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The Military Orders Established in Portugal in the Middle Ages: A Historiographical Overview

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to single out the latest directions taken by the historiography of the Religious and Military Orders established in Portugal in the Middle Ages and to discuss the current state of research into them. We shall also examine the main tendencies characterised by such research and the way it has been formally organized, drawing attention to how it fits in with other historical topics. The historical course of the Military Orders in Portugal has influenced the documentary output that supports research into the topic, and also the actual organization of the archives and their use. In this regard, we should first describe the orders, showing how they originated and where they became implanted, as well as their relationship with the monarchy.

Keywords

military orders; historiography; Portugal; middle ages

The aim of this study is to single out the latest directions taken by the historiography of the Religious and Military Orders established in Portugal in the Middle Ages and to discuss the current state of research into them. We shall also examine the main tendencies characterised by such research and the way it has been formally organized, drawing attention to how it fits in with other historical topics. The theme follows the overall trends of Portuguese medievalism, which is opening up to new topics given the expansion of the chronologies covered, the increasing number of historians and the university setting for such coverage (Homem, 2001). In this context, research into the Military Orders is expressed in academic work related to a university career, and also involves the dynamics of institutionally structured working groups.¹

The historical course of the Military Orders in Portugal has influenced the documentary output that supports research into the topic, and also the actual organization of the archives and their use. In this regard, we should first describe the orders, showing how they originated and where they became implanted, as well as their relationship with the monarchy. These institutions, apart from the Order of Christ, first came into being beyond the frontiers of Portugal, and this is reflected in the recognition of their canon law and the management of their estates. The Orders became established in Portugal with the acquiescence of the county of Portucalense, represented either by Dom Henrique and Dona Teresa or by their son, Dom Afonso Henriques. There were several reasons favoring the support of this new monachism, emerging from the disputes between religious and civil powers and affiliated with the reform of the Church in the 11th century. In fact, Dom Henrique's French origins, his empathy with the Crusade project and his close relations with Diogo Gelmires, archbishop of Compostela, in addition to the spread of Cistercianism and the restoration of certain lines of Saint Augustine's thought, are essential points in this analysis. All these factors, plus the circumstances prevailing in the Portuguese territory in the 12th century, helped to pave the way for the definition of a geographical area for the implantation of these institutions, which had

1 www.fct.mct.pt (consulted on 1 March 2004). Note the development of a line of investigation into Military Orders, under the scope of the R&D indicated by the Centro de Investigação Histórica/FLUP.

fairly distinct schemes of operation. The Hospitallers first appeared in the northern part of the kingdom, around Leça do Balio, and were established throughout the North, attending to the needs of pilgrims on their way to Santiago de Compostela. Towards the end of the 12th century, they spread into the southern interior regions (Beira Baixa and Alto Alentejo), where their focal point was Crato/Flor da Rosa. The Templars, perhaps because of their early installation in Portugal, had a spatial distribution similar in many frontier points to that of the Hospitallers, notably along the whole stretch of the Tagus valley, and were based in Tomar. Underlying this geographical definition was a military program, with a high degree of commitment on the part of the knights, which responded to the interests of the monarchy, ensuring the successful defense of the central region. The difficulties inherent in the southward advance of the reconquest go a long way toward explaining the integration of the Orders of Santiago and Avis into the kingdom in the mid 1170s. The former was entrusted with the defense of the Sado valley, Baixo Alentejo and Algarve, and the latter was to protect most of the Alto Alentejo from the town of Évora. Finally, the Order of Christ, founded in 1319, was fully identified with the monarchy from the outset. Generally speaking, this was to be the defining direction for the behavior of these institutions in the late Middle Ages, inasmuch as their presence in the kingdom was solid, linked to the affirmation of the border, in its religious and territorial dimension, and to the external projection of Portugal's sovereignty, specifically at the maritime level.

These circumstances made it highly necessary for the monarchy to exert control over the Military Orders in order to guarantee the convergence of interests. Dom Dinis (1279-1325) was the first king to show such determination, creating the Order of Christ, fighting for the independence of Santiago against the Order's capital in Uclés, and controlling Avis and the Hospitallers. To this concerted political drive can be added the appointment of the *Infantes* to the titles of Master of the Orders of Santiago (1418), Christ (1420) and Avis (1434), during the reign of Dom João I. The control of the Hospitallers, by means of a similar mechanism, came later (1532), and the addition of the title of King (1495) to that of the Master of the Order of Christ (1484) by Dom Manuel, plus Dom João III's creation of the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens* in 1532, and the definitive annexation of the Masterships to the Crown (1551), completed the process.

These circumstances, together with the profile of the archives and their accessibility, influence the working options of historians, and so it is important to note that the Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo (IAN/TT) houses a substantive collection of documents on the Military Orders, with equal prominence for the Orders' own documentation on this topic and the monarchy's collections, while there are also ecclesiastical reserves, on a smaller scale, which contain sundry documents. The District Archives hold less, but nonetheless quite interesting, documentation related to the study of commanderies with respect to their economic, jurisdictional and social aspects.

The combination of factors that we indicated at the beginning has led to a considerable growth in research on the topic in question, which makes it hard to draw up a single text mentioning all the works of specific interest, since many of them allude to different categories. We therefore seek to indicate the main trends and are not going to concern ourselves with producing an exhaustive survey of bibliographical references. Some works represent efforts at bibliographical systematization, such as those by Lomax (1975; 1976), by a team headed by Carlos de Ayala Martínez (1993) and, more recently (2002), a bibliography of an international nature (<http://www.csic.es/cbic/acceso.htm>). Consultation of these working tools helps us identify the principal lines of research developed up to the 1990s. We shall therefore confine ourselves to citing works published in the last ten years and, only in very specific cases, will we refer to the occasional earlier study. And so we would recommend that anyone interested should consult the works already cited from bibliographical compilations (*Repertório Bibliográfico da Historiografia Portuguesa*, 1995) or general electronic databases, which will help to broaden the references.² If we extend this analysis of the Military Orders to the worldwide web, we shall see that most of the information does not reflect university work, and so it follows various degrees of interest, with Municipal Councils having a prominent role, especially when it comes to tourism and culture.

² The <http://porbase.bn.pt> site is quite important for information on Portugal.

As mentioned earlier, research into the Military Orders in Portugal is carried out alongside the advances recorded in other spheres of historical knowledge, such as the rural and urban world, property ownership and regional power bases, the ecclesiastical domain, including relations with the Holy See, the authorities, institutions, royal bureaucracy and the structure of political society, municipalism, war, the nobility and culture (Homem, 2001). Studies on the Military Orders become in large part secondary to other research, fostering dialogue between researchers from all corners of the world, to the benefit, during the last quarter of the 20th century, of the reformulation of working methods, the revaluation of topics of economic and social history, powers and quantitative history as organizational potential, as well as the rehabilitation of the fact and the individual.

The possibility of being able to read even more widely sometimes stems from the greater diversity of documentation made available in the last quarter of the 20th century, with the publication of royal documents being of particular interest: chancery records (*Documentos de D. Sancho I*, 1979; *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Pedro I*, 1984; *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Afonso IV*, 1990-92; *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Duarte*, 1998-99)³; parliamentary records (*Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Afonso IV*, 1982; *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Pedro I*, 1986; *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Fernando I*, 1993; *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Manuel I*, 2001); and legislation (*Ordenações Afonsinas*, 1984; *Ordenações del-Rei Dom Duarte*, 1988); municipal records (Marques; Coelho; Homem, 2000); ecclesiastical (diocesan⁴ and monastic⁵) and narrative sources, such as books of lineages (*Livro de Linhagens do Conde D. Pedro*, 1980; *Livro de Linhagens do Deão*, 1980). Even though these sources are of a general nature, they have nevertheless enriched all manner of viewpoints. A complementary reading of specific sources on the Orders with other documents and works relating to institutions with which they maintained a close relationship or were situated close to geographically helps to clarify certain aspects, such as the power networks to which they subscribed. At the same time, the reappraisal of the archivist's science, and consequent reorganization, is reflected in the compilation of research aids, which facilitate access to documentation, such as at Torre do Tombo, where the archived sources are inventoried in relation to the topic in question (Farinha; Jara, 1997; Chorão, 1991; 1997).

As stated earlier, the historiographical overview of the Military Orders in mediaeval Portugal was one goal of some of the works already cited. Continuity must now be given to this task, with particular emphasis being placed on the final years of the 20th century, a period which saw the consolidation of certain research trends, particularly through the preparation of four Ph.D. theses, and the strengthening of the institutional dimension of these studies. In fact, Portugal belongs to an organized network for the study of Military Orders, and the International Seminar on Military Orders (Seminário Internacional sobre Ordens Militares - SIOM) has been set up, based at the Faculty of Arts, University of Porto (Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto - FLUP).

From the institutional point of view, the development of this line of research is expressed in a series of initiatives, which in the 1990s, enjoyed a more regular rhythm and began to involve a greater number of researchers. The interest in this topic involved other institutions, cooperation with Palmela Council being particularly noteworthy, as evidenced by the organization of several

³ The availability of the royal chancery records is also due to the sponsorship of the Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, through which the chancery records of Dom Afonso V and Dom Manuel I have been compiled, and these can be found at the Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo (IAN/TT), as can the *Leitura Nova*. In addition, there is MENDONÇA, Manuela (1994). *Chancelaria de D. João II. Índices*, 2 vols. Lisboa: IAN/TT, and, by the same author (1999), *Documentos das Ordens Militares na Chancelaria de D. Manuel. Typology and contents*. In *Ordens Militares. Guerra, religião, poder e cultura*. Lisboa: Colibri and C.M. Palmela. vol. 1: 79-90.

⁴ Mention should also be made of the *Synodicon Hispanum, II, Portugal* (1982). Critical edition directed by Antonio García y García. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos and the *Liber Fidei Sanctae Bracarensis Ecclesiae* (1965-1990). Critical edition by Avelino de Jesus da Costa, 3 vols. Braga: Junta Distrital.

⁵ Several works could be mentioned here, but, for the interest of the published documentary essence, we draw attention to LENCART, Joana (1997). *O costumeiro de Pombeiro. Uma comunidade beneditina no século XIII*. Porto: Editorial Estampa.

conferences on Military Orders and the publication of the respective proceedings⁶, as well as courses (five courses between 1997 and 2003) and the setting up of the Gabinete de Estudos sobre a Ordem de Santiago (GEsOS). Internationally, one can note the presence of Portuguese historians at some initiatives, and they have also presented papers on the topic at academic conventions, on a variety of themes, leading to the publication of significant results. A journal entitled *Militarium Ordinum Analecta* has also been created, with the Seminário Internacional sobre Ordens Militares (SIOM) being in charge of its scientific content.⁷

In academic terms, the research underlying these manifestations started with Luís Adão da Fonseca's Ph.D. work (1982), which systematically drew attention to the topic and paved the way for future work. Thus, eight Masters' dissertations were presented, between 1989 and 1995, another two in 2002 and 2003, and four Ph.D. theses between 1998 and 1999. Six of these Masters' dissertations sought to achieve a comprehensive approach to the origins, respective implantation in Portugal and achievements up to the 14th century of the Orders of Avis (Cunha, 1989 b; Pinto, 1997), Santiago (Cunha, Mário, 1991 a; Fernandes, 2002), Christ (Silva, 1997 a) and the Hospitallers (Costa, 1993 a). As we have said, these works prioritised the origins of these institutions, the constitution of their patrimonial bases and how they were run (identifying the holders of the commanderies), the general outlines of the internal organization and the external relations maintained by these religious bodies. The other four dissertations looked at more detailed aspects, such as the regulations governing the Orders of Santiago (Barbosa, 1999) and Christ (Vasconcelos, 1999), the female community of Santiago (Mata, 1991 a) and the town of Torrão, also under the jurisdiction of the Order of Santiago (Avilez, 2003).

With respect to Ph.D. theses (Costa, 1999; Mata, 1999 a; Pinto, 2001; Silva, 2002 a), we find a chronological extension of the preceding research work, with emphasis being laid on the consolidation of the ties between these institutions and the monarchy. This was borne out by the joint titularity of the Orders of Avis and Santiago, under Dom Jorge, and the simultaneous occupation of the Mastership of the Order of Christ and the Portuguese Crown under Dom Manuel. At this stage of the various investigations, focus was on the powers exercised by the different Orders and those living in their shadow, which required setting up a dialogue with parallel sources, although there still remained promising sub-paragraphs of study with respect to this last sphere. A search of the database of Spain's *Ministerio da Educación, Cultura e Deporte* brings some results which, on the whole, are quite similar to the panorama outlined for Portugal (<http://www.mcu.es/cgi-bin/TESEO> - consulted on 19 December 2003; Ayala Martínez, 2003).

In recent years, many more texts have been written, either by members of the working group specializing in the Military Orders, or by other historians, showing increasing interest in this theme. From the methodological standpoint, we feel it is right to classify the results published so far, establishing some categories under which to assemble the various works, even though we acknowledge the potential weakness of this proposal. Furthermore, the diversity and thematic scope of many of these works recommends that the reference is repeated for several parameters, but this does not seem to be particularly convenient. Our suggestion is a grid, in which the various texts can be entered, on the basis of the predominant perspective of each, since it will always be possible to find other issues that occur less often, and which will fit into another category. Given the

⁶ The 1st Meeting was held in 1989 (*As Ordens Militares em Portugal*, Actas do I Encontro sobre Ordens Militares. Palmela: C.M. Palmela, 1991. 319 pages.), the 2nd, in 1992 (*As Ordens Militares em Portugal e no Sul da Europa*, Actas do II Encontro sobre Ordens Militares. Lisboa: ed. Colibri, C.M. Palmela, 1997. 553 pages.), the 3rd, in 1998 (*Ordens Militares. Guerra, religião, poder e cultura*, Actas do III Encontro sobre Ordens Militares. 2 vols. Lisboa: Colibri and C.M. Palmela, 1999. 740 pages.) and, finally, the 4th Meeting, held in 2002, the proceedings of which are currently in print.

⁷ *Militarium Ordinum Analecta* has had six issues: *As Ordens Militares no Reinado de D. João I* (1997). Number 1. Porto: Fundação Engº António de Almeida; *As Ordens de Cristo e de Santiago no início da Época Moderna. A Normativa* (1999). Number 2. Porto: Fundação Engº António de Almeida; *A Ordem Militar do Hospital: dos Finais da Idade Média à Modernidade* (1999/2000). Number 3/4. Porto: Fundação Engº António de Almeida; *As Ordens de Avis e de Santiago na Baixa Idade Média. O governo de D. Jorge* (2001). Number 5. Porto: Fundação Engº António de Almeida; *A Ordem de Cristo (1417-1520)* (2002). Number 6. Porto, Fundação Engº António de Almeida.

impossibility of producing an exhaustive bibliographical citation, we have confined this analysis to studies emanating from a university setting and to the dialogue that academics maintain with other institutions, sometimes ones that provide support for the publication of certain articles.

The aspects covered reveal a striking diversity, such as the context in which the Military Orders emerged (García-Guijarro Ramos, 1995; 2000) and the issues related to their internal and regulatory organization (Chorão, 1990; Ayala Martínez, 1996; Costa; Vasconcelos, 1997; Barbosa, 1997; Cunha, 1997; Ventura, 1999; Silva, 2002 b; Costa, 2002 c), under which we can highlight the legal ties relative to the main convent (Cunha, Mário, 1997; Reis, 1998; Silva, 1998; 1999). The economic side has been thoroughly studied, from both a general perspective (Castro, 1991), and in more concrete areas, such as the organization of properties in commanderies (Cunha, 1989 a; Cunha; Pimenta, 1987; Dias, 1991; Silva; Pimenta, 1992; Barros; Boiça; Gabriel, 1996; Gonçalves, 1999; Cumbre, 1999; Costa; Rosas, 2001; Gonçalves, 2002; Mata, 2002 b; 2003 b; 2003 c), the presence in a particular region (Barbosa, Pedro; Varandas; Vicente, 1991; Rodrigues, 1991; Beirante; Dias, 1995; Gomes, 1997; 1999; Vargas, 1999), and even more specific questions (Braga, 1991; Jana, 1993; Costa, 1994; Conde, 1996; Mata, 1997; 2000; Ventura, 1997; Lopes, 1999). Intimately related to the two preceding points are the visitations made by the Military Orders themselves, with works published on the regiments (Barbosa, 1991) and solid aspects arising from them, especially in the Orders of Santiago and Christ (Silva, Germesindo, 1991; Encarnação, 1993; Leal; Pires, 1994; Corrêa, 1996; Corrêa; Viegas, 1996; Ferreira, 1997; Castelo-Branco, 1997; Pereira, Isaias, 1997; Marques, 1999; Mata, 2002 a).

Another dominant and very promising perspective has been to assess the profile and power of the Military Orders, and their relations with the monarchy, especially in the late Middle Ages (Marques, 1986; Cunha, Mário, 1991 b; Pimenta, 1991; Silva, 1994 b; 1994 c; 1994 d; Cunha, 1995; Moreno, 1997; Jana, 1997; Ayala Martínez, 1998; Barbosa, 1999; Pimenta; Silva, 1999; Costa, 1997 a; 2001 a; 2003; Pimenta, 2003; Silva, 2003). The profile of these institutions on municipal (Silva, 1991; 1996; 1997 c; Corrêa, 1991; Marques, 1997; 1998; Mata, 2001; Costa, 2003) and ecclesiastical communities (Marques, Maria Alegria, 1986; Marques, 1995; Vilar, 1997) is fundamental, since it is related to the complicated issue of jurisdictions (Marreiros, 1985; Sá-Nogueira, 1991; Costa, 1997 b; Mata, 1999 b), and it is still possible to include the power of controlling the written word in this domain (Cunha, 1991; Sá-Nogueira, 1999). For its own part, knowledge about the social extraction of the professed members results from the growing importance of studies on the nobility, and is currently one of the most attractive and innovative themes, as can be seen by the various Ph.D. theses that were defended in the late 1990s (already cited) and by a number of timely works (Sousa, 1997; 2000; Costa, 1996; Mata, 2000 a; 2003 a). At the same time, war, defense and military architecture, in which it is obligatory to recognize in the Order of the Knights Templar a unique role in the defense of the central zone, around the River Tagus (*O Castelo e a Ordem de Santiago na História de Palmela. Catálogo da exposição*, 1990; Barbosa, Pedro, 1991; Monteiro, 1999; García-Guijarro Ramos, 1999; Barroca, 1996/97; 2000; 2002; Oliveira, 2000), and the conflict with the Moorish minority (Barros, Maria Filomena, 1999), are also among the topics considered. Nor can the works that draw our attention to the participation of the Orders in the external projection of Portugal (Silva, 1997 b; 1998; Costa, 2001 b) be ignored, especially in terms of its expansion (Cosme, 1991; Castelo-Branco, 1991; Mendonça, 1995; Dutra, 1996; Fonseca, 1999; Dias, 1999; Silva, 2001), not to mention those that highlight the aspects of culture and art and which mirror the multifaceted way of life of these institutions (Caetano, 1997; Pereira, 1999; Boiça; Barros, 1999; Batoréo, 1999; Fernandes; Antunes, 1999; Costa; Rosas, 2001). In addition to all these sub-paragraphs, there is yet another set of approaches that are transversal in nature (Pimenta, 1990; Mata, 1991 b; Costa, 1993 b; 2002 a; 2002 b; Silva, 1994 a; Pimenta; Silva, 1995; 1996; Ayala Martínez, 1999; Moreno, 1999; 2000), but which deal with the power of the Orders and their relations with the Crown, enabling us to once again underscore the importance of this line of research. Finally, mention must be made of the image constructed by the Orders of themselves and which conditioned the way source materials recorded them, as some recently-published texts reveal (Fonseca, 1991; 2000; Pimenta, 2000).

These investigations have been overwhelmingly focused on the 1300s and 1400s, but the need to revise some of the material relating to the origins of the Orders has also required an

occasional foray into earlier eras. The advances made in the domain of the history of the Orders' powers have drawn attention to questions of periodization and to the need for us to rethink the chronology of the end of the Middle Ages, whereby it is generally agreed that these approaches should extend to the mid-16th century. It was in 1551 that the papal bull authorizing the definitive annexation of the Masterships to the Crown arrived in Portugal, and so this chronological extension represents an opportunity for us to interpret the mediaeval cycle of the Military Orders more coherently.

Our goal of establishing a parallel with other European realities and kindred institutions has frequently been achieved. Spain is a case in point; this country has the greatest potential for comparison, given its geographical proximity, and common Hispanic origins. This helps to explain the sharing of certain Orders, namely, those of Santiago and Avis, and the strength of subsequent institutional ties. This aspect in particular still has gaps that will need further research, as do the forms of prayer and spirituality embraced by the devout brothers.

One of the most innovative aspects of research concerns the sphere of powers, especially the commitment to the monarchy, as well as the sociological dynamics of the families who chose this model of the religious life, even though in the majority of cases it may only be possible to occasionally identify the social background of the main figures in these institutions, without necessitating forays into research carried out into the nobility.

Amongst the best-known aspects of the Military Orders is their economic behavior, since they benefit from direct references in known written sources to the jurisdictional dimension and to their relations with the Crown. On the other hand, it will be necessary in the future to diversify analysis of the economic domain as well as to study the Military Orders' involvement with external markets, especially in the case of the Orders with a multinational profile. The history of prices, the issues of weights and measures, and monetary questions are some of the areas research may venture into. Information on these subjects can be gathered, for example, from that documentation charting compliance with tax requirements in places whose regulations differed from those in Portugal.

Other work remains to be done in placing the commanderies within wider institutional networks, whilst the presence of these institutions in more distant places, such as the Mediterranean, the North Sea, Africa and the Asian empire, is still waiting to be studied. One of the greatest deficiencies is to be found in the study of the Order of the Knights Templar, which we expect to be overcome in the next few years. Knowledge of its military accomplishments, particularly in terms of architecture, has advanced considerably, but attention has yet to be paid to recruitment methods and other related aspects. Aspects of formal and institutional representation, such as how the municipalities were organized and the role of the Orders in the kingdom's central and local government, together with elements that ensure symbolic representativeness, are also awaiting deeper consideration. This would examine spheres such as religious and funereal art, gold and jewellery, assets, insignia, habits and vestments, banners, seals, armorial bearings, iconography and so forth, and diversification of the study sources is urgently needed. The study of Islamic sources would be one possible area of exploration, not forgetting that we must continue to publish written sources and issue critical publications with a view to producing syntheses on these materials.

Echoing historical fiction, it is legitimate to conclude that reaching far beyond the content of this paper and our efforts at systematization are the works we have cited, which, just like the world as a whole, are filled with wonderful things, and all we have to do to learn about them properly is simply to read them all (Eco, 2002: 67).

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Catholic Charity in Perspective: The Social Life of Devotion in Portugal and its Empire (1450-1700)

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Abstract

This article tries to outline the major differences between practices of charity within Europe, either comparing Catholics to Protestants, or different Catholic areas. The point of departure is constituted by the study of the *Misericórdias*, lay confraternities under royal protection who would develop as one of the main (if not the greatest) dispensers of charity either in Portugal or its Empire. Its evolution since the formation of the first *misericórdia* in Lisbon to the end of the seventeenth century is analysed, relating these confraternities to political, social and religious changes that occurred in the period under analysis. Issues related to their functioning, membership, rules, and economic activities, as well as the types of needy they cared for, are also dealt with, mainly through the comparison of different colonial and metropolitan *misericórdias*.

Keywords

Charity; Catholic and Protestant Europe; Poverty; Devotion; State Building

In the past, charity was a form of devotion, being one of the ways in which Christians could honor God. As one of the theological virtues, together with faith and hope, it enjoyed a high position in the hierarchy of religious behavior. The concern with charity was common to Catholics and Protestants, but with one major difference. Whilst the former could obtain salvation through good works and might be relatively sure that forgiveness of sins could be obtained through charity, the latter could not rely on such a possibility, since God alone could save believers, without the agency of the individual or intermediaries.

Recently, historiography on the subject of charity and poor relief has rediscovered the centrality of religious beliefs in the framing of charitable action. This new tendency is supposedly a reaction against the "socio-economic" approach of famous works by Natalie Zemon Davies (1968) and Brian Pullan (1971). Both authors maintained that differences between Catholics and Protestants did not alter the fact that in both religious frameworks the poor that were to be helped through charity were subject to selective devices that involved choosing between a large number of candidates for relief. Social pressure created by the outbreak of famine, plague or the overpopulation of cities crowded with immigrants led to a sometimes uncontrollable increase in the numbers of poor people in need of help. As such, these historians emphasized the fact that both Catholics and Protestants felt the need for a reform in poor relief.

On the other hand, since the beginning of the 1990s, the "religious approach" authors have stressed the relationship between religious ideology and charitable practices. Carter Lindberg studied the changes in attitudes towards work and poverty brought about by the ideas of Martin Luther and his followers (1993). Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham edited a collective volume on poor relief in Protestant Europe, while stressing the need to study the subject from the

religious standpoint¹. Critchlow and Parker (1999) explored the importance of the pervading notions of community in the shaping of charitable action.

Ideas about who belonged to a community no doubt exerted a decisive influence upon who was helped and who was denied relief. Charity was one of the performative devices that created the boundaries of community (Cavallo, 1995). The different Protestant churches and sects certainly took care of their own members, and the same can be said for Catholics. Catholic empires, which, at least until the eighteenth century, were more concerned with proselytization than the Protestant ones, integrated converts inside the boundaries of community. Although charity was universal within the Catholic Church, help could be refused to those who had not received the baptismal water, or to those who were not willing to confess and receive communion.

As we shall see, religious culture does not explain much about the organizational devices that are set in motion when we analyze the institutional practices of charity by a given political unit, or even at a single-city level. If the religious or "community" approach helps to explain most attitudes towards the poor and their relief, it does not fully take into account the organizational specificities of each local society. Nor does it acknowledge the centrality of the study of religious forms and beliefs in the works of either Natalie Davis or Brian Pullan, whose attention to doctrine is more profound than their critics suggest. The key feature of those extremely variable "systems" of poor relief is, of course, locality, but, as we shall see in the Portuguese case, it also involves the integration of such areas into broader organizations that we commonly designate the "Early Modern State". Institutional diversity was restrained by the existence of "umbrella" institutions and common procedures that were implemented by the incipient central institutions. As we shall see, the Portuguese case illustrates this point beyond any doubt, as the modern Portuguese state developed through the pressure caused by the need to draw profits from maritime commerce and by the development of a colonial administration that could relate to the metropolitan institutions.

