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THE RAILWAYS OF MOZAMBIQUE.  
A Regional or Colonial Project? 1895-1950.

Maria Luisa Norton Pinto Teixeira

A Thesis  
in  
The Department  
of  
History

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Arts at  
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## ABSTRACT

### THE RAILWAYS OF MOZAMBIQUE. A Regional or Colonial Project? 1895-1950.

Maria Luisa Norton Pinto Teixeira

This dissertation traces the evolution of the developments in the Mozambican railway network, paying specific attention to the diplomatic negotiations between Mozambique and its Southern African neighbouring countries that led to the establishment of this Portuguese colony's economies of emigration and transit, which are at the heart of a regional relationship that emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Through the establishment and development of Mozambique's regional and international railway lines, the consolidation of its transit economy further contributed to the complete embedding of the country in this Southern African regional system. Such a system resulted from the co-operation between the Southern African colonies involved in the same geopolitical context, to which the specific role of the railways cannot be ignored.

The Mozambican railways contributed significantly to the participation of the colony as a whole in the regional system of Southern Africa. Due to its geographic location, Mozambique's importance for the African hinterland was continuously reinforced, while the Portuguese state came to acknowledge this emerging regional relationship. The railway network of Mozambique was the result of the colony's integration into this regional system, rather than the outcome of Portugal's colonial project, because Portugal's attitude towards its colony was one of eager incorporation of the already established pattern of regional development which the state then formulated as colonial policy.



To my mother

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
PART I: THE PROCESS OF REGIONALIZATION OF MOZAMBIQUE.	10
1. Mozambique in its Historical Context: An Overview.	10
A Portuguese Colony: The Evolution of the Policies for Colonial Development.	14
The Indian Ocean, Labour and Railways: The Dynamics of Southern Africa's Regional Complexity.	32
PART II: THE RAILWAY SYSTEM OF MOZAMBIQUE.	53
1. Mozambique, the African Hinterland, and the Indian Ocean: The Development of a Primary Infrastructure.	53
2. The International Lines.	62
The Lourenço Marques Railway/CFLM-Caminhos de Ferro de Lourenço Marques.	62
Beira Railways/CFB-Caminho de Ferro da Beira.	71
Trans-Zambezia Railways.	77
3. Local Lines in the Regional Framework.	82
The Mozambique-Nacala Railway/CFM-CFN-Caminho de Ferro de Moçambique-Caminho de Ferro de Nacala.	86
Quelimane Railway/CFQ-Caminho de Ferro de Quelimane	89
Tete Railway/CFT-Caminho de Ferro de Tete.	91
The Gaza and Inhambane Railways/CFGF-Caminhos de Ferro de Gaza e Inhambane.	93

Subsidiary Lines of the Lourenço Marques Line:	96
The Marracuene Railway/Caminho de Ferro de Marracuene.	96
The Goba Railway/Caminho de Ferro de Goba.	97
The Limpopo Railway/Caminho de Ferro do Limpopo.	98
 <b>PART III: A REGIONAL OR COLONIAL PROJECT: BY WAY OF CONCLUSION.</b>	 100
 <b>NOTES</b>	 106
1. Notes to Part I.	106
2. Notes to Part II.	119
 <b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	 132
Primary Sources	132
Secondary Sources	146
 <b>APPENDICES</b>	 165
I. Mozambique - Chronology	165
II. South Africa - Chronology	179
III. Southern Rhodesia - Chronology	183
 <b>MAPS</b>	 186

## MAPS

- I. Rail Transportation in Central Africa and Southern Africa, p.186
- II. The Western Indian Ocean, p.187
- III. Portuguese Mozambique (1854-1857), p.188
- IV. Prazos da Coroa: the Zambezi Valley, p.189
- V. The Districts of Mozambique, p.190
- VI. East Central Africa, p.191
- VII. Mozambique in 1914; the Chartered Companies, p.192
- VIII. Mozambique's Border with the Transvaal as Established by the 1869 Treaty, p.193
- IX. Southern Africa Railways, p.194
- X. The Transport System of Mozambique, p.195
- XI. The Projects for the Lourenço Marques Railway, p.196
- XII. The Lydenburg Road, p.197
- XIII. The Project for the Trans-Zambezia Railway, p.198
- XIV. Nyasaland and Trans-Zambezia Railways, p.199
- XV. The Mozambique-Nacala Railway, p.200
- XVI. The Quelimane Railway, p.201
- XVII. The Tete Railway, p.202
- XVIII. The Goba and Inhambane Railway, p.203
- XIX. Subsidiary Lines of the Lourenço Marques Railway, p.204
- XX. The Swaziland Railway, p.205
- XXI. South Africa Transport System, p.206
- XXII. Rhodesia, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique - Industry

and Transport, p.207

- XXIII. Ethnic Map of Mozambique - Twentieth Century,  
p.208
- XXIV. Northern Mozambique Before 1914, p.209
- XXV. Southern Africa with Routes of Portuguese  
Explorers (1788-1887), p.210
- XXVI. Final Version of the Rose-Coloured Map, 1887,  
p.211

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study of the railways of Mozambique is to determine how, when and to what degree they contributed to the colony's integration into the economic and political system of Southern Africa. This paper will then trace the evolution of the developments in the Mozambican transportation network as a whole.

Such a study, however, cannot be accomplished without taking into account various aspects of Mozambique's historical development. Of these, four issues are outstanding. The first is that Mozambique was a colony of Portugal, a fact that has to be kept in mind throughout this study. The second is that Mozambique's geographical position contributed specifically to a regional economic system in Southern Africa by providing a gateway to the Indian Ocean for its neighbouring countries - South Africa, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Tanganyika. The third important point is that Mozambique already had an established mercantile network with the African Swahili coast which predated the arrival of the Portuguese. Lastly, the country itself also participated in the Indian Ocean mercantile network. The Indian Ocean thus assumes a central role in a discussion of Mozambique's economic, political and social relations.

For the particular study of the railways of Mozambique, the first two aspects of the country's historical development

listed above are of vital importance. It is therefore necessary, in order to understand the logic of the Southern African system and the logic of the Portuguese colonial project, to connect these various issues to comprehend the functioning of the metropolis/colony and the Southern African/Mozambican systems. In this discussion both systems have been approached as distinct parts that form a continuous unit. Hence, the Portuguese state has been implicitly defined as a continuum, despite the changes its governments underwent during the period under study. Accordingly, the Southern African system has also been regarded as a unit, despite the fact that the origins of such regional dynamics lay particularly in the initial diplomatic accords signed between Mozambique and the Transvaal.

As far as Portugal is concerned, three major changes in the domestic politics of the country deeply affected its colonial projects. In 1822, the independence of Brazil led to the break-up of the Portuguese South Atlantic Empire. The immediate consequence was that Portuguese colonial ambitions suffered a shift, and Portugal's African colonies emerged as the new focal point of imperial reasoning. The last two decades of the nineteenth century were of particular importance for the Portugal's colonial future. Coinciding with the adjustment of international imperial desires, following the Berlin Conference of 1884/85, the 1890s may be regarded as the decade in which Portugal defined its modern colonial



policy. At home, the constitutional monarchy suffered attacks from the radical Republicans which led to the proclamation of the Republic in 1910. The Republic itself was to be one of the most chaotic periods in the domestic policies of Portugal. Obviously, these changes were reflected in the colonies. There, one witnesses a devolution of state authority to the colonial governments with an increasing colonial autonomy. This was particularly true during the period of the governments of the Royal Commissioners in the 1890s, and later with the High Commissioners of the 1920s. Finally, the military coup of May 1926, led to the establishment of Salazar's Estado Novo or "New State" in 1930. The Estado Novo brought about a new perspective on colonial policies, with the main objective being to institute a centralized administration, controlled by Lisbon. The nationalist colonial policies of the 1930s were formed to enhance the development of the colonies, while creating a close tie between the metropolis and its colonies. This new colonial plan would be incorporated into the Estado Novo political project of an Espaço Economico Português (Portuguese Economic Zone).

While these changes took place in Portugal, Southern Africa was also changing. By the mid-1800s the process through which Mozambique would participate in a Southern African system had already begun. The discovery first of diamonds in South Africa in the 1860s, and then of gold in the late 1870s, resulted in the increased importance of southern Mozambique to

the economic and political development of the region. Mozambique controlled the communications to the Indian Ocean both for South Africa and the British possessions along its southeastern border. It also became a major supplier of labour for the South African mining industry. Thus it is obvious that the country's geopolitical context directly affected the development and growth of its regional transit and emigration economies. The role which Mozambique played in the regional development of Southern Africa can be directly attributed to the close interrelationship of its transit system and its large scale of labour emigration. This relationship grew out of the treaties and agreements Mozambique signed with the consent of the Portuguese state, namely with the Transvaal and South Africa.

The specificity of the forces which led to the development of a relationship between Mozambique and its African neighbouring countries - the economies of transit and emigration - have been studied and debated in the recent historiography of Southern Africa. However, the fact that this relationship was predominantly shaped by the treaties and accords signed with the Transvaal, and later with the Union of South Africa, has led these studies to concentrate almost exclusively on the southern region of Mozambique because of its closer ties with South Africa. Such an approach can be clearly understood if one takes into account that the diplomatic dealings which formed this regional relationship

concerned only the Mozambican region south of the Savé River. These studies also have dealt with the two vital issues of this emerging relationship, namely labour and railways. However, although these studies have been concerned with the railway system of Mozambique, the central and northern parts of the country have been relegated to a secondary position.

The original intention of this work was to produce a diplomatic and political narrative of the developments of the railways of Mozambique, - emphasizing that Mozambique's participation in the African regional system was largely limited to the territory south of the Savé River. In the course of time, however, the intended structure of this study began to be affected by three factors. The first was the appreciation that indeed the origins of this regional relationship did lie in the complete participation of the region south of the Savé River. This explains the construction and development of the Lourenço Marques railway line, the main objective of which was to serve the Transvaal. The second factor was the recognition that the development of the railways in the region north of the Savé River had also, as its ultimate objective, the service of transportation needs of the African neighbouring countries. Hence the construction of the Beira and Trans-Zambezi lines to cater to Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The third factor resulted from the study of the local railroads. Despite the fact that these domestic lines did not have an international

status, their original objective had also been to service the African hinterland beyond the borders of the Portuguese colony.

As I proceeded in my study, it became clear that the railway system of Mozambique was part of a grander transport plan, the overriding principle of which was that of servicing the needs of the neighbouring countries. The local needs of the colony were relegated to a secondary level. The fact that the railroads - both international and domestic - were developed horizontally, rather than vertically in accordance with the country's geographic profile, provides enough evidence of their international character. It can therefore be inferred that this policy of servicing the needs of the neighbouring African hinterland had been the original policy of the railway system of Mozambique. It also became the core of the newer transportation plan, which resulted from the major reforms this network underwent in 1930. The railway lines of Mozambique were to be, firstly and ultimately, at the service of its neighbouring countries.

This conclusion is the result of the extensive research and study I have undertaken to complete this work. Until now, the complete railway system of Mozambique to the best of my knowledge had not been the subject of an analytical study. Although the focus of this study is above all on the diplomatic aspects of the complex interests behind the development of this vital infrastructure, it is also an

empirical study. By analyzing the historical facts that led to the development of each railroad, it acknowledges the political forces involved. A policy of total co-operation with the neighbouring countries, to the detriment of the locally needed transportation infrastructure, was a constant throughout the evolution of the Mozambican railways. This study reveals the importance of the railways' participant role in the Southern African system, in which both the north and the south of the Savé regions had a share. This view and the evidence provided in support of it make the present study an original one.

Due to the scope of this work, I have relied, in addition to a number of secondary materials, especially on primary sources. While the study of secondary sources has provided the historical background for the understanding of the dynamics of Portugal and Mozambique, and Mozambique and Southern Africa, the research of primary sources provided the information needed to undertake the study of each railway, and, most importantly, to outline and understand their initial objectives. The research of the primary sources was done at the Colonial Archives of Portugal, particularly at the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa and the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino.

A final note on the period chosen to be studied should be made. The original intention of this work had been to study the railway system of Mozambique from 1895 to 1974. However,

as I proceeded with the research, I came to realize that a study of this transportation system throughout the Portuguese administration of Mozambique was too ambitious. The amount of material for the initial period - the 1890s to the late 1920s - during which the railways were developed was such that, out of sheer frustration, I decided to concentrate on this first period. However, the fact that the period of 1930 to 1950 which followed the initial construction of the railways was in itself a continuation of the initial transportation project made me decide to carry out my research until this date. Indeed, 1950 sets the date when the railway policies of Mozambique were fully in place. While the first period (1890s - 1920s) had witnessed the development of the railways as the result of the diplomatic agreements signed between Mozambique and its neighbouring countries, the second period (1930s - 1950s) confirmed the continuation of the railways policy, in accordance with the Estado Novo nationalistic colonial platform. By 1950, this infrastructure had undergone a drastic reorganization. The transport system of Mozambique had been placed under a unified, autonomous administration after the reforms of 1930. The railway lines were all state controlled, with the exception of the Trans-Zambezia railway. Also by 1950, the Mozambican railways enjoyed a well-established international prestige. Both the local and international lines participated in the establishment of the railway network which had one main purpose: to serve the African hinterland. This

policy remained during the period following 1950, hence contributing to Mozambique's participation in the Southern African system.

Finally, it should be noted that I decided to use the original Portuguese terms whenever a translation was not possible.

## PART I: THE PROCESS OF REGIONALIZATION OF MOZAMBIQUE.

### 1. Mozambique in its Historical Context: An Overview.

Mozambique is located in an area of strategic importance in sub-Saharan Africa (Map I). Its geographical position determined its historical development, and, both as a country and as a Portuguese colony, it participated in the development of Southern Africa.

For the purpose of the present work - the study of Mozambique's railways - it becomes necessary to acknowledge the specificity of Mozambique's historical context, because it is within this context that the establishment of the railway network will be fully understood. The railway system will be analyzed in the second part, as a natural sequence of this paper's methodological structure.

Before doing this it will be necessary to first understand the origins of Portuguese expansion, territorial occupation and colonial policy in Mozambique. This will provide the historical grounds that will aid the understanding of the process of integration into the regional system of Southern Africa which Mozambique underwent. Indeed, for the study of the country's railway system, it is especially important to study the complexity of regional development in Southern Africa during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, notably the relationship which Mozambique first established



with the Transvaal, and subsequently with the Union of South Africa and the Rhodesias. This regional relationship, which grew out of treaties and agreements Mozambique signed primarily with the Transvaal and South Africa, was a result of the importance attributed to Mozambique in this specific economic and political regional system. Hence, Mozambique's role within these emerging regional forces is directly attributed to its geo-political importance. The close interrelationship of both its transit and migratory systems, which led to the establishment of the country's economies of transit and emigration, became the core of Mozambique's relationship with its neighbouring countries.

As was mentioned in the introduction to this study, the historical context of Mozambique was a result of different components, all of which influenced the evolution of the country, both as a Portuguese colony and as an African country fully participating in the mercantile network of the Indian Ocean. This is of paramount importance, particularly in respect to Portugal's attitudes towards its eastern African colony.

Before the arrival and settlement of the Portuguese, Mozambique was already involved in the mercantile system of southeast Africa and traded with India. By the sixteenth century, a merchant network dealing especially in the ivory and slave trade with the Afro-Islamic kingdoms already existed on the coast of eastern Africa, namely on the Swahili coast

between Malindi and Kilwa. The island-port of Mozambique became the hub of the Indian Ocean traffic throughout its historical development (1) (Map II). During the time of the Portuguese South Atlantic Empire, which lasted until the independence of Brazil in 1822, both Angola and Mozambique remained peripheral to this Portuguese economic structure, because the logic of the Portuguese empire was oriented towards its South American colony. With the break-up of the South Atlantic Empire, brought on in part by the 1810 Anglo-Portuguese Treaty which opened Brazilian ports to all nations, and in particular by Brazil's independence, the regime of Portuguese exclusivity within the South Atlantic network ended. As a result of this, a shift in Portuguese colonial policy occurred, whereby Angola and Mozambique came to assume a more important status (2). At this time, Portugal only controlled Mozambique's coast (3), therefore Portugal's direct colonial power was limited to the coastal region, the islands of Ibo and Mozambique, Quelimane, Sofala, Inhambane and Lourenço Marques, and also in Sena and Tete in the Mozambican interior. In fact, Portugal's early attempts to extend its control beyond these areas were unsuccessful (Map III). One example of such attempt was the Prazos da Coroa (4), a seigniorial system in the Zambezi Valley which by the mid 1700s had already undergone a process of Africanisation, which had permitted it to escape complete colonial control (5) (Map IV). The Prazos of the Zambezi Valley dated back to the early

seventeenth century and consisted of large agricultural estates which succeeded in interacting with the African societies in the area. Because the Prazos did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese administration, they remained virtually independent estates until the late nineteenth century when colonial policy became more assertive. A revision of the Prazos system encompassed the objectives of a new colonial policy aimed at a more assertive administration of the colony and incorporated them into the imperial policies of colonial development. Such implied a reform of the Prazos system, through which a planned plantation economy was to be developed. Accordingly, the 1888 commission on Prazos reform formulated the necessary steps for the development of a plantation culture in Zambezia. However, this was a long process, for it was not until 1919 that these reforms were fully implemented (6). In the end, the Prazos did contribute to the establishment of a colonial plantation economy in Zambezia (7).

By the end of the nineteenth century Portugal finally attained control over Mozambique (Map V). The Pacification Campaigns of the late 1800s were mostly successful in the Gaza district (8). Overall, they contributed to Portugal's ability to establish administrative control over the colony. In addition, towards the end of the nineteenth century, and at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Portuguese government designed new policies for exploiting the colony.

While the colonial policies were being defined in Portugal, in Africa Mozambique was establishing a regional relationship with the African hinterland, a process that had been initiated in the 1850s. Due to Mozambique's status as a Portuguese colony, such relationship was developed in accordance with the evolution of colonial policies (9). Such evolution was deeply affected by the changes in the domestic politics of Portugal, a process which lasted throughout the period under study. Therefore, and despite the fact that the Portuguese state had always had a colonial project due to its stature as an imperial country, its colonial policies went through several stages. According to Pereira Leite (10), the Portuguese colonial project was only fully formulated in the 1930s with the emergence of Salazar's Estado Novo and the publication of the Acto Colonial. By this time, the fundamental treaties and conventions between Mozambique and South Africa, notably the 1928 Convention, were already signed, thus establishing the necessary political and economic policies by which Mozambique was to participate in the economic development of Southern Africa.

#### **A Portuguese Colony: The Evolution of the Policies for Colonial Development.**

By the early nineteenth century the relationship between Portugal and its African colonies was essentially indirect,

due to the fact that Portuguese colonial interests were oriented towards Brazil. In the specific case of Mozambique, Portugal's ties with its colony were weak. This is attributed to two factors. The first has already been mentioned. It results from the fact that the Portuguese empire was oriented towards its South Atlantic system. The second factor is that Mozambique had been participating both in the Southern African system and in the Indian Ocean mercantile system. Although Mozambique's activity in both the Indian Ocean merchant traffic, which started late in the seventeenth century, and in the northern part of the country where Arab-controlled traffic was predominant, is not of paramount importance to the present study on the railways of Mozambique, it is relevant because it stresses the fact that Portugal did not control the colony completely. Arabs had settled in northern Mozambique as well as in the southern coastal ports of Sofala, Chibwana and Inhambane, where since the seventeenth century they had been involved in slave trade. They maintained a trade network with the African Arab ports of Eastern Africa, in particular with Ibo, Kilwa, Zanzibar, Pemba and Mombasa (11) (Map VI).

Initially, while Portugal suffered the effect of the break-up of the South Atlantic Empire because it threatened the design of its colonial project, the African colonies only felt this change indirectly due to their peripheral role within the Portuguese Empire. The fundamental relationship between the African territories and Brazil was maintained to

some degree (12), with only Portugal losing status within the South Atlantic economic system (13). It did not, however, lose sovereignty over its African territories (14), for which a new colonial strategy could now be implemented. In light of this fact, it is my opinion that the independence of Brazil did indeed effect the African possessions because it was the break-up of a former structure that led to their "new" role within the Portuguese colonial policy.

After the 1820s, Portugal adopted a policy of promoting the development of its African territories. The early 1830s witnessed the first plans for colonial restructuring. On December 10, 1836, the Colonial Minister Sá da Bandeira promoted a decree abolishing the slave trade. The issuing of this decree would become the monumental gesture marking the shift of colonial policy, as it represented an evolution of Portugal's African colonial logic. As Pereira Leite states, the Portuguese penetration into Africa following 1836 was entirely a result of the abolition of the slave trade with Brazil (15). In other words, Angola and Mozambique were now to become integral parts of the Portuguese economic system.

Despite this initiative, colonial control over Mozambique was not initially successful. This was due to the fact that Portugal did not effectively control the Mozambican interior, largely because of the strong opposition to Portuguese penetration by the Zambezi Prazos and by the military empire of Gaza. During the 1830s and 1840s, several changes were made

to the colonial program, such as the nationalist and protectionist policies introduced by the radical political group Setembristas, (who governed Portugal between 1836 and 1842), whereby metropolitan tariffs were introduced in 1838 as a means of attaining colonial ends. The Setembristas were replaced by the Chartists who substituted these protectionist policies for free trade, and at the same time allowed for increased foreign capital investment in Portugal.

By the mid-1800s the process by which Mozambique would participate in Southern Africa had already begun although its role as a Portuguese colony was still being defined. The discovery of diamonds and gold in South Africa in the 1860s and 1870s resulted in an increased importance for the southern part of Mozambique in the economic and political development of Southern Africa. Mozambique controlled the access to the sea both for South Africa and the British possessions along its southeastern border. In addition, it would also become a major supplier of labour for the South African mining industry (16). In 1869, the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between Portugal and the Republic of Southern Africa (17) secured the freedom of commerce between Mozambique and the Transvaal, as well as the sovereignty of Portugal over Delagoa Bay as far as latitude 26 30' south. The territorial control of Portugal over this area had been questioned by both Britain and the Transvaal, undoubtedly due to the geographical importance of Delagoa Bay. Despite the agreement of the 1869 Treaty over

this matter, British designs over Delagoa Bay were only settled with the arbitration by French President MacMahon in favour of Portugal's territorial claims in 1875. The successive treaties and conventions between Mozambique and its neighbouring countries, the Transvaal and later the Union of South Africa, accelerated the country's integration into Southern Africa.

Due to Mozambique's economic and geographical importance in Southern Africa, the country became a significant object of colonial designs by European and South African powers. While it remained important to Portugal, it emerged as a prominent player in the European colonial scene of late nineteenth century, which culminated with the Berlin Conference of 1884-85. Internationally, Portugal's position in Southern Africa had been questioned throughout the 1800s (18). During the 1870s, the Anglo-Portuguese disputes over African claims (Mozambique lying at the heart of this litigious matter), were negotiated (19), and Portugal began to play a bigger role in British colonial designs. Mozambique's geo-political importance became even more significant for both countries, particularly to the British and Boer colonies of Southern Africa (20). The tension between the two powers continued until the Berlin Conference, when the "scramble" for Africa occurred. The Portuguese colonial policy which emerged after the Berlin Conference affected the metropolis' commercial and industrial sectors (21), because both sectors were to become



more involved in the development of the colonies. At the same time, in Portugal, a hidden hostility towards Britain and its colonial ambitions was growing as the result of British commercial and territorial demands over the African territories. The 1880s were anti-British. This feeling was particularly strong among the Lisbon government and the colonial group supported by both the Oporto and Lisbon bourgeoisies. In 1881, the non-ratification of the Lourenço Marques Treaty was the first sign of this growing conflict, which would culminate in the British Ultimatum of January 11, 1890 (22). Portugal's attempts to escape British influence (23) led to this ultimatum, which finally settled the dispute between Portugal and Britain over territory in Central Africa. Through its Ultimatum, Britain attempted to regain commercial access to the Portuguese territories, and succeeded in eliminating Portuguese presence in the Shire River area (24). This conflict was settled by the Treaty of July 11, 1891. In the end, the result was ultimately favourable for Portuguese interests, because by opening Mozambique to British trade and navigation, Portugal was able to retain its territorial control over both Angola and Mozambique.

The British Ultimatum had ramifications both internationally and domestically for all parties involved. Internationally, the Ultimatum led to the Anglo-German agreement of August 30, 1898 and its secret clause (25), which provided for the division of the Portuguese colonies between

these two European powers should financial instability force Portugal to dispose of them. It was Portugal's financial and political situation, and the possibility of a mortgage on Delagoa Bay (26) that led to this secret understanding between the two powers. However, because Britain could not afford to lose control of this area to another European power, the secret clause reassured it that in the eventuality of a partition, only these two powers would be involved. Therefore, once the agreement had been signed, "[the British] did their utmost to prevent it from materializing" (27). Yet, despite the fact that it appeared to threaten Portugal's position in Africa, the secret clause resulted in a guarantee for "[it] limited, to a certain extent, the competition between British and German nationals and concessionaires for influence in the Portuguese colonies" (28).

In Portugal, politically, the British Ultimatum led to the collapse of the constitutional monarchy (29), while economically it coincided with the economic and financial crisis of 1890 and the devaluation of the Portuguese currency (30). As a result, the Lisbon bourgeoisie (31), which would be involved in colonial development, together with Portuguese industry would form an alliance with foreign finance capital (32). Hence, a strong influx of foreign capital occurred in Mozambique (33). The Ultimatum also stimulated a growing feeling of nationalism within the Portuguese state. Ideologically, it gave colonial issues a more important place

in Portuguese domestic policies, resulting in the complete revision of Portugal's colonial policies. This would start the era of modern colonialism.

It is also important to keep in mind the political and economical context of Portugal at that time, since this affected the ensuing colonial policies. After the protectionist policies of the Setembrista government, followed by the Chartists' free trade, there was yet another significant shift in colonial policy which advocated the return to protectionist policies. The post of Royal Commissioner for Mozambique was established in 1891 (34), as was the decreto do travao ("break" decree) of September 27, 1894, which was designed to prevent further infiltration of foreign capital. In addition, the reform of the Prazos had been initiated in 1889, and later, on November 11, 1899, the código do trabalho (colonial work code) was revised, in accordance with the colonial policies of the Royal Commissioner for Mozambique, A. Enes (35). Under Enes, the colonial policies underwent a significant shift, whereby emphasis was placed on increasing the worth of the colony. The local colonial government stressed the necessity of becoming more autonomous. Then followed a devolution of state authority over the colonial government, with an increasing colonial autonomy, thus establishing the administrative grounds necessary to ensure the success of the colony's development process. In the 1890s, a "new" colonial policy emerged (36),

characterized by a commercial boost in Mozambique, for which the colonial government's invitation for foreign investment into the country was to play a significant role.

It is within this economic and political context that the establishment of the Chartered Companies in Mozambique can best be explained. Despite the fact that these concessions had been given to foreign capital, Portugal could claim effective occupation of the territory (37). This investment was primarily oriented towards the Mozambique, Niassa and Zambezia Companies, the Companhia Moçambicana do Açucar (the future Sena Sugar Estates) and towards the construction of such infrastructures as roads and railways. A policy of leasing large parts of the colony to private companies then ensued. The area north of the Savé River was divided into three main regions (Map VII). In the first of these regions, stretching from the Savé River to the Zambezi -the Manica and Sofala districts - a charter concession was given to the Mozambique Company. The Company had been established in 1888 but its charter was issued only in 1891 (38). The Mozambique Company controlled the administration and finances of its rich agricultural territory, and succeeded in establishing a plantation economy complete with an internal transportation network. The development of a local transport network in the concessionary area of the Company, along with the development of a plantation economy, coincided with an influx of foreign capital into the company. In fact, the territories of the

Mozambique Company were invaded by both British and South African capital, particularly after 1909 (39), with British capital and enterprise playing an important role in local development (40). The international importance of the Mozambique Company lies in its connection with the two international railways running through the territory to the port of Beira: the Beira Railway and the Trans-Zambeziian Railway. In the area of agriculture, the Sena Sugar Estates were to become the largest sugar company in Mozambique, contributing to the economic success of the Company (41). In 1942, the Company's charter expired and the Manica and Sofala districts were incorporated directly into the Portuguese administration.

In the northern part of the country, stretching from the Lúrio River to the Rovuma River, another chartered company, the Niassa Company, was established. In 1891, its charter granted the same concessionary privileges as those received by the Mozambique Company (42). However, despite an initial effort in developing the territory, the Niassa Company was not as successful as its southern counter-part. The Company was dominated by British interests. Another example of British domination was the establishment of Ibo Investment Trust in 1899 and of Niassa Consolidated Company in 1908, both of which were supported by British and South African funds. The Niassa Company also participated in the initial development of the Rand mining industry, by allowing WNLA (43) to recruit

Africans from its territory to work in the Transvaal mines. In 1929 its charter concession terminated and the administration of the districts of Cabo Delgado and Niassa returned to the Portuguese government. Despite the initial effort of the Company's administration, the development of its agriculture and infrastructures was ineffective. Indeed, in regard to its transportation network, a railway which was to run through its territory towards Lake Nyasa was only started in 1912 (44).

The Zambezia Company was established in the third region, the Zambezia district, and incorporated 110 of the former 140 Prazos da Coroa (45). The reform policies of the 1880s were aimed at restructuring the Prazos in order to create the conditions for the development of a plantation economy and the Zambezia Company was given a concession over the northern area of the Zambezia district. This concession included administrative and judicial powers over its territory, although it was not a charter company. Due to the nature of its concession, as well as the dimension of its territory, the Zambezia Company might, however, be considered as the third chartered company of Mozambique (46). As already mentioned, the reforms of the Prazos succeeded in developing a plantation economy in one of the richest agricultural areas of Mozambique.

The investment of foreign capital in the concessionary companies, as well as in the establishment of a transport system - through both the concessions for railway construction

and the exploitation of the most important ports, and the acquisition of various foreign loans - set the conditions for Mozambique to become incorporated into a financial foreign network (47). As shall be explained in Part II, this foreign investment was to affect the development of Mozambique's railways.

Indeed, Mozambique's economic and geographical importance is closely related to the international nature of its railway network, which was to serve the transportation needs of its neighbouring countries. The 1891 Anglo-Portuguese Agreement had provided for the construction of a railway from Southern Rhodesia to the Indian Ocean. The line was completed by 1898, with Beira as its terminus. As the British Consul in Mozambique stated in his report of 1893, "Beira...has now become a port of the greatest importance on the East Coast of Africa as the gateway to the...Mozambique and British South Africa Companies' [territories]" (48). The territory of Manica and Sofala had thus become intrinsically linked to the regional framework which was at the origin of Mozambique's transit economy - Beira railway's ultimate purpose was to serve Southern Rhodesia.

At the same time, the port of Lourenço Marques had been regarded by the Transvaal as an independent gateway to the sea. In 1869 a free trade treaty which provided for fixed low transit duties was negotiated between Mozambique and the Transvaal (49). It was later replaced by the December 11, 1875

Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between Portugal and the Transvaal and its additional Protocol (50). In 1876 the construction of a railway between Lourenço Marques and the Transvaal was considered (51), and was negotiated in the years following 1881. The 1879 Lourenço Marques Treaty which provided for the completion of the railway was the culmination of much negotiating (52). The importance of the Lourenço Marques line was evident at the time, and was the focal point of Portuguese parliamentary debates which led to the eventual signing of the Treaty (53).

With the exploitation of the Rand gold mines in 1886, the Lourenço Marques line was finally connected to the mining regions in 1894. Due to its strategic location, it became an international line that was at the heart of political and diplomatic dealings between South Africa and Mozambique. The negotiations concerning the railway led to an agreement on labour recruitment, because both aspects were vital to the economy of the Transvaal. In Mozambique, the 1897 Regulamento issued by the Royal Commissioner Mouzinho de Albuquerque defined for the first time the conditions under which Mozambicans were to be contracted to work in the Transvaal mines (54). A diplomatic regional relationship was thus initiated, based on labour and railway issues, which was enforced by the Modus Vivendi of 1901 (55) and the Mozambique-Transvaal Conventions of 1909, 1928 and 1934. Both issues were to remain a permanent part of the economic, diplomatic



and political affairs of Southern Africa.

The 1901 Modus Vivendi became the keystone of future negotiations for it reestablished the migration of Mozambicans to the Transvaal and Rhodesia. In 1909 there followed another Convention, basically continuing the terms of the 1897 Regulamento. This Convention further regulated both labour and transit issues and became the basis of the negotiations leading to the 1928 Convention (56). The importance of this 1928 Convention must be stressed. It regulated the basis on which Mozambique and South Africa were to develop their relationship vis-a-vis labour, railways and commercial issues, the essence of which remained until 1974, when Mozambique ceased to be a Portuguese colony. The innovation of this Convention was the establishment of the "differed pay" system (57) and the insertion of a Gold Clause. Henceforth, all payments to Mozambique would be made in gold (58). The 1934 Convention was introduced as an additional reinforcement without changing the basic issues of trade and tariffs, railway communications, and labour recruitment. The key elements for the development of the transit and emigration economies in Mozambique, the nature of the relationship between Mozambique and South Africa, were thus fully established by the late 1920s.

As this relationship became stronger, Mozambique and South Africa became even more dependent on one another. The transit economy reinforced Mozambique's geo-political and

economic importance, while its emigration economy created an inter-dependency with South Africa. As South Africa depended on Mozambique's migrant labour force for its mining industry, so too did Mozambique depend on South Africa as it represented a major source of its revenue (59). It also contributed to Mozambique's unique status within the Portuguese Empire. Both the gold and the "differed pay" clauses guaranteed a flow of gold into Mozambique, thus strengthening the external value of its currency. By buying this gold from Mozambique, Portugal in turn secured the continuation of its mercantile system with its colony (60).

As previously mentioned, the 1920s saw the consolidation of this regional relationship between Mozambique and South Africa, which occurred simultaneously with the increasingly nationalistic colonial policy of the central government in Lisbon (61). In Portugal, the military coup of May 1926 and the establishment of Salazar's Estado Novo in 1930 resulted in a new perspective on colonial policies. The Estado Novo's main objective was to institute a centralized administration controlled by Lisbon. This new administrative system was established by the Colonial Act of 1933, which restricted local autonomy and established the principle of national Portuguese unity, from both an economic and an administrative point of view. The emergence of the corporate state in Portugal "...was translated into a long process of making the colonial economies more responsive to the national

bourgeoisie" (62) and resulted in the re-enforcement of the Portuguese state's colonial policies and an increased investment of national capital in the colonies. On the eve of the Estado Novo, diplomatic negotiations between Mozambique and South Africa that led to the establishment of a regional system in Southern Africa were already underway. The Estado Novo had to recognize the conditions already agreed upon and adjust to them. Mozambique's important role within the Portuguese colonial empire became evident, as did its increased involvement in the regional dynamics of Southern Africa.

The Estado Novo set up a plantation economy to be incorporated into the recently established export economy, while it also formulated a policy of local development. The previous Mozambican economic structure and its regional system were incorporated into the Estado Novo's political project - the Espaço Económico Português/EEP (Portuguese Economic Zone). This export/plantation economy would fulfil the objective of creating a closer metropolis/colony interaction, as well as the ultimate aim of forming a new political unity of the national territory - the Império Colonial Português (Portuguese Colonial Empire). In order to achieve this national unity it was necessary to nationalize the colonial economy, only then would the colonies become integrated into the EEP. This meant that the colonies had to be developed according to the needs of the metropolis, in particular its

growth in the industrial sector. In the case of Mozambique, cotton plantations based on forced labour were established for the benefit of the Portuguese textile industry.

