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FAMILY STRATEGIES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CABINDA

BY PHYLLIS M. MARTIN

THE history of the families who dominated the coastal settlements of West Central Africa is little known, especially in comparison to their counterparts on the Guinea Coast.¹ North of the Zaire river at Loango, Malemba and Cabinda, written records are more limited than they are for areas such as the Gold Coast since Europeans did not establish themselves ashore for any length of time before the nineteenth century.² For the ruling families around Cabinda Bay sources become more extensive from about 1800. For the next hundred years or so, Cabinda was at some point a centre of the slave trade; the focus of anti-slave-trade patrols; the scene of Portuguese efforts to annex the coastline to Angola; a collecting point for the export of primary products to Europe; a Portuguese enclave, geographically separated from but administered as part of Angola; and the site of a mission of the Holy Ghost Fathers. In researching family history, one can identify prominent figures through the recurrence of names in treaties and contemporary accounts; and interviews with family members at the present time³ are particularly helpful in clarifying relationships especially where names have changed, for example through the practice of taking names that reflect landmark events in an individual's life.⁴ Together these sources indicate how and why families survived, dominated or declined in an ongoing struggle for control of resources at Cabinda Bay.⁵ Although they do not provide answers to the wide range of questions which have absorbed historians of families in Europe and America,⁶ they do give

¹ For example, for the Gold Coast, Margaret Priestley, *West African Trade and Coast Society: a Family Study* (London, 1969); K. Y. Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600–1720* (Oxford, 1970); David Henige, 'John Kabe of Komenda: an early African entrepreneur and state-builder', *J. Afr. Hist.*, xviii (1977), 1–19; Edward Reynolds, *Trade and Economic Change on the Gold Coast, 1807–1874* (London, 1974).

² For a general survey of European contacts with this area, see Phyllis M. Martin, *The External Trade of the Loango Coast, 1576–1870* (Oxford, 1972).

³ Part of the research for this article was carried out in Lisbon, Luanda and Cabinda in the summer of 1975. This was made possible by a grant from the Joint Committee on African Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. I am especially grateful to the family of Alexandre and Maria Raquel Serrano who gave me hospitality and to my guide and interpreter Pedro Casimiro Sango. Tapes of interviews are deposited with the Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University.

⁴ L. M. J. O'Hier Degrandpré, *Voyages à la côte occidentale d'Afrique faits dans les années, 1786–1787* (Paris, 1801), 1, 107; Joaquim Martins, *Cabindas: História, Crença, Usos e Costumes* (Cabinda, 1972), 177–8. For the Kongo south of the Zaire river, see Wyatt MacGaffey, *Custom and Government in the Lower Congo* (Berkeley, 1970), 98.

⁵ See the discussion of the term 'family' as it has been used in a variety of contexts in Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone, 'The history of the family in Africa: introduction', *J. Afr. Hist.*, xxiv, ii (1983), 149–50. In this discussion the term will be used to designate a set of kinsfolk who do not necessarily live together. When co-residents are included the term 'household' will be used; and a village is a cluster of households.

⁶ See, for example, Marks and Rathbone, 'The history of the family in Africa', and David Warren Sabean, 'The history of the family in Africa and Europe: some comparative perspectives', *J. Afr. Hist.*, xxiv, ii (1983), 163–71.

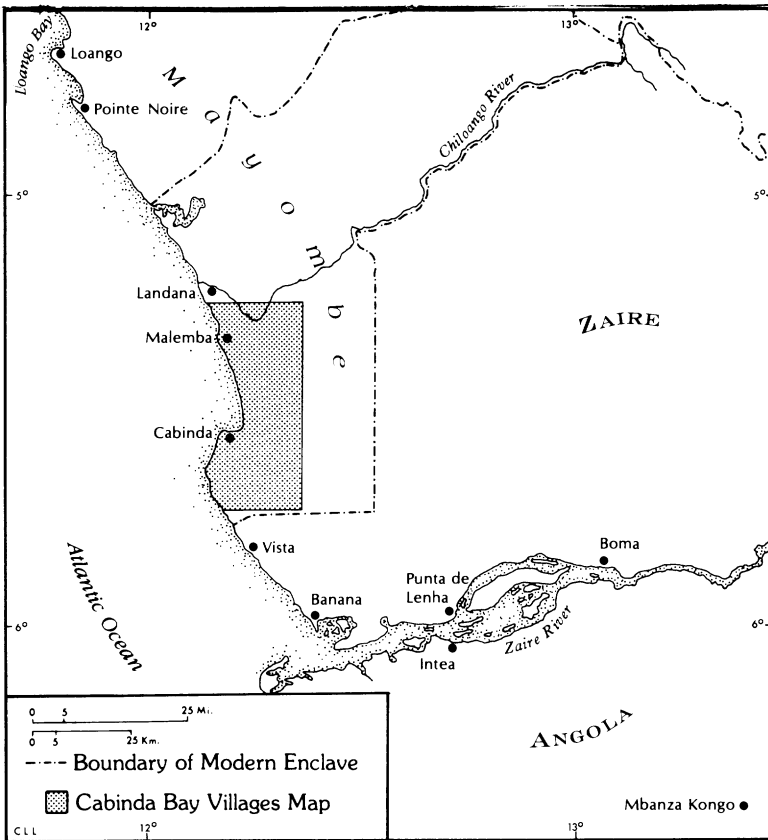


Fig. 1. Cabinda.

some clues about the significance of kinship ties, about changing customs relating to inheritance and about household composition.

THE DOMINANT FAMILIES AT CABINDA, c. 1800:
THE BASIS OF THEIR POWER

Cabinda was the name used by Europeans to refer to a group of villages situated on a bay which was formed by a sweep of coastline some seventy kilometres north of the Zaire river estuary. This was the 'Paradise of the Coast',⁷ generally recognized as the best anchorage between Gabon and Luanda, a place where ships stopped to take on fresh water, firewood and provisions, and to trade. The advantages were described by Barbot in 1700:

... the Bay of Cabinda lies very convenient for trade, wooding and watering, on the seashore; it is in places marshy ground and flat, but rising gradually... and forms itself into a ridge of hillocks stretching out in length; on the accent of which is situated the king of Angoy [Ngoyo]'s father's town. This man just at the foot of

⁷ Degrandpré, *Voyage*, II, 26; D. Rinchon, *Pierre-Ignace-Lievin Van Alstein* (Dakar, 1964), 37.

those hillocks, constantly keeps a stock of wood, in piles reasonably cut, to sell to foreign ships at a reasonable rate, and will get it carried to the beach afterwards, to be shipped off... and from those woodpiles to the south-west and along the Bay, lie several straggling fishermen's huts on each side of a little fresh water river that falls into the sea at the Bay. Thence we fetched all our fresh water, rolling calks across the beachy point of the mouth of it, to fill them...⁸

Further on in his account, Barbot tells of the farmland around the villages where manioc, maize, bananas and other crops were cultivated. Running short of food for the slave cargo, he was able to buy one hundred baskets of maize, 'at an excellent dear rate'.⁹

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, three families dominated the people who lived around the Bay. The village of Taffe at the extreme south-west corner where Taffe Point provided shelter from high seas was a stronghold of the Nkata Kolombos. In the nineteenth century, a branch of the family was known as Jack and Europeans referred to the Taffe village chief as 'King Jack'. The name probably derived from an association with an English trader and first appears in the written sources in an account of 1826.¹⁰ A short distance away on the slopes of a low hill was an important Nsambo family village known in mid-nineteenth century sources as Porto Rico, but also referred to by those who came from the Mayombe hinterland to trade as Chioua, a great fish-market. From this strategic site, which overlooked the best point for the landing of small boats, the ships anchored in the Bay could be surveyed. A third family, Npuna, more commonly referred to in European sources as Puna which is also the modern family name, had their most important coastal settlement at Simulambuco near the small Lukola river where sailors came to draw fresh water for their ships.¹¹

The power of these families was broad-based and long-standing, not only at Cabinda but also in the history of the kingdom of Ngoyo of which Cabinda was a part. According to traditions, their ancestors were among the earliest settlers in the area and, thus, their chiefs had the title of *nfumu nsi*, or 'lords of the earth'. This gave them control of the land which they allocated to junior family members or to others who lived in their villages and were their dependents.¹² Of the seven kings of Ngoyo whose origins are known, five were appointed from these three families.¹³ And all seven *mambouks*, that is

⁸ J. Barbot and J. Casseneuve, 'An Abstract of a Voyage to the Congo River and to Cabinda in the year 1700', in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, compiled by A. Churchill (London, 1732), v, 511.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ W. F. W. Owen, *Narrative of Voyages to explore the Shores of Africa, Asia and Madagascar* (London, 1833), II, 171.

¹¹ Interviews with Púcata Capita, Caio, 9 July 1975; José Barros Franque, Zangoyo, 10 and 12 July 1975; Fernando Lima and Fernando Pitra Jack, Zangoyo, 11 July 1975; Francisco Barros Jack, Nova Estrela, 11 July 1975. Also, Adolf Bastian, *Die Deutsche Expedition an der Loango Küste* (Jena, 1874), I, 213-15; Carlos Serrano, *Os Senhores da Terra e os Homens do Mar* (São Paulo, 1983), 71-6.

¹² Bastian, *Die Deutsche Expedition*, I, 194-5; E. Pechuël-Loesche, *Volkskunde von Loango* (Stuttgart, 1907), 175-7; also José Martins Vaz, *No Mundo dos Cabindas: Estudo Etnográfico* (Lisbon, 1970), II, 24.

