.[10] During my research on Huambo I often felt the tension between, on the one hand, my desire to explore how its people carried on their lives with more or less success, rather than seeing them simply as 'victims' and, on the other, the need to demonstrate how they were, in so many aspects, blocked by the nature of the colonial situation, and in particular by the legal status of 'native'.[11] I have tried to avoid the pitfalls of seeing their experience as something intrinsically different from that of other stories of 'peasants-into-urbanites', or of treating their colonial experience as

---

the concept lost any analytical utility it may have had. Jill Dias adopted it, with caveats, to compare Angola before the 1930s with other 'creole' experiences in West Africa, but her work confirms that Luanda was not a 'sociological island' cut off from its African hinterland: Jill Dias, 'Uma questão de identidade: Respostas intelectuais às transformações económicas no seio da elite crioula da Angola Portuguesa entre 1870 e 1930', *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos*, 1 (1984), 61-94.

[10] Frederick Cooper, *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge, 2002), 242.

[11] For the 'colonial situation', see Georges Balandier's famous article (1951) translated as 'The colonial situation: A theoretical approach', in Immanuel Wallerstein (ed.), *Social Change: The Colonial Situation* (New York, 1966), 34-61; see also his *Ambiguous Africa: Cultures in Collision* (London, 1966), 169-95.

similar to any other history of subjugation and exploitation. In the end, this social history of Huambo, incomplete as it is, confirms Cooper's comment.

This work deals with a variety of different themes and the main secondary references are provided in the respective chapters. But a few authors need to be mentioned here, because their work has been particularly important to me. Frederick Cooper's writings have long been an inspiration, whether on colonial policies, on labour issues, on peasants or on more theoretical subjects.[12] For different reasons, Phyllis Martin on leisure and on the Catholic women of Congo-Brazzaville, Jeanne Penvenne and Valdemir Zamparoni on Maputo, Charles-Didier Gondola on Kinshasa and Brazzaville, and Andrew Burton on Dar-es-Salaam, all had a significant impact on my own work.[13] John Parker's history of Accra provides a contrasting example of a very different sort of African city, although one which shares many of my methodological concerns about urban history.

This study began as an attempt to look at a certain region of central Angola as part of the African experience of colonial rule in the twentieth century. Yet, many pages are devoted to discussing Portuguese colonial doctrines and policies through time, not only as a framework for what was going on in Huambo, but also as a contribution to better informed comparisons with other colonial regimes. One key theme runs through this history of Huambo: the *indigenato*, the special legal status

[12] Cooper, *Africa since 1940*; idem, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley, 2005); idem, *Decolonization and African Society. The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge, 1996); idem, 'Citizenship and the politics of difference in French Africa, 1946-1960', in Harald Fischer-Tiné and Susan Gehrmann (eds), *Empires and Boundaries: Rethinking Race, Class and Gender in Colonial Settings* (London, 2009), 107-28.

[13] Phyllis Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville* (Cambridge, 1995); idem, *Catholic Women of Congo-Brazzaville: Mothers and Sisters in Troubled Times* (Bloomington, 2009); Jeanne Marie Penvenne, *African Workers and Colonial Racism: Mozambican Strategies and Struggles in Lourenço Marques, 1877-1962* (Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1995); Valdemir Zamparoni, *De Escravo a Cozinheiro: Colonialismo e Racismo em Moçambique* (Salvador de Bahia, 2007); Charles-Didier Gondola, *Villes miroirs: Migrations et identités urbaines à Kinshasa et Brazzaville, 1930-1970* (Paris, 1996); Andrew Burton, *African Underclass: Urbanisation, Crime and Colonial Order in Dar es Salaam* (London, 2005).

for African 'natives' regulated by the so-called Native Statute, which existed in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau until 1961. Despite being mentioned by most authors dealing with twentieth-century Portuguese colonies, I believe that the full scope and implications of the system have been either overlooked or treated as only another unjust aspect of Portuguese colonial rule. I examine the progressive construction of the system in Angola, from its origins as a device to control and coerce labour to an overarching strategy that defined the place of the overwhelming majority of Angolans in colonial society and that protected white settlers from economic and political competition.[14] It must be noted that not all natives became 'natives': the term is not interchangeable with African or black, and mixed-race people could also be subject to the Native Statute. So the inverted commas will stay throughout the text whenever referring to 'natives' as the people under the Native Statute. This, I hope, will keep the reader aware that 'native' status was not a cultural or political divide common in all periods of colonization but a twentieth-century legal imposition, with implications for all aspects of life. It was based on 'race' since it applied, to use the colonial terminology, only to 'the blacks and their descendents', all other criteria coming after this fundamental distinction.

It is useful to distinguish colonial ideology from both colonial doctrines and actual policies on the ground. The ideology can be found in the body of philosophical and political ideas that gave an overall coherence and justification to the European colonisation of Africa from the end of the nineteenth century to the 1940s, at least. It is ideology in the sense that it was not confined to the restricted circle of theoretical discussions and of policy makers but became part of the basic assumptions of the 'common man' and of many collective institutions in European societies (Christian

[14] For a recent discussion, see Michel Cahen, '*Indigenato* before race? Some proposals on Portuguese forced labour law in Mozambique and the African Empire (1926-1962)', in Francisco Bethencourt and Adrian Pearce (eds), *Racism and Ethnic Relations in the Portuguese-Speaking World* (Oxford, forthcoming).

churches included). The ideology of European racial and cultural supremacy was used, as we know, to legitimate colonial conquest, economic exploitation, the displacement of populations, the construction of legal systems based on racial inequality and the repression of opposition and dissent. Despite the variety of interests and motivations, that ideology was firmly embedded in official discourse and in public opinion, in Portugal as in other colonial metropoles. Opinions diverged, however, on how to make the most of the African colonies and on how to deal with Africans. Discussions sooner or later developed into a 'colonial doctrine': a corpus of principles, methods, strategies and administrative options. These were adopted or rejected (overall or for a specific territory) by the metropolitan imperial state. They reflected the particular political regime and the administrative traditions of each European country, as well as their inherited experience from earlier Asian or American colonies.

Yet colonial doctrines also depended upon the reactions of African societies to the establishment of foreign rule. They also changed over time and according to place and, sometimes, opinions diverged even within a government or a political party. Those internal debates at the centre of empires were important. The dominant colonial doctrine determined at least two decisive aspects: the economic ties between the colony and its metropole (more or less protectionist, for instance) and the legal frame of the relationship between colonisers and colonised, that is, the legal status and the (lack of) rights of the latter. For the first half of the twentieth century, economic policies varied but all colonial powers converged in creating a status of non-citizenship for the majority of the colonised. The Portuguese developed their *indigenato* system, similar to the French *indigénat*.[15] However, neither the overall

[15] Maria C. Neto, 'Ideologias, contradições e mistificações da colonização de Angola no século XX', *Lusotopie* (1997), 327-59; Gregory Mann, 'What was the *indigénat*? The "empire of law" in French West Africa', *Journal of African History* [hereafter *JAH*], 50 (2009), 331-53; Elizabeth Vera Cruz, *O Estatuto do Indigenato: Angola – A Legalização da*

ideology nor the doctrine developed in London, Lisbon or Paris are enough to explain how colonial rule was imposed in the colonies, let alone to understand how it worked in practice. 'Colonial policy' (or a similar expression) has a broader meaning and focuses more on individual territories. Colonial policy was of course marked by the ideology of race supremacy and in many aspects depended upon the dominant doctrine. But it refers to their application in each concrete colonial situation. That depended, largely, on the decisions and actions of local officials and their interactions with the colonial society at large. So the discussion of colonial policies as they impacted upon Angola in general and upon Huambo in particular takes into account not only laws and decrees but also the local administrative legislation and the way those rules were applied or circumvented, according to the evolving economic, social and political context.

'Integration' and 'association' were principles that at different moments informed mainstream colonial doctrines in the French, Belgian and Portuguese empires. 'Integration' meant that the colonies were to be ruled according to the same laws as the metropole or, at least, tending to that. Those among the colonized who could prove that they had a 'civilized' way of life (that is, having 'assimilated' enough European culture) were entitled to the same rights, that is, to full citizenship.[16] According to the 'association' principle, however, the colonies were by definition different from their metropoles and they should be ruled accordingly, by a different set of laws. It has been said that France and Portugal tended to choose assimilation and that the British tended to avoid it. In fact, as we know, existing differences were greatly determined by the economic and political realities in different colonies, rather than by those doctrines. And if we look to the results, those who were supposed to practice 'assimilation' did not produce more 'westernized' individuals than those who

---

Discriminação na Colonização Portuguesa (Lisbon, 2005).

[16] See Alexander Keese, *Living with Ambiguity: Integrating an African Elite in French and Portuguese Africa, 1930-61* (Stuttgart, 2007).

did not inscribe 'assimilation' in their colonial doctrines. In both cases, the way Christian missionaries did their job was probably more influential than any other single factor. Anyway, Portuguese colonization in Angola, Guiné and Mozambique in the first half of twentieth century was no longer 'assimilationist' and the Native Statute was more of a barrier than it was a ladder to climb.

I originally set out to study a specifically urban population, considering that the rural Ovimbundu people of Angola's central highlands had already been the subject of some academic work. Yet I end up paying equal attention to Huambo's rural hinterland, without which the city would never have developed as it did. As A. L. Epstein, one of the founders of urban sociology in Africa, noted, 'Towns…are not self-contained social entities, but have their place within a wider field of social relationships. The study of urbanization needs also to include therefore the analysis of relations between the various towns themselves, as well as these of rural and urban areas'.[17] A further issue was that of some contradictions in the work of previous scholars on central Angola. There has been a tendency to emphasize the Ovimbundu's relative success as farmers, whether 'traditional' or 'modern', but to underline their economic decay and poverty. Similarly, scholars have stressed the Ovimbundu's massive adoption of some form of Christian faith, which could not have happened without a high degree of individual and collective commitment and mobilization – but in the end tend to characterize the adaptation of new cultural features as 'identity loss' or cultural disintegration.[18] Christine Messiant's sociological

---

[17] A. L. Epstein, 'Urbanization and Social Change in Africa', *Current Anthropology*, 4 (1967), 284.

[18] René Pélissier, *História das Campanhas de Angola: Resistências e Revoltas 1845-1941* (Lisbon, 1986), II, 61-101; idem, *La colonie du minotaure: Nationalismes et révoltes en Angola (1926-1961)* (Orgeval, 1978); Gladwyn Murray Childs, *Umbundu Kinship and Character* (London, 1949); Hermann Pössinger, 'Interrelations between economic and social change in rural Africa: The case of the Ovimbundu of Angola', in Franz-Wilhelm Heimer (ed.), *Social Change in Angola* (Munich, 1973), 32-52; Franz-Wilhelm Heimer, *The Decolonization Conflict in Angola, 1974-1976: An Essay in Political Sociology* (Geneva, 1979); Adrian C. Edwards, *The Ovimbundu Under Two Sovereignties: A Study of Social*

analysis of Angola before 1961 stands as *the* study on colonial Angola in the 1950s and contains a full discussion of previous academic work.[19] She disagrees with the centrality of ethnic divisions in earlier analyses of Angolan nationalism and the characterization of most of rural Angola as societies in which the reproduction of political, economic and ideological processes were still intact, outside the central colonial nucleus, arguing that the reality by 1960 was 'extremely nuanced'.[20] In the absence of historical research on central Angola, Messiant's comments on 'the slow integration-disintegration of the Ovimbundu' were based on authors who underlined the disappearance of local polities and the decay of rural societies after the 'golden age' of the caravan trade, with urban centres destroying what was left of the old Ovimbundu culture. For Messiant, descriptions of 'political and social decomposition' are explained by 'the general impoverishment' of Ovimbundu peasants, by the 'isolation and dispersion' of migrant workers, and by 'social atomisation' that occurred after the 'dissolution of balanced social structures existing during the caravan period'. This picture is not totally false, but it leaves little room for Ovimbundu agency in the forging of new adaptive strategies and wrongly suggests an overall linear decay since the early twentieth century.[21] Messiant, however, understood the role of Christianization in what she called the 'cultural integration' of most Ovimbundu in colonial society, and she crucially noted that their 'assimilation' tendency was 'less a wish to identify with white people than a wish for social advancement and a strong capacity for adaptation to the changed conditions'.[22]

Control and Social Change among a People of Angola (London, 1962); Fernando Diogo da Silva, *O Huambo: Mão-de-obra Rural no Mercado de Trabalho de Angola* (Luanda, 1970).

[19] Christine Messiant, *1961: L'Angola colonial, histoire et société : Les prémisses du mouvement nationaliste* (Basel, 2006). The original text is from 1983.

[20] Ibid, 390-1.

[21] See John Lonsdale, 'Agency in tight corners: Narrative and initiative in African history', *Journal of African Cultural Studies* [hereafter *JACS*], 1 (2000), 5-16.

[22] Messiant, *1961: l'Angola colonial*, 363-73. She acknowledged, however, that due to the lack of reliable data, her section on urban Ovimbundu could only be hypothetical.

But her discussion of African elites in central Angola overlooked the 'Catholic world', for which there was no study to rely on.[23]

There is neither an overall history of Angola in the twentieth century nor a useful synthesis for the period after 1930.[24] René Pélissier and Christine Méssiant provide, in different ways, useful historical background to the anti-colonial struggle. Gerald Bender's work was important in exposing the myth of 'lusotropicalism', but is superficial or ill-informed about Angolan history in general.[25] Recent research has contributed to Angola's labour history, making ample use of oral sources.[26] White settlers have recently attracted some attention, which contributed to my decision not to deal further with Huambo's European population. I chose instead to focus on those who, being the overwhelming majority, were not recognized as urbanites or were treated just as part of the scenery, not as real actors. They were once conspicuously absent from newspapers, essays and memoirs, as they are now absent from the burgeoning production of memories of colonial times.[27]

Among current scholars, Linda Heywood is probably the best known historian of central Angola in the English-speaking world. Heywood's work contains much valuable information but, as will be evident in later chapters, I often disagree with

---

[23] Ibid, 400.

[24] For collections of essays on select issues, see Heimer, *Social Change in Angola;* David Birmingham, *Empire in Africa: Angola and its Neighbors* (Athens, Ohio, 2006); idem, *Portugal and Africa* (Athens, Ohio, 1999); Douglas Wheeler and René Pélissier, *Angola*, (New York, 1971), translated recently into Portuguese as *História de Angola* (Lisbon, 2009); Patrick Chabal and Nuno Vidal (eds), *Angola: the Weight of History* (London, 2007).

[25] Gerald Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality* (Berkeley, 1978).

[26] Jeremy Robert Ball, '"The Colossal Lie": The Sociedade Agrícola do Cassequel and Portuguese Colonial Labor Policy in Angola, 1899-1977', PhD thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2003 (Ball later on did many more interviews, working with the Angolan National Archives); Todd Cleveland, 'Rock Solid: African Laborers on the Diamond Mines of the Companhia de Diamantes de Angola (Diamang), 1917-1975', PhD thesis, University of Minnesota, 2008; Ana Paula Tavares, 'Memória e História: Estudo sobre as Sociedades Lunda e Cokwe em Angola', PhD thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2010.

[27] See Cláudia Castelo, *Passagens para a África Portuguesa: O Povoamento de Angola e Moçambique com Naturais da Metrópole (c. 1920-1974)* (Porto, 2007); Fernando Tavares Pimenta, *Brancos de Angola: Autonomismo e Nacionalismo (1900-1961)* (Coimbra, 2005); idem, *Angola, os Brancos e a Independência* (Porto, 2008).

her interpretations and conclusions, especially those in her book *Contested Power*.[28] Péclard's analysis of Protestant missions is much richer and two chapters of his unpublished thesis are important to clarify the relationship between these missions and the urban environment, revealing the contradictions in the missionaries' relationship with their Angolan faithful. He considers in detail questions of social mobility, subjective transformation and expectations of the Protestants, although he recognizes the difficulties in hearing Angolan voices in the missionary sources.[29]

The issue of modernity inevitably emerges from this social history of Huambo, whether I was considering agriculture, Christianization, new occupations or elites, although I often avoided the term because of its problematic definitions.[30] At a certain point in writing this thesis I had to decide between investing most of my time in theoretical discussions of every 'big word' (modernity, colonialism, assimilation, conversion, identity) and applying my energy to empirical research, providing evidence to justify my conclusions and my occasional diversion from received wisdom on colonial Angola. I decided that my main contribution should be the latter; that is, to provide evidence for a specific historical process, the creation and development of the city of Huambo, from which new interpretations, comparisons and questions will hopefully arise. Moreover, it seemed obvious that studies of particular regions of the Portuguese colonial empire were in need, especially empirical research using the almost unexplored resources of the Angolan archives for the twentieth century. A number of factors, such as the rise of Salazar's *Estado Novo*, its implacable opposition to decolonization and the absence of open protest after the

[28] Linda M. Heywood, *Contested Power in Angola, 1840s to the Present* (Rochester, 2000).
[29] Didier Péclard, 'Etat colonial, missions chrétiennes et nationalisme en Angola, 1920-1975 : Aux racines sociales de l'UNITA', PhD thesis, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, 2005, esp. chapters 3 and 4.
[30] See Cooper, *Colonialism*, 113-49; Jan-Georg Deutsch, Peter Probst and Heike Schmidt, 'Introduction: Cherished visions and entangled meanings', in *African Modernities: Entangled Meanings in Current Debate* (Portsmouth and Oxford, 2002), 1-17; Susan Friedman, 'Definitional excursions: The meanings of *Modern/Modernity/Modernism*', *Modernism/modernity*, 3 (2001), 493-513.

Second World War, reinforced the image of a *sui generis* Portuguese colonialism, whether to emphasize supposed racial harmony on the one hand or the harsh exploitation of Africans on the other. At a time when colonialism in the French and British colonies was getting a 'developmental' face and dealing with independence prospects, the Portuguese colonies were examples of economic and political backwardness. However, as this work attempts to demonstrate, until the 1940s Portuguese policies were not distant from their colonial rivals.

This research on Huambo's urban history does not set out to deal with all the complexities of city life. It is about social change, focusing mainly on people excluded from citizenship by colonial laws and yet contributing in meaningful ways to the economic and social life of the city, and changing their own lives in the process. Despite detailed discussion in the chapters that follow of the shifting limits of urban space in Huambo, whether following the criteria of town planners or the changing perceptions of 'urban' on the part of different dwellers, it is necessary to define here what 'urban' means in this work.[31] Historically, what makes a city a city is not its architecture or the use of certain technologies, but the diversity and density of human activity and relations, as well as the function of that particular place in the region it serves and often commands.[32] 'Urbanites' are not only those living in the urbanized central neighbourhoods, but all the people who contribute to making towns what they are, whether an economic centre, a political centre, a religious centre, an educational centre or, as in the case of Huambo, all of these. People spending most of their working hours and spare time in town or in urban-related activities become urban even if they were 'rural' when they first arrived there. Their way of life, from occupation to leisure time or household composition may vary greatly, they may be more or less close to their rural kin, but those who stayed became townspeople – a

[31] Cf. Sandra Roque, 'Ambitions of *Cidade*: War-Displacement and Concepts of the Urban Among *Bairro* Residents in Benguela, Angola', PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, 2009.
[32] See Parker, *Making the Town*, xx-xxi; Péclard, 'État Colonial', 236-7.

change often realised only while paying a visit to their home village. In Huambo, as we will see, many aspects of material life (housing, cooking, water carrying or sanitation) were for the majority of its inhabitants not so distinct from the rural world. But the scale and concentration of events and people, the exposure to European ways of life and the opportunities to move between jobs were undeniably characteristics of the urban experience. Clothes, hair styling, naming, leisure activities: all were directed to making the distinction visible.

So, why the title 'in the town and out of town', if all the population both inside and outside Huambo's formal limits can be considered as part of the city's human fabric? The answer is given in those sections where I discuss how the colonial system kept most of the urban black population out of town, in residential terms and, more decisively, out of the citizenship rights which would allow their upward social mobility and their move from the periphery to the centre. That is, while economic and social change created a new urban environment with its own opportunities, expectations and greater influence of European material culture and Christianity, Portuguese colonial rule assured that such transformation would not have its natural outcome: 'natives' moving up the social ladder and displacing European settlers from their position of overall economic and political privilege. It should also be noted that not all urban Angolans lived in Angola and although Léopoldville/Kinshasa is the biggest example, many other cities in central and southern Africa had temporary or permanent Angolan diasporas.[33] That fact influenced comparisons and expectations about urban life among those who travelled, migrated or simply received correspondence from their kin and friends. Discussions on social change related to the urban environment need to take into account those experiences outside the limits

[33] The most urbanized and industrialized region of central Africa, the Katanga province of the Belgian Congo and the adjacent Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt, was connected to central Angola by the Benguela railway.

of each colony. In the absence of studies on Angolan migrant workers or diasporas, this question could not be fully treated but its importance has to be acknowledged.

Periodization, methodology and sources

Apart from Chapter 1 on the historical background of the central highlands of Angola, this study covers roughly sixty years, from the conquest in 1902 of Wambu, the small Umbundu kingdom where the city of Huambo was founded in 1912, to 1960. The ongoing story of Huambo in the final phase of colonial rule in Angola from 1961 to 1975 lies beyond the scope of the thesis, for a number of reasons. First, the uprisings of 1961 in northern Angola caused important changes in Portuguese colonial doctrine and policies, namely the end of the Native Statute and related legislation on labour and taxation. That removed legal restrictions on the upward social mobility of those classified as 'natives', and one indication of that in Huambo was the extraordinary influx of their children into secondary schools. Second, a boost in industrialization, as part of the Portuguese strategy to retain control of Angola, opened new work opportunities and Huambo became, after the capital Luanda, the second industrial pole in the colony. During the period studied here, in contrast, the city's economy was dominated by agriculture and trade. Last but not the least, the violent challenge to the colonial state with the rise of the national liberation struggle created a totally different set of expectations about the future.

Much of the historical analysis of this work has been forged in close dialogue with sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, agronomists and geographers, reinforcing my conviction that interdisciplinary research is fundamental to understanding the evolution of African urbanism. It was also striking to discover the extent to which historical fields proudly stay apart from each other, whether 'economic history' from 'cultural history' or 'imperial history' looking from a distance

at 'African history', and vice-versa. So, which historical field should someone studying urbanization, social change and colonial rule in central Angola belong to? Urban social change was not just 'economic' or 'cultural' or 'religious' or 'political'. 'Colonial rule' was a complex and ever-changing mixture of ideology, doctrine, policy, and everyday practices. Moreover, the only way to establish any historical specificity (of colonial rule, of urbanization or of Christianization, say) is to compare what you are studying with what happened elsewhere. This work has probably suffered from my ambition to look in so many directions before accepting my own limitations and the constraints of a thesis. But my own shortcomings are no reason to reject the importance of historians going beyond borders, both of colonial geographies and of academic disciplines.

I preferred sometimes to re-analyze primary sources rather than simply relying on other scholars publications. This does not necessarily imply a questioning of their work, yet I wished to avoid a certain circularity of evidence in a milieu, Angolan history, where authors are just a few. If my findings confirm earlier analyses, that is good because it adds further weight and evidence to this literature; if my findings diverge from theirs, that is good because it introduces some 'noise' in otherwise unchallenged assumptions. Independent research and source diversification are essential to test, either validating or not, conclusions based in other case studies or in another set of sources.

The main sources for this work were archival documents kept in Angola, Portugal, France and Britain. Protestant missionary archives in the United States and Canada, also very important to central Angola's history, were not consulted, and not only for practical reasons. Those archives have previously been explored by Heywood and Péclard and were much less important in the urban context of Huambo. The Angolan National Archive (ANA) in Luanda, especially its bound

papers (*Códices*) and loose papers (*Avulsos*), but also its folders (*Pastas*), was the main archive for this research, allowing me to get close to the everyday functioning of the colonial state and to see evidence of the impact on Huambo and its hinterland of colonial policies and decrees. Even if the ruled are often only dimly perceived – and often misperceived – in these documents, they are still of enormous importance if we want to study the history of Angola rather than the history of the Portuguese empire. Due to the bureaucratic and centralizing characteristics of the Portuguese state (both in the colonies and at home), papers were produced and kept about almost every aspect of life which could be of interest for the control of Portuguese subjects. What was often a nightmare for citizens or 'natives' became a blessing for historians.

The local press represents another source, although it was only in 1930 that Huambo got its own newspaper and it was explicitly *'o jornal do colono'*, directed to the interests of white settlers, with only an occasional and critical glimpse of the black population in town. Before 1930, the Benguela newspapers are of interest, supposedly representing regional interests, that is, that of traders on the central plateau. Again, these sources are useful for studying the political and ideological cleavages among the Portuguese in Angola but almost useless for the social history of the colonized.

Outside Angola, the main archives of the Holy Ghost Mission in Paris were essential for this study (their archives in Lisbon are also of interest but the Paris archives hold much more material). As the text will show, the Holy Ghost missionaries were dominant in the field and their reports, letters, photographs and publications are indispensable for the history of Huambo. However, as expected, many aspects of people's lives were not touched in those documents.

In Portugal, the *Arquivo Histórico Militar (AHM)*, the main military archive, was precious and not only for the period of the conquest, since many later documents

from civilian authorities found their way into its collection. Of great help also was the *Instituto Português de Ajuda ao Desenvolvimento (IPAD)* to where some papers from the former Ministry of Overseas Affairs were transferred. The bulk of documentation of that Ministry, however, is in *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU)*, whose importance is widely recognized.

Anthropological literature is an important complement to any historical research in the region, but with a few caveats. Any study of Huambo deals with people now commonly called Ovimbundu, but this is not a study of 'the urban Ovimbundu' for two major reasons: Ovimbundu had different urban experiences in other Angolan cities (Lobito, Luanda and Moçâmedes/Namibe) and beyond Angolan frontiers; and the African population of Huambo, namely that under the Native Statute which is the main focus of this study, was not all Ovimbundu. Moreover, their legal status as 'natives' was more relevant in shaping social life, as we will see, than their ethno-linguistic affiliation. However, since the city was founded in the old Umbundu kingdom of Wambu and Ovimbundu people of many origins remained the overwhelmingly majority of Huambo's population, I hope this study contributes to a better understanding of the Ovimbundu's diverse and rich history. Further, little if any anthropological research has been carried out in a systematic way among the Ovimbundu in the last fifty years, a period when history and anthropology in Africa have deeply changed in their methods and resources. Gladwyn M. Childs, despite being out of date in some historical information, remains the standard anthropological reference. His 1949 book was the basis for Merran McCulloch's later work which, despite some minor problems, is the best ethnographic synthesis available.[34] Other authors are useful for particular subjects and areas but even when

[34] Merran McCulloch, *The Ovimbundu of Angola* (London, 1952).

the title mentions 'the Ovimbundu' they refer to a particular area or sub-group.[35] Without scientific ambitions, the description of some Va-wambu customs by Brandão published in several numbers of the government journal *Mensário Administrativo*, is useful and acknowledges his main oral sources.[36]

As for oral sources, I have drawn on a few formal interviews, some recorded long ago. In this work, oral testimony is treated as any other source and used to cross-check other information, but it is evident that the social history of Huambo or any other Angolan city would be much more interesting and valuable with a more systematic use of oral history.

Organization of chapters

The thesis is largely organized in a chronological manner, since the text had to provide a broad temporal framework for the matters discussed. But each chapter also focus on a specific theme or themes and the one about Christianization most clearly transcends chronological barriers. Chapter 1 seeks to provide an overview of the 'precolonial' history of what would become the central highlands of Angola, with a focus on historical processes important either for situating the region in a broader regional history (such as the rise of the Imbangala and the slave trade) or because their impact was still felt in Huambo in the twentieth century (such as the long-distance caravan trade and the military conquest).

Chapter 2 examines the colonial conquest of the region and the foundation of the city of Huambo in 1912 as part of a project of white settlement. Simultaneously, the inauguration of the town's railway station signalled the important influence of the

[35] Edwards, *The Ovimbundu*; A. Mesquitela Lima, *Os Kyaka de Angola: História, Parentesco, Organização Política e Territorial*, 3 vols. (Lisbon, 1988-1991); Wilfrid D. Hambly, *The Ovimbundu of Angola* (Chicago, 1934).

[36] Aníbal dos Santos Brandão, 'Usos e costumes dos indígenas Váuambo', *Mensário Administrativo,* 24-25 (1949), 43-6; 26-27 (1949), 89-91; 28 (1949), 25-9; 31-32 (1950) 21-7; 61-62 (1952) 13-16; 63-64 (1952), 35-45.

Benguela Railways Company, a role confirmed in years to come. The chapter scrutinizes the ways in which conquered African subjects began officially to be designated as 'natives', a process which marked the end of the old Portuguese colonial doctrine of 'assimilation'. Chapter 3 then traces the first thirty years of Huambo's history. Rather that developing along the lines set out in a series of grand urban plans, the city remained in many ways embedded in its surrounding rural environment. Urban regulations attempted with only limited success to maintain a distinct frontier between the city and its growing peri-urban neighbourhoods. Particular attention is given to old and new occupations, as indicators of urban-related social and economic change. The chapter also discusses the Native Statute which completed the process of making 'natives' out of subjugated people.

Chapter 4 discusses a major factor of social change in colonial Huambo and its hinterland: Christianity, which spread quickly and reshaped many aspects of life. After the 1940 Concordat between Portugal and the Catholic Church, the latter gained clear advantage over its Protestant rivals. The creation of a Diocese transformed Huambo into the epicentre of an African Catholic network of catechists, school teachers, seminarians, priests and nuns, the importance of which has been overlooked in an established literature that has focused more on rival Protestant missions. A Catholic Mission established on the city's periphery to serve the 'natives' confirmed the acceptance by the Church that urbanization was irreversible. Finally, Chapter 5 discusses some of the dead-ends generated in the 1950s by the colonial situation and Portugal's refusal to make more than cosmetic changes to its policies. Resentment mounted towards the Native Statute as a barrier to social mobility and towards judicial abuses against 'natives', but there was no space for openly contesting the system. That general situation was felt in Huambo, which was growing faster than before with both black and white immigration. The request for Portuguese

citizenship as a way out from the constraints of the Native Statute is also discussed, based on archival evidence.

This work involved more than intellectual endeavour. I grew up in Huambo and spent decisive years of my life in the city, both before and after Angola's independence. Decades of living in Luanda has not altered my sense of belonging to Huambo. Its urban decay during the ruinous civil war years revealed to me the fragility of city life: how quickly buildings deteriorate and once-thriving neighbourhoods become fragmented. Yet the decades of decay also demonstrated how resilient urbanites can be. These people *are* the city, nowadays as in the old days evoked in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 1

ANGOLA'S CENTRAL PLATEAU

BEFORE THE COLONIAL CONQUEST

The city of Huambo lies roughly at the centre of the present-day Huambo Province of Angola, which covers a great part of the country's central highlands or 'central plateau' (see map 1). This well-irrigated plateau and its adjoining zones have for centuries been a crossroads of population movements and trade routes, deeply affected by the Atlantic slave trade well before becoming part of the Portuguese colony. Most of Angola covers the north-western part of the great African plateau south of the equator, where savannas alternate with woodlands and denser forests along rivers beds. Population movements and communication were easier in vast areas south of the equatorial forest than they were between the plateau and the narrow, often arid, coastal plains. However, decisive aspects of the area's history in the last four hundred years were shaped by developments in the Atlantic economy. This also 'shaped' our telling of the region's history, since historical sources are almost totally related to (and produced after) the involvement with the Atlantic trade and politics.

Both the slave trade and Portuguese commercial influence date from the late sixteenth century, expanding after a new Portuguese trade outpost, São Filipe de Benguela, was founded in 1617 in a bay already known to slave trading vessels. The slave and ivory trades would connect central Angola not only with the Atlantic but with societies deep in central Africa, such as Kazembe and Lunda and its tributaries, in these joining East Africa commercial networks. Although that is out of the scope of this study, such connections should be kept in mind to counteract the Atlantic-centred view of the region only as 'the Benguela hinterland'. Moreover, in the

twentieth century, many of those trade routes were used again by workers and traders trying to make a living in Angola's neighbouring colonies.

By the time the Berlin Conference (1884-1885) defined the northern Angolan frontier on the lower Congo, the eastern-most Portuguese settlement in southern Angola was the fortress and military prison (*presídio*) of Caconda, established on the south-western edge of the plateau in 1769. The Portuguese did try a further military invasion of the highlands in 1776 and won a temporary victory. But the war disrupted the slave trade without bringing enough compensation in war captives, so they went back to the established commercial partnership with local kingdoms.

Despite nominal inclusion of a vast hinterland territory in the 'Benguela Province' or 'Reino de Benguela' and the occasional appointment of a *capitão-mor* ('captain major') to represent Portuguese interests in Mbalundu, Viye and Wambu, these and the other African states kept their independence. The military advances in the area resumed only in 1890 and the conquest was completed in 1904. This chapter, after a brief geographical characterization of the region, highlights key aspects of its history until the Portuguese conquest, based on the available literature, including published collections of primary sources and nineteenth-century documents from the Angolan National Archives.

The place and the people

Attempts to impose on the hinterland of Benguela the kind of rule the Portuguese managed to establish north of the Kwanza River after one hundred years of wars (1575-1671) were discouraged not only by the warlords that dominated a great part of the plateau but also by the geography of the territory.[1] The transition from sea level to the highlands is more abrupt than in the north and the rivers Longa and Kuvo

[1] Arriving in the Kongo kingdom in 1483, the Portuguese did not attempt any territorial conquest until the foundation of Luanda in 1575, when the slave trade was already developing. They destroyed the Ndongo kingdom (ruled by the *Ngola*) only in 1671.

(or Keve) cease to be navigable near the coast. There is nothing there similar to the Kwanza river, which allowed the Portuguese to navigate upstream into the interior.[2] Without boats to carry men, bulky supplies and war material to the hinterland, and without fortresses by the riverside, Portuguese troops in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were left with almost no advantages over local African warriors. The traders' route reaching the plateau from the southern bank of the Kwanza demanded great efforts of troops and porters, always at the risk of facing enemy forces in the Libolo area before reaching the higher country. The route from Benguela southeast to Caconda, before going northeast to Mbalundu was no easier.

Although earlier contacts and trade existed with Portuguese outposts on the Kwanza river, most of the written evidence on the plateau was obtained later from Benguela. The highlands then were mapped as part of an ill defined *Planalto de Benguela* ('Benguela Plateau') or *Planalto de Caconda*, stretching from Caconda to 'lands not well known' in the east.[3] Later on it was also named *Planalto do Bié* ('Bié Plateau'), after the Viye kingdom.

The main physical features of the region have played an important role in its history. The altitude of the plateau ranges roughly between 1,500 metres and 1,800 metres above sea level, with a few places below or above those limits and several isolated high rocky outcrops (inselbergs). Those inselbergs were often reinforced with stone walls closing the empty spaces between the rocks and leaving a labyrinthic access, and some were the centre of royal capitals.[4] Of special interest to Wambu are Nganda and Kawe, where traditions locate the first capital of the

---

[2] See Ilídio Amaral, *O Rio Cuanza (Angola), da Barra a Cambambe: Reconstituição de Aspectos Geográficos e Acontecimentos Históricos dos Séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon, 2000).
[3] Mappa hidro-geographico [by] Tenente Coronel Luiz Candido Cordeiro Pinheiro Furtado (1791), in António de Oliveira Cadornega, *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas (1680)* (Lisbon, 1972). It indicates Bailundo, Ambo [i. e. Huambo], Quipeio, Sambos, Bihé, etc.
[4] Nineteenth-century commercial developments apparently made stone walls less important, but the *olombala* (sing. *ombala*) or capitals still had strong defensive fences around them and hidden escape exits.

kingdom, Samisasa, the last independent capital, near which the Portuguese built a fortress after the 1902 campaign, and Kandumbu, where a battle during that campaign took place.

To the east, the plateau slopes down gently to the vast plains of eastern Angola and beyond. But to the west it rises into the so-called 'marginal mountain' ridge, exceeding sometimes 2,000 metres, before abruptly going down and ending in a dry coastal strip that becomes narrower to the south.[5] About 50 kilometres east of the city of Huambo several main rivers have their source, running to west, north and south: the Keve, the Kutatu, the Kunene and the Kubango (Okavango) whose waters disappear in the Kalahari desert. These and many smaller rivers make the zone relatively well watered the year round.

The tropical climate is moderated by the altitude, with annual average temperatures below 20ºC and annual variations normally below 10ºC. The highest temperatures occur normally in September and October and the lowest ones in June and July, during the dry season which goes, with small variations, from May to September. Average annual rainfall is above 1,250 mm and rainfall is heaviest in November-December and March. A short dry season may occur in January or February. This annual cycle was important not only for farming but also for travelling and warfare (normally undertaken in the dry season), two important activities associated with economic and political power on the plateau.

Except for some limited areas, soils are poor in this part of Africa (the Kalahari is not far away) and the deforestation that accompanied agricultural expansion, associated with the strong rainfall, tended to cause the rapid disappearance of the thin layer of fertile soil. But it was possible to feed a growing number of people using the traditional methods of extensive agriculture that allowed the more fragile lands to

[5] *Carta Geral dos Solos de Angola, II, Distrito do Huambo* (Lisbon, 1961), 5-6, in Fernando Diogo da Silva, *O Huambo: Mão-de-obra Rural no Mercado de Trabalho de Angola* (Luanda, 1970), 37-38.

regenerate through long fallow periods (twenty years or more). Hunting was important and leaves, roots, fruits, insects and small animals collected in the forests and woodlands also provided part of the diet. It is not difficult to imagine why this well-watered zone has attracted different peoples from ancient times and became the most densely populated zone in colonial Angola. Despite droughts and plagues of locusts that temporarily created subsistence crises and their usual retinue of disease, social instability and wars, the central plateau was, for centuries, a land of immigration, whether because of its natural advantages or political changes and upheavals in other regions.[6]

Cadornega's seventeenth-century account of the peoples and kingdoms south of the Kwanza (compiled from second-hand information) mentions the existence of 'provinces' (apparently major areas named after their best known peoples) divided among different rulers or *'sovas'* that he distinguishes from the *'jagas'*. It is interesting to note that 'Huambo' is listed as a *sova* in the 'Province of the Sumbis' (the Va-Sumbi were in the area south of the river Keve near the present-day town of Sumbe, once Novo Redondo) and not in the 'province of the Quimbundos' where Cadornega includes some of the groups later known in the colonial ethnography as Nyaneka. No Mbalundu *sova* is listed in either of these 'provinces'.[7]

Ovimbundu or Vimbundu (sing. Ocimbundu) is today the common name for peoples speaking the Umbundu language, who stretch widely over central Angola and who also came to populate other zones, including cities in the north (Luanda) and the south (Lubango and Namibe). Calculations and projections (but neither fieldwork nor a proper census) suggest that they today represent almost 40 percent of Angolan people. However, Umbundu language and culture had a hegemonic role in

---

[6] See Joseph C. Miller 'The significance of drought, disease and famine in the agriculturally marginal zones of West-central Africa', *JAH*, 23 (1982), 17-61.
[7] Cadornega, *História Geral,* III, 231-233, 249-250. Also Gladwyn M. Childs, 'The peoples of Angola in the seventeenth century according to Cadornega', *JAH*, 1 (1960), 271-279.

different parts of central and southern Angola and the fact that someone spoke Umbundu as their first language in the 1960 or the 1970 census (the last to be conducted) did not necessarily mean that he or she had Ovimbundu parents or had been raised according to an 'Umbundu culture'.[8] Population censuses were made without anthropological research and classifications were based on language, so data have to be handled carefully.

For the historical period covered by written sources, however, it can be assumed that the majority of the people of the central plateau were Umbundu speakers, whether or not their immediate or remote ancestors were from other linguistic groups. Yet neither in foreign sources nor among the peoples themselves was the name 'Ovimbundu' in use before the end of the nineteenth century to define their ethnic let alone their political identities. Local peoples rather identified themselves by referring to known polities, adding the Bantu 'Va' prefix: Va-Wambu, Va-Mbalundu, Va-Viye, Va-Sambu. For these peoples, the Portuguese used the terms Huambos, Bailundos, Bienos and Sambos. Some of them also became known collectively as the Va-Nano (literally 'those from the highlands'), by contrast with people they called Va-Mbwelo 'those from the lowlands' and whose cattle and people they used to raid.[9] Long-distance trade and an association with foreign goods and European habits gave some Umbundu-speaking groups the name of *Vimbali* (sing. *ocimbali*) among many eastern neighbours.[10] Sometimes a group of traders in distant lands became known by the name or political title of their king: so the Viye traders, for instance, were known as 'Kangombe' in some places.

---

[8] In the late 1940s, Childs noted the 'widespread use of Umbundu' by neighbours (considered non-Ovimbundu) such as Va-Nganda and Va-Hanya. Childs, *Umbundu Kinship and Character* (Oxford, 1949), 11.

[9] See Ernesto Lecomte, 'No Cubango: Communicação à Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa, em 3 de Junho de 1889', *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, 8ª Série (1889), 347. He was aware of how peoples' names depended on who was naming who.

[10] In Portuguese 'quimbares', a word that developped many different meanings in colonial Angola. Here *vimbali* meant broadly those who adopted some of the ways of the European, or had close trading relationships with them.

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents used the name 'Quimbundos' for several peoples south of the Kwanza, but still distinct from the Imbangala: 'These are they of the uplands, who are divided into two groups, one called "Quimbundos" (those do not eat human flesh); the others are called "Quimbangalas", who eat it, and when they make their sacrifice, which all attend, all eat the "Macongo"'.[11] This mention of cannibalism among the Imbangala is related to the *'okulia ekongo'* ('to eat the hunter'), a ceremony of ritual cannibalism associated to the enthronement of important chiefs (*olosoma*, sing. *soma*) on the plateau that is also mentioned in much later sources and also by elder people in the region today.[12]

Even more confusing for historians is the fact that until the end of the nineteenth century the general term 'Quimbundos' or 'Mbundos' named only the Umbundu-speaking peoples and not their northern Kimbundu-speaking neighbours. The latter were called the 'Ambundos' (in Kimbundu, 'Akwambundu'). In the Portuguese ethnographic literature and in the common terminology of twentieth-century Angola, however, the language took the place of the 'ethnic' group's name: 'quimbundos' (Kimbundu), 'umbundos' (Umbundu), 'quicongos' (Kikongo), etc. The current international use of Mbundu and Ovimbundu to distinguish between Kimbundu-speakers and Umbundu-speakers, respectively, has not been enough to prevent some mistakes among researchers and librarians.

The remote past

Hunters, farmers, fishermen and herders, using iron implements and weapons, inhabited the plateau for many centuries before the first written information about

---

[11] Paulo M. P. Lacerda, 'Noticia da Cidade de S. Filipe de Benguella, e dos costumes dos gentios habitantes daquelle sertão (1797)', *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes*, 5ª série (parte não official) (1845), 488.
[12] See Ladislaus Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika in den Jahren 1849 bis 1857*, (Pest & Leipzig, 1859), 273-275; Childs, *Umbundu Kinship*, 187. Interview with Faustino Nunes Muteka, Luanda, 16 February 1991.

them was produced at the end of the sixteenth century. As elsewhere in central Africa, the area was occupied by peoples speaking Bantu languages who had expelled or merged with former inhabitants.[13] However, about their political life, ethnic integration or disintegration, and linguistic and cultural transformation before that period, we can only speculate. Aspects of material and spiritual culture and oral traditions, here mostly collected after decades of colonial rule and Christian influence, are of limited help in establishing the economic, political and social developments of distant centuries. 'Myths of origin' are important and can provide keys to the history of related societies, but they often tell more about the time and context in which they were produced or told than about the remote past.[14]

There is, however, physical evidence of an ancient history that still awaits archaeological research. Fortifications and megalithic constructions can be found throughout much of Angola and they are not an exclusive feature of the central plateau. In the present state of Angolan archaeology, we are very much reduced to superficial observation. The southern part of the plateau shares with regions further south some impressive sites, with vestiges of kilometres of protective stone walls built of loose stones, with a technique similar to that used in Great Zimbabwe. Some of them, like Feti and Osi, used the confluence of two rivers to create an effective defensive triangle. Inside those areas there were other stone constructions, pyramidal or cylindrical. There is plenty of evidence of ironworking and agriculture in and around those sites. Feti, Osi and Ileu have been described but not fully investigated.[15]

---

[13] For a recent reappraisal of the 'Bantu expansion', see David Schoenbrun and Christopher Ehret, 'Representing the Bantu expansions: What's at stake?', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 34, 1 (2001), 1-42.

[14] For the relationship between oral traditions and history, centered on Angola, see Joseph Miller, 'Tradição oral e história: uma agenda para Angola', in *Construindo o Passado Angolano: as Fontes e a sua Interpretação* (Lisbon, 2000), 371-412; John Thornton, 'Documentos escritos e tradição oral num reino alfabetizado: tradições orais escritas no Congo, 1580-1910', in idem, 445-465.

[15] See António de Almeida e Camarate França, 'Recintos muralhados de Angola' in *Estudos sobre a Pré-história do Ultramar Português* (Lisbon, 1960); Adriano V. Rodrigues,

Feti has received special attention because some Ovimbundu traditions identify it as the place of 'the first man', who took his three wives out of the reeds in a lagoon of the Kunene River, making them the mothers of the Ovimbundu and neighbouring peoples.[16] A late nineteenth-century visitor was impressed by the place and mentioned also this 'origins of mankind' tradition.[17] The most interesting part of the site was described, carelessly excavated and partially destroyed by a teacher trying to find the mythical gold mines in the region in the 1950's.[18] Instead of gold he found some four hundred old hoe blades (similar to the ones produced in parts of Angola until the twentieth century and distinct from European ones) and other iron artefacts.[19] Those findings and the extension of the protected zone suggest the development of agriculture and iron working in a context of centralized power.[20] It has also become the basis for scholarly speculation about who first built that site and the uses it had for successive peoples.[21]

Gladwyn Childs, to whom we owe the most comprehensive account of Ovimbundu oral traditions, visited Feti many years after writing his important *Umbundu Kinship and Character* (1949). He collected a few samples of charcoal and

---

'Construções bantas de pedra em Angola', *Boletim do Instituto de Investigação Cientifica de Angola (IICA)*, 5, 2 (1968), 169-189; Fernando Batalha, *Reconhecimento da Antiga Estação Arqueológica de Féti situada na Confluência do Rio Cunhamgâmua com o Rio Cunene, no Distrito do Huambo* (Luanda, 1969). A good synthesis of all archaeological work in Angola until 1975 is Carlos Ervedosa, *Arqueologia Angolana* (Lisbon, 1980). See especially 210-220 and 404-413.

[16] See Gladwyn M. Childs, 'The Chronology of the Ovimbundu Kingdoms', *JAH*, 11, 2 (1970), 367-79.

[17] Father Lecomte to Dr. Fernando Pedroso, 15 June 1893, in António Brásio, *Spiritana Monumenta Historica*, *Series Africana*, *Angola, IV (1890-1903)* (Louvain, 1970), 183-186.

[18] Júlio Diamantino de Moura, 'Uma história entre lendas', *Boletim do Instituto de Angola*, 10 (1957), 57-90; largely quoted and sketches reproduced in Ervedosa, *Arqueologia*, 210-220.

[19] Cf. Frank W. Read, 'Iron-smelting and native blacksmithing in Ondulu Country, South-east Angola', *Journal of the African Society*, London/New York, vol. II, V (1902-1903), 44-49.

[20] Discussion of state formation versus kin-based institutions is beyond the scope of this study. See Joseph C. Miller, *Kings and Kinsmen: Early Mbundu States in Angola* (Oxford, 1976).

[21] Stories or 'memories' of gold mines, disappeared Catholic missions and hidden treasures are also reported by different authors.

pottery and sent them to Yale (USA) where charcoals were dated by radiocarbon analysis to A.D. 710 and A.D. 1250. Those dates 'were not out of line with C14 dates for Iron Age sites in Rhodesia and South Africa', but 'full significance of the Feti la Choya finds in relation to other sites cannot be appraised without study of the pottery, now in the US'.[22] However, the potsherds were useless because they were too small and too few. Other samples taken in 1964 were lost, as Childs tells in his 1970 article.[23] Further local research will be extremely difficult since in the 1970's a dam was built in the area. Based on such scanty evidence, it seems impossible to tell when, by whom and why the walls, pyramid and hoes were produced.

Yet, Jan Vansina has recently speculated that Wambu and Ngalange may have been the heirs of a state from the thirteenth century, the heyday of which was 'during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and perhaps early sixteenth centuries'.[24] Feti was probably its capital. Vansina's book is essential to any discussion of central Angola's remote past. But I would use his own caveat on archaeological data and historical reconstruction: 'This task requires two conditions: that there be enough evidence for a coherent reconstruction, and that the general rules of evidence be applied to that record'.[25] Vansina, despite noting the insufficient archaeological basis and the need for comparison with similar sites, goes ahead and states that 'one may date the first elaboration on an original large-scale structure capped by a central court with a king at its apex to the time of Feti and to the central and southeastern parts of the planalto in general'.[26]

---

[22] Minze Stuiver, Edward S. Deevey Jr. and Irving Rouse, 'Yale natural radiocarbon measurements VIII', *Radiocarbon*, 5 (1963), 337-338 (from www.radiocarbon.org). They had been informed that the destroyed pyramid was the 'traditional burial place of Choya, legendary primal queen of the Ovimbundu'.
[23] Childs, 'Chronology', 241-2.
[24] Jan Vansina, *How Societies are Born: Governance in West Central Africa before 1600* (London, 2004), 173-4.
[25] Jan Vansina, 'Historians, are archeologists your siblings?', *History in Africa*, 22 (1995), 399.
[26] Vansina, *How Societies are Born*, 182.

But conceding that 'the kings lists recorded from oral tradition by Childs and Keiling cite no rulers earlier than the eighteenth century', Vansina accepts that most political dynasties of Ovimbundu kingdoms had different origins. 'Thus Ngalangi and Wambu, the heirs of Feti, were responsible only for a small portion of the later kingdoms on the planalto. For that reason alone it would be unwise to think that the "typical Ovimbundu kingdom" was a legacy of Feti'. As he stresses, social organization always undergoes change, so 'a "typical kingdom" can at best be a snapshot of a moment in time'. Anyway, 'the "typical Ovimbundu kingdom" of the late nineteenth century is mainly a product of eighteenth and nineteenth century developments, when the realms of Bailundu and Viye reached their apogee'.[27]

Feti is undeniably of major importance to the study of ancient societies in Angola but the current state of research can not tell who was living there in the thirteenth century, let alone in the eighth century. The builders of those walls could be the ancestors of the present-day Ovimbundu, and/or of the Nkumbi, of the Nyaneka or of the so-called Ngangela. Those peoples and their past polities are even less known than the Ovimbundu and historical sources on them are scarcer, since they have received much less attention from traders, missionaries, officials and scholars. The very traditions that identify 'Feti' with origins (*okufetika* means 'to begin') do so for different peoples and indeed for all the human race, not only 'the Ovimbundu'.

There has been no systematic comparative work on linguistic data, but there is a consensus that the modern Umbundu language is related to those to the south and east and also close to Kimbundu to the north. The main collected oral traditions mention the Nganda, the Ngangela and the Humbi, most of them cattle herders, as the ones who 'were there before' and had been 'defeated' by the ancestors of

[27] Ibid, 181-2.

Ovimbundu rulers. The Wambu traditions go a step further: the Nganda not only were the former occupants but they also provided the kings' lineage after the *'Jaga'* Wambu Kalunga was 'killed' because of his terrible actions, namely cannibalism.[28] However, collected Wambu traditions are not consistent and a single author collected different versions.[29] They can be roughly summarized as follows. The Va-Nganda (whose known descendants live now to the west) were the earliest inhabitants and the rocks of Nganda and Kawe, north of Kahala, kept the names of their first king and queen. The supposed grave of Wambu Kalunga is still near Kawe. This *'Jaga'* came to the region from the north-west with other companions, hunting elephants. He took the kingdom from the local lineage but soon he was behaving badly, 'eating' corpses and even his subjects. It is tempting to relate this to the slave trade, as the use of the language of 'eating' or consumption to describe enslavement is widely recorded throughout the Angolan region. Some of the dignitaries found a way (the traditions diverge on the details) to get rid of him and so the power went back to the old lineages or to another 'foreign' figure, since it is not clear which group his *kesongo* or commander-in-chief belonged to. Long before those events, so it is told, the kingdom was founded by a son of Feti, the first man that got his spouses from the Kunene river in Ngalange south of Wambu. His name was Ngola Ciluanji and he did not stay in Wambu but went north of the Kwanza to found the Ngola kingdom. This is difficult to square with the better known story of the northern title Ngola Kiluanji. It seems that at some point in the past not only the powerful Ngola Kiluanji had to be integrated in the genealogy of Feti but also that someone wanted the tradition to

[28] See G. M. Childs, 'The kingdom of Wambu (Huambo): A tentative chronology', *JAH*, 3 (1964), 367-379; idem, 'Chronology'. Mesquitela Lima, working in the early 1970s among the Ciyaka, published eleven versions of the Ciyaka origins (including some versions written by local people), almost all related to Wambu. See Augusto Mesquitela Lima, *Os Kyaka de Angola: História, Parentesco, Organização Política e Territorial*, I (Lisbon, 1988), 136-152 and *passim*.

[29] See Childs, *Umbundu Kinship*, 176 and 'Kingdom of Wambu', 370-1.

make a connection between the kingdom of Wambu and the kingdom of the Ngola Kiluanji, preceding the relationship with the Imbangala/*jaga* chiefs.

A rather different narrative, coming from folklore rather than from the royal courts, tells a story of the relationship between the last male survivor of the war between men and lions and a widow lioness. Their descendants are said to be the ancestors of all the Va-Nano.[30]

That these narratives convey the idea of both local people and foreigners contributing to the population stock or specifically to the lineage in power is quite common. The rejection of a violent king (Wambu Kalunga, a 'cannibal') who is by ruse put to death by his dignitaries because he cannot be confronted directly, is very similar to those found further north or east, as we should expect from those Imbangala related narratives.[31] Note that the kingdom of Wambu kept the name of the only *Jaga* that ruled there, while his ruling dynasties all claimed to be from the non-*jaga* stock. Rather different is the Ciyaka attitude, whose rulers claim to descend from a 'nephew' or a 'cousin' of Wambu Kalunga, having expelled the Va-Ndombe from the area. They still consider themselves related to the northern Imbangala of Kasanje. Genealogical lists of Wambu kings based on oral tradition have been published, the most important being those in Childs, Brandão and Lima (based on Brandão). The lists are rather different in the number of the kings and in their names. Based on oral tradition and written sources, Childs attempted to establish a chronology of this and the other Ovimbundu kingdoms.[32]

---

[30] For instance Luiz Alfredo Keiling, *Quarenta Anos de África* (Fraião-Braga, 1934), 90. Lima, *Os Kyaka*, I, 156-7.
[31] Cf. Miller, *Kings and Kinsmen*, *passim.*
[32] Aníbal S. Brandão, *Mensário Administrativo*, 35-36 (July-August 1950), 39-42 and 45-46 (for the original Umbundu version). Brandão's informant, over ninety year old, was Tchihunda Longuenda, once a slave trader, then a cattle trader in Huíla and forced to be a porter in the Portuguese-Kwanyama war of 1915. His sixty year-old son Galito Katchibubo was Brandão's employee: Brandão, *Mensário Administrativo*, 28 (December 1949), 25. See also Lima, *Kyaka*, III, 85-87 and p. 89 n. 7, confirming with informants from Kahala, circa

Rather than speculate further, we now turn to an overview of the slave period and the changes that led to the Portuguese conquest of the known Ovimbundu kingdoms. These polities emerged or consolidated their power between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries and were developing their production, trade and diplomatic skills in the nineteenth century, but could not resist the colonial conquest at the turn of the twentieth century (see map 2).

Warfare and the slave trade

The wider context for the history of central Africa after the sixteenth century is the expansion of the Atlantic slave trade. At a more regional level, two major developments were crucial to central Angola: the Portuguese territorial advance from Luanda eastwards in the seventeenth century, and political developments in the great savannas deep in central Africa where the emergence of the Lunda 'empire' was creating dissidents and dislocation of peoples.[33] The first information about the Portuguese probably came to the lands south of the Kwanza from refugees fleeing from the slaving raids and wars in the north. But the encounter between the Portuguese and warlike groups on the coast would prove to be decisive. The Imbangala bands which met European slave traders at the end of the sixteenth century have been described in different sources.[34] They have also been called

---

1970, Brandão's list of *olosoma*. For Childs' lists published after *Umbundu Kinship*, see 'Kingdom of Wambu', 378, and 'Chronology'.

[33] See David Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola: The Mbundu and their Neighbours under the Influence of the Portuguese, 1483-1790* (Oxford, 1966); Miller *Kings and Kinsmen*; Beatrix Heintze, *Angola nos Séculos XVI e XVII: Estudos sobre Fontes, Métodos e História* (Luanda, 2007).

[34] The most important contemporary reports on the Imbangala are: Andrew Battell in E. G. Ravenstein (ed.) *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battel of Leigh in Angola and the Adjoining Regions* [1613] (London, 1901); J. A. Cavazzi de Montecúccolo, *Descrição Histórica dos Três Reinos do Congo Matamba e Angola* (Lisbon, 1965), 2 vols. [first published Bologne, 1687); Cadornega, *História Geral.*

'Jagas', a term also applied to other groups, making the *Jaga* question one of the more debated subjects among historians concerned with Angola.[35]

The origin of the Imbangala is still obscure, but there is consensus that the mature form of their war camps and of their political ideas developed in what is now central Angola, probably during a period of ecological and demographic change interacting with political and military transformation rooted locally or influenced by changes further east. Miller stresses the ecological factor, pointing out how extreme and persistent drought can generate radical changes in social behaviour and institutions.[36] In fact, bandits and roving bands living off pillage were a recurrent phenomena in southern Angola, associated with periods of harsh conditions of life for farmers and herders, due to natural or political causes.[37]

However, the itinerant Imbangala warrior bands were more structured than simple bandits, with the capacity to keep the bands together and moving through diverse geographic, demographic and linguistic landscapes. Apparently, they were a totally new experiment among the social, political and military forms of their times. The attempts by other political leaders to use '*Jaga* skills' and '*Jaga* allies' shows that the former were not simply terrorised but also 'seduced' by the *Jaga*'s military success. The fact that many of the central plateau kingdoms were influenced by - or even emerged from - the Imbangala actions justifies a few more comments on the

[35] For about twenty years scholars exchanged arguments on the identity and influence of the Jaga. See Jan Vansina, 'The foundation of the Kingdom of Kasanje', *JAH,* 3 (1963), 355-74; David Birmingham, 'The date and significance of the Imbangala invasion of Angola', *JAH*, 2 (1965), 143-52; Jan Vansina, 'More on the invasions of Kongo and Angola by the Jaga and the Lunda', *JAH,* 3 (1966), 421-9; Joseph Miller, 'The Imbangala and the chronology of early central African history', *JAH*, 4 (1972), 549-74; Joseph Miller, 'Requiem for the "Jaga"', *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, 1 (1973), 121-49; John Thornton, 'A Resurrection for the Jaga', *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, 1 (1978), 223-7; Joseph Miller, 'Thanatopsis', *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, 1 (1978), 229-31; François Bontinck, 'Un mausolée pour les Jaga', *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, 3 (1980), 387-9; Anne Hilton, 'The Jaga reconsidered', *JAH*, 2 (1981), 191-202. In the meantime, Joseph Miller had published his fundamental *Kings and Kinsmen*, by far the best study on the Imbangala and the *kilombo*.

[36] Miller, 'Significance of drought', 25-8.

[37] See W. G. Clarence-Smith, *Slaves, Peasants and Capitalists in Southern Angola, 1840-1926* (Cambridge, 1979), 82-8.

kilombo. This term for the war camp was also given to the warrior bands themselves and, when they settled, to the centre of established political power.[38]

The main feature that set the Imbangala apart from (and against) other societies of central Africa was the absolute rejection of kinship in their social organization. This led to the prohibition of natural parenthood (including infanticide) and to the growth of the bands exclusively through kidnapping and incorporation of young members (not yet submitted to initiation rites) from the peoples they attacked.[39] In the local socio-political landscape, whether centralized states or loose associations of kinship groups, the impact of such a way of living had to be enormous.

The rupture with any form of kinship or ethnic allegiance opened the way to a man-to-man loyalty and to the absolute power of the chief. At the same time, it promoted a warrior brotherhood and upward mobility inside the group. Since kinship was no longer a reference, the heterogeneous groups needed another kind of social glue. The answer was the development of the temporary war camp organization into an institution for all the male members, whose initiation and membership were reinforced by violent ritual ceremonies. These rituals gave them the sense of belonging to a powerful group whose rules were above any other values. To become a *kilombo* warrior implied much more than just living in the camp and following a warlord. Other real or imagined attributes of the Imbangala and all those called *'Jaga'* – extreme cruelty, cannibalism, supernatural powers – certainly reinforced the idea of their inhumanity and explained the terror that even the rumour of their arrival could

[38] In Brazil, the *'quilombo'* was the place where runaway slaves hid and reorganized themselves. In Angola until the twentieth century it was also synonymous with a commercial caravan camp in the bush or of any African war group. In contemporary Umbundu, *ocilombo* refers to a camp in the bush and can be related to the old caravan trade, to military activities (*ocilombo caswalãli*), or (in some areas) to the secluded place of boys' circumcision rites. Further south, however, only a war camp would be called *otyilombo*. See Maria C. Neto, 'Kilombo, Quilombos, Ocilombo', *Mensagem: Revista Angolana de Cultura*, 4, (Luanda, 1989), 5-19.

[39] Even after they abandoned their nomadic life, there was still interdiction of giving birth inside the camp or the village. See Cavazzi, *Descrição*, II, 203-4; Cadornega, *História*, III, 223 and 227.

cause. All these aspects were decisive in their military efficacy against the armies recruited by other African rulers - and by the Portuguese. The Imbangala would probably be one more of the many unknown facets of central African history if they had not become associated with the Atlantic slave trade, which gave their raids a new incentive. Now they could dispose of the people they would normally kill, in exchange for foreign goods.

Facing the fact that they could not prevail in combat against the Imbangala bands, the Portuguese used them as commercial and military partners, which proved decisive on more than one occasion.[40] The Portuguese-Imbangala alliance reinforced both sides at the expense of the peoples and kingdoms north and south of the Kwanza river (but with different results in every case). Moreover, other African rulers also discovered the military advantages of the *kilombo* and some sought for an alliance against the Portuguese. The loyalty of the Imbangala, therefore, shifted more than once. When the Imbangala finally settled during the second half of the seventeenth century, merging with local populations and resuming productive activities along with the slave trade, the political landscape of west central Africa was already deeply changed.[41]

The history of the region north of the Kwanza is better known than that of the region to the south. The Portuguese first established a colony between the lower Kwanza and Dande rivers and from there they went up the Kwanza until it ceases to be navigable, building on its margins a few fortresses in the 1580s, from where they launched military attacks. Initially defeated, they sought an alliance with some

---

[40] This was more than a Portuguese-Imbangala issue. From 1580 to 1640, Portugal was united with Spain, despite a certain degree of autonomy. When a Portuguese rebellion in 1640 ended that 'dual-crown' union, the Dutch, no longer limited by a truce with Spain, resumed their attacks on Portuguese colonies and captured Luanda between 1641 and 1648. The slave trade and the role of the Imbangala were hardly affected.

[41] For the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict;* Miller, *Kings and Kinsmen*; Heintze, *Angola*; Ilídio do Amaral, *O Consulado de Paulo Dias de Novais: Angola no Último Quartel do Século XVI e Primeiro do Século XVII*, (Lisbon, 2000); idem, *O Rio Cuanza*.

Imbangala chiefs who helped in subduing *ngola* kings and their tributaries. In 1671 they pushed further inland and conquered Mpungu a Ndongo, the Ndongo kingdom's last capital, which developed into an important outpost for the slave trade from the south. A few years before, the Portuguese had defeated the Kongo armies at Mbwila (Ambuíla), contributing to the political decay of that kingdom. Bordering the Portuguese colony of Angola there were a few 'vassal' African chiefs. New hegemonic political powers in the middle Kwango controlled the main trade routes to the east: Matamba and Kasanje. A constellation of smaller states, like the Ndembu, Holo and Songo, shifted allegiances according to the circumstances.

South of the Kwanza, the Imbangala bands and warrior kings were willing to do business but not to let the Portuguese gain a territorial foothold. There were unproductive contacts with a 'king of Benguela' north of the plateau and disastrous military campaigns in Kisama. After frustrated attempts in 1582 to settle by the mouth of the Kuvo and by the mouth of the Longa in 1588, the Portuguese sailed further south and established themselves near the *Baía das Vacas* (Cow Bay). There was no important state to conquer in that underpopulated area, but they could get cattle from the Ndombe herders and open a new slave trade route to the better populated plateau. In 1615, the Spanish and Portuguese king Filipe gave Cerveira Pereira royal orders to establish a new *Capitania* in Benguela (by the Longa river), which he did but further south, in Baía das Vacas, in 1617. That was the beginning of the Portuguese colony of Benguela (first 'Reino' than 'Provincia') that only in 1779 was put under the Luanda government.[42]

In the meantime, the Imbangala were causing political upheaval on the plateau. Evidence taken from linguistics, oral traditions and anthropological studies

[42] The 1615 royal order set apart the conquest and administration of Angola and Benguela and 'gave the right of conquest' of Benguela and the lands to the south to Manuel Cerveira Pereira. See Alfredo Felner, *Angola: Apontamentos sobre a Ocupação e Início do Estabelecimento dos Portugueses no Congo, Angola e Benguela* (Coimbra, 1933), 440-1 and 545.

establishes connections between the *kilombo* and at least some of the plateau kingdoms.[43] However, it is difficult to distinguish cause from consequence or which came first: the mature *kilombo* or the formation of the known Ovimbundu states, since the process of state formation needs more than the action of a conquering warlord. Without further research, using more archeological and linguistic evidence, hypotheses either of vanished centralized states or of states consolidating only with the slave trade remain unproven.

If we take available traditions at face value, the Imbangala are absent from the origins of many of the ruling aristocracies.[44] But these traditions were collected in relatively recent times and it can be argued that they reflected changes that occurred later than the seventeenth century. Relations with the Lunda, either through the Ovimbundu trading caravans or the influx of Lunda-related expatriates, and the importance of the ivory trade in the nineteenth century, could explain why 'elephant hunters' became more interesting ancestors than 'man eaters'. It is possible that the *kilombo's* heritage was obscured by more conventional oral traditions about hunters, marriages and movements from 'the other side of the river', that are common in central Africa. But it could also be the case that the rulers of some of the nineteenth-century kingdoms were indeed the descendants of those who stood against the Imbangala.

A brief summary of origins according to the published traditions helps to make this point. Kingdoms founded by hunters were Ngalange, the nearest to Feti and a leading kingdom among the Ovimbundu; Mbalundu, whose hunter prince Katiavala came from north-west (Cipala); Ndulu, founded by the elephant hunter Katekulu Mengo; and Viye, named after an elephant hunter that came from south (Humbi).

[43] Childs, *Umbundu Kinship*, 186-9.
[44] Ibid., 170-180, but taking into account his 1970 'Chronology'. Also Magyar, *Reisen,* and Serpa Pinto, *Como eu Atravessei a Africa* (Lisbon 1978 [1881]), whose traditions for Viye diverge.

Another Viye tradition, recorded around 1850, mentions the hunters' association (*pacasseiros*) rebelling against the former *Jaga* rulers.[45]

Kingdoms said to be founded by women include Kalembe ka Njanja, a client kingdom of Ngalange; Cingolo, whose fortified capital that was taken and destroyed during the 1774-6 campaign was associated with a woman fleeing from Pungo Andongo; and Sambu, founded by Alemba, a woman from Mbalundu who married a local man. Kingdoms founded by *Jaga* are Ciyaka, founded by 'nephews' or 'sons' of Wambu Kalunga, and which maintained unbroken a royal line of *Jaga* ancestry and moved the capital to its present place after the 1774 war; Elende, whose founders are said to come 'from the family of Wambu-Kalunga'; Ekekete, also 'from the family of Wambu-Kalunga'; Viye, which, as noted before, had one tradition that it was founded by rulers that became *Jaga* before being defeated by hunters; and Wambu, founded by Wambu Kalunga.

By the end of the seventeenth century, Miller writes 'the growth of small broker states along the coast, the persistence of warlords in the mountains and central highlands and the consolidation of merchant princes in the populous regions completed a full cycle of revolution and warfare'.[46] In the central highlands, by 1730 warlords had 'waxed powerful as English and French introduced firearms along the coasts south of the Kwanza'.[47]

During the eighteenth century, the activity of European and American slave traders along the coast south of the Kwanza river increased sharply.[48] Benguela emerged as an important exporter of slaves by the 1720s and until Brazil enforced

---

[45] For Viye, see Magyar, *Reisen*, 266-70.

[46] Joseph C. Miller, 'The paradoxes of impoverishment in the Atlantic zone', in Birmingham and Martin (eds.), *History of Central Africa*, (London/New York, 1983), I, 145.

[47] Ibid., 149. Old types of firearms were in use from the seventeenth century, as Childs (based on Cadornega) noted. *Umbundu Kinship*, 195.

[48] For Angola, Brazil, Portugal and the Atlantic slave trade at its apogee, see Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death. Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (London, 1988).

the law banning the import of slaves in 1850 it was a major supplier of captives for the Americas.[49] However, much of the trade was conducted outside of any Portuguese/Brazilian-controlled ports by other European slave traders, especially the French. Soon the chiefs on the plateau were powerful enough to put the burden of the slave trade on their neighbours, expanding it further east and south and allowing the repopulating of their own states and the reinforcement of their political power.[50]

The fragmented political landscape of the plateau began to stabilize to some extent around the more important chiefs and more than twelve kingdoms emerged or were consolidated, the smaller or weaker becoming tributaries of the stronger.[51] This corresponded, according to Miller, to the 'decline of old polities based on keeping people as dependents and the rise of a new type of state that thrived on enslaving some and selling others abroad'.[52] But the undeniable importance of the slave trade should not obscure the diverse political trajectory of different states and other important changes, namely in agriculture and related economic activities.

Information is scarce until the mid-eighteenth century, when the plateau kings and their trade and military activities became more visible in official documents. The pattern of the relations between the Wambu rulers and the Portuguese was similar to others in the region, shifting from 'friendship' (meaning freedom of trade) to war or raids on Portuguese merchant outposts, including short periods when a *soma*

[49] See Joseph Miller, 'A marginal institution on the margin of the Atlantic system: The Portuguese southern Atlantic slave trade in the eighteenth century', in Barbara Solow (ed.), *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System* (New York, 1991), 120-50; Roquinaldo Ferreira, 'The Atlantic Networks of the Benguela Slave Trade (1730-1800)', in CEAUP, *Trabalho Forçado Africano: Experiências Coloniais Comparadas*, (Porto, 2006), 67-97; José C. Curto, 'Alcohol in the context of the Atlantic slave trade: The case of Benguela and its hinterland (Angola)', *Cahiers d'études africaines,* 201 (2011), 51-85; Mariana Cândido, *Fronteras de Esclavización: Esclavitud, Comercio y Identidad en Benguela, 1780-1850*, (Mexico City, 2011).

[50] As Miller stressed, the situation was different according to whether societies were at the crest of the eastward moving wave, in front of it or still further to the east. Miller, *Way of Death,* 150.

[51] For a tentative comparative chart of kings after 1600, see Childs, 'Chronology', 244-5.

[52] Miller, *Way of Death*, 128-38.

accepted a 'vassal treaty' (*tratado de vassalagem*) and the concomitant formal baptism and Christian name which most probably was seen as just another title.[53] It seems, nonetheless, that Wambu rulers spent more time in raiding than being involved in trade. To the east, in contrast, Viye was developing long-distance trade and attracting merchants from the Portuguese colony.

So, trade activity did not completely displace war and raids as a way of accumulating slaves and cattle, and alliances were fragile. The people from Mbalundu, Wambu, Ngalange and others became famous as the 'Nano' or 'Va-Nano' ('those from the highlands') that plundered Portuguese settlements and African villages alike in western and southern zones. In Wambu, Cimbili II, who is said to have re-established the old lineages after Wambu Kalunga, is mentioned as the one who began the raids on the 'whites' and moved the *ombala* (capital) from Nganda (an inselberg) to Samisasa, a rocky hill with water available from streams and which was reinforced overtime with stone walls (see map 3).[54]

From Benguela, Pungo Andongo, Caconda and elsewhere, 'Portuguese' traders (some from Portugal but most of them Africans or of Euro-African descent) as well as runaway convicts, established themselves under the protection of the African chiefs on the plateau. They sometimes acted as intermediaries with the Portuguese authorities back in the colony but more often than not those authorities (and the African kings) considered their activities an obstacle to good diplomacy. Some of them were probably influential in stimulating long-distance trade and opening major

[53] In a 1801 report from the Portuguese captain-major, the Wambu *soma* was 'by his national name' Matende, and 'by baptism … Dom Alexandre José Botelho'. Ralph Delgado, *Ao Sul do Cuanza (Ocupação e Aproveitamento do antigo Reino de Benguela), 1483-1942* (Lisbon, 1944), I, 600-2. According to Childs, he was Vilombo Inene: 'Kingdom of Wambu', 374. Matende could be a title used for several Wambu kings, or simply adopted by the Portuguese from the name of former king Atende a Njamba.
[54] Childs, 'Kingdom of Wambu', 372-5.

routes connecting the Portuguese ports to places as far as the upper Zambezi before the end of the eighteenth century.[55]

The development of mining activities in Brazil and of trade at Rio de Janeiro impacted on Benguela, where the 'Brazilians' dominated despite some attempts by Luanda to forbid direct shipping from Benguela to Brazil and to revitalize the old route between Dondo (on the Kwanza) and the plateau. Governor Sousa Coutinho (1764-1772) tried to diversify economic activity and to 'rationalize' the slave trade, both north and south of the Kwanza.[56] Among his other initiatives, two had particular consequences for the central highlands. First, Caconda was transferred to its present location in the highlands in 1769, in a move aimed to foster further Portuguese settlements in the interior. In fact, it became the central point of the trade – and a new target for 'Va-Nano' raids.[57] Second, a new Portuguese settlement on the coast, Novo Redondo (present-day Sumbe), was established half-way between Luanda and Benguela in order to counteract other European and American ships buying slaves from the plateau.

This provoked an aggressive response from African rulers involved in the trade, but Sousa Coutinho was against war as a means of expanding slaving. His successor António de Lencastre listened to the complaints of Portuguese merchants and followed a different path. In 1774, in Novo Redondo, the local African chief Kabolo, now a Portuguese 'vassal', denied tribute to his former suzerain who attacked the settlement. For the Portuguese this provided the pretext to launch a military

[55] See Alexandre da Silva Teixeira, 'Relação da Viagem Que Fiz Desta Cidade de Benguella para as Terras de Lovar … 23 de Dezembro de 1794', *Arquivos de Angola*, 1 (1935), 4, document X.
[56] For an account of Portuguese colonial activities in this period, see David Birmigham, *Trade and Conflict*, Chapter 7.
[57] See Felner, *Angola: Apontamentos sobre a Ocupação*, I, 163-169; Mariana Cândido, *Fronteras,* especially 115-53.

campaign to submit the 'rebel' kings of the plateau, Mbalundu being considered the most dangerous enemy.[58]

The campaign was mounted from the north and from the west against Mbalundu, Wambu, Cingolo, Ciyaka and others. After months of inconclusive fighting, the Portuguese eventually entered Mbalundu and captured the king and local dignitaries, who were imprisoned in Luanda. Despite its rivalry with Mbalundu, Wambu played an important role against the invaders. The Wambu chief, 'Matende', fought a battle near Kitala where he was allegedly killed after an initial success and his troops retreated to the small kingdom of Kingolo, the *ombala* of which was strongly fortified.[59] After more fighting, Kingolo too had to be abandoned. The last redoubt was in Ciyaka where natural great rocky labyrinths enabled resistance for a while, but in the end the invaders prevailed, capturing hundreds of slaves, mostly women, children and old people who were not able to escape. However, the victors complained that they could not get the expected number of slaves, the main motive for traders and settlers in supporting the war.[60]

The consequences of the defeat were serious, but the Portuguese could not sustain their victory and they did not permanently conquer the territory. The *ombala* of Kingolo had his impressive stone fortifications destroyed and many African chiefs became more inclined to cooperate with the Portuguese traders. Miller considered that this Portuguese expedition 'displaced the old warrior lords on the central plateau and installed merchant princes willing to sell slaves to the Portuguese in Wambu and other highland states near Caconda'.[61]

It is arguable, then, that the Portuguese could influence events but did not have

[58] For a detailed description of that campaign by a contemporary source, see Elias Alexandre da Silva Corrêa, *História de Angola* (Lisbon, 1939), vol. 2, 48-68.
[59] See Maria Emília Madeira Santos, *Nos Caminhos de África. Serventia e Posse. Angola Século XIX* (Lisbon, 1998), 525.
[60] This account follows Corrêa, *História de Angola*, 48-68.
[61] Miller, 'Paradoxes', 149.

the power, after their military forces left the plateau, to displace warrior lords from the scene. Moreover, the distinction between warrior lords and merchant princes on the plateau was often blurred, with warfare and raids entangled in trade. The *hoka*, the warrior corps often led by the king himself, left almost every year from Ngalange, Wambu and Mbalundu, either separately or joining forces to raid cattle herders to the south or Portuguese settlements to the west, going as far as Novo Redondo and Moçâmedes (now Namibe). The *hoka* could also be used to impose tribute payment on a 'rebellious' tributary chiefdom.[62]

The campaign of 1774-6 revealed the limits and weaknesses of the Portuguese armies far from the coast, and for more than a century they launched no further great military operations on the plateau.[63] From Caconda, slave raids sometimes doubled as punitive wars supposedly triggered by the 'misconduct' of African chiefs. Caconda also came under occasional attack from chiefs and warlords wanting to plunder the trade goods kept in their premises. The small Portuguese settlement in Caconda looked like one more 'power' in the political panorama of the plateau, closer to African polities than to a European colony.

As far as we know, Samisasa was not a battlefield during the 1774-6 war, its strong position apparently preventing any direct attack until 1902. However, fighting took place somewhere in the kingdom in 1796, when the Wambu *soma* was said to have been 'heavily punished' and accepted a 'vassal treaty'. As noted before, however, this did not prevent him from being considered 'rebellious'.[64] For a while it had a Portuguese *regente* (representative, usually for commercial purposes) and the number of *moradores* (foreign residents from the Portuguese colony) was growing.

---

[62] See Magyar, *Reisen*, 175-80.

[63] Diplomatic relations resumed. Many years after the war, Mbalundu got back the bones of the captured *soma* who died in Luanda, an important issue since the skulls of all *olosoma* are kept (until now) in a sacred space. In March 1813, the Mbalundu *soma* thanked the Governor of Benguela for the gesture. See Delgado, *Ao Sul*, I, 623-4.

[64] Ibid., I, 595-7.

Some interesting reports about the economy were reaching Benguela, mostly about the trade in slaves, beeswax and ivory, but also about agriculture and the production of iron implements. Wambu controlled an iron ore zone to the north-east, variously Zamba, Djamba or Jamba, and its *soma* was referred to as 'powerful Huambo or Matende', ruling also over 'Quipeio, Quirono, and Zamba'.[65]

In the meantime, in Viye, an internal conflict resulted in the *soma* Kangombe being sold as a slave to Luanda. There, protected by the Governor, he was baptized António de Vasconcelos and, with Portuguese help, was restored to power in 1778, attracting more traders from the Portuguese colony to Viye, which developed as the major outpost of the trade between Benguela and the far regions to the east and north-east.

The limitations of Portuguese power, trying to keep at bay their foreign competitors but lacking the resources further to develop their own trade, are explained by Miller.[66] They managed to secure control of the coast between Luanda and Benguela, but trade relied mostly on the dynamics of the Brazilians and the Luso-Africans, as Miller called them, who continued to pursue their own interests and to circumvent orders from Lisbon. This seemed to be the case in Benguela and its hinterland, where a less militaristic form of the slave trade expanded in the nineteenth century. From a broader perspective, the period from 1730 to 1830 was one 'in which commercialization spread deep into central Africa … [and] the southern Atlantic slave trade passed from an earlier militaristic and planter-dominated phase into condemnation, illegality, and, belatedly, termination in the nineteenth century'.[67] The next section examines the path from 'condemnation' to 'termination' of the slave trade in Angola.

---

[65] *Regente* of Wambu to Governador de Benguela, 15 February 1798, in Delgado, *Ao sul,* I, 597-8.
[66] See Miller, *Way of Death*, 633 and 650-653.
[67] Ibid., xx.

The delayed and elusive abolition of slavery

One general consequence of the slave trade in Africa was increased social stratification, and central Angola was no exception. This was the result of a greater number of slaves and slave-like dependents from other societies reinforcing the old aristocracies. But it also happened through the hardening of internal judicial systems that resulted in more people being enslaved, both on a temporary and a permanent basis.[68]

In Angola, the height of the Atlantic slave trade was in the early nineteenth century, with a new rise in exports as a consequence of the international abolition measures north of the equator and of Brazilian independence from Portugal in 1822.[69] British pressure on Brazil to end the slave trade up to 1830 generated a rush for 'legal' slaves from the American side in the 1820s. After that, smuggling activity on the Angolan coasts made costs higher and conditions of enslaving and transportation worse.[70] During the nineteenth century, central-southern Angola also exported ivory, bees wax, *urzela* (orchilia), cattle hides and (later on) wild rubber. It was then that the ivory trade reached its height and guns were funnelled eastwards by Ovimbundu caravans.[71] Elephant hunters such as the Cokwe became important

---

[68] This is not the place to discuss the many meanings of 'slave' and related categories in different societies. There was no single 'African slavery', just as there was no single 'Western slavery'. An old review article by Frederick Cooper is still important: 'The problem of slavery in African studies', *JAH*, 20 (1979), 103-25.

[69] Valentim Alexandre is the main reference for nineteenth-century Portuguese imperial ideology and politics: *Os Sentidos do Império: Questão Nacional e Questão Colonial na Crise do Antigo Regime Português*, (Porto, 1993); 'Ruptura e estruturação de um novo império', in F. Bethencourt e K. Chaudhuri (eds.) *História da Expansão Portuguesa, vol. IV - Do Brasil para África (1808-1930)* (Lisbon, 1998), 9-87; *Velho Brasil, Novas Africas: Portugal e o Império (1808-1975)* (Porto, 2000).

[70] See Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, 'British Abolition and its Impact on Slave Prices along the Atlantic Coast of Africa, 1783-1850', *Journal of Economic History*, 55, (1995), 98-119.

[71] To the north, the caravans of the Imbangala of Kasanje played a similar role. See Isabel Castro Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade em Angola. Dinâmicas Comerciais e Transformações Sociais no Século XIX* (Lisbon, 1997).

commercial partners and their own success led them to challenge the Lunda chiefs and to alter the map of what is now eastern Angola.[72]

Those trades paralleled the slave trade for many decades after the first abolitionist legislation.[73] The decree of 10 December 1836 forbade only the exports of slaves 'by sea' and 'by land' but not slave imports by land into the Portuguese colonies. It also allowed the transfer of slaves 'by sea' between Portuguese territories and to Brazil under certain limits. Despite the cooperation of Portuguese authorities with British naval forces, only after Brazilian ports ceased to import slaves in 1850 did the Atlantic slave trade fade. Exports rapidly declined and the economic crisis led many established traders to leave Angola for Brazil.[74]

However, smuggling went on along shores and bays, not only in areas out of Portuguese control (in the north) but also in those fully integrated in the colony. One case in point was the bay of Lucira, south of Benguela, where vessels were trading slaves, apparently to Spanish Cuba. Settlers using slave labour in their plantations or for the collection of orchilia argued that the illegal transatlantic trade diverted potential 'resources' and their own slaves escaped or rebelled, 'terrorized' by the possibility of being embarked.[75] British government pressure on Portugal and Brazil, the anti-slaving convictions of Portuguese politicians such as Sá da Bandeira and the new colonial interests finally ended the Atlantic slave trade from Angola, but not the internal trade. Whatever Lisbon's intentions and decisions, the situation on the ground responded to local priorities. In colonial society such laws were obeyed

[72] See Joseph Miller, 'Cokwe trade and conquest in the nineteenth century' in Richard Gray & David Birmingham (eds.), *Pre-colonial African Trade* (London,1970), 174-201; Henriques, *Percursos*, 599-636.
[73] For abolitionism in Portugal, see Valentim Alexandre, above, and his debate with João Pedro Marques in the review *Penelope* (Lisbon) 1994 and 1995. See also João Pedro Marques, *The Sounds of Silence: Nineteenth-Century Portugal and the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (Oxford, 2006).
[74] For the close Angola-Brazil relationship, see Manuel da Silva Rebelo, *Relação entre Angola e o Brasil (1808-1830)* (Lisbon, 1970).
[75] Copy of the 1861 letter to the Governor-General in Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon), Angola CG, *Pasta* 28 (633).

reluctantly and Portuguese legislation had no direct impact outside the relatively small colony of Angola.[76]

The end of internal slaving and slave labour was another story. In 1858, Lisbon decreed that all slaves in the colonies should be free in twenty years. In 1869, they were turned into *'libertos'* (freedmen) but compelled to work for their former masters for a small salary. In 1875, all *'libertos'* were to be freed in one year but kept under state tutelage (*Junta dos Libertos*) until April 1878. Then, for a short period, colonial legislation rejected all forms of non-free labour, despite ample evidence of slaves and slave-like situations and circumvention of the law.[77]

Towards the end of the century, coffee and cocoa plantations on the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe reinvigorated the trade of so-called *serviçais* (servants). For those forcibly leaving their homes for unknown destinations, there was no great difference from the old days of slaving: arriving at the same seaports by the same old routes from the interior, they were embarked to São Tomé with a high probability of never coming back.[78]

In Angola, productive activities also relied on the *serviçais*, with transportation depending on them and on porters whose 'recruitment' was often similar. The situation was worsening towards the end of the century, with abuse by merchants and African chiefs frequently reported. Forced porterage was questioned well before the

[76] In 1861, the ill-defined eastern limits of colonial Angola were Bembe and Malanje in the north, Caconda in the south. On the northern coast, Ambriz was recently occupied (1855). The old Kongo kingdom was yet to be occupied. See Sebastião Calheiros Menezes, *Relatório do Governador Geral da Provincia de Angola - Referido ao Anno de 1861* (Lisbon, 1867).

[77] See W. G. Clarence-Smith, 'Slavery in Coastal Southern Angola, 1875-1913', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 2 (1976), 216-217.