We cannot ignore the various Protestant churches and sects and their different ways of dealing with poverty, but it is also risky to think about Catholic charity as being the same within the Italian states or in the kingdoms that formed Spain or Portugal, to name only a few examples. In spite of the fact that Portugal was Catholic, its forms of charity differed significantly from those found in other Catholic areas. Catholic culture or the Catholic sense of community cannot account for all the differences in institutional charity between the various areas. What is the explanation for these organizational differences? This article will try to explore the idea that, in the Portuguese case, the evolution of the kingdom along an imperial path, which enabled the country to evolve through homogenous sets of institutions, is responsible for relatively unified practices in terms of charity. Portugal as a sovereign state owes largely to the fact that the reign expanded overseas. In the first place, the crown was able to rely on funding from overseas trade; secondly, the "center" had to evolve in order to structure institutions that would work not only at home but also overseas. I will thus use an approach that does not ignore the centrality of religious doctrine and Catholic notions of community, but that is also aware of the political, economic and social configurations that modeled charity in Portugal and its empire.

Early Modern Catholic charity

Certainly, Catholic charity enjoys common features throughout the countries that remained faithful to Roman authority, or, to use John O'Malley's recent suggestion, "Early Modern Catholic Europe" (2000). At a schematic level, Catholic charity can be contrasted with all the practices that the Protestants tended to abolish. Let us name only a few.

In spite of ubiquitous attempts to control begging and vagrancy, the Catholic world tended toward a relative tolerance for beggars, unthinkable in Protestant areas. Luther's ideas, for instance, were directed toward the total elimination of beggars, and not to control of begging (Lindberg, 1993: 106). Begging in public was strictly forbidden in Zwingli's Zurich (Wandel,

¹ Cf., in particular, the essay by Ole Peter Grell, 'The Protestant imperative of Christian care and neighborly love', in Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham, *Health Care and Poor Relief in Protestant Europe 1500-1700*, London, 1997, pp. 43-65.

1990). The attempts to suppress beggars in Protestant areas, except for cases such as Lyon or Ypres where reforms were led by Catholics (Davis, 1968), were not systematic in the Counter-Reformation world, where there were merely occasional outbursts calling for the repression of mendicants.

Whereas Protestant devotion is characterized by logocentrism (Todd, 2002), Catholic charity is part of an iconic religion. The images conveyed through ritual not only kept center stage, but were also emphasized during the baroque era. Catholic charity made itself visible through ritual, ensuring the participation of the larger community in the act of giving (Sá, 2001). As one of the possible displays of devotion available to a Catholic individual, the practice of charity was sacralized through a broad spectrum of different rituals. Among them, one could mention the public almsgiving by important civic and religious personalities; the Washing of the Feet on Maundy Thursday or the participation of large groups of poor people in burial processions, and the celebration of thousands of masses for the dead souls in Purgatory. Not that the Protestant world completely erased rituals from religious life, but its emphasis on direct contact with the Scriptures caused ritual to be seen as less important than particular forms of interiorized devotion (Muir, 1997). Natalie Davis (1980) emphasized the Protestant "human communication network", as opposed to the Catholic ceremonial moments in space and time. On the other hand, Early Modern Catholicism retained its belief in the intercession of the Virgin and the Saints. The Mother of Christ as the mother of Mercy and some of the saints famous for their acts of charity (St. Martin of Tours, the bishop St. Nicholas, etc.) continued to be venerated and depicted in iconography². Some of them had been the inspirers of specific practices of charity since the Middle Ages and continued to be so throughout the Early Modern Period. The confraternity of *San Martino* in Florence helped *poveri vergognosi*, *San Giovanni Decollato* prepared the condemned for public execution, the Virgin of the *Annunziata* (Annunciation) was the patron of poor girls who were given dowries, etc.

In the Protestant world, both the denial of transubstantiation and the refusal of Purgatory suppressed the centrality of the mass. Among Catholics, masses for the dead continued to be the main vehicle for the funding of institutions, which received large sums of money as well as landed property through death bequests. The maintenance of a larger group of clergymen is central to the Catholic areas, and new religious orders devoted specifically to charitable services were created in the Catholic world after the division of Europe according to religious creed. By eliminating Purgatory, the masses for the dead, and religious orders, especially the mendicant ones, the Protestants suppressed significant pieces of the chain that normally started with a bequest made to an institution, prescribing both masses and charity to the poor. Generally, these funds could be invested in the money market. The association between charity and money loans was not unusual in the Middle Ages, nor was the controversy it caused. Whenever the reproduction of money by itself, without the intervention of nature, was at stake, it was the task of the Church to confirm or deny its legitimacy. Some new practices met with public suspicion, such as the *Monte delle doti*, a public dowry fund created in 1425 in Florence, whereby investors secured honor for their daughters while aiding municipal finance (Taylor, 1982: 329).

In Italy, the *Monti di Pietà* constituted a form of helping the poor in distress by lending them money at an advantageous interest rate, in contrast to the sinful usury practiced by the Jews (Menning, 1993). Although moneylending could easily merge with usury, certain forms of profitable finance came to be sanctioned by the Church. Annuity rents were one of these, being low interest loans secured by property that were not considered usurious by the Church in the fifteenth century and were one of the sustainers of parochial charity in the Low Countries (Galvin, 2002: 139-140). Early Modern Catholicism acted according to the principle that interest on loans was not illicit so long as the money gained was used for the well-being of persons who needed help. The bequeathed money generally circulated in the money market and profits were used in celebrating masses for the souls in Purgatory, as well as for supporting charitable practices. Protestant charity did not contribute to the economic survival of the members of religious orders or secular priests, thus

² On the importance of the cult of the Virgin Mary and the saints in Spanish confraternities cf. Maureen Flynn, *Sacred Charity. Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400-1700*, London, Macmillan, 1989.

breaking an economic chain that was responsible for a large concentration of wealth in the hands of the Church.

Early Modern Catholic Europe tended to reinforce the role of religious orders in the practices of charity. Some of them were especially dedicated to service inside hospitals, such as the Hospitaller brothers of St. John of God, but Franciscans and Dominicans were also invested in the care of sick patients. A new religious order specifically devoted to charity was created in 1586, the Camillians, who were very active in Italian hospitals, such as, for example, the hospital of the *Annunziata* in Naples (Gentilcore, 1999). In Imperial Spain, Mexico and Peru also experienced the creation of two new Hospitaller religious orders, the Betlamitas and the Saint Hippolytus Order of Charity, both of them based upon the Augustinian rule. The Jesuits, even if they did not have the practice of charity as their main goal, followed a program of strict observance to the practice of the fourteen works of mercy in their years of formation (O'Malley, 1993: 165-199). In Portuguese India, for instance, Saint Francis Xavier and his fellow missionaries were especially careful to help the local charitable institutions by tending to the sick, both spiritually and physically, and performing other works of mercy. As Brian Pullan remarked, hospitals became battlefields for conversion and the salvation of souls (1999: 30-31).

Catholic Europe reinforced the presence of confraternities in urban and rural communities, many of them being dedicated to charity. Most charitable confraternities recruited at the level of the whole community, and charity was organized on a supra-parochial basis (Pullan, 1996) in spite of the centrality of parishes in the organization of community life implemented after the Council of Trent (Black, 2001: 167). The Protestant world tended to reaffirm the importance of the parish in matters of poor relief. In England, the Poor Laws transformed the parish into the taxing unit for the funding of charity to its residents; in many cities across Calvinist Europe, the deacons in the consistory were responsible for the care of the poor of the community (Benedict, 2002: 455). In Lutheran communities, the common chest brought together alms that were to be distributed to the needy (Lindberg, 1996). Catholic areas tended to create urban systems of poor relief, where old and new institutions co-existed, whilst the parish tended to restrict itself to the organization of religious life.

In the Catholic world, charity continued to be a form of penance - together with prayer, fasting and self-flagellation - and it never separated itself from other religious forms of devotion that were not concerned with giving to the poor. Before resources got to the charitable institutions, a large proportion of them were spent on the celebration of masses, and charity was only one of the ways in which to obtain forgiveness for one's sins and negotiate the afterlife.

In very general terms, these could be said to be the main differences between charity as practiced by Protestants and Catholics. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that both of them shared a religious approach to the question of social and economic inequality.

Most historians of charity tend to avoid the issues behind the very existence of charity itself by not questioning its fictional character. Despite being inspired by sincere devotion, charity did not distribute wealth on any rational basis, because the donor was free to give what he wanted, however much he wanted, when he wanted and to whom he wanted. Charity was a system whereby a fiction of the distribution of wealth was enacted. It was only possible through the creation of a hegemonic domination that erased social conflict except in times of extreme dearth. Outbreaks of popular revolt were sporadic and could be violent, but they did not seriously question the social, political or economic order *per se* (Thompson, 1971).

Both in the Protestant and the Catholic world, charity could be used to legitimize upward social mobility, illegal profits or questionable ethics. Corruption did not apply to royal office or administration: officers tended to be underpaid, and making profits from their offices was seen as inevitable and legitimate. But social and religious ethics viewed personal gain with suspicion (Cardim, 2000). Even if all kinds of fraud were possible, a moral economy placed very strict limits on the legitimacy of profit. It was a sin to cheat the dead or to deprive the poor of their alms by diverting the funds assigned to them in wills. These rules were relatively easy to apply; others, concerning usury or other forms of illicit profit, were not. It is because people sinned (and not only in what concerns "economic" behaviour), that they needed to operate a fictive image of benevolence and compensate for their faults.

In spite of all the differences between Catholic and Protestant attitudes towards poor relief, they used charity in common for the normalization of social behavior. It is generally admitted that charity did not limit itself to easing the suffering of the needy, but that it was also a powerful means of ensuring social order. By repressing vagrancy, forcing the poor to work inside workhouses, and promoting good sexual behavior, charity was used, especially after the Council of Trent, to discipline and punish, to use Michel Foucault's expression (1995). Charity became part of an aggressive Catholicism, whose main purpose was to save souls from Hell (Pullan, 1982). Nevertheless, it could hardly be affirmed that Protestant charity was not similarly repressive in its concern for good moral behavior.

State building, local power and charitable practices: the formation of the Portuguese *Misericórdias*

If we are to look at the specificities of each Catholic area or cultural unit, the answer to explaining their peculiarities must lie in political evolution and in the role played by the formation of the Early Modern State in the creation and development of homogenous sets of institutions. If we study charity in Spain or Italy, we are forced to focus on specific political units that developed their own sets of institutions. Naples was different from Venice, and Catalonia differed from Castile, for instance. Nevertheless, if we analyze the Portuguese case, there was no regional diversity and the forms of charitable organization were homogenous in all its territories. We also have to take into account the fact that Portugal was an empire that exported its institutions to several overseas areas, from Brazil and Africa to the Far East.

The way these different colonies related to metropolitan Portugal can vary. In Asia, there was a viceroy who represented the king's authority over a territory that extended from fortresses in East Africa to Macao in the Far East—the *Estado da Índia*. In contrast, Portuguese America was administered by a governor whose powers were never as extensive as those of the viceroys. Nevertheless, the basic local colonial institutions were the same as the ones that existed in metropolitan Portugal: the *câmaras* and the *misericórdias* (Boxer, 1965; Bethencourt, 1998). Whilst the former organized economic and political life at the local level, enabling colonists to exercise local power, the latter were confraternities which tended to admit the same local elites as the ones that belonged to the *câmaras*. Their sphere of action was nevertheless concerned with charity. Like the municipalities, they tended to be formed in the *concelhos*, i.e. the same administrative space as the *câmaras*, which corresponded to a group of parishes. By the mid-seventeenth century, there were hundreds of *misericórdias* in Portugal itself and over fifty in the colonial territories.

There is no doubt that the *Misericórdias* were the most important confraternities in Portugal and its Empire, far outweighing all the other existing brotherhoods in almost any locality. The first confraternity was founded in Lisbon in 1498 during the reign of Dom Manuel I (1495-1521), in times of prosperity. The spice trade was flourishing and the Crown was one of the main merchant bodies. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1978) demonstrated the increase in royal revenue that occurred during the reign of Dom Manuel I due to the development of transoceanic maritime trade. The crown enjoyed political stability and economic prosperity, enabling the king to introduce significant changes in the legal, institutional and ritual order. Major and minor reorganizations took place in court, in religious and political rituals, and in the organization of administrative and legal structures (Curto, 1998). In this context, the king took advantage of the possibility of benefiting the new confraternity, both financially and juridically. As a result, the new confraternity expanded at a fast pace, both in metropolitan Portugal and its colonies. This expansion allowed for a maximum amount of local autonomy with a minimum amount of interference from the central institutions. The Lisbon *Misericórdia* was never entitled to any authority over local *misericórdias*, apart from giving its advice when needed. *Misericórdias* collaborated with one another, and always regarded Lisbon as the "mother" house, but never with any sense of dependency. Although its statutes tended to be adopted, frequently with local adaptations, the Lisbon *Misericórdia* did not rule over the others. Moreover, the *misericórdias* were never archconfraternities, in the sense of ecclesiastic confraternities linked to a main branch, located in Rome or in other Italian cities, having

jurisdiction over regional confraternities and recognizing the pope or the local bishop as their supreme authority³. Right from their beginning and until the end of the Council of Trent, the evolution of these confraternities followed a logic under which the king was to be the ultimate authority to which they answered. At the last session of the Council of Trent, this prerogative was sanctioned when they obtained the status of lay confraternities under royal protection. This meant a great deal in terms of state building: the kings of Portugal got to be the main patrons of charitable action, and the *misericórdias* were never to become ecclesiastic confraternities under the authority of the Catholic Church. In spite of the influence that ecclesiastic dignitaries or Church institutions might exert over the local *misericórdias*, these confraternities always remained within the juridical sphere of the king⁴.

At the end of the Council of Trent, and especially in the twenty years after 1563, the *misericórdias* transformed themselves into the main administrators of local hospitals through the annexation of municipal hospitals. The merging of several medieval hospitals into larger institutions had been taking place since the end of the fifteenth century. Dom Manuel I had tried to hand several hospitals to the newly-founded *misericórdias*, but only after Trent were hospitals systematically incorporated into them. At the last session of the Council of Trent, it was agreed that the *misericórdias* were not to be supervised by episcopal authorities, except in relation to altars and liturgical equipment. This meant a great degree of autonomy for every institution run by the *misericórdias*, including hospitals, together with the freedom to manage their own financial resources. Even if bishops and other ecclesiastics could be members, and were often highly influential in the internal life of the *misericórdias*, the Church as an institution was not to rule over them, as they were answerable only to the king (Sá, 1997b).

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the ideology that pervaded the action of the *misericórdias* was entirely religious and, moreover, was already fully formed before Trent. If we read the devotional books printed during the reign of Dom Manuel, we can find the basic principles of the practice of charity by the *misericórdias*. Charity was seen as a “working prayer” in contrast to “oral or “vocal” prayer, i.e. as the “social life” of devotion.

From the beginning, the *misericórdias* were associated with the Marian cult and would never cease to be dedicated to the Virgin, who was understood to act as a mediator between sinners and her Holy Son. Her benevolent protection was extended to all those who practiced the fourteen works of mercy, and she was to be their patron throughout the history of the *misericórdias*. The version of Mary that encapsulated the confraternity's action was the pregnant woman who visited her cousin Isabel, who was about to bear a child in old age. This act epitomized the spirit of the confraternity, as it stood for devotion and compassion towards the needy. The day that commemorated this episode (2 July) became the main feast of the confraternity, and it also assumed a symbolic value, since it was mimicked by its members when they visited the needy in houses, hospitals and prisons.

The cult of the Virgin Mary was also associated with another episode in her life, the death of her Holy Son. The *misericórdias* were never to lose their penitent character, which was especially visible in processions during Lent (Maundy Thursday), where self-flagellation would be practiced by all those who joined the *cortège*. Confraternal banners would testify to both Mary as the defender of

³ On archconfraternities, see Black, 1989: 72-74. Although there were archconfraternities where the main branch was located outside Rome, the term always referred to ecclesiastical brotherhoods under episcopal authority, which was never the case of the *Misericórdias*.

⁴ For a different view on this subject, see Abreu, 2003. This author suggests that negotiations at Trent were optimized by the fact that the regency of the kingdom was held by a high dignitary of the church, Cardeal Dom Henrique. Nevertheless, it is not likely that Rome expected Portugal to be ruled forever by ecclesiastics. It has to be remembered that the last session of the council actually confirmed that *misericórdias* were lay confraternities under royal protection. Abreu also mentions the increasing proximity of the *misericórdias* and the Catholic Church after Trent, based on the granting of indulgences. However, the latter were not specific to the *misericórdias*, as they were also given abundantly to many other local confraternities. Furthermore, the “Catholicization” of the kingdom after 1563 is a general issue, shared with other Catholic areas, and cannot be singled out as being specific to the *misericórdias*.

sinner and Mary as the suffering mother: one side depicted her unfolding her cloak over humanity and the other represented her holding her dead son after the Descent from the Cross.

Charity could apparently be one of the means for resolving conflicting desires between body and soul, through the compensation for sin. Doctrine described penance as having three forms: prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, and the latter was seen, long before Protestant charity questioned its legitimacy, as a working prayer (“oração de obra”). It is also a fact that most of the devotional texts that circulated either in print or in manuscript had been written a long time before this, precisely during the years of the spread of lay piety and *devotio moderna*. Christine de Pisan's writings, the works of Saint John Chrysostom, Ludolf of Saxony's *Vita Christi*, the *Sacramental* by Sanchez de Vercial or the *Flos Sanctorum*, were available in printed form, and some of them in vernacular language, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century⁵. Books such as the *Ritual de Coimbra*, the *Manual dos Pecados* by Garcia de Resende, or the *Catecismo Pequeno* by Diogo Ortiz, among other works written by Portuguese courtiers and ecclesiastics, were also published⁶. All these works exhorted the believer to the virtue of charity and to the practice of the fourteen works of mercy. Without exception, they viewed wealth as a sin that only contempt for material possessions could make forgivable in the eyes of God. Material goods, the ones that served the equally sinful body, were to be transformed into spiritual goods through the generous giving of alms to the poor and through the practice of the fourteen works of mercy. This charitable ideology can be observed in the first *compromisso* of the *Misericórdia* of Lisbon, and in some of the rhetoric of the laws issued by Dom Manuel I. Many of these texts insisted on the vanity of possession and the spiritual benefits of being poor and helping the poor. There was thus nothing “modern” about the practices of charity that the crown was trying to introduce. The visions of poverty and charity that served as meta-narratives to the practice of the fourteen works of mercy were traditional and medieval in substance. Only the fact that the crown and the local elites thought it fit to create confraternities that obeyed a homogenous pattern in an area that crossed various continents constituted a “modern” novelty.

The *misericórdias* would evolve clearly along Post-Tridentine lines and adapt themselves to the circumstances of royal government, but it can be said that the charitable practices of the *misericórdias* were Catholic before Catholicism. The devotional climate of spirituality and self-abnegation dating from these early years would have been lost by the time the Council of Trent started. But there can be no doubt that the Portuguese population had fully assimilated the doctrine of salvation through good works, because it had in fact been practicing it at least since the end of the fifteenth century. Charity projected the individual into the afterlife and at the same time sought to attenuate extreme social and economic inequality by projecting the fiction of generosity into the social fabric. By transforming the rich into the lesser children of God, poverty became acceptable. It is also tempting to start studying the emergence of the tendency to project the individual and not the collective into the afterlife. In the last years of the fifteenth century, it was still common to found chantries to honor one's lineage or to establish the celebration of masses for one's family as well as for the donor (Rosa, 2000). But, by the end of the sixteenth century, the dying individual was more and more concerned with his own salvation than with that of his relatives. During the

⁵ Pisan, Christine de, *O Espelho de Cristina*, Lisbon, Herman de Campos, 1518 (facsimile edition, edited by Maria Manuela Cruzeiro, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 1987); [Beja, Frei António de], *Tradução da Epistola de S. João Chrysostomo*, Lisbon, Germão Galharde, 1522; Saxónia, Ludolfo de, *Vita Christi*, Lisbon, Nicolau de Saxónia and Valentim Fernandes, 1495 (modern edition: Magne, S.J., Augusto, *O Livro de Vita Christi em Lingoagem Português. Edição Fac-similar e crítica do Incunábulo de 1495 cotejado com os apógrafos*, vol. II, Rio de Janeiro, Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1950); *Flos Sanctorum*, Lisbon, Hernan de Campos, 1513; Sanchez de Vercial, Clemente, *Sacramental*, Lisbon, João Pedro de Cremona, 1502.

⁶ Ortiz, D. Diogo, *Catecismo pequeno da doutrina e instruiçam que os xpãos ham de creer e obrar pera conseguir a benaventurança eterna*, Lisbon, Valentim Fernandes and João Pedro de Cremona, 1504 (modern edition: Silva, Elsa Maria Branco da, *O Catecismo Pequeno de D. Diogo Ortiz Bispo de Viseu*, Lisbon, Colibri, 2001); Almeida, D. Jorge de, *Manuale secundu[m] consuetudinem alme Colymbrieñ [sic]. Ecclesie*, Lisbon, Nicolao Gazzini, 1518; Bragança, Joaquim de Oliveira (ed.), *Breve Memorial dos pecados e cousas que pertencem ha confissam hordenado por Garcia de Resende fidalguo da casa delRei nosso senhor*, Lisbon, Gráfica de Coimbra, 1980 (1st edition 1521).

seventeenth century, the individual concern with one's own salvation that had been exclusive to the elites during the times of *devotio moderna* had spread to the larger strata of the population. All those who could afford it bequeathed property and money on behalf of the eternal wellbeing of their own souls. Charity thus operated at a level that mediated between the guilt of the individual and the needs of the community. The latter was understood as an organic collectivity that needed sanctification, but, at the individual level, it was up to each person to negotiate his or her afterlife.

The key to the success of the *misericórdias* lies in their mutual advantages for the king and for the local elites. In fact, the need to promote the creation of *misericórdias* from the center can be circumscribed to the first twenty years. During the reign of Dom Manuel, most *misericórdias* were created by direct or indirect intervention of the king. Nevertheless, even in this initial period, local seigniorial domains, both ecclesiastic and lay, created *misericórdias*. At the time of the king's death, in December 1521, spontaneous local initiative was sufficient to guarantee the spread of these confraternities.

In the empire, in some cases, *misericórdias* preceded the creation of municipalities. They had become the "Portuguese" language for the practice of charity and the power that this inevitably brings with it. Across the empire, whether in Africa, Asia or Brazil, the formation of *misericórdias* was as inevitable as the existence of local municipal councils, as historian Charles Boxer was the first to point out in the 1960s (Boxer, 1965).

The *misericórdias*: how they worked

Like all confraternities, the *misericórdias* ruled themselves by statutes, which took the name of *compromissos*. In Portuguese, this word means commitment or undertaking, as every new member had to swear upon the gospels that he would abide by the rules included in this text. There were three main regulations approved initially for the Lisbon *Misericórdia*. The first one, in printed form since 1516, was sent to local *misericórdias* from the royal chancery. This text was generally not adapted to local circumstances, but this was not the case with the other Lisbon regulations of 1577 (printed 1600) and 1618 (first edition in 1619). These were to inspire local *compromissos*, often revised versions of the former. The 1577 statutes did not last long, and the cities that adopted them had to elaborate new *compromissos* with the reform of 1618. This was the case with the cities of Porto, Goa and Guimarães. The *compromisso* of the Manila *Misericórdia* is an exception to this rule. This confraternity, whose creation was inspired by Portuguese men living in Manila during the Iberian Union (1580-1640), elaborated its rules by adapting an older version of the *compromisso* of the Goa *Misericórdia* (1595), and the Lisbon edition of 1600 (Mesquida, 2003). The Lisbon *compromisso* of 1618 was to have a longer life and a larger number of adaptations than the earlier versions. At least 19 *misericórdias* later drew up their own regulations based on its text (Sá, 2001: 42).

Unlike the *misericórdias*, most Portuguese confraternities were not universal in their concerns about charity, and provided a unique range of charitable actions to those that they helped. Apart from some medieval confraternities that administered hospitals and managed to survive until modern times, most confraternities were either devotional or belonged to guilds. At the parochial level, confraternities such as the SS. *Sacramento*, *Almas* or even *Nome de Deus* were created after the Council of Trent and were aimed at the Christianization of the population (Zardin, 2000). They helped to intensify devotion among the population and the participation of believers in the community, but did not have significant resources to devote to poor relief. Guild confraternities restricted charity to the support of members and their families. The *misericórdias* can be singled out by the fact that they did not practice inward-looking charity, i.e. they did not restrict help to their own members, in contrast to devotional and occupational confraternities. Despite using selective devices in order to choose beneficiaries, due to the high demand for their resources, the *misericórdias* helped a broad spectrum of social groups, from the middle strata or the shamefaced to the poorest individuals. The *misericórdias* were some of the most wide-ranging charitable institutions in Early Modern Catholic Europe, although the members of such confraternities also tended to use resources for their own gain.

As has been well demonstrated for other European areas, charitable institutions were crucial as self-help support systems for their members. In the case of the *misericórdias*, we know that, by admitting only the elites of noblemen or craftsmen, these confraternities helped to establish social frontiers, confirmed the upward social mobility of some, and, above all, helped many to reproduce their social status. Members and their families were entitled to high-quality free burials, duly accompanied by the celebration of masses on behalf of their souls. Other unstated and sometimes illegal benefits were available to members. They could make (and many of them did make) financial loans to brothers, give a marriage dowry to a less fortunate family whose men had traditionally been members, and rent out property under advantageous conditions. Except for marriage dowries (where the preference of members' daughters could be stated in the form of written rules), all the practices which favored members directly or indirectly always bordered on the edge of legitimacy, and were frequently strictly forbidden by royal and local regulations. The truth is that, with the accumulation of property, whether in the form of land or money, the *misericórdias* became rich institutions whose control could not be left to chance. On the other hand, the continuing social and economic prominence of these confraternities depended on their prestige in the community. Bequests would not be forthcoming if the community could not rely on the institution to fulfill the obligations included in their wills (mainly the celebration of a large number of masses) or if rumors of mismanagement cast a shadow over the institution's reputation. Loss of prestige could have a high price if it meant a loss of confidence on the part of the population.