¹³ Ngoyo king-lists include ten names, the last dating from the mid-nineteenth century and the last crowned king being the eighth ruler. See, Papers of Père Trosesche, Archives of the Congregation du Saint-Esprit (CSp), Luanda; D. José Franque, *Nós, os Cabindas*

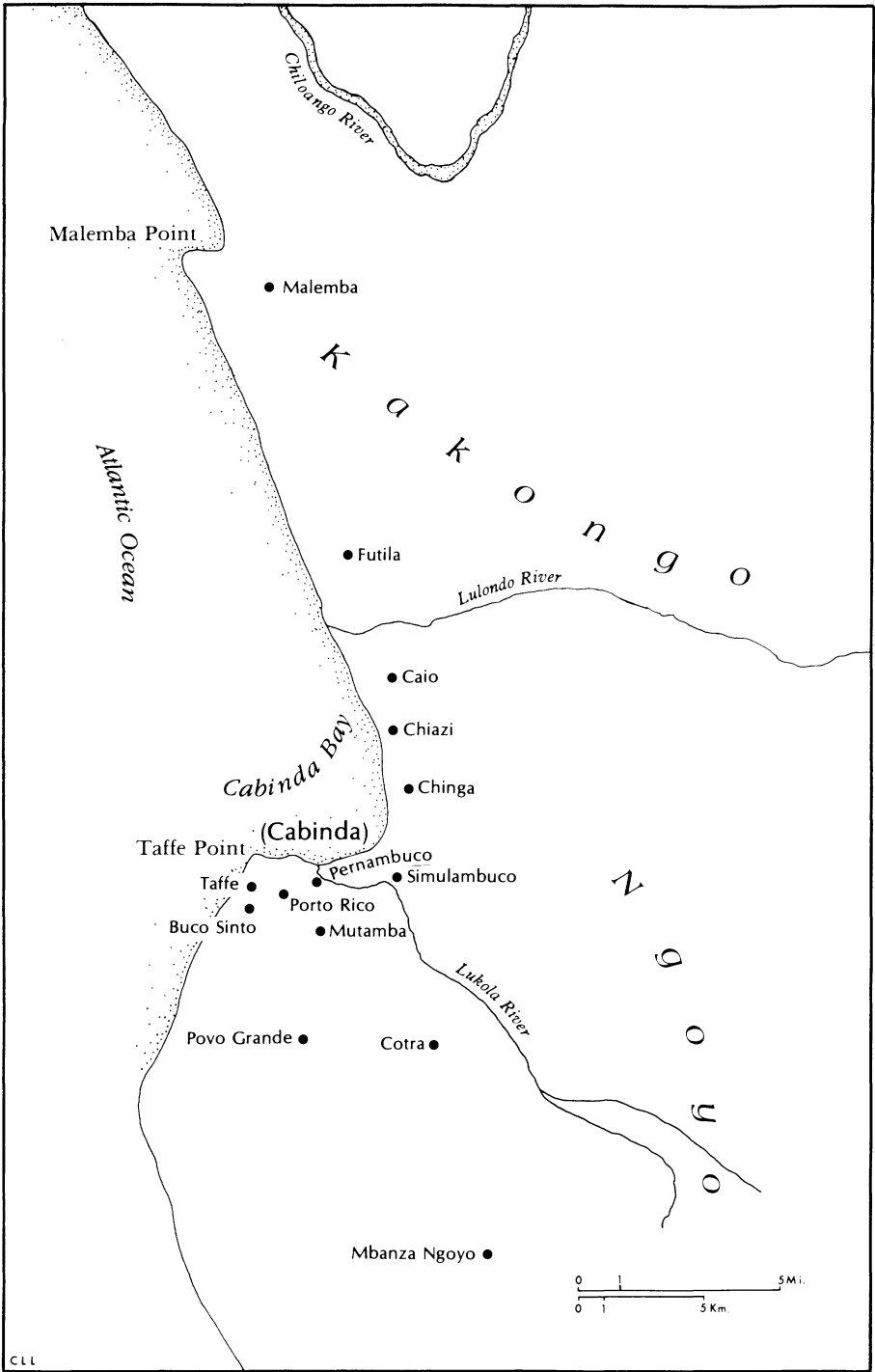


Fig. 2. Cabinda Bay Villages.

the principal royal administrator at Cabinda Bay, who held office between the mid-eighteenth and the late nineteenth century, were from these three families.¹⁴

Although Nkata Kalombo, Nsambo and Npuna chiefs ruled many of the villages in the hinterland of Cabinda and along the coast to the south, those who lived at Cabinda Bay were especially powerful because of their access to and control of the resources of the sea. Fish and high-quality salt were the basis of an important trade between the coastal populations and the people of the Mayombe interior who brought palm-oil, redwood, which was used as a dye and as a cosmetic, and other forest products to sell at the coast. The village chiefs controlled salt-production and exacted severe penalties from those who tried to break their monopoly.¹⁵ As the authority of the Ngoyo ruler reached out to include Cabinda, taxes were exacted on trade and this necessitated the appointment of a royal administration for the coastal region some thirty kilometres from the inland capital, Mbanza Ngoyo. In their function, the principal officials such as the *mambouk* and the *mafouk*, who was responsible for the oversight of trade, paralleled those officials who were based at the court in the capital.¹⁶

From the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the great men of Cabinda augmented their wealth and power in relation to the government at the capital through their role in the slave trade as dealers and brokers.¹⁷ They also acted as agents of the Ngoyo ruler who was prohibited from approaching the sea and lived sequestered at Mbanza Ngoyo. A hundred years later Cabinda had emerged as the leading slave-port between the equator and Luanda, through its proximity to the Zaire river and to the slave-markets, in the savanna regions to the south and at Malebo Pool.¹⁸ This was the background for the collapse of the centralized Ngoyo state. Unable to

(Lisbon, 1940), 15–35; Ivaristo Martins, 'Monarquia do Ngoio', *Portugal em Africa*, n.s., XIII (1956), 197–210. A fourth important family of Ngoyo, Nsimbo, which provided two of the kings of Ngoyo, is not considered here since their main territorial base was not at Cabinda Bay but at a point on the coast to the south near the modern village of Vista.

¹⁴ Serrano, *Senhores da Terra*, 70, fn. 6.

¹⁵ E. G. Ravenstein (ed.), *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell in Angola and adjoining Regions* (London, 1901), 66; L. B. Proyard, *Histoire de Loango, Kakongo et autres royaumes d'Afrique* (Paris, 1776), 108; Evaristo de Campos, 'Monografia de Cabinda', *Portugal em Africa*, n.s., XVIII (1960), 32; Martins, *Cabindas*, 280. For the importance of the sea in the Cabindan economy, see also Phyllis M. Martin, 'Cabinda and Cabindans: some aspects of an African maritime Society', in Jeffrey C. Stone (ed.), *Africa and the Sea* (Aberdeen University African Studies Group, 1985), 80–96.

¹⁶ Bastian, *Die Deutsche Expedition*, I, 191; Franque, *Nós, os Cabindas*, 37–40, 137; Vaz, *No Mundo dos Cabindas*, II, 12–29; Serrano, *Senhores da Terra*, 69–71.

¹⁷ Degrandpré, *Voyage*, I, 105–7, 182–4, 196–8; Rinchon, *Van Alstein*, 108–9, 173–4; J. Cuvelier, *Documents sur une mission française au Kakongo, 1766–1776* (Brussels, 1956), 38; Proyard, *Histoire de Loango*, 150, 157–9.

¹⁸ The general outlines of the eighteenth century West Central African slave trade are well-known, especially through the work of Joseph C. Miller. See, for example, his 'The Slave Trade in Congo and Angola' in Martin L. Kilson and Robert I. Rotberg (eds.), *The African Diaspora: Interpretive Essays* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 75–113; and 'The Paradoxes of Impoverishment in the Atlantic Zone' in David Birmingham and Phyllis M. Martin (eds.), *History of Central Africa* (London, 1983), I, 118–59; and *Way of Death: the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830*, forthcoming; also Martin, *External Trade*, 73–135.

participate fully in the trade, too weak to control the powerful families at Cabinda and overburdened with the expenses of the office, the Ngoyo rulers found themselves in an economic and political crisis. By about 1800 few among the possible claimants wanted the office. The last *mangoyo* ruled in the early part of the nineteenth century. Two others appear in the kinglists, but they never followed up their election by going through with the costly coronation procedures, and lacked authority.¹⁹ In 1881 a Portuguese observer summed up a situation which was already beginning to emerge by the beginning of the century:

...in Cabinda, there are, so to speak, as many independent states as families... for many years already, there has been no king since no one wants to be elected. The office of ruler is today so burdensome that it is in no way compensated for by the benefits; it is not worth the trouble. Everyone shuns it...²⁰

Thus the continuing authority of the chiefly families at Cabinda Bay depended on a judicious mixing of economic activities of a capitalist kind, namely commerce with foreign slave-traders and investments in a more traditional mode. Profits from trade could be used to acquire women and slaves, both male and female, for an individual household, and the same wealth and land could attract other dependents to the village. A household might include a man's wives and his children who had not joined their matrilineal kin in another village, and his senior and junior relatives such as unmarried sisters and nephews. By 1800, however, among the great families who had movable property acquired through the slave trade, inheritance could on occasion pass to a favourite son, although descent in terms of chiefly status continued according to matrilineal custom. Such a situation of mixed descent and inheritance patterns was a reflection of the changing basis of power within the society.²¹

Within the household, slaves and female family members were essential for agricultural production, not only for household needs but for supplying food to the crews and slave-cargoes of ships that might lie anchored in the Bay for weeks or months at a time if trading was slow. Some of the female family members may have become successful business-women, for their husbands had no control over their gardens and slaves, and they could keep the surplus beyond household needs to sell for their own profit.²² Male dependants and

¹⁹ Bastian, *Die Deutsche Expedition*, I, 82, 216-18; Arquivo Histórico de Angola (AHA), Luanda, Avulsos, Cabinda, 11-26-4, 'Relatório: O Reino de Cabinda', by J. P. de Serpa Pimentel, Cabinda, 25 May 1885, published in M. A. F. de Oliveira, *Angolana (Documentação sobre Angola)*, II, 670-701; also Pimentel, 'O Congo Portuguez: Relatórios sobre as Feitorias do Zaire, seu Commercio, Trabalhos de Stanley, Missões Inglezas e Cabinda', *Boletim da Sociedade Geografia de Lisboa*, 7A serie, 4 (1887), 293.

