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The cocoa of São Thomé

Answer to the report of the Cadbury, Burt, and Swan's Mission

AT THE

PROVINCES OF SÃO THOMÉ AND PRINCIPE AND ANGOLA
IN 1908

The message that they bring appears of friends;
But underneath the poison comes concealed,
Because their thoughts were all with hostile ends,
E'en as the fraud was afterwards revealed.

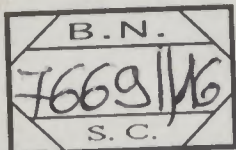
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LISBON

Printed to the «A Editora»

50, Largo do Conde Barão, 50

1910





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The cocoa of São Thomé

On December 1907, the planters of the province of São Thomé and Príncipe, in a moment of lawful indignation against foreign insulting provocations, undeniably against the portuguese native work, published a vigorous protest against the first mission's report which was sent out to Western Africa by a syndicate of English manufacturers headed by M. Cadbury. Aggravating the situation, not correcting the insidious slanders already contested and destroyed, M. Cadbury relapsing into his hostile purposes, sent out a personal inquest on the management of the native labour in the province of São Thomé and Príncipe and its reeruiting and engaging at Angola. Publishing his mission's report, he did not hindred from publishing over again integrally all that had been formerly stated and protested against in 1907, with the aggravating circumstance of suing the *Standard* on the eve of bringing forth the African report, which suit gave him ocasion to renew purposely the charges against not only the managing but also the portuguese colonial work, not adding to his book this most important established

proof, as well as the chief pieces from Swan's book, who went out to Angola in 1908 on his behalf, which has been stated on the occasion of the debates at the Birmingham libel action.

What is going to be read, it is the lawful and logic result of the protest of 1907.

Lisbon, the 15.th of February 1910.

The cocoa of São Thomé

Two years have elapsed since the São Thomé and Principe planters on a lawful defense agreed to protest energetically against the insidious, capricious and spiteful discredit going on in England, under several different pretences, respecting the conditions used at the recruiting and engaging of the native work in the province of Angola, and their usefulness at the plantations in that province. This defence is entirely proved by the events, it is plainly seen the origin and aim of the slander attacks on the portuguese colonial work, coming to the knowledge that those who supposed this attack was not the consequence of a philanthropic feelings were right, for it has become a well foreseen agreement for commercial purposes. When Nevisson published his book accusing the existence of slavery in Angola and São Thomé, the first thought was that he had been suggested by particular missionaries, who for a long time, more or less publicly, have brought forth their bad feelings against the educational training, exerted by the portuguese authorities in Western Africa. Not long afterwards, the true

inspirators of Nevisson became known. First of all, the so-called philanthropic English association took in hand the spreading of Nevisson's charges, supported by the press and the parliament, later on, under artful cautions supported by the Chambers of commerce, with secret understandings afterwards, out of a long resting, came to the surface openly and explicitly the cocoa manufacturers, and at the head of all, as a well seen leader, M. M. Cadbury, Fry, Rontree and Stollwercke, the manager and responsible — M. Cadbury. The cocoa from São Thomé and Principe, was declared to be the enasty and criminal produce, the out put of slave work, and it would be degrading to men, and offensive to God to buy or use it. It ought not to be allowed at the cocoa mills and manufactures should not go within the christian dwellings, or faithful families. So, for the first time in the world, the *boycottage* of a commercial produce, not on account of any misunderstanding, international resentment, acting as a war threat, no; but to suit selfish industrial profits, with the appearance of a philanthropic deed, and this at a time of a firm alliance and faithful amity between England and Portugal. However limited may have been the groups of the accusers of the portuguese colonial work, trade-men or manufacturers, missionaries or philanthropists, theoretical or pratical, they are men, and as such, they are men, and therefore they are English, and every body knows, that one quality most renowned in the psychology of the English nation is, wherever is an Englishman, there is England. So, about this matter no illusion could be kept on the nature and aim of the charges against the portuguese colonial work, the Birmingham libel action has com-

pletely put an end to it, concerning the particular understanding amongst the managers of the campaign.