The *misericórdias* had a limited number of members, related to the size of the population and local elites. Broadly speaking, towns had 100 members, medium-sized cities 250-300, whilst in large cities such as Lisbon and Goa membership could amount to as many as 600. Generally, there was a divide between noble and non-noble members. Non-noble members consisted of the middle strata of the population, in other words the local master craftsmen or even landowning farmers. The main requirement was that they did not work with their own hands, in order to have enough free time to fulfill the confraternities' duties and obligations. This also revealed distinct attitudes towards manual labour, which was considered to be a feature of the lower strata, precisely those who might fall into poor relief and need charitable help. One of the exceptions to this binary composition of the *misericórdias* was the one in Macao, where the regulations recognized the absence of Portuguese craftsmen in the city, thus implicitly promoting all the confraternity's members to the condition of nobility.

Applying for membership in a *misericórdia* was an elaborate procedure. Candidates were informed by the ruling boards that a period of new admissions was coming up and they had to write petitions stating their age, the name of their parents and grandparents, place of residence, etc. The confraternity then undertook a private inquiry in order to confirm the information included in these applications. If correct, admission had to be sanctioned by the votes of all the members of the brotherhood. Only white, literate and Old Christian adult males could stand for election, although research has shown that the admission of brothers was often more flexible than the rules prescribed in the *compromissos*, adapting itself to the morphology of local elites. It was impossible, for instance, in many colonial cities to restrict membership to whites, as miscegenation was the rule, so that selection was restricted to Portuguese blood in the patrilineal line. In other places, the local elite was rural, with few nobles available to be admitted as first-class members; landowning farmers could then be admitted under that status. All that was required was that the people in the hegemonic groups of local society were not left out of the brotherhood (Sá, 1997: 142); the presence of the local nobility in these confraternities was the guarantee that self-perpetuating oligarchies would rule over the *misericórdia*. Some local families actually dominated the confraternity for several centuries (Sobral, 1990).

The ruling board of the *misericórdias* was composed of thirteen members. They formed the *mesa*, which met at least twice a week and whose chairman was the *provedor*. Amongst this group were the secretary and treasurer: the former was responsible for keeping minutes, whilst the latter ruled over financial matters. Other members of the *mesa* could be entrusted on a monthly basis with other tasks such as visiting prisoners or taking care of domestic relief, but the *mesários* could also delegate such tasks to brothers from outside the *mesa*. Of course, the tendency in many *misericórdias* was to have a restricted group of active members, whilst most brothers took advantage of

membership without affording any reciprocal dedication to the confraternity. On the other hand, for the few that took confraternity matters seriously, this meant their enjoying significant control over the economic, social and political resources of their own *misericórdia*. The elitist nature of the confraternity was reinforced by the fact that it became very important to control its ruling board. The *mesa* was chosen by indirect elections, which soon fell prey to every sort of electoral manipulation, causing conflicts that often required the intervention of central institutions.

The *misericórdias* were also controlled by groups of elders, who could be part of a board of twenty members, the *definitório*. Such a board was composed of men, often with university degrees in theology or law, who had gained experience in handling the delicate internal affairs of the confraternity through previous membership or office in the *misericórdia*. In practice, this board made all significant decisions of the confraternity. It remained in operation from the last decades of the sixteenth century until the 1630s and coincided with an overall tendency toward a bureaucratization of the *misericórdias*. In the last years of the sixteenth century, it was still common to summon all members to collective gatherings that made important decisions. In 1618, the *compromisso* did away with the election of the *definitório*, and the collectivity of brothers became less and less visible and lost ground to institutional mediation.

In the same way, the beginnings of the confraternity had relied on the fictional belonging to the confraternity of all those who contributed alms. Such donors were the *confrades* as distinct from the brothers, i.e. the full and active members of the brotherhood, who were actually scrutinized before being elected and admitted to the confraternity.

This bureaucratization of the confraternity was also accompanied by the hiring of a larger number of employees who performed all the lesser tasks associated with charity. They served in infirmaries, controlled doors as porters, served as *factotums* and carried funeral biers. Women cleaned premises, cooked or cared for hospital patients. Of course, each *misericórdia* had to rely on a significant number of priests to celebrate the masses each confraternity had the obligation to perform as a consequence of death bequests, which by the beginning of the eighteenth century numbered thousands each year.

The increasing tendency toward bureaucratization of the *misericórdias* from their initial years in the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century is also confirmed by the increasing amount of paperwork. Although informal acts of charity were still important, especially if the *misericórdia* had a regular almsgiving day when alms were handed directly to the poor at its headquarters, most poor people had to write petitions if they wanted to apply for regular or "expensive" charity. The members of the confraternity became increasingly status-conscious, often forgetting the self-effacement that was inherent in late medieval piety, from which the confraternity drew its principles in the first years of its existence.

In spite of some occasional pressures from the Crown, which could raise money from the funds of the *misericórdias* or intervene in elections in which conflict arose, it might be said that their internal matters were left entirely to the discretion of their members. Until the time of the Marquês do Pombal, there were no systematic orders from the king putting an end to rigged elections or inspecting the accounts of the *misericórdias* (Lopes, 2002).

Charitable practices

The agenda of the *misericórdias* always had the fourteen works of mercy as its creed, even if their specific enunciation had been suppressed from the *compromissos* by the second half of the sixteenth century. All these works were to be performed, although the importance of single works varied according to time and place. Contemporaries valued both the spiritual and corporal works of mercy, because all of them without exception allowed for the exercise of the virtue of charity. In the *compromisso* of 1516, the spiritual works were listed first. In fact, praying for the dead and making peace between enemies through forgiveness were among the most important acts of charity, and their social importance cannot be underestimated. Any charitable deed could fall under the scope of the fourteen works of mercy, except for the obligation to enable single orphaned girls to get married by giving them a dowry. This practice developed during the fourteenth century, but was never formally included in the formulation of the works of mercy (Pullan, 1996). In Portugal, from the

beginning of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century, dowering poor girls became one of the favorite pious legacies included in wills. Some rich donors enabled the foundation of a conservatory for women by bequeathing a single large fortune, as was the case in Bahia (Russell-Wood, 1968).

Almsgiving: old and new

Indiscriminate almsgiving did not vanish completely from Portuguese daily life, and it was expected of a new *provedor* to give generously the day he took office after the election. Some *misericórdias* still kept the habit of handing out money, clothing and food from their headquarters on a weekly basis. Nevertheless, the tendency was to draw up lists of poor people who were to receive regular support, even if publicly (Araújo, 2000). The members of the *mesa*, or other brothers appointed to the task, were entrusted with the task of checking whether the applicant was eligible for help. For the shamefaced poor, the selective procedure through certification was the same, but help tended to be given in secret. Brothers working in pairs visited such paupers in their homes. Often being responsible for specific areas into which the city had been divided, such visitors were required to be respectable elders and were never to enter the houses of the poor alone, in order to allay suspicions of lascivious behavior.

Many *misericórdias* did not convert all their rents into money. Some tended to supply themselves with their own products—cereals or other foods—using them to supply their own hospitals or distributing them through domestic or outdoor relief. No *misericórdia* was ever self-sufficient in terms of food supplies, but few had to buy all the essential products to feed their poor. Although the *compromissos* recommended the conversion of landed property into money by public auction, some of the land and houses inherited were non-partible and could not be sold (*propriedade vinculada*). Macao was once again an exception, because there was no land to cultivate and thus no food production in the small peninsula that formed its urban territory. Clothes were also given to the poor, sometimes through the recycling of deceased patients' outfits, as a result of pious donations, or were even newly made.

Although the Portuguese Crown very often legislated against the proliferation of beggars and on several occasions entrusted the *misericórdias* with the operations needed in order to license the "true" ones, the realm and its Empire never witnessed any significant attempts to confine these "idle" individuals. In fact, the Empire was in constant need of men and the policy adopted was to channel as many as possible to the colonies (Coates, 2002). The death penalty was relatively rare (Paz Alonso and Hespanha) and criminals were easily converted into exiles (*degradados*). Before the mid-eighteenth century, there was no demand for begging to be entirely abolished, either in legislation or in theological literature. It is also important to point out that none of the Portuguese *misericórdias* ever had the task of incarcerating the idle yet able poor and forcing them to work, as was the case with Barcelona's *Misericórdia*, founded in 1584 (Carbonell i Esteller, 1997). The present state of research allows us to assert that there was no confinement of beggars or vagrants in hospitals in Portugal, in contrast to what happened in most European areas, Protestant and Catholic alike (Gutton, 1991; Jutte, 1994: 169-177). Portuguese hospitals were never involved in the repression of beggary or the introduction of forced labor (Sá, 1997 and 2001). The creation of institutions specially designed for beggars, such as the *Ospedale dei Mendicanti* of Florence (Lombardi, 1988), never took place. Tolerance for begging was well incorporated into Portuguese culture. The word "esmola" (alms) was often used in letters that individuals and institutions addressed to the king whenever they were asking for a royal favor.

By 1618, when a mature version of the *compromisso* was reached, the selection procedures for most petitions issued by the poor were virtually uniform. The candidates stated their identity, place of origin, the name of their parents and grandparents, and their situation of poverty. The confraternity then checked such data, often asking their parish priest to confirm their situation and asking their neighbors about their mores. This was a secretive procedure, as the identity of the informers was not to be known, and also because there should be no intention of destroying the reputation of the petitioner. This system relied on the cooperation of parish priests and sometimes

required correspondence with other *misericórdias*. We must also bear in mind that the poor were often transferred from local prisons to the main courts (*Relação*) where they awaited trial.

The care taken in the selection of recipients of relief varied in accordance with the value of the service required. The high cost of dowries, prolonged domestic relief or stays in conservatories for women restricted the number of recipients, whilst sick patients in huge hospitals, foundlings and prisoners reached a high number and were less expensive *per capita*. Not only were the costs of dowries, domestic relief and institutionalization in conservatories high, but these resources also enabled the recipients to preserve some of the social esteem required by their status. A study of charitable action in Portuguese colonial contexts also confirms that preferential treatment was given to individuals who belonged to the colonial elite, and that institutions that catered to the local converted poor were segregated from those dedicated to the Portuguese-born "white" poor. This happened, for example, in Portuguese India, but in Bahia the main local hospital of São Cristóvão admitted black and mulatto slaves, Amerindians and also some rare Protestant members of ship crews (Russell-Wood, 1968). Nevertheless, this was a service designed for persons of a low social status and, as such, it absorbed the Portuguese emigrants to Brazil who had not been successful in their quest for social and economic prosperity. Charitable actions that required high-standard charity altered the criteria of selectivity by restricting admission to individuals of white blood, as was the case with marriage dowries and the local conservatory for women. Local plantation economies, where slaves were essential assets, also account for the absence of discrimination in the Bahia hospital, but this situation contrasts with the one to be found in Goa. There, native converts were admitted to a separate hospital, whilst whites had their own (Sá, 1997).

Richard Sennet, drawing on the anthropologist Mary Douglas and reflecting on the feelings that gifts aroused in their recipients, remarked that charity wounds, as gratitude often implies submission. He quotes Hannah Arendt (1963: 74-75) "Compassion may itself be a substitute for justice", since "pity always signifies inequality" (2003: 149). One might argue, with some reason, that most paupers could not afford the luxury of losing their self-esteem by begging publicly for help. Nevertheless, the existence all over Europe, and indeed well into the nineteenth century, of a special category of privileged poor testifies to the fact that public recognition of poverty implied a loss of social status and shame to those who were used to higher levels of respect from society. The vocabulary for these poor was the same throughout Europe: *poveri vergognosi* in Italian, *pauvres honteux* in French, *pobres vergonzantes* in Castilian, "shamefaced poor" in English (Ricci, 1996). The institutions that catered to them were the first to be secretive about the help provided: they were visited with discretion at their homes and forbidden to beg in the streets. Efforts were made to avoid social disqualification that might occur as a consequence of visible poverty.

Caring for prisoners and ransoming captives

Italy had its first confraternity exclusively devoted to the care of incarcerated men founded in Bologna in 1336 and similar ones were soon imitated in other Italian cities (Terpstra, 1994). To my knowledge, there is no evidence of confraternal charity in Portugal towards prisoners before the foundation of the Lisbon *Misericórdia*, although the care of prisoners was one of the first purposes of the confraternity right from its very first years of existence. Assistance to prisoners had deep spiritual significance: prisoners were compared to the souls awaiting release from Purgatory. We have to bear in mind that prisons were places where prisoners spent time *before* trial, as they awaited the execution of a sentence, in Portuguese designated by "livramento", a word that literally means "setting free". Helping the prisoners brought together several works of mercy, because they had to be fed, dressed, treated in illness, and buried if necessary. The *misericórdias* also encouraged public harmony by engaging in out-of-court settlements between the contenders and acting as mediators in private negotiations. They also brought their cases to court, ensuring that prisoners were tried and sentenced quickly (also in order to preserve the expenditure of the confraternity over long-term stays in prison). Furthermore, they also saw that they were quickly delivered to boats if they were sentenced to overseas exile. In the event of the prisoner being sentenced to death, it was up to the *misericórdia* to prepare his or her soul and lead the *cortège* to the place of execution. It was also the responsibility of the *misericórdia* to bury corpses. Another procession was staged on All

Saints' Day, when the prisoners' mortal remains would be solemnly collected and brought to the church of the *misericórdia*, in order to be buried the next day.

The *misericórdias* were not responsible for all those who were incarcerated. Prisoners had to apply for help and would be assisted only if it was confirmed that they had insufficient means to support themselves in prison. Only poor prisoners were entitled to the help given by the *misericórdias*, but evidence points to very significant numbers in big cities where the high courts were located (Oliveira, 2000).

Ever since the Middle Ages, Portugal had been a crusading kingdom, and war against the Muslim infidels had been a constant feature of its history. Firstly in the Iberian Peninsula and then, from 1415 onwards, in North Africa, military campaigns against the Moors, as well as coastal piracy, gave rise to a thriving commerce in captives. Religious war prisoners were no common prisoners, because their souls were infected with the danger of being drawn into the enemy's faith. Even religious images had to be ransomed. In metropolitan Portugal, the *misericórdias* only helped to collect money on behalf of the Crown whenever a general ransom was organized, and the Trinitarians had had to deal with the logistics of buying prisoners since the time of Dom Sebastião. In Asia, in the *Estado da Índia*, the Goa *Misericórdia* was officially in charge of providing for their release. Nevertheless, it can be said that religious war prisoners were always a secondary concern in the activities of the *misericórdias*. In contrast, the *misericórdias* were never to lose their obligation to enter prisons and provide for the corporal and spiritual welfare of prisoners, as they were also in charge of ensuring that prisoners attended mass on a regular basis. In the *misericórdias*, caring for the bodies of the poor was never dissociated from tending to their souls.

Women in Portuguese charity

In Portugal, the participation of high-ranking women in high-profile charity work waned after the end of the sixteenth century, a time which coincided with the Post-Tridentine Reformation. In the heart of the Middle Ages, female members of royal dynasties had become famous through their charitable deeds. Queen Isabel de Aragão, the wife of Dom Dinis (1261-1325) devoted her life to charity and was canonized in 1626, after Leo X had authorized the celebration of her feast locally in 1516. Dona Leonor (1458-1525), Dom João II's widow and sister to Dom Manuel I, founded the Lisbon *Misericórdia* during her period of regency in her brother's absence and can be held responsible for having influenced the king's initiatives in charitable matters (Sousa, 2002). After Dona Maria (1521-1577), the daughter of Dom Manuel I and his third wife Leonor, died, leaving her enormous spinster fortune to charities, women's foundations became less and less numerous and donors were increasingly male, although some conservatories owed their existence to the initiative of local aristocratic women.

Female charitable action was reduced to private almsgiving, though this of course is less well documented in serial sources. In Portugal, there were no female charitable religious orders such as the *Dames de Charité* during Early Modern times, and the presence of volunteer aristocratic women was not observed at welfare institutions such as hospital infirmaries. After an initial period during which they accepted women as well as men, the *misericórdias* forbade female membership, especially when the distinction between *confrades* and brothers disappeared. In some localities, however, women were still able to be members of the brotherhood and, in some rare cases, were able to serve as *provedoras*. Nevertheless, in important colonial, as well as metropolitan, cities, active participation in charitable institutions was exclusive to men. At best, women could succeed their husbands as members, in order to retain the rights to dignified burial ceremonies, to which they were entitled by the *compromissos* as the wives of brothers.

Whilst women could not actively participate in institutional charity, they were, on the other hand, the main recipients of poor relief. Everywhere sources document an obsessive concern with women, who formed the majority of those assisted. Poor wives and widows, unmarried mothers or maiden girls - women are omnipresent in the sources of the various *misericórdias* that have been studied in detail. They could be helped in their homes, forming the majority of the shamefaced poor, be given alms publicly if they had the status of poor women or apply for marriage dowries if they were successful in the tough contest between applicants.

There is no reason to think that the evolution of the dowering of poor girls in Portugal did not follow a similar pattern to the one in Rome. There, enabling poor girls to get married through the giving of a dowry was initially an act of individual charity; only in the last decades of the fifteenth century did it become one of the accepted confraternal practices of charity, further expanding in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Esposito, 1994). In Portugal, poor marriageable girls were already one of the concerns of testators in the fourteenth century (Pereira, 1972), but we have not been able to trace the beginning of this practice among Portuguese confraternities to that period.

As in other Catholic areas, women could be institutionalized in conservatories. The preoccupation with confining girls in order to preserve or regenerate their virtue can be considered as one of the consequences of the Council of Trent, which, according to some authors, is responsible for a greater emphasis on female purity and the stigmatization of bastardy (Kertzer, 1993: 17-19). All over Catholic Europe, two types of conservatories were founded, as institutions for honorable women were distinguished from those designed for former prostitutes or other "repentant" women (Chojnacka, 1998: 71). Whilst conservatories for "pure" women were specially designed to preserve female virtue until marriage or the convent, institutions for "stained" women concentrated on regenerating them through work. With a few exceptions, the *misericórdias* tended to manage institutions that safeguarded the sexual mores of maidens until they were given a dowry, often given by the *misericórdia* itself. The interconnectivity of assistance to women was a fact: they could be withdrawn from their homes to the conservatory and there receive a marriage dowry. Nevertheless, cases in which the *misericórdias* managed reformatories for "impure" women were exceptional. In Portugal and its empire, the bishops were the main promoters of reformatories for sinful women, founding them in several cities well into the eighteenth century and generally naming them after Saint Mary Magdalene, the repentant prostitute. Such institutions also tended to admit women of a lower social status than those admitted to the conservatories of the first type.

Children

The *compromissos* of the *misericórdias* committed these confraternities to the help of "meninos desamparados", literally children deprived of support. They made it clear that this notion did not apply to foundlings, as the law was clear in designating the local municipalities as the entities responsible for their upbringing. By "unsupported children" the *compromissos* meant the children of families of the deserving poor, often deprived of parental care, and, most especially, in their first years of life, of breast milk. The care of orphaned boys, who could be educated and transformed into priests or missionaries, was often the task of colleges under the authority of bishops (Guedes, 2000). Orphaned girls, as they fell into the category of marriageable women whose virtue was to be protected, were often taken care of by the local *misericórdias*, as we have seen.

As the largest and most deprived section of the population, children were a massive group who often required prolonged help. In Portugal, most significantly, the number of foundlings grew almost without interruption from the end of the sixteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century. The law committed the local municipal councils to their upbringing, enabling them to amass financial resources for them through extra taxation, but the municipalities often entrusted foundling homes to the care of the local *misericórdias*. This was to be a permanent source of trouble for the latter, because the payments owed by the municipalities were often insufficient and delayed. Furthermore, the logistics of feeding babies abandoned by the hundreds or even thousands in each "foundling" wheel proved to be very demanding (Sá, 1994). By the eighteenth century, *misericórdias* in cities such as Lisbon, Porto, Évora, Coimbra, Bahia and Macao, among others, had become overburdened with foundlings and had a separate budget for meeting their costs, which was funded by the municipalities. Either because there were delays in payments or the money became insufficient due to the increasing number of foundlings, the relationship between municipal councils and *misericórdias* often went through periods of crisis. Sometimes unwillingly and with many disputes, the *misericórdias* of such cities had indeed taken over a responsibility that was not theirs by Portuguese law.

The fact that child abandonment took place on such a massive scale was the consequence of the ease with which one could get rid of an unwanted child. There were foundling wheels available throughout the territory, granting total anonymity to abandoners. Once more, the contrast with Protestant countries is striking: no political units other than the Catholic ones maintained anonymous systems of child abandonment for so long (Sá, 2000).

Misericórdias and credit

The Portuguese *misericórdias* developed their own credit systems early in the sixteenth century. Their members, especially the noble ones, enjoyed privileged access to the funds of the confraternity, at low interest rates, sometimes taking money out of the coffers without proper registration or regular payment of interest. In the empire, some *misericórdias* played a fundamental role in the economy, such as financing the sugar planters in Brazil or the maritime merchants of Macao. There is no evidence, however, that the *misericórdias* ever specialized in lending money to the poor as did the Italian *monti frumentari*, *monti di pietà* or similar institutions in Catalonia. On the contrary, this capability seems to have been used by the upper strata of Portuguese societies, both metropolitan and colonial. It must be said that the interest rates charged can be considered comparatively low, as they varied between 5% and 6.25%.

The State also came to rely on the *misericórdias* to withdraw money through the system of *padrões de juro*, a device used by the Crown in times of greater financial discomfort. The king withdrew large sums from the *misericórdias* in exchange for a regular payment of interest. This situation existed even during the affluent times of Dom Manuel I, but became especially common during the reign of his successor, Dom João III, and afterwards when the decline of royal finances became chronic.

The *misericórdias* can perfectly well be included in a history of pre-banking institutions in Portugal, a country where the first bank was created in the 1820s. Nevertheless, credit was used to lend money to the Crown, sometimes on an almost compulsive basis, and to the elites that could manipulate the decision-making processes of the confraternity. Its use by individuals from the middle strata of society or by the working groups as a form of cheap credit with charitable intentions—such as the Italian *monti*—seems not to have occurred, even if in some *misericórdias* loans could be secured against the pledge of valuables.

The study of the credit activities of the *misericórdias* has yet to be inserted in local contexts, as Portuguese historiography is still discovering the ubiquity of credit among individuals and institutions, especially religious ones such as Third Orders, convents and lay and ecclesiastical confraternities. We still do not know the position of the *misericórdias* in the local money markets, although we can easily assume that they were one of the main creditors, as well as the guardians of money placed on deposit by private individuals. By the eighteenth century, private investment had transformed the *misericórdias* into one of the main subscribers of annuity rents, whose interest had to be paid to lenders.

Conclusions

The organization of institutional charity in Portugal was relatively homogenous in its metropolitan territory and in its colonies, and relied on supra-parochial confraternities, the *misericórdias*, which recruited their members from the same elite as the local municipal administration. The advantage of these confraternities consisted not only in the wide range of services they performed and the resources they managed, but also in the privileged relationship they enjoyed with the king. After Trent, they were formally considered as lay confraternities under royal protection. After 1560, they became more and more concerned with the administration of local hospitals, thereby incorporating the most significant local charitable institutions.

The beginnings of the *misericórdias* confirm a devotional climate that was typical of the late Middle Ages, based on the practice of the fourteen works of mercy. In the early years of the sixteenth century, spiritual works of mercy were as important as corporal ones, because they were

all involved in the promotion of social peace and the elimination of conflicts through the virtue of charity, understood as the ability to forgive through brotherly love. The late sixteenth century and the seventeenth century witnessed the bureaucratization of these confraternities, which became drowned in paper work and in detailed classifications of the poor and their needs, leading to their transformation into institutional and political entities that became one of the pillars of the local political order. The confraternity refined the selection procedures of both its members and the poor that it assisted. As a result, it lost contact with the collectivity of the brotherhood through the creation of a board of counselors that made decisions that had previously been the privilege of the whole brotherhood.

The cult of the Virgin Mary as the mother of mercy led to a feminization of charity, although only men performed effective charitable work. Nevertheless, the various rituals enacted by the *misericórdias* afforded visibility to the practices of charity they performed, whilst also allowing the local population to join in the celebrations.

In the empire, *misericórdias* became omnipresent, being founded mostly by local initiative, and brought a Catholic sense of identity to those they assisted. With rare exceptions, being baptized and willing to confess and take communion was a prime requirement for anyone who needed to be institutionalized in a hospital. It would be false to say that converted gentiles were assisted on an equal footing with the colonial elites, since, in the colonies as well as in metropolitan charity, social discrimination on the basis of status was the norm. Expensive charity, such as marriage dowries, prolonged institutionalization in a female conservatory or domestic relief, was always the privilege of those who might lose their status if they were not helped. On the other hand, the help provided to those at the bottom of the social scale was inexpensive at the individual level. Prisoners, foundlings and poor patients entering general hospitals had no social image to lose, but total expenditure was high because of their large numbers. Women, for instance, were reluctant to enter hospitals, which always had fewer infirmaries for them than for men.

Although the *misericórdias* played a leading role in local politics through their elite membership, their control of charitable institutions and sometimes a share of the money market, they were always allies of the king, to whom they answered directly. Their autonomy from episcopal authority, together with their religious ideology in conformity with Catholic doctrine, made the *misericórdias* an institution that occupied an intermediate position between lay and ecclesiastical authorities, between central and local institutions, between the Early Modern State and local prerogatives. The key to their success was no doubt ambiguity, the capacity to serve multiple purposes in the name of devotion. Used as a moneylending resource by the elites and being a key to the maintenance of social status, as well as providing a benevolent image of power, the *misericórdias* no doubt provided stability to the social, political and economic equilibrium of the Portuguese areas.