[78] See Augusto Bastos, *Monographia de Catumbella* (Lisbon, 1912), 18, 24; Linda Heywood, 'Porters, Trade and Power: The Politics of Labor in the Central Highlands of Angola, 1850-1914', in C. Coquery-Vidrovitch and Paul Lovejoy (eds.), *The Workers of African Trade*, (Beverly Hills, 1985), 243-67; idem, 'Slavery and Forced Labor in the Changing Political Economy of Central Angola, 1850-1949', in Suzanne Miers and Richard Roberts (eds.), *The End of Slavery in Africa* (Madison, 1988), 415-36.

abolition of slavery.[79] Porterage conditions varied greatly, however, with different areas having different legislation, not to mention the fact that porters were the main transport means in the long-distance caravan trade.[80] Porterage could become a highly skilled occupation. If some porters were slaves or forced workers, many free men also did the job for a previously negotiated payment. This was the usual system in Benguela and central Angola at large, but the rubber boom after 1880 put more pressure on available labour and made forced recruitment more common, under many disguises.[81]

Domestic and international criticism prompted some improvement in the conditions of *serviçais* and 'contract workers'. But in the new wave of imperial conquest, colonial doctrines dismissed 'assimilation' and inspired a 'Native Labour Code' (*Código do Trabalho dos Indígenas*, 1899) that consecrated legal forms of forced labour for most African subjects: 'repression of vagrancy', 'correctional penalties', unpaid labour for 'public interest works', and 'contracts' in which the worker had no say. That situation, with a few changes, would last until 1961, as we will see in subsequent chapters.

---

[79] For instance, in January 1856, the Overseas Council led by Sá da Bandeira stated that all free men in the colony were equally Portuguese subjects and should not be forced to do porterage or any other job. They insisted that the system in use in 'the Benguela districts', where forced porterage had been abolished since 1796, had not jeopardized the development of the trade. *Annaes do Conselho Ultramarino*, Parte Official, Serie I, February 1854 to December 1858, (Lisbon, 1867), 623-36.

[80] And obviously in any expedition. For a recent work, see Beatrix Heintze, *Pioneiros Africanos: Caravanas de Carregadores na África Central Ocidental (entre 1850 e 1890)* (Luanda, 2004).

[81] See António Carreira, *Angola da Escravatura ao Trabalho Livre* (Lisbon, 1977), 95-150; Alfredo Margarido, 'Les porteurs: forme de domination et agents de changement en Angola (XVIIe-XIXe siècles)', *Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*, 240 (1978), 377-400; Henriques, *Percursos*, 402-19; Heywood, 'Porters'; Adelino Torres, *O império Português entre o Real e o Imaginário* (Lisbon 1991), 77-8; W. G. Clarence-Smith, 'Capital accumulation and class formation in Angola', in Birmingham and Martin, *History of Central Africa*, I, 168; idem, *The Third Portuguese Empire 1825-1975. A Study in Economic Imperialism* (Manchester, 1985), 107.

Great caravans, great kings – a 'golden age'?

It may be a paradox, but the nineteenth century is remembered on the central plateau as the great century of Ovimbundu kingdoms and not as the depressing times of slaving. In fact, what is remembered is the height of the long-distance caravan trade, dominated by Viye and Mbalundu but also shared by smaller groups like the Ciyaka, able to adapt to the new demands of 'legitimate' commerce.[82] For the more fortunate, it was a period when agriculture expanded partly due to the incorporation of female slave labour and when many more people could get access to foreign goods. Although skins, leather and bark cloth were not forgotten, people more involved in the trade used exclusively imported cloth, which displaced former ways of dressing.[83]

The social importance of the caravan trade was multiple and Childs noted its role in boys' initiation to adulthood: later childhood 'was well marked for the boys by his first trip with a trading caravan. Most of the present older generation have had this experience and nearly every man of the present middle-generation as well'.[84] The caravan era was also a time when the Va-Nano were feared by their neighbours, and foreigners coming to their lands paid tribute to their kings. In these 'golden age' memories, there is no place for internecine conflicts or for violence, famine, disease and the fear of being enslaved (temporarily or for life). Yet these aspects are equally documented.

---

[82] See Ingeborg Schönberg-Lothholz, 'Die Karawanenreisen der Tjiaka um 1900', *Memórias e Trabalhos do Instituto de Investigação Científica de Angola* (Luanda, 1960), 109-28. For a caravan's leader narrative, see Paulo Coimbra, *'A curiosa história': Eine Geschichtüberlieferung aus Angola* (Wien, 1985). On Coimbra, see Schönberg-Lothholz, above, and also Heintze, *Pioneiros*, 205-26.

[83] See Maria Emília Madeira Santos, 'Tecnologias em presença: manufacturas europeias e artefactos africanos (c. 1850-1880)', in Santos, *Nos caminhos*, 233-69. This and other essays in the book are essential for the nineteenth-century history of the region. Magyar and Silva Porto are the main primary sources, but Serpa Pinto is also of interest. Magyar, *Reisen*; Silva Porto, *Viagens e Apontamentos de um Portuense em África. Diário de António Francisco Ferreira da Silva Porto*, vol. 1 (Coimbra, 1986); Pinto, *Como eu Atravessei*, vol. I.

[84] Childs, *Umbundu Kinship*, 105.

Ovimbundu commercial caravans, along with those of Portuguese merchants and their African agents, were the most remarkable face of trade in the region from mid-century onwards.[85] The main routes that linked the large slave suppliers further to the northeast (Lunda, Kazembe) to the Benguela coast, developed further with the ivory trade.[86] But shorter routes paralleled or crossed the main ones, where a variety of local products circulated, for domestic consumption or for the Atlantic trade. The former included palm oil from the west, hoes and other iron artefacts from Ndulu and cattle from the south. For a long time, most people were only familiar with these shorter regional routes, the remarkable exception being the Va-Viye (in Portuguese, *Bienos,* from Bié), who were famous for their long-distance trade.

Viye lies at the eastern limit of the central plateau and marks the transition to the plains of eastern Angola that extend into central Africa. It was also, before the colonial period, the limit of the Umbundu language and it incorporated a good number of non-Ovimbundu people. This state, more than five hundred kilometres and several weeks march from the coast, was in the nineteenth century the most important centre for the caravan trade between the Atlantic coast south of the Kwanza river and a great part of central Africa. The Portuguese were in part responsible for that, pushing their trade further east and having an almost continuous presence in Viye since 1778, when they helped to restore Kangombe or António de Vasconcelos to power. But at that same period important changes occurred in central Africa at large and Viye had a privileged intermediary location between more

[85] In 1879, in his Benguela-Viye journey, Silva Porto counted forty Ovimbundu caravans, ten of which (all from Viye) carried ivory: *'Bailundos* and *Bienos* now are all merchants and they only care about their interests'. Maria Emília M. Santos, 'Borracha, crédito e autonomia do comércio africano na ligação à economia internacional. O caso dos Ovimbundos', *Studia*, 51 (Lisbon, 1992), 19.

[86] In the middle of the nineteenth century Catumbela, (near Benguela) became the main destination of the plateau trade.

interior zones and Benguela, while having relatively easy access to Pungo Andongo, on the Luanda route.[87]

Detailed descriptions of caravans revealed the degree of organization needed to march a party of hundreds or even thousands of men across many hundreds of kilometers, dealing with different environments and not always friendly political authorities.[88] After 1880 wild rubber was the main product and, unlike the slave and ivory markets controlled by African chiefs, it was more diversified in its sources and easier to carry.[89] The number of participants in a great Viye caravan could reach several thousand men, many carrying long guns (the *lazarinas*, popular in the African trade).[90] The probability of being attacked on their way home was high, due to the variety of goods purchased on the coast. Some of these armed men were also porters, but others took part in the caravan as hunters and guards. The *olofumbelo* (sing. *fumbelo*, rich man) were wealthy enough to contract servants or to have slaves carry their goods for them. Most of the porters and armed guards were freemen, conducting their own business, but many were paid carriers and some were slaves or dependents of some sort.[91]

The goods carried to the interior included many types of cloth, rum (*aguardente* or *geribita*), guns, gunpowder and flints, blankets, draperies, bells, glasses, knives and needles, mirrors and wool caps, different sorts of beads, salt and

---

[87] For the broader central Africa economy, see Jean-Luc Vellut, 'Le bassin du Congo et l'Angola', *Histoire générale de l'Afrique VI: L'Afrique au XIXe siècle jusque vers les années 1880* (Paris 1996), 331-61; idem, 'L'économie internationale des côtes de Guinée Inférieure au XIXème siècle', *I Reunião Internacional de História de África - Actas* (Lisbon, 1989), 135-206.

[88] Magyar and Silva Porto are first-hand sources for nineteenth-century caravans. Magyar lived in Viye between 1849 and 1857 and died near Benguela in 1864. Porto was in Viye, with a few interruptions, from 1840 until his dead in 1890. For caravan photographs, see Santos, *Nos caminhos*, 49-54, 216-7, 220-1, 226-9. For caravan organization, see Henriques, *Percursos,* 402-30.

[89] See Schonberg-Lothholz, 'Die Karawanenreisen'.

[90] In Portuguese, *caravana*, *comitiva* or *quibuca;* in Umbundu, *endo*; those going to the coast, *ombaka*; those organized by chiefs, *omaka*. Grégoire Le Guennec & José Francisco Valente, *Dicionário Português-Umbundu* (Luanda, 1972), 98.

[91] Cf. Stephen J. Rockel, *Carriers of Culture. Labor on the Road in Nineteenth-Century East Africa*, (Portsmouth, 2006).

a variety of European utensils. All those commodities demanded specific ways of wrapping and packing to be carried on a man's shoulder or head for more than one month. The best paid porters carried cloth and glasses, followed by those carrying 25 litre barrels of rum, then those carrying the guns (eight per pack), the small 9 kilo barrels of gunpowder, the beads and finally the salt, whose porters received only half of the payment of the cloth porters. Each man carried an average 30 kilo pack, plus a gun if he had one, sleeping mat, a calabash for the water, some foodstuff and an earthenware pot to cook in during the journey.[92]

The value and size of such caravans demanded experienced organizers to control and verify packaging, to assure a correct distribution of weight and a certain distribution of the merchandise along the caravan. They also decided the strategic location of the leather suitcases with the ammunition ready for defence. Each caravan could include several entrepreneurs with his slaves and porters, and porters working for themselves. The caravan chief (*hando*) and his second-in-command responsible for defence (*kesongo*) had to be skilled diplomats in order to avoid internal conflict and to negotiate passage taxes with chiefs along the way. The *kesongo* was expected to interpret good and bad omens. He and his helpers assured the safety of the night camps (*ocilombo*, pl. *ovilombo* or *ilombo*). If someone died, the *kesongo* should redistribute the cargo to the others. On arrival back home, he was responsible for telling the family of the deceased man the circumstances of his death.

Mbalundu was challenging Viye's hegemony in the nineteenth century but until the 1870s the trade east of the Kwanza river seemed to be exclusively in the hands of Viye.[93] Rivalry turned occasionally into confrontation but peaceful coexistence was necessary, since the Va-Mbalundu could easily block the trade routes between Viye

[92] See Magyar, *Reisen*, 27-35, and *passim.* See also Henriques, *Percursos*, 402-30.

[93] For a Mbalundu attack on Viye in 1823, see Santos, *Nos caminhos*, 62. In 1847 the Governor of Benguela informed the Governo-General that four *sobas* (*olosoma*) once tributaries of Viye were tributaries of Mbalundu. Delgado, *Ao Sul*, I, 346.

and the Atlantic, while the Va-Viye's knowledge of the eastern routes was essential for the trade. Peace allowed long-distance trade to flow with minor disturbances and it was most welcomed by the Portuguese authorities in Benguela and by the 'Portuguese' traders all over the Benguela hinterland.[94]

During the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, beeswax and rubber became the main exports through Benguela.[95] Rubber prices reached a peak by the end of the century before crashing dramatically. Rubber was collected from beyond the central plateau to the east. Mbalundu, deeply involved in that trade, enjoyed a period of prosperity and stability for almost twenty years under Ekwikwi II (1876-1893).[96] Viye still controlled much of the long-distance trade and had the biggest community of foreign trade agents, but had more internecine conflicts.[97] Ekwikwi built his regional power through selective alliances but also by threatening and raiding less compliant people. On the pretext of protecting trade against robbers he tried to get Portuguese support for extending his hegemony to Ciyaka, to Kibula and farther northwest. He went to war almost every year to ensure the tribute of reluctant subalterns or to get more cattle and people.[98]

---

[94] In 1874, Viye had already 'opened the doors' of eastern countries to their western neighbours. Santos, *Nos caminhos*, 152. In 1886, after some troubles, Ekwikwi informed the Portuguese that peace with Viye was restored and trade could resume freely. D. Sobba Ecuhique to Cheffe da Catumbella, 18 September 1886. Arquivo Nacional de Angola [hereafter ANA], *Avulsos*, *Caixas* Bailundo. Written documents emanated from the court of African kings were normally written by someone with some knowledge of Portuguese. For these and other 'appropriations' of writing, see the essays and documents in Ana Paula Tavares and Catarina Madeira Santos, *Africae Monumenta. A Apropriação da Escrita pelos Africanos*, vol. I, *Arquivo Caculo Cacahenda* (Lisbon, 2002).

[95] In 1879, wax exports were worth more than all other tropical items combined. Clarence-Smith, *Third Portuguese Empire*, 66.

[96] Childs, *Umbundu Kinship*, 209-11.

[97] Silva Porto witnessed more than one 'coup d'etat' in the second half of the century. Magyar left Viye after his father-in-law Kayangula lost the throne in 1854.

[98] D. Ecuhique Sobba do Bailundo to Cheffe d'Concelho da Catumbella, 18 September 1886, ANA, *Avulsos, Caixas* Bailundo. Ekwikwi was 'asking permission' for launching a new military campaign. In 1892, the captain-major Silva alerted Benguela that Ekwikwi was about to send his warriors to attack 'his subordinate' Ndulu which refused to pay tribute. Silva apparently convinced Ekwikwi to let him solve the problem peacefully. Capitão-mor Justino Teixeira da Silva to Secretario do Governo de Benguella, 1 January 1892. ANA, *Avulsos, Caixas,* Bailundo. Also *Missionary Herald*, LXXIX (1883), 338-9.

Ekwikwi's time in power is remembered as the apogee of Mbalundu and he is, in oral-based accounts, among heroic ancestors who fought the Portuguese. In fact, this 'fight' was never in the battlefield, since the Portuguese did not dare to attack Mbalundu until after his death. Moreover, Ekwikwi's strategy was not one of open confrontation with the Portuguese but of diplomacy (and occasionally blackmail).[99] Before Ekwikwi, Mbalundu was already counted among Portugal's African 'allies', in a dramatic change from the situation in the eighteenth century.[100] But under his leadership Mbalundu developed more intense political and commercial relations with the Portuguese in Benguela and the main warehouses in Catumbela, namely the firm 'Cauchat Frère'.[101]

Portugal was not always up to the challenge. In a letter addressed to Ekwikwi in 1877, the Governor of Benguela apologized for not having a *capitão-mor* to appoint to Mbalundu. Ekwikwi's interest in an official Portuguese representative, expressed in his correspondence, was related to control over the 'Portuguese' traders that lived or passed through his kingdom. It was also influenced by his rivalry with Viye, considering that a resident Portuguese representative would enhance Mbalundu's importance. In February 1881, another governor commented on a 'vassalage' proposal from Mbalundu. His realistic opinion was 'to wait for a more explicit manifestation of such desire', that also giving him time 'to be in better circumstances to use force to assure that vassalage'.[102]

In 1884, Ekwikwi insisted on having a 'representative of the [Portuguese] nation' to discuss matters related to the 'interests of the country'. He also asked for a

---

[99] A conference on Ekwikwi II in Luanda in 1998 revealed the difference between the document-based research and the use of (non recorded) oral narratives by 'inspired' writers. See Elias Sanjukila, *Reino do Bailundo (sua História na Resistência Tenaz contra o Colonialismo Português)* (Huambo, 1997). See also Childs, *Umbundu Kinship*, 210.

[100] See Menezes, *Relatório*, 98.

[101] See Maria C. Neto, 'Hóspedes incómodos: Portugueses e Americanos no Bailundo 1875-1895', *Actas do Seminário 'Encontro de Povos e Culturas em Angola' - Luanda, Abril 1995* (Lisbon, 1997), 375-87.

[102] *Angolana: Documentação sobre Angola, vol. I (1783-1883)* (Luanda, 1968), 259-60.

Catholic priest 'to teach my children how to read and write'. In the letter, he was presented 'as a faithful vassal of His Catholic Majesty Dom Luiz I, King of Portugal'.[103] On the eve of the Berlin Conference this certainly flattered Lisbon, but nobody at the local level or in Benguela pretended that the Portuguese were ruling Mbalundu. The Portuguese authorities still had to ask for Ekwikwi's permission to enter the country and to carry on any activity, such as searching for runaway convicts.[104]

Perhaps the most far-reaching gesture of Ekwikwi was his decision to detain in Mbalundu the missionary party sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions that in 1881 came up-country from Benguela to open a Congregational mission. Ekwikwi, whose capital they visited on their way to Viye, forced them to stay and open a mission station in Mbalundu instead. Caught in the middle of the Mbalundu-Viye rivalry, the missionaries' doubts were reinforced when in June 1884 the king changed his mind and expelled them. Benguela merchants had convinced Ekwikwi of the perils of those missionaries to the Mbalundu-Catumbela trade. Some months later Ekwikwi changed his mind again and had the missionaries back, this time for good, joined in 1886 by missionaries of the United Church of Canada.[105] However, Christianity had little impact until the end of the century.

Wambu in the nineteenth century

The importance of Mbalundu superseded that of Wambu long before colonial conquest, but the *soma* of Wambu was still respected or feared, by both Europeans and Africans. Caravan leaders had to be careful not to displease the *soma* while

---

[103] Domingos Antonio de Freitas, on behalf of 'D. Equiqui Sobba acagede de Bailundo e sua dependencia', to Governor of Benguela, 12 March 1884. ANA, *Avulsos*, *Caixas* Bailundo.
[104] See Neto, 'Hóspedes'.
[105] Lawrence Henderson, *The Church in Angola: A River of Many Currents*, (Cleveland, 1992), 53-56; Fola Soremekun 'Religion and Politics in Angola: The American Board Missions and the Portuguese Government 1880-1922', *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 43 (1971), 341-77.

crossing the territory. Visits should be paid to his capital with a substantial tribute, Magyar noted, since 'the Wambu sovereign … specially because he is the sovereign of a warrior people, occupies the highest position among the chiefs whose lands are crossed by the Viye caravan route'.[106] Wambu, although smaller in size and population, was strong enough not to be absorbed or dominated by the rising power of Mbalundu, and at the turn of the twentieth century it still had, among the Portuguese military and administrative colonial staff, a strong reputation for being 'rebellious', a reputation justified by its precedent history. Both Mbalundu and Wambu tried to enrol the Portuguese as allies against each other, using accusations of robbery or 'killing whites' to get more firearms and gunpowder. The pretext was to keep the routes safe for the trade but in fact guns had become essential to their economic and political power, as elsewhere in Africa.[107]

As Childs noted, the political divisions of the hinterland reported in 1799 by the Governor of Benguela were basically the same that nineteenth-century European traders and travellers mentioned and that the Ovimbundu referred to in the 1940s. However this does not clarify their past interrelations and hierarchies.[108] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Wambu had a *Capitão-mor* chosen from among the residents and responsible for 28 *moradores*: eight blacks 'from overseas' (Brazil?), five whites 'from overseas' and fifteen *pardos* ('mixed-race') from the country. The Wambu *soma* was said to rule over eleven *sovetas* (tributary chiefs) controlling 139 *libatas* (villages). [109] In April 1803, the Governor of Angola wrote to Lisbon about possible routes to reach the interior of central Africa, based on 'a

---

[106] Magyar, *Reisen*, 157.
[107] Soba do Bailundo D. Lourenço Ferreira da Cunha, Ngiraulo, to Governador de Benguela, 2 March 1813, in Delgado, *Ao sul*, I, 623-4. Idem, 4 May 1813, suggesting to the Governor prohibition of selling gunpowder to 'Wambu, Sambos and Candumbo', in Delgado, *Ao sul*, I, 624.
[108] Alexandre José Botelho de Vasconcellos, 'Descripção da Capitania de Benguella … 1 de Agosto de 1799', *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes*, *parte não oficial*, *4ª série* (1844), 147-61. See Childs, *Umbundu Kinship*, 167 and 168 n. 1.
[109] Report, 16 April 1801, in Delgado, *Ao Sul*, I, 600-2.

sertanejo that reached Lovár' (the Luvale country is today divided between Angola and Zambia). One of those caravan routes crossed Wambu, described as among the most important rulers in that hinterland (*é dos mais potentados que tem este sertão*). The site of his *ombala*, a rocky island in a plain, could be seen from the caravan route passing at a distance of a two hour march.[110]

In 1823 the Wambu king sent an embassy to Caconda proposing again a vassal treaty.[111] It is not clear whether he got it or not but in 1829 the Wambu *soma*, D. Domingues Pereira Diniz, reassured the Governor of Benguela that he would accept the Governor's choice of one white man (among those already resident in Wambu) to act as *capitão-mor*.[112] The Governor-General decided to appoint a *feirante* (a merchant that also represented Portuguese interests) there and in 1847 a new detailed and more favourable description of Wambu was sent to Luanda by the Governor of Benguela. From Wambu came wax, ivory, beans and slaves, exchanged at the coast for cloth, rum and gunpowder.[113] The new *soma*, Kapoko, wanted to be a 'nephew vassal' of the Portuguese king and sent a female slave as a gift, to which the governor of Benguela responded with an even more valuable gift, as expected in their diplomatic relations.[114]

By 1870, the Portuguese and the Ovimbundu on the plateau had to readjust to changing circumstances and alliances shifted quickly to conflict. Raids and plunder were frequent among Africans and between Africans and Europeans. In 1871 a Nano warrior party (*guerra do Nano*) attacked Novo Redondo and Quicombo on the coast. Further south, Wambu had a conflict with Quilenges (south-west of Caconda) in that

---

[110] Alfredo Albuquerque Felner, *Angola: Apontamentos sôbre a colonização dos planaltos e litoral do Sul de Angola extraídos de documentos históricos* (Lisbon, 1940), II, 12-27.
[111] Delgado, *Ao sul,* I, 600-1.
[112] Ibid., 602-3.
[113] Governo de Benguela to Governador-Geral, 16 June 1847. Delgado, *Ao sul,* I, 604.
[114] Governo de Benguela to Governador-Geral, 4 May 1847. Delgado, *Ao sul,* I, 604-5.

same year but in 1873 it was apparently helping *moradores* of Quilengues against Kipungu further south.[115]

The appointment of a *capitão-mor* to Viye and Mbalundu (but based in Viye) in the 1880s was not exactly an innovation and affected Wambu less than caravans from Viye being diverted towards alternative routes because of 'abuses' when they travelled across Wambu.[116] Even after the Berlin Conference, Portuguese authorities in Benguela did not want to disturb the prosperous trade and followed a non-interventionist policy. They wanted the African rulers to know that, as long as they did not disturb trade by blocking the routes, the Portuguese would not interfere in their internal conflicts.[117]

Things began to change in Lisbon and also in Angola in the context of the Scramble for Africa. In central Angola, military conquest began against king Ndunduma of Vyie in 1890. On his way to Viye the military commander Artur de Paiva (according to his own report) sent a threatening message to Wambu where people were said to be gathering for war. The *soma* decided not to confront the Portuguese troops that crossed his lands.[118] When in 1896 the *capitão-mor* of Mbalundu attacked and burned the *ombala*, the Portuguese still did not dare to attack Wambu, despite complains about the latter's 'rebellious attitude'. In 1899, there was again alarming news about a supposed mobilization by the *soma* of Wambu against

---

[115] Delgado, *Ao sul,* I, 320.
[116] Already in 1852, several assaults led Silva Porto to resume negotiations with the Mbalundu *soma* to open a route from Viye to Catumbela across Mbalundu. Santos, *Nos caminhos*, 82.
[117] Secretário de Governo de Benguela to Teixeira da Silva, 13 June 1888, in Delgado, *Ao Sul*, I, 627.
[118] See Artur de Paiva, *Artur de Paiva* (Lisbon 1938), I, 196.

the Portuguese.[119] Benguela was aware of its lack of control over that small state and began plans to subdue it.[120]

For some reason, Wambu was considered too dangerous to confront and not a merchant-friendly polity. Only a few European traders, producing sweet potato alcohol, were scattered throughout its territory. But while Portuguese rule was imposed on Viye and on Mbalundu in the 1890s, complaints against Wambu chiefs' 'arrogance' did not prompt military action.[121] The campaign of 1902, launched against a Mbalundu revolt, was used by the Governor of Benguela to carry out his plan of conquering Wambu against the opinion of the Governor-General, who was more worried about rebellion in other areas and about reports of Portuguese merchants' abuses on the plateau generating more rebellion. Governor Moutinho, supporting Benguela merchants, considered that Wambu's military importance and defiant attitude needed a definitive solution.[122]

Colonial military advances

By the late nineteenth century, the pressure from political and economic sectors in Portugal and Angola for effective control of the Benguela hinterland was mounting.

[119] Correspondence from capitão-mor Cravid to Governador de Benguela during 1899. ANA, *Avulsos*, *Caixas* Bailundo.
[120] In April 1901, Governor of Benguela Teixeira Moutinho forwarded to *Chefe do Estado Maior* a note from the Bailundo capitão-mor, in January, about preparations for war in Wambu and Ciyaka, mentioning the famous Samakaka (see below). AHM, Secção Angola, Caixa 7, Doc 3.
[121] In May 1898, Bailundo captain-major Cravid explained to Benguela that he could not take a population census because there were places 'and not just a few, where the [Portuguese] authority did not reach and their inhabitants live independent from that authority'. 'Answer to Circular 502/97', ANA, *Caixas*, Bailundo. In August 1899, the Governor of Benguela wrote that Wambu threatened trade and admitted that in the Bailundo region Portuguese rule was 'rather fictitious'. *Governador de Distrito de Benguela* to *Secretário Geral do Governo*, 11 August 1899. ANA, *Avulsos*, *Caixas*, Bailundo.
[122] Both Governors published their version of the events. See Francisco Cabral Moncada, *A Campanha do Bailundo em 1902* (Luanda, 1903); Teixeira Moutinho, *Em Legítima Defesa. Resposta ao Livro (1ª edição) do Exmo. Snr. Conselheiro Cabral Moncada Intitulado A Campanha do Bailundo* (Lisbon 1904). Benguela merchants protested in newspapers against their fellow merchants in the interior being responsible for the revolt and being put to trial after the war. Some articles, in fact confirming the existence of the slave trade, were republished: *A revolta do Bailundo e os Conselhos de Guerra de Benguella* (Lisbon, 1903).

Ivory, bees wax and wild rubber had proved to be profitable substitutes for the slave trade. The exports of forced labour to the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe were rising. The fact that most of the commerce depended on long-distance caravans meant that it depended on the good-will of African rulers who had to be convinced to accept the circulation of caravans and to allow the recruitment of porters. Peace or war between African states, as well as the often troubled transition between one king and his successor, had also always impacted on trade. Portuguese authorities and commercial agents sometimes took sides, helping one candidate against another, but usually they had to wait and see, having little power to impose their will. But as rival European powers developed plans to carve out colonial empires in Africa, Portugal became more anxious about their interest in long-established (or imagined) Portuguese areas of influence. European diplomacy overlooked Portugal's so-called 'historical rights' and the Berlin Conference in 1884-5 was more concerned with guaranteeing free trade in the lower Congo. What is now eastern Angola was not on the table and it was open to inter-European competition. The Portuguese still intended to extend their Angola colony towards the upper Zambezi but that would imply either the political collaboration or the military subjugation of the Ovimbundu kingdoms, mainly Viye and Mbalundu.[123]

In 1890, a small Portuguese military expedition crossing Viye territory was ordered by *soma* Ndunduma to leave. The column commanders adopted a defiant attitude. Silva Porto tried to act as peacemaker but both sides disregarded his advice and, unable to deal with the situation, he committed suicide. The Portuguese military force had to retreat to Mbalundu and the pretext for a full-scale military intervention was found. After reorganizing and reinforcing their troops and logistics with Boers

[123] See Malyn Newitt, *Portugal in Africa: The Last Hundred Years* (London, 1981), 24-33. For more development on Portugal and the Scramble for Africa, see Valentim Alexandre, 'Nação e Império', in Bethencourt and Chaudhuri, *História da Expansão*, vol. 4, 114-32; Nuno Severiano Teixeira, 'Colónias e colonização portuguesa na cena internacional (1885-1930)', in idem, 494-520.

from Huila, the Portuguese invaded Viye.[124] The kingdom was not prepared for war and Ndunduma had to flee his *ombala* (capital) which was destroyed. According to missionary sources, Protestant missionaries convinced Ndunduma to surrender 'to avoid further slaughter'.[125] The king was deported to the Cape Verde islands and his 'successor' appointed by the Portuguese captain-major.[126]

The conquest of Viye did not immediately alter the situation in Mbalundu where Ekwikwi reigned until his death in 1893. The royal *ombala*, on top of a hill dominated the small fortified premises that Ekwikwi had allowed the Portuguese to build, in a position practically indefensible. But in April 1896 they had a pretext to launch a military attack to the *ombala*, in fact already authorized by the governor of Angola. The new king, Numa (after Katiavala who succeeded Ekwikwi), decided to threaten the Portuguese position with a concentration of people in an aggressive mood, with chants and insults. The Mbalundu *soma* obviously miscalculated the Portuguese reaction and their attack took him by surprise. He fled to Mbimbi, were he was wounded in a later combat.[127] The *ombala* was burned and the Portuguese denied Numa's successor the right to rebuilt and live there. The kingdom of Mbalundu formally ceased to exist and became part of the Portuguese colony. It was only after the 1902 war, however, that conquest could be considered accomplished. This time, the Portuguese also destroyed the small but defiant kingdom of Wambu.

---

[124] In the early 1880s, about 300 Boers from South Africa came to southern Angola where they soon developed the transportation business. One of their ox cart roads opened during the Viye campaign crossed the place later occupied by the city of Huambo.

[125] Childs, *Umbundu Kinship*, 211, note 5. Childs, following an official 1892 report, wrongly assumed that Mbalundu was also occupied. As noted before, the appointment of a captain-major did not mean submission to the colonial state.

[126] For a detailed official report, see Paiva, *Artur de Paiva*, I, 193-299. For an eyewitness account from Joaquim Guilherme (*Chindander*), a *mestiço* interpreter and merchant from Viye, see Alexandre Malheiro, *Chronicas do Bihé,* (Lisbon, 1903), 115-30. See also Pélissier, *História das campanhas*, II, 69-74; Heywood, *Contested Power*, 23-6.

[127] In August 1896, Captain-major Teixeira da Silva justified the attack accusing Numa of conspiring with other chiefs 'of the Nano' against the Portuguese presence. ANA, *Avulsos*, *Caixas*, Bailundo.

The 1902-1904 war

The war popularized as 'the Bailundo war' is relatively well documented. Based on a variety of sources, historians have established the main causes, the chronology of the events and the outcome of the conflict, although interpretation and conclusions diverge.[128]A number of reports, newspaper articles and books were published soon after the war, expressing contradictory views of its main causes and military operations. Moreover, both Catholic and Protestant missionaries in Mbalundu and adjoining regions observed the campaign and sometimes were directly involved, as when the Catholic Mission provided two guides who led the Portuguese troops to the camp of the war leader Mutu-ya-Kevela.[129] Archival sources reveal the extension of the military repression of real or supposed rebels, which stretched as far as Bié and Moxico.[130]

In 1901 many signs of imminent conflict were present on the plateau.[131] The trigger for the outbreak of war the following year was apparently a debt of rum bought for the funeral ceremonies of the old *soma* Hundungulu. He had been in office since 1898, had been in prison in 1899, accused by Captain-major Cravid of trying to organize a revolt together with Wambu, but had been sent again to his *ombala* in 1901 by military inspector Massano de Amorim.[132] The new captain-major, Azevedo, tried to force the payment of the rum debt to the traders, the situation became tense and isolated Portuguese traders were assaulted. One of the

[128] See René Pélissier, *História das campanhas,* II, 79-101; Heywood, *Contested Power*, 28-30; Douglas Wheeler and Diana Christensen, 'To rise with one mind: The Bailundu war of 1902', in Franz Heimer (ed.), *Social Change in Angola* (Munique, 1973), 53-92. This much quoted article provides a good list of published sources but, as other authors noted, it is not reliable in many details and it can be a 'disappointing analysis which often flies in the face of the very evidence': Clarence-Smith, 'Slavery', 218 n. 31.

[129] Report of Pais Brandão, AHM, Box 7, File 21, p. 63. Keiling, *Quarenta Anos*, 65-74.

[130] See AHM, Angola, Box 7, Files 10, 13, 21 and 22.

[131] For the enquiry ordered by the Governor-General, see 'special mission' of Captain Massano de Amorim to Bailundo and Bié (1901), AHM, Angola, Box 7, File 3. See also Jean-Luc Vellut, 'Garenganze/Katanga-Bié-Benguela and beyond: The cycle of rubber and slaves at the turn of the 20th century', *Portuguese Studies Review*, 19, 1-2 (2011), 133-152.

[132] *Portugal em África* (1902), 192-192B.

dignitaries of the Mbalundu court, Mutu-ya-Kevela, refused to comply with the captain-major's orders to go to the fortress and left to get supporters and allies in and outside Mbalundu.

In May, the captain-major lured the new *soma* Kalandula and his dignitaries to the fortress and put them in prison. From the *ombala* people responded with gunshots and the Portuguese assaulted and burned it. Mutu-ya-Kevela tried to block Portuguese communications by interrupting circulation on the main routes. Violence escalated and spread to many areas of the plateau: European merchants' houses and plantations (mostly of sweet potato to produce alcohol) were destroyed or sacked and some were caught, killed or treated as slaves. Most of them escaped to the coast, to Viye or to the Mbalundu fortress.

In June, Governor-General Cabral Moncada, finally convinced that he had a war to fight and not a minor skirmish, ordered a large-scale military action to subdue the insurgents. As noted before, the Governor of Benguela had a slightly different agenda and gave priority to the conquest of Wambu. The military campaign, deployed during the dry season, was the biggest Portuguese military operation in Angola to that point, involving three different columns coming from the north (Libolo), the southwest (from Benguela through Caconda) and the west (from Benguela through Ciyaka).

Mutu-ya-Kevela was killed on 4 August fighting the soldiers of Pais Brandão, the commander of the Libolo column which first reached Mbalundu.[133] The revolt there was over but the Portuguese military campaign went on, with 'mopping up operations' over a vast area. In 1904 another smaller campaign took Mbimbi, the last

[133] For Pais Brandão report (21 October 1902), AHM, Angola, Box 7, Doc. 21.

refuge of war leader Samakaka, from Wambu, probably a 'robber baron', whose identity has been disputed and who became a popular hero.[134]

In September 1902 the southern column, led by the Governor of Benguela himself, defeated the Wambu resistance after ten days of fighting at Kahala, Kisala and the rocks of Kandumbu.[135] The Portuguese attack on Wambu had no immediate justification in the Bailundo revolt, except for fear of contagion. The *soma* of Wambu, Livonge, did not directly support the rebellion of Mutu-ya-Kevela, even if some *olosekulu* from Wambu, namely Kito and Samakaka, did so.

The 1902 'Bailundo war' completed the Portuguese conquest of the central plateau. But wars were not rare on the plateau and the burning to the ground of the capitals of Viye (1890) and Mbalundu (1896) were still recent events. It is plausible that the Ovimbundu experience led them to compare the 1902 war to previous conflicts, when military defeat would be followed by a period of accommodation, undoubtedly difficult but with no substantial control of their lives by the Portuguese. Indeed, the forced labour and disguised slave trade that afflicted some of them was alleviated in the aftermath of this war because they were considered the true causes of the conflict.

The decline in rubber prices and its impact on the trade-based economy was an important cause of the revolt: it reduced the benefits of the Ovimbundu and pushed the Portuguese inland and to the slave trade to compensate for the losses in the rubber trade. But the rubber trade recovered, before its final collapse a decade later. Having said that, there is no doubt that for Wambu this was 'the war': after several days of fighting, the capital was destroyed, king Livonge was killed with many of his

---

[134] See Bello de Almeida, *Operações Militares de 1904 na Região do Bimbe (Bailundo)* (Lisbon, 1944). Decades later, Huambo's newspaper still discussed Samakaka's identity and actions. See *Voz do Planalto* (hereafter, *Voz*), more than a dozen articles between October 1953 and February 1954.

[135] Reports published in Câmara Municipal de Nova Lisboa, *Documentos para a História do Huambo*, (Nova Lisboa, 1948). See also Keiling, *Quarenta Anos*, 91-4.

men and many villages were burned to the ground. The Va-Wambu had to accept Portuguese rule and to pay a heavy tribute in goods and cattle, and for the first time Portuguese fortresses, small but symbolic of their defeat, were erected in Wambu territory.[136]

Conclusion

It was the Atlantic slave trade that first drew central Angola into the world market. Unlike many other regions of Atlantic Africa, the slave trade from Angola increased in the early nineteenth century and declined only after Brazil enforced the import ban in 1850. Despite some on-going smuggling of slaves, from that point 'legitimate commerce' developed with a variety of products. Through the growing dependence of political elites on foreign commodities and foreign allies, those trades paved the way for the Portuguese colonial conquest. In this, the history of the region looks like a typical case of active African response to the world demand for commodities such as slaves, ivory, wax and rubber, meeting with some short-term success, but ultimately facilitating African submission to colonial rule.

The impact of external trade on local production has not yet been assessed, but agriculture is likely to be the sector where that impact was greatest, as we will see in Chapter 2. Greater social stratification resulted from differing access to foreign commodities; in the late nineteenth century, at least in some places, cloth, ornaments and even firearms had a great diffusion among the participants in the long-distance trade, their kin and servants.

Some kings on the plateau alternated intensified commercial links with the Portuguese with raids to plunder their outposts. The power of those kings against potential rivals and their capacity for keeping the loyalty of their aristocrats became

[136] Fort 'Cabral Moncada' at Kisala (Quissala) controlled areas of Wambu and Kandumbu; Fort 'Teixeira de Sousa' controlled Sambu, Kalende and Moma.

more dependent on foreign trade than ever before. Their wealth also depended greatly on gifts, taxes and fines extracted from foreigners in their lands and sometimes they promoted their presence, as Ekwikwi did in Mbalundu with traders and missionaries.

In the late nineteenth century, the transition from established commercial partnerships and diplomatic relations to military confrontation and colonial conquest was inevitable in the context of the new European imperialism, helped by new weaponry and transportation technologies. Viye and Mbalundu, the more important trading partners of the Portuguese, were the first to fall. The Portuguese aims in the 1902-1904 war went beyond the repression of the 'rebels' around Bailundo, however shocking the news of white traders enslaved by the insurgents. It provided the opportunity to impose control over the remaining independent polities such as Wambu, Ciyaka and other smaller African chiefs still able to reject Portuguese demands. In Wambu and neighbouring areas, the 1902 war inaugurated colonial rule. The next chapter will put these events in the broader context of Portuguese imperial politics and will discuss the implications of colonial conquest for the region where the city of Huambo was founded in 1912.

CHAPTER 2

HUAMBO: A CITY IS BORN

The city of Huambo and the network of smaller towns on Angola's central plateau prompted decisive and irreversible changes in local societies. However, the direction of future evolution was not obvious in the first decade after the Portuguese conquest of the Wambu kingdom. An immediate change was the loss of political autonomy for African chiefdoms, which collapsed or became anaemic as the colonial state apparatus collected taxes, extracted labour and repressed dissent. The old Umbundu society was also being undermined by the impact of Christianity, as discussed in Chapter 5. But in many aspects, namely trade and labour recruitment, there was no straight line dividing the recent past (before the 1902 campaign) and the present as it was in the 1910s.

The coming of Republicans to power in Portugal in 1910, however, prompted measures against slavery and slave-like labour conditions in colonial Angola. Norton de Matos, the governor (and High Commissioner in the 1920s) whose name is usually associated with fighting old practices, produced legislation to regulate labour conditions and punished employers who did not comply with it. But at a local level the changes were not so evident and mixed messages came from the administration: the expansion of road building (another of Norton tenure's hallmarks) was at the expense of local unpaid and forced labour. And despite some efforts after 1910, subsequent legislation justified compulsory and forced labour, making only small changes to the 1899 Labour Code.[1]

[1] José Norton de Matos was appointed Governor-General in April 1912. In May he was initiated as Freemason and would become Grand Master in the 1930s. In his 1912 initiation he chose the symbolic name of Danton, commiting himself to the abolition of slavery. Armando Malheiro da Silva, 'General Norton de Matos (1867-1955) Aspectos maiores de um perfil histórico-biográfico: o militar, o colonialista e o democrata', *Africana Studia*, 6 (2003), 176. Norton's political career and ideas are reflected in his own several essays and

This chapter will discuss the background to Huambo's foundation in September 1912. To put that event in context, the evolution of Portuguese imperial politics will be outlined, stressing continuities in colonial doctrines through political regime changes. The chapter will also scrutinize some of the changes that turned independent Africans into imperial subjects and then into 'natives', that is, non-citizens in their own land.

Portuguese imperial expansion and colonial politics from the 1880s to c. 1920

The 'third Portuguese empire' emerging in the middle of the nineteenth century took many decades to develop its distinctive geographic, economic and political features.[2] In Angola, it was only during the 1920s that the last 'rebels' were subdued and the frontiers with Southwest Africa (present-day Namibia) and the Belgian Congo definitely established, in 1926 and 1927 respectively. But by the end of the nineteenth century, military conquest or diplomatic and commercial pressure had greatly enlarged Angola. Many parts of new expanded colony had long been exporting their products to Portuguese ports and inland factories and were part of old mercantile networks. Others regions in a similar position, however, were still independent or were incorporated into neighbouring colonies. Here, as elsewhere in Africa, international disputes and diplomatic manoeuvres associated with colonial partition tell us little about the situation on the ground. Inside this expanding space, between the 1880s and the 1920s, the Portuguese state, through its colonial administration, oscillated between, on the one hand, indifference or minimal

memoirs. In English, see Douglas Wheeler, 'José Norton de Matos (1867-1955)', in L. H. Gann & Peter Duignan (eds.), *African Proconsuls: European Governors in Africa* (London, 1978), 445-63. Portuguese researcher Helena Janeiro is currently working on Norton's political biography.

[2] See Clarence-Smith, *Third Portuguese Empire,* 81-115. Clarence-Smith popularized the expression in his book's title, but it originated among Portuguese politicians by the end of the nineteenth century. Quirino Avelino de Jesus, 'Angola e Congo ou o Terceiro Império Luzitano', *Portugal em África*, 1, 1 (March 1894), 3.

intervention and, on the other, a prolific legislation that sought to control every aspect of the economy and the population in the colony.

In areas of established Portuguese influence, nonetheless, past interactions with African societies and the old ways of slave trading went on influencing colonial rule well into the twentieth century. Northern and central Angola are striking examples of that, while eastern and some southern zones had been less touched by European influence. In common with other colonial powers, Portugal had to adapt to diverse circumstances, and colonial policies were not the same in zones of European settlement as in those virtually without settlers.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, two contradictory tendencies broadly characterized Portuguese thought about the future of the African territories. One argued that Portugal, having neither the resources nor the men to make the empire worthwhile, should sell all or part of the territories it held in Africa. The other insisted that Africa should substitute for the loss of Brazil by expanding those areas where a Portuguese presence or influence had existed for centuries. An intermediate position accepted the selling or concession to foreign capital of large parts of Portuguese colonies but considered Angola untouchable (*intangível*), reserved for Portuguese commerce, capital investment and settlement.[3]

As both Clarence-Smith and Alexandre argue, there was considerable difference between political debate in Lisbon and colonial reality. In Angola, the old transatlantic slave trade had ended but the slave-based labour system persisted, with slaves turned into *libertos* and these into *serviçais*. The decline of the ivory and the orchilia (dye lichen) trades in the 1860s was soon compensated with an expanding

---

[3] See Valentim Alexandre, 'A questão colonial no Portugal oitocentista', in V. Alexandre and Jill Dias (eds.), *O Império Africano 1825-1890* (Lisbon, 1998), 119-126. His concluding section is a very good synthesis of the difficult emergence of the third empire 'from the ruins of the luso-brazilian system' and on Portuguese imperial thought and action. Also V. Alexandre, 'Configurações políticas', in Bethencourt and Chaudhuri *História da Expansão,* 89-211.

wild rubber trade from the 1870s and the development of coffee production in the Luanda hinterland and on São Tomé island. The establishment of European settlements on Angola's southernmost coast caused a new development in trade, alcohol production and, later on, fishing and related activities, where slave-like labour conditions endured.[4] Despite some interest in colonial markets among Portuguese wine producers and textile industrialists, Brazil was still much more important than Africa in the Portuguese economy. Traders in Lisbon re-exported orchilia, ivory and beeswax but it was the rubber trade which made the Angolan market important again. As for Portuguese colonial politicians, 'the rising tide of the scramble for Africa, allied with world-wide economic recession, rapidly pushed them back towards protectionism, conquest and administrative centralization'.[5]

The Scramble for Africa revealed that Portugal could not compete in economic or military terms with the main European powers. Yet it had at least two advantages: an established position in Africa from which to expand and its old alliance with Britain, which could be mobilized to prevent aggressive moves from Germany, France or the Belgian King Leopold. The British alliance sometimes turned sour but in the end played in favour of the Portuguese empire.[6] In the 1870s, imperial dreams of economic advance were associated in Angola mainly with the wild rubber trade, in Mozambique with oilseeds and in São Tomé with coffee plantations. In response to international interest in African territories, a Geographical Society was created in Lisbon (*Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*) in 1875. The Society cut across party boundaries and became an important lobby for colonial expansion.[7]

[4] See William G. Clarence-Smith, *Slaves, Peasants and Capitalists in Southern Angola, 1840-1926* (Cambridge, 1979); Afonso Vilela, *A Pesca e Industrias Derivadas no Distrito de Mossamedes 1921-1922* (Porto, 1923).
[5] Clarence-Smith *Third Portuguese Empire,* 77.
[6] On Portugal and the Scramble for Africa, see Alexandre, 'Nação', and Teixeira, 'Colónias'.
[7] See Ângela Guimarães, *Uma Corrente do Colonialismo Português: a Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa 1875-1895* (Lisbon, 1984). *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* [hereafter *BSGL*] is an essencial source for Portuguese colonial history.

In the 1870s, Minister Andrade Corvo represented those who wanted to open Portuguese African colonies to foreign commerce and capital, advocating European cooperation. His moderate imperial expansionism envisaged military campaigns as a last resort, and tried to enlarge Portuguese influence through commerce and diplomatic efforts with African authorities. He was also in favour of stronger action against slave and semi-slave labour in the colonies (a new abolition law in 1875, never fully applied, suppressed all forced labour). His plans for more international economic presence in the colonies faced strong resistance, as expected, and not only from the colonial bourgeoisie and from Lisbon merchants benefiting from protected markets in Angola and São Tomé. Opinions against making any concession in central Africa were widespread and becoming more vocal and the anti-Corvo groups boycotted many of the minister's measures, including bilateral treaties with Britain.[8]

In 1884-5 the Berlin Conference defined frontiers in the lower Kongo and established a Congo Free Trade Zone including part of northern Angola, where Portuguese goods had to meet foreign competition without any protectionist taxes. Portugal was granted a huge territory in Africa but the dominant domestic discourse claimed that the great powers had 'robbed' the Portuguese of (imaginary) colonial possessions and still conspired to take over the rest of them on the grounds that Portugal was unable to exploit their resources.[9]

When in January 1890 a British ultimatum forced Portugal to withdraw a small expeditionary force from Shire river, making it clear that southern-central Africa was reserved for British interests, a major political crisis added to an almost collapsing economy. Subsequent events showed how imperial and nationalist ideology could at

[8] Alexandre 'A questão', 100-107. Andrade Corvo was Minister of Foreign Affairs (1871-7) and of the Navy and Overseas (1875-7 and 1879). See Valentim Alexandre, 'The colonial empire', in António Costa Pinto (ed.) *Modern Portugal* (Palo Alto, 1998), 41-59; and 'The Portuguese empire: Ideology and economics', in Olivier Pétré-Grenouilleau (ed.), *From Slave Trade to Empire: Europe and the Colonization of Black Africa, 1780s-1880s* (London, 2004), 110-132.
[9] See Newitt, *Portugal in Africa*, 32-33.

times be stronger than the economic rationale behind colonial expansion. The anti-ultimatum reaction fostered a wave of new protectionist measures and almost ignored the persistence of slavery and similar forms of labour use. Regulations on obligatory cash wage payments to *serviçais* and restricting corporal punishment had no great effect.[10]

This reignited Portuguese imperialism, as Alexandre argues, brought something new to the old 'Brazil in Africa' dream. Colonial arguments were used in domestic disputes and mobilized part of the urban working class and underclass, blending nationalism with unrealistic visions of empire amongst an ill-informed public. Poor economic and political results at home were somehow compensated by a maximal view of the 'rights of Portugal' in central Africa including all the Lower Kongo and most of the Zambezi Basin, linking the territories controlled by the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique. Scientific explorations, military conquest and 'punitive expeditions' against independent or only nominally 'vassal' African states, tried to fulfill the dream. The new colonialism ended the already moribund 'ancien régime' of relative colonial autonomy in which resident settlers and old local elites of African origin were both included in the military and civil hierarchies of the state apparatus. In Angola it also kept foreign capital at bay until the beginning of the twentieth century.

In the last decades of the century, economic protectionism, military campaigns, administrative reforms and diplomatic games were all part of the effort to keep Portugal in Africa with a much bigger share than its economic and political influence indicated. Following the shift in European colonialism in the 1890s, Aires de Ornelas, Mouzinho de Albuquerque, António Enes and Eduardo Costa (governing Angola in 1903-1904), among others, formulated colonial thinking that would remain influential

[10] See Clarence-Smith, 'Slavery'.

for decades. So-called 'pacification' (conquest or military repression), administrative decentralization and the development of European settlement should be the basis for Portuguese empire in Africa. Each colony would need specific legislation, the Governor or Commissioner should have wider powers but the settlers' representatives should have their say, namely on the economy. In Angola this colonial doctrine influenced Governor Paiva Couceiro (1907-1909) who tried a series of administrative reforms, hampered by military activity and temporarily suspended by the change of regime in Portugal in 1910.[11]

The Portuguese Republic was not a rupture in most aspects of imperial ideology and colonial doctrine, with Republican governors of Angola in many aspects following paths opened by Costa and Couceiro.[12] But the coming to power of liberal politicians, many of them freemasons, translated into a vigorous position against forced labour, although theory and practice were hard to match and those in charge of Angola's administration faced resistance from colonial capitalists and from settlers whose economy was based on slave-like labour.[13]

The relationship between colonialism and capitalism in this period is another aspect of the continuity or/and rupture discussion. Clarence-Smith and others have noted how the reasons behind Portuguese colonialism were often distorted and its ineptitude exaggerated to the point of considering it an exceptional case. He argues

---

[11] See his government report and main work on colonial matters: Henrique Paiva Couceiro, *Angola (dois anos de governo. Junho 1907 - Junho 1909)* (Lisbon, 1948) (2nd ed.). See also Newitt, *Portugal in Africa*, 175-7.

[12] The 2010 Republic centenary prompted fresh discussion. See Cláudia Castelo, 'O nacionalismo imperial no pensamento republicano', in José M. Sardica (ed.), *A Primeira República e as Colónias Portuguesas* (Lisbon, 2010), 29-47; Cristina Nogueira da Silva, 'As "normas científicas da colonização moderna" e a administração civil das colónias', *idem*, 87-107. Also Maria C. Neto, 'A República no seu estado colonial: combater a escravatura, estabelecer o *indigenato*', *Ler História*, 59 (2010), 205-25.

[13] José Capela, *O Imposto de Palhota e a Introdução do Modo de Produção Capitalista nas Colónias* (Porto, 1977), 87 ff. In Angola, apart from porterage and some urban jobs, the establishment of waged labour was slower than in Mozambique. See also Douglas L Wheeler, 'The Forced Labour 'system' in Angola, 1903-1947: Reassessing origins and persistence in the context of colonial consolidation, economic growth and reform failures', in Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto, *Trabalho Forçado Africano. Experiências coloniais comparadas* (Porto, 2006), 367-93.

that while 'the relative backwardness of Portuguese society did introduce some variations in the colonial pattern', the similarities with other Central African colonies in the beginning of the twentieth century 'are more striking than the differences'.[14]

While sharing Clarence-Smith's critique of a supposed 'un-economic imperialism', Alexandre nonetheless diverges from him in underlining political and ideological motivation for Portuguese involvement in Africa. Alexandre's impressive body of work on the Portuguese empire after Brazilian independence shows how, to the end of the nineteenth century, the colonial issue played a decisive role in domestic affairs and in defining Portugal's place in the international arena.[15] The less-known work of Gregory Pirio and Adelino Torres on the Portuguese empire also helps to understand the political economy of Portuguese colonialism in the beginning of the twentieth century.[16] All those authors, despite their differences, agree that in Portugal and its colonies there was not a homogeneous ruling class and that interests of diverse bourgeois groups sometimes clashed over colonial policies. Contradictory interests existed between northern and southern Portugal bourgeoisies, rural and industrial sectors, or metropolitan and colonial bourgeoisies. Torres goes further and distinguished in Angola the coastal bourgeoisie from the hinterland bourgeoisie (*burguesia do litoral* and *burguesia do sertão*).[17]

The period from the 1880s to the 1920s was one of renewed mercantilism, characterized by protectionist tariffs and the lack of a developed plantation or industrial sector. It was also called 'proto-capitalist' since capitalism *strictu sensu* would imply the generalization of waged labour, a developed domestic market, the

---

[14] Clarence-Smith, 'Capital accumulation', 163.

[15] See, for instance, Alexandre, 'A questão colonial'; idem, 'The Portuguese empire'.

[16] Gregory Roger Pirio, 'Commerce, industry and empire: The making of modern Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique, 1890-1914', PhD Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1982. Torres' thesis (1981) was partially published as *O império Português Entre o Real e o Imaginário* (Lisbon, 1991).

[17] Torres' work on Angola is sometimes illuminating but his denying of a capitalist economy in the colony while recognizing two 'bourgeoisie' segments is controversial.

supremacy of a monetary system over bartering and the end of money substitutes still existing in Angola. In fact, those requirements, though in a distorted way, were partially fulfilled in most of Angola in the 1920s and the colonial taxation system was decisive in that transition.[18] José Capela followed that line in his study on 'hut tax' (*imposto de palhota*) in Portuguese colonies in the early twentieth century. Based mostly on Mozambique's history, he considered that changes were real and mercantilism gave way to extensive production of cash crops and raw materials and that the hut tax was a 'highly important tool in the introduction of a capitalist mode of production' in Angola and Mozambique.[19]

Discussion of capitalist development in the colonies is probably another case of the half-empty or half-full argument and more attention is needed to differences between colonies and among different regions inside each colony. Mozambique and Angola followed different paths and not only because of the involvement of different European partners. In Angola, slavery or slave-like labour persisted, as did the trade in non-agricultural African products (rubber, ivory, beeswax). Also, plantations took longer to develop, after some earlier failures. There was also a later and lesser involvement of Angolan labour in the mining sector and in working abroad. African peasant agriculture played a much greater economic role in Angola than in Mozambique throughout the colonial period and was responsible for a substantial part of the country's exports. While at a macroeconomic level, mercantilism or 'neo-mercantilism' was still dominant in the early twentieth century, market-orientated economic changes did occur and most of the population played their part, as autonomous producers or as labourers, in a new colonial economy.

[18] On 'proto-capitalism', see Adelino Torres, 'As empresas e a economia angolana de Norton de Matos a Vicente Ferreira (o protocapitalismo dos anos 20)', in *O Estado Novo das Origens ao Fim da Autarcia 1926-1959* (Lisbon, 1987), 2, 101.
[19] Capela, *O imposto*, 25 and 93-4.

In central Angola, commerce and not industry or plantations went on being the settlers' main activity, but control of transportation and local trade moved from Africans to Europeans. Waged labour (free or forced) became increasingly important, although far from being families' main subsistence resource. Taxation created a monstrous web where people were caught in a way very different from the old system. Money was added to the established control of people, land and cattle through kinship as a generator of social stratification both in rural and urban areas.

Playing against a clear move to a capitalist economy in Angola at the turn of the century was alcohol production and trade. In central Angola, spirits and other alcoholic beverages had long been an essential part of trade, becoming even more important during the rubber boom of 1880 to 1910. Most Portuguese traders living in the hinterland of Benguela and Moçâmedes, as well as many Africans, produced *aguardente* ('firewater' made from sweet potatoes or sugar cane, according to the area), a flourishing industry even after the 1901-1903 upheavals. Torres's analysis correctly demonstrates the role of Angolan alcohol until 1911 in the maintenance of the old mercantilist economy.[20] On the one hand, it undermined the possible growth of a plantation sector (for instance, cotton was abandoned in southern Angola during the height of the alcohol and rubber trade). On the other hand, alcohol was a money substitute and acted as the available 'capital' in the Portuguese colony and neighbouring areas, delaying the transition to a proper monetary economy.[21] Anyway, technological advances and many methods of European capitalism were normally not transposed to the colonies until late: colonial states used or allowed labour coercion and massive recruitment to do the heavy work that modern

[20] Norton's Provincial Ordinance of 26 March 1913 reinforced Decree 27 May 1911 against *aguardente* production and prohibited the selling of any alcohol inside or near farms (*fazendas*).

[21] Torres, *O império,* 231-56. Fernando Pimentel, *Investigação Comercial na Província de Angola Realizada por Iniciativa das Fábricas de Fiação e Tecidos d'Algodão do Norte do País em 1902-1903* (Porto, 1903), gives a first-hand testimony. He was collecting commercial information for northern Portugal textile industrialists.

machinery was doing in Europe; they denied African workers the rights their European counterparts had secured; and they exploited local producers in a different way than in Europe. The weakness of the Portuguese economy, moreover, arguably made things worse for colonized Africans for a longer period.

Clarence-Smith saw the years of the Republic (from 1910 to the mid-1920s) as a period of imperial decline: decline in Portuguese exports, decline in re-exports of colonial production and collapse of the public financial sector in the colonies.[22] Alexandre argues that this picture needs some qualification, since decline in colonial trade did not mean imperial decline in all senses. Those were the years of the final advance of the military conquest and of the transition from military to civil administration in the hinterland.[23] From the African point of view, this period was certainly not one of Portuguese imperial decline. Rather, it was a time of military campaigns;[24] the construction of railways and roads, which facilitated European control, settlement and economic hegemony; the concession of great part of northeastern Angola to a company which extracted diamonds and consolidated colonial rule in a still semi-independent area; and the extension of taxation and forced labour recruitment. All that reinforced as never before the idea of European invincibility and prompted many chiefs and village headmen to submit to the new rulers.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century Angola also registered an advance of what could be called 'settler colonialism'. At least some local entrepreneurs and republican groups envisaged the colony as an autonomous country

---

[22] Clarence-Smith, *Third Portuguese Empire*, 116-45.
[23] See Valentim Alexandre, 'Situações coloniais II. O ponto de viragem: As campanhas de ocupação (1890-1930)', in Bethencourt and Chaudhuri, *História da Expansão*, 182-208. For a good synthesis of this period, see Aida Freudenthal, 'Angola', in Oliveira Marques (ed.), *O Império Africano 1890-1930* (Lisbon, 2001), 259-467.
[24] Including one of unprecedented dimensions in 1915 against the still independent Kwanyama, in the south, mobilizing metropolitan troops and also thousands of African porters and conscript soldiers.

in the making. However, they were never strong enough successfully to challenge Lisbon, either in economic or in political terms.[25] The military coup of 28 May 1926 paved the way for the Estado Novo regime which put an end to decentralization experiments tending to political autonomy. It aborted prospects of industrial development and of budget control in the colony and, last but not least, suppressed freedom of the press and of political organization even among Portuguese settlers, leaving them with little leeway to develop any independent public opinion.[26]

But the empire's economy in those years was really not in good health. The Portuguese Republic had to make the transition from a system based on the trade of wild or semi-processed products secured by independent Africans to a system supposedly centred on plantation and mining. The establishment of a plantation sector (mostly owned by non-Portuguese companies) was visible in Mozambique, where European merchant-settlers were never so important as they were in Angola. Here, a true plantation sector developed slowly (with the exception of sugar cane) and until the Second World War exports were heavily dependent on small African producers who dominated in cotton, maize and oilseeds and had a great share in coffee. The only great mining company was the diamond concessionary Diamang. Cattle, exported live or killed for meat and hides, were mainly bought from African owners. On Angola's central and southern coasts, the most important settler and corporate sector was fishing industries.

---

[25] See José de Macedo, *Autonomia de Angola* (Lisbon, 1988). Initially published in 1910, its author was a socialist and federalist mason republican who came to Angola as director of *A Defeza de Angola*, a newspaper involved in 1903 protests against *serviçais* exports to São Tomé (see below). See also Fernando T. Pimenta, *Angola, os Brancos e a Independência* (Porto, 2008), 71-136.

[26] For a reaction against imperial politics following the 1926 coup, see *Jornal de Benguela,* between June and December 1926. On 'settler colonialism', see Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen, 'Introduction. Settler Colonialism: A concept and Its Uses', Elkins and Pedersen (eds.), *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies* (London, 2005), 1-20.

Apart from further questions on capitalism in the Portuguese colonies, it is important to acknowledge

> the uneven impact of colonial rule and the regional variation in African response. The pressures of taxation, forced labour and land alienation varied widely from one area to another, and even within a single region. …. Colonial conquest imposed the hegemony of the colonial state, but it did not create a single society out of the many societies over which the Governor-General in Luanda ruled. It is thus necessary to look more closely at the different regions of Angola.[27]

In the region where the city of Huambo was to be built, agriculture and trade would be the main activities for decades, with the ups and downs of maize production and exports causing perennial discussions about prices, transportation, silage, labour needs, and the necessary imported goods for trading with African producers.[28] If the creation of a great city was clearly a project of the colonial state dreaming of a steady flow of white settlers, reality was rather different. The city's evolution in subsequent years depended on its wide commercial connections and both production and trade depended less on imperial planning than on Huambo's rural environment and on how people in the central plateau responded to change.

From rubber traders to maize exporters

The impact of the 1902 conquest in Wambu and neighbouring zones was multiple and far-reaching. Yet Portuguese merchants in the area were in a better position in the immediate aftermath of the war than their counterparts in Mbalundu, which was more seriously affected by rebels' actions. Commerce in Wambu, however, suffered from the fact that many Africans had lost their economic wealth (namely cattle taken as 'war tribute') and for a while avoided administrative centres and main routes in

[27] Clarence-Smith, 'Capital accumulation', 184.
[28] Concerns were frequently voiced through the Benguela newspapers and, from 1930 onwards, the Huambo newspaper, where *milho* (maize) often made front-page news.

order to escape labour and tax constraints.[29] But even before the railroad boosted the local economy, rubber trade from the east (and also wax) was important enough to attract to the conquered Wambu a growing number of Portuguese traders.[30] On the African side, rubber collecting and trading was also the main business until its collapse in 1912.[31] That and the interdiction of alcohol production affected but did not stop trade, with both Africans and Europeans moving to the next source of income, maize. It would become (along with migrant labour) the main contribution of central Angola to the colonial economy.

The importance of trade in the centuries preceding colonial occupation and its overwhelming presence in historical sources has left agricultural developments somewhat in the shadow.[32] Yet, as noted in Chapter 2, the impact of the trans-Atlantic trade and the inland caravan trade on agriculture was huge. New crops, mostly of American origin, became part of people's diet in central Africa well before colonial rule, the most striking examples being cassava and maize, and Angola's central plateau was no exception. Wars and refugees played their role but it was the development of inter-regional and long-distance trade that stimulated agriculture, at home villages and along caravan routes, to feed traders and porters and to exchange for goods. Trade put the Ovimbundu (like the Imbangala or the Bazombo further north) in touch with 'exotic' plants and consumption practices, through their own travels and through foreigners coming to their lands.

---

[29] Eyewitness Father Keiling claimed the number of inhabitants in the area fell after 1902, partly due to the war but also because many people avoided roads and the railway. Luiz Alfredo Keiling, *Quarenta Anos*, 90.

[30] Norberto Gonzaga, *Nova Lisboa: Alavanca do Futuro* (Luanda, 1963), gives a nominal list of 58 in 1910; only one, Manuel da Silva Freitas, was established before 1902. See also Bastos, *Monographia*, 43.

[31] In 1908, rubber was by far the leading Angolan export. See Couceiro, *Angola*, 439-41. The Ciyaka, west of Wambu, were an example of African latecomers to long-distance trade during the rubber boom, also trading in slaves and ivory. In 1911, Paulo Coimbra (also Musili) and his Ciyaka group conducted one last caravan journey into Katanga. See Schonberg-Lothholz, 'Die Karawanenreisen', 109-28.

[32] See Vellut, 'Le bassin du Congo'; idem, 'L'économie internationale'.

Cassava, maize, tobacco, tomato, potatoes and other American newcomers to the ecological conditions of central Angola enriched the agricultural landscape or displaced the former staple foods. Changes were in general slow and adoption went not without suspicion and hesitation. According to Magyar, in Viye by 1850 maize, cassava, beans, peas, pumpkin, sweet potatoes (*kará*), a kind of peanuts and tobacco were cultivated without restriction. But only poor people would eat potatoes, which apparently had come from Benguela only recently. Fruit trees and garden vegetables grown by Europeans were seen in Viye as not suitable for Africans.[33]

Until the end of the nineteenth century the old African crops were still in evidence along with the American ones, depending on soils, water availability and personal taste, but maize did have a major impact. Its importance as a subsistence crop replacing local sorghum and millets (like *asangu* and *oluku*) and also as a cash-crop at least from the middle of the nineteenth century, is unique.[34] Maize was already cultivated in the Portuguese Cape Verde islands prior to 1540 and it was used in São Tomé to feed slaves by the middle of the sixteenth century, by which time it was certainly known in the Kongo kingdom. In the seventeenth century, with the Portuguese colony established in Luanda and up the river Kwanza, commercial networks and the waves of refugees from wars and enslavement most probably introduced maize to the plateau south of the Kwanza.[35]

---

[33] Magyar, *Reisen*, 299.

[34] 'Cash-crop' may sound anachronistic since cash was not involved, but maize surplus production entered the barter trade (*negócio de permuta*). The importance of maize (*epungu*) is evident in the richness of Umbundu vocabulary, with many names for it according to colour, texture and eating forms. See the entry *'milho'* in Grégoire Le Guennec and José Francisco Valente, *Dicionário Português-Umbundu* (Luanda, 1972).

[35] James McCann, *Maize and Grace: Africa's Encounter with a New World Crop, 1500-2000*, (London, 2005), 23-24. Orlando Ribeiro, 'Milho', in Joel Serrão (ed.), *Dicionário da História de Portugal* (Porto, 1981), IV, 294-300. Maria Emília Madeira Santos and Maria Manuel Torrão, 'Entre l'Amérique et l'Afrique, les îles du Cap-Vert et São Tomé: les cheminements des *milhos* (mil, sorgho et maïs), in Monique Chastanet (ed.). *Plantes et paysages d'Afrique: une histoire à explorer*, (Paris, 1998), 69-83.

McCann's hypothesis that the rapid acceptance of maize in many parts of the world can be related to social instability and the need for an adaptable crop, quicker than others to ripen, certainly makes sense considering the economic, political and ecological history of central Angola after 1600. In fact, not only were warfare and raids frequent, but long-distance trade caravans would have welcomed a fast growing cereal that could also be eaten fresh as a vegetable. By the end of the nineteenth century, sporadic droughts and the involvement of women and youngsters in collecting and trading wild rubber can also help to explain how maize, particularly its yellow varieties, became the main staple food. In Portuguese documents the yellow variety was also called '*quimbundo* maize', further proof of how long it had been adopted; the other two mentioned were the *'cateta'* (or *catete*) and the white maize.[36]

Agricultural systems and some aspects of rural life among the Ovimbundu were thoroughly studied in the 1960s and 1970s mainly in the framework of rural extension programs or other state initiatives after the outbreak of the liberation war in 1961. The agriculture surveys by *Missão de Inquéritos Agrícolas de Angola* (MIAA) produced an extraordinary bulk of relevant information, but no consistent historical research was done.[37] However, it seems fair to assume that what was common knowledge among Ovimbundu peasants in the middle of the twentieth century was rooted in a more or less distant past, the most important exception being the plough

---

[36] As noted before, by then *quimbundo* referred to Umbundu speaking peoples. A report from Caconda in 1887 revealed maize's importance in African agriculture all over the so-called 'Distrito de Benguela'. E. R. Vieira da Costa Botelho, 'Agricultura no Districto de Benguella', *BSGL*, 5 (1888), 255-7. He was attempting to introduce around Caconda varieties of white maize.

[37] MIAA produced 27 volumes. The central plateau was 'Zone 24'. See Missão de Inquéritos Agrícolas de Angola, *Recenseamento Agrícola de Angola. XXIX – Planalto Central (Zona agrícola nº 24). Primeira Parte: Agricultura Tradicional*. (Luanda, 1971). Shorter important texts by MIAA technicians were included in Franz-Wilhelm Heimer (ed.), *Social Change in Angola* (Munich, 1973). A rare study on Angola's nineteenth-century agricultural history is Aida Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas: A Transição Agrária em Angola* (Luanda, 2005). For the central plateau, see Linda Heywood, 'The growth and decline of African agriculture in central Angola, 1890-1950', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 13, 3 (1987), 355-71. See also Heywood, *Contested Power*, 15, 41-3.

which they adopted from settlers or from missionaries. Keeping in mind that a variety of ecological and historical conditions existed, it is possible to assess the development of agriculture before Portuguese conquest from archive sources, many already published.[38]

The plateau villagers developed a good knowledge of the use of streams and of different types of land. In their slash-and-burn agriculture, long fallows together with rotation and intercropping compensated for poor fertility, once forest protection was removed and rains washed soils away.[39] Childs observed 'the particular type of agriculture which the Ovimbundu carry on with upland fields for the principal crops of maize and beans growing in the rainy season and with river gardens for secondary cultures in the dry season. The purpose of the latter is to piece out between the principal harvests'.[40] The *ocumbo*, a special garden near the house, was once the only one cultivated by men, usually to grow tobacco for personal consumption or for trade, but in time it became a true kitchen garden.

Except for the clearing of new fields in the woodlands, until the beginning of the twentieth century agriculture was essentially the domain of women with its corresponding rituals and celebrations, also at the highest political level, through the functions of the king's first wife (*inakulu*): 'The queen's special province was agriculture and her kitchen was sanctified by human sacrifice to guarantee the national food supply. Ceremonially treated seed was distributed to be mixed with the seed of each granary.'[41] The characteristic two-handled hoe with its oval blade was

---

[38] See for instance the series of *Angolana, Documentação sobre Angola,* for the nineteenth century. See also Delgado, *Ao Sul,* and Ralph Delgado, *A famosa e Histórica Benguela: Catálogo dos Governadores (1779 a 1940)* (Benguela, 1940).

[39] The traditional use of a legume crop intercalated with maize fed the soil, a 'discovery' peasant women shared with modern scientific research. See Mary Floyd Cushman, *Missionary Doctor. The Story of Twenty Years in Africa* (New York and London, 1944), 72-8.

[40] Childs, *Umbundu Kinship,* 8.

[41] Ibid., 20. For women (both free and 'slaves') in high positions at Ovimbundu courts, see Hastings, *Ovimbundu Customs*, 35-7 and 51-2, based on his knowledge of Mbalundu. For

well adapted to women's work and to the thin layer of fertile soils. Different types of fields were cultivated: on hills and slopes (*ongongo*); on lower and wet lands near streams (*onaka*); in the transitional zone between the two, the *ombanda* and, whenever possible, the *elunda* (on lands of a previous human settlement, chosen for their organic richness). Some fields could be under permanent occupation (like the *onaka*) but most of the available lands were *ongongo*, subject to fallows of more than twenty years. Later on, when settlers and corporations were looking for lands in the plateau, those long fallow periods facilitated their appropriation of great extensions of land on the pretext that they were 'vacant lands'.[42]

Commercialized maize production became important in the economy of Huambo from the outset of colonial rule. Helped by the coming of the Benguela railroad after 1910, maize (and to a lesser extent, beans and other crops) sustained trading houses and individual merchants when it became clear that rubber exports would never recover. Maize also saved from economic collapse those Ovimbundu dependent on foreign trade and opened new opportunities for many others, including women. But this economic transition from a wild product collected or bartered in the regions to the east, mainly a male business, to a local product based mainly on female experience, meant far reaching social change. The greater involvement of

great female celebrations after the main crops (the *kanye* feast) in Viye, see Magyar, *Reisen*, 313-4. On the role of women at large, see Luisa Mastrobuono, 'Ovimbundu Women and Coercive Labour Systems, 1850-1940: From Still Life to Moving Picture', M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1992. Also Linda Heywood, 'Ovimbundu women and social change, 1880-1926', in *A África e a Instalação do Sistema Colonial (c.1885-c.1930)* (Lisbon, 2000), 441-53.

[42] The plough and the use of oxen to pull it, that came along with more involvement of men in agriculture, was adopted from foreigners after 1920, with earlier examples near Caconda and, after 1914, the Ndondi protestant mission. See Botelho 'Agricultura', 240-1. Botelho signed as 'the Province agronomist' in both the August 1887 and the July 1890 reports. For an explanation of the types of land mentioned, see MIAA, *Recenseamento*, Secção 1: 'Utilização da terra'.

men in agriculture was one striking aspect of it, a process that was witnessed and encouraged by missionaries, settlers and administrative officials alike.[43]

There was no agriculture miracle, however: villagers all over central Angola had long given maize a privileged place in their consumption habits. It was eaten as a fresh or roasted vegetable, as a grain grounded and cooked in boiling water like polenta or turned into beer through fermentation.[44] Evidence of early adoption of maize (and cassava) exists in oral traditions. In the 1940s, Childs was told by a narrator from Ngalange that 'his grandmother had told him that in the older days people always carried some seed about in pouches on their persons for fear of sudden raids, maize was not known and emmer wheat was the staple food.' He also told how Ndumba Visoso, a 'son' of 'the first man' Feti and a chief of hunters of antelopes and elephants, instigated by his younger brother Ngalangi attacked and drove out the VaNgangela,

> who then occupied what is now the *ombala* (capital or king's residence) of Ngalangi. Taking it for their own, they brought their loads of food: beans, emmer wheat, kaffir-corn, cassava, and maize; and where they rested their loads the load sticks took root and became the sycamore figs which to this day encircle the capital village.[45]

Agricultural experts agreed that the ability of local peasants rather than the soils had to be praised for Huambo's role in cereal production in the colonial era. If in older times this meant mostly the labour and competence of women, the burden of an expanding agriculture rested again on them when the male population was forced to respond to the demands of labour from different sectors of the colonial economy.

[43] In 1916, in Huambo *Circunscrição*, in a total black population of 220,766, agriculture occupied 75,241 women and 34,241 men, the latter considered 'a recent fact': Jofre Amaral Nogueira, *A colonização do Huambo* (Nova Lisboa, 1953), 45-6. In 1919 a report from the administrator of the *Circunscrição* claimed each 'native' woman cultivated yearly an average of fifty *ares* (a total of 5,000 square meters), with a variety of crops, mainly maize and beans. *Idem*, 43. See also Heywood, 'Ovimbundu women'.

[44] See Magyar, *Reisen*, particularly his descriptions of the various territories. Also Botelho, 'Agricultura no Districto'.

[45] Childs, *Umbundu Kinship*, 175 and note 4.

But again, not every area was equally affected by drainage of male labour and not all the time. Ecological strain on the land would prove to be of more serious consequences: railway construction and the need for fuel destroyed huge extensions of woodlands; human concentration and changes in agriculture led to rapid impoverishment of soils after initial success and no technical help was available to most peasants until much later.[46]

As for local African traders, several factors played against their prosperity: the collapse of the prices of wild African rubber in international markets, the growing number of Portuguese traders coming to central Angola and, from 1910, the coming of the railway and the opening of a network of roads for motorized transport. But they still competed with Portuguese traders, as trade permits issued by the colonial administration testify. For instance, in March 1911 several licenses to *fumbeiros* (travelling traders) and *quitandeiras* (female food sellers) were sent from the Huambo military command to the military post of Cuima. In a list of thirty, twenty had no Christian names (indicating they were neither white nor 'civilized' blacks) and almost all were resident in villages.[47]

The railway took almost ten years to reach the lands of old Wambu, from Lobito bay, and its impact was felt from the beginning. Exploitation of timber for the construction of the line and firewood for the locomotives caused serious deforestation until the railway company was forced to begin a reforestation program with imported eucalyptus. Relocation of villages and the abandonment of cultivated

---

[46] Although colonial policies aggravated the situation, demographic pressure and poor soils in most of central Angola deny pictures of a sustainable agricultural prosperity only hampered by colonial rule, as Heywood suggests in 'The growth', 370-1. Cf. technical reports of MIAA on different areas of 'Zone 24'. Also Castanheira Diniz e F. Q. Barros Aguiar, 'Zonagem Agro-ecológica da Região Central Angolana', *Agronomia Angolana*, 23 (1966), 11-7.

[47] ANA, *Códice* 9,512. The *olofumbelo* (sing. *fumbelo*, in Portuguese *fumbeiro*) were in the past wealthy caravan traders. See Schonberg-Lothholz, 'Die Karawanenreisen'. They could also be at the service of European traders. See Malheiro, *Chronicas*, 151. In Umbundu the word currently means both 'rich' and 'merchant'. Daniel, *Ondisionaliu*, 534.

areas without any proper 'compensation' to the villagers were common. As elsewhere, the railroad made some villages and crossroads develop into railway towns or simple stop-points (*apeadeiros*) but left other places in decay, diverting the old trade routes.[48] Nonetheless, bulk transportation stimulated peasant production, as reflected in the colony's exports of maize, most of it sent through Lobito and Benguela. Angola's exports of maize went from 29 tonnes in 1911 to 4,052 tonnes in 1914, 15,962 tonnes in 1919, 27,263 tonnes in 1921, 37,059 tonnes in 1922, 53,956 tonnes in 1929 and 71,250 tonnes in 1930. Beans, another product of the plateau, went from 20 tonnes in 1911 to 10,167 tonnes in 1914, although declining afterwards. All this represented a remarkable human investment on agriculture in some parts of central Angola.[49] Many villagers carried their own production to the nearest trader or to the railroad with help from relatives, servants or paid porters. In fact, until the 1920s, transportation to and from the railroad still depended very much on African carriers, working for European traders or for African (and a few European) producers. It was the network of roads and the expansion of motorized transport that finally put an end to the carriers' transportation system.[50]

So, prosperity and impoverishment, opportunities and abuse were all part of the colonial experience of peasant societies in the highlands in this period, when seen retrospectively. However, it would be difficult in 1902 to imagine any prosperity

---

[48] After the railway reached Kahala, African traders from Ngalange no longer went to Caconda, from where their old caravan route reached Benguela. Interview with Muteka, Luanda, 1991. On the economic and social impact of the Benguela Railway, see Emmanuel Esteves, 'O Caminho de Ferro de Benguela e o impacto económico, social e cultural na sua zona de influência 1902-1952', PhD thesis, University of Porto, 1999. See also Simon Katzenellenbogen, *Railways and the Copper Mines of Katanga* (Oxford, 1973), 165.

[49] Norton de Matos, *Memórias e Trabalhos da Minha Vida* (Lisbon, 1944), II, 247. Álvaro de Melo Machado, 'O Caminho de Ferro de Benguela e o desenvolvimento da Província de Angola', *Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias* (hereafter *BAGC*), 47 (1929), 246. For maize exports (1919-1928), see J. Mimoso Moreira, 'Breve memória histórica, compreendendo as possibilidades da colónia e as suas actividades económicas', *BAGC*, 47 (1929), 271.

[50] See Maria C. Neto, 'Nas malhas da rede: aspectos do impacto económico e social do transporte rodoviário na região do Huambo (c.1920-c.1960)', in Beatrix Heintze and Achim von Oppen (eds.), *Angola on the Move: Transport routes, Communications and History*, (Frankfurt, 2008), 117-29.

coming alongside colonial rule. Descriptions of areas around Huambo tell more about depopulation and destitution than about economic resurgence.

The meaning of defeat

The visible impoverishment of the rural economy in Wambu and nearby regions after 1902 was the main immediate result of their military defeat. Heavy war compensation was demanded by the Portuguese; villages were burnt to the ground and cultivated fields destroyed; annual taxes had to be paid to the new administration, despite the fact that only in 1906 was the hut tax (*imposto de cubata* or *imposto de palhota*) established all over the colony; and men and women were used to build fortresses and roads, needed to assure Portuguese control. War tribute was twofold and arbitrary. A 'compensation' for Portuguese losses was demanded, payments being usually in cattle but also in rubber and diverse food items.[51] Cattle and rubber were also asked as ransom for prisoners, since only the more important ones were sent to Benguela; others, including women and children, stayed as hostages with military columns or in the nearest administrative posts and were used to negotiate 'peace' conditions. African chiefs and headmen not complying with those conditions could face a resumption of hostilities, including cattle raiding and village burning. Sometimes, before an imminent or supposed attack by Portuguese military forces, chiefs tried to avoid further consequences of war by offering cattle and other goods as proof of submission.

Documents from the 1902 campaign kept in Portuguese military archives give an idea of what happened in Wambu, Kandumbu and Sambu and the economic burden of the defeat. During the battle for Nganda and Kawe on the 12 September 1902, the Portuguese took 391 prisoners 'whose ransom would reduce the

[51] See Moncada, *Campanha do Bailundo*, 188 and *passim*.

expedition's expenses' and captured two hundred head of cattle. In a separate action nearby, 93 head of cattle were captured.[52] On 6 October 1902, the governor of Benguela and commander of the southern military column, Teixeira Moutinho, 'demanded from the Chilala of Candumbo and other *secúlos*, our more important prisoners, two hundred oxen for their liberation, that is one hundred head of cattle for each one of our dead which he promised to pay in six days and failed'. Back in Caconda, Moutinho reported that 'Kandumbu had not satisfied the war tribute imposed after the engagements of 18 and 19 September, in the next six days … so I ordered the resumption of hostilities and almost all villages were burned to the ground and 322 head of cattle captured'.[53] Afraid of suffering the fate of Kandumbu, Sambu's *soma* asked for a peace agreement. Arriving near the *ombala* with his troops on 3 October, the governor sent his peace conditions, to be satisfied in six days: to hand over three men suspected of inciting rebellion; a war tribute in cattle plus six guns for every Sambu *libata* (village); to release the child of a Portuguese merchant captured by Sambu 'rebels'; to contribute labourers to build a fort in the area; and to accept to pay a hut tax after a quick census. Those conditions were fulfilled. In the meantime at Kisala, on 23 October, Wambu *olosekulu* and their new *soma* agreed to pay one hundred head of cattle and fifty loads of rubber. On 26 October, women and children prisoners of war were finally released.[54]

In November the new *soma* of Kandumbu traveled to Caconda to meet the Governor and pay 17 oxen and eight loads of rubber, instead of the thirty he had previously agreed, as a ransom for the prisoners. The Governor considered that the missing five oxen or five rubber loads 'that are equivalent in the *gentio's* uses' could

[52] Teixeira Moutinho to Chefe de Estado-Maior do Governo Geral de Angola, 12 September 1902 and 15 September 1902, AHM, Box 7, File 22.
[53] Quoted in Moncada, *Campanha do Bailundo*, 189. *Cilala* was one of the court dignitaries' titles.
[54] Teixeira Moutinho to Chefe de Estado-Maior do Governo Geral de Angola, 30 October 1902, AHM, Box 7, File 22.

be forgiven since the *soma* had previously offered 14 oxen to the expedition as a sign of good will. The prisoners were released except the more important ones 'who will go to Benguela'.[55]

In the beginning, minimal Portuguese military forces left in small fortresses in Kisala (Wambu) and Sambu could only survive if the VaWambu, the VaSambu and their neighbours were convinced that open resistance was worthless. The violence of conquest and the death of the *soma* of Wambu and many dignitaries were a powerful deterrent to rebellion. That 'pacification' was not complete, however, can be shown by the panic spread in 1912 among European traders in Sambu and Huambo. News that a rebellion was in the making came to Benguela where merchants and newspapers amplified it, demanding military action and anticipating terrible consequences if trade was to suffer interruption 'like in 1902'. The acting Governor of Benguela left for Sambu with a few troops and a party of volunteers. Finally, the real or supposed rebellion (most probably a conflict over taxation) was suppressed by the removal of some important *olosoma* and *olosekulu* to prison in Benguela, although three of them committed suicide on the way.[56]

Whatever colonial doctrine Lisbon followed, the Portuguese authorities still had to rule through African chiefs and headmen, if possible 'elected' to have some legitimacy. But their authority was undermined since they were confirmed in power by Portuguese military or administrative authorities who used discretionary powers to get rid of the 'undesirable' ones. Apparently, the administrative reorganization after 1910 included a more careful assessment of African chiefs and headmen, for political and economic reasons. Depending on the administration staff, this was more

[55] Idem, 11 November 1902, AHM Box 7, File 22.
[56] *Jornal de Benguela*, 3 September 1912, 1, and 11 September 1912, 4.

or less implemented, but official registry books required detailed information on *sobas*.[57]

According to the 1912 registry, Xiromboxogoma (for *Cilombo-co-Ngoma* or *Cilombo-co-Ñoma*) was chosen 'by his people' to be chief of Wambu after the 1902 war.[58] He was still nominally in charge in the 1934 registry of local chiefs. The heir was supposed to be his son Kufakonjamba. But there are other and less clear indications of the intricacies of political entities before and after the conquest. In the same document the village of Gumbe is said to be 'dependent of the old chiefdom of Sumi, nowadays the chiefdom of Huambo and so included in the respective registry of *Soba* Chilomo-Chiongoma'.[59] Another important chiefdom was Kandumbu, a tributary of Wambu. Around the impressive rocks that protected the *ombala*, some 30 kilometers east of the city, the last great battle took place in 1902. In 1912, the Kandumbu *soma* was Civimbi (or Chimbimbi) and his heir was Evimbi but the Portuguese authorities later on appointed the chief of Gulaua, Cikualula, to the place. A note in 1934 clarified that Cikualula was 'son of Atende and Chisoma … and was before the *soba* of Gulaua where he is very much respected. He has little influence

---

[57] Name of the *soba*, race (colour), estimated birth date, birth place, marital status, sons and daughters, name of heir, biographic notes, area of his *sobado*, subdivisions, development of agriculture, trade and industry, climate, soils, behaviour of the people, population numbers (whites, blacks, mixed-race), number of huts, annual tax revenue, shops and shopkeepers, number of cattle, pigs, goats and sheep, distance from the administrative post and 'other useful notes'. In Huambo *Circunscrição* in 1912, 28 *sobados* were registered with four (Caveto, Jamba, Camatunda and Saxitemo) indicated as belonging to Sambo. The others were Chitungo, Gulaua, Sacaxôco, Mande, Quequete, Bongo, Mama, Sumi alias Huambo, Lende, Xinguri, Moma-Jamba, Cambuio, Goluve, Candumbo, Moinesse, Gongo, Nunda, Coquengo, Quipeio, Chivumbo, Cacuco, Caupangue, Munana, Calenga [original spelling]. ANA, *Códice* 10,001.

[58] In Mbalundu *Cilombo-co-ñoma* was one of the king's dignitaries, the 'sabre bearer' who took 'the chief's sabre on special occasions to villages … for the purpose of … getting ready for a campaign': Hastings, *Ovimbundu Customs*, 69. Most probably, 'Xiromboxogoma' was the *Cilombo-co-Ñoma* at the court of the defeated Wambu king Livonge.