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In 1909, as had been done in 1907, M. Cadbury published the documents that he thought proper to point out clearly the basis of his charge, the reports of Burt's mission (1905-1909) and the Cadbury-Burt mission (1908), republishing the first, concealing systematically the chief documents, that had relation to the energetic and firm answers, that were then given in Portugal. Let it be known, firstly, if M. Cadbury had conduct himself in a loyal manner, he ought to have added to it the Birmingham libel action and M. Swan's book. In the Birmingham libel action, M. Cadbury by himself or his counsel, at the seven hearings of the suit, made the account of the course of his inquiries, his connections and intercourses with the several associations that took part in the inquiries, of communications with the *Foreign Office*, his calls at Lisbon, his conferences and interviews, the gathered out come, the forced reason for his especial visit to the colonies of São Thomé and Príncipe, and Angola, informations, and elucidations gathered, all for once that he thought proper to justify the loyalty and truthfulness of his conduct. It is clearly seen, that if by chance we could believe M. Cadbury evangelic piety, and entire good faith, perfect earnestness, the Birmingham suit, ought to have made part of his report published in 1908, at least in extracts well born from the

Standard, and by the same reason M. Swan's *The Slavery of Today*. Let us say the reason for. In the Birmingham suit, M. Cadbury comes forward as a philanthropist and a friend of humanity, behaving according to his conscience and not to profits. M. Cadbury who kept no secret his intention to visit Angola and São Thomé and Príncipe, who asked government introductions, requested easy transit, to ensure his good faith and his loyalty, came to light in Birmingham suit, that to put aside suspicions he had with him through the voyage the missionary Swan, but on a mission ostensible set a part from his, without visible contacts, but with secret understandings. M. Cadbury went on board at Madeira at october 9.th 1908, the missionary Swan came to Lisbon and left for Angola on the 7.th. His book, known in Portugal as well as that of M. Cadbury, since September 1909, relates over again all the old yarns concerning the Slavery at Angola, some are sensibly corrected and increased, under an awful appearance to suit the photos, some of which one would think to be M. Cadbury offspring. The missionary Swan states to support his assertions, evidences gathered no doubt from portuguese source, for, that they might have complete authentication, he hindered not from saying that whosoever supplied this particular story — *unsolicited testimony* — of a negress who committed suicide, with a baby-son, on board a steamer that took over from Angola to São Thomé workmen-passengers, was a portuguese passenger who lived ten years in Angola and dwells at Lisbon at one of the most fashionable quarters of that city, and gives the address. Then, not only by these and others statements of portuguese traders, but chiefly by imputation that the mis-

sionary Swan does on behalf of M. Cadbury against the portuguese authorities, the engagers of workmen, and directly against the planters that employ them at the plantations in the province of São Thomé and Príncipe, for all this M. Cadbury, a philanthropist, a friend of humanity, a man right minded and wholesome conscience, honest in his proceedings, and faithful in his ways, ought to have fully stated in his report of 1908, together with the narration of the Birmingham suit, the missionary Swan's book. But otherwise M. Cadbury, who had the full edition of his report ready, made on the same style and size as the missionary Swan's book, at the end of August 1909, kept back his edition to be published after the proceedings of the Birmingham suit, and allowed the twin book to go over the world by himself *The Slavery of Today*. In the English edition of his report, M. Cadbury goes on, demonstrating the honesty of his intentions, faithfulness of his work, not only left of the full reproduction of documents which would explain his proceedings in Lisbon at the end of 1907, but still affected not to have notice of the decree of July the 17.th 1909., to which he might have referred on a note or *addenda* to his book, being as it is natural, greatly advanced its printing, and in his evil-doing returned to the discussion of the Birmingham suit, whose only reference, for it was convenient for an able defence, to the decree of the 29.th of July of 1909, that ordered the suspension of the engagement of native labour from the province of Angola to the province of São Thomé and Príncipe till January 1910. Nevisson begun the work, Swan came to the end. It is convenient to settle and accentuate the correlation, which brings forth all

the plot for these insidious proceedings, whose threads come to the same point, after entangling the missionaries, *The Aborigenes Protection Society, The Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, The Foreign office, tutti quanti*, so that at the last account, Nevisson, Swan, Fox Bourne, Jones, Fry, Rontree, Stollwerck, Burt, judges, counsels, editors, all vanish under the entangled and dense network of this colossal clue, where from, only rises to notice, victoriously, stately, M. Cadbury's head, the philanthropist, mankind's friend, fully overpowered on all his movements, handcuffed by his own work. So as to remain what he has always ever been, the wealthy manufacturer, powerful and daring, that by a feverish ambition to over-power the portuguese colonial work, as if it was possible to rule others people houses, he intended to be the controller for the price of the cocoa from the province of São Thomé and Príncipe — in first place making the prices, afterwards as he found that he could not succeed, he tried to force the difficulty for the native labour putting the native work out of the way, and there making all the carrying on more expensive. *That is the question.*