Certainly, the devotional, political and social climate of Portuguese society underwent many changes between the beginning of the sixteenth century and the end of the seventeenth century. Social stratification increased, both in membership and in the selection of recipients of relief. Relationships between the center and the periphery became increasingly codified, and the choice of local interlocutors with the king became increasingly restricted to the local elites. The need for order sacrificed collective participation in favor of bodies of representatives. Access to charity was increasingly mediated by bureaucratic and certification procedures. However, in spite of these changes, charity still formed an important part of the social life of devotion.

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Merchant groups in the 17th-century Brazilian sugar trade: Reappraising old topics with new research insights

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Abstract

This paper examines the role of the New Christians within Portuguese mercantile organizations during the early modern period. It stems from the case of the General Brazil Company, because the foundation of this enterprise provides an example of how the 17th-century Portuguese authorities dealt with New Christian issues, allowing for a survey of Portuguese historiography on the subject.

Keywords

General Brazil Company, merchant organization, interest group activity, sugar trade, Brazil, 17th century

In 1654, the Portuguese empire in Brazil was restored to its former size, once the North-eastern region had been reconquered from the Dutch West India Company. It is worth noting that the final stages of the struggle gave the Portuguese General Brazil Company a political reward, with the Dutch West India Company surrendering to its naval forces. Founded to defend the Portuguese sugar fleets, and because of its receiving the monopoly of four fundamental commodities by royal charter, the Brazil Company met with fierce opposition in political circles, which condemned its inefficiency in not organizing escorts with the necessary regularity. However, despite this hostile climate, or simply because of it, , after the glorious victory over the Dutch, was able to write in an official paper from the Overseas Council: “This company that one says is harmful has conquered Pernambuco for this crown without spending a penny from the royal treasury” (Costa 2000: p. 58).

The military effort to recover Pernambuco is one of the main subjects of Portuguese and Brazilian historiography. The work of Evaldo Cabral de Mello and José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello, together with Charles Boxer’s ever-visible research into Portuguese colonial issues, deserves particular mention (Boxer 1952, 1957; Mello 1987, 2000; Mello 1998). However, the episode described above introduces other recurrent issues of Portuguese history, perhaps most notably Portuguese backwardness. Firstly, it stresses the formal position of , who presumably should not have been involved in the Pernambuco revolt, whilst declaring his support for a stockholding firm founded by royal charter to protect colonial flows, including those from Pernambuco ports. Secondly, the Inquisition and its negative effect on merchant welfare has turned the Brazil Company into a paradigmatic case study. The company, thought of as an organization created by and for New Christian interests, was a reminder of João IV’s so-called tolerance toward the New Christians, thanks to Father António Vieira’s ascendancy at the royal court. Because it was short-term, such a policy prevented the Portuguese bourgeoisie from prospering and achieving a political role (Torgal 1981). This is one of the most widely publicized ideas of Portuguese historiography, from which Charles Boxer himself did not escape, one of his articles being quoted in every study on the Company, although the author was merely enlarging upon João Lúcio de Azevedo’s work on both New Christians and António Vieira (Boxer 1949).

This paper deals with merchant groups and commercial organizations in the Brazilian sugar trade in the seventeenth century and cannot avoid these Portuguese historiographical topics. Rather

than adopting a counter position by reflecting on David Grant Smith's research into the role of Old Christians in 's circle of financiers (so often forgotten), this paper examines the importance of religious or naturalizing fractures within merchant organization (Grant Smith 1974, 1975). It questions the significance of such symbolic and legal distinctions, not only for economic purposes but also for political involvement. This paper seeks to stress the role of social groups other than the New Christians, considering interest group activity as part of a wider analytical framework, though not entirely explored here, which has rent-seeking as its mainstream concept (Ekelund & Tollison 1997). In many ways, it is an attempt to refresh the old historiographical status quo by resuscitating studies that are often forgotten.

The first section summarizes the Brazil Company's creation and shows how its royal charter clarifies what was under discussion besides the New Christian capital guarantees. The second section relates to the structural fracture among Portuguese and foreigners for re-exportation flows, which helps to reappraise some organizational features that the Company had to count on. The third section stresses the links of the Company's directors and stockholders with foreigners residing in Portugal and with agents abroad, forming a network of traders with both multiple regional and social roots. This may help to clarify the relevance of certain diplomatic agreements, such as that of 1654 between Portugal and Great Britain.

Old and New Christians in the formation of the Brazil Company

On 10 March 1649, a royal charter granted to one company the monopoly rights over four essential goods ordinarily exported from Portugal to Brazil: wine, cod, oil and flour. The monopoly represented a trade-off of property rights, so common in early modern Europe, when the fiscal needs of the State required this sort of agreement between the Crown and economic interest groups. However, the Brazil Company had a particular feature which made it distinct from the Dutch West India Company (with whom it had to fight for the Pernambuco region) and justified its further rights of collecting a tribute tax called *avarias*. It was not founded to explore or discover new colonial areas, but rather to supply an escort to Portuguese shipping, which means that it was founded to provide a public good whose supply was hindered by the disastrous financial state of the royal treasury. In this sense, the royal charter claimed to be a contract between the King and any merchant stockholder of this company who had been exempted from the sequestration of goods and capital by an ordinance of 6 February, 1649.

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned clemency, the charter of 10 March considered the Company project a business deal and not a Crown gift. What exactly, then, was this charter? The answer differs according to one's standpoint. No wonder, given the mismatched build-up to the foundation of the Company. The mainstream of any analysis, however, stresses the underground interests of the New Christians, who by then had found a remarkable spearhead at the royal court in the person of António Vieira. Lucio de Azevedo started a historiographical Portuguese tradition with his study on New Christians in Portugal and presented Antonio Vieira with an irreplaceable role. In any of his works, one will find mention of the important role played by Antonio Vieira as João IV's Ambassador in The Hague, helping Francisco Sousa Coutinho in peace negotiations with the Netherlands. On one of his journeys, António Vieira established contacts with Portuguese Jews in France, while in Portugal he had preached on behalf of New Christian interests, underlining the need for them to return to Portugal after the difficult period of severe persecutions launched by the Inquisition, which had forced them to flee to European trading centers (Azevedo 1992 [1918-1920]; 1975 [1921]).

Given the evidence of António Vieira's special relationship with merchant Jews, on the one hand, together with the fact that the Company had been founded with special exemption from the sequestration of capital and goods, on the other hand, it seems hard to criticize the intellectual construction of Lucio de Azevedo which attributes to Vieira and his protected New Christians the principal role in the Company project. Furthermore, poor political relations between Jesuits and the Inquisition reinforced this reasoning, as contended by I. Révah (Révah 1975).

It was, however, Charles Boxer and his deserved international recognition that helped to spread Lucio de Azevedo's ideas. In 1949, he wrote the article that was to crystallize the interpretation of the factors involved in the foundation of the Brazil Company (Boxer 1949). José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello's contemporary research into João Fernandes Vieira, the leader of the Pernambuco revolt of 1645, which has a remarkable chapter on the critical year of 1648 in the Company's formation, would not normally have been expected to become known outside Brazilian intellectual circles (Mello 2000 [1952]). In fact, it took almost twenty years for this work to become widely known, precisely thanks to Boxer. In his short survey of Brazilian historiography in 1970, Charles Boxer praised Gonsalves de Mello's skills as a historian, but the time had not yet arrived to recognize the accuracy of his readings of Father Antônio Vieira's small role in this state of affairs (Boxer 1973). Instead, he noted how little the history of the Brazil Company had been improved, notwithstanding the efforts of Gustavo de Freitas (FREITAS 1951). According to Boxer's somewhat critical point of view, Gustavo de Freitas had carried out good archival research but had not made much of a contribution towards deepening our knowledge about the company. Despite this critical review, every study of the 17th-century Brazilian economy was condemned to quote Gustavo de Freitas' article (Mauro 1983), which, in turn, merely reproduced Boxer and Azevedo's insights.

Indeed, just after Boxer's article, José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello published a biography of the leader of the Pernambuco rebellion against Dutch occupation. Actually, Gonsalves de Mello recognized in the diplomatic missions of Antônio Vieira the best evidence of his detachment from any policy aimed at supporting the Pernambuco revolt. Vieira and Francisco de Sousa Coutinho wished to sign a peace treaty without delay, giving up Pernambuco, whilst the Company itself was a military project, conceived in the meantime by the Portuguese political decision-makers, who thought of it as a weapon against the Dutch. There were, then, two opposite strategies. Varnhagen had already attributed this diplomatic context to one of Vieira's pieces of Portuguese Baroque Literature, entitled "Papel Forte", in which Vieira justified the best long-term option for giving up Pernambuco to the Dutch (Varnhagen 1871).

During this diplomatic movement of 1648, the peace treaty was being studied by the main Portuguese political councils, who rejected the treaty, using the arguments of Pedro Fernandes Monteiro, a political actor almost ignored by traditional historiography, but one who became the best proxy of the future Company stockholders at the royal court (Costa 1999). This Treasury Councillor argued that Pernambuco could be recovered if shipping were protected, suggesting the "privatisation" of defence and inviting the King, as a common person, to become a stockholder of a proposed company.

The role played by other individuals from the King's circle in negotiating the contract of the Brazil Company deserved further studies. Evaldo Cabral de Mello, republishing one of his most recent works, changed his previous analysis, which was heavily indebted to Portuguese traditional historiography and to its rather unfounded thesis. Digging up an example of 19th-century Brazilian erudition, Cabral de Mello questions the role of Antônio Vieira and reassesses the convenience of considering other social actors (Mello 2001).

Now, if Antônio Vieira seems definitely to have been uninvolved in the Brazil Company and the recovery of Pernambuco, should New Christians remain in it? The research of David Grant Smith into the group of 17th-century Portuguese merchants should have been considered paramount in Portuguese social historiography (Smith 1974, 1975). Inexplicably, it is rarely quoted, with just a few exceptions (Pedreira 1995, Olival 2001, Schwartz 2003). The reasons for the scanty acknowledgement by the Portuguese historiography of David Grant Smith's work is not the concern of this paper, but it has helped to solidify the rough picture that has been painted of a merchant group and the respective upper strata being squeezed by the Inquisition, since "merchant" is almost a synonym for "New Christian" in Portuguese early modern historiography, although David Grant Smith had provided evidence of Old Christian merchants in the Portuguese Restoration. He quoted several tax farming contracts and other sorts of deals between the State and the financial elite, who supplied the Portuguese army at the borders of the Alentejo. He also took the most convincing step towards identifying the social background of those who signed the Brazil Company contract on behalf of merchant interests.

This group of stockholders, whose names are registered in the Company charter, were not overwhelmingly New Christians. The Old Christians were also within Dom João's circle of financiers

and had links with New Christians for tax farming purposes as much as they had for the foundation of the Company. Recent research has disclosed the business roots of this economic elite, highlighting how their Brazilian interests were managed after the Dutch occupation of North-Eastern Brazil and how they became involved in the sugar economy, changing shipping organization and effecting a vertical integration of the production, shipping and trading of sugar. Their wide-reaching geographical connections, joining Lisbon to Porto and Viana do Castelo through several shipping partnerships during the 1630s and early 1640s, are one of the most interesting features of this group. Capital flows linking those three main Portuguese sugar ports question the idea of a mercantile elite confined to Lisbon's commercial infrastructures. As for shipowning partnerships, those linking Portuguese merchants, both Old and New Christians, with the English community in Portugal, residing in either Lisbon or Porto, deserve special mention.

As far as this paper is concerned, the heterogeneous nature of the upper social ranks of merchants, joining together New and Old Christians and linking both of them to foreigners, is the most relevant conclusion of recent research (Costa 2002). Though reaching the same conclusion, Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert questioned the value of an economic approach to such multicultural business organizations (Studnicki-Gizbert 2003). Studnicki-Gizbert emphasises common cultural and moral codes as the main cohesive factor, which would make the heterogeneity of social roots an irrelevant feature of merchant networks, bringing to mind the classical work of Philip Curtin (Curtin 1984). Notwithstanding the relevance of informal institutions for the stability of merchant networks, well demonstrated by Avner Greif and other authors who have been integrating cultural beliefs into economic analysis inspired by the neoclassical paradigm (Greif 1994, 2000), this paper seeks to highlight proximity to the political centre as this group's cohesive device. Sharing the same social space enhanced the political ability to glean rental contracts, whether by promoting economic organizations such as the Brazil Company or through the diplomatic negotiation of exclusive colonial rights. Reciprocally, there was a political organization that, for fiscal reasons, recognized the role of the upper strata of merchants, reinforcing the political aspect of the link (GaucI 2003).

The heterogeneous nature of the higher ranks of 17th-century Portuguese merchants calls for new interpretations of the royal ordinance of 6 February 1649, which exempted anyone who invested capital in a company to be created in the near future from the sequestration of goods. The spirit of such an ordinance suggests the existence of a capitalist group threatened by the Inquisition's persecutions. It was, indeed, threatened. Since the partnerships bound together New and Old Christians, any part of the merchant group could directly or indirectly suffer the consequences of an incident that might disturb business.

Not surprisingly, at the time when the royal councils were examining the proposed peace treaty with the Netherlands, sent by Antonio Vieira and the Ambassador Francisco de Sousa Coutinho, Gaspar Malheiro, one of the most important Old Christian merchants of the Restoration period, wrote to the King, expressing his agreement with the formation of a company to defend the shipping of sugar. He did not forget to underline how difficult it would be to amass the capital needed to fit out large well-armed ships. In his paper to the King, this financier suggested the need for royal grace and favour, remembering how fragile the group was because of the Inquisition's persecutions. A fairly explicit suggestion was made for an ordinance very similar to the one that would be published a few months later on 6 February, 1649.

There is now good reason to consider the role of Old Christians in the formation of the Brazil Company, not only because of the overwhelming presence of this group in financial circles (remember the contract of the Embassies with an Old Christian named Gaspar Pacheco), but also because of their interest in a policy that would protect property rights, pressing the King to publish the ordinance to be quoted in the Company charter.

However innovating this may sound, it was far removed from a climate of religious tolerance. Most of all, multiple insights have shown that the exemption policy was a deliberate short-term policy. In this case, its purpose was to amass capital. The next year, in 1650, all the New Christians living in the Kingdom were forced by a royal order to invest in the Company, being threatened otherwise with the Inquisition, in a clear demonstration of how the religious spectrum could be used for economic and political purposes. Moreover, the promoters of this coercive policy were the stockholders of the company themselves, including Old and New Christians, who asked the King for help in resolving their

shortage of capital. One must remember that this specific shortage of capital for fitting out the second escort was critical in that year because of diplomatic tensions between Portugal and Cromwell which seriously affected the English merchant interests in Portugal, including those who were the Company's creditors, such as the Bushells (Mauro, 1983: 533 Shillington & Chapman 1907: 193)

Actually, the privilege of exemption from the sequestration of goods must also be appraised in the light of alien interests, either those of the foreigners residing in Portugal or those of the Portuguese and foreigners living in Europe. That is why the ordinance of 6 February 1649 was to be cited in one of the clauses of the contract between the Crown and the group of the Company, although with one slight, yet significant, difference. It was negotiated capital and goods freed from sequestration regardless of religious or diplomatic motives that could legitimise it.

The group involved in the foundation of the Company foresaw diplomatic tensions that might possibly lead to disruptions and to the ordinary sequestration of the goods of foreigners who were considered to be subjects from unfriendly kingdoms. This is undoubtedly evidence of interconnections between the Portuguese merchant elite and foreigners already active in Portuguese foreign trade. Therefore, diplomatic, and not strictly religious, concerns widened the range of situations that needed to be legally covered by the ordinance of 6 February by the time the Company charter came to be written.

In an article written three decades ago, Jorge Borges de Macedo took the ordinance as a strategy for attracting foreign capital and, in particular, for ensuring the stability of agencies abroad, considering the possibility of the Company's seeking to integrate colonial and intra-European flows in the same enterprise. Although the article was intended to be just an overview of colonial and other Portuguese charter enterprises, and not a specific study of the history of the Brazil Company, it duly noted how rough the approaches of the exemption from sequestration could be if confined to New Christian interests (Macedo 1979).

Such an enlarged conception of the ordinance of 6 February calls for a re-evaluation of European markets, as well as of foreign capital in the Company's management. The way in which investments and business interests related the Company to foreign traders will be discussed after a description of the active groups involved in the re-exportation of colonial goods.

Foreigners and the re-exportation of Brazilian sugar

The analysis of the re-exportation of Brazilian sugar from the main ports during this period of the Portuguese Restoration can only be based on the records of the Porto customs-house. Due to the 1755 earthquake, similar sources for Lisbon were lost.

The increasing share of taxes paid by foreigners is one of the most significant aspects of the upward trend in re-exportations shown in Porto's customs records in the 1640s. Foreigners were already to be found in Portugal in the 1630s (Silva 1988). There might have been a link between migration movements and the persecution of the New Christians, of course. In the coastal centres of the Algarve, for instance, the growth in the English community was the logical aftermath of the Inquisition's persecutions (Magalhães 1990, 1993). Also in Lisbon, the city government warned the Council of Portugal several times during the 1630s about the need to allow foreign merchants to exploit the stores left empty by the New Christians. Immigration could help to compensate for the Portuguese lack of merchant skills and capital. The misfortune of the New Christian traders was a reason for the Lisbon Government to criticize royal policy and survey the group of factors that could potentially ruin Portuguese foreign trade, whose taxes were, in turn, one of the Crown's main financial resources.

Nevertheless, the actual roots of those involved in Portuguese-European trade, and those active in Brazilian trade, paint a less simple picture than that outlined by the Lisbon Government's complaints during the Habsburg period. Firstly, New Christians might have been imprisoned or been forced to leave Portuguese territory, although not all their relatives would have been caught or would have fled at the same time. This selective persecution policy, however perverse it might have been, would also have enabled the social capital of the group to suffer less damage than that suggested by the sum of persecuted individuals. Some families continued to run Brazilian businesses, although they had two generations who had been persecuted by the Inquisition. A few case studies offer evidence of such a

situation, which had particular consequences in the social reproduction of the group (Novinsky 1972; Mello 1996; Costa 2002). Secondly, it would have enabled those who left Portuguese cities to manage the economic flows from Hamburg or Amsterdam, maintaining their links with members of the group who remained in Portugal (Mauro 1970: 34).

The Inquisition did not stop its persecutions after the Portuguese Restoration. Only the ordinance of 6 February, inserted in the Company charter, was to have that wider result because it was read as a general order of the King to prevent the sequestration of goods, whether the target was Company stockholders or not. Regional differences still remained, however. The activity of the Inquisition of Évora, for instance, does not show such a downward trend (Coelho 2002). Nonetheless, the ordinance might have helped to prevent business networks from being destroyed and might have reduced the Inquisition's fierce activity, which had reached one of its peaks around 1645, due to an anti-Semitic ideology that had helped to fuel the Pernambuco revolt. Rebel leaders attributed the Jewish success in Recife to the West India Company's administration of Pernambuco (Mello 1987), finding one of the sources of legitimacy for expelling the Dutch from there. The hatred directed towards New Christians was not really new in the context of colonial Brazil, but it acquired a clearer shape when the Dutch came onto the scene in South America. As Stuart Schwartz underlined, Spanish political propaganda attributed the ease with which the Dutch forces captured Bahia in 1624 to New Christian treason (Schwartz 2003: 167-178).

How resistant the New Christian group was to political manipulation and to the intolerance of the Inquisition is not important here, for the real issue is the needs of those who fled to Europe because they had correspondents in Portugal. No wonder that one of the most remarkable Portuguese Jewish families in Amsterdam and Hamburg, Nunes da Costa, who supported the financial demands of João IV's embassies, had an Old Christian proxy in Porto (Swetschinsky 1980, 1981). In fact, Old Christians took a major step forward in international business as a consequence of this process, which created multi-religious networks for intra-European trade. Such predatory behaviour was no different from that of a foreigner who expected the Portuguese King to allow him to reside in Portugal seeking intervention in colonial monopolized transactions. Multi-national partnerships would arise, with Portuguese partners acting as spearheads for foreigners in Brazilian business. It is rather significant that a Bahian correspondent of English traders in Lisbon and Porto became the colonial administrator of the Brazilian Company, revealing the usefulness of English networks to the Company's management. The fact that the Company had the monopoly on cod, a commodity mainly provided by English merchants, may not be of secondary importance for explaining this predatory behaviour.

Regulation shaped the structure of the groups involved in imports from Brazil and those active in re-exports, maintaining formal colonial business exclusive to the Portuguese. Those few foreigners who paid taxes at the Porto customs-house for imports of Brazilian goods – overwhelmingly sugar – had shipowning partnerships with Portuguese partners. It should be noted, however, that the group directly linked to colonial imports was much larger than the one involved in European trade. In 1647, these latter traders formed a group that was less than half the size of the colonial one. So, precisely when European flows were in question, foreigners had the principal role. However, such superiority varied according to the market in question, in a clear demonstration of how the European market system was, indeed, “composed of many partial markets, a sort of ‘private market’ of the separate merchants” (ORMROD 1984). The Portuguese retained a good share of the re-exports of sugar to Hamburg and France, which is a relevant feature considering that, by contrast, the English market was shielded against the intrusion of Portuguese traders. This seems to be a particularity of English communities abroad, who were very successful in excluding aliens from trading with the mother country (KLEIN 1984; GAUCI 2003: 68). Though an interesting topic, this is not a main issue; rather it is worth noting that England was the principal market for Brazilian sugar re-exports at this time.

Data for Italy, one of the significant European regions besides northern Germany demanding Portuguese Brazilian commodities, are missing from the records of the Porto customs-house. Perhaps because of this missing information, (which, on the other hand, must be taken as evidence that re-exports to Italy did not pass mainly through Porto, but through Lisbon instead), England turned into the principal market, consuming more than 40% of re-exports alone. Not surprisingly, English merchants became the main agents of Porto's re-exports, leading the re-export in Brazilian sugar during

the 1640s and 1650s. Even though Barbados was to change the position of Brazil in English foreign trade, the links with Portugal and with Portuguese merchants – whether Old or New Christians – remained a key business strategy for controlling American colonial commodities. After sugar had lost its relevance, and because the demand for Madeira and Douro wine was increasing in American colonies, Portugal kept her place in English Atlantic trade routes.

Such an important role for the economic relations with Portugal explains the sensitivity of the English community to the diplomatic climate.

The Brazil Company and multinational interests

A good example of how the success of English traders in Portugal was dependent on re-exports is given by the disruption to Anglo-Portuguese diplomatic relations after the regicide of Charles I. His relatives, Prince Maurice and Rupert, went to Lisbon to seek João IV's political support. In England, Parliament had liquidated Charles I's army and Oliver Cromwell definitely controlled the situation. João IV sided with the royalists without considering the respective political and economic effects. In 1650, the naval forces of Blake stood at the mouth of the Tagus, waiting for the Brazilian fleet in order to make reprisals against the Portuguese capital.

These episodes from revolutionary periods in both kingdoms brought Portuguese and English interests closer together and interfered with the Brazil Company. The English royal members in Portugal not only brought Blake to Lisbon to damage the royalist forces and the Portuguese sugar fleet (not as well protected by the first escort organized by the Brazil Company as it should have been), but also jeopardized the English community in Portugal. Firstly, João IV ordered all the English goods in Portugal and Brazil to be sequestered. Official records of required procedures referred to Portuguese traders in Brazil who were operating as English spearheads. A few, yet nonetheless important, networks were disturbed by this diplomatic incident. Secondly, part of the Company's fleet was chartered to the English and dependent on English loans, which would be ended by involving the Company in this sequestration. After all, the sugar fleet had sailed with a reduced escort, making Blake's task easier, because of the King's orders (Costa 2002: 538, Boxer 1950, 1951).

The royal decision affected the Company managers as much as the English community in Portugal. Blake's action resulted in the disastrous arrival of the fleet from Rio de Janeiro, which seriously reduced the Company revenues. On the other hand, up until 1652, when negotiations for a peace treaty began, the diplomatic uncertainty had badly affected English traders in Portugal, considering that they are completely absent from customs-house records. They might have preferred to wait for a less risky situation to restart their activity or to wait for their sequestered capital to be rescued.

This is good evidence of how the war climate, though influenced by Blake's superior forces, affected the welfare of English traders in Portugal and how their business connections were part of the inner circle of the Brazil Company's leaders. No wonder that both mercantile elites – English and Portuguese, linked by the Company – became pressure groups for a rapid signing of the peace treaty.

In fact, the Treaty was negotiated with the interference of interest groups. Cromwell consulted the English "merchants of Portugal", bringing Edward Bushell to the negotiations, who happened to be a brother of Company creditors residing in Portugal. On the other side, João IV's ambassador had Thomas Maynard as an adviser. He was a merchant living in Portugal by then, who was sent to London for diplomatic reasons. He had started his career as a factor of one of the top English agents in Porto and after the signing of this Treaty became the English Consul-General in Portugal (Shaw 1998).

The 1654 Anglo-Portuguese Treaty can be read as a dictate from Cromwell, taking advantage of the situation to force the Portuguese economic space to open up, including the hitherto exclusive colonial domain. It can also be seen as a device for increasing the Portuguese importation of some types of textiles by forcing down the tax rates at Portuguese customs. Notwithstanding the obstacles to the English imports created by customs procedures, which in practice disrespected the tax rate fixed by the treaty, this diplomatic agreement was a demonstration of the English vantage point (Shaw 1998). It was not a mere contract and its context is rather different from that of 1661. However, the point is that it was negotiated taking into account the interests of merchants residing in Portugal and who had investments that overlapped with those of Portuguese colonial enterprise.

The 1654 treaty highlights the fragile position of João IV as much as the strength of the Brazil Company: the monopoly of the four commodities was a matter of great concern and was therefore explicitly referred to in one of the Treaty's clauses. The need for peace was equally urgent for both the English and the Portuguese merchant elite, both of whom were close to 's circle of financiers. The bargaining process for peace brought together the very interest groups involved in preserving the specific colonial privileges of the Company, which remained untouched despite Portugal's initial fragile position. Not surprisingly, a fraction of the English merchants who dealt with the Portuguese market considered the prevailing monopoly of the Company a lost opportunity to invade the Portuguese American colony, seeking a way of getting closer to Argentinian and Spanish silver. That is why some English voices reiterated their political opposition to the Company managers, which, in turn, does not mean that the English community acted as a single political block. It might have done so if all its members had been outside the enterprise's circle of financiers. The same is also true for the New Christians, who were far from being a single interest group.