²⁰ F. A. Pinto, *Angola e Congo* (Lisbon, 1888), 184.

²¹ Degrandpré, *Voyage*, I, 108-9, 193; Proyard, *Histoire de Loango*, 95; for a more recent discussion of Woyo social organization, see Vaz, *Mundo dos Cabindas*, I, 169-77; II, 13-15, 24-9, 56-76; for the closely related Vili of Loango, see Frank Hagenbucher-Sacripanti, *Les fondements spirituels du pouvoir au royaume de loango* (Paris, 1973), 51-62. For flexibility in kinship strategies among the related Kongo south of the Zaire river see Wyatt MacGaffey, 'Lineage structure, marriage and the family amongst the Central Bantu' and Anne Hilton, 'Family and kinship among the Kongo south of the Zaire river from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries', *J. Afr. Hist.*, xxiv, ii (1983), 173-206.

²² Cuvelier, *Documents*, 51; Pechuël-Loesche, *Volkskunde*, 214.

slaves were essential for tasks relating to the slave trade, from building temporary factories for European traders to portage, or as agents in negotiations. Beyond the household, the inhabitants of the village, who also had their own households, could be called on for services. Most essential was armed support since the principal families maintained a state of uneasy equilibrium as the power of the central government failed.²³ Andriz Nsambo was reported in the 1780s as having 700 dependants at his village, while in 1783 the Mambouk, probably of the Nkata Kolombo family, offered to provide the French with 800 armed men in an alliance against the Portuguese.²⁴ Beyond the village, the dominance of the great Cabindan families was also maintained through alliances of their villages when one of them was threatened. Although individual 'outsiders' might increase their power through profits from selling slaves, the territorial base of the Nkata Kolombo, Nsambo and Npuna families seems to have remained secure until the nineteenth century.

THE RISE OF THE FRANQUE FAMILY: THE CAREER OF FRANCISCO
FRANQUE, c. 1777-1875

The rise of the Franque family was initially due not to famous ancestors, to connections at the royal court or to control of strategic land, but to wealth gained through the slave trade. Within about forty years a family coalition of the villages of father, brothers, sons and nephews had successfully challenged the position of the established chiefly families at Cabinda Bay.

According to a family historian, Domingos José Franque (1855-1941), his grandfather, known as Kokelo, was the founder of the family fortune in the second half of the eighteenth century.²⁵ This man was the servant of a French slave-trader who died at Cabinda and left his possessions to his African employee who commemorated his benefactor by changing his name to Franque Kokelo. Starting with this small capital, Kokelo moved from being a minor figure in the community to being a successful broker and slave dealer. One indication of his wealth was that he obtained the office of *mafouk* from the seventh ruler of Ngoyo, Mbatchi Ncongo. This appointment, a particularly lucrative one due to the responsibility of overseeing trade, was acquired through payment to the Ngoyo ruler in goods and services.²⁶ The *mafouk* then followed the example of other families among the Cabinda élite

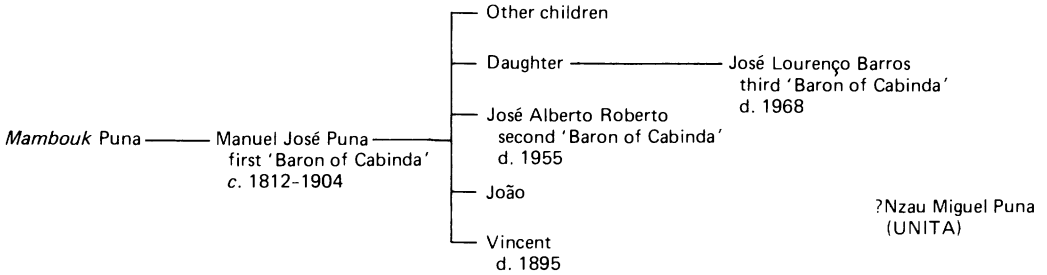
²³ Degrandpré, *Voyage*, 1, 115, 210; Proyard, *Histoire de Loango*, 52-3, 121; Bastian, *Die Deutsche Expedition*, 1, 194; Pechuël-Loesche, *Volkskunde von Loango*, 195-9.

²⁴ Degrandpré, *Voyage*, 1, 186-7, 209; Archive de la Marine, Paris, B4/267, Journal of Marigny, Cabinda, 16 June 1783.

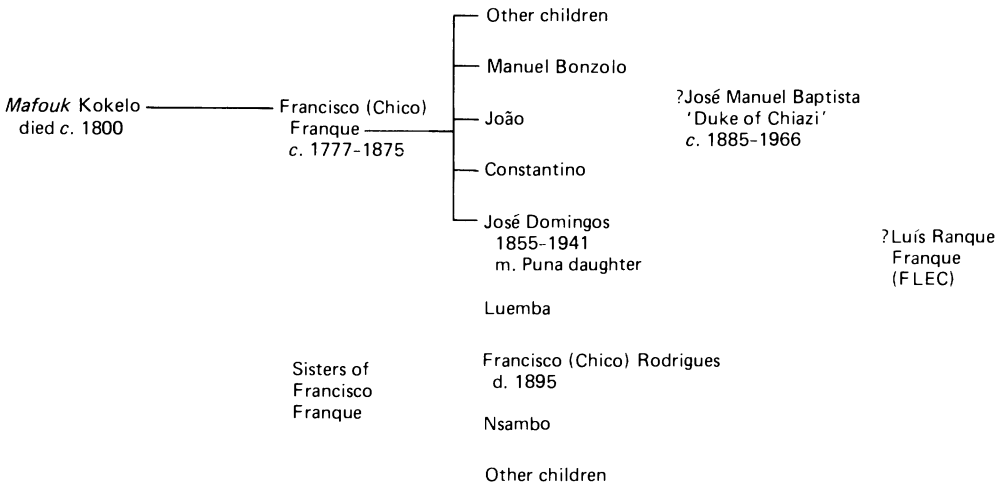
²⁵ Franque, *Nós, os Cabindas*, 49, 81-2. This book has to be used with care since part of it is clearly based on the work published forty years previously by João de Mattos e Silva, *Contribuição para a Estudo da Região de Cabinda* (Lisbon, 1904). Mattos e Silva was the Director of Health Services in Cabinda for nine years. The insertion of pieces from the Mattos and Silva text into the Franque book may have been the work of the Portuguese editor of the latter. However, some parts of Franque's book are invaluable since they contain information on the family not available elsewhere. An anthropologist who has recently published a book on the kingdom of Ngoyo has arrived at the same conclusions as my own on the above question and also on Franque's origins: Carlos Serrano, *Senhores da Terra*, 78-83.

²⁶ Franque, *Nós, os Cabindas*, 10, 49; Degrandpré, *Voyage*, 1, 121-2, 189-91, 199-202.

PUNA



FRANQUE



NKATA KOLOMBO

Jack, Mingas

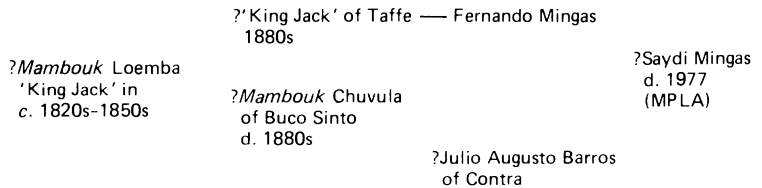


Fig. 3. Some prominent Cabindan families. Only a very few individuals about whom some details are known are listed here. Other prominent families whose histories might be collected are Nsambo, Nsimbo, Wilson, and Espanhol.

by sending his son, Francisco, abroad for education.²⁷ What was unusual in the case of Francisco Franque, only about eight years old at the time, was that he was sent, not to Europe, but to Brazil. This could have been chance, but it might also be explained by the growth of Portuguese influence at Cabinda shown in 1783 when the Luanda Governor sent a military expedition to build a fort in an unsuccessful attempt to monopolize trade.²⁸ It was just after this that Francisco Franque left for Brazil. There, he was baptized as a Catholic, learned to read and write in Portuguese and to dress in a Portuguese manner. After an absence of about fifteen years he returned to Cabinda just before the death of his father.²⁹

Of all nineteenth-century Cabinda traders, Francisco (Chico) Franque (c. 1777–1875) was most deserving of the title of ‘merchant prince’. Not only did he have the wealth and education to propel his meteoric rise, but circumstances played into his hands and allowed him to use his Brazilian connections to the full. At the time of his return about the beginning of the nineteenth century, the combined effects of the Abolition movement and the Napoleonic wars caused the withdrawal of many Dutch, French and English slave-dealers from Cabinda Bay. Their place was taken by traders from Rio de Janeiro and Bahia, and, in the 1830s, by Spanish and Cubans from Havana who moved their business to southern ports after slave trading was prohibited north of the Equator. After 1822, the independent Brazilian government imposed duties on the import of slaves which was a double burden for merchants who frequented the Angolan markets at Luanda and Benguela and paid duties there. Many thus shifted their business north to Ambriz and Cabinda and to Punta de Lenha and Boma on the Zaire river where taxes paid to African authorities were slight in comparison. After a temporary decline in exports with the effects of Abolition, the Cabinda trade substantially recovered in the decades 1811–30, and in peak years such as 1816–19 and 1825–30 may have equalled the trade of the late eighteenth century. In the 1830s Cabinda continued to be the major slave-exporting centre for the West Central African trade north of the Zaire river.³⁰

²⁷ In the late eighteenth century, French was the trade language at Cabinda, Malemba and Loango, and there are several references to the sons of important men being sent to France for education. For example, Proyard, *Histoire de Loango*, 245, 259; Rinchon, *Van Alstein*, 156; Cuvelier, *Documents*, 35, 55; Archives Nationales, Paris, C6/24 Report of Captain Bourse, Malemba, 5 October 1783. With the decline of French influence and the rise of the importance of the trade with Brazil and contacts with Portuguese traders in Angola and along the Zaire river, Portuguese became the most commonly used European language at Cabinda in the nineteenth century.