It was this close cooperation between the metropolis and its colonies that was the novelty of the Estado Novo. The achievement of such cooperation required the reorganization of Portuguese infrastructures such as its industry, which would be reorganised in relation to the colonies. In turn, the colonies' infrastructures had to undergo a similar reorganization. The Colonial Conference of 1932 provided for such adjustment. It provided for the development of Mozambique's agriculture, as in the case of irrigation and technological plans (63), and for a clearer policy regarding the development of the railway network (64). The reorganization of the colony's infrastructures also required special attention regarding such local matters as labour, "...the [country's] most exportable commodity" (65). The establishment of a plantation economy resulted in an immediate need for labour (66). The labour issue, its origins and consequences in the Southern African geopolitical context will be further analyzed in the following section. For the moment it should be recalled that labour was also at the heart of the north/south dichotomy of Mozambique.

Indeed, the country may be regarded as fragmented, divided among several economic interests. The northern part of Mozambique participated in export and plantation economies,

requiring an increasing labour provision for the fulfilment of its objectives. The south, however, remained incorporated in a regional economic system, which implied the provision of labour for South Africa's mining industry. The essence of the internal division of Mozambique's policies of development may be found here. Because the south was considered part of a larger economic plan, the internal policies for local development did not consider this region as much as they did the northern areas. Hence it becomes understandable why the investment in the agricultural potential of southern Mozambique was delayed until the late 1940s. The already established Southern African relationship could not be disrupted by a growing demand for local labour. The local development of this region would require such a work force. Ultimately, it was the development of Southern Africa and the integration of Mozambique into this regional political and economic system that prevailed (67).

The nationalist colonial policies of the 1930s were formed to enhance the development of the colonies and create close ties between the metropolis and its colonies. Despite the fact that this had been the objective of the Portuguese state from the initial period of its African colonial policies, due to the continuous changes in the Portuguese domestic policies in the period under study, such was only fully defined with the Estado Novo. However, given that Portugal as an imperial state sought to profit from its

colonies, Mozambique's migration and transit economies were maintained because the revenues derived from them were highly important for the colony, and therefore for Portugal. Accordingly, the diplomatic treaties which had been signed between Mozambique and South Africa were upheld, and their revisions only stressed both Portugal's and Mozambique's interest in maintaining this regional relationship. This came to be a factor of paramount importance to the establishment of Mozambique's railway system, because it was this regional relationship that set the major lines for the country's transportation plan, which had as its main objective to be at the service of the transportation needs of its neighbouring countries. This shall be further developed in Part II.

#### **The Indian Ocean, Labour and Railways: the Dynamics of Southern Africa's Regional Complexity.**

The north/south dichotomy of Mozambique resulted from a diversified, yet complementary socio-economic internal development, the outcome of which was that the southern region of the country became integrated into the Southern African system.

It is the complexity of this Southern African system which will be further analyzed, with the Mozambican south and the Indian Ocean emerging as the focal points of such a development. By being at the heart of the evolution of these

regional developments, the southern region of Mozambique became tied to the Southern African framework. The geopolitical importance of the region south of the Savé River led to an increasing interdependence with the neighbouring countries (particularly with the Transvaal). Such co-operation was a condition for the emergence of the transit and emigration economies of Mozambique, as it was for the establishment of regional political and economic dynamics.

This historical fact raises the question of the subordinate role of Mozambique. The dependency of Mozambique on South Africa has been studied in the recent writings of historians of the region (68). However, the scope of the present discussion, in particular as it concerns the economic factor, does not allow us to examine this particular aspect of Mozambique's economy. Nonetheless, it is necessary to understand the extent to which the country became dependent on both its Southern African relationship and on its status as a colony.

At the heart of this problematic are three issues: the Indian Ocean, labour and transport. Pereira Leite's position on the importance of Mozambique's double dependency should be recalled: although it was the African hinterland's needs for an outlet to the sea that became the determinant for the transit economy and although this occurred prior to the emergence of the migratory phenomenon, both factors became interdependent in such way that it is not possible to study

them separately (69).

Starting with this premise, it will be possible to analyze Mozambique's participant role, and determine to which degree it was subordinate to external pressures. The interaction of both elements was fundamental for Mozambique's economy, as it was for the economic system of Southern Africa. Indeed, the relationship established throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was a reciprocal one, because it was out of this mutual necessity that the regional relationships were established. The necessity of the Transvaal for an independent access to the sea, and the development of its mining industry, became the fundamental raison d'être of southern Mozambique's economy. Ultimately, Mozambique profited from this relationship. The revenues it derived from the labour, custom and railway duties became the major reasons for its participation in the regional system, to the disadvantage of its internal development, particularly that of its southern region.

The labour and transport issues became intertwined and they remained a constant throughout the discussions between the two countries. South Africa depended on Mozambique's labour power in as much as Mozambique depended on the revenues it derived from exporting its labour. Accordingly, the transport issue and the access to the Indian Ocean remained crucial elements during the negotiations between Portugal and South Africa which will be discussed below. However, in the



end labour emerged as a more important consideration for South Africa, because its mining industry was vital to the country's economy. Mozambique took advantage of this need, by ensuring that both issues - labour and railways - would be dealt as one item.

It is within this context that the dependent role of Mozambique, in particular its southern region, should be questioned. Portugal's colonial policies and especially the absence of a well designed financial investment policy did not fully succeed in establishing powerful control over Mozambique. This was due to a certain extent to Portugal's position as a dependent country in the international context, and to its own internal evolution as an imperial power - all of which affected the development of the colony. Southern Mozambique emerged as an 'independent' region because of its geo-political importance to Mozambique, Portugal and South Africa. This is clearly understood from Katzenellenbogen's statement that

the framework [constituted to exploit south Mozambique and its labour] emerged out of the interaction of the various financial, economic and political interests represented by or within the mining companies, the government of Mozambique (and Portugal) and the government of South Africa (and the Transvaal) (70).

The analysis of the problematic of southern Mozambique's un-developed economy and its consequent dependence on migrant labour is thus crucial for the study of the country's integration into the regional system of Southern Africa.

Mozambican labour was as essential for South Africa's mining industry, as the labour revenues became essential for Mozambique's financial balance (71); therefore, both economies were dependent on each other. Ultimately, the requirements of Portuguese colonialism and South African mine interests were not contradictory (72), for both interests aimed at one single goal: profit. It was the specific context of Southern Africa that had led to the development of this relationship between the two countries. In the end, both countries became dependent on this particular framework because the regional interests behind this relationship became the mainstream of Southern African affairs. However, since the economic development of Southern Africa was dominated in itself by South Africa's economic interests, Mozambique, by becoming integrated into such system became dependent on South Africa's economic development.

The Minister of the Colonies, Marcelo Caetano (73), established a periodization of this relationship by dividing it into three periods: the first from 1875 to the end of the Boer war in 1901; the second from 1901 until 1928; and the last from 1928 onwards. The study of the evolution of the historical process has confirmed such periodization. Hence it is necessary to outline the evolution of this process of inter-action, to situate this paper in its historical context.

Despite the fact that it was South Africa's mining industry that accelerated the process of labour recruitment,

it should be recalled that southern Mozambique was participating in the migration circuit with South Africa before the discovery of gold (74). Due to the slower development of capitalist agriculture in southern Mozambique, the region's labour power had been migrating to the Cape and Natal by the mid-1800s mainly as clandestine labour. With the opening of the Kimberley diamond mines, and especially the Rand gold mines in late 1880s, Mozambique witnessed a growing flow of emigration. Unable to control the extent of this migration, the colonial power sought to profit from it by establishing an organized recruiting system in collaboration with the South African Chamber of Mines (75). At the same time, provisions established through several diplomatic accords signed between both countries further reinforced this issue.

The 1897 agreement between Mozambique and the Transvaal regarding the recruitment of migrant labour resulted in an increased flow of migrant workers towards the Rand mines (76). The accords provided both for recruitment of Mozambican labour, and for traffic on the Lourenço Marques railway. From the Portuguese point of view, it became impossible to separate the two issues, because they had become one in Portugal's (Mozambique's) diplomatic arguments. From Mozambique's standpoint, labour supported the railways, and vice-versa (77). This policy was the result of South Africa's continuous attempt to legally separate them. South Africa had suggested

that each issue should be dealt with separately. Such a position could not be accepted by Mozambique, because it was the close relationship between both issues that secured the basis of its economy: transit and emigration. This does not imply though, that it was Mozambique which derived the most advantages from the arrangement (78). Yet, despite its subordinate position in its relationship with South Africa, southern Mozambique secured both a source of revenue and the legal and financial provisions for the development of its infrastructures, in particular its railway system. However, and although on the economic point of view this relationship provided for the recognition of the regional importance of the region south of the Savé River, on a social and cultural view point it affected the development of its social infrastructures, because the continuous migration of its male population produced a negative effect on the development of the various indigenous societies.

Gold emerged as a determinant factor in the evolution of this relationship. Not only had its discovery sped up the making of such agreements, but it had also hastened the process of South Africa's unification. The Pretoria Convention of 1881 had given the Transvaal Republic its independence. In 1886, the exploitation of the Rand gold accelerated the process of the formation of the union. Within the mining industry, the discovery of important gold reefs led to the establishment of a mining board - the Chamber of Mines - which

quickly took on a role of paramount importance in the history of South Africa, as well as in the process of diplomatic dealings with Mozambique.

The Transvaal and Mozambique had been linked before the discovery of gold. The first official contact between the Boers and the Portuguese happened in 1838, when the trekkers led by Louis Trigardt reached Delagoa Bay (79). This year can be accepted as the beginning of the diplomatic relations between both countries. For example, the 1869 Treaty and the 1875 agreement guaranteeing freedom of trade and the provision for building a railway were important results of this early contact (80).

It became increasingly important for the Transvaal Boers to establish close links with Mozambique, thus assuring independence from the British colonies of southern Africa. The port of Lourenço Marques and its surrounding region became vital to the Boer Republic. On April 19, 1868, President Pretorius went as far as announcing the annexation of territory north of the Limpopo river. However, he had to withdraw his announcement due to British opposition. The significance of this act rested on the fact that the Transvaal recognized that in order to secure one of its priorities - access to the sea via Lourenço Marques - a formal collaboration with Mozambique (and Portugal) would have to be established. In 1871, the construction of a road between Lourenço Marques and the Transvaal began, preceding the

Lourenço Marques railway, and establishing trade relations which would continuously increase over the years. By the late 1870s, the custom revenues Mozambique derived from its trade with the Transvaal were already important for the country, particularly for the city of Lourenço Marques. It was this trade that increased the Delagoa Bay's political importance and aided its development. By sharing the Transvaal's import and very important export traffic (81), Lourenço Marques established itself as a vital piece in this evolving framework: the African hinterland, the Transvaal and the Indian Ocean.

The development of a transportation system became a necessity. Hence the construction of the Lebombo Mountains road, and the road to Pilgrim's Rest in 1875 (82). The construction of railways followed. Both the Cape and Natal railways aimed to participate in this growing traffic, as did the newly-formed NZASM-Nederlands Zuid Africansche Spoorweg Maatschappij and the Lourenço Marques railway.

Chronologically, transport anticipated labour in the making of this Southern African relationship. However, as has been mentioned, the transit economy then evolved because of its close link with the emigration economy. As the need for an independent gateway to the Indian Ocean increased, so did the need for Mozambican labour. Both governments realized that co-operation established on these grounds had to be one of compromise over the major issues, hence they accepted the

inevitable: that for Mozambique, both economies were intrinsically linked and could not be divided into separate parts.

At the same time, the international importance of Lourenço Marques increased, both as a gateway to the sea and as a trade partner. Hence one witnesses both British and Boer attempts to control, even purchase, Delagoa Bay, from the Portuguese state (83). From the British point of view, Lourenço Marques represented a threat to its Southern African colonies. The Transvaal was regarded as a natural part of a potential South African Union. On the other hand, the fact that the Transvaal's trade was conducted through Lourenço Marques represented an economic threat to both the Cape and Natal provinces (84). The same arguments could be used from the Transvaal's point of view, for indeed it was the independence from the British colonies which Delagoa Bay provided, that would give Lourenço Marques its privileged position (85). The Transvaal, by preferring Delagoa Bay to the British ports of Durban and Port Elizabeth, contributed to the reinforcement of the international political and economic value of Lourenço Marques.

However, it was the discovery of gold that increased the importance of Lourenço Marques to the African hinterland and made it an integral part of the economic development of Southern African (86). The rapid development of the mining industry sped up this process, while the Mozambican government

realized that it could only gain from this co-operation. For Mozambique, the gold mining industry represented an important source of revenue, through the levy of labour, custom and railway duties.

For the Transvaal this co-operation ensured its economic independence, which was reaffirmed with the extension of the Lourenço Marques railway to its border. It also raised the issue of South Africa's independence, which culminated with the Boer War of 1899-1902, and its immediate result, the unification of the country. Thus, it was the discovery of the Rand gold and thus the economic potential of the Transvaal which reinforced British designs for the constitution of a South African confederation. The scope of the present study does not allow us to consider South African internal affairs. However, the British and Boer political conflicts - aggravated by the Jameson Raid and its escalation towards what came to be known as the Boer War - affect this study, because it was out of this conflict that Mozambique's participant role in Southern Africa increased in importance.

The interdependence of Mozambique and the Transvaal was reinforced by the establishment of the mining industry. The unification of South Africa could not change such relationship. Labour and transport - the emigration and transit system - both vital for South Africa's and Mozambique's economies, remained the two key elements for the inter-action of this region. Despite South Africa's attempts



to minimize the role of the railway and the significance of the port of Lourenço Marques, "the interaction of these two elements became irreversible, and was imposed during all the colonial period in Mozambique" (87). Mozambique and South Africa became partners, an inevitable relationship which emerged out of the specificity of this region.

Diplomatically, this relationship was regulated by the negotiations between the two countries throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The importance of such treaties and accords has already been mentioned. Suffice it to reaffirm that what was established by them determined and designed the future relationship between South Africa and Mozambique (88).

The 1901 Modus Vivendi reinforced this relationship. It defined the terms under which trade was to be carried out by both countries, and, most importantly, it provided labourers for the Transvaal mines. Indeed, under the terms of the Modus Vivendi, the WNLA had an effective monopoly on the recruitment of Mozambican labour for the mining industry, thus assuring the mines a flow of a cheap and reliable work force. The Modus Vivendi coincided with the end of the Boer War and it initiated a new phase in the diplomatic relations between the two countries. Against Britain's ambition to transfer the Transvaal traffic through the port of Lourenço Marques to the British ports of Cape Town, Durban, East London and Port Elizabeth, Mozambique interposed the labour issue. It was the

mining industry's dependency on Mozambican labour that in effect neutralized British efforts, and with the Modus Vivendi Mozambique became the largest source of African labour to the mines.

The period between the signature of the Modus Vivendi and the 1928 Convention was one of high tension, with labour and the railways remaining a constant problem. Pressures by the provinces of Natal and the Cape to cancel the 1901 accord led to the 1909 Convention, by which Mozambique and the Transvaal became even more dependent of each other. Based on the 1901 Modus Vivendi, the new Convention reviewed the issues of clandestine immigration, labour revenues and railways provisions. While it ratified the Modus Vivendi, the Convention also established exclusive recruiting rights to WNLA in Mozambique, south of parallel 22.

It should be recalled that the establishment of the Portuguese Republic in 1910 and the further development of its colonial policies resulted in the questioning of the 1909 Convention, and the growing dependency of Mozambique on South Africa. This, and the fact that Portugal was going through an economic crisis, while being subjected to external pressures, rushed the process of revision of the Convention.

At the heart of this discord were the labour, and especially the railway issues. In 1911, a joint Railway Board proposed the introduction of changes in the administration of the Lourenço Marques port and railway, which did not happen

because the labour and "differed pay" issues prevented it (89). And although South Africa choose not to denounce the Convention in 1918, it reaffirmed its purposes of changing the port and railway administration. In 1912, the NRC (Native Recruiting Corporation) had been created in South Africa in an attempt to further increase internal labour recruitment. Yet, at the same time, the Transvaal was pressuring for co-operation with Mozambique. In Portugal, the second decade of the 1900s was one of domestic political chaos. This was reflected in Mozambique, which also had to face a financial crisis at the aftermath of the World War. In Mozambique, the newly-appointed High Commissioner Brito Camacho pursued the reform of colonial policies. which provided for a greater autonomy for the colony whose finances were to be administered by its own government with supervision from Lisbon (90).

The 1910-1920s period was crucial for the development of Southern African relationships. The mining industry of the region desperately needed Mozambican labour as well as the financial benefits it enjoyed from the Lourenço Marques railway (91). The South African government, however, continued to argue against Mozambique's weak financial state and increased its complaints about the bad management of the Lourenço Marques port and railway while it was pressured itself by the mining industry. Portugal, hence Mozambique, in contrast did not want the cancellation of the 1909 Convention, (which the South African government denounced on March 22,

1922), because this would mean the interruption of a regular revenue provided by emigration (along with the further increasing clandestine immigration such would imply). Mozambique could not accept being pressured by South Africa over the control of the Lourenço Marques railway and port. The enormous complexity of the issues at hand clearly necessitated a new Convention. The 1928 Convention began a new period in the relationship between the two countries. The new Convention applied only to the area lying south of 22 latitude, and provided for the regulation of native labour employed at the Transvaal mines, thus establishing further legislation concerning the trade (92) and railway aspects. Most importantly, it established the system of "differed pay" and the so-called "Gold Clause". Mozambique and South Africa reinforced their mutual collaboration, because the 1928 Convention established the key elements for their relationship: the economies of transit and emigration. The dynamics of Southern Africa's regional system thus regulated, they remained in essence as established until 1974.

In respect to the railways issue, South Africa did not insist on interfering in the administration of the Lourenço Marques port and railway. This was of particular importance to Mozambique's railway policies because in 1930 the ports and railways underwent a major revision, aiming at a single administration for the entire transport system. This initial step made it possible for the Estado Novo to further implement

its own development and unification policies. However, as shall be seen in Part II of this work, the essence of the transit/railway policies of Mozambique was to remain: the co-operation with the African hinterland, which ultimately provided for the strengthening of Mozambique's geopolitical position in Southern Africa. Accordingly, the railway system of Mozambique would be developed and extended, not just for domestic use, but particularly to service the neighbouring countries.

In the long run, the 1928 Convention underwent several revisions. In 1934 a Convention was set up which introduced new modifications regarding the number of workers for the mining industry. It also established the labour payment in current currency due to the abandoning of the gold standard. In 1939 a second accord of revision followed and on May 2, 1940, a Convention was called through which Portugal obtained the right to choose the conversion into gold of the amount obtained by "differed pay". On October 13, 1964, another Convention followed which included a 'secret agreement' (93). However, despite these modifications, the fundamental regulations provided by the 1928 Convention were not changed. Yet again, the two key elements - the management of the labour force and the transports system - were strategically important in the evolution of this relationship.

In the area of labour recruitment, the WNLA emerged as the monopolistic labour provider for the mining industry. The

mining industry's policy was to obtain maximum profits by minimizing the costs of mining operations. This could only be achieved through the supply of numerous, cheap and unskilled labour. Due to the type of the Transvaal mines - low-grade goldiferous mines - this intensive exploitation of labour was required. Hence the interest of the mining industry to control and monopolize the recruitment of workers. Co-operation between the separate mining companies became essential. In 1896, the Chamber of Mines, the Association of Mines and the Association of Mine Managers formed the NLSA-Native Labour Supply Association Ltd. (94). This body later became the RNLA-Rand Native Labour Association, and during the Boer War it evolved into the WNLA-Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. The WNLA became the sole recruiter of African mine labour in Mozambique, co-operating with the Chamber of Mines in order to secure its privileged position (95).

The mining industry's need for plentiful cheap labour was overwhelming. The WNLA, taking advantage of the Modus Vivendi labour provisions, effectively collaborated with the growing co-operation and inter-dependency of Mozambique and South Africa. The establishment of these regional arrangements was thus a result of several changing factors, in which labour - and the WNLA - played a major role. Essentially, both countries co-operated to their own advantage. Mozambique, by providing a fixed number of labourers for the mining industry was guaranteed a fixed percentage on the Transvaal/South

Africa's traffic for its ports and railways. The WNLA enjoyed the monopoly of labour recruitment in Mozambique in the region south of the Savé River. Yet, other parts of the country also supplied the mines with African labour. The Transvaal Chamber of Mines had also negotiated with the chartered companies in order to secure such labour. In September 1903, the Niassa and Mozambique Companies signed an agreement which provided for labour recruitment. During the first decade of the twentieth century, the Niassa Company became a supplier of labour, which came to an end when recruitment north of latitude 22 was prohibited in 1913 (96). However, despite the initial recruiting efforts of WNLA in the northern and central regions of Mozambique, the participation of these regions in the Transvaal labour system was negligible. This was due to the fact that the migratory flux of these regions was mainly towards their more immediate neighbouring countries, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The growing demand of Southern Rhodesia's plantation and mining industry for Mozambican labour led to the establishment of a dependent system, similar to that of southern Mozambique to the South African mines (97).

In respect to the districts of Manica and Sofala, the Mozambique Company's economic policies - which aimed at acquiring a high profit with a low capital expenditure - also required the use of cheap labour for its own territory. As early as the time of effective territorial occupation in the

late 1800s, during which the colonial economy began to grow and with it the demand for African labour, the use of tributary labour was customary. According to Neil-Tomlinson, the Mozambique Company took on the role of recruiting and supplying low paid forced labour. This process of labour recruiting was intimately linked to the process of conquest and development of the colonial economy (98). By 1910, about 70,000 Africans laboured annually in Manica and Sofala (99). By 1926, out of the 108,000 Africans working for the Mozambique Company, 40% were from outside the territory (100). Labour was vital for the development of the colonial economy of plantation and the Mozambique Company succeeded throughout the duration of its charter to secure the work force necessary for its own economic growth. In this sense, the recruitment of labour in Manica and Sofala was paramount for the local development of the territory's economy (101).

Overall therefore, it was southern Mozambique that was to fully participate in the mining industry development. The northern region's plantation economy demanded a labour force which could not be spared, whereas the south, due to the particularity of its geo-economy, remained a participant partner of the South African mining industry (102).

The effective co-operation of Mozambique with the economic interests of South Africa, had its opponents. Part 1.1. of this work has mentioned that Mozambique faced a growing internal demand for the development of its



infrastructures. The development scheme of the Estado Novo for Mozambique required a more efficient participation of the colony with the metropolis. It also required stronger policies of local development, for which the use of its indigenous work force became necessary. Externally, Mozambique also felt opposition to its privileged position within the Southern African system. In particular in South Africa, resentment towards Mozambique grew, as the interests of the Cape and Natal came to suffer from Mozambique's advantage regarding the commercial, traffic and customs issues. Both provinces not only complained against the percentage of the Transvaal traffic which was channelled through the railway and port of Lourenço Marques, but they also complained about the inefficiency of the operations of this infrastructure.

Ultimately, the strength of regional economic growth of Southern Africa outweighed individual concerns. The Union of South Africa had to compromise with the already established system because its economy depended on the powerful mining industry which was controlled by the Chamber of Mines. Despite pressures from other parts of its economy, the interests of the mining industry, as expressed through the Chamber of Mines, prevailed: only the possibility of recruitment of cheap African labour at a controlled cost would maintain and increase the profitability of the industry, thus strengthening South Africa's economy overall. This meant that Mozambique's interests were also upheld, due to the close co-

operation its government had with both the WNLA and the Chamber of Mines, and the government of South Africa.

## PART II: THE RAILWAY SYSTEM OF MOZAMBIQUE.

### 1. Mozambique, the African Hinterland and the Indian Ocean: The Development of a Primary Infrastructure.

One of the major developments of the late nineteenth century in Mozambique was the expansion of the country's transportation system in which rail transportation played a primary role. The importance of this transportation system cannot be underestimated. Among Southern African countries, Mozambique was one of the first to develop its transport system. The primary object, it seems clear, was economic. The extension of this system enabled Mozambique to intensify its economic and to guarantee its political expansion. While the country's internal development was aided by the transport system, the establishment of the regional relationship with the Southern African hinterland was the central outcome of this expansion.

The railroads allowed for an increase in economic development and particularly for colonial control of the colony. Their extension coincided with Portugal's administrative subjugation of the interior of Mozambique. They also allowed for the movement of population on a greater scale than had existed previously, further implementing the migratory system within and outside the country.

The local railways were important because they connected

previously isolated areas to the urban, mainly coastal centres of Mozambique, while furthering the local exploitation of the regions they served. The transportation system had wider implications. Through its development and construction the importance of Mozambique in the Southern African context and its integration in the political-economic system of the region was consolidated.

The complex interaction of African and European forces in this integration of Mozambique into the Southern African regional system has been studied and interpreted elsewhere. What is of concern to the present work is how this penetration of the Mozambican hinterland by way of its transportation system, in particular its railway system, and the resultant Portuguese politico-administrative expansion, affected Mozambique's position within Portugal's colonial system and its position in the Southern African regional complex.

In the previous chapter it was argued that Mozambique's integration in Southern Africa had its roots in the privileged geographical situation and in South Africa's diamond and gold production of the 1860s and 1870s, especially with the discovery of the Witwatersrand gold mines in late 1880s.

Portugal's political and administrative consolidation in Mozambique was the outcome of a change in its colonial policies (1). However, Portugal's weak financial state and the lack of national capital for investment in its African colonies, in particular in Mozambique, led to the

international financing of the development of the colony - a situation that had the support of the Lisbon government. Foreign capital, in particular British capital, was invested in Mozambique through the concession of charters to foreign controlled companies, but also through the concessions for the construction of the railway infrastructure (2).

By 1950, the railways of Mozambique enjoyed a well established international stature. In particular the Lourenço Marques, Beira and the Portuguese section of the Trans-Zambeziian railways, serving the African hinterland and the country as well, carried regular traffic between Mozambique and its neighbouring countries - which comprised Tanganyika, Nyasaland, the Rhodesias and part of the Union of South Africa. Both the local and the international lines participated in the establishment of the railway network which had one main purpose: to serve the African hinterland. And by doing so, they justified Mozambique's transit economy.

As has already been mentioned, Mozambique's transit and emigrant economies formed an inseparable whole. This was because it was the interrelation and complementarily of both economies in accordance with the colonial policies of development that had established Mozambique's economy. However, the present study will concentrate on the development of the railway system, the basis of Mozambique's transit economy.

A quick glance at a map of southern Africa provides

enough evidence of the international character of the country's railways (MAP IX). Rather than having been developed vertically accompanying the country's geographic profile, they were instead built horizontally. Indeed, the main lines which form the international railway network were built to serve, firstly and ultimately, the neighbouring countries.

The Lourenço Marques railway line, the subject of the several treaties with South Africa, was the first line to be built and it became the most important railroad of Mozambique. Property of the Portuguese state, it was also controlled by it.

Financed differently, the Beira line which ran along the territory of the Mozambique Company and serviced the districts of Manica and Sofala, had as its main purpose the service of the Rhodesian hinterland. With its origins in the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1891, this line came to be controlled by British capital and by South Rhodesia's companies. Following the expiration of the charter to the Mozambique Company in 1942, it became the property of the Portuguese state in 1950, after the negotiations that led to the purchase of the railway in April 1948, and of the port in January 1949.

Another line, the Portuguese section of the Trans-Zambezi, also ran through the territory of the Mozambique Company. Starting in Dondo and continuing through the central area of southern Africa from the Zambezi River towards the banks of the Shire River, this line was especially important

for British Nyasaland, connecting it with the port of Beira. Trans-Zambezia was the only line which was not under control of the Mozambican/Portuguese government in 1950 (Map X).

The international network also included the ill-fated Swaziland railway, originally a project of Lord Milner who in 1902 advocated the construction of such line with the agreement of the then Governor-General of Mozambique, Manuel Rafael Gorjao. Following a series of disagreements and the loss of interest on the part of Britain in the completion of this line, it was relegated to a secondary, local position rather than the international one that had been originally anticipated. It became instead the Goba line, a subsidiary of the Lourenço Marques line. The completed Swaziland railway - comprising both Mozambique's and South Africa's branches - was finally inaugurated on November 5, 1964.

Of the three lines, two, the Beira and Trans-Zambezia lines, were built by the construction company Pauling & Co., the same company that had built the British South Africa Company's railway from Umtali to Salisbury in 1899. The construction of the Lourenço Marques line, after the initial concession to the American McMurdo had been settled by the Berne Court of Arbitration in 1900, was undertaken by the Portuguese state which regained control of the line.

What is striking in a study of the railways of Mozambique is their constant and obsessive attempt to serve the African hinterland. Their international character may also be seen as

an indication of Mozambique's stand in the Portuguese colonial empire: that of a second class colony, by which is meant that Mozambique was indeed of interest to Portugal only as it served its colonial purposes (3). Hence the importance of the establishment of the plantation economy which was to serve the Portuguese industry, particularly during the Estado Novo. Hence also the maintenance of the country's transit and emigration economies, as they were both profitable to Mozambique, and ultimately to Portugal. The imperial state allowed its colony to maintain a rather independent status. In regard to the development of its primary infrastructure, Mozambique's role in Southern Africa prevailed, with the cooperation of the Lisbon government from its initial stage in the mid-1800s.

Of great importance was Portugal's position regarding the development of Mozambique's railways. Even during the periods of Portugal's animosity towards Britain the role of Mozambique in serving the African hinterland (thus British interests) through its railway system was not questioned. In the Parliamentary debates and at the Colonial Congresses this particular role of the colony's transport system was accepted by the congressmen. Indeed, it was a constant in Portugal's position that Mozambique was to be at the service of Southern Africa. During both the Republican period, with its colonial policies of development, and later during the Estado Novo and the pursuit of its policies of a complete integration of the



African colonies in the EEP/Portuguese Economic Zone, the role of Mozambique's railways was regarded as a particular one. The railways acquired a unique status within the Portuguese policies of development.

Portugal, by realizing that it could only profit from Mozambique's already under-way integration in the Southern African regional system, consciously chose to participate and co-operate in this regional economic framework. Thus one can understand Portugal's position in respect to the maintenance and further evolution of the colony's economies of emigration and transit. Mozambique could take advantage of its privileged geographical position, while reinforcing its geo-political role in Southern Africa.

The development of the local lines with the main purpose of serving the Mozambican interior became as well part of the greater transportation plan, whose main objective was to serve the African hinterland. The 1930s saw a series of Colonial Congresses whose debates concerning the local railway projects and their unfolding confirm such position (4).

The establishment of such system was rather chaotic. The periodization of the evolution of the railways may be divided into three phases (5). The first, which started in the 1880s until early 1900s, witnessed the development of the Lourenço Marques line (1887/1895) and the Beira/Umtali line (1896/98). The second period coincided with the inauguration of the Republic in Portugal, and lasted until late 1920s. During this

second period these local lines were developed: the Inhambane line (1910/13), Xinavane (1914), Gaza (1915), Marracuene (1918/24), Mozambique (1912/15), and Quelimane line (1914/22). The Trans-Zambeian line (1922) was also started. Finally, the third period was started in 1930 and continued until 1974. During its early stage the transportation system underwent a major change in its administration. This was reflected in the debates and conclusions of the Colonial Congress of 1930, which provided for a clearer plan of railway development (6). The growth of the Xinavane and Tete lines further emphasised the policy of local railway development. In this last period a sub-period could be established, starting in 1950 with the Portuguese control of all railway lines running through Mozambique, the Trans-Zambeian line posing the only exception to this.

Until 1930 each state-controlled line had its own administration (7). The Lourenço Marques port and railway still followed the provisory organization published on October 15, 1917 (8). The Beira railway had the particularity of being a foreign financed and controlled line within national territory.

The political measures which in 1931 placed Mozambique's transport system under a single control, in co-operation with the Estado Novo policies of unification and further control of all Portuguese territory, changed this situation (9). The operational, constitutional and administrative services of the

ports and railways of Mozambique came under one Board of Administrators. Immediate authority was vested in a Director of Ports, Railways and Transports, who acted as delegate of the Board and controlled a single cadre of officials, technicians and workers.

Francisco Pinto Teixeira was the first director of the new system of Ports, Railways and Transports of Mozambique, the administration of which he unified in 1931. His policy for the railways and transport system of Mozambique was clear - the development of the Mozambican system should pay special attention to local needs, while reinforcing the transport network's international character. The Lourenço Marques port and railway underwent modifications and improvements, the local lines were further extended. He advocated the development of a lorry system in close co-operation with the railway system. Thus roads were developed along with the lorry system, which too was also to have an international character, because it connected with the neighbouring countries' network of lorries and railways.

Most important for the establishment of such controlled unification, Pinto Teixeira had advocated from the beginning the purchase of Beira Railways and its terminus port, which finally came under Portuguese administration in 1949. He realized the importance of this line in the Southern African regional system and his position was underlined with the nationalization of South Rhodesia's railways in 1947, because

Southern Rhodesia's railways technically controlled the Beira port and line. Thus the threat that this situation represented came as a further reason to advocate such purchase.

When in 1953 Arnaldo Pereira Leite replaced him in the administration, the main policies of transportation development had been outlined, and were further implemented (10). The transport system of Mozambique had one single administration, financial coherence, a local development policy, and the Beira Railway was under the direct control of the Portuguese state. The later period of the development of Mozambique's transport system followed the main plan established during the previous twenty years. It was a policy which had been the consequence of Mozambique's status as a colony and as a participating country in the economic and political complex of Southern Africa.

Through the establishment and development of Mozambique's regional and international lines the consolidation of its transit economy further contributed to the complete embedding of the country in the regional system.

## 2. The International Lines.

**The Lourenço Marques Railway/CFLM-Caminhos de Ferro de Lourenço Marques.**

The result of a good neighbour policy between Mozambique

and the Transvaal, Protocol Number One annexed to the 1875 Treaty provided that Portugal would participate in the construction of a railway from the port of Lourenço Marques to the border of the Southern African Republic (Map XI). Started in 1885, the line finally reached Ressano Garcia in 1894, after a series of incidents involving its concession and construction which had delayed an earlier inauguration.

The international importance of this line has already been mentioned. However, it should be noted that the Lourenço Marques line set a series of examples within the Portuguese administration, especially for policies of transportation. Indeed, the first act of nationalization of a railway took place with the CFLM, when on June 29, 1889 the Portuguese regained its control after the refusal of the then current manager of the concessionary company, Philip Ney, to execute the decree that had established the expiration of the contract (11). Following this, the Portuguese state ensured that no other concession capable of endangering its control of such lines would be given. Thereafter the state supported the financing of the construction of the local lines that were to be administered by the Mozambican government. The CFLM was also at the centre of a major railroad strike in 1925/1926, a situation that led to the aggravation of the South African - Mozambican relationship at the eve of the 1928 Convention. South Africa used this strike as an argument for the Portuguese inability to control the Lourenço Marques railway.

The strike also contributed to a keener awareness from the Mozambican view point regarding the management of this line, and in fact, of the other railways of the country.

