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# The Debate on Race Relations in the Portuguese Empire and Charles R. Boxer's Position<sup>1</sup>

Diogo Ramada Curto<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

How do we read Charles Boxer's *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire (1450-1825)*? In order to identify the author's intention, three main analytical contexts should be taken into account. In England, Basil Davidson, among other journalists, took the lead of an anti-colonial discourse. In the US, academics like James Duffy participated in the same kind of debate. Finally, under the pressure of the emerging war in Angola at the beginning of 1961, Portuguese circles of academics and politicians prepared a variety of responses. Boxer arrived late to the debate on race relations and the nature of Portuguese colonialism, and his conservative views prevented him from becoming an anti-colonial intellectual. By the same token, his noble dream of objectivity in using the past also prevented him to accept established myths on Portuguese life in the tropics.

## Keywords

Colonialism, Race relations, Charles R. Boxer, Historiography

## Resumo

Como ler *As Relações Raciais no Império Colonial Português (1450-1825)* de Charles B. Boxer? Para colocar a intenção do autor nos seus contextos de pertinência, três exercícios analíticos deverão ser considerados. Em Inglaterra, Basil Davidson, entre outros jornalistas, foi pioneiro na elaboração de um discurso anti-colonial. Nos Estados Unidos, foram universitários, tais como James Duffy, que participaram no mesmo tipo de debate. Finalmente, sob a pressão do início da Guerra em Angola em 1961, os círculos portugueses ligados à academia e à política prepararam uma variedade de respostas. Boxer chegou tarde ao debate sobre as relações raciais e a natureza do colonialismo português. Do mesmo modo, o seu sonho nobre de objectividade nos usos historiográficos do passado impediu-o de aceitar os mitos que se estavam a estabelecer acerca do mundo que os portugueses criaram nos trópicos.

## Palavras-Chave

Colonialismo, Relações Raciais, Charles R. Boxer, Historiografia

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In February 1957, Lord Hailey gave a talk at the Sociedade de Geografia as part of a conference titled “The Rising Spirit of Africanism.” Its published translation into Portuguese, which appeared in the Sociedade’s *Boletim* from the same year, misrepresented the spirit of the message that the former governor of various provinces in India (1924–1928, Punjab; 1928–1934, the region that is now known as Uttar Pradesh) and the coordinator of *African Survey: A Study of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara* (1938) had delivered. According to the British conference participant, the large shift that had taken place in the last few decades was based in the emergence of the African voice.<sup>3</sup> Sure, the attention given to the “native African”—not to be confused with nationalism, which had been imbued with a sense of what might more properly be considered tribalism—varied in scale: the attention given was quite noticeable in the British territories, also visible in the French, less seen in the Belgian territories, and even less so in the Portuguese ones. The reasons that determined such a difference were not just dependent on the political systems created by the colonial European states. Segregation policies and African responses to them correspond to reasons that are more structural, economic, and demographic.

According to Lord Hailey, in South Africa, one of the most discussed segregation cases in the world, the integration of close to two thousand Africans into an economy driven by another two thousand white people and the subsequent improvement of the Africans’ quality of life—despite their lack of leadership and the absence of a sense of community coupled with the strong positions taken by the white population—set up a context for the process through which the Africans were gaining consciousness of their important role. Generally, in the territories under British administration, only Kenya showed the violent side of “Africanism” with the Mau-Mau, who associated terrorism with superstition, though they only represented a small part of a tribal group. In the other territories under British administration, there seemed to be a natural propensity to favor local political institutions, which implicated self-governing ideals that fended off calls for independence. On the contrary, in the territories under the French colonial administration, integration of the colonies, an ideal enshrined in the 1948 constitution, was sought after, leading to a rebranding of the former colonies as “overseas provinces,” granting citizenship to Africans, and supporting representatives in the metropolitan parliament. In the case of Congo, it wasn’t clear if the 70,000 settlers had citizenship rights—an uncertainty that was

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<sup>3</sup> “Everywhere one becomes conscious that the African, who previously had only a silent role in the drama of Africa, now has a speaking part, and often indeed a crucial share in the development of the play” (Hailey, “The Rising Spirit of Africanism”). This topic had interested that author ever since the first edition of *Survey* had been published, cf. Lord Hailey, “Nationalism in Africa.”

even clearer with relation to the Africans there. Despite the improvement of their economic situation, they were refused any type of political representation. Whereas, with the Portuguese territories, Lord Hailey commented on the restricted forms of assimilation, but stressed the obvious forms of segregation for the majority of the African population:

There is even less evidence of the manifestation of African opinion in Portuguese territories. Portugal is a firm exponent of the principle of the integration of overseas territories with the metropolitan institutions, but this has taken the form of the complete assimilation of a small and careful selected body of Africans with the resident Portuguese citizens. To that extent she deprives the indigenous population of what might otherwise be its natural leaders. To all appearance the great non-assimilated indigenous population is an inert, or at any event silent mass.<sup>4</sup>

Also, in 1957 the second volume of the “Estudos de Ciências Políticas e Sociais,” which had been preceded by a first volume written entirely by Adriano Moreira, was dedicated to the *Enquête sur l’anticolonialisme* (Inquiry on Anticolonialism). Featuring contributions written mainly in English, though also in French and Spanish, it included authors such as Eduardo Mondlane, who was working on his PhD in New York. A year later, Raymond Firth, an anthropologist and the successor to Malinowski in the London School of Economics, performed the same kind of comparative exercises that Lord Hailey had done, which were all based on a system of variations in scale in order to demonstrate that the differences in skin color were not universally accepted, but socially and culturally produced:

In the Union of South Africa, and to some extent in the South of the United States, the racial segregation works the most stringently. But in the North of the United States, and in many parts of British Africa, it is much less strong. There seems to be no such segregation in Portuguese Angola, and a European government officer may marry a native woman and set up a household which earns respect and recognition of a full social status.<sup>5</sup>

The density of issues raised by that last ranking of racial segregation is, perhaps, less than that which is raised by Lord Hailey’s talk, which was limited to Africa. However, what is important to ascertain is the authorial intent when describing these situations in comparative contexts, using as much of the African voice, as Hailey does, as segregation

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<sup>4</sup> Hailey, “The Rising Spirit of Africanism.”

<sup>5</sup> Firth, *Human Types: An Introduction to Social Anthropology*.

based on the color of one's skin, as Firth's book does. At a point, both seem to match up: the models of African assimilation and integration that the Portuguese put into practice in their African colonies were very limited, as the number of white settlers was low; additionally, according to Firth, these models were only put forth by the functionaries of the colonial state. In turn, according to Hailey, the majority of the African people who lived in Portuguese colonies represented "a silent mass," without voice and, as a result, still segregated.

Juxtaposed with the prudent and analytical perspectives of Hailey and Firth, Arnold Toynbee's ideas seem more like generalizations that were crafted to receive a warm welcome from the Portuguese officials. Indeed, a lecture delivered by him in Lisbon between 1959 and 1960 at the Instituto de Altos Estudos Militares resulted in applause from Marcello Caetano, as, in the speech, the renowned historian referred to the Portuguese Empire in the following words:

I suppose that the Portuguese tradition of liberalism regarding the question of racial mixing is one of the causes of the noteworthy durability of the Portuguese colonial empire in the present century. The Portuguese Empire is not just the first colonial power of Western Europe, it is also the one that has suffered the first losses. Its losses came about in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the then-growing colonial empires, the British, French and Dutch, were, in part, built upon former Portuguese possessions. After 1945, these three younger Western European colonial powers melted as though they were icebergs that found themselves in tropical seas. In contrast, the remainder of the Portuguese Empire did not diminish. Could it be this way because, in the overseas territories of Portugal, mutual integration has formed at such a level that a very strong bond of sympathy has been created?<sup>6</sup>

The question was rhetorical, and in fact, for Toynbee, the relative advantages of the Portuguese were based on their suitability for racial mixing, which was sustained by the mechanisms of integration favored by religious conversions that not only the Portuguese

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<sup>6</sup> Toynbee, "O Ocidente e o Futuro." It is of note that, in that very year, Ortega and Gasset argued that Toynbee's work did not contain one word of praise towards England, whose colonial empire had been based in readings of the Old Testament and in racism; this contrasted with the Catholic colonial populations from Spain and Portugal who read the Bible less often and who kept a different kind of relationship with native peoples: "In effect, instead of exterminating them at first like the English did, or, later on, distancing themselves from them, what they did was join with them and create mixed races" (Ortega and Gasset, *Una interpretación de la Historia Universal: En torno a Toynbee*). Though the contrast between the colonizing models used by the Protestants and the Catholics was unquestionable, Ortega mused that Toynbee's sensitivity with regard to the tragedy of racism did not have any parallels with what happened with this "other tragedy, precisely that which comes from the existence of large numbers of mestizos and mulattos in the countries where it occurs, something well known to all that have traveled through the Americas and South Africa" (Ortega and Gasset, *Una interpretación de la Historia Universal: En torno a Toynbee*, 264–65).

but also the Spanish and Muslims (!) were able to put into practice. At his comments at Toynbee's talk, Marcello Caetano went just wide of the main point. For the former Minister of the Colonies, what mattered most in the British historian's discourse was his idea, extracted from his research, that civilizations demonstrated their vitality in terms of the responses to the challenges they faced. These challenges were thrust as much upon the civilizations as the nations "by the physical environment, by other civilizations or by groups of human rivals."<sup>7</sup>

The mere evocation of the names "Lord Hailey," "Raymond Firth," and "Toynbee" and their ideas about Portuguese colonialism implies the need to reconstruct the British context or, more precisely, the Anglo-American context. A discussion about the decolonization of the Portuguese territories and the beginning of the wars of independence, then, can easily be inserted. Within such a reconstruction, it will be possible to detect the use of both comparison based on the level of forms of segregation and the forms of knowledge that circulated between empires. The comparison and the inter-imperial circulation of models had served to legitimize as well as discuss the empires. And, of course, these discussions were intertwined in another debate relative to the nature of the dictator and the figure of Salazar, one which involved Hugh Trevor-Roper—an Oxford historian known for his anti-communist positions and for his propensity to make his opinions known about Africa not having a history.<sup>8</sup>

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In order to reconstitute the meaning of the debates about Portuguese colonialism, it will be necessary to begin by tracing its chronology—a simple, descriptive method that allows me to uncover some power narratives. To this end, it is important to always begin with the book by Basil Davidson—a journalist who came to play a significant role as an anticolonial activist—*The Africa Awakening*; designed as a travel narrative, the book established itself as one of the landmarks of critical thought on colonization, not only in relation to the Belgian Congo, but also to Angola. In this same year, F. Clement C. Egerton, who had already worked on a propaganda campaign in favor of Salazar, responded to Davidson's work in a pamphlet published in Lisbon with the support of the Portuguese

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<sup>7</sup> Caetano, "A África e o futuro," 89.

<sup>8</sup> Roper, "Twilight of Dr. Salazar."

government.<sup>9</sup> One of the most damning allegations Egerton made concerned the fact that Davidson had only stayed a mere ten days in Angola. Similarly, the book in which Gilberto Freyre reported his journey through the Portuguese Empire, *Aventura e Rotina* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympo, 1952), also solicited an identical critique from Commander Ernesto Vilhena.<sup>10</sup> In the latter case, the criticisms were directed as much toward the virtues of “miscegenation” as a way of identifying Portuguese colonialism as they were toward Freyre’s interpretation of what happened in Lunda, where the Companhia dos Diamantes operated.

In 1957, the Englishman F. Clement C. Egerton wrote a defense of the Portuguese policies in Africa, confronting the different interpretations of what was happening in Lunda.<sup>11</sup> But it was the Canadian academic Richard Pattee that, as recognized in 1961 by the University of Coimbra, most zealously came to the defense of the Portuguese overseas policies in a testimony that he gave of his travels, amongst other texts.<sup>12</sup> The denunciations, however, of what was happening in so-called “Portuguese Africa” multiplied in subsequent years. Marvin Harris, a young assistant professor of anthropology at Columbia University—at which, decades before, Gilberto Freyre had finished his doctoral work—denounced the continuation of forms of slave labor that characterized Portuguese colonialism, following fieldwork he had done in Mozambique between 1956 and 1967.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, another American, James Duffy, a professor at Brandeis University who had finished a thesis at Harvard in 1952, visited Angola and Mozambique between 1955 and 1956 and published a series of texts from 1959 on, in which he made the same type of denunciations.<sup>14</sup> In New York, under a 1962 program by the Carnegie Foundation, Duffy and Richard J. Hammond, a well-reputed economic historian from Stanford who had dedicated his study to Portuguese imperialism, were invited to present their ideas.<sup>15</sup>

If the prestigious academic titles given to Harris, Duffy, and Hammond by American universities gave weight to their visions of Portuguese colonialism, another

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<sup>9</sup> Egerton, *Angola Without Prejudice*.

<sup>10</sup> Vilhena, *Aventura e Rotina: crítica de uma crítica*.

<sup>11</sup> Egerton, *Angola in Perspective: Endeavour and Achievement in Portuguese West Africa*.

<sup>12</sup> Pattee, *Portugal and the Portuguese World*; *ibid.*, *Portugal em África: Reflexões e impressões de viagem*.

<sup>13</sup> Harris, *Portugal's African "Wards."* See also in the same series, by the associate director of the American Committee on Africa and the editor of the periodic publication *Africa Today*, Homer A. Jack, *Angola: Repression and Revolt in Portuguese Africa*.

<sup>14</sup> Duffy, *Portuguese Africa*; *ibid.*, *Portugal in Africa*.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, *Portugal's African Territories: Present Realities*; Richard J. Hammond, *Portugal's African Problem: Some Economic Facets*.

important part of the attacks on this institution was made by three journalists, two British and one Portuguese, who left Mozambique to go into exile in London. Curiously, the same editorial house, Victor Gollancz's, accepted the work of all of them. The first, the already mentioned Basil Davidson, laid the foundation for a history of Africa, attentive to its roots and decentralized from European influence, and simultaneously dedicated himself to studying slave trafficking through the centuries.<sup>16</sup> Another of the journalists, perhaps even more prominent than the previous one, Anthony Sampson, was an Oxford graduate who had a wealth of experience as a journalist in South Africa, where he befriended Nelson Mandela and published a book that supported the direction of decolonization.<sup>17</sup> Finally, António de Figueiredo—a native of Mozambique, where he had collaborated with Marvin Harris and was persecuted by the political police—published a work of great clarity and surprising maturity.<sup>18</sup> This chronology of Anglo-American works that positioned themselves against Portuguese colonialism would not be complete without mentioning the work of Thomas Okuma, a Protestant missionary and professor from Hawaii who had stayed in Angola for close to eight years during the 1950s and who had received a grant from Boston University to prepare a book about Angola in which he denounced the myth of social integration.<sup>19</sup> I would also be remiss to forget the book by the Marxist historian Perry Anderson, *Portugal and the End of Ultra-Colonialism*.<sup>20</sup> But it should always be noted that, at least with regard to England, the main criticisms against the Salazar regime came primarily from a highly politicized group of journalists.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Davidson, *Old Africa Rediscovered*; *ibid.*, *Black Mother Africa: the Years of Trial* (the book is dedicated to William Cadbury [1867–1957]).

<sup>17</sup> Sampson, *Common Sense about Africa*.

<sup>18</sup> Figueiredo, *Portugal and Its Empire: The Truth*. Regarding the vigilance of the Portuguese authorities toward António de Figueiredo in his early years in London, cf. Arquivo Histórico Diplomático [AHD]/MU/GM/GNP/RNP/0255/10440. The information contained within this dossier does not entirely coincide with the author's own representation of it. For his own account, see: Figueiredo, review of *The Decolonization of Portuguese Africa* (1997) by Norrie MacQueen and *The Making of Portuguese Democracy* (1995) by Kenneth Maxwell.

<sup>19</sup> Okuma, *Angola in Ferment: The Background and Prospects of Angolan Nationalism* (written with the collaboration of James Duffy). Another North American Protestant missionary with a wealth of experience in rural Angola who also garnered academic recognition upon finishing a thesis at Coimbra was Gladwin Murray Childs. See: Childs, *Umbundu Kinship and Character: Being a Description of Social Structure and Individual Development of the Ovimbundu*.

<sup>20</sup> Anderson, "Portugal and the End of Ultra-Colonialism."

<sup>21</sup> Two supplementary cases confirm the importance of journalism in England with regard to the debate on Portuguese colonialism in Africa. The first is made up of the prominent American journalist John Gunther, who established himself in England, referring to Angola and Mozambique: "the interior is largely *terra incognita*, and the natives living there are among the backward and untutored on the continent" (*Inside Africa*, 572); p. 574, "The chief problems are poverty to an extreme degree . . . and lack of education" (*ibid.*, 574); "The worst thing about Portuguese Africa is forced labour" (*ibid.*); each of the denouncements by Gunther was accompanied by an indisputable recognition that, in the Portuguese colonies, discrimination was not as evident as was the case in other European colonies. The second case involves Peter Fryer and Patrícia

This small rundown of authors and their works suggests a certain division of work between the American academics and the journalists that, in England, became interested in Africa. The academic integration of the works by a Protestant missionary is rather revealing of the centrality assumed by the university, at least in the United States. This fact contrasts with a secular tradition in which the denouncing of colonialism had been made by missionaries. The new edition of Henry Nevins's work in 1963, which chronicled his travels through Angola between 1904 and 1905, was accompanied by a study by Basil Davidson, reinforcing the idea of strong participation on the part of journalists in the denouncing of Portuguese colonialism.<sup>22</sup> The main themes within all of these works that attacked Portuguese colonialism were focused around racism; discrimination or segregation; the systematic return of slave labor or of forms of slavery; a colonialism that had scarce financial resources; and a colonial state whose infrastructural power, particularly with regard to health and education services, was considered weak and whose territorial implantation was also diminished. Some of the denouncements made by Henrique Galvão, who had considerable experience in the colonial administration in Angola, were reproduced explicitly in the books by James Duffy, António de Figueiredo, and Basil Davidson.<sup>23</sup>

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The responses from Portuguese official circles to all attacks on Portuguese colonialism constitute a kind of official ideology, within which historical studies, with their instruments of evidence and the large resources offered by documental proof, occupied a significant role. However importantly the exploitations of Gilberto Freyre's work figured

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McGowan Pinheiro (*Oldest Ally: A Portrait of Salazar's Portugal, maxime* pp. 159-182): the authors acknowledge their debt to Marvin Harris regarding their treatment of the system of forced labor (*ibid.*, 167), and they consider, in their bibliography, a reading of Duffy invaluable to their project, *Portuguese Africa* (*ibid.*, 256). About *Portuguese Africa* and the colonial question, cf. the revelations in Pinheiro, *Misérias do exílio: Os últimos meses de Humberto Delgado*, 24-25.

<sup>22</sup> Nevins, *A Modern Slavery*.

<sup>23</sup> Duffy, *Portuguese Africa*, 327; Figueiredo, *Portugal and Its Empire*, 105, 155-56; Thomas Okuma, *Angola in Ferment*, 61; Davidson, Introduction to *A Modern Slavery*, XIV. For Galvão's account from 1947, referred to in the previous works, cf. Henrique Galvão, *Por Angola (Quatro anos de actividade parlamentar) 1945-1949*, 234 (where the presentation made in 1947 before the Comissão das Colónias da Assembleia regarding indigeneous issues in the African colonies is referred to in a note); Fundação Mário Soares (Lisbon), "Documentos Mário Pinto de Andrade," folder 04356.001.004: "Rapport Galvão - I. Documents" / "Algumas passagens do Relatório de Henrique Galvão"; Francisco Teixeira da Mota, *Henrique Galvão—Um herói português*, chap. XII; Galvão, "Colonialism, Anti-Colonialism, Self-Determination. A Human and Democratic Solution for the Problem of the Portuguese Colonies," 190-212.

Henrique Galvão's ideas about colonialism came, as well, to represent the moderate perspective shared by others in opposition to the Salazar regime: the creation of a community that includes Luso-African territories and recognition that the nationalist African movements were not ready to assume independence, cf. an interview with him from 15 July 1963, Galvão, "Colonialism, Nationalism, and Independence," 34-39.

into such an ideology, it was not limited to the inspirations suggested by the writings of the Brazilian sociologist. Indeed, as the sharp criticisms made by Commander Ernesto Vilhena in 1955 demonstrate, Freyre's work, with all of its appeals to a colonial identity built on miscegenation, did not find consensus within official circles. In any event, among the many voices that were raised at the time to defend the Portuguese capacity to integrate its colonies and that referred to the historical absence of "racial problems" in Portugal was the anthropologist Jorge Dias. He also considered that the Portuguese patriarchal and communitarian tradition removed obstacles "against the gradual transformation of cordial race relations into family ties."<sup>24</sup> The geographer Orlando Ribeiro, as well, spoke about the dream of constructing "a vast land where all the races live in peace, with dignity and mutual respect, based in tolerance and in equality" in Angola; he added, as an aside, that the recent events in 1961 did not alter this image at all.<sup>25</sup> All the while, from the trips undertaken in the Portuguese Empire by Richard Pattee, Torquato de Sousa Soares emphasized a key idea: namely, the inexistence of any apparatus of coercion, attesting to Portugal's benevolent ability to integrate populations. "The most enduring impression I got of Portuguese Africa," the illustrious sociologist commented, "was of the absence of soldiers, of militiamen, of uniformed and armed men."<sup>26</sup> In turn, the historian Armando Cortesão stressed the exceptional character of the Portuguese for having gained "experience in their colonies with dealing with indigenous peoples and understanding their problems—which greatly contributed to the Portuguese way: friendly, affable and devoid of racial prejudice—which was unique among the colonizing nations and, as a result, we were never caught up with and much less bypassed."<sup>27</sup>

As a historian particularly known for his work in the history of cartography, Armando Cortesão's positions took on a particular intensity, perhaps because they associated, more than the opinions of others, a demonstration of historiographical knowledge with a defense of the Portuguese presence in Africa and of the overseas policies

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<sup>24</sup> Dias, "The Expansion of the Portuguese in the Overseas in the Light of Modern Anthropology," 241–42, 245, 250; *ibid.*, "Convívio entre pretos e brancos nas Províncias Ultramarinas Portuguesas"; *ibid.*, *Portuguese Contribution to Cultural Anthropology*, 105. ANTT, AOS/CO/UL-36, n. 7: "Actividade do Prof. Doutor Jorge Dias na qualidade de professor convidado da Universidade de Witwatersrand, em Joanesburgo" (In accordance with the opinion of the Portuguese consul in his first conference from October, 1959, Jorge Dias appealed to his audience by referring to "our traditional attitude regarding the difference in race, well known here" in a context in which the "racial matters" had an "explosive interest"; it is worth noting that the same anthropologist had been charged to the aforementioned Missão de Estudos das Minorias Étnicas, under which his study of the Makonde of Mozambique was prepared).

<sup>25</sup> Ribeiro, *Aspectos e problemas da expansão portuguesa*, 120.

<sup>26</sup> Soares, "Discurso proferido no dia 10 de Julho de 1960 na Cerimónia de imposição de insígnias doutorais ao Prof. Richard Pattee," 9.

<sup>27</sup> Cortesão, "Sobre alguns aspectos internacionais do problema colonial," 96.

of Salazar and his followers. With his republican past and his experience in exile, Cortesão had reconciled with the Salazar regime in 1952.<sup>28</sup> This reconciliation resulted in, for at least a fiery moment, not only an erasure of his demo-republican origins for the benefit of his services provided to the colonial cause, but also a defense of the personality of Salazar, one that reeked of naïveté. The latter was an example of his “sober virility,” as, “now in the autumn of life, he faced and faces attacks on the overseas patriarchy, which belongs to every Portuguese individual, whatever his political or religious beliefs, color of his skin, or place where he lives.”<sup>29</sup> Of course, the conditions of his reintegration into academia in 1952 had oriented him toward the creation of a breathtaking work, published in six large format volumes in collaboration with the naval officer Avelino Teixeira da Mota. The indisputable research, associated with issues of seafaring and cartography, that this book represented made it the largest and most important publication during the celebration of the death of Prince Henry the Navigator.<sup>30</sup> There is, though, a clear political purpose in this monumental work—not only of affirming five centuries of the Portuguese presence throughout the world but also of showing that this presence, in Africa though also in Brazil, was not limited just to the coastline, but extended to knowing and occupying their interiors.<sup>31</sup> In that vein, Armando Cortesão himself summed it up in 1962: “since the

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<sup>28</sup> Cummins and Rebelo, “The Controversy over Charles Boxer’s *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415-1825*,” 237; Alden, *Charles R. Boxer: An Uncommon Life*, 376–79 (about the friendly ties between Boxer and Armando Cortesão); Ramos, “A erudição lusitanista perante a guerra (c.1960-c.1970): algumas observações sobre a polémica entre Charles Boxer e Armando Cortesão,” 189–218.

<sup>29</sup> Cortesão, *Realidades e desvarios africanos—Discurso proferido na Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, quando da sessão de encerramento da Semana do Ultramar em 9 de Junho de 1962*, 11–12.

<sup>30</sup> Cortesão and Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*.

<sup>31</sup> Cortesão, *The Portuguese Discovery and Exploration of Africa*, in *Comptes Rendus de la IV<sup>e</sup> Réunion Plénière de l’AETFAT (Lisbonne et Coimbra, 16-23 Septembre 1960)* ; Axelson, *Portuguese Settlement in the Interior of South-East Africa in the Seventeenth Century*; Mota, *Dom Luís da Cunha e a Carta da África Meridional de Bourguignon d’Anville (1725)*; Cortesão’s *Os Portugueses em África* includes a series of articles published in newspapers in Lisbon, Porto, Luanda, and Lourenço Marques in the year between 1959 and 1960, within which the same kind of recognition and occupation of the interior of Africa by the Portuguese is intended to be established. Perhaps more subtly, Alexandre Lobato’s position is supported; that is, far from embarking on a demonstration of a Portuguese presence in Africa, he took on the following ideas: “The kinds of action by the Portuguese in the overseas territories are various but in each, commercial, social and political motives appear. The commercial interests are naturally the most relevant . . . . The preservation of an economic space in which many political interests are forwarded and the Portuguese diplomatic power to manage to isolate, to a large extent, this space, formed by coastal points, some inland areas, lines of penetration, adjacent seas, accesses and sea routes, were the decisive factors that created the integration of a historical type that formed the Portuguese Nation in its present configuration. Naturally, where there is lower social friction, there is less psychological resistance towards the allurements process. . . . This was the case in Brazil and in Black Africa” (Lobato, *Coexistência cultural e formação espiritual da nação* 27, 29).

fifteenth century, Portugal has been concerned with the exploration of the interior of the African continent.”<sup>32</sup>

How, then, can the *honoris causa* doctorate that the agricultural engineer Armando Cortesão received in 1961 from the Universidade de Coimbra be interpreted, given that it was the year in which the conflicts in the North of Angola broke out? In this regard, it was long thought that the academy was a simple conveyor belt for the political regime and later that the doctoral degree was compensation for the job Cortesão had completed. The faster it was accepted, at least as a hypothesis, the faster the Universidade de Coimbra, with its autonomy and its own dynamics, upon recognizing a work of scientific nature and consecrating it in its own Faculdade de Ciências, which had given the honorary degree, could claim for itself a status of authority, able to validate scientific knowledge. That is, the Universidade de Coimbra wanted, as well, to participate as a full partner in the collection of institutions, centers, and missions which contributed their support to the regime’s overseas project. Because of this, it could not stop competing with other agencies involved, be they more directly or intensely, in the same project. As Cortesão himself recalled in 1962, the epicenter of these agencies was the Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, created by the Estado Novo, and the proof of its centrality was the fact that the one responsible to the Minister of the Overseas was, at the time, the former director of the Instituto Superior de Estudos Ultramarinos, a man that Cortesão showered with praise.<sup>33</sup> The production of scientific knowledge about the so-called “Ultramar” took on, as a result, the core of the grounds for justifying colonialism, and several attempts had already been made to categorize the different institutions.<sup>34</sup> It is worth adding that, by attesting to the degree of autonomy that the field of knowledge production held, it may be possible to discover, in its interior workings, that is, in the circulation of ideas and thoughts, readings that express the existence of a space, however small, where critiques and conflicting interpretations were placed.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> *Realidades e desvarios africanos*, 17. Against the charge, raised by oppositional circles, that there was a clear presence, he always defended himself by stating that the Portuguese presence in Africa was insignificant until the twentieth century, cf. Soares, *Le Portugal baillonné. Un témoignage*, 162.

<sup>33</sup> Cortesão, *Realidades e desvarios africanos*, 38.

<sup>34</sup> Costa, “A Investigação Científica e o Ultramar português,” includes an important graphic representation of the different institutions that produced colonial knowledge (138-139).

<sup>35</sup> Carreira, review of “Alguns problemas da produção e mão-de-obra indígena em Angola” by, Labisa. Besides Carreira, there were other instances of intellectuals, historians, and sociologists that, despite working and publishing in institutions supported by the regime, always sought to preserve some independent space. It was perhaps this sort of case, with relation to Mozambique, for Rita-Ferreira and Lobato. Of the latter, his works published before 1961 must be considered: *Sociologia política da expansão e outros ensaios*, in *Revista do Gabinete de Estudos Ultramarinos*; *Estudos moçambicanos—Quatro estudos e uma evocação para a história de Lourenço Marques*.