Whilst English merchants in Portugal were waiting for the diplomatic situation to change, disappearing temporarily from customs records between 1650 and 1652, the Company faced a shortage of capital. The situation called for the use of the ordinance of 6 February as a device to force New Christians to invest in the Company, as has already been mentioned above. It was designed to force low ranking traders or New Christians out of business. A few of them with quite an international profile did not want to invest and were forced to do so by the Company managers. Coercive actions such as this are evidence of scissions within the New Christians, who were in fact critical at this political moment. It is worth noting that such coercive measures call for a reappraisal of the Company historiography, which previously has thought of it as an enterprise formed by and for New Christian interests.

The documentary legacy of the Brazil Company is unfortunately lost, hindering any research into its financial structure. Yet, notaries provide the identification of some of the stockholders (who were registered in the royal charter¹) and the recognition of their business links with English traders or English agents, whether in Brazilian or Portuguese ports. There is also further, even though somewhat rougher, information on Italian stockholders. These were people claiming to have been living in Portugal long enough to deserve symbolic social rewards, such as the insignias of Portuguese Military Orders, proving their purity of blood. The "Italian period" of the Company is contemporary with the period of English political and diplomatic disturbance. It seems that managers turned to other international networks to counterbalance the occasional English retirement.

It is not the aim of this paper to summarise the history of the Brazil Company. There is no place to describe the tensions within Portuguese political councils caused by a contract signed between the Company and high-ranking Italian families to organize an escort for the fifth convoy. Portuguese Overseas Council meetings referred to Esteban Paravicino and Cardinal Mazarino as figures who were involved in a suspicious contract with the Company. The latter was not necessarily truly involved, but the former, indeed, sent a proxy to sign a contract with the Brazil Company at one of the Lisbon notary offices. Italian capital guided the Company's business choices in the mid-1650s, when Barbados began to compete with Brazil, causing the demand for Brazilian sugar to fall sharply in what were previously the main consumer markets. But in this contract with Paravicino, the institutional undercover support for Italians to migrate to Brazilian ports was understated. That is why the Overseas Council thought of any argument, including the suspicion of conspiracy, as a way of hindering the Italian intermission, as if Brazil were outside any national interest other than that of the Portuguese (Costa 2002: 553-554).

In short, the history of the Brazil Company may be told in the light of the permanent negotiation between the State and socially heterogeneous interest groups. Foreigners, mainly Italians and English, linked to Portuguese partners by royal privileges, were part of that history, just as in many royally privileged organizations in early modern Europe.

Conclusion

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The Brazil Company was, then, something other than a brilliant idea of António Vieira to bring back New Christian capital to Portugal, an occasionally tolerant kingdom undergoing a revolutionary process. In turn, Portuguese merchants in the middle of the 17th century were more than a complex group of new Christian families in difficulty because of persecutions by the Inquisition.

In early modern Europe, group economic actors were more heterogeneous than those that may be revealed by using single criteria for social distinctions. 17th-century Portugal was no exception. According to what has been argued in this paper, New Christians were an important part of the game, indeed, but not because they formed the overwhelming majority of the merchant group. Rather because group economic actors could use that symbolic scission, as well as other sorts of legal scissions, to acquire monopoly rents.

Actually, the history of the Brazil Company is a case study for interest group activity and it must be reappraised under the framework of a rent-seeking analysis, which still presents a challenge to historians of the mercantilist period (Ekelund & Tollison 1997). Further research into interest groups in Portuguese history should question how they used and were used by the State, under a specific form of cost-benefit logic, through negotiations of both property rights and monopoly privileges. Research into Portuguese merchant organizations, expressing the politicised features of the economic system (including diplomatic agreements), may provide new insights into that old question of the long-term factors of Portuguese backwardness.

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The 'Two Cultures' in Nineteenth-Century Portugal: Scholarship v. Science in Higher Education

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Abstract

In the nineteenth century, the Portuguese *intelligentsia* addressed one of the issues that confronted them with other European countries: the need to face the challenges of industrialisation through educational reform. This paper focuses on the main issue of university reform at a time when the only university in the country, Coimbra, showed signs of excessive conservatism both in its syllabus and teaching methods, and was confronted with new proposals for the introduction of technological disciplines or the creation of polytechnical schools. A parallel will also be drawn with the ongoing debate on the same subject in England.

Keywords

University, education, culture, tradition, science

In the well-known Reith Lecture of 1959, C. P. Snow stressed what appeared to him to be a major cultural problem in Western society: it was “increasingly being split into two polar groups ... the literary intellectuals ... and the scientists” (Snow 1978: 3-4). For Lord Snow, a huge gap had evolved between these groups, separating them into two different cultures, which did not communicate with each other and, worse than this, could even be hostile to each other. This polarisation generated an immense intellectual loss. For Snow, the situation required drastic measures, involving the breaking of a longstanding pattern of education at all levels.

This pattern was set in the nineteenth century, when education became both a major social problem and a major solution for social problems. Different diagnoses were made of the social situation and different solutions were attempted, involving a broad range of responses: from childhood to adult education; from innovation in methodology to innovation in content; from reform of the old institutions to the creation of countless new ones. But, already in the early nineteenth century, the main line of argument was whether education should focus essentially on the formation of the character through the study of the classics, or whether it should follow utilitarian guidelines and prepare young people for a useful profession, helping to increase technological capabilities and to meet the challenges of industrialisation. Or, to quote the words of Robert J. C. Young:

A sublime elevation versus a rational ground, a glorious truth versus vulgar utility, knowledge for its own sake versus debasing instrumentality, quality of mind versus practical needs, the universal versus the particular: such were the terms of the debate which, in spite of local variations, has remained the basis of discussions of university education from that day to this (Young 1996: 188).

This paper seeks to compare the way the English *intelligentsia* pondered the role of education in general and of the universities in particular, in the decades of swift industrial change from roughly the 1820s to the 1860s, with the concerns shown by the Portuguese *intelligentsia* in relation to the same subject. Roughly the same questions were raised, and, as Robert Young said, they still remain much the same today. We can perhaps summarise the main problems faced then and now under three main headings: 1) the opposition between literary and scientific knowledge; 2) the nature of the institutions of higher education dedicated either to the one or the other, i.e. universities and technical schools; and 3) the nature of state intervention in institutions of higher learning. We could, of

course, extend this discussion into other relevant areas, such as the relationship between teaching and research, the awarding of academic degrees, careers in higher education, social access to the university and to technical institutions, and many others. We would probably find that the nature of these problems has not changed significantly in the past 150 years.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, a group of dissenting academies had already begun to create alternatives to the more conservative universities. Many elected English as the medium of instruction instead of Latin, and were concerned with the study of the natural world. Students were encouraged to specialise and Natural Science was taught through experimental methods. The seeds of what was later to develop, in the works of Jeremy Bentham, into utilitarianism and chrestomathic education, had already been sown in dissenting academies by Joseph Priestley, who outlined the doctrine of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Many students went from these academies to Scottish or continental universities, where the natural sciences were taught, and on their return applied their knowledge to local industries. At the end of the eighteenth century, we can already notice that English and Scottish universities offered not only different syllabuses, but also that the nature of the institutions was quite different.

As Elie Halevy points out, “when a boy left school he proceeded to the University. He became a *student* at one of the four Scottish universities, Edinburgh, Glasgow, St. Andrews, Aberdeen, or an *undergraduate* of Oxford or Cambridge. To the two terms correspond two distinct types of university” (Halevy 1987: 469). The Scottish universities offered entrance at about the age of fourteen, whereas Oxford and Cambridge admitted undergraduates at more or less the age of eighteen. Therefore, the Scottish universities could hardly be regarded as institutions of higher education. On the other hand, the course of studies, which took four years, or four “sessions”, as they were called, was almost exempt from the study of the classics and focused mainly on a philosophical education. The first session was spent on the study of Latin and the beginnings of Greek. The second was devoted to Logic and the third to Moral Philosophy, which included the philosophy of history and political economy. The fourth session was dedicated to the study of natural philosophy, i.e. physics and chemistry. In addition, there was a special course in mathematics during the second and third years, which served as a basis for the study of natural philosophy. “It is the curriculum, comprehensive without being overburdened, of a superior type of secondary education. England did not possess its equivalent,” stresses Halevy (id.).¹

The students who wanted to follow a profession, whether in the ministry, law or medicine, would then progress to a specialised school and receive professional training. It is worth mentioning that the medical schools of Scotland were particularly famous.

Other characteristics marked a distinction between Scottish and English universities: in Scotland, the students were non-collegiate, living in lodging in town and only attending the lectures, which were public, for twenty-two weeks, the duration of each session. The fees were payable to the professors, a system that Adam Smith praised in the fifth book of the *Wealth of Nations* as stimulating free enterprise and competition, thereby increasing the quality of the lectures. On the other hand, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, heavily endowed by the Church of England and private funding, seemed to favour idleness and a lack of interest on the part of the tutors and fellows, who earned their salaries whether they lectured or not (Smith 1998: 422, 588 n.).

In spite of occasional interest shown by the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge in the study of the natural sciences in the eighteenth century and the endowment of chairs in fields such as botany and experimental philosophy, together with the creation of laboratories and observatories, the fact remains that, in the early decades of the nineteenth century, education in both universities was mainly dedicated to the study of the classics as the proper knowledge for a gentleman. Nevertheless, the torpor into which both universities had fallen began to be shaken, as criticism began to mount in articles published in the *Edinburgh Review*, for instance, in 1810, which elicited a vehement response

¹ Thomas Carlyle is a well-known example of a student at Edinburgh University at the beginning of the 19th century. He was admitted in November 1808, one month before he turned fourteen. His impressions of the university can be found in *Sartor Resartus* and in some essays, namely his *Address* to the students of the University when he was elected Rector in 1866. The first volume of his biography by James Anthony Froude also contains a description of the conditions of life at the University at that time.

from E. Coppleston², or in comparisons with the Scottish and German universities, and even with the reforms of the French higher education system promoted by Napoleon.³

But the main challenge to Oxford and Cambridge came from within England, and not from without. Until the mid-1820s, the alternatives to the Anglican universities had been mainly the dissenting academies, which had no university status. But, in 1826, a new University was formed, this time with a secular orientation. The Benthamites and the Dissenters founded the University of London in 1826, "as an alternative to the somnolence of Oxford and Cambridge" (Hobsbawm 1980: 339). It started in a disused rubbish dump on Gower Street and was at first little more than "a joint-stock medical school", for, by 1834, more than half of its students were studying medicine and attempts to enlist further professional groups such as mineralogists, engineers, designers and educationalists had failed (Armytage 1964: 103). But, nevertheless, a revolution had been started: London University was the first to admit students without a religious 'test', and it stressed its secular and utilitarian orientation. Besides, it was a non-residential university and its funding was run on private lines. The radicals, Brougham, Birkbeck and Francis Place, provided the secular and utilitarian frame of the syllabus, Isaac Goldsmith, the financier and philanthropist, the main funding.⁴

The challenge set by the "Godless" curriculum of London University was enough to stimulate the Church Party, which founded King's College, in the Strand, in 1828, followed by Durham University in 1834 (cf. Perkin 1994: 298). King's, though specifically Anglican and offering "religious and moral instruction", made similar concessions to preparation for the professions and enrolled a majority of medical students, as London University had done. Both colleges appointed professors who were not only scholars but were also distinguished in the applied sciences. Among the first five professors at Gower Street, three were graduates of the University of Edinburgh: Anthony Panizzi, who later built the great reading room of the British Museum; Leonard Horner, who founded the Edinburgh School of Arts; and J. R. McCulloch, the expositor of the 'Wages Fund' theory. King's College enlisted the services of J. F. Daniel, the inventor of the hygrometer, who took the chair of Chemistry, and Charles Wheatstone, the pioneer of spectrum analysis and submarine telegraphy, who took the chair of Physics.

The two colleges were joined by charter in 1836, under the name of London University, and the institution at Gower Street became known as University College. The new university was organised in a completely different way from Oxford and Cambridge: not only did it stress its emphasis on professional education, but it was also concerned with offering opportunities for higher education to the middling and lower classes. By 1851, it was offering degrees to 29 general colleges and 60 medical schools spread all over England. Harold Perkin sums up the challenge posed by the Benthamites to the conservative forces in English society:

² Writing in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1809, Sydney Smith attacked the classical education that formed the syllabus at Oxford. The grounds for his criticism were the lack of utility for future life afforded by "the great system of facts with which [the student] is the most perfectly acquainted." And these were "the intrigues of the Heathen Gods: with whom Pan slept? – with whom Jupiter? – whom Apollo ravished? ... Now, this long career of classical learning, we may, if we please, denominate a foundation; but it is a foundation so far above ground, that there is absolutely no room to put any thing upon it." In 1810, Edward Coppleston, Professor of Poetry, published *A Reply to the Calumnies of the Edinburgh Review against Oxford*, followed by a second, and then a third, reply. Among his arguments in defence of the Oxford syllabus was the idea that classical literature provided a common culture and a common link between conflicting sets of ideas, as well as unprejudiced feelings, and this was the utility of a classical education: "And thus, without directly qualifying a man for any of the employments of life, it enriches and ennobles all." (Cf. Young: 188).

³ In Germany, the creation of Berlin University, and the publication of the works of Humboldt, Schelling and Schleiermacher provided a new model for the University, where both teaching and research were to be conducted, free from state intervention. In France, under strong state direction, the Sorbonne was dismembered and polytechnical institutions were created, such as the *Grandes Écoles*.

⁴ Both Birkbeck and Brougham came from Scottish universities. Birkbeck had been professor of chemistry and natural philosophy in Glasgow, before he became a physician in London, where he played a leading part in the formation of the London Mechanics', or Birkbeck, Institute in 1824, now Birkbeck College. Brougham was a graduate of the University of Edinburgh and was one of the founders of the *Edinburgh Review*.

...[I]n spite of the failure of the Benthamites and their allies to create alternative systems of education for the various classes capable of completely replacing those of the aristocracy and its Church, they were able to stimulate the latter to reform and extend the existing provision and to do so in accordance with the spirit of the entrepreneurial ideal (Perkin 1994: 294).

The project behind this new departure was Jeremy Bentham's *Chrestomathia*, which means "useful knowledge". The full title of the work, *Chrestomathia, Being a Collection of Papers explanatory of the Design of an Institution, proposed to be set on foot under the name of the Chrestomathic Day School, or Chrestomathic School, for the Extension of the New System of Instruction to the higher Branches of Learning. For the Use of the middling and higher Ranks in Life*, shows that it served more than one purpose. It was, on the one hand, a blueprint for a new kind of school, to be built on the panoptical plan⁵ and managed under new guidelines. On the other hand, it set forth a new programme of studies, which, according to its author, would afford access to reasoning and knowledge, guaranteed to produce the happiness of the greatest number. The syllabus provided in *Chrestomathia* was conceived for the instruction of children up to the age of fifteen, but it could be expanded and followed along more specialised lines in further education. Since the chrestomathic project formed the basis of a whole concept and philosophy of education, developing into higher education, it is important to look at the main lines of the argument and follow its impact on the Portuguese system of education.

Bentham gives full credit to a few predecessors, who had developed what he calls the "scholar-teacher principle", above all Dr. Lancaster and Dr. Bell. The system consisted in the employment of "the most advanced, and in other respects most capable, among the *scholars* themselves" as "*teachers to the rest*" (Bentham 1994: "Chrestomatic Tables": Table II, 8)⁶. This system, which included another two degrees, scholar-tutors and scholar-monitors, was designed to enable one single Master to be in command of a room of 1000 pupils. The advantages of the system are fully presented by the author, who stresses that "the application of this principle is ... not a *make-shift* occasionally employed, as under the old system, for want of a supply of *grown-up* under-Teachers, - but an *essential feature*, operating to the complete and *purposed* exclusion, of all such naturally reluctant and untractable subordinates" (id.: 9). The enforcement of discipline was another main feature of the new project. Bentham was against corporal punishment and devised an intricate system of rewards and punishments that worked psychologically, in large part through the effects of the panoptical architecture of the school, which provided the means for a constant inspection of individual work and performance. By means of this system, large numbers of students would then be fully instructed in a course of studies which was completely secular, designed to provide useful encyclopaedic knowledge and be open to boys and girls on an equal footing.⁷

But what is also interesting in *Chrestomathia*, though much less stressed in comments on the work, is the second part, which Bentham calls *An Essay on Nomenclature and Classification*: including a critical Examination of the Encyclopaedic Table of Lord Bacon, as improved by D'Alembert; and the first lines of a New One, grounded on the Application of the Logical Principle of Exhaustive Bifurcate Analysis to the Moral Principle of General Utility. Here, Bentham devises a whole system of thought designed to replace the long line of logical thought from Aristotle's *Organon* to Bacon's *New Organon* and the work of the French Encyclopaedists, which was grounded on Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning*. Bentham's project consisted in the

⁵ The *panopticon* was a circular building, conceived to ease the tasks of surveillance and discipline. Bentham's project could be applied to schools, prisons, workhouses, hospitals or barracks, ensuring that discipline could be maintained without recourse to physical force. Michel Foucault devotes a chapter to "Panopticism" in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated from the French by Alan Sheridan. London: Penguin books, 1991.

⁶ Our edition of Bentham's *Chrestomathia* is a reprint of the first edition of 1816, where, from page 68 onwards, Table II is introduced, without pagination, after which the pages are once again numbered, starting with page 2.

⁷ Dickens gives a vivid description of a school based on the utilitarian model in the opening chapters of *Hard Times*, where not only the schoolmaster and the pupils, boys and girls, are featured, but also Mr. Gradgrind and a third gentleman, who was probably a caricature of Henry Cole.

development of a system of logic based on Eudemonics, i.e. felicity, conducive to the well-being of the greatest number: once a pupil at the chrestomathic school could master the system, he or she would attain the desirable state of happiness. So, besides providing for the useful professions, the chrestomathic school sought to be an instrument of universal bliss.

The monitorial system itself was highly praised in Portugal. Several writers refer to the merits of the "Madras system" and describe how Bell and Lancaster had devised this interesting process of multiplication in the school room. The first sign of its impact on Portuguese soil appeared on the island of Madeira in 1817, barely one year after the publication of *Chrestomathia*. An English merchant, Joseph Phelps, created a society for the promotion of the scholar-teacher system, according to Lancaster's method, and, on 1 December 1832, he opened a school for both sexes, to which 135 pupils were admitted⁸. By then, the system had already been enforced by law in Lisbon in 1824, and in 1826 it was extended to the whole country. As far as we can read in the documents of the time, the reasons for the Portuguese acclaim for Lancaster's method were practical ones: it was not the philosophical concept behind Bentham's proposals but the expedient means of providing a great number of teachers at short notice that attracted the praise of the Portuguese. Besides, there were some who thought that the method was congenial to the Portuguese, who had long before adopted the "happy method" of having the more advanced students teach the more backward and form among themselves the *sabatinas*, or repetition of questions and answers⁹.

Teófilo Braga, one of the Portuguese scholars belonging to a highly creative generation of writers who studied at the University of Coimbra, and who, like most of the Portuguese *intelligentsia* of the nineteenth century, deeply resented Britain's political, military and economic power over Portugal at the time, nevertheless highly praised the advances made in the "sciences of education" all over Europe through the works of Fellenberg and Pestalozzi, and also that of the British scholars, Bell and Lancaster. Like many of his contemporaries, Braga was persuaded that Portugal could face the challenges of industrialisation only through education, that education should be open to all classes and that the State should support the education of the working classes. He also thought that the process should be conducted along secular lines and that it should follow a system, i.e. there should be a philosophy of education running from the base – general education for all – to the top – university education. At all levels, education should be concerned not with "knowledge for its own sake", as Newman was to put it in the 1850s, but with a purpose: preparation for a profession.

Oxford and Cambridge offered degrees for the Church and a literary education for gentlemen. The University of Coimbra offered courses in Theology, Medicine, Mathematics and Law, just like most European universities at the time, but, in the nineteenth century, a majority of students followed Law. Most Portuguese writers who were critical of the University charged it with giving excessive emphasis on the study of Law and credited the backwardness of the political ruling class to the theological character of the University, seeing the power of a degree in Law as a simple instrument for achieving a sinecure and a lifetime in public service. In contradiction to this practice, the country needed engineers, chemists and all sorts of professionals in the natural and applied sciences.¹⁰

In Portugal, as in Britain, a number of institutions with a more professional and applied profile had already sprung up: schools of medical sciences, veterinary sciences, polytechnical institutions giving courses in engineering, both military and civil, accounting and many others. But

⁸ Teófilo Braga, *História da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. IV, p. 31, and José Silvestre Ribeiro, *História dos Estabelecimentos científicos, litterarios e artisticos de Portugal nos sucessivos reinados da Monarquia*, vol. V. pp. 262-5. Silvestre Ribeiro dedicates several pages to the subject and gives the highest praise to the method and the initiative of Mr. Phelps, assisted by Mrs. Phelps.

⁹ Cândido Xavier, in *Annaes das Sciencias, das Artes e das Letras*, Paris, 1818-22, Tomo II, p. 6.

¹⁰ The University of Coimbra underwent a full reform in 1772, through which two new faculties were created, in addition to the existing faculties of Theology, Canons, Law and Medicine: a Faculty of Mathematics and a Faculty of Philosophy. This reform possessed an unquestionable modernising intention according to the interest paid by the Enlightenment to Natural Philosophy. Nevertheless, this reform was criticised by many and, in the nineteenth century, writers such as Theophilo Braga attributed to it the 'spirit of the compendium', i.e. the introduction of set textbooks that discouraged scientific renewal and the development of the critical mind.

these did not possess university status. The Academies, where scientific research was conducted on experimental lines, had developed in England from the foundation of the Royal Society in 1660, and Portugal could boast of two Academies, both founded in the eighteenth century, The Royal Academy of History (1720), and The Royal Academy of the Sciences (1779). But the Portuguese Academies were to cooperate closely with the University and become entangled in the political strife of the nineteenth century, thereby losing sight of their scientific purposes to some extent.¹¹

The attempt to overthrow the practices of Portuguese education took its inspiration from abroad. Many Portuguese were exiles in England and France during the civil wars of the nineteenth century and were in touch with the latest reforms and experiments in the field of education. We have already mentioned the educational theories that circulated in Portugal and were sometimes adopted by law. The experiments undertaken in Germany and the creation of the University of Berlin were welcomed as projects based on philosophical grounds, as the works of Humboldt and others stressed the need to reconcile teaching and research, and to guarantee the independence of the University from state intervention. The French initiatives, which were an outcome of the French Revolution, were also often quoted as examples of a radical reform that abolished the old Sorbonne and its ecclesiastical teaching and replaced it with various new institutions with no religious orientation, geared towards the new sciences and technologies. State intervention and centralisation did not seem to bother the Portuguese, who always relied on the State to dictate reform, particularly when the university seemed unable or unwilling to do so. The liberal English model of the university based on the college system was absent from both implicit and explicit examples of possible models for university reform in nineteenth-century Portugal.

In my view, the reason for this absence derives from the fact that Oxford and Cambridge retained their ecclesiastical and classical outlook well into the middle of the century. Oxford, in particular, remained close to the spirit that inspired the Oxford Movement in the 1830s, and Arnold could still say, in the late 1860s, "Oxford, the Oxford of the past, has many faults; and she has heavily paid for them in defeat, in isolation, in want of hold upon the modern world ... We have not won our political battles, we have not carried our main points, we have not stopped our adversaries' advance, we have not marched victoriously with the modern world" (Arnold 1971: 62). Newman, on the same side of the debate, defended an idea of a university where theology was, with philosophy and the classics, the core curriculum for the education of the gentleman, and where knowledge would be non-utilitarian and science considered a skill not requiring much intellectual power. In a conference titled "Knowledge Viewed in Relation to Professional Skill" he debated both points of view at length, opposing a utilitarian and liberal education and the university (Newman 1962: 114-135)¹². Coleridge had already denounced the initiatives of the Benthamites as the symptoms of a disease that threatened to kill the culture of the country (Coleridge 1972: 53). John Stuart Mill, who was emphatically critical of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, nevertheless recommended that Ancient Literature form the main part of a university curriculum, together with History, Logic and Philosophy of the Mind. He referred briefly to the natural and applied sciences as "all those sciences, in which great and certain results are arrived at by mental processes of some length and nicety ... sciences of mere ratiocination, as mathematics; and sciences partly of ratiocination, and partly of what is far more difficult, comprehensive observation and analysis" (Mill 1981: 102). In the latter group, he stressed only those "which relate to human nature".

The concerns about a scientific education at the university would acquire a persuasive apologist in T. H. Huxley, who criticised the Newman/Arnold concept of liberal education, and called the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge simply "boarding schools for bigger boys" (Huxley 1971: 93). From the 1860s onwards, many more thinkers and politicians sided with Huxley, and the universities began to make major changes in their curricula. New universities were created, often by

¹¹ Veríssimo Serrão quotes the purpose of the Royal Academy of the Sciences as being "for the advancement of National Instruction, the perfecting of the Sciences and the Arts and the furtherance of popular Industry". He says, furthermore, that both Academies received the valuable cooperation of the University of Coimbra in the parallel work that they developed in favour of the national culture. In *História das Universidades*, p. 123.

¹² Newman's discourse has, as its background, the attacks made by the *Edinburgh Review* on the University of Oxford and the responses made by Coppleston and others, as mentioned above.

granting university status to colleges, as at Manchester in 1877, Sheffield (1897), Birmingham (1900) and Liverpool (1904).