Most important, the construction of the line led to the increasing development of Delagoa Bay and its surrounding area. The international and national importance that this line assumed from its beginnings provided for a shift in the Portuguese administration of the colony, with its political-administrative centre being moved to Lourenço Marques in the south (12).

Preceding the construction of this line several attempts to link the Transvaal with the Espirito Santo/Delagoa Bay had been made. The Transvaal's first attempt to gain access to the Indian Ocean, by way of a road, is traceable back to 1835 (13). On August 14, 1855, a concordat between the Transvaal and the Lourenço Marques Governor F.Sales Machado was signed, establishing that both governments would try to provide passable communication between Lourenço Marques and the Boer Republic (14). Later, the 1869 treaty provided for a road from Lourenço Marques to the border, hence setting the antecedents for the establishment of article 8 of the 1875 treaty (15), followed by the 1876 Railway Treaty between both countries which established the political covenant of a construction of a railway (16). The discovery of gold in the 1870s had increased the need for such communication, justifying the construction of the Lebombo Mountain road and the Lydenburg

Road, also known as the "Royal Road to the Transvaal" and the "Road to Progress", in 1871/74 (17) (Map XII). The 1879 Anglo-Portuguese treaty's main objective had been to secure the construction of the Lourenço Marques railway, hence the specifications regarding the issue (18).

The efforts of Portugal and Mozambique to initiate the construction of the railway were hindered by the fragility of the Portuguese political situation along with the internal situation in the Transvaal (19). This situation led to a delay of the projected railway (20). Pressured by the Transvaal to initiate the construction of the line, while facing a financial crisis which prevented it from fully participating in the development of its colonial infrastructures, the Lisbon government became seduced by the proposal of the American McMurdo which avoided any financial participation on his part. Instead, McMurdo asked for a concession of the area surrounding the railway and the right to decide upon the railway tariffs. The contract was signed on December 14, 1883, and McMurdo's concession was later sold on May 5, 1887 to the London based Delagoa Bay and East African Railway Company Ltd. which had as subsidiary the Lourenço Marques Transvaal Railway Company (21). However, the stipulations of the contract were not fulfilled (22), resulting in a series of postponements of the period which expired on October 30, 1888. The "McMurdo Affair" reached international proportions and was only settled with the Berne Court of Arbitration's decision in favour of

Portugal, on May 28, 1900 (23). The disagreement originated not only with the continuous delays of the construction of the line, but particularly with the fact that McMurdo had the concession of the railway tariffs on the Portuguese section of the line, a matter of vital importance to the Transvaal (24). The decision resulted in the aggravation of Portugal's indebtedness and further weakened its international position. It should be recalled that its African possessions had been the object of British and German designs leading to the signing of the Anglo-German Agreement of August 30, 1898, and its secret clause. Undoubtedly, the "McMurdo Affair" contributed to Portugal's deteriorating international position.

The immediate outcome of the affair was that the Portuguese government regained control of the line after signing another contract for the conclusion of the final ten kilometres. The railway traffic which had been opened in November, 1893, on the branchline Lourenço Marques/Elandshock was finally officially inaugurated in Pretoria, on July 8, 1895.

The second period which started with the Portuguese control of the line corresponded to a change in the domestic policies of Portugal. The establishment of the Republic in 1910 led to the dismissal of Freire de Andrade in Mozambique, and to demands by local Republican forces for a development policy for the colony (25). In accordance with the new



political climate, the decree of September 20, 1906, instituted the Conselho de Administração do Porto e dos Caminhos de Ferro de Lourenço Marques, substituting the Comissão Permanente dos Melhoramentos do Porto de Lourenço Marques that had been established by Antonio Enes on December 17, 1895 (26). The situation in the early 1900s was rather chaotic, despite the ample powers of the directors of the port and CFLM. Indeed, the cause for such situation may be found in specific aspects of the administration, since it resulted in a different administration for each part of the transport infrastructure - the port and the CFLM - which were not effectively inspected. With the new decree, the two administrations were superseded by one, and the executive functions of the Director of the Port and CFLM were further implemented, along with the provision for a financial autonomy (27). However, the financial situation of the company (28) and the uncontrolled administration of the port and CFLM made it necessary to reorganize its administration. Accordingly, the Provincial Decrees Number 202 of October 17, 1925 and 208 of October 31 provided for the organization of the Administrative Council and the services of the Direction of the Port and CFLM, which aimed at a coherent economic exploitation of its services (29). Such policies corresponded to the colonial policies which provided for a growing financial and administrative autonomy of the colony. This situation came to collide with the Republic's colonial policies, which aimed at

the unity of the Republic and the colonies, setting the ground for the Estado Novo administrative and economic policies.

Despite demands by local forces to develop Mozambique's railways for local use, the predominant policy of the Lisbon government and in fact of the colonial government was rather to develop its rail infrastructure on a general basis for access to the African hinterland. The CFLM had set the example, along with the foreign controlled Beira line, and the other lines were to be developed for the use of the African hinterland. Thus the primary purpose of Mozambique's railways was to serve the African regional framework, a policy that was followed until 1974.

Internationally, the importance of the port and CFLM only increased, particularly for the use of traffic connected with the Transvaal. The efficiency of the Lourenço Marques port was tested with the difficulties arising from World War I. The movement of foreign vessels entering Delagoa Bay increased with the channelling of the Transvaal's coal through the port, thus confirming Lourenço Marques economic and political international importance.

The establishment of the Estado Novo in 1926 led to a more decisive colonial policy. Regarding the transportation system, it initiated the process of administrative unification of all the state controlled railways in Mozambique. The director of the CFLM, Pinto Teixeira was to become the first director of the new railway administration.

On the eve of these reforms, the railways of Mozambique had been divided into four different organizations: the directions of the port and CFLM, the Inhambane railway, the Quelimane railway and that of the port and railway of Mozambique. The Gaza railway had been incorporated into the CFLM in 1918, and the other railways controlled the local branch lines of their respective district. With the new administration (30) they finally came under a single administrative and financial control (31). The new administration saw its powers over the transportation network extended in 1935. The Legislative Decree Number 446 of April 10 provided for a Direction of the Services of the Ports, Railways and Transports of Mozambique/DSPCFTM comprising therefore all the administrative and commercial services of the state controlled transport system. The new administration and transport policy further implemented the co-operation between railways and the services of roads and lorries. The lorry service (32) was therefore designed to provide for the transport of passengers and cargo, "as a natural complement of the railways exploitation" (33). In accordance with the railways policy of service to the African hinterland, the lorry service also continued the connection with the exterior (34).

What should be noted from the evolution of the Lourenço Marques railway is the fact that this line set the example to be followed by the other Mozambican lines. Despite the

differences of the various administrations of the CFLM, there had been a consistent economic and administrative rationale. Such evolution had taken place in accordance with the metropolitan/colonial and Mozambican/Southern African economic and political relationships.

A policy of total co-operation with the neighbouring countries, to the detriment of the locally needed transportation infrastructure, was a constant throughout the evolution of the Mozambican railways. The position of Pinto Teixeira regarding such international and domestic role was very clear. It was further developed throughout the Portuguese administration of Mozambique. According to Pinto Teixeira, the colonial railways should be divided into two groups - economic lines and colonial or local lines. As the first were to be exploited and developed in accordance with African regional demands, the latter's objective was to connect the Mozambican hinterland with the coastal ports, via the shortest trajectory. Because the railways should be built, controlled and exploited by the state alone, it was up to the state to further develop the transportation policies, in accordance with its economic and administrative colonial policies (35).

Such a policy resulted in the development of the railways aiming in particular at servicing the Southern African economic system. Despite the construction and development of the local, domestic lines, the mainline of the transportation system had been set with the example of the Lourenço Marques

railway, and was to be continued by the following administrations (36).

**Beira Railways/CFB-Caminho de Ferro da Beira.**

Although it was a foreign financed and controlled railway, in practice Beira railways could only be considered a Portuguese line because they ran through Mozambican territory.

Like the CFLM, the Beira line was first planned and further constructed for the service of its neighbouring hinterland, the British Rhodesias, in particular Southern Rhodesia. Along with the Portuguese branch of the Trans-Zambeian, these three lines formed the main body of the Mozambican international railway network. Since they all serviced the regional economic system of which Mozambique was part, it may then be concluded that indeed all three lines were vital to Mozambique's transit economy, despite the fact that two of them were not under direct control of the country's administration. Nonetheless, because they ran through Mozambican territory ultimately they were regarded as national railways. Local branch lines and lorry services were further developed in accordance with the primary objective of the railways. Thus it can be asserted that the two foreign lines fully contributed to Mozambique's participation in the regional development of Southern Africa. Although the south of

the Savé region played a significant role in the evolution of such regional integration (37), the north of the Savé River's region also contributed to it. The Mozambican international railway lines had an important share in the establishment of the country's political and economic regional status, a fact that must be taken into consideration in any study of the country's historical process.

With the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of June 11, 1891, the Portuguese government became involved in the construction of a railway which would connect the British central area with the Indian Ocean (38). Due to both the Portuguese financial situation and the fact that the first Mozambique Company had already been formed by 1891 (39), the Beira line became the property of South Rhodesia's railway system, which financed and controlled the line and its terminus port. This circumvented the Mozambique Company's authority and effective control of the Manica and Sofala area.

The political and economic importance of the Beira railway is obvious; in fact, it was as important as the Lourenço Marques line. While the latter was essential to eastern South Africa's traffic, the Beira line was vital to the Rhodesias. Therefore, Portugal's and Pinto Teixeira's position regarding the administrative situation of the line, and its purchase, which resulted from this assessment, appears logical.

The expiration of the Mozambique Company's charter in

1942, with the districts of Manica and Sofala subjected to Portuguese administration, along with the approval by the Southern Rhodesian Parliament of nationalizing its railway system in 1943, contributed to Portugal's increased concern about the Beira railway. It became paramount that foreign control of the line had to cease.

During the 1940's the Lisbon and Mozambican governments became increasingly concerned with this situation. Confronted with it, a visit by the Minister of the Colonies, Marcelo Caetano, to the colony in 1945 further reinforced the imperial government's position in the matter - the necessity to purchase the railway and the port of Beira. Against the argument that Portugal would financially benefit from a postponement of the purchase until 1972 (40), Pinto Teixeira's policy prevailed, because ultimately Portugal and Mozambique could not allow a railway running through national territory which was controlled by a foreign state. Southern Rhodesia's nationalization of its railways presented such a threat. Beira Railways, the company that had been exploiting the Beira line, had not only been financed by British capital, but it had also come under the direction of Rhodesia Railways. With the nationalisation of its infrastructure in 1947, Beira Railways became technically the property of Southern Rhodesia.

The purchase of both the Beira port and railway in 1948, put an end to this situation. The state owned railway was incorporated into Mozambique's Railways/CFM in October 1948,

and the Portuguese exploitation of the port began on January 1, 1949. The importance of the "Beira Corridor" - railway and port - to the economy of Southern Rhodesia and the regional South African system remained, because it provided for a natural gateway to the sea for that region (41), with the districts of Manica and Sofala becoming intrinsically linked with this particular regional framework.

By signing the Anglo-Portuguese 1891 Treaty, Portugal had agreed to present a study on the railway within six months. Because it proved impossible to accomplish such study, Portugal came to accept the first Mozambique Company's project of a railway from the Pungué River to Macequeque, in Manica (42). After a series of incidents, the first Mozambique Company was dismantled. It was superseded by the chartered second Mozambique Company, which was established on February 11, 1891 (43). Through the concession of its charter, which was only confirmed on May 5, 1892, the new company assumed charge of clause 19 of the charter, which provided for the construction of the Pungué railway. For that purpose, it contracted the Dutchman Van Laun on October 10, 1891.

By granting the charter and the railway concession to a privately run company, Portugal had transferred its obligations of executing such undertaking. This concession was to attain great importance because it provided Van Laun with rights regarding certain aspects of the administration and exploitation of the line (44). However, due to a delay on the



projected construction, and profiting from a postponement of three months, Van Laun signed a contract with the British South Africa Company transferring his concession. At the same time, Van Laun proposed modifications on the first contract to the Mozambique Company. These were later approved by the Royal Charter of March 3, 1892. In particular Clause Three of the new contract came to be of great importance, because it provided for Van Laun's exclusive right to establish the tariffs on the railway and on the port of Beira. Van Laun thus achieved the exclusive right to the Beira transportation network.

Since the transfer of his concessionary rights to the British South Africa Company had not been authorized by the Portuguese government, the Beira Railway Company Ltd. was formed on Van Laun's initiative in 1892, and his rights were transferred to it (45). Internal disagreements within the corporation led to the constitution of another company in April 1895, the Beira Junction Railway Company, which was financed by the London and Paris Exploration Company (46). To this newly-formed company, the Beira Railway Co. transferred its right to built a branch line from Beira to Fontesvilla (47).

The Beira/Fontesvilla line was completed in October 1896. Consequently, the British South Africa Co. formed the Mashonaland Railway Co. in April 1897, with the purpose of constructing a line from the Mozambican border to Salisbury (48). The three lines merged in 1899 to become the Beira and

Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways, Ltd.. This conglomerate took over the exploitation of the Beira/Salisbury line, while developing almost total independence from their original initial contractor, the Mozambique Company. The immediate consequence of this was that the Beira railway, and in fact the town of Beira, became a British enclave in Portuguese territory (49).

The situation remained until the mid 1920s, when the Mozambique Co. renewed its concession contracts with Beira Railway Co.Ltd. (50). 1926 would be the year during which the foreign control of the line was completed. The 1926 contract provided for the acquisition of the rights to construction and exploitation of the port. For this purpose another company was formed, the Companhia do Porto da Beira/CPB, with a subsidiary, the Port of Beira Development. With the July 21, 1926, contract, CPB transferred its rights and obligations to the British company Beira Works, Ltd., whose board of administration was the same as that of the Port of Beira Development. In other words, the port came under British control. Since during the same year Rhodesia Railways had absorbed the Mashonaland Railway, the "Beira Corridor" infrastructure in effect became part of South Rhodesia's railway system (51).

The Beira railway line and its terminus port had been constructed and developed without the financial involvement of Portugal, a fact that both the Lisbon and the local

governments had to acknowledge, while the political, diplomatic and economic efforts to bypass them were taking place. In the final analysis, it was Mozambique and the African hinterland that profited from the construction of this infrastructure. With the main purpose of serving the regional economic system of the area, the Mozambican hinterland also profited from the line and port of Beira (52). Yet, it was the international character of the line and its important position on the east coast of Africa that was reinforced, with the import and export traffic of the Rhodesias depending on this principal gateway to the Indian Ocean.

As in the region south of the Savé, where the dominance of Southern African interests had led to the dependency of that region and its hinterland, so did a regional relationship develop in the area north of the Savé, in particular between the districts of Manica and Sofala and their neighbouring hinterland. However, while the former relied on the duality of the region's transit and emigrant economies, the latter's inclination towards such regional integration had been the result of its transportation network.

#### **Trans-Zambezia Railways.**

The Trans-Zambezia Railways Co.Ltd. which exploited the line from Beira/Dondo to the Zambezi River was also part of the Manica and Sofala railway system, which included the

Beira/Umtali line. The international importance of the Mozambique Company's territory should thus be attributed to its railway network which served a rich hinterland through which ran the two railway lines to Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Already in its early stage the local importance of the Trans-Zambezi line was recognized. By serving in particular the rich districts of Cheringoma and Gorongosa the projected line assumed, from its initial stage, both a local and an international status that had to be maintained (53) (Map XIII).

The line was opened in 1922 (54) to service the cargo and passenger traffic from Beira to Sena/Murraça on the right bank of the Zambezi. Later it connected with the branch line from Sena to the border, which was built by Central Africa Railway Co.Ltd. in 1924, as a continuation of the line that had been built in Nyasaland by the Shire Highland Railway.

With the Mozambique Co. already pursuing its charter over Manica and Sofala, the project of a railway from Beira to the Zambezi had originated in 1894 with the Governor of the territory, J.José Machado, who ordered the Company to proceed with its undertaking.

Like the Beira/Umtali line, the Beira/Sena line also came to be controlled by the chartered Company. The company followed its policy of contracting a third party for the construction and concession of the railways. In 1896, it

retained A. Henri Porcheron for the venture. The Porcheron contract, similar to the Van Laun agreement, underwent several modifications. In the end the construction of this line was also accorded to Pauling & Co.. Thus British capital, once again, participated in the development of the territory's transportation network (55).

The final version of the Porcheron contract was approved November 1, 1897. Shortly thereafter Porcheron transferred his concession to the Belgian Compagnie du Chemin de Fer de Beira au Zambeze, in accordance with a contract that was set up on April 19, 1898.

Approval of modifications to the original concession by the Portuguese government was delayed because of domestic political complications. After the institution of the Republic in 1910, subsequent debates on colonial development in accordance with the new colonial policies, resulted in the final approval of the project of the railway company and its deal with the Mozambique Company on April 19, 1912. The debates on the construction of this line in the Lisbon Parliament emphasised its international character. The line was regarded not only as a domestic railway, but, more importantly, as a link between the African hinterland and the port of Beira.

On October 11, 1912, the Mozambique Co. authorized the Compagnie du Chemin de Fer... to eventually transfer its concession to another company that had yet to be founded (56).

Subsequently the Trans-Zambezia Railway Company, Ltd. was constituted on December 24, 1919, and on January 9, 1920, the Compagnie du Chemin de Fer... sold its concession to this newly formed railway company (57), which thus acquired the right to the line from Dondo to its terminus port, Beira.

The line opened for traffic in 1922. It connected with the Central Africa Railway Co., Ltd.'s line from Chindio, on the left bank of the Zambezi, and ran to the border. From there, the line continued to Fort Herald, where it connected with the Shire Highlands Railway's line to Blantyre, thus providing a railway service throughout the Zambezi area and to the sea (Map XIV). At first, the transfer across the Zambezi River was undertaken by a Ferry service, but in 1916 the Trans-Zambezia Railway Co. decided to build a bridge across the Zambezi (58). The Sena/D.Ana (Mutarara) bridge was completed in 1935. It established a direct co-operational railway service between both companies, the Central Africa and the Trans-Zambezia companies, while guaranteeing the continuous flow of traffic from Nyasaland to the Indian Ocean.

While the construction of the Trans-Zambezia railway had resulted in an important link between the coast and the African hinterland, the line was also of use to the Manica and Sofala districts. In particular the Sena Sugar Estates, relied on it for the export of its sugar production. Furthermore, the line carried considerable local traffic, thus reinforcing the dependency of the interior on its transportation system and on

its terminus port, Beira.

Although the line had emanated from a need for transportation by both Mozambican and international interests (59), and from the Lisbon and local governments' policies of development, the Portuguese section of the Trans-Zambebian was to be as important as the Beira/Umtali line for the economic balance of Mozambique while benefitting the Mozambique Company as well. Therefore, both lines should be regarded, ultimately, as national lines, although technically they were the property of foreign companies, because by running through Manica and Sofala they were considered as the natural sphere of the Mozambique Company. In 1942, when the Company's charter expired, its territory fell under the direct administration of the Portuguese government. Therefore, its railways were looked upon as national property, despite their foreign administrative and financial control (60).

The political and economic value of these railways obviously were of central interest to both the Company's as well as the colony's development policies. It can therefore be concluded that the traffic handled by Beira, through its two railway lines, was as important as the Lourenço Marques connection, to the colony's collection of revenues (61).

### 3. Local lines in the Regional Framework.

Along with the construction of the international railways

in the late 1800s and early 1900s, a national railway system was also established to benefit the Mozambican interior.

This paper has argued that the establishment of the local railways was part of a master plan for a transportation system which fell within the parameters of Mozambique's political and economic interdependence within Southern Africa. It is this regional system that will be further analyzed here, with special attention being paid to the policies of local development and their accordance with the Lisbon government's strategy for colonial development.

The first decades of the twentieth century witnessed a boom in regional railway construction which was closely related to a more assertive Portuguese attitude towards its colony. However, the establishment of a local infrastructure did not follow a clearly defined plan, because local forces continuously quarrelled with the Lisbon government. At the heart of this discord lay the fact that Mozambique, as a colony, could not afford the financial burden of its local railway lines. The resulting dependency on both the Lisbon government's approval of the colony's budget, as well as on the neighbouring countries' transportation requirements, led to successive alterations of the various railway plans.

Mozambique's local lines were designed to take in account the north/south dichotomy of the country. In the northern region efforts were made to develop the lines of Mozambique - Nacala, Quelimane, and Tete, while in the central and southern



regions the lines of Gaza and Inhambane, and those subsidiaries of the Lourenço Marques line - the lines of Marracuene, Goba and Limpopo, with its branchline of Xinavane - were further constructed and extended.

Despite their individual particularities, the local lines shared certain characteristics. They were state controlled and financed, they fell within the local plans of economic and administrative development. At the same time they aimed ultimately at a connection with the nearest railway of their neighbouring countries. Their development suffered in one way or another from the several administrations the state controlled railways had, until their re-organization in 1931. This resulted in delays in their construction, alteration of initial plans, and most importantly, their relegation to a less prominent position than the one outlined in the master plan.

During the first decades of the 1900s the local railways became increasingly dominant to the local policies of development. Accordingly, the colony demanded the Lisbon government's support for the further construction and development of such infrastructure.

After the reorganization of the railway system in the early 1930s, development boomed. The Third Colonial Congress of 1930 was decisive for the undertaking of a more innovative approach to the issue. The importance of transportation and communication was reaffirmed, and particular attention was

payed to the needs of the Zambezi river region, where the deficient state of infrastructure was unanimously acknowledged (62).

The increased need of the regions to be served by railways was evident. Railroads would not only encourage the economic and political development of those regions, but they would also allow for a better administration of the districts. For example, the coal industry of Tete (with the Moatise mines) more than justified a railway (63), and this urgency was again stressed in 1933 (64). Equally, the agricultural region of the Zambezi, including the tea region of Milange, desperately needed a railway which would connect it with the port of Quelimane.

Also, the Inhambane - Gaza lines had initially been part of a plan for a grand southern railway. This plan, however, was never fulfilled. Indeed, these lines were relegated to a secondary, local position, serving the needs of the regions through which they ran. Similarly, the Goba, Marracuene and Limpopo - Xinavane lines acquired merely regional importance. The Limpopo line, in contrast, was later incorporated into the Limpopo Valley/Trigo de Morais project, and its importance as an international line, connecting South Rhodesia with the port of Lourenço Marques, increased in the late 1960s (65).

The decade during which the local railway development policies were predominantly formed and put into action was the 1930s, following the re-organization of Mozambique's

transportation system. The regional significance of the railroads was continuously acknowledged and emphasised. Their further development depended on two issues vital to their existence. One important question concerned the railway concessions. In accordance with the new railway policies of the Railways of Mozambique/CFM, and the Portuguese policy of local transportation development, it was decided that the regional railways should no longer be contingent on private concessions (66). The second major issue concerned the financial involvement of the colony with its transportation system. Eventually, it was concluded that Mozambique's abilities in respect to its domestic transport development were limited (67).

The economic progress of the colony was reinforced by several legislative efforts. The Plano Portuário of 1929 (68), which provided for the modernization of all harbour services, initiated the process of providing for an economic impulse to the colony. In 1935 the economic reconstitution of Mozambique was further contemplated. After this, local lines were constructed and extended, to which the 1937/38 Six Year Plano de Dinamização Económica (Plan for an Economic Development) for Mozambique contributed. It underlined the indispensability of such works, which would be entrusted to the Direction of the Ports, Railways and Transports/DSPCFTM (69). The Plan (70), provided for a fundo de fomento (development fund). The Lisbon government's development plans for Mozambique also

included a substantial loan in 1947, that was to be used for the improvement of the Tete/Beira region, including the Tete railway. This money was also spent on the port of Lourenço Marques and other necessary works (71).

Finally, the local railway system merged with the wider transportation system of Mozambique. With the DSPCFTM controlled lorry service well under way, roads were either newly built or extended, where they already existed. The general plan of transport implicitly incorporated with the Southern African transit network, thus strengthening Mozambique's connection with the African hinterland (72). Mozambique's strongest asset in this relationship - its coastal ports - was closely guarded by the transportation plans of Mozambique.

#### **The Mozambique-Nacala Railway./CFM-CFN-Caminho de Ferro de Moçambique-Caminho de Ferro de Nacala.**

The longest railroad of Mozambique, the line which ran from Cuamba to the port of Nacala, consisted of two lines - the Mozambique and the Nacala lines - under one single designation -the Mozambique railway (Map XV). The decree of September 26, 1891 granted a charter concession to the Niassa Company, in the hope that construction of a railway from one of the ports of the Company' territory to Lake Nyasa could begin immediately. However, this optimism was misplaced, and

by the turn of the century no such line had been completed.

In the meantime, a plan for a railway from Mozambique Island to Lake Chirua was proposed in the early 1900s, for which Portuguese subject C. Soares demanded a concession on June 19, 1911. Despite the fact that the venture would not require the financial involvement of the government, the concession was not granted in order to avoid the interference of a third party implied by the proposal (73).

However, the construction of a railway from one of the northern ports to Lake Nyasa was authorized by the Portuguese government through its decree of August 31, 1912. The importance of such a connection was not only economic but political as well. The utility of a railway in a territory where Portuguese authority was not yet fully established was obvious, while at the same time the region's economic disadvantage could be alleviated. By connecting the north of Mozambique with British South Africa, it would complement the effect of the Beira/Chire line. The year following the beginning of construction in 1912 was marred by local disputes, with both Mozambique Island and Nacala contesting each other's right to become the terminus port of the railway (74). In 1915, the first part of the Mozambique line had been constructed, and the relevant studies were completed. When in 1924 the first ninety kilometres from Port Lumbo on Mozambique Island towards the west were opened to traffic, it had been already acknowledged that Mozambique Bay could not

offer the same advantages as the Fernao Veloso Bay of Nacala. It was then decided that Nacala would become the terminus port, with a branchline connecting it to the main line.

In 1929, the concession of the Niassa Company ceased, and the Portuguese state regained the administration of its territory while undertaking the final construction of the railway. The 1930s saw the new line reach Nova Chagas on August 9, 1932, Moatize in December of the same year, Ribáue in October 1934, and finally Mutuáli in 1941. According to the Plano de Viação Acelerado (Accelerated Transport Plan) of 1934, the Mozambique line was to be expanded throughout the Niassa territory, with the objective of reaching Lichinga, and from there Lake Nyasa, with the ultimate purpose of attracting some traffic from Nyasaland. The Plano de Fomento of 1937 confirmed this aim. When the line was inaugurated on September 21, 1942, only the branchline that would connect it with the port of Nacala - the Nacala line/CFN - and the extension of the main line towards the West remained uncompleted (75). Because this railway promised to solicit substantial business, its construction provided a new impulse for the port of Nacala. Although it took on an obviously regional importance, its projected extension towards Lake Nyasa was incorporated into the colonial policies of local and international development (76); however, since it never reached the Lake, it retained the status of a local line.

Quelimane Railway/CFQ-Caminho de Ferro de Quelimane.

The first concession for the construction and exploitation of a line from Quelimane towards the left bank of the Shire River, dated from September 2, 1887, but it remained undeveloped (77). However, the construction of such line was reconsidered, and the Zambezia Company undertook the study and construction of a line from Quelimane to the river Ruo, a tributary of the Shire (78). The Company later transferred its concessionary rights to the newly formed Companhia dos Caminhos de Ferro da Zambézia/Zambezia Railway Company, which was granted the ad valorem 3% duty on traffic, and the possibility of raising a loan in order to accomplish the construction of the line (79).

Shortly after the legal details had been worked out, the territories of Nyasaland could be served by a railway. In December 1902, the Shire Highlands (Nyasaland) Railway Ltd. obtained a concession from the British government for a railway from Chiromo to Blantyre (80). With the construction of this line, Nyasaland's traffic could be channelled to the sea via its connection with a line that would reach the terminus port, Quelimane. However, despite local arguments in favour of such a line, and taking into account the transportation needs of British South Africa (81), such line was never constructed, and the Quelimane line remained a domestic line instead (82) (Map XVI).

During the early 1900s the importance of the line and of the port of Quelimane was reinforced, and studies for the construction of the line and improvements of the port were made, particularly after the creation of a Comissao de Melhoramentos do Porto de Quelimane (Commission for the Amelioration of the Quelimane Port), in 1908 (83).

With the constitution of the Central Africa Railways in 1913 and its proposal to construct a railway from Port Herald to Chindio, the dependency of this line on the port of Quelimane became obvious. Accordingly, article 1) of the July 7, 1913 decree authorized the Portuguese government to build such a line and its connected branchlines (84).

Construction began in 1914, but was interrupted during the German invasion of northern Mozambique in November 1917. Thus the one hundred and forty-five kilometres line from Quelimane to Mocuba became the actual Quelimane railway (85). With the establishment of the Nyasaland Railways in 1930, which absorbed both the Shire Highlands Railway and the Central Africa Railway' lines, Nyasaland's traffic was committed to the south, via Trans-Zambezia's line and its terminus port, Beira.

From the initial project of a railway which would serve both the agricultural and mining regions while providing for a linkage with Nyasaland, the Quelimane line was demoted instead to a small, but nonetheless important, local line. Its importance was connected with the agricultural region of



Zambezia, including the tea region of Milange, but it never reached the mining district of Tete, because its trajectory went north instead of west.

**Tete Railway/CFT-Caminho de Ferro de Tete.**

The fact that the Quelimane railway never reached Tete was to affect the economic development of the district. By the end of World War I the need for a railway in this area was evident. Consequently, in 1918 the Governor of the District, Massano de Amorin, contracted Pauling & Co. for the study and construction of a railway, the Quelimane Railway to the District of Tete, which would be financed by the state. This project, however, was not completed.

With the emergence of Tete district's economic importance because of the Moatize coal mines, another study of a railway to Tete was decided in 1931. The Portuguese government consulted the local government to determine its capacity for financing such railway, but because the local government had already participated in the construction of the Mozambique railway, its financial resources were depleted (86). Pressure by the mining industry for a railroad was further increased in 1932, during the visit of the Minister of the Colonies, A.Monteiro. It became evident that the Tete railway had to be constructed to service at least, if not for other reasons, the mining industry (87).

The construction of the line was then entrusted to the DSPCFTM, thus falling under the direct control of this body and within Pinto Teixeira's plan of local transportation development.

Before the final decision to leave the construction to the DSPCFTM, the Syndicat des Chemins de Fer de Tete had presented a plan of a line in 1925. This project would link the Moatise mines to Nyasaland's line, in Chiromo. In 1931, the Garland Laidley Co.Ltd. also presented a proposal for a railway. Both suggestions were rejected, but the need for a line to the mines became more urgent.

After the Lisbon and local governments' decision of 1931, the line was finally initiated in 1933. The first one hundred kilometres (starting in D.Ana/Mutarara) were completed by 1939, under a contract with Pauling & Co. (88). A final plan was approved by an official letter of December 15, 1936. Eventually, the provision for its construction was incorporated in the Six Year Plano de Fomento of 1937. Pauling & Co. later transferred its construction concession to the state, which in 1940 undertook to build the remaining one hundred and fifty-three kilometres and became the direct administrator of the line.

The first seventy-eight kilometres (D.Ana - Mupangali) were opened to traffic on March 1, 1944. The line reached Entroncamento in April 1946, and finally in 1949 its terminus - Moatise (89). In 1950 the line was extended towards Angónia

and Macauga, the region of the Chifumbazé and Missale gold mines (Map XVII). Its construction was decisive for the economy of Tete district, representing "the hopes of High Zambeze [while making possible] the settlement of the regions of Angónia, Macauga and Marávia" (90). It also provided for the connection of the Trans-Zambezean with the port of Beira.

**The Gaza and Inhambane Railways/CFGI-Caminhos de Ferro de Gaza e Inhambane.**

With a total of two hundred and thirty-eight kilometres divided between the lines of Gaza-Chicomo, the branchline of Manjacaze and the line of Inhambane-Inharrime, the initial project for this railway was planned in such a way that the two lines would meet in Chai-Chai/Vila Joao Belo, on the Limpopo River banks. From there, the connection to Inhambane was to originate. However, the two arms of this major railway never merged and instead they became local lines.

The decree of April 27, 1893, had approved the status of the Inhambane Company, by which the Company, with the subsidy of the state, assumed the obligation to build and maintain a railway. This line would either connect the Company's territory with the Transvaal border, or instead it would connect the territory of the Matabeles in Rhodesia, with the Limpopo River. From there, the line would either extend to the port of Inhambane, or connect with another railway that was

eventually to be built north of the Savé river. Thus this line would become the Great Railway of the South, of unquestionable importance for the development of the region.

Inhambane had participated in the Campanha de Pacificação (Pacification Campaign) of the late 1890s, and the early 1900s saw efforts by the government to promote the administration and development of the pacified districts of Gaza and Inhambane (91). Accordingly, the law-decree of July 30, 1898 authorized the construction of a line from Inhambane to Inharrime. A decree from November 27, 1902, envisioned the construction of an electric or steam line from Lourenço Marques to Inhambane, via Marracuene, Manhiça, Chai-Chai and Inharrime.

Of obvious importance to the local economy of the region south of the Savé, the Inhambane to Inharrime line was finally regulated by the Provincial Decree Number 634 of October 24, 1907 (92). The decree foresaw that this line would be part of an extensive state railway from Inhambane to Lourenço Marques, a railway which made the interior accessible.

The construction of the first part of the line (from Mutamba - thirty kilometres of Inhambane, to Inharrime) started by the end of 1910. It was inaugurated on January 2, 1913. The construction of the branchline from Mutamba to Inhambane (93), and Chai-Chai to Manjacaze followed.

The construction of this line coincided with the Republican efforts to develop the interior, which included the

promotion of the regional economy through the aid of a better regional transportation network (94). Therefore, the local government anticipated the combination of the three railways and respective ports south of the Savé under one single administration (95). Decree Number 718 B) of December 27, further outlined the three parts that would come under the new direction, which comprised the first section - Lourenço Marques, the second segment - Gaza, and the third section - Inhambane. It thus resulted that the south of the Save railways would have one administration, which fell under the control of the CFLM. This situation lasted until 1931, when the Inhambane line regained its autonomy, to be later incorporated, into the new 1930s transportation scheme, as were the other state lines.

Despite local efforts to ensure the complete construction of the "Railway of the South" (96), the project was never accomplished. In the end the Inhambane railway became a secondary, local line from Inhambane to Inharrime, to the detriment of the port of Inhambane (97) (Map XVIII).

Also incorporated into the "Railway of the South" project, the Gaza line started at the river port of Chai-Chai and led towards Manjacaze. The completed line opened to traffic in 1915, forming a connection between Chai-Chai and Chicomo (98). It had initially been considered at the end of the 1800s, with the objective of facilitating the military transport necessary for the pacification campaigns which were

then under way in the region. Despite an early attempt to undertake its construction (99), the line was only opened in October 1909, with traffic commencing on Chai-Chai to Languene in August 1910. However, by 1910 the need for such line to serve the local development of the region was once again stressed. In particular the Limpopo Valley, the Chai-Chai, Xinavane and Manjacaze regions could only benefit from the rail connection (100).

In the place of the originally planned "Grand Railway of the South" there were two local lines. One was the Gaza Railway, which started on Chai-Chai towards Manjacaze. The other was the Inhambane railway, starting in Mutamba towards Inharrime.