In 1961, José Honório Rodrigues also spoke out about the historical relationship between Brazil and Africa in the context of forming an Atlantic economy. To this end, he recognized the importance of the major analytical works produced in the 1950s by historians Pierre and Huguette Chaunu as well as by Frédéric Mauro. He referred to and demonstrated the existence of forms of racial discrimination, even integrating some of Boxer's teachings, but finished by considering that the "Portuguese Atlantic Empire (. . .) based itself out of commercial capitalism and was militaristically defensive; the racial hierarchy did not impede miscegenation."<sup>36</sup> Or, expressed differently by not avoiding the treatment of racial discrimination within the history of the Portuguese Empire: "miscegenation was becoming unbridled, despite prejudices, through the influence of the master-slave economic system."<sup>37</sup>

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The three thematic areas that made up the official ideology bent on justifying colonialism in 1960 identified up to here are as follows: (1) miscegenation, social integration, and the absence of outbreaks of violence; (2) the historical and geographical affirmation of the Portuguese presence in the world, especially in Africa; and (3) the formulation of scientific politics around the production of knowledge, centered as much around a hierarchy as a network of centers and laboratories. Each one of these areas met specific developmental criteria. For example, in the second half of 1961, notions of political integration were passed to social engineering operations that transformed them into a series of legal statutes. Within this context, the end of the *Estado do Indigenato* (which was also the subject of criticism by many agents of the colonial state) is often referred to, though it is frequently decontextualized from the wider range of legislation that it belonged to. Following such a removal, discrimination was, at least in part, over, and yet it cannot be overlooked that such legislation was enacted on the same day as the *Lei das Regedorias*, which intended to reinvent a specific kind of self-governance for African communities, whose rulers came to occupy part of the colonial state's hierarchy and be officially named its collaborators. Simultaneously, a general awareness arose within the official channels that

<sup>36</sup> Rodrigues, *Brasil e África: outro horizonte*, 232. Regarding the friendship between Honório and Boxer, cf. Alden, *Charles R. Boxer: An Uncommon Life*, 371. Lobato, in 1963, accused the Brazilians of the same duplicity practiced by the American Committee on Africa (where Marvin Harris and others published their analyses and manifestos against Portuguese colonialism), referring to the "historians of the Itamarati's diplomatic school who also wanted to imitate then, as is clear by reading Rodrigues," cf. *Carta ao Embaixador do Brasil em Portugal por mão do Cônsul do Brasil em Moçambique*, 20.

<sup>37</sup> Idem, *idem*, vol. 1 - *Relações contribuições mútuas*, 64.

the African populations were crossed by important migratory movements, in particular those that were bringing mass exoduses from the countryside to the cities, preventing their way of life from being reduced to the model of a single community led by their respective leader. Thus, following a sort of geometrical calculation that sought to regulate a different form of local political representation, the city also became the subject of new regulations.<sup>38</sup>

The field of miscegenation, integration and the absence of violence also saw the promotion of several studies focused on topics relating to the workforce. These studies were weighed down by the grave accusation that their subject was, in practice, the equivalent of forced labor, thus slavery. This is what happened with the reactions to the complaint filed by Ghana in international forums.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, the labor issues were directly related to the problem of migration—from the countryside into the cities, but also across borders—a phenomenon that caught the attention of several surveys and studies.<sup>40</sup> Finally, it serves to summon the current preoccupation with various scales of analysis: from regional surveys and monographs, where labor relations were part of “cultural contact;”<sup>41</sup> to the “relationship between ethnic groups in contact,” a process of integration such as what would have happened in Angola;<sup>42</sup> or even up to the comparisons made at the international scale regarding the “race question,” which revealed rather extensive collections of information.<sup>43</sup>

Besides the history, the territorial presence in the cities was one of the major pieces of evidence for legitimizing the Portuguese Empire. It was this that represented—according to the ideologues—the Portuguese way of being in the tropics. As Orlando Ribeiro argued in 1961, in an exalting evocation of Luanda and Lourenço Marques:

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<sup>38</sup> Moreira, “On Our Ways,” 107–8; Óscar Soares Barata, *Enquadramento legislativo da política social no Ultramar*, Ministério do Ultramar, *Organização das Regedorias nas Províncias Ultramarinas. Decreto n.º 43896, de 6 de Setembro de 1961*; Moreira, “Política de integração”; Monteiro, “Considerações acerca da revogação do Estatuto do Indigenato”; Freitas, “Conceito de indígena e regime de indigenato”; Coissoró, “As instituições de direito costumeiro negro-africano.”

<sup>39</sup> In 1961, two cases at the International Labour Organization prompted investigations: Ghana presented a case against Portugal for disregarding the convention from 1957, which abolished forced labor, in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea (International Labour Organisation, *Official Bulletin*, vol. 45); but in an evasive maneuver, Portugal also brought a case against Liberia on the basis of the convention regarding forced labor from 1930 (International Labour Organisation, *Official Bulletin*, vol. 46). Cf. Evangelista, *A queixa do Ghana e a conjura contra Portugal*; Mendes, *O trabalho assalariado em Angola*.

<sup>40</sup> Soares, *Política de bem-estar rural em Angola (Ensaio)*; Rita-Ferreira, *O movimento migratório de trabalhadores entre Moçambique e a África do Sul*.

<sup>41</sup> Martins, *O Contacto de culturas no Congo: achegas para o seu estudo*; Mendes, *A Huíla e Moçâmedes: considerações sobre o trabalho indígena*; Neto, *O Baixo Cunene: Subsídios para o seu desenvolvimento*.

<sup>42</sup> Neto, “Política de integração em Angola e Moçambique”; *ibid.*, *Angola: meio século de integração*.

<sup>43</sup> Barata, *A questão racial: introdução*.

Luanda, apart from a few foreign technicians present in every site of economic development, is now a Portuguese city, with its spectacular “civilized” core surrounded by an inorganic concentration of *muçiques*. Within the city, whites, mestizos and a few *assimilados* live together; within this last group are blacks with some mulattos and even some socially-fallen [*zê*] whites that perform humble jobs or are attracted by the urban mirage of regular work and rewarding compensation. Lourenço Marques, even disregarding the tourists from South Africa who come on vacation or on weekends, is a cosmopolitan city, a meeting place of different races, religions, and ways of life: white, black, mulatto, Christian Goans performing public functions, Hindus and Muslims from India and Pakistan engaged in petty trade, Khojas or Ishmaelites (Aga Khan’s religious subjects), derivative peoples from the same countries, and also Chinese businessmen who have a hand in the production and trade of vegetables and, in Eastern stores, show little wonderful craft techniques that do not ruin the incomparable refinement of the city to the eager eyes of tourists.<sup>44</sup>

The Portuguese colonial cities were, therefore, considered by the defenders of the Salazar regime and of the colonial state as a social laboratory for miscegenation and integration, as well as a mirror of development and of local political representation embodied in municipal power. Adriano Moreira set the tone of the argument upon writing, against those that thought of colonialism as “a plundering of territories in favor of the metropole . . . that the most extraordinary phenomenon in urbanism in Sub-Saharan Africa is proved in the Portuguese territories, and that is more than enough of a sign to show that the proposed model does not apply to us.”<sup>45</sup> In turn, Armando Cortesão did not hesitate to adopt the same hyperbolic style, speaking of the “superb towns and magnificent settlements that have been built there.”<sup>46</sup>

Education, particularly the number of schools and students, was another way of evaluating the direction of the civilizing mission against what was being used to defend the legitimacy of territorial occupation. It was an area of contention, as the statistics relative to education were constantly brought up by those who argued against Portugal. For the advocates of the Portuguese presence in Africa, the numbers pointed to a vague strategy of progressive and gradual education for Africans which was able to broaden the spectrum of topics in the first few grades while stressing a technical education oriented toward improvements of a practical nature, but was otherwise much more restrictive when it came

<sup>44</sup> Ribeiro, *Problemas humanos de África*, in *Colóquios sobre Problemas Humanos nas Regiões Tropicais*, 5.

<sup>45</sup> Moreira, 16. Regarding the assimilation doctrine, “in the natural course of Portuguese institutionalism,” by Moreira “to give a new life to the municipal spirit that was our strong supporter during many difficult times in history,” cf. the more than enthusiastic reception by Lobato, *Estudos moçambicanos—No II Centenário da instituição do municipalismo em Moçambique em 7 de Maio de 1761*, 7.

<sup>46</sup> Cortesão, *Realidades e desvarios africanos*, 41.

to university education. In other words, there was a sort of “small-steps” ideology that sought to avoid what happened in the English and French colonies, which had “prematurely” created “thousands of blacks, the majority of whom were incompletely civilized, whose disrespect and animosity for whites grew alongside their level of education because, even in the metropolises, they were continued to be treated differently, as I had seen myself many times.”<sup>47</sup> The education of Africans was thus seen as a process that had precipitated independence and hatred of the white population. For Armando Cortesão and others, the results achieved by these independence movements were rather questionable. Incidentally, the same sense of work-to-be-done or of a “civilizing mission” had, five centuries before, been wrought by the Portuguese when they founded healthcare systems and hospitals. It was what happened with “the fight against leprosy in our Guinea, where many natives of those republics are going to receive treatment,” as well as with the hospitals set up in Kochi (1506), Goa (1520), Mozambique (1530), and Luanda (circa 1630).<sup>48</sup>

In order to understand the historical and geographical affirmation of the Portuguese presence in the world, and especially in Africa, it is necessary to consider two more aspects of a geostrategic nature. On one hand, there was a recurring argument made against the Protestant missions, whose assumed international connections were seen as an ancestral threat to the civilizing missions made by the Catholic orthodoxy. Father Silva Rego was one of the major proponents of this side.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, a threat regarding the fate of the overseas territories was triggered by the intensification of the Cold War at the beginning of the 1960s. In this regard, the change that occurred in Armando Cortesão’s thinking in the space of one year is rather significant. In 1961, he noted that “two important factors are influencing current events in Black Africa, and particularly in Angola: Protestant missions and communism.”<sup>50</sup> However, a year later he did not hesitate to emphasize the responsibility of the Americans in relation to what was happening in Africa: “in their naïveté, or whatever one could call it, the Americans are competing against the Russian and Chinese communities with the same goal to discredit the Europeans and to promote their total expulsion from Africa.”<sup>51</sup> In another passage, he states that “American

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 33. Cf. Neto, *Problemas do ensino do primeiro grau na África Negra*; Soares, *Política de bem-estar rural em Angola (Ensaio)*; ibid., *O ensino no Ultramar*.

<sup>48</sup> Cortesão, *Realidades e desvarios africanos*, 38. See also, Jorge Amaral Nogueira, “A evolução da assistência na província de Angola.”

<sup>49</sup> Rego, *Temas sociomissionológicos e históricos*.

<sup>50</sup> Cortesão, “Sobre alguns aspectos internacionais do problema colonial,” 97.

<sup>51</sup> Cortesão, *Realidades e desvarios africanos*, 29.

neocolonialism is much worse than the old European colonialism and especially Portuguese colonialism.”<sup>52</sup>

Finally, the politics of the production of scientific knowledge, centered as much in a hierarchy as in a network of centers and laboratories, located both in the metropole and in the overseas territories, is largely understudied. The resources at its disposal and its capacity to mobilize, in a setting in which there were no other competitors; its capacity to influence the process of political decision making and the construction of forms of social engineering; the way that scientific politics became an instrument of war and, in some instances, a facilitator for international relations—all of these aspects are poorly understood. Adriano Moreira played an indispensable role in this entire process. His influence and appeal was obvious, first as a the director of the Instituto Superior de Estudos Ultramarinos out of the old Escola Colonial; then as a secretary for the Administração Ultramarina and, with the onset of war in Angola, the Minister of the Overseas (at the time that Salazar assumed the role of defense minister) and as a promoter of “concentration of powers” politics, where examples of terrorization of “terrorist” populations were not lacking.<sup>53</sup> The integration, in September 1961, of the aforementioned Instituto Superior na Universidade Técnica clearly belonged to a process of favoritism toward a group formed around the minister at that time.<sup>54</sup> If the signs of a consensus generated around the director and minister are more than evident through a consultation of many publications, the dissensions are much lesser known. The dismissal of the historian Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, a tenured professor at the Instituto Superior in 1962, marks one of these divergences.<sup>55</sup> The dismissal came about during the academic strike, but there were clearly much deeper disagreements within the circles of the Salazar regime which came to light in connection with the commemoration of the death of Prince Henry the Navigator in 1960.<sup>56</sup> Whatever the case, it is important to retain two ideas that Godinho had as much about slavery (whose meaning was associated structurally with emigration) as racism:

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>53</sup> Moreira, *Concentração de Poderes. Discursos proferidos pelo Ministro do Ultramar Prof. Dr. Adriano Moreira, em 31 de Maio e 17 de Junho, nos actos de posse do governador-geral de Moçambique, Contra-Almirante Manuel Maria Sarmiento-Rodrigues e do governador-geral de Angola, General Venâncio Augusto Deslandes*. Cf. Cortesão, *Realidades e desvarios africanos*, 38.

<sup>54</sup> Gonçalves, *Sociologia da Literatura (Breves considerações)*, 11 (referring to the legal diplomats for the integration of the ISCSPU); Barata, *O Ensino do ISCSPU e as novas aplicações das Ciências Sociais*.

<sup>55</sup> Godinho, *Peças do processo em que é recorrente o Dr. Vitorino Barbosa de Magalhães Godinho*; *ibid.*, *Alegações do recorrente Dr. Vitorino Barbosa de Magalhães Godinho*; Saraiva, *Album de memórias—Como íamos dizendo... (Memórias, confidências e lembranças)*, 23–32.

<sup>56</sup> Pinto, *O pseudopedestal do Infante D. Henrique e o Prof. Magalhães Godinho*; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *A economia dos descobrimentos henriquinos*.

Ultimately, the logical outcome of the structural conditions that remain throughout the peninsula's Old Regime: insurmountable obstacles to social and economic mobility for the underprivileged, pushing them to make a living in foreign lands or lands that they will value for the first time, while the persistent structure has to go seek outside labor that is needed. Society, therefore, is spilled out—"and if there had been more worlds, I would have gone there"—and bases itself on the diametric opposites of emigration and slavery.

[...] contrary to all of the myths, both the Portuguese and the Spanish acknowledged the illegitimacy of enslaving the Japanese and all other white and yellow peoples (even if, in practice, they were enslaved willingly), but this is not the case for black people, and they replaced slaves of other colors with black slaves as often as possible: this points, extremely strongly, to one racial prejudice.<sup>57</sup>

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Is the context of the international political debate, which was just mentioned and which was raised by the Portuguese resistance to decolonization not just in Africa but in Goa, the most pertinent through which to assess the meaning of Charles Boxer's work? Other explanations, by way of reconstructing the context, have been tested. For example, very recently, the North American debates about race relations have been taken into account as the most relevant for understanding the meaning and reception of the book that Boxer published in 1963: *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire: 1415–1825*.<sup>58</sup> It represents a highly questionable analytical perspective, in which any simple chronology is abandoned in order to make way for arbitrary connections. Perhaps the attempts to take stock of different historiographical perspectives are initially much more relevant than what Boxer's work tries to do.<sup>59</sup> In any case, the contextualization exercise tried earlier only has analytical merit when articulated alongside the author's intentions. These are discoverable through his published works as well as his statements relegated to the margin, particularly within his correspondence. Reconstructing them, continuing to build on a thread based on a simple timeline, is the work of which the fruits are presented below.

After having devoted two decades to the study of the Portuguese and Dutch empires in the East, beginning with Japan, Charles R. Boxer published a surprising book in which he writes the history of the South Atlantic, based around a single character: *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602-1686*. Its biographical delivery, that is, its centralization of the life of the noble captain and restorer of the commercial circuits that

<sup>57</sup> Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, 519, 561.

<sup>58</sup> Cabral, "Charles Boxer and the *Race Equivoque*."

<sup>59</sup> Bender and Isaacman, "The Changing Historiography of Angola and Mozambique."

linked the ports of Brazil and Luanda, contrasts to the approaches of the more structural history that Magalhães Godinho, Pierre Chaunu, and Frédéric Mauro had produced since at least 1948.<sup>60</sup> Boxer's biographical method, which was both erudite and empirical, distinguished itself from the narratives produced by French scholars aligned with *Annales*, as Boxer was attentive to the larger chain of historical events. As an illustration of this point, a collaborator of the French group, Gentil da Silva, characterized Angola, in the eighteenth century, as a colonial economy that was running out of capital and could not invest, and whose principal exports were based in the slave trade.<sup>61</sup> At the same time, there was a clear consciousness in the French Africanist circles of the ongoing intensification of research on Africa in the Anglo-American world. The influence of Jan Vansina had already made itself felt across the Atlantic, and the creation of the *Journal of African History* in 1960 also indicated new possibilities.<sup>62</sup>

In the meantime, Boxer published *The Dutch in Brazil 1624–1654*. The question remains open whether, through this work as well as through other works dedicated to the seventeenth century and to the dynamisms that Europeans, in their rivalries, expressed outside of Europe, Boxer sought to participate in the ongoing historiographical controversy surrounding the so-called crisis of the 1600s.<sup>63</sup> Two books were published after *The Dutch in Brazil*: the first a bulkier one entirely dedicated to colonial Brazil, which contained acknowledgments dated July 1960 and thus should be read in the context of the ongoing debate,<sup>64</sup> and the other more generic one, which was about a hundred pages long, was based on a series of conferences held in South Africa between May and June 1960 and also had a preface dating from July of this same year.<sup>65</sup> In this latter book, Boxer writes, “The oft-made claim that the Portuguese had no colour-bar [*sic*] cannot be substantiated. The most that can truthfully be said is that in this respect they were usually more liberal in practice than were their Dutch, English, and French successors.”<sup>66</sup>

Additionally in 1960, Boxer, alongside Father Carlos de Azevedo, published a history regarding the Portuguese presence in Mombasa whose research and editing was funded by the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, in both English and Portuguese editions. In this work, they did not avoid making allusions to the precariousness of the Portuguese

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<sup>60</sup> Godinho, “Le travail forcé dans le Mexique colonial”; *ibid.*, “Création et dynamisme économique du monde atlantique (1420-1670)”; *ibid.*, “Problèmes d'économie atlantique. Le Portugal, flottes du sucre et flottes de l'or (1670-1770)”; Pierre Chaunu, “Brésil et Atlantique au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle.”

<sup>61</sup> Silva, “En Afrique portugaise: l'Angola au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.”

<sup>62</sup> Moniot, “Pour une histoire de l'Afrique noire.”

<sup>63</sup> Hobsbawm, “The General Crisis of the European Economy in the 17th Century,” 44–46; *ibid.*, “The Crisis of The 17th Century-II.”

<sup>64</sup> Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750*.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: A Succinct Survey*.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

presence, which was limited to the coastline, to the looting and the brutality perpetrated by the Portuguese soldiers, and to the racial discrimination the Misericórdias practiced.<sup>67</sup> Yet still in 1960, Boxer published two documentary articles in the *Boletim Cultural do Museu de Angola* in which he is identified as “a modern British writer and correspondent member of the Academia Portuguesa de História, he is the author of various works about Portugal, especially the Province of Angola, among which *História de Angola* and the English-language *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602–1686* stand out.”<sup>68</sup>

The publication of documents relevant to the Portuguese context became a neutral space in which it was possible to get peer recognition; however, it could also be seen as a priority and, therefore, as a way of calling the more ideological uses of the past into question. This was the case in 1960, during the celebration of Prince Henry the Navigator, with the straightforward presentation of two documents that proved to be untouchable by each and every ideological manipulation.<sup>69</sup> Boxer thanked Armando Cortesão for his paleographical collaboration. With regard to the content of the letters, it is worth noting that in the one from 1534, João de Barros alluded to some existing power relations within the Casa da Índia e Mina, asking for a royal provision that would confirm a certain business deal that he had made involving pepper, without which he would be unauthorized in relation to his subordinate officers. In the second letter, from 1535, the most interesting piece of information concerned the slave trade from São Tomé to the West Indies.

As for those aforementioned articles published in Luanda, the first was about the manuscripts of *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas* by António de Oliveira Cadornega and had already been published the year before in Coimbra, and the second was a description that had been identified, though not transcribed, of the Battle of Mbvila in 1665.<sup>70</sup> Concerning the first of these articles, Boxer called attention to the need to compare the version printed between 1940 and 1942 under the charge of José Matias Delgado and Father José Alves da Cunha with the copies that were found in the Biblioteca Pública de Évora. However, his main concern fell on London’s manuscript, created from a partial copy made in Luanda between 1720 and 1745. The comparison between the manuscript and the published version emphasized that it was a partial appropriation of the original text

<sup>67</sup> Boxer and Azevedo, *Fort Jesus and the Portuguese in Mombasa, 1593-1729*, 18, 32, 42.

<sup>68</sup> *Boletim Cultural do Museu de Angola*, 1 (1960), 5. The *História de Angola* refers to a citation that is probably Boxer’s article about Cadornega already published in 1959 in Portugal.

<sup>69</sup> Boxer, “Duas cartas inéditas de João de Barros quando feitor da Casa da Índia 1534–1535.”

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., “A ‘História’ de Cadornega no Museu Britânico”; *Boletim Cultural do Museu de Angola*, 1 (1960), 73–80; *ibid.*, “Uma relação inédita e contemporânea da Batalha de Ambuíla em 1665”, *Boletim Cultural do Museu de Angola*, 2 (1960), 65–73.

probably written by a Jesuit, a fact that explained both the inclusion of references and praises of the Jesuits, which did not appear in Cadornega's original, as well as the group of texts taken from the work of Father Simão de Vasconcelos, S.J., *Vida do Padre Joam d'Almeida*.

If the positive nature of the documents Boxer published in Portuguese between 1960 and 1961, coupled with the book written along with a clergyman, created a kind of neutral space, the same cannot be said for the two other collaborations that Boxer undertook.<sup>71</sup> The first—a contribution to the first issue of the *Journal of African History*—cannot be reduced to a mere summary. Alongside other African historians, such as Jan Vansina and Philip Curtin, and Eric Axelson, who surveyed one of the aforementioned books by James Duffy on colonial Portuguese Africa, Boxer denounced the successive factual errors, as well as the use of Portuguese colonial history for propagandistic ends, in the works of the South African historian Father Sidney R. Welch, author of *Portuguese and Dutch in South Africa, 1641–1806*.<sup>72</sup> The terms that his denouncement uses are a worthwhile topic for future research. The arguments which most revealed the extent of Welch's ideological compromise were: Portuguese expansion demonstrated an exceptional character when compared with the other colonial powers, in that the Portuguese never behaved as aggressors, they did not become involved in the slave trade, they modeled their behavior according to the most peaceful gentlemen, they put their Christian principles and missionaries before their material interests, and they never had a racial issue in their colonies. Addressing racial discrimination, Boxer considered that it evidently could be proved as existing, as much by looking through the documents from the period as well as through the very eyes of the contemporary travelers. Including, in the latter case, the account of the journey through the Portuguese colonial empire made by Gilberto Freyre (*Aventura e Rotina*), in which the opposite of Luso-tropicalism, that is, racial discrimination, is shown. Despite all of this, Boxer introduced a comparative element, namely that such

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<sup>71</sup> The publication of documents can also be tainted with ideological leanings. This is what happened with a series of documents that Boxer put together in order to demonstrate that the Portuguese presence on the eastern coast of Africa had a direct connection to the Indian Run and the shipping routes from the Indian Ocean: Boxer, "Moçambique Island and the Carreira da Índia"; *ibid.*, "The Querimba Islands in 1744" [it is worth noting that, in the introduction to the documents that he put together, he began by quoting Basil Davidson's book about the slave trade, *Black Mother Africa: The Years of Trial* (1961), a start for the book that was anything but neutral, as it asserts the scholarly recognition of Davidson's work].

<sup>72</sup> Boxer, "S. R. Welch and His History of the Portuguese in Africa, 1495-1806," *Journal of African History*, vol. 1, n. 1 (1960), pp. 55-63. About Eric Axelson, a historian of South Africa, António de Figueiredo wrote, in Axelson's obituary: "Unlike some other notable Portuguese and international historians, including Charles Boxer, the leading authority on the history of the Portuguese and Dutch sea-borne empires, who were critical of the negative features of colonial expansion and racial supremacy, Axelson (most of whose works, anyway, are concerned with an earlier and less politically involved period), are more descriptive and correspondingly less controversial," Figueiredo, "Obituary: Professor Eric Axelson," *The Independent* (November 7, 1998).

forms of discrimination that were present in the Portuguese overseas colonies were not as strong as in the cases of the other European colonial territories, which tainted his overall point.

In 1961, also in the *Journal of African History*, Gladwyn Murray Childs, a Protestant missionary and an expert on Angola, wrote an article dedicated to the people of Angola, including Cadornega.<sup>73</sup> In the same year, Boxer also published a report in a popular English language magazine about *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas*, by Cadornega.<sup>74</sup> The book was written between 1680 and 1684, after the author had lived forty years in Angola, and Boxer's analysis highlights the third volume, which describes the people of Congo and Angola. Boxer maintained that the descriptive value amounted to an authentic "geography and ethnography," but did not stop short of pointing out that, "like many Europeans of the time," Cadornega was often naïve in his descriptions of Africa, outside of also being a believer in magical practices. Even still, the main analytical argument concerns one question: to what extent did the Portuguese presence intensify internal wars—undoubtedly, in the course of earlier internal conflicts, but also which grew in number to accommodate the increasing demand for slaves to work in the plantations and mines of Brazil and the Spanish Indies? The work of Cadornega also reveals its author's own interests, as it defends the use of force in maintaining control over the Africans. As for the population of mulattos or mixed peoples, the image Cadornega draws of them could be related mostly with his praise of their military value, which, according to Boxer, was linked to the life of the author, who had set up a contracted marriage with a mulatto woman. It is of interest, as well, to note that, in the context under which the article was published, there was clear wordplay between the full name of António de Oliveira Cadornega and the then Portuguese prime minister—a fact that, as will be proved later, must have irritated Salazar, connecting him to the debate surrounding race relations in the Portuguese Empire.<sup>75</sup>

The list of Boxer's publications from the beginning of the 1960s indicates that his interests in Africa began merging with those about the Portuguese and Dutch empires in the East and in Brazil. It is not, therefore, surprising that he collaborated on a book organized by Roland Oliver, an important African historian from the School of African and

<sup>73</sup> Childs, "The Peoples of Angola in the Seventeenth Century according to Cadornega."

<sup>74</sup> Boxer, "Background to Angola: Cadornega's chronicle."

<sup>75</sup> Boxer, "Boxer on Boxer: A Conversation," 19. Against the author's own self-presentations and a certain play on contrasts between the figure of Boxer and the figure of Salazar (or the figure of Boxer fencing against Gilberto Freyre), it might be necessary to recognize that Salazar's reactions, or the reactions of his followers, in relation to the anticolonial campaign, are older, cf. Salazar, "Portugal and the Anti-Colonialist Campaign"; Moreira, "On Our Ways," 107–8.

Oriental Studies at the University of London and one of the founders of the *Journal of African Studies*.<sup>76</sup> The deepening amount of study on Africa, with special publications, went alongside the anticolonial protest movements. Although in the Portuguese case, it can be said that the struggles for independence also went through the so-called “Goan question” since at least 1955. If, in the circles of Anglo-American journalists and academics, there truly were many that opposed the Portuguese colonial policy, as we saw above, Boxer held off joining their ranks until 1960–1961. For him, history could not be the basis for the official ideology, which was forged by various authors by order of the Portuguese Government, eager to see their positions recognized by an international audience, and because of this he would have to expose the historians and other educated men that had falsified the facts in order to meet the colonial regime’s expectations (as Father Welch had done). He did this in two ways.

First, Boxer sought to show that the nature of the Portuguese colonial empire, far from being able to reach its ideological vision of cohabitation between races, other civilizations, and its political mechanisms of integration—as Gilberto Freyre and some of his followers wanted to believe—would have to be characterized by the countless instances of social discrimination, as well as by its use of coercion and violence. Secondly, the British historian maintained, especially against some of the points of view put forth by the church, that even the methods of the religious missions associated with the Portuguese presence included the use of force.<sup>77</sup> It is of note that, in this debate, the space occupied by erudite scholarship appears extremely sensitive, as it constitutes a source of authority for both sides of the argument and is also used by who opposed Boxer and defended the colonial ideology.<sup>78</sup>

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The conference that Boxer held in February 1961 at the British Academy of London was the first attempt at systemically treating the racial question in the Portuguese Empire.<sup>79</sup> The clarity of the exposition did not betray any of the simplistic historiography

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<sup>76</sup> Boxer, “The Old Kingdom of Congo,” 75–81.

<sup>77</sup> Boxer, “A Note on Portuguese Missionary Methods in the East, 16th–18th centuries.”

<sup>78</sup> In the 1950 Congress, for instance, Father Brásio asked Boxer for “photocopies of letters, as they raised questions not so much as to their authenticity but, without doubt, about their reading,” which may have been a veiled criticism of Boxer’s interpretation, cf. comments transcribed at the end of Boxer’s article, “Duas cartas inéditas de João de Barros quando feitor da Casa da Índia, 1534–35,” 72.

<sup>79</sup> Boxer, “The Colour Question in the Portuguese Empire, 1415–1825.”

that was able to serve ideological instrumentalizations. The central argument of the conference can be summarized by the following: the Portuguese colonial empire, from the fifteenth century to the nineteenth century, can be characterized by its various forms of racial discrimination, which were certainly less intense than those practiced by other European powers but, despite that, were numerous enough to destabilize the association of the Portuguese case with imagery of integration and harmony. The comparison which the authors that preceded Boxer drew serves as a way to relativize the behavior of the Portuguese in the tropics. Curiously, neither the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, who most directly shaped the colonial ideology used by Salazar, nor (primarily ecclesiastical) Portuguese authors were chosen as the first target for Boxer's attack. To exemplify the idealized images of the Portuguese Empire as an institution which did not distinguish between skin colors or races, he began with a text from 1923 by Edgar Prestage, his predecessor as the Camões Chair at King's College. However, it was in the documents from the time in question that Boxer found his primary sources of information. The result is a surprising wealth of data when we observe the variety of kind of social settings brought up. Let us shift our attention to some of these cases.