[59] Different spelling of the name. A note gives the *sobado* area as the one covered by 'all subaltern *sobas* and *sobetas* of the administrative Posts of Huambo, Quipeio and Olando-Cuíma'. ANA, *Códice* 10,001.

over the rest of his peoples although there are many villages belonging to him'.[60] Comments on the 'compliant' or 'rebellious' character of chiefs depended on their influence on people to pay the taxes and to provide labour.[61]

Changes to the administrative map translated on the ground (through taxation control) into a new territorialization of African chiefdoms and a redefinition of former hierarchies.[62] Colonial laws tried to reorganize African villages while others were displaced for settlers' or companies' convenience, not to mention Christian missions promoting separate villages for 'their people'.[63] Villages were also being created by newcomers who were neither VaWambu nor even Ovimbundu. Some of the so-called *sobas* were post-1902 immigrants, including traders and former soldiers of the Portuguese auxiliary troops, who established themselves, raised big polygamous families and built villages great enough to make them known as *soba* later on, when the word had lost much of its original political meaning.[64]

In the beginning, the Portuguese apparently intended to make tax collecting and the correlated census coincide with local chiefdoms and their subdivisions. In the administration books, taxpayers were registered under the name of their *olosoma* and

---

[60] ANA, *Códice* 10,001. Kandumbu and Gulaua (about 20 km from the city) shared dominant lineages. Civimbi was 'dismissed because of age' (no date registered). ANA, Códice 10,001.
[61] In 1934, the chief of Jongolo (a *sobado* about 50 kilometres from Huambo) was said to have influence on his people which 'resisted giving the 24 days of compulsory work [for the state]'. ANA, *Códice* 7,375. Also ANA, *Códice* 3,479.
[62] Ganda's *Administrador* contested that Quiaca (Ciyaka), despite its shorter distance and peoples' affinities with Ganda, was under the administration of Bailundo. Simão de Laboreiro, *Circunscrição Civil da Ganda: Relatório 1914-1915* (Benguela, 1916), 8. Laboreiro worked in several administrative areas, before and after 1910, and knew Angola quite well.
[63] Norton defined to the detail how African villages should be: Provincial Ordinance 137 (1921), adding to Ordinance 1224 (1914). Norton de Matos, *A Província de Angola* (Porto, 1926), 267.
[64] For instance, '*soba* Raimundo', Francisco Raimundo Cosme, came from Amboim or further north following the rubber trade. He established his village near Kandumbo while his brother António stayed near Kisala. Their many wives, from different origins, produced a great number of descendants, some still there and many others all over Angola and also in Europe. I thank Francisco's granddaughter Isabel Simão Neto for this information. On António Raimundo Cosme, see A. A. Dias, *Pombeiros de Angola* (Lisbon, n.d.), 49-52. Many other black traders from the Portuguese colony had settled on the area before the conquest. For a unique published autobiography, see Coimbra, *A Curiosa História*.

olosekulu. Administrative orders often changed the place where the hut tax should be paid, adjusting it to the traditional African hierarchy. In March 1911 the peoples of Cachissapa, Tchapungo, Sachitumbo and Caveto were told to go and pay their taxes not in Huambo but in Sambu, because they were Sambu *soma'*s subjects 'before the establishment of our authority over these lands' and there was no reason to change that tradition 'as far as it did not go against our sovereignty and civilizing laws'. Similarly, in March 1911 the Cuima administration was informed that *'soba* de Mama and peoples subordinate to him' had always been dependent on Wambu and so they should pay their taxes to the Huambo administration and not to Cuima.[65] As with taxpayers, identification of 'contract' labourers included the name of the *sekulu* to whom they 'belonged to'. However, population moved out and in administrative boundaries which could also change two or three times in a short period. In the end, they had little correspondence with ancient political entities, but colonial administrators still relied, as much as they could, on the ability of *olosoma* and *olosekulu* (old or new) to control 'their' people, often punishing them when they failed.

When more people came to establish themselves near the new city of Huambo, the Portuguese administration appointed or confirmed more *olosekulu*, whether or not they belonged to old ruling lineages. The aim was to control the growing number of 'natives', many evading labour recruitment and tax payments or becoming a 'public order problem' because of alcohol production and abuse. The Portuguese word *soba* became widely used for headmen, making more difficult the identification of *olosoma* proper. New *olosekulu* and *olosoma* emerged on the town's outskirts and it is not clear what was induced by the colonial state and what was a spontaneous form

---

[65] ANA, *Códice* 9,512, fls. 135-6.

of regrouping and creating hierarchies in a new environment. Anyway, many names of chiefs in the 1930s registry book had no correspondence in past registries.

Despite the use of chiefs and headmen to control the rural and peri-urban 'natives', the Portuguese administration gave them neither much visibility nor a high status. Norton de Matos clearly advocated the suppression of great chieftainships and the survival or creation of smaller ones, giving headmen the role of 'ideal intermediaries between the state and the [native] population'. In this he explicitly disagreed with Belgian policy in Congo and with that of the British in West Africa that he praised in many other aspects.[66]

Land expropriation was not a big problem in Huambo in the 1910s and 1920s, except for some *olonaka*, the fertile lowlands by the streams. Population was less dense than in Bailundo or Sambu and the railway, with its huge demands on land use, only came to the old Wambu territory after 1910. There were a few white farmers on the plateau (including some Boers, Germans and British), but most European settlers preferred to make a living by trading, building or working for the railway company. Land laws until 1919 still gave individual African peasants some protection whenever strict state officials applied them, as seemed to be the case in Huambo. Registry books for land concessions to individual 'natives' were apparently used only if land disputes involved also settlers or companies. Land property titles were given to African peasants, usually men but also women. In 1919, a group of them got their lands protected against an estate owner, after refusing compensation for leaving the area. Despite protest from the solicitor and manager of the estate, the well-known Benguela lawyer Aguiam, *Administrador* Castro Soromenho registered their properties and sent a copy of land titles to Benguela.[67]

---

[66] Matos, *A Província*, 262. Cf. Newitt, *Portugal in Africa*, 104-5, including a critical comment from Henrique Galvão.
[67] ANA, *Códice* 9,949.

Ignorance of the law and fear of repression certainly played against villagers' rights, but the usual procedure involved a verbal agreement and a small payment to move their cultivated plots elsewhere, as colonial law prevented 'concessions' on lands occupied by native agriculture. New legislation in 1919 made it more difficult for 'natives' to be recognized as land owners, due to what Norton condemned as 'a land concession fever' and 'a damaging epidemic of land demarcation' that risked transforming African peasants into 'serfs' (*servos da gleba*) of European landlords. As High Commissioner (1921-24) he tried to counteract that, convinced that both European and African farmers should develop Angola's agriculture, but his by-laws were overruled by subsequent legislation.[68]

So, in the early twentieth century the economic survival of rural communities was not threatened by large scale land expropriation. Rather, taxation and coercive labour were the main instruments used to force African villagers to serve colonial economic interests. Those aspects where essential to define 'natives' and their place in the colonial society and affected deeply the history of Huambo.

Becoming 'natives'

Taxation was an important multifunctional device for colonial rule in Africa, whether as a 'hut tax' or poll tax. It was first of all a sign of political submission and a means of control of the 'native' population; it was also a way of forcing African villagers to enter the new monetary economy, through labour or the selling of surplus production; and, at least in Angola, it was until 1961 an important source of income for the state. Taxation was not new in African societies, in central Angola as elsewhere. Caravan leaders used part of their goods to pay local chiefs wherever they went for business, or simply to be allowed to pass through. Hunters, peasants and

---

[68] Matos, *A Província,* 255-7 and 261. See Newitt, *Portugal in Africa*, 106-12.

villagers at large had to give a specific part of their production to their chiefs. Regular tributes forged alliances and established the political position of each chief in the hierarchy of powers. Contact with the old Portuguese colony had not changed this system in the independent kingdoms of the plateau. Long-distance trade reinforced it, adding more slaves to the tribute flux and multiplying the opportunity for the taxation of foreigners. War tributes were paid to the winners, whether they were Africans or Europeans. But annual colonial taxation had different aims and far-reaching implications for common people's lives.

In 1906, Governor-General Eduardo Costa introduced the 'hut tax' which was presented as a precious tool for political, economic and educational development.[69] It was argued that in the eyes of Africans, tribute was inseparable from political subordination and that taxes, being paid in money, cattle, goods or work, would encourage production. Governor-General Paiva Couceiro, who first collected it (1907-8), advocated using part of the income for local development schemes but he never got Lisbon's agreement for that.[70] Only after the defeat of Kwanyama in 1915 was taxation imposed on all 'natives', with its value in each administrative zone based on its inhabitants' supposed wealth.[71]

In 1913, in a famous *Circular*, Norton de Matos urged administrative staff of *Circunscrições* and *Capitanias-mores* to collect tax in cash wherever possible, to show clearly to the 'natives' how much they had to pay, to use only proper administrative staff to collect it (a reference to the abusive actions of local traders and *cipaios*), and to try to convince payers that taxes would partially fund roads, schools and medical care.[72] He stressed again the political significance of the hut tax

[69] Decree 13 September 1906. For an overview of taxation until the 1920s, see José Ferreira Diniz, 'Da política indígena em Angola: os impostos indígenas', *BAGC*, 47 (1929), 136-165.
[70] Paiva Couceiro, *Angola,* 229-31.
[71] Laboreiro, *Circunscrição,* 69-86. As he noted, tax even exceeded the value of the house when this was a simple straw hut.
[72] *Cipaios* were 'native' police working for the administration. See Chapter 5.

and how the use of any armed force was to be avoided. If attempts to resist occurred, a 'strong warning' to the local African chief was suggested. The Governor wanted to hear no more about 'abuse, extortion and irregularities' usually associated with the hut tax.

But the firm measures of Norton de Matos could not reform the system since the problem went far beyond a few unscrupulous individuals. As Laboreiro wrote, as long as a certain percentage of the money collected in one area went to the administrative staff, to auxiliaries and to the *olosekulu* and *olosoma*, abuse was inevitable.[73] The use of traders and local *regedores* as tax collectors also promoted abuse. Portuguese merchants were scattered all over the central plateau and had more contact with the local population than the understaffed administrative posts, a reason for their involvement in the process of tax collecting. That left villagers with double dependency on the nearest merchant: not only were they chronically in debt to him (who 'helped' to pay their taxes), but they also saw him invested with an official power that he had no right to claim. *Regedores*, semi-official representatives of the colonial state in areas where a proper administrative staff was non-existent, were also profiting from their intermediary role by making abusive demands. Occasionally, scandal in tax collecting and the fear of Africans' rebellion led to a more serious investigation or prompted Portuguese authorities to take palliative measures.[74]

Inseparable from taxation were population census and control. Systematic taxation depended on reliable demographic data, but in the early twentieth century very little was known about Angola's population. Taxation was difficult to implement while occupation was not 'complete, effective and real'. Even more difficult was to get information on villagers' wealth, including crops and livestock,

[73] Laboreiro, *Circunscrição*, 69. In Huambo, Bailundo and Bié, 'hut tax' revenues could be up to 100,000 *escudos*, in that case giving the *Administrador* an annual income 'greater than that of the Governor-General': *Idem*, 21-2.
[74] Taxation was often discussed in newspapers. For a critique of *regedores* by a trader in Bié, see Fonseca Santos, 'Imposto de cubata', *Jornal de Benguela*, 5 March 1913, 4.

given the widespread suspicion that the aim was stealing, not counting. Paiva Couceiro's projected census did not go ahead and it was only in 1940 that Angola had its first *Censo Geral*.[75]

Many *Circunscrições* in the central plateau were among the most populated in the 1910s and 1920s. In the 1925-6 fiscal year, Bailundo was far ahead with 35,898 taxpayers, being with Ganda (24,274) the only one with more than 20,000 taxpayers. Between 15,000 and 20,000 were registered in Bié (19,669), Caconda (19,183), Luimbale (18,500), Andulo (18,472) and Huambo (17,128), all in central Angola; after them came Zombo, Damba, Ambaca, Amboim, Seles, Malanje, Alto Zambeze and Moxico. Those were areas of rather different sizes and demographic characteristics but the seventh place of Huambo is impressive because it was among the smaller *Circunscrições*.[76]

Data have to be used with care, however, since people used many ways of evading censuses and fooling administrative officials. The response to colonial taxation changed across time and space but in central Angola open rebellion was more difficult after 1902, although a few attempts were noted. Much more common was tax evasion through hiding and giving false information. That would become harder from the 1920s on, due to better roads and a more effective administrative occupation of Huambo and neighbouring areas.[77]

The explicit political significance of direct taxation sometimes leaves in the shadow its financial value and how much it contributed to put the burden of

---

[75] Paiva Couceiro, *Angola*, 230. For an account of earlier population estimates, see Alberto de Lemos' introduction: *Censo Geral da População de Angola* (Luanda, 1941), I, 3-76. [Hereafter, Census 1941]. For an attempt to combine disparate sources, see Linda Heywood and John K. Thornton, 'Demography, production, and labor: Central Angola 1890-1950', in Dennis D. Cordell and Joel W. Gregory (eds.), *African Population and Capitalism: Historical Perspectives* (London, 1987), 241-55.
[76] Diniz, 'Da política', 162.
[77] Among strategies to escape the census and taxation, huts could be carefully hidden in the bush, cattle were taken elsewhere, and roosters could be killed to prevent their crow when tax collectors were approaching. See Laboreiro, *Circunscrição*, 45-8.

colonization even more on the shoulders of the colonized. In Angola the 'native tax' was always among the colonial state's main sources of income, not to mention what in the process had been redistributed among otherwise ill-paid civil servants. Between 1910-11 and 1922-23 tax revenues rose steadily, due to the consolidation of colonial rule, a more efficient administration and, last but not least, 'native' trade and agriculture being able to meet the administration's demands. But soon taxation became a serious constraint in peasants' lives and, as expected, a way of forcing many to work for wages.[78]

Laboreiro, an experienced administrator, in vain warned against the taxation of peasant wealth. If people, mainly in areas rich in cattle and agriculture, could pay the first, the second, even a third year without reluctance, they would have greater difficulties later because they were becoming poorer and would not be able to go on paying the following years. And acceptance of cattle as payment or the selling of cattle to pay the tax was certainly not sustainable.[79] A few years later, the powerful Benguela Trade Association called for reduced 'native' taxes (but also for reduced wages), submitting to the High Commissioner a proposal based on the 'deficit of native population', on the relation between taxation and wages and on the need for financial support to develop (European) agriculture. They also stressed the importance of 'native agriculture' and maize exportation but added that 'reorganization' of native authorities was needed as 'natural auxiliaries of civil and military authorities' to improve both production and availability of labour in the Benguela interland.[80]

---

[78] Value of state revenues from hut tax (or native poll tax) in Angola, in *escudos*: 72,021 in 1908-09; 143,250 in 1909-10; 359,760 in 1914-15; 2,591,249 in 1919-20; and 7,500,000 in 1922-23, the most 'efficient' year before declining towards the end of the decade. Despite currency changes and fluctuation, it is an impressive evolution. Matos, *A Província*, 184.

[79] Laboreiro, *Circunscrição*, 70. Though the situation in Ganda was better than around Huambo, the author's comments were based on the situation at large.

[80] *Jornal de Benguela*, 22 January 1926, 5: 'O problema da mão-de-obra. Uma representação da Associação Comercial de Benguela ao Sr. Alto Comissário'.

In 1919 the hut tax gave way to a *per capita* tax (*imposto indígena*). The report preceding the ordinance reaffirmed that such tax was 'personal and political' and a 'sign of subordination', diverging in its aims 'from the taxes in civilized countries; It is a powerful indirect method of pushing the natives into good working habits'. It also intended to improve morals and family organization, so polygamous men paid supplementary taxes. The 1920 regulations reaffirmed that the native tax was to be paid by every black and mixed-race Angolan inhabitant 'whose education, habits and behaviour do not diverge from the usual of the African races', a formula similar to that of the Native Statute yet to be produced. Exemptions of payment included: children under 16; people too old, retired or severely disabled; women under 21 while dependant on parents or relatives; married women, except in polygamous marriages; men serving in auxiliary military forces or as *cipaios* ('native' police) in the colonial administration; those serving as domestic servants uninterruptedly for over two years; those paying an industrial contribution higher than the tax plus 50 per cent of its value (a rather improbable situation among those whose way of life did not 'diverge from the usual of the African races'); and recognized African traditional authorities, but only if the local administrator considered it 'politically convenient'.[81]

Apart from the obvious reasons for giving some privilege to the auxiliary forces of the colonial state, note the attempt to stabilize domestic servants in their work. In fact, many Africans in town only accepted the long hours and low wages in European houses while waiting for a better opportunity. The foundation of Huambo made no immediate difference in the way taxes were collected since most Africans working in town were living in villages around it. But payments could be made not only through the *olosekulu* but also directly at administrative posts and at some

[81] Diniz, 'Da política', 154-7. The 21 March 1919 Ordinance was replaced and slightly modified in January 1920 by a new Regulation of natives' census and taxation (*Regulamento do recenseamento e cobrança do imposto indígena*).

settlers' farms (*fazendas*).[82] As the population grew, round-ups were regularly ordered by the authorities to discover the undocumented and tax evaders. In later years, those were the main reasons to arrest 'natives' and send them to forced work.[83] With little changes, the 'native tax' survived until 1961 and was one of the main grievances against colonial rule.

The other big issue was labour recruitment in its many forms. The 1899 'Native Labour Code' (*Código do Trabalho dos Indígenas*) legalized forced labour in Portuguese colonies even before military and administrative occupation were complete.[84] Labour systems overlapped in Angola, including different forms of forced labour, the survival of old slavery practices and free waged labour. In European plantations and farms 'if, legally, the planter did not own the labourer, in fact the latter was in the possession and under total control of the former, or was like a serf bonded to the land'.[85]

In the early twentieth century, distinct forms of slavery or serfdom were still in use both by Europeans and Africans, not to mention continuity between slave trading and the way *serviçais* were acquired. Two ways of getting slaves were rather common: the exchange of 'gifts' (usually women or children 'offered' for different tasks at home) and the 'redeeming' (*resgate*) of slaves from their former masters against a payment. The latter was, in the eyes of many, no different from buying slaves and indeed it kept the market going on, whether the intention was to send them to São Tomé or to free them (as in Christian missions). Both 'gifts' and

[82] ANA, *Códice*, 3,725.
[83] See Chapter 5.
[84] The Code was a clear rupture with nineteenth-century 'assimilation' doctrines represented by Sá da Bandeira. See Alexandre, 'A questão', 98-102.
[85] Capela, *O Imposto*, 21.

'redeeming' provided an excuse for many settlers, civil servants and others to have a number of servants bound to them.[86]

As noted before, abuse in the recruitment of *serviçais* in central Angola was among the causes of the 1902 war. Recruitment was substantially reduced in the immediate aftermath of the war, but it soon resumed with people from further east. In 1908, in the coastal town of Catumbela, two 'emigration agencies' to São Tomé existed and 907 *serviçais* embarked for the island. There was also 'some emigration' to the southern areas of Moçâmedes e Porto Alexandre. Most *serviçais* were brought by African caravans from 'Luva, Lunda and Ganguelas' and just a few were from 'Bié, Bailundo and Nano regions'.[87]

In January 1903, a decree regulating *serviçais'* contracts to São Tomé generated in Luanda a movement of well-known citizens (black, white and *mestiços*), in which Freemasons had some influence, demanding the suspension of such contracts, arguing that Angola needed that labour and recruitment caused rebellion in the hinterland.[88] Lisbon then created a 'Central Board for Labour and Emigration' (*Junta Central de Trabalho e Emigração*) to São Tomé and Príncipe, with some members appointed by the government and others chosen by plantation owners. International pressure also mounted after Nevinson's articles in 1906 in *Harper's Magazine* exposing the inhuman aspects of the system to a wider audience and

---

[86] Discussions on the morals of redeeming slaves surfaced in missionary texts, both Catholic and Protestant. For evidence of such practice, see Father Ernesto Lecomte, *Plan'alto do Sul de Angola. Missões Portuguezas: Caconda, Catoco, Bihé e Bailundo* (Lisbon, 1987), 8 and 12; Michael A. Samuels, *Education in Angola, 1878-1914: A History of Culture Transfer and Administration* (New York, 1970), 74 and 142, note 73. For the Holy Ghost Fathers elsewhere in Angola, see Jelmer A. Vos, 'The Kingdom of Kongo and Its Borderlands, 1880-1915', PhD thesis, London, SOAS, 2005, 59. See also Clarence-Smith, 'Slavery', 214-223. For denial of slavery, justifying 'gifts' and *resgate*, see Aguiam (ed.), *A revolta do Bailundo*, 14, 15, 17 and 59-60.

[87] Bastos, *Monographia*, 69. In 1913, six hundred workers left to São Tomé from the Benguela district. *Jornal de Benguela*, 26 March 1913, 1-2.

[88] A six page leaflet with more than ninety signatures was printed: *Ao Paiz. O Povo de Loanda contra o Renovamento dos Contractos de Serviçaes* (Loanda, 1903). On freemasons and Angolan journalism, see Júlio de Castro Lopo, *Jornalismo de Angola, Subsídios para a sua História* (Luanda, 1964), 51-6.

leaving the main beneficiaries of cocoa production in need of taking some action.[89] In 1909 British and German chocolate manufacturers decided to boycott São Tomé cocoa, although the interests of British cocoa growers elsewhere were probably more influential in the boycott than concerns about the well-being of labourers, not much better treated in other colonies.[90]

The Portuguese government therefore produced legislation in order to alleviate the conditions of recruitment and transport of *serviçais* and after Republicans took power in 1910 slave-like labour was more systematically confronted. There is evidence that news circulated among slaves and *serviçais* without 'contract' that Portuguese authorities were ending slavery and repressing abuse from employers. Writing from Huambo (Kisala fortress) to the *Curador dos Serviçais* (Serviçais' Guardian) in Benguela in 1911, the Military Commander listed several cases of people coming to the military authority because they no longer wanted to serve their masters. Some had no place to go since they were unaware where exactly they had come from. Their masters were usually European merchants or farmers, but one was a village *sekulu*. After registering names and personal data, a declaration was produced confirming that they were free and could choose their own way of living. However, a final decision was in the *Curador*'s hands.[91]

---

[89] Henry Nevinson, *A Modern Slavery* (London, 1906), followed by the missionary Charles A. Swan, *The Slavery of Today* (Glasgow, 1909) and cocoa manufacturer William A. Cadbury *Labour in Portuguese West Africa* (London, 1910). The latter included 1907 Joseph Burtt's 'Report on the Conditions of Coloured Labour on the Cocoa Plantations of S. Thomé and Principe, and the methods of procuring it in Angola', based on his four month travel in 1906. See James Duffy, *A Question of Slavery* (Oxford, 1967). For a recent study, see Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, *Livros Brancos, Almas Negras: a "Missão Civilizadora" do Colonialismo Português (c.1870-1930)* (Lisbon 2010), especially 89-139.

[90] See Newitt *Portugal in Africa*, 39. See also 'Editorial', *The Standard*, 26 September 1908, in Lowell J. Satre, *Chocolate on Trial: Slavery, Politics & the Ethics of Business* (Athens/USA, 2005), 227-9. Extensive correspondence about contract labour in Portuguese West Africa, presented to Parliament in 1912, shows the echo in Britain of post-1910 Portuguese efforts to improve conditions: SOAS-SC, IMC/CBMS, Africa II, Box 1,202, File F (2).

[91] ANA, *Códice* 9,512.

The 1911 Regulations for Native Labour (*Regulamento Geral do trabalho dos indígenas nas Colónias Portuguesas*) fell short of introducing great changes but the contract was limited to a maximum of two years; colonial authorities were authorized to ban exports of labour from a certain region for political or economic convenience; and violent treatment and incarceration (including the use of chains, shackles and neck chains) were prohibited, which speaks for the former conditions.[92] Things were slowly moving forward, due to genuine anti-slavery commitment of some civil servants and to changing conditions on the ground. The huge territorial expansion overstretched the colonial administration, rebellion was real or imminent in many parts of the colony and in the far south the Kwanyama were still not conquered. Moreover, exports depended on products of African agriculture and cattle herding. So the way African labour was incorporated into the economy had to change: capturing and keeping *serviçais* against their will was not the answer.

Reformists also attacked, without success, unpaid labour under the pretext of 'public works'. As a Navy officer wrote, it was 'truly abusive and its apparent advantages were highly counterproductive' since consequences were depopulation (people escaping from controlled areas), the abandoning of agriculture and a lack of labour in areas once well served. Workers were used by public services, private corporations and individuals, without payment and sometimes without the daily food.[93]

The development of new economic activities (sugar cane, palm industries, coffee, fisheries) led to a resumption of labour recruitment in the more populated areas of the central plateau. Despite some resistance from merchants and some officials interested in keeping people in their areas, a flow of workers from central

[92] Decree 27 May 1911. See Torres, *O Império*, 172 ff. For an example of settlers' reaction, see *Jornal de Benguela*, 19 March 1913, 1.
[93] A. A. Fernandes Rego, *A Mão d'Obra nas Colónias Portuguezas d'Africa* (Lisbon, 1911), 73, and 50-74. Rego studied at the *Escola Colonial* and was a fellow of the Lisbon Geographical Society. See also Clarence-Smith, *Third Portuguese Empire,* 132.

and south-eastern Angola left every year. A new profession emerged: the *engajador* or *angariador*, the man who travelled across the country looking for people 'interested' in accepting a work contract.[94] In order to get the required men, payments were made to local Portuguese authorities or/and to village headmen, the latter becoming responsible and being punished if someone left the job without a strong reason.

Moreover, administrators and *Chefes de Posto* could also send their agents, usually *cipaios*, to get people for different types of work. From government departments to private estate owners, to big companies or to military and civil servants in need of transportation from one place to another, anybody prominent in colonial society could ask (and get) the administration to provide workers and carriers. There is abundant written evidence of these requisitions and it is fair to suppose that many others were unregistered.[95] Some defiant responses occurred, including beating the *cipaios* or fleeing the village, but they had severe consequences and normally the headmen tried to be on good terms with the administration and its representatives.

In 1915, the forced recruitment of carriers for the Portuguese campaign in southern Angola against the Kwanyama and a hypothetical German invasion, added to the burden of villagers on the central plateau, already affected by forced labour to plantations and fisheries. Those were also times of severe drought and famine in southern Angola and, to a lesser extent, in the centre. In early 1915, Norton de Matos alerted Lisbon to the consequences of almost generalized drought, foreseeing a year

[94] The *engajador* worked for one or more bosses and had to be registered as such. He could also be a 'native'. ANA *Códice* 4,076 for licences in 1914.
[95] In March 1911, the military command in Huambo informed the Benguela District Government that 140 workers were sent to the building of the railway 'complying with By-laws 297 and 410 of 1907'. Another document informed that 'a great number of workers' who had been sent 'by superior order' to the Sphinge Farm came back complaining about work conditions and refusal of payment. ANA, *Códice* 9,512. Between January and March 1914, 102 'waged and compelled workers', including 17 women, worked in the experimental state farm (*granja*) in the town area. ANA, *Códice* 9,840.

of famine. He intended to buy maize flour in South Africa to feed native carriers, workers and troops in southern Angola.[96]

Development of truly free waged labour was easier in towns, but Huambo evolved too slowly until the late 1920s and only administrative development, multiplication of trading houses and the railway building created significant new job opportunities. A modest building industry (including tile production) and a few guest-houses also employed a certain number of people but the railway and the state were the main employers in town or nearby. Many other essential tasks were left to temporary recruited workers or to prisoners without any formal contract.

The railway and the foundation of *Cidade do Huambo*

No other region under Portuguese rule had so many projects of European settlement as Angola's central highlands. Although priority was given to Portuguese immigrants, other projects of mass immigration existed, such as a Zionist plan to settle Jews and another to settle Italians. The possibility of finding in central Angola a safe haven for central and eastern European Jews inspired a Zionist group in Lisbon to submit to Parliament a project, in February 1912, which after much discussion was approved in June, giving land on the 'Benguela Plateau' for the settlement of Jewish families. Contacts established with Israel Zangwill's Jewish Territorial Organization (ITO) led to geologist professor John Walter Gregory, from Glasgow University, being sent to explore the region in 1912, looking for settlement conditions. In September of that year, Gregory was among those who signed, with Norton de Matos, the Huambo 'Foundation Act'. The project, however, never

[96] He also wanted more resources to assure food supplies in already 'pacified' areas. Telegram from Governador-geral to Ministro das Colónias, 19 February 1915, AHM, *Caixa* 26, document 1. Catholic missionary sources estimated one third of southern Angola population died during the 1916 famine. Costa, *Cem anos,* 383.

materialized.[97] Also in 1912, another scientific mission was sent to the Benguela plateau by an 'Italian Union for Enterprises in West Africa'. A report by Professor Taruffi of Pisa University was aimed at selecting the best land for the projected migration of thousands of Italians, but organizers then gave up the project.[98]

By the turn of the century, migration from Europe to old and new tropical colonies was seen as a possible solution to domestic problems. But only the healthiest areas in Africa were supposed to allow the 'white race' to thrive without loosing its qualities and genetic distinctiveness. In Angola that meant to leave the coastal zone and go higher and further eastwards. If 'newcomers' to Africa like 'the English' had built cities such as Bulawayo, Salisbury or Umtali 'with thousands of white inhabitants that are said to live European-style lives there', certainly in Angola a good place could be found, served by the railway.[99] In years to come, ambitious projects that envisaged hundreds of white families flocking to 'the healthy plateau' from rural Portugal all failed, without ever destroying the idea.[100] But white settlement in Huambo and neighbouring zones developed slowly until the Second

---

[97] Wolf Terló and Alfredo Bensaúde, whose family had important businesses in Angola, were among the founders of the Lisbon Zionist group. Wolf Terló, 'Projecto de colonização israelita no Planalto de Angola', *Boletim do Comité Israelita de Lisboa*, (Set. 1912), 39-46. See J. Medina and J. Barromi, 'O projecto de colonização judaica em Angola. O debate em Portugal da proposta da ITO, 1912-1913', *Clio*, 6 (1987-88), 79-101; Rebelo Espanha, *O Planalto de Benguela* (Lisbon, c. 1930), 8. For contemporary discussions, see *Jornal de Benguela*, 26 March 1913, 3, assuring that Benguela merchants 'welcomed Jewish colonization' but Dr. Nascimento was ill informed on the plateau conditions (see below). On another failed project of Jewish migration to Angola, in the 1930s, see Ansgar Schäfer, 'Terra prometida no Império? Os projectos para uma colonização israelita de Angola', *História*, 9 (1995), 32-45.

[98] Dino Taruffi, 'L'Altiplano di Benguella (Angola) ed il suo avvenire agricolo', *L'Agricoltura Coloniale*, (Florence, 1916). Published in Portugal without the original illustrations: 'O Planalto de Benguela e o seu futuro agrícola', *BSGL*, 36 (1918), 7-9, 185-226.

[99] Adolpho Sarmento, *'Sanatórios em África'* ('Healthy resorts in Africa') partially republished in *Portugal em África*, 82 (1900), 517-9. He suggested Libolo, south of the Kwanza but not too far from the Luanda-Ambaca railway.

[100] See paper submitted in 1938 to the International Congress of Geography, in Amsterdam: Carlos Roma Machado Maia, *Os Melhores Locais de Angola e Moçambique para a Vida das Famílias Portuguesas com Residência Perpétua e para Estadia de 10 anos no Máximo* (Lisbon, 1938).

World War and settlers were much more involved in trade and services than in agriculture or industry.

The meaning of being a 'settler', however, has to be clarified for different times and places. The Portuguese who colonized Angola in the twentieth century were not a homogeneous community and divisions by wealth, status or literacy levels were evident.[101] Even more important was the diversity of historical experiences in the colonization of Angola, which also affected the way Africans from different regions interacted with Europeans. In the southern port of Moçâmedes (now Namibe), where for decades colonization was made with white families, the ratio between men and women allowed the development of a significant 'white' community. On Angola's central plateau, however, the dispersed settlement of white men and almost no white women until the beginning of the century, favoured an old pattern of relationships with African powers, often reinforced by marriage with a daughter or a relative of the nearest chief. The foreigner would be authorized to build, at a convenient distance, the houses for him and his dependents (wives, concubines and servants or slaves), with parcels of land to be cultivated for subsistence or for trade. These Europeans learnt Umbundu and were more often than not involved in local politics. For some years after the conquest of Wambu this old pattern survived among European merchant-settlers there, despite attempts by the colonial state to concentrate them in a 'proper white settlement'.

Among settlers, deportees (*degredados*) sent from Portugal and other Portuguese colonies to Angola until the 1930s have the attention of scholars. However, they were a minority among the white population at large and deportees' presence was less important in central and southern Angola than it was in Luanda

[101] See Castelo, *Passagens.* On their more politicized segments, Pimenta, *Angola.*

and its hinterland.[102] Some had been persecuted because of political dissidence, opposition to landlords, disobedience, or vagrancy. Others had committed a variety of crimes, but nothing prevented them from blending into the world emerging from the slave trade, military expeditions and colonial conquest. Deportees, criminals or illiterate settlers have often been blamed for the brutality and backwardness of Portuguese colonial rule.[103] There is no evidence, however, that settlers' class, education, 'morals' or national origin made a great difference in the way African subjects were mistreated in colonies of white settlement. The relationship between colonizers and colonized did not necessarily improve with 'better born' or educated settlers. Local economic, political and social circumstances, not to mention Africans' attitudes, were more important factors.[104]

The foundation of the city of Huambo was mainly the result of two convergent factors: the imperial decision to make central Angola a land for Portuguese settlement and the more mundane decision about the location of the railway line. The state and the Benguela Railways Company established, from the very beginning, an indissoluble yet uncomfortable relationship. In 1902, Governor Cabral Moncada created the *'Posto do Huambo*, including the territories of Hambo [sic], Sambo and Moma', under the Bailundo administration.[105] In 1907, Paiva Couceiro appointed a technical commission, coordinated by Dr. José Pereira do Nascimento, to study the potentialities of the region and, after its first reports, the governor created a 'Military Command of Huambo' (including Huambo, Sambo and Cuíma) under direct control of Benguela. Dr. Nascimento's activism and successive publications urging the

[102] Clarence-Smith, *Third Portuguese Empire*, 106; Newitt, *Portugal in Africa*, 150-2.
[103] Bender, *Angola*, 59-94, is an example of such view, despite other merits of his book.
[104] See, for example, Sybille Küster, *African Education in Colonial Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi: Government Control, Settler Antagonism and African Agency, 1890-1964* (Hamburg, 1999); Carol Summers, *Colonial Lessons: Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918–1940* (Oxford, 2002).
[105] Provincial Ordinance 474, 4 November 1902.

plateau's colonisation were not matched, his critics said, by his knowledge of the area.[106]

The 1910 regime change in Lisbon only briefly disrupted existing plans and in 1912 Norton de Matos resumed the project of white settlement on the plateau based on the 1907-9 commission reports. Five hundred Portuguese families were supposed to be sent there over, in ten years, a considerable number by Portuguese standards. At least one family member should be literate, which was not easy in rural Portugal. The state would provide each family with a house, farm buildings and 25 hectares of land, seeds, pigs, chicken and cattle for working the fields, all to be paid from the settlers' expected profits after three years. It would pay for irrigation, for the clearing of the land and some equipment. It was assumed that after ten years state intervention would no longer be needed to sustain colonization.

Ambitious and unrealistic plans like that were eventually abandoned, but the idea of making central Angola the main zone for white settlement in order to alleviate poverty in Portugal and as an alternative to emigration to Brazil persisted through the colonial period.[107] Despite settlement plans, Huambo would most probably have been like other towns along the railway, had it not been for Norton de Matos's imperial vision, willpower and decisiveness. However, the prospect of a great urban centre on the plateau and its location were not his idea, despite what he later wrote.[108]

White settlement plans did not imply the existence of a central city in that precise location, which was still no more than a resting point for Boers' ox wagons

---

[106] *Relatório da Missão de Estudos da Colonização do Planalto de Benguella 1907-1909* (Loanda, 1910). Benguela newspapers voiced criticism: see agronomist Alfredo de Andrade and others in *Jornal de Benguela*, 19 March 1913, 5, calling Nascimento 'Sr. Maravilhas' ('Mr. Miracle'). Also 2 April 1913, 3.

[107] For instance, Espanha, *O Planalto*. For more 'rural' settlement schemes (before 1961) see Bender, *Angola*, 95-107.

[108] Matos, *Memórias,* II, 125-127. His Provincial Ordinance 1040, 8 August 1912 creating a city in Huambo explicitly mentioned the initiative of Benguela district government.

on the Caconda-Bié cart road opened during the 1890 campaign against Viye. A more recent road, between the small fortresses of Kisala and Sambu, crossed it.[109] The place was known in Umbundu as *ombila yo ngombe* ('the oxen's grave') because many oxen died there, apparently of exhaustion.[110] Bailundo to the north, Bié to the east, Sambo to the southeast and Caconda to the southwest, had everything to capture the interest of European settlers and already had more Portuguese merchants living there.[111] As for Benguela traders and governors, they were more interested in exploring, through the Caconda route, Ngangela lands towards the Zambezi, from where rubber came. But in 1911, a civil *Circunscrição* took the place of the military post at Huambo, with a Municipal Commission supposedly meeting every week at Kisala. But there was no town at all and the Commission members were scattered over a vast area, so meetings in the fortress soon became irregular. Contrary to later versions of the events, Kisala was not the cradle of the city, born about five kilometres away.[112]

The main factor in the location of Huambo and a string of smaller towns across central Angola was the new direction of the projected railway from Lobito Bay to the newly developing Katanga mining region in the Belgian Congo. It made sense to build a town near that point from where, after 'the last step' to the high plateau, the train crossed more level regions. But trading houses in Benguela and civil servants in

---

[109] Usual caravan routes were obviously pedestrian, with a few suitable for *'boi-cavalo'* (an ox trained to be ridden like a horse) or mules. Another cart road connected Caconda and Bié through Ngalange. For 1890, see map in Paiva, *Artur de Paiva*. A detailed traveller's map of 1903 still does not indicate cart roads to Kisala, Mbalundu or Kahala. See Pimentel, *Investigação*.

[110] See Father Keiling, *Voz*, 21 September 1936, 34.

[111] The great number of Europeans in Sambu and the importance of hut tax and mail movement were, in 1911, invoked to claim the appointment of a European sergeant (instead of a less graduate African) as responsible for the small fort. ANA, *Códice* 9,512. See also Costa, *Cem anos,* 232.

[112] See Horácio Domingues 'Monografia histórica', *Voz,* 13 October 1945 and 20 October 1945.

westernmost towns were openly opposed to urban development in the far interior, fearing diversion of their own trade and resources.

Benguela Railways, or the *Companhia do Caminho de Ferro de Benguela* (CCFB), entered Angolan history in the middle of a political scandal. In November 1902, the Portuguese government agreed with Scottish engineer Robert Williams a concession that granted a British company the building and exploitation (for 99 years) of a railway across Angola, from the ocean to the eastern frontier. Former plans from Portuguese entrepreneurs were dismissed, prompting a nationalist outcry. The Benguela Railways was founded on 23 May 1903 and construction began in 1904, but discussions on its route lasted for years. At the height of wild rubber trade, the most obvious zones to serve were in south-central and south-eastern Angola, heading for Barotseland (present-day Zambia, by then controlled by the British South Africa Company). But the Katanga copper mines were Williams' objective and he eventually got permission to proceed with the railway north of the 12th parallel. It was that move which decided the future of Huambo.[113]

One of the building contractors responsible for the 1,347 kilometres of railroad, the many bridges and the modern harbour at Lobito Bay, was, after 1910, Pauling & Co. - whose name survived in Huambo's 'Bairro da Pólingue'. Griffiths & Co. built the first and more difficult section of the line, bringing to Angola a number of Indian

---

[113] For passionate debates in the press about the concession given to Williams, see *Perda de Angola. A Concessão Williams* (Lisbon, 1903). See also Alberto A. Teixeira, *Angola Intangível (Notas e Comentários)* (Porto, 1934), 483-98; Ernesto de Vasconcellos, 'Génese do Caminho de Ferro de Benguela', *BSGL*, 9-10 (1929), 330-1; Roma Machado, 'Inauguração do Caminho de Ferro de Benguela e primeira travessia de África em caminho de ferro promovida pela respectiva Companhia', *BSGL*, 11-12 (1929), 362-386. Caminho de Ferro de Benguela (ed.), *Benguela Railways and the Development of Southern Africa* (Luanda, 1988), 9-30. Hutchinson and G. Martelli, *Robert's People: The Life of Sir Robert Williams, Bart., 1860-1938* (London, 1971). Gregory Pirio called the concession 'a turning point in Portuguese policy toward Angola' because Minister Teixeira de Sousa broke the resistance against foreign investment in Portuguese colonies. See Pirio, 'Commerce', 124.

workers. Five hundred men from Liberia were also brought to work on the port and the railway, before Angolan labour was considered sufficient and fit for the job.[114]

During the First World War, railway construction got stuck in the centre of Angola and then it suffered financial constraints and was caught in the middle of economic disputes in central and southern Africa. It resumed only in 1920 and finally reached, in 1929, the new Angola-Congo frontier that had been moved eastwards in 1927, adding one hundred kilometres to the line to be built.[115] But in the 1930s the world economy and the Katanga mines were decaying and Robert Williams and the CCFB shareholders did not have what they dreamed of: 'It is unfortunate that this railway … should be finished at a moment when copper is a glut on the market, and output has been reduced to something like 30 percent of the normal output'.[116] In the meantime, however, the railway had contributed to the transformation of a huge part of Angola.

The CCFB was granted preferential rights to mines which might be discovered on both sides of the line, but nothing interesting was found and in September 1913 another agreement was signed: the company was given fifty land concessions of five thousand hectares each, transmissible to third parties after Government authorization. Claiming that cattle ranching needed bigger estates, the company in 1919 got the land concessions reduced to five but of fifty thousand hectares each. Then the CCFB

---

[114] José d'Almada, *Para a História do Caminho de Ferro de Benguela* (Lisbon, 1951), 50. For photographic evidence, Griffiths & Company Contractors Limited, *Photographic Album* (London, 1907).

[115] From July 1929 trains ran between Lobito and the frontier, but the Benguela Railway had to wait for the Katanga railway to be completed for the first international train to connect Lobito to Elisabethville (Lubumbashi) in May 1931. The first train carrying copper ore from Katanga to be exported through Lobito harbour arrived in June. *Benguela Railways*, 30-1.

[116] G. H. Bullock, *Economic Conditions in Angola (Portuguese West Africa): Report by G. H. Bullock, His Majesty's Consul General* (London, 1932), 29. For the Angola-Katanga-Zambia connections, see Simon Katzenellenbogen, *Railways and the Copper Mines of Katanga* (Oxford, 1973). See also G. W. Clarence-Smith 'Les investissements belges en Angola 1912-1961', *Entreprises et Entrepreneurs en Afrique (XIXe et XXe siècles)* (Paris, 1983), I, 423-41.

made a concession contract with the Zambezia Exploring Co. through the Angola Estates Ltd.[117]

Although not identical to territorial chartered companies, the powerful economic position of CCFB gave it leverage directly to influence Lisbon and it was sometimes a difficult partner for Huambo administrators. Despite the huge gap between top and bottom wages, its employees were privileged vis-à-vis the same level of workers employed elsewhere. Even Norton de Matos had to be flexible while dealing with such powerful partners. When the High Commissioner ruled against labour emigration from Angola to neighbouring colonies, he allowed temporary exceptions 'to the contract of native workers to be employed in the extension of Angolan railways' beyond Angolan frontiers, which could only be the case of Benguela Railways.[118]

In 1910, on the eve of the Republic, the railway had reached the western fringes of the plateau and 'towns for the European population' were a matter of urgency for the colonial state. In July the railway inspector, Roma Machado, was in Luanda with other members of a commission discussing land issues related to the Benguela Railways' yard in Lobito. Governor-General Alves Roçadas then appointed another commission to study localities for urban centres along the railroad. Headed by Machado, it included representatives of the Benguela administration, Benguela traders and the CCFB.[119]

---

[117] Teixeira, *Angola intangível*, 492-3. Norton de Matos later wrote: 'In those days, all enterprises in Africa, whether they be in trade or transportation sectors, were obsessed by becoming great land owners': *Memórias*, II, 125.

[118] Decree 73, 17 November 1921. Matos, *A Província,* 246-7.

[119] Carlos Roma Machado, 'Início e fundação da cidade do Huambo', *BAGC*, Lisbon, 2 (7), 1926, 30-59. Machado, a military engineer whose African career began in 1897 in Mozambique, came to Angola in the early twentieth century. He had high positions as colonial inspector of public works and of the railways, enjoying good relations with the CCFB. An active fellow member of the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* and international colonial organizations, he intervened in colonial congresses and published several articles and books. Not a Republican himself, he nonetheless shared Norton's vision of colonization of the 'healthy plateau' and of urban modernity.

Travelling to Huambo, Roma Machado, Mariano Machado (CCFB) and António da Costa (a Benguela trader), joined the military chief of Kisala, Luís Patacho, and inspected the area thoroughly. Three locations for the future city were considered: near the fortress; on the Kaululu elevation where Costa was about to install a branch of his business; and the *ombila yo ngombe* plateau where a Catholic Mission had a few buildings. The latter was preferred. Missionaries decided to leave, partly because they disliked being near the railroad, partly because the state did not assure them property rights on the land they occupied. The CCFB got a concession of one thousand hectares for its station yard and buildings, about nine hundred metres from the mission site.[120]

The new Republican government dismissed Roma Machado from his job and he went to Moçâmedes, but was called back by late 1911 or early 1912. Benguela governor Romeiras de Macedo wanted him to advise a new commission on the projected city in Huambo, so they went and again the area of the former Catholic Mission was chosen. It was a rather level plateau of three by two kilometres, near good sources of water, with no mosquitoes and relatively free from termites, a great enemy of Angola's house builders. Machado elaborated the city plan and a new interim Benguela governor, Goes Pinto, added a report and sent it to the Governor-General for approval.

Norton de Matos, recently arrived, wished to give visibility to great state projects and the utopian plan of Machado certainly suited him.[121] On 8 August 1912 he signed the ordinance creating *Cidade do Huambo*, at kilometer 426 of the railway.

---

[120] Despite minor contradictions in his successive versions, Machado's testimony is essential. Carlos Roma Machado, 'A Cidade do Huambo. Primeira cidade portugueza no Planalto de Benguela', *Revista de Engenharia Militar*, Lisbon, 18 (1913), 396-412 and 471-486. Carlos Roma Machado Maia, *Recordações de África* (Lisbon, 1930). Also Machado article in *Jornal de Benguela*, 13 August 1943, reproduced in *Voz*, 27 October 1945.

[121] On Norton's first period in Angola, see Maria Alexandre Dáskalos, *A política de Norton de Matos para Angola 1912-1915* (Coimbra, 2008). Interesting for other aspects, it is however ill-informed about Huambo's foundation and poorly researched on economic developments.

City and railway station were both inaugurated by the Governor and his selected guests on 21 September, with some pomp, despite the poor appearance of the very few first buildings, including the Municipal Council in a pre-fabricated wood house. Artur de Castro Soromenho, the first *Administrador* of the Huambo *Circunscrição*, held office until 1921.[122]

Huambo, on a vast open space at the centre of a network of roads and the railway, was conceived by a colonial power no longer concerned with military issues but with European settlement, trade and political control. It symbolized a new era; it did not evolve from a previous commercial or military outpost, neither was it built over or near the capital of a precolonial kingdom. In fact, the contrast with the old Ovimbundu capitals could not be greater. As we have seen, *olombala* were normally built on steep hills, many with giant rocks, others featuring strong palisades, with labyrinthine paths to royal residences. Furthermore, while Huambo was at the crossroads of important trade routes, the caravans normally kept their distance from the *olombala*, fearing the risks of extra fines or robbery. Ovimbundu kings seemed to prefer it that way, rather than having hundreds or thousands of armed men nearby. They received the established gifts sent by caravan leaders to the *ombala* and sometimes paid a visit to the camp.

The ambition of marking the landscape with something modern and never before seen in Angola was evident in the 1912 plan drawn up by Machado, whose basic lines still survive in the 'noble area' of Huambo civic centre and a few more

[122] See Matos, *Memórias,* II, 125-7. The name *Cidade do Huambo* or simply Huambo was officially changed in 1928 (Decree 15,917, 1 September) to *Nova Lisboa* and the new *Carta Orgânica* established it as the capital of Angola, but that change in status never happened. In time, *Nova Lisboa* became widely used but the original city name was also popular and it became again its official name after 1975. As noted before, I will use Huambo to refer to the city, adding the needed specification while referring to the *Concelho*, *Circunscrição* or District.

areas, despite many changes in subsequent decades (see map 5).[123] The city plan was visibly inspired by the 'garden-city' model although neither Machado nor Norton used the expression. It included residential and industrial zones, a civic centre far from the station for freight trains and main trading activities, several gardens and parks protecting the existing sources of clear water, three great marketplaces, spaces for leisure activities and agricultural areas not far from the city. Also present in the plan were hospitals, schools, hotels, military barracks and a parade place, a police station and prisons. Residential areas were supposed to follow what Machado called 'the English system': large streets in front of the houses and more narrow streets at their back, 'for the natives, for cleaning activities and for the sewage system'.[124] But the high costs of building in town led many white settlers to stay away and those who built in town often failed to comply with urban regulations.

Great expectations justified the grandeur, since the city, according to Machado, was envisaged as a centre of white population and a future health resort for Europeans from throughout Angola and the Belgian Congo, an agricultural centre for European settlement, a big commercial centre, a concentration point for district authorities and civil servants, and a future industrial centre, using electricity generated by the Kunyongamwa river falls and with repair shops for ox-wagons and automobiles, metalworkers and cabinetmakers workshops, mills and so on, not to mention the main CCFB workshops.[125]

Huambo not only fulfilled but also exceeded many of those high expectations, although only some decades later. One important function, however, was not foreseen in Machado's plan in those years of republican anti-clerical sentiment: Huambo as a great Catholic centre. For decades, whites and blacks alike went to the

---

[123] Compare the city plans (1912 and 1946), aerofotogrametric images of 1953, aerial photos of 1970s and current Google satellite images.
[124] Machado, 'Início', 50.
[125] For this and the next paragraphs about aspects of the plan, Machado, 'Início', 46-51.

Kwando Mission for marriages, baptisms, etc., because despite growing Catholic influence, no physical structure indicated such influence in town until the 1940s.[126]

The planned civic centre was basically a great circular place from where nine avenues radiated. It included administration offices, banks, court and the post office, as well as a theatre, library, hotels and even a casino: all the amenities for an urban 'civilized' life. It was intended to serve not only the Portuguese but other Europeans in central Africa needing a relaxing healthy place. It is just one of the ironies of Huambo's history that for decades most of the white settlers coming to the zone were people who certainly were more comfortable at a tavern than at the theatre or the casino.

The Municipal Council (*Câmara Municipal*) would face the passenger trains station north of the civic centre.[127] Machado dismissed the idea of building north of the railway, where he put the 'sanitary dependencies': an abattoir and a crematorium, a public wash-house, the municipal barn, the kiln to burn rubbish, a deposit for the sewage system and sewage treatment works. As in any urban place, human waste was a problem. The imagined sewage system would use a combination of septic tanks, cesspits and sewage channelled to the north where the small river Kusavi would receive the liquid after treatment. However, Machado's instructions were not followed and the springs and small rivers was quickly polluted by human and animal waste usually abandoned on empty spaces.[128]

The main direction of the winds justified the planned location of health resorts in one extreme and 'the native quarter', the cemetery and sanitary installations in the other. A water deposit would keep the water pumped from the three rivers and a

---

[126] See Chapter 5.
[127] CCFB finally decided to use the same station for passengers and goods, in its concession. The Municipality moved to the old Mission's place where the Governor's palace was planned and the palace was built facing the great circular place and reinforcing the political weight of that space.
[128] Machado, *Os melhores locais*, 6, footnote 1.

bathhouse would be installed nearby to serve people using the playing fields. The former vegetable garden of the Mission near the Kunjevi river would be the centre of a great experimental state farm. A workers' quarter (*bairro operário*) was planned (for the 'civilized' labour force) near the industrial workshops, facing a municipal market and the prison buildings. Further east there was the 'native quarter' (*bairro indígena*), rather distant from the European residential area but not too far, so workers could be in time for their daily duties. 'Facing the native quarter and opposite to the contagious diseases' hospital, would be the cemetery and its crematorium and the space for an all-faiths church like the Blantyre church'.[129]

The plan signalled a few houses where families once related to the Mission lived. Most of the 'natives' were supposed to live in villages scattered outside the city limits, but their essential role to the city's economy was widely reflected in the space given to traders: an entire 'quarter for bartering and trading with the natives' and for receiving and exporting goods through the railway was 'isolated from the central part' of the town. Merchants were expected to build on stands located between the two avenues parallel to the railway. In the meantime (in fact, it lasted for some years) the CCFB gave merchants 'special conditions' to build temporary warehouses in its concession, since many traders had no means to build according to the city's high standards. Against planners' intentions, the railway station rapidly became a second pole around which the town grew, first with commercial activities and then with residential and leisure areas: it was (and remains) 'downtown' (*Baixa*). The city area around the civic centre and along some of the planned avenues became *Alta*.[130]

---

[129] Machado, 'Início', 50. It is possible that Machado visited Blantyre while serving in Mozambique. In the early twentieth century, prospects of European settlement on the Shire plateau of Nyasaland and the coming of the railway in 1907 provided ground for comparison. See John McCracken 'Blantyre transformed: Class, conflict and nationalism in urban Malawi', *JAH*, 39 (1998), 247-69.

[130] The English word 'uptown' does not convey the idea of civic centre and seat of government.

From the very beginning, house construction was supposed to follow strict guidelines, explicitly avoiding examples of chaotic and unhealthy older colonial towns like Benguela. Residences in town should comply with 'modern hygiene practices' and have a 'civilization mark' much superior to the 'native' residences. So the rather common use of mud bricks or wattle and daub, thatched roofs or anything similar to 'typical native houses' was not allowed, except on the outskirts.[131] The idea was to keep black people out of the town but the result was to send many white people there too, as they could not afford better construction material. A 'native quarter' would be created 'clearly apart' from the town and prevented from developing the characteristics of an overcrowded 'native village' without proper streets or 'hygiene and cleanliness'. The Huambo administrative staff should do their best to 'create a type of native house, solid and at least respecting the most elementary hygiene conditions'.

As so often happens, life did not respect law. A vivid description of Huambo's 'downtown' in its first decade comes from a settler's testimony in a commemorative issue of the local newspaper:

> In those days the city began where today is the *Companhia Geral de Angola*. From there started the *5 de Outubro* Avenue, beginning with two corrugated iron constructions (*barracões de zinco*) and one wattle and daub house: they were two single-storey shops and a hotel with its own shop. The railway ran parallel to the avenue … and on the other side of the line, considered the city outskirts, there were wattle and daub houses roofed with corrugated iron … Where nowadays is *Rua do Comércio* was then a mass of native huts; in that neighbourhood the famous Luiz Gomes Sambo caught peoples' attention with his benevolent school and the old brass band, in the house that is still there … And that was city downtown (*a Baixa da cidade*)…[132]

The mention of Luiz Gomes Sambo, whose house was certainly not a hut and survived the expansion of the city north of the railway, is important. A 'civilized'

[131] Ordinance 1,086, 21 August 1912.
[132] Francisco da Silva Martins, 'Do Huambo a Nova Lisboa' *Voz*, 31 March 1934. *Avenida 5 de Outubro* (5 October) whose name evoked the 1910 republican revolution, was the great avenue parallel to the railway.

native of Cabinda, Sambo had served in the army, became a *regedor* in Balombo, took part in the military campaign against Bimbe in 1904, and then resumed his civilian life. In September 1912, he was the only black person signing the 'Foundation Act' with the Governor-General. Luiz Sambo's brass band of about twenty people performed from Huambo to Lobito, and his expertise in herbal remedies was famous.[133]

Of the first black inhabitants of the city (in a broad sense) a few were local, but most came to Huambo following the Catholic mission, the railway and European traders, or just attracted by the opportunities human concentration creates. These people were also among the 'founders' of the city, although almost ignored by history as retold many times in the years to come.[134] Father Blanc, the pioneer of the Catholic Mission, arrived in June 1910 from Caconda with six married couples who built the 'native village' and the mission's premises on an empty place, with the help of people from two villages 'somewhere in the direction of the Kusava river'.[135] When missionaries left for Kwando, not everybody from the Christian village followed them. Also when the bulk of the CCFB engineers and workers went further east building the line, 'Pauling town' did not disappear completely and became one of the first quarters out of the planned city: the 'Bairro da Pólingue'.

In the late 1920s, when Huambo was officially renamed Nova Lisboa, High Commissioner Vicente Ferreira ordered a revised urban plan to include recent developments (previously authorized or unauthorized) without changing much of the basic pattern. The next big urbanization plan was in the 1940s, by the staff of the

---

[133] See his interview in *Voz,* 31 March 1934.
[134] Every September the local newspaper was full of accounts of commemorative ceremonies, memoirs and the like. Military feats, settler endurance and initiative, pioneering missionary work, Norton de Matos's great vision and the Railway Company, all were praised as having fathered the city, depending on the prevailing political mood.
[135] Father Blanc, 'A chegada da Cruz a Nova Lisboa', *Traço de União. Deus e Pátria. Mensário da Liga Educativa e Instrutiva dos Alunos das Missões*, [hereafter *Traço*], August 1949, 1; *idem*, March 1950, 1. See also Costa, *Cem anos,* 227.

new Overseas Urbanization Office (*Gabinete de Urbanização do Ultramar*) in Lisbon, who were surprised by streets and squares' dimensions in a city of only 3,442 white and mixed-race 'civilized inhabitants'. The new city plan kept much of the old one, but clearly accepted the development of dual town centres (the civic centre and the commercial downtown) (see map 6). It also added new residential zones or provided new infrastructures to already existing ones, added more 'native' quarters and suppressed some areas once imagined for tourism, hotels and green parks.[136]

Conclusion

Patterns of commercial occupation in central Angola did not change immediately after the 1902 war. Africans and Europeans were, for the most part, living in a world still dominated by non-written commercial rules established long ago in that region. The old system of credit and *permuta* (barter) continued and business was still very much conducted through personal agreement between the European (or 'civilized' African) trader and the head of the nearest village, often reinforced by 'marriage' with one of his daughters, nieces or pawns. Consolidation of colonial rule and railway and road expansion inevitably modified the distribution of population and their ways of living, repelling some but attracting others. European traders and African producers were mutually influencing each other in the choice of settlement spaces: the spontaneous or forced population movements motivated the opening of new shops and these attracted more people to come and build houses or entire villages nearby. Visions of white settlement and production at the core of the colony's economic development were out of touch with the reality in central Angola, where African production was the source of economic prosperity and where the bulk of Portuguese immigrants turned to commercial activities.

---

[136] See Domingues, 'Monografia', *Voz,* 17 November 1945. For this new plan see next Chapter.

The image of an overall and irreversible decline following the loss of political autonomy by the VaWambu and other Ovimbundu peoples has to be challenged. Political decline was obvious: their surviving chiefs went through a process of subalternization, manipulation and abuse that left little of their prestige intact, despite (or perhaps because of) being used by the Portuguese administration to control people. On the economic side, the picture was rather different. After a short period of recession, the resurgence and expansion of agriculture and local trade, namely in maize and beans, boosted by the railway after 1910, tell a story of relative success. Even Protestant missionaries, often in the front line of denouncing the burden of taxation and forced labour on Ovimbundu peasants, did not consider the overall economic situation as one of impoverishment during the 1920s and the 1930s. It was later that the rural population of central Angola experienced growing impoverishment, under the combined effects of white settlement, growing labour demands from European farming, mining and fisheries, and ecological strain due to deforestation, population growth and more intensive farming without adequate soil protection.

The planned *Cidade do Huambo* embodied an ideal of colonization that associated progress with railways, roads, residential concentration in healthy structured spaces, and reinforced state control over territory and population. The powerful Benguela Railways Company was, from the inception of the city, a problematic partner in colonial projects but one whose economic and social influence can never be underestimated. More than simply a railway town, Huambo was meant to prove Portugal's colonial ability by being a landmark of modernity in its richest colony. Or so the newly-appointed Governor Norton de Matos and a few other thought. In Angola those prospects faced the lack of financial and human resources, not to mention the resistance of old ways of trading, housing and managing labour.

A fundamental partner in the city's future development was conspicuously absent from the inauguration ceremony in September 1912 and even from the original city plan: the Catholic Church. This was rather unusual, given the central place of a Catholic church in every large or small Portuguese town, and expressed the radical republican anti-clericalism of those days. But the Church later got its revenge, as we will see in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3

TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE: THE FIRST THIRTY YEARS

The three decades following the creation of *Cidade do Huambo* in 1912 witnessed the height of colonial power in Africa. Portuguese colonial experiments in Angola were much in line with other colonized areas, with the involvement of foreign companies compensating for Portugal's economic weakness. Differences certainly existed, even inside each colony, depending upon the dominant economic activities, on Africans' response to colonial rule and on the demographic and economic weight of white settlers. Once territorial conquest and partition was complete, administration and exploitation by Europeans was facilitated by the extension of roads, ports and railways. Control of African labour included in many colonies the use of passes and labour 'contracts' as well as indirect control through 'traditional' chiefs, whether legitimate by tradition or created for the purpose. Legislation reinforced race segregation everywhere and made it more difficult for non-whites to become citizens of the states they were supposed to belong to, even where it had once been otherwise, like in Angola or Senegal. In the colonial discourse, hygiene and sanitation, education and demographic policies were all means of controlling the African population.

The early twentieth century was also a time of intense change, not always welcomed or even expected by the colonizers. In the 1920s, as Frederick Cooper reminds us, while Europeans were seeing an Africa of 'bounded and static tribes', peasants were moving to new lands, miners were moving back and forward between villages and mining centers, farmers were linking up to urban food markets as well as to export markets. However, colonial officials were moving towards a policy aimed 'to conserve African societies in a colonizers' image of sanitized tradition,

slowly and selectively being led toward evolution, while the empire profited from peasant crop production or the output of mines and settlers farms'.[1]

During its first thirty years, Huambo developed slowly, whether we consider its buildings, the provision of water, electricity and other services, or its white population. The black population was growing faster, due to new job opportunities and a desire to escape from rural constraints, old and new, although most still lived in a village-like environment out of the town. This chapter examines how the defined frontier between town and countryside that urban regulations tried to enforce could not prevent the dynamic symbiotic relationship between the two. It also discusses the completion of the process of making 'natives' out of subjugated people, an essential element of the colonial situation in Africa.

Republicans, High Commissioners and Salazarism

Between the proclamation of the Republic in Portugal in 1910 and the 'Colonial Act' issued by the authoritarian Salazar regime in 1930, Angola had a dozen governors and went through important changes.[2] Uncertainty about whether to call it a colony or a province and contradictions about the empire's role in the Portuguese economy were no obstacle to laws reinforcing the inferior status of most of the population.[3] The Republican years consolidated the legal distinction between 'natives' (*indígenas*) and 'civilized' citizens, culminating in the 1926 Native Statute. Some colonial experiments like decentralization were short-lived, but much of the colonial legislation of this period survived until 1961 with few changes.

---

[1] Frederick Cooper, *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge, 2002), 18.
[2] Instability in Portugal had worsened during the First World War and on 28 May 1926 a coup d'état installed military rule followed a few years later by a fascist-like regime. See Alexandre, 'The Colonial Empire', 41-59. For a synthesis on Angola through the period, see Aida Freudenthal 'Angola', in Oliveira Marques (ed.), *O Império Africano 1890-1930* (Lisbon, 2001), 259-467.
[3] Reflecting a shift in colonial doctrine, from 1911 to 1951 the Overseas Ministry became the Ministry of the Colonies although 'Overseas Provinces' lingered in some legislation. See Maria C. Proença, *A questão Colonial no Parlamento (1910-1926)* (Lisbon, 2008).

After the First World War, under international pressure for the development of colonial territories, Lisbon appointed High-Commissioners for Angola and Mozambique to allow white settlement colonies a greater economic and political autonomy.[4] According to some contemporary voices in Angola, the High Commissioners 'did in ten years more than in the former one hundred years'.[5] Governor Norton de Matos, who had left Angola in 1915, was back in 1920 as the first High Commissioner of the Republic, ending his tenure in 1924 amidst economic crisis and strong criticism both in Portugal and Angola. He undoubtedly marked a period of colonial development in contrast with the usual conformist or backward-looking governors. Measures of control and protection of the 'natives', paternalistic as they were, provided some help against labour exploitation and the invasion of arable land by companies and white settlers - whose immigration nonetheless he promoted.[6] Norton's contradictory economic project promoted capital investment in selected industries but rejected proletarianization: Africans should stay as peasants or small entrepreneurs, along with Portuguese white settler farmers working their own fields.

Norton's ideas for two evolving segregated worlds were reflected in laws about the civil service, urban space, healthcare and education, much in tune with the dominant colonial ideology and doctrines that saw miscegenation as a disgusting reality to be avoided as much as possible. Social care and vocational training was

---

[4] Decree 6,864, 31 August 1920. High Commissioners lasted until 1930 but their powers were restricted by the 1926 and 1928 amendments.

[5] Alberto de Lemos, *Altas Questões da Administração Colonial Portuguesa*, *Separata Brotéria*, 4 (1947), 7-10. He praised economic growth, European settlement and 'civilisation' of the natives, and gave numbers: between 1920 and 1930, 'whites' in Angola went from 20,000 to more than 43,000, exports went from 70,000 tonnes (1920) to more than 130,000 tonnes (1931) and roads doubled.

[6] Decree 30, 26 July 1921, partially revoked the 1919 regulations that Norton de Matos considered a setback in African land rights caused by 'the disgraceful epidemics of land demarcations'. Matos, *A Província*, 255. His decrees 40 and 41 in August 1921, regulating the use of labour, were infamous among European settlers, even after moderated by Decree 315 (August 1923).

provided to mixed-race youngsters from poor backgrounds or abandoned by their fathers mostly to avoid the shame on the whites, a problem shared with other colonial administrations.[7] However, he stood firmly against the myths of African 'laziness' and 'natural backwardness', often stressing how important black peasants and workers were in Angola's economy and their ability to 'evolve'.

Norton de Matos is remembered in Angola for his heavy hand against the black and *mestiço* press and associations in the 1920s, after having protected them during his first tenure in office.[8] When leading figures in Luanda, Benguela and Malanje were detained and deported under suspicions of promoting anti-Portuguese agitation, resentment ramped up among that small elite that was also pushed down by the creation of two separate civil service careers with different salaries, blocking African civil servants' aspirations to high rank positions.[9] More important for the purposes of this study, however, were his Ordinances and Decrees on 'native' labour, education, living conditions and social behaviour, including the type of housing and the kind of clothes acceptable among urban dwellers.[10]

Of the utmost importance and with far-reaching consequences was the imposition of Portuguese and the exclusion of African languages from formal

---

[7] 'The distinction between colonizer and colonized, rather than being self-evident, had to be continually reproduced, which led colonial regimes to pay inordinate attention to relatively small categories of people on crucial fault lines: racially mixed children, colonizers who 'went native'. … There was a danger of reproducing the wrong kind of colonization'. Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley, 2005), 49.

[8] See Eugénio M. Ferreira, *As Ideias de Kimamuenho (um Intelectual Rural do Período 1918-1922)* (Luanda, 1989); Aida Freudenthal, 'A utopia angolense, 1880-1915', in *África e a Instalação do Sistema Colonial*, 561-72; Luísa d'Almeida, '*Nativo* versus *gentio*?: o que nos dizem algumas fontes africanas nos anos 1914-1922', *idem*, 645-54; Dáskalos, *A política*, 139-55.

[9] Decree 15, 19 May 1921.

[10] P.O. 375, 19 April 1913 (*Regulamento das Circunscrições Administrativas*) and P.O. 1,224, 1 November 1914 about 'native' villages were expanded upon by P.O. 137 (1921) and decree 227 (1922), regulating the construction, isolation and hygiene of 'native' housing, although with little effect, except that state power was used to displace villages or to forbid the use of certain areas. Norton de Matos, *A Província*, 267. *Voz*, 6 October 1934. P.O. 183, 27 October 1922, ordered the construction of 'native quarters' in Luanda, Lobito, Benguela and Moçâmedes. P.O. 16, 9 January 1923, excluded 'natives' not 'dressed with decency' from European towns.

education, along with the obligation of publishing Portuguese translations of all religious texts. It immediately put at risk the Protestant missions' schools that had very few Portuguese-speaking teachers. A conference of the Evangelical Missions at Ndondi (Bela Vista, central Angola) on 15-16 May 1922, appreciated 'the large measure of religious liberty allowed under the Portuguese Republic' and 'resolved that the High Commissioner be asked to reconsider the question of the use of the vernacular in school work, this use [sic] not to extend beyond the teaching of reading, writing and study of the scriptures'.[11] They were not successful and years later Dr. Ennis of the Elende Mission vented his frustration, perhaps too pessimistically: 'Eight years of conscientious attempt at fulfilling the conditions of Decree 77 have all but bankrupted our educational system. Our religious education is a memory'.[12]

High Commissioner Vicente Ferreira (1926-1928), chosen shortly before the 1926 military coup but officially appointed after it, favoured industrialization, was a firm supporter of white settlement to the central plateau and considered mixing races a source of physical, psychological and moral decadence.[13] The Benguela merchants, interested in counteracting the tendency to further limit the already feeble autonomy of Angola, welcomed his development policy. It had, however, no continuity, partly due to the 1930s world economic recession and partly because the

---

[11] 'Angola Missions Conference', minutes of the first meeting. SOAS-SC, IMC/CBMS, Africa II, Box 1202.

[12] Merlin Ennis, report 2 March 1929. SOAS-SC, IMC/CBMS, Africa II, Box 1203, File E2. The Decree 77 (9 December 1921), although legally recognizing the Protestant missions' activity, allowed only Portuguese speaking Angolans with an identity card to teach or to be in charge of a missionary outpost, another hindrance to the Protestants.

[13] For a collection of his articles on white settlement and Huambo/Nova Lisboa, see Vicente Ferreira, *Estudos Ultramarinos, III. Angola e os seus problemas (2ª Parte)* (Lisbon, 1954). For an enthusiastic reception of his intervention on 'the ethnic colonization of Portuguese Africa' (Second Colonial Congress, 1944), see *Portugal em África,* 2ª Série, 1 (1944), 318-9. See also Rui F. da Silva, 'No II Congresso da União Nacional: racismo e colonização étnica de Angola', *História*, 9 (1995), 20-31.

new regime in Lisbon had different views.[14] But during his short tenure, he got official approval for changing the name of Huambo to Nova Lisboa, a symbol of his great white settlement prospects.

The military coup of 28 May 1926 was not just one more in those turbulent years and the dictatorship it initiated lasted until 1974. In 1928 the military gave way to an elected president, Óscar Carmona, who chose as Minister of Finance António de Oliveira Salazar who soon became the all-powerful Chief of Cabinet (*Presidente do Conselho de Ministros*) under a succession of weak presidents. Initially supported by Monarchists and right-wing Republicans, the *Estado Novo* (New State), as it was called from 1933, was closely associated with Italian fascism and German Nazism. Salazar survived much longer, however, using Portugal's official neutrality during the Second World War and its strategic Atlantic position to win support for his dictatorship. His regime suspended freedom of the press and free association, including political parties, labour unions and Free Masonry, both in Portugal and its colonies.

Preceding the 1933 Constitution, the 1930 *Acto Colonial* justified with the 'organic essence of the Portuguese nation' the possession and colonising of overseas territories and the 'civilising [of] the native populations living there' (Article 2). Soon after the coup, influential opinion makers in Benguela criticized the restriction of settlers' privileges, noting that 'this colony had long ago ceased to be just a factory and had become a great country in the process of formation'.[15] Prospects of a colonial state controlled by white settlers and a tiny black and mixed-race elite

---

[14] *Jornal de Benguela*, 28 May 1926; 11 June 1926, 3; 18 June 1926, 4; on press censorship and hopes that 'soon we will return to the constitutional rights…', *idem,* 31 December 1926, 1. Lisbon's dictatorship was seen as temporary and not the end of the Republican regime. For the telegram exchange leading to Ferreira's dismissal (decree 2 November 1928), see *Jornal de Benguela,* 16 November 1928.

[15] *Jornal de Benguela,* 17 December 1926, 1; also 26 March 1926 (newspapers are the best source for the white settlers' political opinions in those years); Júlio F. Pinto, *Angola: Notas e Comentários dum Colono* (Lisbon, 1926), including contributions from Lieutenent Colonel Ferreira do Amaral and J. Veloso de Castro.

vanished with the new legislation and the return of *Governadores-Gerais* whose role 'was to inform and to be the passive executors of ministerial decisions' from Lisbon.[16] The Colonial Act (1930), the Organic Charter (1933) and the Overseas Administrative Reform (1933) all reflected the principles of 'unity of direction' and 'administrative decentralisation' under 'constant supervision of responsibility for acts of government and of administration' by the governmental organs in Lisbon. They kept 'legislative specialisation', that is, different legal and juridical systems for the metropole and its colonies, essential to the existing Native Statute and Native Courts (see Chapter 5). Autonomy was 'not in the Portuguese tradition, perhaps because it is not in our nature' and whenever it was tried 'we have found ourselves landed in financial and administrative disorganisation'.[17]

In the 1930s the myth of Portuguese imperial vocation and destiny was propagandized through congresses, exhibitions, newspapers and popular contests, especially under Minister of Colonies Armindo Monteiro (1931-1935) who thought the empire was missing a colonial doctrine for the future, a Portuguese 'Colonial Science' anchored in the centuries-old Portuguese overseas experience.[18] Against Norton's policy of European peasant-settlers cultivating the African land, Monteiro insisted that whites should only be supervisors and technicians ruling over black labourers.[19] His conviction that the success of colonization depended more on the innate quality of Portuguese settlers than on capital investment matched Salazar's financial policy of reducing colonial investment in public works and cutting costs

---

[16] Lemos *Altas questões*, 9-10. See Pimenta, *Angola*, 71-165, for expectations and reactions of white settlers in the Republican years and until the 1930s.
[17] Armindo Monteiro, 'Portugal in Africa', *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 38, 151 (April 1939), 268. He was addressing the Royal African Society as the Portuguese Ambassador in London.
[18] F.N. de Carvalho, 'Historiografia e propaganda colonialista do Estado Novo: a colecção "Pelo Império" (1935-1961)', *Mare Liberum,* 11-12 (1996), 91-2. See also Ministério das Colónias, *Conferência dos Governadores Coloniais: Discursos e Entrevistas*, (Lisbon, 1934). On Monteiro's life and influence, Pedro A. Oliveira, *Armindo Monteiro: uma Biografia Política*, (Venda Nova, 2000).
[19] Armindo Monteiro, *Da Governação de Angola* (Lisbon, 1935), 42-3.

with civil servants. Planned and state-funded colonization was dismissed as one of the 'enemies' of true settlement development.[20]

On the brink of the Second World War, fearing for its empire, Portugal's diplomacy presented 'integration' as part of its imperial experience and doctrine. Monteiro, then Ambassador in London, declared 'the national unity cannot be disputed, nor can the idea of the integration of the Natives in the national community' despite occasional influence 'by alien systems, ideas, and judgements'. Portugal stood against the creation of communities of different races living in separate compartments, 'protectors and protected', with one enjoying all the rights and the other only 'inferior rights'.[21] Monteiro went further, claiming that only by mixing the races, like in Brazil, was it possible 'to establish a new civilisation in tropical regions, without racial antagonisms', a surprising hint of Gilberto Freyre's lusotropicalist theory yet to be fully developed.[22] Since the 'white man' would not stay for ever in Africa as master or protector and he could not adapt himself to the physical work in the tropics, 'the Natives or mixed races provide the natural foundations of future societies. … the negro is the essential colonising element, and … his gradual adaptation to the requirements of higher civilisation should constitute the chief aim of the statesman and the administrator'. However, 'moulding' black communities to ideas and institutions born 'in different climates and historical conditions' would cause 'collective and individual disturbance' – and by ignoring it, 'the white man has often been in Africa an element of social anarchy and disintegration'. Colonisation 'is slow work' and the 'natural capacities of negro races'

[20] Armindo Monteiro, 'Inimigos da colonização: discurso proferido na inauguração da Exposição Colonial do Porto, em Janeiro de 1934', quoted in Oliveira, *Armindo Monteiro,* 115.
[21] Monteiro 'Portugal in Africa', 262-5.
[22] In 1937 Freyre was in Lisbon for a Congress and in 1938 he was an appointed member of the Portuguese Academy of History. On Freyre's theory reception in Portugal, Cláudia Castelo *"O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo": O Luso-tropicalismo e a Ideologia Colonial Portuguesa (1933-1961)* (Porto, 1998).

had a limit 'which colonisation cannot overstep without grave risks'. He considered settlers the main factor in colonisation and Portuguese settlers as 'the first protectors of the Natives … required to foster the preservation and development of the Native populations'.[23]

This was, of course, a good example of doublespeak, as Salazar's 'colonial pact' implied rejection of industrial development in the colonies and the 'integration' policy was buried under reinforced racial discrimination. Despite the imperial rhetoric, Portuguese emigration to Angola and Mozambique was restricted, the end of criminals' deportation to the colonies was not enough to make the latter more attractive than Brazil and unemployed and poor white settlers got little help from the state.[24]

From *Cidade do Huambo* to *Nova Lisboa*

Until the late 1920s, Huambo as a city was defined more by its economic and administrative functions than by any coherent urban structure: buildings were scattered over a large area and outside the defined urban perimeter lived not only Africans but also many Europeans. In the town's early years the administration was dealing mainly with labour questions and occasional military issues but its prohibition edicts revealed a range of other problems, including the widespread woodcutting and wood trade in concessions given to European farmers, alcohol production from sweet potatoes and corn, the circulation of Boers' oxwaggons, and the circumventing of rules for bringing food supplies to town.[25]

---

[23] Monteiro, 'Portugal in Africa', 265-6. He claimed 'no country today has more settlers in Africa than Portugal': 57,000 'European Portuguese' in Angola and more than 20,000 in Mozambique.
[24] Castelo, *Passagens*, especially Tables A.2 and A.3, based on *BAGC* (1927-1933).
[25] *Registo de editais 1912-1915*, ANA, *Códice* 9,950. Boers' oxwaggons with giant wheels and heavy loads caused problems for road maintenance and sanitation. Cf. Geoffrey J. Williams, *Lusaka and its Environs: a Geographical Study of a Planned Capital City in Tropical Africa* (Lusaka, 1986), 77.

Huambo was supposed to grow around the civic centre with the exception of warehouses near the railway station, but other urban developments occurred while those areas remained thinly covered by buildings. The lack of building materials was a poor excuse since bricks and tiles were locally produced from 1913, the real reasons being the white settlers' economic weakness and the shopkeepers' interest in being closer to their African suppliers and clients. The CCFB building site, quarters and workshops attracted people and merchants to its reserved area and resulted in the 'spontaneous formation of the *bairro* called Pauling' and other settlements north of the line. In 1916 Silva Contreiras & Co. made the first private construction downtown and other traders followed, there and north of the rail line, ignoring the town plan.[26] Downtown, initially with only big warehouses, shops for 'native' clients and a railway station that in the 1920s was still just a wooden screen ('*um tapume de madeira*'), became the coveted commercial area. The population in the surrounding areas grew faster than in the urban core of the city, which had only 115 'buildings' in 1922 and 240 in 1929.[27]

Although High Commissioner Norton de Matos helped 'his' city in the 1920s through public works such as an airfield, residences for high-rank civil servants and buildings for agriculture and veterinary technical services, the next big step in urban development came with Vicente Ferreira (1926-1928). He commissioned a new city plan and in 1928 officially changed its name to Nova Lisboa, considering its central position in the territory and the prospects of intensive white settlement the main reasons to make it the capital of Angola, as defined by the new *Carta Orgânica*.[28]

---

[26] Francisco S. Martins, 'Do Huambo a Nova Lisboa', *Voz,* 31 March 1934 (1st Portuguese Colonial Exhibition special number). *Voz,* 10 November 1945.

[27] *Jornal de Benguela*, 16 July 1926, 4. Horácio Domingues, 'O desenvolvimento urbano da cidade', *Voz*, 17 November 1945. Domingues was the Municipal Commission's Vice-President. He published a 'historical monograph' in the newspaper between 25 August and 16 December 1945.

[28] See Vicente Ferreira 'A capital de Angola', in Ferreira, *Estudos Ultramarinos,* III, 1-25. Also *Voz,* 2 October 1952.

Established interests in Luanda but also the then incipient urbanization of Huambo explained why the capital transfer never happened. When Huambo's area was redefined in 1930, its urban population was calculated at 5,000 (including 2,000 'whites').[29] In 1940 it was decided a new plan was needed to integrate some of the already built illegal urban areas and to reduce the planned city area to more modest proportions, keeping the rest as 'state reserve'.[30]

The city would have been even less urbanized in the 1930s if it was not for the state buildings and the CCFB, despite the latter distorting the initial plan. Water and sanitation were a headache for city authorities who, even using cheap labour and detainees, struggled to cut the high wild grass, to clean the mud caused by heavy rains and to fight poor sanitation in private backyards and unoccupied lands where refuse was thrown away.[31] Visitors were shocked by the contrast between a few nice buildings, belonging to the state or the CCFB, and the general lack of basic 'modern' urban structures, like 'a hospital, a garden, a social club, a police station, a public convenience, water supplies, drinking fountains …'.[32] The CCFB got a concession for the hydroelectric use of the Kwandu river, twenty kilometres away, in exchange of part of it for public and private consumption, but a definitive contract waited until

[29] The 1927 plan, drawn by land surveyors Silva and Antunes, was approved in 19 March 1928: *Voz*, 17 November 1945. Decree 15,917, 1 September 1928, designated Nova Lisboa to be the capital of Angola. P.O. 675, 6 November 1930, redefined the city's area which, in August that year, the president of the Urban Commission, Artur de Morais, said to be 2,800 hectares. *Voz*, 30 August 1930, 1.

[30] *Voz*, 21 September 1940, 6. P.O. 3,530 ordered the central Land Registry and the Municipal Commission to do the 'definitive plan'. *Voz*, 30 November 1940.

[31] *Jornal de Benguela*, 9 April 1926, 6; also 19 March 1926 and 16 July 1926, 4. Latrines, not to mention modern toilets, were still not that common in the late 1920s and even in the Hotel Estrela guests had to use chamber pots that servants would take away to dispose of the contents somewhere. See Marcel Borle, *Avec la Mission Scientifique Suisse en Angola: Journal de Voyage [1928-1929]* (La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1992-1994), Cahier II, 59.

[32] Eurico de Figueiredo 'A cidade do Huambo. O que é necessário que se faça nela para que acompanhe o progresso', *Jornal de Benguela*, 9 July 1926, 4. For a more enthusiastic view, see Machado, 'Inauguração', 370. The head of the Urban Commission complained about the urbanites' lack of hygiene and civic behaviour, but acknowledged the problems caused by the lack of electricity and water supplies. *Voz*, 30 August 1930, 1.

December 1935.[33] The barrage was able to supply electricity to the CCFB workshops and to the Catholic Kwando mission, where the company also built and equipped a workshop to train 'native' cabinetmakers and mechanics for the railway.[34]

The influence of the CCFB in the city's development went beyond the water and electricity it provided to its own quarters and parts of the town. Its small hospital created in 1913 was the only one for two decades and in the early 1930s one of the three primary schools, with about 70 pupils who were mostly children of railway employees, was subsidized by the company.[35] All that power meant that the state authorities could be bypassed by the CCFB in Luanda or Lisbon, as happened in the case of a railway embankment that created a monstrous 'scar' parallel to one of the main avenues, dividing the city.[36]

Nova Lisboa was described in a 1939 report as a twin-centred city with great expanses of empty land, no public hospital, no proper church, poor water supplies and dependent on the CCFB for electricity.[37] By the end of 1940, the local newspaper noted public efforts to get better water and sanitation (easier said than done) and mentioned 'the new pre-project of the city plan'. In most zones only *cacimbas* (artesian wells) and drinking fountains were used while downtown water was still bought from the CCFB.[38] The proximity of the station and the commercial interests prevailed over state intentions and in the 1940s the *Banco de Angola* and

---

[33] *Voz*, 31 May 1930, 1-2. *Ministério das Colónias, Plano Geral de Urbanização de Nova Lisboa, 1º vol.: Memória descritiva e justificativa*, no. 99, vol. 1 [hereafter *Memória descritiva*], 68-9, IPAD/MU 4,754.

[34] Father Sutter, 'Huambo: Nossa Senhora das Vitórias (1910)', *Bulletin de la Congrégation* [Spiritans] Tome XXII, 486 (February 1931), 55-8.

[35] *Voz,* 17 November 1945. For earlier years, Martinez de Lima 'Em prol do Planalto', *JB,* 6 April 1928, 4-5, mentioning the CCFB projected 'native quarters' one kilometre away from its 'workers quarters' (*bairro operário*). Also *Voz*, 6 May 1933, among others.

[36] On the 1929-1931 conflict, see *Voz*, 4 August 1945, 17 November 1945, 24 November 1945 and 1 December 1945.

[37] Alberto Macedo Margaride, 'Relatório da viagem de estudo a Angola em 1939', Companhia do Fomento Colonial (typescript), ANTT, AOS/CO/UL–8B, [hereafter, Margaride, 'Relatório'], 77-80.

[38] *Memória descritiva,* 63 and 68-9. About public works in town, see *Voz,* 28 December 1940.

the *Associação Comercial do Planalto de Benguela*, after much controversy, enriched downtown with their impressive two-storey buildings.[39] The *Alta*, the higher and elegant centre from where the city was supposed to expand, had cleaner streets, with trees, concentrating civil and military services and institutions, the City Council and the radio station. Peripheral urban quarters like Pauling, Benfica and Cacilhas, not to mention the surroundings of Rua do Comércio, were expanding, while vegetable gardens and small orchards were scattered all around.[40]

Despite settlers' claims, it was only in 1933 that a proper Municipal Council replaced the Urban Commission, but poor urban services delayed until 1948 the concession of the long-awaited *foral*, the town's charter which gave its Council a greater share of tax revenue and authority over land use.[41] With the usual caveats, statistical information available gives an idea of population growth until 1940 and how Huambo compared with other Angolan cities.[42]

In the next Tables, the small dimension of Angola's urban population speaks for itself, but Huambo deserves further comment. The 1,300 'whites' living out of town confirmed their dispersion, while the numbers and percentage of mixed-race people among the 'civilized' (cf. Lobito and traditionally *mestiça* Benguela), not to be sustained in future censuses, confirmed the frequent mixed unions or marriages in those first decades. If it is not a surprise that more than 70 percent of the people registered in the city limits were 'black', no explanation was found for the low number of 'civilized blacks' compared to Benguela. It could be due to different

[39] *Voz*, 21 September 1940, 6. The Ministry's architects disagreed but the 'already established interests' won: *Voz*, 4 August 1945. The state owned *Banco de Angola* had inaugurated its first Huambo agency in 1929.
[40] 'Urbanização de Nova Lisboa', *Voz*, 31 March 1934.
[41] *Voz*, 12 July 1930, 11 March 1933, 26 March 1940, 1 and 3, and 20 June 1942, 1-2. Having a European population greater than Benguela and Lobito combined was the main argument for demanding the *foral*. *Voz*, 4 August 1945, 1 and 8.
[42] In 1940, Huambo District had 553,669 inhabitants, Huambo *concelho* 166,702 , with roughly 10 percent (16,288) in the city, which with its surroundings (*Posto Sede*) amounted to 42,276 people. See Tables 1 and 2.

criteria or greater race discrimination in Huambo, but also to greater dispersion or less job opportunities in the region.