### **3.5. Subsidiary Lines of the Lourenço Marques line. (Map XIX). The Marracuene Railway/Caminho de Ferro de Marracuene.**

The shortest railway of Mozambique, the Marracuene line was built in 1924. Its thirty-three kilometres from Lourenço Marques to Marracuene/Vila Luisa were the result of local demands for a branchline which would connect the town to the capital. The line was further extended to Manhiça in 1950. Although limited to local importance, and despite its reduced reach, the line was very important for Marracuene's economic development. It became a line attracting local tourists to the Incomati River area. It also had considerable value as well as

a local commercial line. By linking the Incomati Valley with Lourenço Marques, it provided for the transport of its agricultural products, mainly vegetables and bananas, which supplied the capital and which were also exported to South Africa (101).

#### **The Goba Railway/Caminho de Ferro de Goba.**

The Goba line was incorporated in the Lourenço Marques - Ressano Garcia line, thus becoming a branchline that started at Machava and led towards Goba. It had originated from Lord Milner's plan for a railway to Swaziland, which had the purpose of connecting Johannesburg to Delagoa Bay by a shorter route than the one provided by the Ressano Garcia line.

After the study of the project had been concluded in 1904, the Portuguese branch of the Swaziland line was completed by 1912. However, its extension from the Mozambican border at Goba to Breyten in Swaziland, had not been built by 1948, despite the commitment of the government of South Africa (102).

Traffic on the Mozambican section of the line was thus reduced, but it managed to provide a linkage with its neighbouring country by combining its services with the lorry system established in the 1930s. Through the interaction of both lorry services - Mozambique's and South Africa's - the cargo was dispatched from Stegi to Goba, where it was loaded

onto trains. The Swaziland railway, with its Portuguese line of Goba and the Umbelusi branch line, was finally inaugurated on November 5, 1964, fulfilling its original international designs (Map XX).

#### **The Limpopo Railway/Caminho de Ferro do Limpopo.**

The Limpopo line had originated on the Xinavane line, a subsidiary of the Lourenço Marques line, and its port. The Xinavane line, later incorporated into the larger Limpopo line thus becoming a branchline, was closely linked to the development of the Incomati Estates, Ltd. (103). It was also closely connected to the interest which the government of Freire de Andrade had shown to encourage economic development in the region south of the Savé. Consequently, a contract with Incomati Estates, Ltd. for the construction of a railway from Mocumba to Xinavane was authorised (104). The main purpose of this railroad was to facilitate the agricultural export of the Incomati Valley produce. The contract was signed on December 16, 1911, following which the line was constructed and inaugurated in 1914.

With the colonial policies of regional development, the Limpopo Valley became an important part of the scheme, particularly after the presentation of the 1925 Trigo de Morais project for the irrigation of 29 thousand hectares of land on the right bank of the Limpopo river. This project



foresaw the construction of a railway linking Lourenço Marques with the Limpopo region and ultimately with Rhodesia. The connection with the Limpopo Valley remained a central issue of colonial policies for Mozambique, and in 1936 and again in 1947, the Lisbon government revised the initial project for the Limpopo Valley in favour of the Trigo de Morais project.

In the meantime the construction of the Limpopo line had begun in 1929, and by 1941 it had reached the Guijá River, with its local importance already well acknowledged. The significance of the revision of the Trigo de Morais project arose from the fact that the extension of the line to the border was now contemplated. Indeed, the decree of August 17, 1951 regarding the Limpopo Valley/Trigo de Morais project mentioned the extension of the railway line to the border (105). The extension was completed on July 31, 1955.

An important line for the economy of the region south of the Savé, and particularly for the Limpopo Valley, the Limpopo railway also provided a connection with South Rhodesia's railways for yet another rail linkage with the African hinterland (106). By doing so, it also contributed to the already expanding capacity of the port of Lourenço Marques.

**PART III: A REGIONAL OR COLONIAL PROJECT: BY WAY OF  
CONCLUSION.**

The study of the railways of Mozambique has led me to conclude that this transportation network contributed significantly to the participation of the colony as a whole within the regional system of Southern Africa. Such a system resulted from the co-operation between the South African colonies involved in the same geo-political context. Mozambique was one of those colonies, and the importance of its role within this regional system derived from the fact that Mozambique's strategic location was vital for its neighbours. Due to its location, Mozambique's importance for the African hinterland was continuously reinforced, while the Portuguese state came to acknowledge this emerging regional relationship.

In the mid-1800s, the political and economic relationship between Mozambique and the Transvaal provided for the establishment of the two components that became the core of the Southern African rationale: the economies of emigration and transit. While the first concerned in particular the southern region of Mozambique, the latter encompassed the whole country. Mozambique became fully integrated into the regional system of Southern Africa by establishing a railway network that had as its ultimate objective the serving of its neighbouring colonies.

Indeed, the study of Mozambique's railroads offers enough evidence for such regional collaboration and participation. The main railways which formed the international network of Mozambique were built to serve its neighbouring hinterland. So, too, were the domestic lines, despite the fact that these never came to reach their ultimate ambition - to cater to the neighbouring countries by providing a linkage with their railroads.

Mozambique's participant role in Southern Africa, through its railway network, had never been questioned by the Portuguese state. The development of this infrastructure fell within the scope of the colonial government, which tried to enhance Mozambique's importance in this sub-Saharan region. In other words, Mozambique's integration into the Southern African system required the participation of the entire country if it was to provide a connection between the Indian Ocean and the African hinterland.

The Portuguese state realized that the development of this regional system had resulted from the specific needs of the area, and it quickly recognized the potential revenues Mozambique could obtain by fully participating in this regional development. The Portuguese state's position in respect to its colony's participation in Southern Africa was therefore one of co-operation, and maintenance of this relationship. Mozambique's role in regard to the colony's railway network in Southern Africa prevailed, with the co-

operation and agreement of the Lisbon government. From its initial stage in the mid-1800s, neither the colonial administration nor the imperial government questioned this servile role. Hence the conclusion I have come to is that the railway network of Mozambique was the result of the colony's integration into this regional system, rather than the outcome of Portugal's colonial project, because Portugal's attitude towards the railway network of Mozambique was one of cooperation and eager incorporation of the already established pattern of regional development which the state then formulated as colonial policy.

The study of the railways of Mozambique cannot be accomplished without taking into account two aspects of the development of this infrastructure. The first is that Mozambique established an international railway network, formed by the Lourenço Marques line, the Beira and the Trans-Zambezian lines, which ultimately served South Africa, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland. The second aspect is that a railway system was established within the country, while the international network was expanded at the same time. The establishment of the local railways was part of a master plan for a transportation system, which in itself fell within the bounds of Mozambique's political and economic interdependence with Southern Africa.

The international network provides enough evidence to illustrate the importance of Mozambique's transit economy to

this regional system. The Lourenço Marques line was not only the first railway line to be built, but it also became the country's most important railroad. Its importance was due not only to the fact that it provided for a gateway to the sea for the eastern region of South Africa, but most importantly, because it had initiated the diplomatic process by which Mozambique was to develop a close relationship with this African country.

The Beira and the Trans-Zambebian lines were also the result of diplomatic accords and they, too, had also as their ultimate purpose the transport of goods from and to the African hinterland. These two lines differed from the former one, because they had fell under the direct control of foreign countries. However, this fact should not lead one to minimize their role as critical factors for Mozambique's integration into Southern Africa. As in the region south of the Savé River, where the inter-action of Southern African interests had led to the interdependency of that region and its neighbouring hinterland, so did a regional relationship develop in the area north of the Savé, in particular in the districts of Manica and Sofala, through which the Beira and Trans-Zambebian lines ran. However, while the south of the Savé region - with the Lourenço Marques line - relied on the duality of the region's emigration and transit economies, the region north of the Savé had become integrated into this system through its transportation network. With respect to the

importance of these three lines, and their terminus ports - Lourenço Marques and Beira - it can therefore be concluded that the traffic handled by Beira, through its two railway lines, was as important as the Lourenço Marques connection to the colony's collection of revenue, and to its geo-political significance within Southern Africa.

The local lines had originated from various attempts on the part of the colonial government to stimulate the colony's economic development. The first decades of this century witnessed a boom in domestic railway construction, which was closely related to a more assertive Portuguese attitude towards its colony. Nonetheless, the plans for the construction of local railways shared the same objective of the international lines - to be of service to the neighbouring countries. The 1930s became the decade during which the policies for the development of local lines, in a response to the local transportation needs, was put into action. Following the re-organization of Mozambique's transportation system, the regional significance of the railroads was emphasised, while at the same time the international importance of this infrastructure was further reinforced. Despite the fact that these local lines did not achieve their anticipated international status, the fact that such had been the original objective further reinforces the opinion that the railways of Mozambique - international and domestic - were part of a colonial scheme for the country's integration and

participation in the Southern African system.

The local railway system merged with the wider transportation system of Mozambique, which by then comprised the railways, ports, roads and lorry services of the colony. The general plan of transportation was implicitly incorporated within the Southern African transit network, thus strengthening Mozambique's connection with the African hinterland.

What should be retained from this study of the evolution of the Mozambican railways is the recognition that despite the variances of the different policies and plans, there had been a consistent economic and administrative rationale. Such evolution took place in accordance with the economic and political relationship developed between Mozambique and Southern Africa, with the willing co-operation of the Portuguese state.

## NOTES TO PART I

1. The scope of this discussion does not extend to cover Mozambique's role in the Indian Ocean traffic. This topic, however, has been studied by others. See the works of Alpers (1979), V.Alexandre (1979), Boston (1976), Boxer (1961), Clarence-Smith (1985), Elkiss (1981), Hafkin (1973), A.Isaacman (1972), A.Isaacman and B.Isaacman (1983), Newitt (1981), Vail and White (1980), Pereira Leite (1989).

2. Alexandre (1979), Pereira Leite (1989) and G.Pirio (1982), stress the peripheral role of the African colonies within the Portuguese South Atlantic Empire.

3. Alexandre (1979), p.27.

4. The Prazos da Coroa (Crown Prazos) had been established by the Portuguese state in the early 1600s, through crown concessions of large estates, the so-called Prazos. The holders of these concessions enjoyed complete autonomous authority over their estates which was enforced by the establishment of private armies. The result was that the Prazos did not fall under the direct administration of the Portuguese state.

5. A.Isaacman (1972).

6. In 1854, the Prazos were nominally abolished, to be replaced by rented property. This, however, did not happen, and they remained unreformed. Following the 1888 reforms, the Zambezia district was divided into different areas, incorporating the former Prazos. These were then leased to concessionary companies. In the southern area of Low Zambezia, concessions were given to the Companhia do Boror, Sociedade do Madal, Luabo, and later to Sena Sugar Estates, and to the Companhia do Lugella. British, German, French, Belgian and Swiss capital was invested in these companies. Pereira Leite (1989), p.50. The northern area was rented to one single company, the Zambezia Company, which controlled 110 of the total 140 Prazos of Zambezia. The Zambezia Company held administrative and judicial powers, but it did not have a charter concession. In Central Zambezia, a regime of sub-concessions was established, mainly concerned with the exploitation of the mining potential of the region. Contracts were established with the German Berlin Syndicate and the Zambezia Mineral Company Ltd.. During the 1920s the Zambezia district underwent an expansion of its agricultural potential, and sisal and coffee plantations were expanded.

7. Pereira Leite (1989), p.55.



8. The Gaza Empire had been created in the southern region of the Gaza district by Ngoni tribes, and had not submitted to Portuguese rule. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the Ngonis (or Gazas) massacred the garrison of Lourenço Marques, attacked Inhambane and Sofala, seized the Prazos south of the Zambezi and raided far into the north. Their last king, Gungunhana - whose reign had started in 1884 - had sought British protection against the Portuguese. The British encouraged Gungunhana to continue his struggle which ended when he was finally captured a year later. But the Gaza Empire only came under Portugal's control in August 1897, when Gungunhana's military leader, General Maguiguana, died.

9. The process by which Mozambique became integrated into the Southern African system will be discussed on the second section of Part I.

10. Pereira Leite (1989), p.27.

11. For the study of the Arab trade in the Swahili coast, see in particular the work of Alpers (1979).

12. Namely the slave trade. Following the independence of Brazil in 1822, the Anglo-Brazilian Treaty of November 23, 1826, established the illegality of the slave trade carried out by Brazilians starting March 1830. In combination with the Sá da Bandeira decree of December 10, 1836, abolishing slavery the Brazilian slave market was finally closed in the 1850s. However, the slave trade in Mozambique continued throughout the nineteenth century with the engagement of "free colons" and the export of Africans to Cuba (which abolished slavery in 1886) and to the U.S.A.. J.Duffy (1962), p.147-48.

13. Alexandre (1979), p.32.

14. The question of Portuguese sovereignty over the African territories was settled with the Brazilian-Portuguese Treaty of August 29, 1825. Brazil had claimed its rights over the African colonies due to the status it had enjoyed during the Portuguese South Atlantic Empire.

15. Pereira Leite (1989), p.114.

16. The important role of the southern region of Mozambique to the economic development of South Africa influenced the division of the country among several economic interests, resulting in a regional dichotomy which will become more evident with the evolution of colonial policies for local development. The importance of Mozambique's regional dichotomy, characterized by the north and south of the Savé River regions, will be further developed in point 1.2. of Part I and in Part II of this work.

17. On January 18, 1852 the Sand River Convention guaranteed the Transvaal's independence. Transvaal could now establish diplomatic agreements with Mozambique as an independent country.
18. The growing presence of the British in the Cape colony was felt in the Mozambican hinterland. During the 1850s the voyages of Livingstone in Zambezia consolidated this threat to Portuguese hegemony over the territory. This would only decrease with the settlement of Anglo-Portuguese competition over the island of Bolama (Guiné) and the Lourenço Marques bay, in the 1870s.
19. In 1878 Portugal and Britain began negotiations over the Congo and Zambezi in an attempt to secure their economic interests. However, the Berlin Conference was necessary to settle these matters. The negotiations for a railway from Lourenço Marques to the Transvaal (annexed by Britain in 1877, the Transvaal regained its independence in 1884) had begun in 1872, to be taken up again in 1878.
20. In 1884 Cecil Rhodes established the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland, followed by Matabeland in 1886. With the establishment of the chartered British South African Company in October 1889, a British network surrounding Mozambique was formed.
21. Alexandre (1979), p.62; Pereira Leite (1989), Part II; Pirio (1982), whose work provides an explanation and an interpretation of the Portuguese imperial duality in the international context.
22. Alexandre (1979), J.Almada (1947) and (1970), A.Cunha (1940), Fieldhouse (1982), A.Homem (1985), W.Langer (1968), Newitt (1981), Verissimo Serrao (Hist.de Portugal, vol.X).
23. The treaties Portugal signed with France and Germany which led to the Portuguese "Rose Coloured Map" providing for the establishment of a Portuguese region from Angola to Mozambique, the further accords made with Germany regarding the northern border of Mozambique, even the revocation of the concession of the Lourenço Marques railway to McMurdo, are examples of such attempts.
24. The Ultimatum demanded the removal of Portuguese troops from the Shire and Mashonaland areas, thus imposing a British sphere of influence between Portugal's African territories.
25. The secret Anglo-German Agreement was renewed in 1913.
26. Facing international pressure and a financial crisis, which implied both the cutting of government expenditures and

a revision of its foreign debt, Portugal had to procure loans, hence becoming indebted to foreign capital, in order to carry out its policies of colonial development.

27. Langer (1968), p.529.

28. M.Newitt (1981), p.33.

29. A.C.Homem (1985), p.471.

30. In Portugal, the British Ultimatum was accompanied by financial disaster. The government went off the gold standard and opened negotiations with its foreign bondholders. Funds ceased to be available for imperial operations, such as colonial expeditions. Newitt (1981), p.31.

31. G.Pirio shows in his work (1982) how both the Lisbon and Oporto bourgeoisies attempted to gain control of the African market and how the Lisbon commercial sector was victorious. The struggle between both bourgeoisies was due to the fact that in the 1800s the Portuguese industrial bourgeoisie (the majority living in Oporto) did not have the necessary strength to support the metropolis' expansionist designs, whereas the Lisbon commercial bourgeoisie controlled the necessary merchant networks to further expand into the "new" colonial scene.

It is understood in Pirio's work that both the Lisbon commercial bourgeoisie and the industrial bourgeoisie were mainly oriented towards west Africa, with Mozambique remaining peripheral in their merchant designs.

32. Pirio (1982), p.34; Pereira Leite (1989), p.123.

33. According to Pirio (1982) p.76, the export of capital to the colonies remained a problem of imperial policy, from the British Ultimatum of 1890 until the 1970s; and it was only with the Estado Novo that Portuguese finance capital began to be more consistently invested in the colonies, (p.66). By 1904, foreign capital was already being strongly invested in the colonies, and its dominance was to last throughout the Republic. Newitt (1981), p.76.

34. Portugal established the post of Royal Commissioners in an attempt to stabilize the administrative situation of Mozambique. When, in 1891, A.Enes took charge of this post, the direct control of the Governor-General over the colony was being challenged by other independent authorities, such as the Praço holders and the Chartered Companies that had been established in 1891. In addition, the director of Public Works and the Manager of the Lourenço Marques railway also fell outside the sphere of the colonial government.

The governments of the two Royal Commissioners - A.Enes

(1891-1992 and 1894-1895) and Mouzinho de Albuquerque (1896-1898) - became administratively more autonomous, while incorporated into the Lisbon administration. Their post ceased with the decree of July 7, 1898.

In 1906 Freire de Andrade became the Governor-General of Mozambique (1906-1910). Under his government the economic and administrative policies of the colony were further developed, to which the 1907 law of the Royal Minister Ayres d'Ornellas would provide for the legislative support. This law initiated the administrative reorganization of Mozambique, while the principle of decentralization from the Lisbon government was further enforced, particularly after the institution of a Republic in Portugal, in 1910. During Freire de Andrade's government, a policy for transport expansion was studied; the chibalo (forced work) was instituted in 1906; in 1907, Mozambique underwent an administrative reform which provided for the division of the colony into five districts - Lourenço Marques, Inhambane, Quelimane, Tete and Mozambique -, and the 1909 Convention was signed with the Transvaal.

35. In 1875 the colonial Código de Trabalho (work code) was defined, being revised several times: in 1878, 1902, 1909, 1911, 1914 and 1928. As opposed to the 1899 work code, the 1914 Regulamento Geral do Trabalho dos Indígenas das Colónias Portuguesas was more reasonable. In 1928, the Código de Trabalho dos Indígenas das Colónias Portuguesas de Africa reintroduced the compulsory and obligatory labour, by claiming a "moral obligation" to work.

36. The Royal Commissioners strongly contributed to the development of the colonial policies. Both Enes (1891-21 and 1894-95) and Mouzinho de Albuquerque (1896-98) were vigorous protagonists of colonial autonomy.

37. Article 35 of the Berlin Conference's Minutes established the obligation of effective territorial occupation.

38. The initial capital of the Mozambique Co. was of £1,000,000, in which British and French interests were dominant. Oliveira Marques (1981), p.191.

39. Newitt (1981), p.43.

40. J.Pyke (1929), p.11. The British Consul estimated the amount of British capital invested in Mozambique in 1929 to over £20,000,000, 50% of which was in the territory of the Mozambique Company. Ibid, p.10.

41. The Mozambique Company sub-leased its land to plantation companies, such as the Sena Sugar Estates and the Companhia Colonial do Buzi, which became financially successful. Newitt (1981), p.81.

42. The initial capital of the Niassa Co. was equally shared by British and French interests. Oliveira Marques (1981), p.194.

43. The WNLA-Witwatersrand Native Labour Association was established by the Transv: Chamber of Mines to carry out the recruitment of Mozambicans to work in the Rand mines. The result of the initial NLSA-Native Labour Supply Association Limited., established in 1896, WNLA was guaranteed a labour recruiting monopoly in Mozambique, which continued until 1965. The Niassa Company contract with WNLA dates from 1903.

44. In 1891 the charter concession to the Niassa Company imposed the construction of a railway from one of the ports of the Company's territory to Lake Nyasa. However, the construction of such line did not follow as planned. This discussion will be developed in part II.

45. The Zambezia Co. was founded in 1892. The initial capital was of £600,00, of which the Portuguese government acquired 1/10 of its shares. Portugal also received c. 30% of the company's revenues. Oliveira Marques (1981), p.194.

46. Newitt (1981), p.86, Pereira Leite (1989), p.50.

47. In Mozambique, British and South African interests controlled the main railways, the two chartered Companies and J.Hornung's Sena Sugar Estates. Newitt (1981), p.42.

48. W.M.Churchill (1894), p.62.

49. The July 29, 1869, Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Commerce and Boundaries between Portugal and the Transvaal was valid for six years and renewable.

50. Article 8 of the 1875 Treaty, established the possibility of an import duty of 3% on goods imported from Lourenço Marques to the Transvaal. In the same year, the Transvaal President Burgers signed the February 14th Treaty of Friendship between the Transvaal and Holland and Belgium, which provided for the supplying of railway material.

51. By the April 12, 1876, Decree, the Portuguese government authorized the contract for the construction of the Lourenço Marques railway. On December 14, 1883, McMurdo signed the contract for the concession for such railway. He later sold his concession to the Delagoa Bay and East African Railway Company, on May 5, 1887. Also in 1876, on March 10, Portugal signed a Treaty of Commerce, valid for twenty years and renewable, with the Orange Free State. A series of treaties and agreements began shaping the relationship Mozambique was to have with its neighbouring countries.

52. The May 30, 1879, Anglo-Portuguese Treaty signed to regulate the relations of their respective possessions in southern and eastern Africa, known as the Lourenço Marques Treaty. It provided for: article 3 - free navigation on the Zambezi river; article 4, item 2- transport of British troops and armaments; article 4, item 1, and article 5, item c - free transit of British goods to the Transvaal. Article 5 also provided for the establishment of a mixed body which was to study: item 1 - the trajectory of the Lourenço Marques-Transvaal railway, item 3 - the necessary works on the Lourenço Marques port, the terminus of the railway. On December 31, 1880, there followed a Protocol to this treaty, as well as an additional article valid for twelve years and renewable. In 1884, another Convention replaced the 1875 Treaty between Portugal and the Transvaal, by which the importance of the Delagoa Bay port to the Transvaal was further reinforced.

53. "The [Lourenço Marques] Treaty is the Pretoria railway". V.Arriaga (1882), p.5.

54. In 1901, the 1897 Regulamento was cancelled by the General Government of Mozambique which forbade African migration to the mines. See decree of May 9, 1901. The Modus Vivendi of December 18, 1901 would regulate this issue, and migration to the mines continued.

55. In 1901, Mozambique and the Transvaal signed yet another Convention, named Modus Vivendi.

56. Several conferences and accords between the two countries were undertaken in the period between the 1901 Modus Vivendi and the 1928 Mozambique Convention. In 1905 the Johannesburg and Lisbon Railway Conferences took place. They were all attended by delegates of the Transvaal, Orange Free State, the Cape, Natal and Mozambique. In 1909 yet another Convention was signed between Mozambique and South Africa, which was denounced by the latter on March 22, 1922. Therefore, in 1925 a commission was struck to study the new Convention to be signed in 1928. The 1928 Mozambique Convention was the most important agreement signed between the two countries because its essence was kept until 1974 when Mozambique ceased to be a colony of Portugal. It applied only to the area lying south of latitude 22, and provided for the regulation of native labour employed by the Transvaal mines, while instituting the "differed pay" clause. It also established further legislation concerning commercial and railway issues. Regarding the latter, the 1928 Convention provided for 50% of the tonnage of seaborne imports into the "competitive area" to be allowed to the port of Lourenço Marques.

57. The "differed pay" clause consisted of a differed payment

of part of the salary to which each worker was entitled. Therefore, each worker would receive only a percentage of his total salary while working in the mines. The remaining part would later be paid by the Mozambican government upon his return to Mozambique. However, Mozambique received this percentage of the salary at the same time the worker received his share retaining it for as long as the worker remained in South Africa. Since this "differed" payment to the Mozambican authorities was made in foreign currency (and later in gold), and the actual "differed pay" to the worker was not only made in escudos but also delayed, Mozambique was able to make a sound profit.

58. Pereira Leite (1989), pp.64-71. The importance of this intensive work on the formation of the colonial economy of Mozambique should be stressed. The chapter concerning the problematic of the gold circuit (Part IV-3.2.3., pp.699-716), in which the author presents an economic study of the gold and "differed pay" revenues, brings a new perspective to the understanding of the Southern African economic system, and its importance to the economic relationship between Mozambique and Portugal. Due to Mozambique's need to sell this gold, particularly because of its deficit after 1957 (p.67), "it was Portugal, [through its East African colony], which became the buyer of this gold and which, at the same time and as an exchange, sent the Portuguese escudos [to the colony]" (p.713).

59. The revenues of both labour migration and the traffic of goods passing via the railways and ports have been the only positive contribution to Mozambique's balance of payments, since the beginning of the twentieth century. Ibid, p.78.

60. Ibid, pp.67-68.

61. Following the establishment of a Republic in Portugal in 1910, there followed a period of chaotic government. Between 1910 and 1920 Portugal had 34 governments. This situation had its repercussions in Mozambique which saw 8 interim Governors-General between 1910 and 1918. In 1920 the post of High Commissioner was introduced with the purpose of stabilizing the administrative and financial situation of the colonies. Brito Camacho was appointed to Mozambique, and Norton de Matos to Angola. This post of High Commissioner required autonomy from the Lisbon government in order to fully establish administrative control over the colonies. During his government (1921-1923), Brito Camacho had to face local protest against labour concessions to the chartered Companies and WNLA. The establishment of a plantation economy demanded more labour power not only for the plantations, but also for the development of this economy, which was to be financed by both labour and taxes. At the same time, B.Camacho had to face

South Africa's growing interest in obtaining control over Lourenço Marques, a matter that strongly influenced the negotiations of the 1928 Convention. Both local and external pressures compounded the colony's financial debility. However, "...the sterling earned by migrant labour and the transit traffic of Lourenço Marques kept Mozambique's economy fiscally sound". Newitt (1981), p.179.

The local autonomy of the High Commissioner's government was later restricted by the Minister for Colonial Affairs, Joao Belo, in 1926. His nationalistic ideals, aimed at a national unity between the metropolis and the colonies, required a restructuration of colonial administration, to be controlled by Lisbon.

62. Pirio (1982), p.322.

63. The 1925 project of Trigo de Morais for the Limpopo Valley gained a new impulse with the Estado Novo and became a strong argument for the projects of local railway expansion. This will be developed in Part II.

64. The plans for railway expansion implied the reorganization of such infrastructure. Decree 17.153 of July 6, 1929, approved the establishment of the Direcção dos Serviços dos Portos e Caminhos de Ferro de Moçambique/DSPCFM (Administration of the Ports and Railways of Mozambique). By Decree 315 of August 22, 1931, the transport system was finally organized under the administration of the State and the direct control of the DSPCFM. The operational, constitutional and administrative services of the ports and railways of Mozambique were placed under a unified control, and immediate authority was vested in the new director. F.Pinto Teixeira became the sole administrator of the autonomous DSPCFM. Until 1931 the railways of Mozambique had separate and autonomous administrations, a situation that changed with these new reforms. The result of such reforms was that the expansion of the transport system gained a new and strong initiative. This will be further developed in Part II.

65. Vail and White (1980), p.146.

66. The new work Code of 1928 provided for compulsory work, by claiming a "moral obligation to work". The need for workers was particularly felt on the cotton plantations whose cultivation was enforced by the Colonial Pact.

67. For the discussion of the north-south dichotomy special attention should be payed to the works of J.Head (1978 and 1980). Arguing against the current historiography that has accepted the division of Mozambique into two major areas - north and south - the author presents another region for consideration. In her study of the Sena Sugar Estates (1978),



Head argues that the central region of Mozambique developed as an important sub-economic unit, becoming an enclave of plantation production and should be regarded as another separate region of Mozambique.

While agreeing with Head on the importance of this central region, it is my opinion that the north - south dichotomy remains more relevant.

68. Particularly Katzenellenbogen (1982), S.Gool (1983), Pereira Leite (1989). Also, M.Caetano (1946), Clarence-Smith (1979) and (1985), R.Hammond (1966), J.Head (1978) and (1980), Newitt (1981), A.Rita Ferreira (1963), D.Wield (1979), among others.

69. Pereira Leite (1989), p.56.

70. Katzenellenbogen (1982), p.3.

71. Labour became the most accessible natural resource which could be tapped to make the colonial administration less dependent on metropolitan subsidies. Newitt (1981), p.56.

72. Gool (1983), p.1.

73. Caetano (1946), p.12.

74. Gool (1983), p.4, Newitt (1981), p.112. "Southern Mozambique was able to release a significant amount of male migrants before the formal incorporation into the structures of Portuguese colonialism and South African mining (or Randlord) capitalism", Katzenellenbogen (1982), p.3.

75. The South African Chamber of Mines later constituted the WNLA, which was to have the monopoly of labour recruiting in southern Mozambique.

76. The 1897 Regulamento of Mouzinho de Albuquerque was a consequence of a growing demand for a Mozambican workforce to the Rand mines, due to the discovery of the gold fields and their consequent exploitation, which started in 1886. The Regulamento defined for the first time the conditions of recruitment of African labour to the Transvaal mines. On May 9, 1901, the decree of the Governor-General ordered the cancellation of the Regulamento, forbidding African emigration to the Transvaal. This situation was later settled with the Modus Vivendi of 1901.

77. Portugal used its control of Lourenço Marques and of the transit route to the Transvaal as arguments against British and South African proposals. The negotiations between both countries indicate that Portuguese privileges were allowed to override the interests of the other British colonies in

Southern Africa, in order to secure the supply of labour for the South African mining industry.

78. The Governor-General of Mozambique, Ferreira dos Santos, in his confidential letter to the Minister of the Colonies, dated September 8, 1913, stated that "the April 1, 1909 Convention aimed at two points: 1- labour for the Transvaal; 2- traffic for the port and railway of Lourenço Marques. While the first point was conveniently arranged for the Transvaal, the second has not been having the same result for us". In Pereira de Lima (1971), vol.III, p.164.

79. Already in 1837, one of the Boer leaders, Henrik Potgieter, had stressed the importance of trading with Delagoa bay. Katzenellenbogen, (1982), p.9. Later, on August 14, 1858, the agreement signed between the Lourenço Marques' Governor and the Boer Republic's Volksraad, established the frontier between both countries. In it, Mozambique also recognized the Transvaal's independence. Commercial contacts intensified, and both countries became increasingly dependant on each other.

80. The 1869 treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Boundary between the Transvaal and Mozambique, guaranteed freedom of trade between both countries, while it also recognized Portugal's sovereignty over the Lourenço Marques area, as far as 26 30' latitude south. (Map VIII). The possibility of a railway was also discussed, although this was not included in the Treaty.

81. The traffic handled by Delagoa Bay increased substantially in the last decade of the nineteenth century. In 1888, its importance was of 1.020 Portuguese contos, as opposed to 27,000 contos, of which 90% was ascribed to transit traffic. By 1910, 57% of the Transvaal export traffic was handled by Lourenço Marques, while Durban controlled 32%, and Cape Town, 2%. Oliveira Marques (1981), p.195.

82. In 1875, a "Boer trucks" transport service between Lourenço Marques and Pretoria was established, but did not last long. F.Pinto Teixeira (1974).

83. In 1872, French President A.Thiers, proclaimed his arbitration which provided for Portugal's rights over Lourenço Marques. With this arbitration, British claims on the area ended.

84. By 1894, the British Consul in Mozambique was already aware that "Durban is beginning to realise the strength of Delagoa Bay[...] when it has to compete with a transit duty of 3% at Delagoa". W.M.Churchill (1894), pp.48-49.

85. The Transvaal depended on Lourenço Marques in such a way

that President Burgers attempted to purchase the Bay from Portugal in 1875. This attempt, however, was not successful.

86. The geopolitical importance of Lourenço Marques was stressed in several reports presented to the Berne Court of Arbitration, which was to regulate the Lourenço Marques railway/McMurdo issue.

In his report, H.C. Pauling stated that "as a working road the Delagoa Bay-Pretoria railway has immense advantages over any other of the South African railways running inland from the seaboard", p.121; E. Bates Dorsey's report on the Railway System of South Africa mentioned that "there was no better investment for capital in South Africa than in the railway projected, and then partly constructed, from the port of Lourenço Marques to Pretoria", p.167; he concluded: "To sum up the position: Delagoa Bay is the only good door to the most valuable parts of Africa, and the railway, by virtue of the concession, is the only key to that door", p.170. Both reports in "Tribunal Arbitral du Delagoa - Appendice au mémoire présenté par le gouvernement de la Grande Bretagne", n.d.

87. Pereira Leite (1989), p.29.

88. It should be noted that the guarantee of freedom of trade between the Transvaal and Mozambique was agreed upon before the discovery of the Rand gold, with the 1875 Free Trade Agreement.

89. Katzenellenbogen (1982), p.124. In 1918, the railway plan for Mozambique was published, in an attempt to develop this infrastructure.

90. The new colonial legislations established that colonial revenues could no longer be used for projects outside their own frontiers. They also established that any annual surplus could be retained, and that the colonies were empowered to raise loans in order to finance their local development. Ibid, p.125.

91. The mining industry opposed all economic policies that would increase its costs, proclaiming "free trade" as the best national economic policy: it strongly opposed tariff protection to other sectors of the economy, and would not support a full industrialization programme (the funds for which would come from taxation of the mines). It also sought to control labour recruitment, through WNLA, and also through the supervision of internal migrant labour, thus establishing a virtual monopoly. Gool (1983), p.160.

92. In the 1928 Convention, the principles regarding commercial transactions were not modified. Pereira Leite (1989), p.61.

93. This secret agreement concerned the gold clause. Although it did not provide for significant changes in the area of labour recruitment, it did provide for a wider percentage of the "differed pay", which was extended to 60% of the salaries. It also provided for the reintroduction of the gold clause which had been interrupted temporarily. Pereira Leite, p.701.

94. Gool (1983), p.80.

95. The WNLA was guaranteed a labour recruiting monopoly in Mozambique which continued until 1965. It initially recruited only in Mozambique, although it later extended its activities. In 1901, the Modus Vivendi contained a secret agreement between WNLA and the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique, which was negotiated with the knowledge and consent of the then Transvaal government. The Transvaal had the right to veto applications of labour agents in the territory of Mozambique, and non-WNLA agents were simply refused recruiting licenses. Ibid, p.99. In 1912, another recruiting organisation, the NRC-Native Recruiting Corporation, Ltd. was established, to recruit African labour in the four provinces of South Africa, and in the three adjacent High Commission Territories. Ibid, p.89.

96. In 1913, the colonial government prohibited labour recruitment on the region north of the Savé River. This attitude coincided with the colonial policies of local development, which implied the use of Mozambican workers inside the country.

97. Carlos Serra (1980), p.41. According to Serra, a strong migration network existed in Tete. This network was divided into three main migratory centres: the Zumbo centre, oriented towards South Rhodesia; the one in Marávia, destined to North Rhodesia; and the one located in Maconga and Angónia, which provided labour for Nyasaland.