²⁸ See Martin, *External Trade*, 87–90.

²⁹ CSSp, Paris, Box, 471/IV, Report of Père D’Hyèvres, Landana, 10 September 1870; Public Record Office, London (PRO), FO 84/909, Consul Brand to Admiralty, Luanda, 14 January 1853; Mattos e Silva, *Contribuição*, 8; interview with José Barros Franque, Zangoyo, 10 July 1975.

³⁰ For the nineteenth-century slave trade at Cabinda and along the Zaire river, see Herbert S. Klein, *The Middle Passage: Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Princeton, 1978); Joseph C. Miller, ‘Legal Portuguese slaving from Angola: some preliminary indications of volume and direction’, *Revue Française d’Histoire d’Outre-Mer*, LXII (1975), 135–76, and *Way of Death: the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830*, forthcoming; David Eltis, ‘The export of slaves from Africa, 1821–1843’, *J. Econ. Hist.*, xxxvii (1977), 419–33; ‘The direction and fluctuation of the transatlantic trade, 1844–1867’ (paper for meeting of the African Studies Association, Bloomington, Indiana,

These years were also the period when Francisco Franque used his Brazilian connections to lay the basis of his family fortune. He is known to have made several visits to Brazil in the first three decades of the nineteenth century to foster his trading connections. He almost certainly was a member of a Cabindan delegation that visited the exiled Portuguese court in Rio de Janeiro in 1812 to promote Brazilian trade at Cabinda.³¹ From the Brazilian point of view, an African trading partner who had spent his formative years in their country was attractive. In the fluid conditions of the early nineteenth century, commercial strategy emphasized the need for stable and enduring bilateral contacts with individual African merchants. Clearly Franque was admirably suited for this role and his familiarity with Brazilian trading conditions gave him an advantage over his Cabindan rivals.

Franque's close relationship with Brazilian slave-traders continued into the last phase of the West Central African trade in the 1840s and 1850s as the organization of trade changed. After an Anglo-Spanish treaty of 1835 made it illegal for Cubans to carry on the trade and after an 1839 right-of-search treaty, the slave trade became clandestine. No longer were ships anchored in the Bay for long periods. Instead, they came in to land at prearranged spots once the cargo was ready. The maze of islands and mangrove swamps of the lower Zaire was ideal for eluding naval cruisers. By 1845 Boma had become a major slave-market and Punta de Lenha, first noted in European sources of the 1820s, was the major staging post on a network of routes that linked Boma and Cabinda.³² Cabinda acted as the nerve-centre of operations for the lower Zaire trade. Ships which now carried goods on separate assignment unloaded their cargoes; goods were stored in warehouses several miles inland to be dispatched overland, by river and by sea to appropriate slave markets from Cape Lopez to Boma and Benguela; and slaves were held in heavily guarded baracoons to be directed rapidly to appropriate points where slave ships would come into land.³³ The scale of the operation was indicated by the British naval officer who directed the destruction of five barracoons containing 1,100 slaves and storehouses with £80,000 worth of goods at Cabinda in 1842.³⁴

1981); *idem*, *Economic Growth and Coercion: the Ending of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, forthcoming. I am grateful to Professor Eltis for allowing me to read part of his manuscript and for commenting on the slave-trade figures for Cabinda.

³¹ Manuel da Silva Rebelo, 'Cabinda de há um Seculo', *Revista Occidente*, LXXXI, 403 (1971), 304-10; interview with Manuel da Silva Rebelo, Cabinda, 22 June 1975; Mattos e Silva, *Contribuição*, 8; Franque, *Nós, os Cabindas*, 51, 62; Pierre Verger, *Flux et Reflux de la Traite des Nègres entre le Golfe de Benin et Bahia de todas os Santos du dix-septième au dix-neuvième Siècle* (Paris, 1968), 251, 276.

³² R. F. Burton, *Two Trips to Gorilla Land and the Cataracts of the Congo* (London, 1876), II, 92; François Bontinck, 'Le site de Ponta de Lenha', *Ngonge: Carnets des Sciences Humaines* (Kinshasa), no. 31, 4th series, no. 1, *passim*. For further details on the organization of the Zaire river trade, see Norm Schrag, 'Mboma and the Lower Zaire: a socio-economic study of a Kongo trading community, c. 1785-1885' (Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, 1985).

³³ E. Bouët-Willamez, *Commerce et traite des noirs aux côtes occidentales d'Afrique* (Paris, 1848), 143, 163-7, 191-2, 197, 207-8; PRO, FO 84/572, Annual report on the Slave Trade, Luanda, 31 December 1845; FO 84/1183, Edmonstone to Walker, 7 November 1861; FO 84/925, Admiralty to Russell, enc. Wilmot, 29 September 1852; FO 84/902, Governor of Benguela to Luanda Commissioners, 5 and 9 December 1853; FO 84/865, Fanshawe to Admiralty, 23 April 1851.

³⁴ PRO, FO 84/440, Matson to Foote, 24 May 1842.

By that year the reorganization of the trade had demanded the establishment of bases ashore by Brazilian and Cuban companies. In particular the famous Rio slave-dealer, Manuel Pinto de Fonseca, was represented at Cabinda by an agent, Julio Augusto da Cunha, with Francisco Franque as his principal African supplier. Together they organized the dispatch and delivery of goods and slaves to the points dictated by the arrival and departure of slave ships and the proximity of British naval cruisers.³⁵ All this was facilitated by Franque's network of agents who operated at Punta de Lenha and were probably in touch with Boma and markets at Mbanza Kongo as well.³⁶

Another important dimension of Franque's commercial interests was investment in boat-building and transport. The sea-borne trade with Kongo to the south had long been a feature of the supplying of slaves to the Cabinda Bay markets.³⁷ The nature of the mid-nineteenth century trade gave added importance to the Cabindan 'coasting' trade and increased the number and dimensions of the boats used to transfer slaves and goods between the markets, barracoons, warehouses and embarkation points.³⁸ According to his son, Franque had brought back from Brazil new ideas on construction and navigation which were incorporated into the Cabinda boats which he used on his own account or which were used by other African and European traders for the movement of goods and passengers.³⁹ This service was especially important to small Portuguese traders along the Zaire river in the 1850s, both in the slave trade and in the growing legitimate trade with Luanda. As British naval patrols stopped such coasting vessels to search them for slaves, the Portuguese traders appealed to the Angolan government for documents which identified their boats as Portuguese and concerned with legitimate trade only. These documents could be issued at Luanda or by Francisco Franque who had been authorized by the Angolan government to act on its behalf, another indication of his importance and the closeness of

³⁵: PRO, FO 84/219, Matson Evidence to the Select Committee on the Slave Trade, 30 March 1848; FO 84/440, Matson to Foote, 24 May 1842; FO 84/572, Annual Report on the Slave Trade, Luanda, 31 December 1845; on the Fonseca Company and other Brazilian traders, see Mary C. Karash, 'The Brazilian slavers and the illegal slave trade, 1836-1851' (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1967).

³⁶ For Cabinda connections to Boma and Punta de Lenha, see, PRO, FO 84/1183, Edmonstone to Walker, 7 November 1861; Annual Report on the Slave Trade, Luanda, 31 December 1845; British *Parliamentary Accounts and Papers*, 1854-55, LVI, Bedingfeld to Skene, 3 July 1854; Bouët-Willaumez, *Commerce et traite*, 166. Bastian reported that at one time the Cabinda chiefs attempted to monopolize the Boma slave market and intervened in local politics to appoint their own candidates in Boma as chiefs. Bastian also refers to meeting Cabinda slave traders in Mbanza Kongo in 1857. Francisco Franque is not mentioned by name in these sources, but it seems very likely that as one of the most powerful merchants at Cabinda his trading contacts would reach out this far; see, Bastian, *Die Deutsche Expedition*, 1, 33-4, 127; 11, 9.

³⁷ John Atkins, *Voyage to Guinea, Brazil and the West Indies* (second edition, London, 1737), 166. See also Martin, 'Cabinda and Cabindans', 81-3, 86-9.

³⁸ PRO, FO 84/865, Fanshawe to Admiralty, 29 April 1851; FO 84/1183, Edmonstone to Walker, 7 November 1861; FO 84/826, Fanshawe to Admiralty, 10 April 1850; FO 84/842, Report of Captain Adams, 7 May 1842; also Henry J. Matson, *Remarks on the Slave Trade and the Atlantic Squadron* (London, 1848), 25; Bouët-Willaumez, *Commerce et traite*, 208.