Table 1: Population growth in Huambo *Posto Sede* 1933-1940[43]

	'Civilized Population'					'Non-Civilized Population'				
	Posto Sede				City only	*Posto Sede*				City only
	1933	**1934**	**1938**	**1940**	**1940**	**1933**	**1934**	**1938**	**1940**	**1940**
Total	4,546	4,567	-	6,041	4,736	13,579	NA	72,824	36,235	11,552
Blacks	510	530	NA	301	301	NA	NA	72,824	35,963	11,326
Whites	3,236	3,196	5,026	4,512	3,214	-	-	-	-	-
Mixed-race	800	841	1,106	1,227	1,220	NA	NA	NA	272	226
Others	NA	NA	NA	1	1	-	-	-	-	-

TOTAL				
Posto Sede				City only
	1933	**1934**	**1940**	**1940**
Total	-	-	42,276	16,288
Blacks	-	-	36,264	11,627
Whites	3,236	3,196	4,512	3,214
Mixed-race	-	-	1,499	1,446
Others	NA	NA	1	1

Table 2: The four main Angolan cities in 1940[44]

Cities 1940	'Civilized population'					'Non-civilized population'			TOTAL
	White	Black	Mixed-race	Other	Total	Black	Mixed-race	Total	
Luanda	8.944	5.606	5.126	25	19.701	40.278	1.049	41.327	61.028
Huambo	3.214	301	1.220	1	4.736	11.326	226	11.552	16.288
Benguela	1.461	897	1.034	5	3.397	10.760	86	10.846	14.243
Lobito	1.616	226	429	1	2.272	11.192	128	11.320	13.592
Total Angola	44,083	24,221	23,244	63	91,611	3,641,608	4,791	3,646,399	3,738,010

The new city plan came from the Overseas Urbanization Office (Ministry of the Colonies) preceded by a survey in July-August 1946 largely based on information from the municipality.[45] Their definition of 'urban' space diverged from

[43] Based on the 1940 Census and on *Memória Descritiva*, 42 (quoting official statistics, based on annual taxation surveys). For 1938 incomplete data, 'Nova Lisboa: seus progressos e melhoramentos', *A Província de Angola*, 15 August 1938, 1. Reduced numbers for 1940 *Posto Sede* are due to its territorial division to create *Posto* Benfica.
[44] From the 1940 Census.
[45] The mission was headed by architect João António de Aguiar who considered absurd the dimensions of Huambo main squares, similar in size to those of Lisbon: *Voz*, 4 August

the 1940 Census, which had included the small residential areas scattered in a 6 km radius from the town center. In 1946, they only considered the area where water and sanitation should be provided by the City Council. On the grounds that it was hard to establish who was 'civilized' among black people, they gave up surveying that group and, incapable or uninterested in counting the majority of the population, simply kept the 1940 data (around 11,500 'non-civilized' blacks and *mestiços*) although acknowledging the expansion of the town and its suburbs. On their maps several *sanzalas* (quarters supposedly only for 'natives') were mentioned - Cacilhas, S. Jorge, Canoto, Bom Pastor, Fátima, Abrigada - distinguished from the more distant or sparse settlements. Cacilhas appeared partly as a *bairro* (surveyed for its white and mixed-race population) and partly as a *sanzala*, indicating the contiguity or overlapping of such spaces.[46]

The 'white' and 'mixed-race' population survey included the *Baixa*, the *Alta* and the *bairros* of CCFB (Pauling), S. João, Benfica, Cacilhas, Calumanda, Estrada da Aviação, Campo Agrícola, Caululo and Companhia Indígena de Caçadores (a company of 'native troops' had its barracks there). They registered 3,442 whites and civilized *mestiços*, a greater number living in *bairros* (1,273) than in *Alta* (1,006) or the downtown *Baixa* (1,163), which speaks for the unplanned nature of urban settlement. Despite its flaws, the survey provided an important descriptive report (*memória descritiva*) reflecting both the city's condition 34 years after its foundation and prevailing colonial urban theories.[47]

1945, 8. Aguiar's essay *L'Habitation dans les pays tropicaux* (Lisbon, 1952), published when he was the Vice-director of the Urbanization Office, summarized his ideas on tropical cities and 'native' housing.

[46] *Memória descritiva*, 44-6. For the shifting meanings of *bairro* and *sanzala*, see Chapter 5. Much later, Cacilhas got the sole sociological study on urban Huambo: António F. Caldeira, 'O Bairro de Cacilhas de Nova Lisboa, Angola: uma abordagem etno-sociológica', Lisbon, ISCSPU, Degree Dissertation, 1974, unpublished.

[47] *Memória descritiva*, 44-6. In December 1946, Aguiar signed the plan, which was approved one year later. It followed 'the modern principles of urbanism', dividing 'methodically the zones for diverse activities and diverse population classes [and] …

The new city plan was conceived for 20,000 'civilized' inhabitants (including 15,000 'whites'), a rather optimistic prospect at the time.[48] The 'non-civilized' population, ideally not expected to exceed three for each 'white', would be housed in *sanzalas*, where *palhotas* (thatched huts) would be the norm, although in healthier conditions than the existing ones.[49] The 481 hectares were zoned according to diverse uses indicated on the map: five 'residential areas' (R), one for 'natives in an advanced stage of civilization'; four areas for residential and commercial facilities (M); 'reserved areas' (O) for the City Council and public services, schools, hospital, seminary, hotels etc.; 'public spaces' (P) including gardens and parks; an 'industrial zone' (I); a 'railway zone' (F); and land reserved for future developments.

The report discussed the characteristics and location of proper 'native quarters' (*bairros indígenas*) where servants and other workers would live in close proximity to their workplaces. Moreover, they praised the plots usually cultivated near African settlements as useful to control the wild grass, otherwise the responsibility of the municipality. Those 'natives of European habits', therefore 'civilized', should be kept apart both from the 'white' urban wards and the 'native settlements' (*aldeamentos indígenas*) in a 35 hectare residential area north-east of the city (R5), designed for a maximum of 5,000 inhabitants, living in houses made of 'sun-dried blocks, covered by tiles or *fibrocimento*' (an asbestos-cement substitute for corrugated iron). They got also one of the (M) areas, with a 'native market', commerce buildings, cinema and police station. On the town margins (east, west and near the industrial and railway zones), three 'great areas for native settlements' were foreseen, the eastern

---

imposing discipline on buildings according to their uses and location.' *Voz*, 4 August 1945, 1 and 8.

[48] The last colonial census, in 1970, registered 14,694 whites, representing 23.7 percent of the total population of 61,885. Direcção Provincial dos Serviços de Estatística, *Informações Estatísticas*, 1974.

[49] *Memória descritiva*, 99-100. The derogatory words *palhota* or *cubata* were used throughout the report, although most of the houses were made of wattle-and-daub (*pau-a-pique*) or sun-dried blocks (*adobes*), building techniques also used in many white settlers houses to which *cubata* was not applied.

and western ones for domestic servants, waiters, building workers, etc. These zones should be 'isolated by dense tree curtains', arguably to allow 'natives' to go on living according to their 'custom' in *cubatas* built by themselves, with small vegetable gardens and a collective 'shelter for meetings'.[50]

The Native Statute

As seen in Chapter 3, the consolidation of colonial rule in Angola meant the generalization of policies of labour recruitment and taxation, despite divisions among Portuguese authorities about the benefits of the system. Taxation pressure was increasing and with prices falling in the late 1930s, each 'native' taxpayer had to produce 4 or 5 times more than in the early 1920s or to accept a 'contract' for longer periods.[51] Settlers were even more divided on labour recruitment and population control: traders needed producers and consumers, administrators depended on 'native tax' and farmers wanted cheap labourers.

The nineteenth-century evolution from slaves to *'libertos'* and to *'serviçais'* and the 1899 Native Labour Code, important as they were, touched only Portuguese-ruled areas at the time, a small fraction of what afterwards became Angola. In the twentieth century, the first step to reduce Africans to a subordinate legal status was taxation, followed by a pass (*caderneta*) introduced to control the 'native' wealth, work force and movement, and, finally, an all-encompassing 'Native Statute' (*Estatuto dos Indígenas*) that kept 'natives' away from citizenship and from climbing up the social ladder. Eventually the working pass became an overall identification for

[50] *Memória descritiva*, 67, 82-3 and 103-A to 110. The massive plantation of eucalypti, cedars and cypresses was first decided as a protection against strong winds in the 1920s, but soon it looked like a social and racial frontier, here made explicit. *A Província de Angola*, 15 August 1938.

[51] In 1939 each 'native tax' roughly equaled 1,365 kg of maize. See Matos, *Memórias,* II, 237. See Heywood, *Contested Power*, 72-74 on the burden of taxation and its contribution to the colonial state budget.

'natives' (*Caderneta Indígena*), while 'civilized' people got a Portuguese citizen's document (*Bilhete de Identidade* from the 1940s on) (see figures 7 to 11).

The *Caderneta* was until 1961 the evidence of an inferior social and legal status, as well as a means of control. It is not clear when it first appeared but it was announced in the 1910s by Angola's first Secretary for Native Affairs, Ferreira Diniz,[52] and it was certainly in practice in the beginning of the 1920s when local legislation was introduced to better regulate the flux and the conditions of 'native' workers. An official circular stated that the *caderneta*, issued at the worker's *Circunscrição* (administrative area) was aimed at suppressing 'laziness' and controlling 'working obligations'.[53]

Pass laws preceded the 1926 Native Statute but their enforcement was irregular, as suggested by new by-laws on the subject in subsequent years. In the 1940s, the *caderneta* was mandatory for 'every native over 16 registered for tax purposes; females working as domestic servants; natives between 14 and 18 years old working voluntarily for any employer; and all natives working for the State or related services'. Law punished the transportation of any 'native' without his pass and the mandatory travel permit (*guia de trânsito*).[54] Women needed the pass only for some jobs, but they were even more vulnerable than men and underpaid (or not paid at all) when used as city cleaners or road builders, and youngsters under 16 were

---

[52] P.O. 491, 10 May 1913, based on Decree 27 May 1911 on 'native labour', imposed 'work certificates' (*certificados de trabalho*) on employers, one for each worker. José O. F. Diniz, *Negócios Indígenas: Relatório do Ano de 1913* (Luanda, 1914), 129-54 and 184-5. For its application in Huambo: *Registo de editais 1912-1915*, ANA, *Códice* 9,950. See also José O. F. Diniz, *Populações indígenas de Angola* (Coimbra, 1918), 713-7.

[53] *Secretário de Colonização e Negócios Indígenas*, Circular 7/116, 10 February 1922, complementing Circular 17/826, 29 December 1921, ANA, *Caixa* 466. Also P.O. 16 January 1925.

[54] Huambo, Edict 30 April 1942, in *Voz,* 9 May 1942, 6. P.O. 3,937, 25 February 1942 imposed the *Caderneta* model and gave employers sixty days for delivering passes to all workers.

also recruited with the involvement of colonial authorities, although the pass laws excluded them.[55]

The 1926 'Political, Civil and Criminal Statute for the Natives of Angola and Mozambique' summarized practices and sparse colonial legislation, creating a special legal status for 'natives' distinct from 'Portuguese citizens' and impacting on all related legislation.[56] It broke definitely with more liberal tendencies and matched segregation reinforcement in other African colonies. It was a convenient barrier against black social mobility in white settler colonies, protecting settlers' rights to lands and jobs from the overwhelming black majority, especially the small but growing group of Christian mission trained people.[57] Politicians in Europe were discussing ways of improving the colonies' productivity, implying better living standards for the colonized but without putting white supremacy at risk. Britain was developing 'indirect rule', although not everywhere, and France moved from its doctrine of *assimilation* to *association*, with distinctive legislation for the metropole and its colonies and making much more difficult the access to French citizenship to its colonial subjects, until 1946.[58] Portugal followed this trend and the Native Statute consolidated the move against the 'assimilation' doctrine and the idea of all parcels

[55] *Administrador de Concelho* to *Chefes de Posto de Vila Nova, Sambo, Quipeio e Benfica*, Circular 11 December 1946, urging them to 'intensify propaganda near native authorities' to get thirteen to sixteen-year-old boys for railway 'moderate works', paid 1.60 *angolares* plus food daily, supervised by an adult paid three *angolares*. ANA, *Caixa* 496.

[56] *Estatuto político, civil e criminal dos indígenas de Angola e Moçambique*, Decree 12,533, 23 October 1926. Further modifications: Decree 13,698, 30 November 1927; Decree 16,473, 6 February 1929, further regulated by P.O. 3,126, 28 October 1939; Decree 39,666, 30 May 1954.

[57] This explains why Angola and Mozambique 'needed' the native-civilized legal divide (later extended to Guiné for coherence) and Cabo Verde and São Tomé did not. Paradoxically, the legal 'natives' in São Tomé were Angolan and Mozambican labourers.

[58] See Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (Stanford 1997), especially 174-211; Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, 'Nationalité et citoyenneté en Afrique Occidentale française: originaires et citoyens dans le Sénégal colonial', *JAH*, 42 (2001), 285-305; Emmanuelle Saada, *Les enfants de la colonie. Les métis de l'empire français entre sujétion et citoyenneté* (Paris 2007); Gregory Mann, 'What was the *indigénat*? The "empire of law" in French West Africa', *JAH*, 50 (2009), 331-353. For a contemporary and comparative approach, see Lucy Mair, *Native Policies in Africa*, p. 18 and all Chapter IV 'French Policy'.

of the empire sharing broadly the same rights, present in the wake of the abolition of slavery and in some Republican discourses.[59] Now, the dominant idea was no longer integration into the Portuguese nation, but to keep the great majority clearly apart from a minority of 'citizens' represented by all the whites and those blacks and mixed-race who fulfilled the conditions to become 'civilized'.

The Statute defined 'natives' as 'those individuals of black race or their descendants who, by their education and custom, do not distinguish themselves from the norm of that race' (article 3), leaving to each colonial government the definition of more specific conditions. 'Protection' was accorded to the 'natives' but they were not Portuguese and would be governed under a different set of laws until, after an expected very gradual evolution, being integrated 'in the life of the colony, in a way to become an essential element of its administration' (article 1). But no mention was made of their integration into the Portuguese nation.[60] They had no 'political rights related to European-type institutions' (article 9) and there were distinct organization and courts (*Tribunal Privativo dos Indígenas*) for the administration of justice (article 12).

Codification of customary law was considered essential to governance (article 2) and those habits and customs of 'native' social life not offending '[Portuguese] sovereignty rights' and 'humanitarian principles' could be accepted. Ethnographic questionnaires had been sent to the Administrative staff as earlier as 1912 without much success, but in 1918 Ferreira Diniz had published his voluminous book on Angolan 'peoples'.[61] Commenting on the questionnaires, Administrator Laboreiro considered most administrative personnel unable to do a survey or even understand

---

[59] For that and the former period, see Cristina Nogueira da Silva, *Constitucionalismo e Império: a Cidadania no Ultramar Português* (Lisbon, 2009).
[60] This was an important difference with the 1954 Statute which called them 'Portuguese natives'. See Chapter 5.
[61] Diniz, *Populações.* The questionnaire (P.O. 315, 23 February 1912) was distributed but its utility contested.

the questionnaire questions, arguing that learning local languages and engaging in conversation would be more fruitful. As for assimilation, it was 'completely condemned in the view of modern colonizers [and] … always a disaster when applied to inferior races'.[62]

Customary law never got a proper code in Angola, but article 4 of the Statute allowed 'declarations of the local native chief and two other respected natives chosen by the administrative authority' to be applied to matters of 'family, property and inheritance rights'. As the state maintained only those chiefs 'recognized as such by the administrative authorities' (article 8), in the end everything depended on the discretion of local Portuguese authorities, only limited by their interest in keeping administration going smoothly. This in turn could give some leverage to local people able to manipulate 'custom' to their own benefit.[63]

In the meantime, attitudes towards African chiefs were changing and influential authors called for stopping 'the social disintegration brought to the native society [*sociedade gentílica*] by a policy today without opportunity or justification, in Angola as in almost all African colonies'. Progress implied to try 'as far as possible to rebuild or organize, based on traditional custom, the authority of native chiefs who will be the intermediaries … between the tutelary administration and the populations.'[64] The powerful Benguela Trade Association (*Associação Comercial de Benguela*), representing well-off settlers and traders, also advocate a 'native policy' based on 'a reorganization of the native authorities, as the natural auxiliaries of the civil and military authorities.'[65] It was a shift from the former prevalent attitude but already in 1915 Ferreira Diniz deplored the lack of information about African chiefs

---

[62] Laboreiro, *Circunscrição*, 12-17.
[63] In the 1940s custom codification 'had still not deserved proper attention': José C. Ribeiro, *Regulamento do Foro Privativo dos Indígenas de Angola: Crítica e Formulário* (Luanda, 1944), 6.
[64] Augusto Casimiro, 'Política administrativa de Angola', *BAGC*, 47 (1929), 40.
[65] *Jornal de Benguela,* 22 January 1926, 5.

and the existing contempt for them, quoting the governor of French Equatorial Africa, Merlin, on the impossibility of 'direct administration' without any 'native intermediary', the need of keeping chiefs as 'subordinate collaborators and not potentates under trusteeship' and the ways of creating such authorities where needed.[66]

However, prestige was easier destroyed than rebuilt: 'Native policy went on being exerted through the villages' *sobas*, *regedores* and *secúlos* with the purpose of enhancing the crumbled prestige of native authorities'.[67] Portuguese authorities interfered whenever the *olosekulu*'s choice of a new *soma* was considered inconvenient and the installation ceremony took place at the main administrative centre in the presence of subordinate *olosoma* and *olosekulu,* who formally confirmed their choice of a new chief. The registration was read aloud and a written document was given to the new chief. Obviously, the more important the chief the more ritualized the ceremony, but it was clear for everyone where the real power was. Between 1924 and 1933, four such ceremonies occurred in Huambo, the most important being in October 1933 when Chaturica became *soba* of Kandumbu 'because the former *soba* was substituted' (no mention why) and the *olosekulu* had chosen him. Gulaua, another *ombala* in the region, got a new chief in August 1927, Sachipenha, but his whereabouts were 'unknown' by December 1931 when Luis Chico was 'chosen' as a replacement *soba*.[68] Although sparse information exists for subsequent years, the administration apparently became less interested in registering details about 'native authorities'.[69]

---

[66] José O. F. Diniz, *Negócios Indígenas: Relatório do ano de 1915* (Lisbon, 1918), 8-10.
[67] *'Nova Lisboa. Administração do Concelho. Relatório de 1937*' [hereafter Administration Report 1937], ANA, *Códice* 3,563, 6. *Sobas* and *secúlos* were Portuguese versions of *soma* and *sekulu*; the Portuguese word *regedor* was normally used for chiefs appointed by Portuguese authorities in the absence of, or with disregard for, traditional rulers.
[68] The important chieftainship of Kandumbu, about 30 kilometers east of Huambo, was the last redoubt of armed resistance in 1902. Gulaua chiefs were also related to Kandunbu. See Chapter 3.
[69] *'Registo de termos relativos a nomeação de Sobas e distribuições de terras 1924-33'*, ANA, *Códice* 3,479. *'Registo biográfico das autoridades gentílicas*', ANA, *Códice* 7,375,

In the colonial hierarchy established by the 1933 Overseas Administrative Reform, 'native authorities' (*autoridades gentílicas*), *cipaios* and interpreters were remunerated as 'auxiliaries of the civil administration in the colonies' (article 76), namely for military conscription and 'public works'. All 'natives' in urban areas were to be reunited in *regedorias* under a *regedor*, although traditional terminology was allowed, such as *sobado* in Huambo. Those *regedorias* could be subdivided in *grupo de povoações* ('native settlement group') with usually no less than 25 settlements, whose chief was found by local succession rules or chosen by the *regedor* and the Administrator (articles 109 to 111) and ruled himself over the 'native settlement's chiefs' (*chefes de povoação indígena*) (articles 112 to 119).[70]

Initially, the administrative pattern for 'natives' coming to live near the town followed the guidelines for rural populations, so taxation and labour control could continue as usual. Soon, however, population growth and mixture made it difficult or impossible for the old *olosekulu* to retain control and to give accurate information about the movement of people as they were supposed to do. The 1933 reform was used to restructure 'traditional' hierarchies in order to maintain control over the expanding 'native' population. Obviously, such opportunity was not missed by candidates of several origins and one curious case was a certain Gonçalves, born at Catumbela but having lived for thirty years on the periphery of Huambo (*bairro* Bomba), who in 1946 sought official confirmation as 'the overall *soba* in the city suburbs' (*soba geral nos subúrbios de Nova Lisboa*).[71]

7v-8. It was noted that Cikualula 'was soba at Gulaua where he was very much respected. Little influence on the rest of his peoples although many villages belong to him'. On page 45v, a note (2 September 1945) questioned how was it possible that since 1937 nothing was registered in the book. A few more entries appeared after that.

[70] Ministério das Colónias, *Reforma Administrativa Aprovada pelo Decreto-Lei nº 23.229, de 15 de Novembro de 1933* (Lisbon, 1933). For a contemporary sketch of the Portuguese colonial administration, see Mair, *Native Policies*, 250-60.

[71] José Lino Gonçalves to *Secretário de Administração do Concelho*, 15 July 1946, ANA, *Caixa* 496, '*Cadastro chefes indígenas 1946*'. His name and personal data suggest he was a 'civilized' black trader. There is no indication that he got the position or even an answer.

In fact, the city was within the old Wambu polity but most inhabitants were not former Wambu subjects or their descendents. Ovimbundu from other and more populated kingdoms, like Mbalundu and Sambu, or from elsewhere, were the majority but not the only group present. Trade activities, the building of the railway, an the search for available land were all factors attracting different people to the area.[72] The *olosekulu* and *olosoma* were also coming from more or less far away and could rule over a mixed population, and the Administration installed 'native authorities' where it suited their policy.[73]

The Wambu kingdom had vanished, although incumbents of the chiefly title still existed or, more likely, there were several candidates and disputable legitimacies.[74] As noted in Chapter 3, lists collected from oral sources by different authors do not coincide with archival sources which suggest that *Cilombo-co-Ngoma*, 'elected' after the 1902 defeat, was still there in the 1930s. The multiplication of *sobados* with no reference to a great chief (*soma inene*) confirmed the obscurity of the once powerful Wambu *soma* among Huambo inhabitants but it was also a sign of how demography had changed since the foundation of the city. Of the twelve *sobados* listed in 1946 falling under Huambo *Posto Sede*, most if not all corresponded to relatively recent population concentrations mentioned elsewhere as 'the surrounding settlements' (*povoações*): Etunda, Cahululo, Capilongo, Cambiote,

[72] There are no reliable numbers. In Portuguese statistics, language was supposed to represent ethnic affiliation, which was not always the case, as noted in Chapter 2. For Huambo *Concelho* in 1940 (then including Vila Nova, Sambo and Quipeio), official numbers were: 153,933 Mbundo [Umbundu], 3,301 Ngangela, 289 Lunyaneka, 183 Kimbundu, 100 Lunda-Kioko [Cokwe and Lunda], 68 Xi-Kuanyama, 43 Tyherero, 9 Kikongo, 4 Lunkhumbi and 463 'undetermined'. *Censo Geral* 1940, Vol. 9, 'População preta, não civilizada, segundo os grupos étnicos', 22-9.

[73] In 1937, *autoridades gentílicas* in the Huambo *Posto Sede* were Sucuma, Chinguar, Sauír, Luiz, Pintari and Calandula, probably the *regedores indígenas* referred elsewhere in the document. Administration Report 1937, 4 and 31. Each *Circunscrição* ou *Concelho* was divided into administrative *Postos* and the seat was the *Posto Sede*. The Huambo *Posto Sede* (1,282 square kms) included the city and its surrounding villages and farms. The *Concelho de Huambo* included also the *Postos* Benfica, Vila Nova, Quipeio and Sambo.

[74] Childs, who lived in Huambo between 1959 and 1963, commented on the relative lack of interest in 'traditional matters' on the part of local Africans. Childs, 'Kingdom of Wambu', 367-9.

Cavongue, Calomanda, Cacreua, Cacilhas, Bomba, Canhe, Lomato and Macolocolo. While Cacilhas and Bomba are Portuguese names, the others are local and none match the *sobados* listed in the 1910s as belonging to Wambu and whose *olombala* were far from the new town. The situation was different among the *sobados* depending on the nearest *Posto*, Benfica, in a more rural area: Lufefena, Jongolo, Calandula, Sanjepere, Gulaua, Coxito and Cavinda, where at least Gulaua and Jongolo were mentioned in earlier sources.[75]

Land was not a problem at the beginning, since the city was at the centre of a vast plain, watered by rivers and streams. Sparsely populated and partly deserted after the 1902 war, it allowed plenty of space for newcomers.[76] But land soon became a bone of contention, not only for agriculture but also for an important resource, wood, prompting occupation by white settlers who did not cultivate it. The construction sector needed timber, African and European households alike consumed firewood and charcoal, and the railway consumed great quantities of all three. Well aware of the peasants' economic importance, the administration often came to the defence of their land rights and accused settlers of greed.[77]

Colonial authorities were less sympathetic, however, to the chiefs' failure to provide the requested number of workers and to control undocumented men, tax evaders, population movements and alcohol production. In 1946 *Soba* Petróleo of Jongolo (in *Posto* Benfica) had to pay the taxes of a certain Nhime plus a 110 *angolares* fee because, although he controlled 274 taxpayers, he failed to deliver ten

---

[75] See Chapter 3. The Huambo *Posto Sede* was split in the 1930s. It kept control over the area within a range of 9 kilometres from the town centre, while *Posto Benfica* administrated the rest of it. For the 1946 list, see *Inventário da riqueza indígena* (inventory of native wealth), 1946-1951, ANA, *Caixa* 447 [hereafter *Inventário* 1946-1951].
[76] A significant difference between Huambo and Lobito, the other important railway town, where 'native' settlements were located either on hillocks or on unhealthy marshes.
[77] *Administrador do Concelho* to *Intendente do Distrito*, 7 April 1945 and several related documents, ANA, *Caixa* 496. Land reserves for 'natives' near the town were advocated to prevent spoliation and to protect the city supplies in food and labour. For earlier years, ANA, *Caixa* 466, *'1921*, *Terrenos'*.

men and brought someone not counted in the census.[78] But usually it was in the interest of both parties to come to a negotiated solution at considerable cost to the common people, as when *olosekulu* and *olosoma* cooperated with round-ups led by *cipaios* against undocumented or 'vagrant' men, which was, in fact, a way of acquiring labourers.[79]

The Native Statute guaranteed freedom of work (article 5) approving coercive labour only when 'absolutely indispensable in urgent services of public interest' and always to be paid. Natives' Defense Commissions (*Comissões de Defesa dos Indígenas)* to be created in each District had to approve contracts (article 6) and were supposed to take note of complaints against the authorities, to listen to native chiefs submitting their peoples' needs, to carry out enquiries into the aforementioned subjects when necessary, and to submit proposals to the Governor General on any relevant matters (articles 19 and 20). As usual, actual practice depended greatly on the people on the ground and in its first years the Statute's definition of 'native' was differently interpreted. Successive legislation made it more precise and restrictive but nonetheless the 1940 census revealed that in Angola 'whites' were less than half of the small 'civilized' group.[80] That reality and increasing Portuguese immigration led to an increasingly rigorous enforcement of the Native Statute and the growing difficulties for a black person to escape the 'native' classification and for any 'native' to get jobs reserved for the 'civilized'.

---

[78] *Administrador do Concelho*, 18 May 1946, ANA, *Caixa* 496. Jongolo was the 'rebel' *sobado* of the 1930s; see Chapter 3.

[79] '*Intendência do Distrito e Administração do Concelho. Diário do Serviço 1940-1942*' (District Administration diary), 8, 10 and 15 January, 31 May and 18 June, ANA, *Códice* 7,444. Also *Voz*, 14 April 1945, 9.

[80] Alberto de Lemos, introducing the Census and explaining its restrictive criteria for definition of *mestiço* and 'civilized', admitted that 'non-civilized' was an unfair classification to thousands of people who 'had left the aboriginal institutions' on their way to 'civilization', such as those educated in the Christian missions. About the 'pitiful reality' of thousands of 'non-civilized' *mestiços* resulting from 'accidental unions', he recommended, invoking charity and the whites' self-respect, to put them in dedicated institutions, as in the Belgian Congo and South Africa. *Censo Geral 1940*, I, 70-1.

Working in town, out of town and beyond

The majority of people living near Huambo were peasant farmers, but more and more men (and some women) were occupied in skilled or unskilled jobs in the city, on the railroad and the roads nearby, or leaving under 'contract' to more distant areas. A smaller group migrated into neighbouring colonies or South Africa, escaping from labour recruitment, taxation and abuse at home.[81] Angola's economy was dominated by agriculture and fishing until the 1950s, except for diamond mining in the north-east of the colony. The High Commissioner period created expectations of administrative autonomy and economic growth, but by the late 1920s both were proving elusive. The introduction of the *angolar* currency, resulting in a rise of nearly 20 per cent in the cost of living, did not help the economy.[82] Agriculture was by far the bigger sector and African peasant production was well ahead of that by European settlers and companies, despite some big farms concentrated mainly on coffee, sugar cane, cotton and fibres.[83] Peasant production sold to Portuguese traders was responsible 'for the great increment in cereal and beans exports of recent years, [and] the progressive augment of the native tax that for the year 1927-1928 brought 54.472.000 *escudos*, that is almost the triple of 1923-1924'.[84]

Southern-central Angola had a leading role in maize production, exports of which reached a peak of 71,249 tonnes in 1930, surpassing coffee and being second

[81] See Heywood, *Contested Power*, 78. There were restrictions to foreign recruitment and repression of voluntary emigration, with few exceptions.
[82] Introduced in August 1928, eighty *angolares* equaled one hundred Angola *escudos*. British consuls' reports provide important figures and interesting insights. G. H. Bullock, *Economic Conditions in Angola (Portuguese West Africa): Report* (London, 1932), including important information for 1928. R. T. Smallbones, *Economic Conditions in Angola (Portuguese West Africa): Report* (London, 1929). Hereafter Bullock *Report* and Smallbones *Report*.
[83] *Diploma Legislativo* 439, 20 February 1933, recognized the importance of 'native' production and regulated 'native' individual property of small plots. José B. Alves, 'Estabelecimento das condições em que o indígena agricultor se pode tornar proprietário …', *Delegação à 1ª Conferência Económica do Império Colonial Português – III Comissão: Utensilhagem Colonial* (Lisbon, 1936).
[84] Smallbones, *Report*, 12-13. In 1928, maize went to Germany (27,825 tonnes), Portugal (23,173 tonnes) and in smaller quantities to Belgium and São Tomé. Bullock, *Report*, 49.

only to diamonds. In 1931, coffee partially recovered and again became second in value as maize production dropped. Wax and dried fish were among the ten most valuable products and both had an impact in central Angola, whose people traded wax from eastern zones and contributed labour to the fishing industry in Benguela and Moçâmedes. Improvement in transportation facilitated export capacity from the central plateau, the railway and connecting roads playing a decisive role in carrying maize and other products to the coast.[85] But despite its obvious importance, CCFB's financial problems after the First World War did not help to boost confidence and Benguela merchants felt that their commercial interests were overlooked.[86] As the core zones for that agriculture surplus were not all along the roads or the railway, peasants or recruited porters still had to carry production to the commercial houses scattered on the plateau or by the railroad.

Huambo went on expanding as a commercial city whose trade ranged from big importers to small shops that specialized in barter trade. Among the 180 traders registered in 1937, however, none was 'native', although 108 of the 114 *quitandeiros* (pedlars or street vendors) were.[87] In 1942, 71 merchant houses, 56 of which were in the city and nine others at a short distance, were listed: of the latter, four were at Pauling (CFB), two at Benfica, Macolocolo and Kwando, one at Cemitery, Kussava, Gualaua, Calumanda and Bomba.[88] Data on agriculture in the 1930s and the 1940s

---

[85] A.M. Machado, 'O Caminho de Ferro de Benguela e o desenvolvimento da Província de Angola', *BAGC*, 47 (1929), 242-256. He acknowledged the railway impact on maize exports: 3,800 tonnes from the 4,000 total were exported through Benguela and Lobito in 1917. In 1922, they were 36,000 out of 37,000 tonnes and in 1927, 64,000 out of 67,000 tonnes. See also A.C. Valdez dos Santos, *Perspectivas Económicas de Angola*, (Lisbon 1949), 122-30.

[86] *Jornal de Benguela*, 3 March 1926, 2. Apparently, after a twenty-fold devaluation of the *escudo* in 1926, the train costs went up forty times.

[87] Administration Report 1937, 41. Unsurprisingly, *Posto Sede* had the greatest concentration of European skilled workers, 65 percent of all traders, 58 of the total 65 civil servants and 120 of the 197 'employees' (trade, administration and bureaucratic services). But only 30 percent of the *Concelho* European farmers were there.

[88] *Cadastro Militar. Concelho do Huambo. Posto Sede*, AHM, Angola, *Caixa* 74, Document 15, 10-11. Hereafter AHM *Cadastro* 1942.

in Huambo *Posto Sede* reveal the weight of peasant production in the overall economy and the difficulty of finding a clear urban-rural divide. The bulk of production, except for the fruit trees, clearly belonged to the 'native self-employed small producers'. In all of Huambo *Concelho*, peasant maize production in the 1930s was forty or fifty times more than 'European' production, being inferior only in some exotic experiments like rice and coffee. In 1937 the European sector in the *Posto Sede* included twelve farms (a total of 249 hectares) and only eighteen small European producers, while at a rough estimate, 2,887 African peasants cultivated 5,800 hectares. In 1942 they produced 3,500 tonnes of maize, about fifty times the 70 tonnes from European farms, where 'natives' were also the labour force. Even if numbers are only approximate, there was also a substantial production of beans, wheat, chickpeas, potatoes, peas, peanuts, onions and manioc, some of which fed the local European and African population and some of which was exported. The divide in cattle raising was not so extreme (Africans owned only three times more than Europeans) but for pigs and goats a much larger part of the available stock again belonged to 'natives'.[89]

In the following years, peasant cash-crop agriculture went on expanding in *Posto Sede*, with maize, sweet potato and assorted beans dominating, but also including manioc, potato, onions, peas, castor seed and tobacco.[90] Villages around the town multiplied, with some family members working in town, others working in the fields (*lavras*) and in small back gardens (*ocumbo*), all supplemented with livestock. In years to come, serious problems would affect peasant agriculture, due to land exhaustion, greater Portuguese immigration, oscillation of prices and the intensity of labour recruitment for other areas, but it was not yet the case in those first decades. The city's development was closely linked to its rural environment and

[89] Administration Report 1937, 33-35, 41. AHM *Cadastro* 1942, 9.
[90] Smaller productions for household consumption were not listed. *Inventário* 1946-1951.

colonial authorities recognized its dependence on 'native' supplies of vegetables, fruit and milk.[91] Women went on being the main agriculture producers and only slowly began to work in town, but the involvement of men in agriculture, going beyond their 'traditional' role, undoubtedly accounted for its development.[92]

In Huambo and neighbouring regions, after the violence of the conquest, colonial authorities and merchants alike became more interested in peasant production and in securing labour for local activities than in exporting 'contract' labourers. Taxation and *corvées*, especially for road construction, were the main burden of villagers in the area, although a number of men were sent to distant employers and the administration could at any time recruit labourers by force by invoking the 'public interest'.[93] The town surroundings could provide an escape route, despite round-ups (*rusgas*) to detect jobless or undocumented persons, and proof of local employment meant avoiding being 'contracted' by a more distant employer. That no doubt contributed to rapid population growth on the outskirts of Huambo.[94]

Indentured labour in Angola, both the 'contract' system and the preceding *serviçais*' recruitment, has been widely denounced and discussed.[95] The case of

---

[91] *Administrador do Concelho* to *Intendente do Distrito*, 7 April 1945, ANA, *Caixa* 496, '*Litígios*', 3.

[92] Childs, Pössinger, Heywood and Péclard, have discussed Ovimbundu men's transition from caravan trade to agriculture. Official enquiries in the 1960s documented that change: Missão de Inquéritos Agrícolas de Angola, *Recenseamento.*

[93] See Pinto, *Angola*, 301-7. For strong criticism of the system, see Henrique Galvão, *Angola (Para uma Nova Política)* (Lisbon, 1937), and his famous 'Exposição do deputado Henrique Galvão à Comissão de Colónias da Assembleia Nacional em Janeiro de 1947', Lisbon, *Arquivo da Assembleia da República*. The report was partially published by the clandestine Portuguese Communist Party. See also Edward A. Ross, *Report on Employment of Native Labour in Portuguese Africa* (New York, 1925), 6-61, especially 15, 37, 58, denouncing road building as a 'crushing burden on natives', unpaid and conscripted, mostly women and often children, using 'only the most primitive implements'. Ross visited Angola and Mozambique in 1924 and the Ross Report was submitted to the Temporary Slavery Commission of the League of Nations in Geneva.

[94] See Administration Report 1937, 36.

[95] Almost every study on Angola's twentieth-century history mentions the subject. For recent work, see Jeremy R. Ball, '"The colossal lie": the Sociedade Agrícola do Cassequel and Portuguese colonial labor policy in Angola, 1899-1977', Ph.D. dissertation, University

forced labour migration to São Tomé got far more publicity, but in fact most contract workers were used inside Angola. On the central plateau as elsewhere, few people were volunteering for the fisheries, plantations or diamond mines, far away from their homes and subject to discretionary contract periods, despite occasional robust action of the *Curador dos indígenas* (Natives' Guardian) against employers.[96] But the connivance of Portuguese officials and the more or less reluctant collaboration of African chiefs made it rather common for a man to be engaged in some kind of forced labour at some point in his life. However, we can not use forced labour as a blanket for labour relations in Angola over time and space. State agents could enforce the law about wages and freedom of choice, workers could be more or less able to complain and get better conditions or to leave, and job opportunities could lure young men out of their elders' control in societies used to men's temporary absence, with long-distance trade and military expeditions embedded in their history.

Through those first decades a few big companies recruited much of the contract workforce: *Companhia Agrícola e Pecuária de Angola* (agriculture and cattle ranching), *Sociedade Agrícola do Cassequel* (sugar and alcohol), *Companhia Agrícola de Angola* (coffee, palm trees and cotton), *Companhia do Sul de Angola* (fish processing) and *Companhia de Moçâmedes* (with thousands of cattle acquired from the Boers; it later merged with the *Companhia do Sul de Angola*).[97] A lot of

---

of California, Los Angeles, 2003; Douglas Wheeler, 'The forced labour 'system' in Angola, 1903-1947: reassessing origins and persistence in the context of colonial consolidation, economic growth and reform failures', CEAUP (ed.), *Trabalho Forçado Africano. Experiências Coloniais Comparadas* (Porto, 2006), 367-93; Todd Cleveland, 'Working while walking: Forced laborers' treks to Angola's colonial-era diamond mines', CEAUP (ed.), *Trabalho Forçado Africano. O Caminho de Ida* (Ribeirão, 2009), 159-74.

[96] A well documented case ocurred against merchant-farmer Valentim Leiro (Fazenda Boaventura, near Novo Redondo) in 1915. For this and similar conflicts, AHM, *Caixa* 161, document 18. Also Diniz, *Relatório 1915,* 26-30.

[97] In 1928, reacting to the increment of Portuguese settlement in southern Angola, almost all of the 350 or so Boer families left for Namibia and South Africa. See João Pereira Neto, *Angola: Meio Século de Integração* (Lisbon 1964), 153, 165.

other minor fisheries and farmers also recruited on the plateau, but throughout this period greater labour demand in Huambo came from the state and the CCFB.[98] A 1937 official report indicated that in Huambo *Posto Sede*, 4,535 men were 'apparently valid' for work (424 under sixteen years old) but a maximum estimate of 816 should be available for 'contract' because 2,675 already worked on their own account, 457 were already employed outside the *Concelho* and 1,219 inside it, where 'European agriculture always got labourers to meet its needs and the salaries respected the Native Labour Code'. Of the 1,598 contract workers that year, 309 went to the fisheries in Benguela and a great majority went to agriculture in northern Angola.[99]

A wide range of activities and jobs could be found in town despite the very small scale of the industries and workshops, with the exception of the CCFB. In 1942 they included one flour mill plus seven rudimentary water mills on the outskirts, two pork sausage factories, one tanning plant (all these selling their products to other parts of the colony), one biscuit and macaroni factory, one candy factory, two soft drinks factories, two lime works, five brickworks, eight firewood retail sellers, three timber sellers, two electric repair shops, one radio repair shop, several car repair workshops, five carpenter's shops, one cabinet maker's shop, one printing plant, three blacksmith's workshops and one tinsmith's workshop. There were also four barber's shops, six butcher's shops, seven shoe shops, five bakeries, six tailor's workshops, two hatter's workshops, four hotels and five guest houses, one restaurant, five bookshops and stationers, and one photo studio. African workers

---

[98] *Agência da Curadoria do Huambo - Pedidos de trabalhadores indígenas (mais de vinte) 1943-1947* (requests of more than twenty workers each), ANA, *Códice* 7,020. See Nuno Simões, 'Algumas notas sobre a economia de Angola', *BAGC*, 47 (1929), 18-24. Simões was the Secretary of the Supreme Administrative Court, a former MP and Minister of Trade, and a journalist.

[99] Main places were Mucozo (497), Bom Jesus (498), Libolo (138) and Lucala (156). 'Workforce availability', Administration Report 1937, 6.

were employed in all these activities, many of them also working for themselves after hours and during the week-ends.[100]

Reports of 'native wealth' based on annual registries for tax collection purposes, were supposed to list all self-employed tradesmen (*artifices*) and master tradesmen (*oficiais*) as well as private or state employees. However, classification of 'industrial labour' varied, many occupations were omitted and most women's activities ignored.[101] Even potters (who could be men or women) were not always registered although their occupation was usually listed.[102] These 'inventories' are nonetheless precious for revealing the diversity of occupations in the 1940s: bricklayers, carpenters and joiners were counted by the hundreds, the latter largely surpassing the bricklayers by 1950; masons, painters, locksmiths (metalworkers?), vendors of foodstuffs, shoemakers and cobblers, tailors, blacksmiths, tinkers (not necessarily ambulant), sawyers and woodcutters, potters, basket makers and mat makers. The building sector was dominant, accompanying the growth of the city and merchant activities, the importance of tailors and shoemakers/cobblers indicated the use of European-type clothes and the number of tinkers indicated changes in household equipment, as they reused tin, aluminium and other metal 'waste' to repair and make pots and pans, mugs, funnels, buckets and basins. Commercial activity was represented, in the 1947 inventory, by almost one hundred *quitandeiros* (pedlars or street vendors) and 51 *permutadores* (barter traders). In 1950 there were also

---

[100] AHM *Cadastro* 1942, 11-12.

[101] Cf. Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge, 1996), 266, where is argued that, despite discussions on the role of women in the 1940s and after, 'the complexity of what actual women did in cities, in workplaces, and in markets was not something officials were eager to investigate'.

[102] *Inventário* 1946-1951, *Posto Sede*. In those days, domestic servants and street vendors of vegetables, charcoal, eggs, etc., were usually male (*quitandeiros*), except for washwomen. *Voz*, 10 July 1943, 1. At least from the late 1930s workers having a closer contact with the 'whites' domestic life and food - at home or in bakeries, schools and hotels - were registered in separate books at the Natives' Guardian office. ANA, *Códices* 7,438 and 7,773.

more than 2,000 *serventes* (usually unskilled workers for heavy tasks in the building and transportation sectors).[103]

It is interesting to compare these figures with those for the 'civilized population' in the mid-1940s: 359 persons in commercial occupations (wholesalers, retailers, shopkeepers, bookkeepers), 302 skilled workers (mainly connected to the building sector), 222 state officials and military personnel, 143 CCFB employees and about ninety craftsmen (tailors, cobblers, potters, watch repairers, bookbinders, etc.).[104] There were 13 typesetters but no more than twenty teachers, five doctors (plus 17 other health personnel) and six policemen (one chief and five guards) - 'law and order' mostly relying on the *cipaios*.[105]

The Portuguese administration used abundant 'native' labour for road building and maintenance and for the cleaning of streets and empty spaces in the city (cutting grass, sweeping, picking up garbage). Detainees, convicts and temporary workers were used, including women and youngsters for little or no money.[106] Military and civil communication with posts and towns not served by the railway or the main roads depended on another set of temporary employees, porters.[107] Closer to Portuguese civil servants were office orderlies and messengers, cooks, house servants, gardeners, washing women and obviously the *cipaios*. Interpreters were less needed here, since intense commercial and missionary contact meant that many whites could speak Umbundu and many Africans, both Ovimbundu and others, could speak Portuguese.

---

[103] *Inventário* 1946-1950.
[104] Based on Town Council reports: *Memória descritiva*, 32-33 and 72.
[105] The 'native' police force of the colonial administration. See Chapter 5.
[106] In 1914, among the 102 registered 'compelled and waged workers' in the state farm (*Granja*), 17 were women and to some male names 'boy' or 'prisoner' were added: ANA, *Códice* 9,840. More registries of labour for the state in 1914-1915: ANA, *Códice* 9,841.
[107] In 1942, apart from motorized vehicles (47 automobiles and eighty pickup trucks and lorries, many of which old and unreliable) road transportation relied on the ninety carts pulled by oxen or donkeys (up to 1,000 kg), 62 Boer ox-wagons and similar (up to 4,000 kg) and, still, porters. AHM *Cadastro* 1942, 12-13.

As already noted, the Benguela Railway was intrinsic to the city's fabric and its character as a commercial town. But the railway impact began well before the station's inauguration (September 1912), since building activities created a moving 'frontier zone', first to assess and clear the area for the rail line and then to establish new temporary railheads. It demanded carriers, skilled and unskilled labour to cut and carry timber, servants, cooks, etc. Hundreds of Liberians had been brought to work on the Lobito harbour and thousands of Indian workers were brought for the initial railway building, but once on the plateau, reached by 1910, the CCFB relied on Angolan labour and carriers and also on Boers' oxwagons.[108] Around this male world, women would always be present selling foodstuffs, brewing and selling beer, socializing and eventually providing sex, prompting missionaries and African chiefs alike to resent those building sites as undermining their authority.[109] But relationships between local and newly arrived people inevitably developed, despite occasional avoidance, and many men began raising families in the area, as was probably the case with early settlements of CCFB 'native' workers north of the station, where the so-called 'Pauling' neighbourhood developed.[110]

That moving frontier zone left a string of small towns east and west of Huambo, following a common pattern. Temporary railheads fostered trade initiatives and the embryo of a town was left behind after they moved: the railway yard and the station, several warehouses and a regular grid of streets for traders' houses, hostels, rest houses and future public buildings, with bars and taverns

[108] D'Almada, *Para a história,* 50-51. As for the white technicians, there were British, Germans, Greeks, Americans and others. For a hint of the adventurous ambiance, see Willem Jaspert, *Through Unknown Africa. Experiences from the Jaspert African Expedition of 1926-1927* (London, 1929), especially 183-7.

[109] See for instance *soma* Missão Kahosi to interpreter Silva Silipa Mendonça, evoking *ombala* displacement in the Ciyaka region (west of Huambo). Men working on the railway caused disorder involving themselves with local women 'and there the splitting began' and *soma* Jahulu and his people founded a new Ekekete *ombala*, keeping the name of the original one. Lima, *Os Kyaka,* III, 307-15.

[110] *Voz*, 10 November 1945. See also Chapter 3.

scattered about. Two other sets of houses, temporary or definitive, were kept apart: the building contractors and CCFB staff residences and the military barracks of the Portuguese cavalry protecting the railway construction.[111] Huambo was an exception to that pattern because the city had its own plan and the CCFB had greater ambitions there. In its concession area or nearby, the company built houses to permanently accommodate (in different neighbourhoods) high-ranking staff and skilled white and 'civilized' workers. The more skilled (or lucky) 'native' workers also got houses in a separate neighbourhood north of the town. The bulk of workers (recruited directly or through state intervention) and a floating population of job seekers contributed to the rapid spread of villages nearby.[112]

During the time the railway construction was halted (1914-1920), about 100 kilometres east of Huambo, at Chinguar, caravans of porters and the Boers' oxwagons carried goods further east, where white and black 'bush traders' were competing. But if trains only began to carry the Katanga copper to Lobito in 1931, they developed the domestic trade from the beginning and became, after the railroad was completed, the backbone of transportation through central Angola, definitely giving Huambo its privileged position in the Angolan communications network.

In the 1930s and 1940s, the company's great central workshops played a decisive role in the training of skilled black workers in Huambo, who were especially useful after many Portuguese railwaymen chose to be repatriated in 1933. Amidst discontent with new regulations and salaries resulting from the economic crisis, white railwaymen stopped some trains for a few days in June 1933, avoiding calling it a strike, illegal under the new Portuguese Constitution. The local press,

---

[111] Carlos R. Machado, 'Início e fundação', 30-59. Machado praised the CCFB but in fact it was often accused of arrogance and of locating its stations without considering others' (traders) interests. Horácio Domingues, *Voz*, 03 November 1945.

[112] The 'floating population' was said to be the majority in *Posto Sede*, justifying striking differences in taxpayers annual registries, as between 1936 (5,062) and 1937 (4,100). Administration report 1937, 26.

when finally authorized to write about it, criticized the CCFB leadership and the Benguela governor who on 12 June had come to Huambo 'protected by two armed seamen' to arrest six men, as heads of the movement, accusing them of being 'bolshevists'. That spread further agitation along the line and Lisbon finally sacked the governor and designated the governor of Moxico, António de Almeida, to succeed him. Almeida calmed things down, workers resumed normal activity, but many decided to return to their former jobs in Portugal and more than thirty were repatriated. The newspaper made no mention of black workers, except to deplore the fact that 'natives' had seen whites in conflict with whites.[113]

The workshop yard and the construction site came to include a huge range of activities with the capacity to assemble, inspect and repair locomotives, to manufacture some parts, and to repair the equipment of Kwando's hydroelectric plant, Kulimaála's water pumping station and the diesel generators supplying power along the railroad. There were also a foundry and workshops for carpentry, painting, electric services, and repairing vehicles and tractors.[114] Many 'civilized' and 'native' blacks were employed and trained by the CCFB, helped by the fact that until the 1950s Portuguese immigration was mostly unskilled.[115]

Conclusion

Like any city, Huambo cannot be studied as if detached from its hinterland. Scattered villages in the surrounding countryside looked on the surface similar to those in other rural areas, but were transformed, if not created, by their relationship to the town, as shown by patterns of land occupation, the growing number of inhabitants and the diversity and novelty of their activities and occupations. If

[113] *Voz,* 8 July, 15 July, 22 July and 29 July 1933.
[114] *Benguela Railways*, 74-75. Also 'CFB - Oficinas Gerais - Uma breve descrição da sua organização e das suas actividades' (Huambo, 1957), AHM, *Caixa* 194, document 7.
[115] See Castelo, *Passagens,* 174-202 and 226-227.

porters, servants, traders, potters and mat makers had a long tradition, almost all other trades had to be learned from scratch or old skills converted to new ways of producing goods and services. This was not, however, an industrial world of mass production but rather a constellation of small factories, workshops and independent artisans employing few people, with the exception of the building sector and the CCFB workshops. Domestic servants as well as others working for the administration contributed greatly to the numbers of workers in Huambo. Trade was paramount to the economic life of Huambo. It relied on the African peasant agricultural surplus, especially maize, as did the taxation that represented a great part of the administration budget. The development of this new city can only be understood in the context of its extensive interface with, rather than its clear-cut separation from, its rural surroundings. The rural hinterland, in turn, was not a simple reproduction of former rural societies on the plateau.

Archival sources on which this chapter is based are silent on many important aspects of social life, such as the household and neighbourhood relations and tensions. Nonetheless, the sources allow us to get a rough picture of the work universe of the so-called 'natives' and to show how the city's existence was as much a result as a cause of that developing universe. The levelling of people of diverse origins, social positions and roles into the colonial category of 'native' perverted local economic and social dynamics, with far-reaching consequences. The Ovimbundu were no exception but it can be said that the more differentiated a society was before the imposition of the Native Statute, the more it was affected and resented that segregation. Economic change and close proximity to European ways of life were impacting on material culture, patterns of consumption, gender and age relations, household composition and the society at large. The next chapter will discuss another major factor in social change, Christianization.

CHAPTER 4

CHRISTIANS IN TOWN

Christianization in much of sub-Saharan Africa was often a paradoxical process: while helping to create compliant subjects and a skilled labour force for the new colonial order, it also opened the way for social mobility and for European-influenced modernization and organizations that undermined the very foundations of colonial rule. In central Angola as elsewhere, the rapid expansion of an African Christianity resulted more from the work of local people than from the direct action of foreign missionaries. Christianization paralleled economic change (new labour activities, cash-crop agriculture, access to 'modern' goods and clothes, labour recruitment, monetary taxes) in altering African societies deeply and irreversibly.

From the late nineteenth century, missionaries of all sorts saw central Angola and especially the Ovimbundu as very receptive to social and cultural changes, promising a great Christian future and making the region a Protestant-Catholic spiritual battlefield.[1] The race against Protestantism stimulated Catholic missionary expansion and was an argument used whenever asking for more support from Rome and Lisbon. On the Protestant side, militancy against 'the Romans', their influence and their legal privileges was also part of the missionary effort to implant the 'true' church of Christ. In practice, much depended upon the missionaries' personalities; the Portuguese authorities, moreover, did not always favour Catholics, due either to personal reasons or to a genuine admiration of Protestant social work.

The Catholic population always outnumbered the Protestant in the region and was the overwhelming majority in and around the city of Huambo. Congregationalists, the majority among Protestants, kept their missions away from

---

[1] See G. M. Childs, 'The Church in Angola: A few impressions', *International Review of Missions*, 47 (1958), 186; *A Diocese de Nova Lisboa*, (Lisbon, 1946), 8. Also interview with Father Pereira da Silva in *Portugal em África,* IV (1947), 242-46.

urban centres and attempted to keep their faithful out of them too. A small but active group of Seventh Day Adventists arrived in the 1920s and concentrated their action at Bongo, about ninety kilometres away.[2] A tiny group of Baptists completed the urban Christian landscape in Huambo. Despite a pattern of territorial organization that tended to keep mission flocks apart, building their own villages, going to their own schools and promoting same-denomination marriages, that was not always the case, especially in urban areas. Moreover, many families had members belonging to different Christian churches and the way they dealt with this varied greatly. In town, Protestants shared neighbourhoods with both 'pagans' and Catholics and there is no evidence for conflicts based on religious allegiance.

The present work focuses on Huambo and its urban-rural interaction but Christianization also induced 'modernization' in and around the main rural Missions where people were adopting some 'urban' ways. Not surprisingly they often tried to push their sons and daughters to the city, against the missionaries' wishes. This chapter concentrates on the development of a Catholic network, which after 1940 had its centre at Huambo, where urbanization, social change and Christianization where intrinsically connected.

The Catholic Church: from privilege to marginalization and to privilege again

Local strategies and actions are more relevant for this chapter than the ups and downs of the lifelong relationship between the Portuguese empire and the Catholic Church, but a few paragraphs are needed to clarify how state-church relations in Portugal impacted on Angola at large and on Huambo in particular.[3] The more or less

---

[2] Adventists were in Bongo since 1923 and in Huambo since 1927. Lawrence Henderson, *The Church in Angola: A River of Many Currents* (Cleveland, 1992), 102.

[3] See Didier Péclard, 'Etat colonial, missions chrétiennes et nationalisme en Angola, 1920-1975: aux racines sociales de l'UNITA', PhD thesis, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, 2005, 96-135. On the subject but not specifically concerned with central Angola, see Eduardo dos Santos, *L'état Portugais et le Problème Missionnaire* (Lisbon 1964); David

willing complicity between Christian missions and European empires in Africa is well known: even while standing against colonial abuses, most Christian missionaries would not question the supremacy of their own culture, their right to intense proselytising and the benefits of the rule of 'civilized' European governments. Colonial states, in turn, were obliged by international agreements to protect Christian missions. State agents, white settlers and missionaries often had different agendas and often collided over 'native' policies or local issues, but European rule and cultural supremacy was not disputed until much later.

The Catholic Church had long been associated with Iberian expansion, despite occasional state-church conflicts, and nineteenth-century missionary revival was again valuable to counteract the advance of (foreign) Protestant missions in the context of the Scramble for Africa. Lack of missionaries forced Portugal to rely on foreigners like the French Holy Ghost Fathers (or Spiritans), the most influential and, for decades, the only male order in Angola.[4] Despite occasional suspicion about their loyalty, the Spiritans got public recognition from the state not only for their spiritual work but for their help in expanding 'Portuguese civilization' and defeating African 'rebels'.[5] Their missions often provided accommodation and intelligence to

---

Birmingham, 'Angola and the Church', in D. Birmingham, *Portugal and Africa* (Athens/Ohio, 1999); Manuel Nunes Gabriel, *Angola: Cinco Séculos de Cristianismo* (Queluz, 1978), which is apologetic of both the Catholic Church and the empire but has useful information; Silva Rego, *Lições de Missionologia* (Lisbon 1961).

[4] In 1865, the Spiritans were authorized by the Pope to go to Angola and adjoining regions. In 1873 they established themselves in Landana (present-day northern Cabinda), in 1879 entered southern Angola and in 1889 founded their first mission on the plateau in Caconda, where they were joined, in 1892, by the Sisters of Saint Joseph de Cluny. From there the Spiritans came to Huambo, in 1910. For their history in Angola, see Cândido da Costa, *Cem Anos dos Missionários do Espírito Santo em Angola 1866-1966* (Nova Lisboa, 1970).

[5] See Maria Emília Madeira Santos and Maria Manuel Torrão, *Missões Religiosas e Poder Colonial no Século XIX* (Lisbon, 1993), 3-14. In 1934, Father Keiling, the head of the Spiritans in Angola (1909-1937), was awarded the *'Ordem do Império'*. See Keiling, *Quarenta anos,*vi.

Portuguese military campaigns, although some individual missionaries would rather have avoided doing that.[6]

However, the impact of the Spiritans in Angolan society went much further and was not always in tune with the Portuguese government; moreover, Angolans converted and taught by missionaries had their own aims, expectations and achievements. That goes against Linda Heywood's assumption that 'the rise of Ovimbundu Catholics had little impact on the rest of the Ovimbundu population', since the Catholic Church 'was not an institution where Ovimbundu Catholics found opportunities to continue the innovative adaptations that had become a distinguishing factor … since the beginning of commodity trade'.[7] Heywood sees the Catholic Church as simply 'an arm of the state' and 'an overwhelmingly missionary institution with mostly foreign personnel', which the *Estado Novo* transformed into 'a state-controlled organization managed by supporters of the regime', and, after the Concordat of 1940, into 'a branch of the government … to educate and socialize Africans for eventual assimilation into Portuguese society'.[8]

While in the early days of the Portuguese Republic (1910-1926) the Catholic Church in Portugal lost property and privileges and suffered amid widespread anti-clergy actions, in Angola most missions were untouched and administrative authorities usually remained sympathetic to their work.[9] Anti-clericalism led indeed to the closure of several urban parishes, the departure from Luanda of female orders and the short-term evacuation of a few missions threatened by extremist republican

---

[6] As it happened in 1902 in Bailundo. See Chapter 2. Also Keiling, *Quarenta anos*, 117, 148, 151, 157 and *passim*.
[7] Heywood, *Contested Power*, 52.
[8] Ibid, 93-4. See also 51-61. All credit is given to 'the Protestant factor' in her discussion of 'the origins of modern Ovimbundu identity'. Rightly pointing to the complicity between the Catholic Church hierarchy and Portuguese colonialism, Heywood treated 'Ovimbundu Catholics' as almost irrelevant and lacking agency.
[9] See Michael A. Samuels, *Education in Angola, 1878-1914: A History of Culture Transfer and Administration* (New York, 1970), 112-18. For a recent discussion, Péclard, 'Etat colonial', 112-23.

settlers. But appeals for moderation were soon heard: even a Masonic republican newspaper, while harshly criticising Catholicism, tried to persuade its readers that international treaties on missions should be respected and that the disappearance of Catholic missions would only entail undesirable expansion of the anti-Portuguese Protestant ones.[10] Protestant and Catholic missions were for the first time equal under the Portuguese law, but much of the relation with state institutions depended on the goodwill of civil servants and on personal ties between missionaries and the local *Chefe de Posto*. For Protestant missions things were better than before except for the imposition of Portuguese as the only school language.[11]

Republican imperial policy treated Catholic missions' as allies in Portuguese colonial enterprise, despite diplomatic rupture with the papacy caused by the 1911 law establishing separation of the church and state. When this was applied to the colonies (Decree 233, 22 November 1913) together with legislation on the *missões civilizadoras laicas* ('secular civilizing missions'), governors were allowed to support Christian missions, provided the Portuguese language was taught. In 1918, Portugal resumed diplomatic relations with the papacy and in 1919 Catholic missions overseas gained legal status, something the Catholic church in Portugal only got in 1926, and state financial support.[12] Further legislation protecting missionary activities culminated in the 1926 'Statute for the Portuguese Catholic Missions in Africa and Timor'.[13] Secular missions were forgotten and 'Portuguese Catholic missions' (with

[10] *A Reforma*, 24 December 1910, 1; 17 December 1910, 1; 31 December 1910, 1 and 2.
[11] See Péclard 'État colonial', 116-18.
[12] Decrees 5,239, 10 March 1919 and 5,778, 10 May 1919.
[13] *Estatuto Orgânico das Missões Católicas Portuguesas de África e Timor* (Decree 13 October 1926). Its 'Preamble' was written by several dignitaries of the church including Alves da Cunha from Angola. José Guimarães, *A política "educativa" do colonialismo português em África: Da I República ao Estado Novo (1910-1974)* (Porto, 2006), 67-70. Also Manuel Alves da Cunha, *Missões Católicas de Angola* (Luanda, 1935), 11.

or without Portuguese missionaries) became responsible for basic 'native' schooling.[14]

So, republican radicalism hit the Catholic Church in Portugal but not its missionary expansion in Angola: Spiritans moved their Huambo mission to Kwando in 1911 and installed new missions at Sambo (1912) and Bângalas (1913) and opened a few more in the 1920s. A contemporary Spiritan source noted they had not suffered 'half of the misfortunes they feared when hearing about the 1910 revolution': despite temporary evacuation of missionaries from Bailundo and Caconda, all went reasonably well and 'missions even underwent a curious era of ephemeral prosperity' thanks to the personnel coming from Portugal where institutions were closed.[15]

The 1926 military coup and the rise of Salazar in the 1930s further facilitated state-church relations and paved the way for the Concordat and the Missionary Agreement signed in 1940. Mutual rights and obligations were defined through the Missionary Statute in 1941: material support and legal facilities given to Catholic missions for their 'imperial utility' and 'eminently civilizing institutions' greatly helped in the competition with Protestants and changed Angola's religious panorama. The Catholic Church was allowed to expand its education and health activities in the colonies, got back its former possessions, could be given land plots as big as two thousand hectares for its institutions and could freely use state railways for transportation of building materials. The colonies' annual budgets included sums for dioceses and missions, bishops received high salaries and travel expenses and all missionary personnel were treated for free in state hospitals. The state 'entirely entrusted' to the missions the 'natives' education which should be 'essentially

[14] The republican editor of the *Jornal de Benguela* hailed the measure and described as 'bigoted Jacobinism' the belief that 'the savage African populations' could, for educational purposes, be compared to the metropolitan population. *Jornal de Benguela*, 16 April 1926, 1.

[15] Father Joaquim Correia, *Civilizando Angola e Congo: os Missionários do Espírito Santo no Padroado Espiritual Português* (Braga, 1922), 73-6.

nationalist, practical … and considering the social situation and the psychology of the populations'. Portuguese language was mandatory except for the teaching of religion and Catholic missions were responsible for training 'native' teachers with the obligation of using only Portuguese training personnel. In all other activities foreign missionaries could be used if necessary but they would formally have to declare to accept the rule of Portuguese laws and courts.[16]

Successive laws added privilege to Catholic institutions and personnel, like equivalence of marriage and birth certificates to the civil registry and tax exemption for their teachers and catechists, giving Catholicism very practical advantages in the eyes of Africans.[17] However, in Huambo the Bishop soon complained about the lack of state support for 'native' schooling and noted that many teachers, recruited among ex-seminarians and ex-pupils from mission boarding schools, left for better paid jobs with the CCFB and other firms. Catechists were unpaid and many, he believed, would be lost for church work if it was not for exemption from taxes.[18]

When Huambo was founded, Catholic influence in public life was at its lowest point, as the absence of a church in the city plan demonstrated. Left with just part of the land formerly occupied by the mission, Spiritans deserted the place before the city's foundation and moved their Huambo mission twenty kilometres eastwards.[19] Their uneasy relation with republican authorities, however, was not the main reason for their departure: early missions usually established themselves away from 'civilized' urban centres which were supposed to be served by parishes. Moreover, the ambiance around the railway building sites was considered a bad influence on

[16] Decree 31,207 (5 April 1941). Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional, *Portugal e a Santa Sé - Concordata e Acôrdo Missionário de 7 de Maio de 1940* (Lisbon, 1943).
[17] See António Brásio ed., *Spiritana Monumenta Historica, Angola (vols. IV e V)* (Louvain, 1971) [hereafter *Spiritana*], 842 ff. For catechists, see below.
[18] 'Rapport au Gouverneur General d'Angola 1946-1947', 05 May 1947 [hereafter 'Rapport 1946-1947'], by Bishop Junqueira, also complaining about restriction over non-Portuguese missionaries in Catholic missions. ACSSp, 3L1.20a/a2.
[19] See Chapter 3.

Christians. So the Catholic missionaries left, but their influence remained through the inhabitants of the 'mission village', a few black families living north of the railway like Luiz Sambo and some European settlers and civil servants.[20]

Thirty years later, when the Concordat was signed and the Diocese of Nova Lisboa was created, 26 of the Spiritans' 52 missions in Angola were located in the Prefecture of Cubango and Vicariate of Huambo, which were almost entirely included in the new diocese (see map 4).[21] Ruling over parishes and missions in a vast area of central-southern Angola, Huambo was the Episcopal seat despite Benguela being the seat of Portuguese administration in the area. The Catholic Church consolidated its highly visible presence in town with a proper, although modest, cathedral.[22] Almost simultaneously, Spiritans erected the Holy Cross Mission (*Missão de Santa Cruz*), widely known as *Missão do Canhé (Kanye)* near the main concentration of CCFB 'native' workers in Huambo.

In 1932 Rome had appointed Moisés Alves de Pinho, a Spiritan who 'resurrected' the order in Portugal after republican persecution, as bishop of the Diocese of Angola and Congo. After ecclesiastical reorganization in 1940, he became Archbishop of Luanda and Daniel Gomes Junqueira, also a Spiritan, was the Bishop of Nova Lisboa. [23] During the 1940s and 1950s, the power of the Catholic missionaries, priests and catechists reached its height in the region, with rapidly

---

[20] Roma Machado mentioned the 'native village of the blacks of the Mission' near the Sacaala river and in his initial plan signalled 'houses of the Catholic natives'. Machado, 'Início', 41, and his 1912 sketch in Machado, 'A Cidade'.

[21] By papal decision (04 September 1940) executed in January 1941, the Diocese of Angola and Congo gave way to the archdiocese of Luanda and the dioceses of Silva Porto and Nova Lisboa, later on further subdivided. Even when the Diocese of Nova Lisboa became the smallest of Angola, its Catholic population almost matched that of the Luanda archdiocese. See Henrique Alves, *Congregação do Espírito Santo: Cem Anos em Angola* (Lisbon, 1966), 40; Costa, *Cem anos*, 221 ff. See also *A Diocese.*

[22] The church received benediction on 1 November 1940 and became a Cathedral in 1941. Costa, *Cem Anos*, 249.

[23] So, two of the first three bishops, as well as the large majority of the clergy in our period, were Spiritans. Instead of the Propaganda Fides, the usual governing body for missions, the new circumscriptions were put under the Sacred Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. Henry J. Koren, *The Spiritans: A History of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost* (Pittsburgh/Louvain, 1958), 555.

growing numbers of adults and children baptized and involved in church activities. Spiritans, with a few female orders working along with them, dominated the missionary field and the education of a 'native' elite at the seminaries and teachers' training schools.[24]

In the 1960s, a period beyond the scope of this research, significant changes occurred: economic growth and the end of the Native Statute prompted social upward mobility out of Missions' protection and control; seminaries were no longer the only way for 'natives' to get secondary education; and Congregationalists and other Protestants became more visible in Huambo, although Catholics remained the absolute majority.

The Missionary Agreement did not change the relationship between Protestant missions and the Portuguese state but clearly favoured the Catholic Church, causing some to argue that it breached former international treaties, especially by giving Catholics exclusive rights over 'native' education. In practice, because of insufficient Catholic means, Protestants went on with their schools but their missionaries felt they were more and more seen as 'a foreign body' as the political tone increasingly equated 'Portugalisation' with Christianisation. Congregational missionaries in Huambo tried a conciliatory policy with Portuguese authorities, often based on personal relations, not to mention the use of Protestant medical services, in order to help their fellow church members in occasional conflicts or to get a *bilhete de identidade*.[25] But they could not prevent some from 'converting' to Catholicism to have a better chance of escaping taxation and forced labour.[26]

---

[24] Spiritans also dominated the Catholic missionary press. In Portugal, they re-launched in 1944 *Portugal em África. Revista de Cultura Missionária fundada em 1894* [hereafter *Portugal em África*]. In Angola they helped to publish, after 1941, *Boletim Eclesiástico de Angola e São Tomé* [hereafter *Boletim Eclesiástico*] and *O Apostolado*.

[25] Tucker, the most influential missionary there, organized a visit by Minister of the Colonies Vieira Machado to Ndondi in 1943 when he was visiting Huambo: see Péclard, 'État colonial', 131-132. Machado was usually hailed for the Missionary Agreement, the

In a few decades, then, the Catholic Church in Portugal went from a powerful position to marginalisation and back to a privileged position again, with both the state and the church aware of the importance of their alliance in the colonies, where missionary expansion continued unabated. In Huambo *Posto Sede*, before Kanye mission was founded, the 'native' population already counted 25,313 Catholics (roughly 70 percent), a congregation mostly due to the actions of the Kwando mission catechists.[27]

What did Christian faith 'overcome'?

Information about pre-Christian religious beliefs collected among Umbundu-speaking peoples since the nineteenth century must be used with all usual caveats about informers, collectors and context. Those beliefs included the idea of a distant god creator of the universe but not involved with human problems, the worship of ancestors who could help or harm their descendents, and the influence of multiple spiritual forces in everyday life, leading to strong dependence on diviners and on protective charms and rituals.[28] Generally speaking, the Ovimbundu were not different from neighbouring peoples but, unlike some of them, they were rather receptive to new cults and flexible about customs that were mandatory elsewhere. A

---

catechists' exemption decree and his overall support of the Catholic missions. *Traço,* June 1944, 13; *idem*, September 1944, 3.

[26] Guilherme Santos' parents exemplified that: his Protestant father came from Andulo/Ndulu to Huambo in the late 1940s, converted to Catholicism and married his mother, a local Catholic woman. Interview with Guilherme Santos, Luanda, 17 May 2010. Family and kin ties were usually not broken by a religious divide. In a different vein, Heywood considered that those moves towards Catholicism 'threatened to weaken the still emerging modern Ovimbundu identity', which she identified solely with Protestants' development. Heywood, *Contested Power*, 119.

[27] Census 1940, IX, 12.

[28] McCulloch, *The Ovimbundu,* 36-8; Carlos Estermann, 'Missão de Angola e o culto banto, culto de espíritos e magia', *Etnografia de Angola (Sudoeste e Centro): Colectânea de artigos dispersos* (Lisbon, 1983) [hereafter, *Colectânea*] II, 1-21; Leona Tucker, 'The divining basket of the Ovimbundu', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 2 (1940), 171-201; Wilfrid Hambly, 'Occupational ritual, belief, and custom among the Ovimbundu', *American Anthropologist*, 36, 2 (1934), 157-67; Raul Asua Altuna, *Cultura Tradicional Banto* (Luanda, 1985).

case in point was male circumcision and related initiation rituals in secluded camps which, even before colonial rule and missionary activity, were virtually non-existent in most areas or mandatory only for those of high-ranking positions, although more generalized among southern Ovimbundu. Such practices were expanding after 1940 in some areas, apparently due to the influence of their Ngangela neighbours, according to missionaries who were fighting 'traditional' initiation in southern and eastern Angola.[29]

Long-distance trade and population movements created in central Angola an environment of relatively easy and sometimes short-term adoption of practices and rituals from other regions and peoples, especially fashionable while associated with success and empowerment in any field. Some Christian symbols and celebrations had travelled to the area long before the arrival of missionaries, due to commercial contacts and the presence of resident traders from established areas of Portuguese rule. This cultural tolerance and taste for novelty probably accounts for the documented receptiveness towards 'foreign' cults, secret societies, 'sisterhoods', and possession by exotic spirits. Christian missionaries benefited from such openness before being in turn challenged by new cults among their faithful or resurgence of old practices in troubled times.[30]

Novel beliefs and practices tended to be incorporated into existing religious systems, otherwise they would not make sense. The idea of a creator in the old religion facilitated Christian monotheism. The creator's name, *Suku*, once used also

---

[29] *Traço*, February 1946, 4; Francisco Valente, 'Divagação ou ponderação: a circuncisão dos povos no centro de Angola', *Portugal em África*, 28 (1971), 5-16, 33-8, 97-109, 193-204, 285-96. Based on available literature, McCulloch concluded: 'It is not known whether the rites have been taken over by the Ovimbundu from neighbouring peoples, or whether they represent a custom formerly widespread in Umbundu country': McCulloch, *The Ovimbundu*, 44. See too Childs, *Umbundu Kinship*, 59 and 115-117; Hambly, *The Ovimbundu*, 226.

[30] Carlos Estermann, 'Culte des esprits et magie chez les Bantous du sud-ouest de l'Angola', *Colectânea*, I, 253-85, especially 257-8; 'Inovações recentes no culto dos espíritos no sul de Angola', *idem*, 353-66; 'A possessão espírita entre os Bantu', *idem*, 367-90; 'Ovi-kaviula. Apontamentos sobre um rito singular existente no centro de Angola', *idem*, II, 149-66.

for family deities and personal guardians, was adopted by both Catholics and Protestants to name the Christian God. The translation of many other words caused greater concern among missionaries: adapting old Umbundu concepts could create confusion and syncretism while accepting neologisms (some already used by common people) threatened the purity of the Umbundu language.[31]

In the old religion, *Suku* was thought to be too remote to receive prayers but village headmen could spend the night in the small house for honouring the ancestors (*etambo*) 'praying to or communing with ancestral spirits'.[32] Happiness or unhappiness, illness and death depended on spirits like *ovilulu* (bad spirits) who could act out of revenge because of human actions or failure in honour them. They could act directly through spirit possession (*okusingila ondele*) or indirectly, causing illness in any part of the body (*okuvela*).[33] Main religious rituals were performed at local level, the village headmen acting as priest for the *oluse* patrilineage which formed the basis of the village, and the head of *oluina* matrilineage acting 'as priest for his dispersed, maternally-related group'.[34]

Ocimbanda (pl. *ovimbanda*) was a generic word for diviners and healers; the diviner proper was *ocimbanda congombo* (the basket, *ngombo*, and its content were essential to his/her performance) and the herbalist and healer was *ocimbanda coviti* (of trees or sticks, i. e., botanical medicines). They often became experts on specific problems, some working in their village or in a certain chiefdom, while others went

---

[31] Joaquim Valente, 'Conceito de doença e cura em Caconda e Bailundo', *Portugal em África*, 5 (1948), 330-4; Carlos Estermann, 'A terminologia cristã na Diocese de Nova Lisboa', *Portugal em África*, 8 (1952), 7ff.; 'Problema da terminologia cristã: o vocábulo evangelho', *Revista Ocidente* 34 (1972) reprinted in *Colectânea*, II, 243-54. José F. Valente, 'Divagação', 102-9. For a recent discussion on translation by Spiritans among the Ovimbundu, see Iracema Dulley, *Deus é Feiticeiro: Prática e Disputa nas Missões Católicas em Angola Colonial* (São Paulo, 2010).

[32] McCulloch, *The Ovimbundu*, 37.

[33] Valente, 'Conceito', 330. Spirit possession is mentioned by all authors, but see especially Estermann and Hastings.

[34] McCulloch, *The Ovimbundu*, 36. Similarly, the religious role of the Christian catechist was not disconnected from his social leadership in the village, especially before the spread of modern communications.

'on professional journeys carrying their baskets, and accumulate profits in animals and cloth. The greater the reputation of the diviner, the greater the charges he makes for his services'.[35] Only very few Christians would not consult the 'legion' of practicing herbalists despite 'considerable magical basis in their traditional beliefs concerning the properties of the plants used'.[36]

Christian missionaries, especially missionary doctors and nurses, were seen as able to replace *ovimbanda* in dispensing medicines and 'charms', advising on material and spiritual matters, but useless on sorcery and rainmaking. Narratives of Jesus's miracles, however, made a great impression and some missionaries feared that some converts 'almost reduced His work to that of a kind of divine magician'.[37] Catholics got further spiritual security through devotion to saints and different representations of the Virgin Mary, who supposedly specialized in diverse human problems. Sculptures and images, thought to have special powers, fitted well into local traditional beliefs: images distributed by missionaries in medals and small cards (*santinhos*) became talismans, no matter what theologians said about it. Display of cult objects and the priests and bishops' ceremonial clothes reinforced their association with power and wealth: 'the pomp of the religious ceremonies', Cunha wrote in 1935, 'makes a deep impression upon the childish soul of the native and contributes with efficacy to the abandonment of cruel and fetishist practices'.[38]

Christianity influenced an emerging new conception of individual aims and expectations, fostered by economic opportunities and loss of control by village or lineage elders. As elsewhere, conversion to a different faith caused social and family ruptures, with Christianity offering a new 'family', with 'fathers', 'sisters' and 'brothers' (and, for Catholics, Mary as 'mother'). Christ himself was mentioned saying

---

[35] McCulloch, *The Ovimbundu,* 36-37.
[36] Childs, 'The Church', 189.
[37] Ibid, 190.
[38] Cunha, *Missões*, 26.

that his mother and his brothers were those who followed him and shared his beliefs, not necessarily his relatives.[39] The message in several passages of the New Testament was one of individual choice against the determinism of blood ties, helping to justify 'rebellion' against family, lineage and political power.[40] It is easy to imagine how, in an urban environment, that new religion provided newcomers with both a safety network of 'brothers' and a justification to move away from 'traditional' ways of living.

Evidence of people's receptivity to Christianization can be hinted from the generalization of certain cultural practices, the choice of first names being a case in point. European and/or Christian names were still rare in the early twentieth century, except for a few Christians and people tracing their roots to the established Portuguese colony. Then, baptism contributed to massive change in first names, helped by another 'foreign' practice, namesake (*sando*), by which parents named their children after someone they wanted to honour or to emulate. A new baptismal name was consistent with former practices of name changing in initiation rituals and adoption of different names in one's life and Christian names soon largely displaced Umbundu first names. Initially a sign of distinction, taken from the Bible and (for Catholics) from the saints' list, soon Christian names were copied by many non-Christians and became common.[41]

It is difficult to assess the extent to which old beliefs survived the intensity of Christianization in central Angola. Much depended on place and social milieu but also on personal and collective circumstances, since distress and insecurity caused

---

[39] New Testament, Mark 3:31-35.

[40] Biographies of the converted often emphasized 'rebellion' against 'pagan' parents or authorities. For an Angolan case, see Lawrence Henderson, *Development and the Church in Angola: Jesse Chipenda, the Trailblazer* (Nairobi, 2000), 38-51. For criticism of relying on 'uprooted' people, cut off from their kin, for new leaders, Childs, *Umbundu Kinship*, 70-1.

[41] See Childs, *Umbundu Kinship*, 86-7 on naming (*okuluka*); Edwards, *The Ovimbundu*, 87-8. Elisabeth L. Ennis, 'Women's names among the Ovimbundu of Angola', *African Studies*, 1945, 1, 1-8. For 'traditional' Umbundu first names, see Francisco Yambo, *Pequeno Dicionário Antroponímico Umbundu* (Luanda 2003).

old practices to reappear or to be reinvented for specific purposes. At the beginning, 'heathens' were the vast majority and indigenous religious concepts and practices continued openly or covertly among Christians, as many missionaries recognized. In the 1930s, writing about Bailundo, where his fifty-year old Congregational church had a majority of first generation Christians, Hastings synthesized the situation using a local saying: '*Cimbamo te eci, ci kasi peka*', that is, 'what is in your hand you can throw away; from what is in your heart you may not free yourself'. Loyalty to Christian principles was not enough to prevent some reverting to 'practices involving the kindred spirits, the forcing of clan or sib members to remove the supposed evil which they have caused through spiritistic [sic] agency' or seeking aid from 'psychic power'.[42] Convictions were harder to eradicate when death or life-threatening problems were involved, and catechists had to promote spiritual safety through a new set of collective and individual rites, such as those offered by Catholic sacraments and all the ritual attached to them.[43]

Fearing much more for current life than for the after-life, as Childs noted, Ovimbundu resorted 'to charms, fetishes and other magical means of protection', and even among Christians 'the power of the malignant spirits' were feared and old practices endured. Christians were less prone but not immune to belief in and fear of witchcraft, although the Church forbade accusations of sorcery. Openness to change had caused 'cultural and social breakdown to be far advanced' and 'the dissolution of the old religion' but nonetheless 'syncretistic practices' existed among Christians,

[42] Hastings, *Ovimbundu,* 282-309 and 312. Hastings worked in the Congregational mission at Mbalundu (1916-1930s), except for his furloughs (1923-1925 and 1932-1933) during which he completed his widely quoted but never published thesis.

[43] Archbishop Pinho noted, in a Pastoral Provison (1949): 'we only suppress what we substitute, so it is important to make a very frequent use of the sacraments, both to abolish vestiges of pagan superstitions and to promote Christian piety': *Portugal em África* (1949), 188-9. Edwards observed that the sacraments were emphasized (by catechists) as 'the distinctive mark of Catholicism against Protestantism': Edwards, *The Ovimbundu*, 85.

more commonly 'through the protection and help sought for the solution of personal problems such as sterility, sickness and other crises which may confront one'.[44]

Witchcraft accusations hindered the accumulation of individual wealth, since individual success created suspicion unless the person distributed it within the kinship circle and beyond.[45] As such accusations (*okusunga owanga*) were strictly forbidden among Christians, sins like 'envy' and 'avarice' ('mortal sins' in the Catholic catechism) partly carried the old ideas: misfortune of better-off people was 'caused' by someone's envy, and people not sharing their wealth would be criticised as 'avaricious'. Accusations of sorcery were often disguised under accusations of 'poisoning' brought to civil courts, church elders and missionaries.[46]

Missionaries seldom recognized that, more than any other single factor, Christianization subverted the power of the *olosoma* by taking away whatever religious and judicial roles they could still perform under colonial rule. Because of Ovimbundu trading history, economic initiative had long ceased to be exclusive of kings and political allegiance could shift between different rulers without social collapse. Under colonial rule, the lack of economic and political power further undermined the *olosoma*'s control and prestige but they still represented the top of a structure to which people belonged, beyond their *epata* (extended family). Chiefs were supposed to perform necessary rituals for good harmony between the living and the dead, and between humans and the spiritual powers that could endanger them. When disputes could not be solved by individuals or lineage elders, *olosoma* were asked to decide and punish, although murder and other serious crimes had (in principle) to be taken to the Portuguese administration. For Christian converts,

---

[44] Childs 'The Church', 188-9. 'Church' here did not include 'the Roman Catholics' but their situation was similar.
[45] See the statement of Raul Kavita Evambi, of Ciyaka, quoted in Childs, *Umbundu Kinship*, 107.
[46] Ibid, 56-8.

pressure was immense to turn to the missionaries and their delegates as new moral authorities and not to compromise with 'pagan' institutions.

Based on his Bailundo experience in the 1930s, Hastings concluded that due to Portuguese rule (no mention of fifty years of Christian missions), the impact of European civilization 'has tended to supersede and practically to destroy indigenous institutions'. If succeeding chiefs 'sacrosanct and sovereign by the will of the tribe and the indwelling presence of the ancestral spirits' were still in their old *olombala*, they were 'perpetuating some of the royal cult activities together with a fiction of government, although they know that the white man's suzerainty has reduced their political authority to a sham'.[47]

In late 1950s, writing about Protestants in central Angola, Childs explained the shifting of social authority to church leaders, including judicial functions, as the result of 'the breakdown of traditional authority … so rapid that the social life of the villages is now very near to complete anarchy', compelling missions and churches to take over and administer 'their own moral codes, based in part on the old mores, but compounded with European custom and Christian demands'. Church meetings, both local and regional, had become courts and councils and, in a development that was a 'mixed blessing' for the Church, 'catechists, deacons, and pastors have taken on judicial functions' and church meetings 'became courts and councils'. Following missionaries who had been 'rulers and judges' in the past, 'some pastors succumb to ever present temptations and become rulers and judges' themselves.[48]

In 'native' neighbourhoods in Huambo, the Portuguese administration used *olosekulu* to secure taxation and labour whenever necessary, which obviously made them unpopular. As the population grew, round-ups to catch undocumented people or tax evaders increased, with *olosekulu* risking punishment if they did not cooperate

[47] Hastings, *Ovimbundu*, 31-2.
[48] Childs, 'The Church', 189.

with *cipaios*.[49] The youth-elder divide also had new aspects: those more able to introduce their fellow Christians to 'urban' life patterns and survival skills were not necessarily the family or church elders. Respect for old hierarchies was indeed eroded by both Christianity and socio-economic change and, if anarchy was not really in sight, as Childs feared, the decline of 'traditional authority' was evident. The political, spiritual and ritual powers and functions of the *soma* were irreversibly challenged, not only by colonial rule but also by the new religion, actively promoted by laywomen and laymen, especially catechists, who controlled and redistributed locally the spiritual (occasionally material) gifts they received from Christian missionaries.