98. B.Neil-Tomlinson (1979), p.6.

99. In 1912, the Mozambique Company established the RTI-Repartição do Trabalho Indígena, whose function was to centralise and coordinate the supply and demand of recruited labour. This was done with the collaboration of the villages' chiefs. In this way its authority was not questioned, due to the intervening role of the chiefs. In the late 1920s, the recruitment of labour in the Company's territory underwent a change. The RTI was replaced by the DNI-Direcção dos Negócios Indígenas, and a new recruiting agency, the ATI-Associação dos Negócios Indígenas, was established. The ATI was a private agency, controlled by the Mozambique Company. The system of procuring forced labour remained.

100. B.Neil-Tomlinson (1978), p.9 and p.13.

101. By 1935, the Mozambique Company, the Municipality of Beira, the railways, the stevedoring company and the cotton and sugar estates, were the chief employers of native labour. S.E.Kay (1935), p.61.

102. Regarding the mining industry, Lopes Júnior is of the opinion that mining capital was the main force in the determination of the dynamic and structure of an economic integration of the regional unity of the area south of the Savé with the Republic of South Africa. M.Lopes Júnior (1980), p.106.

While agreeing with the author on the importance of the mining industry, I should stress the fact that it was both the transit and emigration economies - the transport and the labour issues - that equally contributed to the development of this regional relationship. The importance of the transit economy - especially the railway system - to the establishment of this regional relationship will be analyzed in Part II.

## NOTES TO PART II

1. As explained in Part I.

2. Other foreign controlled companies were also established in Mozambique. In the shipping business, the Union Castle Co., the British India Steam Navigation Co., the Harrison Rennie Line, the Natal Direct Line-Bullard King & Co., and the Indian African Line. In agriculture, the Incomati Sugar Estates, Ltd., the Mutamba Sugar Estates and the Sena Sugar Co.. In the mining industry, the Mozambique Macequece Ltd., and for the services of the ports, the Mozambique Agencies, Ltd.. In Lourenço Marques, the British company Delagoa Bay Development Corporation Ltd. controlled the supply of water and electricity, and the tramway system, while the stevedoring services were handled by the Delagoa Bay Stevedoring and Landing Co., the Lourenço Marques Forwarding Co. Ltd. and the Delagoa Bay Agency Co. Ltd.. Oliveira Marques (1981), pp.193-194.

3. Mozambique remained secondary in Portugal's colonial projects. The fact that the colony was allowed to maintain its other economic circuits stresses this. Furthermore, from a legal point of view, its citizens - those who were born in Mozambique - had a second class citizen status, which was printed on their Identity Card.

4. See the various positions defended at: the Third National Colonial Congress of 1930; the International and Intercolonial Congress of Transport, held during the Paris International Colonial Exhibition, in 1931; the Oporto Colonial Exhibition of 1934; and the Congresso do Intercambio Comercial com as Colónias, held in Oporto, also in 1934.

5. Pereira de Lima (1974), p.162, provides the periodization of the Mozambican railways, divided into three main periods. While agreeing with him, I am of the opinion that the third period, from 1931 to 1974, should include a sub-period which starts in 1950.

6. See positions defended at the Third Colonial Congress held in Lisbon, from the 8th to the 15th of May, 1930. Also, the Actas das Sessões e Teses apresentadas ao Congresso Colonial Nacional de 8 a 15 de Maio 1930, (1934).

7. The port and railways of Lourenço Marques, the Inhambane railway, the Quelimane port and railways and the Mozambique railway had separate directions.

8. Correia Amaral (1926), p.53.

9. At the end of 1926 the Lisbon government provided financial assistance to Mozambique resulting in a stabilization of its financial situation. This financial assistance was substantially used on public works. By 1927 the deficit of both the treasury and the railways to private firms had been liquidated. J.Pyke (1927), p.11.
10. In 1951 Mozambique's railways counted 1,889 kilometres comprising ten lines and three main branch lines, not counting the Trans-Zambezi and small local ramifications and pistes. M.Barnabé Lopes (1951), p.7.
11. Ibid, p.8.
12. The transference of the administrative centre to Lourenço Marques, "where South African political and business influence was strong, and the needs of the capital were largely met by South African imports paid for by sterling earned by the mine workers", increased the interference of South African interests in Mozambique, particularly in what concerned the administration of the CFLM. Newitt (1981), p.35
13. L. Trichardt reached Lourenço Marques in 1838.
14. Pereira de Lima (1971), vol I, p.39. Sales Machado had been authorized by the Lisbon government to contact the Transvaal Boers in order to negotiate a Treaty of Commercial and Political Alliance and Friendship. The 1855 concordat would become the first political alliance established between both countries.
15. The December 11, 1875 Treaty included clauses regarding the railways and transit. Article 8 provided for the construction of the railway and the provision of an import duty of 3% for goods imported from Lourenço Marques to the Transvaal.
16. In January 21, 1876, the Transvaal founded the Lebombo Spoorwe Maatschappij, later followed by the June 21, 1887 Nederlandsche Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorweg Maatschappij/ZASM.
17. In 1875, Alvisius Nelmaphius obtained a concession from the Transvaal government for the transport of merchandises to Lourenço Marques, founding the Lourenço Marques and Lydenburg Transports Company on July 19. The company was not successful, and did not last long. Pereira de Lima (1971), vol.I, p.26.
18. Article 3 provided for a complete study of the route of the railway; article 5 provided the same for the port, which was to become the terminus of the line. In the same year J.José Machado completed the railway project.

19. The 1879 Lourenço Marques treaty had accentuated the nationalist feelings in Portugal. In South Africa, the August 3, 1881 Pretoria Convention stipulated the new independence for the Transvaal, while providing for the autonomy of Swaziland, thus establishing a British sphere of influence between Mozambique and the Transvaal.

20. The railway began badly on both sides. On August 26, 1872, the Transvaal Volksraad had given concessions, in accordance with the decrees of June 3 and 4, 1873. When the term expired and nothing had been done, the government decided not to renew it, and instead solicited a loan in Europe that would help finance it. Such was obtained in 1876 in Holland, and on November 30, 1876, president Burgers signed a temporary contract with the Belgian Cockerill Company for the construction of a railway from Lourenço Marques to Klipstapel. "Report of the Commission", assigned by the Government of the Southern African Republic by its decrees of August 12 and 13, 1884, articles 76 and 77. In Pereira de Lima (1971) vol.I, pp.128/129.

21. The Delagoa Bay...Railway Co. Ltd. had been established with a capital of £500.000, with the former McMurdo's Lourenço Marques Transvaal Railway Co. as its subsidiary company. This had been organized by McMurdo and approved by Lisbon on December 14, 1883, which also approved its railway project by the decree of October 30, 1884. McMurdo transferred his concession to the new company, while retaining 1.060 of the 500.000 shares.

22. The McMurdo contract stipulated that McMurdo had to present a project of the Lourenço Marques to Pretoria railway, within 100 days. The project McMurdo finally presented was a copy of the one J.J.Machado had done for the Portuguese government, in 1879. The contract also stipulated that the line had to be constructed by October 30, 1888, which did not happen.

23. McMurdo died one month before the expiration of the concession, which endured until June 24, 1889. Following his death, his heirs claimed the rights to the concession.

24. By September 1887, the McMurdo line was almost completed, missing only the final 10 kilometres. The Transvaal section of the line, however, was still at an early stage. The reasons for such delay might be found on the fact that the Transvaal was pressuring Portugal to revise the tariffs concession.

25. Pereira de Lima (1971) vol.I, p.219, quotes a letter of November 29, 1912 from the Mozambican Associação dos Proprietários, dos Empregados do Comércio e da Indústria, dos Lojistas e da Câmara do Comércio where is stated that it was



necessary to "take resolutions on the conduct to be followed against the unwillingness of the Metropolis government towards this colony". Indeed, during the first decade of the twentieth century Mozambique needed urgent help in respect to its infrastructures and administration, which could only be undertaken with the consent of the central government in Lisbon.

26. See Provincial Decree Number 93 of December 17, 1895.

27. See Provincial Decree Number 1.109 of March 29, 1919.

28. On November 1924 the debt of the CFLM was of 12.518.301\$52 escudos. Correia Amaral (1926), p.52.

29. Idem, p.57. Amaral advocates that "the exploitation of the Port and CFLM [be] firmly based on commercial ventures, which will allow the Province to obtain a certain profit on the enormous capital of this organization".

30. In his report of 1927/28 Pinto Teixeira advocated an autonomous administrative and financial organization, the only possible solution for the success of the state controlled railway industry. In *Relatório dos Caminhos de Ferro de Moçambique - 1927/1928*.

31. Item b) of article 105 of the Carta Orgânica (a specific colonial legislative document), approved by the Decree Number 17.153 of July 6, 1929, established the new Direction of the Services of the Ports and Railways, whose organization was further implemented by the Legislative Decree Number 315 of August 22, 1931. The 1931 legislation expressed the new policy of transports in Mozambique, which had as its "objective achieving a bigger volume of traffic while planning for an improvement of the economy of the railway system and the extension of its sphere of action".

32. The Legislative Decree Number 196 of January 18, 1930, provided for the establishment of the lorry service. Article 3 expressed the prohibition of any concession to private lorry companies in areas where the service controlled by the DSPCFTM took place.

33. *Relatório dos Caminhos de Ferro de Moçambique-1929-1930*, (1932).

34. Simultaneously, commercial aviation was also developed. In 1936 the Legislative Decree Number 521 of August 26 established the Divisao de Exploracao dos Transportes Aéreos de Moçambique/DETA, which was incorporated in the DSPCFTM.

35. Pinto Teixeira (1925/1926).

36. Such was confirmed to me in Lisbon on the summer of 1990 by H.Brazao de Freitas, director of the DSPCFTM from 1957 to 1964.
37. See Part I of this work.
38. Specifically through the stipulated on article XIV of the 1891 Treaty.
39. The First Mozambique Company had been established on March 8, 1888 by J.Paiva de Andrada.
40. If Portugal acquired the Beira port in 1972 it would only have to pay half of the total £600.000 shares that the Companhia do Porto da Beira/CPB demanded in 1949. Pereira de Lima (1971) vol.II, p.142.
41. Accordingly, in his report of 1932, the British Consul emphasized "the importance of the Mozambique Co. territory [which] lies in the fact that Beira - the administrative centre -is the most convenient port for the surrounding British possessions". H.A.Ford (1932), p.73.
42. By the decree of November 7, 1889, the first Mozambique Company became obliged to finance the construction and further exploitation of a railway from the Pungué margins to Macequeque, and eventually to the border. It was this plan, done by E.Pouhin, that the Portuguese government accepted.
43. The first company did not succeed in part because of the British occupation of Manica in late 1890 until April 1891.
44. The Van Laun 1891 contract established that: clause 1- the trajectory of the railway would be determined by the Company; 6- the right to a 3% tariff to be charged by the Company on cargo crossing its territory; 7- the concessionary had the right to elaborate the tariffs on the dockyards; 16- the Company had the right to one third of administrators on the board of the new railway company.
45. Of the initial capital of £600.000, £305.000 belonged to BSA.  
The Mozambique Company kept 295.000 shares of the total 600.000. In Pereira de Lima (1971) vol.II, pp.113-114.
46. Both companies were to be generally known as Beira Railways.
47. Both companies contracted Pauling & Co. for the construction of the lines.
48. Following the 1898 Beira-Fontesvilla/Umtali line, this

line was completed on May 1899. In the meantime, in 1897, Beira Railway and Beira Junction Cos. had leased their railway concession to Pauling & Co., without the previous consent of the Mozambique Co.. At this stage the line was already property of foreign companies.

49. In his report of June 10, 1909, Lisboa de Lima comments on this rather peculiar situation. Not only did the Beira railway station follow Salisbury time, but one could not travel on the railway in Portuguese territory without a written authorization from the British South Africa Co. or Pauling & Co.. Lisboa de Lima (1900).

50. It should be noted that the Beira line and port had always been regarded as part of the Mozambique Co.'s estate. Both the Anuários Estatísticos do Território...da Companhia de Moçambique and the British Consul reports on the Company's territory confirm such policy. The importance of the railway infrastructure to the Manica and Sofala districts is confirmed by both publications, providing data on the railway traffic, the port and corresponding duties, which were assigned to the Mozambique Co.'s total.

51. When in 1929, the Beira Railway Co.Ltd. absorbed its subsidiary Beira Junction, (thus assuming the complete financial and administrative control of the line), the conditions for the Rhodesian state's formal control of the Beira transport system in 1947 had been established.

52. As in the rest of the country, roads were developed to serve the Manica and Sofala districts while providing a linkage with its two railways. In 1932, the Mozambique Co.'s territory had a total of 5,027,169 kilometres of road, as opposed to the 900 kilometres in 1900. Anuário Estatístico...da Companhia de Moçambique-ano 1932, (1934), pp. XVII and 141.

53. The proposal of a line from Beira to Sena would also be of service to the two districts which were "...considered well worth the development they would thereby gain". W.M.Churchill (1894), p.73.

54. It comprised two branchlines: the 32 kilometres from Beira to Dondo which belonged to Beira Railways, and the 289,6 kilometres from Dondo to Sena which belonged to the Trans-Zambezia Railway Co.,Ltd.. A.Brandao Vasconcelos (1948), p.460.

55. The importance of British capital in Mozambican development was emphasized yet again by the British Consul on 1929. J.Pyke (1929), p.11.

56. The 1912 contract was later altered by the Additional Contracts of November 7, 1913 and of April 12, 1918.

57. Preceding the constitution of the Trans-Zambezia Railway Co., Ltd., the "Conditional Contract regarding the Construction of a Railway from the port of Beira to the Zambezi River" was set up between the British representatives of the Nyasaland protectorate and L. Alexandre Oury, on August 16, 1919. It defined the financial and constructional clauses regarding the new line. This contract was approved by the Portuguese Decree Number 2039 of November 4, 1919. Pereira de Lima (1971), vol. II, pp. 170-171.

58. This bridge, the Sena/D. Ana bridge, was actually built by Trans-Zambezia's subsidiary company, the Central Africa Railway Co..

59. On September 18, 1891, Portugal had given a commercial concession on Chinde to British subject H. Johnston, who established a service that provided for the trading transactions and the shipment of merchandise destined to the foreign hinterland. Lopes Galvao (1942), p. 30.

60. In legal terms, Beira Railway became a Portuguese line in 1949. Trans-Zambezia, however, remained a foreign controlled line within Portuguese territory, becoming an exception.

61. In 1932, the British Consul even went as far as stating that "...the value of the [Beira] traffic is many times greater than the total national trade and it is this traffic which provides the port and railway facilities and the revenue to defray administrative expenses without which the colony could not continue to exist". He concluded that "the whole future of the territory of Manica and Sofala depends on the continuance of this transit traffic". H.A. Ford (1932), p. 75.

62. I. Alves Costa (1930), p. 9. It was also determined that the most urgent railways to be studied were: 1) the extension of the Mozambique railway and its possible internationalization; 2) the junction of the three lines Xinavane/Chai-Chai/Inhambane; 3) the connection of Quelimane, or another port in the north, with Tete. Lopes Galvao (1930), p. 9.

63. Ibid, p. 9.

64. "The Tete railway must be built as a means of political and financial occupation of incontestable necessity of that part of the territory, and as a means of facilitating a [mining] industrial exploitation". Ministério das Colónias (1933), pp. 65/66.

65. The international importance of the Limpopo line had been

stressed on the 1942 Colonial Congress of the Portuguese World. Lopes Galvao (1942), p.7.

66. "We think that all railways of general interest must be built by the state". Lopes Galvao (1930), p.14.

67. Lisboa de Lima (1934), p.386. Accordingly, Mozambique should first invest in the development of its international lines, and only then should it undertake the task of further extending its regional lines; idem, p.388.

68. Established by Decree Number 17.421, of October 13, 1929.

69. The 1937/38 Plan provided for the construction of: the Mozambique railway to the river Lúrio; the Tete railway; the branch line linking Nacala to the Mozambique line; the study of Nacala as a terminus port for the Mozambique railway.

70. Approved by Decree Number 27.537.

71. Pereira Leite (1989), pp.255-257.

72. The Lourenço Marques/Goba road, through the Umbeluzi valley, continued to South Africa via Swaziland, providing a major liaison with Pretoria and Johannesburg; the Lourenço Marques/Ressano Garcia/Komatiport road, serving the National Kruger Park; the Beira/Umtali/Salisbury road, via Macequeque; the Tete/Salisbury road, via Changara and Cachamano; the Tete/Blantyre/Zomba road, connecting Tete with Nyasaland via Zobué; the Quelimane/Blantyre road via Milange; the Tete/Fort Jameson road via Furankungo and Vila Gamito, connecting Zambezia with North Rhodesia; the road crossing the Mozambique district east/west to Nyasaland, via Mandimba on Chirwa lake, providing a liaison with Fort Johnston. Apart from these major roads, others were built, falling in the category of regional lines or branchlines to the international roads. Lopes Galvao (1942), p.33.

73. Already in the early 1900s the policy of no railway concessions to private companies or concessionaries was being shaped.

74. Initially, the Niassa Company had considered Porto Amélia/Pemba Bay as the terminus port.

75. The Mozambique line reached Nova Freixo in June 1950.

76. The line would provide the shortest way to the sea for Nyasaland's traffic, but the construction of the Blantyre line to Lake Nyasa and the D.Ana bridge over the Zambezi became elements in favour of the Trans-Zambezi. Maintaining the ultimate objective of reaching Lake Nyasa, the Nacala line was

extended throughout the northern territory but it never reached the border.

77. The incidents on the Shire had contributed to it. The Nyasa region had been the subject of a political/diplomatic disagreement between Portugal and Britain. The 1890 British Ultimatum had originated with the demand of the removal of Portuguese troops from the Shire and Mashonaland areas, and the July 11, 1891 treaty established a "modus vivendi" which provided for the free navigation on the Zambezi and the Shire, as well as for a British concession on Chinde. With these provisions, traffic was handled by both the African Lakes Corporation, British South Africa Co. and Zambezia Co..

78. The decree of April 19, 1894, foresaw that the Zambezia Co. would undertake such works.

79. See the Decree of July 7, 1898.

80. In 1912, it was decided that the line should be extended to Chindio, becoming the Central Africa Railways. Of its 98 kilometres, 72 ran through Mozambique.

81. Once again, the neighbouring hinterland's needs for a railway connection to the sea was used as an argument for undertaking another local line of interest to the whole region. In 1904, when the Quelimane railway was being debated, it was argued that "the future of our Zambezia is in guarding the key to the hinterland[...]The port of Quelimane is the only one in our Zambezia that might provide it, thus satisfying the traffic necessities of British South Africa." Stuchy e Ribeiro (1904), p.49.; and in 1906 "the necessity and urgency of such railway [became] evident, if we consider the transportation difficulties of British South Africa's territory". Monteiro (1906), p.18.

82. The importance of this line to the Zambezia district had been acknowledged in its early stage and further reinforced in the following decades. The agricultural southern territories - Low Zambezia - belonged to the Mozambique Co., while those on the northern part were divided between the districts of Tete and Quelimane, belonging to the Niassa Co..

83. Such studies provided for a line from Quelimane to the Shire River in Bauè and its extension to the district of Tete, and for the construction of another line which would connect with it through the branchline of Namacurra, in the direction of Mocuba. From there, it would run towards the north, until it met with the Mozambique railway. M.Barnabé Lopes (1951).

84. The initial considerations of the 1913 decree stressed the local and international characteristics of the Quelimane line,

which would be indispensable for a "profound social and economic transformation of Portuguese Zambezia", serving both the agricultural and mining regions of the district, while achieving an "inter-colonial role", by serving the African hinterland. Pereira de Lima (1971), vol.II, pp.205-296.

85. Meanwhile, in 1919, the Trans-Zambezia Railway Co. had obtained the concession of a line from Chindio to Dondo, on the Beira Railways line. The line was inaugurated in 1922, and Nyasaland's traffic was channelled to Beira.

86. The debates and negotiations regarding the construction and financing of the Tete railway led to discontent between both governments, as well as between local forces and the colonial government. The financial argument could not be accepted for the urgency of this line. This led to the local government's defense against such accusations, - "Never did the government of the colony, the Direction of the Public Works, nor the Direction of the Railways later, oppose direct or indirectly the construction of the Tete Railway". Lisboa de Lima (1933).

87. Pereira de Lima quotes the director of the Société Minière et Géologique du Zambeze: "This railway, apart from being the sine qua non condition for the effective development of the carboniferous resources of Tete, will be at the same time, the solution for the creation of a mining district, [which does not happen due to] the lack of a transportation system". Pereira de Lima (1971), vol.II, p.232. The Tete coal mines had first been exploited in mid 1890s, by the Companhia Hulheira da Zambésia, later replaced by the Zambezi Mining Development, Ltd. whose concession was assigned by the Zambezia Co.. The company later became the Société Minière... in 1921. This company would transfer its concessional rights to the Companhia Carbonífera de Moçambique, constituted in 1948 for that purpose.

88. The urgency of this line not only for the economy of the district of Tete, but also for Mozambique, was stated in the Report Number 248 of the Conselho Superior de Obras Públicas e Minas, on November 15, 1932. In Pereira de Lima, idem, p.239.

89. For which was necessary to construct a branchline, starting in Entroncamento.

90. Barnabé Lopes (1951), p.14.

91. See note 8 of Part I.

92. Meanwhile on August 1904 a concession for the line had been requested by Amorim Borges and E.Foot, further renewed on

March 24, 1908. Inserted in the ambit of its policy of prudence regarding state lines' concessions, the state advocated the necessity of discussing its conditions, and the concession was never given.

93. Its construction had been promoted by the Ministerial Edict of November 27, 1909. Later, the Provincial Decree Number 746 of September 15, 1910, established the norms of construction and exploitation of the line, which would belong to the colony's Inspeção das Obras Públicas da Provincia - (article 10), with the works being directed by the District's government.

94. By 1912 the Serviços de Agricultura de Inhambane, Comissao de Fomento Agrícola and Comissao de Melhoramentos de Inhambane had been constituted, in an attempt to stimulate the development of the Inhambane region.

95. See Decree Number 706 of December 23, 1917.

96. A position that had been strongly defended by Joao Belo, when he was positioned in Chai-Chai in the early 1900s. He would become the Minister for the Colonies, in 1926.

97. In 1945 the Inhambane line was non-profitable. A.Brandao Vasconcelos (1948), p.450.

98. The Gaza railway also showed a deficit in 1945. Idem.

99. The railway material arrived in Lourenço Marques at the end of 1891. It was later sent to Gaza, where it remained without being used until 1905, when Lisboa de Lima requested it for the construction of the Portuguese line of the Swaziland railway. Joao Bello (1910), p.385.

100. Joao Bello (1910), pp.385-386. J.Belo stresses the local importance of Chai-Chai, both as a port and as a junction of the railway from Inhambane to Lourenço Marques.

101. In 1948, 24,579 tons of bananas from the Incomati Valley were exported to South Africa. Brandao Vasconcelos (1948), p.449.

102. Article 13) of the 1928 Convention established the construction of that line in Swaziland by the South African government, provided that the territory of Swaziland would be transferred to the Union's government. Arguing that such had not taken place, South Africa decided not to construct the line. Such only happened in 1964.

103. The Incomati Estates, Ltd. were a company oriented towards the exploitation of the agricultural potential of the



Incomati Valley.

104. See the Decree of March 23, 1911.

105. The Transportation Conference of May 1949, had already considered the extension of the Limpopo/Xinavane line to the border in Pafuri, on the Limpopo River. There, the line would meet a branchline from either Fort Victoria or West Nicholson. M.Barnabé Lopes (1951), p.12.

106. It thus resulted that the Xinavane line was incorporated into the Limpopo line. The first 160 kilometres from Mozamba to Caniçado became known as the Guijá line, and the Limpopo line became the extension of its Xinavane branchline, towards the Limpopo valley and the border.

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- c) Appendice au Mémoire présenté par le Gouvernement de la Grande Bretagne. n.d.
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## APPENDICES

### I. Mozambique - Chronology.

- 1498 Vasco da Gama, on his way back from India, visits Inhambane and Quelimane. On March 1st, he lands at Mozambique.
- 1500 Foundation of Quelimane.
- 1502 Vasco da Gama visits Sofala.
- 1505 The Portuguese build a Fort at Sofala.
- 1507 Fortress built on Mozambique Island by the Portuguese.
- 1515 António Fernandes explores the territory of future Rhodesia.
- 1530 Foundation of the town of Sena, on the Zambezi.
- 1544 First fortifications built near present site of Maputo/Lourenço Marques.
- 1545 Foundation of the town of Tete.
- 1569 Baptism of the King of the Monomotapa.
- 1616 The Portuguese Gaspar Barroco reaches Lake Nyasa.
- 1629 Treaty signed between the Portuguese and Monomotapa.
- 1634 The whole of Manica and the (later) Rhodesian plateau is partitioned among Portuguese warlords.
- 1721 Attempt by Dutch East India Company to set up a trading station at Lourenço Marques.
- 1752 The administration of Mozambique is separated from that of Portuguese India.
- 1771 Attempt by Austrian Asiatic Company to establish a colony at Delagoa Bay, under an Englishman, Colonel William Bolt.
- 1781 Fortress built at Lourenço Marques.
- 1797 The expedition of Francisco de Lacerda reaches Mozambique and Quelimane.
- 1798 F.de Lacerda and Manuel Almeida explore the interior of Mozambique, following the route from Tete to Cazembe.
- 1807 Napoleonic invasion of Portugal. The Portuguese court and government are transferred to Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil.
- 1810 Anglo-Portuguese Treaty.
- 1816 In Portugal, King D.Joao VI (1816-1826).
- 1821 First Provisory Government of Mozambique, followed by the Second Provisory Government (1821-1824).  
First attack on the Portuguese by the Ngoni (or Vatu), in southern Mozambique.
- 1822 Captain W.F.W.Owen surveys and annexes Delagoa Bay.  
Independence of Brazil.
- 1824 Joao Manuel da Silva is appointed Governor-General (1824-1825).
- 1825 Sebastiao Xavier Botelho is appointed Governor-General (1825-1829).  
August 29: The Brazilian-Portuguese Treaty settles Portuguese sovereignty over the African territories.

- 1826 In Portugal, King D. Pedro IV, substituted by Queen D. Maria II (1826-1853). During her reign, several regents governed Portugal: D. Isabel Maria (1826-1828), D. Miguel (1828-1834, intermittent), the Marquis of Palmela (1829-1831), D. Pedro IV (1831-1834), and the Count of Antas (1846-1847).
- 1829 Paulo Miguel de Brito is appointed Governor-General (1829-1832).
- 1831 José Correia Monteiro and António Pedroso Gamito expedition on the African hinterland, from the town of Sena to Muata Cazembe (1831-1832).
- 1832 Third Provisory Government of Mozambique (1832-1834).
- 1834 José Gregório Pegado is appointed Governor-General (1834-1836).  
End of the Portuguese absolutist monarchy of D. Miguel; beginning of a liberal monarchy.
- 1836 Fourth Provisory Government of Mozambique (1836-1837).  
In Portugal, the Setembrista government begins.  
December 10: Portuguese Colonial Minister, Sá da Bandeira, promotes a decree abolishing the slave trade.
- 1837 D. António José de Melo is appointed Governor-General, later replaced, in the same year, by D. João Augusto Oyehausen (1837-1838).
- 1838 Provisional Government of Mozambique (1838-1840).  
The Boer trekkers led by Louis Trichardt reach Delagoa Bay.
- 1840 Joaquim Pereira Marinho is appointed Governor-General (1840-1841).
- 1841 João da Costa Xavier becomes Governor-General (1841-1843).
- 1842 Britain makes an ultimatum to Portugal, over the right to stop and search suspected slavers.  
July 3: the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty is signed.  
Beginning of the Chartists government, in Portugal.
- 1843 Rodrigo de Abreu Lima is appointed Governor-General (1843-1847).
- 1847 Domingos Fortunato do Vale is appointed Governor-General (1847-1851).
- 1851 Joaquim Pinto de Magalhães is appointed Governor-General (1851-1854).
- 1853 In Portugal, King D. Pedro V (1853-1861). D. Fernando II governs as regent (1853-1855).  
António Silva Porto expedition, from Cabo Delgado to Lealui, near the Zambezi River (1853-1854).  
July 17: Silva Porto meets Livingstone in Lealui.
- 1854 Vasco de Carvalho e Meneses becomes Governor of Mozambique (1854-1857).  
The Zambezia Prazos are nominally abolished, to be replaced by rented property.  
The first official bulletin of Mozambique, the Boletim do Governo da Provincia de Mozambique, is published.
- 1855 Concordat between Mozambique and the Transvaal,

- provides for passable communications.
- 1856 January: Livingstone reaches Zambezia.  
Foundation of the Colégio das Missoes Ultramarinas, in accordance to the Portuguese missionary policy for the colonies.
- 1857 Joao Tavares de Almeida is appointed Governor-General of Mozambique (1857-1864).  
November: the French slave vessel "Charles and Georges" is captured by the Portuguese, in Quitangonha.
- 1858 August 14: agreement signed between the Lourenço Marques Governor and the Transvaal's Volksraad, establishes the frontier between both countries.
- 1861 In Portugal, King D.Luis I (1861-1889).  
Angoche, the island stronghold of an important Muslim sheik, is successfully attacked by the muzungo Prazo holder, Joao Alves da Silva.
- 1863 The Swazi attack Lourenço Marques.
- 1864 Provisional Government of Mozambique (February-April).  
António do Canto e Castro is appointed Governor-General (1864-1867).
- 1867 António Correia de Lacerda becomes Governor-General (1867-1868).
- 1868 Provisional Government of Mozambique (1868-1869).  
April 19: President Pretorius announces the annexation of the Portuguese territory north of the Limpopo River.
- 1869 António Tavares de Almeida is appointed interim Governor of Mozambique, followed in April by Fernando da Costa Leal, and later in the same year by a Provisional Government (1869-1870).  
July 29: Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Commerce and Boundaries signed between Portugal and the Transvaal, valid for six years, renewable.  
December 1st: Portuguese Decree (by Dr.Rebello da Silva) regarding the Overseas Territories.
- 1870 Ignacio Augusto Alves is appointed interim Governor of Mozambique. In August, he is replaced by José Coelho do Amaral, Governor-General (1870-1873).
- 1871 Construction of the Lydenburg road from Lourenço Marques to the Transvaal is commenced. The road will be completed in 1874.
- 1872 Arbitration by French President A.Thiers provides for Portugal's rights over Lourenço Marques.  
Mozambique and the Transvaal begin the negotiations on the Lourenço Marques Railway.
- 1873 Provisional Government of Mozambique (1873-1874).
- 1874 José de Carvalho e Meneses da Costa is appointed Governor-General (1874-1877).
- 1875 Arbitration between Britain and Portugal by Marshal MacMahon, President of France, awards Delagoa Bay to Portugal.  
Issuing of the Código de Trabalho, the work code for the colonies.

- Construction of the road from Lourenço Marques to Pilgrim's Rest.
- In Lisbon, creation of a Permanent Central Commission of Geography attached to the Ministry of the Navy and Colonies.
- November 11: the Lisbon Geographical Society is founded. Viscount Sao Januário is the president, J.Barbosa do Bocage Vice-President, and Luciano Cordeiro, Permanent First Secretary of the Society. (The Geographical Society will become the most vigorous agency of expansion).
- December 11: Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between Portugal and the Transvaal, substituting the 1869 Treaty. 1876 March 10: Treaty of Commerce between Portugal and the Orange Free State, valid for 10 years, renewable.
- April 12: Portuguese decree authorizes the construction of a railway from Lourenço Marques to the Transvaal.
- 1877 Francisco Maria da Cunha is appointed Governor-General (1877-1880).
- Serpa Pinto expedition (1877-1879), from Benguela to Durban, through the Kalahari Desert.
- 1878 Portugal and Britain begin negotiations over the Congo and the Zambezi.
- Paiva de Andrada founds the Sociedade dos Fundadores da Companhia Geral do Zambeze.
- November 21: the 1875 work code is replaced by a new one.
- 1879 The Portuguese Minister of the Navy and the Overseas, Joao Andrade Corvo (1878-1879), signs a Treaty with Britain regarding the Lourenço Marques Railway. (This treaty will not be ratified by the Portuguese Cortes).
- May 30: Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, to regulate the relations of their respective possessions in southern and eastern Africa; also known as the Lourenço Marques Treaty. September 21: Joaquim José Machado presents the study of the first 20 kilometres of the Lourenço Marques railway.
- In Portugal, the government of Fontes Pereira de Melo begins.
- 1880 Augusto Rodrigues Sarmiento is appointed interim Governor of Mozambique (1880-1881).
- December 31: Additional Article to the Lourenço Marques Treaty, valid for 12 years, renewable; Protocol to the same Treaty.
- 1881 Carlos Correia da Silva (Paço de Arcos) is appointed Governor-General (1881-1882).
- November 3: Portuguese Decree (Decreto Orgânico) for the Overseas Provinces, by the Conselheiro Julio Vilhena.
- 1882 José de Almeida e Avila is appointed interim Governor, and is replaced by Agostinho Coelho as Governor-General

- (1882-1885) in April.
- 1883 December 14: the CFLM contracts McMurdo for the construction of the Lourenço Marques line. In Portugal, Manuel Pinheiro Chagas is appointed Minister of the Navy and the Overseas (1883-1886).
- 1884 Berlin Conference (November 15-February 26, 1885). Beginning of the Serpa Pinto and Augusto Cardoso expedition to northern Mozambique (1884-1886). Hermenegildo Capelo and Roberto Ivens traversal of Central Africa (1884-1885). From Moçâmedes, in Angola, to Quelimane and the island of Mozambique, in Mozambique. Establishment of the Companhia do Ofir (Anglo-French Ophir Company) by Paiva de Andrada, the antecedent of the First Mozambique Company. May 17: Convention signed between Portugal and the Transvaal, replacing the 1875 Treaty.
- 1885 Provisional Government of Mozambique. In July, Augusto Castilho Barreto e Noronha becomes Governor-General (1885-1889). Serpa Pinto and António Cardoso expedition in Eastern Africa, from Mossuril to Quelimane (1885-1886). The construction of the Lourenço Marques Railway is commenced. Portugal signs a Treaty with Gungunhana, the chief of the Gaza Empire, guaranteeing his sovereignty.
- 1886 May 18: official date of commencement of the construction of the Lourenço Marques Railway line. June 2: Major Araújo begins the construction of the Lourenço Marques Railway. December 30: German-Portuguese Convention, establishes the Rovuma River as the northern frontier of Mozambique.
- 1887 Portugal's claims to central Africa are presented in the "Rose-Coloured Map". May 5: McMurdo sells his railway concession to the Delagoa Bay and East African Railway Company, Ltd. November: construction of the Lourenço Marques line begins in Komatipoort.
- 1888 Establishment of a commission to study the reforms of the Zambezia Prazos. Foundation of the First Mozambique Company, by Paiva de Andrada. George Glynn Petre, the British Minister to Portugal, begins diplomatic negotiations with the Portuguese Colonial Minister, Barros Gomes, regarding freedom of navigation on the Zambezi River. António Maria Cardoso expedition, from Marral to Kwirassia (1888-1889). Victor Cordon expedition in the Eastern African hinterland, from the estuary of the Zambezi River, opposite Chinde to a site nearby the Cubambo, on the

- banks of the Zambezi River (1888-1889).  
 Paiva de Andraça expedition, from Beira to the Cubambo (1888-1889).  
 December 14: inauguration of the first part of the Lourenço Marques line, by the Governor-General Augusto Castilho.
- 1889 In Portugal, King D.Carlos I (1889-1908).  
 The Portuguese Serpa Pinto is sent to force the Ruo frontier and uphold Portugal's claims in the Shire highlands.  
 José Joaquim de Almeida is appointed interim Governor of Mozambique, later replaced by Joao das Neves Ferreira as Governor-General (1889-1890).  
 The reforms of the Prazos begin.  
 Eduardo Pietro Valadim expedition from Quelimane to Matala (1889-1890).  
 May 8: McMurdo dies. His heirs claim the rights to his concession, aggravating the "McMurdo Affair".  
 May 13: special session of local protest against the concessionaries of the Lourenço Marques line, in the Mayoralty of Lourenço Marques.  
 June 25: Portuguese Decree ceases the McMurdo contract.  
 June 29: occupation of Lourenço Marques' Central Railway Station by the Portuguese police.  
 July 4: the first passenger's train leaves Lourenço Marques.  
 July 20: Portugal contracts Ernest E. Sawyer to finish the construction of the last 8 kilometres of the Lourenço Marques line.  
 António José de Araujo is appointed Director of the Lourenço Marques Railway (1889-1896).
- 1890 Joaquim José Machado becomes Governor-General (1890-1891).  
 January 11: British Ultimatum to Portugal, (by Lord Salisbury, British Foreign Affairs Minister, to the Portuguese government of Barros Gomes).  
 February: conclusion of the Portuguese section of the Lourenço Marques line.  
 August 20: Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, non-ratified.
- 1891 The post of Royal Commissioner for Mozambique is established. António Enes (1891-1892) is appointed to this post.  
 Issuing of the Royal Charters to the Mozambique Company and the Niassa Company.  
 Rafael Lopes de Andrade is appointed Governor-General (1891-1893).  
 May 14: the first train crosses the bridge over the Incomati River.  
 July 1st: the railway line from the Portuguese border to Komatipoort is opened.  
 July 11: the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, regulates the British Ultimatum, and establishes provisions regarding



- the port of Beira.  
 Foundation of the Second Mozambique Company, and of the Niassa Company.  
 October 10: signature of the Van Laun contract, for the construction of the Beira Railway.
- 1892 The Beira Railway Company Ltd. is founded, and Van Laun's concessions are transferred to the new company. A Portuguese protective tariff is established, favouring trade between the colonies and Portugal. (This policy could not be totally applied, particularly in Mozambique, because a separate commercial agreement with the Transvaal (1869) allowed for free trade between the two countries, and the chartered companies had the right to set their own tariffs).  
 April 28: foundation of the Zambezia Company.
- 1893 Francisco Teixeira da Silva is appointed Governor-General (1893-1894).  
 April 27: Portuguese Decree approves the status of the Inhambane Company.  
 November: the Lourenço Marques/Elandshock railway traffic begins.
- 1894 Joaquim Correia Lança is appointed interim Governor of Mozambique, later replaced by Fernao de Magalhaes e Meneses as Governor-General.  
 Antonio Enes is appointed Royal Commissioner (December 1894-1895).  
 April 19: Decree providing for the construction of the Quelimane Railway by the Zambezia Company.  
 November 18: the passengers service of the CFLM begins, with three trains.
- 1895 Joaquim Correia e Lança is appointed interim Governor (1895-1896).  
 January 1st: regular traffic of the CFLM to Pretoria begins.  
 April: the Beira Junction Railway Company is established.  
 July 8: in Pretoria, President Kruger inaugurates the Lourenço Marques Railway line to that town.  
 July 17: in Lourenço Marques, the CFLM line is inaugurated. (President Kruger attends the ceremonies).  
 December: Gungunhana is captured at Chaimite, by Mouzinho de Albuquerque's troops.
- 1896 Mouzinho de Albuquerque becomes the second Royal Commissioner (March 1896-1897).  
 Carlos Henriques Albers becomes the second director of the Lourenço Marques Railway (1896-1905).  
 The Mozambique Company signs a contract with A. Henri Porcheron, for the construction of the Beira/Sena line.  
 October: the branch line Beira/Fontesvila of Beira Railways is completed.
- 1897 Lourenço Marques becomes capital of Mozambique, in place of the town of Mozambique.