³⁹ Franque, *Nós, os Cabindas*, 50.

his Portuguese ties.⁴⁰ In the last years of the trade, as it became more difficult to freight slaves on foreign vessels, there is evidence to suggest that Franque dispatched some of his own boats which could probably carry about a hundred slaves across the Atlantic. British reports noted that Cabindans pirated coasting vessels of European traders for copper, masts and sails to refit their own boats and in 1863 Franque, in partnership with the agent of Tobin and Company of Liverpool, was caught in the act of refitting a vessel which he had illegally acquired for the slave trade. The officer who filed the report noted that the Cabindan was already under suspicion since it was known that he had recently sent another small vessel across the Atlantic with slaves.⁴¹

In 1852 Francisco Franque was described by British naval officers as 'the most influential man' at Cabinda and 'the richest in the place', although one added that he was only a 'minor chief',⁴² that is the Franques were not *nfumu nsi* and did not have the status of the ancient Ngoyo families. His wealth was in a large measure based on trade with Brazilian slave-dealers and through income derived from freighting passengers and goods along the coasts of West Central Africa. Most likely, he and other Cabinda chiefs used hired labour in skilled jobs such as captaining their coasting vessels, as well as the labour of dependants drawn from their households and villages. By the 1840s competition for skilled labour with European employers in factories along the Zaire river and in the expanding colonial economy of Angola had intensified. In 1841 boats with Cabindan workers were reported to be arriving daily in Luanda harbour.⁴³ Furthermore, the crews of coasting vessels carrying slaves had to be quite skilled and may have forced Cabindan boat-owners to hire labour in addition to their household and village dependants. Eluding naval patrols, keeping schedules according to the arrival and departure of slave ships, convincing naval officers that papers were in

⁴⁰ PRO, FO 84/864, Fanshawe to Admiralty, 3 October 1850; FO 84/932, Skene to Luanda Commissioners, 7 and 11 September 1854; A. do Nascimento Perreira Sampaio, 'Apontamentos de Viagem - Cabinda e Zaire', *Annaes do Club Militar Naval*, 11 (1872), 53.

⁴¹ PRO, FO 84/1209, Douglas to Wilmot, 11 April 1863 and Report of M. Hutton, 19 September 1863; also FO 84/902, Annual Report of Luanda Commissioners, 25 January 1853. On Cabinda 'launches' and 'palhabotes', see Martin, 'Cabinda and Cabindans', 88-9. Other evidence for the use of what were termed 'launches', locally built boats, that crossed the Atlantic in the slave trade exists in the papers of the Luanda commissioners. In a case brought before the commissioners, two Cabindans assisted in building 'launches' for some Portuguese on Luanda Island and then acted as coxwains on the boats when they crossed the Atlantic to Brazil carrying over 100 and 160 slaves respectively: FO 84/671, Evidence of Cabinda prisoners, 26 April 1847 and Luanda Commissioners to Foreign Office, 2 April 1847.

⁴² PRO, FO 84/925, Wilmot to Bruce, 20 October 1852 and Seymour to Admiralty, 18 December 1852.

⁴³ G. Tams, *Visit to the Portuguese Possessions in South-Western Africa* (London, 1845; reprinted 1969), 1, 226. There are many sources which refer to Cabindan emigrant workers, for example, PRO, FO 84/671, Gabriel to Jackson, 2 April 1847; FO 84/835, Fernão de Jack to H.M. Commissioners, 31 March 1851; Charles Jeannest, *Quatre années au Congo* (Paris, 1883), 7-8, 27; P. Güssfeldt, *Die Loango Expedition* (Leipzig, 1879), 1, 48; Joachim J. Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo* (London, 1875), 107, 113, 139. Cabindans often enlisted on European ships sailing from Angolan ports, see lists of ships and crews in *Boletim Official* (Luanda), 1847-51.

order and that passengers were indeed just that and not captives en route to a rendezvous with a slave ship, was a far cry from transferring slaves from Kongo to the Loango coast markets in the eighteenth century.⁴⁴

At the same time, Franque's power at Cabinda in mid-century depended, as did that of his rivals, on more traditional strategies. While he brought a tutor from Luanda to educate his sons and nephews, he married them to Npuna and Nkata Kolombo women to augment the status of his grandchildren and to defuse inter-family rivalry. While he received the title of Honorary Colonel from the Portuguese in Luanda, he was also appointed as *mbomazansi-nvimba*, a judicial position in the coastal area, by the eighth ruler of Ngoyo,⁴⁵ and his brother was appointed as *mafouk* at Cabinda Bay, probably paying for the position with the help of Francisco Franque.⁴⁶

Most important, however, was his investment in labour: in dependants who lived in his household and in the Franque villages. Women continued to be essential for their productive and reproductive powers. Food production for sources outside the household continued to be important in the period 1840–60 with hundreds of slaves held in barracoons. In 1857, a Dutch trader, Lodewijk Kerdijk, visited the household of Francisco Franque and noted about 40 women, one of whom he thought to be the 'favourite wife' and the others 'more like slaves'.⁴⁷ Male workers also continued to be essential for tasks beyond the household such as guarding barracoons and caravans and for portage of goods to points on the Zaire river and beyond. In 1882, Francisco Franque's nephew and 'King Fine', a member of the Nkata Kolombo family, provided a caravan for a German traveller manned with both hired labour and slaves.⁴⁸ Essential to Franque power, as it was for all Cabinda chiefs, were male dependants who could provide armed support to defend family interests and to expand and hold territory. A French officer remarked that respect was based on the number of men armed with guns that a chief could mobilize and that a minimum of 100 was necessary to gain respect.⁴⁹ Paradoxically, freed slaves who were landed by naval patrols or

⁴⁴ PRO, FO 84/569, Report of the 'Uranda', 11 November 1844; FO 84/719, Report on the case of the launch 'Fortina', 28 March 1848; FO 84/864, Fanshawe to Admiralty, 30 December 1850; FO 84/985, Proceedings of the Mixed Commission, Luanda, 8 November 1856; FO 63/1114, Wise to Gray, 19 May 1858. The unit of exchange in which workers along the Loango Coast were paid in the nineteenth century was a *cortado* originally based on six yards of cotton cloth of medium quality; see Güssfeldt, *Die Loango Expedition*, 1, 62–3; 'Relatório: o Reino de Cabinda', Oliveira, *Angolana*, 11, 692–3; Josef Chavanne, *Reisen und Forschungen im alten und neuen Kongostaate in den Jahren 1884 und 1885* (Jena, 1887), 444.

⁴⁵ AHA, Avulsos, Cabinda, 11-36-1, Report of G. A. de Brito Capelo, 'Rainha de Portugal', 30 February 1885; 'Relatório: o Reino da Cabinda', Oliveira, *Angolana*, 11, 694; Franque, *Nós, os Cabindas*, 11, 50, 52, 64; interview with José Barros Franque, Zangoyo, 10 July 1975.

⁴⁶ PRO, FO 84/925, Wilmot to Bruce, 25 February 1853; FO 84/440, Cabinda chiefs to Foote, 22 May 1842.

⁴⁷ A. F. Scheper (ed.), *West Afrika, 1857–1858: Reisjournaal van Lodewijk Kerdijk* (Schiedam, 1978), 117.

⁴⁸ Chavanne, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 216–17.

⁴⁹ Charles de Rouvre, 'La Guinée méridionale indépendante: Congo, Kakongo, N'Goyo, Loango, 1870–1877', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (Paris), 6e série, xx (1880), 312.

returned from the West Indies provided reinforcements for the Franque villages by mid-century.⁵⁰

Such armed strength was the basis for Franque's territorial expansion. Sometime before 1840, his forces attacked the principal Nsambo village at Chioua and forced the occupants to retreat and cede the site and surrounding lands to the Franque family. Francisco Franque moved his own household to Chioua which was renamed Porto Rico, possibly by freed slaves who settled in the village. Other Franques settled in nearby land as far as the Lulondo River and established the villages of Pernambuco, Vitória and Mutamba as well as several others.⁵¹

Symbolic of Francisco Franque's power was his house, which was used as a landmark by ships approaching the Bay.⁵² Describing his visit to Cabinda and to the 'palace' of the 'king' in 1857, Kerdijk wrote:

...one sees the town of Porto Rico and the house of Chico Franque which dominates it. The town is surrounded by cassava gardens...and palm trees. It is above all remarkable for its tidy and clean appearance, a feature not common in other African villages. The houses are all made from thatch and are grouped around square clearings that are well-kept and neat. They are all arranged as in an amphitheatre on a hillside that slopes upwards towards the king's house. Here and there are some silk-cotton trees and some fruit trees whose names are unknown to me, while in several places are some rusty cannon buried in the mud. When one finds oneself between the houses and on the almost impassable streets it is as if one was in an uninhabited place, where there is not the least sound except, from time to time, the cry of a child or the bleat of a sheep... The palace is not remarkable. It is rather well-built but contains no ornaments to speak of except for two Catholic pictures of saints and a portrait of a Spanish nobleman... In the company of His Majesty we took a small tour of the palace, and I saw the view from the King's verandah. It was a most glorious sight... at some distance from the shore one could see the *Gitana* [the Dutch ship] and various launches and canoes. In the foreground, directly in front of the King's house, was an orange tree planted by the king himself...⁵³

Kerdijk went on to describe his meeting with Franque, at the time about 80 years old, whom he found at home sitting in a woven mat chair:

...This king is a very simple man. He was wearing a pair of boots (somewhat unusual for an African), white trousers, a grey jacket, a black tie and a cap in place of a crown. He seemed like a master carpenter in Sunday clothes rather than an African king...⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Bastian, *Die Deutsche Expedition*, I, 179–80; II, 213, 215, 216–17.

⁵¹ PRO, FO 84/517, Letter of Clinton, enc. no. 5, 30 March 1844; Bastian, *Die Deutsche Expedition*, I, 213, 215; 'Relatório: o Reino de Cabinda', Oliveira, *Angolana*, II, 676, 680, 681; Pimentel, 'O Congo Portuguez', 290, 293; log of the brig *Sea Eagle*, 8 January 1845, cited in George E. Brooks, *Yankee Traders, Old Coasters and African Middlemen* (Boston, 1970), 114.