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M. Cadbury settles in 1901 his first impression about the conditions of the native work at the plantations of São Thomé and Príncipe, although the beginning of his propaganda in full swing was in 1903, on this date, he visited Lisbon, to begin with his inspired divine mission, that by this time he had certainly a mind to begin his work, there

he call at the most prominent cocoa planters in order to let them know the serious charges against the native work in the two islands of São Thomé and Príncipe, and the way that the engagements were carried on, receiving, says he, the answer, that he might be sure that his informations were greatly increased, and that very soon he would see an end put to the matter by a new law for the returning of the workmen to their country and so the evils of the ancient ways of recruiting would finish. The history of the question is not made at its first phase, which undoubtedly deserves to be well investigated, so much so, that it appears, that it was from it, that rose the suggestion of the first enquire by the English manufacturers, into the conditions of the native labour, at the portuguese colonies — Burt's mission (1905-1907). Burt's mission had credentials from Portugal, of which, however, but only one was published and persistently republished, keeping the others a secret. When M. Burt came back from his mission, he arrives in London and, a few days after, he got an interview, which we must believe not to be official, with Sir Edw. Grey, got ready his report, and then begins the hostile campaign with full strength, the network enlarges its field of work, the report's text is sent to the English Government intentionally to build a justification for an unbecoming claim to an international intervention, translated into portuguese, it becomes known at Lisbon, preparing a new *démarche* of Cadbury by the portuguese planters of São Thomé and Príncipe. Leading then the rising of the English propaganda, was clearly seen the *Aborigenes Protection Society* and the *Anti-Slavery Society* (now they form only one), M. Cadbury keeping himself in a wise

penumbra. Just afterwards it was indirectly suggested, when M. Cadbury came to light, with an assistance from the English government which we wish to classify as not official, that he had taken advantage of pressing the English manufacturers, receiving a somewhat moral support, having the intention to get rid from impositions, perhaps more peremptory or per chance more popular, from the philanthropic Societies, and from the Chambres of commerce, for these would put into the question a two great political appearance, and for this reason more compromising to the practise allways folowed by the English Chancery, never to interfere into the internal managment of other countries. And so, the matter, assuming a private affair, would allow a not official assistance, saving the traditional and official caution. But the Birmingham suit, bringing the cases into light exactly as they were, evidently showed the untruthfulness of such assertion, proving the total and perfect understanding between M. Cadbury and all the other agents of the hostile and slander propaganda. In the Birmingham suit, it came to be understood that M. Cadbury would have then been advised by the high authorities, not to publish his report, but could not be seen the powerful reason which forced M. Cadbury to do exactly the contrary, still it seems that neither his action nor his predominance has suffered from it. Here M. Cadbury begins to be seen as a philanthropist and humanity's friend, who does everything in a thoroughly and truthful intention, with a conscience that belongs as much to this world as to the other, calm as a saint and unselfish as an apostle, free from all the earthly ambitions, and looking forward only for the celestial brillant and hea-

venly glory, devoted to the others, without the courage nor strength to avoid that his sincere and loyal mission may be transformed into a rude and evil attack, overpowering the truth, the right, the justice, arriving at the boundaries of the most disgusting impiety as regarding the almighty God, and the most iniquitous wickedness as regarding mankind. M. Cadbury, that could have rule and lead missionaries, philanthropic associations, Chambers of commerce, news papers editors, to whom the ministerial doors are freely open, that has free transit in the parliamentary halls, till he gets his tuned phonograph heard for his claims at the most elevated tribune in England, M. Cadbury, calm, but daring, not being timid, *knowing how to use the beginings so as to arrive at the ends*, becomes in front of ingenious people, a sacrificed, that, not being able to overpower the troubled wave of human indignation, risen in all the consciences and in all the piteous souls of the good and generous England, will let himself be entangled by it, till the point of looking as, begining his all heavenly work, he was working for the unlawful profits of his industrial safe and of his commercial customers. He, the agitator, he the artist of all this monstrous slander campaign against the portuguese colonial work, with the seraphic eyes, one looking at the price of the cacao, the other on the teaching texts of the bible, he that, in the Birmingham suit, avowed himself or his counsel, that he had tried to gather around him all the English chocolate manufacturers, so as to ensure the work of sanitary boycottage of the slave cacao, he could not avoid a bad figure for his mission, changing his intentions for good and suggested advice, loyal and sincere suggestions, into