- August: Gungunhana's military leader, General Maguiguana, dies. The end of the Gaza Empire.
- November 18: the labour Regulamento issued by the Royal Commissioner Mouzinho de Albuquerque, defines the conditions of recruitment of Mozambican labour to the Transvaal mines.
- Baltazar Freire Cabral becomes interim Governor of Mozambique (December 1897-1898).
- 1898 Mouzinho de Albuquerque begins his second mandate as Royal Commissioner (May-July 1898).
- Carlos Schultz Xavier is appointed Governor-General on August, and is later replaced by Alvaro da Costa Ferreira (October 1898-1900).
- The railway from Beira to Umtali is completed.
- April 19: Henri Porcheron transfers his railway concession to the Belgian Compagnie du Chemin de Fer de Beira au Zambeze.
- July 7: Portuguese Decree extinguishes the post of Royal Commissioner for Mozambique.
- August 30: Anglo-German secret agreement of partition of the Portuguese colonies.
- 1899 The Beira and Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways, Ltd. is founded.
- May: the Beira-Fontesvilla/Umtali line is completed.
- November 11: revision of the 1875-78 work code for the colonies.
- 1900 Julio Marques da Costa is appointed Governor-General (March-May 1900), later replaced by Joaquim José Machado (May-October 1900). The latter is substituted by Manuel Rafael Gorjao (October 1900-December 1902).
- May 28: the "McMurdo Affair" is settled by the decision of the Berne Court of Arbitration.
- 1900 Julio Marques da Costa is appointed Governor-General, and is replaced by Joaquim José Machado on May. Later in the same year, Manuel Rafael Gorjao becomes Governor-General (1900-1902).
- 1901 May 9: the General Government of Mozambique issues a decree cancelling the 1897 Regulamento.
- December 18: Modus Vivendi signed between Mozambique and the Transvaal. (It reestablishes the recruitment of workers to the Transvaal mines, to be made under the terms of the 1897 Regulamento).
- 1902 Tomás Garcia Rosado is appointed Governor-General (1902-1905).
- Revision of the 1899 work code.
- The Barué and Macanga people submit to the Portuguese, following the pacification campaigns in their region.
- 1903 July 15: Portuguese decree authorizes the Mozambican government to build the Swaziland Railway, and to begin works on the Lourenço Marques port.
- 1905 Joao Fragoso de Sequeira is appointed Governor-General (1905-1906).

- Alfredo Augusto Lisboa de Lima becomes the third director of the Lourenço Marques Railway (1905-1910).  
 March 10: Portuguese Decree (Portaria) approves the project of the Swaziland Railway.  
 November: Railway Conference, in Lisbon.
- 1906 Alfredo Freire de Andrade becomes Governor-General (1906-1910).  
 The chibalo (forced work) is instituted.  
 September 20: Portuguese Decree establishes the new Administration Council of the Port and Railway of Lourenço Marques.
- 1907 May 23: Portuguese Decree of Royal Minister Ayres d'Ornellas (decreto com força de lei), provides for the reorganization of the public administration of Mozambique. The colony is divided into five districts: Lourenço Marques, Inhambane, Quelimane, Tete and Mozambique.
- 1908 In Portugal, King D.Manuel II (1908-1910).
- 1909 New work code for the colonies.  
 April 1st: the Mozambique Convention is signed with the Transvaal, substituting the Modus Vivendi.
- 1910 October 5: in Portugal, proclamation of the Republic.  
 J.Teófilo Braga is elected President of the Provisional Government (1910-1911).  
 José de Freitas Ribeiro is appointed interim Governor of Mozambique (1910-1911).
- 1911 In Portugal, Manuel Brum da Silveira becomes President of the Portuguese Republic (1911-1915), J.Pinheiro Chagas, Prime Minister (1911-1912).  
 José de Azevedo e Silva is appointed High Commissioner (May 1911-1912).  
 Alterations to the 1909 work code.  
 Establishment of a joint Railway Board (South Africa-Mozambique), which proposes changes in the administration of the Lourenço Marques port and railway.
- 1912 José Mendes de Magalhaes is appointed interim Governor of Mozambique (1912-1913).  
 Joao Henrique Von Haffe becomes the fourth director of the Lourenço Marques Railway (1912-1914).  
 The Goba Railway (the Portuguese branch of the ill-fated Swaziland line) is completed.
- 1913 Augusto Ferreira dos Santos is the interim Governor of Mozambique (1913-1914).  
 The colonial government prohibits labour recruitment in the region north of the Savé River.  
 January 2: the first part of the Inhambane Railway (Mutamba/Inharrime) is inaugurated.
- 1914 Joaquim José Machado begins his third mandate as Governor-General (1914-1915).  
 The 1911 work code is replaced by the Regulamento Geral do Trabalho dos Indigenas nas Colónias Portuguesas.

- In Portugal, the government of Bernardino Machado establishes the colonial laws Leis Orgânicas para as Colônias.
- Carlos Augusto de Sá Carneiro replaces Von Haffe in the directory of the CFLM (1914-1919).  
The Xinavane railway line is inaugurated.  
The region south of the Lúrio River is finally occupied by the Portuguese, following a series of attacks on the dissident Yao chiefs and coastal sheiks.
- 1915 J. Teófilo Braga, President of Portugal. He is later replaced by Bernardino Machado Guimaraes (1915-1917).  
Alfredo Baptista Coelho is appointed interim Governor of Mozambique, later replaced by Alvaro Xavier de Castro (1915-1918), in October.  
The first part of the Mozambique Railway is completed.  
The Gaza Railway opens to traffic.
- 1916 António José de Almeida becomes Prime Minister (1916-1917).  
March 9: Germany declares war on Portugal.
- 1917 Sidónio Pais becomes President of the Portuguese Ministry (1917-1918).  
German invasion of northern Mozambique (the territory of the Makuas). (The Germans withdrew in September 1918).  
In Portugal, the government of Afonso Costa establishes the Cartas Orgânicas for the colonies.
- 1918 Sidónio Pais is elected President of the Republic, later replaced by Joao Silva Antunes (1918-1919).  
Pedro Massano de Amorim is appointed interim Governor of Mozambique (1918-1919).  
Railway Plan for Mozambique.  
The Gaza Railway is incorporated into the CFLM.
- 1919 António José de Almeida, President of the Portuguese Republic (1919-1923).  
Manuel Moreira da Fonseca becomes interim Governor of Mozambique (1919-1921).  
The reform of the Zambezia Prazos is completed.  
December 24: the Trans-Zambezia Railway Company, Ltd. is founded.  
A Railway Plan for Mozambique is defined.
- 1920 The post of High Commissioner is established, for Angola and Mozambique. Brito Camacho is appointed to Mozambique.  
The Colonial Legislative Council and the Economic and Social Council for Angola and Mozambique are established.  
October 9: Decree Number 37008 defines the financing and administration of the colonies -(Laws Number 31.130 of March 26, 1921 and 31.311 of December 13, 1923.)
- 1921 Manuel Brito Camacho begins his mandate as High Commissioner (March 1921-1923).
- 1922 The Trans-Zambezia Railway Co. Ltd.'s line from Dondo to Sena/Murraça is opened.

- The Quelimane Railway (Quelimane/Mocuba) is completed. The far north of the region of the Makonde people finally submits to the Portuguese.
- March 22: South Africa denounces the 1909 Convention.
- 1923 Manuel Teixeira Gomes, President of the Portuguese Republic (1923-1925).  
Manuel Moreira da Fonseca is appointed interim Governor of Mozambique (1923-1924).  
January 28: Accord signed between Beira Railways and the Trans-Zambezia Railway, establishing the latter's right of circulation in the line from Dondo to Beira, until 1964.
- 1924 Vitor Azevedo Coutinho is appointed High Commissioner (November 1924-May 1926).  
The Marracuene Railway is completed.
- 1925 Bernardino Machado Guimaraes, President of the Portuguese Republic (1925-1926).  
António de Avelar Ruas becomes the sixth director of the CFLM (1925-26).  
A Portuguese Commission is established to study a new Convention, to be signed between Mozambique and South Africa.  
Project of Trigo de Morais for the Limpopo Valley.  
The Provincial Decrees of October 17 and 31, provide for the organization of the Administration of the Council and the services of the Direction of the Port and CFLM.  
November 11-March 15, 1926: strike of the CFLM.
- 1926 May 28: military coup in Lisbon. José Mendes Júnior is appointed President of the Portuguese Ministry. Manuel Gomes da Costa replaces him, and later in the same year is replaced by Antonio Carmona (1926-1928). José Mendes Júnior, Prime-Minister, is substituted by M. Gomes da Costa, who is later replaced by Antonio Fragoso Carmona (1926-1928). Antonio Salazar is appointed Minister of Finances.  
Artur Ivens Ferraz is appointed Governor-General of Mozambique, later replaced in the same year by José Pereira Cabral (1926-1938).  
October: the Estatuto Politico, Civil e Criminal dos Indígenas de Angola e Moçambique defines the statute of the Africans.  
October 2: the Minister for Colonial Affairs, Joao Belo (1926-27), defines the Bases Organicas de Administração Colonial (Decree Number 12421).  
October 4: issuing of the Cartas Orgânicas for the colonies.  
The new Estatuto Orgânico das Missões Católicas Portuguesas, provides for a closer co-operation between the Portuguese State and the Church, in the colonies.  
The Companhia do Porto da Beira/CPB is founded, with a subsidiary, the Port of Beira Development.

- 1927 The Portuguese Marconi Company establishes a radio station.
- 1928 António Carmona, President of the Republic (1928-1951).  
 José Vicente Freitas, Prime-Minister (1928-1929).  
 The charter of the Niassa Company expires.  
 Francisco Pinto Teixeira becomes the seventh director of the CFLM (1928-1952).  
 In Portugal, Ivens Ferraz substitutes Joao Belo in the Colonial Ministry.  
 The Código de Trabalho dos Indígenas das Colónias Portuguesas de Africa, the new work code, provides for compulsory work by claiming a "moral obligation to work".  
 September 11: Convention signed between Mozambique and South Africa, in Pretoria. To be known as Mozambique Convention. (It applies only to the area south of latitude 22).
- 1929 Artur Ivens Ferraz, Prime-Minister (1929-January 1930).  
 The Royal Charter of the Niassa Company ceases.  
 Alteration of the 1926 Political and Civilian Statute for the Africans.  
 The construction of the Limpopo railway line begins. It will incorporate the Xinavane line.  
 March 24: Novas Bases Organicas da Adminstracao Colonial, approved by the Portuguese Decree Number 15.241.  
 July 6: Decree Number 17.153 approves the establishment of the Administration of the Ports and Railways of Mozambique/DSPCFM.  
 October 13: the Decree Number 17.421 approves the Plano Portuário (Plan for the Harbour Services).  
 The Beira Railway Co.Ltd. absorbs its subsidiary, Beira Junction.
- 1930 In Portugal, the Estado Novo is established. (The New State main objective in Africa is to impose a uniform administration, centrally controlled from Lisbon).  
 Domingos Costa Oliveira, Prime-Minister (1930-1932).  
 The Portuguese Acto Colonial is published.  
 January 18: the Legislative Decree Number 196 provides for the establishment of a lorry service, in Mozambique.  
 May 8-15: Third National Colonial Congress, in Lisbon.
- 1931 Armindo Monteiro is appointed Minister of the Colonies (1931-1935).  
 August 22: the Legislative Decree Number 315 establishes the administrative unification of the transport system of Mozambique, to be organized under the administration of the State and the direct control of the DSPCFM.  
 International and Intercolonial Congress of Transports, in Paris.
- 1932 Antonio O. Salazar becomes Prime-Minister (1932-1968).

- Third Colonial Congress, in Lisbon.  
The Minister of the Colonies visits Mozambique.  
"III Working Agreement" provides for the exploitation of the Beira railway line by the Rhodesia Railway Co. This accord is valid for 30 years.
- 1933 The new Portuguese constitution, the Carta Orgânica do Império Colonial Português and the Administrative Overseas Reform Act are published.  
Congress of the Colonial Governors, in Lisbon.  
Broadcasting begins from Lourenço Marques.
- 1934 Oporto Colonial Exhibition, in Oporto.  
Congresso do Intercambio Comercial com as Colonias, in Oporto.  
Plano de Viação Acelerado (Accelerated Transport Plan), for Mozambique.  
July 7: renegotiation of the 1928 Mozambique Convention, followed by the signature of a new Convention.
- 1935 The construction of the Sena/D.Ana(Mutarara) bridge over the Zambezi River is completed.
- 1936 Economic Congress of the Colonial Empire, in Lisbon.  
August 26: the Legislative Decree Number 521 establishes the Mozambican Air Company DETA.
- 1937 1937/1938 Six Year Plano de Dinamização Economica (Colonial Economic Development Plan), for Mozambique.  
Historical Exhibition of Colonial Occupation, in Lisbon.  
February 5: Accord signed between the Rhodesia Railway,Ltd., Mashonaland RW Ltd. (this one later absorbed by Rhodesia Railway Ltd.) and Beira Railway Co.. (The accord establishes the transport of all imported and exported(copper) traffic of the Rhokona Copper Mines, Ltd. and the Roan Antelope Copper Mines, Ltd., from Beira to Umtali, to be secured by Beira Railway Co. The accord expires on September 30, 1956).  
Portugal and Mozambique participate in the Paris Railway Congress.
- 1938 José Nunes de Oliveira is appointed interim Governor of Mozambique (1838-1940).  
June 30: Accord signed between the Beira Railway Co., the Rhodesia Railway Ltd. and the N'Changa Consolidated Copper Mines Ltd., similar to the 1937 Beira Railway accord.
- 1939 President Carmona visits Mozambique.  
First National Congress of Transport, in Lisbon.  
February 22: Beira Railway Co., the Rhodesia Railway Co. and the N'Changa Consolidated Copper Mines Ltd. sign another accord.  
March 19: Accord signed between Rhodesia Railway Ltd. and the Beira Railway Co..
- 1940 In Lisbon, the colonial Exposição do Mundo Português takes place.  
Portugal signs a Concordat and a Missionary Accord with

- the Catholic Church.  
José Tristao de Bettencourt is appointed Governor-General (1940-1946).
- 1942 The charter of the Mozambique Company expires.  
Colonial Congress of the Portuguese World, in Lisbon.  
The Minister of the Colonies visits Mozambique.  
September 21: the line of the Mozambique Railway is inaugurated.
- 1944 The first 78 kilometres of the Tete Railway (D.Ana/Mupangali) open to traffic.  
The Minister of the Colonies, Marcelo Caetano, visits Mozambique.
- 1946 Gabriel Maurício Teixeira is appointed Governor-General (1946-1958).  
The Tete line reaches its terminus, Moatise.
- 1947 December 9: the Portuguese Decree Number 36.663 establishes the import, export and re-import colonial tariffs.
- 1948 Telephone service opens, from Beira to Rhodesia.  
Prospecting contract between the government and the Mozambique Gulf Oil Co.  
April: purchase of Beira Railways by the Portuguese government.
- 1949 The Port of Beira is purchased by the Portuguese government.  
May: Transportation Conference, in Lisbon.
- 1950 Marshal Aid for Beira expansion.  
Convention between Portugal and Britain on the port of Beira.  
The Marracuene Railway (Lourenço Marques/Marracuene) is extended to Manhiça.



## II. South Africa - Chronology.

- 1488 The Portuguese Bartolomeu Dias rounds the Cape of Good Hope and lands at Algoa Bay (St.Croix).
- 1497 Vasco da Gama lands at St.Helena Bay and Mosel Bay, and reaches Natal on Christmas Day (hence the name).
- 1503 The Portuguese António de Saldanha lands at Table Bay, and explores Table Mountain.
- 1580 Sir Francis Drake rounds the Cape.
- 1601 The first fleet of the English East India Company calls at Table Bay.
- 1650 Table Bay is chosen as a victualling station, by the Dutch East India Company.
- 1652 Jan van Riebeeck and his party arrive at the Cape.
- 1655 Building of Cape Town Castle is commenced.
- 1679 Simon van der Stel is appointed Governor.
- 1688 The first Huguenot settlers arrive.
- 1699 Wilhelm Adriaan van der Stel is appointed Governor.
- 1760 The Orange River is crossed by the hunter Jacobus Coetsee.
- 1778 The Fish River is fixed as a boundary of Cape Colony.
- 1779 First Kaffir War.
- 1782 The Kaffirs are defeated by Boer Commandos.
- 1787 Second Kaffir War.
- 1795 The Cape is surrendered to the English. General Craig is appointed the first English Governor.  
The government of the Dutch East India Co. ceases.
- 1798 The Cape Post Office begins.
- 1800 The first newspaper is founded at Cape Town.
- 1803 The Cape is restored to Holland, under the peace of Amiens in 1801.
- 1805 The Cape is again under British rule.
- 1806 British forces conquer the Cape.
- 1814 Lord Charles H. Somerset is appointed Governor.
- 1815 Slagter's Nek Rebellion.
- 1818 Fifth Kaffir War.
- 1824 First Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church.
- 1825 The Cape Colony is extended to the Orange River.
- 1828 English settlers in Natal are dispersed.
- 1833 Decision to abolish slavery by the British Government, against cash compensation.
- 1834 Slaves emancipated.
- 1835 The town of Durban is laid out.  
Trichardt's Trek.
- 1836 Great Boer Trek from Cape Colony begins.  
First Volksraad north of the Orange River.
- 1838 The Boers establish a republic in Natal.  
The trekkers led by Louis Trichardt reach Delagoa Bay.
- 1842 Boers trek from Natal.
- 1843 The Natal is officially declared British.
- 1844 Natal is annexed to Cape Colony, and is later separated

- again.
- 1846 Seventh Kafir War.
- 1848 The territory between the Orange and Vaal Rivers is proclaimed the Orange River Sovereignty, under British control.
- 1852 January 18: the Sand River Convention guarantees the independence of the Transvaal.
- 1854 The first Parliament under the Representative Government meets at Cape Town. The Orange Free State Republic is constituted, with J.P.Hoffman as President.
- 1855 Foundation of Pretoria.
- 1859 The construction of the first railway from Cape Town to Wellington is commenced.
- 1864 J.H.Brand becomes President of the Orange Free State. Paul Kruger is elected Commandant-General.
- 1867 Discovery of diamonds near the Vaal River.
- 1868 President Pretorius announces the annexation of the Portuguese territory north of the Limpopo river.
- 1869 July 29: Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Commerce and Boundaries between Portugal and the Transvaal.
- 1870 Founding of Kimberley.
- 1871 Cecil Rhodes arrives in Natal.
- 1872 Responsible Government is granted to the Cape Colony.
- 1875 February 14: President Burgers signs the Treaty of Friendship between the Transvaal and Holland and Belgium.  
December 11: Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between Portugal and the Transvaal.
- 1876 Sir Theophilus Shepstone is appointed Administrator of the Transvaal.  
March 10: Treaty of Commerce signed between Portugal and the Orange Free State, valid for twenty years, renewable.
- 1880 December 13: the National Government of the Transvaal is formed, with Paul Kruger as Vice-President.  
First Boer War.  
C.Rhodes founds the De Beers Diamond Mining Co, and is elected member of the Cape Assembly.
- 1881 August 3: the Pretoria Convention stipulates the new independence for the Transvaal, and provides for the autonomy of Swaziland.
- 1883 Paul Kruger is elected President of the Southern African Republic/the Transvaal.
- 1884 The Barberton goldfields are opened.  
Cecil Rhodes establishes the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland.
- 1885 The railway to Kimberley is opened.
- 1886 Proclamation of the Witwatersrand goldfields. Beginning of the exploitation of the Rand gold mines.  
The town of Johannesburg is laid out.
- 1887 June 21: The Nederlandsche Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorweg Maatschappij/ZASM is established.

- 1890 First Rhodes Ministry, at the Cape.
- 1891 July 1st: the South-African section of the Lourenço Marques Railway, from the Portuguese border to Komatipoort, is opened.  
 October 1st: the railway line is extended to Hector Spruit (32 kilometres), followed by Malelane (55 kilometres), on December 28th.
- 1892 March 10: the South African section of the CFLM reaches Kaapmuiden (74 kilometres), and Nelspruit (116 kilometres), on June 20th.
- 1893 June 1st: the railway line reaches Alkmaar (135 kilometres), and Elandshoek, later on November 20th.
- 1894 June 20: the CFLM reaches Waterval Boven (120 kilometres), and Machadodorp (223 kilometres), on July 10th.
- 1895 The railway traffic between Johannesburg and Durban is opened.  
 January 1st: beginning of regular railway traffic between Lourenço Marques and Pretoria.  
 July 8: in Pretoria, President Kruger inaugurates the Lourenço Marques Railway.
- 1896 Jameson Raid.  
 Foundation of the Native Labour Supply Association Ltd./NLSA by the Chamber of Mines, the Association of Mines and the Association of Mine Managers.
- 1899 October 13: beginning of the Second Boer War.
- 1902 End of the Boer War. The Peace of Vereeniging is signed.  
 Death of C.Rhodes.
- 1905 Discovery of the Cullinan Diamond.  
 February: Railway Conference, in Johannesburg. Headed by Lord Milner, the conference is attended by delegates of the Southern African colonies. Portugal is represented by J.M.Rosa (Portuguese Consul in Durban) and C.H.Albers (director of the CFLM).
- 1907 General Botha heads the Transvaal Ministry.
- 1908 May 23: National Convention, in Pretoria. Headed by General Botha, the Convention is attended by delegates of the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, the Cape and Natal.
- 1909 The South Africa Act is passed by the British Parliament.  
 April 1st: Convention signed between Mozambique and the Transvaal.
- 1910 On May 31st, the Act of Union comes into force.  
 First Union Cabinet under General Botha. The First Union Parliament meets in November.
- 1912 The Native Recruiting Corporation, Ltd./NRC is created.
- 1913 Miner's strike and riots on the Witwatersrand.
- 1914 South Africa at war with Germany and its allies.
- 1915 Invasion of South West Africa.
- 1919 Death of General Botha.
- 1922 Rand Revolt.

- March 22: South Africa denounces the 1909 Convention.
- 1924 "Pact" Government, under General Herzog.
- 1926 The Imperial Conference recognises the Dominion Status.
- 1928 September 11: Mozambique Convention, signed in Pretoria between Mozambique and South Africa.
- 1931 The Statute of Westminster is passed by the Imperial Government.
- 1932 Gold Standard crisis.
- 1933 "Fusion" Government of Herzog and Smuts; birth of the United Party.
- 1934 July 7: Convention signed between Mozambique and South Africa.
- 1939 Second World War. Split between Herzog and Smuts. Smuts becomes Prime Minister.  
South Africa declares war on Germany, on September 6th.
- 1946 Boom in the Orange Free State gold shares. Odelndaalsrus becomes the centre of new goldfields.
- 1948 The Nationalist Party wins the general elections. Dr.D.Malan becomes Prime Minister.
- 1950 October/November: Transport Conference, in Johannesburg.

### III. Southern Rhodesia - Chronology.

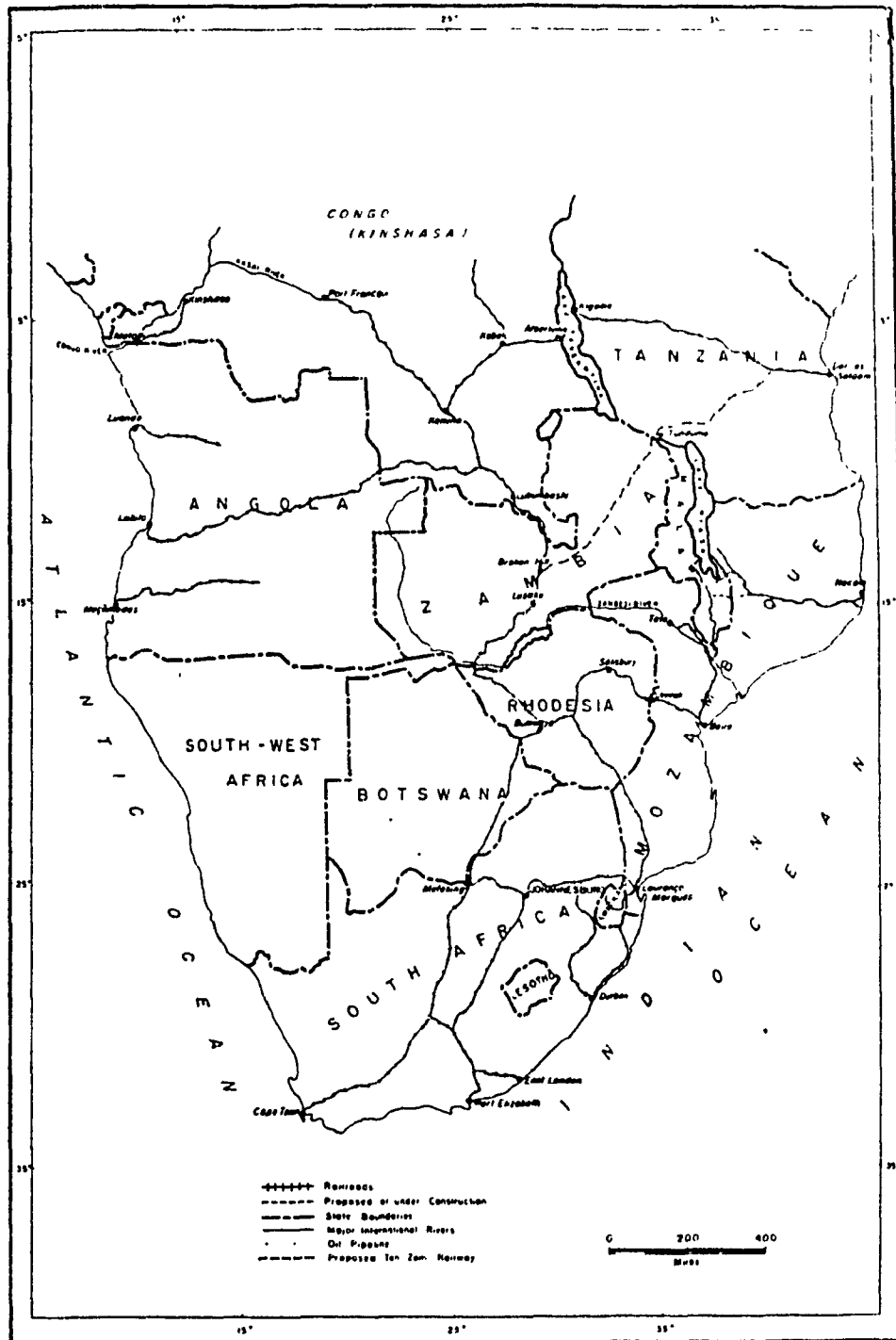
- 1505 Occupation of Sofala by Vasco da Gama, and establishment of the first Portuguese fort.
- 1855 David Livingston reaches Victoria Falls.
- 1859 The London Missionary Society establishes the Inyati Mission Station, under Dr. Robert Moffat.
- 1861 Survey by Baines and Chapman on expedition to Victoria Falls.
- 1868 The Zimbabwe Ruins are re-discovered by Adam Renders.
- 1871 Cecil J. Rhodes arrives in Natal.
- 1888 Rudd Concession signed at Umvutcha, near Bulawayo, granting mineral rights to Cecil Rhodes and his associates.
- 1889 October 20: the Chartered British South Africa Company is founded by C. Rhodes.
- 1890 The railway extension from Kimberley to Vryburg is opened.
- 1891 British Protectorate over Bechuanaland, Matabeleland and Mashonaland.  
French President MacMahon arbitrates on Anglo-Portuguese boundary.  
Dr. L.S. Jameson becomes Chief Magistrate and Administrator of Mashonaland.
- 1892 The telegraph reaches Fort Salisbury.  
May 5: the Moodie Trek leaves for Rhodesia.
- 1893 The Moodie Trek reaches Chipinga.  
Work begins on the railway from Vryburg to Mafeking.  
Matabele and Mashonas clash at Victoria. Matabele War.
- 1894 The railway from Vryburg to Mafeking is opened.
- 1895 The territory of Mashonaland and Matabeleland is named "Rhodesia" by proclamation of Dr. L.S. Jameson.
- 1896 Dr. Jameson resigns as Administrator, replaced by Earl Grey.  
The Matabele Rebellion breaks out.  
Cecil Rhodes establishes the British Protectorate of Matabeleland.
- 1897 Umtali is moved to a new site.  
The municipalities of Salisbury and Bulawayo are created.  
End of the Mashona Rebellion.  
Opening of the railway from Vryburg to Bulawayo.  
April: British South Africa Co. forms the Mashonaland Railway Co.
- 1898 February 4: the Beira railway line reaches Umtali.
- 1899 The Legislative Council for Southern Rhodesia is established.  
Establishment of the Beira and Mashonaland and Rhodesia Railways, Ltd.  
The railway traffic of the Beira-Salisbury line is opened.

- British South Africa Company's railway from Beira/Umtali to Salisbury is opened.
- 1901 W.H.Milton is appointed administrator of Southern Rhodesia.
- 1902 Death of Cecil Rhodes.  
The railway from Baulawyo to Salisbury is completed.
- 1904 The railway from Victoria Falls is completed.  
Victoria Falls Bridge is opened.
- 1913 Following the death of the Duke of Abercorn, Sir Starr Jameson becomes president of the British South Africa Company.
- 1914 Drummond Chaplin is appointed administrator of Southern Rhodesia.
- 1922 October 27: Referendum of voters decide on Responsible Government, and consequent autonomy.
- 1923 Southern Rhodesia is annexed to Great Britain.  
October 1st: Responsible Government is established in Southern Rhodesia.
- 1924 First elections to Legislative Assembly. Sir Charles Coghlan, Prime Minister.
- 1926 Rhodesia Railways absorbs the Mashonaland Railway.
- 1927 H.U.Moffat is appointed Prime Minister, following Coghlan's death.
- 1928 Sir Cecil H. Rodwell becomes Governor of Southern Rhodesia.
- 1929 The Beit Bridge over the Limpopo River is opened.
- 1930 Customs Conference at Cape Town reaches an agreement.
- 1933 September 11: general elections. G.M.Huggins is elected Prime Minister.
- 1935 Trade Agreement with the Union of South Africa.  
Incorporation of Salisbury.  
The Birchenough Bridge across the Sabi River is opened.
- 1937 The Bledisloe Commission studies the possibility of a closer association between the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland.
- 1939 April 14: general elections. The United Party wins, and G.M.Huggins is elected Prime Minister.
- 1944 The British Government rejects the proposal for amalgamation between Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.
- 1945 First meeting of the Central African Council for Rhodesia and Nyasaland is held in Salisbury.
- 1946 General elections. The United Party wins, Huggins as Prime Minister.
- 1947 Southern Rhodesia' Railways are nationalized.
- 1948 General elections. The United Party and G.M.Huggins remain in power.
- 1949 The £53,000 Four-Year Plan is presented in Parliament.  
February: Victoria Falls' talks, between Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, to study a possible federation.

1950 The Rhodesian Premier attends the Commonwealth Conference, in London.  
A direct railway to Lourenço Marques is proposed.