In the sixteenth century, the *lançados* or *tangomaos*, born in Portugal or with Portuguese heritage and mostly from Guinea, lived outside of the most institutionalized Portuguese presence. At first glance, they are one of the most revealing examples of the supposed Portuguese plasticity, its miscegenation developing alongside their activities as intermediaries in the slave trade. However, both the Church and the State expressed feelings of contempt and, indeed, persecution toward these groups, even to the point that the *Ordenações Manuelinas* considered them subject to the death penalty. A deliberate policy of miscegenation began to be tested in 1471 with the colonization of São Tomé. All single men were entitled to a female African slave provided by the Crown. And in 1515, the king granted freedom to the mulatto children and to their slave mothers. In fact, the economic interests of São Tomé—directly related to the development of sugarcane plantations and promoted by one of its governors, Fernão de Melo—sabotaged the maintenance of peaceful relations with the kingdom of Congo, which aimed to intensify traffic in the territories governed by Afonso I of Kongo (1506–1543). Thus, it is understandable that the principal slave markets had moved away from Guinea and been pushed farther south. In the seventeenth century, the extraordinary observer that was Cadornega—in a passage carefully pointed out by Boxer—was able to identify the type of Angolan mullato that was involved in local wars and, consequently, in the slave trade. But this same type of mullato,

the product of Portuguese miscegenation, also expresses racist sentiments against other Africans.

In Asia, the existence of racial barriers is easy to document with relation to the formation of a native clergy, whose existence seems, above all else, crucial. Early in 1548, a Jesuit reported the aversion of the Portuguese to go to confession under the local clergy, as they considered that only a Portuguese clergyman could perform the ritual. In another sense, it is possible to document how all religious orders, beginning with the Jesuits, sought to convert and train men who came from the castes that were considered higher, the Brahman, disregarding candidates from lower in the hierarchy. One of the most interesting social contexts is that of the man of Portuguese descent that has noble aspirations, also called *indiático*, which parallels the kind of Cadornega-referred mulatto in Angola and the Mamelucos in São Paulo. Throughout the eighteenth century, it is possible to detect various sentiments that divided these *indiáticos*, both in relation to the Brahmin caste, and in relation to the noblemen both in Portugal, who often expressed contempt toward these faraway aspirants. Illustrating this, Pombal attempted to halt a charter from 2 April 1761.

Looking, then, at the racist sentiments present in colonial Brazil, Boxer started by noting that only through romanticism (thus well after achieving independence) did the idealization of Amerindians emerge. Although one could say that those of African origins have always been considered inferior, compared to those with Indian roots, Pombal's point on 4 April 1755 was to promote marriages between colonists and natives, announcing the granting of promotions to those that did. Finally, there was a certain ambivalence in the treatment of mulattos, as it was very common for them to be excluded from public institutions such as the church, the army, and political positions.

Finished in 1960, though not published until 1962, Boxer's sizable work on colonial Brazil, on the period of gold and diamond discovery, included some passages that explored a different perspective. Instead of emphasizing racial discrimination, Boxer accentuated the forms of solidarity and integration, centered around brotherhoods, with feasts and processions, as well as around the *Misericórdias*.<sup>80</sup> At the same time, he relativized the aforementioned forms of discrimination, alluding to other types of behaviors such as those that revealed misogynistic tendencies, keeping women in a state of seclusion.<sup>81</sup> It was also

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<sup>80</sup> Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil*, 132–37.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 137–38. A line of research on gender, which Boxer pioneered with regard to the historiography of the Portuguese Empire, is located within the debate in which affirmations of the “virility” of the Portuguese were reiterated strongly. As an example, it suffices to point to the constant allusions to Salazar's “virility” that can be found in the writings of Armando Cortesão at the time: “De lusófilo honesto a lusófobo de má fé ou a

in this book that Boxer confronted—though not for the first time, perhaps with a greater awareness of the political weight of the subject—the question of the municipal government’s nature: “Brazilian historians differ on whether the municipal councils were genuine representatives of the people, or merely of a self-perpetuating and selfish oligarchy. They also argue over whether the councils were largely autonomous or were merely rubber stumps for governors and viceroys.”<sup>82</sup>

A response to such a conflict of interpretations could only be given, in his understanding, analytically and empirically, as the importance of such an institution of political representation depended on the time and the place. In any case, a reading of this book, published after the war had already started in Angola, cannot be reduced to a mere part of a debate about the existence or inexistence of racial discrimination in the Portuguese Empire. It is an observation that suggests several interpretations: on the one hand, the existence of analytical interests which arose outside of political debates; on the other hand, the presence of a sort of prevailing circumstance that made it so that Boxer’s intentions changed depending on the time and place, that is, his intended audience. (In this case, it is, mostly, the Brazilian and North American academics interested in exploring the area studies about Latin America, including Brazil.)

Boxer’s conference at the British Academy failed to make waves in Portugal—unlike in Brazil, where it was immediately cited by José Honório—but in 1963, his small book entitled *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415–1825* did not have the same fate.<sup>83</sup> The central theme of the book, as its title indicates, is to demonstrate the recurrence of the forms of racial discrimination within the Portuguese Empire. We will return to this topic, seeking to reconstruct its meaning within a constellation of arguments. But it is more important to start by referring to the fact that Boxer’s historical analyses, as presented in this book, directly connect to the context of war or of revolt present in Angola since the first third of 1961. There is a passage, early in the opening chapter, which can be considered rather rare among Boxer’s works, that directly addresses the present day, in which he establishes a close relationship between the distant past and contemporary events in Angola. It is, more precisely, a causal relationship conceived as follows: the areas where the Portuguese presence was historically stronger ended up being those that took place in the rebellion, the resistance, and the bloody events that took place in 1961. In northern

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reviravolta do Professor Boxer,” *Diário Popular*, 12 December 1963; “A soberba virilidade [de Salazar]” Cortesão, *Realidades e desvarios africanos*, 11.

<sup>82</sup> Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil*, 149.

<sup>83</sup> Alden, *Charles R. Boxer: An Uncommon Life*, 374

Angola, the old kingdom of Congo and Dembos was the site of the largest number of leaders baptized, each taking the title of *Dom*, some of them having their own chaplains. These same chiefs had some Portuguese traders and others who served in different positions under their jurisdiction. The use of the Portuguese language in those regions was frequent and many members of the local elite could read and write. However, the same people who had been allied with the Portuguese—as Cadornega said and as was said before the Conselho Ultramarino at the end of the seventeenth century, according to one of Boxer’s citations—sought to recuperate their independence: “because blacks hated our area and wanted badly to send us away from our conquest, and only through fear and respect for our armaments did they let us preach the gospel and bring in our trade.” Many, especially around the region of Dembos, lived in a state of constant revolt throughout the nineteenth century and were not actually taken over until 1917 by João de Almeida, according to Henrique Galvão as cited by Boxer.<sup>84</sup>

Why would Boxer want to establish a causal relationship between the areas in Angola where the historical presence of the Portuguese was most felt and the behaviors of resistance and rebellion? First of all, so that it could not be argued that the 1961 riots in downtown Cassange, which was central to cotton production, or in Uíge, with its coffee plantations, were an isolated case for Angola. In other words, if these were the ancestral areas of the Portuguese presence, it had been exactly within them that the resistance had occurred. Then, by emphasizing the use of force—necessary even for missionary work—and the long-term collaboration efforts undertaken with the African leaders by the Portuguese, Boxer contradicts the idea conveyed by official propaganda, according to which the Portuguese resorted to only the most peaceful of colonization methods. It should be noted that involving Cadornega in a description of the Dembos opposing the Portuguese, as the simple antimony that it is treated as, may be a forced reading of the historian of Angolan wars that caters, mainly, to the internal wars of which the Portuguese supported one side. Finally, he insisted on the fact that the Portuguese territorial presence had always been precarious, having to deal with a permanent climate of insubordination, and that it was only in the early twentieth century that an effective occupation would be seen.<sup>85</sup> However, this latter event was only possible to undertake because of the use of

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<sup>84</sup> Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415–1825*, 36–37.

<sup>85</sup> “A África negra, isto é, a África dos povos de raça negra, onde se situam cinco das nossas colónias e três das mais vastas e importantes, é continente económico de formação moderníssima, de expressão ainda indefinida de coisa inconquistada . . . . Até ao alvorecer do século passado, e graças às descobertas dos portugueses e à sua fixação em muitos pontos, da África negra apenas se conheciam pouco mais que os contornos. As próprias penetrações comerciais e missionárias do interior, ainda devidas aos portugueses, não

force. Moreover, the explicit reference to Henrique Galvão should have greatly irritated the Salazar regime, given their involvement in the case of Santa Maria in 1961. However, instead of what had happened with the older English language anticolonial writings, in which Galvão was mentioned in a report from 1947 on the issue of forced labor, Boxer cites his book about the Dembos. In this work, as in other works, Galvão glorified the military stature of João de Almeida, who with his knowledge of raiding and terrorism helped Paiva Couceiro in the so-called pacifying campaigns. Regardless, mentioning Galvão was sufficient to define an attitude against Salazar.<sup>86</sup>

If, with *Race Relations* (1963), Boxer had joined an already-ongoing debate and acted much like a latecomer does, claiming a centrality for himself that may not have belonged to him. Of course, this centrality ended up being granted to him anyway following the response the book solicited from Armando Cortesão in the pages of the *Diário Popular*.<sup>87</sup> Do not forget, though, that it was Cortesão himself that had originally responded to those who opposed the Portuguese colonial policy via at least a pamphlet and some older correspondences<sup>88</sup> Boxer's conservativeness had perhaps delayed his adoption of the anticolonial cause. It was this conservatism, after all, that had helped him foster cordial relationships for many years with Father Silva Rego and with Virgínia Rau.<sup>89</sup> It is difficult to identify the reasons that led Boxer to this about-face, which had been developing since 1960, when his works were so well acknowledged by the circles of historians who specialized in Sub-Saharan African that, in 1962, he did not hesitate to cite a book by Basil Davidson. In this sense, how can we interpret Boxer's expectations for the book on 2 January 1964, considering that, after the first wave of shock and unpopular reaction the book had raised—"and not only with Cortesão"—subsided, it might perhaps have come to

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tinham logrado interessar pela África, como continente económico, os povos expansionistas da Europa.. E o século XIX surgiu como uma África periférica, que os portugueses tinham penetrado profundamente em alguns sentidos, mas de cujas viagens e estabelecimentos as próprias ciências geográficas andavam distraídas. O grande continente reduzia-se, na verdade, a pouco mais que uma série escalonada de feitorias litorais—verdadeiras feridas pelas quais escorreu a maior hemorragia demográfica da História” Henrique Galvão, *Por Angola (Quatro anos de actividade parlamentar) 1945–1949*, 229–30.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 37 (Boxer is referring to Galvão's book on the Dembos as being composed of only two volumes). Galvão, *Dembos* (vol. 2, 11, about the “movable columns” in Lunda, Huíla, the Congo, and Dembos; vol. 3, 41, about the raids); *ibid.*, *História do nosso tempo (acção e obra de João de Almeida 1904–1910)*, 321 (about the raids).

<sup>87</sup> Alden, *Charles R. Boxer: An Uncommon Life*, 374–79.

<sup>88</sup> Cortesão, “Sobre alguns aspectos internacionais do problema colonial”; *ibid.*, *Realidades e desvarios africanos—Discurso proferido na Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, quando da sessão de encerramento da Semana do Ultramar em 9 de Junho de 1962*.

<sup>89</sup> Boxer, letter to Ruben A. Espólio, dated 25 August 1951 [in this very same letter, there is a reference to a friendship that he had with a certain group, in which there was a likely competency in spoken English, which Rui Cinatti, a poet, participated in.]

be considered “deeply and dispassionately”?<sup>90</sup> Two days later, Boxer revealed that Cortesão’s criticisms had been sent to him by not only Father Carlos de Azevedo but also by Ruben Anderson Leitão.<sup>91</sup> At that time he stressed that, if he were to respond to Cortesão, he would obey the advice of Ruben Anderson Leitão and aim to be “short, courteous, and to the point,” as Leitão did not want to see his friend and correspondent involved in any sort of public defense of his character; he also pointed out that the book had irritated people more sensible than just Cortesão, a fact that worried him and that he would take into consideration.<sup>92</sup> On 14 January 1964, he had completed his response in a letter entitled “Armandine Ravings,” a name which mocked the pamphlet Cortesão had published in 1962; he had to send the text as quickly as possible to the *Diário Popular* and, in case that newspaper wouldn’t publish it, he thought about sending it to *Stvdia* (a magazine that was rather outspoken) or to Brazil; finally, in a note riddled with condescension but also with discomfort in the situation he was getting himself involved in, he concluded about the Portuguese supports of Salazar and of Salazar’s colonial policy that:

These people must grow up, and learn that the continuation of the Portuguese presence in Africa is to be justified on the grounds of what has been accomplished there since about 1875 (and, more especially) in this century, and cannot be justified by patriot-cries about the “obra civilizadora” of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which was practically the “obra escravatura” as can be seen from any history of Angola and Moçambique.”<sup>93</sup>

On 16 January 1964, Boxer’s response to Armando Cortesão’s articles, which were published between 27 December 1963 and 4 January 1964, was sent.<sup>94</sup> According to Dauril Alden, close to one hundred copies were made of the typed version and distributed by Boxer’s friends, among whom was Ruben A. Espólio; Salazar authorized its publication on the twenty-fourth of that month, and Cortesão replied the next day.<sup>95</sup> The first point of Boxer’s piece concerned the central argument of the work in question: statements such as

<sup>90</sup> Boxer, letter to Ruben A. Espólio, dated 2 January 1964.

<sup>91</sup> According to Dauril Alden (*Charles R. Boxer: An Uncommon Life*, 376), it was Dr. Carlos Estorninho who indirectly sent the copies of Cortesão’s articles to Charles Boxer.

<sup>92</sup> Boxer, letter to Ruben A. Espólio, dated 4 January 1964.

<sup>93</sup> Boxer, letter to Ruben A. Espólio, dated 14 January 1964 (this letter is accompanied by Boxer’s response that would end up being published in the *Diário Popular* on 24 January 1964).

<sup>94</sup> Reproduced in Boxer, “Resposta a artigos de Armando Cortesão.” It is worth noting that the release of this article in São Paulo should be put into context with the debate surrounding the warm welcome that was given in the same magazine to the important anticolonial militant Frantz Fanon: Fernando de Albuquerque Mourão, review of *L’An V de la Révolution Algérienne* by Frantz Fanon; Eurípedes Simões de Paula, “Carta do Prof. Robert Ricard a propósito da resenha do livro de Frantz Fanon: *L’An V de la Révolution Algérienne*.”

<sup>95</sup> Alden, *Charles R. Boxer: An Uncommon Life*, 379.

the ones that Cortesão made, that “the Portuguese never had racial prejudices or prejudices against any skin color,” lacked justification “in light of historical facts and events.” Boxer’s second point related to the nature of the sources used. Being criticized for not having made a “show of scholarship” and citing “passages that have been isolated or removed from their context,” Boxer responded that he limited himself to citing Portuguese sources already published in easily accessible sources, putting aside the accounts made by any detractors, especially travel narratives of Portuguese foreign rivals.<sup>96</sup> The third point—perhaps the most important in order to illustrate Boxer’s conservativeness, moderation, and lack of radicalism—concerns a repeated comparison: religious intolerance, the mistreatment of slaves, and racial discrimination practiced by the Portuguese were considerably less than that exercised by other white peoples, such as Castilian, English, Dutch, French, etc. Within this comparative gradient, which is reminiscent of Lord Hailey’s and Raymond Firth’s ideas, Boxer maintained that the Portuguese had less bias based on skin color. Once these differences of degree were established, Boxer could still not accept that any of the following had never existed in the “old Portuguese Empire:” religious persecution, such as what was exerted over Hindus and Muslims from 1561 to 1761; discrimination against indigenous secular clergy; and slavery practiced by the Portuguese under the belief of the racial superiority of the white man over the black.

The next point, the fourth, is practically a copy of the tirade he had put forth with Espólio: the contemporary presence in Angola, as the “heart of the empire,” must be justified on the “work done in the last quarter century and onwards” when the Portuguese took root in the territory; as a result, their presence there could not be justified by the work undertaken during the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, a time when the presence was more maritime with little territorial settling and when Angola was “practically speaking, a place of exile for white convicts and an inexhaustible market of black slaves for Brazil.” Notice, though, in light of this defense, that the previously cited passage from *Race Relations* and the use of Henrique Galvão is more understandable—in short, the justification of the Portuguese colonial project should be based on what had been done since the Berlin Conference. In no way was Boxer expressing ideas against the continuation of the Portuguese colonial project. His fifth and final point, in which one can also detect a continuation of Boxer’s political moderation, was that he was convinced, as he had already written in a private letter, that when the dust settled and the controversy had died down, it would be plain to see that he himself had never praised the deeds of the Portuguese, nor

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<sup>96</sup> Boxer, “Resposta a artigos de Armando Cortesão.”

had he dared “to censor their mistakes and crimes without keeping the conditions and mentalities of the time in mind”; as a result, he could not be identified as either a soldier of the Fifth Empire (an image he perhaps intended to associate with Cortesão’s constant use of mythical and idealized images of the Portuguese Empire) or a supporter of Holden Roberto.

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It is not the most important thing here to reproduce the terms of the controversy in an analytical lens, though that task proves difficult. What is, however, of particular relevance is that Boxer did not address the image of an author of “bad faith” that Cortesão had attributed to him. He intended, rather, to preserve the space for a moderate attitude, more in line with his conservative perspective. He also maintained a historian’s analytical rigor, which prevented him from undertaking myths and exploitations of history, crafted at the expense of distorting and manipulating the past. Of course, political struggles have little to do with the more subtle ways of dealing with issues, which rarely go beyond simple rivalries. But the truth is that Boxer did not reiterate the myths of the Portuguese not practicing racial discrimination, nor did he want a radical condemnation of the Portuguese colonial empire to be made as a result. He hadn’t become militant toward the anticolonial cause. Because of his moderateness or conservatism, it was all a question of comparison, and the Portuguese were not the worst in terms of racial discrimination and their use of violence. As he stated in one of his points, the Portuguese had undertaken the job of colonizing Angola at very least since the last quarter of the nineteenth century, as they had begun settling there. Father Silva Rego, who knew Boxer well, in a public review published in 1963 affirmed that the purpose of the book in question was an exception; in other words, it was an isolated case within the vast span of Boxer’s work:

By writing this, he offered, to the enemies of Portugal’s history who he knows so well, a sampling, composed solely of the “fleurs du mal,” when he could have arranged a more beautiful and more truthful bouquet. This book will be a primer that the enemies of Portugal will henceforth have to read. This perspective certainly will not please the diligent and scientific spirit that Professor Boxer has. . . . Professor Boxer shifted his values in this book, one that the international political community will certainly make a bestseller. The culture of Portuguese history owes him sincere gratitude for what he has produced in the

past, and, having forgotten this incident, hopes to continue counting him as a part of its community of impartial and independent scholars.<sup>97</sup>

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Treating Boxer's book about race relations as a special case apart from a *corpus* that had already given so much to the "culture of Portuguese history" was an attitude rather similar to what Boxer had hoped for. According to Father Silva Rego, Boxer and his work could not be taken as the equivalent of "the enemies of Portugal's history who he knows so well." This was so much the case that, just like Father Silva Rego had stated, Boxer's studies that followed the book were considered a return to true history. They did not limit his praise, either, not only by continuing to recommend the book he coauthored with Father Cummins to anyone who was interested in the history of the Church, but also in relation to his study on municipal political structures, framed in "respect for tradition, overall in Portugal."<sup>98</sup> As important as this Portuguese context may appear, overlapping with the onset of war in Angola, there were other contexts that gave meaning to Boxer's work and may have influenced the choices he made. Perhaps the most important of these was the one that brought him to dialogue with Africanist historians from both sides of the Atlantic, an experience that seems to be well represented in his previously cited contribution to the *Journal of African History*.

This piece, here, is not about defending Armando Cortesão's or Silva Rego's points of view about Boxer and *Race Relations*. The former had no qualms about referring to Boxer's "about-face" when he sought to attack his friend of many decades in the *Diário Popular*. The latter, less contentious and more prudent in his attempt to win Boxer back to his side, predicted that if the book became an anticolonial textbook, given the international situation, such a use would not meet Boxer's approval. After clarifying these issues that, having marked a sort of return to his positions which had nothing to do with the anticolonial struggle, surrounded the reception of Boxer's book in Portugal, it is worthwhile to explore the author's own intentions. Reformulated as a straightforward question, we might ask, might Boxer have meant to write an anticolonial manifesto? The answer is plainly no. His contributions toward the destruction of the myth that there was no racial discrimination, under which the government pushed to justify its exceptional

<sup>97</sup> Rego, review of *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415-1825* Charles R. Boxer, 552, 554.

<sup>98</sup> Rego, review of *Two Pioneers of Tropical Medicine: Garcia d'Orta and Nicolas Monardes* by Charles R. Boxer; Rego and J. S. Cummins, "The Dominican Mission in Japan (1602-1622) and Lope de Vega"; Rego, review of C. R. Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics. The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia and Luanda, 1510-1800*.

colonialism, could not have been taken as a deliberate push to put an end to the Portuguese Empire. As Boxer wrote in a 1963 summary of the book and repeated in a letter, in order to justify the continuation of the Portuguese Empire in Africa, one would have to focus on the period when occupation effectively began, in 1875 or, more properly, at the dawn of the twentieth century. Beyond that, the aforementioned reference made by Boxer to Henrique Galvão may indicate that João de Almeida's pacification campaigns in Dembos, glorified by Galvão with a particular emphasis on the raiding operations, were just one of the points from which occupation might be justified. The same citation might have indicated, on Boxer's part, an agreement with certain moderate perspectives that opposed Salazar's colonial policies. It should be recognized that in Galvão's case, such an opposition was made in the name of defending a Portuguese community that had integrated into the African communities and become associated with a general suspicion regarding the characteristic unpreparedness of the African nationalist movements.<sup>99</sup>

*Race Relations* and other books by Boxer remained as works in which a quality historical analysis was presented with a critical and objective point of view. At least, that was how the authors that were more closely aligned with the anticolonial cause saw it. As a result, Ronald Chilcote referred to them as "outstanding works" and considered *Race Relations* in particular as capable of putting "the race question in proper perspective."<sup>100</sup> William Minter suggested reading Boxer, considering him a "distinguished historian," right after suggesting reading James Duffy.<sup>101</sup> In the circles surrounding Salazar and his colonial policies, many different ways of appropriating Boxer's work began to appear. David M. Abshire, for example, did not hide that the racial question of the Portuguese was a controversial matter, but he did take advantage of certain passages within Boxer's writing in which he declared not only that Portuguese racial discrimination was lesser than elsewhere but also that the friendly relationships that the Portuguese maintained with other peoples were the object of envy of other European nations.<sup>102</sup> At the governmental level, the small file on Boxer at the Minister of the Overseas's Office of Political Affairs contained information regarding his trip to Macau in 1971, when he was given an honorary doctorate by the University of Hong-Kong. The most important information that had been sent to

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<sup>99</sup> Note that in 1961, outside of the Henrique Galvão's actions, there were others that took the position of self-determination, though with less recognition, cf. Leal, *Coisas do tempo presente. A ganha da morte. Reflexões sobre os problemas africanos*.

<sup>100</sup> Chilcote, *Portuguese Africa*, 130–31

<sup>101</sup> Minter, *Portuguese Africa and the West*, 163.

<sup>102</sup> David M. Abshire, "The Portuguese Racial Legacy," 91.

Lisbon was that “Professor Boxer referred to Macau and to the actions of the Portuguese in the East with friendly terms.”<sup>103</sup>

In spite of the routine reference to it, especially in works which aimed to upend the Portuguese presence in Africa, the attack on Boxer was not seen as a priority. As much as the *Race Relations*’s author’s participation in the debate about Portuguese colonialism in Africa had been characterized by its late arrival to the context already established by Basil Davidson, James Duffy, and Marvin Harris, it was also characterized by the haste with which he withdrew from it. In other words, it was as if Boxer had become inadvertently involved with the one side of the debate he wanted no part of, feeling the need to recede very quickly to a position more consistent with his conservatism and liberal moderateness. In this respect, it is quite significant that the main response from governmental circles—made with the decisive support of a man of the regime and involving an important research center at Georgetown University in Washington—was made against James Duffy’s book, *Portuguese Africa*. Pedro Teotónio Pereira, an ex-ambassador who was, at one time, considered the most likely successor to Salazar in his capacity as administrator of the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, led the book project, which owes quite a bit to Alexandre Ribeiro da Cunha from the Minister of the Overseas’s Bureau of Political Affairs. Joining seven American authors who visited the former colonies and had the opportunity to meet with dozens of Portuguese individuals, who were deemed trustworthy—among whom was the anthropologist Jorge Dias—the so-called “Projecto David” was granted funding by the Gulbenkian, and assistance was promised by the Minister of the Overseas, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Portuguese Embassy in Washington. Integrated in the process through which studies regarding the Cold War and communism came to have two realities, the result was the publication of *Portuguese Africa: A Handbook* in 1969, organized by David M. Abshire, director of the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University, and Michael A. Samuels, a member of that Center. The book, begun in February 1965, came to light in 1969—the year in which Boxer published his great work of synthesis, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, within which he was able to sum up his moderate political and analytical perspectives.<sup>104</sup> In short, as Pedro Teotónio Pereira wrote on 8 January 1970 to Alexandre Ribeiro da Cunha:

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<sup>103</sup> AHD/MU/GM/GNP/RNP/0654/02988.

<sup>104</sup> Diogo Ramada Curto, “Uma história conservadora do Império marítimo português?,” in C. R. Boxer, *O Império marítimo português, 1415-1825* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2011), pp. I-XVI.

I had the great pleasure to speak with you on the topic of our book about Africa. It was an undertaking full of risks and extreme difficulty. Your cooperation was crucial and, without the patience with which you retrieved the thousands of records of overseas travel and attended to the changes in scenery and schedule that were constantly happening, it would not have been possible to arrive at the end of our work.

I have read and reread the chapters of the book and, each time, I am convinced more and more of the impact in Africa that this will make.

I am coming to bring you a copy to deliver by hand to the Minister of the Overseas. You are owed the deepest gratitudes on behalf of all those that worked either towards the research or the content of the book. The help we received from you was precious.

I asked Dr. Franco Nogueira to write a critical article about the book. It is to our advantage to distribute it as widely as possible, as it is, truthfully, the most comprehensive and most current study that could be done.<sup>105</sup>

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To make sense of Charles Boxer's work, and more specifically his 1963 book *Race Relations*, it was necessary to reconstruct three major contexts (Portuguese, English, and North American), through which a kind of inter-imperial circulation of knowledge (where forms of collaboration and conflict were found) could be identified. It was also necessary to take into account both the intention of the author as much as his responses to the unexpected consequence of his own actions. Aiming to emphasize that the book fits into a broader timeline, which preceded the events that took place in Angola in 1961, it was equally necessary to look backward to the earliest manifestations of attacks on Portuguese colonialism that appeared in book form. Basing ourselves in the works of Basil Davidson (after 1954), Marvin Harris, James Duffy, Anthony Sampson, and António de Figueiredo, it was possible to trace that path, which was already half covered by the time Boxer entered the debate. In a similar manner, research continued until the end of the 1960s, when a response was launched by the Portuguese authorities, financed by the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, and executed by an American university in Washington. If doubt exists regarding how the war of books produced by the war in Angola participated in the Cold War, "Projecto David" is quite revealing of how the production of academic knowledge within American universities became utilized by the geostrategic attack on communism. This latter episode is also very representative of the increasing centrality assumed by US college campuses in comparison to the work of journalists and newspapers in England.

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<sup>105</sup> AHD/MU/GM/GNP/RNP/0328/03142. About James Duffy, AHD/MU/GM/GNP/RNP/3149 or A05.G.1.M018

Incidentally, it is worth noting that this opposition between academics and journalists does not reflect any type of growing academic autonomy of knowledge compared to a secular tradition of positions and debates in circles made up of public opinion. Perhaps, this opposition corresponds solely to different ways of practicing, at different moments, American versus British imperialism.

In this scenario, it is significant that *Race Relations* is based on a series of lectures that Boxer gave in late 1962 at the University of Virginia, one of the well-reputed centers for the study of slavery, and that *Portuguese Society in the Tropics* corresponds to a series of conferences held at the end of 1964 at the University of Wisconsin, already at the time one of the principal sites for the study of Africa. However, in this article's context, the most important piece of information is perhaps the way that Boxer went against the grain in this second book. The historical comparison between the municipalities of Bahia, Luanda, Goa, and Macau, while responding to the call of John Leddy Phelan—a major historian of colonial Spanish America, responsible for a program of Comparative Tropical History—emphasized the institutional apparatus of the Portuguese Empire. Beyond merely that, the comparison corresponded well to the idea of a Portuguese political tradition of representational politics at the local level and of autonomy for the white elites (as had happened in Rhodesia with Ian Smith in 1965, the year Boxer's book was published). This was heavily valued by the circles close to the Salazar regime since the beginning of the 1950s. Its appropriation as an issue with a positive connotation, endowed by Boxer with a strong scholarly and analytical dimension, was a way to moderate the previous denouncements regarding Portuguese racial discrimination.