an intensive aggression, that was far away from his mind and heart, so that, at last those that attacked the portuguese colonial work, those who blamed factiously the portuguese administration, who republished slanders, forging others, who oppressed, who vexed, who insulted, who paid for the campaign, it was not him, but . . . the others!

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M. Cadbury, came to Lisbon at the end of 1907, he had real intercourse with some of the chief portuguese planters of the islands of São Thomé and Príncipe, had correspondence with them which is published, in portuguese and english, and speaks for us and itself, he was received by the Minister of the Colonies and had an interview, which, as it was then stated, had absolutely a private view, so do we believe, although we can see otherwise from the declarations made at the hearings of Birmingham libel action, and the documents published at present. M. Cadbury ought to have known, however, that, since the middle of 1906, the portuguese government had given instructions for the province of Angola in the sense of executing strictly the controlling law for the recruiting of the native workmen for the province of São Thomé and Príncipe, and already had the intention to send out to that province, at the beginning of 1908, a high commissioner to inquire the way that the contracts were carried on. M. Cadbury then ought also to know the *memorandum* from the portuguese government of 1906, and surely notice the answer, that was given to Burt's report by the

planters of São Thomé and Príncipe at the end of 1907, and that M. Cadbury classified in the suit of the Birmingham libel action, as an *aggressive personal protest*, which he left off in the edition of his report of 1908, for the same reason surely that forced him to put away, not only an essential part of the correspondence that took place in his interviews at Lisbon, but also the extract of the discussion in the Birmingham libel action and the missionary Swan's book.

Editing, however, his report in portuguese, M. Cadbury says, *wishes in this way to give to the portuguese people one more proof of his respect, as well as to furnish material to those who with a good will, a loyal wish, desire to study and know the question.* It was so in 1907, with the difference, however, that in 1909 M. Cadbury sent his book to the market, taking the case, however, not to let be known the english text, which he did not deliver not even to those that had a right to know it, and asked him for it at Bourneville. In his report of 1908 M. Cadbury makes the history and relation of his voyage, and its beginings, not explaining, however, that he had difficulty in getting lodgings with the english flag, as he should wish, but did not happen in São Thomé. Speaking about the climate and salubrity of the island of São Thomé he states to have no confidence in the statisties of meteorologic observations, so as to be symmetric with the charge made a little before to the deficiency of the portuguese statisties, that he wanted to have and got some of them which were useful to

him, in all that regards the native population, *as well as in regard to the sise of the roças, to the full produce of the plantations, and cocoa out put in every one*, wages condition, lodging, food and the hospital treatment, well showing that he was making an industrial and commercial enquire, and not a philanthropic survey. *Chassez le naturel, il reviendra au galop*. Then easily returning to the original scheme for his charges, M. Cadbury attacks throughly the subject of the repatriation, insinuating that if it is not done, it is not on account of the wishes of the native workmen, but caused by the way they are consulted when the contracts are renewed, for the consultations are made all in one in portuguese, without interpreter, stating that the managers of two (*roças*) plantations had avowed to him that the *system was bad for the commerce and unjust for the humankind*. — M. Cadbury is very cautious to show his feelings about the general conditions of the native labour at the plantations, and not to defeat neither tacitly nor openly Burt's assertions or Swan's affirmations. He took a particular able case to spare the planters showing clear intentions for an accord, but lost no time to charge the portuguese government for all the faults with the situation. But, on his arrival at Angola he putted aside all the cunning, kept away from all restraint, he tried to consolidate his hostile campaign with the relations from Heli Chate-^olain, that we all know, enlarging then Burt's charges, to make true the existence of the *Slavery*, to which he chiefly ascribes the commercial crisis which affects the province, panperized in its population on account of the great put off of workmen for the islands of São Thomé and Principe, — men, women and children, *that go not to come back*, and the