⁵² Philippe de Karhallet and A. le Gras, *Instructions nautiques sur la côte occidentale d'Afrique* (Paris, 1871), 81.

⁵³ *Reisjournaal van Lodewijk Kerdijk*, 115–19.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 117. Highly ornate caps made from pineapple, banana and raphia fibres were worn as signs of authority by persons of rank throughout the Kongo region. Whereas the wearing of locally made cloth was quite restricted in Cabinda and surrounding areas by the nineteenth century due to the popularity of imported cloth, the wearing of caps continued. Cabindan men were especially famous for their weaving and needlework skills. See Gordon D. Gibson and Cecilia R. McGurk, 'High-status caps of the Kongo and

If the territorial expansion of the Franques to occupy the dominant villages at the Bay was carried out at the expense of the Nsambo family, the Nkata Kolombo members at their villages of Taffe and Buco Sinto at the 'Point' and at other villages to the east and south, were most successful in holding off the Franque challenge. On the one hand, they drew on the resources of the office of *mambouk*. Two of the three *mambouks* who ruled at Cabinda between about the 1820s and the 1880s, the *mambouk* Loemba and *mambouk* Chuvula, were from the Nkata Kolombo family.⁵⁵ They figured prominently in negotiations with foreigners concerning anti-slave-trade treaties, compensation for barracoons destroyed, and permission to establish factories ashore and to anchor in the Bay. All such agreements brought material rewards for the *mambouk*.⁵⁶ After about 1840, when the government at the capital was in the hands of a Regency Council with no ruling *mangoyo*, the court party had little control over the *mambouk*'s activities. Such powers, however, might not in themselves have warded off the threat of Franque expansion. From their villages at the south end of the Bay, 'King Jack' and his relations were heavily involved with selling slaves, with boat-building and with operating craft in the coasting trade.⁵⁷ In 1861, for example, a naval officer noted the capture of a ship bound for Cuba with 780 slaves aboard 'shipped by King Jack of Cabinda'.⁵⁸

Little is known of the details of Npuna family history before about 1850 except that a Npuna held the office of *mambouk* in the early part of the century and lived at the village of Simulambuco, the closest of the Npuna villages to Cabinda.⁵⁹ Other land and villages controlled by family members were in the interior towards the frontier with the neighbouring kingdom of Kakongo. At the same time, the Npunas were a significant factor in Ngoyo politics at the capital. After the death of the eighth ruler, *mangoyo* Mbatchi Nyongo, probably in the 1830s, the last two elected rulers of Ngoyo were both from the Npuna family, yet neither of them had the wealth and power to take up the office. Npongonga resigned in the middle of the coronation procedures and Ngimbi II never embarked on these lengthy rituals. In the meantime, a Regency Council headed by a Npuna ruled in Mbanza Ngoyo,

Mbundu peoples', *Textile Museum Journal*, IV (1977), 71-96, and Phyllis M. Martin, 'Power, cloth and currency among the societies of the Loango Coast' (paper presented at the annual meeting of the African Studies Association, New Orleans, 1985).

⁵⁵ Owen, *Narrative*, 17; Matson, *Remarks on the Slave Trade*, 49-50; British *Parliamentary Papers*, 1883, XLVIII, 123-4, 156-8; 'Engagement with the Kings and Chiefs of Cabinda', 11 February 1853 and 'Declaration of Mambuco Maniloemba of Cabinda', 10 March 1853; R. E. Dennett, *Seven Years among the Fjort* (London, 1887), 10; Serrano, *Senhores da Terra*, 70, fn. 6; interviews with Pedro Benje, Taffe, 10 July 1975; Fernando Pitra Jack, Zangoyo, 11 July 1975; Francisco Barros Jack, Nova Estrêla, 11 July 1975.

⁵⁶ PRO, FO 84/440, Foote to Admiralty, 24 May 1842; FO 84/925, Wilmot to Bruce, 25 February 1853; CSSp, Paris, Box 471/IV, report of Père d'Hyèvres, Landana, 10 September 1870; *Reisjournaal von Lodewijk Kerdijk*, 117.

⁵⁷ PRO, FO 84/517, Report of Clinton, enc. no. 5, 30 March 1844; FO 84/1183, Edmonstone to Walker, 7 November 1861; FO84/440, Admiralty to Palmerston, 25 July 1842, enc. Adams, 7 May 1842.

⁵⁸ British *Parliamentary Papers*, 1860-1861, XLVII, 78, Edmonstone to Admiralty, 24 May 1861.

⁵⁹ Franque, *Nós, os Cabindas*, 50; Serrano, *Senhores da Terra*, 70, fn. 6; interviews with Fernando Lima and Fernando Pitra Jack, Zangoyo, 11 July 1975; interview with José Filipo Macove, Simulambuco, 11 July 1975.

although by this period its power did not reach out far beyond the capital.⁶⁰ The Npunas are not mentioned in contemporary accounts as important slave-traders at Cabinda Bay before the 1850s. At that time the name of Manuel José Puna⁶¹ first appears as the chief of the village of Simulambuco.

Puna, a son of the *mambouk*, was born about 1812 and like Francisco Franque, who became his great rival in later life, spent part of his early years in Brazil where he was educated. The circumstances in which he went to Brazil are not clear from the sources, but one account suggests that Franque who had gone to Brazil in connection with his slave-trading affairs had a hand in the safe return of Puna to Cabinda in the late 1820s.⁶² As a young man Puna may have been employed by the Portuguese administration in Benguela as a clerk and about 1850 he returned to Cabinda. Within a few years he was reported by British naval officers as a slave trader and as an owner of boats which he rented to small Portuguese merchants in the coasting trade.⁶³ He clearly did not have the wealth of the Franques but he did have considerable status as an educated person, known to the Luanda government as pro-Portuguese, with a brother acting as Regent at the capital and the designated ruler of Ngoyo living in his village.⁶⁴ A later Portuguese report summed up the situation, 'the Punas are truly nobles through birth, the Franques through money'.⁶⁵

FRANQUE DIVISIONS AND THE RISE OF MANUEL JOSÉ PUNA

In the last years of his long life, Francisco Franque saw the dominance of his family threatened by three factors: the end of the slave trade, disputes among his sons and nephews concerning their inheritance and an increase in the influence of Manuel José Puna, who encouraged Franque divisions.

The transatlantic slave trade from West Central Africa came to an end about 1867; Cabindan coasting vessels and overland communication had played an important role in keeping the trade going for so long in the face of harassment from naval patrols.⁶⁶ In the last years the trade had become a high-risk venture for African merchants at Cabinda as the system of advanced credit collapsed. When the trade ended, a German expedition found Franque and other Cabindan leaders so bitter against whites in general because of debts unpaid by Spanish and Portuguese slave-dealers, that the Germans decided not to establish a base at Cabinda but to move to another point on the coast.⁶⁷ A major problem with the decline of the slave trade was

⁶⁰ Bastian, *Die Deutsche Expedition*, I, 79, 82, 214-15; 'Relatório: o Reino de Cabinda', Oliveira, *Angolana*, II, 695, 697; Mattos e Silva, *Contribuição*, 141-5; Serrano, *Senhores da Terra*, 74.

⁶¹ The Portuguese version of the name is used in written references.

⁶² Mattos e Silva, *Contribuição*, 8-9; Herculano Lopes de Oliveira, 'Cabinda e o seu Baronato', *Portugal em Africa* (1950), n.s., VII, no. 42, 331-4. For a comparison of different accounts of Puna's early life, see Martins, *Cabindas*, 42-3.

⁶³ PRO, FO 84/925, Wilmot to Bruce, 20 October 1852; FO 84/1104, Portuguese merchants to Luanda governor, Punta de Lenha, 5 December 1859.

⁶⁴ Bastian, *Die Deutsche Expedition*, I, 78-9.

⁶⁵ Pimentel, 'O Congo Portuguez', 293.

⁶⁶ On factors affecting the end of the Atlantic slave trade in general, see Eltis, *Economic Growth and Coercion*, ch. 10.

⁶⁷ Bastian, *Die Deutsche Expedition*, I, 26.

the lack of an alternative export commodity. Even with the growth of a trade in palm-oil and kernels, the situation at Cabinda did not improve, for there was no easy access to the Bay from the forests of the Mayombe interior. New European factories for the export of palm products were established at points north and south of Cabinda Bay: at Landana at the mouth of the Chiloango river where exports could be brought by canoe from small branch factories in the interior, and at Banana at the mouth of the Zaire river where the giant Dutch Afrikaansche Handelsvereniging (AHV) had its headquarters.⁶⁸ The bleak situation at Cabinda, certainly when compared to the earlier slave-trade period, was shown when declining income from trade caused Cabindan chiefs to exploit more forcefully the resources of the bay that had first attracted shipping there. From the 1840s, the American Atlantic whaling fleet had used Cabinda as a stopping point for repair of their vessels and to take on water and supplies. In trying to compensate for their other losses, however, the Cabindan chiefs demanded excessive prices for the right to draw water from the Lukola river and for provisions. The result was that they frightened the whalers away until by about 1870 the traffic had dwindled to nothing.⁶⁹

The only major factory to be established at Cabinda was that of the English company of Hatton and Cookson which set up a depot for collecting palm-oil from other branch factories on the coast. Once every three months a steamer would arrive from Liverpool to load up cargo. Among the Cabindan families, the main beneficiaries of this operation were the Nkata Kolombos since Hatton and Cookson, which had rented land beside the village of Taffe, paid them an annual rent and a tax when their ships anchored in the Bay, and employed members of their family.⁷⁰

Among the younger generation of the Franques, two were able to adapt to the changing conditions of foreign trade with some success. A nephew of Francisco Franque, Luemba Franque, who had married into the Nkata Kolombo family, was hired by Hatton and Cookson as a *linguister*, that is their principal agent in dealings with local traders.⁷¹ Even more successful, however, was another nephew, Francisco Rodrigues (Chico) Franque, who was most like his uncle in his ability to search out viable economic alternatives as conditions changed.⁷² Well-educated, like several of the

⁶⁸ On the growth and patterns of legitimate trade between Gabon and Luanda, see CSSp, Paris, Box 472/II, Report of Père Carrie, Gabon, 16 February 1872; Père Duparquet, 'État commercial de la côte du Loango et du Congo entre Cama et Ambriz', *Les missions catholiques*, VII, no. 301 (1875), 128-9; Pinto, *Congo e Angola*, 303-4, 359-63; 370-2; Chavanne, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 82-5; José Emilio de Santos e Silva, *Esboço Histórico do Congo e Loango nos Tempos Modernos* (Lisbon, 1888), 57-62; O. Z. van Sandick, *Herinneringen van de Zuid-West Kust van Afrika; eenige Bladzijden uit mijn Dagboek* (Deventer, 1881); François Bontinck, 'Aux Origines de Banana, 1853-1855', *Zaire-Afrique*, no. 104 (April, 1976), 213-29.