***Vakwasikola*: 'People of the school'**

In 1935, the Catholic Church in Angola claimed that 2,750 'native catechists', helped by their wives, were 'the indispensable auxiliaries of evangelization as teachers, lay preachers and propagandists', each of them in charge of a 'rudimentary school'.[50] Ten years later, the Diocese of Nova Lisboa alone, covering roughly a quarter of Angola, had 2,656 catechists, two thirds of them on the plateau, a clear indication of the Catholic expansion in the area.[51] In 1956, this Diocese had been significantly reduced but had nearly half a million baptized Catholics and 4,307 catechists. Huambo became the most Christianized region of Angola and the Catholics' share of converts greatly increased after 1940.[52]

For those studying African Christianity, it has long been clear that any impressive growth was mainly the result of the agency of local men and women. Missions went from initial failures and setbacks to success stories in a very few

---

[49] See Chapter 5.
[50] Cunha, *Missões*, 20-21.
[51] *Traço,* 5 (October 1944), 7-8, based on the annual report.
[52] 'Rapport Annuel 1956-57-58', ACSSp, 3L1.20 a 5.

decades and credit must go to those first generation Christians who soon were not following the missionaries but going ahead of them.[53] All missions tried to match their catechists with suitable wives who in turn helped to select girls to be sent and trained at the missions. The catechist had 'the full skills of a ritual expert' and his wife 'also had status for she generally knew how to read and write and was responsible in part for teaching women and girls the catechism, telling their rosary beds, reciting Hail Marys, handing out medals, and leading new songs', not to mention spiritual help to the sick and those fearing evil spirits.[54]

After 1910, catechists, their wives and 'elders' in charge of chapel-schools (*olosekulu kwasikola*) were at the heart of Catholic expansion in the Huambo area and their work as evangelists went well beyond their original missions' territory. In eastern Angola, where many people from the plateau were settling or temporarily working, a Catholic mission was not established until 1933. Yet Catholicism expanded due 'to the catechist posts and to the Christians educated in the plateau's missions, today employed at the railway service or established along the line', stimulated by periodic visits of Father Baião from the Kwando mission.[55]

In this battle for souls, no device was more important than the school, no matter how deficient it was. In Umbundu, Christians were called *vakwasikola*, those of the school (*sikola*, from the Portuguese *escola*) and people would say *ndukwasikola*, 'I belong to the school', meaning 'I am a Christian', although not

---

[53] See, for instance, J.D.Y. Peel, '"For who hath despised the day of small things": Missionary narratives and historical anthropology', *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 37 (1995), 581-607. For the only Angolan area 'occupied' by Franciscans and not Spiritans, see Afonso Nteka, *Construtores do Reino: Reflexão sobre a Acção Evangelizadora dos Catequistas na Diocese de Uíje (Angola)* (Padova, 2003), 65-82 and *passim*.
[54] Phyllis Martin, *Catholic Women of Congo-Brazzaville: Mothers and Sisters in Troubled Times* (Bloomington, 2009), 61.
[55] Cunha, *Missões*, 26.

necessarily a 'true' baptized one.[56] Catechists were supposed to teach an elementary catechism but also basic reading and writing; until trained primary teachers began to take their place in late 1950s, catechists were village 'teachers' and only at central missions did proper primary schools exist. In practice, Catholic catechists were often accused of delivering too much doctrine and not enough teaching, while Protestants considered reading essential to Christian life. In any case, catechist posts and schools, where Christian communities congregated for worship and learning, became decisive in social organization and change and the more distant the mission the more important the role of catechists and their wives.[57]

As noted before, Catholic activities in Huambo initially depended on the Kwando Mission following the usual pattern of Christian villages, facilitated by few restrictions about land use outside the city perimeter and the CCFB concession. Catechetical schools (*escolas de catequese*), converted into chapels whenever necessary, were at the centre of hamlets of people already baptized or on their way to be. In time, population growth and land occupation by white settlers interfered with that pattern and catechists had to care for people scattered all over, many settlements mixing Christians and non-Christians. But in the 1920s-30s, urbanization was just beginning and most of the Huambo *Posto Sede* population was involved in agriculture and related activities. The main differences with 'typical' rural catechetical schools would be a greater mix of origins and a lesser role of *olosekulu* and old aristocracies, that is, an even greater importance of catechists as community leaders.[58]

---

[56] Edwards, *The Ovimbundu*, 77. Henderson, *The Church*, 142-3. Cf. Peel about Yoruba Christians known as *Onibuku* ('Book-people') and his comments about writing as a new 'magic': J.D.Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington, 2000), 223.

[57] For a comparison between Catholic and Protestant catechists' authority, see Edwards, *The Ovimbundu*, 83.

[58] As reported in 1950: 'Catechists … accompany the Christians to the missions for baptisms, marriages, Confirmations, the devotion of the first Fridays each month, in a word,

The catechists' role as intermediaries both with the missionaries and the Portuguese administration, as well as their control over the Catholic faithful, slowly declined when roads, railways and urbanization allowed civil and religious authorities more frequent visits.[59] Even then, in rural areas as in peri-urban neighbourhoods, they were an essential part of the Catholic network and the basis of the hierarchical structure of the church, their influence going well beyond religious matters.[60] Working for the mission exclusively or as a part-time job, those men (and their wives) were responsible for, and interfered with, the social behaviour of their part of the mission's flock. This contrasted with catechists' recruitment and role in Catholic parishes, where catechism was usually taught by priests, seminarians or any member of community with spare time and good will.

A 1928 photograph of 36 new catechists of the Kwando Mission reveal their acquired social status. Despite no shoes in sight and some sartorial heterogeneity (three men wearing ties and three wearing coats with no shirts), everyone wears trousers and coats and many have a flower in their lapel. They were probably dressed up for the occasion, emulating white settlers and the 'civilized' black merchants but also following missionaries' policy on clothes. Some looked more comfortable than others in their outfits but all displayed their higher rank among fellow Christians (see figure 1).[61] European coats had long been used by *olosekulu* and well-off Umbundu traders, but until the 1910s trousers and shoes had only been adopted in central

in all religious acts'. 'Rapports quinquennaux 1945-1950', ACSSp, 3L1.20b1 (hereafter, 'Rapports 1945-1950'). Also Edwards, *The Ovimbundu*, 80.

[59] On the impact of roads in central Angola, see Neto, 'Nas malhas'. Cf. Jan-Bart Gewald, 'Missionaries, Hereros, and motorcars: mobility and the impact of motor vehicles in Namíbia before 1940', *IJAHS*, 2-3 (2002), 257-85.

[60] Missionaries held them accountable for Catholics' behaviour; household problems were usually reported to them before being reported to the missionaries. Interview with Pedro Capumba, Luanda, 20 January 2006.

[61] ACSSp, 3L1.32b, 'Photos d'Angola'.

Angola by a tiny minority.[62] European-style clothes and haircuts became distinctive features of men and boys associated with all Christian missions. Military conscription and the *cipaio* police also contributed to the dissemination of new styles, but their uniforms (shirts and shorts) were different from the European ones and could not be imitated by civilians.

In the Catholic Church a greater flexibility on clothing was applied to women until later on, but dresses, skirts and blouses were the norm for boarding school girls educated by the nuns - many of whom became the spouses of catechists and teachers. They also made crocheted or knitted boots, bonnets and shawls for their babies, useful in the highlands' cold dry-season weather.[63] As late as the 1950s, in less Christianized areas, the Catholic church was careful not to alienate women on the grounds of their dress (even bare breasts) but in Huambo area everyone had to go to the church 'dressed with all decency'.[64]

In 1931, the Kwando mission counted on its 320 catechists to cover 'practically all the Huambo region' including the town area. They were not paid by the mission: Catholics and catechumens provided for them, many working one day weekly on their catechist's field and further helping him and his family.[65] This system went on for decades and could not be enforced on such a large scale against the will of people

---

[62] People from Caconda were supposed to be the pioneers of European style on the plateau: Augusto Bastos, 'Traços geraes sobre a ethnographia do Districto de Benguella', *BSGL* (1908), 173.

[63] In 1892 the nuns of Saint Joseph of Cluny began their work in Caconda, teaching girls basic reading, catechism and 'European' domestic chores, preparing them to marry Christian men. Photographs show their European dress style. Manuel Gabriel, *Caconda, Berço da Evangelização no Planalto Central de Angola* (Lisbon, 1991). Photographs accompanying Bishop Junqueira's reports from the 1940s onwards show cohabitation of old and new styles, the latter apparently predominating in Huambo.

[64] Bishop Junqueira to Mother House, 28 August 1950, ACSSp, 3L1.20b1. Justifying photos from southern Angola revealing women's 'nudity', the Bishop explained that with 'more stubborn tribes' missionaries 'considered advisable to go slower with demands on women's dress', allowing the traditional outfit. Cf. Martin, *Catholic Women*, 63, on the dress code of catechists' families.

[65] Father Sutter, 'Huambo: Nossa Senhora das Vitórias (1910)', *Bulletin de la Congrégation* (February 1931), 55-6. In the 1950s the catechist still did not receive a salary but he might 'persuade his flock to cultivate a field for him' and to have the school 'and perhaps a house for visiting missionaries' built 'by the school people'. Edwards, *The Ovimbundu*, 77.

already under pressure from the colonial administration and settlers' demands. In the absence of direct testimony from the newly converted, one has to take the expansion and acceleration of conversions as proof that Christian missions were bringing something interesting enough to justify such collective effort and individual commitment.[66] Missionaries themselves felt overwhelmed by the exponential growth of that African Christianity which flooded the missions' premises and surroundings (and the priests' confessionals) in the great celebration days, as Father Sutter wrote in 1931: 'we spend four or five days at the confessional until half past eleven at night … In the first Fridays of the month [a devotional practice] some people come from fifty and sixty kilometres away to receive communion'. Ill people were 'carried in hammocks by friends in order not to interrupt their communion novenas'.[67]

The famous 'Ovimbundu response' to Christianization that many authors have underlined did not really take off until most had lost economic and political control to Portuguese traders and administrators in the first decades of the century.[68] However, once change began, it quickly gathered momentum and catechists, to which the missions delegated part of their spiritual and organizational powers, enjoyed undisputed authority in new all-Christian settlements and were providing a new leadership in many other villages too. Their formal recognition by the Portuguese administration and their intermediary role challenged that of 'traditional' chiefs, since even non-Christians could look for the catechists' help.

---

[66] There is now an abundant literature on conversion related to Christian missions and colonialism. See J.D.Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter*, 1-9 and 215-247. As he writes, the challenge is how 'to blend the three narrative themes … missionary endeavour, colonization, and the endogenous development of African societies': *idem,* 2. My kind of sources do not allow a discussion on the anthropological and psychological implications of conversion.

[67] Father Sutter, 'Huambo', 55-6.

[68] Diocese reports often compare Ovimbundu with more reluctant societies further south where missionaries struggled to catch people's attention and faithfulness: 'in certain southernmost areas where they are more stubborn, clothes and work at the Mission are offered in order to attract them'. 'Rapports 1945-1950'. But among the Ovimbundu, 'numerically the most important tribe', work was undoubtedly 'more successful'. 'Rapport de la Visite du Pe. Estermann en 1950/ Nova Lisboa', ACSSp 3L1.28b3, 2, 7-8.

Catholic catechists, tapping into the influence of their church over Portuguese officials, were often better able to represent peoples' interests at the administrative post while 'traditional' authorities were used mostly to convey orders from it. Catechists could 'invoke the authority of the mission' and use the latter's influence with the administrative authorities either to intervene on the side of somebody or to cause problems to 'undesirables' like diviners and baptized polygamists, whose activities catechists were supposed to report to the mission.[69] Protestant catechists who made a good impression on local authorities were also allowed to play an intermediary role, to the detriment of *olosoma* or *olosekulu*.

Catholic organization, although keeping the catechist in a subaltern role, enhanced his spiritual position by letting him share some of the priests' powers, like baptizing and anointing *in extremis*. As ability to read was not as important as it was among Protestants, Catholics also depended more on their catechist for knowing and interpreting the sacred texts. Culturally closer to the mass of baptized and catechumens, catechists were more able than missionaries to 'translate' Christian ideas into their culture, certainly changing both in the process. Funerals were a case in point: most of them were led by catechists because of distance or shortage of priests and many old practices became entangled in Christian rituals.[70]

Keeping people apart from old practices demanded substantial changes in everyday life. The daily routine and Sunday activities in a typical Catholic catechism school implied a good length of time spent in religious activities. Every morning the catechist or the *sekulu* of the school gathered at the chapel-school all the baptized and catechumens, children and adults, for morning prayers before the catechism

[69] Edwards, *The Ovimbundu*, 80-1.
[70] Worries about the subject translated into leaflets and instructions to catechists, such as *Okukenda Ku'akristão - Enterro Cristão: para Uso dos Catequistas* ['Christian burial: for use by catechists'] (Nova Lisboa, 1964). To prevent syncretistic rites in funerals, Congregationalists had forbidden 'the slaughtering of oxen for the entertainment of funeral guests': Childs, 'The Church', 188-9.

lesson. In the evening, after working in the fields or in town, they gathered again for another catechism lesson, collective recitation of the rosary and an evening prayer. Umbundu language was the norm, with occasionally hymns in Portuguese or even Latin. Evening meetings could also be preceded by dancing and singing non-religious songs or be used for public announcements, as before in the 'pagan' *ocila* (the central open space in villages for meetings and dances, which were suppressed in Christian villages).[71] On Sundays, they either went to the mission, if not too far away, or listened to the catechist reading and commenting the Gospels, the rest of the time being occupied with religious songs and the recitation of the rosary. The chapel-school (Catholic villages were identified by the wooden cross over it) was used by missionaries on occasional visits to celebrate Mass and to baptize, as was the case on the outskirts of Huambo before the Kanye mission was erected.[72]

Under the Decree 77 of 1921, any 'native' catechist or evangelist, Catholic or Protestant, needed an identification card issued by local Portuguese authorities (at their discretion, after proposal by the mission's principal) and whenever schooling was involved they had to prove ability to speak Portuguese.[73] The decree apparently gave them privilege over other 'natives' but the subsequent 1926 Native Statute granted them no special rights, so taxation and labour obligations applied unless administrators or *Chefes de Posto* decided otherwise.

In the 1940s, Catholic priests described catechists as a 'true army of the church' or a 'small well organized army' putting them at the core of the effort of conquering pagans and overcoming rival Protestants.[74] How catechists saw themselves is hard to

[71] Interview with Faustino Nunes Muteka, Luanda, 16 February 1991. Bimbe is probably a good example of daily rural routine: 'only a few people turn up for morning prayers, considerable more to evening prayers, and nearly everybody who can be considered a 'school person' comes to the Sunday gathering': Edwards, *The Ovimbundu*, 78.
[72] 'Status Missionis - Rapport Juillet 1942 - Janvier 1944', ACSSp, 3L1.20a/a2.
[73] See Henderson, *The Church*, 103-5.
[74] For instance, 'Rapport quinquennal 1940-1945', 4 and 8. ACSSp 3L1.20a /a2. Such military language was common among all Christian missions.

know from my sources but they certainly used their role inside the church to their own advantage, since the Catholic Church was never short of catechists after the Missionary Statute and subsequent legislation, exempting all Catholic catechists and teachers from the native tax if they could speak Portuguese.[75] Their status was not the full citizenship granted by the *'civilizado'* legal status and the Portuguese *bilhete de identidade*, but their exemption from the poll tax and forced labour certainly boosted interest in belonging to the Catholic network, as Bishop Junqueira acknowledged in 1950: 'It may be said that it is this privilege accorded by the Portuguese government that allows Missionaries to get such a great number of catechists'.[76] Aware of that, Protestant missionaries in the 1950s were paying the taxes of every catechist accepting a one-month course taken at mission stations, an 'incentive' justified 'as a recognition of their work, in a sense putting them on a par with their Catholic counterparts'.[77]

The Catholic position was enhanced by a state-funded 'new modality of native assistance' which trained some catechists as nurses and gave lessons on childcare to their wives, expecting them to add health and sanitary education to spiritual guidance.[78] In 1949, the state offered a six month course for Catholic nurse-catechists who, after an exam of competence and trustworthiness made by a doctor, got medicines from the state for their schools and would receive a monthly subsidy of between 400 and 500 *angolares*, 'a great help' to the Missions.[79] Protestants never got official subsidy, despite their supremacy in health care and their well-trained nurses having no problem in finding jobs outside their missions.

---

[75] Decree 33,303, Article 9. *Boletim Oficial*, 1ª série, 5 January 1944.
[76] 'Rapports 1945-1950'.
[77] Henderson, *The Church*, 105.
[78] *Voz*, 20 November 1943, 9.
[79] 'Rapports 1945-1950'. See also *Portaria* 12,554, 13 September 1948, in *Spiritana*, 875-80; *Portaria* 13 April 1949, in *Spiritana*, 889-93. Nurse-catechists course directors and missionaries in charge of religious assistance to students got a 'monthly bonus' of one thousand *angolares*.

Based on his fieldwork at Bimbe in 1956, Edwards concluded not only that 'the catechetical school' was 'the only institution [grouping] people of different domestic groups on a village-wide basis, and in which people participate in a wider set of social relations on a village', but also that 'one can and does associate oneself with a village if one does not belong geographically to it but simply attends its school.'[80] This was most probably the case until the 1940s on the outskirts of Huambo, where Catholics and catechumens were also living among non-Catholics but the catechetical school was the centre of Christian settlements. In later decades, demographic changes and the existence of the Nova Lisboa Episcopal seat and the Kanye mission eroded catechists' power. On one hand, their intermediary role with the mission and the state was reduced by their fellow Christians' easier access to both institutions; on the other hand, missionaries and the church hierarchy, not catechists, were in Huambo privileged interlocutors with the Portuguese administration.[81] Nonetheless, catechists kept much of their importance, given the shortage of priests to meet the rapid growth of converts and to assist (and control) the already baptized Christians coming to town.

Expanding paid job opportunities in the 1950s meant that missions' pupils would try other activities or become only part-time catechists. By 1960, the Diocese's 4,876 'precious' catechists without whom 'evangelization would be impossible' were supposed to get their means of subsistence from different occupations and to give two or three hours a day for church work. Their main material reward was still exemption from taxes and forced labour.[82] The Congregational Church also felt the effects of socio-economic change, as those benefiting from a better education in its

---

[80] Edwards, *The Ovimbundu*, p. 79.

[81] In 1940, Father Sutter (in charge of the Catholic 'natives' on the city outskirts), was received by the District authorities for matters such as checking lists of natives living in the 'Christian village' (15 February), 'denouncing gunpowder making and selling' (27 and 29 February), and asking the administration to substitute *regedor* Inocêncio because he had already too much work as a catechist (24 June). ANA, *Códice* 7,444.

[82] 'Rapport quinquennal 1955-1960', 33. ACSSp, II. 3L1.30b2.

missions were looking for jobs in the CCFB or the state, often deciding to settle in Huambo, counteracting the rural development project of their church.[83]

Catechists were leaders in their communities but they were still 'natives' in a colonial world with very few opportunities for educational progress, making Catholic and Protestant missionaries alike worry about their insufficient formal education. Spiritans noted that the upsurge of catechumens and baptized had serious flaws, since 'many catechists were not up to the task' and had only a 'rudimentary religious instruction' not to mention their little schooling. In the 1930s, however, pressure from people wanting to be baptised and fear that Protestants would occupy any field not covered by Catholics justified hurrying up catechesis.[84] Spiritan reports revealed that catechists' training was rather erratic until the 1950s, despite existing church propaganda to the contrary. By 1950, some missions were using the boarding schools, during students' holidays, for a two-month course with catechists from different villages. Intensive courses in the dry season were also used by Protestants with similar difficulties in getting adequately trained personnel - and keeping them.[85]

The Catholic world was largely a world of catechumens, a mass of people where women outnumbered men, which populated not only the catechism schools but the mission premises at the great feasts of the Catholic calendar. More than those already baptized, they were 'the catechist's people', developing a symbiotic relationship during the two to four years of 'initiation' imposed on 'pagans' before

[83] A 1947 report mentioned the problem and urged people in charge to show to the faithful that rural life 'can be as fulfilled and as free as life in town' while also appealing to the needed 'sacrifice spirit'. Most Protestant missionaries still thought the future of Umbundu Christianized society should be rural, not urban. Péclard, 'État colonial', 230-41; Edwards, *The Ovimbundu*, 78. As late as 1967, Henderson was still struggling against that dominant position: *The Church*, 314-5.

[84] Father Sutter, 'Huambo', 55-6.

[85] 'Rapport Annuel du Diocese de Nova Lisboa 1941-1942' and 'Rapport Julliet 1942-Janvier 1944' informed there were no school for catechists' training. ACSSp 3L1.20 a/a2. In 1950, schools for catechists were still missing although 'all the boys' boarding-schools in the Missions are like catechists' seminaries': 'Rapport quinquennal de Catechese du diocese de Nova Lisboa' 1945-1950, ACSSp 3L1.20b1. For Protestants, see Henderson, *The Church*, 105.

being full members of the church. The catechism learning period reinforced social relations, creating a strong bond among all involved, despite occasional disputes. Boys and girls living in the missions' boarding schools usually had a shorter catechumenate.[86]

Of the hundreds of catechumens reported in many catechism schools, however, not all were baptized in the end. Spiritans wanted to avoid both 'difficult training that practically excludes most catechumens by discouraging them' and 'hasty and insufficient instructions' which in early days caused 'bitter disillusionment of numerous apostasies'; apart from religious instruction, hymn singing and knowledge of the basics of the Catholic faith, what was demanded was 'positive proof of his willingness and his ability to live a Christian life and of his steadfast proposal to persevere in it'.[87] By 1930 the Spiritan *General Mission Directory* suggested a probationary period of at least two years and the establishment of a postulate, duration of which was left to the missionaries' discretion, open to all interested (polygamous or not) in order to teach the basics and how to baptize in danger of death. Catechumenate should be open only to 'those who show a sincere desire of becoming Christians, who know the first truths, and who are willing to repudiate idolatry and immorality (specifically polygamy)'.[88]

So, around a nucleus of full members of the Catholic Church there was a much wider world of non-baptized people who more or less regularly listened to catechism lessons, learned the hymns, participated occasionally in processions and other religious celebrations, sometimes adopted Christian names and associated themselves with the church, even if they could not claim the same protection, in case of a conflict with colonial authorities, as a proper baptized Catholic.[89]

---

[86] 'Rapports 1945-1950'.
[87] Koren, *Spiritans,* 479.
[88] Ibid, 480.
[89] Edwards, *The Ovimbundu*, 77-8. Cf. Childs about 'observers' or 'hearers' who could be

Kanye: 'The Mission is ours'

In the early years, the Kwando Mission (*Missão do Huambo*, '*Nossa Senhora das Vitórias*') was the main Catholic centre serving Huambo and most other towns along the railway. Missionaries from Kwando came sporadically to town and celebrated Mass in improvised places, while marriages and most baptisms, for both Africans and Europeans, were organized at the mission. In 1932, an urban parish was erected using temporary premises offered by Huambo municipality, converting former workshops into a chapel for Sunday masses by the same missionaries working with 'natives' on the outskirts. After unsuccessful attempts to build a proper church, in 1936 the parish was given land in a central area of the town by the Governor-General. Successive governors and the *Banco de Angola* provided money and at Christmas 1939 the first Mass was celebrated there.[90]

In 1931, explaining the huge task of the Kwando mission, Father Sutter calculated that it served a 'native' population of 25,000 Catholics, relying on 320 catechists, many with only an 'elementary religious instruction'. The mission's capacity was overstretched and they were running too fast in search of converts but, he argued, 'it was a matter of urgency' because Protestants would take over 'every village not occupied'. Huambo itself would need a resident priest for its growing white population of about 2,000, including civil servants, traders, manufacturers and CCFB employees and workers. But the bulk of churchgoers were not 'whites':

> At 8.00 a.m. the first mass is celebrated, at which are present mostly the Blacks: servants, workers and others. The preaching is in the native language. Usually they are between 500 and 600. At 10.00 a.m. there is a second mass, for the whites, with a sermon in Portuguese and after that the catechism for the

said to belong to the (Protestant) Christian community at large, despite some having never been in communion and others who were 'permanently or temporarily out of communion' (mostly because of polygamy or adultery). So, Childs calculated the 'adherents' or 'total Protestant population' in 1958 as 'perhaps 800,000' while the Angola 1950 census indicated 540,000 Protestants out of 1,912,747 Christians. Childs, 'The Church', 186 and 191.

[90] See Costa, *Cem Anos*, 246-50.

> white children. The Europeans, all claiming to be Catholic and showing much respect for the Father, in fact come to the mass much less than the Blacks. For the majority of them religion is limited to baptism of their children, marriage in the church and a Christian funeral. About the other sacraments, they don't feel their need, despite a few praiseworthy exceptions.[91]

By contrast, many African faithful walked tens of kilometres to the mission on the first Friday of each month and for other special celebrations, 'forcing' priests to stay until midnight, sometimes several days in a row, confessing all those who wanted to receive Communion.[92] However, a parish was not considered an appropriate answer to the growing flux of 'natives' in towns and their outskirts. Spiritans claimed that about 850 Catholic native families around Huambo justified a new mission there. They recognised the urgent need to work more intensively with Africans arriving in urban centres, and the example of Sá da Bandeira (Lubango) where the Spiritans had long had 'the parish for the European and the mission for the blacks', was finally followed in Huambo from 1942.[93]

Statistical data, however questionable, can help to measure the impact of colonial policies and tell something about different groups' social visibility. This is the case with the rather different percentages of Protestants for Angola as a whole and for Huambo district, *concelho* and city, or the percentage of 'civilized blacks' among Catholics and Protestants. In 1940, the Huambo District included three *Concelhos* (Huambo, Bailundo and Caála) with the *Concelho do Huambo* subdivided into four *Postos*: Vila Nova, Sambo, Quipeio and *Posto Sede* - the latter being our focus. Subsequent administrative changes did not much affect *Posto Sede* which included the city and the area within a nine kilometre radius where people came to

---

[91] Sutter, 'Huambo', 56-7. See also Keiling, *Quarenta Anos*, 97.

[92] Sutter, 'Huambo', 56. See also Father Keiling's report quoted in Henderson, *The Church*, 88-9.

[93] As explained in the 1944 report to Rome, the first resuming contact after fascist rule. 'Status Missionis. Etats Statistiques et rapports annuels 1941-1948', ACSSp, 3L1.20a, /a2. The premises of the new mission were built on land given by the state (twenty hectares) and the CCFB (16 hectares). Costa, *Cem anos*, 250-3. In 1945 the state gave the mission 38 more hectares. *Voz*, 24 November 1945, 7.

town or its outskirts to work or to trade. From 1940 on, statistical evidence from the state and from Spiritan archives helps to establish the scope and direction of demographic changes, as well as to detect relevant differences inside given groups ('black', 'white', 'civilized').[94] Official censuses confirmed a fast growing urban population in the 1940s (16,288 in 1940, 28,296 in 1950), mainly due to an almost doubling of the black population from 11,627 in 1940 (71.38 percent of the total population) to 22,346 in 1950 (79 percent).[95] Even before the Missionary Statute and the diocese's creation, the importance of Catholicism was visible:

Table 3. Huambo: Religion among 'non civilized' population[96]

Religion among 'non-civilized' 1940	*Posto Sede*		*Concelho*		*Distrito*		Angola	
		%		%		%		%
Catholic	25,313	*69.85*	57,674	*36,34*	168,831	*31.15*	741,145	*20.32*
Protestant	3,590	*9.90*	14,976	*9.43*	73,769	*13.61*	286,182	*7.84*
'Heathen'	7,332	*9.97*	86,051	*54.22*	298,399	*55.05*	2,617,991	*71.79*
Total	36,235	*100*	158,701	*100*	541,980	*100*	3,646,399	*100*

Spiritan annual reports to their headquarters and to Portuguese authorities, detailed as they were, gave only approximate and probably exaggerated numbers about attendance at rural catechism schools. However, baptisms, marriages and confirmations demanded accuracy and registry, for canonical reasons and because, for 'natives', Catholic baptism and marriage certificates substituted for those of the

---

[94] The 1940 Census is apparently much more accurate and certainly more detailed than the 1950 one, with data on legal status, race, sex, age, language, religion, literacy, type of buildings in cities, and even professions and occupations of the 'civilized'. Statistical data assembled in 1933 and published for the first Portuguese Colonial Exhibition as a 'general census' were, as the editors explained, based on inquiries answered by administrative authorities, complemented by District Governors' reports and diverse information. See Alberto de Lemos 'Introduction' in both Census: *Censo Geral*, I, 3-76; *Recenseamento Geral da População II: 1950*, 10-11.

[95] Almost doubling again between 1950 and 1970, the last Census, when the city registered 61,885 inhabitants: 43,795 blacks, 3,382 mixed-race, 14,694 whites and 14 'other'. Direcção Provincial dos Serviços de Estatística, *Informações estatísticas* (Luanda, 1974).

[96] Based on the 1940 Census, IX, 12. Huambo District had 553,669 inhabitants, Huambo *concelho* had 166,702, *Posto Sede* had 42,276 and, inside it, the city 16,288 inhabitants were roughly 10 percent of the *Concelho*. In 1960, in the city and its outskirts more than 80 percent of Blacks were Catholics and less than 14 percent were Protestants. But in all Huambo District, Protestants were 23.5 percent.

civil registry, providing valuable information.[97] Numbers on other sacraments are also useful: first communion (*primeira comunhão*) marked full participation in the church life and confirmation (*crisma*) reinforced it and accounted for perseverance, also allowing the tradition of godmothers and godfathers to develop personal ties across social divisions. As for the catechetical schools, as available data distinguish between 'catechumens', actually being prepared to the first communion, and the less reliable number of catechesis goers, they can help us to assess the growth of the Catholic black population in and around the city, as seen below.

In 1942, the Mission at Kwando controlled 31,295 Catholics (less than Sambo with 33,330 and Bailundo with 46,127), with 163 catechists and 183 'adaptation schools' (attended by 15,000 males and 15,519 females). The 'parish' of Nova Lisboa, itself depending on missionaries, was doing missionary work on the outskirts of the city, listing 30 catechists with their 'adaptation schools' (with 1,440 males and 1,600 females) for a total Catholic population calculated at 9,950. It had 337 adults and 449 children baptized and 156 marriages.[98]

The Holy Cross Mission at Kanye, inaugurated on 14 September 1942, initially covered 140 square kilometres with an estimated population of 28,000, of which 7,800 were Catholics.[99] In the next ten years this number grew to 13,240 and, although keeping almost the same numbers of catechists, baptisms went from 565 (485 children) in 1942 to 715 (451 children) in 1952. Obviously the usual pattern of one Christian village for each catechist was not always followed near town: one catechist could cover several settlements and many Catholics were not under the daily control of their catechist. And although religious affiliation could influence the

[97] 'Rapport quinquenal 1955-1960', 15. II. 3L1.30 b2.
[98] Report 1941-1942. ACSSp, 3L1.20a. For baptism purposes, 'adults' included teenagers. 'Adaptation schools' was the new name for 'rudimentary schools'.
[99] *Missão de Santa Cruz* or *Missão de Nova Lisboa* were official names of the mission.

choice of neighbourhood, many people settled disregarding that.[100] Data for the new *Missão de Nova Lisboa* were first disaggregated in the 1942-44 report, already indicating 1,520 Catholic families. By 1945, the new mission had two schools (226 boys and 28 young girls) while 930 pupils were scattered in the 31 catechetical schools.

In 1946, the visiting Superior came to 'the mission of the blacks of Nova Lisboa', built in the area of CCFB, 'which employs them in great number'.[101] Staffed by Fathers Feltin and Sutter and one 'native priest' (*'père indigène'*, without his name given) plus two black teachers, the mission was responsible for the evangelization of 35 villages around the city, 'which can not be visited with results except at night, after workers come back from town'. Regular contact was needed to support the Christians 'coming from our missions almost everywhere' and also to convert the heathen 'so numerous and from all races' (i.e. ethnic groups) and 'even those who are only passing through on their way to the contract work'. Prospects of a great Protestant mission in the city made it urgent to support this mission, and 'it would be absolutely necessary to have the Sisters working with the girls, as well as some means to attract and divert the blacks from dangerous town amusements'. Football and other sports were used whenever possible to divert people from the material and spiritual dangers of alcohol abuse and the 'lascivious' and 'sinful' local dances.[102]

The 1950 report claimed that the mission had more than 10,000 Christians and praised Father Sutter for organizing it for urban natives, noting that Angola was well

---

[100] All my interviewees mentioned one or more Protestant families scattered among Catholics. But Santos also referred to Catholics and Protestants divided by a small stream, in his Fátima neighbourhood in the 1950s, which did not prevent socializing. Interview with Santos, Luanda, 17 May 2010.

[101] For this and other quotes on this paragraph, Report on *Missão de Nova Lisboa* by Father Clemente da Silva. 'Rapports particuliers à chaque mission 1945-1946: 2'. ACSSP, 3L1.28b2.

[102] For a study on leisure, sport, missionaries and social control in a colonial environment not far from Angola, see Phyllis Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville* (Cambridge, 1995).

behind other African colonies in that field.[103] In 1952 it was reported that a new mission church was being built with a lot of material help from some whites but also 'from the natives which, being numerous and having money, are much interested in having that beautiful church'.[104] Those 'natives' were said to work mostly for the 'very wealthy' CCFB which provided the mission with land, electricity and water, for free.[105] Despite complaining about the 'language and race' mixture due to workers coming from different regions, Father Pereira was happy about '4,000 Christians each Sunday at the three masses, a great use of sacraments and the pleasure listening to God's word'. A black priest spent four or five days a week visiting 'the many and well populated' villages and schools around Huambo, coming back on Friday to help in the mission.[106]

The development of Kanye cannot be detached from urbanization and its consequences, but it was also influenced by its position at the Diocese's centre, close to the Bishop and with frequent visitors from other dioceses and from abroad. Among the black population in and around town, Catholics grew from 7,800 in 1942 to 13,240 in 1952 and 19,000 in 1959, when they represented already more than half of the total black population. In 1959 there were 4,000 Catholic families and it is impossible to tell which part of this growth was due to Catholic immigrants and which resulted from local conversion. But the latter is well visible through the baptism of adults: 80 in 1942, 264 in 1952, and 863 in 1959. Annual baptism of

[103] 'Rapport de la Visite du P. Estermann en 1950 / Nova Lisboa', February 1950. 3L1.28b3, 2/.

[104] 'Rapport de la Visite du P. Clemente Pereira', February 1952. 3L1.28b4 /2. Spiritan missions in the Ovimbundu area had introduced 'a kind of tithe' and as the many faithful 'gave willingly', it was 'an important help for the missions' work', so much that Father Estermann reminded priests of their poverty vows. 'Rapport de la Visite du P. Estermann en 1950 / Nova Lisboa', February 1950. 3L1.28b3, 2/.

[105] In fact the bulk of the Catholic men and women who contributed to the Church lived on agriculture, petty trade, domestic services and other non-skilled services in town. See Chapter 4.

[106] 'Rapport de la Visite du P. Clemente Pereira', February 1952. 3L1.28b4 /2. The repeated use of 'native priest' instead of the priest's name is significant. See below.

children amounted to around 450 but this does not reveal birth rates, as it would be the case in established Catholic communities: children's baptism depended on their parents' previous Catholic marriage, often delayed for many reasons, even for couples with several children. Marriages at the church went from 97 in 1942 to 166 in 1952 and 188 in 1959 and, together with children's baptisms, they give further evidence that Huambo was not a concentration of single male immigrants. In fact the male-female ratio was balanced among 'natives', in contrast with a predominantly male 'civilized' (massively white) population.

Catholic growth around Kanye accelerated in the 1950s: from 1950 to 1959 catechists went from 37 to 84, catechumens from 184 (95 female) to 528 (228 female), catechetical schools from 4,250 attendants (2,500 female) to 19,000 (13,000 female).[107] Baptisms went from 802 (604 children) to 1,293 (430 children) showing a steady movement of conversions, also visible in the first communions: 344 in 1950 and 800 in 1959. Education statistics now made a clearer distinction between catechetical schools and 'adaptation schools' and while in 1950 only two of these were registered (160 boys and forty girls), in 1959 they were eight (647 boys and 135 girls), plus two workshops for vocational training (18 boys and thirty girls) supported by two boarding schools (18 boys and sixty girls).[108] In 1953, five Sisters from the Spanish-based Company of Saint Teresa of Jesus, together with one certificated 'native' teacher, taught girls and little children at a primary school, with a total of 463

[107] Superiority of female attendance was recognizable in all reports. A comparison between Kanye and the overall Diocese in 1950 shows, as expected, a greater concentration of Catholics around the city: 60 percent of the calculated population against only 37 percent in all the Diocese.
[108] 'Ano 1959 - Relatório das Missões Católicas da diocese de Nova Lisboa', ACSSP, 3L1.30b, I.

pupils.[109] Teresians came to Kanye in 1952 and were considered essential in the 'teaching and domestic training of 'native' girls and women'.[110]

Female orders were not covered by this research but a few comments are due about their role in cultural change and also in social engineering through marriage choices for 'the nuns' girls'.[111] Since the old days in Caconda, when their pupils helped to form and spread Christian villages on the plateau as part of the missionary strategy, the influence of the Sisters of Saint-Joseph de Cluny grew up steadily in what became the Diocese of Nova Lisboa.[112] Catholic women's education most of the time was centred on making good Christians and good wives, teaching new ways of childcare, 'modern' domestic organization, sewing, as well as working in the fields.[113] Nuns' activity as nurses and teachers created a 'women's world' that, although subordinated to priests, enjoyed some autonomy.[114] In late 1950s a kind of revolution was occurring in the new training schools to staff the 'native' education system, entrusted to male and female Catholic orders.[115] It allowed women to get secondary education and earn money in a permanent job. Fostered by missionaries, marriages

---

[109] 'Nova Lisboa. Compte rendu annuelle 1953', ACSSp, 3L1.20b, 2.

[110] Established since 1949 at Bela Vista mission, Teresians were also in charge of the first '*Escola de Habilitação de Professores de Posto*' (teachers training) for girls in 1958. Costa, *Cem anos*, 252, 259.

[111] In *Catholic Women*, Martin made good use of oral interviews and the archives of Saint Joseph of Cluny Sisters.

[112] See Alves da Cunha, 'Para a história das primeiras vocações religiosas femininas em Angola', *Boletim Eclesiástico,* III, 16 (July-August 1943), 174-5; Maria C. L. da Silva, *As Missões Católicas Femininas* (Lisbon, 1960).

[113] The tasks of the Saint Joseph of Cluny Sisters working close to Spiritans included the '*obra das noivas*' (working with fiancées) especially designed to prepare girls for marriage and domestic chores. 'Rapport quinquennal 1940-1945', ACSSp 3L1.20a /a2. Cf. Martin, *Catholic Women*, 79, 83.

[114] Cf. Heywood on early Congregational action and 'womanhood' reconstruction: 'Ovimbundu women'. Her otherwise interesting approach suggested the exceptionality of that experience without any comparison with other contemporary Protestants or Catholics.

[115] In 1950 (*Portaria* 7,079) the *Escola de Preparação de Professores Indígenas,* later '*Escola Teófilo Duarte*', was created at Kwima (Cuíma) as an inter-diocesan 'native teachers' training school entrusted to the Spiritans. Costa, *Cem Anos*, 264-70. Until Angola's independence more than one thousand teachers were trained at this and similar schools, some run by the state. Eduardo Muaca, *Breve História da Evangelização de Angola* (Lisbon 1991), 65.

between students from those schools became common in the 1960s, a teacher couple meaning faster progression in the social ladder.

The Catholic occupation of Huambo was first due to catechetical schools operating similarly to those in rural areas but the foundation of Kanye resulted in a distinctive urban mission. The popularity of Catholicism reflected the fact that the more people became Catholic the more Catholicism was the main religion on offer in town. Photographs documented great moments of social and religious celebration, with the presence of the Bishop. Christmas, Easter, Corpus Christi and other occasions saw massive gatherings and processions, but other forms of devotion were also generalized, namely those concerning some saints and the Virgin Mary.[116] As Gray and others have suggested, Marian devotion could benefit from local traditions of queen-mothers and other high-ranking women and it was boosted by the fact that even non-baptized could share recitation of the rosary and other popular practices. Furthermore, it provided a distinctive symbol in the rivalry with Protestants.[117]

The mission quickly developed as a space of socialization to where people converged on Sundays and for special celebrations, when its surroundings were full of women and men who enjoyed the occasion to share news, to meet relatives and friends and to make new ones. 'Going to Mass' and spending Sunday in related activities, from confession to meetings of devotional groups, was to enjoy conviviality in a space where 'natives' were the absolute majority and did not feel displaced or intimidated. The spontaneous development of a market nearby, mainly

[116] Thousands of photos are at the Spiritan archives, mostly as part of annual reports. For crowds at Kanye, for instance, ACSSp 3L1.29 a (1948-1949), 3L1.30 a2 (1958), 3L1.30 b (1959 and 1960), the latter showing people camped outside the new church. Brother Agostinho, the Bishop's photographer and driver, registered also his public appearances at official receptions, football matches and inaugural blessings of industrial premises.

[117] Richard Gray, 'Christianity', in A. D. Roberts (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Africa, vol. 7: From 1905 to 1940*, (Cambridge, 1986), 168. Martin, *Catholic Women*, 59-66 and *passim*.

for peasant and artisans' products, spoke to the importance of the gathering and in turn attracted more people into the orbit of the church.

In later years, both before and after Angola's independence, I often heard the claim 'the Mission was our church!' testifying a sense of possessing and belonging that was not felt by most black people when they went to parish churches.[118] The Bishop's reports confirmed these worlds apart inside the supposedly united Catholic Church, exposing how much the colonial situation shaped Christianity's evolution in Africa. In Huambo's history, the parish-mission divide reinforced 'racial' segregation in the development of urban communities but it also created a public space where self-esteem was possible for people otherwise seen and treated as inferior.

The forging of an elite and the difficult emergence of an African clergy

Seminarians and priests have to be included in any study of upward social mobility in central Angola, a process which after the 1940s had its epicentre in the city of Huambo.[119] Christian 'modern' elites were also being educated in rural environments as exemplified by the main Congregational centre at Ndondi or the Catholic Teachers School at Kwima, but even for them the city's attraction was undeniable.[120] Before the end of the Native Statute in 1961, seminaries were the only full post-primary education centres for 'natives' otherwise excluded from enrolment or examination in state secondary schools.

---

[118] Even families living nearer parish churches preferred Kanye. Interviews with Capumba, Luanda, 20 January 2006, and Santos, Luanda, 17 May 2010.

[119] For this section I benefited from many conversations throughout many years. I specially thank Father Bongo, once the Superior of the Angolan Spiritans, for our meeting in Luanda on 16 June 2005.

[120] See Péclard, 'État colonial', 199-251; also Péclard, '"Eu sou americano": Dynamiques du champ missionnaire dans le *planalto central* angolais au XXème siècle', *Lusotopie* (1998), 373-4. A male nurse from the Congregationalist Bunjei mission bought a house in Huambo for his four children (including a girl) to go and study there: Interview with Muteka, Luanda, 16 February 1991.

Immediately after the creation of the Diocese of Nova Lisboa, its bishop, supported by the local press, was lobbying for a seminary which would reflect the new importance of the town, as well as allowing better control of the seminarians' education and adding splendour to the cathedral's Mass.[121] In 1947 the new Christ the King Seminary, under Spiritan direction until 1970, became part of the city's physical and social landscape, strengthening the intellectual and spiritual role of the Episcopal See in a developing political, economic and administrative centre.[122] The space allocated by the authorities for the church, the bishop's residence and the seminary was near the city's civic centre and from then on, no matter how secluded seminarians would be, the local Catholic elite was educated in an urban environment, although the great majority of the candidates came from and would return to rural areas.

This rural and Bantu-speaking (not always Umbundu) cultural background of the great majority of black priests and seminarians in Huambo, as well as the blurred urban-rural divide in the city surroundings, counterbalanced their essentially European 'elitist' education, facilitating their role in bridging gaps between 'rural' and 'urban', 'traditional' and 'modern', 'civilized' and 'native' people.[123] Like other missionaries, Spiritans identified towns with greater spiritual threats, so the option for the city was even more interesting, although in the 1940s they could hardly foresee its later development. This involuntary and partially unwelcome exposure to urban aspects of European life and culture resulted in mixed feelings of admiration

---

[121] Costa *Cem Anos*, 256. For Spiritans' preference for an 'impressive' Roman liturgy, Koren, *Spiritans*, 490. For the local newspaper: *Voz,* 24 October 1942, 6 and 30 October 1943.

[122] For the seminary, an area of 40,000 square meters was given by the government. 'Rapport 1946-1947'.

[123] Some in the church hierarchy feared the Seminary was 'Europeanizing' seminarians too much and 'yielding too much to their ideas and demands'. Father Clemente Pereira's visit report (15 February 1952), ACSSp 3L1.28b4. Cf. the opinion among some 'civilized' black Angolans that seminaries far from Luanda were full of 'sons of *sobas* and catechists' with no fine 'manners': Cardeal Alexandre do Nascimento, *Minhas Origens e Aprendizagens: Autobiografia* (Luanda, 2006), 47. For his seminary experience with Spiritans in the 1940s, *idem*, 45-63, 75-86.

and criticism among the seminarians, also giving them a greater awareness of racial discrimination and social exclusion.

Christianization always meant deep cultural changes at individual and community levels, especially in the proselytising years when local cultures were seen as more of a liability than an asset. Despite the aims of missionary organizations, the strategies of their Angolan flocks often pointed to other directions and both Catholic and Protestant Umbundu elites tended to identify 'urbanization' with 'modernization' and a 'modern' advanced education with better living standards and social status. Nonetheless, after the first decades when Catholic and Protestant missionaries alike developed rural-centred activity, their diverging policies towards growing urbanization and their different treatment by the colonial state had consequences for the African elites they fostered. Those educated in the Catholic seminary at Huambo were longer and more deeply exposed to Portuguese influence.

Spiritan policy in Africa aimed at producing local clergy from the very beginning but initial results were poor: 34 priests between 1844 and 1924 in the entire continent. Reasons included the 'almost insuperable handicap of clerical celibacy' and 'the powerful attraction of a lucrative job for ex-seminarians who were then among the very few natives with a higher education'.[124] By the late 1930s, numbers were increasing and Spiritans' statistics for Africa mentioned 290 native priests in 1956 trained in 33 seminaries; in 1960 there were more than 330 African priests and nearly 300 seminarians preparing themselves for ordination.

In Angola, Spiritans were in charge of the diocesan seminary transferred from Luanda to their Huíla mission between 1882 and 1907.[125] The first black Angolan

---

[124] Koren, *Spiritans*, 498. For their initial poor results in southern Angola, Spiritans blamed the background of their students: 'pagan, perverse and immoral' for blacks (many ex-slaves), 'dissolute' for the mixed-race (mostly 'illegitimate') and opportunist for the whites who just wanted education for free. Father Antunes to the Bishop, 10 July 1892, *Spiritana*, IV, 139-43. A 1896 seminarians' photo showed 13 blacks and 19 whites and *mestiços*.

[125] António Brásio, *A Missão e o Seminário da Huíla* (Lisbon, 1940). Samuels, *Education*,

Spiritan (and the only one until the 1960s) was Luís Barros da Silva. Born of Christian parents in Bié, Silva studied in Huíla and Luanda and was ordained in 1895 after completing his studies in Portugal where he entered the congregation in 1897, returning to Huíla to work and teach philosophy until his death in 1931.[126] The first seminary in the Huambo region opened at Sambo (1921) and moved to Ngalange (1922) from where the Senior Seminary moved successively to Nganda (1932) and Cipeyo (1935) while a Junior Seminary developed at Kahala which also received the Senior Seminary between 1937-1947.[127] In 1934, António Abel Mayambi de Pinho, from the Kubango mission, was the first ordained priest of the future Diocese - and the only one until the 1940s.[128]

The Seminary at Huambo reflected the church-state cooperation after the Concordat, but increasing numbers of seminarians were mostly a consequence of the political and socio-economic environment.[129] As Bishop André Muaca later wrote: 'the native who wanted to study further had to go to the seminary or to play football', since 'all colonial governments were always afraid of the natives' intellectual advancement' fearing that 'leaders would emerge and cause trouble' and Portugal 'for a long time had this fear in the extreme.' The three-year 'rudimentary' education officially entrusted to the Catholic missions only gave access to the official primary

---

104-10 and 176 (Appendix with students' list 1889-1911).

[126] All other so-called 'native priests' trained in the Nova Lisboa diocese until 1960 did not belong to any congregation. António Brásio 'Le Père Louis Barros da Silva, Spiritain', *Spiritus*, (1961), 242-51. Gilles Pages, 'Le Père Louis Barros da Silva (1868-1931), premier spiritain angolais', *Mémoire Spiritaine* (April 1995), 106-22. Costa, *Cem Anos*, 287.

[127] Costa, *Cem anos*, 242, 253-7.

[128] Photos of this ordination exist in Spiritan archives. In 1950, this 'first native priest of the diocese' was put in charge of the new Pucusso mission. 'Rapport 1950', ACSSp 3L1.20b4. In 1944, the Diocese's ten parishes and 33 missions were served by eighty priests (69 Spiritans and eleven secular, of whom three were black), 148 sisters, eight European auxiliaries and 47 'native auxiliaries'. Two new 'native priests' were ordained and seven 'native sisters' entered the S. Joseph of Cluny order in Caconda. *A Diocese,* 7.

[129] Between 1934 and 1967, 81 African priests were trained in the Huambo Seminary. Costa, *Cem Anos*, 253-7.

school and the few 'natives' completing the latter would not be admitted to a secondary one anyway.[130]

Seminaries as providers of academic advancement to children from poor families were a common option in parts of rural Europe. In Angola, where both deprivation and the Native Statute prevented access to secondary schools, the role of the Catholic seminaries in educating an Angolan (male) elite went beyond the small Angolan priesthood. Under the *indigenato* policy, Catholic seminaries were the only way opened to 'natives' to further education, meaning better jobs in both public and private sectors and facilitating 'citizenship'. Despite their efforts and commitment to education, Congregationalists could only get official recognition for the first two years of secondary school with final examinations passed at government schools.[131]

For the Catholic Church, despite complaints about too much investment for only a few ordained priests, that was not a bad deal: ex-seminarians, with few exceptions, were still part of the wider Catholic community, often working for the church as catechists, teachers and clerks. Since seminary courses were given equivalence to those at secondary school, the Catholic church could educate a 'native' elite like no other Christian church could. In 1960, Bishop Junqueira reported that

[130] In 1970, André Eduardo Muaca became the first Angolan bishop, as 'auxiliary of the Luanda archbishop'. Until 1974-5, just before Angola's independence, no other black bishops were appointed. In 1991, he noted: 'More than half of the Angolan bishops and more than half of the diocesan clergy are the result of the Spiritans' work.' See Muaca, *Breve História*, 53, 65.

[131] The Currie Institute at Ndondi had a two-year general course for selected pupils coming from a three or four-year primary course at mission stations' schools and in 1953 it got official permission for teaching those two years of technical secondary school. This mislead some people to mention equivalence to 'high school' (Liceu), but high school education was only available for 'citizens', who could enter government or private high schools elsewhere, for five years more. A 1957 Congregational leaflet, aimed to get financial support from fellow Christians in United States for future Angolan 'potential leaders', announced that Ndondi was 'the only opportunity for secondary education for Africans in the large central area of Angola', totally ignoring Catholic institutions: ABCFM, 'Christian Leaders for Angola', 1957. Henderson, however, acknowledged the higher academic level of Catholic seminaries: *The Church*, 152. No university existed in Angola until 1963.

only 3 percent of entries in the Junior Seminary became priests and complained that seminaries had become 'free education institutions for the blacks.' [132]

The number of priests grew, nonetheless, and Catholic 'native' families had reasons to be pleased with one of their members becoming a priest. Despite the inability to produce descendents, priests' status, influence and eminent spiritual role came with clear material advantages. Priests had only a little money but their material needs were met by the Church and the faithful, including support in illness and old age. Secular priests were given a monthly subsidy for personal needs, not to mention 'alms from their benefactors or from the special Masses they say'. So they were able to help their families in more than one way and it was not unusual for priests' relatives to move to a village nearer their mission.[133]

In a context of white hegemony, black priests' academic formation and developed oratory skills gave them intellectual leverage while the priesthood enhanced their social position in society at large. As consecrated priests of a religion seen as European and ruled by Europeans, they had appropriated part of their rulers' power, even when submitting themselves to colonial authorities and being discriminated against. They were conscious of (and seen as) belonging to a world religion centred in Rome whose chief was 'above' all colonial powers. However, defiance of colonial rule would receive no support from the Portuguese church leadership entangled in the imperial Portuguese project.[134] In 1957, the Spiritan

[132] 'Rapport 1955-1960', ACSSp II. 3L1.30 b2. There were many ex-seminarians among high-ranking post-independence military staff and civil servants. In 1997, ministers, generals, lawyers and university teachers were among alumni celebrating the fifthieth anniversary of Christ the King Seminary in Huambo.
[133] 'Rapport 1955-1960', 28-31. On his 1958 application for 'citizenship', Lucas Capitango, 19 years old, claimed that he lived at the expenses of his brother Father Caeso at the Kanye Mission where he did his 'elementary' 3rd year. 'Autos de averiguações administrativas para concessão de alvará de cidadania. Huambo 1959'. ANA, *Avulsos*, *Pastas*.
[134] As evident in the new *Portugal em África* (1944 onwards) and at the major colonial exhibitions. See Luis Sánchez-Gómez, 'Imperial faith and Catholic missions in the grand exhibitions of the *Estado Novo*', *Análise Social,* 44 (2009), 671-92. A few attempts at radical missionary change in the 1960s ended in removals from Angola, including the

Superior was aware of change among seminarians: 'As everywhere in Africa…our blacks have also entered the general movement of emancipation. In this District this is a fact mainly among the seminarians and the 'mbundu' [Ovimbundu] population. We must be prepared for such an evolution'.[135] But Bishop Junqueira was adamant:

> I continuously insist on priests not to involve themselves in politics. Some of them disobeyed me at the last elections by taking sides against the current political situation. I strongly censured them for that. Given the current situation in Africa, it would be difficult for the native priests not to be tempted to get involved in politics favouring the separatist movement but for the time being I do not know any cases. At all times I warn them of the danger of these political interventions.[136]

Advice to avoid politics was not exclusive of the Catholic Church, but its privileged position under the Missionary Statute and its open allegiance to the regime were unparalleled. The impact of that difference in Protestant and Catholic elites in central Angola has been acknowledged, sometimes so far as to claim much greater anticolonial or 'nationalist' predisposition among the former. In fact, it was not necessarily the case, not only because proximity often results in more not less antagonism, but mainly because Christian churches' policies were not the main factor in anticolonial feelings and 'national awareness'. The 'Protestant missionary-centred' and the 'Catholic Portuguese-centred' narratives oddly converged in that picture of disaffected Protestants and loyal Catholics.[137]

The Ovimbundu frame of the Congregationalists' work and their emphasis on an Umbundu church could be contrasted with the Catholic network cutting across

---

principal of Huambo's seminary in 1968. See Henderson, *The Church*, 308-10; Waldo García, 'The two churches of Angola', *Africasia*, 57 (January 1972). García was one of the expelled priests.

[135] Father Belo (28 February 1957), 'Visites Annuelles (1952-1958)', ACSSp, 3L1.20b2.

[136] 'Rapport 1955-1960', 25. This was before the 1961 uprisings in Luanda and northern Angola, but there were already several dozens of people in prison accused of 'separatism'. The elections mentioned were the 1958 Portuguese presidential ones. Apparently, the Pope explicitly forbade seminarians' intervention in political activities: Nascimento, *Minhas Origens*, 85.

[137] See Péclard, 'Religion and politics in Angola: The church, the colonial state and the emergence of Angolan nationalism, 1940-1961', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 28 (1998), 160-86.

administrative, ethno-linguistic and statutory frontiers, suggesting that Catholics had much better chances than Protestants of developing an Angolan-wide identity. But this fails to acknowledge that Ovimbundu Protestants' experience, as workers or otherwise, all over Angola and beyond, had also consequences in their Angolan 'national awareness' and affected the Congregational church itself.[138]

Those questions have been discussed by authors like Heywood and Péclard, but here the focus turns to the Catholic male elite which were propelled from the Senior Seminary at Huambo to the wider society. Belonging to the 'civilized' population and taught as 'Portuguese', black priests were nonetheless in close contact with 'natives', rural and urban, and as a 'native clergy' they were conscious of representing them in the wider church. No matter what their origin they could be sent anywhere in Angola, a kind of pilgrimage similar to that of civil servants or male nurses, which helped to develop a 'national' perception of an otherwise fragmented reality.[139] At the same time, restrictions upon working in 'white' parishes were proof of the non-integration of Catholics as a sole body and of the condoning of colonial racial segregation. Moreover, blacks were conspicuously absent among Catholic bishops until the end of colonialism.[140] In 1948, Archbishop Alves de Pinho, influenced by a visit to Rome in 1947, sent the first two black seminarians from Angola to the

[138] When the CIEAC (*Conselho das Igrejas Evangélicas de Angola Central*) constitution was adopted in 1956 at Ndondi, the former Umbundu Church Council and Mission Council ceased to exist. The formula 'Council of Evangelical Churches in Central Angola' (here meaning from the coast to the eastern frontier) and the adoption of Portuguese as its 'official language' marked the end of a pan-Umbundu church. See Henderson, *The Church*, 195-99.
[139] The obvious reference is 'administrative pilgrimage' in Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1993), 47-66.
[140] Cf. photos of the Angolan episcopate in 1972 and 1977 in Gabriel, *Angola*, 554-5 and 560-1. Racial distinction operated also at subconscious level: Spiritan annual reports for our period always referred to white priests by name while black priests were simply 'native priests', usually unnamed. For a Portuguese Spiritan history of the 'native clergy', see A. Brásio, 'A promoção sacerdotal do Africano', *Portugal em África*, XIX (1962), 12-22.

Gregorian University in Rome, and in the next year he convinced the Governor-General to subsidize their studies there.[141]

In contradiction of church propaganda, newly ordained black priests were unwelcome in 'white' parishes except for the grandeur of church ceremonies. Yet, even an emphatic pro-Portuguese publication occasionally sent a different message: an article reproduced from the review of the Luanda-based *Liga Nacional Africana* praised 'Dom José Kiwanuka, black Bishop of Uganda'.[142] A later issue devoted an entire page to 'a Catholic University for Blacks in America' where 'many blacks show an intellectual aptitude superior to the whites' average level' confirming 'the church principles of the equality of all men'. Thousands of black American doctors, writers, lawyers, nurses and musicians, the article continued, were living proof of 'the evolution' of slave-descended blacks (an implicit contrast with 'Portuguese Angola').[143]

In a colony with no university and very few high schools, and where European settlers themselves had a high rate of illiteracy, successful Senior Seminary students were meant to be part of the intellectual elite at large and not only its African segment.[144] An education based on European languages and classical studies, stronger in rhetoric and the humanities at large, favoured ex-seminarians in white-collar jobs. Despite 'portugalization' being promoted in all Catholic institutions and

[141] Nascimento, *Minhas Origens*, 89-91. Returning home after successfully completing their higher education, both priests were persecuted by the Salazar's regime: Alexandre do Nascimento was detained and forced to live in Portugal between 1961 and 1971, together with several other Angolan priests. Just before independence he was made bishop and became the first Angolan cardinal in 1983. Joaquim Pinto de Andrade went to prison in June 1960, was sent to Portugal and spent the next decade going in and out of prison. While in prison, he was chosen as president of honour of the MPLA by its exiled leadership. He eventually became a layman and was involved in post-independence politics.
[142] *Traço,* September 1944, 4.
[143] *Traço*, December 1944, 8.
[144] They were taught in Portuguese, being allowed to speak vernacular languages only in their leisure time, in certain days, 'in order not to forget them'. *Seminário Maior de Cristo Rei de Nova Lisboa* (1948), ACSSP-Lisbon. This policy did hindered the development of a cultivated Umbundu, as existing among Protestant elites, but it also facilitated further access to white-collar jobs.

through several publications, Spiritans were not a Portuguese enterprise and their students were aware of 'assimilating' a wider Latin European culture rather than a narrow Portuguese one.[145]

Spiritans' investment in teaching an intellectual elite, the willingness of many to absorb that education and social recognition for the results can be illustrated by the story of Tiago Benedito Samutaca who died young in 1941 and got an almost hagiographic article in *Voz do Planalto* praising his exceptional qualities of intelligence and character, as well as the 'outstanding formation' he got from 'dedicated teachers' in the Seminary. Tiago, a relative of a chief involved in the 1902 war, had been taken at six years old from his village to the Mission of Kwando where he attended school and worked in the fields and in the typography and binding workshop. Soon he stood above his schoolmates and was sent to the Galangue seminary in 1927, got his first habit in 1933 and entered the Philosophy course in the Ganda seminary. He went back to Galangue to teach mathematics before beginning his theological studies at the Caála seminary where he was a 'frequent and diligent reader of Saint Thomas de Aquino' and wrote a few texts for a Spiritan review in Portugal. He was about to become a priest when a serious illness killed him after three years at the Luanda hospital.[146]

If the intellectual education provided by seminaries was worthy of praise, methods of enforcing discipline were often brutal and could be similar to the colonial administration practices, adding a racial dimension to the old problem of corporal punishment well known in European schools and in missions elsewhere.[147]

[145] See Nascimento, *Minhas Origens*, 56, 58, 75, *passim*. Both Bishop Junqueira and Archbishop Pinho, although Portuguese, had been educated in different European countries. See Manuel Nunes Gabriel, *D. Moisés Alves de Pinho e os Bispos de Congo e Angola* (Portalegre, 1980). For Junqueira, also Costa, *Cem Anos*, 222-3.
[146] *Voz*, 26 June 1943, 6.
[147] See Koren, *Spiritans*, 481. In Huambo, missionaries were divided about discipline enforcement through corporal punition. 'Rapports quinquennaux 1950-1955', ACSSp 3L1.20b1.

Discipline was something African families and children would expect from any initiation which demanded seclusion from society, but some aspects could be physically and psychologically too difficult to cope with. Obedience was paramount and submission of body, mind and soul was considered indispensable for the new Christian man to come out and the future priest to enter the church hierarchy: strict timetable, hygiene prescriptions (including cold baths in chilly early mornings), physical work, daily devotions, corporal punishments, saints presented as role models, avoidance of women, demonising of other faiths, were all part of the process. Repressive education and emphasis on obedience to those in power made it harder to individuals to contest or subvert the established order, religious or political.[148]

Those who succeeded shared a sense of pride, minimising the harsh moments to praise the advantages of an education which made them a small but recognizable elite. As an otherwise disapproving Angolan Catholic explained, they thought it was 'a reasonable price' for the benefits of a secondary school education and 'cultural privileges such as theatre, movies, and musical programmes in which students were both participants and spectators, an athletic program, trips around Angola and the camaraderie with fellow students.'[149] As this and other testimonies highlight, from their experience emerged an Angolan network of priests and ex-seminarians whose influence deserves further research.

Judging from Bishop Junqueira's reports, the greatest problems happened after young priests left the protected ambiance of the seminary, ill-prepared for 'temptation' in a social and cultural environment challenging celibacy and tolerant

---

[148] Research on (or memoirs from) the Angolans' experience in seminaries and boarding schools are still lacking. Cardinal Nascimento's memoirs are obviously limited by his present function. For an earlier period and a different Angolan region, see the failed Spiritan experience at Soyo: Jelmer Vos, 'Child slaves and freemen at the Spiritan Mission in Soyo, 1880-1885', *Journal of Family History*, 1 (2010), 71–90.
[149] Henderson, *The Church*, 156 and 182-3, based on unpublished manuscript of an Angolan Catholic, António Kambala.

towards alcohol abuse.[150] In 1950, there were fifteen 'native priests of black or mixed-race' in the Nova Lisboa Diocese and the annual report insisted that no distinction was made between them and the white clergy: they shared the same table (an egalitarian practice questioned by some) and received monthly financial help. They were secular priests but, except for two in charge of new missions, lived in Spiritan communities or in seminaries as teachers.[151] In 1955, twelve new names were among the 'Portuguese priests of the secular African clergy' (note the language shift) who had four missions 'entirely entrusted' to them. This masked racial segregation in the church: despite 'no distinction being made between white and black priests', Bishop Junqueira recognized that he kept black priests away from parishes because Europeans refused 'to receive their ministry'. Junqueira's rationale for having 'the church for the Europeans and the church for the natives' ignored the whites' dispersion and stated that 'Europeans live together and the natives live in neighbourhoods (*bairros*) in the towns' outskirts', adding that the natives' poor knowledge of Portuguese was another reason for separation.[152] In 1960, the Bishop insisted 'no distinction' existed and the black clergy worked at missions and noviciates and taught at schools and seminaries, except that Europeans 'did not accept easily the ministry of native priests' and only 'out of absolute necessity' had he put a *mestiço* at the head of 'a parish of whites'.[153]

Although priests are the dominant elite in the Catholic church, something must be said about female orders. Women whose social role and spiritual obligations would not allow them to bear children were exceptional but not unheard-of in Umbundu culture. Some female title-holders at the important *olosoma* courts, being

[150] 'Rapport 1950-1955' and 'Rapport 1955-1960'. But these problems, as some missionaries also noted, were not specific to the 'native clergy' or the African seminarians.
[151] Bishop Junqueira, July 1950. 'Rapports 1945-1950'.
[152] Bishop Junqueira, April 1955. 'Rapports 1950-1955'.
[153] Bishop Junqueira, 'Rapport 1960', 29-30. ACSSp II. 3L1.30 b2. Note that by the late nineteenth century black and mixed-race priests were working normally among white settlers in Luanda and elsewhere. See Samuels, *Education*, 92.

'spirit possessed', were not supposed to bear children.[154] After the initial period of Christianization when ex-slaves and 'outcast' girls were the obvious novices, Catholic families began to accept such exceptional destiny for their daughters. The loss of progeny was compensated by the gain of spiritual power and some advantages from their integration in a religious organization seen as powerful.[155] By 1940, obstacles to 'Africanization' were less due to difficulty in getting novices than to racial prejudice, even if some female orders showed a better record than others. In 1950, the 47 'native sisters' all belonged to the Saint-Joseph of Cluny order, which on the eve of Angola's independence had 72 'African sisters' (note the language shift) in a total of 173. However, black sisters populated the lower ranks (*Irmãzinhas* and *Irmãs*) and were rare at middle and high positions (*Madres*).[156]

In his synthesis of Christianity in Africa, Gray stressed that 'missionaries and the educated elite did not constitute the major component of Christianity in Africa' and the elite were 'preoccupied with an essentially alien mode of living, organisation, standards, discipline and thought'.[157] Certainly the mass of Christians is not represented by their elites' aspirations and behaviour, but in some cases (like Huambo) the 'alien mode of living' became embedded in the lives of much larger groups. Moreover, contrast between elites and their fellow Christians should not be exaggerated in those days, at least in areas where African pastors, catechists, priests, teachers and seminarians were still far from sharing the social status of their

---

[154] Such as Siya (possessed by Kandundu), Kwanza (possessed by the hunting spirit, Huvi) and Cipuku Covita (possessed by Cipuku). In Mbalundu, according to Hastings, the Inakulu (the queen) 'is made sterile as soon as she is selected'. Hastings, *Ovimbundu,* 67-68, 51. Siya is usually referred to as the second wife (after Inakulu). Benedito Kalundungu, a respected herbalist from Mbalundu, claimed she was chosen and offered by the people to the king: 'Rei Cingi I do Ombalundu, herói anónimo da resistência angolana contra a ocupação colonial', *I Simpósio Sobre Cultura Nacional* (Luanda 1984) (typewritten).

[155] In mid-1930s, the Saint Joseph of Cluny order had 47 Europeans and 17 'native aggregated sisters working in auxiliary services and being trained locally'. Other female orders were entirely European. Cunha, *Missões*, 19-20.

[156] Respectively 'Little Sisters', 'Sisters' and 'Mothers'. My personal observation in the 1960s. For the numbers: 'Rapports 1945-1950'. See also Gabriel, *Angola*, 382-3 and 452.

[157] Gray 'Christianity', 190.

colonisers and where economic growth had not yet created sharp rural-urban divisions.

Faith, social control and cultural change.

The importance of Christianization for broader social and cultural change in colonial Africa has become a major subject in anthropology and history and it has also been acknowledged for Angola.[158] Here, however, urban and peri-urban areas have been overlooked and conclusions about 'the Ovimbundu' tended to ignore the diversity of Ovimbundu responses to missionary projects.[159] Christian missions certainly helped the colonial state to maintain control over the colonized, but between those who consider Christianization just another face of colonialism and those who exclude it from any colonial sin, there is room for more nuanced and evidence-based approaches.[160] Discipline and respect for political authorities were promoted, good Christians being expected to be also good subjects of the state. Obedience to ecclesiastical authorities was the rule among both Catholic and Protestant who were supposed to follow their leaders' guidance and, although priests' authority was usually greater, Protestant missionaries and pastors were not less important among their faithful.[161] Circumstances varied greatly but, in societies marked by racial stratification, white missionaries, priests and bishops could not avoid being associated with colonial rule, as Reverend Henderson noted:

---

[158] See, generally, Peel, *Religious Encounter*; Richard Gray, *Black Christians and White Missionaries* (New Haven, 1990) and 'Christianity'; Adrian Hastings, *Africa Christianity: An Essay in Interpretation*, (London and Dublin, 1976). For a much earlier period, Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago, 1991) and *Of Revelation and Revolution. 2: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago and London, 1997).

[159] As Péclard points out, criticising Heywood who, he argues, 'postulates without either questioning or making explicit the existence of an Umbundu identity forged above all inside Protestant missions' assuming that that is 'the' Ovimbundu identity. Péclard, *État colonial*, 245-51 (my translation).

[160] See for instance the editor's 'Introduction' in Norman Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire* (Oxford, 2005), 1-18.

[161] Henderson, *The Church*, 106, on differences in 'ordination' in both churches.

> The mission station was not only the centre of a community that created ecclesiastical ties; it was the summit of a hierarchy. In the colonial situation the white man had power and authority. He lived and operated from the mission station. The missionary might enjoy using this power, or he might have had a distinct distaste for his position; however, it did not depend primarily upon his taste. In the colonial situation he was an authority.[162]

As each mission controlled a network of chapel-schools, each time a new mission was erected a certain number of Christian villages were put under its control, redefining the ecclesiastical map and the lives of people who would have new routes and distances between them and the mission they belonged to. Some missions developed into great centres of production, teaching and training, fostering agriculture and technical innovation around them, but even smaller ones changed the landscape with their buildings and fields and erected marks of victory over 'heathenism', as colonial authorities erected theirs over the territory of defeated *olosoma*.[163] As Martin writes of colonial Congo-Brazzaville:

> Like colonial administrators and ethnographers, missionaries engaged in a reorientation of space, developing their own maps with boundaries of vicariates and symbols for principal Catholic centres. … Around mission property processions paused at statues, crosses, and cemeteries that marked contours of piety and adoration. … In the surrounding countryside, chapels, schools, and crosses contested older social and ritual markers …[164]

In Huambo, several urban and peri-urban neighbourhoods were named or rechristened after Catholic saints, something unthinkable when the city was born but

---

[162] Ibid, 204. Henderson was a Congregational missionary in central Angola between 1948 and 1969.

[163] By the mid-1940s Spiritans' initial great central missions with fields and workshops gave way to smaller missions, nearer their Christian flock which were less enthusiastic about walking dozens of kilometres to see the priest and receive sacraments. 'Rapport 1946-1947'. In 1950, Estermann insisted that multiplication of missionary stations was the best option to avoid a superficial evangelization: 'Rapport de la Visite', 6-7. ACSSp, 3L1.28b3, 2/.

[164] Martin, *Catholic Women,* 56. The French state was never so sympathetic to the Catholic Church and Congo was not a settlers' colony, but similarities are evident nonetheless. See also Terence Ranger on Anglican and Catholic 'new mystical geographies' in Zimbabwe: 'Taking hold of the land: Holy places and pilgrimages in twentieth-century Zimbabwe', *Past & Present*, 117 (1987), 158-94.

widely accepted even before the Diocese was created.[165] Catholic privileges after the Concordat came with more administrative control, including demands of regular information on catechists and other mission workers which in practice put missionaries in the dubious position of 'informers' for the colonial administration. After 1942, each Diocese bishop was responsible for the identification cards mandatory for newly appointed catechists (former cards issued by the administration remained valid). A list was sent by each mission Superior to the Bishop and the local administration, with the catechists' names, place of teaching and ability to speak Portuguese, detailing if they taught only catecheses or also rudimentary education.[166] The Diocese kept a registry of all issued identity documents and had to inform the administrative authority about all Catholic catechists approved by ecclesiastical authorities and all mission students and staff. Annual information was required on boarding pupils, seminarians and daily workers at workshops and in agriculture, communicating changes 'immediately and with total loyalty' - an expression indicating suspicion that tax and labour evaders occasionally got protection from missionaries.[167]

Urbanization of 'natives' was seen more as a problem than a sign of progress by both civil and ecclesiastic authorities. Péclard noted that Protestant missionaries did not want all 'modern' aspects of their own civilization transposed to the African milieu, advocating instead a vision of rural life already ruined by industrialization

---

[165] A 1953 map signaled 'native' *bairros* on the outskirts named *Fátima* and Saints *Bartolomeu, Tereza, Luís, João, Tarcísio* and *Estêvão*. Some, like *São João* and *Fátima*, were repeated in main urban *bairros*, which also included *São Pedro* and *Santo António*. Most of these names are still there. See Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações do Ultramar, 'Levantamento Aerofotogramétrico', Huambo (1953).
[166] *Ensino rudimentar* was the rudimentary education 'natives' should pass before entering primary (*elementar*) level or crafts' schools. The 1941 statute entirely entrusted it to Catholic missions and, in Angola, its content and aims were fully defined by *Portaria* 7,079 (6 February 1950). See *Portugal em África* (1953), 38. In 1956, it was renamed *Ensino de Adaptação* without significant changes. See Henderson, *The Church*, 143-5.
[167] Bishop's Circular 11/E/1942 (2 June 1942), in *Boletim Eclesiástico,* (1942), 65. Also in *Spiritana*, V, 825-6.

and urbanization in Europe and North America.[168] Many Catholic missionaries would subscribe to those ideas and saw urbanization as the epitome of perversion of 'good social values' and 'the simplicity of spirit' of rural people, identifying towns as places of sin and alienation. But instead of the 'stay away' Congregationalists' policy, Spiritans decided to go and fight for the urban souls, creating the Kanye mission.[169]

Urbanization concerns prompted the Diocese to create an 'Educative and Instructive League of Mission Pupils' (*Liga Educativa e Instrutiva dos Alunos das Missões*) aimed at keeping a 'close relation' with those who 'go and earn their living in great industrial centres'.[170] By their motto *Deus e Pátria* ('God and Fatherland') they meant 'to contribute to the expansion of Christ's kingdom and Portuguese sovereignty'. Its monthly review *Traço de União* ('hyphen'), launched in 1944, intended to keep 'African Catholic and catechumens' connected with their church guidance.[171] From 1950 there was also a 'Monthly Review' of the Diocese's Catholic Missions, mostly about religious issues, with articles in Portuguese and summaries in Umbundu.[172]

After 1945, another enemy was added to paganism and Protestantism: communism. Fear of communist 'contamination' of black urban workers and urban poor in the colonies was discussed in 1948 at a great Spiritan meeting in Chevilly (France), influenced by recent strikes in Senegal and Congo-Brazzaville. Recommendations included active anti-communist ideological education and

[168] Péclard, *État colonial*, 150-3 and *passim*.
[169] As late as 1967, Henderson, then the head of Evangelical Alliance of Angola, was still failing to convince his fellow missionaries that main action was now in the urban milieu, not at villages. Henderson, *The Church*, 309.
[170] 'Rapports annuels 1941-1948'. ACSSp, 3L1.20a /a2.
[171] *Traço,* (June 1944), 1. Seventy numbers were published until March 1951. Matters ranged from health and hygiene advice to glorification of Portuguese history, catechists' activities and the odd reference to black people in other countries. 'Presse – journaux (1946-1960)', 2/. ACSSp 3L1.20b5. Loose numbers also in the Biblioteca Nacional (Lisbon).
[172] 'Presse – journaux (1946-1960)'.

organization of missionary-led workers' unions, the latter obviously impossible under the Portuguese political regime.[173]

Catholics could exercise rights and obligations and develop self-confidence in their own organizations but these existed separately for parishes and missions, that is, for 'civilized' and 'natives'. Catechists and former mission pupils had their own organizations and 'native' youth had the Catholic Scouts, but the Catholic Action existed only for the European youth. Devotional groups were by far stronger among 'natives', namely 'Apostleship of Prayer', 'Sons and Daughters of Mary', 'Legion of Mary', 'Association of Christian Mothers' and 'Works of Saint Filomena'.[174]

The colour bar inside Christian churches reflected but also legitimized the colour bar in society at large, given the importance of Catholicism for the Portuguese. A shared religion did not mean racial integration and, although status, class and culture prejudices were as common as racial prejudice, in racially ordered societies every right or privilege (or the lack of it) was seen as racially determined. Unofficial racial segregation in the Catholic Church was evident in the distribution of black and white people attending religious ceremonies in parish churches. Formal segregation did not exist in seminaries and priests' residences where all shared spaces, meals and religious functions but, as noted before, not everyone was happy with that. Among the Protestants, the question of racial inequality seemed also evident to Angolans and far from evident to missionaries.[175]

---

[173] Father Avantino de Sousa, 'O comunismo entre os pretos de Angola', *Portugal em África*, VI (1949), 169-80.

[174] 'Rapport 1945-1950'. 'Rapport 1955-1960', 39.

[175] Coming from a country of stricter racial segregation, American missionaries probably saw their experience in Angola as a non-segregated one. Angolan pastors and evangelists, however, saw racial discrimination in small gestures of 'distance', like never being invited to share meals with missionaries, while non-Congregational white people often were. The existing colour bar in the Congregational church at home led American 'Coloured Congregational churches' to support a specific mission, with 'black' staff, Galangue. See Henderson, *The Church*, 79-80; L. Henderson, *Galangue: The Unique Story of a Mission Station in Angola Proposed, Supported and Staffed by Black Americans* (New York, 1986).

Adaptation to an urban environment is not 'a simple reactive adjustment' with people just responding to social forces 'beyond their control' but a process where they seek ways to give sense and order to their new situation, as Epstein and others long ago demonstrated. In the new environment, occupation had become 'a key criterion in an emerging system of social ranking defined in terms of approximation to 'the European way of life''.[176] In Huambo, familiarity with European food, domestic equipment, workshop tools, bureaucracy or child raising were not worthless. People trained in Christian missions were seen as more familiar with European culture and given preference in jobs involving proximity to Europeans, from administrative auxiliaries to domestic servants.[177] In town, the expansion of Catholic primary schools and workshops produced a pool of male and female workers easily absorbed by the labour market. For all of them, despite status differences, working with Europeans resulted in greater adaptation, appropriation or simple imitation of habits, fashions and social aspirations. Catholics and Christians at large were at the forefront of cultural change no matter how firmly missionaries believed that 'rural' ways were safer for their spiritual life (as translated in their worries about 'modesty', 'respect for hierarchies', 'obedience to the catechist' etc.).

Urban-related 'family problems' were plenty, and catechists were expected to be vigilant about marriage and the engagement period, in order to keep the faithful away from 'pagan' or 'immoral' practices. There is evidence that old habits persisted, despite the growing control of the Church. An article addressed to the catechists in a 1947 Catholic publication is revealing: apart from the importance of forbidding 'the

---

[176] Cf. Epstein discussing Ndola (Zambia) in the 1950s. A.L. Epstein, *Urbanization and Kinship: The Domestic Domain on the Copperbelt of Zambia 1950-1956*, (London 1981), 5, 17. His chapter 'Ndola: The growth of a town' provided an interesting comparison with Huambo despite its main activity being mining and not trading. See also: J.C. Mitchell and A.L. Epstein, 'Occupational prestige and social status among urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia', *Africa*, 1 (1959), 22–39.

[177] Derogatory adjectives like *matumbo* were used as opposite of *esperto* (clever), the latter meaning someone who had learned enough of the European ways to deal more successful with job demands. Many employers would ask for references from the missionaries.

engaged couple' from 'taking certain liberties', one big issue was the 'pagan custom' of the bride working one or two years before the marriage in the fields of the future husband. It was also stressed that a young man should not be allowed to marry before building his house, since some young women refused to go and live with their husbands because they had no house and so there was no proper *uvala* (nuptial celebration).[178] The catechist should also alert the missionaries in case the bridegroom had built a house far from a Christian neighbourhood, a clear sign of trying to escape community control.[179]

Family and gender relations were undoubtedly fields of change and negotiation for townspeople and Christianization played a decisive role, through its imposition of monogamy, reinforcement of the husband/father rights to the detriment of the wife/mother's brothers, and training of women according to European patterns.[180] As women were much less involved in labour migration, many economic activities rested on their shoulders, as well as children's socialization. Their role in promoting or resisting changes brought by colonial rule and Christianity is one area which requires further research.

For our period, statistical data show a balanced sex ratio among blacks (compared to whites) in Huambo, but in the 'white' town areas the presence of black women was far less visible since even street vendors and domestic servants in European households were usually male until the 1950s. Most women came to Huambo following their male relatives or husbands and went on working in full or part-time in agriculture around the town, as they did back home. However, here the

---

[178] As part of complex wedding celebrations, the bride should cook her first meal in her new house. See Hastings, *Ovimbundu*, 97-114; Raul Kavita Evambi, 'The marriage customs of the Ovimbundu', *Africa*, 3 (1938), 342-8; McCulloch, *The Ovimbundu*, 20-24, 33, 45; Francisco Valente, *A Problemática do Matrimónio Tribal* (Lisbon 1985).

[179] 'Aos nossos catequistas' ('To our catechists'), *Traço,* January 1947, 3-4, about factors damaging a good Christian marriage.

[180] Cf. Congregational policy: Péclard, *État Colonial*, 191-5; Heywood, 'Ovimbundu women'.

kinship safety net was absent or geographically too stretched to be of help in everyday life.

Daily domestic chores were not so different from the village: basic European-style furniture (table, chairs, bed) was not rare among townspeople but electricity, water and sanitation were the exception, and cooking fuel was firewood or charcoal. However, many familiar spaces where women enjoyed camaraderie and dealt with family questions were lost once they left their villages: collective activities like pounding the grain on the rocks, or bathing and washing in the river. In their new situation, neighbourhood partially replaced kinship and religious affiliation was often their entry to a community.[181] From the catechetical school to the mission, especially after Kanye's foundation made this more accessible, a friendly environment was provided for Catholics, attracting many who were deprived of their former spaces of conviviality. Probably the fact that men spent more time drinking and socializing with workmates made church gatherings less important to them.

The kind of social engineering practiced by Christian missions, especially choosing suitable husbands and wives, became more difficult in town where occasions for contact were plenty, the numerous Christians harder to control and religious mixed marriages not rare.[182] Protestant and Catholic missionaries alike fought everything considered to be a threat to good Christian households, from initiation ceremonies to traditional dancing, 'immodest' dress or good-luck charms. Polygamy and 'free unions' were identified as major enemies of Christian souls, but in urban and peri-urban areas temporary unions were increasing by the late 1940s:

---

[181] In the 1950s, Edwards observed how the high rate of preferential marriages (mostly between cross-cousins) resulted in cohesion of the neighbourhood community/ies through complex ties of affinity and subsequently kinship within a limited area. Edwards, *Ovimbundu*, 158.

[182] In missions at large, Spiritans had a policy of intervention: Fathers and Sisters tried to control the timing for marriage and the choice of partner, 'allocating' Christian girls to Christian men, deciding how long they stayed in boarding schools, delaying marriages until 'conditions' were fulfilled and even paying dowries on behalf of 'their' young men (in practice assuming the position of headmen and elders). Koren, *Spiritans*, 483-4 and *passim*.

men often left families at home and formed new ones, becoming polygamous; young males engaged in free unions (in Huambo women were not scarce) before going back to marry a woman their relatives considered appropriate; the prolonged absence of husbands led women to engage in new relationships. Youth were escaping control from elders and choosing 'unsuitable' partners, but decay of traditional cross-cousin preferential marriage was also explained by new lifestyles. As rural relatives were not familiar with them, parents welcomed marriage with sons and daughters of friends, schoolmates, workmates and neighbours. In fact this strategy overlapped the emergence of new social strata (cutting across Catholic-Protestant divisions) and in time restored the importance of kinship ties.[183]

The Portuguese state considered polygamy an acceptable 'native' custom and intervened only by collecting additional taxes from polygamous men. In 1948, among much controversy, Catholic lobbying finally got anti-polygamy legislation (without retroactive effects): polygamous men would be excluded from state employment and from settling in urban and peri-urban areas.[184] The law accepted marriage defined by the traditional payment made to women's male relatives and forbade the keeping at home of sexual partners other than the spouse or existing spouses. Legislators explained that 'natives' and 'non-natives' were living in close proximity and with greater interdependency in urban centres, an evolution which made the presence of polygamy 'morally wrong'. It was expected that 'propaganda and zeal of missionaries, civil servants and white settlers' would in time allow the law to be extended to 'all peoples of Angola'.[185]

---

[183] Interviews with Raul David, Luanda, 27 October 1994; Alberto Sehululu, Luanda, 21 March 2001; also Capumba, Luanda, 20 January 2006, and Santos, Luanda, 17 May 2010.
[184] For a defence of Portuguese legislation, see Rego, *Lições*, 118-25.
[185] *Portaria* 6,546 (22 December 1948) in *Portugal em África*, VI (1949), 187-8. Law breakers faced six months to two years of 'correctional work'. Missionary zeal led the article's author to call polygamy 'prostitution' and 'the most efficient factor of unabashed prostitution'. For reactions against the law in Portuguese parliament, see *Spiritana*, 885-6.

Conclusion

In the 1940s, Huambo became the epicentre of a vast African Catholic network including catechists and their wives, school elders, mission employees, teachers, ex-seminarians, seminarians, priests and nuns, amidst a mass of church goers, baptized or not. That was stimulated by the creation of the *Diocese de Nova Lisboa* in the wake of the Concordat and the Missionary Agreement (1940) followed by the Missionary Statute (1941), giving the Catholic Church clear advantages over its Protestant rivals. The religious importance of the city was enhanced by a new seminary and a new mission responding to the fast growing black population.

The economic importance of Huambo's outskirts is relatively well documented but little is known about cultural life of its 'native' population (and black people at large) except for Church-related activities. The majority's living standards were probably not higher than in the rural world already transformed by colonial rule and missions' influence. However, the concentration of people and events, the scale of phenomena and the quicker expansion of anything new coming out, were undeniably characteristics of the urban experience. The Kanye Mission was not like any rural mission and Christians in town had to live their faith according to different realities.

Christian faith came with a new set of beliefs, rites of passage, rules and taboos, as well as new values and mechanisms of social control. The perception of believing in a superior spiritual power was matched by that of partially appropriating the dominant culture of 'the whites' (not necessarily the Portuguese), as expressed in new names, dress styles, house furniture, eating habits, etc., all working as signs of distinction. Social mobility and cultural change reshaped identities both at individual and collective level. Catholic, Congregationalists, Baptists and Adventists liked to emphasize their differences but they all believed in their cultural superiority over

---

Cf. Martin Parr 'Marriage Ordinances for Africans', *Africa*, 17, 1 (Jan. 1947), 1-7, criticizing Christian missions' influence in state laws and ordinances in the British colonies.

non-Christians and would willingly emulate at least some aspects of what was considered an urban/modern/civilized way of life. This African Christian culture, more or less 'westernized', more or less 'Portugalized', also implied, against what most missionaries and settlers alike would wish, new expectations and individual ambitions that could scarcely be fulfilled under colonial rule.