great number that die on account of not being cared for and savagely used at the slave dwelling, and the long journeys to the coast. At Angola the *slave-dealer* — says he — ruins the trader, putting him on bad conditions as to the dealing with the inland native. If M. Cadbury had followed this *inspiration*, which perhaps the missionary Swan might explain by some of his *unsuspected testimony*, if he had wished to go forward, he would perhaps have arrived to a different conclusion. In Angola not only there are no Slave-traders, but the contractors are all dealing and intercouring with the merehants, and what is more to, if they have not built a syndicate so as to get the full supply of the native labour for the province of São Thomé and Principe, it has been on account of the firm and energetic opposition from the planters, and the determined resolution of the portuguese government not to allow it or permit it, and to this fact answers the easiness of information that the missionary Swan got in Angola — *unsuspected testimony* — against the system and manner of reeruiting the native labour for the province of São Thomé and Principe. He was at Benguella, it seems that he went to Lobito, and, perhaps, taking the rail-way to some places in the interior, very probably for the rail-works were carried on by Englishmen — There he also came to knownd some degrading deeds for the nation's good name, but what he was not told were the facts that occurred with the native workmen, at a number of more than 2:000, who were working there, and that, having been limited or nearly stopped the railway-works on the Katanga line, they were sent away and forsaken, forced to go to the coast on a miserable journey, the greater part of them starving by the roads,

others arrived hungry and void of strength at Benguella helped by the public, and their natural protectors did not care for their misery they ought to have sent them to their homes, and so they lost an occasion for showing their philanthropic feelings, the civilised and human souls of their race. This would have been a first rate occasion for the missionaries, supporters of M. Cadbury's generous work, show by example their true christian faith, and honoured the religious belief so devoted to the protection of the poor negroes and so, saving them from dying forsaken which they suffered painfully. Now we wish to make known, without any remarks, a fact that springs from document published by M. Cadbury — the English manufacturer was the bearer of introducing letters, from official source recommending, him the governors of São Thomé and of Angola, so as to easy for him, as much as possible, the *harshness of his generous mission*. — But from the report can be deduced that neither any of the governor followed strictly the recommendations and the governor of Angola Sr. Paiva Couceiro answered him *that he could copy what was public, go wherever he pleased, that he would see what he might see and nothing more*. M. Cadbury, in this while found out easy official information, more or less discreet, of which there is evident proofs in his report, and there we mention without remarks. M. Cadbury, keeping behind the awful portion of his report to be only published in illustrated edition in Swan's book, not losing any opportunity to do spiteful insinuations, and charge responsibility to the portuguese government, at last he arrived at the following conclusion :

I—The way of recruiting and MAINTENANCE of natives employed in the growth of the cocoa of the islands of São Thomé and Príncipe has not any possible defence.

a) the recruiting made in Angola by Europeans or their native agents, all of them unanswerable, the general governor declines all the responsibility in the manner that this operation is done; the consequence is, that in the interior of Africa takes place the most grave abuses;

b) a kind of contract, that in the practise, does not protect the native's freedom;

c) a great death-rate in the islands, which if we are to consider the *maintenance that is generally good*, the abundance of food, it ought to be look for one or more of these four causes:

1—System for recruiting;

2—The lasting of the contract, which is for five years;

3—Excessive hours for work, 62 per week, the Sunday's work included;

4—Unhealth dwelling and narrow or close in some dwellings of the native labours.

d) laws for repatriation not prepared to as to make easy the repatriation;—the curators themselves, who are the only responsible for the fulfilment of these laws, *plainly showed their*

opinion that the repatriation would be, in many instances, an injustice.

M. Cadbury, in the Birmingham suit, said by himself or his counsel, that now he recognized in the regulating decree of the 29th of January 1903 favourable conditions and warranted humanity and civilisation, which — he acknowledge — had taken no notice at the beginning. Here we have then a law which affords guarantees to civilisation and humanity, still Burt accused it throughly and Cadbury was inexorable to it. When M. Cadbury visited Angola the law of April 23.th 1908 was in full action, sensibly improved and bettered, having still a new remodification in December 31.th, 1908. During the printing of his report a new law is put forth, proclaiming the liberal and civilising disposition of the portuguese legislation, but M. Cadbury takes no notice of it, and in his human devotedness, if Burt considers the law of 1903 unpracticable and theoretical, he considers undefensible the law of 1908, but forgets to search in the native labour english legislation the model to be pointed. Irresponsible agents, says he. Why irresponsible? They are appointed by a responsible *comité*, and possess by themselves, as portuguese citizens, all the responsibilities for their unfulfilment of the laws, and the portuguese laws are severe to punish those who attempt against the rights and duties of any one, and there is particular punishment and enlarged penalties for the crimes respecting slavery, which is forbidden for once in all the dominions of Portugal. Irresponsible agents? If M. Cadbury wished to say what he knew or know what he should say, he would have stated that the