Apart from the specific connections that could be made with the universities at which Boxer taught, as happened in a more stable form with Yale University, it is far from being understood how American universities, which benefited from conditions and research programs conditioned by political agendas as defined by the Cold War and the creation of the so-called "Area Studies," had conditioned historical research on Portuguese Africa or European colonial empires. There are issues of the political connotation of the social sciences, their hierarchy, and their autonomy in relation to political pressures that are still unresolved. In this regard, one of the most difficult individual cases to grasp is that of Richard Hammond, an economic historian from Stanford University, who was interested in Portuguese Africa at a late part of his career; he was perhaps the most prestigious historian or social scientist from an American university that intervened on the debate on Portuguese

Africa.<sup>106</sup> Why did his approach toward Portugal in Africa between 1815 and 1910 constitute a prime example of “uneconomic imperialism”—an extension of Schumpeter’s theories about imperialism as a sign of archaism, in which the ratio of costs and benefits serves to put limits on the American imperial expansion, put into evidence by the Vietnam War? This is a question that deserves further exploration.

What is certain is that, at the time of Hammond’s biggest book, Standard University had already set up the conditions to progress the career of a young political scientist and economist, Ronald Chilcote, who was particularly interested in the voice and the arguments of the anticolonial movements. In turn, the Department of Anthropology at Columbia, where Marvin Harris worked, adopted a progressive agenda and sought to denounce forced labor in Mozambique. However, it was also out of Columbia that came three of the seven collaborators (Norman F. Bailey, Michael Samuels, and Irene van Dogen) of the book that Abshire and Samuels organized out of Georgetown University—each of them associated with strategic studies, international relations, and political science. In sum, all of these elements, however loose they may appear, suggest the existence of a certain autonomy that American universities held with regard to press and to the circles of power that characterize other settings. But this also suggests that, through programs and funding provided by foundations, the American university autonomy had limits. It is clear that, in England, the terms of the anticolonial debate were set by newspapers and journalists that, along with their autonomy, showed themselves capable of calling the Portuguese colonial policy into question. Where there were perhaps slight possibilities for as much autonomy in academia as in the press, was in Portugal. There, university professors, journalists, columnists, and politicians overlapped and overrode each other, all following the same agendas, and those that were not aligned with the government were simply excluded—fired or cast into exile.

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<sup>106</sup> R. J. Hammond, *Portugal and Africa 1815–1910. A Study in Uneconomic Imperialism*.

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# Crown, Empire, and Nation (1807–1834)<sup>1\*</sup>

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## Abstract

Portugal went through one of the most complex periods in its whole history when an informal British occupation followed the French invasions. This provides an interesting case for the study of the evolution of the three main institutions and political concepts involved in the ending of the Old Regime: the Crown, the Empire, and the Nation, each with its own chronology. The main focus of this article is the changing relationships between these concepts during this period, in which the coexistence of old and new institutions is visible and their changing geography appears both as a factor in and as a consequence of this process.

## Keywords

Brazil, Crown, Empire, French Invasions, King John VI, Portuguese Liberal Revolution.

## Resumo

Portugal viveu um dos períodos mais complexos da sua história quando às Invasões Francesas sucede a ocupação britânica. Este contexto constitui um caso interessante para o estudo da evolução das três principais instituições e conceitos políticos presentes no final do Antigo Regime: a Coroa, o Império e a Nação e a sua cronologia diferenciada. O eixo central deste artigo reside na análise da mudança na articulação entre estes três conceitos ao longo deste período, em que a coexistência de antigas e novas instituições é visível e a sua geografia mutável surge como factor e como consequência deste processo.

## Palavras-chave

Brasil, Coroa, D. João VI, Império, Invasões Francesas, Revolução Liberal Portuguesa

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<sup>1</sup> Tradução de John Elliott.

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In an already changing world where both American Independence and the French Revolution had led to either reforms or crisis in the Old Regime, the Napoleonic wars served as a catalyst for revolution in Europe and in South America. This major event is what has brought us together here at this meeting. Before 1807, the new ideals had had, largely, an indirect influence on Portugal, as reflected in the formation of an enlightened elite.

The wave of a more profound political change gained momentum at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the whole of Iberia became involved in the Europe-wide struggle, exacerbated by the Napoleonic wars, between the Old Regime and the new liberal society and state. It was in the name of a new society and the fight against despotic monarchies that Napoleon's troops invaded countries all over Europe, from Russia to Portugal. Underlying all this upheaval were imperial, regional, and personal ambitions that quickly became apparent, as in the case of Portugal and its empire. England headed the coalition against Napoleon, which was, in fact, not entirely antiliberal.

Portugal then found itself in a difficult situation, caught between its loyalty to its traditional ally, England, whose maritime power had been fundamental in the support of the Portuguese Empire, and the fear of the overwhelming military might of Napoleon, by then already allied with Spain. Neutrality, which had long been the preferred choice of the Portuguese government, was maintained until nearly the very end. When Portugal finally complied with both the French blockade and the expulsion of British subjects, it was already too late: Napoleon's invasion had already been decided on, and the Treaty of Fontainebleau of November 1807 gave this move a formal justification, although the planned partition between France and Spain was never applied. Portugal then entered perhaps one of the most complex periods in its whole history, the informal British occupation, lasting twelve years, which followed the short but very destructive French invasion. Nonetheless, the Crown survived in the hands of the House of Bragança and kept possession of Brazil and the rest of its colonial territories for over a decade. This makes the Portuguese and Brazilian history of this period somewhat different from that of both Spain and the Spanish American colonies, and it also provides an interesting case for the study of the evolution of the three main institutions and political concepts involved in the ending of the Old Regime. These institutions were the Crown, the Empire, and the Nation.

Their chronologies are quite different over the long run of history. The Crown was of course the oldest institution, and the fascinating idea of Nation the newest, on both sides of the Atlantic, at that time. What is interesting is the changing relationships they

experienced during this period, when the coexistence of old and new institutions was perfectly visible. Their changing geography also appears as both a factor in and a consequence of this process.

## 1. Crown

The Old Regime displayed a remarkable capacity of adaptation to the new times in Portugal: the enlightened despotism running from Pombal to the Prince Regent Dom João did indeed bring about significant changes in different sectors, ranging from government and economy to education and culture. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the State had taken control of the privileged seigniorial orders, which were already partly integrated into the public administration. As the sphere of State intervention grew ever greater, royal power was delegated to a complex institutional system. Economic liberalism was being moderately introduced, thus preceding political liberalism by many years. A group of enlightened reformers were summoned by the Prince Regent to join his government, and the best known of them, Rodrigo Sousa Coutinho, would later follow him to Brazil. A period of economic prosperity marked the whole of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, ending in about 1806. All of this explains why liberalism appeared later in Portugal than it did in Brazil, as Silbert pointed out<sup>3</sup>

It was in colonial Brazil that the effects of the American Revolution had earlier led to the development of a critical attitude toward both the Portuguese Empire and the Crown. The conspiracy of the middle classes in Minas Gerais (1789), a separatist movement partly tinged by republican ideals, was followed eleven years later by a revolt of mulatto artisans and merchants in Bahia. Actually, following on from the revolt of the slaves in Haiti, this sequence of events made the discontented middle classes more moderate in the expression of their political aims. The fear that slavery might now begin to be questioned by the negroes was a real one. The different responses of the Portuguese Crown toward both movements (seeking to integrate the conspirators of Minas Gerais—with one major exception, Tiradentes, who was executed—in contrast to the violent repression of the leaders of the Bahia revolt, all of whom were either executed or abandoned along the coast of Africa) managed to calm the expression of discontent. By the turn of the century, the measures taken by Sousa Coutinho had succeeded in producing a fairly stable political situation. Moreover, the plan that he drew up in 1803, just before he

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<sup>3</sup> Silbert, *Portugal na Europa oitocentista*, chapter 1.

left office, would later make a powerful contribution to the future success of the monarchy in Brazil.<sup>4</sup>

In fact, the political stabilization of Brazil would become vital for the House of Bragança when it had to move its capital to Rio de Janeiro in 1808. Also, seen from an opposite perspective, the changes introduced by this event would become a fundamental factor in this stabilization.

At the end of November 1807, the Portuguese Royal Court undertook a trans-Atlantic trip and changed its home. That was an event of paramount importance, as it was the first time in European history that a royal person and family had traveled to any part of their empire. In this case, it wasn't even just a visit, but a real change of residence: Rio de Janeiro became the capital and temporarily replaced Lisbon, which was by then ruled by the French general Junot.

The absolute power of the Crown had not been questioned quite so clearly in Portugal before the French invasions. Since the end of the eighteenth century, there had been various suggestions of sympathy for political liberalism made by different personalities, mainly from the academic and liberal professions. But the first overt project for the introduction of a constitutional monarchy appeared only in 1808, when a minority group addressed Junot, demanding a fairly moderate constitution, similar to the Napoleonic Constitution of Poland and linked to the demand for a foreign "Napoleonic" king. The Napoleonic policy initially enjoyed widespread support among the disciples of Pombal, in other words, among the more open-minded nobility, the highest echelon of the third estate, some magistrates, and half of the University of Coimbra, if Carrion-Nissas, an officer of Junot, is to be believed in his testimony. But the rejection of this constitutional project by Junot and his alliance with the traditional nobility put an end to such expectations for a long time to come.<sup>5</sup>

The extent of the support that continued to be enjoyed by the royal power initially seemed quite solid. It can be gauged by the changing attitudes of the people toward the French troops, induced by the contrasting orders issued by the Prince Regent in the winter of 1807 and later in the spring of the following year. As he left Lisbon behind, Dom João ordered the Council of Regents not to resist the foreign troops and to behave courteously toward them. This instruction was thoroughly obeyed, and the Regents even went to greet the French army before its entry into the capital. Six months later, as the situation in Spain

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<sup>4</sup> Maxwell, *Naked Tropics: Essays on Empire and Other Rogues*, 109–44.

<sup>5</sup> Silbert, *Do Portugal de Antigo Regime ao Portugal oitocentista*, 35–84; Pereira, "A crise do Estado de Antigo Regime: alguns problemas conceptuais e de cronologia."

and Europe began to change, the Prince Regent declared war on France. Soon afterward, uprisings took place all over the country, held in the name of the Crown and demanding the return of the House of Bragança.

By then, the new geography of power, now centered upon Rio de Janeiro, was beginning to shape a whole new state apparatus.<sup>6</sup> A copy of the state from the Portuguese Old Regime was established in Brazil, with its different central offices, central courts, security forces, and so on. One major change was the creation of the new Office of Brazilian Affairs (*secretaria de estado de negócios do Brasil*), which ceased to be part of the Office of the Navy and the Overseas Dominions (*negócios da marinha e dos domínios ultramarinos*). The *Impressão Régia* (the Royal Printing Shop) was rapidly installed, with a brand new typeset that had just arrived in Lisbon from London, not even having been unpacked before being shipped in the company of the Royal Court. The National Library of Brazil was to inherit the rich Royal Library shipped to Rio along with the Royal Court. These are just some of the many details to be noted about this extraordinary trip that make it so hard to believe that it was unplanned. Today it is commonly accepted that it was only the exact date that was delayed until the last minute. At the naval dockyards, the ships had been under preparation since August, for at least the departure of the Infante Dom Pedro, the Prince of Brazil (the title of the heir to the throne) had already been decided.

But to return to my main subject, the duplication of the political and administrative apparatus was soon to become a source of conflict between the Regency in Portugal and the Royal Court in Rio. Due to the military situation, Portuguese affairs were conducted mainly through the Foreign Affairs and War Office, Rodrigo Sousa Coutinho, while routine affairs were conducted through the Brazilian Affairs Office, which of course caused great displeasure to the Regents. Moreover, all overseas affairs were now centralized in Rio, and the Council of Regents did not even have any authority over Madeira and the Azores. In the autumn of 1808, after the removal of the French army, the Portuguese government in Rio hesitated over the type of government to be established in Lisbon, and considered the appointment of a governor, associated with the presence of a member of the royal family. But, faced with a complicated internal situation in Portugal, the British General Dalrymple was not prepared to wait for an order from the Crown and took his own decision to reestablish the Council of Regents, excluding only those members suspected of collaborating with the French (18 September 1808). He also imposed one of the new

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<sup>6</sup> For more information on the reorganization of the state apparatus in Brazil and Portugal, see Martins, *Governança e Arquivos D. João VI no Brasil*, and Cardoso, “A abertura dos portos do Brasil em 1808: dos factos à doutrina,” 11–18. For Brazil, see also Belotti in Silva, “O império luso-brasileiro 1750–1822.”

members (the Bishop of Porto) and had the nomination of other members submitted to him for approval. It was only in January that the Regency was confirmed by Rio, and then its powers were largely reduced, with the Crown fearing the loss of its power. The Regency reacted vigorously to the situation and refused to implement these royal orders.

After nearly a year of conflict between Lisbon and Rio, the Crown gave in by the middle of December 1809 and enlarged the jurisdiction of the Regents. It is interesting to note that in this Royal Act the alleged reason for the change was the Regents having stated that the “subjects” felt that they were reduced to a colonial status, whereas they were accustomed to being the center of the Kingdom. This argument means that public opinion had become a recognized political factor.

After the short French period of Junot, who took over power for himself, with the English occupation another level of power had been created, which superimposed itself on the Council of Regents that it had helped to reestablish. The help of the British Army was of course welcomed, and even the help of a general to reorganize the Portuguese army was asked for. The power gained throughout this period by the English army, in their fight against Napoleon’s power over the Iberian Peninsula, was enormous. All this paved the way for the humiliating convention of Sintra, in which the Portuguese did not even participate. This agreement between the French and English governments not only confirmed the already existing British military power but also permitted their intervention in all matters, financial or administrative, that were related to the war. The Regency, as well as the Portuguese military and administrative authorities, was now clearly in a state of double dependency, upon General Beresford, the British authority in Portugal, in a relationship of proximity and upon Dom João and his ministers sitting in the distant town of Rio. As we have seen, the royal power was questioned at times by its own representatives in Lisbon, who had to face the internal discontent arising from the dual colonial status, with the country being answerable to the Crown in both Brazil and England.

Throughout this period, even before the form of government was in itself questioned, there was a fragmentation of royal power, which reached its climax in 1820. The period that followed the end of the war clearly illustrates this complex situation.

The end of the Napoleonic wars in 1814 did not bring the Royal Court back to Lisbon. The establishment of the *Reino Unido de Portugal e Brasil* (United Kingdom of Portugal and Brazil) at the end of 1815 (16 December) was followed by the coronation of Dom João VI in Rio at the beginning of 1818 (6 February), one year after the death of Dona Maria I. Received with joy in Brazil, this news was seen as a major disappointment in

Portugal. Furthermore, there was no sign of the English returning home or of their being willing to relinquish their power. In spite of the vast delegation of power he had acquired, Beresford met with ever more conflicts of power in his dealings with the Regents and felt the need to have the King clearly redefine his role in Portugal. The Portuguese Crown still had a word to say in Portugal during the British occupation. Beresford was returning from a trip to Rio to have his power reinforced, when he was caught at sea by the beginning of the 1820 Revolution. This brought an end to his Portuguese period.

By then a reverse situation had come about: the Regents informed the King of their recognition of the *Cortes*, without waiting for his authorization. A new power had appeared on the political scene: the Nation

In Brazil, the power of the Portuguese Crown was generally respected internally, except for the minority revolt of 1817, in the same year as the Gomes Freire conspiracy in Lisbon. Not only were the Luso-Brazilians happy to have a King at hand, but in fact it was clear that from practically all points of view the conditions of the Luso-Brazilian elite had improved, and the widespread republicanism of the eighteenth century was diluted. As Kenneth Maxwell has pointed out, the radical revolutionaries had lost their influence. The initial influence of the American Revolution had been affected by the fears brought about by the slave revolt in Haiti and the unrest in Bahia later on. The monarchy, which had now centered itself in Rio, seemed better suited to an evolution which would not endanger the slavery system. In fact, the coronation of Dom João VI was an extraordinary event: there had never before been a coronation of a European monarch in America.

On the international scene, on the whole, as long as the commitments with the British government were respected, everything went well. In the military and political situation of Europe and Portugal in 1807, the departure of the Royal Court was made possible only by the support of Britain and its navy. Such support came at a high political price, imposed by the British government in the convention of November 1807, negotiated in London by the ambassador Domingos Sousa Coutinho. Though either side never signed this convention, it was in fact fully implemented. In exchange for the guarantee given to the House of Bragança by the British government, namely that the Portuguese Crown would remain in their hands whatever happened in the future, two main conditions had been settled.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do antigo regime*, 214–19, for an analysis of the negotiations on the convention and the two future treaties. In the draft version of the future treaty on trade and navigation, drawn up by Domingos de Sousa Coutinho, the Portuguese ambassador in London, the treaty was conceived as being a temporary affair and included only Brazil, and not Portugal. The

Britain had imposed the opening of a port in Brazil on the island of Santa Catarina—not all Brazilian ports—as well as the signing of a treaty of trade and navigation in the future. Of course, the opening of at least one port was necessary for the survival of the Brazilian economy. It also responded to very clear interests: those of the British merchants and those of the slave landowners. Added to this was the treaty of 1810, signed in the name of free trade but imposing unequal and asymmetrical conditions, which we will analyze further on. These two measures brought an end to the Portuguese monopoly of Brazilian trade.

Consequently, preserving the rights of the House of Bragança and keeping Brazil in its hands led to the break-up of the Luso-Brazilian Empire by creating a division between Brazilian and Portuguese interests, at both the political and the economic level. This brings me to the second part of my paper, which deals with the idea and the reality of Empire in the Portuguese context.

## 2. Empire

After Vasco da Gama's voyage, the King of Portugal was named the "King of Portugal, Algarve, Lord within and beyond the sea (*d'aquém e d'além mar*) in Africa, Master of Guinea, and of the conquest, trade, and navigation of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India." It was a "seaborne empire," as Charles Boxer<sup>8</sup> so cleverly named it, designed to control the main routes of trade and navigation. The imperial structure that spread over such a vast area of the world took a variety of shapes. Nor could it be otherwise. The control by a small country over so many different points situated worldwide could only be managed through a flexible administration, adapted to each particular case. There were two main types of administrative structures. A network of *feitorias* and *fortalezas* and other lighter forms of connection, such as the *Capitães de viagem*, spread along the coast of West Africa, the Indian Ocean, and East Asia. Then there were the more classical forms of territorial occupation linked to agricultural colonization, such as the Atlantic Islands and later on Brazil. In fact, Goa and its territories represented a transition from the first to the second.

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treaty was in fact meant to be temporary, in order to take account of the war situation. Negotiations between Rodrigo Sousa Coutinho and Strangford proved to be quite lengthy, having begun in August 1808.

<sup>8</sup> Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*.

The State of India was followed by Brazil later on, and both had a special status: they were both ruled by a high-ranking officer, named *vice-rei* (viceroys).<sup>9</sup>

Brazil became the main part of the Portuguese Empire in the seventeenth century, as the whole system of Asian trade and navigation began to come apart, falling partly into the hands of other European competitors. So much so that in 1735, some years before even the birth of Napoleon, Luis da Cunha, a reputed diplomat, made a visionary observation and suggested that the King of Portugal should establish his Court in Brazil and become the emperor of the West, thus gaining better control of the Empire's great wealth. He claimed that Rio was a suitable place for the capital, since the climate was quite moderate.<sup>10</sup>

The role played by the generation of 1790 has been highlighted by Kenneth Maxwell as crucial in the idea of the Luso-Brazilian Empire. In many ways, its roots date back to Pombal, and particularly so in one aspect, namely the integration of Luso-Brazilians into the State apparatus, where they were given high-ranking positions. Rodrigo Sousa Coutinho played a major part in this, continuing to promote the trend already set up by Pombal of sending students from Brazil first to Coimbra and then to Montpellier, and then appointing them to the administration.

In this way a new, well-integrated Luso-Brazilian elite was created, which was to become a central axis of the imperial structure. Coutinho had a group of them sent to Brazil to study different aspects of government, including the mining industry. By 1798, based on the information thus compiled, he was ready to outline his general policy for the empire. He was conscious of the need to adapt the administration in Brazil and the other dominions to the new times in order to maintain them under the Crown's power. Otherwise, he wrote, if reduced to itself Portugal would become a province of Spain. Reform in order to avoid revolution was central to his political thinking. He therefore advised that the empire should be regarded as being composed "of provinces of the monarchy, all possessing the same privileges and honors, all united under the same administration."<sup>11</sup> He also proposed different fiscal and financial measures, including the abolition of duties on internal trade in Brazil and the reduction of the royal tax of one fifth of the gold that was mined. But he only managed to abolish the salt monopoly and to have

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<sup>9</sup> See Maxwell, *Naked Tropics: Essays on Empire and Other Rogues*, esp. 137–41, and Silva, *A Cultura luso-brasileira*, for most of what follows.

<sup>10</sup> Cunha, *Instruções políticas*, 366.

<sup>11</sup> D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, *Memória sobre o melhoramento dos domínios de Sua Majestade na América* (1797–8), in *Textos Políticos Económicos e Financeiros*, Tomo II, 47.

the mining and manufacture of iron permitted, measures that responded to previous demands of the Luso-Brazilian traders.

When war broke out in Europe in the first years of the nineteenth century, Coutinho's appreciation of the European situation led him in 1803 to advise the Prince Regent to establish the seat of the monarchy in Brazil. Like Luis da Cunha seven decades earlier, he also thought that "Portugal was not the best and most essential part of the monarchy."<sup>12</sup> Of course, this view met with strong opposition in Portugal.

But events took over and the Crown took up residence in Rio. Maxwell has pointed out that the preexistence of a plan to change the administration in Brazil, drafted by Rodrigo Sousa Coutinho, was essential for the successful implantation of the monarchy during the first years of its existence there. However, the opposite was not the case. Portugal did not benefit at all from the changes in the imperial structure. On the contrary, some criticism appeared, even in the Luso-Brazilian press.

Through the voices of two Luso-Brazilians, José da Silva Lisboa and Hipólito da Costa, we can see quite different reactions to the liberal measures introduced with regard to international trade. José da Silva Lisboa, responsible for the *Mesa da Agricultura e Comércio* (Board of Agriculture and Trade) in Bahia when the King arrived, and later becoming his counselor, was chosen to write the draft of the Act of 1808, whereby all the ports of Brazil were opened to trade with all countries, thus bringing an end to the colonial monopoly of Portugal, a move that was considered imperative at that time. Soon afterward, he published *Observações sobre o comércio franco do Brasil*—the first book ever printed in Rio, at the new *Impressão Régia*—faithfully supporting Adam Smith's theories and justifying this measure, and he spent the next years praising the treaty of 1810 and other measures introduced by Dom João in the name of free trade. The benefits of implementing a new basis of international trade seemed to him unquestionable for the development of Brazil, and he believed it would also be beneficial for Portugal.<sup>13</sup>

Although he was also an apologist for free trade, Hipólito da Costa considered it necessary for free trade to be tempered by some degree of protectionism, so that he was moderate in his appreciation of the Prince Regent's foreign economic policy. His knowledge of the United States and England, where Sousa Coutinho had sent him to meet with merchants and industrialists and understand the changes taking place in those

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 48.

<sup>13</sup> See Cardoso, "A abertura dos portos do Brasil em 1808: dos factos à doutrina," on both this debate and Hipólito da Costa's review of the writings of J. S. Lisboa. For more information on Hipólito da Costa, see Almeida, "O intelectual Hipólito José da Costa como pensador económico."

countries, gave him a different view of reality. After a brief return to Lisbon, where he was accused of masonic activity and imprisoned by the Inquisition, he established himself in London, where he became the editor, in exile, of one of the main liberal newspapers, which was widely read on both sides of the Atlantic. Even before the Anglo-Portuguese treaty was ratified in 1809, he had pointed out the risks of a treaty between a strong country and a small one. In his review of Silva Lisboa's writings published in *Correio Braziliense*, he made two main observations, as Cardoso has recently reminded us.<sup>14</sup> The first of these concerns was the role of free trade in the development of the United States, but he also recalled the importance that some protectionist measures had as well (referring to the lower duties that were levied on merchandise transported by national ships).

The second observation concerns the lack of reciprocity in the conditions established for Brazilian merchants in England and those of the British in Brazil. In fact, the treaty banned the main products of Brazil (sugar, coffee, and any other products similar to those produced in the English colonies) from entry into England and its empire, except for the purposes of re-exportation. Of course, such activity was in itself vital at that time.

Both the opening of the ports to all nations and the signing of the treaty were moves that were widely accepted in Brazil at that time, as they meant that the conditions for Brazilian exports and re-exports to London were improved (and later on from there to other countries). At the same time, the low duties imposed on industrial products did not directly hurt its economy, due to the fact that industrial production was practically nonexistent at that time. It was the treaty of alliance, with its clause on slavery, that was to prove most displeasing for Luso-Brazilians.

In Portugal, however, where factory owners and merchants were badly affected by the privileged conditions afforded to English interests, the treaty was strongly criticized. Clearly, Portuguese economic interests had been completely sacrificed by the Regent and his ministers. Not only had political power been largely transferred to the English, but so had the control of the trade circuits. A sign of the reversal that was taking place is the fact that Portuguese merchandise was taxed at 1 percent more than British goods when entering Brazilian ports. Another humiliating condition was that any change in the Portuguese tariff system required the consent of the British merchants. Shortly after the signing of the treaty, the Portuguese merchants' club in London began to publish a newspaper with the clear aim of sustaining Portuguese interests, as distinct from those of the colony of Brazil. *O Português*,

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<sup>14</sup> Cardoso, *A economia política e os dilemas do império luso-brasileiro (1790–1822)*.

edited by the London exile Rocha Loureiro, was published regularly until well after the revolution of 1820.<sup>15</sup>

The situation was so unfavorable to Portuguese industry that the 30 percent tax on woolen goods, imposed after the Methuen treaty and included in the treaty of 1810, now seemed to be a desirable protective measure, as compared with the general tax of 15 percent on all industrial products. But even this difference was abolished by a royal decision of 5 May 1814, taken against the advice of the Treasury Council (*Conselho da Fazenda*).<sup>16</sup> Eastern trade was also redirected to Brazil, from where it would then be re-exported to Europe (*alvará* of 4.2.1811).<sup>17</sup>

Not surprisingly in this context, the measures taken by the Prince Regent to introduce a more flexible legal structure for the development of industry and agriculture in Portugal were to prove totally ineffective (Law of 1809 and Reform of the *forais* [charters] in 1810), and as a matter of fact, so was the freedom granted for the establishment of industry in Brazil, where the treaty was only renounced in 1844.

The consequences of the end of the colonial monopoly over trade and the change in the relationship between Portugal and Britain were immediate and catastrophic. The trade balance, which had been positive until 1810, entered into a state of profound disequilibrium. In 1811, British exports to Portugal were 13 times greater than Portuguese exports. The Brazilian market was invaded by British goods, and this trend remained unchanged over the following years, in spite of a slight recovery after the war ended.<sup>18</sup>

Royal policy was regarded with growing concern, as the situation did not improve after peace was established in Europe. The power of the Crown began to be questioned in Portugal, as Dom João VI remained in Rio and the colonial system was disrupted.

### 3. Nation

Two questions will be considered now in the third part of this article, concerning the idea of Nation. The first question relates to the chronology and content of the attitudes

<sup>15</sup> Rocha Loureiro's former *Correio da Península* (1809-10), where he had expressed his sympathy toward the Spanish constitution of 1812, had been suspended in Lisbon (Boisvert, *Un pionnier de la propagande libérale au Portugal—João Bernardo da Rocha Loureiro: 1778–1853: Notes biographiques*; Boisvert, *Le premier périodique libéral publié au Portugal: Correio da Península ou Novo Telégrafo* (1809–1810)). On this newspaper, see Pereira et al. (1982, vol. 1).

<sup>16</sup> Pereira, *Das revoluções liberais ao Estado Novo*, 35–36.

<sup>17</sup> Alexandre, (1992), 16.

<sup>18</sup> Macedo, *O bloqueio continental. Economia e guerra peninsular*; Ribeiro, *As relações comerciais entre Portugal e Brasil segundo as balanças de comércio 1801–1821*; Alexandre, “Um momento crucial do subdesenvolvimento português: efeitos económicos da perda do império brasileiro.”

adopted toward the foreign occupant in the two different periods: the French occupation and the British presence. The second question relates to the connection between nationalism and liberalism.

The first conflict between Portuguese and French was one of popular origin: it began when the Portuguese flag was replaced by the French one at the top of Saint George's Castle in Lisbon, on 13 December 1807. As time went by, different measures taken by the French wounded the religious sentiments of the people, such as the bans on the use of church bells, Christmas festivities and the celebration of Carnival, and the lodging of troops in convents. The emergence of nationwide uprisings coincided with religious festivities in June and July of 1808.<sup>19</sup>

Although the popular movements in Portugal and Spain did develop mimetically, and there are indeed some links between them, on the whole they each took a quite different course. Most uprisings in Portugal, even when they were of popular origin, came about easily under the local leadership of the rural aristocracy and clergy. The clergy played a major role in shaping the ideology of these uprisings, giving this movement the content of a crusade in defense of the King and religion, with its enemies being identified as impious people. Anti-Semitism was thus revived and associated with Jacobinism or collaborationism with the French. A secret pact of loyalty toward the monarchy of divine right was sustained in the proclamations, as well as the right to resist an external tyrant. In contrast to this relatively conservative movement, in Spain the Juntas gave way to a revolutionary movement, resulting in the *Cortes* of Cadiz. Nothing similar happened in Portugal, but in the south (Beja and Vila Viçosa), where uprisings did not benefit from the leadership of the local aristocracy and clergy, the peasants had to seek the support of Spanish generals from Badajoz and Seville. Furthermore, the Juntas did not always succeed in containing the outburst of popular discontent, as was the case with Porto and the whole northern region of the country during the spring of 1809. The dramatic assassination of the officer Bernardim Freire de Andrade by the people of Braga is a major example of the disorder that reigned at that time and the lack of confidence in the ruling class's capacity to withstand the French army. In such a context, the ruling class largely welcomed the help provided by the British army in fighting the French and establishing authority.