Christianity changed the cultural and social landscape of central Angola and fostered new elites who would sooner or later defy colonial rule. The Catholic Church, protected by the colonial state, promoted submission to an alien political power but also facilitated African Catholics' upward mobility - and could not decide how they would use it. The extent to which Catholics' aspirations and political views were different from their Protestant relatives and fellow countrymen is open to discussion. As Péclard has noted for Congregationalists, Ovimbundu responses to the missionary project were shaped by many other factors. This was probably even truer for the Catholic Ovimbundu, who did not develop the same degree of social cohesion created by a 'minority syndrome' and for all those who, in bigger towns, could elude control over their economic options and social behaviour.

The Catholic paradox can be summarized as follows: while committed to produce compliant Portuguese subjects, the Church was creating a black Angolan elite able to challenge Portuguese rule - as many of them eventually did. Like its Protestant counterparts, the Catholic Church also provided the means by which men and women got a sense of pride, achievement and self-confidence they could hardly get elsewhere in a colonial situation. Mission activities, catechetical schools, devotion and prayer groups all allowed people to develop skills and personal contacts which helped to improve their lives. They were transformed by the mission but they in turn transformed the mission into a space of their own, where they could stay 'in the front' in both physical and psychological terms. For our period of study, the main

factor of cultural reconfiguration was Christianization and in Huambo the Catholic Church had an unparalleled influence in that field.

CHAPTER 5

TOWNSPEOPLE BUT NOT CITIZENS c.1945-1961

In the 1950s, Huambo fully developed its main urban features: a centre of administrative power ruling over the countryside and a constellation of smaller towns; an economic centre based on agriculture and trade, served by several roads and the Benguela Railway; and a major religious centre in a network of Catholic institutions. But it was still far from being, as it became by the end of colonial rule in 1975, Angola's second largest city and second industrial pole after the capital, Luanda. That period, however, is beyond the scope of this study, for the reasons explained in the Introduction. This chapter examines how Huambo was changing after the Second World War, growing well beyond its successive urban plans, stretching along the railway and the main roads and blurring its town limits. The once out-of-town Kanye Mission was by 1960 nearer to downtown than some new areas formally integrated in the city due to the high number of white dwellers. But the city kept its strong rural-urban interface and proletarianization was moderated by the importance of agriculture and petty trade in most workers' households.

Huambo was a magnet for many people, due to job opportunities and the possibility of escaping control from both state agents and village elders in the countryside. The *Posto Sede*, including the city, its suburbs and the immediate surrounding areas from where people walked or cycled daily to workplaces, grew from about 39,000 inhabitants in 1950 (28,296 in defined urban areas) to 70,629 in 1960 (38,745 urbanites), impressive figures by Angolan standards. The overwhelming majority were blacks but the steady influx of white immigrants reinforced the 'European' characteristics of the city centre, its main quarters and leisure facilities, also creating new demands on colonial 'law and order'.

Portuguese neutrality in the Second World War spared the colonies from the direct effects of the conflict. The Salazar regime survived and, thanks greatly to the strategic north-Atlantic Azores Islands, Portugal joined NATO and, in 1955, the United Nations. Portugal's authoritarian rulers, however, were aware of emerging anti-colonial pressures and understood that economic control would be lost if the colonies gained political independence, so they rejected any move towards decolonization. Instead, helped by the post-war coffee boom, they attracted investments and stimulated Portuguese emigration to Angola. Politicians and scholars resurrected the 'integration' discourse: empire and colonies became 'overseas provinces' again. However, the Native Statute was not removed, so citizenship rights were still denied to the overwhelming majority, while racial tensions in Angola were aggravated by the steady influx of Portuguese settlers.

In the 1950s, the gap between aspirations and prospects was widening among the colonized. This chapter examines, on one hand, the contradictions of Portuguese colonial politics and, on the other hand, the increasing socio-economic diversity and stratification among 'natives' in Huambo. Strong resentment also derived from the particular conditions of 'justice' under colonial rule, a subject dealt with in a section on law and order. Escaping from the 'native' condition by acquiring Portuguese citizenship was one strategy to cope with the situation, but only a few succeeded.

Resisting the winds of change

The process of urbanization and social change in Huambo must be located in the wider context of Angolan history after 1945. Neutrality could not avoid the contradictory economic consequences of the war for Portugal: the colonial pact whereby the colonies provided tropical foodstuffs and raw materials for metropolitan industries was reinforced, but world difficulties stimulated economic autonomy and

new foreign partners like the United States.[1] Quotas and prices of Angolan goods benefited the metropolitan economy, adding to the industrial regulation (*condicionamento industrial*) that had protected Portuguese metropolitan products since 1936. This meant that industries processing raw materials were banned in the colonies if similar metropolitan industries had not achieved their full capacity. New industries needed special authorization from the Overseas Ministry if they imported raw materials or from the Governor General if they used local ones. The relations between the Angolan economy and the world market were mediated by Portugal: foreign exchange obtained through Angola exports was controlled by the *Banco de Portugal* and sent directly to Lisbon.[2]

However, diversification of Angolan suppliers and clients was inevitable because Portugal could neither absorb the entire production nor supply many industrial products, like coal, oil, motorcars and heavy machinery for railways, agriculture and mining.[3] Until the 1960s, Angola's exports were based on diamonds, fishing and agriculture (maize, coffee, cotton, palm oil, sisal and cassava). Despite some projects of intensive agriculture and ranching, production came mostly from African peasant agriculture, while European settlers or corporations controlled commerce and transportation.[4] But after 1945, sisal production and especially the coffee boom caused a rush on land concessions.[5] Coffee exports surpassed those of

---

[1] W. G. Clarence-Smith, 'The impact of the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War on Portuguese and Spanish Africa', *JAH*, 26 (1985), 309-12.

[2] See Eduardo Sousa Ferreira, 'A lógica da consolidação da economia de mercado em Angola, 1930-1974', *Análise Social*, 1 (1985), 87-8.

[3] In 1945, Portugal supplied 65 percent of Angola's imports and 43 percent of its exports. By the late 1950s, due to coffee, the USA received 27.32 percent (in value) of Angola's exports, followed by Portugal (18.62 percent), UK (13.25 percent), Holland (11.97 percent) and Germany (8.29 percent). *Actividade Económica de Angola,* 50 (1958), 119. Ferreira, *A lógica*, 91-92. For more on Portuguese-Angolan economic relations: Clarence-Smith, *Third Portuguese Empire*, 146-191; Manuel Ennes Ferreira, *Angola-Portugal: do Espaço Económico Português às Relações Pós-Coloniais*, (Lisbon 1990).

[4] Horácio Rebelo, *Angola na África deste Tempo*, (Lisbon 1961), 63. *Actividade Económica*, 111, 117-8.

[5] *Actividade Económica*, 128-132. Rebelo, *Angola*, 76.

maize and diamonds in 1942 and 1946 respectively, representing almost 50 percent of Angola's exports in the late 1950s.[6] From 1955, promising oil production and the opening of a refinery in 1958 were good news for Angola, the Belgian concessionary Purfina and the American Gulf Oil Company. But until 1960 oil had a small impact on the Angolan economy and it was only in 1973 that its export value surpassed that of coffee.[7]

Due to imperial regulations, very few non-extractive industries existed: fish curing, fishmeal, sugar, alcohol, soap, pasta and biscuits, furniture, tanning, tiles and bricks, paints and varnishes, low-technology sawmills and flour mills. During the 1950s, world market price oscillations exposed the risks of relying on one or two products.[8] Calls for industrialization made evident the lack of Portuguese capital and the inadequacy of the existing 'Angola Development Fund', created in the 1930s and reformulated in the 1940s, finally reinforced with the first state-sponsored National Development Plan (*Plano de Fomento Nacional* 1953-1958). A few important public works began, including hydroelectric plants, and industrial growth tried to satisfy local demands for cement, bricks, tiles, furniture, leather, sacks, soap, sugar, cooking oil, beer and more 'native' specific demands for cloths, hoes and machetes.[9]

In Huambo, consequences were felt in labour recruitment: traditional labour consumers (mines, sugar plantations, fisheries) were joined after 1945 by sisal treatment plants and coffee plantations. Increasing activity in the construction sector and public works, namely bridges and roads, also meant more labour extraction from villagers. The district was also the main contributor of 'native' tax: despite tax being

---

[6] Rebelo, *Angola*, 177.

[7] Ibid, 123-34. Economic evolution, by sector: Walter Marques, *Problemas do Desenvolvimento Económico de Angola*, (Luanda 1965), 2 vols.

[8] The price of coffee tonne fell from 37,000 to 14,500 *escudos* between 1951 and 1961: Ferreira, *A lógica*, 93-4.

[9] Rebelo, *Angola*, 228-32. For industrial legislation, *Actividade Económica*, 40-107.

higher in Luanda (245 *escudos*) than in Huambo (210 *escudos*), the total revenue of the latter was more than double that of Luanda.[10]

The six-year Development Plan envisaged a better environment for industrial investments and responded to international pressure for colonial development policies. But instead of preparing a transfer of power, economic changes served Portuguese colonial entrenchment, with better infrastructure and industrial incentives paving the way for a massive entry of Portuguese settlers. A great share of the investments went to hydroelectric plants and irrigation schemes aimed to help settlement schemes (*colonatos*).[11] Diverging from other colonial developmental policies, the first Development Plan was mute about education and gave no support to 'native' social improvement. Finally the money allocated for public works was much less than anticipated and not 'suitable for the progress of the Province'. [12]

Angola's economy stagnated for most of the period and trading remained the main activity of the Portuguese, due to lack of capital, shortage of technicians and skilled labour, and a domestic market suffering from peoples' low incomes.[13] In conditions of low technological input, economic growth depended on very low salaries and on 'native' migrant labour, forced or otherwise, to plantations, mines and fisheries. All of this resulted in the over-exploitation of villagers, which were, at least in central Angola, the backbone of agriculture for both the domestic and the foreign market.[14]

---

[10] In 1959, Huambo district represented 15.62 percent of Angola 'native' tax revenues. *Secretário-Geral do Governador-Geral* to *Ministro do Ultramar*, 23 November 1960, AHU, MU/GM/GNP/SR087.
[11] On *colonatos*, see Bender, *Angola*, 95-131; Soares, *Política*, 63-71.
[12] *Acta do Conselho Legislativo*, (Luanda 3 January 1958), in Rebelo, *Angola*, 246-73. Rebelo, Angola, 279. About 'Development Plans', also Ferreira, *A lógica*, 94-5 and Clarence-Smith, *Third Portuguese Empire*, 166.
[13] According to the 1950 Census, only 20 percent of 'whites' had post-primary education. For socio-economic information on Portuguese settlers, see Cláudia Castelo, *Passagens*.
[14] *Guia Industrial de Angola*, (Luanda 1960). Statistics in *Actividade Económica,* 110-45.

Peasants, workers and many others

Industrialization in Huambo was incipient except for the impressive CCFB Central Workshops, a few flour mills, sawmills, lime-kilns, tanning and the small-scale production of soap, dairy products, pork sausages, shoes and hats, biscuits and macaroni, sweets and soft drinks. Although about 300 'industries' were reported in the district in the late 1950s, most were very small and used little capital, low technology and few workers.[15] The exception was CUCA (*Companhia União de Cervejas de Angola*) which inaugurated a large modern beer factory in 1959, in the presence of the Governor-General and with the Bishop's blessing.[16] In 1960 the city and its *Concelho* contained much of the region's existing service industry: one third of the District's traders and vendors and more than 70 percent of its office clerks, transport and communication employees, directors and high-ranking administrative personnel.[17]

The black population in peripheral neighbourhoods included peasants, self-employed artisans and petty traders but in the 1950s most families had one or more wage-earners. Many were servants in administration services or cleaners, gardeners, cooks, washwomen and child carers in settlers' houses. A skilled labour force was in demand and many black workers had training opportunities, despite competition from white workers. Bakers and hotel employees, dealing with food, were under special scrutiny after 1945, supposedly for hygiene reasons.[18]

For decades domestic servants were male, but women were becoming more visible, especially young women trained and recommended by the nuns. Colonial laws tried to 'stabilize' domestic service by imposing on all servants the *caderneta*

---

[15] António Coxito Granado, *Dicionário Corográfico-Comercial de Angola - Antonito*, (Luanda 1948), 269-71. *Planalto*, 9 October 1959, 5, and 25 December 1959, 7, 16. Rebelo, *Angola*, 229.
[16] *Voz*, 7 May 1959, 1, 6.
[17] 1960 Census, IV, 22-23.
[18] ANA, *Códice* 4,441. ANA *Códice* 7,773.

indígena, but that was often circumvented. Complaints about servants often mentioned laziness, lack of discipline and high turnover rates, usually with racist comments.[19] In fact, the high turnover rates indicate that domestic service was often an entry-level occupation in town, and also used as a fallback between other jobs.[20] By definition, domestic servants lived in close contact with their masters, observing and learning diverse European ways of living, tending to adopt certain practices and, at the same time, introducing white settlers to some aspects of their own culture.[21] The influence of this relationship on the perception of 'racial' differences and on cultural changes at large has yet to be studied in Angola.[22]

Nurses, typographers, teachers, cooks and civil servants enjoyed prestige among black waged workers, but their true elite in Huambo were CCFB employees working in workshops, offices and train stations. They were entitled to medical care and could shop at the company warehouses, although limited by their job category. Travelling facilities along the line fostered unofficial small business and developed economic and family networks. Even the thousands of unskilled men performing heavy tasks for CCFB had comparative advantages in working for an enterprise that paid them regularly, provided some health care and was powerful enough to keep its workers away from military and labour conscription. The company also invested in training 'native' skilled labour, directly or through the Catholic missions. In 1956 its central workshops in Huambo employed 1,148 people, namely 263 'Europeans' (227

---

[19] *Voz*, 17 July 1952, 2; 11 February 1954, 6; 20 October 1949, 6; 3 July 1952, 2; *Planalto*, 8 November 1959, 4.

[20] *Voz*, 20 October 1949, 6. Cf. Maputo (Mozambique): Jeanne Marie Penvenne, *African Workers and Colonial Racism. Mozambican Strategies and Struggles in Lourenço Marques, 1877-1962*, (London, 1995), 54-61.

[21] This intimacy was criticized by some who wanted more white female servants from Portugal (orphanage girls were sent in 1950): *Voz*, 8 June 1950, 8; 25 October 1954, 3; 20 January 1955, 4; 17 February 1955. But until the end of colonial rule white domestic servants were the exception.

[22] Domestic servants have been referred to as part of the labour force, but have seldom attracted a full study. One exception is Karen Hansen, *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900-1985* (Ithaca 1989).

skilled workers, 36 office personnel) and 885 'Africans' (177 skilled workers, 41 office personnel, 140 auxiliary apprentices, 527 workers and servants).[23] The numerical supremacy of white skilled labour disappears if we add the 'apprentices' (*aprendizes auxiliaries*) who could wait many years for a promotion. Workshop workers were only part of a wider aspirational group of railwaymen which absorbed people trained in Christian missions and seminaries.

The kind of sources available do not allow a discussion of class-consciousness among black railwaymen, but from personal observation and talks with some of them, much later, it is evident that they perceived themselves as being a privileged group among other black workers, proud of their 'westernized' or 'civilized' ways of living, although resenting racial segregation in the company's policy. But it is unclear how much of that 'elite' attitude was due to their status as a labour aristocracy, or to their education at the Christian missions and seminaries that had facilitated such jobs in the first place. And what about solidarity with fellow railwaymen in lower positions, that is, the majority of the railway workers? More research is needed on those important questions.[24]

A number of factors of distinction operated among non-whites at large, but an individual's social position depended especially on legal status (*indígena* or *civilizado*), kinship and occupation, with education, colour, religion and ethno-linguistic affiliations playing secondary roles.[25] Money was important but could not get 'respect' in itself, and other forms of wealth were still valued, like cattle. Marriage strategies could put one's descendants in the 'right' direction and extend the family's safety net: old *olosoma* lineages melted into new elites through Christian converts,

---

[23] 'CFB - Oficinas Gerais', AHM, *Caixa* 194, *Documento* 7. Their European-African distinction is mute about the native-civilized divide and the significant number of *mestiços*.

[24] An oral history project on Angolan railwaymen by Emmanuel Esteves, who did a PhD on the Benguela Railway, was stopped by his sudden death in 2008.

[25] Cf. J.C. Mitchell and A.L. Epstein, 'Occupational prestige and social status among urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia.' *Africa,* 29 (1959), 22–39.

job selection and appropriate marriages.[26] With so many factors involved it was not surprising to get different answers about who had higher status among non-white people in Huambo. Raul David, an ex-seminarian and once a CCFB white-collar worker, named a few families an educated person should pay a visit to whenever going to Huambo.[27] But black and mixed-race 'civilized' (according to the legal category) were rather heterogeneous and divided, as the experience of the African Association of Southern Angola (AASA, *Associação Africana do Sul de Angola*) proved.[28]

AASA was created in 1949 by mainly CCFB employees, ex-seminarians and civil servants, for charity, sport and recreation purposes, and children's primary education.[29] From the beginning membership excluded *indígenas* but explicitly accepted Blacks who 'by their behaviour and living standards could be considered *assimilados*' as well as 'Whites, even Europeans who made Angola their adoptive motherland', rejecting suggestions that it was an organization for *mestiços*.[30] The real influence of the AASA, usually openly in favour of the Portuguese regime, is unknown. Whether compliant with the regime or just impotent, it was almost useless for left off 'natives' and its potential role as the representative of the small non-white

---

[26] Current family surnames related both to old Ovimbundu aristocracies and to mission-educated people can be found among Angolan political or intellectual elites. Names such as Epalanga, Kalei, Kapingala, Mwekalia, Lukamba or Cilala were once titles of court dignitaries.

[27] Interview with Raul David, Luanda, 9 October 1994. He mentioned the Lomba, Machado, Napoleão, Canhanga and other predominantly black families, but also Ferreira, 'a white from Angola married with a pure black woman, Dona Sofia, living in Fatima'. Sofia's brothers included an electrician, a typographer and a white collar CFB worker.

[28] See David's speech at the General Assembly in *Voz* 13 July 1950, 5.

[29] Its statutes were approved in June 1950 and by December the AASA claimed one thousand members throughout southern and eastern Angola and a 'delegation' in Luanda. *Voz*, 25 August 1949, 2; 15 September 1949, 7; 18 May 1950, 4; 13 July 1950, 5; 6 July 1950, 4; 15 July 1950, 8; 14 December 1950, 5.

[30] *Voz*, 7 July 1949, 4; 25 May 1950, 1-2. Its organizing committee was 'a group of Africans' looking for support from 'fellow Africans' but they meant 'individuals of mixed-race or assimilated race' [sic]. They also accepted, 'under conditions', female associates. 'Circular 1 da Comissão Organizadora' (July 1949), ANA, *Caixa* 430.

elite was hindered by suspicion of police infiltration.[31] Until 1960, the AASA's main activities were occasional efforts to keep destitute 'natives' away from begging in town and the organization of 'native' football championships, parallel to the district main competitions.[32]

Waged employment was increasing but Huambo district's economy still relied on trade based on peasant agriculture, with maize covering 42.5 percent of the estimated 200,000 hectares cultivated in 1959.[33] Trade was almost monopolised by Portuguese settlers and in the early 1950s measures were taken against a revival of black pedlars (*bufarinheiros*) who visited villages selling a variety of items, from blankets to palm oil.[34] Retail trade shops doubled between 1952 and 1959 when they were more than two thousand.[35]

Transportation facilities and the city's demand for food attracted many peasants to the region, from the more populated areas of Sambo, Bailundo and elsewhere, adding to Huambo´s cultural heterogeneity but keeping Umbundu as the dominant language, either as a mother tongue or an adopted one.[36] These population

[31] AASA president in 1950, António Burity da Silva, was a member of Salazarist *União Nacional* and became a member of Portuguese parliament. *Voz*, 6 November 1952, 8, describes an official visit to Portugal by '25 Angolan-born couples' headed by AASA leader Amaral Gourgel, with him repeatedly praising Portuguese 'imperial unity and racial fraternity'. For an interpretation of AASA 'racial' tensions based on the account of political exile João Chisseva: John Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution* (Massachusetts, 1969), vol. I, 105-12. He got dates wrong but highlighted the role of seminarians and ex-seminarians in the Association.

[32] A good 'native' football player was occasionally recruited by the teams were the 'civilizados' played. *Planalto*, 23 October 1959, 8; 27 October 1959, 5; 7 November 1959, 4; 10 November 1959, 4 and 8.

[33] J. Sampaio D'Orey, A.S. Labisa and A.C. Soares, 'Missão para o estudo da atracção das grandes cidades e do bem-estar rural. Relatório da Campanha de 1957 (Angola)', IPAD/MU 166. According to their confidential results, at least 40 percent of maize exported by Angola was 'produced autonomously by Huambo natives'. Labisa report, 15. The 1958-1959 Cereal Board campaign in Huambo had a record number of about 40,000 persons receiving maize seeds. *Planalto*, 25 December 1959, 7.

[34] Itinerant commerce was accused of hindering established (European) traders' profits in the Huambo District. *Voz*, 2 November 1950; 24 January 1952. In 1948 itinerant commerce had been 'totally forbidden': *Diploma legislativo* 2,049, *Boletim Oficial*, 16 June 1948.

[35] *Planalto*, 25 December 1959, 7.

[36] Note that not all Umbundu-speaking adults were children of Ovimbundu parents and that Ovimbundu were diverse themselves. Misguided colonial language-based 'ethnic'

movements were welcomed by Portuguese authorities for their economic contribution, despite raising issues of social control. In town, male street vendors (*quitandeiros*) sold vegetables, milk, poultry, meat, maize, coal and other supplies from adjacent areas. But the growth of the white population led to calls for a proper market-place, *Voz do Planalto* railing against the 'improper and unhygienic display of *quitandas* in every street … with undesirable gatherings of black servants and cooks with white ladies, in an upsetting promiscuity'.[37] Measures against 'natives' selling milk and vegetables door-to-door, invoking hygiene or 'modernization', favoured Portuguese retail trade but caused other settlers' discontent.[38] A municipal market finally opened in January 1953, near downtown, but the city was too vast and many street vendors continued to operate.[39] As modern shops multiplied, however, *quitandeiro* selling permits issued by the Town Council shrank from nine hundred in 1948 to only 98 in 1958.[40] Door-to-door vendors became a tolerated 'illegality' and in following decades women almost entirely took the business.

The language of 'labour stabilization', 'community development' and 'native welfare' came to the Portuguese colonies later than to the British and French ones.[41] Portuguese concerns in the 1950s were mainly the control of 'native' mobility and the perils of 'vagrancy' and undisciplined urbanization, with tax evasion always in

---

classifications pervaded academic work and social stereotypes, ignoring the fact that sharing a language is not necessarily equivalent to sharing 'traditions' or 'identities'.

[37] *Voz*, 3 August 1950, 4; 4 August 1951. For a more positive opinion about vegetable vendors: *Voz*, 21 September 1952.

[38] Interdiction of 'native' milk selling was contested: 'for many years they have supplied the town, daily, with 200 litres in the dry season and 300 litres in the rainy season': *Voz*, 31 January 1952, 5.

[39] *Voz*, 8 January 1953, 4.

[40] *Planalto*, 25 December 1959, 11.

[41] Frederick Cooper, 'Development, modernization and the social sciences in the era of decolonization: The examples of British and French Africa', *Revue d'histoire des sciences humaines*, 10 (2004), 9-38. The anti-colonial war in Angola prompted the 'scientific study' of labour relations and development policies: Afonso Mendes, *O Trabalho Assalariado em Angola*, (Lisbon 1966), Fernando Diogo da Silva, *O Huambo: Mão-de-obra Rural no Mercado de Trabalho de Angola: Para a Formação de uma Política de Desenvolvimento Equilibrado* (Luanda, 1968).

focus.[42] Recognizing the economic importance of African agriculture, the Cereal Exports Board (*Junta de Exportação dos Cereais*) and the Agricultural Office began in 1955 an 'Itinerant Agriculture Stabilization Programme' in order to 'reorganize' and 'develop' production.[43] Unsuccessful, the program was nonetheless the beginning of 'rural reorganization' experiments and fought alienation of lands belonging either to village communities or to 'native' *agricultores* (farmers).[44] It could have been the beginning of greater social differentiation among the peasantry, but the development of 'native' landowners and entrepreneurs was blocked, since only a tiny fraction of 'native' producers could qualify as *agricultores*: coffee producers had to cultivate ten hectares plus two hectares of basic foodstuffs; while maize producers should cultivate five hectares, grow ten fruit trees and use a plough and two oxen. Without proper technical advice, the issue of the official *agricultor* card was left to the discretion of administrators who feared the end of cheap labour and often argued that registrations as *cultivadores* and *agricultores* were 'subterfuges for vagrancy'.[45]

Agriculture went on marking Huambo peri-urban landscape, but measures protecting collective village lands and some small farmers in rural areas did not extend to the myriad of plots cultivated mainly by women on the town outskirts, who did not meet the *agricultor* criteria.[46] These small producers were also the most threatened by unauthorized but eventually legalized European urban expansion. The

---

[42] In 1956-7, despite population growth, Huambo *Concelho* 'lost' more than one thousand 'native' tax payers, revealing successful evasion strategies. In mid-1957 a meeting of administrators discussed 'native' policy, from the Labour Code to alcoholism, 'vagrancy', village improvement and 'Native Reserves' but little 'development' action was seen before 1961. Administration Notes, ANA, *Códice* 10,445.

[43] Implicitly trying to reduce the impact of wage labour on peasant production. In 1959, Angola had 339.014 rural waged labourers in Angola, 123,685 with written 'contracts'. Silva, *Huambo*, 175-6. Soares, *Política*, 47-63.

[44] Silva, *Huambo*, 51 and 329; Soares, *Política*, 47-63; ANA, *Códice* 10,445.

[45] 'Campanha de Estabilização da Agricultura Indígena 1956-1957', ANA, *Códice* 10,445.

[46] In *Posto* Benfica, occupying part of the rural surroundings of Huambo *Posto Sede* and further south, 'native reserves' were established to avoid settlers' occupation. *Circular* 71 (21 February 1957) and *Circular* 72 (22 February 1957) from *Governo do Distrito* to *Administrações de Concelho*, ANA, *Códice* 10,445.

1960 census highlighted the economic importance of 'native' women in Huambo *Concelho*: 30,500 women were among the 'active population' of 62,804 which was 61 percent of that of the entire *Concelho*.[47] Four women-only categories (*dona de casa*, *doméstica*, *doméstica agrícola* and *familiar*) tried for the first time to characterize the female mass outside waged work.[48] While all others had 'professions', those women and people living on their means (*proprietários*) were under the 'occupation' category but in diverse 'situations', from running a business to unpaid work for relatives.[49] Women were only 11 percent of the 'profession' sector but 88 percent of the 'occupation' sector, essentially as housewives and cultivators.[50]

The greatest impact Huambo District made in the post-war economy was through its migrant workers, with both 'contract' and 'free' labour expanding to unprecedented levels: from 1951 to 1960, 'contract' workers went from 14,000 to 22,000 and rising. In 1958, temporary migrant 'native' waged workers numbered 27,371 (4,304 inside the district) out of a calculated black population of about half a million.[51] As mentioned above, coffee-related white settlement in northern Angola caused an intensification of labour recruitment on the plateau.[52] Labour legislation not only allowed coercion under several pretexts but also induced people to accept lower payment for local activities, hoping to stay there. Coercive labour was intrinsic

---

[47] The 1960 Census provided precious information on working situations. Nothing similar existing for 1950 and only the 'civilized population' was covered in 1940. But as data were published only in 1967 both the native-civilized division and 'ethnic groups' were ignored. Moreover, the *Concelho* was the lowest level for detailed data, instead of *Postos*, let alone cities. 1960 Census, IV.

[48] Both *dona de casa* and *doméstica* were housewives, the former employing remunerated servants; *doméstica agrícola* was responsible for her home but worked also in the fields; *familiar* was a girl or woman living in a household but not responsible for it. 1960 Census, IV, 7.

[49] 1960 Census, IV, 8. Both 'active population' and 'unemployed' began at the age of ten.

[50] Data were not disaggregated by 'race' but the *Concelho* white female population was only 5,906 and adult women probably half of that. 1960 Census, IV, 30-1, 40. Inclusion of women in 'active population' was crucial since African women 'only exceptionally are occupied exclusively with housekeeping'. Silva, *Huambo*, 131-2.

[51] For 'contract' workers, Silva, *Huambo*, 122, n. 98, and 179, Table XLIV. District population was then calculated at 537.391 inhabitants: 18,208 Whites, 515.425 Blacks, 3,758 *Mestiços*. *Planalto*, 25 December 1959, 7.

[52] Rebelo, *Angola*, 56-64 and 282.

to much of colonial Africa and it was only in 1957 that ILO conventions imposed its total abolition, including for 'public works'. Portugal ratified them and also the 1955 convention against prison penalties for 'native' contract-breakers, but runaway workers were still 'returned' to their employers.[53]

The Natives' Guardian office (*Curadoria dos Indígenas*) of the *Concelho* was supposed to control travelling labour recruiters (*angariadores*), the flux of workers and their 'contract' conditions: destination, salaries, length and type of work involved. In the 1950s there was a tighter control over recruiters and their areas of action, number of workers allowed to each individual boss or corporation (from just a few to a few thousand) and for how long. Main *angariadores* had auxiliaries, including 'natives', all getting their licence from the local *Curadoria* office. Workers' salaries were split and partially sent back to the local *Curadoria,* which kept the money until they returned.[54] Irregularities, abuse and manipulation occurred, as confirmed by post-1961 reforms 'strictly forbidding' recruiters from remunerating chiefs, family members or anyone in a position of 'influencing' workers.[55]

Despite its powerful imprint on present-day Angolan social memory, massive numbers of 'contract' workers from Huambo to the northern regions were more a feature of the 1960s.[56] In 1963 the Huambo district supplied more than 46 percent of all 'contract workers' (*contratados*) in Angola, representing 13 percent of Huambo's active population.[57] In 1967 coffee plantations absorbed 85 percent of contract workers leaving Huambo, with the secondary and tertiary sectors needing fewer due to more free migrants, many from Huambo too.[58] By then, transportation and labour

[53] Mair, *Native Policies*, 11. Silva, *Huambo*, 233-4.
[54] The *Agência da Curadoria do Concelho do Huambo* kept information about licences, number of workers allowed, workers' salaries etc. For the 1950s: ANA, *Códices* 3,520; 4,226; 4,352; 7,117; 10,959; 10,960 and 11,955.
[55] Silva, *Huambo*, 240.
[56] They more than doubled between 1960 and 1967. Silva, *Huambo*, 178-9 and 191.
[57] Ibid, 226 and 219, Table LXIII.
[58] Ibid, 228.

conditions had changed enough to make *contratado* work attractive in a zone where salaries were well below Angolan average.[59] On the eve of independence, about 120,000 workers left the Central Plateau every year to the northern coffee plantations, the coastal fisheries, the eastern diamond mines and a few more places. The situation in the 1950s, however, was very far from that.

So, although the city was attracting more people than it lost, Huambo was for many a temporary stopping place between the village and the next big city (Luanda or Lobito) or between cycles of work elsewhere. As soil erosion and exploitative trade affected cash-crop agriculture, low salaries were partially eaten away by the 'native tax' and white immigration reduced the availability of land, some also looked for better paid jobs beyond Angola's borders. Colonial authorities were unable to impose effective frontier control and, although far from the steady movement from northern Angola into the Belgian Congo, people from central and eastern Angola left for the Copperbelt and for Southern Africa.[60] From Huambo, they used the railway or the old caravan trade routes through eastern Angola to Katanga and Northern Rhodesia, from where Southern Rhodesia and South Africa could easily be reached. The resulting networks of relatives and fellow-countrymen (and women) stretched over central and southern Africa. New experiences and information shared through those networks influenced not only religious and musical innovation, or 'modern' hair and dress styles, but also new evaluations of colonial rule.[61] Huambo administrators were aware of unauthorized migration and received official correspondence from the

[59] In 1965 the average wage in Huambo was half that in Luanda and inferior to most other regions. Ibid, 223 n. 66. War did not have the positive effect on rural salaries in central Angola that it had in the north.

[60] In late 1950s conservative numbers mentioned 250,000 Angolans living temporarily or permanently outside Angolan borders. By 1967 some calculated 'no more than 40,000 going out, against about 160,000 circulating inside the territory'. Ibid, 225.

[61] Portuguese authorities tried to capture the potentially 'subversive' correspondence from Angolans in Rhodesia who sent news about the absence of 'contract' work, road *corvées* and military conscription. *Administrador do Concelho* to *Secretaria do Distrito*, 14 October 1955. AHU, MU/GM/GNP/SR135, *Pasta* 40.

Rhodesias and South Africa about injured or deceased Angolan workers whose families were supposed to get their belongings back and, occasionally, compensation.[62]

Shifting limits: town, suburbs and villages

In 1960, the Angolan population remained overwhelmingly rural and Luanda, with 225,000 inhabitants, had almost half of the total urban population, followed by Lobito with 50,000 and Huambo with 39,000.[63] With both whites and blacks flocking to the main towns, the percentage of the urban population doubled between 1940 and 1960 but these statistics were conservative, since many 'native' urban dwellers avoided registration to escape taxes and labour recruitment.[64] Post-war Portuguese immigration propelled the white population in Angola from 78,826 (2 percent) in 1950 to 172,529 (more than 3.5 percent) in 1960.[65] Many newcomers were from rural backgrounds but established themselves in the cities, especially in Luanda, where 'whites' more than doubled in a decade, forming 25 percent of the population in 1960. That led to 'racial' job competition, the 'whitening' of some social spaces, the pushing of many black and mixed-race families to the periphery and an overall increase in racial tensions.[66] But territorial distribution of 'whites' in 1960 still reflected Angola's past history: nearly 40 per cent lived in the central and southern districts, 30 per cent in Luanda or nearby and only 30 per cent in eastern and northern Angola.

---

[62] ANA, *Códices* 10,445; 10,396; 10,411.
[63] In the late 1950s, about 60,000 Angolans were part of the 400,000 inhabitants of Léopoldville, making it the second 'Angolan' city. Charles Gondola, *Villes Miroirs: Migrations et Identités Urbaines à Kinshasa et Brazzaville, 1930-1970*, (Paris 1996), 298.
[64] Lack of identification and 'native' tax documents were frequent cause of imprisonment. See below.
[65] 1960 Census, I.
[66] For Luanda in the 1950s, see Christine Messiant, 'Luanda (1945-1961): Colonisés, société coloniale et engagement nationaliste', in Michel Cahen dir., *Bourgs et Villes en Afrique Lusophone*, (Paris, 1989), 125-99; Marissa Moorman, *Intonations: a Social History of Music and Nation, Luanda, Angola, 1945-recent times*, (Athens, Ohio, 2008).

Angolan cities ranged from those further south where whites were more than half of the urbanites, to others were they were a tiny minority. Huambo stood in between: in 1940 the town had 3,214 'whites' (19.73 percent of the 16,288 total population); in 1950 they were 4,756 (16.8 percent of the 28,296 inhabitants) and in mid-1950s they were about 5,758 (15.4 percent of 37,381 inhabitants). The 1960 Census did not publish detailed information on the 38,745 city dwellers, but among the 70,629 inhabitants of *Posto Sede* 'whites' numbered 12,510 (17.71 percent), a percentage certainly higher in the city.

Although between 1950 and 1960 the number of 'whites' in *Posto Sede* more than doubled, the 'whitening' of Huambo until 1961 was slower than in Luanda and Lobito. But the increasing number of Europeans affected personal and work relations, brought new consumption and leisure habits, put new demands on public services and reinforced the overall perception, on the part of black people, that they were not welcome in the central areas of the city except at work or at special events.

Growing European population in Angola meant more imports, urban 'modernization', industrial growth and several towns having electricity and water for the first time. In Huambo throughout the 1950s, electricity, water and sanitation improved slowly and could not keep pace with the expansion of the white population, let alone the black one.[67] Electricity from the CCFB never satisfied city needs and the domestic night scene was dominated by a variety of kerosene lamps, even after the City Council hired a generator in 1959.[68] Water supplies and sanitation were still a serious problem except downtown, and the tanker which was supposed to water the streets in the dry season was busy providing water to *Alta* and other areas

[67] *Voz* 15 February 1951; 6 September 1951.
[68] Rebelo, *Angola*, 233-4. However, electricity consumption rose from 301,192 to 2,549,890 Kw/hour between 1948 and 1958: *Planalto*, 25 December 1959, 5 and 11.

most of the time.[69] In peri-urban *bairros*, water was either carried by women and youngsters from watercourses and sources or bought from water carriers (*aguadeiros*) pulling and rolling barrels.[70] In both urban and suburban areas many people dug wells (*cacimbas*) which provided for the basic needs of families most of the year. The precarious urban sanitation was often denounced and the good climate praised for the lack of epidemics, along with criticism of urbanites' bad habits: dirty backyards, rubbish everywhere and even cows freely grazing in town.[71]

Old transport means, contributing to dirty streets, diminished but survived: in 1948 the Council registered 61 carts pulled by oxen or donkeys, and 28 in 1958.[72] Bus transportation was limited and did not serve most suburban areas, let alone peripheral villages, so those living out of town and working in town walked or cycled many kilometres daily. Bicycles were of great help covering distances and carrying things and soon they became objects of desire and symbols of status among 'natives'. In a newspaper advert, exceptionally using a black man, a cyclist was 'looking forward to the arrival of his new ideal bicycle … the only one that can fulfil his dream… a Humber', from Lobito (represented by a palm-tree and a ship).[73] Registered bicycles (they were taxed) rose from 1,432 to 3,397 between 1948 and 1958, with frequent complains about unregistered or stolen bicycles.[74]

---

[69] *Voz*, 15 September 1949, 3 and 6; 10 July 1952; 17 July 1952. In July 1952 the City Council decided to send the tanker daily to Benfica which, despite the great number of whites, only in 1955 got water from the mains. *Voz*, 31 July 1952, 7; 3 February 1955, 4; 2 July 1959, 6; *Planalto*, 20 October 1959, 4.

[70] Interview with Raul David, Luanda, 7 October 1994. The method still existed in late 1960s: António Caldeira, 'O Bairro de Cacilhas de Nova Lisboa: Angola. Uma abordagem etno-sociológica', Dissertation ISCSPU (Lisbon 1974), 150. One hundred litres barrels were relatively easy to obtain from wine merchants.

[71] *Voz*, 30 March 1950, 6; 31 January 1952, 2.

[72] *Planalto*, 25 December 1959, 5 and 11.

[73] *União Ciclista* advert, *Voz*, 16 June 1949, 7.

[74] For instance, *Voz*, 25 November 1939, 7; 11 September 1952, 4; 9 October 1952, 7; 20 November 1952, 2; 11 December 1952, 4. *Planalto*, 22 September 1959, 5. Also ANA, Códices 6,874; 3,512; 4,382.

Urban planners advocated apartment blocks and the abandonment of large gardens, backyards and empty spaces around each house, which complicated basic municipal services. Except for a few buildings, however, Huambo was, until 1960, a city of bungalows, detached and semi-detached houses with one or two floors and a few terraces.[75] Outside the official town perimeter modest detached houses dominated, made of brick or adobe walls, thatched or covered with roof-tiles, usually with a back garden. Only a few streets were sealed: dust in the dry season and mud in the rainy season were the common lot of urbanites, rich and poor.[76]

The 1948 new law on 'native wards' received specific regulation only in 1956.[77] The uncontrolled flux of urban and peri-urban dwellers across the continent, many living in poor conditions, prompted studies about labour mobility and 'stabilization', the new leitmotif for African urbanization.[78] The problem of 'native housing' was not a mere urbanization problem but a political one, as 'detribalized natives' were seen no longer to be subject to 'tribal' discipline and were instead 'freely' wandering around. In Angola, that 'threat' was paramount in discussions about urbanization and prospective 'native wards' and in the late 1950s, with political problems adding to old sanitary and police concerns, it was feared that masses of 'natives' could overcome their internal differences and become aware of their collective power, putting whites at risk.[79]

---

[75] *Voz*, 27 September 1951, 7, on 'modern tendencies of African urbanization'.

[76] *Voz* 28 December 1940. *Planalto*, 25 December 1959, 5 and 11.

[77] *Diploma Legislativo* nº 2.097, 17 November 1948. *Regulamento dos Bairros Indígenas, aprovado pelo Diploma Legislativo nº 2.799, de 9 de Maio de 1957*, (Luanda, 1957). Soares, *Política*, 189.

[78] J.C. Mitchell, 'Urbanization, détribalisation et stabilisation en Afrique Méridionale: Comment les définir et les mesurer', in UNESCO, *Aspects Sociaux de l'Industrialisation et de l'Urbanisation en Afrique au Sud du Sahara* (Paris, 1956). Aguiar, *L'Habitation.* For French policies, see A. Sinou et al, *Les Villes d'Afrique noire: Politiques et Opérations d'Urbanisme et d'Habitat entre 1650 et 1960* (Paris, 1989).

[79] Soares, *Política*, 173-249, especially 173-4, 178-80. Published in 1961, this work used information from the 1957 official mission. See also Silva Cunha, 'O enquadramento social dos indígenas destribalizados', *Revista do Gabinete de Estudos Ultramarinos*, *Separata*, 5-6 (1952).

In practice little was done, due to scarce state resources and to contradictory opinions about the location of such 'native wards': either distant from the 'white city' but connected to workplaces by rapid transport systems, or in special settlements inside the urban perimeter. Adepts of the former invoked epidemic risks, the higher costs of urban lands, and security risks if white-black relationships deteriorated. Other opinions insisted on shorter distances between residence and workplace and argued that sheer segregation was not in Portuguese colonial traditions.[80] In the Overseas Urbanization Office, architect Aguiar defended a clear divide between the 'native community' and the European city, using topographic features or 'tree curtains', but installing 'natives' not too far from their work.[81] Others suggested a dual pattern: distant housing (supplied with water, electricity, transportation and schooling) for the mass of people still 'far from being civilized'; and integration in town for those with 'civilized patterns of life', who should share neighbourhoods with white people of similar economic conditions.[82] Despite arguments in favour of 'suburban wards' well outside of the urban area, 'native wards' (*bairros indígenas*) were created in Luanda, Lobito and Benguela close to town limits or even inside them.

In Huambo, the prohibition of 'native' pockets inside town existed from the beginning but there was enough land outside it to avoid crowded slums. Agriculture, pigs, goats and chickens made dwellers less dependent on the market and helped against destitution. Since economic weakness pushed many poorer Portuguese newcomers to peripheral neighbourhoods like Cacilhas, Benfica or São Pedro, those areas got a mixed population shaped more by their income rather than by 'race'. Eventually, the 'whitening' of some *bairros* led to urbanization schemes which forced 'native' inhabitants to opt for the periphery of the periphery, although some relatively

[80] Soares, *Política*, 199-204.
[81] Aguiar, *L'habitation*, 7-8.
[82] Soares, *Política*, 198.

better-off black and mixed-race families managed to stay.[83]

The 1947 plan for Huambo approved in Lisbon kept the existing general layout, integrating new or recently legalized European residential areas and indicating prospective 'native' wards. But the city grew well beyond the plan and blurred its very limits, as detailed maps based on aerial survey soon documented: settlements ran along communication routes and created an urban-rural continuum rather than a clear division (see map 7).[84] Two types of housing were identified on the town periphery and beyond: *cubatas* (huts) and *construções definitivas* (permanent constructions). That distinction, based on photographed roofs, was inaccurate since many thatched houses were built with the same materials of those covered with tiles or corrugated iron: adobe or bricks. In 1959, the area under the city council jurisdiction had to be extended again to accommodate new *bairros*.[85]

The undisciplined town stretched along the railway and the main roads towards the north (Benfica), west (São Pedro, Cacareua), south (Santo António and Fátima) and east (São João, São José and Cacilhas).[86] The once out-of-town Kanye Mission was by 1960 nearer to downtown than some new residential areas integrated in the city due to their density of white dwellers. When Huambo District was carved out of Benguela in 1954, the new district capital got more resources for its own development and finally water was supplied to the main city areas, and a few primary

[83] Cacilhas was an example, which evolved from an 'out of town' village-like settlement to a more structured and dense 'suburban area' in 1930s, claiming for electricity and water in the late 1950s when its white population was already significant: *Voz*, 31 March 1934; *Planalto*, 20 October 1959, 4. In the 1960s it got a state-funded low-rent urbanization project (*Bairro Económico*) which included a small minority of black families. In the meantime a large 'popular' and irregular Cacilhas developed around 'urban' Cacilhas. See Caldeira, 'Bairro de Cacilhas'.

[84] Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações do Ultramar, 'Levantamento Aerofotogramétrico', Huambo (1953).

[85] *Planalto*, 8 November 1959, 1.

[86] Benfica was apparently the oldest *bairro* and its two to three thousand population in mid-1960s was described as 'humble people of all colours, predominantly white and mixed-race, almost entirely Catholics'. Costa, *Cem anos*, 276-8.

schools were built in the periphery (São Pedro, São João, Benfica) to serve its multi-racial 'citizens'.

Overcrowded slums that characterized other cities were absent because the plateau topography allowed space for thousands to come and build their houses, either in a village-like pattern or otherwise. Neighbourhoods grew along roads or around merchants or catechists, but cultivated areas were not very far away and it was common to have in the same household people working in town and people working in the fields. Townspeople's strong connexions with adjacent or more distant rural zones and the importance of agriculture and petty trade moderated proletarianization despite waged work expansion. Whatever criteria we use for an urban-rural divide, it was unclear in Huambo, underlining Frederick Cooper's comment on African cities as 'not the bastion of white society that colonial officials imagined, nor … the haven of the 'detribalized' native that they feared, for what appeared chaotic to Europeans was often the fruit of well-organized networks of rural-urban connection'.[87]

Language reflected the ill-defined city limits but also different perceptions of urban reality. In Portuguese, the city (*cidade*) meant the economic and administrative centres (*Baixa* and *Alta*) and residential areas around them (*bairros*) inhabited mostly by whites. It was distinct from '*bairros suburbanos*' (suburban meant 'less urban' in their infrastructure, population lifestyle and services provided) and from *quimbos* (from Umbundu *imbo*, village) or *sanzalas*.[88] In Umbundu, *olupale* (city, big settlement) or *vokati* ('in the centre') included the *Baixa*, *Alta* and the main 'white' *bairros*. But *sanjala* described 'urban' settlements inhabited mostly or exclusively by

[87] Cooper, *Africa since 1940*, 120.
[88] Sanzala is a Portuguese word (from Kimbundu; *sanjala* in Umbundu) describing either an African village or African neighborhood near colonial settlements. See Le Guennec and Valente, *Dicionário*; Daniel, *Ondisionaliu*. For the many translations of *'bairro'* in Umbundu, see H. Etaungo Daniel, *Dicionário Português-Umbundu* (Luanda, 2010), 127. I thank the author and his wife Raquel for clarifying to me the use of *osanjala* as meaning a settlement 'out of town' yet 'near town' (Lisbon, 31 October 2011).

non-whites in the immediate periphery, while *imbo* and *ocikanjo* described village-like settlements in the rural ring around all that. Obviously, the frontiers between *bairro*, *quimbo* and *cidade* were blurred and shifting through time.[89]

Some interviewees recalled their peri-urban neighbourhood as a *bairro*, distinct from the *cidade/vokati* (city) and from the *aldeia/imbo* (village) For instance, in 'suburban Fatima', near the airport and not very far from *Alta*, lived waged workers, including railwaymen and civil servants, but almost every family had cultivated plots and chickens. The only whites were two shopkeepers and their families.[90] Other interviewees recalled living in 'a village near Huambo', such as Tarcísio, then belonging to *Posto* Benfica, where most families initially came for the arable land but had one or more members working 'in town' or for the CCFB. Again, the only whites were two shopkeepers.[91] Both settlements began with a Catholic catechist school in the 1930s or earlier but developed with people from different regions and included Protestants. Thatched roofs were common even in houses of three or four rooms, but in time many were improved with cemented floors and tiled roofs. None of those areas had electricity or water facilities, that was the case in many 'white' neighbourhoods as well.[92]

Apparently, what distinguished a peripheral *bairro* or *sanjala* from a village in people's perception was population density, heterogeneity and greater access to 'the centre' rather than economic activities, occupations or house building materials.

---

[89] All my interviewees identified 'the city' with 'the white city' but they considered 'urban' also non-white people living outside that area, depending on their ways of living.

[90] Interview with Santos, Luanda, 17 May 2010. His father cultivated and sold vegetables and carried out various businesses; his mother worked in town as washwoman for high-ranking civil servants.

[91] Interview with Capumba, Luanda, 20 January 2006. His mother was a peasant; one of his sisters washed laundry for white families in town; his father owned beehives, pigs and goats but he was also a mason who cycled daily to work in town.

[92] In Portugal itself the 1950 Census indicated about 70 percent of families with no electricity and water, let alone sewage. Town mains were absent in almost half of *Concelho* seats. Rui Cascão, 'Modos de habitar', in Irene Vaquinhas (ed.), *História da Vida Privada em Portugal: A Época Contemporânea* (Lisbon, 2011), 22-55, especially 37.

However, those classifications situated the place of residence in a hierarchy with peripheral villages at the bottom and the city centre at the top. As in other aspects of colonial society, the top not only enjoyed more wealth and 'the comforts of civilization' or 'urban facilities' but it was also perceived as exclusively 'white', no matter the odd exception.

In the 1950s, urbanization and rural-urban migration were discussed as part of the 'detribalized native' problem in academic circles as well as among colonial administrators who perceived most 'native' urbanites as uprooted, unstable and potentially dangerous.[93] Catastrophic visions of urbanization highlighted 'demoralization of individuals, violation of traditional codes, impoverishment, excessive mobility, nomadic habits, vagrancy, theft, prostitution and sexual delinquency'.[94] Urban planning was aimed at inculcating discipline and stability in that 'erratic, marginal, floating, unfitted population' of 'detribalized' but not yet 'civilized' individuals who, some argued, should be separated from natives who were 'civilized' *de facto* or *de jure*.[95]

The 1954 Native Statute, however, treated urban 'natives' and villagers 'no longer integrated in traditional political organizations' as one group: they were directly dependent on Portuguese authorities who could appoint auxiliaries of the civil administration (*regedores administrativos* and *cabos de ordens*) with police functions to be regulated by further legislation. Thus, like traditional *olosoma* and *olosekulu* but without their historical legitimacy, state-appointed *regedores* helped colonial administrators in controlling population movements, labour and taxation. However, it was not unusual for Christian missions and big employers like the CCFB

[93] Silva Cunha, *O Sistema Português de Política Indígena* (Lisbon, 1952). A. Castilho Soares, 'Introdução a um estudo do urbanismo em Angola: Bairros Indígenas nos Centros Urbanos', *Estudos Ultramarinos*, 1 (1960), 119-55. Also Cunha, 'O enquadramento' and Soares, *Política*.
[94] Soares, *Política*, 233.
[95] Ibid, 193-4, 204, 219-21.

to claim responsibility for 'their own people' and to discuss problems involving them directly with the District authorities.[96] The Catholic Church whose 'highly socializing function' included 'feasts and solemn religious events that are powerful elements of moral and artistic education and inculcate a sense of order and discipline', was expected to help to control the urban masses through spiritual guidance and more prosaic means, like youth organizations.[97]

Law and order

From the beginning, civil administration relied on a small 'native' police force of *cipaios* reinforced by 'native' soldiers whenever needed.[98] *Cipaios* were the immediate 'intermediaries' with the colonial state, the most tangible face of its repressive apparatus and its main 'translators' of the law, without the prestige associated with chiefs, interpreters or even soldiers. Their tasks included labour recruitment, tax registry, round-ups and arrests; they also acted as jail guards, prisoner escorts, summoners, notice servers and messengers between administrative posts or between the administration and African chiefs. They were used to control gangs of porters, cleaners, road menders or prisoners working in state fields.[99]

Initially, taxation and labour took up most of the cipaios' working time in Huambo, frequently summoning *olosekulu* and *olosoma* in order to assure their cooperation. *Cipaios* were for decades the main police force in the city, despite

---

[96] On 22 May 1945, a CCFB Director in Lobito complained to the Huambo Administrator about their workers being arrested despite having all documents. The Secretary forwarded a copy to the Police in 31 May with instructions to be more careful. ANA, *Caixa* 496.
[97] Soares, *Política*, 233-4.
[98] In Angola, *cipaios* (from the Indian word *sepoy*) were not soldiers, unlike in Mozambique where the name identified African troops in the Portuguese army. Eugénia Rodrigues, 'Cipaios da Índia ou soldados da terra? Dilemas da naturalização do exército português em Moçambique no século XVIII', *História*, 45 (2006), 57-95.
[99] For detailed information on *cipaios* in Huambo, between the 1910s to the 1950s, see *Administração do Concelho do Huambo - Nova Lisboa*, ANA, *Códices* 3,510; 3,512; 3,499; 4,245; 4,481; 4,482; 6,809; 9,863; 9,851; 9,847; 11,980; and 10,077.

protests from 'humiliated' European settlers.[100] In the 1950s, administrators' main concern was with undocumented and uncontrolled 'natives' in and around town, with *cipaios* involved in round-ups and in the capture of thieves, alcohol producers and other offenders.

Despite diversity of origins, registries show an overwhelming majority of people from Huambo and adjacent regions serving throughout the period, probably explaining why *cipaios* were frequently accused of collusion with prisoners to set them free or to alleviate their work.[101] Recruitment of strangers (neither Ovimbundu nor Ovingangela) was tried, for instance from Kwanyama in southern Angola.[102] Preference for people with military training and discipline existed and the job was often taken by ex-soldiers, but that did not prevent a high turnover: many were sacked for alcoholism but others simply deserted, looking for other jobs in Angola and beyond.[103] *Cipaios* had no reasons to feel great loyalty to the colonial state since they could be subject to the same arbitrary punishment as other prisoners.[104] But like 'native' troops and 'native' chiefs, *cipaios* got tax exemption and the 1933 Overseas Administrative Reform kept them as salaried 'auxiliaries of civil administration in the colonies', along with chiefs and interpreters.[105]

As the often brutal and more visible arm of the colonial administration, most people hated them and their authority was often challenged, including violent

---

[100] In 1930, Lobito had ten white policemen but Huambo had only *cipaios* to enforce the law, something considered 'offensive to the white population'. *Planalto*, 14 April 1930, 1.

[101] Among the 99 *cipaios* registered in 1913-1915, 70 percent came from the area Huambo-Sambo-Bailundo and 42 percent from Huambo itself. One was from Tanganyika and a few were born in São Tomé, apparently from Angolan *serviçais* there. ANA, *Códice* 11,980.

[102] ANA, *Códice* 9,847. Also Administrador do Concelho do Huambo to Administrador do Concelho do Cuanhama, 10 June 1922, ANA, *Caixa* 466.

[103] In 1937, for instance, 15 *cipaios* left for diverse reasons and thirty new ones were enlisted. Administration Report 1937, ANA, *Códice* 3,563, 24-25.

[104] Suspicion of theft by 'one of the best' could be enough to suggest sending him to São Tomé 'to make an example of him'. Chefe de Posto da Vila Nova to Administração do Concelho do Huambo, 5 November 1945. ANA, *Caixa* 496, *Secção* 7.

[105] Ministério das Colónias. *Reforma Administrativa aprovada pelo Decreto-Lei nº 23.229, de 15 de Novembro de 1933* (Lisbon, 1933). Also *Portaria* 3,817, *Voz,* 1 November 1941, 2.

revenge on individuals. In Umbundu they were called *kalamba* or *ukwakalamba*, a person who brings calamity, misery or bad luck, which even *olosoma* should fear, as in a proverbial saying: *'Ngongolo okwãyi Ngovi, Ngovi okwãyi Kalamba: Kalamba eñanga lyOlondjamba; tjinene Kandimba otunda k'Ondongo'*: a millipede follows (obeys) the big antelope (as smaller *olosoma* obeyed greater *olosoma*), which obeys *kalamba*, since he can even hunt elephants (a metaphor for important *olosoma*); but at the top is the smart hare which came from Ndongo (here, a metaphor for the Portuguese, who came from the north).[106]

In Huambo, a settler region where bureaucratic positions were filled by whites and the odd non-white *assimilado*, black 'employees' of the administration were mostly *cipaios*, messengers and servants. In the mid-twentieth century even official interpreters were rarely needed since many people could act as translators, including European merchants, civil servants and missionaries. But *cipaios* were essential to the administration's everyday routine, communications and 'public order'. This was a key concept in colonized Africa, adding special meanings to its initial formulation in European metropoles. At least until 1945, 'disturbances' (*alterações da ordem pública*) came to include all sorts of actions that could challenge control, privileges and interests of European residents. But 'public order' was also invoked, sometimes along with 'humanitarian reasons', to reject particular aspects of local customary law.[107]

In the 1930s, the security apparatus in Huambo *Concelho* included: a battalion of 'native' troops (*Companhia Indígena de Metralhadoras*), which could be requested

---

[106] Albino Alves, *Dicionário Etimológico Bundo-Português*, I, (Lisbon, 1951), 251. A recent dictionary gives *okukalamba* (verb) as synonimous of to scold/shout/yell: Daniel, *Ondisionaliu*, 237.

[107] In a sense similar to the 'repugnancy clauses' in British colonies. Filip Reyntjens, 'The development of the dual legal system in former Belgian Central Africa (Zaire-Rwanda-Burundi)', in W.J. Mommsen & J.A. De Moor (eds.), *European Expansion and Law. The Encounter of European and Indigenous Law in 19th- and 20th-Century Africa and Asia*, (Oxford 1992), 116-7.

only in case of 'serious disturbances'; 24 *cipaios* paid by the Municipal Council, of whom 11 worked at *Posto Sede*, with 15 Mauser rifles; and some unarmed and illegal 'municipal guards', unable to deal with any serious disturbance of peace.[108] In 1940, the available 12 *cipaio* force 'mostly policing the non urban area' of over one thousand square kilometres was deemed utterly inadequate to a city which, 'by its geographical location and its numerous European and native population [was] a shelter for all kind of criminals'. Two 'municipal guards' did the policing of the 'urban' 24 square kilometres.[109] In mid-1940s a Police station with a few white policemen was finally installed but although many 'native' urbanites came and complained there, their cases and any arrested perpetrators were forwarded to the Native Court (*Tribunal Privativo dos Indígenas*).[110]

Huambo had low levels of criminality, considering its steady population growth and the tiny police force. Throughout 1952, for instance, the local newspaper mentioned disturbances by 'native' drunkards, thieves abounding like 'packs of wolves' and useless nightwatchmen sleeping by their fires while burglars acted freely. Eight policemen could not deal with all that and the city needed more officers and also trained nightwatchmen.[111] Those alarmist views were contradicted by police crime reports published weekly in the same newspaper: a few thefts of bicycles or chicken, some assaults, an odd burglary.[112] However, rapid black population growth raised white settlers' security fears and prompted more control measures: in December 1952 a by-law criminalized 'natives' moving about town after 9.30 pm,

[108] Administration Report 1937, 22-3. The administrator was pressing for a Police station (*Polícia de Segurança Pública*) in town.
[109] District Administration diary, 17 February 1940, ANA, *Códice* 7,444.
[110] Most cases were assaults (including women accusing male perpetrators) and theft. *Tribunal Privativo dos Indígenas*, 1945. ANA, *Caixa* 496, *Secção* 7.
[111] *Voz*, 4 September 1952, 7; 3 July 1952, 2; 17 April 1952, 7; 6 November 1952, 2.
[112] *Voz*, 11 September 1952, 4; 9 October 1952, 7; 20 November 1952, 2; 11 December 1952, 4.

forcing domestic servants and cooks either to leave their employers' houses in time to get home before 9.30 or to stay overnight, sleeping in backyards or verandas.[113]

The state, however, could count on other ways of controlling the masses in and around town: as Chanock noted for Northern Rhodesia, 'regulatory orders' included 'the rules of the churches and of economic organisations like mines and agricultural estates, and the regulatory orders of African societies'.[114] Christian churches' rules became an important part of the legal environment and, in Huambo, the Catholic network of catechists, their wives and helpers, together with missionaries with easy access to Portuguese authorities, helped in keeping discontent under control and in solving conflicts which would otherwise end at the Native Court.[115] A big company like CCFB, with a strong hierarchy and no unions limiting its power, also played its role in social control, through incentives and the threat of job loss. Apparently, only serious cases were sent to the administration, unless the Company wanted 'to teach a lesson' to the accused worker.

The role of *olosoma* and *olosekulu* is more difficult to assess, since the more complex social environment diluted their importance and not all had the same legitimacy. Yet, 'direct administration' did not completely suppress 'indirect' governance. The Overseas Administration Reform of 1933 confirmed African chiefs and headmen (*autoridades gentílicas*) as 'auxiliaries of the civil administration' with the obligation of 'obeying and promoting obedience', controlling population movements, helping with tax collection, keeping public order at large, and informing

[113] *Voz*, 9 May 1942, 6; 13 March 1952; 11 December 1952. Edital (20 December 1952) from the Natives' Guardian representative in *Concelho do Huambo*, *Planalto*, 8 January 1953, 7. For a personal testimony, see João Hailonda, *Trajectória de um Kwanyama: As Minhas Memórias* (Luanda, 2009), 17-8. The *caderneta indígena* was already mandatory for 'native' taxpayers but also for state-employed 'natives', female domestic servants and others. A 1948 by-law, apparently not strictly applied, also forbade 'civilized' people to stay after 7.00 pm in 'native' neighbourhoods without proper justification.

[114] Martin Chanock, 'The law market: The legal encounter in British East and Central Africa', in Mommsen and De Moor, *European Expansion*, 298 and 302 n. 53.

[115] The same happened among Protestants but in town they were only a minority.

about offences of all kinds. But they could not, 'at the risk of prison or public work', collect their own taxes, levy fines, be lenient on repression of the alcohol business, get any rewards for recruiting labour, or leave the area without the consent of the Portuguese authorities.[116] The 1954 Statute added that chiefs had to repress 'any immoral and criminal acts' and a new prohibition: 'keeping any native incarcerated without immediately informing the administrative authority'.[117]

Lists of *olosoma* and *olosekulu* in suburban areas confirmed the diversity of their origins, with only a small number of names traceable back to the first decades of the century.[118] In that environment of rapid immigration, most *olosoma* and *olosekulu* did not represent continuity of former powers and their position had little comparison with the past, since people could easily get support from competing civil or religious authorities. One example was *soma* Manuel Chavaia, in charge of São Bartolomeu, chosen by the population and confirmed by authorities in June 1957. *Olosekulu* responsible for the territorial subdivisions of São Bartolomeu came from Bailundo, Chinguar and Cachingues (in southern Bié). In 1960, *soma* Chavaia was accused, in a residents' open meeting with an official inquirer, of being paid for judging 'native cases', collecting debts on behalf of Portuguese merchants, and threatening debtors. In April 1961 he was again accused of demanding a pig valued at six hundred *escudos* 'for judging a native case (*questão gentílica*)'.[119]

After 1961, the formal extension of Portuguese citizenship to 'natives' had administrative implications but change was not radical, as the integration of all former 'natives' into the Portuguese system of Municipal Councils (*Câmaras Municipais*) divided in 'parishes' (*freguesias*) was out of the question. Claiming

---

[116] Ministério das Colónias, *Reforma Administrativa*.
[117] *Estatuto* 1954, Chapter II, Section I 'Political organization'.
[118] Like *soma* Petróleo Caué Magrinho, of Jongolo, with all his *olosekulu* born in Huambo or Caála. ANA, *Códice* 7,375.
[119] 'Dados biográficos de autoridades gentílicas do Concelho. 1934-1961. Sobado de S. Bartolomeu, Nova Lisboa'. ANA, *Códice* 7,375.

respect for 'native traditions and habits', colonial legislators kept the dual system: all settlements supposedly living 'according to the traditional law' were *regedorias* and, again, for settlements without traditional chiefs but not having enough white residents to become a *freguesia*, Portuguese administrative authorities nominated *regedores administrativos* who were supposed to represent people there, although individuals could ask for the application of Portuguese common law, under certain conditions.[120]

It is important to discuss further the judicial state apparatus dedicated to 'natives' before 1961. It began with attempts in the 1920s to establish a complete parallel judicial system and it ended in the pragmatic use of *Administradores* and *Chefes de Posto* as all-powerful judges applying a mixture of written and non-written law. Punishment for small offences, or simple accusations, could be limited to a number of *palmatória* strokes but could also end in prison or forced labour elsewhere. Retaliation against family elders and 'traditional' chiefs had a strong dissuasive power over potential escapees, although many took their risks.[121] The daily violence of the system partly explained the low levels of open revolt, since brutal repression over some people can spread fear and restraint among many more. Frequent corporal punishment, sometimes in public, and occasional use of collective punishment, unimaginable in 'modern' European legislation, were not distant stories but close experiences.[122] 'Natives' behaviour was criminalized with or without

[120] *Organização das Regedorias das Províncias Ultramarinas: decreto nº 43.896, de 6 de Outubro de 1961* (Lisbon, 1961). See also Decrees 43,897 and 43,898, 6 September 1961, for the judicial organization.

[121] Almost any *Códice* dealing with labour mentioned runaways: ANA, *Códices* 10,411 and 10,445. In 1954 the administrator of Caála dedicated a registry book to runaway 'contract' workers, with 81 entries in four months: ANA, *Códice* 4,156. Jeremy Ball's interviews with ex-'contract' workers from central Angola produced some interesting stories: '"I escaped in a coffin": Remembering Angolan forced labor from the 1940s', *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos*, 9-10 (2006), 63-75.

[122] See the essays in Florence Bernault (ed.), *Enfermement, Prison et Châtiments en Afrique du 19e Siècle à nos Jours* (Paris, 1999); also Florence Bernault, 'The shadow of rule: colonial power and modern punishment in Africa', in F. Dikötter and I. Brown (eds.),

reference to existing laws, penalties were disproportionate, prisoners were regularly beaten, were used as cheap or forced labour and could never be sure of their destiny. One word from the colonial administrator could decide if they stayed in or out of prison; a sympathetic *cipaio* could also make the difference, as proven by frequent escapes and accusations of *cipaios'* complicity. In a world where any white person could send 'natives' to the administration to be punished, for small mistakes as well as for true crimes, most people chose to avoid trouble and not to be defiant. Nothing of that was close to modern European jurisprudence and this fundamental aspect of the colonial situation deserves further comment in order to make sense of empirical data from Huambo.

Studies on how law and order were defined and put into action across colonial Africa have shattered illusions of 'judicial modernity' being the good companion of colonialism. Chanock, Bernault, Anderson, Burton and others have demonstrated that the rule of law was not a pillar of the colonial administration and that what was in place was neither an overseas transfer of a 'modern judicial system' nor a respectful adaptation of local custom.[123] Even a useful analytical device like 'legal pluralism', Chanock argued, can be misleading since it suggests the coexistence of imported law and customary law, while in fact 'both foreign and indigenous laws are products of the colonial situation, continually being formed in response to new historical circumstances'.[124] Major crimes usually fell under 'European law', while others were

---

Cultures of Confinement: A History of the Prison in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Ithaca, 2007), 55-94.

[123] Mommsen and De Moor, *European Expansion and Law*, especially Chanock 'The law market'; David Anderson and David Killingray (eds.), *Policing the Empire: Government, Authority, and Control, 1830-1940* (Manchester, 1991).

[124] Chanock 'The law market', 280-1. Reyntjens called it 'imperfect legal pluralism': 'Development', 114-23. East and Central Africa are essential for comparisons with Angola, despite different law traditions in Portugal, Belgium and Britain. See, for example, Chanock, *Law, Custom, and Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia* (Cambridge, 1985); Andrew Burton, *African Underclass: Urbanisation, Crime & Colonial Order in Dar es Salaam* (London, 2005); David Anderson 'Policing the settler state: Colonial hegemony in Kenya, 1900-1952', in Dagmar Engels and Shula Marks (eds.),

dealt with a great variety of solutions. In Angola, where there was no written 'Native Code', the definition of crime and punishment were even more dependent on the arbitrary decision of the colonial state representative, despite detailed regulations on procedures.[125] There was also a gap between legislation modelled by fashionable colonial doctrines and its application by men in the field reacting to sometimes contradictory interests and pressures. So, the consequences of diverse colonial doctrines are better understood from reality on the ground than from discussions in imperial inner circles in Europe. However, these discussions may illuminate colonial policies and subjacent ideologies, showing how the colonial state intended to deal with its non-citizens.

The advance of colonial administration in Africa prompted discussions on the relationship between indigenous and foreign juridical institutions and practices, both for theoretical and practical reasons, with politicians and scholars agreeing that colonial control implied some degree of acceptance of native institutions. Juridical and penal differentiation between colonizers and colonized found a general consensus making codification of 'native laws' necessary to institutionalize 'native courts'.[126] It was also accepted that 'customary law' would be restricted by 'humanitarian principles' or the superior interest of the colonial power. But while some conceived 'native courts' as part of the 'indirect rule' experiment, others wanted European administrations handling the judicial and repressive apparatus. That was the case in Angola, where 'native cases' (*questões gentílicas*) serious enough to come

---

Contesting Colonial Hegemony: State and Society in Africa and India (London, 1994), 248-65; John McCracken, 'Coercion and control in Nyasaland: Aspects of the history of a colonial police force', *JAH*, 27 (1986), 127-47; Stacey Hynd, 'Law, violence and penal reform: State responses to crime and disorder in colonial Malawi, c.1900-1959', *JSAS*, 3 (2011), 431-47; Richard Waller, 'Towards a contextualisation of policing in colonial Kenya', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 4, 3 (2010), 524-40.

[125] *Portaria* 3,126 (28 October 1939) regulated the Statute as revised in 1929, and a new *Regulamento* was issued in 1943, but no Native Code existed. José Caramona Ribeiro, *Regulamento do Foro Privativo dos Indígenas de Angola* (Luanda, 1944).

[126] Cf. recommendations of the 1906 International Congress of Colonial Sociology, in Cunha, *O sistema*, 41 ff.

to the Portuguese administration, like murder, were judged by the administrator with advice from two 'natives', supposedly experts in 'native' custom.[127] Post-1910 Republican laws distinguished between 'natives' ruled by 'codified and expurgated customary law' and citizens subject to Portuguese civil law. That implied two things: a special 'civil, political and criminal statute' for 'natives', indeed published in 1926, and African customs' codification for the use of the Native Courts, which was never produced.[128]

Experience of the neighbouring Congos and French colonial jurisprudence at large greatly influenced the Portuguese, as evident from references in legislation preambles, although some were inspired by British examples.[129] When diverse legislation was subsumed in the first Native Statute (1926) 'customary law' was meant to regulate 'family, property and inheritance rights' and 'habits and custom of native social life' would be accepted unless offending Portuguese 'sovereignty rights' or 'humanitarian principles'. A special court for 'natives' should be put in place in every administrative area and, in the absence of customary laws' codification, they could use 'declarations of the local native chief and two other respected natives chosen by the administrative authority' but only with 'information functions'. It was responsible for all civil cases involving natives but in serious criminal cases only if defendant and plaintiff were both natives; otherwise the case should be judged in normal courts. A Supreme Court for Natives presided over by the Governor-General as their 'natural protector' was the appellate court and major penalties had to be

---

[127] *Portaria provincial* 26 January 1907, Laboreiro, *Ganda*, 17.

[128] *Lei Orgânica de Administração das Províncias Ultramarinas*, 15 Augost 1914. For republican legislation in context, see Cristina Nogueira da Silva, 'As "normas científicas da colonização moderna" e a administração civil das colónias', in José M. Sardica (ed.), *A Primeira República e as Colónias Portuguesas* (Lisbon, 2010), 87-107. See also Clarence-Smith, *Third Portuguese Empire*, 116-45.

[129] For brief survey of Portuguese colonial law, see Luís Chorão, 'Direito Colonial', in António Barreto and Filomena Mónica (eds.), *Dicionário da História de Portugal*, (Porto, 1999), VII Suplemento A-E, 545-7.

confirmed by the Military Court.[130] Portugal had had no death penalty since 1867; instead, people were banished to São Tomé or to harsh regions in southern Angola.[131]

The 1954 Native Statute obliged the state to promote 'natives' material and moral conditions, including 'education by schooling and working', in order to change 'primitive customs' and eventually achieve their 'integration into the community through access to citizenship'. This apparent return to the 'assimilation' doctrine made a separate judicial and penal system look contradictory but it was justified as temporary, a necessary transition to an ideal unification. While accepting 'native customs' limited 'by morals, humanitarian reasons and the superior interests of Portuguese rule', colonial authorities were expected to 'harmonize' customs with 'fundamental principles of the public and private Portuguese law', looking for a 'cautious evolution of native institutions' in that same direction. They should also consider the 'native' individual's 'degree of evolution, his moral qualities, his professional ability and his withdrawing from or integration in tribal society'. Article 27 opened to 'natives' the option for Portuguese 'common law' on matters related to 'family, inheritance, trade and real estate', with restrictions. But penal law was not so advanced and the system designed in the 1920s went on, giving up the Native Courts and leaving the administrator as judge and the administration premises functioning as a local prison, from where detainees were sent elsewhere as unpaid or paid labour.[132] Reformist Adriano Moreira justified the judicial powers of the administration not only for financial reasons but because the 'native mindset' would not understand the distinction between the executive and the judiciary. The Portuguese Constitution, he noted, did not impose respect for 'native' laws but only 'acquiesced to their customs

[130] Decree 12,533, 23 October 1926, establishing the Native Statute.
[131] ANA, *Códice* 4,382. In Angola, the banishment place was supposed to be decided by the Governor-General but apparently it was often decided by district administrators: ANA, *Códice* 10,445.
[132] See 1954 Native Statute, Section II, Article 26, keeping in force article 13 from Decree 16,473 (6 February 1929).

as far as they were not against morals, humanity and Portuguese sovereignty'.[133] Favouring unitary judiciary organization, he claimed 'the recognition of native institutions should be only transient and with the necessary distortion'.[134]

Juridical dualism, however imperfect, depended on codification for full implementation and any form of indirect rule needed old or reshaped African chieftaincies. The Portuguese colonial state had no means to do the former and in most of Angola it had destroyed or seriously undermined the latter by military conquest, taxation and taking over their former functions, while Christianization undermined their spiritual role.[135] Yet, the creation of 'native' special Courts (*Tribunais Privativos dos Indígenas*) after the Native Statute and the acceptance of 'native custom' in certain judicial decisions confirmed the duality in the judicial and penal system demanded by the citizen/native divide, without implying judicial powers for African chiefs and headmen.[136] The 1933 Overseas Administration Reform confirmed the auxiliary role of those *autoridades gentílicas* in keeping law and order and controlling peoples' movements but with no autonomy to deal with crime: they should report it and send offenders to the nearest Portuguese authority.[137]

This quick overview of 'native courts', their juridical framework and changes in colonial doctrine is necessary to contextualize the application of the law in Huambo. Obviously, what happened on the ground depended also on circumstances and many

[133] Adriano Moreira, 'Administração de justiça aos indígenas', *Separata da Revista do Gabinete de Estudos Ultramarinos*, 5-6 (1952), 10. Also 13-14 and 16-17 for important elements of the system. For a detailed discussion of the 'native courts', Ribeiro, *Regulamento*.

[134] Adriano Moreira, 'A revogação do Acto Colonial', *Separata da Revista do Gabinete de Estudos Ultramarinos*, (1951), 11-13. See also Silva Cunha, 'O conflito colonial de leis: Seu regime no Direito Português', *O Direito*, 82 (1950), 2, 81-100.

[135] Without a Native Code, some administrators considered ridiculous their judging functions based on native advisors' 'incoherent opinions'. Laboreiro, *Circunscrição*, 18. In the 1940s, experts accused the lack of codification of causing serious problems in 'native' justice: Ribeiro, *Regulamento*, 3.

[136] Cf. Reyntjens 'Development', 115-117 (for Belgian colonies) and Lucy Mair, *Native Policies*, 76 (for Southern Rhodesia).

[137] A recent discussion on their role in Portuguese colonies is Philip Havik, '"Direct" or "indirect" rule? Reconsidering the role of appointed chiefs and native employees in Portuguese West Africa', *Africana Studia*, (2011), 29-56.

cases were 'judged' by *soma* and *sekulu*, catechists or missionaries. After 1930, at least in Huambo, formal procedures at Native Courts were simplified and in the 1950s defendants were simply sent to the administrator who decided their fate. So, whether by conviction or by incapacity, the use of 'native courts' and of 'native customary law' imposed by the Native Statute was arbitrary and driven by circumstances rather than by the law.[138]

Criminal offences often went on being defined *ad hoc*, beyond the written law, most commonly to repress whatever could be seen as defiant to the social and racial hierarchy but also for more prosaic reasons like maintaining a cheap labour force. In Angola as elsewhere, 'the colonial prison was instrumental in manufacturing cheap labour for settlers and, at a different level, in consolidating racial inequalities'.[139] Indeed, it happened that 'native' prisoners in Huambo increased in certain months, with round-ups in correlation with labour demands.[140] The most frequent charges were failure to pay the annual 'native tax' and lack of documents: non-residents had to carry not only the *Caderneta indígena* (working pass) but also a *guia de trânsito* (travel permit) and forgetting it justified imprisonment. In the 1950s, with growing urbanisation, many urban dwellers avoided registration to escape taxes and labour recruitment, but they had to be lucky not to be caught.[141] Those 'crimes', together

---

[138] Coissoró, a specialist in Portuguese 'native' policies since the 1960s, wrote later on that 'the experiment of the so called 'indigenous private courts' did not last long …. The formal solution that was found was to transfer the administration of justice to the administrative authorities (the Administration Court)' assisted by 'traditional chiefs who knew the law'. Narana Coissoró, 'African Customary Law in the Former Portuguese Territories, 1954-1974', *Journal of African Law*, 28 (1984), 73-4.

[139] Bernault, 'The shadow', 68.

[140] For instance, from fisheries in Benguela or coffee and palm-oil plantations in Kwanza-Sul. This paragraph is based on thousands of daily registries of where, when, why and how long 'natives' were put in prison. ANA, *Códices* 3,464; 3,459; 3,545; 3,556; 3,724; 3,736; 4,382; 4,412; 4,473; 6,874; 7,444; 9;985; 9,578; 10,411. Other *Códices* gave detailed descriptions of 'court cases' in earlier years: ANA, *Códices* 4,422; 4,423; 4,426; 4,474; 4,471.

[141] Of the 392 'natives' detained between October 1951 and June 1952, unpaid taxes accounted for almost half and 'lack of documents' for 31 percent: ANA, *Códice* 3,724. Most of the over 400 detained between July 1954 and November 1959 were accused of 'lack of documents': ANA, *Códice* 9,578.

with 'lack of respect' for whites, 'evasion from workplace', 'escape from contract' and 'vagrancy' were specific to the colonial situation. Others were part of the criminalization of the urban poor, as once had been the case in European cities: surprisingly heavy punishment (several days in prison) was applied for small thefts like a cup of cassava flour or a chorizo, and 'bad behaviour' leading to prison included drunkenness, prostitution, small disturbances but also 'dressing too poorly' in town. The severity of punishment for attempted or actual offences against any white person gave the measure of racial distinction: a simple 'lack of respect' was punished with ten days in prison, but if physical violence was involved it could cause deportation to southern Angola. That was a more serious 'crime' than striking a *cipaio* who, despite being a representative of authority, was black.[142]

Chanock summarized the consequences of 'the legal encounter' as being 'individualization rights and bureaucratization without the rule of law'.[143] In Angola, the rationale behind the Native Statute implied the existence of Native Courts, but in practice, the definition of crime and punishment were often left to the arbitrary decision of officials and civil servants, initially with some intervention of 'native' advisors. At least until 1961, the system worked with colonial administrative authorities being rulers, legislators and judges. Such concentration of power and the very fact that definitions of 'crime' were different for 'citizens' and 'natives', was certainly neither an example of the 'rule of law' nor the best introduction of 'modern' European judicial systems to Africans. Moreover, the absence of kinship and alliance networks to moderate the new rulers' power made the situation worse than with former autocratic African powers.

---

[142] In 1934 a servant 'threatening' to beat a white woman was sentenced to sixty days in prison while heavily beating a cipaio was punished with 6 days in prison. ANA, Códice 9,985.

[143] Chanock, 'Law Market', 305.

Looking for a way out

The self-justifying ideology of 'race' supremacy was challenged on many fronts during and after the Second World War, with European metropoles establishing 'development' as their new colonial doctrine and facing anti-colonial protests and African nationalism.[144] By the late 1950s, Portugal stood alone in deciding to hold onto its empire at all costs and moved its colonial discourse back to 'assimilation' and 'integration'.[145] That represented a shift from existing mainstream doctrine and even Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre's thesis about the Portuguese supposedly special aptitude for living in the tropics and producing mixed-race offspring, had been ignored except for a few intellectuals who understood its ideological potential.[146] It was not the case with Marcelo Caetano whose 'fundamental principles of modern Portuguese colonization' included 'political unity' and 'economic solidarity' but insisted on 'administrative differentiation' until the colonized became 'civilized Portuguese' via 'cultural assimilation'.[147] Salazar himself, however, chose the 'unity of the pluricontinental nation' and in 1953 Portuguese colonies became 'Overseas Provinces', despite distinct laws, courts, currency and taxes.[148]

Swimming against the decolonization tide, the discourse of a multiracial and multi-continental Portuguese nation pervaded textbooks, literature and the media. Mulattoes were no more seen as the collateral damage of colonization but the symbol

---

[144] See Cooper, *Colonialism* and 'Development' but also *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge, 1996).

[145] Discussion and references in my own article 'Ideologias, contradições e mistificações da colonização de Angola no século XX', *Lusotopie*, (1997), 327-59.

[146] After travelling in the Portuguese empire by official invitation, Freyre wrote an ill-informed book about it: *Aventura e Rotina* (Lisbon, 1952). On reception of Freyre's theories in Portugal, see Cláudia Castelo, *"O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo": O Luso-tropicalismo e a Ideologia Colonial Portuguesa (1933-1961)* (Porto, 1998).

[147] Marcelo Caetano, *Tradição, Princípios e Métodos da Colonização Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1951). Later on, Caetano recalled his position against 'integration, the new modality of nineteenth-century assimilation'. Marcelo Caetano, *Depoimento,* (Rio de Janeiro, 1974), 20-4. For an 'assimilation' supporter, see Augusto Casimiro, *Angola e o Futuro (Alguns Problemas Fundamentais)* (Lisbon, 1959).

[148] Law 2,066, 27 June 1953: *Lei Orgânica do Ultramar Português* (replacing *Carta Orgânica do Império Colonial*). New terminology aimed at denying the colonial status of Portuguese ruled African territories.

and evidence of supposed anti-racism, as Lusotropicalism claimed that Portuguese rule was based on affectivity rather than violence. After Brazil, the Portuguese were supposedly creating 'new worlds in the tropics' and would stay forever.[149] From the outbreak of the anticolonial war in 1961, however, *lusitanidade* ('lusitanity') and *portugalidade* ('portugality') were preferred concepts since comparisons with Brazil hinted at independence.[150]

Paradoxically, as Lusotropicalism was being advanced in defence of Portuguese colonialism, race relations in Angola were being strained by new waves of settlers and a reformulated Native Statute which made 'citizenship' harder to obtain by 'blacks and their descendants'. Taxes, working passes, forced labour, circulation restrictions, and official and unofficial segregation could hardly be seen as a progressive 'integration'.[151] Yet, the Portuguese government was out of touch and in January 1960, one year before the bloody uprisings in northern Angola, Governor-General Silva Tavares praised its integration policy, derived from the Portuguese 'spontaneous' aptitude for 'mixing' with others, the true key for assimilation and the best defence against racist African nationalisms.[152]

Readings of 'race', of course, vary according to the situation of the observer: photographs of white and mixed-race people sharing restaurants, beaches or New Year parties in colonial Angola may look as fraternization with 'Africans' to

---

[149] In Angola, some used Freyre's theories to counteract racial segregation: 'Lusotropicalism … is the only possible solution in southern Africa. No construction will be viable based on extermination or segregation of aboriginal populations. Their integration in our ethnic group (*etnia*) and our civilization corresponds to the demands of God and Nature': Alberto Lemos, *I Congresso dos Economistas Portugueses. Problemas das Economias ultramarinas : IV Secção, Colonização étnica. Comunicação e Debates* (Lisbon, 1955), 12.
[150] *'Portugalidade'* was a 'vehicle of Western civilization in Angola': António Ferronha, *Consciência da Luso-Tropicalidade* (Luanda, 1969), 6. See too Léopold S. Senghor, *Lusitanidade e Negritude* (Lisbon, 1975).
[151] For a detailed analysis of *'indigenato'* in Angola, see Christine Messiant, *1961. L'Angola Colonial, Histoire et Société* (Bâle, 2006), 69-118. Racial segregation was still part of Portuguese mainstream politics in the 1950s: 'O princípio e as práticas da Unidade Política: uma notável comunicação do Sr. Engº Raul Martins ao Congresso da União Nacional', *A Província de Angola*, 3 and 4 July 1956.
[152] *Planalto*, 19 January 1960, 1: 'A new era in Africa's history began'.

American eyes, while Angolans immediately notice the absence of blacks as evidence of segregation. The odd black person in 'white' social spaces, in a country where non-blacks were a tiny minority, made race discrimination only more evident even if no law allowed 'whites only' venues. Officially, non-white 'citizens' could not be discriminated against and black and mixed-race individuals appeared across status and class divisions, but the lighter their skin the easier they moved up.[153] Unlike the United States, Portugal never used the 'one-drop' criterion and both statistics and perceptions of 'race' in Angola considered *mestiços* a third category, neither black nor white. The legal expression of race discrimination was the Native Statute and related legislation, since cultural and economic preconditions to become a 'citizen' were imposed only on 'blacks and their descendants'.

The language and practice of racial segregation varied greatly but in the 1950s colonial discourse and practice were at opposite ends. In Huambo, a more aggressive racism accompanied the post-war 'whitening' of the city following rising Portuguese immigration, but overt racism became politically incorrect in print: while in the early 1940s the undisputable supremacy of 'the white race' was openly voiced, in the 1950s racially biased comments or demands would claim 'this is not racism!' at some point.[154]

Leisure activities are a good entry point to discuss race relations and cultural differences, but my main sources (official archives, missionary reports and a newspaper focused on white settlers) provide little information about black people when they were not performing their working or devotional tasks. A fragmentary vision of other aspects of life, however, can be gained from oral sources. Apart from religious activities, weekends were used for paying visits to friends and relatives; playing or watching football; going to the Kanye market or 'to the centre' to watch

[153] Race 'enhancement' (*'adiantar a raça'*) defined the strategy, especially by women, of having children with someone of a lighter skin, a 'white' if possible.
[154] *Voz*, 6 November 1943, 1; 21 February, 3; 9 October 1952, 7; 11 December 1952, 3.