responsability for the emigration agents is so severely required by the law, that, at Moçambique, before his report was published, an emigration's agent for the native workmen for the province of São Thome and Principe, *suspected* of having made illegal contracts, was immediately suspended and passed through a syndication, so as to be delivered to the courts of law if he was found guilty and then suffer the criminal suit. Does not the contract, in practise, save the people's freedom? Why? Because the repatriation is not forced? If the answer were not at the conclusion *d)* of M. Cadbury report, he could find it in the contracts for the working natives of Moçambique to the Rand's gold mines in Transwaal. What is the proceeding that the English Law has maintained concerning these workmen? This, that a native contracted at the end of his contract, is not obliged to anything more, and he is free to go home or not. Then M. Cadbury allows, in two cases perfectly identical, two variable theories according to the Latitude and Longitude of the place where the portuguese native working-men can be found? Compelled repatriation in São Thomé and Principe, free repatriation for the Transwaal mines. A great death-rate at the islands? The causes: the recruiting, and the length of the contracts'lasting, excessive work? M. Cadbury should be wise enough to prove with documents the basis of his assertions, chiefly with compared statistic, for he could have got the medical reports from the plantations of São Thomé and Principe and there he would see the original cause—the degeneration of the race, the sleeping disease, which has implacably ravaged the english colonies, chiefly the Uganda, whose destroying

effects could well be demonstrated by his collaborateur the philanthropist M. Jones, the syphilis, the inveterated alcoholic abuse, which can not be stopped in its consequences ou account of the mild regime at the plantations and the geophagism unrestrainable in the vicious. To many working hours? M. Cadbury, here and other passages of his report, looks much devoted to the programme of *Labour Party*, a little more and he would revindicate for the negroes the famous principle of the three 8. The affirmation that the natives work 62 hours in a week in the plantations of São Thomé and Principe wants to be proved. If M. Cadbury wished to tell the truth, he would acknowledge that at the first-rate plantations there is the weekly rest, and that the daily work is not exhaustive, it is on the contrary rather particularly spared. It is also untrue that the native workmen have not a small tract of land to do their own culture. They have it and it would be easier, surely, to M. Cadbury, who has seen to much, to see them on the sunshine of the opulent portuguese island than if he paid a visit to the compounds for the natives at Transwaal mines, if he wished not to make a larger journey through the African's interior of the continent in the english colonies, where not even with most powerful eye-glass could have found his ideal kitchen-gardens! Unhealth and close dwellings in some of the natives home? Where? At São Thomé? M. Cadbury has forgotten the honoured statements of so many eminent travellers who have been at the remarkable plantations of São Thomé — his eminent country-men M. M. Johnston, Griffiths, Holland an Williams, the well-know french professors Gravier and Chevalier, the germans Strunck and Schulte-Im-Hoff, the belgian

Masui and so many others, that published articles and gave public lectures, describing the famous portuguese colony as a perfect model, in the carrying-on proceedings, as well as the natives treatment, proving by explendid lantern projections of truthful photos, the unequal greatness, the particular neatness of the premises, not forgetting the full furnishment of the *outillage*, tools received from the most reputed worldly factories, as M. Cadbury could have seen and take with his *Kodak* if it was not resting on porpase. Does M. Cadbury want one more statement? Nothing easier. The prince Albert Lowenstein-Wertheim-Furttenberg has paid a visit to the great São Thome's plantations. After having affirmed the profound and not to be forgotten impression that he received on seeing the richness of the soil, the enormous vegetation, the careful culture, the extraordinary well fare in the earring-on, the magnificieent dwellings, which are a perfect model of homely comfort, the particular care taken with the native's maintenance, building for him a situation that the great majority of the country workmen at the most civilised countries could envy, the prince Lowenstein-Wertheim-Furttenberg, after having made that statement, highly just and that will have great renown through Germany, he still wrote: — «*Quant au mot ESCLAVAGE — qui a été répandu par une presse mal informée, ou bien hostile — il doit être rayé absolument, quand on parle de ces beaux domaines, que nous venons de voir outre que RIO DE OURO, le domaine de BOA ENTRADA et celui de MONTE-CAFFÉ.*»