In Portugal, by 1823, the idea that education deserved a comprehensive reform from primary school to the university had already been stated by Mousinho de Albuquerque in a work entitled *Ideas about the Establishment of Public Instruction*. According to the author, education should proceed from the level of primary schools for both sexes in each parish, to secondary schools in each district, to Lyceums in each provincial capital and to Academies, in the cities of Oporto, Coimbra and Lisbon, each with five full faculties: Exact Sciences, Natural Sciences, Medicine, Law, and Letters. This project was not followed until ten years later, in 1833, when a Royal Commission was appointed to design a new and comprehensive reform. The Secretary of the Commission, Almeida Garrett, propounded the most advanced ideas about education and instruction that circulated in Europe and conceived a "great, simple and uniform framework," in which every aspect from the various degrees in education to the management of institutions was contemplated. Teófilo Braga commented on the project by saying that Garrett was introducing the "polytechnical spirit" into Portugal. In fact, he devised a reform of the University, and the creation of Polytechnical Academies, both military and civil, the School of Civil Building and Engineering, and a number of Institutes annexed to the Faculties of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, as well as new provisions for the study of the Arts. The Polytechnical Academies were to complement the Faculties of Mathematics and Philosophy, thereby giving them "a purpose, a social application they did not possess until now, appearing more like institutions of academic luxury than professional establishments of public utility." (cf. Braga 1892-1902: 109).

Impressed by the reforms he had witnessed in France, Guilherme Dias Pegado, a professor of Mathematics at the University of Coimbra, devised a scheme for the reform of the University on French lines, and advised the transformation of Coimbra into the "University of Portugal", concentrating all schools and faculties in one single national project. Both thinkers were already concerned with the space allowed for Portuguese and contemporary literature at the university and advanced the idea of the creation of a Faculty of Letters, which only came into being in 1860¹³. In 1836, another Mathematics professor from the Royal Naval Academy, Albino de Figueiredo e Almeida, published a *Project for the Reform of Public Instruction*, in which he defended the idea that education should comprise the complete circle of science, i.e. theory, practice and application¹⁴. The project contemplated the creation of a university in Lisbon, where the "sciences, the arts and the letters" would be taught. The author was influenced by the Course of Positive Philosophy started by Auguste Comte in 1826, and who, from 1829 to 1836, had proceeded to systematise the entire order of knowledge, a process which preceded the birth of the discipline of Sociology. The idea of transferring the University from Coimbra to Lisbon highlighted the concern for a centre for higher education to be situated in a larger city, which would serve to stimulate activities.

In the 1830s, the conflict between the University and the proponents of a secular and technical education was in full swing. The secretary of state Rodrigo da Fonseca Magalhães had presented the government with a proposal to create an Institute for the Physical and Mathematical Sciences. The project consisted in uniting the schools and institutes of higher education involved in the fields of the natural and applied sciences, management, civil and military engineering, draughtsmanship and other subjects, into one single institution for higher learning which would further be equipped with laboratories for physics and chemistry, a botanical garden and an astronomical observatory. The opposition of the University, with great influence over the new cabinet, succeeded in aborting the project nine days after it had been approved.¹⁵

The University of Coimbra showed the most emphatic rejection of the prospective Institute. But, instead of trying to reorganise its courses of studies according to the new developments in the sciences, it fought to retain its privileges. One of the Rectors of the University, Villa Maior, wrote at length about these years and confess that the state of the university in 1835 was so discouraging that

¹³ Guilherme Dias Pegado, *Organização Geral da Universidade de Portugal*, Coimbra, 1935 (in 4º, xxxi pp. "report", plus 48 pp. "regulations").

¹⁴ Albino Figueiredo e Almeida, *Projecto de reforma da Instrução publica*, 1836, in 8º, lxxii, 84 pp.

¹⁵ The arguments presented by the University are fully rendered in Silvestre Ribeiro, op. cit., vol. 9, pp. 103-9.

those who despaired that it would ever regenerate itself and who recognised the need to create institutions for higher education in the sciences found it expedient to propose its transfer to the capital¹⁶. He further writes that these ideas began to awaken an ill-disguised envy amongst the body of Professors at Coimbra, who were afraid that the competition from new schools might endanger the supremacy of their university. As a result, the ensuing reforms were limited to the improvement of scientific institutions in Lisbon and Oporto, without touching the university. The failure to achieve a comprehensive law to reform the University was greeted in Coimbra with uproarious demonstrations of satisfaction. Villa Maior nevertheless stresses that the campaign of the “conservative professors of Coimbra” against the “promoters and defenders of the Institute in Lisbon” was badly managed, highly passionate, ill-timed and exceedingly unfortunate. In his opinion, the university had nothing to fear from the new Institute, since the “professional learning at the university is of a different kind, and for different purposes ...and the competition should, anyway, be of advantage because it excites the desire for improvement.” His criticism is best summarised in this sentence: “To prevent the creation of a centre of useful and necessary education is always a crime”.¹⁷

Alexandre Herculano, another important essayist, historian and novelist of the nineteenth century, deplored the triumph of the university, and said that the tombstone had fallen upon physics, chemistry, mathematics, astronomy, and that on it sat rejuvenated the old disciplines and old methods.

“The question of the Polytechnical School summarises and represents the immense question of the system of national education which was, and which will be: the question between the education and improvement of the agriculturists, the artisans, the industrialists on the one hand, and the propagation of the lawyers, casuists and prigs on the other; the question between work and idleness; the question between the farmyard and the cathedral choir; between the printer’s blade and the metaphor of the sermon; between the steam engine and the prattle of the boaster.”

The project of the Polytechnical School was revived by the Society of the Friends of the Letters (Associação dos Amigos das Letras), which in 1836 published a small volume called *The Question of the Reform of Higher Education in Portugal*, in which a full reorganisation of the university was contemplated and universities or faculties were to be created in Lisbon and Oporto, thereby making several of the schools in Coimbra redundant. For instance, theology should be taught by the Church in seminaries and not at the university; the Faculties of Canon Law and Law should be united in a single school, to remain in Coimbra until such time as state funds allowed for the creation of two Faculties of Law, one in Lisbon and the other in Oporto, where a four-year degree course in Law would be taught. The Medical Schools in Lisbon and Oporto should be improved and allowed to give degrees in Medicine, Surgery, Obstetrics and Pharmacy, thereby making the School of Medicine in Coimbra redundant. And then a new Institute for the Physical and Mathematical Sciences should be created, where Management and Engineering would be taught, as well as the core scientific disciplines in Mathematics and Philosophy, leading to the award of doctoral degrees in the Sciences. This institution would make the Faculties of Mathematics and Philosophy redundant.

In 1837, the Polytechnical School was at last created through the efforts of the Minister of War, Sá da Bandeira, and the University of Coimbra was reformed in 1836. But the reform of the University attracted the usual criticism: for some it went too far; for others, not far enough. The Faculties of Theology and Law were highly critical, but the Faculties of Medicine, Philosophy and Mathematics welcomed a reform that showed concern with the improvement of the natural sciences.¹⁸

¹⁶ Visconde de Villa Maior, in *Instituto. Revista científica e litteraria*, Coimbra, vol. XLIV, p. 396, *apud* Teófilo Braga, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-4.

¹⁷ Teófilo Braga treats this question at length. See pp. 122 ff.

¹⁸ For a detailed appreciation of the changes made in the organisation of the Faculties and the syllabuses of all the courses, see Silvestre Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, vol. 9, pp. 124-31.

In 1844, another reform was to follow which would reinforce the power and influence of the University over every other institution for education: a Supreme Council, operating as a kind of Ministry of Education, was constituted. Its president was the minister of the realm and its vice-president the Rector of the University; the other members were university professors. This close association between the Government and the University, based on the French centralising model, aimed at creating a co-ordinating centre for the entire cycle of education. But many viewed it as “anti-liberal”, “anti-political” and “anti-scientific” (in Silvestre Ribeiro, vol. 9: 197), operating as “the eye of the government, and its main agent, upon all things relating to education” (id.: 217). For these critics, it was a “true calamity for education in Portugal; the professors in the Council promoted the fetishism of the University, and approved inept textbooks which atrophied entire generations, since these textbooks were the only objects of examination all over the country and were slavishly learnt by heart in order to satisfy bovine examiners” (Braga 1892-1902: 158).

As the sole authority upon all things concerning education, which also meant having authority over itself, the university tended to stay put and resist change. In 1858, the Supreme Council presented a report stating that, except for primary education, education in Portugal did not need extraordinary reform measures, and that, under the august protection of the King, and in full obedience to the laws of the country, it would progress with splendour and public profit (in Braga 1892-1902: 161). Yet, the opinion of foreigners travelling through Coimbra at the time registered the medieval outlook of the students, the professors, and of the University in general: “who would believe that there still exists in Europe a place where the students dress like Doctor Faustus and Paracelsus, speak Latin, call themselves the sons of the Muses and play the guitar in the moonlight under the windows of their beloved?” Or another impression from 1878, based on the photographs sent by the University to the International Exhibition in Paris: “here is the Doctor, red hood and black cap, wide eyed, jolly-faced ... he is truly the mediaeval Doctor ... As a frame to this picture, add those figures, much more of that time than of ours, of the beadle and the halberdier” (id: 161-2 n).

Coimbra looked anachronistic to most contemporaries. The fact that all institutions of higher education in the country were controlled through the university led to a comparative ineffectivity in the Polytechnical Schools – their “denaturation”, according to Braga – that is, their inclination towards theoretical courses, following the decline of their more practical purposes. In 1852, the government created a new Ministry of Public Works and, by decree, this Ministry created the Industrial Institute of Lisbon and the Industrial School of Oporto, as well as the General Institute of Agriculture. Many reforms and the foundation of new schools dedicated to useful learning were to follow until the end of the century. But the political turmoil into which the country had been plunged prevented the completion of these projects and many never saw the light of day, even after legal ratification. This was the case with the provincial schools of technology founded in Guimarães, Covilhã and Portalegre. Others were truncated through a lack of funding and yet others were corrupted by the theoretical bias of the teaching.

Yet another important development in higher education in Portugal was to take place at the end of the 1850s: the project for a Faculty of Philosophy and Letters in Lisbon. The young King, Dom Pedro V, was the main architect of what was created in 1860 as the “Curso Superior de Letras”. The scientific background to the institution was the “linking of philosophy with philology”; both disciplines of thought would impregnate and fertilise each other, joining scholarship and synthesis in a way which should lead to the correction of the mean spirit of specialisation that affected the harmony of modern consciousness” (Braga 1892-1902: 198). The document in which the King recommended the creation of the new institution for higher education is in itself a manifesto regarding the state of education in Portugal. Dom Pedro saw the new institution as a “principle of reform for Higher Education” through the study of literature, ancient and modern, and the study of history. And he located the institution in Lisbon, because “the schools are situated where they best can recruit their staff and best may serve the intellectual development of the people” (id: 201). The new institution served no utilitarian purpose. It did not prepare for a profession and could remain completely independent from the pressures that the University of Coimbra suffered when it released into the world batches of law graduates who saw their bachelor’s degree merely as an instrument for promotion in public office.

The latest developments in philosophy, philology and history in Europe defined the early programmes of the Course. The King wanted the faculty to be experimental in the sciences of language and society and he himself would attend the first lectures that were given. Unfortunately, Dom Pedro died at the age of 24, barely eleven months after the formal opening of the institution. Afterwards, it began to acquire some of the characteristics of a teacher training college for secondary education and its more creative purposes were impaired.

According to the most creative writers of the late nineteenth century, education in Portugal suffered from a deficit of pedagogical thought, from the absence of a system of education and from a very defective systematisation of the sciences. For the Portuguese *intelligentsia*, the university in particular lacked subjection to any philosophical principle in its ordering of the sciences. The works of Auguste Comte, T. H. Huxley and Herbert Spencer provided the scientific basis on which Teófilo Braga founded his "Integral System of Public Instruction" (Braga 1892-1902: 232-7), in which he expressed his ideas about the ordering of the sciences and their correspondence into institutions dedicated to research and teaching. But such projects were not put into practice. The various degrees in education remained comparatively isolated from one another and the University of Coimbra was to retain its status as the only university in Portugal until the end of the monarchy and the beginning of the republic in 1910-11. In spite of the fact that the Faculty of Philosophy had, since 1844, included the study of sciences such as Physics, Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, and also Mineralogy, Geology, Mining, Agriculture, Rural Economy and Veterinary Science, the university retained its theoretical bent. Furthermore, the new disciplines seemed to be included without any real care for their content and sequence in the syllabus, more like a half-hearted concession to the pressures of the time than a true revision of content and methods.

Education for the professions, on the other hand, was the subject of a considerable number of initiatives, although "polytechnical" education remained in an uncertain position with regard to its academic status.

Apart from the repeated complaint that there was not a full and satisfactory philosophical system for the ordering of academic disciplines in the Portuguese institutions of higher learning, we can perceive another line of thought which is of interest: the dependence of education upon state funding and state decisions. From the above, we can see, time and again, that the various processes of reform in the nineteenth century were all dependent upon state legislation and that the upheavals in government and cabinet decided which institutions were created and which were suppressed, as well as which disciplines and chairs. Even the University, in spite of enjoying great financial autonomy at the beginning of the century, gradually lost some privileges and was, as we saw, forced by the government to introduce some reforms. This dependence on the government represented, for many, a grievous limitation of the liberal spirit that was meant to shape higher education.

The conflict between "knowledge as its own end" and vocational education took on different shapes in England and in Portugal, but in both countries it was perhaps the main bone of contention in the debate about higher education that took place during the nineteenth century. As the need for specialisation grew, as new sciences struggled for recognition as independent disciplines at the University, literary and scientific education was unable to find a middle way where both points of view could be balanced. In the late 1950s, C. P. Snow denounced "the two cultures" as a major impoverishment in the general culture of the century. Fifty years later, the debate is still open.

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About-Face: The United States and Portuguese Colonialism in 1961¹

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Abstract

In 1961, the Kennedy Administration decided to adopt a new African policy, supporting self-determination and independence. This change occurred while the war against Portuguese colonial rule erupted in Angola. Acting in accordance with the principles adopted by the administration, the American Ambassador in Lisbon informed the Portuguese government of this new policy and recommended the urgent adoption of reforms in the Portuguese territories in Africa. When, in March, the situation in Angola was brought to debate in the United Nations, the United States voted in favor of a defeated resolution condemning Portuguese colonialism. Needless to say, this action provoked a serious crisis in Portuguese-American relations.

Keywords

United States, Portugal, Colonialism, Angola, United Nations

Introduction

Commenting on the election of John Fitzgerald Kennedy to the presidency of the United States, the Portuguese Ambassador in Washington, Luís Esteves Fernandes, predicted a difficult period for Portuguese-American relations. The new president, Fernandes warned, would promote "the official adoption of an anticolonial policy, subordinated to the principle of liberation for all dependent territories." (AHD, MNE-SE, PAA, Box 288). The Portuguese Ambassador was probably aware of Kennedy's considerable record in terms of public declarations on colonialism. Since the mid-1950s, John Kennedy had indeed realized the growing importance of nationalism in Africa and its consequences for American foreign policy. His presidential ambitions had led him to criticize the record of the Eisenhower administration and to promise that in a future Democratic administration the United States would "no longer abstain in the United Nations from voting on colonial issues [...] no longer trade our vote on other such issues for other supposed gains [...] no longer seek to prevent subjugated peoples from being heard." (quoted by Mahoney: 1983, 187).

Once elected, Kennedy would face a first serious test of his announced new African policy with the crisis in Angola in early 1961. In February, the first important armed action against Portuguese colonial rule in Angola took place, with the assaults on the civil and military prisons of Luanda; a few days later, the Liberian delegation at the United Nations requested the inclusion of the situation in Angola on the agenda for the next Security Council meeting. In Washington, it was time for important political decisions regarding Portugal and Portuguese colonialism.

¹ This article is a short version of a chapter of the author's doctoral dissertation, defended at the University of Wisconsin, in October 2000, which examines Portuguese-American relations during the Kennedy Administration. The author wishes to thank Professors Thomas McCormick and Stanley Payne for their advice and guidance.

1. A New African Policy

In the early 1960s, the political scenario in Africa was changing. The anticolonial wave was reaching its peak and, in 1960, the year Kennedy was elected, seventeen new African nations gained independence. The situation in Africa had become a major issue in the context of the Cold War. In recent years, the Soviet Union had been paying more attention to African issues, trying to establish friendly relations with the newly independent countries. During the Eisenhower administration, the United States responded to the new situation in Africa in a "slow and ambivalent fashion," due to its close alliance with the European powers (Duignan and Gann: 1984, 286). American policymakers feared that European leaders might consider open support for anti-colonialism and nationalism in Africa as treasonous to the Atlantic alliance. U.S. State Department officials frequently praised the French, British, and Belgian colonial administrations in Africa and warned against the dangers of premature independence. In the second half of the decade, however, certain signs of change began to appear and the American government began to take more interest in African issues. According to the historian David Gibbs, however, this interest came more "in response to decolonization, rather than as a supporter of it" (Gibbs: 1995, 314). Within this context, in 1958, the State Department created a Bureau of African Affairs, and the United States government began to promote the academic study of African cultures and languages and to channel "loans and grants" to Africa. Gradually, "anticolonialism came to be interpreted as a policy that was moral in itself, as a device for expanding American trade, and as a means for strengthening the American position" (Duignan and Gann: 1948, 288). Gibbs points out, however, that "one should not [...] misunderstand the nature of the Eisenhower administration's interest in Africa or exaggerate the extent of it." In fact, the formulation of African policy "remained largely in the hands of the bureau of European affairs" and Africa was given "low priority by the administration" (Gibbs: 1995, 315).

As mentioned above, John F. Kennedy had a good record in terms of public anti-colonial statements. During his presidential campaign, he appointed Chester Bowles, a long-time supporter of African liberation, as his foreign policy adviser. This nomination increased expectations that Kennedy would bring significant changes in American policy towards Africa. This continent became, for the first time, a significant theme in the 1960 campaign, allowing Kennedy to distance himself from the Republican candidate and from Eisenhower's support for colonial powers. Kennedy repeatedly stated that the United States had "lost ground in Africa" because it had "neglected and ignored the needs and aspirations of the African people." (Schlesinger Jr: 1965, 554).

Once elected, John F. Kennedy created a Task Force to recommend a new policy for Africa. The Task Force, which went to Africa in December 1960, included three Democratic senators, Frank Church of Idaho, Frank E. Moss of Utah, and Gale W. McGee of Wyoming, and also the President's brother, Edward Kennedy. Its final report recommended "sweeping changes in America's attitude towards Africa." The United States should abandon "its traditional fence-sitting—arising from links with the colonial powers—in favor of support for African nationalism." The report argued that American policy had failed to keep pace with events in Africa mainly because the United States was "accustomed to dealing" with Africa primarily through metropolitan powers that controlled the major part of the continent. The African reality, however, had changed, and the "relative stability of the colonial period, based upon an imposed order, has suddenly given place to grave instability arising from the emergence of many weak and untested independent regimes."

The new administration should adapt its policy towards Africa to the new winds that were blowing across the continent. Its major goals should be the "complete ending of colonial rule" and the development of "stable African governments willing to pursue economic and social development and uphold basic civil rights." At the same time, the future administration should avoid the division of Africa into "spheres of influence of the great powers" and should try to "restrain African internal conflicts and encourage inter-African cooperation" (AHD, MNE-SE, PEA Conf. Box 15)

The report of the Task Force also dealt with some particular situations on the African continent. As far as the Portuguese territories were concerned, the report was particularly critical of American policy. It deplored the "widespread impression that the United States supports Portuguese colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea" and described Portuguese

rule in these places as "intolerable." It justified this impression with the American support of Portuguese membership in NATO and the importance of the American base in the Azores. The report considered that "silence on issues affecting Portuguese Africa is a liability far outweighing any short-term strategic considerations" and went on to suggest that the new administration, in collaboration with the British, should exert strong pressure on Portugal "looking towards the emancipation of her African territories." The United States should also, from now on, cease to accept Portugal's refusal to report to the United Nations on its "non-self-governing territories." (AHD, MNE-SE, PEA Conf. Box 15).

2. Events in Angola

The Kennedy administration's new African policy had one of its first serious tests in Angola. The first relevant armed action against Portuguese colonial rule in that territory occurred on February 4, 1961, when several groups of armed Angolans assaulted the civil and military prisons in Luanda, trying to free Angolan nationalist leaders, and attacked a police station, the official radio station, an administrative post and a police patrol car. According to a report from the American Embassy in Lisbon, the Portuguese "were caught completely by surprise" and suffered seven casualties. (NA, SDLF, 68D401, Entry 5296, Box 6). The following day, fighting and mob violence broke out again in Luanda, during the funeral for the victims of the incidents of February 4. Additional disorders occurred on February 10, with new incidents in the civil prison. This time, thirteen "young Africans" had been killed and "their bodies had been piled up outside the Prison." The American Consul in Luanda, William Gibson, reported that Luanda was "full of troops" and that "a company of rangers had been transported from Lisbon to Luanda." (NA, SDLF, Entry 3093, Box 1).

In Washington, the Portuguese Embassy officially informed the State Department of the events in Luanda, which did not come as a "great surprise" to Portugal. Ambassador Fernandes pointed out that "organs of the international press and other media sources had lately spread the 'news' of the possibility of such riots." The Portuguese government interpreted the events as "part of the Communist assault on the Portuguese position, not only in the Overseas Provinces but also in the Iberian Peninsula with the aim of weakening the Western position and provoking a situation which might be propitious for the intervention of the forces of international Communism." Considering the "very real danger of the situation, it would be of the utmost interest to the free world that public opinion in the United States should become aware of the Communist conspiracy now in action against Portugal." (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1815).

3. The Liberian request

The events in Angola also had a direct impact at the United Nations, where delegations from several African countries assumed a very critical position toward Portugal. On February 20, the Liberian delegation requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council "to deal with the crisis in Angola." The Liberians believed that "immediate action should be taken by the Security Council to prevent further deterioration and abuse of human rights and privileges in Angola." (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1821).

Portugal immediately began its political campaign against the placing of Angola on the agenda of the Security Council. The Portuguese representative at NATO delivered a note to its partners asking them to pressure their own governments to vote against the Liberian motion. The Portuguese government requested their NATO allies, members of the Security Council, "to instruct their delegates firmly to oppose the inclusion of the item on the Council's agenda." The action of the Liberians was part of a "general campaign to force Portugal to abandon its overseas territories" and part of a "plan to destroy the positions of the West in Africa." Moreover, according to the Portuguese government, the Charter of the United Nations did not authorize the Security Council to discuss the "internal affairs of member states." If the Council were to debate the situation in Angola, "a dangerous precedent would be created for United Nations interference in the

responsibilities of sovereign states to preserve law and order in their territories." (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1821).

In Washington, the Portuguese Ambassador also met with several State Department officials and requested the support of the United States "in averting Security Council consideration of the Liberian request." The Portuguese Ambassador argued that the Security Council was not "competent" to discuss the events in Angola since these were "purely internal matters." He also emphasized that the Portuguese government regarded "the threat of a Security Council discussion as a serious matter," and expected "NATO solidarity" to be "the key" to any American action. In response, Woodruff Wallner, from the Bureau of International Organizations, indicated that the United States had not yet reached a decision. His guess, however, was that "the item would be placed on the Council's agenda." (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1821).

The State Department tried to avoid discussion of Angola at the Security Council and instructed the United States delegation at the United Nations (USUN) to approach the Liberians and to inform them that the new Administration had "a number of African problems under active review, including, as a matter of major importance, the Portuguese territories in Africa." The United States expected to "take steps in the near future designed to contribute to the improvement of this difficult situation." In light of these circumstances, the American government hoped that Liberia would avoid the discussion of the Angola question in the United Nations for the time being, realizing that "this problem can be best advanced at this time through quiet channels rather than in public debate, which will likely exacerbate the situation." (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1821).

The USUN, however, disagreed with these recommendations sent by the State Department. In anticipation of a broader debate within the administration, the head of the American delegation, Adlai Stevenson, argued that the United States should not oppose the placing of Angola on the agenda, "as some of our allies may urge." Angola was seen "among Afro-Asians as a straight colonial issue" and these countries would "disregard the legal arguments presented by Portugal to justify her claim that Angola is a matter of domestic concern." The refusal to support the motion proposed by Liberia would be viewed "as favoring Portuguese over Africans." Moreover, "in view of the importance of disassociating ourselves from old line colonialism we should not appear to accept Portugal's contention that Angola is part of Portugal or that its inhabitants have a genuine opportunity to determine their own future." (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1821).

The arguments of Adlai Stevenson apparently convinced the State Department. A telegram sent from Washington to the USUN admitted that, since Liberia was insisting on calling a Security Council meeting on Angola, there was no real alternative but "to acquiesce in the consideration of this matter by the Council." The United States, therefore, would "vote affirmatively" regarding the placement of the issue on the agenda of the Security Council. (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1821).

4. The *démarche* with Salazar

The Kennedy Administration decided to inform the Portuguese government of this major change in policy, indicating that Portugal could no longer count on American abstention or support in the United Nations. Secretary of State Dean Rusk instructed Ambassador Elbrick to see Oliveira Salazar and to tell him that the Administration was "deeply concerned over the deteriorating position of Portugal in the United Nations and in Africa." The United States wanted "to talk frankly and in friendly spirit with Portugal as an ally" in order to improve "mutual understanding" and to influence Portugal "to undertake major adjustments in her policies which as presently constituted seem to us headed for very serious trouble." The immediate problem was the Liberian motion to place the Angolan question on the agenda of the Security Council. Rusk informed Elbrick that the USUN would vote in favor of the motion, explaining that due to American "worldwide commitments and responsibilities" it was "increasingly difficult and disadvantageous to Western interests publicly to support or remain silent on Portuguese African policies." The administration was "greatly concerned that because of our close association with Portugal, which we value as an ally, we shall come under increasing criticism from Afro-Asian countries which will, rightly or wrongly, tend to hold us responsible for Portuguese actions." In view of this situation, the Ambassador

should stress to Salazar that "step by step actions" were "imperative for the political, economic and social advancement of all inhabitants of Portuguese African provinces towards full self-determination within a realistic timetable." The American government was "fully aware of the economic importance of the overseas provinces to Portugal and of the great potential cost of their development," and therefore was prepared to extend "important bilateral assistance to Portugal and to her overseas territories" (FRUS, 1961-1963, Vol. XIII, 895-897).