Map I

# Rail Transport in Central and Southern Africa

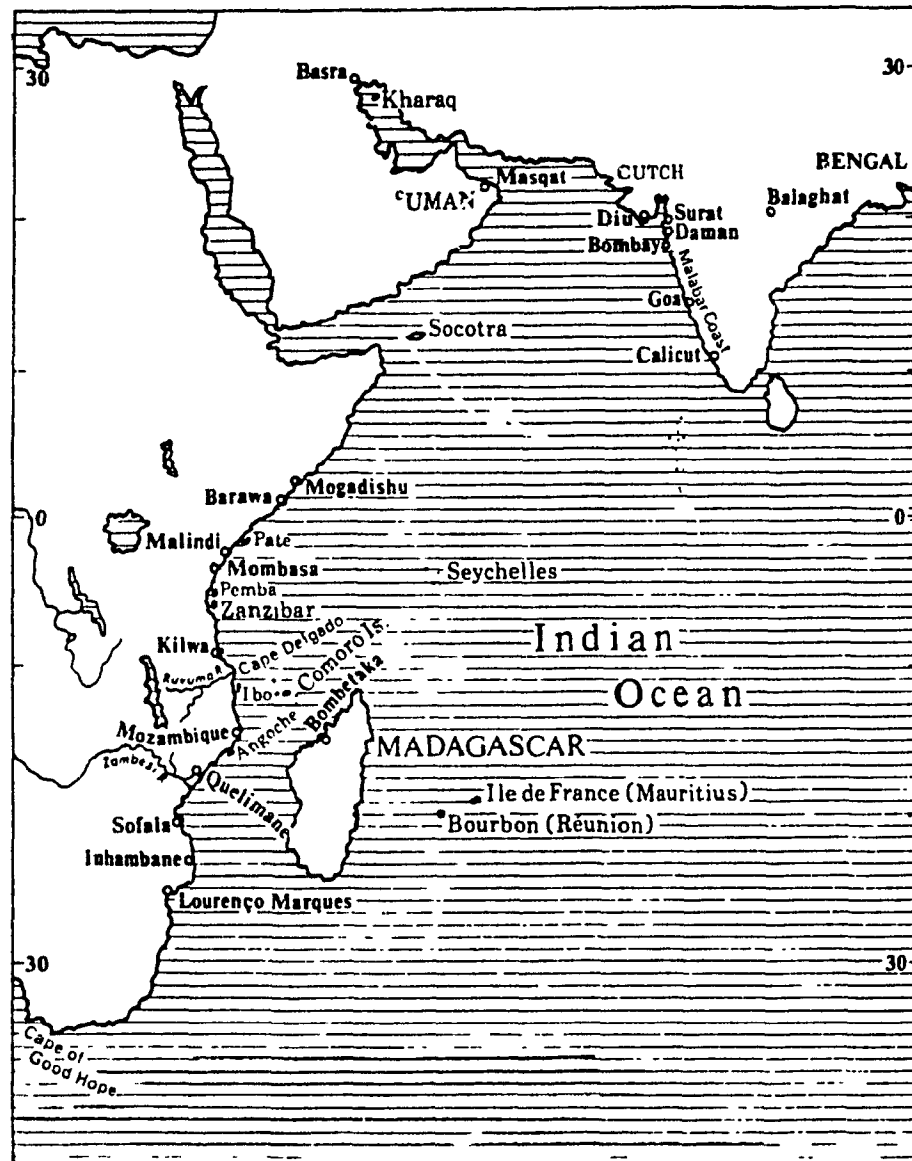


Source: Abshire and Samuels (1969)



Map II

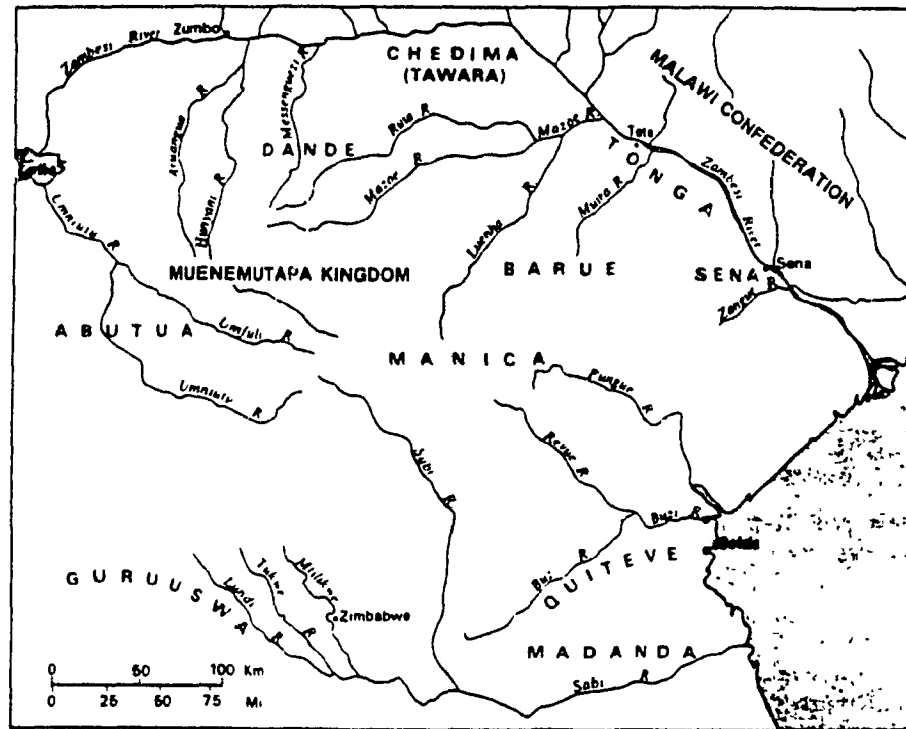
The Western Indian Ocean



Source: Edward Alpers (1975)



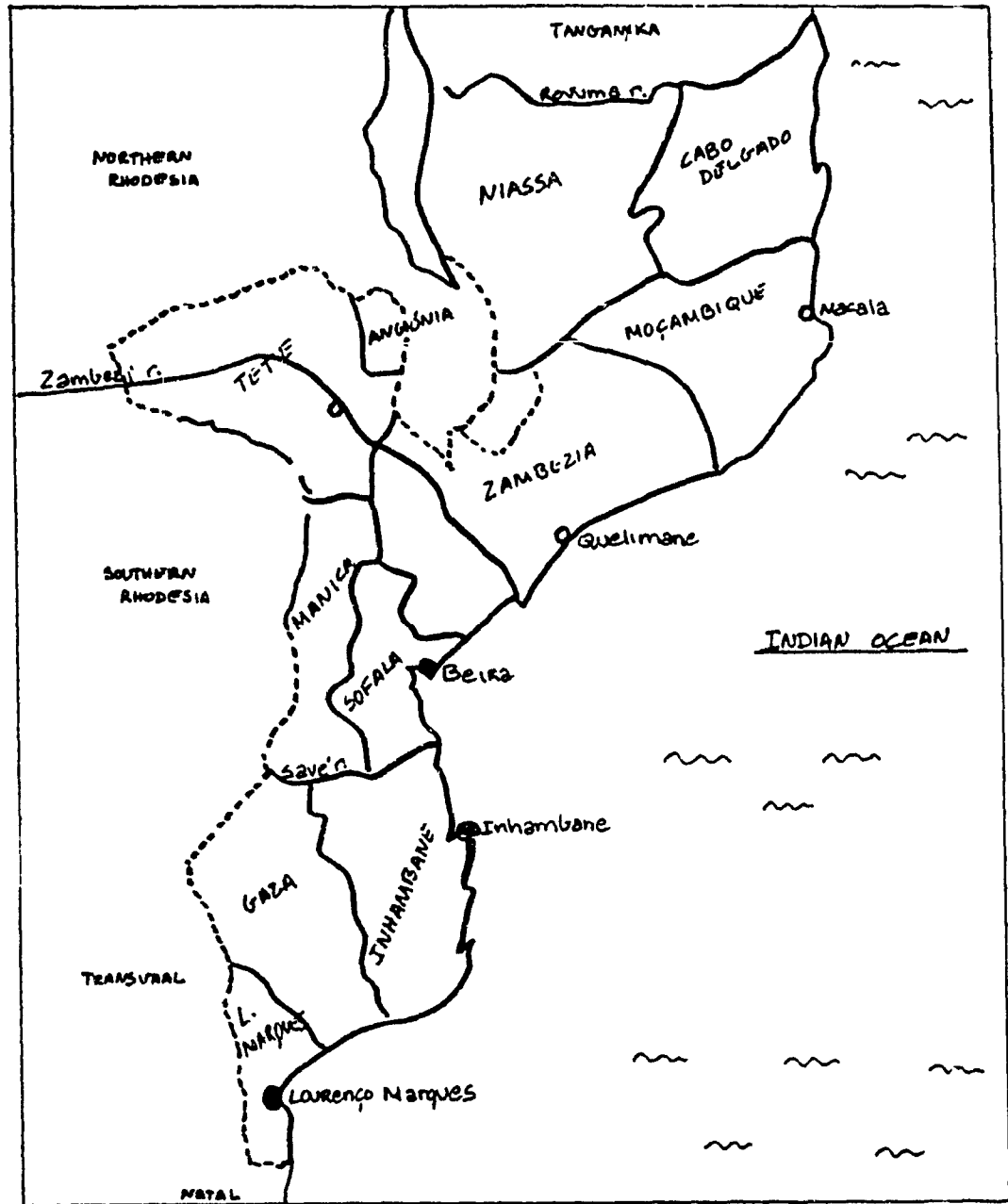
Prazos da Coroa: the Zambezi Valley



Source: Allen Isaacman (1976)

Map V

The Districts of Mozambique

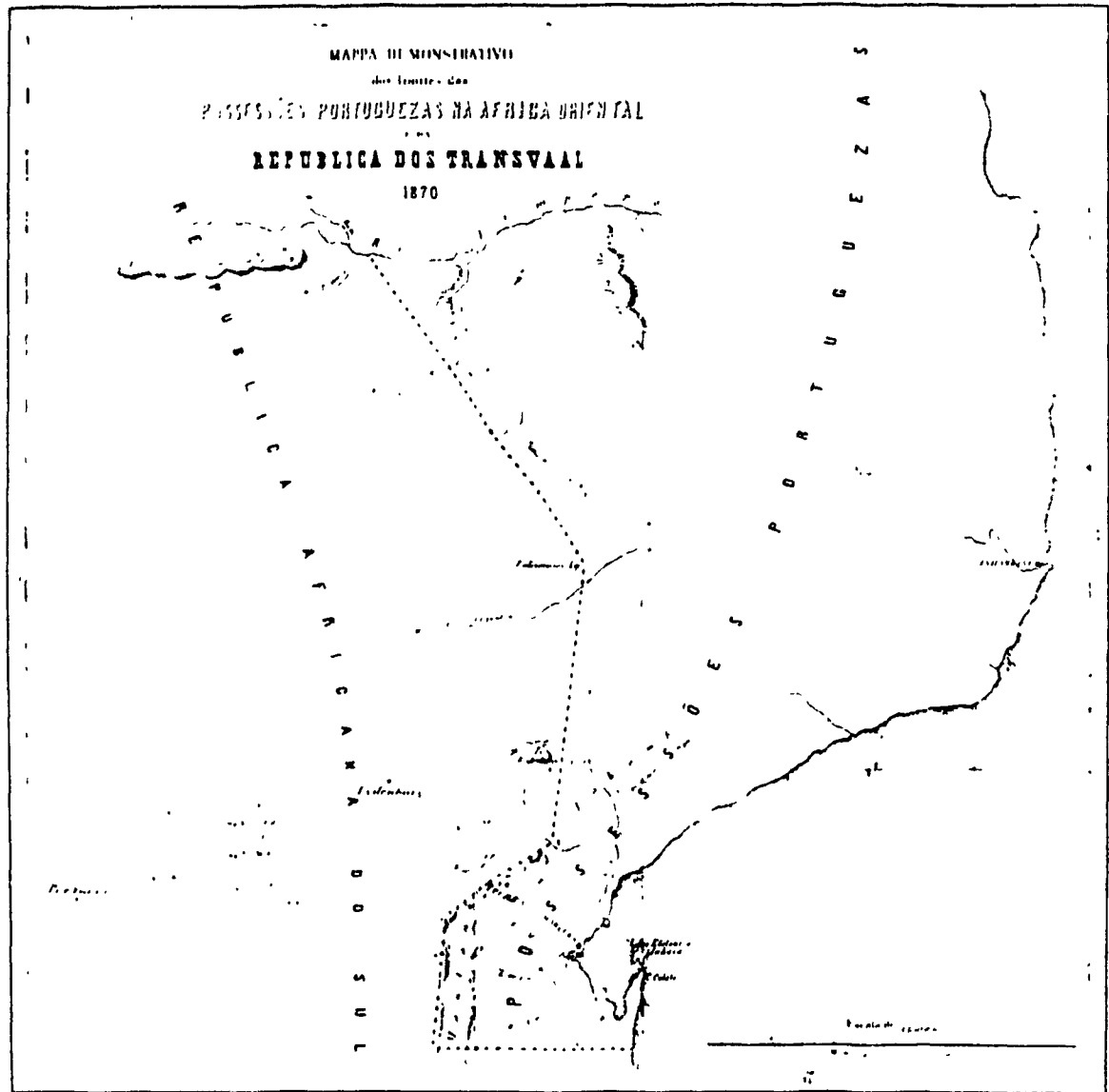






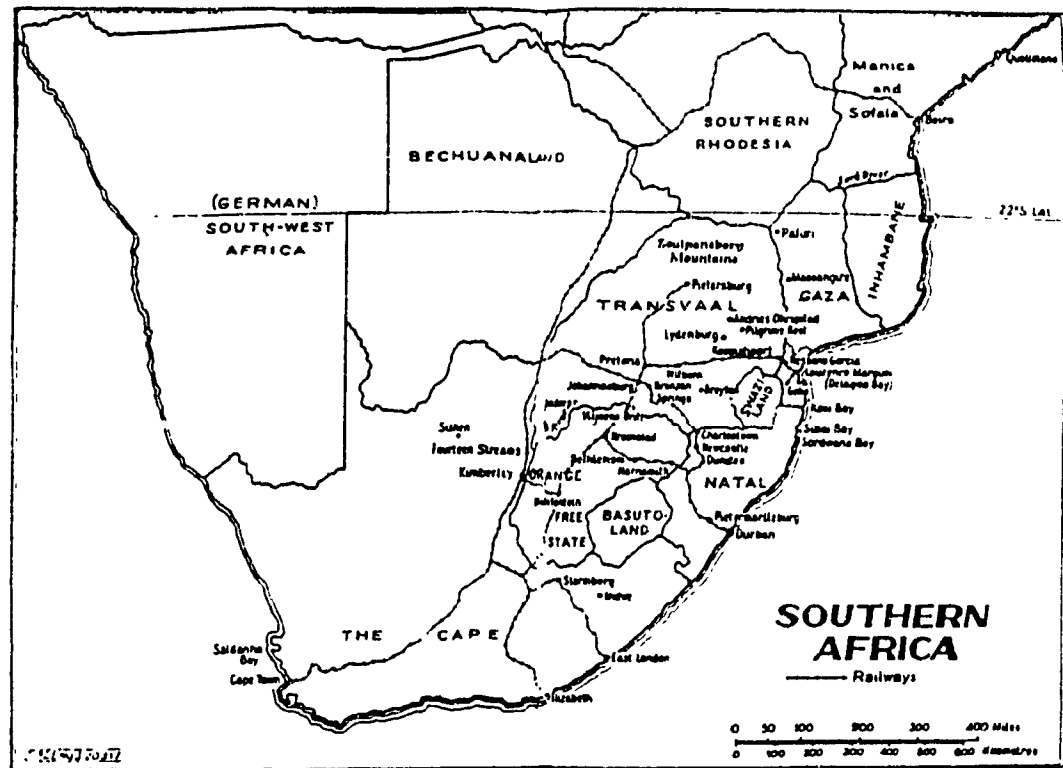
Map VIII

Mozambique's border with the Transvaal  
as established by the 1869 Treaty



Source: Pereira de Lima (1971), vol.I

Southern Africa Railways



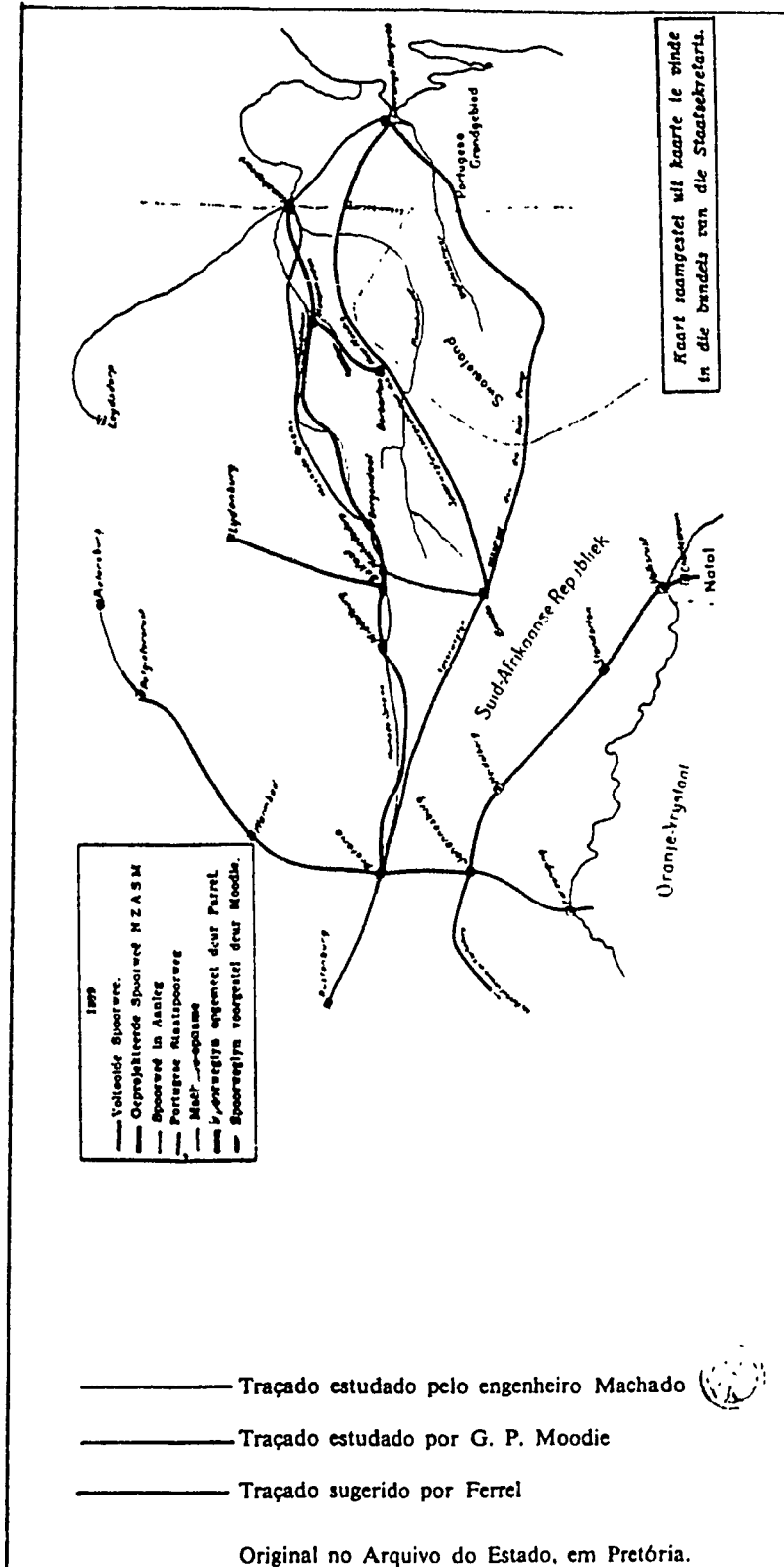
Source: Katzenellenbogen (1982)