'city life'. A passion for football cut across race and social status but clubs and associations were selective and only the best or the lucky 'native' players could aspire to be accepted in 'civilized' teams. In suburban areas, taverns and shops selling alcohol were important places of conviviality places, especially for men.[155] Free or 'subscription' dancing parties used live music, often mixing 'traditional' drums with 'modern' guitars and harmonicas, or record players working on car batteries replacing old wind-up gramophones.[156]

Differences of social status certainly influenced sociability but age and gender were decisive in the choice of leisure activities. Race was an issue, despite the existence of spaces where inter-racial socialization was possible, like markets, football fields and some suburban residential areas. However, according to all informants, the presence of young white men among black suburban partygoers was not matched by a presence of white girls or a similar presence of black youth in parties organized by predominantly 'white' associations. Cinema, present in Huambo since the early days, was another example: the building of a cinema in the suburban *bairro* of São João which accepted 'natives' in 1952 raised fears about 'weak and ill-formed spirits' watching whites perpetrating crimes or romantic scenes involving white women.[157]

The closer 'blacks and their descendants' were to whites, both in geographic and sociological terms, the more they resented the racist rationale behind the system. 'Natives' were excluded from buying and selling property, sending their children to the secondary school, travelling in the same train carriages with 'civilized' people or

---

[155] Cf. Penvenne, *African Workers*, 40, on Maputo's *cantinas*. In Angola the businesses belonged to Portuguese settlers, sometimes to Cape-Verdeans.

[156] Interview with Raul David, Luanda, 7 October 1994. Raul David, 'É um erro crasso afirmar-se que a Kilapanga veio de S. Tomé', *Jornal de Angola*, 15 August 1993.

[157] *Voz*, 4 September 1952, 7. On ambulatory cinema: *Voz*, 11 January 1951, 3. On the Catholic Church and 'adequate' movies for 'natives': *Voz*, 7 May 1953, 2. On cinema, moral corruption and political subversion in 'backward civilization territories': *Idem*, 7. Also Eduardo de Azevedo, 'A influência perniciosa do cinema sobre a mentalidade primária dos não-civilizados', *Mensário Administrativo*, 63-64 (1952), 17-18.

entering most cinemas and clubs. As a few politicians and scholars then recognized, economic and social changes produced thousands of 'natives' whose literacy, occupation and living standards made them 'civilized' *de facto* but not *de jure*.[158] Ignoring so many 'progressive natives' (*indígenas evoluídos*) reinforced a 'politically undesirable distinction between blacks and whites' instead of a 'desirable distinction' between civilized and non-civilized. [159]

Back in 1941, Marcelo Caetano failed to introduce an intermediary category between citizenship and *indigenato* for those who 'were not exactly natives but it would be inaccurate to considered … non-natives': equal in civil and commercial laws to the Europeans from whom they 'had adopted economic processes and ways of living' but subject to the Native Statute in political and criminal matters because they lacked the 'moral conceptions' of the civilized. The imperial advisory board, the *Conselho Ultramarino*, also suggested distinguishing those 'under tribal regime' from the 'detribalized', but that was rejected.[160]

So, while since the mid-1940s France and Britain were 'trying to construct some kind of junior citizenship through which colonized people could partake of some, but not all, of the qualities of a metropolitan citizen', Portugal produced in 1954 a stricter version of the Native Statute.[161] With many more articles (67, compared to 22 in 1926) the procedures became a bureaucratic nightmare, far from the looser ways of the former years. The candidates should prove that they possessed the 'individual and social habits needed for the full application of public and private law of Portuguese citizens', including house inspection. Yet, the 1954 Statute reflected the return of

---

[158] Moreira called for a study of *'assimilados de facto'* to establish if they were part of a 'non-revolutinary intermediate class' or if they could be 'attracted to potentially revolutionay political action'. Adriano Moreira, *Política Ultramarina* (Lisbon, 1956), 142. Messiant in *L'Angola* and *Luanda* paid careful attention to differences between *de facto* and *de jure* '*assimilados'*, and inside each group.

[159] Soares, *Política*, 204-10. He thought urbanization plans based on people's economic resources should help 'interpenetration of whites and blacks'.

[160] Soares, *Política*, 222-3; Cunha, 'O enquadramento'.

[161] Cooper, *Decolonization*, 266-7.

'assimilation' as the final objective while the first Statute followed the 'association' and segregationist general trend of the 1920s. Back then, 'natives' were not part of the Portuguese nation; the 1954 version attempted to reconcile segregation and a 'multi-continental and multiracial Portugal' and 'natives' became 'Portuguese natives' (*indígenas portugueses*) but not 'Portuguese citizens' (*cidadãos portugueses*).[162]

In Huambo, where job availability and training opportunities were expanding, the legal status bar was clearly blocking social mobility. By law, most state jobs were reserved for 'civilized' persons and when 'natives' were employed, out of necessity, they were paid less. Wages everywhere had two standards: no matter how skilled a 'native' could be, his or her payment was always inferior. A 'native' could drive a car or a truck, if necessary, but he would not be allowed to get a driving licence, so officially no 'native' drivers existed. As for land tenure, the 1954 Statute did grant individual land property rights, but under such conditions that made it extremely difficult to obtain. Land disputes could only be taken to court by '*civilizados*', with few exceptions.

The colonial system generated unofficial ways of climbing the social ladder, with personal relationships and shared commercial interests used to circumvent the lack of legal opportunities. Examples were client-patron ties, the protection of godchildren by godparents, or informal schooling set up by literate 'native' or 'civilized' blacks. But only citizenship could open the way for wages, property, housing or education equal to white people. No deeper motivation was needed; getting Portuguese citizenship was part of a strategy of survival and adaptation to a brutal and unfair system.

[162] Statute 1926 and Statute 1954.

Between 1954 and 1961 the number of citizenship applicants grew steadily in Huambo and throughout Angola, despite regional differences.[163] The fact that they were a tiny minority among 'natives' did not reflect a general lack of interest in citizenship benefits but rather the deterrent effect of the entire procedure. For most people, pre-conditions were out of reach. As a Portuguese civil servant wrote: 'We demand a minimum monthly wage of 600 *escudos* to grant a citizen's ID card; but without that *Bilhete de Identidade*, how can they get a 600 *escudos* job?'.[164] For those too distant from opportunities of better employment or education, the expensive bureaucratic process was not worthwhile. Citizenship would also be of little interest for some chiefs or important cattle owners, wealthy enough to escape the worst constraints of the *indigenato*. Catholic catechists, exempt since 1944 from 'native' taxation and labour recruitment, would ponder over their chances of getting it. But for the majority, Portuguese citizenship would mean better jobs and no more 'native' taxes, forced labour, police harassment and physical punishment. Economic limitations and the complicated and humiliating process to achieve 'citizenship' explained the relatively low number of applicants.

Moreover, it was not easy to maintain the supposed citizens' living standards demanded by a legal status which could be reversed at any time by colonial authorities. Application files kept in Angolan archives attest to Kafkaesque legal procedures but also to occasional deceiving tactics in favour of applicants, by merchants, missionary personnel or civil servants. The citizenship 'permit'[165] application had to be joined by certified documents confirming: birth place and parents' names (*certidão de nascimento*); no criminal record (*registo criminal*); ability to read and write in

---

[163] In 'Portuguese Congo', after a threefold rise between 1955 and 1959 they were diminishing, partly influenced by anticolonial propaganda from Belgian Congo. Hélio Felgas 'Sugestão particular e confidencial' (November 1960), AHU, MU/GM/GNP/SR: 087.

[164] 'Autos de averiguações administrativas para concessão de alvará de cidadania', ANA, *Pastas*, Huambo, (1957-1961) [hereafter *Pastas 'Cidadania'*]

[165] *Alvará de cidadania*, the new name for *atestado de assimilação.*

Portuguese (*certidão de habilitações*); good civic and moral behaviour (written statement by administrative authorities); vaccination certificate; and economic resources compatible with a 'civilized' life style.[166] All papers went up to the District Administrator through successive officials' scrutiny, taking weeks or months between the date of the first paper and the final decision. A small mistake could bring it all back down to the applicant; by then, many documents were no longer valid and he/she had to start again. However, the worst part was house inspection to establish if the applicant's family was 'civilized' enough: everything was checked, from furniture to food and clothes. Children were forbidden from going barefoot and women wearing traditional cloths or unable to speak Portuguese were relegated to the backyard as non-family, vexing family elders. That was resented as particularly racist and humiliating since many white people would not have a cleaner or better-equipped house and their children would run barefoot without their 'civilization' being questioned.[167] It was common knowledge that inspectors could be deceived by borrowed furniture and kitchenware, but other aspects could not be faked.

Between 1956 and 1961, 542 out of 560 requests for citizenship registered in Huambo District Administration received a positive answer. In 1956 only 12 out of 22 applicants got the citizenship but numbers rose afterwards. In 1960 there were 193 applicants and only one failed and in 1961 there were still 33 applications, before the Statute ended.[168] Examination of complete files of 378 individuals give an interesting overview of who the applicants were: more than half declared to live in Huambo's urban or suburban *bairros*, 42 indicated the Congregational Mission of Ndondi and twenty named Catholic Missions. About 80 percent of the total were

---

[166] Cf. Belgian Congo since 1953: *immatriculation* (registration) depended on showing by 'training and way of life a state of civilisation implying the ability to enjoy the rights and to fulfil the duties provided by the written laws'. Reyntjens, 'Development', 117.

[167] In 1961, the Angola Natives' Guardian Sousa recognized that many people were not 'assimilated' just because they feared vexation in that preliminary inspection. AHU, MU/GM/GNP/SR087.

[168] ANA, *Códice* 11,693.

between 21 and 44 years old, and more than 17 percent were under 21 (legally underage, probably trying to get access to secondary schools).[169] Among the only 13 women, six from the town and four from Ndondi Mission, there was one teacher, one servant and 11 without occupation. Diversity of occupation was pronounced among men: more than forty different jobs, led by teachers (17 percent), male nurses (13 percent) and tailors (10 percent). Other occupations included drivers, state employees, railwaymen, orderlies, students, farmers, tractor drivers, catechists, typographers and a variety of skilled workers such as mechanics and carpenters.[170]

The *indigenato* system had come to a dead end and many high ranking civil servants were in favour of reforming it, although only a few advocated its total suppression. The system was considered unfair and unjustifiable in 'cultural' terms but many feared the huge consequences on taxation and labour recruitment if 'natives' were turned into 'citizens'.[171] It would be, wrote the Angola Natives' Guardian in May 1961, an 'unbearable situation' for the state, left without the native tax and the thousands of people used in public works, not to mention the fact that 'equality' could lead to 'anarchy' as in Belgian Congo and that 'the European population was not in a state of mind to accept the Statute revocation'.[172] In fact, the Native Statute was abolished a few months later, amidst the reformist wave that followed the 1961 uprisings in Angola.[173]

---

[169] An industrial and commercial trade school began by local initiative in 1949 and became official in 1952: *Voz*, 2 April 1949, 10; 14 June 1951, 1; 21 February 1952, 8. The high-school, long demanded by white settlers, was inaugurated in 1956 in the premises of the Commercial Association: *Voz*, 4 October 1956.

[170] ANA, *Pastas 'Cidadania'*. I thank Fernando Gonçalo for helping in collecting data from those files.

[171] Important documents on the subject in 'Revogação do Estatuto do Indigenato (1956-1961)', AHU, MU/GM/GNP/SR087.

[172] A.B. Sousa, 'Parecer da Curadoria Geral dos Indígenas', 3 May 1961, AHU, MU/GM/GNP/SR087.

[173] Decree 43,893, 6 September 1961. Adriano Moreira was Overseas Minister. More about legislation changes: 'Reformas de Legislação Ultramarina (1955-1963)', AHU, MU/GM/GNP/SR184.

Conclusion

During the 1950s, Salazar's opposition to decolonization consolidated an image of *sui generis* Portuguese colonialism, whether observers tended to subscribe to the myth of racial harmony or to denounce exploitation of African labour. The brutality of colonialism in the French and British colonies was being 'redeemed' by 'development' policies and independence prospects, while Portuguese colonies stood as examples of economic and political backwardness. But Portuguese rulers counted on Angola's economic potential to bring foreign investment into their project of more intense colonization.

Analysis of social change in Huambo can not be reduced to the city alone as it was deeply embedded in its rural surroundings from the beginning. That was still the case in the 1950s. If peasants produced the bulk of economic wealth and fed the city, waged work became more common, diversified and skilled. But proletarianization was retarded by ridiculously low salaries, available land for subsistence and cash crops, informal businesses and also kin and non-kin networks acting as safety nets. Persistence of the 'Native Statute' conditioned peoples' lives in an evolving environment where the legal status was a more important social marker than occupation, education or religion. 'Race' was important in the city's layout but its intended racial segregation had been clearly subverted in some neighbourhoods, especially due to low income white settlers. The section on social control and 'public order' provides evidence of how violent, arbitrary and absurd colonial 'justice' could be, confirming that the rule of law was hardly part of the colonial legacy.

In the search for a way out of *indigenato* constraints, 'natives' used migration, deception, tax evasion and every possibility offered by the system. Application for Portuguese citizenship implied cultural assimilation but it was mainly a strategy to improve family life and did not necessarily result in political accommodation, let

alone in the rejection of an 'African identity'. Despite obvious advantages, the position of black 'citizens' in closer contact with whites, to whom skin colour was a social asset, made them even more 'race' conscious and resentful of colonial rule.

CONCLUSION

The Portuguese conquest of the kingdom of Wambu in 1902 was a political landmark in the history of Angola's central plateau. The termination of Umbundu sovereignty, however, was not accompanied by an abrupt transition in the social and economic history of the region. Long before the military conquest, the region was already part of the economic network serving the colonial economy of Angola. Despite the harsh conditions imposed on the defeated peoples, moreover, the old pattern of European trading on the plateau persisted and relations between the Portuguese administration and African villagers continued to be mediated by their remaining headmen and *olosoma*. In time, the Portuguese colonial state consolidated its power over the subjugated population through taxation, labour exploitation, forced displacement and removal of the old hierarchies – unless, that is they proved useful for population control. The new urban centre of Huambo was founded at the heart of this emerging web of colonial control.

At the core of Portuguese colonial rule in the twentieth century was the divide between 'civilized' and 'native'. Specific legislation applied to the vast majority of so-called 'blacks and their descendents', culminating in the Native Statute in 1926. The 1926 code levelled people of diverse origins and social positions into the colonial category of 'native', with far-reaching consequences for the social mobility of Africans. Becoming highly bureaucratized in the 1950s, this legal divide cut across neighbourhoods and households and pushed out individuals and groups previously accepted as 'Portuguese citizens'. The persistence of the Native Statute made personal legal status a more important social marker than ethnicity, occupation, education or religion. Through a case-study of Huambo and its rural hinterland, this study demonstrates how important the Native Statute was, not only in extracting financial

and human resources from colonized peoples but also in protecting the supremacy of white settlers in Angola, where as late as 1940 the 'non-whites' represented more than half of the so-called 'civilized population'.

In 1912, exactly one hundred years ago from the time of writing, Huambo was founded as part of a envisaged project of large-scale white settlement. The city was supposed to grow inside well-defined limits, keeping its 'civilized' (mostly white) and 'native' populations clearly apart. However, throughout the period covered by this research, its white population grew more slowly than planned. Part of it, moreover, settled in that part of the town's periphery initially designated for ‘natives’. So, 'race' was always important in the city's layout, as it was in Angolan colonial society at large, but racial segregation was clearly subverted in some neighbourhoods. That, however, did not suppress African resentment towards a pervasive racism in a society where skin colour did not by itself define one's social position but was the first criterion to classify the non-'civilized'. As for other perceived differences, whether ethno-linguistic or religious, apparently they caused no problem in mixed neighbourhoods in Huambo.

Trade was paramount to the city's economic life and its role in the colonial economy depended on the surplus of African peasant production, especially maize. That created economic opportunities for African villagers, challenging accounts of an overall decay after the loss of political autonomy by the VaWambu and other Ovimbundu peoples. The expansion of agriculture and local trade, boosted by the railway after 1910, was for a while a story of success rather than one of impoverishment. Even the growth in the urban population did not mean the abandonment of agriculture, but its complementary role for most urban and peri-urban households. Despite its ambitions of being a 'modern' European city, Huambo developed an extensive interface with its rural hinterland which, in turn, was shaped

by its proximity with, and its relation to, the town, further confirming the artificiality of any perceived dichotomy between the urban and the rural. Yet, this is not to say that such a duality did not exist in the perception of Huambo's inhabitants: it did, and town dwellers saw themselves as distinct from, and as more progressive than, their 'rural' relatives.

In this region of central Angola, Christianization proved to be the main factor of cultural reconfiguration. It undermined the old societies while fostering new hierarchies and forms of social organization. In Christian missions and their outposts, 'natives' developed a space of their own, forging new social networks and new skills that they used to improve their own lives. They developed a sense of pride and self-confidence they could hardly get elsewhere in the colonial situation. In Huambo, Catholics were an overwhelming majority, but their importance has been overlooked in scholarly work. The undeniable involvement of the Catholic hierarchy with Portuguese colonialism should not divert the attention of historians away from different missionary strategies and, above all, from the strategies and achievements of Angolan converts. The establishment of a Catholic mission on the outskirts of Huambo represented the recognition by the Church of a steady growth of the urban population, although it also reflected and condoned the racial cleavage in the colonial society, replicated in the parish/mission divide.

The history of Huambo after 1961 is beyond the scope of this study, for the reasons explained in the Introduction. A few concluding remarks, however, will serve to sketch the fluctuating fortunes of the city over the past five decades. The Portuguese response to the armed struggle for national liberation that opened in 1961 involved political reform, increased economic investment and expanding white immigration, all of which had a profound impact on Huambo. The city grew rapidly, with two industrial zones developing on its outskirts which finally challenged the

predominance of trade in the urban economy. By 1970, Huambo was an industrial centre of 62,000 inhabitants, second in size only to Luanda. Once the abolition of the Native Statute removed the legal barriers to a unified educational system in 1964, the black school population grew rapidly, limited only by the economic resources of each family. That and the possibility of getting jobs once reserved for non-'natives' had a positive impact in the social mobility of many Africans, despite competition from European immigrants. However, rapid urban expansion kept wages low, while in the hinterland land availability diminished and soil exhaustion affected agriculture, resulting in the flow of migrant workers to the northern and coastal regions of Angola reaching unprecedented levels.

In April 1974, a coup d'état in Lisbon initiated a revolutionary process in Portugal, leading to negotiations for the independence of the colonies. Between 1974 and 1975, most of the white population left Huambo and Angola. Many other residents left the city temporarily, owing to the escalating military conflict between the rival Angolan nationalist movements. In February 1976, the forces of the MPLA government expelled UNITA, which had occupied Huambo since August 1975. Unable to retake the city in the years that followed, UNITA destroyed railway and road bridges and targeted many buildings, including the CCFB premises, with explosive devices. Peace negotiations in 1991 followed by the first general elections in 1992 did not bring peace, since Jonas Savimbi, the UNITA leader, rejected the electoral results. After two months of renewed fighting, UNITA again controlled the city from early 1993 to late 1994, when it was retaken by government forces. After a second short-lived peace agreement, civil war resumed and conditions in Huambo deteriorated as many thousands sought shelter in the city from the war ravaging the surrounding countryside. In 2002, the war finally ended. Now, with roads, bridges and the railway rebuilt and with investment increasing, Huambo is again progressing

and trying to heal the damage inflicted on its material and social fabric by the decades of war. That, however, is another chapter in the history of the city.

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

INTERVIEWS

Faustino Nunes Muteka (Kapoko), Luanda, 16 February 1991 and 6 April 1991.

Raul Mateus David, Luanda, 7 October 1994, 9 October 1994, 14 October 1994, 27 October 1994 and 4 November 1994.

Alberto Sehululu, Luanda, 21 March 2001.

Pedro Almeida Capumba, Luanda, 20 January 2006.

Fernando Pacheco, Luanda, 8 September 2005.

Guilherme Santos, Luanda, 17 May 2010.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Angola

Arquivo Nacional de Angola (ANA), Luanda.

Avulsos - Caixas (Boxes, loose papers)

Bailundo (for the period before 1912): 644, 877, 1366, 2446, 3533, 3831, 4023, 4881, 5642, 5644, 5645, 5646, 5647, 5648, 5649.

Huambo (after c. 1910): 416, 443, 447, 448, 466, 480, 496, 531.

Avulsos - Pastas (Folders)

'Autos de averiguações administrativas para concessão de alvará de cidadania', Huambo, 1957-1961.

Códices (Bound papers) - Huambo:

Taxation registries, Huambo *Posto Militar* and *Circunscrição Civil* (1908-1937): *Códices* 9,548; 9,862; 3,725; 10,584; 9,862; 9,890; 9,909; 9,910; 9,911; 9,912; 9,918 to 9,937; 9,941; 9,956, 9,958; 9,968; 9,969; 9,970; 9,972.

Specifically related to *Cipaios*: *Códices* 3,499; 3,510; 3,512; 4,245; 4,481; 4,482; 6,809; 9,554; 9,847; 9,851; 9,863; 11,980; 10,077.

Registries from the *Tribunal Privativo dos Indígenas* or related to imprisonment of 'natives': *Códices* 3,464; 3,459; 3,545; 3,556; 3,724; 3,736; 4,422; 4,423; 4,426; 4,465; 4,474; 4,471; 4,382; 4,412; 4,473; 6,874; 7,444; 9;985; 9,578; 10,411.

Agência da Curadoria do Concelho do Huambo (Natives' Guardian Office): *Códices* 3,520; 4,226; 4,352; 6,014; 7,117; 10,959; 10,960 and 11,955, 7,487; 7,495; 7,508; 7,542; 7,553; 7,773; 7,438; 9,852.

Other *Códices* mentioned in the text: 3,479; 3,563; 4,076; 4,156; 4,441; 7,020; 7,375; 9,512; 9,840; 9,841; 9,949; 9,950; 10,001; 10,396; 10,445; 11,693.

Other *Códices* used: 3,620; 3,716; 4,417; 4,466; 3,717; 3,719; 4,224; 4,228; 4,062; 4,076; 4,122; 4,186; 1,217; 4,220; 4,252; 4,258; 4,307; 4,415; 7,158; 7,166; 7,444; 9,916; 9,718; 9,861; 10,105; 10,395; 10,397; 10,400; 10,448.

France

Archives générales spiritaines (ACSSp), Chevilly-Larue.

3L - Angola

Folders: 3L1.20 a; 3L1.20 b1; 3L1.20 b3; 3L1.20 b5; 3L1.23 a3; 3L1.26 a1; 3L1.26 a2; 3L1.28 b; 3L1.25 b3; 3L1.29 a; 3L1.29 b; 3L1.30 a2; 3L1.30 b; 3L1.31 b; 3L1.32 b; 3L1.32 a; 3L1 25 a3; 3L1.27 b3.

Portugal

Arquivo Histórico Militar (AHM), Lisbon.

Second division, Second section - Angola.

Caixas (Boxes) and *Documentos* (Files):

Box 23: Files 2 and 13; Box 25: Files 18 and 19; Box 26: Files 1 and 6; Box 27: Files 10, 11; Box 30: File 15; Box 36: File 51, 52; Box 43: Files 3, 5, 11; Box 47: Files 9, 14, 16, 17 and 18; Box 74: Files 8, 13 and 15; Box 89: File 1; Box 161: Files 15, 17, 18 and 24; Box 194: File 7.

Centro de Documentação e Informação do Instituto Português de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (IPAD), Lisbon

IPAD/MU 4.3327/4948: Colónia de Angola. Repartição Geral dos Serviços de Cadastro, *Levantamento topográfico de Nova Lisboa*, 1943.

IPAD/MU 4.694/1485: *Plano geral de urbanização de Nova Lisboa (1945): Memória descritiva e peças desenhadas*

IPAD/MU 4.754: *Plano geral de urbanização de Nova Lisboa (1945): Memória descritiva e justificativa* no. 99, 1rst volume.

IPAD/MU 246: J. M. da Silva Cunha. 'Missão de Estudos dos Movimentos Associativos em África. Relatório da Campanha de 1957 (Angola)'. Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais da Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1958 (Confidencial).

IPAD/MU 166: J. Sampaio D'Orey, A. S. Labisa and A. C. Soares. 'Missão para o estudo da atracção das grandes cidades e do bem-estar rural. Relatório da Campanha de 1957 (Angola)'. Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais da Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações do Ultramar, 1958 (Confidencial).

Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), Lisbon.
Fundo Ministério do Ultramar MU, Secção Gabinete do Ministro, Sub-Secção Gabinete dos Negócios Políticos (GNP): AHU, MU/GM/GNP.
MU/GM/GNP/SR087: Folder 1.
MU/GM/GNP/SR184: Folder 1.
MU/GM/GNP/ SR135: Folders 34, 35, 37, 39 and 40.

Arquivo da Secretaria Provincial da Congregação dos Espiritanos (ACSSp-Lisboa), Lisbon.
Annual Reports (Relatórios da Diocese de Nova Lisboa para o Governador-geral) 1941, 1942, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1951, 1960.
Acção Missionária, no. 38, February 1943.

Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais - Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Lisbon.
AOS/CO/UL – 8B P: Alberto Cardoso Martins e Menezes Macedo (Margaride), 'Relatório da viagem de estudo a Angola em 1939', Companhia do Fomento Colonial, 215 p. [typescript]

Arquivo Caixa Geral de Depósitos - Fundo Banco Nacional Ultramarino (BNU), Lisbon
CGD/BNU – AG 001.24/212; AG 002.19/169; AG 001.08/61; AG 002.14/103.

United Kingdom
SOAS Special Collections: Books and Manuscripts: Missionary Archives (SOAS-SC), London
IMC/CBMS - Africa II:
Box 298 - Portuguese Africa
Box 1202 - Portuguese West Africa - Files A to J.
Box 1203 - Portuguese West Africa - Files B, C, D, E.
Box 285 - West Central Africa - File K.

NEWSPAPERS and PERIODICALS

Actividade Económica de Angola: Revista de estudos económicos, propaganda e informação (Luanda, 1936-1974).

Æquatoria (Coquilhatville/Mbandaka, Congo, 1937-1962).

Angola: revista de doutrina, estudo e propaganda instrutiva, Liga Nacional Africana (Luanda, 1933-1972).

Arquivos de Angola (Luanda, 1933-1939 and 1949-1962).

Boletim Cultural do Huambo (Nova Lisboa, 1948-1974).

Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias / Boletim Geral das Colónias / Boletim Geral do Ultramar (Lisbon, 1926-1971).

Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (Lisbon, 1876-1998).

Jornal de Benguela (Benguela, 1912-1928).

Mensário Administrativo (Luanda, 1947-1964).

Missões de Angola e Congo (Braga, 1921-; consulted for the years 1941 to 1943).

O Intransigente (Benguela) special number about Nova Lisboa, 21 September 1936.

O Planalto: Órgão de defêsa da colonização nacional em Angola, (Huambo, 1930-1932); changed to *Voz do Planalto: Órgão de defêsa da colonização nacional em Angola* (1932-1959), and again *O Planalto* (1959-1975).

Portugal em África (Revista de cultura missionária da Congregação do Espírito Santo) (Lisbon, 1894-1910 and 1945-1974).

The Missionary Herald. (Cambridge and Boston; consulted for the years 1876 to 1901).

Traço de União: Boletim Mensal da Liga Educativa e Instrutiva dos Alunos da Missões na Diocese de Nova Lisboa (Nova Lisboa, 1944-1951).

PUBLISHED GOVERNMENT SOURCES

Angola. Direcção dos Serviços de Economia. Repartição de Estatística Geral. *Censo Geral da População : 1940,* Luanda, 12 vols., 1941-1947.

Angola. Repartição Central de Estatística Geral. *II Recenseamento Geral da População: 1950*, Luanda, n.d.

Província de Angola. Direcção dos Serviços de Economia e Estatística Geral. Repartição de Estatística Geral. *3º Recenseamento Geral da População - 1960*, Luanda, vols. I-IV, 1964-67.

Angola. Direcção Provincial dos Serviços de Estatística. *Informações estatísticas*, Lunda, 1974.

Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional. *Portugal e a Santa Sé: Concordata e Acôrdo Missionário de 7 de maio de 1940*, Lisbon, 1943.

Discurso do Alto Comissário José Mendes Ribeiro Norton de Matos. *Actas do Conselho Legislativo, Sessão de encerramento em 14 de Setembro de 1923*, Luanda, 1923.

Ministério das Colónias. *Conferência dos Governadores coloniais. Discursos e entrevistas*, Lisbon, 1934.

Instituto Nacional de Estatística, *I Congresso dos Economistas Portugueses. Problemas das Economias ultramarinas: IV Secção, Colonização étnica. Comunicação e Debates*, Lisbon, 1955.

Relatório, Propostas de Lei e Documentos relativos às Possessões Ultramarinas apresentados na Camara dos Senhores Deputados da Nação Portugueza em sessão de 20 de Março de 1899 pelo Ministro e Secretario d'Estado dos Negocios da Marinha e Ultramar Antonio Eduardo Villaça, Lisbon, 1899, 2 vols.

Relatório, Propostas de Lei e Documentos relativos às Possessões Ultramarinas apresentados na Camara dos Senhores Deputados da Nação Portuguesa na Sessão Legislativa de 1902 pelo Ministro e Secretario de Estado dos Negocios da Marinha e Ultramar Antonio Teixeira de Sousa, Lisbon, 1902.

Relatórios dos Governadores das Provincias Ultramarinas. Relatório do Governador do Districto de Benguella [Francisco de Paula Cid] 1892. Lisbon, 1894.

Relatórios dos Governadores das Provincias Ultramarinas. Relatório do Governador Geral da Provincia de Angola [Guilherme Augusto de Brito Capello] 1887. Lisbon, 1889.

Ministério das Colónias. *Relatórios e Informações.* Coimbra, 1918.

Ministério do Ultramar, Missão de Inquéritos Agrícolas de Angola. *Recenseamento agrícola de Angola. XXIX – Planalto Central (Zona agrícola nº 24). Primeira Parte: Agricultura tradicional*. Luanda, 1971.

Republica Portugueza. Africa Occidental. Provincia de Angola. *Questionario ethnographico acerca das populações indigenas de Angola e Congo mandado publicar por Portaria Provincial no. 315, de 23 de fevereiro de 1912*. Luanda, 1912.

Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações do Ultramar. Missão Geográfica de Angola. Carta de Angola (1:100.000). Levantamento Aerofotogramétrico, 1958. Folha nº 256 - Nova Lisboa - Fotografada em 1953.

Ministério da Marinha e Ultramar. Direcção Geral do Ultramar, *A questão da borracha em Angola – Documentos officiaes – 1ª Serie*, Lisboa, 1897.

Ministério do Ultramar. *Organização das Regedorias das Províncias Ultramarinas: decreto nº 43.896, de 6 de Outubro de 1961*. Lisbon, 1961.

Ministério do Ultramar. *Regulamento da ocupação e concessão de terrenos nas províncias ultramarinas. Decreto nº 43894, de 6 de Setembro de 1961*, Lisboa, 1961.

Julgados Municipais e de Paz das Províncias Ultramarinas. Decreto nº 43.898 de 6 de Setembro de 1961, Lisbon, 1961.

Organização das Regedorias das Províncias Ultramarinas: decreto nº 43.896, de 6 de Outubro de 1961, Lisbon, 1961.

Informação económica sobre o império e alguns elementos de informação geral. Vol. III: Angola, Prefácio de Henrique Galvão, Porto, 1934.

Ministério das Colónias. *Anuário Colonial*, 1916.

Ministério das Colónias. *Anuário Colonial*, 1917-1918.

Ministério das Colónias. *Anuário Colonial*, 1926-27.

Instituto Nacional de Estatística. *Anuário Estatístico do Império Colonial*, Lisbon, 1933-1949.

Instituto Nacional de Estatística. *Anuário Estatístico do Ultramar*, Lisbon, 1950-1960.

Província de Angola. Repartição de Estatística Geral, *Anuário Estatístico 1958*, Luanda, 1959.

Ministério das Colónias, *Angola nos últimos anos: alguns números*, Lisboa, 1936. Angola. Serviços de planeamento e integração económica. *Plano de desenvolvimento do Distrito do Huambo – vol.1: Caracterização genérica da região – Inventariação de recursos. Sua análise e caracterização*, Luanda, 1971.

Angola. Serviços de planeamento e integração económica. *Plano de desenvolvimento do Distrito do Huambo – vol.2: Estratégia geral de desenvolvimento.* Luanda, 1971.

Angola. Serviços de planeamento e integração económica. *Plano de desenvolvimento do Distrito do Huambo – vol.3: Projecto de demarcação dos terrenos de 2ª classe*, Luanda, 1971.

Colónia de Angola. Repartição Geral dos serviços de Cadastro, *Levantamento topográfico de Nova Lisboa*. Luanda, 1943.

Direcção das Feiras de Amostras Coloniais (ed.). *Informação económica sobre Angola*. Prefácio de Henrique Galvão, Lisboa, 1932.

Ministério do Ultramar. *Estatuto dos Indígenas Portugueses das Províncias da Guiné, Angola e Moçambique*, Decreto-Lei nº 39:666 de 20 de Maio de 1954. In *Diário do Governo*, 1ª série, no. 110, 1954.

Gabinete do Ministro do Ultramar, *Providências legislativas ministeriais tomadas em Angola de 1 de Abril a 19 de Maio de 1961*, Lisboa, 1961.

Governo Geral de Angola, *Instruções provisórias para o recrutamento e emprego de trabalhadores indígenas na Província: aprovadas por portaria provincial nº 4, de 16 de Janeiro de 1925. Mais diplomas anteriores que pelas mesmas instruções são declaradas em vigor*, Luanda, 1925.

Governo-geral de Angola*, Regulamento dos Bairros Indígenas, aprovado pelo Diploma Legislativo nº 2.799, de 9 de Maio de 1957*, Luanda, 1957.

Guia Industrial de Angola. Luanda, 1960.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations used:

IJAHS - International Journal of African Historical Studies
JAH - Journal of African History
JACS - Journal of African Cultural Studies
JSAS - Journal of Southern African Studies
CJAS - Canadian Journal of African Studies
BAGC - Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias/do Ultramar
BSGL - Boletim da Sociedade de Geigrafia de Lisboa
CEAUP - *Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto*
CEHCA/IICT - *Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga/Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical.*
CNCDP - *Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*

A abolição do tráfico e da escravatura em Angola - Legislação de 1836 a 1858: Documentos. Cadernos do Museu da Escravatura, Luanda, 1997.

Adas, Michael. *Prophets of Rebellion: Millenarian Protest Movements against the European Colonial Order*. Chapel Hill, 1979.

Aguiam, Balthasar d' (ed.). *A Revolta do Bailundo e os Conselhos de Guerra de Benguella*. Lisbon, 1903.

Aguiar, João António de. *L'habitation dans les pays tropicaux*. Lisbon, 1952.

Alexandre, Valentim (ed.). *O Império Africano (séculos XIX e XX),* Lisbon, 2000.

Alexandre, Valentim. 'A África no imaginário político português (séculos XIX e XX)'. *Penélope*, 15 (1995), 39-52.

Alexandre, Valentim. *A Questão Colonial no Parlamento (1821-1910)*. Lisbon, 2008.

Alexandre, Valentim. 'A questão colonial no Portugal oitocentista'. In V. Alexandre and J. Dias (eds). *O Império Africano 1825-1890.* Lisbon, 1998, 20-165.

Alexandre, Valentim. 'Acto Colonial'. In António Barreto and M. Filomena Mónica (eds). *Dicionário da História de Portugal*, Porto, 1999, VII, 43-5.

Alexandre, Valentim. 'Administração colonial'. In António Barreto and M. Filomena Mónica (eds). *Dicionário da História de Portugal*, Porto, 1999, VII, 45-9.

Alexandre, Valentim. 'Ideologia, economia e política: a questão colonial na implantação do Estado Novo'. *Análise Social*, 123-124 (1993), 1117-36.

Alexandre, Valentim. 'Nação e império'. In F. Bethencourt and K. Chaudhuri (eds). *História da Expansão Portuguesa.* Lisbon, 1998, IV, 90-142.

Alexandre, Valentim. 'O império e a ideia de raça (séculos XIX e XX)', Jorge Vala (ed.), *Novos Racismos: Perspectivas Comparativas*. Oeiras, 1999, 133-44.

Alexandre, Valentim. *Os Sentidos do Império. Questão Nacional e Questão Colonial na Crise do Antigo Regime Português*. Porto, 1993.

Alexandre, Valentim. 'Portugal em África: uma perspectiva global (1825-1974)'. *Penélope*, 11 (1993), 53-66.

Alexandre, Valentim. 'Ruptura e estruturação de um novo império'. In F. Bethencourt and K. Chaudhuri (eds). *História da Expansão Portuguesa.* Lisbon, 1998, IV, 9-87.

Alexandre, Valentim. 'Situações Coloniais: II - O Ponto de Viragem: As Campanhas de Ocupação (1890-1930)'. In F. Bethencourt and K. Chaudhuri (eds). *História da Expansão Portuguesa.* Lisbon, 1998, IV, 182-211.

Alexandre, Valentim. 'The colonial empire', in António Costa Pinto (ed.) *Modern Portugal*. Palo Alto, 1998, 41-59.

Alexandre, Valentim. 'The Portuguese empire: Ideology and economics'. In Olivier Pétré-Grenouilleau (ed.). *From Slave Trade to Empire: Europe and the Colonisation of Black Africa, 1780s-1880s*. London, 2004, 110-32.

Alexandre, Valentim. *Velho Brasil, Novas Africas: Portugal e o Império (1808-1975)*. Porto, 2000.

Allman, Jean, Susan Geiger and Nakanyike Musisi (eds). *Women in African Colonial Histories*. Bloomington, 2002.

Almeida, Bello de. *Meio Século de Lutas no Ultramar.* Lisbon, 1937.

Almeida, Bello de. *Operações Militares de 1904 na Região do Bimbe (Bailundo)*. Lisbon, 1944.

Altuna, P. Raul Ruiz Asua. *Cultura Tradicional Banto.* Luanda, 1985.

Alves, Engº José Bento. 'Estabelecimento das condições em que o indígena agricultor se pode tornar proprietátio de pequenos lotes de terreno e a forma expedita de lhe ser titulada a posse'. *Delegação à 1ª Conferência Económica do Império Colonial Português – III Comissão: Utensilhagem colonial*, Lisbon, 1936.

Alves, Henrique. *Congregação do Espírito Santo: Cem Anos em Angola*. Lisbon, 1966.

Alves, Pe. Albino. *Dicionário etimológico Bundo-Português*. Lisbon, 1951, 2 vols.

Alves, Pe. Albino. *Directório dos Catequistas*. Huambo, 1954.

Amaral, Ilídio do. *Ensaio de um estudo geográfico da rede urbana de Angola*. Lisbon, 1962.

Amaral, Ilídio do. *Luanda: Estudo de Geografia Urbana*. Lisbon, 1968.

Amaral, Ilídio do. *O Consulado de Paulo Dias de Novais. Angola no Último Quartel do Século XVI e Primeiro do Século XVII*. Lisbon, 2000.

Amaral, Ilídio do. *O Rio Cuanza (Angola), da Barra a Cambambe: Reconstituição de Aspectos Geográficos e Acontecimentos Históricos dos Séculos XVI e XVII*. Lisbon, 2000.

Amorim, Fernando Pacheco de. *Três Caminhos da Política Ultramarina*. Coimbra, 1962.

Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London, 1993.

Anderson, David M. and David Killingray (eds). *Policing the Empire: Government, Authority, and Control, 1830-1940*. Manchester, 1991.

Anderson, David M. and Richard Rathbone (ed.). *Africa's Urban Past*. Oxford, 2000.

Andrade, A. Freire de. *Relatório Feito pelo Director Geral das Colónias acerca do Livro Portuguese Slavery Escrito pelo sr. John H. Harris*. Lisbon, 1913.

Andrade, Mário Pinto de. *Uma Entrevista dada a Michel Laban*. Lisbon, 1997.

Angolana, Documentação sobre Angola (1783-1883). Luanda, 1968, vol. I.

Angolana, Documentação sobre Angola, (1845). Lisbon, 1976, vol. III

Angolana, Documentação sobre Angola, (1846). Lisbon, 1995, vol. IV

Angolana, Documentação sobre Angola, (1883-1887). Luanda, 1971, vol. II

Ao Paiz. O povo de Loanda Contra o Renovamento dos Contractos de Serviçaes. Loanda, Typographia Torres, 1903

Appadurai, Arjun (ed.). *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge, 1995.

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Delhi, 1997.

Arjago [Armindo Jaime Gomes]. *Epàtá l'Usòmá (Parentesco e Poder). Apontamentos Etno-históricos Ovimbundu*. Lobito, 1999.

As Missões religiosas: Carta Aberta ao Dr. João de Deus Ramos. Lisbon, 1909.

Azevedo, António de. *A Guerra do Bailundo.* Porto, 1955.

Azevedo, Ávila. *Política de Ensino em África.* Lisbon, 1958.

Azevedo, Eduardo de. 'A influência perniciosa do cinema sobre a mentalidade primária dos não-civilizados'. *Mensário Administrativo*, 63-64 (1952), 17-8.

Balandier, Georges. *Sociologie des Brazzavilles noires*. Paris, 1985.

Balandier, Georges. 'The Colonial Situation: A Theoretical Approach'. In Immanuel Wallerstein. *Social Change. The Colonial Situation*. New York, 1966, 34-61.

Balandier, Georges. *Ambiguous Africa. Cultures in Collision*. London, 1966.

Balandier, Georges. *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire*. Paris, 1963.

Ball, Jeremy Robert. '"The colossal lie": the Sociedade Agrícola do Cassequel and Portuguese colonial labor policy in Angola, 1899-1977'. Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2003.

Ball, Jeremy. '"Alma Negra" (Black soul): The campaign for free labor in Angola and São Tomé, 1909-1916'. *Portuguese Studies Review*, 2 (2011), 25-46.

Ball, Jeremy. '"I escaped in a coffin": Remembering Angolan forced labor from the 1940s'. *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos*, 9-10 (2006), 63-75.

Banton, Michael. 'Urbanization and the colour line in Africa'. In L.H. Gann and P. Duignan (eds). *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1960. II: The History and Politics of Colonialism, 1914-1960*. Cambridge, 1970, 256-85.

Barbeitos, Arlindo. *Angola/Portugal: des identités coloniales équivoques. Historicité des représentations de soi et d'autrui.* Paris, 2009.

Barber, Karin (ed.). *Africa's Hidden Histories: Everyday Literacy and Making the Self.* Bloomington, 2006.

Barber, Karin (ed.). *Readings in African Popular Culture*. Oxford, 1997.

Barns, T. Alexander. *Angolan Sketches*. London, 1928.

Bastin, Marie-Louise, 'L'Art d'un Peuple d'Angola. IV: Mbundu'. *African Arts*, 2, 4 (1969), 30-37 and 70-76.

Bastos, Augusto. *Monographia de Catumbella*. Lisbon, 1912.

Bastos, Augusto. 'Traços geraes sobre a ethnographia do Districto de Benguella'. *BSGL*, 1-6 (1908), 5-15, 44-56, 81-99, 135-140, 154-176 and 197-207.

Batalha, Fernando. *Reconhecimento da Antiga Estação Arqueológica de Féti Situada Na Confluência do Rio Cunhamgâmua com o Rio Cunene, no Distrito do Huambo*. [Luanda, 1969].

Baur, John. *2000 Years of Christianity in Africa (An African History 62-1992*). Nairobi 1994.

Bayart, J-F., P. Harries, and K. Blaser, K. (eds). *L'heritage missionnaire en perspective: approches croisées. Le Fait Missionnaire*, 6 (1998).

Bender, Gerald J. *Angola under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality*. Berkeley, 1978.

Berman, Bruce. *Control and Crisis in Colonial Kenya: The Dialectic of Domination*. London, 1990.

Bernault, Florence (ed.). *Enfermement, prison et châtiments en Afrique du 19e siècle à nos jours*. Paris, 1999.

Bernault, Florence. 'The shadow of rule: colonial power and modern punishment in Africa'. In F. Dikötter and I. Brown (eds). *Cultures of Confinement*. 2007, 55-94.

Besson, Emmanuelle. *Autour du procès de Joaquim Pinto de Andrade: L'Église catholique et l'Angola colonial, 1960-1975*. Dorigny, 2002.

Bethencourt, Francisco and K. Chaudhuri (eds). *História da Expansão Portuguesa, vol. IV: Do Brasil para África (1808-1930)*. Lisbon, 1998.

Bethencourt, Francisco and K. Chaudhuri (eds). *História da Expansão Portuguesa, vol. V: Ultimo Império e Recentramento (1930-1998)*. Lisbon, 1999.

Betts, Raymond F. 'La domination européenne: méthodes et institutions'. In UNESCO, *Histoire Générale de l'Afrique*, Paris, 1987, VII, 339-59.

Bickford-Smith, Vivian. 'South African urban history, racial segregation and the unique case of Cape Town?', *JSAS*, 21, 1 (1995), 63-78.

Biebuyck, Daniel. *African Agrarian Systems: Studies Presented and Discussed at the Second International African Seminar, Lovanium University, Leopoldville, January 1960*. London, 1963.

Birmingham, David. 'The date and significance of the Imbangala invasion of Angola', *JAH*, 6 (1965), 143-52.

Birmingham, David. *Trade and Conflict in Angola: The Mbundu and their Neighbours under the Influence of the Portuguese 1483-1790*. Oxford, 1966.

Birmingham, David. 'Colonialism in Angola: Kinyama' Experience'. *Tarikh: Journal of Thematic African History*, 4 (1980), 65-75.

Birmingham, David. 'Merchants and Missionaries in Angola'. *Lusotopie* (1998), 345-55.

Birmingham, David. 'Angola and the Church'. In D. Birmingham. *Portugal and Africa*. Athens, Ohio, 1999, 63-81.

Birmingham, David. *Empire in Africa: Angola and its Neighbors.* Athens, Ohio, 2006.

Bispado de Nova Lisboa. 'Escola do magistério rudimentar Teófilo Duarte'. *Mensário Administrativo*, 57-58 (1952), 15-33.

Bittencourt, Marcelo. *"Estamos juntos!": O MPLA e a luta anticolonial (1961-1974).* Luanda, 2009.

Bittencourt, Marcelo. 'Jogando no campo do inimigo: futebol e luta política em Angola'. In Victor A. de Melo, M. Bittencourt and A. Nascimento (eds). *Mais do que um Jogo: o Esporte e o Continente Africano*. Rio de Janeiro, 2010, 101-32.

Bloch, Marc. *The Historian's Craft.* Manchester, 1992.

Boelaert, E. 'Assimilation'. *AEquatoria*, 14, 1 (1951), 1-5.

Boelaert, E. 'L'histoire de l'immatriculation'. *AEquatoria*, 14, 1 (1951), 6-12.

Boia, José. *Cartas do Quotidiano. Angola nos Anos 50.* S. Pedro do Estoril, 1999.

Bonner, Phillip. 'African urbanization on the Rand between the 1930s and the 1960s: its social character and political consequences'. *JSAS*, 21, 1 (1995), 115-129.

Bontinck, François. 'Un mausolée pour les Jaga'. *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 3 (1980), 387-9.

Borle, Marcel. *Avec la mission scientifique suisse en Angola: journal de voyage [1928-1929].* La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1992-1994.

Botelho, E. R. Vieira da Costa. 'Agricultura no Districto de Benguella'. *BSGL*, 5 (1888), 239-63.

Botelho, Eduardo. 'Caconda: relatório do agronomo da provincia ácerca dos trabalhos experimentaes e climatologicos d'aquella região', *BSGL,* 1 (1891), 29-36.

Botelho, Eduardo. 'O Planalto de Caconda e a Bacia do Lubango sob o ponto de vista da colonisação europea e aptidão agricola dos seus terrenos', *BSGL*, 4-5 (1891), 209-31.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *O Poder Simbólico*. Lisbon, 1989.

Bowie, Fiona, Deborah Kirkwood and Shirley Ardener (eds.). *Women and Missions: Past and Present*. Oxford, 1993.

Boxer, Charles Ralph. *A Igreja e a Expansão Ibérica : 1440-1770*, (Lisbon 1981)

Brandão, Albano Augusto Paes. 'Diário da marcha do chefe do concelho do Libollo, tenente Paes Brandão, à região da Quibala', *Portugal em África*, 11 (1904), 76-79, 138-140, 223-227, 287-291, 481-485, 349-355, 406-412.

Brandão, Aníbal dos Santos. 'Usos e costumes dos indígenas Váuambo'. *Mensário Administrativo,* 24-25 (1949), 43-46; 26-27 (1949), 89-91; 28 (1949), 25-29; 31-32 (1950) 21-27; 35-36 (1950), 39-42 e 45-46; 61-62 (1952) 13-16; 63-64 (1952), 35-45.

Brásio, P. António. *A Missão e o Seminário da Huíla.* Lisbon, 1940.

Brásio, P. António (ed.). *Spiritana Monumenta Historica, Angola (vols. IV e V).* Louvain, 1971.

Brásio, P. António. 'A magna questão dos bispos ultramarinos'. *Portugal em África*, VI (1949), 267-272.

Brásio, P. António. 'A promoção Sacerdotal do Africano'. *Portugal em África*, XIX (1962), 12-22.

Brásio, P. António. *História e Missiologia. Inéditos e Esparsos*. Luanda, 1973.

Bullock, G. H. *Economic Conditions in Angola (Portuguese West Africa): Report by G. H. Bullock, His Majesty's Consul General, Luanda*, London, 1932.

Burton, Andrew. '"Brothers by day": Colonial policing in Dar es Salaam under British rule, 1919-61', *Urban History*, 1 (2003), 63-91.

Burton, Andrew. *African Underclass: Urbanisation, Crime and Colonial Order in Dar es Salaam*. Oxford, 2005.

Burton, Andrew. 'Townsmen in the making: Social engineering and citizenship in Dar es Salaam, c.1945-1960'. *IJAHS*, 2 (2003), 331-65.

Cadbury, William A. *Labour in Portuguese West Africa, Second Edition with an Added Chapter*. London, 1910.

Cadornega, António de Oliveira. *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas (1680).* Lisbon, 1972, 3 vols.

Caetano, Marcello. *Tradições, Princípios e Métodos da Colonização Portuguesa*. Lisbon, 1951.

Caetano, Marcello. *Depoiment.* Rio de Janeiro/S.Paulo, 1974.

Caetano, Marcelo. *Os Nativos na Economia Africana*. Coimbra, 1954.

Cahen, Michel (ed.). *'Vilas' et Cidades': Bourgs et villes en Afrique Lusophone.* Paris, 1989.

Cahen, Michel. 'Indigenato before race? Some proposals on Portuguese forced labour law in Mozambique and the African Empire (1926-1962)'. In Francisco Bethencourt and Adrian Pearce (eds). *Racism and Ethnic Relations in the Portuguese-Speaking World.* Oxford, forthcoming.

Caldeira, António da Fonseca. 'O Bairro de Cacilhas de Nova Lisboa – Angola. Uma abordagem etno-sociológica', Dissertation ISCSPU (Universidade Técnica de Lisboa), Lisbon, 1974.

Camacho, Brito. *Política Colonial*. Lisbon, 1936.

Câmara Municipal de Nova Lisboa (ed.). *Documentos para a História do Huambo - 1912-1962.* Nova Lisboa (Huambo), 1964.

Caminho de Ferro de Benguela (ed.). *Benguela Railways and the Development of Southern Africa*. Luanda, 1988.

Caminho de Ferro de Benguela. Notas sobre a Construção deste Caminho de Ferro e Seu Grande Valor Para o Desenvolvimento da Africa do Sul e Central. Lisbon, 1929.

Candido, Mariana P. 'African Freedom Suits and Portuguese Vassal Status: Legal Mechanisms for Fighting Enslavement in Benguela, Angola, 1800-1830', *Slavery & Abolition* 32, 3 (2011), 447-59.

Candido, Mariana P. 'Slave Trade and New Identities in Benguela, 1700-1860'. *Portuguese Studies Review*, 19 (1-2) (2011), 59-75.

Cândido, Mariana Pinho. *Fronteras de esclavización: Esclavitud, comercio y identidad en Benguela, 1780-1850.* Mexico City, 2011.

Capela, José. *O Imposto de Palhota e a Introdução do Modo de Produção Capitalista nas Colónias. As Ideias Coloniais de Marcelo Caetano. Legislação do Trabalho nas Colónias nos Anos 60.* Porto, 1977.

Carmody, Brendan. 'Jesuit Mission School: Alley of Zambian Nationalism?' *Zambia Journal of History*, 5 (1992), 37-56.

Carreira, António. *Notas Sobre o Tráfico Português de Escravos*. Lisbon, 1983.

Carreira, António. *Angola da Escravatura ao Trabalho Livre. Subsídios Para História Demográfica do Século XVI até à Independência.* Lisbon, 1977.

Carriço, Jacinto dos Santos e Júlio Artur de Morais. *Perspectivas do Desenvolvimento Regional do Huambo*. Nova Lisboa [Huambo], 1971.

Carriço, Jacinto e Júlio Morais. *Ocupação Rural no Huambo*. Nova Lisboa, 1973.

Carvalho, Américo. *Angola, Anos de Esperança*. Coimbra, [2002]

Carvalho, Clara and João de Pina Cabral (eds). *A Persistência da História. Passado e Contemporaneidade em África*. Lisbon, 2004.

Carvalho, Emílio J.M. *Ouço os Passos de Milhares... (Etapas do Metodismo em Angola)*. Luanda, 1994.

Carvalho, Filipe Nunes de. 'Historiografia e propaganda colonialista do Estado Novo: A colecção "Pelo Império" (1935-1961)'. *Mare Liberum*, 11-12 (1996), 91-102.

Carvalho, Rita Almeida de (ed.). *António de Oliveira Salazar – Manuel Gonçalves Cerejeira: Correspondência 1928-1968*. Lisbon, 2010.

Carvalho, Ruy Duarte de. *A Câmara, a Escrita e a Coisa Dita… Fitas, Textos e Palestras*. Lisbon, 2008.

Cascão, Rui. 'Modos de habitar'. In Irene Vaquinhas (ed.) *História da Vida Privada em Portugal: A Época Contemporânea*. Lisbon, 2011, 22-55.

Casimiro, Augusto. 'Política Administrativa de Angola'. *BAGC*, 47 (1929), 37-68.

Casimiro, Augusto. *Angola e o Futuro (Alguns Problemas Fundamentais).* Lisbon, 1959.

Castelbranco, Francisco. *História de Angola desde o Descobrimento até a Implantação da República (1482-1910)*. Luanda, 1932.

Castelo, Cláudia. *"O Modo Português de Estar No Mundo": O Luso-Tropicalismo e a Ideologia Colonial Portuguesa (1933-1961).* Porto, 1998.

Castelo, Cláudia. *Passagens para a África Portuguesa: o Povoamento de Angola e Moçambique com Naturais da Metrópole (c. 1920-1974).* Porto, 2007.

Castelo, Cláudia. 'O nacionalismo imperial no pensamento republicano'. In Sardica (ed.), *A Primeira República e as Colónias Portuguesas*, 2010, 29-47.

Castro, Armando. *O Sistema Colonial Português em África (Meados do Sec. XX).* Lisbon, 1978.

CEAUP (ed.). *Trabalho Forçado Africano: Articulações com o Poder Político*. Porto, 2007.

CEAUP (ed.). *Trabalho Forçado Africano: Experiências Coloniais Comparadas*. Porto, 2006.

CEAUP (ed.). *Trabalho Forçado Africano: O Caminho de Ida.* Ribeirão, 2009.

Cerqueira, Ivo de. *Vida Social Indígena na Colónia de Angola.* Lisbon, 1947.

Cerqueira, Silas. 'L'Eglise catholique portugaise'. In Marcel Merle (ed.). *Les Églises chrétiennes et la décolonisation.* Paris, 1967, 465-501.

Certeau, Michel de. *The Writing of History*. New York, 1988.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 'Subaltern studies and postcolonial historiography'. *Nepantla: Views from South*, 1 (2000), 9-32.

Chanock, Martin L. *Law, Custom, and Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia*. Cambridge, 1985.

Chanock, Martin. 'The law market: the legal encounter in British East and Central Africa'. In W. J. Mommsen and J. A. de Moor (eds.). *European Expansion and Law.* 1992, 279-305.

Chikueka, Maria Chela. *Angola Torchbearers*. Toronto, 1999.

Chilcote, Ronald H. (ed.). *Protest and Resistance in Angola and Brazil.* Los Angeles, 1972.

Childs, Gladwyn Murray. *Umbundu Kinship and Character.* London, 1949.

Childs, G. M. 'The Church in Angola: A few impressions', *The International Review of Missions*, vol. 47 (1958), April, 186-192.

Childs, G. M. 'The kingdom of Wambu (Huambo): A tentative chronology', *JAH*, 5 (1964), 367-79.

Childs, Gladwyn Murray. 'The peoples of Angola in the seventeenth century according to Cadornega'. *JAH*, 1 (1960), 271-9.

Childs, G. M. 'The Chronology of the Ovimbundu Kingdoms'. *JAH*, 12 (1970), 241-48.

Chipungu, Samuel N. (ed.). *Guardians in Their Time: Experiences of Zambians under Colonial Rule, 1890-1964*. London, 1992,

Chiwale, Samuel. *Cruzei-me com a História*. Lisbon, 2008.

Chorão, Luís Bigotte. 'Direito Colonial', António Barreto and Mª Filomena Mónica eds, *Dicionário da História de Portugal*, Porto, 1999,VII, 545-47.

'Cidade do Huambo, capital da colónia de Angola'. *Lusocolonial: Revista de defeza e propaganda*, 3 (1928), 43-4.

Clarence-Smith, W. Gervase. 'Slavery in coastal southern Angola, 1875-1913'. *JSAS*, 2 (1976), 214-23.

Clarence-Smith, W. Gervase. *Slaves, Peasants and Capitalists In Southern Angola 1840-1926*. Cambridge, 1979.

Clarence-Smith, W. Gervase. 'Les investissements belges en Angola 1912-1961'. In *Entreprises et entrepreneurs en Afrique (XIXe et XXe siècles)*. Paris, 1983, I, 423-41.

Clarence-Smith, W. Gervase. 'Capital accumulation and class formation in Angola'. In D. Birmingham and Ph. Martin (eds). *History of Central Africa*. London, 1983, 163-99.

Clarence-Smith, W. Gervase. 'The impact of the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War on Portuguese and Spanish Africa'. *JAH*, 26 (1985), 309-26.

Clarence-Smith, W. Gervase. *The Third Portuguese Empire, 1825-1975. A study in Economic Imperialism*. Manchester, 1985.

Cleveland, Todd. ‘Working while walking: Forced laborers' treks to Angola’s colonial-era diamond mines’, CEAUP (ed.), *Trabalho Forçado Africano.* Porto, 2009, 159-74.

Cleveland, Todd. 'Rock Solid: African Laborers on the Diamond Mines of the Companhia de Diamantes de Angola (Diamang), 1917-1975', PhD thesis, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 2008.

Coimbra, Paulo. *A Curiosa História: Eine Geschichtüberlieferung aus Angola*. Wien, 1985.

Coissoró, Narana. 'African customary law in the former Portuguese territories, 1954-1974', *Journal of African Law*, 28, 1-2 (1984), 72-79

Coissoró, Narana. *O Julgamento das Questões Gentílicas.* Lisbon, 1966.

Comaroff, Jean and John Comaroff. *Of Revelation and Revolution. Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*. Chicago, 1991.

Comaroff, John L. and Jean Comaroff. *Of Revelation and Revolution. Vol. 2: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*. Chicago, 1997.

Companhia do Caminho de Ferro de Benguela. *Uma Experiência de Colonização em Angola: Resumo de 5 Anos, 1936-1940*. Lobito, 1941.

Confino, Alon. 'Collective memory and cultural history: problems of method'. *American Historical Review*, 1997, 1386-403

Conklin, Alice L. "Democracy" rediscovered: Civilization through association in French West Africa (1914-1930). *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 145 (1997), 59 - 84.

Conklin, Alice L. *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930*, Stanford, California, 1997.

Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember.* Cambridge, 1989

Os Contratos dos Serviçais em Angola – Ao Paiz e à Sociedade de Geografia – Manifesto da Grande Comissão de Loanda. Lisbon 1904.

Cooper, Frederick. 'Peasants, capitalists, and historians: a review article', *JSAS*, 2 (1981), 284-314.

Cooper, Frederick (ed.). *Struggle for the City: Migrant Labour, Capital and the State in Urban Africa.* Beverley Hills, 1983.

Cooper, Frederick and Ann L. Stoler. 'Tensions of empire: Colonial control and visions of rule'. *American Ethnologist,* 4. (1989), 609-21.

Cooper, Frederick. *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa*. Cambridge, 1996.

Cooper, Frederick. *Africa Since 1940. The Past of the Present*. Cambridge, 2002.

Cooper, Frederick. 'Development, modernization and the Social Sciences in the era of decolonization: the examples of British and French Africa', *Revue d'histoire des sciences humaines*, 10 (2004), 9-38.

Cooper, Frederick. *Colonialism in Question. Theory, Knowledge, History.* Berkeley, 2005.

Cooper, Frederick. 'Citizenship and the politics of difference in French Africa, 1946-1960'. In H. Fischer-Tiné and S. Gehrmann (eds.). *Empires and Boundaries: Rethinking Race, Class and Gender in Colonial Settings*. London, 2009, 107-28.

Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine (ed.). *Processus d'urbanisation en Afrique***.** Paris, 1988, 2 vols.

Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. 1988. 'Ville coloniale et Histoire des Africains.' *XXe siècle. Revue d'Histoire* 20: 49–73.

Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. 'The process of urbanization in Africa (from the origins to the beginning of independence)', *African Studies Review*, 1 (1991), 1-98.

Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. 'Nationalité et citoyenneté en Afrique Occidentale française : originaires et citoyens dans le Sénégal colonial'. *JAH*, 42 (2001), 285-305.

Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. 'African urban spaces: History and culture'. In Steven J. Salm and Toyin Falola, (eds). *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspective.* Rochester, New York, 2005.

Cordeiro, Luciano (ed.). *Benguella e Seu Sertão (Memória de um Anónimo)*, Lisbon, 1881.

Corrado, Jacopo. *The Creole Elite and the Rise of Angolan Proto-Nationalism (1870-1920).* New York, 2008.

Corrêa, Elias Alexandre da Silva. *História de Angola*. Lisbon, 1937, 2 vols.

Correia, Pe Joaquim Alves. *Civilizando Angola e Congo: os Missionários do Espírito Santo no Padroado Espiritual Português*. Braga, 1922.

Costa, Eduardo da. *Eduardo da Costa: Colectânea das suas Principais Obras Militares e Coloniais*, vols. I-IV, Lisbon, 1938-39.

Costa, P. Cândido F. da. *Cem Anos dos Missionários do Espírito Santo em Angola 1866-1966*, Nova Lisboa, 1970.

Couceiro, Henrique Mitchell de Paiva. *Relatório da viagem entre Bailundo e as terras do Mucusso*. Lisbon, 1892.

Couceiro, Henrique de Paiva. *Angola (Dois Anos de Governo Junho 1907 - Junho 1909): História e Comentários*. Lisbon, 1948 [1910].

Couceiro, Henrique de Paiva. *Angola (Projecto de Fomento). Projecto de Fomento Geral de Angola, por Colaboração do Estado com as Iniciativas Particulares Unificadas sob a Forma de Companhia*. Lisbon, 1931.

Couto, Carlos. O*s Capitães-Mores em Angola no Século XVIII (Subsídios para o Estudo da sua Actuação)*. Luanda, 1972.

Crowder, Michael. 'Africa under British and Belgian domination, 1935-45'. In UNESCO. *General History of Africa*, Oxford, 1993, VIII, 76-101.

Cruz, Elizabeth Ceita Vera. *O Estatuto do Indigenato. Angola: a Legalização Da Discriminação na Colonização Portuguesa*. Lisbon, 2005.

Cruz, Manuel Braga da. *O Estado Novo e a Igreja Católica*. Lisbon, 1998.

Cunha, J. M. da Silva. *O Enquadramento Social dos Indígenas Destribalizados*. Lisbon, 1952.

Cunha, Joaquim da Silva. *O Sistema Português de Política Indígena*. Lisbon, 1952.

Cunha, Joaquim M. da Silva. 'O conflito colonial de leis. Seu regime no direito português', *O Direito: Revista de Ciências Jurídicas e de Administração Pública*, 82, 2 (1950), 81-100.

Cunha, M. Alves da. *Missões Católicas de Angola: Separata de Generalidades sobre Angola para o 1º Cruzeiro de Férias às Colónias Portuguesas*, Luanda, 1935.

Curto, José C. *Álcool e escravos. O Comércio Luso-Brasileiro do Álcool em Mpinda, Luanda e Benguela Durante o Tráfico Atlântico de Escravos (c. 1480-1830) e o seu Impacto nas Sociedades da África Central Ocidental*, Lisbon, 2002.

Curto, José C. 'Alcohol in the context of the Atlantic slave trade: The case of Benguela and its hinterland (Angola)', *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 201 (2011), 51-85.

Cushman, Mary Floyd. *Missionary Doctor: The Story of Twenty Years in Africa*, New York, 1944.

D'Entrèves, Maurizio Passerin and Seyla Benhabib (eds.). *Habermas and the Unfinished Project of Modernity. Critical Essays on 'The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity'*. Cambridge (Mass.), 1997.

D'Almada, José. *Para a História do Caminho de Ferro de Benguela*. Lisbon, 1951.

D'Almeida, Luísa. '*Nativo* versus *gentio*? – o que nos dizem algumas fontes africanas nos anos 1914-1922'. In CEHCA/IICT (ed.). *A África e a Instalação do Sistema Colonial (c.1885-c.1930)*. Lisbon, 2000, 645-54.

Daniel, Rev. Henrique Etaungo. *Ondisionaliu Yumbundu – Dicionário de Umbundo. Umbundo-Português*, [Lisbon], 2002.

Daniel, Rev. Henrique Etaungo. *Dicionário Português-Umbundu*. Luanda, 2010.

Dáskalos, Maria Alexandre. *A Política de Norton de Matos para Angola 1912-1915*. Coimbra, 2008.

Dáskalos, Sócrates. *Um Testemunho para a História de Angola: do Huambo ao Huambo*. Lisbon, 2000.

David, Raul. *Colonizados e Colonizadores: Perfis*. Luanda, 1978

David, Raul. *Escamoteados na Lei (Rebelados).* Luanda, 1987.

David, Raul. *Crónicas de ontem para ouvir e contar*. Luanda, 1989.

David, Raul. 'É um erro crasso afirmar-se que a Kilapanga veio de S. Tomé', *Jornal de Angola*, 15 August 1993.

David, Raul. *Da Justiça Tradicional nos Umbundos (1989).* Luanda, 1997.

Davidson, Basil. *The African Awakening*. Oxford, 1955.

Davidson, Basil. *In the Eye of the Storm: Angola's People*. New York, 1972.

Delgado, Ralph. *A Famosa e Histórica Benguela: Catálogo dos Governadores (1779 a 1940).* Benguela, 1940.

Delgado, Ralph. *Ao Sul do Cuanza (Ocupação e Aproveitamento do Antigo Reino de Benguela) 1483-1942*. 2 vols., Lisbon, 1944.

Deutsch, Jan-Georg, Peter Probst and Heike Schmidt (eds). *African Modernities: Entangled Meanings in Current Debate*. Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 2002.

Deutsch, Jan-Georg, Peter Probst and Heike Schmidt. 'Introduction: Cherished Visions and Entangled Meanings'. In Deutsch et al (eds). *African Modernities: Entangled Meanings in Current Debate*. Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 2002, 1-17.

Deutsch, Jan-Georg. 'Celebrating power in everyday life: The administration of law and the public sphere in colonial Tanzania, 1890-1914', *JACS*, 1 (2002), 93-103.

Diario Illustrado (ed.). *Perda de Angola. A Concessão Williams*, Lisbon, 1903,

Dias, António Augusto. *Pombeiros de Angola*. Lisbon, n.d.

Dias, Gastão Sousa. *O Ensino em Angola*. Luanda, 1934.

Dias, Jill R. 'Angola' in V. Alexandre e Jill Dias (eds). *O Império Africano 1825-1890*. Lisbon, 1988, 319-556.

Dias, Jill R. 'Changing patterns of power in the Luanda hinterland: the impact of trade and colonization on the Mbundu, ca. 1845-1920'. *Paideuma*, 32 (1985), 285-318.

Dias, Jill R. 'Uma questão de identidade: respostas intelectuais às transformações económicas no seio da elite crioula da Angola portuguesa entre 1870 e 1930'. *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos*, Lisbon, 1 (1984), 61-94.

Dias, Jill R. 'Famine and disease in the history of Angola c. 1830-1930'. *JAH*, 22 (1981), 349-78.

Dikötter, Frank and Ian Brown (eds). 2007, *Cultures of Confinement: A History of the Prison in Africa, Asia and Latin America.* Ithaca (N.Y.), 2007.

Dilolwa, Carlos Rocha. *Contribuição à História Económica de Angola*. Luanda, 1978.

Diniz, A. Castanheira e F. Q. de Barros Aguiar. 'Zonagem agro-ecológica da região central angolana', *Agronomia Angolana*, nº 23, Luanda, 1966, 11-17

Diniz, Ferreira. *Populações Indígenas de Angola.* Coimbra, 1918.

Diniz, José O. Ferreira. *Negócios Indígenas. Relatório do Ano de 1913 Elaborado por José de Oliveira Ferreira Diniz, Secretário dos Negócios Indígenas da Província de Angola*. Luanda, 1914.

Diniz, José O. Ferreira. *Negócios Indígenas. Relatório do ano de 1915. Elaborado por José de Oliveira Ferreira Diniz, Secretário dos Negócios Indígenas e Curador geral dos Serviços [sic] de Angola*, Lisbon, 1918.

Diniz, José O. Ferreira. *A Missão Civilisadora do Estado em Angola.* Lisbon, 1926.

Diniz, José O. Ferreira. 'Da política indígena em Angola: os impostos indígenas' in *BAGC*, 47 (1929), 136-65.

A Diocese de Nova Lisboa. Lisbon, 1946.

Dirks, Nicholas B. (ed.). *Colonialism and Culture.* Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1992.

Domingues, Horácio. 'Monografia histórica'. *Voz do Planalto*, 25 August 1945, 13 October 1945, 20 October 1945, 3 November 1945, 17 November 1945 and 16 December 1945.

Dorsey, George A. 'The Ocimbanda, or Witch-Doctor of the Ovimbundu of Portuguese Southwest Africa'. *Journal of American Folk Lore*, 12, 46 (1899), 183-188.

Duffy, James. *A question of Slavery.* Oxford, 1967.

Dulley, Iracema. *Deus é Feiticeiro: Prática e Disputa nas Missões Católicas em Angola Colonial*. São Paulo, 2010.

Durães, António Augusto. *Angola e o General Norton de Matos (Subsídios para a História e para uma Biografia).* Melgaço, 1976.

Eckert, Andreas and Adam Jones. 'Historical writing about everyday life'. *JACS*, 1 (2002), 5-16.

Edwards, Adrian C. *The Ovimbundu under two Sovereignties: A Study of Social Control and Social Change among a People of Angola*. London, 1962.

Eisenstadt, S. N. *The Great Revolutions and the Civilisations of Modernity*. Leiden, 2006.

Elkins, Caroline and Susan Pedersen (eds.). *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies*. London, 2005.

Eltis, David. 'The volume and structure of the transatlantic slave trade: A reassessment'. *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 58 (2001), 17-46.

Engels, Dagmar and Shula Marks (eds.). *Contesting Colonial Hegemony. State and Society in Africa and India*. London, 1994.

Ennis, Elisabeth Logan. 'Women's Names among the Ovimbundu of Angola', *African Studies*, 4, 1 (1945), 1-8.

Epstein A. L. *Scenes from African Urban Life: Collected Copperbelt Papers*. Edinburgh, 1992.

Epstein, A. L. *Urbanization and Kinship. The Domestic Domain on the Copperbelt of Zambia 1950-1956*. London, 1981.

Epstein, A. L. 'Urbanization and Social Change in Africa'. *Current Anthropology*, 4 (1967), 275-95

Errante, Antoinette. 'White Skin, Many Masks: Colonial Schooling, Race, and National Consciousness among White Settler Children in Mozambique, 1934-1974', *IJAHS*, 1 (2003), 7-33.

Ervedosa, Carlos. *Arqueologia Angolana*. Lisbon, 1980.

Espanha, Cap. Jaime Rebelo. *O Planalto de Benguela*. Lisbon, [1930].

Estermann, Carlos, *Etnografia de Angola (Sudoeste e Centro): Colectânea de Artigos Dispersos*. Lisbon, 1983, 2 vols.

Esteves, Emmanuel. 'O Caminho de Ferro de Bengela e o impacto económico, social e cultural na sua zona de influência (1902-1952)'. PhD thesis, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, Porto, 1999.

Esteves, Emmanuel. 'O Caminho de Ferro de Bengela e o impacto económico, social e cultural na sua zona de influência (1902-1952)'. *Africana Studia*, 3 (2000), 49-72.

Etherington, Norman (ed.). *Missions and Empire*. Oxford, 2005.

Evambi, Raul Kavita. 'The Marriage Customs of the Ovimbundu', *Africa*, XI, 3 (1938), 342-348

Fabian, Johannes. *History from Below. The 'Vocabulary of Elisabethville' by André Yav: Text, Translations, and Interpretive Essay*. Amsterdam, 1990.

Falola, Toyin and Steven J. Salm. *Urbanization and African Cultures*. Durham, 2005.

Faria, António. *O Real e o Possível. Norton de Matos, Etiologia de um Estado e Fim do Império*. Lisbon, 2004,

Faria, Lobato de. 'A propriedade indígena em face do nosso direito', *Mensário Administrativo*, 37-38 (1950), 23-24.

Faro, José de Sousa e. *Angola Como Eu a Vi em 1930-1931*. Lisbon, 1932.

Feierman, Steven. *Peasant Intelectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzânia*. Madison, Wisconsin, 1990.

Fele, Buanga (alias Mário de Andrade). 'Qu'est-ce que le luso-tropicalismo?'. *Présence Africaine,* (October-November 1955), 1-12.

Felner, Alfredo Albuquerque. *Angola. Apontamentos sobre a Ocupação e Início do Estabelecimento dos Portugueses no Congo, Angola e Benguela - Extraídos de Documentos Históricos*. Coimbra, 1933.

Felner, Alfredo de Albuquerque. *Angola - Apontamentos sôbre a Colonização dos Planaltos e Litoral do Sul de Angola extraídos de Documentos Históricos*. Lisbon, 1940.

Ferguson, James. *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*. Berkeley, 1999.

Fernandes, José Manuel. *Geração Africana. Arquitectura e Cidades em Angola e Moçambique, 1925-1975*. Lisbon, 2002.

Fernandes, José Manuel, Maria de Lurdes Janeiro e Maria Manuela Fonte. *Angola no século XX. Cidades, Território e Arquitecturas 1925-1975. Ilustrado com Postais da Colecção de João Loureiro*. Lisbon, 2010.

Ferreira, (coronel) António Vicente. *Alguns Aspectos da Política Indígena de Angola*. Rio de Janeiro, 1934.

Ferreira, Carlos. *Assistência Médica e Sanitária no Concelho de Huambo: Elementos Relativos ao Ano de 1954*. Nova Lisboa, 1955.

Ferreira, Eduardo de Sousa. *O Fim de Uma Era: o Colonialismo Português em África*. Lisbon, 1977.

Ferreira, Eduardo Sousa. 'A lógica da consolidação da economia de mercado em Angola, 1930-1974'. *Análise Social*, 85, 1 (1985), 83-110.

Ferreira, Eugénio Monteiro. *As ideias de Kimamuenho (um intelectual rural do período 1918-1922)*. Luanda, 1989.

Ferreira, José Carlos Ney and Vasco Soares da Veiga. *Estatuto dos Indígenas Portugueses das Províncias da Guiné, Angola e Moçambique: Anotado e Legislação complementar*. Lisbon, 1957.

Ferreira, Manuel Ennes. *Angola-Portugal: do espaço económico português às relações pós-coloniais*. Lisbon, 1990.

Ferreira, Roquinaldo Amaral. 'Transforming Atlantic Slaving: Trade, Warfare and Territorial Control in Angola, 1650-1800'. PhD thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2003.

Ferreira, Vicente. *Estudos Ultramarinos – IV. Colonização e Diversos*. Lisbon, 1954.

Ferreira, Vicente. *A situação de Angola: Circular-consulta enviada às Associações Comerciais, Industriais e Agrícolas da Província de Angola*. Luanda, 1927.

Ferreira, Vicente. *Estudos Ultramarinos – III. Angola e os seus problemas (2ª Parte)*, Lisbon, 1954.

Ferronha, António. *Consciência da Luso-Tropicalidade. Seus Princípios Humanistas. Sua Visão da África Pré-Portuguesa. Sua Constituição. Seu Futuro e Responsabilidade.* Angola, 1969.

Fidalgo, José António. 'Relatório do Padre José António Fidalgo, missionário do Bihé e Bailundo (1887)'. *Annaes das Missões Portuguesas*, 2 (1889), 154-8.

Fischer-Tiné, Harald and Susan Gehrmann (eds.). *Empires and Boundaries: Rethinking Race, Class and Gender in Colonial Settings*, London, 2009.

Florêncio, Fernando. 'No reino da toupeira: Autoridades tradicionais do M'balundu e o Estado angolano'. In Fernando Florêncio (ed.). *Vozes do Universo Rural: Reescrevendo o Estado em África*. Lisbon, 2010, 79-175.

Fonte, Maria Manuela Afonso da. 'Urbanismo e arquitectura em Angola: de Norton de Matos à Revolução'. PhD thesis, Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade Técnica de Lisboa, Lisbon, 2007.

Foucault, Michel. *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison*. Paris, 1975.

Fourchard, Laurent and Isaac Olawale Albert (eds). *Sécurité, crime et ségrégation dans les villes d'Afrique de l'Ouest du XIXe siècle à nos jours.* Paris 2003.

Freudenthal, Aida, José Manuel Fernandes e Maria de Lurdes Janeiro. *Angola no Século XIX. Cidades, Território e Arquitecturas. Ilustrada com Postais da Colecção de João Loureiro*, Lisbon, 2006.

Freudenthal, Aida. 'A utopia angolense, 1880-1915'. In CEHCA/IICT (ed.). *A África e a Instalação do Sistema Colonial (c.1885-c.1930)*. Lisbon, 2000, 561-72.

Freudenthal, Aida. 'Angola'. In A. H. Oliveira Marques (ed.). *O Império Africano 1890-1930*, Lisbon, 2001, 259-467.

Freudenthal, Aida. *Arimos e Fazendas: A Transição Agrária em Angola*. Luanda, 2005.

Freudenthal, Aida. 'Voz de Angola em tempo de Ultimatum', *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos*, 1 (2001), 135-69.

Freund, Bill. *The African City: A History.* Cambridge, 2007.

Freyre, Gilberto. *Aventura e Rotina*. Lisbon, 1952.

Freyre, Gilberto. *Integração portuguesa nos trópicos*. Lisbon, 1958.

Freyre, Gilberto. *O Luso e o Trópico*. Lisbon, 1961.

Friedman, Susan Stanford. 'Definitional excursions : The meanings of Modern/Modernity/Modernism'. *Modernism/modernity*, 3 (2001), 493-513.

Gabriel, D. Manuel Nunes. *Angola: Cinco Séculos de Cristianismo*. Queluz, 1978.

Gabriel, D. Manuel Nunes. *Caconda, Berço da Evangelização no Planalto Central de Angola.* Lisbon, 1991.

Gabriel, D. Manuel Nunes. *D. Moisés Alves de Pinho e os Bispos de Congo e Angola.* Portalegre, 1980.

Galvão, A. 'A futura capital de Angola'. *BAGC*, 25 (1927), 32-8.

Galvão, Henrique and Carlos Selvagem. *Império Ultramarino Português (Monografia do Império) – III volume Angola*. Lisbon, 1952.

Galvão, Henrique. *Angola (Para uma Nova Política)*, Lisbon, 1937.

Galvão, Henrique. *Informação Económica sobre Angola*. 1932.

Galvão, Henrique. *Primeira Exposição Colonial Portuguesa (relatório).* Porto, 1935.

Geschiere, Peter. *The Perils of Belonging. Autochtony, Citizenship, and Exclusion in Africa and Europe*. Chicago, 2009.

Gewald, Jan-Bart. 'Missionaries, Hereros, and Motorcars: Mobility and the impact of motor vehicles in Namíbia before 1940', *IJAHS*, 2-3 (2002), 257-85.

Giblin, James L. (with Blandina Kaduma Giblin). *A History of the Excluded. Making Family a Refuge from state in Twentieth-Century Tanzania*. Oxford, 2005.

Gilchrist, Sid. *Angola Awake*. Toronto, 1968.

Goerg, Odile. 'Domination coloniale, construction de "la ville" en Afrique et dénomination', *Afrique & Histoire*, 5 (2006), 15-45.

Goerg, Odile. 'From Hill Station (Freetown) to Downtown Conakry (First Ward): Comparing French and British Approaches to Segregation in Colonial Cities at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century', *CJAS*, 1 (1998), 1-31.

Gonçalves, José Júlio Gonçalves. *Protestantismo em África*. Lisbon, 1960, 2 vols.

Gondola, Charles Didier. *Villes miroirs: Migrations et identités urbaines à Kinshasa et Brazzaville, 1930-1970*. Paris, 1996.

Gonzaga, Norberto. *Nova Lisboa: Alavanca do Futuro*. Luanda, 1963.

Graça, Joaquim Rodrigues. 'Expedição ao Muatayânvua - Diário', *BSGL*, 8-9 (1890), 365-466.

Granado, A. Coxito. *Dicionário Corográfico Comercial de Angola – Antonito*. Luanda, 1948 and 1959.

Gray, Richard e David Birmingham (eds). *Pre-colonial African Trade - Essays on Trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900*. London, 1970.

Gray, Richard. *Black Christians and White Missionaries*. New Haven, 1990.

Gray, Richard. 'Christianity', A. D. (ed.). *The Cambridge History of Africa, vol. 7: From 1905 to 1940*, 1986, 140-90.

Griffiths & Company Contractors Limited. *Railroad Developments in West Africa, London, South America*. London, 1907.

Guebe, António. *O que eu aprendi no Otchoto*. Luanda, 2003.

Guedes, Armando M. A. Marques. 'Conflitos de Leis Privadas Metropolitanas, Coloniais e Indígenas'. *O Direito*, 2 (1950), 100-22.

Guimarães, Ângela. *Uma Corrente do Colonialismo Português: a Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa 1875-1895*. Lisbon, 1984.

Guimarães, José Marques. *A Política "Educativa" do Colonialismo Português em África. Da I República ao Estado Novo (1910-1974)*. Porto, 2006.

Guimarães, Venâncio. *Angola. Uma Administração Ruinosa:Para a História do Reinado de Norton*. Lisbon, 1923.

Gutkind, Peter C. W. 'African urban studies: Past accomplishments, future trends and needs'. *CJAS*, 1 (1968), 63-80.

Guyer, Jane I. 'Wealth in people, wealth in things'. *JAH*, 36 (1995), 83-90.

Hailonda, João Evangelista H. *Trajectória de um Kwanyama: As Minhas Memórias*. Luanda, 2009.

Hambly, Wilfrid D. 'Occupational ritual, belief, and custom among the Ovimbundu'. *American Anthropologist*, 2 (1934), 157-67.

Hambly, Wilfrid D. *The Ovimbundu of Angola*. Chicago, 1934.

Hambly, Wilfrid D. 'Tribal Initiation of Boys in Angola', *American Anthropologist*, 1 (1935), 36-40.

Hansen, Karen Tranberg. *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900-1985*. Ithaca, 1989.

Harneit-Sievers, Axel (ed.). *A Place in The World: New Local Historiographies from Africa and South Asia*. Leiden, 2002.

Hastings, Adrian. *A History of African Christianity, 1950-1975*. Cambridge, 1979.

Hastings, Adrian. *Africa Christianity: An Essay in Interpretation*. London, 1976.

Hastings, Adrian. 'African Christian studies: reflexions of an editor', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 1 (2000), 30-44.

Hastings, Adrian. *The Church in Africa, 1450-1950*. Oxford, 1994.

Hastings, Daniel A. *Ovimbundu Customs and Practices as Centered Around the Principles of Kinship and Psychic Power*, PhD thesis, Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1933.

Hauenstein, A. 'Observations sur Mbundu', *African Arts*, 3 (1970), 71-4.

Hauenstein, Alfred. 'La royauté chez les Ovimbundu'. In *Angola, os Símbolos do Poder na Sociedade Tradicional*. Coimbra, 1983, 67-78.

Hauenstein, Alfred. 'Noms accompagnés de proverbs, chez les Ovimbundu et les Humbi du sud de l'Angola', *Anthropos*, 57(1962), 97-120.

Hauenstein, Alfred. *Examen des motifs decoratifs chez les Ovimbundu et Tchokwe d'Angola.* Coimbra, 1988.

Hauenstein, Alfred. *Les Hanya. Description d'un groupe ethnique d'Angola*. Wiesbaden, 1967.

Havik, Philip J. and Malyn Newitt (eds.). *Creole Societies in the Portuguese Colonial Empire*. Bristol, 2007.

Havik, Philip J. Clara Saraiva and J. A. Tavim (eds). *Caminhos Cruzados em História e Antropologia: Ensaios de Homenagem a Jill Dias*. Lisbon, 2010.

Havik, Philip. '"Direct" or "indirect" rule? Reconsidering the role of appointed chiefs and native employees in Portuguese West Africa'. *Africana Studia*, 2011, 29-56.

Hay, Margaret J. 'Queens, prostitutes and peasants. Historical perspectives on African women, 1971-1986'. *CJAS*, 3 (1988) 431-47.

Hay, Margaret Jean and Marcia Wright (eds). *African Women and the Law: Historical Perspectives*. Boston, 1982.

Headrick, Daniel. *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850-1940*. New York, 1988.

Heimer, Franz-Wilhelm (ed.). *Social Change in Angola*, Munique, 1973.

Heimer, Franz-Wilhelm. 'Education, Economics and Social change in Rural Angola: the Case of the Cuima Region'. In idem (ed.). *Social Change in Angola.* Munique, 1973, 112-43.

Heimer, Franz-Wilhelm. 'Estrutura social e descolonização em Angola'. *Análise Social*, 4 (1973) [1975], 621-55.

Heimer, Franz-Wilhelm. *The Decolonization Conflict in Angola, 1974-1976. An Essay in political Sociology*. Geneva, 1979.

Heintze, Beatrix. 'Luso-African Feudalism in Angola? The Vassal Treaties of the 16th to the 18th Century'. *Revista Portuguesa de História,* 18 (1980), 111–31.

Heintze, Beatrix. *Asilo ameaçado: oportunidades e consequências da fuga de escravos em Angola no século XVII*. Luanda, 1995.

Heintze, Beatrix (ed.). *Alfred Schachtzabels Reise nach Angola 1913–1914 und seine Sammlungen für das Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. Rekonstruktion einer ethnographischen Quelle*. Köln, 1995.

Heintze, Beatrix and Achim von Oppen (eds). *Angola on the Move: Transport Routes, Communications and History/Angola em movimento: Vias de Transporte, Comunicação e História*, Frankfurt, 2008.

Heintze, Beatrix. *Pioneiros Africanos: Caravanas de Carregadores na África Centro-Ocidental (entre 1850 e 1890)*. Luanda, 2004.

Heintze, Beatrix. *Angola nos séculos XVI e XVII. Estudos sobre fontes, métodos e História*. Luanda, 2007.