M. Cadbury speaks still about the laws for the repatriation, but he is already answered. What does remain, out of the charges made and reproduced against the conditions of the native labour at the São Thomé and Príncipe plantations, and its recruiting at Angola? — the enormous clue, where he entangled himself *malgré-soi* M. Cadbury, being destroyed the craft of his humanity and christian philanthropy, closed for ever the sacred bible of his faultless devotion, so as only to remain in full sight the rating prices for the cocoa market, which, is what is only cared for by the manufacturer, who cannot forgive, nor forget, that the portuguese planters should have defended themselves against the speculation for lowering the cocoa market, on the american style, craftly perpared for, at the right moment of the purchase, depreciating the goods so forcedly needed for their work. M. Cadbury ought now-adays be convinced that he has lost his dear work, and can no more expect the benevolence and condescension, that at better times, he met with at the official gabinets of his country, since the liberal defeat in the Birmingham elective poll, which showed that the traders and manufactures controlling influence that was so much boasted of, broke away as artificial and brittle as his humanity and his philanthropy. Surely, it shall not be Sir Edw. Grey who will now go acting as witness to enforce another suit analogue to that of Birmingham!

II—On the acting part of the English cocoa manufacturers.

In this part of his report M. Cadbury confirms the initiative of the english cocoa manufacturers for the campaign against the cocoa of São Thomé and Principe, although he hints that they did less work than the one asked for to buy the islands and get the management carried on his own account. They preferred to follow the way they went so as not to affect the right feelings of the portuguese people, but regretting always that at São Thomé and at Angola, M. Cadbury did not get protection for his *enquire*. He maintains that the promises made officialy at Lisbon were not fulfilled, in the sense of being modified the recruiting system at Angola, which is not true, since that in 1908 not less than two remodifications to the native labouring law were promulgated (23.th of April and 31.th of December). In spite of all this, M. Cadbury and his associated went on with the boycottage. And so this hostile action, *and without precedent*, the complet responsibility of it is to be charge to the cocoa syndicate conducted by M. Cadbury. All the illusions about this matter, must remain destroyed, that is, if any could have taken place.

III—On his intercourse with the portuguese.

M. Cadbury affirms his best feelings towards the portuguese, whom he desires to have as friends and to whom *he has always* been open and true. It is unnecessary to state

the contrary, after what has been written. He states having advised a portuguese minister the advantage of *britannising* the condition of the manufacturing work in Portugal. He understands the portuguese patriotic feelings, but would wish, they should let themselves be carried by *irresistible power of the international public opinion*, appointing as an example England that, within the last hundred years was the most slavery nation in the world, fought and won the great human's liberty victory. If it was possible to discuss with M. Cadbury the thesis and the hypothesis, it would not be very difficult to point out, even by late occurrences, that England, by its partienlar national character, superior prime qualities of its race, by the proud, powerful and commanding greatness of its high intellectual and moral ableness, never restrained; nor restrains, from its actuating and governing opinions, the use of its right and the praetise of its duties as a free and independent nation, to comply with the power of the international public opinion, on the contrary, has always sought and often sneceeded, on account of its remarkable chancery court and its great and illustrious king — the chief diplomatist of the world — to overpower the international public opinion, under its own.

IV — On the problem that the portuguese have to face.

Here M. Cadbury, does not lose the custom to give advise for, neither wanted nor asked for, or allowed, for he is not up to it perseveres on the irresponsability of the recruiting agents at the province of Angola which could only

be attained by a well ordered system carried out by uninterested authorities, — warranted freedom for the native, — free contracts, the lessening in the time of the contracts and working hours — improvement on the system for the renewing of contracts and easy repatriation, an acknowledge right and easy doing, — to establish a protecting and watchful service at Angola which will ensure the free and easy return of the native workmen to their native country in the interior. M. Cadbury, does not know the ordinance of 1909, he does not understand that the stopping of the reeruiting at Angola took place in order to settle the services, in a way so as to have the fulfillement of the ordinance — There is no human regime kinder than the portuguese. — Ere England ceased to be the *most slavery nation in the world*, had already Portugal ensured to the natives of its colonies something more than the individual freedom, for it had warranted them all the rights and duties of portuguese citizens, without a single exclusion . . . But to be able to use their constitutional rights, have to be carefully managed, protected and defended so that they may use them well, under the moral guardianship, which the portuguese laws have wisely promulgated and prepared with an efficacy, that can be followed by others. Previously to M. Ireland and Mgr. Angouard having put forward their admirable doctrine on the native work, this doctrine truly human and civilising was the essential basis of the matter in the portuguese colonial legislation.