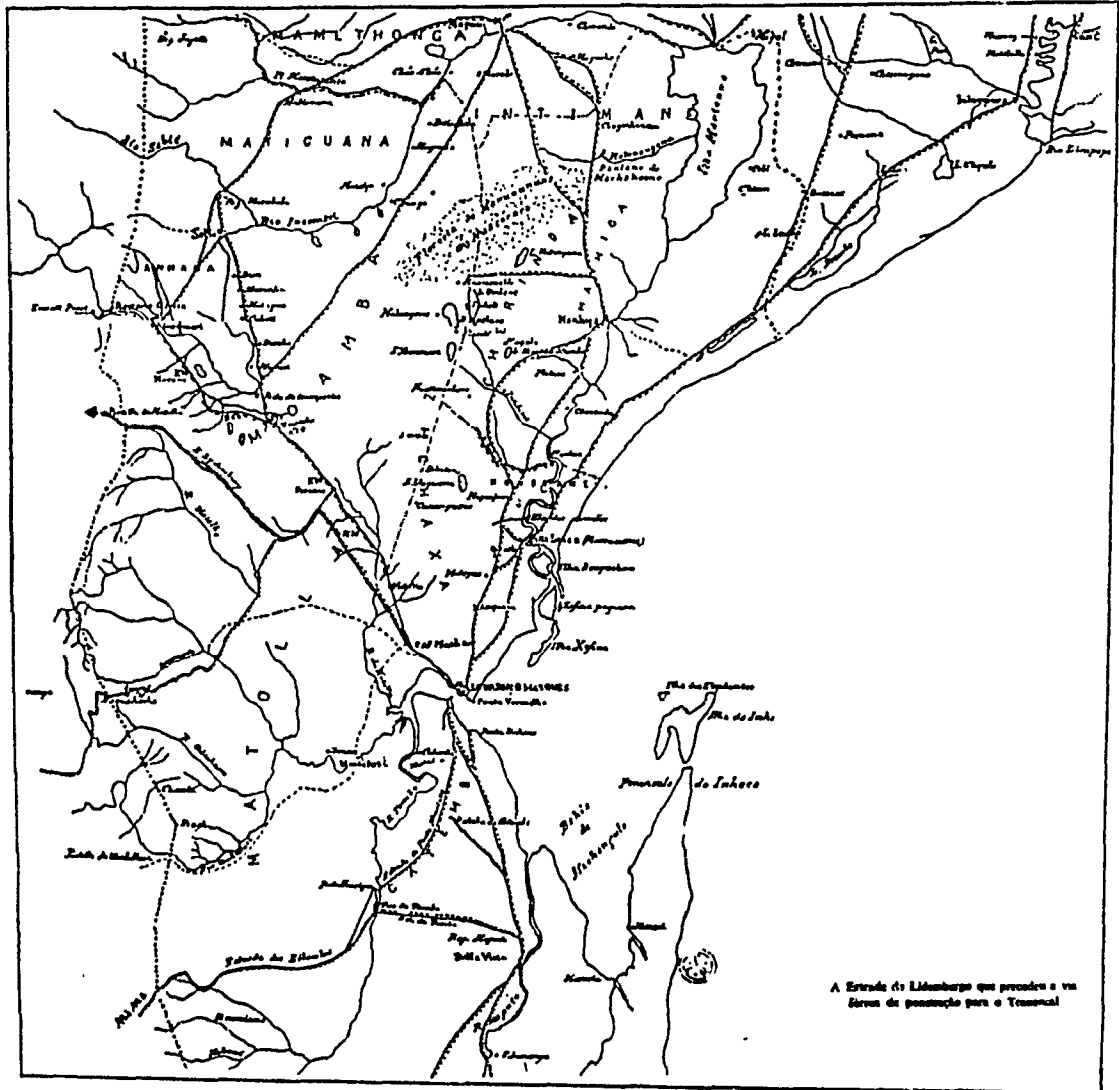
Map XI

The Projects for the Lourenço Marques Railway



Source: Pereira de Lima (1971), vol.I

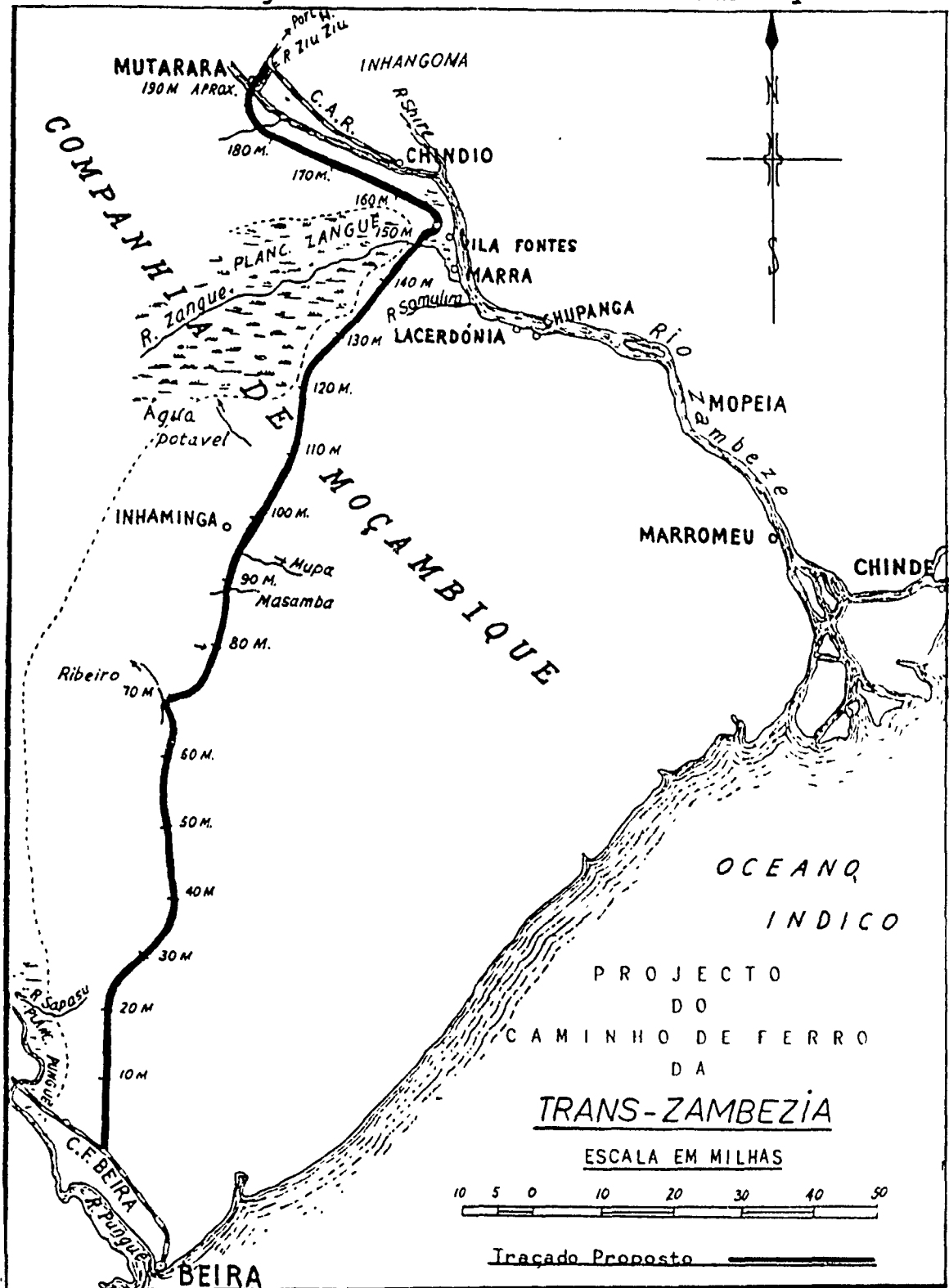
The Lydenburg Road



Source: Pereira de Lima (1971), vol.I

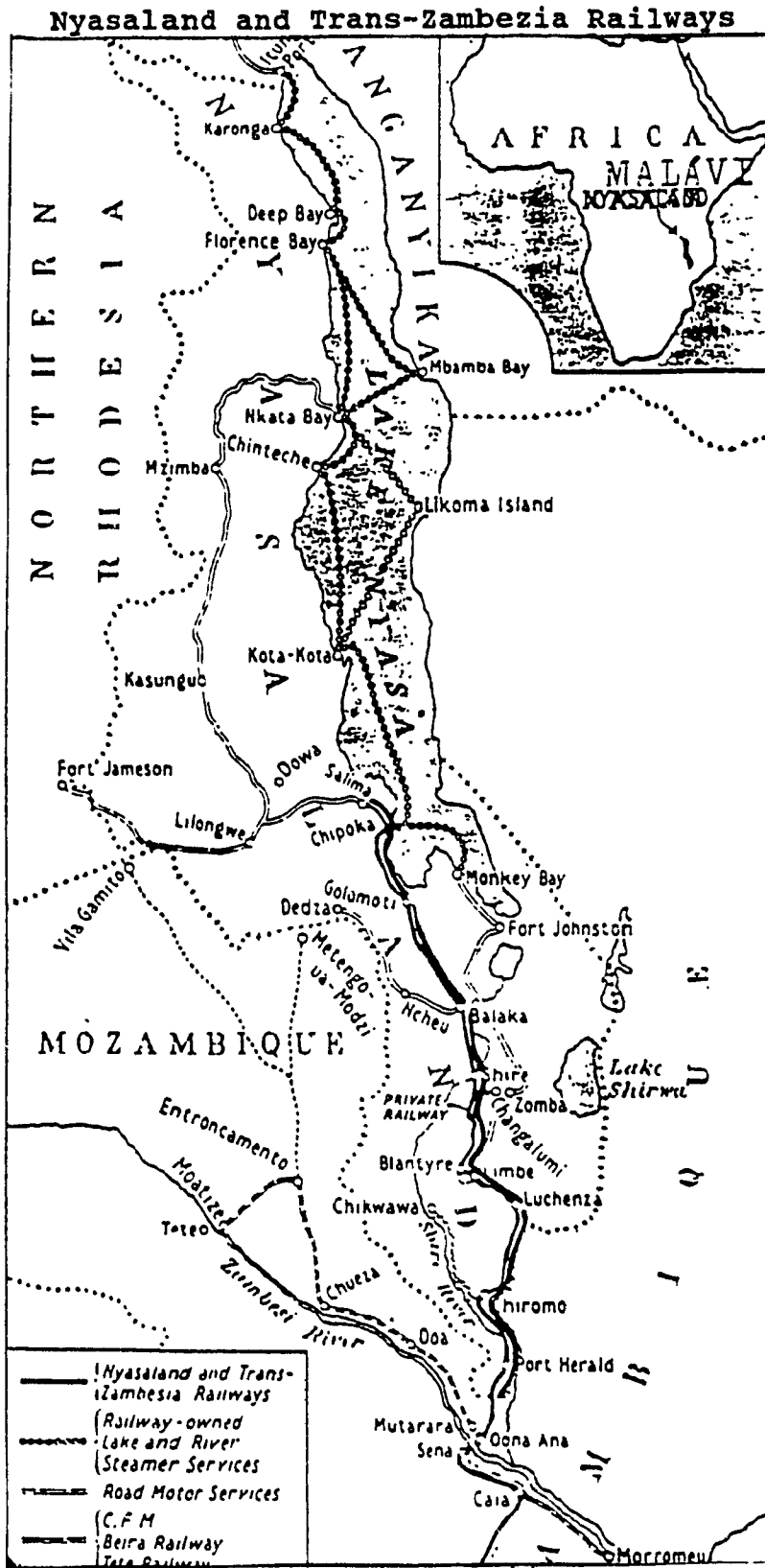
Map XIII

The Project for the Trans-Zambezia Railway



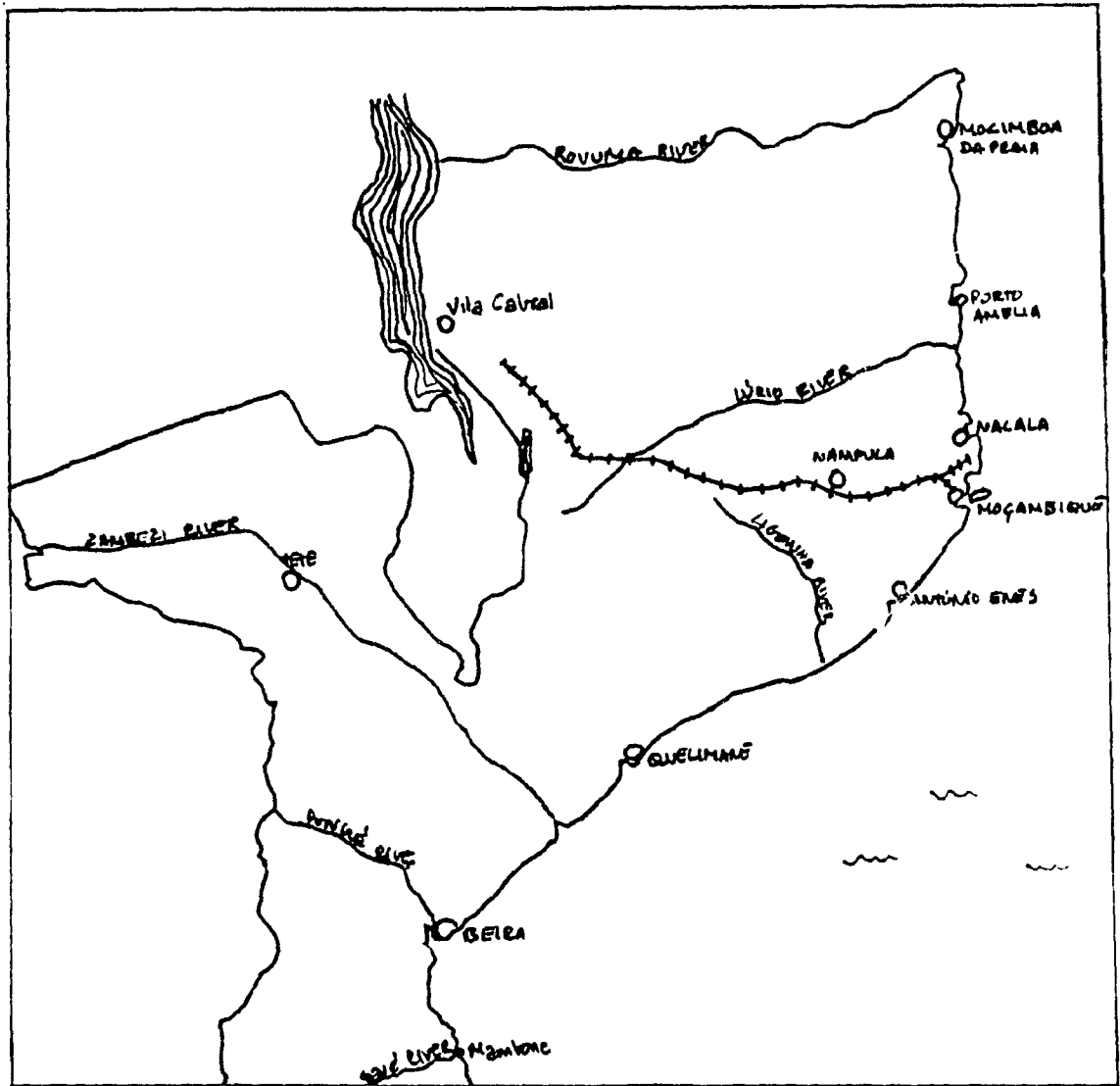
Source: Pereira de Lima (1971), vol.II

Map XIV

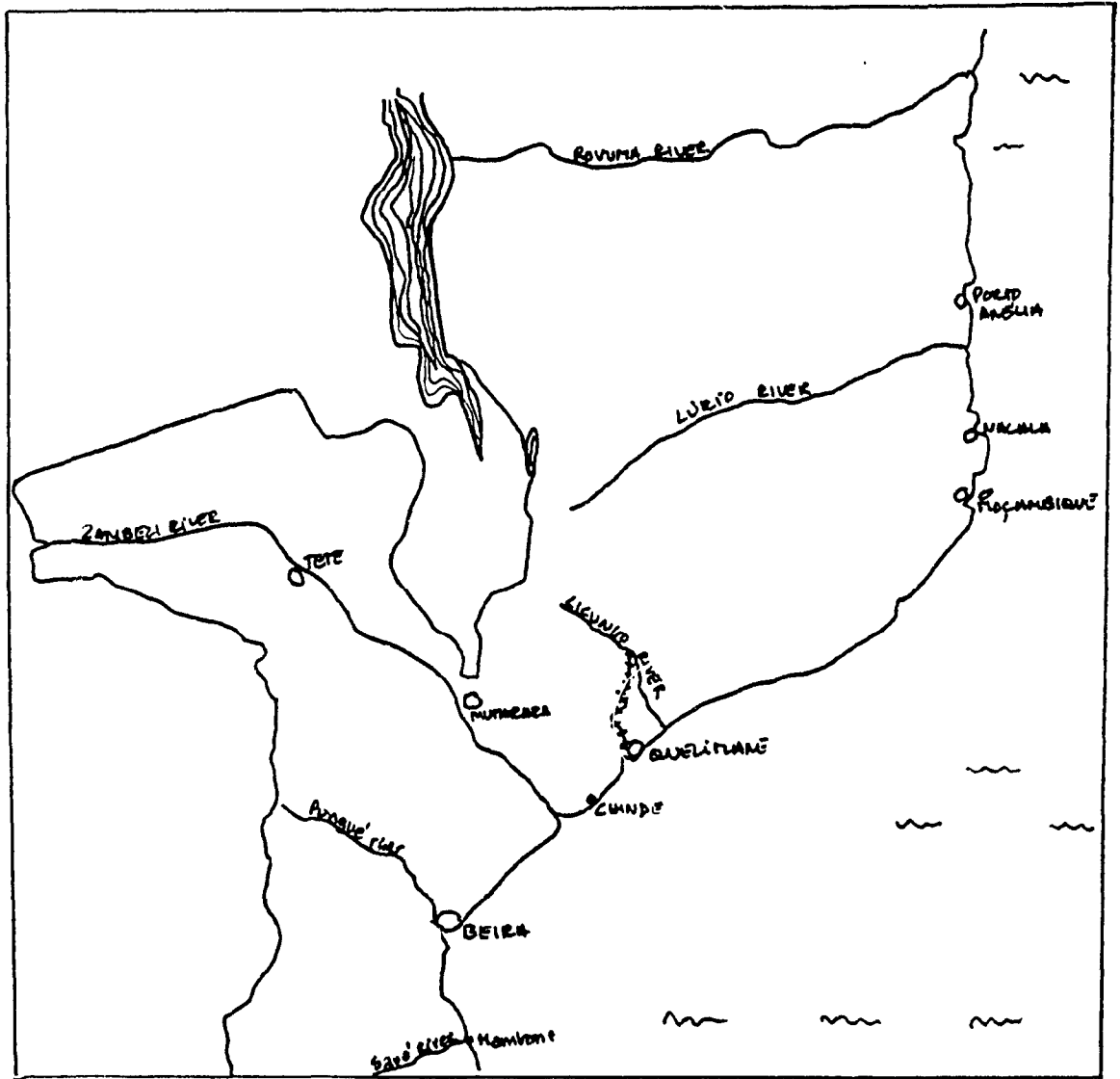


Source: Pereira de Lima (1971), vol.II

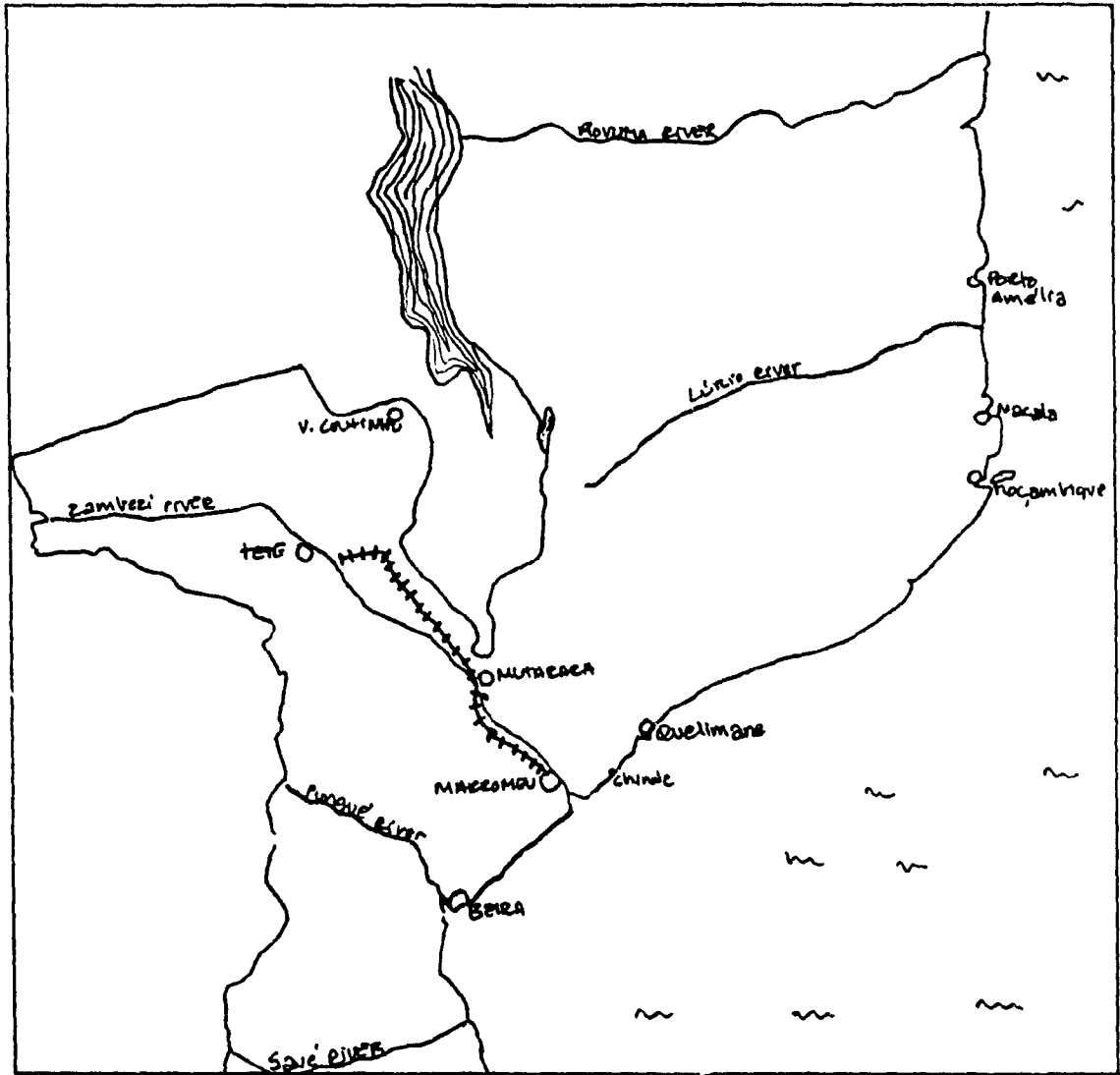
The Mozambique-Nacala Railway



The Quelimane Railway

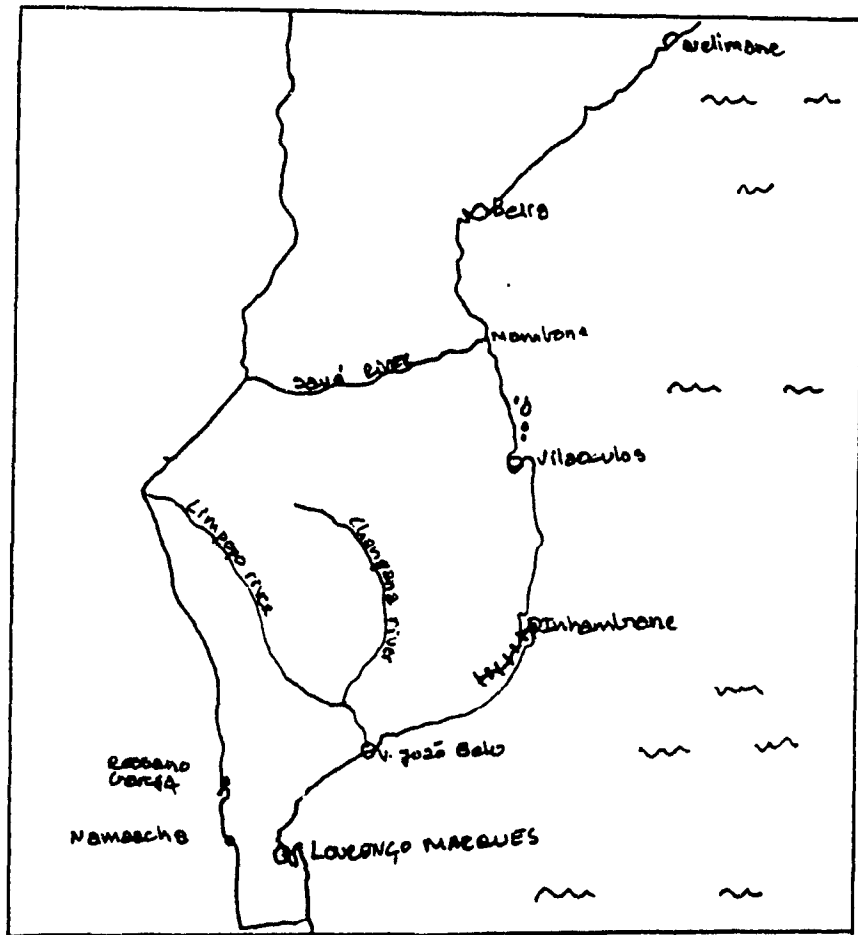


The Tete Railway

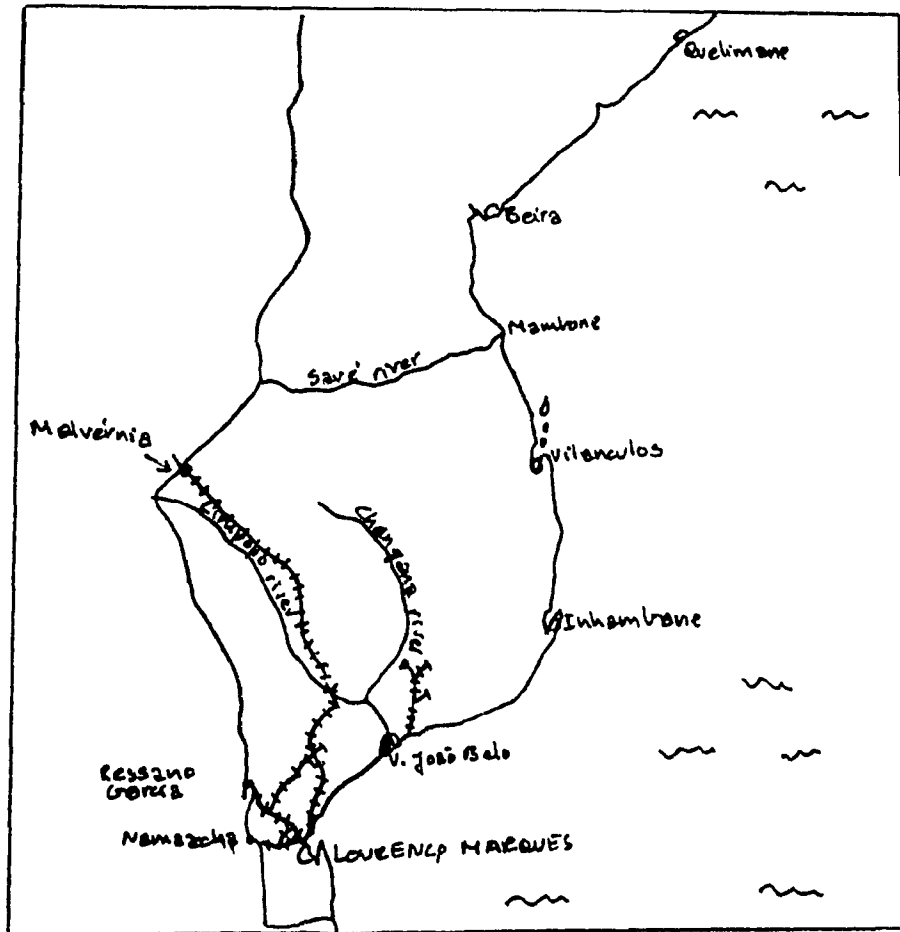




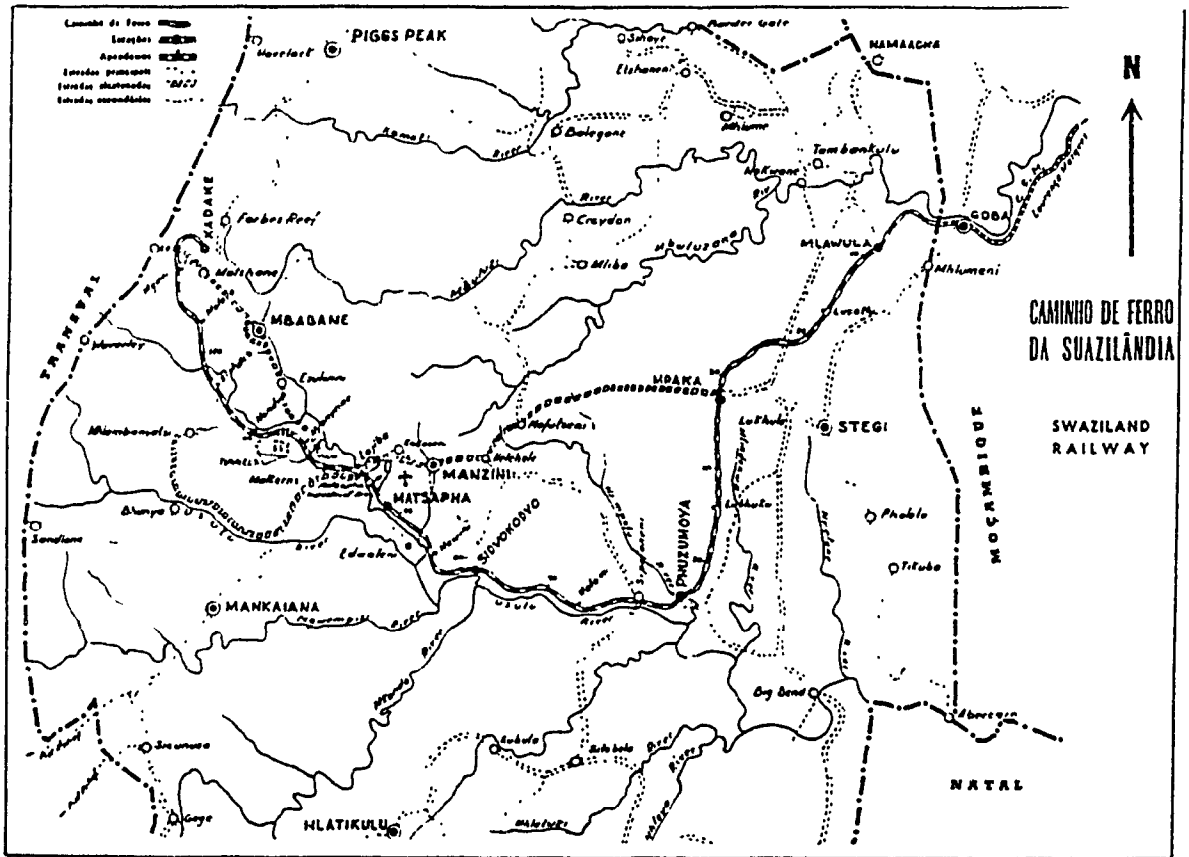
The Goba and Inhambane Railway



Map XIX  
Subsidiary Lines of the Lourenço Marques Railway

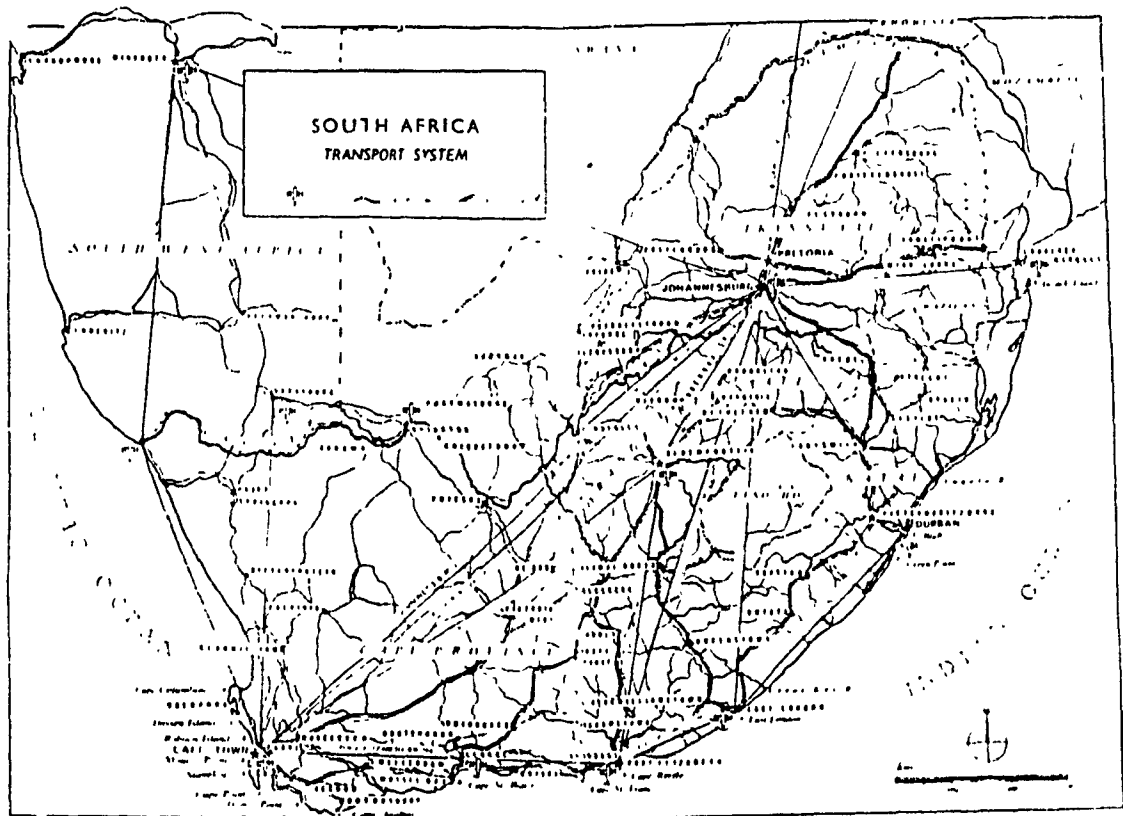


The Swaziland Railway



Source: Pereira de Lima (1971), vol.I

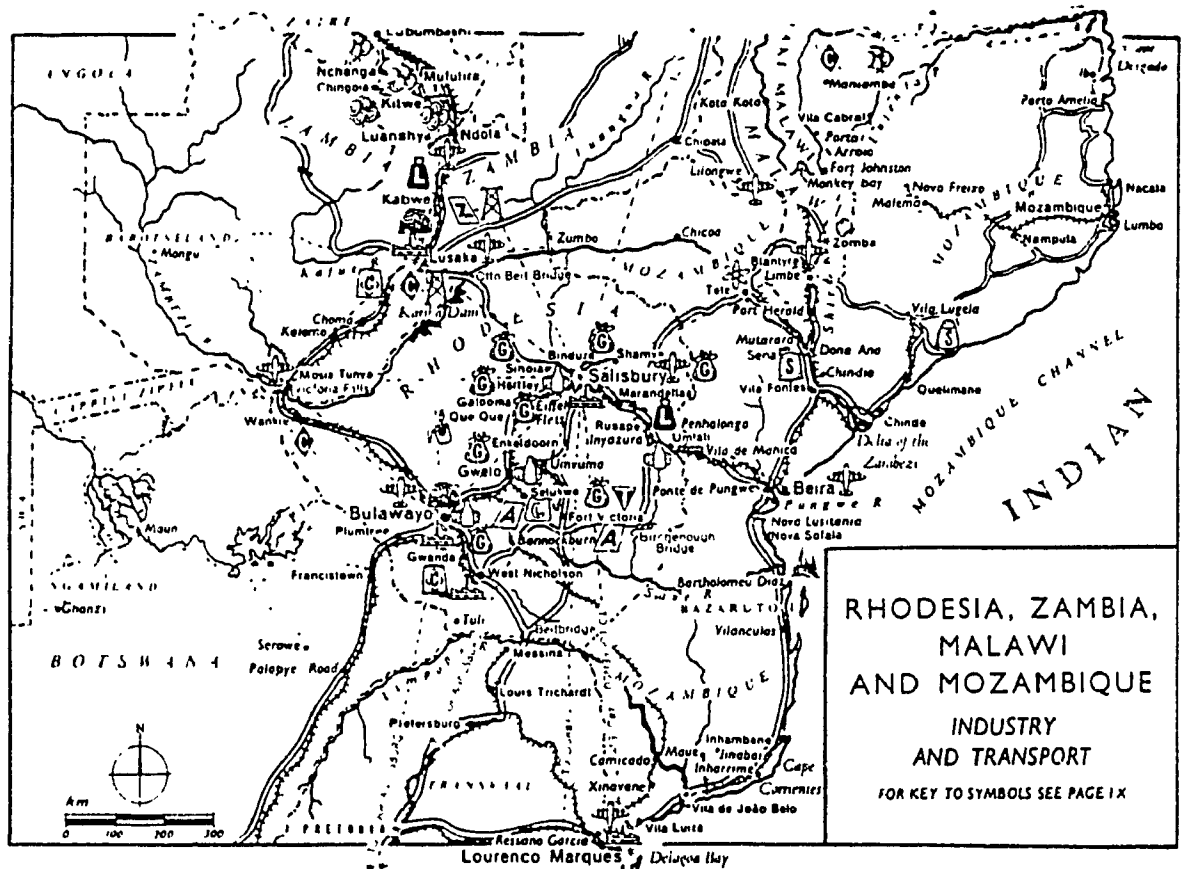
South Africa Transport System



Source: Eric Rosenthal, ed. (1973)

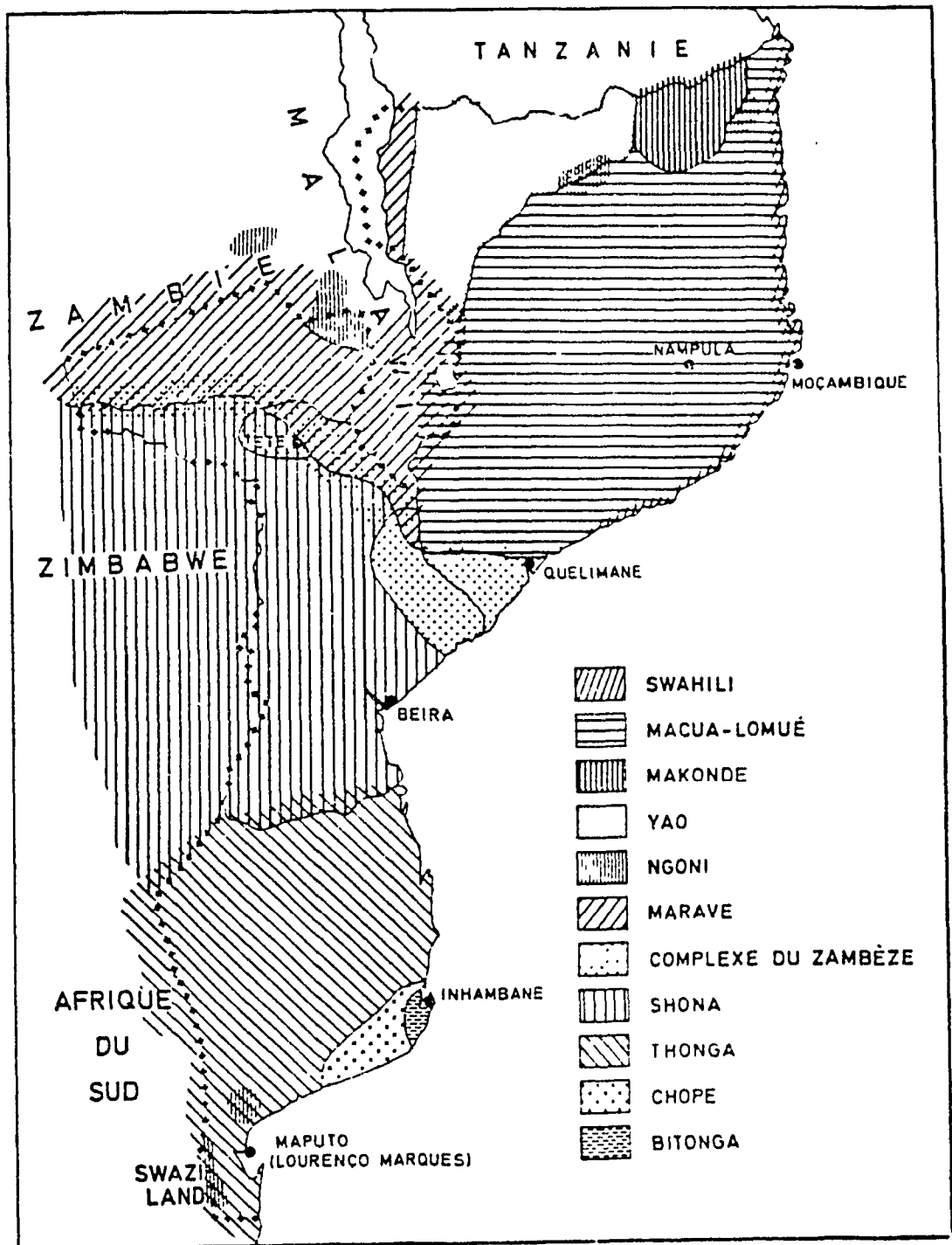
Map XXII

Rhodesia, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique -  
Industry and Transport



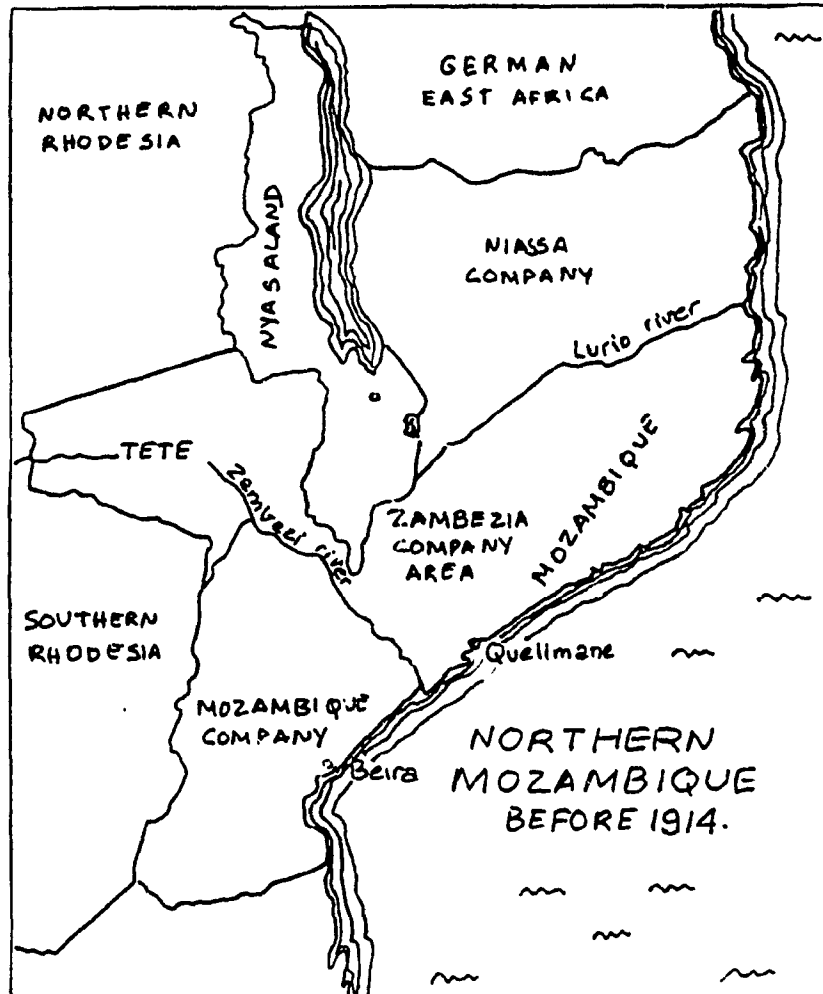
Source: Eric Rosenthal, ed. (1973)

Map XXIII  
 Ethnic Map of Mozambique - Twentieth Century



Source: R. Pélissier (1984), vol. I

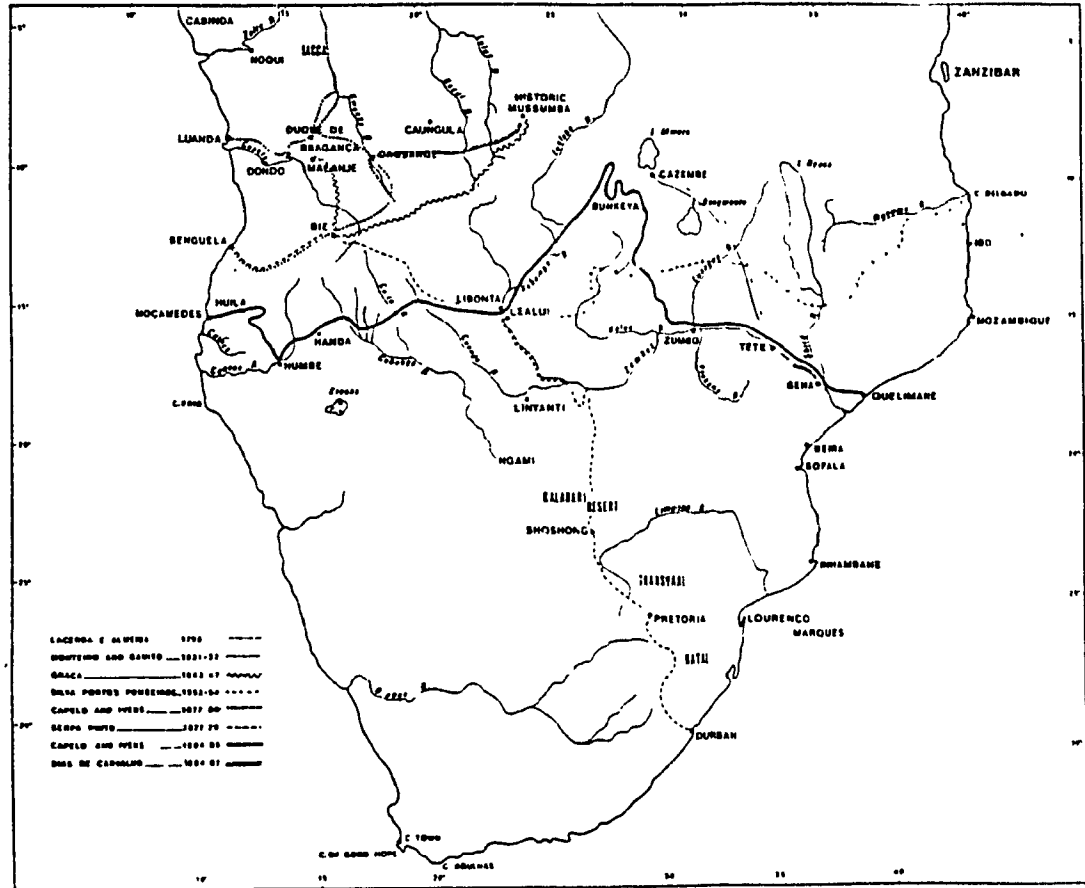
Northern Mozambique Before 1914



Source: S.Katzenellenbogen (1982)

Map XXV

Southern Africa with Routes of Portuguese Explorers (1788-1887)

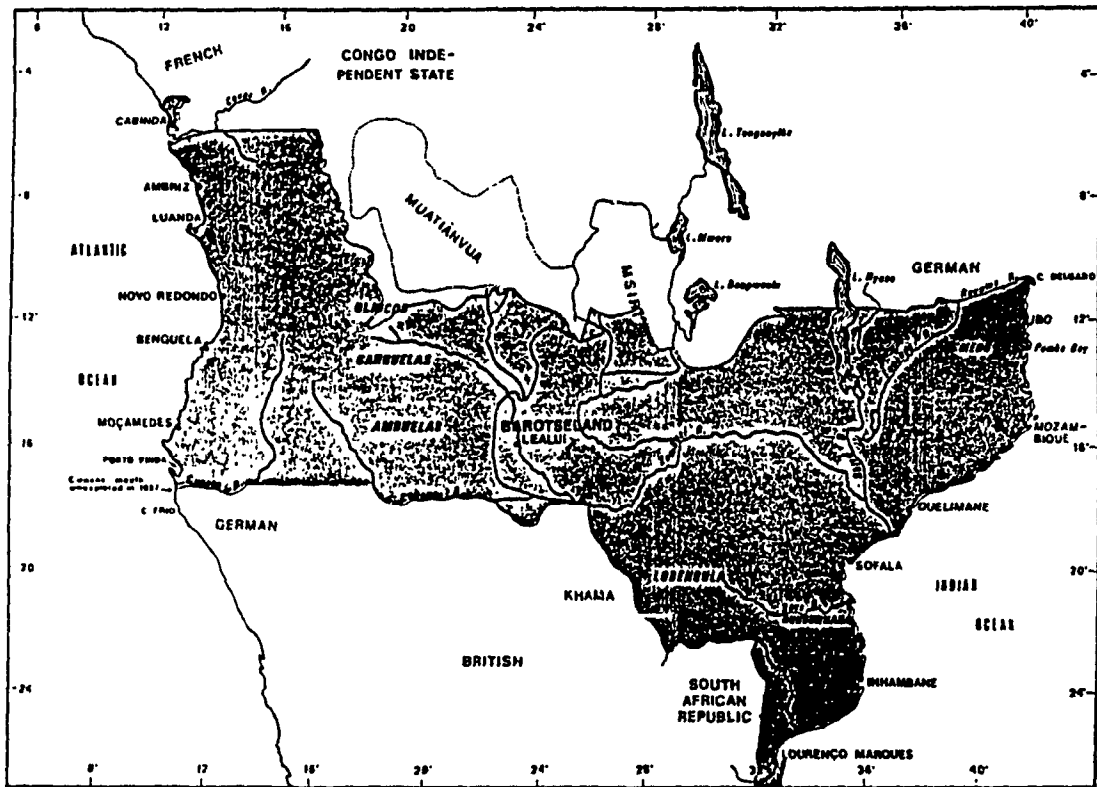


Source: C. Nowell (1982)



Map XXVI

Final Version of the Rose-Colored Map, 1887



Source: C. Nowell (1982)