⁶⁹ Van Sandick, *Herinneringen*, 22; Pimentel, 'O Congo Portuguez', 301.

⁷⁰ Chavanne, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 213, 216; 'Relatório: o Reino de Cabinda', Oliveira, *Angolana*, II, 683, 693.

⁷¹ AHA, Avulsos, Cabinda, 11-36-1, Capelo Report, 20 February 1885; Franque, *Nós, os Cabindas*, 63. For the work of a *linguister*, see Van Sandick, *Herinneringen*, 51-2; Güssfeldt, *Die Loango Expedition*, I, 45; Pinto, *Angola e Congo*, 392; Mattos e Silva, *Contribuição*, 62-3.

⁷² Chico is the nickname for Francisco. It will be used here for the younger Franque in order to distinguish him from his uncle.

younger generation of Franque males, he was already established as an independent trader by the time of his uncle's death in 1875. At Cabinda, he had three small factories, one at his own village of Pernambuco; one at Chinga, another Franque village ruled by his brother or cousin, Nsambo Franque, and strategically located on a trail used by Mayombe traders as they approached the Bay; and one at Povo Grande, one of the most populous villages. At these small trading establishments, Chico Franque bought local products which he sold to a small outlet of the AHV at Simulambuco and received from them goods on credit.⁷³ Chico Franque, like his uncle a few decades earlier, also developed trading interests on the Zaire river. At Intea, on the south bank of the river and a short distance by canoe from Punta de Lenha, he set up a small factory which he operated on the same lines as the independent Portuguese traders along the river, for example, importing European goods through the AHV and employing Cabindans to operate the factory and to freight goods in coasting vessels. The problem for Chico Franque, as for all the small independent traders, however, was his inability to compete with the Dutch company or with Hatton and Cookson or the French company of Daumas and Beraud.⁷⁴ He had neither the capital nor credit to store a large quantity and assortment of goods which would cushion him against misfortunes. An unexpected interruption in the supply of goods or a wrong assortment of items was sufficient to send local traders to the larger factories. By 1873 several Portuguese factories had been taken over by the Dutch company and their owners employed as AHV agents.⁷⁵

The death of Francisco Franque plunged his family into disarray as they disputed their inheritance. The main protagonists were the oldest of his sons, Manuel Bonzolo Franque, who took over the village of Porto Rico and the surrounding lands, and Luemba Franque, the most serious claimant among Francisco Franque's nephews, who claimed the inheritance according to Woyo matrilineal practices.⁷⁶ Luemba Franque appealed to his employers, Hatton and Cookson, who supplied him with guns and powder, and to his allies in the Jack branch of the Nkata Kolombo family for reinforcements. For the English agent it was a chance to counter the pro-Portuguese sympathies of the Franques and for the Jacks a chance to encourage Franque weakness by exploiting their divisions. With these allies, Luemba launched an attack against Manuel Bonzolo Franque and expelled him from Porto Rico in 1880. The issue was by no means settled at the time of Portuguese occupation, however, for Chico Franque, who had become the ultimate power-broker among the Franques and who might have fully taken over the

⁷³ AHA, Avulsos, Cabinda, 11-36-1, Capelo Report, 20 February 1885; 'Relatório: o Reino de Cabinda', Oliveira, 11, 678, 683, 685; Mattos e Silva, *Contribuição*, 9; interview with Fernando Pitra Jack and Fernando Lima, Zangoyo, 11 July 1975.

⁷⁴ Pinto, *Angola e Congo*, 384-7. Also, 'Relatório do comandante de Estação Naval d'Angola...' in Ministério das Colônias, *Arquivo das Colônias*, v, 30 (April, 1930). I am grateful to Norm Schrag for the latter reference.

⁷⁵ AHA, Avulsos, Cabinda, 11-26-3, Report of the Commander of 'Duque da Terceira', 6 September 1880; Chavanne, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 92-3; Pinto, *Angola e Congo*, 387-9; Güssfeldt, *Die Loango Expedition*, 1, 38.

⁷⁶ PRO, FO 84/1457, Commander of the 'Spiteful' to Commander Hewitt, Congo River, 27 November 1875; Report of Carlos da Silva Costa, on board the 'Duque da Terceira', 16 March 1880, published in Oliveira, *Angolana*, 1, 475-7; Güssfeldt, *Die Loango Expedition*, 1, 48.

dominant role of his uncle had not the Portuguese occupied Cabinda in 1885, favoured Bonzolo Franque as a means of preventing the English company from becoming too powerful at Cabinda.⁷⁷

The break-up of the Franque coalition was a principal reason for the instability in Cabindan politics on the eve of Portuguese colonialism. Another factor was the increasing influence of Manuel José Puna who encouraged Franque divisions. Puna's greatest coup in relation to his rivals took place in 1871, four years before the death of Francisco Franque who was some thirty years older than him. Puna had previously ingratiated himself with the Luanda government in 1853 when he had been the leading negotiator in a petition signed by Cabindan chiefs to the Angolan administration asking for an extension of Portuguese rule to Cabinda. This had been at a time when Cabindan coasting and slaving activities were threatened by a crack-down by the British navy and occurred not long after the return of Puna to Cabinda.⁷⁸ In 1868, he used his connections in Luanda to propose to the Portuguese that his two sons might be sent to Portugal for education. This was quickly agreed to as a means of underlining Portuguese claims to a sphere of influence north of the Zaire river. Vincente Puna and João Puna were sent to school at Coimbra where they gained a reputation as good athletes and poor students. In 1871, Manuel José Puna went to Portugal to visit them. He was received at the Portuguese court by King Luís I and Queen Maria Pia who acted as godparents at his baptism. The real achievement for both the Portuguese and for Puna, however, was when the king awarded him the title of 'Baron of Cabinda' and gave him a life-long pension for his loyalty to Portugal.⁷⁹

Recognition by Portugal, his annual pension and his position in one of the leading Ngoyo families, now meant that Puna could not be ignored in any negotiations with Europeans at Cabinda Bay. In 1885 he entered into an alliance with Chico Franque which was aimed at preventing an English or French takeover and appealed to Luanda to send warships to the area. In three weeks of hard bargaining with the Portuguese officer, Capelo, they negotiated for themselves and for Manuel Bonzolo Franque and Nsambo Franque annual pensions which Capelo defended to his superiors as necessary payments to stop the Cabindans from turning to the English.⁸⁰ They then used their combined influence to persuade the Nkata Kolombo chiefs to agree to a treaty with the Portuguese. Of the Franques, only Luemba Franque held out and refused to evacuate Porto Rico which the Portuguese wanted as the site for their new colonial provincial capital. After a few weeks' resistance, the village that had been a symbol of Franque power at Cabinda Bay fell under European occupation.⁸¹

⁷⁷ AHA, Avulsos, Cabinda, 11-26-3, Report of the Commander of the 'Sado', Luanda, 16 November 1880; Pinto, *Angola e Congo*, 266, 357-8; Mattos e Silva, *Contribuição*, 8.

⁷⁸ PRO, FO 84/909, Brand to Admiralty, 14 January 1853; FO 84/925, Wilmot to Bruce, Ambriz, 25 February 1853; Mattos e Silva, *Contribuição*, 11.

⁷⁹ CSSp, Paris, Box 471/IV, report of Père Carrie, Lisbon, 10 October 1871; Bastian, *Die Deutsche Expedition*, I, 16; Van Sandick, *Herinneringen*, 19-20; Chavanne, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 215; Mattos e Silva, *Contribuição*, 9.

⁸⁰ AHA, Avulsos, Cabinda, 11-36-1, Capelo Report, 20 February 1885.

⁸¹ AHA, Avulsos, Cabinda, 11-26-4, Agreement of Luemba Franque and the Portuguese, 11 March 1885; Pimentel, 'O Congo Portuguez', 299-300.