And this legislation, which M. Cadbury could and ought to have known, if his intentions were really sincere and his designs true, is ancient with more than 70 years, it begun with the introduction of the liberal regime in Portugal, that on its human and civilising impulse was the most unselfish co-operator of England anti-slavery action, from the beginning of the century and that the uncontested glory to possess, among its great constitutional statemen, the unmistakable figure of Sá da Bandeira, who obtained in Europe the particular good luck, got by a great courage and noble perseverance, to put himself in history's pages conscientiously side by side with Lincoln luminous figure, the immortal liberator of the negro race in the United States of America. The ancient colonial nation, so jealous of the rights for its liberty and of its freedom, as well as justly proud for its historical services to the civilisation and humanity, whose generous principles carried to the extremities of the world *by seas never before crossed*, had the power and knowledge, to teach the modern nations how effectually its high mission could be carried amongst the native populations, solicited to become identified with the feelings of their conquerors and rulers, who were bringing them the good news from a better world. If M. Cadbury was in truth an humanitarian, if he had faith and conscience, unselfish, wishing to have a real notion and exact of the portuguese colonial achievement, he would acknowledge, without, restraint as M. Stanley, that the portuguese are by tradition, by education and

by their features the most intransigent enemy of the slave-trade and that, on this account, their laws are so corrected that it is not very difficult to find out very clear marks of its effect penetrating into the legislation of the other colonial nations. The institutions and laws influence is not a fiction, and, if this is true, it is also true that men's bad behaviour cannot undo nor dishonour the superiority and authority of the institutions, neither of laws, for if it could be so, neither of them could remain intangible not even those that are the pride and the most firm prestige of the ever great and glorious England.

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M. Cadbury, for all that, understanding his position, had no wish for *amende honorable*, and went on in spite of being desillusionized, to the end of his report, taking a form exclusively theoretical, one defeating another, is the perfect proof that his slander and hostile campaign has fallen into nothing. In spite of all the selfishness and of all the ambitions in the strife, that overrule the modern society, the sense of the universal right goes over them, and under its honest influence, equitable and just, are equally acknowledge the benefits bestowed to civilisation and human race either by the great or small countries. What remains from M. Cadbury charges, so essentially wicked in its intentions as in its unfair proceedings, shall be judge by the conscience of the righteous and enlightened men of the civilised world,

at the foremost we wish to place the superior and generous English people, that not even for a moment became identified the work of industrialism of their country-men, which is well understood for the plausible reason that they knew him better than us.

We believe to have attained two things:— in the first place an answer to M. Cadbury report, — second to have established that the slander charge carried on against the portuguese colonial work, was put forward, maintained and paid for, according to the total account brought to the Birmingham suit, only and exclusively by a party of english manufacturers, that led by M. Cadbury, artfully ensnared in it several politic corporation, that with good or bad feeling, forced either overpowered or convenience, gave an hand to the scheme, under the shelter of philanthropy and human-kindness. M. Cadbury, entangled them all. Nobody in our days can believe in earnest M. Cadbury a propagandist more theoric and feeling, than practical and proceeding in great ambition, *who attacked when he did not wish* and that mastered by influences that he could not resist, he could not help it, allowed himself to be humbly drawn by them. But the situation of M. Cadbury and his associated, was well determined by M. Justice Pickford, judge and President to Birmingham Court of Justice, at the report of famous suit of *Standard*, he said that *Aborigenes Society* was formed by gentlemen of experience, but was a philanthropic

society, and *The Liverpool Chamber of Commerce* was not a philanthropic institution — *but it was composed of business men . . . Business men . . .* were all these philanthropist! And so it has come to an end the famous campaign by english chocolate-makers. ITE MISSA EST!