It was mainly after the end of the war that the discontent in Portugal acquired different political overtones. What had previously seemed temporary, resulting from the

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<sup>19</sup> On these uprisings, see Alexandre, "Um momento crucial do subdesenvolvimento português: efeitos económicos da perda do império brasileiro"; Silbert, *Portugal na Europa oitocentista*, and Vicente, *Um soldado na guerra peninsular: Bernardim Freire de Andrade*.

threat of a new foreign invasion, now appeared to have become permanent and was no longer justified in peaceful times. There were no signs of the king coming back, and the coronation of Dom João VI in Rio proved to be a deceptive event in Portugal. Neither was there any sign of the British wanting to leave. The treaty of 1815, signed in Vienna, didn't even allow for the revision of the treaty of 1810 before the period of fifteen years had elapsed since its signature. It was then that a clear perception was formed of the disastrous position of Portugal, which was now seen to be strangely dependent on both the Brazilian part of the newborn *Reino Unido* and Britain. The exiled press played a major role in the expression of nationalism and liberalism, two sentiments that were now closely linked with one another.<sup>20</sup> In the name of the Nation, criticism was leveled at both the Crown and Britain.

Although the revolution of 1820 was the result of an elitist movement brought about by a small masonic structure, the *Sinédrio*, composed of military and civil members, its success and the work of the Congress in 1821–22 awakened in the population a widespread hope of change in their lives, accompanied by a strong desire for political participation. The widespread petitionary movement that expressed itself in the 1820s was a clear sign of the profound involvement of people from different strata in political life from all over the country, from North to South.<sup>21</sup> A very significant type of document was the *memórias* that were offered to the *Soberano Congresso*, identifying problems and suggesting measures for their solution. Such a widespread petitionary movement was an entirely new event, and can only be compared to more recent phenomena in Portuguese contemporary political life. It very clearly demonstrated the emergence of a strong and widespread sense of citizenship for the first time.

Together these petitions and *memórias*, addressed to the different parliamentary committees, give us a very complete picture of the crisis of the Old Regime, which had most definite political, institutional, social and economic aspects, and, in that sense, they can be compared to the French *Cahiers de Doléances*.

The emergence of both the concept of the Nation and a sense of citizenship were also revealed in the attitudes shown toward the country's international position. There was a strong demand for changes to at least some of the terms of the 1810 treaty, and the delegates responded to this: the 1 percent differential was abolished and the terms of the

<sup>20</sup> *Memoriais a D. João VI* (João Bernardo da Rocha Loureiro), *édition et commentaire*; Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do antigo regime*, 415–20.

<sup>21</sup> On this petitionary movement, see Silbert *Le problème agraire portugais au temps des premières Cortès libérales* (1821–22); and Pereira, *A crise do Antigo Regime e as Cortes Constituintes de 1821-1822: estudo e documentos*.

Methuen Treaty were renegotiated, despite some fairly strong opposition on the part of British diplomacy.

Among the nine major parliamentary committees created by the Congress, one was concerned with the question of Brazil. This was, of course, a major issue at that time. The first liberal revolution in 1820 can be defined as having been both nationalist and colonialist in its intentions. Changing Portugal's position in the *Reino Unido* was a vital question, but it implied a reversal of the position that had been adopted by Brazil. If, at that time, the liberals saw Brazil as an inseparable part of the nation, which would benefit as much as they themselves would from a fresh application of the principles of equality and freedom, at the same time they tried to change the nature of the existing institutions in order to once again submit Brazil to the central government of Lisbon. The view coming from Brazil was exactly the opposite.<sup>22</sup>

The separation of Portugal and Brazil was a very complex process, with each party wishing to dominate the other, in the name of a union that had been rendered null and void, but whose underlying ideal was slow to die away on both sides of the Atlantic, even more so on the Portuguese side. The treaty of 1825 brought an end to the Portuguese aim of regaining a privileged commercial position in Brazil, in exchange for the recognition of independence. The British clearly waited for this recognition to take place before accepting the revision of the 1810 treaty, thus excluding Brazil from this process. But Dom João VI died before the revision of the 1810 treaty, then under negotiation, could be settled, and so it remained unchanged for another decade.<sup>23</sup> For the next eight years, a fierce political battle was waged between absolutists and liberals, leaving this and other questions unresolved.

The readjustment of Portugal's position in Europe and the world after the independence of Brazil only occurred after the liberal revolution of the 1830s. The first step was the reform of State and Society, in which Mouzinho da Silveira played a fundamental role. As he put it so clearly and repeatedly, it had been the *conquistas* that had supported the structure of the Old Regime. Once they were gone, the whole structure had

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<sup>22</sup> See Neves, "A 'guerra das penas': os impressos políticos e a independência do Brasil," and *Corcundas e constitucionais: a cultura política da independência (1820–1822)*; Alexandre, "O nacionalismo vintista e a questão brasileira: esboço de análise política," and *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do antigo regime*; Silva, "O império luso-brasileiro 1750–1822," 2; Silva, *A Cultura luso-brasileira*; Thomaz, *Brasileiros nas Cortes Constituintes de 1821–22*; Calasans, *Os vintistas e a regeneração económica de Portugal*; and Viana, *Apontamentos para a história diplomática, vol. 2: (A emancipação do Brasil)* (a selective bibliography chosen from the huge bibliography on the subject, centered only on the transitional years before the political breakdown of the Luso-Brazilian Empire).

<sup>23</sup> See Pereira, *A crise do Antigo Regime e as Cortes Constituintes de 1821-1822: estudo e documentos*, chapter IV, on the negotiations of this treaty, which was in force from 1824 to 1842.

to be reorganized. Lying at the root of his reforms was the need to find new financial resources for the State, but their scope was in fact much wider. They involved the whole society of the Old Regime. Reforms, some of which had been envisaged in the 1820s but then postponed, were now seen as inevitable. The Liberal State and Society in Portugal then came into being.<sup>24</sup>

Changing the old Anglo-Portuguese treaty continued to be one of the main objectives of the strong nationalist movement of the 1930s. It was essential to implement a new and modern tariff, a measure that was already prepared but had been blocked by the treaty. Fruitless negotiations led to the treaty being unilaterally renounced by Portugal in 1836. This had become the main banner of nationalism during this period, associated with strong criticism of Britain, which continued to remain a target throughout the nineteenth century.

## Conclusion

The beginning of the crisis of the Old Regime in Portugal and its empire was induced by one main external cause, the conflict between France and England. The new geography of power within the Luso-Brazilian Empire and in the triangular relationship between Portugal, Brazil, and England led to the collapse of the economic foundations of the Old Regime. If political factors lay at the origin of the crisis of the Old Regime, the economic evolution that followed deepened it and made it imperative that there should be a profound change in both society and state. The abolition of the Old Regime, which began in 1820, took over a decade to be completed, through a sequence of political and social conflicts. As a result, Crown and Nation, now bereft of the Luso-Brazilian Empire, came to share power following the guidelines established in a constitutional text that lasted for over seven decades. By then, the construction of a new African-based empire, initiated in the 1830s, was already changing Portuguese economic and political life.

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<sup>24</sup> Pereira, *Mouzinho da Silveira, Obras, Das revoluções liberais ao Estado Novo*.

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# Portugal and European Integration, 1947–1992: an essay on protected openness in the European Periphery

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## Abstract

This article analyzes Portugal's path to European integration by describing the economic policy of the country from 1947 onward; it argues that this policy of state intervention and commercial openness followed the same patterns as those found in other Western European countries even before the revolution of 1974 and accession to the EEC. A backward and dictatorial country emulated the economic policy of democratic and developed countries so that, when it joined the EEC, most trade barriers had already been dismantled. Portugal's experience sheds light on European integration outside the core group of industrialized European countries and beyond the EEC/EU experience.

## Keywords

Portugal, European integration, economic policy, twentieth-century Europe

## Resumo

Este artigo analisa o caminho português de integração europeia, desde 1947, defendendo-se que o país seguiu uma via de intervenção política de económica interna, associada à abertura ao exterior, semelhante ao que foi feito nos restantes países da Europa Ocidental, mesmo antes da Revolução de 1974. Essa semelhança de processos levou a que adesão à CEE, em 1986, acabasse por ser feita sem dificuldades de maior. A experiência portuguesa lança luz sobre a história da integração europeia, para além da história do núcleo central dos países mais industrializados, fundadores das Comunidades Europeias.

## Palavras-chave

Portugal, integração Europeia, política económica, Europa no século XX

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## Introduction

Portugal's membership of European institutions dates back to the period of the *Estado Novo*, when the country was ruled by a dictatorial regime, and its integration continued steadily through the following decades, peaking with its joining the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1986. The first steps leading to that integration began with its joining the Marshall Plan in 1948, thereby becoming a founding member of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). In 1950, Portugal joined the European Payments Union (EPU), and in 1959, the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). In 1962, it joined the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and finally, in 1972, Portugal signed a free trade agreement with the EEC. The analysis of such longstanding commitment to European integration sheds light on Portuguese political history, as well as illustrating the many ways that European integration proceeded, particularly in the western periphery of the continent. In fact, the analysis of the commitment of a peripheral and backward country, ruled by a dictatorial regime, sheds light on the history of European integration outside the group of industrialized and more developed countries. This article also analyzes the economic policy followed by Portuguese governments from the end of World War II onward, paying particular attention to the way in which policies that promoted domestic institutional development and stimulated the economy were related to measures that increased the degree of market openness. At the same time, this analysis considers the major developments that were taking place in the context of European integration.

We have two main objectives. Firstly, this article will assess Portugal's economic policy in the framework of the history of European integration. The main contention is that Portuguese economic policy followed patterns that were quite similar to those that we can find elsewhere in continental Europe, even before the democratic revolution of 1974–1976 and Portugal's accession to the EEC in 1986. Throughout the period analyzed here, the driving force of economic policy in Portugal was a combination of state intervention with measures designed to increase the exposure of the domestic economy to international market forces, above all, on a regional basis. Thus Portugal was pursuing the same economic policy as the more industrialized and democratic Western European countries.

Secondly, this article shows that, when Portugal finally joined the EEC in 1986, most trade barriers with the rest of Western Europe had already been dismantled, with the exception of those relating to agricultural goods and fisheries and, more importantly, trade with Spain. This helps to explain the relative ease of the integration of the Portuguese

economy into the EEC economy after 1986 and helps to clarify the true relevance of the membership which, seen in this light, appears relatively less important. Portugal's experience shows that European integration was not fostered by only EEC/EU membership, but that it could also be favored by other European institutions, such as the OEEC, EPU, and EFTA, and by international institutions, such as GATT. This article thus assesses the impact of Portugal's quest to join Europe on the history of European integration, by showing the relevance of the history of European integration beyond the history of the EEC/EU.

## I. The OEEC years, 1947–1958

The reconstruction of the European economy after World War II was grounded in the double aim of promoting economic growth with full employment—in order to achieve social and political stability—and giving a new role to Germany, which in the past had been a major engine for European growth. These two objectives were achieved through regional cooperation, which allowed for state intervention in the economy while maintaining an openness to market forces and international competition. The aim of the Marshall Plan and of the institutional framework of the OEEC and the EPU, established in 1948 and 1950 respectively, was to provide a solution for Western European reconstruction by assisting the recovery of European trade and, at the same time, help to solve the German question by assisting its democratic and economic reconstruction in a peaceful context. The OEEC and the EPU sought to ensure cooperation between the member states with a view to removing quantitative restrictions, and to contribute to the reestablishment of multilateral payments. State intervention and trade liberalization were thus pursued within a European regional framework.<sup>3</sup>

Initially, the Portuguese dictatorial government led by Salazar rejected the offer of Marshall aid and displayed an ambiguous position toward European cooperation, taking the official position that the country's development did not require any external assistance.<sup>4</sup> However, the difficult economic situation in which the country found itself led the government to reverse its initial position. World War II had had a positive impact on Portugal's balance of payments, as exports had increased and imports dwindled. Yet a large share of the gold and foreign exchange reserves thus accumulated had to be spent in 1947

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<sup>3</sup> Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945–1951*.

<sup>4</sup> Rollo, *Portugal e o Plano Marshall. Da Rejeição à Solicitação da Ajuda Financeira Norte-Americana, 1947–1952*.

on large imports of foodstuffs due to the bad agricultural production of that year. The pressing need for dollars caused the government to change its ideas regarding the Marshall Plan.<sup>5</sup> The fact that Portugal had joined the OEEC at its commencement, and then the EPU, meant the abandonment of the autarkic policies of the prewar period, calling for participation in the new European economic order and the endorsement of the same economic policy as the one pursued by the other Western European countries.<sup>6</sup> Crucially, this change in strategy was not announced publicly, as the government continued with its imperial rhetoric, presenting its situation as incompatible with European integration.<sup>7</sup>

The Portuguese government was not unprepared for Portugal's being opened up to international competition or for its economic integration with the other European countries: in fact this process was accompanied by government intervention, exactly as was happening in the other Western European countries.<sup>8</sup> By the time Portugal joined the OEEC, its economic policy was essentially contained within the 1935 Law of Economic Reconstitution, scheduled to remain in force until 1950. This law was the Portuguese state's first economic plan and the keystone for the many economic intervention tools created or reinforced by the state during its period of autarky in the 1930s. It detailed the new functions that the state sought to exercise and those it was permitted to exercise following the financial recovery for which Salazar was responsible during his first years in government. Moreover, the law sought to establish a framework for public and private investment by promoting the construction of infrastructures and the creation or strengthening of those industrial sectors that were considered to be of strategic importance for the national economy. In 1952 a new economic plan, the First Development Plan, was published, covering the years from 1953 to 1958. The plan consolidated the state's determination to intervene in the construction of infrastructures and to promote manufacturing as well as the agricultural sector.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ferreira, "A estratégia para a adesão às instituições europeias"; Pinto and Teixeira, "Portugal e a integração europeia, 1945–1986."

<sup>6</sup> For an analysis and comparison of the economic policy of Western European nations, Portugal included, see Crafts and Toniolo, *Economic Growth in Europe since 1945*. Portugal's commitment to integration with the rest of Europe is also described by Eichengreen (*The European economy since 1945: coordinated capitalism and beyond*, 204–5).

<sup>7</sup> This rhetoric was very successful, as it survived the dictatorship and was absorbed by most historians, even those that were not connected to the regime. The acceptance of Marshall Aid has been comprehensively studied only by Rollo (*Portugal e o Plano Marshall. Da Rejeição à Solicitação da Ajuda Financeira Norte-Americana, 1947–1952*), and the compatibility of the Empire with European integration has only been fully expressed by Leitão ("Portugal's European integration policy, 1947–1972"; *Estado Novo, Democracia e Europa, 1947–1986*).

<sup>8</sup> Crafts and Toniolo, *Economic Growth in Europe since 1945*; Eichengreen, *The European economy since 1945: coordinated capitalism and beyond*.

<sup>9</sup> Lains, "O Estado e a industrialização em Portugal, 1945–1990".

Participation in the OEEC, the Law of Economic Reconstitution, and the First Development Plan represented the framework for what would become the economic policy of the New State, continuing practically until its downfall. The first represented the beginning of Portugal's association with the institutions of economic cooperation and international trade regulation, making its opening up to the outside world possible without endangering other policies aimed at favoring the country's economic specialization. The Law and the Plan gave the state the necessary levers for influencing this economic and industrial specialization. This framing of economic policy was accompanied by other measures that proved to be of equal help and consisted of policies designed to control inflation and the prices of some essential products, as well as policies designed to ensure that the public accounts were balanced and to uphold the value of the currency.<sup>10</sup> Thus, from the end of World War II onward, the economic policy pursued by Portugal in the 1950s followed similar patterns to those of the other Western European countries: the opening up of the market and state intervention.

## II. The EFTA years, 1959–1974

For the six governments that signed the Treaty of Rome in 1957, which established the EEC, the new Community was an instrument intended to guarantee what was seen as essential for their economic growth: maintaining the dynamism of the flow of exports to an area, the hub of which was the Federal Republic of Germany, by means of a regional trading area protected from international competition. In this regional and protected area, trade barriers would be eliminated, and exports, considered essential for economic growth, would increase.<sup>11</sup> As rapid and deep integration required some similarities in terms of economic structures, peripheral nations were excluded from the EEC because of their limited potential for integration. In the case of Portugal, however, political questions were also important, given the difficulty of allowing a dictatorship to join institutions ruled by democratic principles. In any case, the exclusion of Portugal from the EEC did not mean that there was any interruption to this country's pattern of integration with other Western European countries.

Exports are essential for a small country, and Portugal had the chance to benefit from the reaction to the creation of the EEC on the part of the more industrialized OEEC

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<sup>10</sup> Lains, "Catching-up to the European core. Portuguese economic growth, 1910–1990."

<sup>11</sup> Milward, *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*

countries, which in 1959 established the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) as a means of dismantling customs tariffs on industrial products. Portugal's membership of this new international institution can be considered exceptional, as it was the only non-industrialized country allowed to join. The governments and producers of the United Kingdom and the other EFTA members could have resisted the incorporation of a low-wage country into their free trade area. However, because of the small size of the Portuguese economy, they were willing to make an exception. By becoming a member of EFTA, the Portuguese government was obliged to begin dismantling its customs barriers, although it did negotiate special clauses that allowed it to proceed at a more gradual pace, thereby giving its emerging industrial sectors some time to adapt. In addition to this, Portugal managed to guarantee the opening up of EFTA markets to exports of some of the country's processed agricultural products—which it succeeded in having defined as industrial product—and thereby benefited from the lower duties of its EFTA partners. Taking on yet further obligations to liberalize, Portugal joined GATT in 1962.<sup>12</sup>

This opening up of the Portuguese economy stimulated the development of the industrial structure and, as a result, Portuguese textiles and other light industrial products started to penetrate Western European markets. While the share of agricultural products decreased after 1960, the share of textiles, apparel, and footwear rose from 16 percent in 1958 to 30 percent in 1973. A similar trend appeared in exports of chemicals and machinery. In this sense, EFTA membership led to a substantial increase in trade and, to a certain extent, in foreign investment, as well as a surge in export-oriented industries in sectors where Portugal had a comparative advantage. It should, however, be noted that, despite the important role that EFTA played in increasing Portuguese exports, the expansion of its exports to EEC countries became even more important since both the Federal Republic and France were, at that time, the motors of Western Europe's economy due to their size and rapid growth.<sup>13</sup>

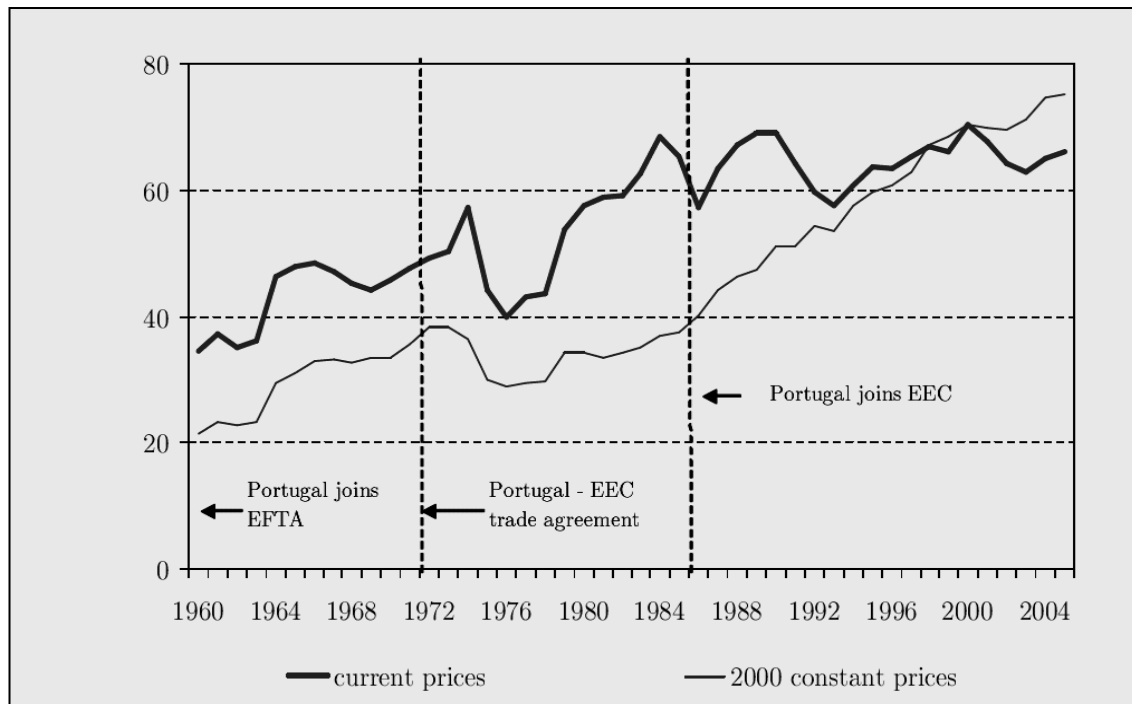
Thanks to the opening up of trade achieved with membership of EFTA and GATT, the share of exports in GNP increased from 15 percent in the 1950s to 26 percent in 1973. Moreover, as Figure 1 shows, the degree of openness of the Portuguese economy increased substantially from 1960 to 1972. Measured at constant prices, it increased from 20 percent to almost 40 percent, while at current prices it increased from 35 percent to almost 50 percent.

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<sup>12</sup> Lopes, *A Economia Portuguesa desde 1960*.

<sup>13</sup> Eichengreen, *The European economy since 1945: coordinated capitalism and beyond*, 205–7; Xavier, *Portugal e a Integração Económica Europeia*.

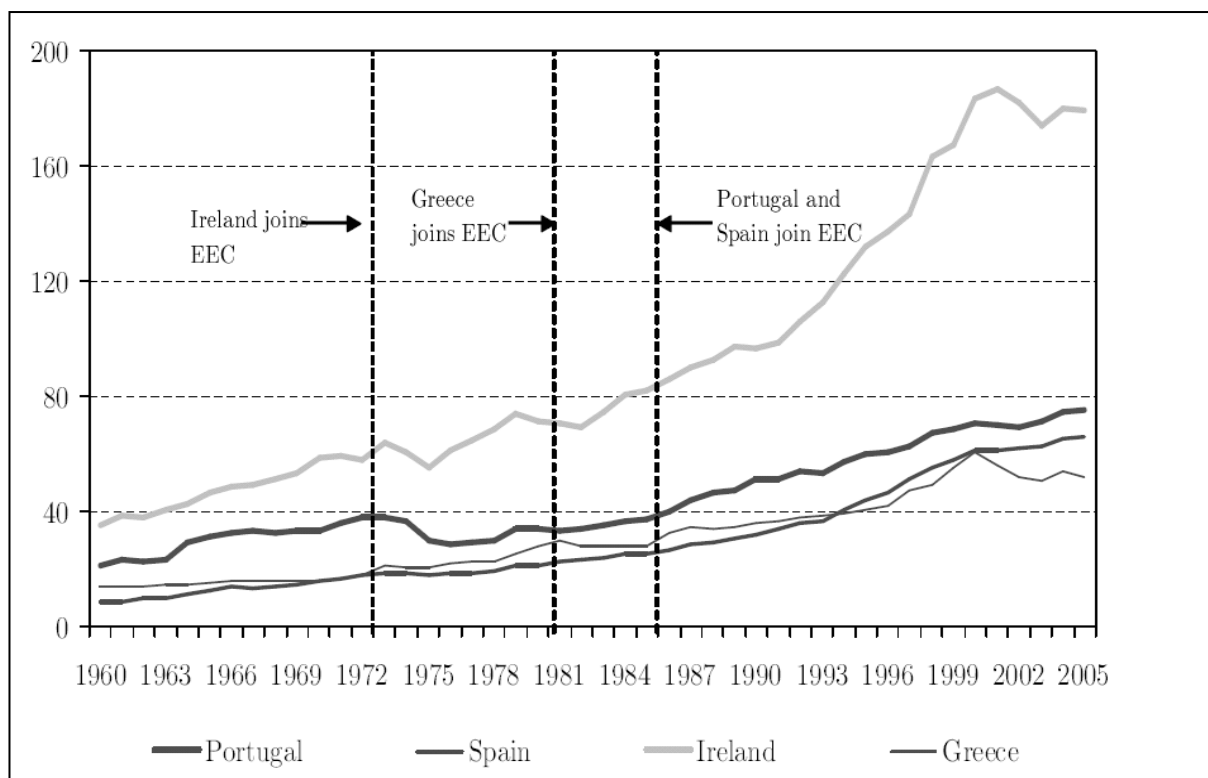
Figure 1: Trade openness ratio (imports and exports as a percentage of GDP; current prices)



Source: Amador, Cabral, and Maria, "International trade patterns over the last four decades: how does Portugal compare with other cohesion countries?" 4.

Figure 2 makes a comparison between the degree of openness of the Portuguese economy and those of the other EU Cohesion Fund beneficiaries: Ireland, Spain, and Greece. It also shows that, together with Ireland, Portugal was the country that most opened up its economy in the 1960s.

Figure 2: Trade openness ratio (imports and exports as a percentage of GDP; constant 2000 prices)



Source: Amador, Cabral, and Maria, "International trade patterns over the last four decades: how does Portugal compare with other cohesion countries?" 4.

The growth in industrial exports, remittances from emigrants, and capital imports allowed Portugal to maintain its external balance with low levels of inflation and a relatively stable exchange rate. Such a favorable external balance of payments enabled the government to continue with its policy of low interest rates and a balanced budget, thus encouraging the growth of both private and public investment. Opportunities for private investment in industry closely accompanied the structural transformations in internal demand resulting from improvements in living standards and the increase in external demand. The service sector grew in the same manner, primarily in banking and other financial services, commerce, health, and education. In the meantime, the Portuguese government used the finances made available as a result of the favorable macroeconomic situation to promote industrialization programs through direct intervention or the application of powerful protection mechanisms. The intervention of the Portuguese state in industry was mainly directed toward those sectors that were considered fundamental, such as energy production and transport. Without this intervention, the country's electricity grid would not have expanded so rapidly, nor would it have been able to develop a cement industry, a national iron industry, fertilizers, or chemicals in general. These sectors were not new to the country, and their expansion depended—to a large extent—on accumulated

experiences, particularly during the interwar period. However, none of them would have grown at the rate that they did without state support. It must be stressed that this support was not merely indicative or marginal; on the contrary, it involved substantial financial assistance and guaranteed market controls. In some sectors, the existence of colonial markets—particularly for the sale of goods—was a distinct advantage, especially now that there was no advantage to be gained from the supply of colonial primary resources.<sup>14</sup> Following the policies established during the 1930s, agriculture in Portugal continued to enjoy strong state protection via the regulation of markets, price controls, and public investment in infrastructure. Nevertheless, this protection was not sufficient to enable the sector to respond to the loss of labor to industry, the service sector, and emigration. And in fact, it was during the 1960s, a period of strong industrialization and growth in industrial exports that, for the first time, Portugal's agricultural sector experienced a population loss, accompanied by a sharp decline in production.<sup>15</sup>

The Salazar government's economic policy during these years continued to be marked by the development plans that came to be important references not only for the actions of the government itself but also for the corporative infrastructure that was being formed and helped banks and industrial and agricultural companies to make decisions. The *Estado Novo* revealed itself not so much through the definition of a corporatist regime but through the fact that it had successfully managed to have its directives followed by a large network of public and private institutions, with the peak of this entire organization being occupied by the development plans.<sup>16</sup> Table 1 gives an idea of the importance of the development plans by illustrating their share of Portuguese GDP.

Table 1: Economic Planning in Portugal (1935–1973)  
(total expenditure as a percentage of investment and GDP)

|           | 1935–1950 | 1953–1958 | 1954–1964 | 1965–1967 | 1968–1973 |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| % of GFCF | -         | 14.2%     | 20.4%     | 42.9%     | 39.1%     |
| % of GDP  | <2%       | 2.4%      | 4.3%      | 9.6%      | 10.1%     |

Source: Lains, "O Estado e a industrialização em Portugal, 1945–1990," 928.

<sup>14</sup> Lopes, *A Economia Portuguesa desde 1960*.

<sup>15</sup> Lains, "Catching-up to the European core. Portuguese economic growth, 1910–1990."

<sup>16</sup> There were development plans for 1959–1964, an interim plan for 1965–1967, and another one for 1968–1973. There was a fourth plan, covering the years 1974–1979, which was not implemented due to the 1974 "revolution." These documents, which also contained sections dealing with the colonies, are extremely useful for analyzing the Portuguese economy.

The fact that the country was enjoying a phase of greater openness to the outside world did not impede the continuation of its domestic interventionist policies. The agreement with EFTA gave the government flexibility and space for these interventions. Portugal's high level of state intervention, which was not unique in continental Europe, was compatible with the gradual opening up of the economy to external trade: indeed, it was an element that facilitated the opening of the borders to foreign products. Portugal's membership in EFTA represented a phase of internationalization of the Portuguese economy that also allowed for state intervention. For this reason, the period of EFTA membership can be described as a period of controlled openness, during which the state maintained—and even increased—its role in the management of the economy. This happened in Portugal just as it also happened in other European countries, whether or not they were members of the EEC. Portugal was therefore following policies similar to those pursued by most of the other Western European countries, characterized by the removal of trade barriers and public intervention in the economy.

The *Estado Novo's* economic policy entered a period of decline during the final phases of the regime, and in particular during Marcello Caetano's consulate. This decline owed much to increases in the degree of political debate and to the problems the Portuguese economy began to face at the end of the 1960s. Even if the good rate of growth persisted, the increasing budgetary difficulties caused by the colonial wars, previously unknown increases in inflation levels, and the impact of the international recession came to trouble the Portuguese economy.