Dean Rusk also recommended some caution to Ambassador Elbrick. Rusk was "fully aware" of the "distasteful nature" of this approach to Salazar and had "few illusions" that the Portuguese government was going to change its policies towards its African territories in the near future. Above all, the United States wanted to avoid the appearance of a "take it or leave it" attitude which could cause a Portuguese "counter-action, which we do not want in connection with NATO or the Azores where we believe retention of base rights is very important." (FRUS, 1961-1963, Vol. XIII, 895-897).

Elbrick went to see Salazar on March 7 with the counselor of the Embassy, Theodore Xanthaky. "The countdown had got us both a little jumpy," Elbrick confessed, but the interview "went off relatively smoothly." (NA, SDLF 68D401, Entry 5286, Box 2). Elbrick explained to Salazar the new American policy and the Portuguese leader, after listening without interruption, stated that he was not surprised by this new policy, since several "high government leaders" had already publicly expressed similar views in recent months. He was, however, "profoundly concerned" with the "apparent lack of understanding" of the American government "as to the dangers which will unquestionably result for the West if the present American policies in Africa are not reversed." Salazar was particularly worried by the fact that the Soviet Union was "actively engaged in attempting to bring about the downfall of the two nations of the Iberian Peninsula." The Russians were "attacking Portugal via Africa and it would appear that the Americans are ingenuously playing their game." Salazar also warned Elbrick that it was "manifestly impossible to be an ally of Portugal in Europe and an enemy in Africa." (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1813).

This *démarche* marked a real turning point in the relations between Portugal and the United States. The American government formally informed Salazar that it had changed its policy in Africa and its policy towards Portuguese colonialism. Later that day, Elbrick sent a telegram to the Secretary of State commenting on the interview. Salazar, he wrote, was "calm and very self-possessed and was not unfriendly throughout the interview." But it was "obvious" that he rejected "any thought of Portugal's complying with the United States suggestion" (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1813).

5. The Security Council Resolution

Meanwhile, in New York, Portugal continued to oppose the debate in the Security Council. The Portuguese Ambassador, Vasco Vieira Garin, delivered a letter of protest to the President of the Security Council, who was now Adlai Stevenson, denying the United Nations any jurisdiction over the Angolan territory. The situation in Angola was a matter "exclusively within the jurisdiction of the government of Portugal." (American Foreign Policy. Current Documents, 1961, 883). Nevertheless, the Security Council initiated its session on March 10 and decided to include the Angolan issue on its agenda. There was no vote on the placement because, as Woodruff Wallner explained to the Portuguese Ambassador in Washington, "when it became clear that a majority of the Council was prepared to support inscription... Stevenson decided it would be pointless to have a vote." (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1821).

While the Security Council meeting was taking place, the Portuguese Ambassador in Washington made one last attempt to change the American position. Fernandes again met with Woodruff Wallner and declared that Portugal had accepted the American policy of "non-opposition to inscription." But now that the item was already inscribed, his government wanted the United States to abstain from the vote on the resolution that would certainly occur. Wallner replied that the United States did not share the view that Security Council consideration of Angola was "illegal". Nevertheless, it was "impossible" for the Administration "to decide our position on a

resolution until it had been submitted." (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1821).

On March 14, the representatives of Ceylon, Liberia and the United Arab Republic submitted a draft resolution calling for the introduction of reforms in Angola and requesting the appointment of a subcommittee to examine the situation in the territory. Dean Rusk recalled in his memoirs that he "strongly recommended to the President that we support the resolution." According to Rusk, the United States had to demonstrate that it opposed colonialism "in fact as well as in rhetoric, and supporting the resolution was one way to do this." (Rusk: 1990, 274). In a telegram sent to the USUN, Rusk recognized that the resolution went further than he would have wished, with the "disadvantage of injecting the United Nations into the Angolan problem on a continuing basis." This would certainly be "distasteful to the Portuguese and may complicate our bilateral efforts to effect an adjustment of Portuguese government policy in Africa." Nevertheless, the United States should vote favorably. (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1820).

According to the final text of the resolution, the Security Council, "taking note of the recent disturbances and conflicts in Angola resulting in loss of life of the inhabitants, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security," called upon Portugal to "consider urgently the introduction of measures and reforms in Angola." The Council also decided to appoint a subcommittee "to examine the statements made before the Security Council concerning Angola, to receive further statements and documents and to conduct such inquiries as it may deem necessary and to report to the Security Council as soon as possible." (*Department of State Bulletin*, April 3, 1961, 499).

The Security Council did not approve the resolution. There were only five favorable votes (United States, Soviet Union, Ceylon, Liberia and the United Arab Republic), and six abstentions (Great Britain, France, Turkey, Ecuador, Chile and China). Adlai Stevenson made an extensive statement justifying the American vote. According to the president of the Security Council, "while Angola and the conditions therein do not today endanger international peace and security, we believe they may, if not alleviated, lead to more disorders with many unfortunate and dangerous consequences." The United States believed that "the people of Angola are entitled to all of the rights guaranteed them by the charter" of the United Nations and, therefore, considered that Portugal had the "solemn obligation to undertake a systematic and rapid improvement of the conditions of the peoples of its territories." (*Department of State Bulletin*, April 3, 1961, 497-498).

6. Reactions

In Lisbon, the defeat of the resolution in the Security Council was received with jubilation, but the American vote caused strong indignation. In late March, Franco Nogueira, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, met with Ambassador Elbrick and explained to him that the Portuguese government could not understand the "casual manner" in which the United States dealt with the African problem, which was of "such vital importance" to Portugal. His government could not understand the American tactics, "publicly attacking Portugal in the Security Council" only one week after making "private and confidential approaches" to Salazar. Nogueira pointed out that no Portuguese government could survive the loss of the overseas territories and therefore the result of American policy, "if pursued to its logical conclusion, would produce a neutralized or even a Communist beachhead on the Iberian Peninsula." (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1260).

Moreover, Portuguese officials quickly linked the discussion of the Security Council resolution to the beginning of an extremely violent attack by UPA forces in Northern Angola. In fact, on March 15, large-scale violence began in Northern Angola, near the frontier with Congo. A major attack on Portuguese authorities and the population took place, with at least 200 Europeans being killed or wounded. The American Consul in Luanda reported to Washington that "apparently coordinated attacks broke out in a number of posts along the border with the former Belgian Congo early in the morning of March 15 and at the same time other attacks took place in the so-called 'Dembos' section of Angola." This report mentioned that "Angolan natives [...] probably led by expatriate Angolans from the former Belgian Congo" attacked administrative posts, trading stores and plantations with "unprecedented ferocity, killing white families, mulatto families

and native Africans who had not joined their movement with equal and impartial brutality." (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1821)

The Portuguese press was particularly violent in criticizing the United States and effectively "fanned an anti-United States sentiment with articles stressing the duplicity and unreliability of United States policy." (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1814). On March 17, for instance, the *Diário de Notícias* affirmed that the position the United States assumed in the United Nations was "profoundly deplored by the whole Portuguese people." This newspaper pointed out that "if the United States were attacked in its external territories, in Alaska, in the Hawaiian islands, in Puerto Rico, in the Virgin islands, in the islands of Samoa and Guam, or in the Panama Canal zone, who would ask if these countries or territories are legitimately a part of the United States, or if it were not the time to promote the independence of some of them?" (*Diário de Notícias*, March 17, 1961, 2). Adlai Stevenson became a favorite target of the Portuguese press. *Novidades*, also on March 17, warned Stevenson that he was "walking on a slippery and dangerous path," as a representative of a country "which is the leader of the Western World." Stevenson could use the post he had for "self-destruction," but he should not "drag others" with him, counseled *Novidades*. (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1814)

The events in New York, Ambassador Elbrick pointed out, had become "too convenient a device for the Government to use in diverting public attention from the danger it is facing in Angola." (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1814). On March 17, the American Embassy in Lisbon was already reporting "a flow of letters, telegrams and telephone calls" protesting against the American alignment with the Afro-Asian bloc and the Soviet Union against Portugal. Elbrick added that the realization that the United States did not regard "its NATO tie as binding it to support Portugal's overseas policy" had come "as a shock to many people outside the government." (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1814). Later that day, an alarmed Elbrick telegraphed Washington, reporting that Portuguese students in Lisbon and Porto had staged demonstrations outside the Embassy in Lisbon and the Consulate in Porto. The demonstration in Lisbon comprised about 50 to 100 students carrying placards reading "Stupid Americans Playing into Commie Hands" and shouting "Americans Keep Out of Our Affairs." The demonstrators were dismissed by "vigilant police." In Porto, the demonstration involved more than one thousand students carrying banners reading, "Americans get out of the Azores." The police also dispersed them. (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1814).

The reaction against the American vote in the Security Council came to a head on March 27, when a crowd of fifteen to twenty thousand Portuguese, "mostly students and middle-class," staged a hostile demonstration for more than one hour outside the American Embassy in Lisbon. The protesters marched from downtown Lisbon, where they had first gathered, and eventually broke the cordon of policemen around the Embassy and "surged from all sides to the entrance." The crowd "broke a number of windows by throwing stones." Ambassador Elbrick reported that no one was injured and that the police had done what it could "to control and to disband the crowd." Twenty to twenty-five horse guards had been summoned, and they used "drawn sabers" to break up the demonstration. The demonstrators carried posters with inscriptions such as, "America for the Indians" and "Get Out of the Azores." (NA, SDCF, Box 12160 and NA SDFL 68D401, Entry 5296, Box 1)

The American Ambassador presented a "strong oral protest" to the Portuguese government against this "mob attack." (*The New York Times*, March 29, 1961, 10). The following day, the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs contacted the Embassy saying that the government "deeply regretted last night's disturbances" and assuring the Embassy that it would take "adequate steps" to ensure that more violence did not occur. The Minister, however, pointed out that "manifestations could not be prohibited *per se* particularly because the public feeling is running so high against the United States." The Portuguese government also refused to issue any public statement regarding the incident on the grounds that it would only serve "to underscore United States-Portuguese differences over Africa and thus further embitter relations." (NA, SDCF, 1960-63, Box 1821).

The most important newspapers in both countries discussed the events in Lisbon. For *The New York Times*, the situation in Angola did not "excuse" the Portuguese government for "permitting a mob demonstration in Lisbon of 20,000 Portuguese who stoned the United States

Embassy and carried on for two hours." There was in Portugal "one of the most rigidly controlled dictatorships in the world," and a demonstration of this sort "simply could not happen without the connivance of the authorities." The "Lisbon rioting", as it was called, had to be understood as "an indirect expression of the Salazar government's opinions." However, it should be clear to the Portuguese government that if it wished "to express its opinions" there were "normal, diplomatic channels through which to do so." The editorial pointed out that "diplomacy by managed mobs is expected in Communist countries as part of the cold war," but not "between two allies who may have a difference of opinion over some particular issue" (*The New York Times*, March 29, 1961, 31).

In Portugal, the *Diário de Notícias* pointed out that something had changed in the "old and friendly Luso-American relations." With very impressive words the newspaper added: "It is sad but it was not us. We are the same people who during the war risked devastation and bombardment in order to grant Great Britain and the United States [the] use of bases in the Azores... We are the same people who in February 1948... again conceded to the United States the Lajes facilities, which permitted the United States to maintain its lines of communication with troops stationed in Germany... We are the same people who the United States and England insisted should enter the United Nations, an organization to which we did not desire to belong... We are the same people who participated in NATO from the very outset... We are the same people who last May received President Eisenhower after he had been subjected to Khrushchev's affronts." (NA, SDCF, 1960-632, Box 1260).

Politically, the position of the United States in the Security Council had its first major repercussion a few days later. Oliveira Salazar firmly denied the American government authorization to install a "Backscatter radar installation" on the Portuguese island of Madeira, in the Atlantic Ocean, with capability "for detecting high altitude nuclear tests conducted within the Sino-Soviet bloc." The United States had already requested this authorization on December 6, 1960. (AOS, CO/NE-25, Folder 11). But Salazar's final decision was taken immediately after the vote on the Liberian resolution in the United Nations, and the text written in his own hand could not be more eloquent regarding the new climate of Portuguese-American relations:

"It does not seem opportune to grant the request. The attitude taken by the United States government regarding Portuguese overseas territories, the efforts made, and the spectacular nature of its advice to Portugal in the United Nations, with the declared intent of capturing the votes of the African countries, advise us that, on our part, we should show firmness and should not accede to their requests. It is even impossible to know, at the present moment, the future of our policy regarding the United States, that is, if it would be subject to any revision. This would depend on the role played by that country in inciting subversive acts against Angola and against the permanence of Angola in the Portuguese nation. We should not do anything, for now, that aggravates the United States or their representatives. But denying their requests will show our legitimate resentment and I think that, as far as they are concerned, it will encourage them to be prudent in their relations with us." (AHD, MNE-Se, PEA Conf. Box 15).

It really looked as if John F. Kennedy's prediction of 1956 had come true. In that year, Kennedy had declared that American support for decolonization "will displease our allies" and that the United States would find its policies "hailed by extremists, terrorists and saboteurs for whom we could not have sympathy – and condemned by our oldest and most trusted friends who will feel we have deserted them... Some will plead for a more cautious course; but halfway measures will not do." (Mahoney: 1983, 202).

Conclusion

In late March, a desperate Charles Elbrick telephoned Washington saying that relations

between the United States and Portugal had reached "a low point." While remaining "polite," even his personal friends in Portugal were "extremely bitter over what virtually all Portuguese consider the rapid about-face done by the United States and feel that we did not give Portugal enough time before announcing our change of policy to the whole world in the United Nations." In the Ambassador's opinion, the position of the Embassy was "so unenviable that nobody from here could say anything at the present time that would be influential or that would even be listened to." Elbrick even questioned his continuing role as Ambassador in Lisbon, saying that he was "accomplishing nothing by being in Lisbon at the present time." (NA, SDLF 68D401, Entry 5296, Box 1)

Despite Elbrick's complaints, the pattern of voting adopted by the United States in March 1961 would remain the same throughout this year and also during part of 1962. The United States voted in favor of resolutions concerning Portuguese colonialism in the General Assembly, in April 1961, the Security Council, in June 1961, the General Assembly, in December 1961, and again, in the General Assembly, in January 1962. The deterioration of Portuguese-American relations was further aggravated by the development of frequent contacts between the Kennedy administration and the Angolan nationalist movements and also by the new arms policy announced to the Portuguese government in August 1961. This was, indeed, the most serious crisis in relations between the two countries since World War II. It had been caused by two simultaneous and interrelated factors: the Kennedy administration's new African policy and the beginning of the colonial war in Angola. However, it would only take a few months to produce a new and significant change in the policy followed by the United States government toward Portugal and Portuguese colonialism. Since mid-1962, the strong stance taken by the Kennedy administration in its early period would be replaced by a more complacent attitude toward Portuguese policy in Africa. Ultimately, Cold War considerations tempered Washington's anti-colonial fervor. American policymakers would eventually recognize the strategic importance of the base that the United States armed forces had been authorized to use on the Portuguese islands of the Azores since World War II. Coupled with a tough and intransigent Portuguese diplomacy, the necessity of retaining the Azores base at any cost forced a major "retreat" from the policies adopted by the Kennedy administration in early 1961 regarding Angola and other Portuguese territories. When President Kennedy met with the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Franco Nogueira, two weeks before his assassination, the Portuguese politician tried to convince him to change the policies of his administration toward Portuguese Africa. Kennedy replied that Nogueira could not ask him "after he had gone to the top of the mountain, to go down to the valley again in less than two years." But he already had. (JFKL, Oral History Transcripts, Franco Nogueira, 6).

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AHD, MNE - Historical-Diplomatic Archive, Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
 AOS - Oliveira Salazar's Archive
 JFKL - John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library
 NA, SDCF - National Archives, State Department Central Files.
 NA, SDLF - National Archives, State Department Lot Files.

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Portuguese at Yale an Historical Sketch

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The presence of Portuguese at Yale can be traced to the hiring of Henry Roseman Lang, an Austrian with a doctorate in romance philology from Strasbourg (1890), in the Department of Romance Languages. There is no evidence that Professor Lang ever taught Portuguese, although he worked with Portuguese medieval poetry and corresponded with Carolina Michaela de Vasconcellos, Adolfo Coelho, and other famous Portuguese linguists and philologists of the time. In 1908, he received Joaquim Nabuco, then the first Brazilian ambassador to the United States, for two lectures at Yale on “The Place of Camões in Literature” and “The Spirit of Nationality in Brazil.” Professor Lang had a long and distinguished career at Yale, from Instructor, 1892-93, Assistant Professor, 1893-96, Professor of Romance Philology, 1896-1906, to Benjamin F. Barge Professor of Romance Languages & Linguistics, 1906-1922. He was emeritus professor from his retirement in 1922 until his death in 1934.

The Department of Romance Languages, in which Lang headed the Spanish section, would continue to oversee teaching of the various romance languages at Yale until 1973. There was only a minor in Spanish during Lang’s time. In 1929 Romance Languages subdivided into a Department of French and a Department of Spanish and Italian. Spanish and Italian would continue as a unit until 1970. From 1971-73 Portuguese was added to become the Department of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese, directed by Emir Rodríguez Monegal (Ph.D. Montevideo, 1956), a Uruguayan critic who arrived in 1969. Beginning in 1973, Italian became a department of its own, and the current Department of Spanish and Portuguese came into existence.

Teaching of Portuguese language at Yale began in the early days of WWII in 1942-43. Yale cooperated with the government officials in Washington, D.C. to institute a “speed-up” program of classes, meeting twelve months of the year in three terms. Under this program Yale began or continued the teaching of Chinese, Japanese, Russian, Spanish, German, French, and Italian for the purpose of training military officers. The first classes in Portuguese (PORT 10, elementary, 20, intermediate, and 30, advanced) were taught by Professor Raymond Thompson Hill (B.A. 04; M.A. 05; Ph.D. 1911), who was instructor of French (1908-16), assistant professor (1916-27), associate professor (1927-49) and then curator of the library collection. He retired in 1952 and died in 1956.

In 1943-44 Hill was joined by C. Malcolm Batchelor (M.A. 1940, Ph.D. 1945), who is almost singularly responsible for developing Portuguese over four decades at Yale. Batchelor became Yale’s first professor of Portuguese. He taught language and literature classes for 38 years, from 1943 through the 1981-82 academic year. In 1947-49 Batchelor held the title of instructor in Portuguese, becoming assistant professor in 1950 and associate in 1958. He normally taught PORT 10 (elementary), co-taught PORT 12ab (intensive) with Hill, and in 1946-47 offered a literature course for the first time, PORT 43, “The Novel in Brazil.” In 1950-51 Batchelor introduced PORT 49, “The Short Story in Brazil.” Batchelor continued to teach these same courses through the 1950s. He invited the eminent Brazilian writer Érico Veríssimo to Yale for a lecture on December 1, 1955. Batchelor attended the international Luso-Brazilian congress in Salvador, Bahia in 1959 under a special travel grant arranged by courtesy of Henri Peyre, then chair of Romance Languages. Batchelor served many years as chair of the Department of Spanish and Italian, while sustaining courses in Portuguese, at times with great difficulty.

In 1959-60, Batchelor began to use assistants, whether “native informants” used for phonetic training under the audio-lingual method or graduate students. He introduced another course, PORT 42, “Masterpieces of Portuguese and Brazilian Literature.” From 1962-64 Russell G. Hamilton (Ph.D., 1965), a graduate student, taught language and PORT 41, “Short Story.” Batchelor continued to teach PORT 15, 41 and 42, and in 1966-67 José Santiago Naud (M.A.,

UFRGS, 1957) arrived from Brazil as his assistant. In 1968 Almir Campos Bruneti (Lic., U. São Paulo, 1961) came as visiting lecturer and remained through 1970-71. In addition to PORT 15 and 42, Bruneti developed new courses in literature, PORT 90a, "Development of Major Motifs of Portuguese Literature," and 91a, "Contemporary Luso-Brazilian Fiction in Translation." After his departure, offerings were again reduced to PORT 15 and 42 until the arrival of Maria Luisa Nunes (Ph.D., CUNY, 1972). During the 1960s, distinguished Brazilian scholars lectured or studied at Yale, including Antonio Candido, João Alexandre Barbosa, Roberto Schwarz, and Leyla Perrone-Moisés.

From 1973-78 Maria Luisa Nunes taught Brazilian literature as a section of PORT 42 and began PORT 63b in "Afro-American Studies on Brazil." She also opened PORT 49a, "Practice in Writing and Speaking" in 1974-75 and the first course in directed readings. Batchelor offered the first graduate courses in Portuguese in 1975-76, "Problems in Brazilian Modernism" and "The Poetry of Carlos Drummond de Andrade." In 1976-77 Nunes became the first Director of Undergraduate Studies in Portuguese, when Yale created that position. She also taught a graduate course on "Masterworks of Brazilian Literature." In Spring, 1978, Rodríguez Monegal brought the renowned Brazilian poet, critic, and translator Haroldo de Campos as visiting professor, as well as Brazilian graduate students, including Jorge Schwartz. Rodríguez Monegal spoke Portuguese and actively promoted interest in Brazilian literature, especially in its relation to Hispanic American literature. From 1977-82, Maria Yolanda Umburanas-O'Donnell (Lic., U. São Paulo, 1954) was hired to teach language courses, and she was joined in 1980 by Ronald Rassner (Ph.D. Wisconsin, 1980). He opened many new courses from 1980-84, including 359b, "Afro-Brazilian Literature," 360a, "Afro-Brazilian Theater," and 361b, "Short Story," and 362a, "Afro-Brazilian Oral Narratives," while Batchelor dedicated himself to new graduate courses, 871b, "Literatura de protesto no Brasil," 972a, "Decadência na literatura brasileira," and 571b, "Literatura portuguesa: renascença."

Toward the end of Batchelor's long career, Portuguese at Yale entered a period of transition. Ana Luiza Andrade (Ph.D. Texas 1982) became Director of Undergraduate Studies from 1982-85 and taught with Batchelor and Rassner. Rassner offered the first course on Fernando Pessoa in 1982, and Andrade introduced courses 163b, "Brazilian popular culture," and 364a, "Brazil World Writers." Rodríguez Monegal co-taught courses in Brazilian and Spanish American poetry and narrative with Andrade in 1983-84. The transitional period entered a second phase with the arrival of Marta Peixoto (Ph. D. Princeton, 1977), an assistant professor who came to Yale as Director of Undergraduate Studies in 1985. Graduate students Charles Martin and Horácio Costa taught language courses along with Peixoto, who also co-taught literature courses with Rodríguez Monegal ("Contemporary Brazilian and Hispanic American Writers). Peixoto significantly increased the number of new courses in Brazilian literature, such as 365a, "Fiction and Memoirs in Brazilian Modernism," 382b, "Brazilian Fiction in the Twentieth Century," 382a, "Brazilian Poetry: Modernism and Avant-Garde," 370b, "Modernism and Marginality," and 350b, "Machado and the 19th Century." She was joined from 1986-91 by Leopoldo Bernucci (Ph.D. Michigan, 1986), who taught language, literature, and culture courses. In 1987-88 Pedro Maligo (Ph. D. Texas 1990) taught Portuguese language courses, and in 1990-91 graduate students Lúcia Bettencourt and Robert Myers taught the elementary course, joined in 1991-92 by Kimberly Hastings and Miriam Ayres. In 1991 Peixoto organized an international conference on the writer Clarice Lispector. The first Portuguese lector from the Instituto Camões in Lisbon arrived, Maria dos Santos Duarte, to teach intermediate language and graduate courses from 1991-93. Duarte introduced new courses on Portuguese literature and culture. The lectorship ended with her unexpected departure at the end of the 1992-93 year.

In 1992 K. David Jackson (Ph.D. Wisconsin 1973) was invited as visiting professor, and in 1993 he was appointed as the second professor of Portuguese at Yale, after M. Batchelor. Language courses were taught in 1993-94 by Ana MacDowell and Kim Hastings, until the then Chair Josefina Ludmer helped to bring lecturers from Brazil to teach language. Alai Garcia Diniz (UFSC-Florianópolis) taught from 1994-96; Lidia Santos (UFF-Niterói) arrived in 1995; and Rita Chaves (USP-São Paulo) spent the 1996-97 year. A decisive change for the fortunes of Portuguese at Yale occurred in 1996, with the approval of an undergraduate major in Yale College, which is a concentration requiring coursework both in Portuguese and Brazilian literatures and a senior thesis.

Beginning in 1997-98 Jackson took up the position of Director of Undergraduate Studies in Portuguese. In that year, Jordano Quaglia was hired as lecturer of the language courses, a position he held until 2004. As senior lector Quaglia also taught thematic courses with language content on 'International Issues' and 'Brazilian Regions.' António Ladeira arrived from Portugal as the second lector from the Instituto Camões for the period 1997-2001, after a long series of negotiations between Jackson and authorities in Portugal. Ladeira opened a series of new courses on Portuguese and Portuguese-African literatures and cultures. He also began a one-semester intensive language course and taught other language courses regularly. In 1996, Lídia Santos became assistant professor of Spanish and Portuguese in a new position opened to create a bridge between Spanish and Portuguese students. Santos offered courses on "Narrative of Memory," "Melodrama: Soap Operas," "Popular Music," and "Cosmopolitanism." Ladeira and Santos developed a successful course in Brazilian and Portuguese film. In 1999-2000, Daniel Scarfó, a graduate student, taught courses in conversational Portuguese and Brazilian music and literature. Other graduate students in the language program include Rachel Haywood-Ferreira (2000-02), Luz Horne (2002-03), and Estela Vieira (2002-04). In 2003 Marta Almeida (Ph.D. Florida, 1999) was hired as lecturer in Portuguese. Originally from Rio de Janeiro, with a doctorate in linguistics, Almeida is now teaching all of the language courses.

Since 1993, Professor Jackson has added new topics on Brazilian literature, including the Realist novel, cultural history of the Portuguese world, modernism, theories of Brazil, 20th century Brazilian literature, Brazilian and Portuguese fiction, as well as monographic courses on great writers: Machado de Assis, Fernando Pessoa, Clarice Lispector, and Camões. Beginning in 2002, Jackson began a series of thematic courses in translation on "Disaster Narratives," "Psychology in Literature," and "World Cities & Narratives." In 2005 Yale Summer Programs will offer the first courses in Brazil, taught by Marta Almeida, Elizabeth Jackson (Visiting Assistant Professor of Portuguese, Wesleyan University), and K. David Jackson.