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY UNDER PORTUGUESE RULE

The Portuguese takeover diminished the significance of the household, the village and the coalition of family villages as the basis of economic and political power. Control of land and of trade which had been at the heart of the struggle between rival families passed into the hands of the colonizers. The loss of Porto Rico was only the beginning of a trend that saw prime sites around the Bay and elsewhere in the enclave allocated to settlers and concessionary companies. By the turn of the century grants of 1,000 hectares were common.⁸² Nor did the trading economy create job opportunities, for the Portuguese enclave was caught in a tariff war with the Congo state which diverted trade away from the Cabinda coast to the Congo ports on the Zaire river. In the 1890s exports from Landana and from Cabinda were declining and the prediction of Santos e Silva, a critic of the establishment of the Portuguese enclave, that 'Cabinda is a territory without a future' seemed in danger of being realized.⁸³ In terms of employment the major demand for labour was for the construction of government buildings and other public works, but Cabindans preferred the option of emigration to semi-skilled and service-orientated jobs in Angola, São Tomé and the neighbouring colonies of Gabon, French Congo and the Congo state.⁸⁴

The flow of labour abroad, which was only intensified by Portuguese occupation, may have been the single most important source for change within Cabindan families. In 1882 it had already been noted that it was unusual to find a Cabindan male over the age of twenty who had not spent some time in an Angolan town.⁸⁵ In 1895, a missionary observer noted that the number of the workforce outside of Cabinda was almost as great as those left at home; while another commented that the flow of migrants did not match the numbers of those who returned.⁸⁶ Initially, the emigrants were males who might be apprenticed to African or European masters as early as seven years old but who would return to Cabinda some time before the age of thirty to negotiate a marriage, acquire land from village chiefs and establish a household. At a later stage they might again emigrate to find work and add to their possessions.⁸⁷ By the last decade of the nineteenth century, another trend had emerged, however, which more radically affected the power of family heads and the coherence of the local community as a principal unit of production. This was the exodus of women to join their menfolk abroad or to work as servants for Europeans, as petty traders or as prostitutes in colonial towns and ports. Cabindan emigration became more

⁸² For example, land grants and requests for land grants recorded for 1899-1902 in the *circunscrições* of Cabinda and Cacongo, in AHA, Avulsos, Cabinda, 11-2-2 and 11-2-3.

⁸³ AHA, Cabinda, Avulsos, 11-15-4, Governor N. de Freitas Queriol of Cabinda to Governor-General, Cabinda, 18 February 1891; 11-20-1, Governor J. P. de Serpa Pimentel of Cabinda to Governor-General, Cabinda, 12 November 1895; J. P. de Serpa Pimentel, *Um Anno no Congo*, Lisbon, 1899, 221 ff.; Santos e Silva, *Esboço Histórico*, 64.

⁸⁴ Pimentel, 'O Congo Portuguez', 303, 306, 308; Mattos e Silva, *Contribuição*, 16; see also Martin, 'Cabinda and Cabindans', 90-1.

⁸⁵ Pinto, *Angola e Congo*, 377.

⁸⁶ R. P. Campana, 'Missão Católica de Landana', *Missions catholiques* (1895), 81; AHA, Avulsos, Cabinda, 11-15-3, Report of the Governor of Cabinda, 31 July 1899 and 31 August 1899.

⁸⁷ Mattos e Silva, *Contribuição*, 13, 16, 156-7.

permanent as local communities were established in centres such as Luanda, Benguela and Ambriz. The departure of women undermined local agriculture in Cabinda and eroded further the power of family heads who lost a principal source of labour and rights over bridewealth.⁸⁸

The options open to the younger generation of the élite families are suggested by a few individual examples. The two sons of the Baron of Cabinda who had been educated in Portugal found employment in Cabinda itself. Vincent was hired by some trading houses as a language tutor and then worked as a clerk in the administration. He died of sleeping sickness in 1895. His brother, João, was employed as a primary school teacher in 1885 but was dismissed a year later for 'negligence of duties'.⁸⁹ A daughter of Puna trained as a monitor and worked for some years at a mission school in Ambrizette.⁹⁰ Of the Franques, two sons of Francisco Franque found work in Luanda and another in Benguela. A son of Chico Franque, Manuel Bom Jesus Franque, was a clerk for a Hatton and Cookson factory in Punta de Lenha.⁹¹ Members of the Franque, Jack and Nsambo families turn up in the early colonial records as employees of the administration. A branch of the Nkata Kolombo family named Mingas settled in Luanda.⁹²

Of the older generation at Cabinda, Manuel José Puna and Francisco Rodrigues Franque were still considered the two most influential Africans at Cabinda Bay by the Portuguese in the 1890s. The Baron of Cabinda continued to receive his pension and was exempted from paying taxes. He died at the age of ninety-two in 1904 and a bust of his mentor Luís I was placed on top of his tombstone.⁹³ The title passed to his son, José Alberto Roberto Puna, who died in 1955, and then to a nephew of the second Baron, José Lourenço Barros Puna, who died in 1968, after which the title was discontinued.⁹⁴ The effects of colonialism on the business interests, both trading and in terms of coasting vessels, of Francisco Rodrigues Franque, are not clear from the available sources. However, in 1893 he complained to the Portuguese of his financial problems and insisted that he, like Puna, should be exempted from paying taxes. Two years later he shocked Cabindans by committing suicide.⁹⁵ The reasons are not known. The Franques retained

⁸⁸ Pimentel, 'O Congo Portuguez', 270, 308; 'Relatório: o Reino de Cabinda', Oliveira, *Angolana*, II, 691, 694; Chavanne, *Reisen und Forschungen*, 216; Mattos e Silva, *Contribuição*, 16, 157, 291.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 9; *Boletim Official*, 27 June 1885 and 14 June 1886; R. E. Dennett, *Seven Years among the Fjort*, 30.

⁹⁰ Oliveira, 'Cabinda e o seu Baronato', 334.

⁹¹ PRO, FO 84/1457, Report of M. B. J. Franco, Punta de Lenha, 26 April 1877; Franque, *Nós, os Cabindas*, 10-11.

⁹² AHA, Avulsos, Cabinda, 11-2-3, Report of Governor P. de Azevedo Coutinho on António Franque, 30 October 1901; 11-3-1, Governor of Congo Province to Governor-General, Cabinda, 11 December 1903; 11-7-3, Governor of Congo Province to Governor-General, Cabinda, 4 December 1909; interview with José Filipo Macove, Simulambuco, 11 July 1975; interview with Bartolemeu Maitica and Setche-Joaquim Ivaba, Ngoyo village, 9 July 1975.

⁹³ AHA, Avulsos, Cabinda, 11-15-4, Report of Governor of Congo District, Cabinda, 23 July 1893; Oliveira, 'Cabinda e o seu Baronato', 333-4; Martins, *Cabindas*, 43-4. The bust of the Portuguese ruler still adorned Puna's tomb in the cemetery near Simulambuco in 1975.

⁹⁴ Oliveira, 'Cabinda e o seu Baronato', 334; Martins, *Cabindas*, 44.

⁹⁵ AHA, Avulsos, Cabinda, 11-15-4, Report of Governor of Congo District, Cabinda, 23 July 1893; Mattos e Silva, *Contribuição*, 9.

their influence if not their power in the African community, not least through their recognition by the Portuguese. One prominent figure, José Manuel Baptista Franque, known as the Duke of Chiazi, claimed to be a direct heir of Francisco Franque and had many of the family regalia from the nineteenth century in his possession. In 1938 he was one of the dignitaries presented to the Portuguese president when the latter visited Cabinda. In 1968 the Franques were referred to in one account as 'the most influential family in Cabinda'.⁹⁶ The Jack family also retained its prominence. For example, in 1963 Julio Augusto Barros Jack, the chief of Cotra, led the African delegation at the annual festivities to commemorate the 1885 Treaty of Simulambuco and hoisted the Portuguese flag over the monument in celebration of the 'special' relationship which the Portuguese claimed to have with Cabinda.⁹⁷

In the politics of liberation, too, the names of the great Cabindan families lived on, even if their power and influence at Cabinda had diminished. At the time of Angolan independence, Luís Ranque Franque, a businessman from Pointe-Noire, was president of FLEC (Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda); the Secretary-General of UNITA was Nzau Miguel Puna, a descendant of Manuel José Puna; and the Minister of Finance in the first MPLA government was Saydi Mingas, who was later assassinated in the attempted coup of 1977. His family had emigrated to Luanda but they were descendants of the Nkata Kolombos who, through the office of *mambouk*, had been so prominent at Cabinda Bay in the nineteenth century.

SUMMARY

In the nineteenth century, the entrenched power of three Cabindan families, Nsambo, Npuna and Nkata Kolombo, was challenged by the rise of the Franques. The dominant figure, Francisco Franque, amassed wealth through a close alliance with Brazilian slave traders and through freighting goods and passengers in 'coasting' vessels which were locally built. At the same time he invested in a large household and attracted to his village dependents who provided labour and armed support for the expansion of his territorial base. Beyond the village, Franque, like other 'big men' at Cabinda, depended on an alliance with kinsmen for the defence of family interests. In the last quarter of the century, the Franques were weakened by the end of the slave trade, by disputes over inheritance rights, following the death of Francisco Franque, by the challenge of Manuel José Puna and by the emigration of junior family members in search of employment in the colonial economy of Angola and neighbouring territories. After 1885, under Portuguese colonial rule, the household was no longer a principal unit of production and family cohesion was no longer relevant. European settlers and companies moved into prime land and the emigration of workers, including women, intensified in the face of deteriorating economic conditions. Some individuals continued to have access to privilege, as far as that was possible in Angolan colonial society, through education. At Cabinda, the Portuguese authorities gave at least nominal recognition to some senior family members, for example at official celebrations. The name of the old families lived on through prominent individuals although their collective power and influence had been drastically undermined.

⁹⁶ José Luis da Costa Carneiro, 'Cabinda no contexto da "Corrida para a Africa"', *Ultramar*, ano 9, no. 34 (1968), 52, 70; Henrique Galvão, *Outras Terras, outras Gentes; Viagens em Africa*, Porto, n.d. (1944), I, 137.

⁹⁷ *A Província de Angola*, 8 February 1963. For the connection with Portugal and Angola, see Phyllis M. Martin, 'The Cabinda connection: an historical perspective', *African Affairs*, LXXVI (1977), 47-59.