It was against this background that Portugal had to face the first enlargement of the EEC in 1973, which incorporated the United Kingdom, Denmark, and Ireland. The enlargement of the EEC undermined the role of EFTA, as the United Kingdom and Denmark were forced to leave this organization. At this point, it became essential for Lisbon to look for a solution that would enable Portugal to strengthen its trade preferences with the enlarged EEC. The solution was provided by the bilateral Free Trade Agreements (FTA) that the EEC signed with those countries that remained in EFTA. The agreement between the EEC and Portugal was signed in 1972 and proved to be crucial in enabling tariff barriers to be dismantled in the industrial sector, a process that was practically completed by the time Portugal eventually joined the EEC in 1986.<sup>17</sup> In this sense, membership of EFTA (and then the FTA signed with the EEC) played a key role in dismantling trade barriers.

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<sup>17</sup> Sampedro and Payno, *The enlargement of the European Community: case studies of Greece, Portugal and Spain*.

### III. Revolution, crisis, and recovery, 1974–1986

The termination of the Bretton Woods agreement over exchange rate policy in 1971–1973 and the hike in oil prices during the autumn of 1973 brought an end to two decades of international economic growth and monetary stability.<sup>18</sup> The 1970s was a period of economic crisis, during which almost all countries suffered from inflation, a balance of payments deficit, and a sluggish rate of economic growth. In this period, the EEC tried to adapt to the international economic crisis and the accompanying exchange rate turbulence and to assimilate the first enlargement. The governments of the EEC member states reacted to the contraction of the international economy and the rising inflation and unemployment rates by introducing national economic protection measures. This reemergence of state protection was possible because the EEC lacked the effective powers to intervene in many aspects of market regulation and state subsidies. At the same time, the EEC members reacted to the exchange rate instability by trying to move from transatlantic cooperation to EEC cooperation, with the creation of the Snake agreement in 1973 and then with the establishment of the European Monetary System (EMS) in 1979. Moreover, they made decisions that would prove to be crucial for its subsequent development, such as the institutionalization of the European Council in 1975, the direct election of members to the European Parliament in 1979, and the implementation of the EEC regional policy.<sup>19</sup>

The development of the EEC regional policy was favorable to Portuguese economic policy and deserves some more attention here. The EEC Summit at The Hague in 1969 and the “completion, deepening, and enlargement” objectives it set (foreseeing the entry of new members with backward regions and the implementation of the monetary union) enlarged the support base for the regional policy as a way of reducing regional inequalities and favoring a balanced development of the Community. During the accession negotiations, the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark supported the creation of a Regional Development Fund (as it came to be known) and were joined not only by the less developed member, Italy, but also by France and Germany, interested in implementing a monetary union. While there remained some disagreement over the way in which the Fund would be financed, even the more liberal stances accepted the principle that the enlargement of the Community to less developed areas and the implementation of the monetary union had to be accompanied by financial compensations for the weaker

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<sup>18</sup> James, *International Monetary Cooperation since Bretton Woods*.

<sup>19</sup> Eichengreen, *The European economy since 1945: coordinated capitalism and beyond*, 225–51; Griffith (2006).

economies. Therefore, once again, in the economic policy of the EEC, the further opening up of the economies that would follow its enlargement to include new members or the creation of a monetary union would be accompanied by state intervention.<sup>20</sup>

This was the EEC that in the 1980s would undergo a second enlargement, with the entry of Greece in 1981, followed by Portugal and Spain in 1986. The military coup of April 1974 and the inauguration of the democratic period with the first constitutional government two years later improved the possibility of Portugal becoming a member of the EEC. Thus, Portugal's democratization and the transformation of the EEC as a result of its 1973 enlargement paved the way for Portugal's later membership. The Community was no longer a small group of countries with fairly similar per capita income levels, a large degree of interdependence, and important political affinities. This eased the enlargement while the internal EEC development with the implementation of a common regional policy seemed to further increase the advantages that Portugal could enjoy from membership.

In 1977, Portugal's Prime Minister, Mário Soares, called for negotiations to be opened with a view to Portugal's membership. Formal negotiations began in October 1978, but it was not until 1980 that discussions of substantive matters finally got under way, coming to an end in 1984. The long road to membership resulted from the fact that the Portuguese economy was not in any condition to bear rapid membership and the fact that Portugal—and the world—had entered a recession.<sup>21</sup> Portugal's economic problems were not born with the 1974 revolution, nor were they brought about by the 1973 oil shock. Rather they were the result—in no particular order of significance—of the country's involvement in colonial wars and the consequent difficulties of military finance, a profound crisis in agricultural production (with knock-on effects for the country's trade deficit), the slowdown of industrial growth, the difficulties of financing the emerging social security system, and state-controlled price subsidies. Between October and November 1973, oil prices quadrupled, aggravating the inflationary tendencies that had been felt since the end of the 1960s. For the first time in decades, the rate of inflation in Portugal reached 20 percent in 1974.

As Figure 1 shows, the increase in Portugal's degree of openness to trade was reversed between 1974 and 1976, both in nominal and real terms. This change is explained

<sup>20</sup> Dinan, *Europe Recast. A History of European Union*, 149; Griffith (2006).

<sup>21</sup> Vallera, "The negotiation process"; Vilaça, "Portugal and European integration—negotiations and legal implications"; Ferreira, "A estratégia para a adesão às instituições europeias"; and Dinan, *Europe Recast. A History of European Union*, 105. The Portuguese economy experienced a period of extremely rapid growth between 1950 and 1973, which suggests that in that final year, the country was closer to the richest European countries than at any other time in its history. Lains, "Catching-up to the European core: Portuguese economic growth, 1910–1990."

by the fact that the revolutionary period led to an increase in relative unit labor costs and, consequently, to a reduction in real exports, while real imports decreased as a result of the postponement of investment decisions. Furthermore, the decline in the degree of trade openness measured at current prices was also due to monetary shocks. In fact, the sharp increase in inflation after April 1974 was not accompanied by nominal exchange rate depreciations, thus leading to an increase in the GDP deflator that was higher than that of exports and imports. The *Estado Novo*'s institutional framework was rigid, and it very soon demonstrated its unsuitability for dealing with a situation of inflationary pressure.<sup>22</sup>

The rigidity inherited from the *Estado Novo* was not challenged by the governments that followed the 1974 coup. The first provisional governments, not yet openly Marxist or collectivist, were far too weak to confront the discontent that the necessary price increases would bring. The populist governments that followed in 1975 were happy to retain the measures controlling both prices and salaries, as they formed part of the extreme left's model of governance. Moreover, the governments that emerged after the coup had yet to come to terms with the fact that public sector wages had not been adjusted to match the increases in prices, and were forced to make extraordinary increases to these salaries while also introducing a national minimum wage. Other significant sources of disequilibrium resulted from the huge influx of Portuguese nationals coming to the country from the former African colonies and the reduction in the remittances being sent by Portuguese emigrants in Europe, as well as the decline in exports and capital imports. Portugal's economic problems did not differ much in essence from those that affected the rest of Western Europe. The other countries also felt the need to make important changes to the structure of their economies because of the reduced external competitiveness of some industrial sectors, particularly the more traditional ones connected with basic industries.<sup>23</sup>

Spain and Portugal took an important step toward their future EEC membership by signing a bilateral trade agreement in 1980. The trade agreements made by the two countries with the EEC in 1970 and 1972 respectively had effectively led to important reductions in customs tariffs with the European partners but had done nothing to advance the liberalization of trade relations between the two Iberian countries. However, the 1980 agreement did not extend to three crucial areas, notably the reduction in trade barriers, the

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<sup>22</sup> Amador, Cabral, Maria, "International trade patterns over the last four decades: how does Portugal compare with other cohesion countries?" 4; Crespo, Fontoura, and Barry, "EU enlargement and the Portuguese economy."

<sup>23</sup> Lains, "Catching-up to the European core: Portuguese economic growth, 1910–1990."

fisheries sector, and the reduction in agricultural tariffs. It was only with EEC membership that these three important areas would also be liberalized.<sup>24</sup>

#### IV. EEC and EMU membership, 1986–1992

Like the 1970s, the 1980s were also characterized by the combined effects of an enlargement of the Community, the deepening of existing policies, and the launch of new ones. These developments favored Portuguese membership. By the end of the 1970s, the objective of establishing a common market—set by the Treaty of Rome in 1957—had not been achieved. As tariff barriers were being phased out, EEC members began to erect new barriers among themselves, leading to a fragmentation of the common market. Because of this combination of a poor macroeconomic performance and the failure to achieve a real common market, pressures started to mount: a comprehensive and systematic response was required to address the problems created by the “incomplete” Europe and to resolve what had become known as “Eurosclerosis.” The arguments in favor of completing the Community market were supported by the idea that the abolition of the barriers existing to the free circulation of labor, capital, goods, and services, together with the reduced intervention of the state in the economy, would lead to productivity gains and economic growth.<sup>25</sup>

It was against this background that the EEC member states took the initiative to stimulate economic growth by continuing to promote market integration and liberalization at both a regional and a multilateral level. At a multilateral level, negotiations were started in 1986 at the Uruguay Round of GATT with a view to enhancing the liberalization of international trade; at a regional level, in the same year, the EEC member states signed the Single European Act (SEA), which formalized the Community’s commitment to the implementation of a single market by December 1992 through the introduction of reforms leading to the free circulation of goods, capital, services, and people. At the same time, the EEC members were aware that, if they wished to further enhance economic growth, it was also necessary to enlarge the market. Thus, in the same year as the SEA was signed, Portugal and Spain became new members.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Hibou, “Greece and Portugal: convergent or divergent Europeanization?” 237.

<sup>25</sup> Sapir et al., *An Agenda for a Growing Europe: the Sapir Report*.

<sup>26</sup> Dinan, *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*; Eichengreen, *The European economy since 1945: coordinated capitalism and beyond*.

The SEA established a direct link between the creation of a single market and the need to promote economic cohesion within the EEC. The first Delors package for 1988–1992 increased the size of structural funds for investment in infrastructures and human capital. In this way, it linked the creation of the single market to an increase in transfers to poorer countries or regions, in order to help them improve their competitiveness.<sup>27</sup> The enlargement that brought Greece, Spain, and Portugal into the Community was thus associated with the reaffirmation of the principle that richer countries should contribute more fully in order to compensate for the short-term negative effects of opening up the economies of the less developed countries, in order to allow the EEC economy to grow in a more balanced way.

Thus, EEC economic policy favored Portugal at a time when the country was undergoing considerable political and economic transformations thanks to the convergence of the interests of the two main parties in the “Bloco Central” (Central Bloc) governments. Stabilization had been associated with changes to some of the political fundamentals inherited from the most intense revolutionary period. The 1982 revision of the Constitution abolished the Council of the Revolution, which up until then had been playing an increasingly less significant role in the political system. It was also necessary to revise that part of the Constitution stating that the 1975 nationalizations of the banking sector were irreversible. Domestic stabilization passed an important test with the balance of payments crisis provoked by the second 1979 oil shock and the European recession that followed. In 1979 and in 1983, the Portuguese governments signed agreements with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for loans that would allow for a restructuring of the foreign debt while helping to restore external equilibrium. Such loans were accompanied by budget cuts and tax increases, undertaken by the “Bloco Central” government led by the socialist Prime Minister Mário Soares.

Negotiations over membership were therefore backed by the domestic reforms that Portugal had undertaken and by the EEC’s aim of deepening and enlarging its market as a way of promoting economic growth. However, negotiations were also eased by the fact that, since 1947, Portugal had already been making efforts to open up its economy to other Western European countries, with the result that the only country that remained highly protected from Portuguese exports was Spain. Moreover, the Portuguese negotiators made relatively few demands, and those that it did make were centered on financial compensation for agriculture and fisheries. The development of the Delors packages was

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<sup>27</sup> Beach, *The Dynamics of European Integration: Why and When EU Institutions Matter*, 56.

more of an unexpected bonus than it was the result of Portuguese pressure and concerns. This attitude of passivity was, in any case, rewarding, thanks to the favorable moment that the EEC economy was enjoying at the time of Portuguese accession.<sup>28</sup>

Portugal's membership of the EEC was followed by the introduction of economic policy measures designed to compensate for the eventual negative effects of the country's fully opening up its relatively backward economy to its more developed partners. These measures, financed by the Community budget, were designed to stimulate public and private investment in priority areas, which included the restructuring of agriculture and investment in infrastructure and communications, as well as in the education of the workforce. They enabled Portuguese agriculture to adapt to external competition, furnished the country with a modern transport and communications infrastructure, and improved the skills of the country's human resources. Moreover, they had an impact at the level of macroeconomic balances, since the unilateral transfer of structural funds helped to finance the balance of current transactions. One must, however, acknowledge that not everything was positive about the application of the CAP and the use of structural funds, even though the benefits most likely exceeded the drawbacks.<sup>29</sup> In any case, what matters here is that Portuguese membership of the EEC meant the continuation of the economic policy that had been pursued since 1947: the opening up of the economy coupled with state intervention, which was now carried out with the structural funds of the EEC. As Figure 1 shows, membership in the EEC paved the way for a second and most important wave of liberalization in Portuguese international trade, further increasing the openness of the economy. However, for Portugal, membership did not represent a turning point in its economic policy, but simply the continuation of an economic policy that had been followed since 1947.

The integration of the European economies was given another push with the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, which established the EU and the EMU, the 1997 Growth and Stability Pact, and the implementation of a single currency between 1999 and 2002. Following the Spanish lead, the launch of the EMU was accompanied by an increase in the EU's economic intervention capacity, made possible by the introduction of cohesion funds in the II Delors Package.<sup>30</sup> The EMU resulted in a considerable increase in the intensity of economic relations between member states, particularly in terms of the trade

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<sup>28</sup> Hibou, "Greece and Portugal: convergent or divergent Europeanization?" 212–13.

<sup>29</sup> Allen, "Cohesion and structural funds: transfers and trade-offs," 243–66; and Royo and Manuel, "Introdução."

<sup>30</sup> Powell, "A adesão espanhola à União Europeia revisitada," 200–1.

taking place in goods and services and capital transactions. However, the EMU was established during a period of deep recession and declining economic growth, particularly in Spain and Portugal.

In trying to assess the Portuguese experience of European integration after its accession to the EEC, the implementation of the EMU and the 2004 enlargement, it should be noted that since 1986, there has been little development in the EU's public policies. In other words, growing economic integration has been accompanied only by the continuation of already existing compensation policies. This is negatively reinforced by the fact that national governments are less able to intervene in economic matters, since they can no longer control their own exchange rates to effect short-term changes to international competition, and since they are obliged to maintain the state deficit within the limits imposed by the Stability and Growth Pact.

For Portugal, membership of the EEC, the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, and participation in adoption of the euro are all hugely important developments that make it possible to anticipate brighter prospects for economic development over the medium to long term. Portugal's economy is small, so its development depends on ever greater integration into the international economy, and its adoption of the EU's euro is the best guarantee of this. However, participation in an economic and monetary union with wealthier countries has had considerable effects on the Portuguese economy. Opening up the country's trade to the outside world has led to a series of fundamental changes to the structure of the Portuguese economy, changes that are unequivocally linked to improvements in productivity, and therefore in the country's ability to compete with the other EU countries.

The international specialization of the Portuguese economy in 2005 was less favorable to an increase in the country's economic growth than the situation that existed in 1992, since those sectors with lower levels of labor and capital productivity have become increasingly important. These are the clear and inevitable costs associated with adapting to a more competitive world. In the history of the European Communities, these costs of growth have tended to be compensated for by policies of public support to mitigate the negative effects, help less developed countries to increase their competitiveness, and allow for a balanced growth of the EEC/EU economies. These support mechanisms have, however, been worth little, not only because they reached levels that were too low in the context of the EU budget but also because the enlargement of the EU to twenty-five member states in 2004 increased the number of regions and countries that were competing

for funds. Additionally, it is possible that the results of similar policies may be less impressive nowadays than they were two or three decades ago, precisely because modern economies are more competitive.

As such, it is difficult to conceive of an immediate solution to the problems of adaptation faced by a poor country when seeking to integrate further into a community composed of countries that are richer and more developed in terms of industry, services, and market capital. It is also possible to conclude that there may be no solution, and that any attempts to correct the processes that are already underway will only serve to aggravate Portugal's situation. The fact that there is no immediate solution does not, however, detract from the advantages that European integration has brought a country like Portugal.

Nonetheless, we must take into consideration the problems that this integration has brought to the Portuguese economy. Furthermore, we have to be aware that the possible solution to the problems in the short term will inevitably be the introduction of measures designed to make existing norms more flexible. This was certainly what the European Commission was thinking when it allowed Portugal some leeway in its attempts to reduce the state's budget deficit, extending the deadline until 2008. The strengthening of pan-European projects, such as those contained in the Lisbon Strategy or those related to the development of communications, may also play an important role in mitigating the disadvantages that integration has brought to the less developed countries and regions.

## Conclusion

Economic integration has been a central feature of Western European history since the end of World War II. The intensity of this process has varied considerably during this period, depending in particular on the degree of involvement demonstrated by the different countries and the intensity of the areas in which the mechanisms of integration have occurred. The involvement of each country has depended on national political conditions and the actual dynamics of the integration process.

This article has described the Portuguese path to integration by illustrating the economic policy of the country since the end of World War II; it has also shown how this policy was grounded in domestic intervention and the opening up of the economy to international competition, a key factor in a small country for which exports were essential. This policy was financed by Portugal's joining such European institutions as the OEEC, the EPU and EFTA in the 1950s, and GATT at the beginning of the 1960s; its signing of

the FTA with the EEC in 1972; its passing of the Economic Reconstitution Law; and its implementation of Development Plans in the 1950s and '60s. In this sense, Portugal followed the same economic policy as other Western European countries. In other words, a peripheral and backward country, ruled by a dictatorship, emulated the economic policy of the democratic, industrialized, and more developed European countries. Thus, even before accession, government policies in Portugal did not differ substantially from those of the rest of Western Europe.

Moreover, the country's participation in the OEEC and the EPU, its membership of EFTA, and then the signing of the FTA agreement with the EEC, allowed Portugal to progressively internationalize its economy, adapting to European competition and integrating with the European economy. These earlier steps in integration paved the way for Portugal's accession to the EEC in 1986. As a matter of fact, when the country eventually joined, most of its trade had already been opened up, and membership of the EEC was above all crucial for ensuring greater integration with Spain. Moreover, after joining the Community, Portugal continued to pursue a policy based simultaneously on state intervention (now involving the use of the structural funds of the EEC/EU) and a greater openness of the economy through its participation in the Single Market Program and then the EMU. Thus, for Portugal, joining the EEC did not represent a breaking point, but simply the continuation of an economic policy that had already been pursued since 1947.

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# Portuguese History in a Global Context

Onésimo T. Almeida<sup>1</sup>

The founding team, which also composes the group of editors of the *e-Journal of Portuguese History* decided to celebrate the journal's tenth year of existence by organizing a colloquium where some key issues in Portuguese History could be revisited. The idea was to make it happen in an American university since that would present an opportunity to bring those issues to the English-speaking world, particularly through the ensuing publication of the papers. The goal was to revisit some key topics of the most important periods of Portuguese history. It was also decided to dedicate a closing session to four significant books on Portuguese themes by Anglo-American historians. However, given the fact that it was a colloquium to take place in an English-speaking country, it seemed fitting to find a venue to honor some Anglo-American historians who have devoted significant parts of their careers to the study of Portuguese history. This, it was thought, would be best done through the dedication of a special session of the colloquium to their works. An agreement was easily reached on the authors: Charles Boxer, Peter E. Russell, A. J. R. Russell-Wood, and Kenneth Maxwell, four lusophile historians whose writings have greatly contributed to the understanding of Portuguese history not only in the English-speaking world but also in the Lusophone world. Of course, when a list of this kind includes a figure of the stature of Charles Boxer, whose scholarly breadth covers centuries, any attempt of assessing his work becomes an impossible task. To complicate matters, Russell-Wood's writings also, though to a much lesser degree, covered various centuries. The same holds for Maxwell, who started as an historian of the Enlightenment but later moved to twentieth-century topics. It was then agreed that the revisitation should focus on one single book of each author.

The next step was to identify Portuguese scholars to take on those four books. Some of the choices were more than obvious. Diogo Ramada Curto had recently edited the complete works of Charles Boxer, and the Medievalist Luís Adão da Fonseca has written extensively on Medieval Portugal and particularly on the Luso-British relations in the late fourteenth century, hence his natural selection to take on Peter Russell's book. Nuno

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Monteiro's academic credentials for his work on the Portuguese Enlightenment made him a natural choice to revisit Kenneth Maxwell's classic on the subject. Mafalda Soares da Cunha was the unanimously suggested name for the assessment of Russell-Wood's work.

The colloquium took place at Brown University on 11–12 October 2012 and the above mentioned particular session actually closed the event. As in all sessions, an open discussion followed.

Afterwards, the authors of the papers were asked to take into account the comments, criticisms, and suggestions received and to prepare a final version to be published in this issue of the *e-Journal of Portuguese History*. As it turned out, Diogo Ramada Curto's paper took on a life of its own, expanding to become a long essay distancing itself from the format and approach of the other three. The editors of the *e-jph* opted to publish it as a separate article in this same issue of our journal. The complete program of the event can be found on the website of the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies of Brown University, that hosted the colloquium:

[http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese\\_Brazilian\\_Studies/events/documents/PortHistGlobContProg1.pdf](http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/events/documents/PortHistGlobContProg1.pdf)

The other papers presented at the conference should also appear in the next issues of this journal.

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**A key book about the Portuguese Fourteenth century:  
*The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of  
Edward II and Richard II* by Peter E. Russell**

Luís Adão da Fonseca<sup>1</sup>

Peter Russell is not an unknown name in the *e-Journal of Portuguese History* since, at the time of his death, this journal published a small dossier devoted to his work, with studies by João Gouveia Monteiro, Maria Cristina Pimenta, and Stefan Halikowski Smith.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, it seemed interesting to include a paper on a book by this author in the program for this symposium. In fact, what has been written about this historian discusses his biography and work in general terms and, as far as I know, in addition to the traditional book reviews, there is no text specifically dedicated to his most important work, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward II and Richard II*, published in 1955.

Peter Edward Lionel Russell Wheeler—Sir Peter Russell—the son of a British Army officer, was born in New Zealand in 1913 and died in Oxford in 2006. Through his family connections, he was the heir of people that had been linked to distant worlds for several generations. As Ian Michael writes, Peter Russell was “a product of the outposts of the British Empire.”<sup>3</sup> But in professional terms, as Cristina Pimenta has shown us, he belonged to a broad set of non-Portuguese historians “who, either in the pursuit of their own research interests or for some other reason, have ended up bringing a fresh approach to some important themes in [Portuguese] historical knowledge.”<sup>4</sup> This group of historians, insufficiently analyzed in global terms but reasonably well studied for the British case (taking into account the works of Jorge Borges de Macedo,<sup>5</sup> as well as Patrícia Obder de Baubeta and Richard Robinson<sup>6</sup>), represents an important historiographical core which cannot be ignored. Peter Russell is part of a significant group of illustrious British historians who have devoted themselves to Portuguese history, a group that includes Edgar

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<sup>2</sup> Monteiro, “Sir Peter E. Russell—the 20th Century in the Palm of His Hand”; Pimenta, “Sir Peter Russell and Portuguese History: The Story of a Great Passion”; Smith, “Obituary: Sir Peter E. L. Russell died 22 June 2006.”

<sup>3</sup> Michael, “Sir Peter Russell (1913–2006),” 1133.

<sup>4</sup> Pimenta, “Sir Peter Russell and Portuguese History: The Story of a Great Passion, 1.”

<sup>5</sup> Macedo, “A propósito do centenário da Aliança Luso-Britânica: A historiografia britânica em Portugal.”

<sup>6</sup> Baubeta and Robinson, “Lusophonia.”

Prestage (1869–1951)<sup>7</sup> and Charles Ralph Boxer (1904–2000)<sup>8</sup> as its best known names. But other figures can also be mentioned, such as William James Entwistle (Professor of Spanish at King's College, London [1895–1952]<sup>9</sup>); Alan David Francis (the author of a major study on the Treaty of Methuen),<sup>10</sup> or Richard Robinson (the author of *Contemporary Portugal: A History*<sup>11</sup>). And yet other names could be mentioned among the living scholars.

When his parents divorced, Peter Russell moved to live with his mother in England at a relatively early age (he was 16), and attended Cheltenham College, Gloucestershire, a prestigious Victorian school. He studied at Oxford and, in the 1940s, during and after the war, he worked for the Intelligence Corps, performing missions in the Caribbean, West Africa, and Southeast Asia. These years, it seems, were crucial in the formation of his character.<sup>12</sup>

When Peter Russell died, different stories were published about him in the press, many of them amusing, others revealing his qualities of tremendous courage and initiative. All of them are very interesting and only a lack of space prevents me from mentioning them in their entirety. I shall therefore refer to only three of them.

I will transcribe the first just as it appeared in *The Telegraph*:

Russell was commissioned into the Intelligence Corps in 1940, having been selected before the war for intelligence work. The story goes that at the beginning of the war he was in Lisbon, charged with escorting the Duke of Windsor on board the ship that would carry him to his governorship of the Bahamas; Russell was issued with a revolver, and instructed to use it if there were any ducal reluctance to embark.<sup>13</sup>

But many other stories could be told about this historian and member of the Royal Security Service (MI5), who left the forces in 1946 with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. A few years earlier—this is the second story—Peter Russell had been in Lisbon, where he visited a bookstore and discovered a book on a topic that directly interested him: the sources of the Portuguese chronicler Fernão Lopes. He had indeed written a short essay on this very subject himself. *The Independent* reports that a “closer inspection revealed that he was the

<sup>7</sup> Laidlar, “Edgar Prestage: Manchester's Portuguese Pioneer”; Livermore, “Edgar (1869–1951).”

<sup>8</sup> Alden, *Charles R. Boxer: An uncommon life*.

<sup>9</sup> Morley, “William James Entwistle (1895–1952).”

<sup>10</sup> Francis, *The Methuens and Portugal 1691–1708*.

<sup>11</sup> Robinson, *Contemporary Portugal: a history*.

<sup>12</sup> Thompson, “Address Given at the Service of Thanksgiving for the Life of Professor Sir Peter Russell (24 October 1913–22 June 2006),” 263.

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1523476/Professor-Sir-Peter-Russell.html#> [Accessed on 2013.05.26.]. See also Michael, “Sir Peter Russell (1913–2006),” 1135–36.

author: a Portuguese colleague who had borrowed the typescript of an expanded version of the lecture had, without telling him, translated it into Portuguese and arranged for it to be published.”<sup>14</sup> The person who had done this was Professor Gonçalves Rodrigues, his friend and a former teacher of Portuguese at Oxford. This story was later recounted by João Gouveia Monteiro in a note published in the *e-Journal of Portuguese History*.<sup>15</sup>

The third story appeared in the Spanish newspaper *El País* and was told by Ian Michael. I quote verbatim:

In the summer of 1938, he met a group of Oxonian students in Galicia, where he was arrested in the Cies Islands photographing the Canarias, one of the few Navy ships that had been dedicated to the service of the Nationalists. Taken to the Atlantic Hotel in Vigo, he was questioned by two SS officers, who, upon learning that he had been in a summer camp of the Hitler Youth in Bavaria in 1935, invited him to dine with them. After a consultation with the government of Franco in Burgos, Russell was taken to the international bridge of Tuy to cross to Portugal, with a pair of machine guns trained on him so that he should not turn from his path. Later he commented that it was the slowest and most dangerous ride of his life.<sup>16</sup>

Between 1946 and 1953, he was a Fellow of Queen’s College, and from then until 1981 he was King Alfonso XIII’s Professor of Spanish Studies at Oxford, succeeding Salvador de Madariaga and his supervisor, William Entwistle, in that position.

Having developed an early interest in the Iberian Peninsula in the final centuries of the Middle Ages and early modern times, Peter Russell spent the 1970s and ’80s devoting significant attention to Castilian literary studies. This interest is reflected, among other texts that could be quoted, in the following titles, some of them serving as reference books: *Spain: a Companion to Spanish Studies*,<sup>17</sup> *Cervantes*,<sup>18</sup> or *Temas de La Celestina y otros estudios: del Cid al Quijote*.<sup>19</sup>

The work of this author clearly reveals his background in literary studies, certainly linked to the years when, at Queen’s College, Oxford, he had studied literature under the guidance of Dámaso Alonso. In his case, this training had certainly left its marks, as

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<sup>14</sup> Deyermund, “Professor Sir Peter Russell: Iconoclastic Hispanist Who Was for 28 Years King Alfonso XII Professor of Spanish Studies at Oxford.”

<sup>15</sup> Monteiro, “Sir Peter E. Russell—the 20th Century in the Palm of His Hand.”

<sup>16</sup> Michael, “Hispanista y espía británico.” See also Michael, “Sir Peter Russell (1913–2006),” 1134.

<sup>17</sup> Russell, *Spain: a companion to Spanish Studies*.

<sup>18</sup> Russell, *Cervantes*.