A series of speakers and conferences gave a more active presence and visibility to the Portuguese program at Yale. The title of "Batchelor Fellow in Portuguese" was attributed to visitors who gave a series of lectures, Raúl Antelo on Brazilian modernism in 1994 and Rip Cohen on medieval lyric in 2001. Brazilian author Néida Piñón lectured, and João Cezar de Castro Rocha was a fellow of the Beinecke Library in 2002. The roll of visitors includes Helder Macedo speaking on Camões and many other specialists in Portuguese and Brazilian literatures. In 1995 the "Yale Symphosopia" on experimental, visual, and concrete poetry featured the return to Yale of Haroldo de Campos and Augusto de Campos, as well as luminaries such as Marjorie Perloff. In Spring 1995, the novelist Milton Hatoum became the first visiting writer, under the program of the Brazilian Ministry of Culture, and in 1996 Silviano Santiago was visiting professor, teaching courses in literature and culture. In 1998 Yale hosted the first congress of the American Portuguese Studies Association, honoring the renowned author and scholar Jorge de Sena. In 1999, the first Oxford/Yale joint conference honored the 70th year of Haroldo de Campos. Other conferences have included "Staging Brazilian and Portuguese Theater (2000), "Grand Expositions: Latin American Modernisms in the Museum" (2001), "Contemporary Brazilian Novel" (2003), and "Between Cultures: Brazil / Europe" (2004).

On the graduate level, dissertations on Brazilian topics have always been permitted under the rubric of Romance Languages. Stephen Reckert (B.A. 1946, Ph.D. 1950) became Camões professor of Portuguese at King's College, London and is today a distinguished senior scholar. Among the first dissertations in Portuguese is Russell G. Hamilton's work on Brazilian novelist Graciliano Ramos (1965). Hamilton had a distinguished career in Brazilian and Luso-African literature. After studying with Haroldo de Campos, Maria Tai Wolff (B.A. 1980, Ph.D. 1985) wrote a dissertation in Comparative Literature including Brazilian literature and later published numerous articles. Recent dissertations on or including Portuguese topics include Horácio Costa (1994), Robert Myers (1995), Kimberly Hastings (1995), Miriam Ayres (1995), Daniel Scarfó (1999), Octavio DiLeo (2001), and Rachel Haywood-Ferreira (2003). Costa is a Brazilian poet whose dissertation on Saramago's early period was published in Portugal. DiLeo's work on Afro-Brazilian and Afro-Cuban culture was published in Spain.

Thanks to Malcolm Batchelor's dedication to teaching, Portuguese has been taught at Yale since 1942. Upon retirement, Batchelor created a fund for Portuguese at Yale, which has supported visitors, lectures, and especially student fellowships. The generosity of the Batchelor fund has undoubtedly affected the lives of many Yale students over a twenty-year period. Since 1995 more than 35 undergraduate and graduate students have received Batchelor fellowships for summer study in Brazil or Portugal. Annual grants for summer study in Portugal have also been awarded to Yale students by the Luso-American Foundation for Development in Lisbon since the mid 1990s. The long-standing Albert Bildner prizes in Spanish & Portuguese include two prizes for Brazil. Bildner dedicated his Brazil prize for seniors to Professor K. David Jackson in 2001. Yale's Beinecke Library has a growing collection of rare books in Portuguese, including a first edition of Camões's *The Lusiads* (1572) and first editions of Fernando Pessoa. The Sterling Memorial Library possesses a very strong and comprehensive collection of Portuguese, Luso-African, and Brazilian literatures to support continuing study of Portuguese at Yale.

Portuguese Studies at the University of Wisconsin

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In its most recent newsletter (Spring 2004), the Modern Language Association of America (MLA) reported a record high number of post-secondary students in the U.S. who are studying a foreign language. According to the findings of the MLA's fall 2002 survey of foreign language enrollments in U.S. colleges and universities, overall enrollments in foreign languages have risen by 17% since 1998, with enrollments in Portuguese increasing 21.1%, from 6,926 in 1998 to 8,385 in 2002. This is a heartening statistic that corroborates anecdotal evidence regarding the growth of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies in the United States, but it must be taken with a grain of salt. While the percentage increase of students enrolled in Portuguese classes is certainly noteworthy, the total number of students in these programs continues to be significantly less than those who opted to study such "mainstream" European languages as Spanish, French, German or Italian. In comparison to these languages, Portuguese remains in the category of a less commonly taught language within the U.S. academy and, like our colleagues who specialize in other areas where less commonly taught languages are spoken, researchers and teachers who concentrate on the Lusophone world must spend a good deal of their time and energy seeking ways to attract more students to their field of study.

The relatively low overall number of students enrolled in Portuguese is due in part to the fact that many colleges and universities do not even offer courses in the Portuguese language. It should also be noted that Portuguese is not a language that is commonly taught in U.S. high schools. Undergraduate students who wish to study Portuguese at the college level first must choose to attend an institution where it is offered and then, after finding their way to the Portuguese program, generally must start their study of the language at the elementary level. Likewise, graduate students who need the language for their research in fields such as history, sociology, political science or anthropology must also usually begin with the very basics.

This is the case, at least, at the University of Wisconsin—Madison, where most students who choose Portuguese have had little first-hand exposure to the cultures of the Lusophone world. As Wisconsin and the upper mid-west in general cannot draw upon a heritage community of Portuguese speakers, the great majority of our students start out as true beginners in the language. The program at Madison is large, however, and has enjoyed a national reputation for more than five decades. Its standing regularly helps to attract undergraduate students with some high school study-abroad experience in either Portugal or Brazil, and the M.A. and Ph.D. programs in Portuguese draw students from throughout the U.S., as well as from Europe and Latin America. At the U.W., Portuguese is housed in the same department as Spanish, with whom it shares administrative responsibilities, office space and other resources. Unlike Spanish, however, the Portuguese program faces a never-ending struggle to maintain high enrollments in its advanced classes. At a time when the American academy is being racked by budget cuts, it often seems that we are constantly looking over our shoulder, trying to "protect" our terrain. This has led the four full-time members of the Portuguese faculty to continue to invest actively in the language program (our bread and butter, if you will), while developing new course offerings designed to attract a wider base of students, and strengthening and expanding existing links within the university community and beyond.

In general terms, the Portuguese program at the University of Wisconsin—Madison is structured to serve three distinct yet interrelated communities: students enrolled in the undergraduate language program, those who have chosen Portuguese as their undergraduate major, and graduate students who are working toward an M.A. or Ph.D. in Portuguese or in other related fields. The students who make up each of these communities have different needs and expectations that to a large extent determine the courses that must be offered on a regular basis. They do, however, mix

quite freely and it is possible to identify a community that is structured around a common interest in Portuguese and Brazilian studies. As many of our undergraduate majors begin their study of Portuguese in a language class, they study under the supervision of the program's graduate students, who are responsible for the teaching of first- and second-year Portuguese. Moreover, many upper division courses in literature and culture often include both advanced undergraduates and beginning graduate students.

While we have succeeded in maintaining a dynamic program informed by a shared sense of community, the U.W. Portuguese faculty is aware that the boundaries of this community can and must be expanded. For this reason, we have recently embarked on a project of creating new courses that incorporate the latest technologies and draw on current, interdisciplinary approaches to teaching about the cultures and the history of the Portuguese-speaking world. In order to attract a greater number of students, most of these classes will be offered in English, with additional weekly class meetings in Portuguese scheduled for our undergraduate majors. To date, the experience of teaching literature classes in translation has proved successful in bringing more undergraduates to the study of the language. After a taste of what the Lusophone world has to offer, several students have chosen to enroll in Portuguese language classes. At the same time, students in our beginning language classes who have not and most likely will not develop the advanced skills that would enable them to read complex and sophisticated texts in Portuguese have also taken advantage of these new courses. As we expand our course offerings to include classes in film and civilization, an even larger number of cross-over students is expected. At the graduate level, we continue to offer classes taught exclusively in Portuguese, but have also expanded our seminar offerings to include topics taught in English whenever appropriate.

In our language program, we have begun collaborating with the University of Wisconsin campus at Green Bay, to whom we now send a first-year language class via Interactive Video Technology (ITV). We have also worked with the CIC (Committee on Institutional Cooperation) and Michigan State University on the development of an on-line course for second-year Portuguese. While such a course will not substitute traditional face-to-face instruction at Madison, it is expected that other CIC institutions may find it a helpful way to free up resources and expand their Portuguese offerings. Finally, beginning in the spring of 2005, we will offer a special second-year class in Business Portuguese, thereby serving the needs of another distinct constituency on the U.W. campus.

These new projects have been directly sponsored or supported by various offices of the university's administration and by the Latin American, Caribbean and Iberian Studies Program (LACIS). Members of the Portuguese faculty at the university are all affiliated with LACIS, an area studies program that receives federal Title VI funding. In addition to providing financial support for graduate students from other programs in the humanities and social sciences to study Portuguese, the Title VI program also funds our bi-annual summer institute in Intensive Brazilian Portuguese. LACIS is but one of several federally-funded Title VI programs on campus that provides financial assistance for research and teaching about the Portuguese-speaking world. In addition, the university's African and European area studies programs have also supported faculty research and teaching in the field of Lusophone studies, as has the Women's Studies Program, with whom we have recently established a cross-listed class on Brazilian Women Writers.

It is clear that Portuguese can no longer be considered marginal to the major questions that inform research into the cultures, history and politics of Europe, Latin America, Africa and, to a lesser extent, Asia. In a world that has become increasingly, yet unevenly, globalized and transnational, we are being asked to rethink traditional boundaries and ties. At the University of Wisconsin—Madison, this combination of forces has led the Portuguese faculty to seek out new ways of collaborating with colleagues in other disciplines, both in the U.S. and abroad. We actively encourage our undergraduate majors to acquire experience through study abroad and, every year, more and more of this population has taken advantage of the university's annual and semester-long programs in Coimbra, Portugal and in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. These and other exchange programs have also led to greater interaction between the Madison faculty and graduate students and our colleagues in Brazil and Portugal.

In the coming years, key critical concepts emerging from the practices of cultural studies and postcolonial studies will provide us with fresh approaches to the study of the diverse cultures that make up the Portuguese-speaking world. At the same time, we strongly believe that students and professors working in areas outside of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies can gain important insights as to the workings of their disciplines when confronted with theories developed on the Lusophone world. At the University of Wisconsin—Madison we are, therefore, committed to expanding the boundaries of our teaching and research so that both the faculty and the students may take advantage of and contribute to these new dialogues that promise to shape the future of our shared academic enterprise.

International Commission for the History of Nautical Science and Hydrography

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The first International Conference on the History of Nautical Science took place in Coimbra in 1968, resulting from the coming together of two quite distinct processes that nonetheless met on this occasion to open up a new thematic area for research.

On the one hand, the 1950s had witnessed the birth of one of the main scientific research projects in this area in Portugal, culminating in the publication of the *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* (Cortêsão; Mota 1960-2). Armando Cortêsão was already one of the leading names in the history of cartography, with a reputation that had been firmly established through the publication of two monumental volumes entitled *Cartografia e Cartógrafos Portugueses dos Séculos XV e XVI* (Cortêsão 1935), and of subsequent works in English that had been given international exposure due to his years in exile and his connections with the Hakluyt Society. On his return to Portugal, he met Avelino Teixeira da Mota, a naval officer who had written hugely important works on Guinea (Valentim, undated), but who was increasingly interested in the history of nautical science and cartography. In turn, the collaboration between these two authors on the above-mentioned research project gave rise to the creation of the Ancient Cartography Studies Group of the Overseas Research Board, initially divided into two sections: the Lisbon section headed by Teixeira da Mota, and the Coimbra section headed by Armando Cortêsão.

The Coimbra section was joined by a university professor who was to play a fundamental role in later years: Luís de Albuquerque (Guerreiro 1998). Being interested from early on in the scientific component of the history of the Discoveries, he later devoted himself, in the early 1960s, to following a tradition that had already borne fruit with the works of Luciano Pereira da Silva and Duarte Leite Pereira da Silva, both of them full professors of mathematics at the same university. Luciano Pereira da Silva was responsible for such fundamental contributions as the biographies of the two Doctors Pedro Nunes, studies on 16th-century astronomy, and the dismantling of the myth of the School of Sagres. This theme as well as related topics were later worked on by Duarte Leite, who perhaps exaggerated in his spirit of criticism, and entered into a keen controversy with Jaime Cortêsão. Jaime Cortêsão was a remarkable historian and the scholar responsible for drawing attention to the important question of the technical and scientific component of the voyages of the Discoveries, even though he was occasionally prone to an overly free imagination, as when he developed his theory of the existence of a policy of secrecy.

The institutional framework provided by the Overseas Research Board, which provided this group with important publishing resources, made it possible to begin two series of publications that were very soon to achieve great prestige: *Memórias*, in which Luís de Albuquerque published several books on seamanship in elegantly presented editions with excellent introductory studies; and the so-called *Separatas Verdes* (Green Offprints), in which articles and conference papers were kept apart and disseminated in this way.

The work of Cortêsão and Albuquerque in Coimbra, as well as that of Teixeira da Mota in Lisbon, operating in close collaboration with the others, was in itself sufficient to guarantee the relaunching of the history of nautical science in Portugal. But the 1968 meeting certainly gave this process a fresh impetus.

The second factor to which we referred above had to do with the fact that maritime historiography did not give due importance to this type of inquiry, namely in the *Colloques d'Histoire Maritime* that had been started by Michel Mollat du Jourdin in the 1950s; these conferences were a forum for the discussion of the aspects most closely connected with the economic component of maritime trade, with some occasional contributions about ships and routes, but without any reference to the art of navigation, as has always traditionally been the case under the heading of "Maritime History". And even with an identical subject of study, the different approaches can reflect widely varying points of view. This is clearly shown by the study of the ship: the historian of economics seeks to investigate tonnages and cargo capacities, or crew-cargo ratios, in order to estimate freight costs or profitability margins; the historian of nautical science (in the broad sense) studies morphology or functionality, when not actually reconstructing the vessel's geometrical design.

These were complementary perspectives, but ones that required their own spaces for development. Whilst one was relatively common, the other still remained on the fringes of the preferred themes of historiographic discourse. And it was the realisation of this fact that led Cortesão and Albuquerque to decide on the 1968 conference, chaired by the former but, in his own words, largely indebted to the latter:

"I must, however, say in all fairness that, although the convenience and possibility of holding the meeting arose during the many conversations that I naturally had with Professor Luís de Albuquerque on these matters, the original idea came from him more than it did from me. In fact, much of the good that has perhaps been done in this Section [of Ancient Cartography] is due to the astounding intellectual activity of this exceptional man" (Cortesão 1971: 4).

A brief look at the book of Proceedings¹ immediately highlights the fact that the organisers succeeded in bringing together the cream of the crop of specialists in the subject at that time, many of whom later maintained contacts that helped to give a structure to the meetings. Leaving aside the Portuguese authors, one may highlight (if, indeed, anyone should be highlighted in particular) the names of Guy Beaujouan, Emmanuel Poule, Ursula Lamb, Ernst Crone, Marcel Destombes, Wilcomb Washburn, G. R. Tibbetts, David Waters, R. A. Skelton, Max Justo Guedes, Reyer Hooykaas, or Rolando Laguarda Triás. It might be said that nobody was missing: all the top names were at the Coimbra conference in 1968.

This is clearly shown by the works presented: O. Viator² reported on the existence of the oldest signed and dated Portuguese chart, Jorge de Aguiar's nautical chart of 1492; Marcel Destombes referred to two nautical astrolabes from the early 17th century, both of them unknown, just like Diogo Homem's chart of 1566, which was the subject of a second paper; Teixeira da Mota presented an overview of the evolution of Portuguese sailing directions in the 16th century; Ursula Lamb presented a pioneering study on Alonso de Chaves; Luís de Albuquerque spoke of terrestrial magnetism, Martins Barata of Vasco da Gama's ship, and Maria Emília Madeira Santos of the India Line.

The list could go on, but it is not worth the trouble, because the papers that have already been mentioned exemplify the future themes of the conferences, grouped around five main areas, with the core subjects being nautical science and the art of navigation, astronomy and scientific instruments; nautical cartography; naval architecture and shipbuilding; the history of science (in its broadest sense, which later on naturally spread to the history of scientific ideas), and voyages and voyagers, with shipping routes and navigational resources being included here, although from a more technical standpoint than usual.

Continuity was not numbered amongst the goals of the meeting, but it was decided upon from the outset, being linked to events that might facilitate funding by future organisers: the model was biased towards this point of view, since the sponsoring body paid the full expenses of those attending the conference. This is why it was not easy to guarantee the holding of new conferences other than on

¹ *I Reunião Internacional de História da Náutica e da Hidrografia (23-26 de Outubro, 1968). Discursos e Comunicações*, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra –Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, 1970; and also in *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol. XXIV, Coimbra, 1971, pp. 1-614.

² Who was not there personally, so that his paper had to be read aloud at the meeting.

specific occasions, normally connected with commemorative cycles, which is when official institutions tend to have more substantial material resources available.

The definition of the group of participants also continued to follow the example of Coimbra, oscillating in general between a direct invitation addressed to them all or one addressed to a significant majority (responsible for the so-called basic papers). In some cases, this allowed the programme to be completed with papers presented on open themes, although these were allotted less time for their exposition. At some of the meetings, namely those organised by Luís de Albuquerque, the themes of the basic papers were specifically requested from guest speakers to ensure that there was a suitable coverage of the general theme right from the outset.

Other important aspects that distinguished these meetings from traditional conferences: the number of participants was generally around thirty (ranging between a minimum of twenty-two and a maximum of forty-five). They met in plenary sessions, which, together with the concentration of papers on the same themes, generally led to discussions of the highest level.

Although it was decided to promote new conferences, it was another eight years before the second one was organised. It was held in Brazil in 1976, with the central theme being extended to include hydrography; in other words, also dealing with the navigation of large rivers. This was followed by the third meeting held at Greenwich, which, unlike the previous two, covered a much wider time span, reaching well into the 19th century, and, in the 1980s, three more conferences were held in quick succession: Sagres-Lagos in 1983; Rio de Janeiro in 1984; and once again Sagres in 1987. The principle was established that meetings would not be held on a regular basis and that they should be linked to commemorative events, for the reasons invoked above. And from the fourth meeting onwards, albeit timidly at first, but increasingly so thereafter, there was a clear opening up of the central themes, achieved through the efforts of scholars from related areas, or, more precisely, from quite distinct areas but engaged in related research projects: the reports of voyages, for example, ceased to be analysed solely as if they were reservoirs of information about the techniques of navigation and were subjected to approaches that were more characteristic of literary or cultural studies. Collections of documents were made known, whilst the production and circulation of information about the Discoveries – in the broadest possible sense – in the world of that time became a relatively common theme. In other words, the 1980s recentred the preferred time span of the meetings (15th–17th centuries, occasionally the 18th century), simultaneously expanding the scope of the themes that were dealt with therein.

The scientific interest of such a choice does not need to be commented on, but looking back more than twenty years later, it should be asked whether this was really an option rather than an imposition. In fact, it would have been very difficult to again bring together a group of scholars such as the one that met in Coimbra: the history of nautical science had not become unfashionable, but the chronological scope of the meetings was not a very popular one.

In naval and maritime history, there is a preponderance of Anglo-Saxon historiography, whose chosen field is the golden age of sailing vessels, from the mid-seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century. In other words, the period when the mastery of the seas was disputed between the Dutch, English and French, after the Iberian powers had been reduced to the status of minor actors on the world's naval stage. This is why French historiography concentrates most of its attentions on this period. In this latter case, the reading of academic dissertations that consider Richelieu's navy as an introduction to or even the first part of the history of the French navy is sufficiently revealing. In the case of Anglo-Saxon historiography, the chronology is (even today) determined by Alfred Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History* (Mahan 1890): Sea power has been a historical problem since 1660 (Domingues 2004).

Navigation in the 15th and 16th centuries became a particular area of interest for historians writing in Portuguese and Spanish, but for very few others. Despite the limitations of simplifications of this type, such a separation is undeniable, as can be seen precisely in the case of nautical science. This period is considered by some as the formative period or even as the very beginning, since they see in it the establishment of the most important procedures and techniques. Others, however, see it as no more

than a preliminary phase before the period of technical perfection, which ranged from the production of printed nautical charts to the rigorous determination of longitude.

Underlying this question is a cultural problem. The study of the origins of nautical science is given scant attention in a historiography that has produced an immense wealth of studies, both in qualitative or simply quantitative terms, but whose authors are far too often incapable of reading Portuguese and Spanish authors – who traditionally publish very little in English – and much less so the sources. There are exceptions, as is proven by the undeniable standard work of reference written by David Waters (Waters 1978), or the cartographic works of Armando Cortesão in his time. More than anything else, however, such works are precisely that – exceptions. But there are too many studies on European nautical science that show the lack of knowledge of their authors about the matters dealt with in the books on Portuguese seamanship published by Luís de Albuquerque, to name but one example.

This situation has been manifest at the meetings on the history of nautical science, as can be easily seen by consulting the contents of the respective Proceedings (Domingues 1992; undated), with Anglo-Saxon historians most evidently writing about the more recent period and the Iberian historians writing about more distant times.

At the same time, however, it can be seen that although the popularity of the history of nautical science has not diminished, as has been said, it has not grown either, even in those countries where one might have expected this to happen. The conferences also reflect this, namely those that were held in the 1990s (Manaus, 1992, Viana do Castelo, 1994, Aveiro, 1998): once again, there has been an enriching diversity of themes spreading into marginal areas, with the impact of the specific theme becoming diluted over time, even though there has remained a strong bias towards different sectors, as can be seen by the excellent set of papers on naval architecture and shipbuilding in the 1998 Proceedings, to again give just one example.

Diversification of the themes and the recentring of the time span, with a certain tendency for this to be stretched on occasions, these then seem to be the lines of force emerging from the period surrounding the 1968 conference in Coimbra. Basically, they marked out what had already been done, since, in the final analysis, Coimbra was almost an exception in terms of the compact density of the themes and the period that was dealt with. The most recent meetings have confirmed this tendency, which will undoubtedly become the hallmark of the future. But it is also already possible to detect the emergence of new generations of historians whose work is focused on nautical science (continuing to use the term in a broad sense). In Portugal, several academic dissertations in this area are being prepared or have been presented in recent years³, whereas these were rare occurrences in earlier years, contrary to what might have been expected. It is hoped that old subjects may be given an entirely new treatment and analysis, or that new problems may emerge.

On a very informal basis, the participants at the first conferences joined together to form an International Committee for the History of Nautical Science and Hydrography, chaired by Luís de Albuquerque. In 1987, he was succeeded by Max Justo Guedes, followed in 2000 by Inácio Guerreiro. As the need was felt to strengthen the links between the group of possible participants in the intervals between scientific meetings, and there was also a clear advantage in promoting other initiatives that might lead to the promotion of this research area, a formal proposal was made to this effect at Greenwich, which was unanimously approved but unfortunately had no immediate consequences.

Since 1998, the Committee has had its own website, where some information is made available about the founders and the contents of the books of Proceedings. The committee's organisational process was initiated by the current president, Inácio Guerreiro, with the appointment of a Secretary General, a Board of Directors, and National Delegates (two per country). An organisational and scientific support group was set up for conferences, the holding of which is the committee's main aim.

³ A list of academic theses in naval and maritime history defended at Portuguese universities is being prepared and will be placed on our webpage "Portuguese Naval and Maritime History 1400-1800", which is currently being redesigned. It is due to be moved to a different address from the current one, which can be located by normal search engines.

The recent creation of a permanent headquarters (which has been in operation at the Portuguese Naval School since 2002) has made it possible to organise a permanent centre of documentation and logistics.

Conferences have continued to be organised in the same tried and true fashion. It is normally decided at each meeting where the next one is to be held, who will be responsible for its organisation and scientific programme, and what measures will have to be taken in the future. Judging by what has happened in recent years, such measures include the maintenance of a certain regularity (every two years) along pre-existing lines, with roughly thirty papers being presented at the plenary session and occasional papers at parallel sessions. A balance should continue to be found between ensuring the openness of both the themes and the time span covered, and reinforcing the study of the technical component of the navigations, which is, after all, what has ensured the scientific specificity of these meetings. Today it seems more possible to guarantee this specificity than it was, let us say, ten years ago, without prejudice to the need to approach old themes from new perspectives and with new focuses – which is, at the same time, an essential condition for a renewal of the historiographical discourse.

The completion of the Committee's organisational process should be the main step in a development that must open up in new directions, especially with regard to the elimination of one evident lacuna, the lack of a specialized scientific journal, an essential vehicle for publishing studies in this area, together with the development of contents for the webpage, making (at least) the earliest conference proceedings available online. These Proceedings contain works that are still considered to be essential references today. In this way, we will be able to continue along the paths leading to an indispensable renewal.

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Masters Programs and Dissertations in Portuguese Discoveries and Overseas Expansion at Portuguese Universities

The offering of Masters Degree courses in Portuguese Overseas Expansion began in the late 1980s, when three Portuguese universities (Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, New University of Lisbon, Faculty of Letters, University of Lisbon and the Faculty of Letters, University of Coimbra) created graduate programs in various fields of Portuguese Overseas History.

The dissertations cover a wide variety of themes and geographical realities, from the East, the North and Sub-Saharan Africa to the Portuguese America. Although Portuguese Empire lasted until 1974, as the scope of these three masters concentrates in the expansion question, they privileged the early modern period. The dissertations also deal with several sub-disciplinary approaches, focusing on areas such as social, economic, urban, military, religious, political, and cultural history of the Portuguese presence all over the world. This collection of dissertations on the whole represents a well-balanced, accumulated body of knowledge that has indisputably contributed to the development and enhancement of the historiographical field of Portuguese Overseas History.

By listing these dissertations it is our purpose to better acquaint the reader with works that in many cases have not been published. The list is organized in alphabetical order by the author's name, indicating both the year and university of origin. When applicable, the reference to publication is also included.

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