Henderson, Lawrence W. *Galangue: The Unique Story of a Mission Station in Angola Proposed, Supported and Staffed by Black Americans*. New York, 1986.

Henderson, Lawrence W. 'Protestantism: a Tribal Religion'. In Robert T. Parsen (ed.) *Windows on Africa: a symposium*. Leiden, 1971, 61-80.

Henderson, Lawrence W. *The Church in Angola: A River of Many Currents*. Cleveland, Ohio, 1992.

Henderson, Lawrence W. *Development and the Church in Angola: Jesse Chipenda, the Trailblazer*. Nairobi, 2000.

Henriques, Isabel Castro. 'Armas de fogo em Angola no sec.XIX: uma interpretação'. In CEHCA/IICT (ed.). *I Reunião Internacional de História de África: Actas*, Lisbon, 1989, 407-29.

Henriques, Isabel Castro. 'Comércio e organização do espaço em Angola (c.1870-1950)' CEHCA/IICT (ed.). *A África e a Instalação do Sistema Colonial (c. 1885 – c. 1930): Actas da III Reunião Internacional de História de África*, Lisbon, 2000, 71-90.

Henriques, Isabel Castro. *Percursos da modernidade em Angola. Dinâmicas comerciais e transformações sociais no século XIX*. Lisbon, 1997.

Henriques, Isabel Castro. *Território e Identidade: A Construção da Angola Colonial (c.1872 - c.1926)*. Lisbon, 2004.

Henriques, Isabel de Castro. 'Da virtuosa brandura do branco à preguiça pecaminosa do negro. Uma contribuição para a releitura da situação colonial na África sob dominação portuguesa', *Studia Africana*, 1 (1990), 27-38.

Heywood, Linda and John K. Thornton. 'Demography, production, and labor in Central Angola 1890-1950'. In Dennis Cordell and Joel Gregory (eds). *African Population and Capitalism: Historical Perspectives*, Boulder, 1987, 241-55.

Heywood, Linda M. 'African fiscal systems as sources for demographic History: the case of Central Angola, 1799-1920', *JAH*, 26 (1985), 213-28.

Heywood, Linda M. *Contested Power in Angola 1840s to the Present*. Rochester, 2000.

Heywood, Linda M. 'Ovimbundu women and social change, 1880-1926'. In CEHCA/IICT (ed.). *A África e a Instalação do Sistema Colonial (c.1885-c.1930): Actas da III Reunião Internacional de História de África*, Lisbon, 2000, 441-53.

Heywood, Linda M. 'Porters, trade and power: The politics of labor in the central highlands of Angola, 1850-1914'. In C. Coquery Vidrovitch and Paul Lovejoy (eds). *The Workers of African Trade*. Beverly Hills, 1985.

Heywood, Linda M. 'Slavery and Forced Labor in the Changing Political Economy of Central Angola, 1850-1949'. In S. Miers and R. Roberts (eds.). *The End of Slavery in Africa*. Madison, 1988, 415-36.

Heywood, Linda M. 'The growth and decline of african agriculture in Central Angola, 1890-1950'. *JSAS*, 3 (1987), 355-71.

Heywood, Linda Marinda. 'Production, Trade and Power: the Political Economy of Central Angola 1850-1930', PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1984.

Hilton, Anne. 'The Jaga reconsidered', *JAH*, 22 (1981), 191-202.

Hobsbawm, E. *On History*. London, 1998.

Hodgson, Dorothy Louise. *The Church Of Women: Gendered Encounters between Maasai and Missionaries*. Bloomington, 2005.

Howard, Allen M. 'Cities in Africa, past and present: contestation, transformation, discourse', *CJAS*, 2-3 (2003), 197-235.

Hulstaert, G. 'Au sujet de l'immatriculation'. *Aequatoria*, 3 (1956), 112-4.

Hulstaert, G. 'L'attraction des centres urbains'. *AEquatoria*, 2 (1953), 76-9.

Hulstaert, G. 'Mission et divertissements populaires'. *AEquatoria*, (1940), 16-21.

Hutchinson and G. Martelli. *Robert's People: The Life of Sir Robert Williams, Bart., 1860-1938*. London, 1971.

Iliffe, John. *The African Poor*. Cambridge. 1987.

Isaacman, Allen and Barbara Isaacman. 'Resistance and Collaboration in Southern and Central Africa, c. 1850-1920'. *IJAHS*, 1 (1977), 31-62.

Isaacman, Allen. 'African Peasantry'. In Peter N. Stearns (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Social History*. New York 1994, 17-19.

Janeiro, Helena Pinto. 'A questão religiosa em Angola: Norton de Matos e as Missões'. Universdade católica. *Actas do Congresso Internacional 100 anos de separação: Religião, Sociedade, Estado*. Lisbon (forthcoming).

Jaspert, Willem. *Through Unknown Africa. Experiences from the Jaspert African Expedition of 1926-1927*, London, [1929].

Jerónimo, Miguel Bandeira. *Livros brancos, almas negras: A "missão civilizadora" do colonialismo português c. 1870-1930*. Lisbon, 2010.

Jessen, Otto. *Reisen und Forschungen in Angola*. In Beatrix Heintze, *Ethnographische Aneignungen: Deutsche Forschungsreisende in Angola*. Frankfurt, 1999, 247-254.

Jesus, Quirino Avelino de. 'Angola e Congo ou o Terceiro Império Luzitano', *Portugal em África*, 1 (1894).

Jewsiewicki, Bogumil. 'The production of history and social conscience or how to 'civilize' the Other'. *History in Africa*, 8 (1981), 75-87.

Johnston, James. *Reality versus Romance in South Central Africa*. London, 1969 [1893].

Jones, Thomas Jesse (ed.). *Education in Africa. A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission, under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe*, New York, 1922.

Jules-Rosette, Bennetta. *Symbols of Change: Urban Transition in a Zambian Community*. Norwood NJ, 1981.

Kalundungu, Benedito Zeferino. 'Rei Cingi I do Ombalundu, herói anónimo da resistência angolana contra a ocupação colonial', Paper presented at I Simpósio sobre Cultura Nacional, Luanda, 1984 (unpublished).

Katzenellenbogen, S. E. *Railways and the Copper Mines of Katanga*, Oxford, 1973

Keese, Alexander. *Living with Ambiguity: Integrating an African Elite in French and Portuguese Africa*. 1930-61, Stuttgart, 2007.

Keiling, Mons. Luiz Alfredo. *Quarenta Anos de África*. Fraião (Braga), 1934,

Kennedy, Dane. *Islands of White. Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939*. Durham, 1987.

Killingray, David. 'Labour exploitation for military campaigns in British Colonial Africa 1870-1945'. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 3 (1989), 483-501.

Killingray, David. 'The maintenance of law and order in British Colonial Africa', *African Affairs*. 340 (1986), 411-37.

King, Anthony D. 'Writing colonial space. A review article', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 3 (1995), 541-54.

Koren, Henry J. (CSSp). *The Spiritans: A History of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost*. Pittsburgh/Louvain, 1958.

Küster, Sybille. *African Education in Colonial Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi: Government Control, Settler Antagonism and African Agency, 1890-1964*. Hamburg, 1999.

Laban, Michel. *Angola: Encontro com Escritores*. Porto, 1991, 2 vols.

Laboreiro, Simão de. *O Dombe Grande: Relatório do Administrador 1913-1914*. Benguela, 1915.

Laboreiro, Simão de. *Circunscrição Civil da Ganda: Relatório do Administrador Simão de Laboreiro 1914-1915*, Benguela, 1916.

Lacerda, Paulo Martins Pinheiro de. 'Noticia da Cidade de S.Filipe de Benguella, e dos costumes dos gentios habitantes daquelle sertão (1797)', *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes*, 5ª série (parte não official) (1845), 486-491

Lambo, Gonzaga. *Da Criação Popular Angolana*. [Lisbon], 1996.

Lauro, Amandine. *Coloniaux, ménagères et prostituées au Congo Belge (1885-1930).* Loverval, 2005.

Lavradio, Marquês do. *A Campanha do Bailundo*, Lisbon, 1935.

Lawrance, Benjamin N., Emily Lynn Osborn and Richard L. Roberts (eds). *Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks: African Employees in the Making of Colonial Africa.* Madison, 2006.

Lears, T. J. Jackson. 'The concept of cultural hegemony: Problems and possibilities'. *American Historical Review*, 3 (1985), 567-93.

Lecomte, Ernesto. *Ondaka ia suku ou Doutrina Christa em umbundu e portuguez*. Luanda, 1899.

Lecomte, Pe. Ernesto. *Plan'alto do Sul de Angola. Missões Portuguezas - Caconda, Catoco, Bihé e Bailundo*. Lisbon, 1897.

Lecomte, Pe. Ernesto. 'No Cubango: Communicação à Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa, em 3 de Junho de 1889', *BSGL*, 7 (1889), 345-58.

Lee, Christopher Joon-Hai. 'The 'Native' undefined: Colonial categories, Anglo-African status and the politics of kinship in British Central Africa, 1929-38', *JAH*, 46 (2005), 455-78.

Lemos, Alberto de. *Altas Questões da Administração Colonial Portuguesa*, *Separata Brotéria*, 4 (1947), 7-10.

Lemos, Alberto de. 'Introdução ao Primeiro Censo Geral da População de Angola', *Censo Geral da População de Angola*, Luanda, 1941, I, 3-76.

Lemos, Alberto de (ed.). *I Congresso dos Economistas Portugueses. Problemas das Economias ultramarinas : IV Secção, Colonização étnica. Comunicação e Debates*. Lisbon, 1955.

Lima, Augusto Mesquitela. *Os Kyaka de Angola: História, parentesco, organização política e territorial*. Lisbon, 1988-91, 3 vols.

Lima, Raul de (ed.). *Manual das Administrações dos Concelhos e Circunscrições da Colónia de Angola*. Luanda, 1941, 2 vols.

Locatelli, Francesca. '"Ociosi, vagabondi e pregiudicati": Labor, law, and crime in colonial Asmara, 1890-1941', *IJAHS*, 2 (2007), 225-50.

Lonsdale, John. 'Agency in tight corners: narrative and initiative in African history', *JACS*, 13, 1 (2000), 5-16.

Lopo, Júlio de Castro. *Um Intelectual: Monsenhor Doutor Manuel Alves da Cunha. Notas Biográficas e Bibliográficas: Subsídios*. Luanda, 1948.

Lopo, Júlio de Castro. *Jornalismo de Angola: Subsídios para a sua História*. Luanda, 1964.

Loureiro, João. *Angola. Memória em imagens 1890-1970*. Lisbon, 2009.

Lourenço, Serafim. 'O culto dos espíritos de Nano no Humbe', *Portugal em África*, 12 (1955), 156-162.

Lovejoy, Paul E. and David Richardson. 'British Abolition and its impact on slave prices along the Atlantic coast of Africa, 1783-1850', *Journal of Economic History*, 55, 1 (1995), 98-119.

Lovejoy, Paul E. *Transformations in Slavery. A History of Slavery in Africa.* Cambridge, 2000.

Lukamba, André. *A evangelização como "encontro vivo" na cultura Umbundu de Angola - Perspectivas Eclesiológicas*. Huambo, 1984.

Macedo, José de. *Autonomia de Angola*, Lisbon, 1988 [1910].

Macgaffey, Wyatt. 'Crossing the river. Myth and movement in Central Africa', Heintze and von Oppen (eds.). *Angola on the Move*, 2008, 221-42.

Machado [de Faria Maia], Carlos Roma. 'A Cidade do Huambo. Primeira cidade portugueza no Planalto de Benguela'. *Revista de Engenharia Militar*, 18 (1913), 396-412 and 471-486.

Machado [de Faria Maia], Carlos Roma. 'Inauguração do Caminho de Ferro de Benguela e primeira travessia de África em caminho de ferro promovida pela respectiva Companhia'. *BSGL*, 11-12 (1929), 362-86.

Machado [de Faria Maia], Carlos Roma. 'Início e fundação da cidade do Huambo'. *BAGC*, Lisbon, 7 (1926), 30-59.

Machado [de Faria e Maia], Carlos Roma. 'Colonisação da raça branca portuguesa em Angola', in: *III Congresso Colonial Nacional de 8 a 15 de Maio de 1930. Actas das Sessões e Teses.* Lisbon, 1934.

Machado [de Faria Maia], Carlos Roma. 'A cidade de Huambo'. *Gazeta dos Caminhos de Ferro*, 1354 (1944), 222-3.

Machado [de Faria Maia], Carlos Roma. 'O trabalho dos indígenas portugueses nas colónias visinhas (Seu engajamento e emigração clandestinos. Modo de os evitar. Seu controle oficial)'. In *III Congresso Colonial Nacional de 8 a 15 de Maio de 1930: Actas das Sessões e Teses*, Lisbon, 1934.

Machado, Álvaro. 'Caminho de Ferro de Benguela. Conferência do Sr. Comandante Álvaro Machado em 24 de Abril de 1929'. *BSGL*, 9-10 (1929), 302-10.

Machado, Álvaro. 'Caminho de Ferro de Benguela. Conferência realizada em 12 de Março de 1928 na Sociedade de Geografia'. *BSGL*, 3-4 (1929), 56-76.

Machado, Álvaro. 'O Caminho de Ferro de Benguela e o desenvolvimento da Província de Angola'. *BAGC*, 47 (1929), 242-56.

Magyar, Lászlo. *Reisen in Süd-Afrika in den Jahren 1849 bis 1857*. Pest and Leipzig, 1859.

Maia, Carlos Roma Machado de Faria. *Nostalgia Africana*. Lisbon 1936.

Maia, Carlos Roma Machado de Faria. *Os Melhores Locais de Angola e Moçambique para a Vida das Famílias Portuguesas com Residência Perpétua e para Estadia de 10 anos no máximo. Memória apresentada ao Congresso Internacional de Geografia de Amsterdam em 1938.* Lisbon, 1938.

Maia, Carlos Roma Machado de Faria. *Recordações de África. Verídicas Narrativas de Viagens, Caçadas, Combates e Costumes Indígenas, Marchas pelo Interior e Navegação dos Rios*. Lisbon, 1930.

Mair, Lucy P. *Native Policies in Africa*, London, 1936.

Malheiro, Alexandre. *Chronicas do Bihé*. Lisbon, 1903.

Mamdani, Mahmood. *Citizen and Subject. Contemporary Africa in the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. London, 1996.

Mann, Gregory. 'What was the *indigénat*? The "empire of law" in French West Africa', *JAH*, 50 (2009), 331-53.

Mann, Kristin and Richard Roberts (eds). *Law in Colonial Africa*. London, 1991.

Marcum, John. *The Angolan Revolution*. Massachusetts, 1969-78, 2 vols.

Maret, P. de Maret, F. van Noten and D. Cahen. 'Radiocarbon dates from west central Africa: a synthesis', *JAH*, 18 (1977), 481-505.

Margarido, Alfredo. 'Les Porteurs: forme de domination et agents de changement en Angola (XVIIe-XIXe siècles)'. *Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*, 240 (1978), 377-400.

Marks, Shula and Richard Rathbone (eds.). *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa. African Class Formation, Culture, and Consciousness, 1870-1930*. New York, 1982.

Marques, João Pedro Marques. *The Sounds of Silence: Nineteenth-Century Portugal And the Abolition of the Slave Trade.* Oxford, 2006.

Marques, Walter. *Problemas do Desenvolvimento Económico de Angola*. Luanda, 1965.

Martin, Phyllis M. *Catholic Women of Congo-Brazzaville: Mothers and Sisters in Troubled Times*. Bloomington, 2009.

Martin, Phyllis M. *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*. Cambridge, 1995

Santos, Martins dos. *História do Ensino em Angola*. Luanda, 1970.

Martins, Francisco Augusto da Silva. 'Do Huambo a Nova Lisboa', *Voz do Planalto*, 31 March 1934.

Martins, Raul. 'O princípio e as práticas da Unidade Política: uma notável comunicação do sr. engº Raul Martins ao Congresso da UN.' *A Província de Angola*, 3 and 4 July 1956.

Mastrobuono, Luisa. 'Ovimbundu Women and Coercive Labour Systems, 1850-1940: From Still Life to Moving Picture'. M. A., University of Toronto, 1992.

Matos, Norton de. *A Província de Angola*, Porto, 1926.

Matos, Patrícia Ferraz de. *As "cores" do Império. Representações raciais no Império colonial português*. Lisbon, 2006.

Mattos, Norton de. *Memórias e Trabalhos da Minha Vida*. Lisbon, 1944-45, 4 vols.

Maxwell, David. 'Writing the History of African Christianity: Reflexions of an Editor', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 36, 3-4 (2006), 379-99.

Mccann, James C. *Maize and Grace. Africa's Encounter with a New World Crop, 1500-2000*. Cambridge, 2005.

McCracken, John. 'Coercion and control in Nyasaland: Aspects of the history of a colonial police force', *JAH*, 27 (1986), 127-147.

McCracken, John. 'Blantyre transformed: Class, conflict and nationalism in urban Malawi', *JAH,* 39 (1998), 227-69.

McCulloch, Merran. *The Ovimbundu of Angola*. London, 1952

McGrath, Simon et al. *Rethinking African History*. Edinburgh, 1997

Medeiros, Isabel. *Contribuição para o Estudo da Colonização e da Pesca no Litoral de Angola ao Sul de Benguela.* Lisbon, 1982.

Medina, João e Barromi, Joel. 'O projecto de colonização judaica em Angola. O debate em Portugal da proposta da ITO (OrganizaçãoTerritorial Judaica), 1912-1913', *Clio,* 6 (1987-88), 79-101.

Medina, João and Isabel Castro Henriques. *A Rota dos Escravos: Angola e a Rede do Comércio Negreiro.* Lisbon, 1996.

Mendes, Afonso. *O Trabalho Assalariado em Angola*. Lisbon, 1966.

Mendy, Peter Karibe. 'Portugal's civilizing mission in colonial Guinea-Bissau: Rhetoric and reality', *IJAHS*, 1 (2003), 35-58.

Meneses, Filipe Ribeiro de. *Salazar: A Political Biography*. New York 2009.

Menezes, Sebastião Lopes de Calheiros. *Relatório do Governador Geral da Provincia de Angola - 1861*. Lisbon, 1867.

Messiant, Christine. 'Protestantismes en situation coloniale. Quelles marges?', *Lusotopie* (1998), 245-256.

Messiant, Christine. *1961: L'Angola colonial, histoire et société. Les prémisses du mouvement nationaliste*. Basel, 2006.

Messiant, Christine. 'Luanda (1945-1961): Colonisés, société coloniale et engagement nationaliste'. Michel Cahen (ed.), *Bourgs et villes en Afrique Lusophone*. Paris, 1989, 125-99.

Miers, Suzanne Miers and Martin Klein (eds.). *Slavery and Colonial Rule in Africa*. London 1999,

Miettinen, Kari. *On the Way to Whiteness: Christianization, Conflict and Change in Colonial Ovamboland, 1910-1965*. Helsinki, 2005.

Milheiros, Mário. *Índice Histórico-Corográfico de Angola*. Luanda, 1972.

Miller, Joseph C. 'Cokwe trade and conquest in the nineteenth century'. In Richard Gray and D. Birmingham (eds.), *Pre-Colonial African Trade*, London, 1970, 174-201.

Miller, Joseph C., 'The Imbangala and the chronology of early central African History' *JAH*, 13 (1972), 549-74.

Miller, Joseph. 'Requiem for the "Jaga"', *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 1 (1973), 121-49;

Miller, Joseph. 'Thanatopsis', *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 1 (1978), 229-31;

Miller, Joseph. 'The Imbangala and the chronology of early central African history', *JAH*, 13 (1972), 549-74;

Miller, Joseph C. *Kings and Kinsmen: Early Mbundu States in Angola*. Oxford, 1976.

Miller, Joseph C. 'The paradoxes of impoverishment in the atlantic zone'. In Birmingham and Martin (eds). *History of Central Africa*. London, 1983, 118-59.

Miller, Joseph C. 'The significance of drought, disease and famine in the agriculturally marginal zones of West-central Africa', *JAH*, 23 (1982), 17-61.

Miller, Joseph C. *Way of Death - Merchant capitalism and the Angolan slave trade 1730-1830*. Londres, 1988.

Miller, Joseph C. 'A marginal institution on the margin of the Atlantic System: The Portuguese Southern Atlantic slave trade in the eighteenth century'. In Barbara Solow (ed.). *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System*. New York, 1991, 120-50.

Miller, Joseph C. 'Angola central e do sul por volta de 1840', *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos*, 32 (1997), 7-54.

Miller, Joseph C. 'Tradição oral e história: uma agenda para Angola', in CNCDP, *Construindo o Passado Angolano: as Fontes e a sua Interpretação*. Lisbon, 2000, 371-412.

Missões Católicas Portuguesas: Documentário fotográfico, Lisbon, 1964.

Mitchell, J. C. and A. L. Epstein. 'Occupational prestige and social status among urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia'. *Africa* 29 (1959), 1: 22–39.

Mitchell, J. Clyde. *African Urbanization in Ndola and Luanshya*. Lusaka, 1954.

Mitchell, J. Clyde. *Cities, Society, and Social Perception: a Central African Perspective*. Oxford, 1987.

Mommsen, W. J. and J. A. De Moor (eds.). *European Expansion and Law. The Encounter of European and Indigenous Law in 19th- and 20th-Century Africa and Asia*. Oxford, 1992.

Moncada, Francisco Cabral. *A Campanha do Bailundo em 1902*. Luanda, 1903.

Monteiro, Armindo. *Os Portugueses na Colonização Moderna*. Lisbon, 1936.

Monteiro, Armindo. *Para uma Política Imperial. Alguns Discursos do Ministro das Colónias Doutor Armindo Monteiro*. Lisbon, 1933.

Monteiro, Armindo. 'Portugal in Africa', *Journal of the Royal African Society*, 151 (1939), 259-72.

Monteiro, Ramiro Ladeiro. *A Familia nos Musseques de Luanda: Subsidios para o seu Estudo*. Luanda, 1973.

Moorman, Marissa. *Intonations: a Social History of Music and Nation, Luanda, Angola, 1945-Recent Times*. Athens-Ohio, 2008.

Moraes, J.A. da Cunha. *Africa Occidental: Album Photographico e Descriptivo, Terceira Parte (Novo Redondo, Benguella e Rio Quicombo)*, Lisbon, 1887.

Moreira, Adriano e José Carlos Venâncio (eds). *Luso-Tropicalismo: uma Teoria Social em Questão*. Lisbon, 2000.

Moreira, Adriano. 'Administração de justiça aos indígenas'. Separata, *Revista do Gabinete de Estudos Ultramarinos*, no. 5-6 (1952).

Moreira, Adriano. 'Problemas sociais do Ultramar'. *Estudos Ultramarinos*, (1960), 7-19.

Moreira, Adriano. *Ensaios*. Lisbon, 1963.

Moreira, Adriano. *Política Ultramarina*. Lisbon, 1956.

Moreira, Adriano. *Notas do Tempo Perdido*. Lisbon, 2005.

Moreira, J. Mimoso. 'Breve memória histórica, compreendendo as possibilidades da colónia e as suas actividades económicas'. *BAGC*, 47 (1929), 257-92.

Morna, Álvaro de Freitas. *Angola: Um Ano no Governo Geral (1942-1943)*, Lisbon, 1944,

Moura, Júlio Diamantino de. 'Uma história entre lendas', *Boletim do Instituto de Angola*, 10 (1957), 55-90.

Mourão, Fernando Augusto Albuquerque. *Continuidades e Descontinuidades de um Processo Colonial Através de uma Leitura de Luanda: uma Interpretação do Desenho Urbano.* São Paulo, 2006.

Moutinho, Mário. *O indígena no pensamento colonial português 1895-1961.* Lisbon, 2000.

Moutinho, Teixeira. *Em Legítima Defesa. Resposta ao Livro (1ª Edição) do Exmo. Snr. Conselheiro Cabral Moncada Intitulado A Campanha do Bailundo.* Lisbon, 1904.

Muaca, Eduardo A. *Breve História da Evangelização de Angola*. Lisbon, 1991.

Mudimbe, V. Y. *Tales of Faith. Religion as Political Performance in Central Africa*. London, 1997.

Myers, Garth Andrew. *Verandahs of Power: Colonialism and Space in Urban Africa*. New York, 2003.

N. D., 'Carte de Mérite Civique', *AEquatoria*, 12 (1948), 103-5.

Nascimento, Augusto. *Desterro e Contrato: Moçambicanos a Caminho de S. Tomé e Príncipe, Anos 1940–1960*. Maputo, 2002.

Nascimento, Cardeal Alexandre do. *Minhas Origens e Aprendizagens: Autobiografia*, Luanda, 2006.

Nascimento, J. Pereira and A. A. de Mattos. *A Colonisação de Angola*. Lisbon, 1912,

Nascimento, J. Pereira do *et al. Relatório da Missão de Estudos da Colonização do Planalto de Benguella 1907-1909.* Luanda, 1910.

Nascimento, J. Pereira do. *A Colonisação do Planalto de Benguella.* Lisbon, 1912.

Neto, João Pereira. *Angola: Meio Século de Integração.* Lisbon, 1964.

Neto, Maria da Conceição. 'Kilombo, Quilombos, Ocilombo'. *Mensagem: Revista Angolana de Cultura*, 4, (1989), 5-19.

Neto, Maria da Conceição. 'Hóspedes incómodos: Portugueses e Americanos no Bailundo 1875-1895'. CNCDP (ed.), *Actas do Seminário "Encontro de Povos e Culturas em Angola, Luanda, Abril 1995*, Lisbon, 1997, 375-87.

Neto, Maria da Conceição. 'Angola na década 1950-1960: Breve introdução histórica', in Maria do Carmo Medina. *Angola: Processos Políticos na Luta pela Independência.* Luanda, 2003, 13-28.

Neto, Maria da Conceição. 'Comércio, religião e política no sertão de Benguela: o Bailundo de Ekwikwi II (1876-1893)'. *Fontes & Estudos*, 1 (1994), 101-18.

Neto, Maria da Conceição. 'A República no seu estado colonial: combater a escravatura, estabelecer o *indigenato*'. *Ler História,* 59 (2010), 205-25.

Neto, Maria da Conceição. 'Entre a tradição e a modernidade: os Ovimbundu do Planalto Central à luz da História'. *Ngola: Revista de Estudos Sociais,* Luanda, 1 (1997), 193-215.

Neto, Maria da Conceição. 'Grandes projectos e tristes realidades. Aspectos da colonização do planalto central angolano (c.1900-c.1931)'. In CEHCA/IICT (ed.) *A África e a Instalação do Sistema Colonial (c.1885-c.1930)*, 2000, 513-25.

Neto, Maria da Conceição. 'Ideologias, contradições e mistificações da colonização de Angola no século XX'. *Lusotopie* (1997), 327-59.

Neto, Maria da Conceição. 'Nas Malhas da Rede: Aspectos do impacto económico e social do transporte rodoviário na região do Huambo (c. 1920-c. 1960)'. In B. Heintze and A. von Oppen (eds.). *Angola on the Move*, 2008, 117-29.

Nevinson, Henry. *A Modern Slavery*, London, 1906.

Newitt, Malyn. *Portugal in Africa: The Last Hundred Years*. London, 1981.

Newitt, Malyn. 'Angola in Historical Context'. In Patrick Chabal and Nuno Vidal (eds). *Angola: the Weight of History*. London, 2007, 19-92.

Ng'ong'ola, Clement. 'The State, Settlers, and Indigenes in the Evolution of Land Law and Policy in Colonial Malawi'. *IJAHS*, 1 (1990), 27-58.

Nogueira, Jofre Amaral. *A Colonização do Huambo*. Nova Lisboa, 1953,

Nteka, Afonso. *Construtores do Reino. Reflexão sobre a Acção Evangelizadora dos Catequistas na Diocese de Uíje (Angola)*. Padova, 1984.

O'Connor, Anthony. *The African City*. London, 1983.

Okuma, Thomas. *Angola in Ferment: The Background and Prospects of Angolan Nationalism*. Boston, 1962.

Oliveira, Mário António Fernandes de. *Reler África*. Coimbra, 1990.

Oliveira, Mário António. *Luanda, "ilha" crioula*. Lisbon, 1968.

Oliveira, Pedro Aires. *Armindo Monteiro: uma biografia política*. Venda Nova, 2000.

Oppenheimer, Jochen and Isabel Raposo (eds). *Subúrbios de Luanda e Maputo*. Lisbon, 2008.

Osterhammel, Jürgen. *Colonialism. A Theoretical Overview*. Princeton, 2005.

Pacheco, Fernando. 'Rural communities in Huambo'. In Paul Robson (ed.). *Communities and Reconstruction in Angola.* 2001, 51-77.

Pages, Gilles. 'Le Père Louis Barros da Silva (1868-1931), premier spiritain angolais', *Mémoire Spiritaine* (Paris), 1 (1995), 106-22.

Paiva, Artur de. *Artur de Paiva*. Lisbon, 1938, 2 vols.

Palmer, Robin and Neil Parsons (eds.). *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa*. London, 1977.

Parker, John. *Making the Town: Ga State and Society in Early Colonial Accra*. Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 2000.

Parker, John. 'Mankraloi, merchants and mulattos: Carl Reindorf and the politics of "race" in early colonial Accra'. In Paul Jenkins (ed.). *The Recovery of the West African Past: African Pastors and African History in the Nineteenth Century. C. C. Reindorf and Samuel Johnson*. Basel, 1998, 31-47.

Pauling, George. *The Chronicles of a Contractor: being the Autobiography of the Late George Pauling*. Bulawayo, 1969.

Péclard, Didier. *Ethos missionnaire et esprit du capitalisme. La Mission Philafricaine en Angola 1897-1907.* Lausanne, 1995

Péclard, Didier. '"Eu sou americano": Dynamiques du champ missionnaire dans le *planalto central* angolais au XXème siècle'. *Lusotopie* (1998), 357-76.

Péclard, Didier. 'Savoir colonial, missions chrétiennes et nationalisme en Angola'. *Genèses*, 45 (2001), 114-33.

Péclard, Didier. 'Missions et nationalisme: hypothèses théoriques et historiques autour du cas angolais'. In Véronique Faure (ed.). *Dynamiques religieuses en Afrique australe*. Paris, 2000, 312-31.

Péclard, Didier. '"Para amanhã ser homem": missions chrétiennes et formation du sujet colonial en Angola central au XXème siècle'. *Politique Africaine*, 74 (1999), 113-29.

Péclard, Didier. 'Religion and Politics in Angola: The Church, the Colonial State and the Emergence of Angolan Nationalism, 1940-1961', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 2 (1998), 160-86.

Péclard, Didier. 'Etat colonial, missions chrétiennes et nationalisme en Angola, 1920-1975: Aux racines sociales de l'UNITA', PhD Thesis, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, 2005.

Peel, J. D. Y. 'For who hath despised the day of small things: missionary narratives and historical anthropology'. *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 37 (1995), 581-607.

Peel, J. D. Y. *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba.* Bloomington, 2000

Peel, J. D. Y. 'Urbanization and Urban History in West Africa', *JAH*, 21 (1980), 209-77.

Pélissier, René. *História das Campanhas de Angola. Resistências e Revoltas 1845-1941*. Lisbon, 1986, 2 vols.

Pélissier, René. *La colonie du Minotaure. Nationalismes et révoltes en Angola (1926-1961).* Orgeval, 1978.

Penvenne, Jeanne. 'Here everyone walked with fear: the Mozabican labor system and the workers of Lourenço Marques, 1945-1962'. In F. Cooper (ed.). *Struggle for the City.* 1983, 131-66.

Penvenne, Jeanne Marie. *African Workers and Colonial Racism. Mozambican strategies and Struggles in Lourenço Marques, 1877-1962*. Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1995.

Penvenne, Jeanne Marie. 'Colonial Encounters between Africa and Portugal: An Introduction', *IJAHS,* 1 (2003), 1-6.

Penvenne, Jeanne Marie. 'Settling Against the Tide: The Layered Contradictions of Twentieth-Century Portuguese Settlement in Mozambique'. In C. Elkins and S. Pedersen (eds). *Settler Colonialism*, 2005, 79-94.

Penvenne, Jeanne Marie. 'Two Tales of a City: Lourenço Marques, 1945-1975'. *Portuguese Studies Review*, 1-2 (2011), 249-69.

Pereira, Joaquim António. *Angola. Terra portuguesa. Acções de guerra. Vida no sertão. Memórias e comentários*. Lisbon, 1947.

Pimenta, Fernando Tavares. *Angola, os Brancos e a Independência*. Porto, 2008

Pimenta, Fernando Tavares. *Brancos de Angola. Autonomismo e Nacionalismo (1900-1961).* Coimbra, 2005.

Pimentel, Fernando. *Investigação Commercial na Província de Angola Realisada por Iniciativa das Fábricas de Fiação e Tecidos d'Algodão do Norte do Paiz em 1902-1903*. Porto, 1903.

Pinho, Moisés Alves de Pinho. *Memórias: Recordações duma Vida que o Senhor quis Longa*. Lisbon, 1979.

Pinto, António Costa (ed.). *Modern Portugal*, Palo Alto (California), 1998

Pinto, Júlio Ferreira. *Angola: Notas e Comentários dum Colono*, Lisbon, 1926.

Pirio, Gregory Roger. 'Commerce, Industry and Empire: The Making of Modern Portuguese Colonialism in Angola and Mozambique, 1890-1914', PhD Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1982.

Pössinger, Hermann. 'Interrelations between economic and social change in rural Africa: the case of the Ovimbundu of Angola'. In F. Heimer (ed.), *Social Change in Angola*, 1973, 32-52.

Príncipe, Sérgio. *Huambo – Nova Lisboa: Subsídios para a sua História*, Nova Lisboa, 1955.

Proença, Maria Cândida. *A Questão Colonial no Parlamento (1910-1926)*, Lisbon, 2008.

Raftopoulos, Brian and Tsuneo Yoshikuni (eds.). *Sites of Struggle. Essays in Zimbabwe's Urban History*. Harare, 1999.

Ranger, T. O. 'Africa in the Age of Extremes: The Irrelevance of African History' In S. McGrath et al. *Rethinking African History*. Edinburgh, 1997, 269-291.

Ranger, T. O. 'Tales of the Wild West: Gold-Diggers and Rustlers in South-West Zimbabwe, 1898–1940. An Essay in the Use of Criminal Court Records for Social History', *South African Historical Journal*, 28, 1 (1993), 40-62.

Ranger, T. O. 'Taking Hold of the Land: Holy Places and Pilgrimages in Twentieth-Century Zimbabwe'. *Past and Present,* 117 (1987), 159-90.

Ranger, T.O. and John Weller (eds). *Themes in the Christian history of Central Africa*. London, 1975.

Ranger, Terence and Olufemi Vaughan (eds). *Legitimacy and the State in Twentieth-Century Africa: Essays in Honour of A.H.M. Kirk-Greene*. New York, 1993.

Ranger, Terence O. 'Religious movements and politics in Sub-saharan Africa, *African Studies Review*, 29, 2 (1986), 1-69.

Ranger, Terence. 'White presence and power in Africa'. *JAH*, 20 (1979), 463-69.

Ranger, Terence. 'Nationalist historiography, patriotic history and the history of the nation: the struggle over the past in Zimbabwe'. *JSAS*, 30, 2 (2004), 215-34.

Ravenstein, E. G. (ed.) *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battel of Leigh in Angola and the Adjoining Regions - Reprinted from "Purchas his Pilgrimes"*, Londres, 1901.

Read, Frank W. 'Iron-smelting and native Blacksmithing in Ondulu Country, South-east Angola'. *Journal of the African Society*, 5 (1902-1903), 44-9.

Rebelo, Horácio de Sá Viana. *Angola na África Deste Tempo. Pensamento e Acção no Governo da Província*. Lisbon, 1961.

Rebelo, Manuel dos Anjos da Silva. *Relação entre Angola e o Brasil (1808-1830).* Lisbon, 1970.

Rego, A. A. Fernandes. *A Mão d'Obra nas Colonias Portuguezas d'Africa*. Lisbon, 1911.

Rego, A. da Silva. *Lições de Missionologia.* Lisbon, 1961.

Reyntjens, Filip. 'The development of the dual legal system in former Belgian Central Africa (Zaire-Rwanda-Burundi)'. In Mommsen and de Moor (eds.), *European Expansion and Law.* 1992, 111-27.

Ribas, Óscar. *Dicionário de Regionalismos Angolanos*. Matosinhos, 1997.

Ribeiro, José Caramona. *Regulamento do Fôro Privativo dos Indígenas de Angola. Crítica e formulário*. Luanda, 1944.

Ribeiro, Orlando. 'Milho'. In Joel Serrão (ed.) *Dicionário da História de Portugal*, Porto, 1981 vol. IV, 294-300

Ribeiro, Orlando. *A Colonização de Angola e o seu Fracasso*. Lisbon, 1981.

Roberts, Andrew (ed.). *The Colonial Moment in Africa: Essays on the Movement of Minds and Materials, 1900-1940.* Cambridge, 1990.

Robson, Paul and Sandra Roque. *Here in the City There is Nothing Left Over for Lending a Hand.* Luanda, 2001.

Rockel, Stephen J. *Carriers of Culture. Labor on the Road in Nineteenth-Century East Africa.* Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 2006.

Rodrigues, Adriano Vasco. 'Construções bantas de pedra em Angola' *Boletim do Inst. de Invest. Cientifica de Angola (IICA)*, Luanda, 2 (1968), 169-89.

Rodrigues, Cristina Udelsmann. 'From family solidarity to social classes: urban stratification in Angola (Luanda and Ondjiva). *JSAS*, 33, 2 (2007), 235-50.

Rodrigues, Eugénia. *A Geração Silenciada. A Liga Nacional Africana e a Representação do Branco em Angola na Década de 30.* Porto, 2003.

Rodrigues, Eugénia. 'Cipaios da Índia ou soldados da terra? Dilemas da naturalização do exército português em Moçambique no século XVIII', *História: Questões & Debates*, 45 (2006), 57-95.

Roque, Ricardo. 'The razor's edge: Portuguese imperial vulnerability in colonial Moxico, Angola', *IJAHS* , 1 (2003), 105-124.

Roque, Sandra. 'Ambitions of *Cidade*: War-Displacement and Concepts of the Urban Among *Bairro* Residents in Benguela, Angola'. (Unpublished PhD thesis), University of Cape Town, 2009.

Rosas, Fernando and Maria Fernanda Rollo (eds). *História da Primeira República Portuguesa*. Lisbon, 2010.

Rosas, Fernando, Júlia Leitão de Barros and Pedro de Oliveira (eds). *Armindo Monteiro e Oliveira Salazar, Correspondência Política 1926-1955.* Lisbon, 1996.

Rosas, Fernando. *O Estado Novo (1926-1974)*. Lisbon, 1998.

Ross, Edward A. *Report on Employment of Native Labour in Portuguese Africa*. New York, 1925.

Saada, Emmanuelle. *Les enfants de la colonie. Les métis de l'Empire français entre sujétion et citoyenneté*. Paris, 2007

Salazar, António de Oliveira. *Portugal e a Campanha Anticolonialista.* Lisbon, 1960.

Salm, Steven J. and Toyin Falola (eds). *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspective.* Rochester (NY), 2005.

Samuels, Michael A. *Education in Angola, 1878-1914. A History of Culture Transfer and Administration*. New York, 1970.

Sánchez-Gómez, Luis Ángel. 'Imperial faith and catholic missions in the grand exhibitions of the *Estado Novo*'. *Análise Social,* 193 (2009), 671-92.

Sandoval, Cândido de Almeida. 'Notícia do sertão do Balundo, 1837', *Annaes do Conselho Ultramarino - Parte não official*, série I (1858), 518-21.

Sanjukila, Elias. *Reino do Bailundo (sua História na Resistência Tenaz contra o Colonialismo Português)*. Huambo, 1997.

Santos, A. C. Valdez Thomaz dos. *Perspectivas Económicas de Angola*. Lisbon, 1949.

Santos, Eduardo dos. *Religiões de Angola*. Lisbon, 1969.

Santos, Eduardo dos. *L'état portugais et le problème missionnaire*, Lisbon, 1964.

Santos, Egídio Sousa. *A Cidade de Malanje na História de Angola (dos Finais do Século XIX até 1975)*. Luanda, 2006.

Santos, M. Emília Madeira (ed.). *Viagens e Apontamentos de um Portuense em África: Diário de António Francisco Ferreira da Silva Porto*. Coimbra, 1986, vol. 1.

Santos, M. Emília Madeira and M. Manuel Ferraz Torrão. 'Entre l'Amérique et l'Afrique, les îles du Cap-Vert et São Tomé: les cheminements des *milhos* (mil, sorgho et maïs)'. In Monique Chastanet (ed.). *Plantes et paysages d'Afrique: une histoire à explorer*, Paris, 1998, 69-83.

Santos, M. Emília Madeira and M. Manuel Ferraz Torrão. *Missões Religiosas e Poder Colonial no Século XIX*. Lisbon, 1993.

Santos, M. Emília Madeira, 'Borracha, crédito e autonomia do comércio africano na ligação à economia internacional. O caso dos Ovimbundos' *Studia*, Lisbon, 51 (1992), 17-27.

Santos, M. Emília Madeira. *Nos Caminhos de África. Serventia e Posse. Angola Século XIX.* Lisbon, 1998.

Sapire, Hillary and Jo Beall. 'Introduction: Urban change and urban studies in Southern Africa', *JSAS,* 21, 1 (1995), 3-17.

Sardica, José M. (ed.). *A Primeira República e as Colónias Portuguesas.* Lisbon, 2010.

Sarmento, Alexandre. *Mortalidade Infantil da População Indígena da Cidade de Nova Lisboa.* 1953.

Sarmento, Alexandre. *O Distrito do Huambo*. Lisbon, 1954.

Sarmento, Alexandre. *Os Huambos (Subsídios para o Estudo da sua Antropologia Física, Biológica e Cultural).* Lisbon, 1956.

Sarmento, Alexandre. *Para a História do Huambo*. Nova Lisboa, 1950.

Sarmento, Alexandre. *População Indígena de Angola: I - Distrito do Huambo.* Porto, 1958.

Sayango, Avelino. *O Meu Pai*. Luanda, 1997.

Schäfer, Ansgar. 'Terra prometida no Império? Os projectos para uma colonização israelita de Angola'. *História*, 9 (1995), 32-45.

Schmidt, Elizabeth. 'Negotiated spaces and contested terrain: Men, women, and the law in colonial Zimbabwe, 1890-1939'. *JSAS*, 16, 4 (1990), 622-48.

Scholz, Helfried. *Im Zeichen der Ahnen: Chronik des angolanischen Dorfes Kasenje erzählt von seinen Bewohnern.* Leipzig, 1979.

Schönberg-Lothholz, Ingeborg. 'Die Karawanenreisen der Tjiaka um 1900'. *Memórias e Trabalhos do Instituto de Investigação Científica de Angola*, 2 (1960), 109-28.

Scott, Munroe. *African Manhunt: a Layman's-eye-view of the Umbundu People of Angola.* Boston, 1959.

Sene, Ibra, 'Colonisation française et main-d'œuvre carcérale au Sénégal: de l'emploi des détenus des camps pénaux sur les chantiers des travaux routiers (1927–1940)', *French Colonial History,* 5 (2004), 153-172.

Senghor, Léopold S. *Lusitanidade e Negritude.* Lisbon, 1975.

Serpa Pinto, Alexandre A. da Rocha. *Como Eu Atravessei a África*. Lisbon, 1978 [1881].

Shadle, Brett L. '"Changing Traditions to Meet Current Altering Traditions": Customary Law, African Courts, and the Rejection of Codification in Kenya, 1930-1960', *JAH,* 40 (1999): 411-31.

Shadle, Brett L. 'White settlers and the law in early colonial Kenya', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 3 (2010), 510-24.

Sheldon, Kathleen E., 'Markets and gardens: placing women in the history of urban Mozambique', *CJAS*, 2-3 (2003), 358-95.

Sikainga, Ahmad Alawad. *"City of Steel and Fire": A Social History of Atbara, Sudan's Railway Town, 1906–84*. Oxford, 2002.

Silva Cunha, J. M. da. *O Sistema Português de Política Indígena: Subsídios para o seu Estudo*. Coimbra, 1953,

Silva Porto, António Francisco Ferreira. *Viagens e apontamentos de um portuense em África: Excerptos do "Diário" de António Francisco Ferreira da Silva Porto.* Lisbon, 1942.

Silva Rego. 'Adaptação missionária e assimilação colonizadora'. *Boletim Geral do Ultramar*, 34, 402 (1958), 185-213.

Silva, António Burity da. 'Os princípios portugueses da integração racial', *Boletim Geral do Ultramar*, 43, 499-500 (1967), 75-89.

Silva, Armando B. Malheiro. 'General Norton de Matos (1867-1955) Aspectos Maiores de um Perfil Histórico-Biográfico: o Militar, o Colonialista e o Democrata'. *Africana Studia*, 6 (2003), 173-99

Silva, Cristina Nogueira da. 'As "normas científicas da colonização moderna" e a administração civil das colónias'. In Sardica (ed.), *A Primeira República,* 2010, 87-107.

Silva, Cristina Nogueira da. *Constitucionalismo e Império: a Cidadania no Ultramar Português*. Coimbra, 2009.

Silva, Fernando Diogo da. *O Huambo - Mão-de-obra Rural no Mercado de Trabalho de Angola: Para a Formação de uma Política de Desenvolvimento Equilibrado*. Luanda, [1970].

Silva, Maria da Conceição T. Lourenço da. *As Missões Católicas Femininas*. Lisbon, 1960.

Silva, Rui Ferreira da. 'No II Congresso da União Nacional: Racismo e colonização étnica de Angola.' *História*, 9 (1995), 20-31.

Simões, Nuno. 'Algumas notas sobre a economia de Angola'. *BAGC*, 47 (1929), 3-36.

Sinou, A., J. Poinsot and J. Sternadel. *Les villes d'Afrique noire. Politiques et opérations d'urbanisme et d'habitat entre 1650 et 1960*. Paris, 1989.

Sivaramakrishnan, K. 'Schools and scholars. Situating the Subaltern: History and anthropology in the Subaltern studies project'. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 8, 4 (1995), 395-429

Smallbones, R. T. *Economic Conditions in Angola (Portuguese West Africa). Report by R. T. Smallbones, M.B.E., His Majesty's Consul General, Loanda*. London, 1929.

Soares, A. Castilho. 'Introdução a um estudo do urbanismo em Angola. Bairros Indígenas nos Centros Urbanos', *Estudos Ultramarinos.* Lisbon, 1 (1960), 119-55.

Soares, Amadeu de Castilho. *Política de Bem-Estar Rural em Angola.* Lisbon, 1961.

Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (ed.). *Questões Coloniais e Económicas: Conclusões e Pareceres, 1913-1919*. Lisbon, 1919.

Soremekun, Fola. 'Religion and Politics in Angola: the American Board Missions and the Portuguese Government 1880-1922'. *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, 43 (1971), 341-77.

Soremekun, Fola. 'The Bailundu Revolt in 1902'. *African Social Research*, London, 19 (1973), 447-73.

Soremekun, Fola. 'A History of the American Board Missions in Angola 1880-1940'. PhD thesis, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1965.

Soriano, Simão José da Luz. 'Memória sobre os Sertões e a Costa a sul de Benguella, na Província de Angola, Escripta sobre Documentos Officiaes …'. *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes*, 6ª série (1848), 73-100.

Southall, Aidan (ed.). *Social Change in Modern Africa. Studies Presented and Discussed at the First International African Seminar, Makerere College, Kampala, January 1959*. London, 1961.

Statham, Colonel J. C. B. *Through Angola: A coming Colony*. Edinburgh, 1922.

Stenger, Friedrich. *White Fathers in Colonial Central Africa. A Critical Examination of V. Y. Mudimbe's Theories on Missionary Discourse in Africa.* Hamburg, 2001.

Stoler, Ann L. 'Rethinking colonial categories. European communities and the boundaries of rule', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31, 1 (1989), 134-161.

Stoler, Ann L. 'Making empire respectable: The politics of race and sexual morality in 20th-century colonial cultures'. *American Ethnologist*, 4. (1989), 634-60.

Summers, Carol. *Colonial Lessons: Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia. 1918–1940*. Oxford, 2002.

Summers, Carol. *From Civilization to Segregation: Social Ideas and Social control in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1934*. Athens, Ohio, 1994.

Sundkler, Bengt and Christopher Steed. *A History of the Church in Africa.* Cambridge, 2004.

Swan, Charles A. *The Slavery of Today or the Present Position of the Open Sore of Africa.* Glasgow, 1909.

Taruffi, Dino. 'O Planalto de Benguela e o seu futuro agrícola'. *BSGL,* 7-9 (1918), 185-226.

Tavares, Ana Paula e Catarina Madeira Santos. *Africae Monumenta. A Apropriação da Escrita pelos Africanos*, *vol I: Arquivo Caculo Cacahenda*. Lisbon, 2002.

Tavares, Ana Paula. 'Memória e História: Estudo sobre as Sociedades Lunda e Cokwe em Angola', PhD thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2010.

Teixeira, Alberto de Almeida. *Angola Intangível (Notas e Comentários)*. Porto, 1934.

Teixeira, Alexandre da Silva. 'Relação da Viagem Que Fiz Desta Cidade de Benguella para as Terras de Lovar no Anno de Mil Setecentos Noventa e Quatro – 23 de dezembro de 1794'. *Arquivos de Angola*, Luanda, 4 (1935).

Terló, Wolf. 'Projecto de colonização israelita no Planalto de Angola'. *Boletim do Comité Israelita de Lisboa*, (September 1912), 39-46.

Thornton, John. 'A Resurrection for the Jaga'. *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 1 (1978), 223-7.

Thornton, John K. and Linda Heywood. 'African fiscal systems as demographic sources: The case of the central highlands of Angola, 1770-1900'. *JAH*, 29, 2 (1988), 213-28.

Thornton, John K. 'Documentos escritos e tradição oral num reino alfabetizado: tradições orais escritas no Congo, 1580-1910', in CNCDP, *Construindo o passado angolano: as fontes e a sua interpretação.* Lisbon, 2000, 445-465.

Torres, Adelino, 'As empresas e a economia angolana de Norton de Matos a Vicente Ferreira (o protocapitalismo dos anos 20)'. In *O Estado Novo das Origens ao Fim da Autarcia 1926-1959*. Lisbon, 1987.

Torres, Adelino. *O Império Português entre o Real e o Imaginário*. Lisbon, 1991.

Trefon, Theodore. 'Hinges and Fringes: Conceptualising the Peri-urban in Central Africa'. In Francesca Locatelli and Paul Nugent (eds). *African Cities: Competing Claims on Urban Spaces*. Leiden, 2009, 15-36.

Tucker, John T. *The Land of the Blacksmith Prince*. London, 1933.

Tucker, Leona Stukey. 'The Divining Basket of the Ovimbundu'. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 70, 2 (1940), 171-201.

UNESCO (ed.). *Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa South of the Sahara*. Paris, 1956.

Valente, Francisco. *A Problemática do Matrimónio Tribal.* Lisbon, 1985.

Valente, Francisco. 'Divagação ou ponderação: a circuncisão dos povos no centro de Angola', *Portugal em África*, 28 (1971), 5-16, 33-8, 97-109, 193-204, 285-96.

Valente, Joaquim. 'Conceito de doença e cura em Caconda e Bailundo'. *Portugal em África*, 5 (1948), 330-34.

Valente, José F. 'A família indígena no Planalto de Nova Lisboa'. *Portugal em África,* 6 (1949), 347-53.

Valente, José Francisco. *Gramática Umbundu: a Língua do Centro de Angola*. Lisbon, 1964.

Valente, José Francisco. *Namussunguila: A Ceres Umbundu*. Luanda, 1974.

Valente, José Francisco. *Selecção de Provérbios e Adivinhas em Umbundu.* Lisbon, 1964.

Vansina, Jan. 'More on the invasions of Kongo and Angola by the Jaga and the Lunda'. *JAH,* 7 (1966), 421-9.

Vansina, Jan. 'The foundation of the Kingdom of Kasanje'. *JAH,* 4 (1963), 355-74.

Vansina, Jan. 'A África equatorial e Angola: as migrações e o surgimento dos primeiros Estados'. UNESCO, *História Geral da Africa*, S. Paulo, 1985, IV, 565-91.

Vansina, Jan. 'Historians, are Archeologists your Siblings?'. *History in Africa*, 22 (1995), 369-408.

Vansina, Jan. *How Societies are Born: Governance in West Central Africa before 1600.* Charlottesville, 2004.

Vasconcellos, Alexandre José Botelho de. 'Descripção da Capitania de Benguella, suas Provincias, Povos, Rios mais caudalosos, Minas de Ferro, e Enxofre, e outras particularidades que tem, mais consideraveis. 1 de Agosto de 1799', *Annaes Maritimos e Coloniaes*, 4 (1844), 147-61.

Vasconcelos, Ernesto de. 'Génese do Caminho de Ferro de Benguela'. BSGL, 9-10 (1929), 330-331.

Veiga Pinto, F.L. e António Carreira. 'A participação de Portugal no tráfico negreiro - forças em presença, movimentos de opinião no seio da sociedade portuguesa, impacto do tráfico no desenvolvimento socio-económico de Portugal'. UNESCO, *O Tráfico de Escravos Negros Secs. XV-XIX*. Lisbon, 1981, 153-189.

Vellut, Jean-Luc. 'Notes sur le Lunda et la frontière luso-africaine (1700-1900)'. *Etudes d'histoire africaine,* 3 (1972), 61-166.

Vellut, Jean-Luc. 'África Central do Oeste em vésperas da partilha colonial: um esboço histórico do sec.XIX'. *África* (São Paulo), 3 (1980), 73-120.

Vellut, Jean-Luc. 'L'économie internationale des côtes de Guinée Inférieure au XIXème siècle'. In CEHCA/IICT (ed.). *I Reunião Internacional de História de África: Actas*, Lisbon, 1989, 135-206.

Vellut, Jean-Luc. 'Le bassin du Congo et l'Angola'. In UNESCO, *Histoire Générale de l'Afrique. VI: L'Afrique au XIXe siècle jusque vers les années 1880,* Paris, 1996, 331-361.

Vellut, Jean-Luc (ed.). *Itinéraires croisés de la modernité. Congo belge (1920-1950). Cahiers Africains*, 43-44 (2001).

Vellut, Jean-Luc (dir.). *Villes d'Afrique: explorations en histoire urbaine*. *Cahiers Africains*, 73 (2007).

Vellut, Jean-Luc. 'Garenganze/Katanga-Bié-Benguela and beyond: The cycle of rubber and slaves at the turn of the 20th century'. *Portuguese Studies Review*, 19 (1-2) (2011), 133-52.

Venâncio, José Carlos. *Colonialismo, Antropologia e Lusofonias: Repensando a Presença Portuguesa Nos Trópicos*. Lisbon, 1996.

Vera Cruz, Elizabeth Ceita. *O Estatuto do Indigenato. Angola: a Legalização da Discriminação na Colonização Portuguesa*. Lisbon, 2005.

Vidal, D. João Evangelista de Lima. *Por Terras d'Angola*. Coimbra, 1916.

Vos, Jelmer. 'Child slaves and freemen at the Spiritan mission in Soyo, 1880-1885'. *Journal of Family History*, 35, 1 (2010), 71-90.

Vos, Jelmer A. 'The Kingdom of Kongo and Its Borderlands, 1880-1915', PhD thesis, SOAS, London, 2005.

Voz d'Angola Clamando no Deserto Offerecida aos Amigos da Verdade pelos Naturaes. Lisbon, 1901 [republished Luanda, 1984].

Waller, Richard. 'Towards a contextualisation of policing in colonial Kenya'. *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 4, 3 (2010): 524-40. ver PDF

Wallerstein, Immanuel. *Social Change. The Colonial Situation*. New York, 1966.

Weist, Michel. 'Assimilação dos indígenas ou segregação', *Mensário Administrativo,* 53-54 (1952), 45-54.

West, Michael O. *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe, 1898-1965*. Bloomington, 2002.

Wheeler, D.L. and R. Pélissier. *Angola*. New York, 1971.

Wheeler, Douglas and Diana Christensen. 'To rise with one mind: The Bailundu war of 1902'. In F. Heimer (ed.) *Social Change in Angola*, 1973, 53-92.

Wheeler, Douglas. 'José Norton de Matos (1867-1955)'. In Gann and Duignan (eds). *African Proconsuls: European Governors in Africa*, New York, 1978, 445-63.

Wheeler, Douglas L. 'The Forced Labour 'system' in Angola, 1903-1947: reassessing origins and persistence in the context of colonial consolidation, economic growth and reform failures'. In CEAUP (ed.), *Trabalho forçado africano*. Porto, 2006, 367-93.

Wheeler, Douglas, '"May God Help Us!". Angola First Declaration of Independence: The 1951 Petition/Message to the United Nations and USA', *Portuguese Studies Review*, 19 (1-2) (2011), 271-91.

White, Luise. *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*. Chicago, 1990.

White, Luise. *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa*. Berkeley, 2000.

White, Owen. *Children of French Empire. Miscegenation and Colonial Society in French West Africa 1895-1960*. Oxford, 1999.

Wiener, Martin J. *An Empire on Trial. Race, Murder, and Justice under British Rule, 1870-1935*. New York, 2009.

Williams, Geoffrey J. *Lusaka and its Environs: A Geographical Study of a Planned Capital City in Tropical Africa*. Lusaka, 1986.

Xitu, Uanhenga (Agostinho Mendes de Carvalho), *Mungo (Os Sobreviventes da Máquina Colonial Depõem)*. Luanda, 2002.

Yambo, Francisco Xavier. *Pequeno Dicionário Antroponímico Umbundu*. Luanda, 2003.

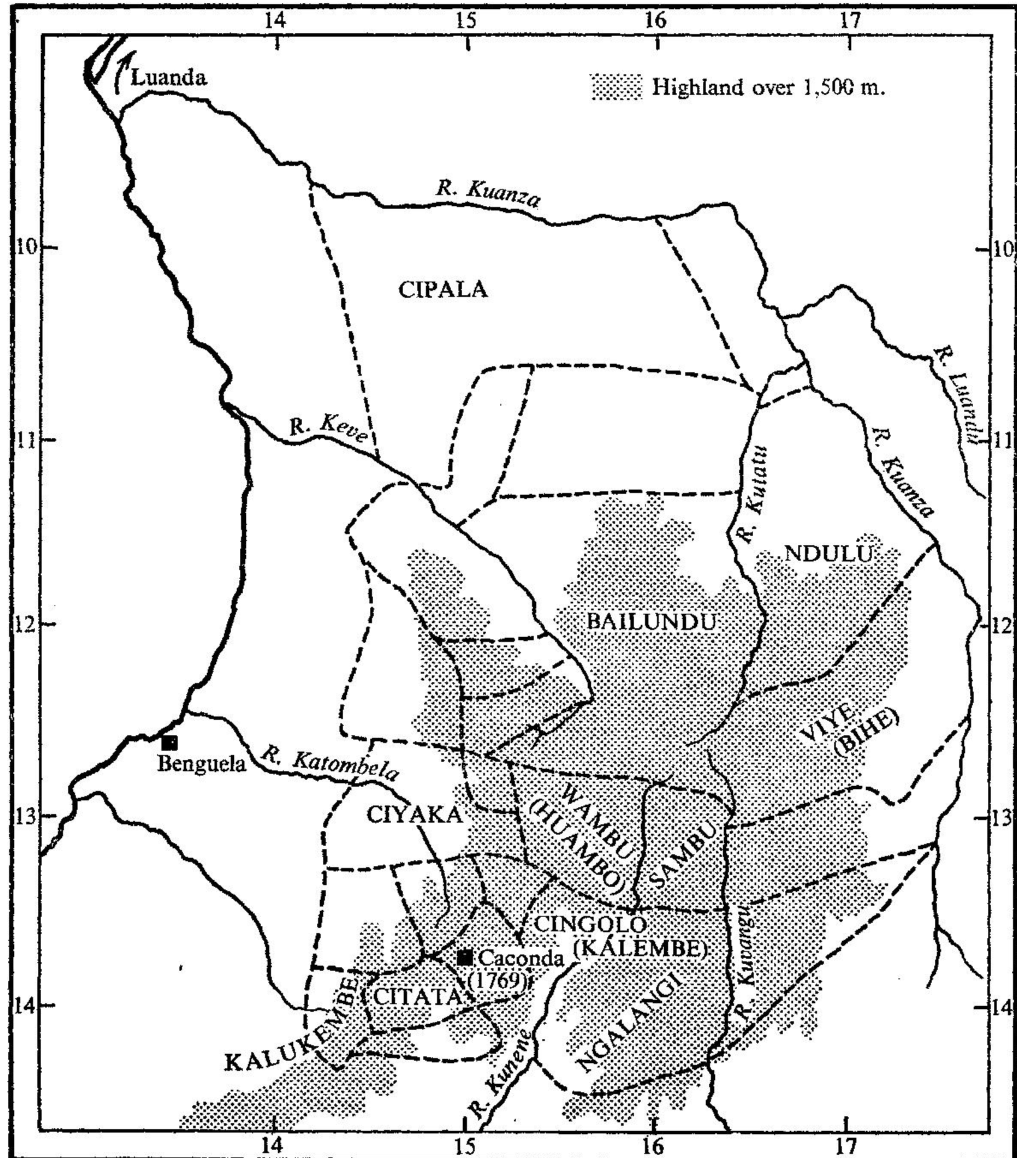
Yoshikuni, Tsuneo. *African Urban Experiences in Colonial Zimbabwe. A Social History of Harare before 1925*. Harare, 2007,

Zamparoni, Valdemir. *De Escravo a Cozinheiro. Colonialismo e Racismo em Moçambique*. Salvador, Bahia, 2007.

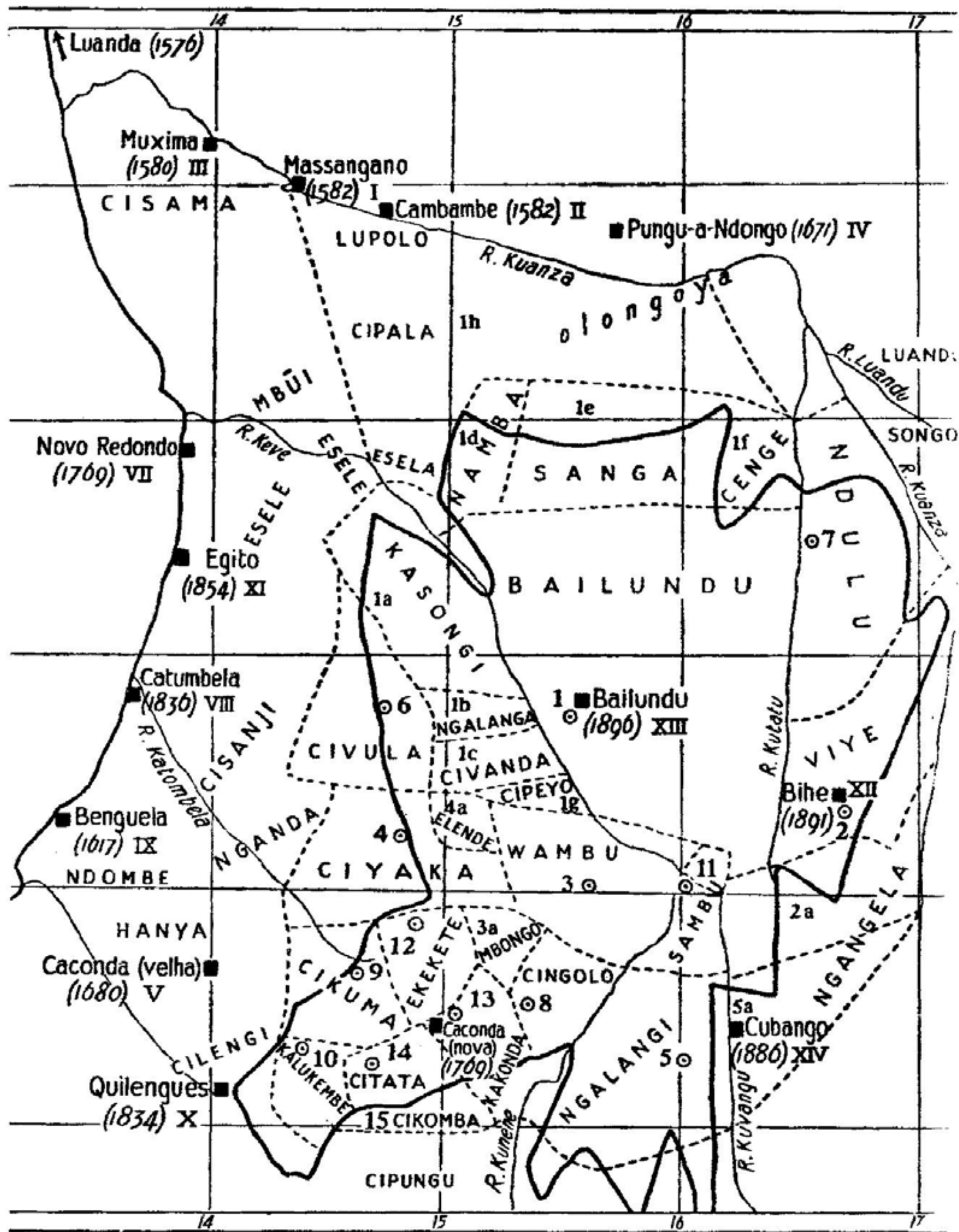
Zamparoni, Valdemir, 'Gênero e trabalho doméstico numa sociedade colonial: Lourenço Marques, Moçambique, c. 1900-1940', Bahia (Brasil), *Afro-Ásia*, 23 (1999), 145-172.

ANNEXES

MAPS
and
FIGURES



Map 1. The Angolan central plateau and its main polities by the late nineteenth century. Gladwyn M. Childs. 'The chronology of the Ovimbundu kingdoms'. *JAH*, 11 (1970), 162.



TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY OF THE OVIMBUNDU

Heavy continuous line indicates elevation of 1,500 metres (4,920 ft.).

Broken lines indicate Umbundu political boundaries.

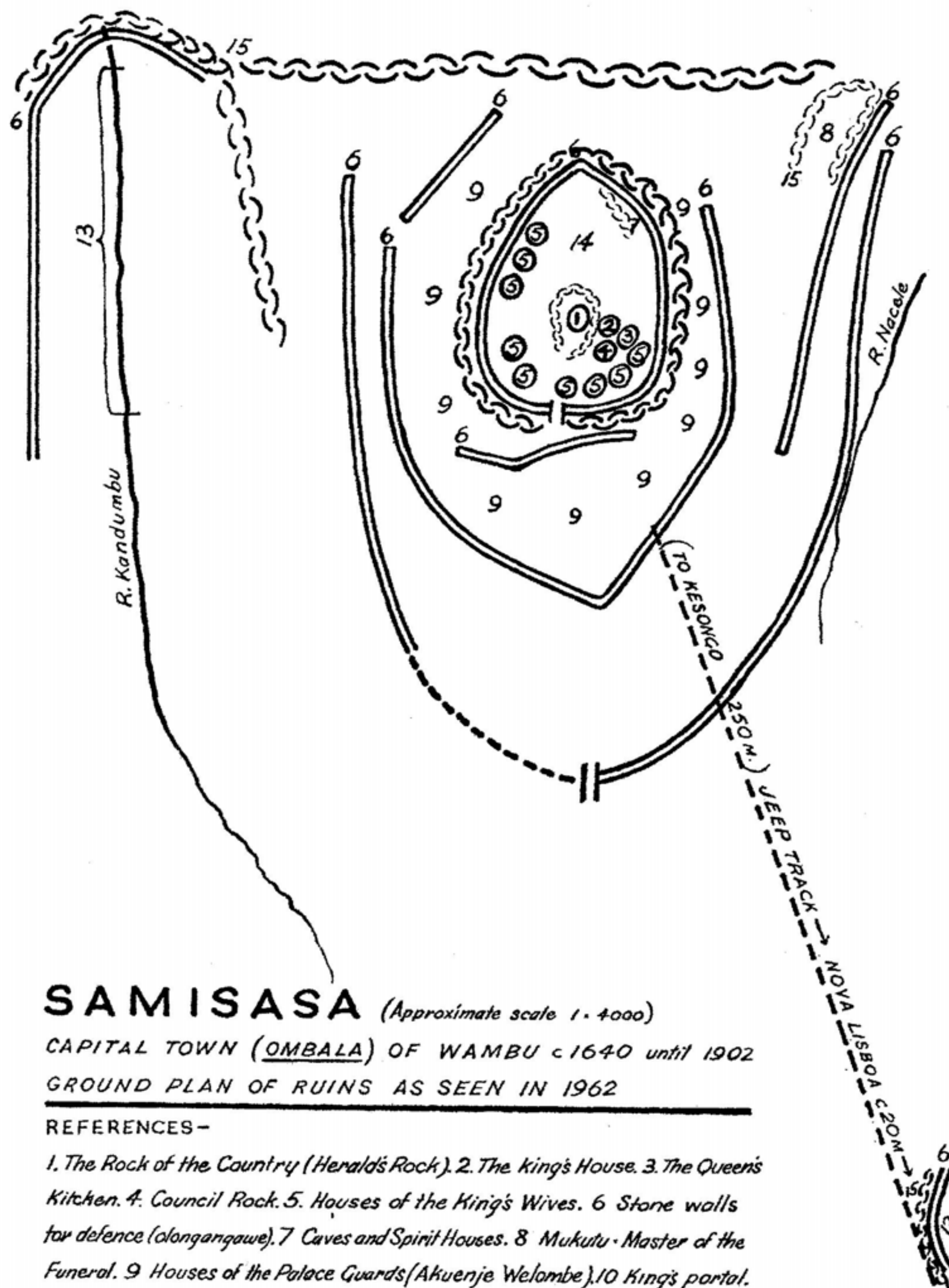
⊙ Principal capital towns (*olombala*) numbered 1 to 14.

, 1b, 1c, 1d, 1e, 1f, 1g, 1h, tributaries of Bailundu; 2a, tributaries (Ngangela) of Vi

5a, tributaries of Ngalangi; 3a, tributary of Civaka; 4a, tributary of Wambu.

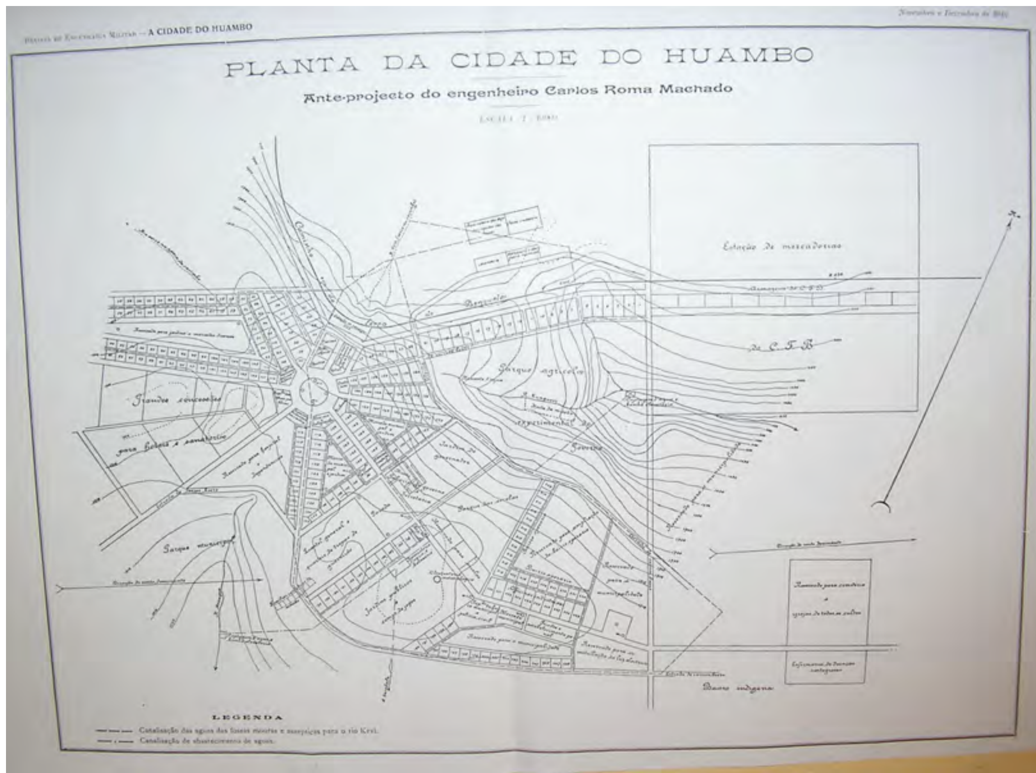
Portuguese presídios with dates of founding (numbered I—XIV).

Map 2. Political divisions and historical dates. Gladwyn M. Childs. *Umbundu Kinship and Character*. London, 1949, 166.



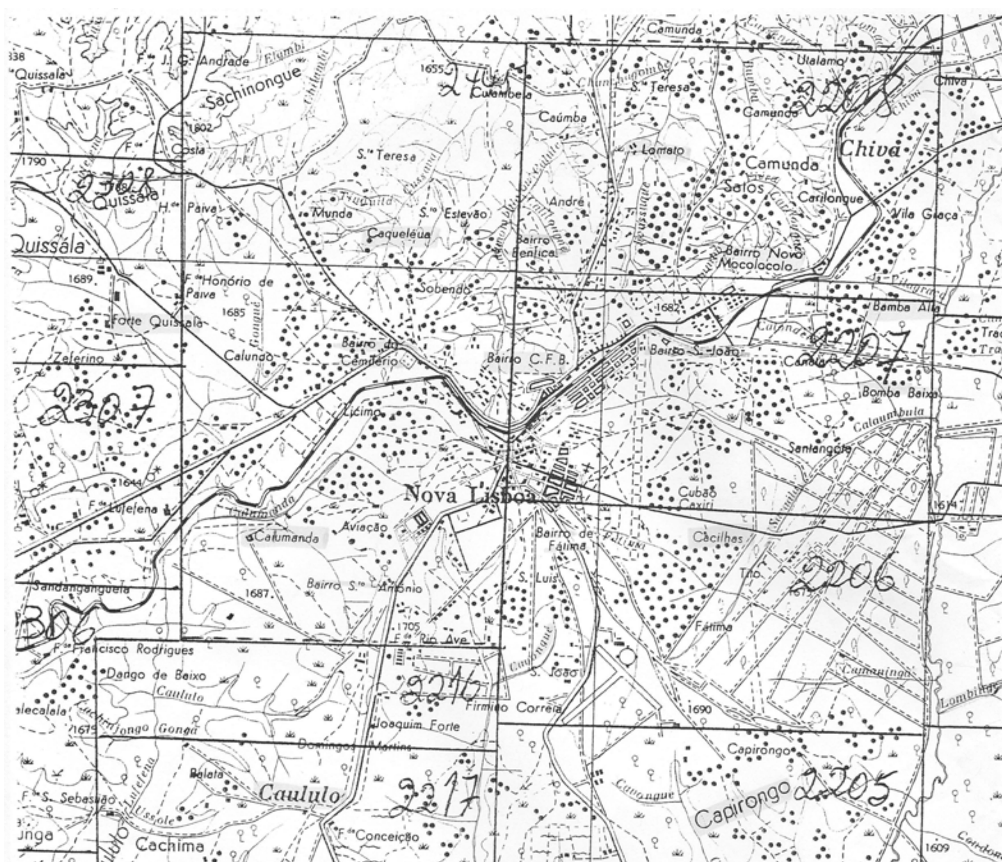
Map 3. Sketch of the last independent capital of Wambu, Samisasa. Gladwyn M. Childs. 'The kingdom of Wambu (Huambo): A tentative chronology', *JAH*, 5 (1964), 375.

Map 4. The network of the Catholic missions in the 1930s, showing the importance of Spiritan missionaries in the Huambo region. Alves da Cunha. *Missões Católicas de Angola*. Luanda, 1935.



Map 5. Huambo: the first plan of the city. Carlos Roma Machado. 'A Cidade do Huambo. Primeira cidade portugueza no Planalto de Benguela'. *Revista de Engenharia Militar*, 18 (1913).

Map 6. Huambo: detail from the 1947 urban plan, showing the civic centre. (IPAD/MU 4.694/1485).



Map 7. Huambo and neighbouring areas. Based on aerial photographs made in 1953. Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações do Ultramar. Missão Geográfica de Angola. Carta de Angola (1:100.000). Levantamento Aerofotogramétrico, 1958.

Figure 1. Catechists from the Huambo (Kwando) mission, 1928. ACSSp, 3L1.32b, 'Photos d'Angola'.

Figure 2. Near Huambo (Kwando) mission, 1949. Note the various dress styles. ACSSp, 3L1.29a.

Figure 3. The Municipal Council in the late 1920s. (My personal collection)

Figure 4. A so-called avenue in the 1920s, a symbol of the distance between prospect and reality: Avenida da Granja. (My personal collection)

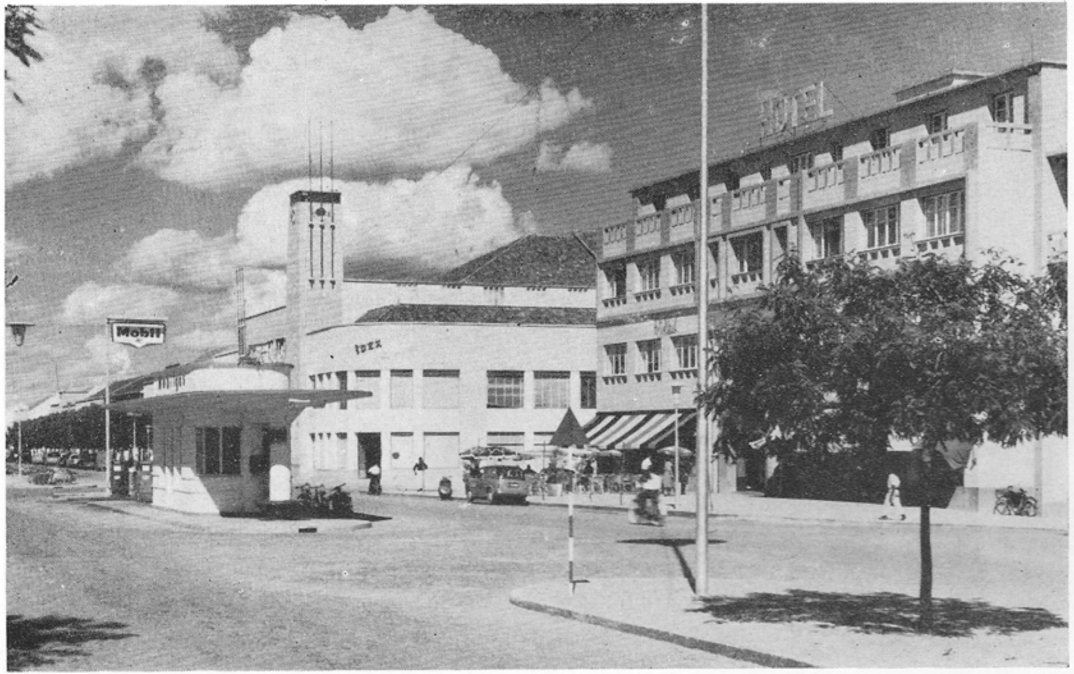


Figure 5. Aspect of the city in the late 1950s. *Actividade Económica de Angola*, 1958.

Figure 6. One of the Huambo's main squares in the late 1950s. *Actividade Económica de Angola*, 1958.

Figure 7

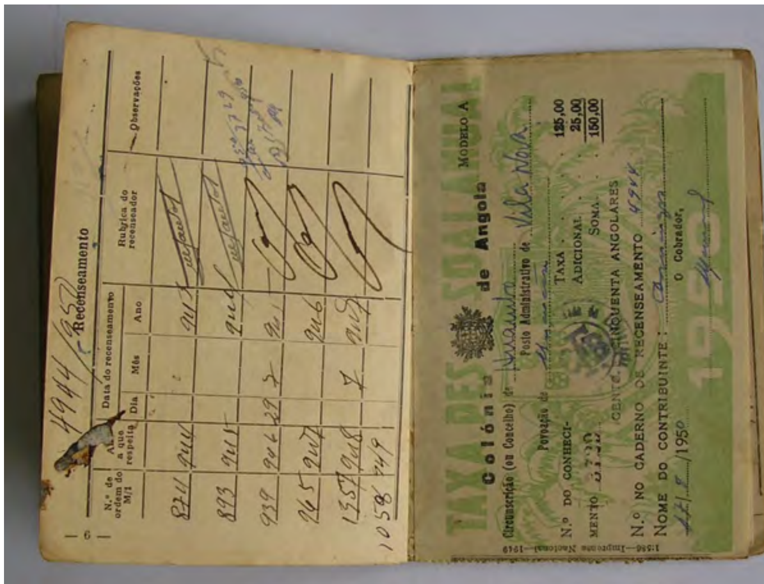


Figure 8

Repartição Central dos Negócios Indígenas

(Disposições do Regulamento da Caderneta Indígena)
(P. 3:327, de 25/2/942. — B. O. n.º 6)

Todos os indígenas do sexo masculino maiores de 16 anos, isentos
ou não do pagamento do imposto, os de 14 anos quando volunta-
riamente trabalhem para qualquer patrão, nos têrmos da última
parte do artigo 109.º do Código do Trabalho e os do sexo feminino
empregados em serviços domésticos, são obrigados a munir-se de
uma caderneta indígena de identificação e trabalho.

Nenhum indivíduo, emprêsa, estabelecimento particular, servi-
ços do Estado ou a êle ligados, serviços municipais ou qualquer
outro, devem admitir ou consentir indígenas ao seu serviço, sem que
possuam a caderneta indígena devidamente escriturada pela autori-
dade administrativa, sob pena de multa de Ags. 50,00, por cada
indígena que seja encontrado sem documentação, sofrendo êste tam-
bém a multa de Ags. 20,00.

De harmonia com o determinado nos artigos 175.º e 178.º do
C. T. I. (D. 16:199, de 6-12-928), não é permitido aos chefes de
estação de procedência, às agências das companhias de navegação ou
a outros proprietários de navios, ou camioneta (P. 3:771, de
23-8-941), fornecer transportes a indígenas que não provem com a
verba escriturada pela competente autoridade administrativa, na
GUIA DE TRÂNSITO existente na caderneta, estarem autorizados
a deslocar-se de uma para outra localidade.

Todo o indivíduo, emprêsa, estabelecimento particular ou do
Estado, que tenha ao seu serviço indígenas, deve ter devidamente
escriturado o registo da prestação de trabalho a salário da caderneta
indígena dos seus serviçais, e submeter êste registo à rubrica da
autoridade administrativa.

A caderneta indígena é documento intransmissível; é por isso
absolutamente proibida a sua retenção, extravio ou apossamento por
parte de funcionários, particulares ou outros indígenas, da qual possa
resultar prejuízo para o seu titular, sob penas que podem ir até
noventa dias de suspensão para os funcionários ou até à multa de
Ags. 100,00; por caderneta, nas faltas cometidas por particulares.
(Artigo 93.º do C. T. I.).

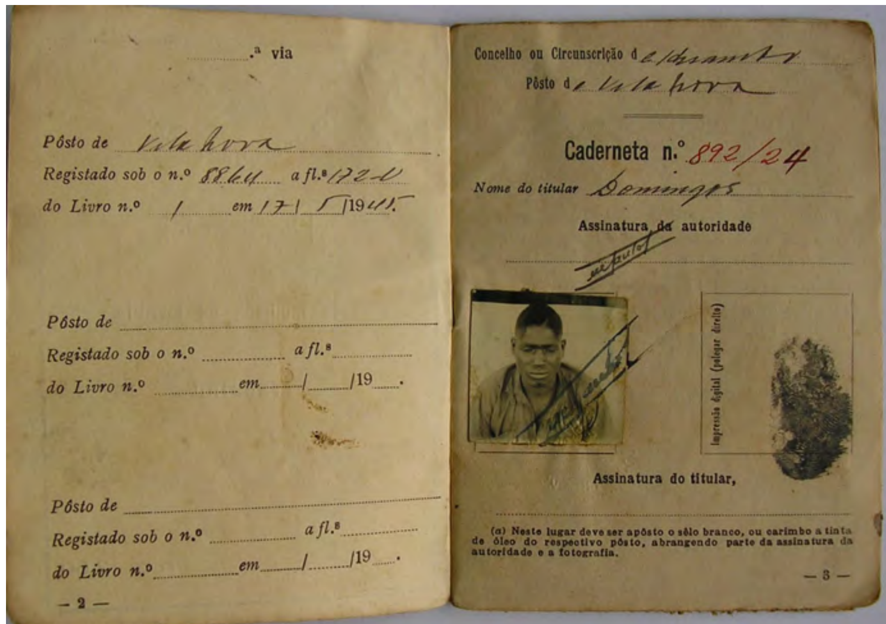
A autoridade gentílica que tiver conhecimento de que qualquer
indígena pertencente à sua povoação ou sobado, trocou o nome ou
extraviou a sua caderneta para iludir a autoridade administrativa e
não participe a falta à mesma autoridade, será punida com a multa
de Ags. 200,00.

As cadernetas dos indígenas falecidos serão enviadas à Adminis-
tração do concelho mais próxima que por sua vez fará as comuni-
cações necessárias às Administrações das áreas onde os indígenas
tenham sido recenseados pela última vez.

Repartição Central dos Negócios Indígenas, 10 de Março de
1942. — O Chefe dos Serviços, interino, *José Ribeiro da Cruz.*

— 24 —

Figure 9



.ª via

Pôsto de

Registado sob o n.º 8864 a fl.ª

do Livro n.º 1 em / /19

Pôsto de

Registado sob o n.º a fl.ª

do Livro n.º em / /19

Pôsto de

Registado sob o n.º a fl.ª

do Livro n.º em / /19

— 2 —

Concelho ou Circunscrição d

Pôsto d

Caderneta n.º 892/24

Nome do titular Domingos

Assinatura da autoridade

Impressão digital (polegar direito)

Assinatura do titular,

(a) Neste lugar deve ser apôsto o sêlo branco, ou carimbo a tinta de óleo do respectivo pôsto, abrangendo parte da assinatura da autoridade e a fotografia.

— 3 —

Figure 10. This and Figures 7, 8 and 9: some pages from a *Caderneta indígena*, the identification document for the so-called 'natives'. ANA, Avulsos, Caixa 443.

Natural de (Lieu de naissance - Birthplace)

Data de nascimento (Né le - Date of birth)

1925 (mil novecentos e vinte e cinco)

Profissão (Profession)

Estado civil (Etat civil - Condition)

Nacionalidade (Nationalité - Nationality)

Residência (Résidence)

Impressão do

Empreinte du

Print of the

Assinatura do portador (Signature du Titulaire-Owner's Signature)

(SINALÉTICA)

(Signalement-Description)

Altura (Taille-Height) 1,69

Olhos (Yeux-Eyes) castanhos

Sinais particulares (Marques particulières-Peculiar marks)

Válido até 13 de Julho de 1954

Rubrica da entidade expedidora

(Paraphe du Chef du Bureau-Signature of the Chief of the Office)

Figure 11. *Bilhete de Identidade*, identification document for the whites and the so-called 'civilized' non-whites. ANA, Avulsos, Caixa 443.