<sup>19</sup> Russell, *Temas de La Celestina y otros estudios: del Cid al Quijote*.

demonstrated by the concern that he instilled in his students an appreciation for the accurate use of words. According to Colin Thompson,

Peter had many such spiritual children; many of us are here. We have lost a spiritual father. Yet the love of the truth which he instilled in us, and the virtues which he embodied, remain with us. Coming to literary studies from an intellectual formation as a historian, Peter had little time for the subjective and the impressionistic as a substitute for hard evidence and proper methodology. He taught us first to be quite sure that we understood what the words meant when they were written. He taught us to argue from evidence, not from prior, untested assumptions, and to distinguish the persuasive but specious ('bogus', he would call it) from the accurate and demonstrable.<sup>20</sup>

Recognizing the quality of these efforts, a collection of studies<sup>21</sup> was offered to him on his eightieth birthday (in 1993). In the prologue of another homage (published the same year in volume 17.2 of the journal *Celestinesca*), and commenting on Peter Russell's work of literary history, Julian Weiss penned some words which, although written about his literary studies, can also be considered to shed light on our author's historical works:

And the questions Peter Russell poses are central ones, of continuous relevance. As one whose research has been divided equally between history and literature, his writings have often brought to the fore the difficult relationship between the approach of the historian and that of the literary critic. The grounds of that relationship have evolved considerably since his reviews of the books by Lida de Malkiel . . . and Gilman . . . where, inspired by a skeptical empiricism, and supported by a sure yet unobtrusive command of historical documentation, he most trenchantly stakes a claim for social history. But the methodological issue that underpins his response to those scholars is still a pressing one, to which students of medieval and Renaissance Spain should urgently return in view of the various 'new historicisms' of literary scholars, and the changing practice of history itself. On another level, many of Peter's most suggestive questions have emerged through his scrupulous attention to the detail of the literary work.<sup>22</sup>

Indeed, his *skeptical empiricism* (to use the expression of the above quotation), his continuing work in the area of documentation, his concern for social history, and his great attention to

<sup>20</sup> Thompson, "Address Given at the Service of Thanksgiving for the Life of Professor Sir Peter Russell (24 October 1913–22 June 2006)," 264.

<sup>21</sup> Deyrmond and Lawrance, *Letters and society in fifteenth-century Spain. Studies presented to P. E. Russell on his eightieth birthday*. There is a previous volume of the same tenor: Russell and Hodcroft, *Mediaeval and Renaissance studies on Spain and Portugal in honour of P. E. Russell*.

<sup>22</sup> Weiss, "Studies in honour of Peter E. Russell on his 80th birthday," 2.

detail, are all very visible in his words, when Russell writes (in Spanish):

It can be concluded that the criticism of *Celestina* should resign itself to the fact that, at the ideological level, there can be no definitive solutions, only possibilities. Can it be that the great discovery of those authors, the heirs of a dogmatic culture, has been to realize that skepticism is not only a feasible intellectual position, but that it is also able to reveal new and fruitful perspectives and literary forms?<sup>23</sup>

The words I just quoted were written about *Celestina*, but in his book on the British intervention, there are many lines that reveal the same methodological approach. Here is another example: In seeking to calculate the possible number of men who would have formed the contingent of English and Gascon forces that participated in the Battle of Aljubarrota, Peter Russell writes, “Any final conclusion must be purely tentative, but it seems reasonable to presume—in the absence of better evidence—that the total strength of João’s English and Gascon supporters at Aljubarrota was probably not less than 400 men and certainly not much more than 700.”<sup>24</sup> His skeptical discourse prevails in the sequence of words: “purely tentative”; it “seems reasonable to presume; absence of better evidence; probably not less; certainly not much more.”

In my view, this is not a suspension of judgment or a hypothetical or relativist discourse, but a skeptical empiricism, which does not preclude objectivity. So, in the discourse of Russell, there seems to be a firm belief in what may be called the creative power of doubt, which leads him to write the following: “In an age when it can be claimed, along with Roland Barthes, that literature is, by definition, ambiguous, one will find, of course, in the complex ambiguity of *Celestina*, at least a partial explanation of the genius of the text, and not a sign of artistic failure nor a series of puzzles that it is the duty of critics to definitively resolve.”<sup>25</sup>

In fact, this was the same conviction that was present in his mind. Continuing to follow the previous quote, after mentioning 700 as the maximum number of participants in the battle, Russell writes, “Even if the larger figure is nearer the truth it is thus evident that English participation in the battle was not on such a scale as to obscure the fact that the main brunt of the action must have fallen on the Portuguese men-at-arms.”<sup>26</sup> In other words, there is great coherence in the work of this author, visible both in his texts of

<sup>23</sup> Quoted in Weiss, “Studies in honour of Peter E. Russell on his 80th birthday,” 3.

<sup>24</sup> Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward II and Richard II*, 385–86.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in Weiss, “Studies in honour of Peter E. Russell on his 80th birthday,” 4.

<sup>26</sup> Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward II and Richard II*, 386.

literary criticism, which contain more theoretical formulations, and in his historical texts, closer to the sources and therefore seemingly less theoretical. In both situations, his doubts allow us to draw closer to the truth.

I have no intention of solving the problems that these statements represent in terms of literary criticism. But I dare to suggest that it would be interesting to study to what extent these claims are related to the critical methodology developed by Dámaso Alonso, mentioned above, among other influences. Anyway, let me just say that in the literary studies written by Peter Russell we can note a concern with unraveling the multiple meanings of the text (i.e., the perspective or the perspectives that are revealed through these texts),<sup>27</sup> a concern that was to prove extremely useful in his historical studies. He also devoted himself to translation.<sup>28</sup>

As Julian Weiss writes, “by bringing out the richness of the play's verbal texture, Peter Russell puts us in a position to continue exploring the ways in which the work interweaves the language of official authority with a range of other, more subversive voices. (It reminds us that he himself is not interested just in history written from above, but also in life on the margins ).”<sup>29</sup>

But it was, above all, Portuguese history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that had always interested him. In 1995, in its *Variorum Collected Studies Series*, Ashgate published a collection of studies by Peter Russell, entitled *Portugal, Spain and the African Atlantic, 1343–1490*.<sup>30</sup> It is a most precious book, divided into two parts, a division that immediately introduces the reader to the two topics that most interest this author: the British intervention in the Iberian Peninsula during the second half of the fourteenth century (Part 1) and the Portuguese expansion in the fifteenth century, with special attention being paid to Prince Henry the Navigator (Part 2).

This second part includes some central texts for the study of Portuguese expansion in the 15th century, such as “Castilian documentary sources for the history of the Portuguese Expansion in Guinea in the last years of the reign of Dom Afonso V,”<sup>31</sup> “New

<sup>27</sup> Weiss, “Studies in honour of Peter E. Russell on his 80th birthday,” 4.

<sup>28</sup> Russell, *Traducciones y traductores en la Península Ibérica (1400–1550)*; Russell, “The Medieval Castilian Translation of Vegetius, *Epitoma de Rei Militaris*: An Introduction”; Russell “De nuevo sobre la traducción medieval castellana de Vegécio: *Epitoma de rei militaris*”; Russell, “Terá havido uma tradução medieval portuguesa do *Epitoma de Rei Militaris de Vegécio*?”

<sup>29</sup> Weiss, “Studies in honour of Peter E. Russell on his 80th birthday,” 4.

<sup>30</sup> Russell, *Spain and the African Atlantic, 1343–1490*.

<sup>31</sup> First published as “Fontes documentais castelhanas para a história da expansão portuguesa na Guiné nos últimos anos de D. Afonso V,” *Do Tempo e da História* 4 (1971): 5–33.

light on the text of Eustache de la Fosse's *Voiaige à la Guinée* (1479–1480),<sup>32</sup> “White Kings on Black Kings: Rui de Pina and the problem of Black African Sovereignty,”<sup>33</sup> or three papers on Prince Henry,<sup>34</sup> which are linked to the publication in 2001 of Peter Russell's excellent—and in some ways innovative—biography *Prince Henry “the Navigator.”*<sup>35</sup> Still on the subject of this second part, I draw your attention to the very important paper entitled “Some socio-linguistic problems concerning the Fifteenth-Century Portuguese Discoveries in the African Atlantic,”<sup>36</sup> mentioning only that it would have been very useful to add to this book two other papers of an identical profile and importance: “Some Portuguese paradigms for the discovery and conquest of Spanish America”<sup>37</sup> and “Veni, vidi, vici: some fifteenth-century eyewitness accounts of travel in the African Atlantic before 1492.”<sup>38</sup>

But as far as this paper is concerned, the greatest interest is in the first part of the book, devoted (as I said) to the British intervention in the Iberian Peninsula during the second half of the fourteenth century. The papers gathered together here, with the exception of “Medieval Portuguese Students at Oxford University,”<sup>39</sup> all discuss this topic. Beside the studies on historiography, such as those dedicated to Fernão Lopes<sup>40</sup> and Froissart<sup>41</sup> (two authors generally considered to be fundamental for understanding this century), I highlight “João Fernandes Andeiro at the Court of Lancaster (1371–1381),”<sup>42</sup>

<sup>32</sup> First published as “Novos apontamentos sobre os problemas textuais do *Voiaige à la Guinée* de Eustáquio de la Fosse (1479–1480),” *Revista Portuguesa de História* 16 (1976): 209–21.

<sup>33</sup> First published in Michael, Ian and Robert A. Cardwell, eds. *Medieval and Renaissance Studies in honour of Robert Brian Tate*, Oxford, Dolphin Books: 151–64. [Separata Descobrimentos 192.B].

<sup>34</sup> “Prince Henry The Navigator” (first published in *Diamente* 11 [1960]: 3–30); “Prince Henry The Navigator: The rise and fall of a culture hero” (first published in the series *Taylorian Special Lecture*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1984 [B. N. Madrid]) and “Prince Henry and the Necessary End” (first published in Earle, T. F. and S. Parkinson, eds., *Studies in Portuguese Discoveries I: Proceedings of the First Colloquium of the Center for the Study of the Portuguese Discoveries*, Warminster, Ariis and Phillips, 1–15).

<sup>35</sup> Russell, *Prince Henry the Navigator: A Life*.

<sup>36</sup> First published as “Problemas socio-linguísticos relacionados com os descobrimentos portugueses no Atlântico africano,” *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da História* 26 (1980): 218–50.

<sup>37</sup> Russell, “Some Portuguese paradigms for the discovery and conquest of Spanish America.”

<sup>38</sup> Russell, “Veni, vidi, vici: some fifteenth-century eyewitness accounts of travel in the African Atlantic before 1492.”

<sup>39</sup> First published as “Medieval Portuguese Students at Oxford University,” *Aufsätze zur Portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte*, Muenster, Westfalen (1960): 183–91.

<sup>40</sup> *On the Sources of Fernão Lopes*. As the author states in footnote 1 of this text, this is a reworking of Russell 1941. Other studies published about the same topic in the same volume include “Fernão Lopes and the text of the treaty of Santarém” (first published as “Fernão Lopes e o Tratado de Santarém,” *Revista Portuguesa de História* 5 [1951]: 455–73) and “Archivists as Historians: The Case of the Portuguese Fifteenth-Century Royal Chroniclers” (first published in this volume).

<sup>41</sup> “The War in Spain and Portugal” (first published in Palmer, J. J. N., ed., *Froissart: Historian*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 83–100 and 172–74).

<sup>42</sup> First published in *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 14 (1938): 1–15.

and “Portuguese Galleys in the Service of Richard II, 1385–1389.”<sup>43</sup>

They are all important papers. If I may be allowed to make a personal consideration, I will say that the paper on Portuguese Galleys was crucial for the conceptualization of some of the problems that I encountered in 1986, when I wrote my small book on the Treaty of Windsor.<sup>44</sup> But, seen from a distance of more than half a century, it is clear that these texts served as preparation for his major book, published in 1955 and entitled *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward II and Richard II*.<sup>45</sup>

I believe that this is a fundamental book for many reasons.

Cristina Pimenta points out some of these reasons for us, and I quote:

In order to realize such an important work, Russell had to become acquainted with Iberian sources, which, as far as Portugal was concerned, led him to become engaged in the main Lisbon archives (Torre do Tombo), where he opened up several important discussions about the contribution that had been made to the theme by the chroniclers. Paying major attention to Fernão Lopes, Russell understood the message left by the 15th-century royal chronicler. But, in fact, this is not the only dimension to be stressed. This most interesting book analyses [*sic*] the western political history of the first period of the Hundred Years War as a whole, with special attention being paid to the internal hostilities in Iberia arising as a direct result of the British alliance that some of the kingdoms involved had tended to accept. In relation to this subject, I believe that the genealogies that Russell includes in this work are particularly important, especially because they give the reader an idea of the personal dimensions of the above-mentioned alliances.<sup>46</sup>

In other words, knowledge of archival sources linked to a careful reading of the chronicles and the permanent working of Peninsular history in combination with the study of the great Anglo-French conflict—all this allowed him to think of European history of that time as one united whole. In fact, it allowed him to look at the history of Portugal and Castile at that time as a decisive chapter of what is traditionally referred to as The Hundred Years War.

Without wishing to tire the eyes of my readers with a succession of quotations,

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<sup>43</sup> First published as “Galés portuguesas ao serviço de Ricardo de Inglaterra (1385–1389),” *Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa* 18 (1953): 1–17. Also related to this same topic are: “‘King of Castile and León, Duke of Lancaster’: John of Gaunt’s Spanish court” (an excerpt from Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward II and Richard II*, 173–85), and “Una alianza frustrada: las bodas de Pedro I de Castilla y Juana Plantagenet” (first published in *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 2 (1965): 301–32).

<sup>44</sup> Fonseca, *O essencial sobre o Tratado de Windsor*.

<sup>45</sup> Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward II and Richard II*.

<sup>46</sup> Pimenta, “Sir Peter Russell and Portuguese History: The Story of a Great Passion, 1.”

which would do little to convince them of the value of my arguments but would certainly subject them to the artillery of my “erudition,” I should just like to point to some examples taken from Peter Russell’s book, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward II and Richard II*.

All those who knew him and who have read his publications can attest to his profound knowledge of the English, Spanish, and Portuguese archives and libraries. It is sufficient just to read the preface to the 1955 edition of *The English Intervention* to realize the full extent of this knowledge. Undoubtedly, his extensive reading and the information that he accumulated allowed him to achieve what, in my view, constitutes his greatest contribution to the history of Portugal: the consideration of the European, English, and Portuguese history of that time as one united whole. There is a paragraph in this book dealing with the Battle of Aljubarrota. Peter Russell writes:

In terms of results achieved, the battle of Aljubarrota must rank among the most decisive engagements of medieval warfare. Had the Portuguese lost it, Portuguese independence must have disappeared within a few weeks and the unification of all Peninsular kingdoms under the Castilian crown would very likely soon have followed. A Portuguese defeat would, too, have enabled the allied kings of France and Castile to face England with so overwhelming a concentration of power that it is unlikely that she could have done more than soon make peace on France’s terms. As it was, João I, at the age of twenty-eight, was now to lead into a new age of conquest overseas and bourgeois mercantilism at home a small but virile kingdom purged by social revolution of the aristocratic provincialism which had hitherto held its development in check.<sup>47</sup>

Not all the judgments that are made in this quote can be accepted without discussion today. But this does not matter. What is relevant is that this work by Peter Russell laid the foundation for a more accurate understanding of this key moment in Portuguese history, designated the Crisis of 1383–1385: the internal consequences of that civil war were pointed out, the channels of communication and influence between Portugal, the other Iberian kingdoms, and European countries were defined; the major problems and interests involved were identified; important information was provided about the war at sea. I believe that I am not exaggerating if I say that with this book, Peter Russell placed the Portuguese crisis of the late fourteenth century at the heart of the great political, diplomatic, and military debate about Europe at that time. The quote that I just made shows this very clearly.

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<sup>47</sup> Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward II and Richard II*, 397.

As he writes in his preface to the 2000 Portuguese edition, it is

certain that in these early chapters [of the book] Portugal does not play the role of a first cause. But even so, there is already evidence that the tide will eventually make the western kingdom a main protagonist. Successive British governments and even John Lencaster delayed in recognizing that . . . the geography and political realities of the time made Portugal his only natural ally against Castile. It was only at this moment that it became clear that what British strategists called *Le Chemin de Portyngale* began to be seen as the most promising bet to meet the strategic ambitions and policies that his government cherished in the Peninsula<sup>48</sup>.

As Borges de Macedo pointed out, this work by Peter Russell has, on the other hand, a methodological value that extends far beyond the concrete topic that is the subject of study. When the “author states, in particular, the connection between the diplomatic and political measures of these kings [Edward III and Richard II of England] and the conditions of the Iberian Peninsula, not together but state by state and phase by phase,” it has the greatest interest. Indeed,

the conclusions established in a process of comparative history and an analysis of simultaneous forces provide essential elements for understanding the policies of Ferdinand I and John I [the Portuguese kings that were contemporaries of the already mentioned English kings], as well as the establishment of the Luso-British alliance. And, if this work is fundamental for our knowledge of Portuguese life of that time, it is also, for the same reasons, fundamental for the history of Spain and Britain, so that the features of interest for the in-depth historical definition of each of the countries are interwoven in correlative interpretation. This is the only one that can be used to understand the political, economic, social or cultural movements, always insufficient when searching for a satisfactory explanation on its own.<sup>49</sup>

In terms of diplomatic history, with this work the Treaty of Windsor (its background and implications) acquired a wider and deeper understandability. One might even say that the most important texts that were published later on about this period brought further developments along the path opened up by Peter Russell. To name just a few examples, I remember (among others) in Spain, Luis Suárez Fernández<sup>50</sup> and César

<sup>48</sup> Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the Time of Edward II and Richard II* (Portuguese edition), 19.

<sup>49</sup> Macedo, “A propósito do centenário da Aliança Luso-Britânica. A historiografia britânica em Portugal,” 37.

<sup>50</sup> Fernández, *Historia del reinado de Juan I de Castilla*.

Olivera Serrano,<sup>51</sup> and in Portugal, Salvador Diaz Arnaut,<sup>52</sup> João Gouveia Monteiro,<sup>53</sup> and myself.<sup>54</sup> In this sense, I suggest comparing these works with others written before 1955, which will certainly help to prove the enormous difference. Consequently, and this is the most remarkable fact, almost 60 years after it was published, *The English Intervention* continues to be quoted as an essential reference work.<sup>55</sup>

In short, this is a book that examines a conjuncture at a given time: the British intervention in the Iberian Peninsula during the second half of the fourteenth century. For Portuguese history, that conjuncture was crucial because it coincided with the dynastic crisis in the middle of the second half of the century. In this sense, the book represents an indispensable source of information for learning about the political, military, and diplomatic intricacies of that intervention. But in my view, this book has another parallel, of equally important interest: it shows us how, both in England and in Portugal, the spatial coordinates (particularly the maritime ones) were automatically assumed, as were the strategic decisions that these ended up imposing.

When, in referring to the Treaty of Windsor, Jorge Borges de Macedo wrote that, after events as dramatic as those had been, “Portugal understood the dangers of basing its independence exclusively on Peninsular forces, dynastic combinations or ill-defined alliances. In other words, there was a glaring need to strengthen conditions for positive seaborne support, thus offsetting the pressure from the land border,”<sup>56</sup> he was emphasizing two very important things: first, that in those years, the Anglo-Portuguese victory was not a historical necessity, as has been advocated by some historians, and second, that this victory had represented a clear shift in the cycle of events.

Previously, I emphasized the importance that Russell attached to the ambiguity of literary texts, and now, in his historical texts, I seek to reduce the importance that he assigns to historical necessity. In doing this, I wish to acknowledge the role that human freedom has played in history. In fact, Russell's narrative is not a narrative in which events are connected by necessity. It is the opposite: it is an open narrative, in which events create possibilities. When, earlier, I spoke of the need to also unravel the multiple meanings of the

<sup>51</sup> Serrano, *Beatriz de Portugal. La pugna dinástica Avis-Trastámara*.

<sup>52</sup> Arnaut, *A crise nacional dos fins do século XIV*.

<sup>53</sup> Monteiro, *A guerra em Portugal nos finais da Idade Média*.

<sup>54</sup> Fonseca, *O essencial sobre o Tratado de Windsor*; Fonseca, “Significado da Batalha de Aljubarrota no contexto da conjuntura política europeia no último quartel do séc.”

<sup>55</sup> For example, see the recent review by Faria (“The politics of Anglo-Portuguese relations and their protagonists in the later Middle Ages [c. 1369–c. 1449]”) in an introductory chapter entitled “Anglo-Portuguese relations and political history.”

<sup>56</sup> Macedo, *História diplomática portuguesa: Constantes e linhas de força*, 29.

text in the narrative of the historian, I was attempting to underline that these multiple meanings point to possibilities and thus to freedom. His historical discourse is, basically, a discourse of the affirmation of freedom. That is the most important aspect that I wish to convey about Peter Russell.

In previous papers, I have had occasion to mention a comment by the Italian historian Franco Cardini which seems to me very opportune here in this paper. And so I end with this quotation:

[H]istory [he wrote] not only can, but indeed must, be written in the conditional tense, with all the “ifs” and “buts” of the case. Because, only in this sense, by seeing historical discourse in the light of an infinite number of “achievable possibilities,” which are understood to be the continuous result of any number of contributory factors and influences, although only one of them is realized, can you understand the meaning and value of the only “possibility” that becomes a reality.<sup>57</sup>

Applying this comment to the Portuguese Crisis of 1383–1385 and, in this particular context, to the British intervention at that time, I venture to say that there were, at the beginning of the crisis, several achievable possibilities, but that military and political developments led to the only possibility that became reality. With this in mind, I have no doubt in saying that Peter Russell’s book was crucial in recognizing this change of perspective.

This is the lesson of his book.

Peter Russell was a member of the Royal Historical Society, the British Academy, the Royal Academy of Buenas Letras in Barcelona and the Portuguese Academy of History. In 1989, he was awarded the Nebrija Prize given by the University of Salamanca and was appointed Commander of the Order of Isabel the Catholic. He was also Commander of the Order of Prince Henry, in Portugal.

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<sup>57</sup> Cardini and Valzania, *Le radici perdute dell'Europa. Da Carlo V ai conflitti mondiali*, 4.

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# **The historiographical reception of A. J. R. Russell-Wood's *A World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415–1808.***

Mafalda Soares da Cunha<sup>1</sup>

The book I have been asked to review was first published by Carcanet in 1992, in Manchester, under the title *A World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415–1808*. It was commissioned by the National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries (Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses [CNCDP]), a fact which Russell-Wood acknowledges in the opening pages of the first edition. In that same year of 1992, its importance was recognized in Portugal through the prestigious D. João de Castro International Award, given by the CNCDP, which acknowledges the best work on Portuguese overseas expansion written by a non-Portuguese author. In 1998, the book was reissued in paperback form by the Johns Hopkins University Press under the title *The Portuguese Empire, 1415–1808*. It was also translated and published in Portugal in 1998, under the same title as its first edition, *Um mundo em movimento: Os portugueses na África, Ásia e América (1415–1808)*, in a collection named “Memory and Society,” coordinated by Diogo Ramada Curto. This latter publication was sponsored both by the CNCDP and the Instituto Português do Livro e da Leitura (IPLL).

This short explanation helps to clarify some of the book’s characteristics and the different types of impact it had among both US scholars and the Brazilian and Portuguese historiographical community. *A World on the Move* was commissioned to reach large audiences and to put the Portuguese Empire on the map of international historiography, and its major flaw is simultaneously its greatest accomplishment. On the one hand, the very wide-ranging and ambitious nature of Russell-Wood’s book depicts a somewhat superficial and sometimes overrated approach to the action of the Portuguese. On the other hand, Russell-Wood’s ability to provide a comprehensive overview of the overseas action of the Portuguese (under the general theme of movement) definitively displaced (at least as far as Portuguese historiography is concerned) earlier nationalistic views of the Portuguese

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Empire, which had become too deeply entrenched. In this sense, I think the book contributed to a turning point in Portuguese historiography.

Nevertheless, despite the undeniable importance of Russell-Wood's work for Portuguese and Brazilian history, only four of his books have been translated into Portuguese, most of them with long gaps between the times of publication of the original edition and the translated version. *A World on the Move* was published with a six-year gap between language editions; *Fidalgos and Philanthropists: The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550–1755* was published in 1981 by the Brasília University Press (thirteen years after its publication in English); and *The Black Man in Slavery and Freedom in Colonial Brazil*, first published in 1982, was translated more twenty years later by Civilização Brasileira in Rio de Janeiro in 2005. Russell-Wood's fourth book, the short work *Portugal and the Sea: A World Embraced*, was only published in Portugal in 1997, amounting to nothing more than a synthesis of his ideas translated into several languages and aimed at the wider audience visiting the Portuguese Pavilion at Expo 98 in Lisbon.

The way these works by Russell-Wood were received by the international academic community can also be assessed and compared on Harzing's Publish or Perish (PoP) webpage,<sup>2</sup> which is a software program that retrieves and analyzes academic citations. The citation indicators obtained by this means are obviously not exhaustive and are very often lacking full information, as, for instance, in the case of references in academic theses or works that are unavailable on the internet. They nevertheless register quantitative tendencies which would otherwise be hard to establish.

It is interesting to point out that Russell-Wood's first book is the one that has the highest citation score. Thus *Fidalgos and Philanthropists* in its Portuguese translation heads the list, immediately followed by the original with 121 and 114 references, respectively. It is followed by *A World on the Move*, with 77 quotes from the original version and 96 from the 1998 paperback edition, whereas its translation only reached the modest figure of 33. As far as *The Black Man in Slavery* is concerned, the original edition totaled 105 quotes, well over the 71 scored by its Portuguese translation. What do these figures tell us? These revelations are perhaps not very surprising, since it is expected that Russell-Wood's work of a more monographic nature would have had greater impact in Brazil. At any rate, it is still

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.harzing.com/pop.htm>. "Publish or Perish" is a software program that retrieves and analyzes academic citations. It uses Google Scholar to obtain the raw citations, then analyzes these and presents the following statistics: total number of papers; total number of citations; average number of citations per paper; average number of citations per author; average number of papers per author; average number of citations per year; Hirsch's h-index and related parameters; Egghe's g-index; the contemporary h-index; the age-weighted citation rate; two variations of individual h-indices; and an analysis of the number of authors per paper.

meaningful that both English editions of *A World on the Move* had by far a greater impact among international academia. Language is undoubtedly an important factor, as well as the absence of similarly comprehensive works in English about the Portuguese imperial experience, but the truth is that, although Russell-Wood's previous studies on colonial society were already referential long before the publication of *A World on the Move*, this book did not enjoy an immediate reputation among the Brazilian academic community.

As a matter of fact, some time ago Iris Kantor, a Brazilian colleague from São Paulo University, pointed out to me that it was only a few years after its publication, following Russell-Wood's Preface to the collected essays of *O Antigo Regime nos Trópicos*, published in 2001, that the book began to attract attention in Brazil.

The delay in the publication of a translation of *A World on the Move* was certainly alleviated by the publication of numerous articles in Brazilian journals and collected essays. Lectures, participations in conferences, and the supervision of Brazilian and US PhD students researching into the Portuguese Empire also contributed to this situation. The three interviews conducted by Luciano de Figueiredo for three different Brazilian journals<sup>3</sup> mention these facts extensively. Review articles and works reflecting on the historiography of the Portuguese Empire always recognize Russell-Wood as a "Brazilianist" who produced a new perspective on the historiography of the Empire, besides his monographic studies.<sup>4</sup> And this was also acknowledged almost immediately after Russell-Wood's death in August 2010 through a significant number of obituaries which appeared in Brazilian and US journals.<sup>5</sup> Those articles written *in Memoriam* summarized his long scholarly career and the honors he received both in Portugal and in Brazil, as well as highlighting the merits of his "astonishingly prolific" contribution to colonial history, most especially to Afro-Brazilian and Portuguese studies.<sup>6</sup>

In this brief appreciation of Russell-Wood's work, it is worth stressing that the historian understood, read, and spoke Portuguese, which not only enabled him to make extensive use of primary sources (particularly those to be found in archives), but also

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<sup>3</sup> Russell-Wood, "Rotas entre o Brasil e o Império: uma conversa com A. J. R. Russell-Wood, Entrevista concedida a Luciano de Figueiredo"; "A sola dos pés é boa para aprendermos a história de um lugar"; "Uma visão de Minas Gerais no contexto do Império lusitano, Entrevista concedida a Luciano de Figueiredo."

<sup>4</sup> Xavier, "Tendências na historiografia da expansão portuguesa: reflexões sobre os destinos da história social"; Bethencourt, "Entrevista"; Cardim, "O governo e a administração do Brasil sob os Habsburgo e os primeiros Bragança"; Coates, "The Early Modern Portuguese Empire: A Commentary on Recent Studies"; Bicalho, "História, historiografia e pesquisa histórica. Entrevista com Maria Fernanda B. Bicalho."

<sup>5</sup> Reeves, "Johns Hopkins Historian John R. Russell-Wood dies"; Almeida, "John Russell-Wood: obituario de um membro do Conselho da RBPI"; Butler, "In Memoriam: A. J. R. Russell-Wood (1940–2010)"; Cribelli, "Obituary for Anthony John Russell-Wood"; Pijning, "A. J. R. Russell-Wood: In Memoriam."

<sup>6</sup> Cribelli, "Obituary for Anthony John Russell-Wood."

allowed him to write very perceptive assessments of the historical studies being carried out in both Portugal and Brazil.

We must acknowledge that *A World on the Move* reached large audiences, both of a scholarly and a non-scholarly nature. I would even venture to say that this book became a classic of the historiography written about the Portuguese Empire, ranking alongside the works of Charles R. Boxer and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho. The views of these three authors were not, of course, the same, and therefore these three studies offer complementary approaches, as Russell-Wood himself stated at the beginning of the bibliographical section of the book, which is also the opinion expressed by J. Thornton in his review. And here I quote from the latter text: “*A World on the Move* is an interesting complement to the more heavily political or economic focus of similar previous books by C. R. Boxer (*The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*) and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho’s corpus on the Portuguese world.”<sup>7</sup> As far as the similarities are concerned, all three works emphasize the fact that the Portuguese Empire was predominantly maritime in nature, and all three position it in a global context, thus intentionally writing a world history “avant la lettre,” with the first two texts serving as pioneering works in this area, although they were not alone in following that path. Seen from this standpoint, the name of J. Amaral Lapa must also be remembered, with his efforts to link the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean through the relations between Bahia and the *Carreira da Índia*.<sup>8</sup>

In keeping with this same approach—to reconsider the genealogy of the ideas presented in *A World on the Move*—it is important to mention that in the 1960s and early ’70s, under the influence of the *Annales* school of historiography in Europe, and the renewed interest in Brazilian studies taking place in the United States, the Portuguese colonial experience was incorporated into a broader context, which we can refer to as scholarly literature on the history of the Americas as a whole. The names of P. Chaunu and F. Mauro, in particular, must therefore be mentioned, as well as those of James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz later on. There are, however, huge differences between these and the aforementioned scholars. Boxer and Godinho painted a global and quite integrated picture of all the territories under Portuguese rule, as did Russell-Wood, whereas the other scholars dissociated the Portuguese colonial experience in America from the one that took place (or at least they did not relate the two experiences). In fact, their main concern was not with explaining the colonial experience or the Portuguese Empire as a historical

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<sup>7</sup> Thornton, “Book Reviews.”

<sup>8</sup> Lapa, *A Bahia e a Carreira da Índia*.

phenomenon. This is why no attention was paid to other Portuguese conquests, and why they drew comparisons between North America and the Spanish or Portuguese Americas in their work, using them to explain either the historical paths of Northern European hegemony or the historical dynamics of America.

But let me return to the major contributions that *A World on the Move* made to our understanding of the historical experience of the colonial worlds. Browsing the Jstor, Project Muse and b.on databases, I came across eleven reviews of the book's 1992 and 1998 editions, written in English and all published either in well-established US scholarly journals or in journals aimed at the general public.<sup>9</sup>

All reviewers welcomed the publication of a book on the Portuguese Empire, since scholarly literature on colonial empires had tended to greatly undervalue the Portuguese overseas expansion. At the time, the book not only made up for "the lack of synthetic works on the Portuguese world,"<sup>10</sup> but it helped "to redress some of the Spanish-centeredness of the past Columbus Quincentennial by paying attention to the world-wide role of Portugal."<sup>11</sup> At any rate, despite all these efforts, for a long time the subject of the Portuguese colonial experience remained absent from international conferences or international collected essays. I must, however, stress that, on the rare occasions when this was not the case, it was Russell-Wood who was one of the historians chosen to fill that important gap, as happened, for example, in *Negotiated Empires*<sup>12</sup> or in *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal*.<sup>13</sup>

In addition, the reviewers congratulated Russell-Wood on what we may acknowledge as his main accomplishments—the three foremost novelties contained in this book:

The first accomplishment is his decision to organize the data available about the Portuguese Empire around "connections, interactions, and movement," as Olsen puts it.<sup>14</sup> In doing so, he "reframed Portuguese imperial history to focus on the dynamics and exchanges from which the interconnected transnational networks of the mercantile era

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<sup>9</sup> Birmingham, "Book Reviews"; Williams, "Reviews"; Alden, "Reviews of books"; Coates, "Book Reviews"; Ward, "Reviews and Short Notices: Africa, Asia and Australasia"; Thornton, "Book Reviews"; Poska, "Reviews"; Silva, *The Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1808: A World on the Move* by A. J. R. Russell-Wood; Hattendorf, "Book Reviews"; Olsen, "Book Reviews"; Witek, "Book Reviews."

<sup>10</sup> Poska, "Reviews.", 385.

<sup>11</sup> Thornton, "Book Reviews.", 231.

<sup>12</sup> Daniels and Kennedy, *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500–1820*.

<sup>13</sup> Greene and Morgan, *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal (Reinterpreting History)*.

<sup>14</sup> Olsen, "Book Reviews."

emerged.”<sup>15</sup> One possible explanation for this choice is the fact that “the Portuguese did not create a large colony of settlement outside Brazil, and Brazil was itself overshadowed by the larger and more dramatic story of American colonization. Instead of the big colonies, Portugal flourished by connections and by trade.”<sup>16</sup>

This idea was not entirely new among scholars, however. Works had already appeared describing the role played by the Portuguese in the circulation of certain products. There is, for instance, an essay devoted to the subject of botany, published in 1986 by a highly reputed Portuguese agriculture expert, José Mendes Ferrão: “We are still missing an all-encompassing work about the influence of the discoveries on agriculture, in the new and old worlds, as far as the borrowing and introduction of new plants is concerned, along with their circulation and the paths that they followed throughout the world. How they were transformed from unknown crops into essential ones, with a great economic and social impact in certain regions.”<sup>17</sup> And he goes on to give examples: wheat, sugar, spices, and lists of exotic plants “which the Portuguese came across and spread throughout the world during the 15th and 16th centuries.”<sup>18</sup> Ferrão’s ideas were to be disseminated later on at an exhibition at the Jardim-Museu Agrícola Tropical in 1992, followed by another exhibition of posters, entitled “The Adventure of Plants and the Portuguese Discoveries,” which was taken to different venues during the 1990s and gave rise to a small catalogue translated into several languages, including Chinese.<sup>19</sup> We can also mention the book *Plantas e o conhecimento do mundo nos séculos XV e XVI* by Isabel Castro Henriques and Alfredo Margarido, which made it possible to position matters relating to the spread of scientific knowledge within a deeper and more varied context, examining the cultural scene of that time in a careful dialogue with anthropology. In fact, these two authors based their work on the important contributions made by other historians, such as Barradas de Carvalho, Luís Albuquerque, Luís Filipe Barreto, R. Hooykaas, and J. Silva Dias.

The novelty introduced by Russell-Wood with *A World on the Move* rested on the central role played by circulation in the global study of the action of the Portuguese in the country’s overseas worlds. It must, however, be said that this approach wasn’t an entirely new one. According to José Luís Cardoso, when speaking at the Brown University

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<sup>15</sup> Butler, “In Memoriam: A. J. R. Russell-Wood (1940–2010).”

<sup>16</sup> Thornton, “Book Reviews.”

<sup>17</sup> Ferrão, *Transplantação de plantas de continentes para continentes no século XVI*, 1087.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 1105.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, *A aventura das plantas e os descobrimentos portugueses: exposição*.

conference in October 2012, Dom Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho had already drawn attention to this fact, around the end of the eighteenth century, by criticizing the excessive importance that interconnections and interdependencies between the various Portuguese dominions had gained at the expense of the metropolis. He favored a top-down approach to the empire (with Lisbon positioned at the top) and perhaps this idea later came to affect the dominant political culture and hence the way in which history would be written from then on.

For Russell-Wood, this constant movement was determined by the ocean, and therefore the Portuguese Empire was a seaborne one. He agreed with C. R. Boxer and V. Magalhães Godinho in that regard. Seeking to temper the excessive emphasis he had placed on the maritime aspects of the Portuguese Empire, Russell-Wood was to say many years later, in the already mentioned interview with *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro*, that he “had also learned the importance of rejecting a view of the Portuguese Empire exclusively from a maritime angle.”<sup>20</sup> Territorial settlements were also important, even at an early stage, as he demonstrated by the interest that seventeenth-century Portuguese settlers had revealed in the western frontier of the Paraguay River. And in fact, while no one has ever questioned the importance of Portuguese policies in attaining territorial control over Brazil from the eighteenth century onward, only recently have historians returned to the topic of territorialization by paying greater attention to much earlier attempts to expand territorial occupation in various regions of the Portuguese Empire, not only in Portuguese America, as Russell-Wood stated, but in the Eastern and African conquests as well.

The second novelty of *A World on the Move* was the “thematically rather than geographically based” organization<sup>21</sup> of the data that allowed him to make a global analysis of the Portuguese Empire, covering four centuries. In doing so, he overcame a major flaw of Portuguese historiography at the time, as “Portuguese colonial history tends to be overly compartmentalized, in terms of both geography and time. The result has been a tripartite division in the literature, so that Portuguese Asia, Africa, and America all have long and distinguished historical literatures.”<sup>22</sup> And in fact, it took a while to overcome this problem of compartmentalization in Portugal. In a review article that she wrote on “Portuguese Overseas Historiography,” Ângela Barreto Xavier acknowledged that Russell-Wood’s book was still “the only study which sought to articulate and to compare the experience of the

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<sup>20</sup> Russel-Wood, “Uma visão de Minas Gerais no contexto do Império lusitano, Entrevista concedida a Luciano de Figueiredo.”

<sup>21</sup> Poska, “Reviews.”

<sup>22</sup> Coates, “Book Reviews,” 361.

Portuguese in different cultural and sociological contexts”<sup>23</sup> and regretted the traditional insistence on area studies in Portuguese historiography, which prevented deeper analysis centered on comparisons at an imperial or trans-imperial level. It is, however, true that some similar efforts had already been made or were being made at that time. For example, there is the case of the five-volume *Portuguese Overseas Expansion*, edited by F. Bethencourt and K. Chaudhuri in the late 1990s,<sup>24</sup> as well as (to mention just a few) the three books published by CNCDP: Isabel dos Guimarães Sá’s monograph on the *Misericórdias*,<sup>25</sup> T. Coates’ study on convicts and orphans,<sup>26</sup> or the one written some years later by Leonor Freire Costa on the South Atlantic trade organization of the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>27</sup> The lack of an updated single-volume synthesis was overcome almost a decade later by a comprehensive book edited by F. Bethencourt and D. R. Curto, originally published in English in 2006 and translated into Portuguese four years later.<sup>28</sup> Actually this work not only covers the early modern colonial experience of the *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion* but also examines its interregional networks and its main characteristics in a comparative and global context. Finally, in relation to this topic, I believe that nowadays, both in Portugal and Brazil, historians no longer dare to write history without taking into consideration the wider picture of what we might call the pluricontinental monarchy.

The third major contribution made by *A World on the Move* was the perception of the empire as a construction that combined unplanned individual action with structures built by the central Lisbon government. As we all know, the longest chapter of *A World on the Move* was devoted to the “flux and reflux of people,” as in the statement, and I quote, “The Portuguese seaborne empire was characterized by a constant flux and reflux of people.”<sup>29</sup> People of all sorts were on the move for very different kinds of reasons—Crown Service, religious motivations—or simply unplanned self-interest. Most of these people never stayed put; instead they circulated all over the empire. Seen from this perspective, the high level of mobility was a fundamental feature of the Portuguese Empire, creating what Olsen acknowledged as “a uniform Portuguese identity” and “strengthening the feeling of common interests and purpose.”<sup>30</sup> If I understood this correctly, Russell-Wood meant that

<sup>23</sup> Xavier, “Tendências na historiografia da expansão portuguesa: reflexões sobre os destinos da história social,” 158.

<sup>24</sup> Bethencourt and Chaudhuri, *História da Expansão Portuguesa*.

<sup>25</sup> Sá, *Quando o rico se faz pobre: Misericórdias, caridade e poder no império português, 1500–1800*.

<sup>26</sup> Coates, *Degredados e Órfãos: colonização dirigida pela Coroa no Império Português (1550–1775)*.

<sup>27</sup> Costa, *O Transporte no Atlântico e a Companhia Geral do Comércio do Brasil (1580–1663)*.

<sup>28</sup> Bethencourt and Curto, *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800*.

<sup>29</sup> Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America 1415–1808*, 63.

<sup>30</sup> Olsen, “Book Reviews,” 249.

this mobility generated a dynamic of common interest between the king and the people in the building of the empire. This permanent interaction suggests a less planned or authoritarian vision of the colonial process, leaving room for negotiation, hence Russell-Wood's claim in his 2010 interview that he had been tempted, and I quote, to "reduce a little the weight of the Crown's influence in order to highlight on one hand the influence of the individual, and on the other hand the influence of the settler."<sup>31</sup>

This statement brings me back to the impact of Russell-Wood's preface to *O Antigo Regime nos Trópicos* on Brazilian historiography. I believe there is no need to recall the details of the heated debate that this preface triggered among the community of Brazilian historians. What is worth recalling is the fact that Russell-Wood not only welcomed the new conceptual framework presented in the book, but also tied this to his own historiographical views, a move that was, perhaps, somewhat overstated.

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<sup>31</sup> Russell-Wood, "Uma visão de Minas Gerais no contexto do Império lusitano, Entrevista concedida a Luciano de Figueiredo," 14.

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**Maxwell, Kenneth. *Pombal, Paradox of the Enlightenment*.  
Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995.  
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Discussing what has or has not been said in the historiography written in English about themes from Portuguese history runs the risk of being transformed into a string of constantly repeated lamentations. As a general rule, there is almost always a tendency to fall back on a comment made by Laura de Mello e Souza in the first published review (1995) of Maxwell's book about Pombal: "peripheral, both in the past and in the present, Portugal has ended up being miniaturized by European historians, who have placed it well below its real dimensions or have simply ignored it."<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, the eighteenth century has a number of quite distinctive marks, which are best not forgotten.

Repeatedly seen as a key period in the gestation of so-called Western modernity, such a status is normally associated not only with economic change, but above all with the intellectual movement known as the Enlightenment. And, although it is less and less evident what is understood by this title, there are two aspects that seem to be fairly indisputable. On the one hand, the eighteenth century did not only result in the economic and political predominance<sup>3</sup> of certain regions of Europe over others, such as the Classical nucleus that the intellectual thought of that time is reputed to have built up in part through its fierce criticism of the religious, social, and political models of certain European territories that thereafter began to be regarded as "decadent" and "backward."<sup>4</sup> Fundamentally, the critical thought of the territories that are now considered to belong to the center assumed as their absolute opposite the Catholic Iberian Peninsula and its colonial dominions, returning to and expanding upon the legacy of the so-called "Black Legend" generated in the previous centuries, among others by the Protestants and Jews, about the territories that had built the hegemonic political center in the early sixteenth

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<sup>2</sup> Sousa, "Pombal,   spota ilustrado."

<sup>3</sup> "It is best observed in northwestern Europe: England, the Low Countries, and parts of France and Germany. The North American colonies share in these characteristics," De Vries, *The industrious revolution: consumer behavior and the household economy, 1650 to the present*, x.

<sup>4</sup> Poulot, *Les Lumi  res*, 67.

century.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, this same critical diagnosis was partly incorporated by some Iberian political thinkers and actors, inspiring countless reforms in the eighteenth century. And yet, the changes introduced as a result of these reforms did not normally serve to change the diagnoses made about Iberian countries, which were mostly recapitulated at the time of the Napoleonic wars in the early nineteenth century.

Although the histories of eighteenth-century Portugal and Spain differ from one another in many respects, the inclusion of the Catholic Iberian Peninsula (without regard for the diverse natures of each monarchy) under the general heading of Enlightened Europe has been questioned by many historiographers. It would therefore seem normal, from an intellectual viewpoint, for these political spaces to be included in the problematics of the Europe of the Ancien Régime. This is, however, frequently not the case. Significantly, in the recent Oxford Handbook of the Ancien Régime, edited by the renowned historian William Doyle, the benchmark territory is naturally France, but a part of the book is dedicated to discussing “how far other countries beside France had recognizable Anciens Régimes.”<sup>6</sup> The chosen geography does, however, end up being quite funny: “In its sheer heterogeneous variety, the Holy Roman Empire offers multiple areas for comparison. It has also been plausibly suggested that Great Britain in the ‘long’ eighteenth century, not to mention its North American colonies, had more in common with the French prototype than used to be thought credible.”<sup>7</sup> It may be asked whether these territories were chosen on the basis of some intellectual criterion or only due to the area of interests of the network of Anglo-American historians who have devoted themselves to the study of the French Revolution. By way of compensation, the history of the Iberian Peninsula in the eighteenth century is fairly well represented in other volumes from the same series, in particular, in the volume dedicated to the history of Latin America.<sup>8</sup>

Yet, whether included in the history of Europe or that of Latin America, by far the most frequently mentioned personality in Portuguese history continues to be the Marquis of Pombal. In fact, in many cases, he is the only person referred to in the international bibliography on the period and one of the few to emerge from anonymity after the great figures of the imperial expansion in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. It was already like

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<sup>5</sup> Cárcel, *La leyenda negra: Historia y opinión*.

<sup>6</sup> Doyle, *The Oxford Handbook of the Ancien Regime*, 9.

<sup>7</sup> Doyle, *The Oxford Handbook of the Ancien Régime*, 9.

<sup>8</sup> Schwartz, Stuart B., «The Historiography of Early Modern Brazil», in Moya, *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American History*.

this in the times when this character embodied the royal power in Portugal,<sup>9</sup> and, with only a few rare exceptions, he has never been out of the spotlight since then.

*Pombal, Paradox of the Enlightenment*, the book that I have been asked to comment on, was published for the first time in its English edition in 1995, later published in Brazil in 1996, and in a Portuguese edition in 2001, which was a different translation from that of the Brazilian edition. Besides a number of additions and bibliographical updates, the subtitle was suppressed in the Portuguese edition, so that its title was just simply “The Marquis of Pombal.” The author, Kenneth Robert Maxwell (b. 1941), is a well-known British historian specializing in Iberian-American topics and themes from international relations who was, for a long time, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and later a visiting professor at Harvard University.

The English version of the book is frequently quoted. While Pombal and the time that he served in government are frequently the only reference to be found to Portugal in works written in English about the eighteenth century, Maxwell’s book is, as a general rule, the one that is most commonly quoted. Moreover, if we take into consideration the academic references made in general on the most frequently visited websites, it is also the most widely quoted book written by its author. But this is not all. Written seventeen years ago, it is still the most recent major biography of Pombal. And the previous one was published over thirty years ago! Or, in other words, no one else has ventured to write another biography of this kind. All that has been published is a biography in 2006 about Dom José, the king whom Pombal served, which is not exactly the same thing;<sup>10</sup> even so, this work inevitably contained a discussion of the figure of the minister himself.<sup>11</sup>

But it is not only for these reasons that Maxwell’s book is noteworthy. The author makes a considerable effort to use the Portuguese bibliography on the theme, comparing it with his own findings from documentary research, and seeking to insert Portuguese history into the context of a more general history. Although, for various reasons, Maxwell has become interested in other periods of Portuguese history, including the contemporary period, the fact remains that his earlier attention was directed above all to the subject of Brazil. He published some articles on this subject, most notably the one that he wrote in 1968 on “Pombal and the Nationalization of the Luso-Brazilian Economy,”<sup>12</sup> and his major

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Venturi, *The End of the Old Régime in Europe, 1776-1789. I: The Great States of the West*, 200-236.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Monteiro, *D. José. Na sombra de Pombal*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Hespanha, “A note on two recent books on the patterns of Portuguese politics in the 18th century”; Subtil, “The Evidence of Pombalism: Reality or Pervasive Clichés?”; Monteiro, “The Patterns of Portuguese Politics in the 18th Century or the Shadow of Pombal. A Reply to António Manuel Hespanha.”

<sup>12</sup> Maxwell, “Pombal and the Nationalization of the Luso-Brazilian Economy.”

work, published in 1973, was *Conflicts and Conspiracies: Brazil and Portugal 1750–1808*,<sup>13</sup> generally considered to be a seminal work on eighteenth-century Brazil, and, in particular, on the region of Minas Gerais. In his contribution—with the same title as his later book—to Hamish Scott’s remarkable 1990 collection of essays on *Enlightened Absolutism*<sup>14</sup>, he had already announced the biography, published shortly afterward with the support of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.<sup>15</sup> In fact, many of his subsequent ideas and themes were already outlined in this essay.

In order to study the reception and impact that Maxwell’s book had, the first reviews are highly significant, initially, because they were written by prominent Brazilian, English, and Portuguese historians, and later because they immediately diagnosed the great themes that the book opened up for discussion. Laura de Mello e Souza, a professor at the University of São Paulo and a specialist in the history of Minas Gerais, published one of the first reviews as early as 1995. She states that “the book is simple and unpretentious, not seeking to be anything other than a good guide, written in English, for those who are interested in the period.” Stressing that it “is very well written,” she notes that “it is perhaps not very interpretive or innovative,” when compared with the author’s previous works. And she summarizes the biography of Pombal as follows: “profoundly influenced by the Enlightenment, he sponsored the reform of the University of Coimbra, created the College of the Nobles, rebuilt Lisbon after the 1755 earthquake, brought the Court of the Inquisition under state control; despotic, he expelled the Jesuits from Portugal, dismantled the old nobility, sentenced some of its more illustrious members by means of an absurd trial and tortured them in public, in one of the most terrible and bloody spectacles ever seen in Europe at that time.” Stressing the importance attributed to Brazil, she also accepted what is one of the book’s central ideas: the Portugal of Pombal as described by Maxwell would undermine the “certainty . . . that the Enlightenment and Constitutionalism came hand in hand.”<sup>16</sup> The other reviews did not repeat this equation so unreservedly.

Derek Beales published a very laudatory review of the book in the *New York Review of Books* in 1996. In fact, he wrote a magnificent summary of the book. He underlined that Maxwell “is entirely right to argue that enlightenment and despotism can, up to a point and with a certain definition of despotism, be compatible.”<sup>17</sup> But he added: “Yet Pombal does

<sup>13</sup> Maxwell, *Conflicts and Conspiracies: Brazil and Portugal 1750–1808*.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Scott, “Introduction: The Problem of Enlightened Absolutism”

<sup>15</sup> Maxwell, “Pombal: the Paradox of Enlightenment and Despotism.”

<sup>16</sup> Sousa, “Pombal, déspota ilustrado.”, 145-146.

<sup>17</sup> Beales, “The Enlightened Despot.”, 34.

not fit perfectly into the eighteenth-century enlightened despotism. An enlightened despot would be despotic in the sense of possessing complete power, but he would exercise it according to Enlightened principles, which, varied though they could be in many matters, almost always included respect for laws and a refusal to seek personal profit. This was not true of Pombal.”<sup>18</sup>

More or less around the same time, Jorge Pedreira published his review of the book, which, generally speaking, was full of praise: “the recent work of Kenneth Maxwell on the Age of Pombal is undoubtedly the reliable study in the English language which had long been missing.” But his objections were also quite drastic. The “conflict between despotic means and enlightened objectives” highlighted by Maxwell<sup>19</sup>, merited Pedreira’s greatest reservations: in his view, “the paradox which gives the title to the book seems rather a rhetorical artifice.” Above all, he insisted on characterizing Pombal’s economic thought as mercantilist (and not “enlightened Iberian economic nationalist”, as Maxwell claimed<sup>20</sup>), but he also saw it as a form of censorship, in its aim of supervising the Church, based on the fact that the “*raison d’état*” was “the most valued principle” of Pombaline thought. His conclusion was decidedly limitative: “the paradox may simply lie in the fact that the government of Pombal should be classified under the Enlightenment.”<sup>21</sup>

In the period immediately after the book’s publication, a much more critical review was published by the prominent Canadian historian David Higgs. He states in the *Portuguese Studies Review* that “the lack of originality either in research or interpretation is the underlying weakness of this attractively illustrated book,”<sup>22</sup> discussing various partial aspects of the work.

I do not wish to provide a detailed assessment of the book but only to make some very brief remarks. The more strictly biographical data are brought forward and constitute almost the entire opening chapter. Moreover, little attention is given to either the period before Pombal’s rise to power or to his rivalry with Alexandre Gusmão. The internal aspects of Portuguese history are usually not discussed very much. The bulk of the book is devoted to the external politics of Pombal, in particular where this relates to Brazil, relations with England, and economic policies. The author relies primarily on the literature on the subject, but the information given is fairly complete, except for the absence of the

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<sup>18</sup> Beales, “The Enlightened Despot.”, 34.

<sup>19</sup> Maxwell, *Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment*, 38.

<sup>20</sup> Maxwell, *Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment*, 67.

<sup>21</sup> Pedreira, “*Pombal, Paradox of the Enlightenment* by Kenneth Maxwell.”, 215-216.

<sup>22</sup> Higgs, “Kenneth Maxwell, 1995, *Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.”

work of Silva Dias. I would highlight as highly positive aspects the fact that Maxwell refuses to see Pombal as an opponent of the Jesuits before his rise to power, as well as the great prominence that is given to the propaganda that Pombal used in order to publicize his actions abroad. His central idea is still that “the story of Pombal’s administration is . . . an important antidote to the overly linear and progressive view of the role of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment in Europe and the exercise of state power.”<sup>23</sup> And this, after all, is the book’s most controversial point.

Outside Portugal, and continuing to quote almost exclusively from Maxwell’s book,<sup>24</sup> historians are still divided today about its subject matter, just as they were when the book was first published. To a large extent, their differences have nothing to do with Sebastião José de Carvalho (1699–1782, made Marquis of Pombal in 1770), but with what they mean by the Enlightenment. This is, after all, the central question. What is discussed, therefore, is not so much Pombal himself, what he did, or what he wrote, but more what each author understands by the Enlightenment. Thus, based on the same information, we can reach completely opposite conclusions. Evidently, the examples that are invoked are among the most significant.

The *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment* is certainly one of the main works of reference published in the last decade. In the entry dedicated to Pombal (in which Maxwell’s work is the only recent bibliography referred to), Christopher Storrs states: “it is difficult to regard him as truly enlightened, particularly in view of his intolerance of opposition and his harsh treatment of his critics.”<sup>25</sup> In turn, in the overview that he provides of the work as a whole, Jonathan Israel stresses that “the Enlightenment conceived as a movement of ideas appears to be not just firmly in retreat and increasingly under siege but also fragmenting into disparate remnants with no coherent overall profile.” But he nonetheless has his own opinions about this subject and about Pombal himself. On the same book by Kenneth Maxwell, Israel wrote that “for all its anticlericalism, secularism, and willingness to emasculate the Inquisition, the officially sanctioned ‘enlightenment’ carried through in Portugal and Brazil by the Marquis of Pombal, the powerful chief minister of the crown who virtually ruled Portugal between 1750 and 1777, was not in any meaningful sense ‘enlightened.’ . . . Pombal’s Enlightenment . . . was primarily a mechanism for enhancing autocracy at the expense of individual liberty and especially an apparatus for crushing

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<sup>23</sup> Maxwell, *Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment*, 161.

<sup>24</sup> Cf., for example, Vazquez, Lydia, “Espagne et Portugal.”

<sup>25</sup> Storrs, “Pombal.”

opposition, suppressing criticism, and furthering colonial economic exploitation as well as intensifying book censorship and consolidating personal control and profit.”<sup>26</sup>

Tim Blanning’s book *The Pursuit of Glory: Europe 1648–1815* has been considered a benchmark about the period that it covers. Although not directly quoting Maxwell, he wrote in an opposite sense: “Once one expands one’s field of vision to embrace this wider constituency of policy-makers, however, the influence of the Enlightenment is next to impossible to deny. The achievements of the Marquis of Pombal (1699–1782) in Portugal as first minister to Joseph I (1750–77) provide an excellent example.”<sup>27</sup> It is difficult to find more contradictory statements than these about the same subject matter.

What has been written about Pombal based on Maxwell’s writing largely depends, therefore, on what is understood by the Enlightenment, whether it is considered that there was just one Enlightenment, or several, and how these are defined. For some, “the Enlightenment’s conception of the progress of society was intimately connected to a novel view of how men of letters should seek influence over it, by appealing to public opinion rather than to rulers and their ministers.”<sup>28</sup> According to this conception, Pombal cannot be covered by this definition, although the same cannot be said about Dom Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, the later minister, who claimed to have inherited a part of his legacy.

In order to write the political and intellectual history of eighteenth-century Iberian Europe, which so indelibly marked great swathes of the planet at the beginning of the following century, as part of a global history, perhaps the most interesting aspect is not to spend time discussing to what extent it was or was not “Enlightened.” It is not a question of ignoring the important role played by politics and diplomacy or the influences of intellectual models drawn from other territories. And much less of projecting nationalist and integrationist images of Iberian histories. Nor even of discussing the existence of a Catholic Enlightenment, although it is undeniable that there existed specific channels for its circulation in ecclesiastic anti-Jesuit circles<sup>29</sup>.

The most consistent alternative seems to be to discuss the specific forms existing for political communication and the circulation of ideas in the eighteenth-century Iberian monarchies, and the concrete scenarios in which they took place. Based on the premise that these forms had a specifically pluricontinental and Catholic dimension, and taking into account their diverse range of contexts in comparison with other models, such as those of

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<sup>26</sup> Israel, “Enlightenment! Which Enlightenment?”

<sup>27</sup> Blanning, *The Pursuit of Glory. Europe 1648–1815*, 294.

<sup>28</sup> Robertson, *The Case for The Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples 1680-1760 (Ideas in Context)*, 9.

<sup>29</sup> Miller, *Portugal and Rome c. 1748-1830*.

the British monarchy and its colonial territories (which did not, in fact, serve as models for practically anybody in the early eighteenth century), basically this is what various historiographies have begun to do. These will be some of the requirements needed for the writing of a global history that does not assume from the outset that we already know everything there is to say about the subject.

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**Wiecker, Niels. *Der iberische Atlantikhandel: Schiffsverkehr zwischen Spanien, Portugal und Iberoamerika, 1700-1800* (Beiträge zur Europäischen Überseegeschichte, 99). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012. ISBN 978-3-515-10201-8.**

Tijl Vanneste<sup>1</sup>

Niels Wiecker has written a monograph that is a most welcome addition to the historiography of the Portuguese and Spanish colonial enterprises in the Americas. The work provides an excellent overview of the state of the art concerning research issues and source materials in the German language, but its importance is not limited to German readers, as historians familiar with the relevant historiography in English, Spanish, French, and Portuguese will still find enough of interest in the monograph. Niels Wiecker has studied history at the universities of Hamburg and Salamanca. At the former, his PhD supervisor was Professor Horst Pietschmann, one of Germany's most important historians working on the Iberian Americas. It was his comparative and Atlantic approach that inspired Dr. Wiecker in his own work.

The book is divided into four parts, some larger than others, and a conclusion. In the introduction, the author explains the historical and historiographical background to his monograph. Eighteenth-century reforms in Iberian colonial trade are accompanied by a lack of academic interest in Spain and its overseas territories for the same period, the golden age already being in the past by then, and both Portuguese and Hispanic historiography have suffered from a post-dictatorial regionalization of history, although historians in the Portuguese language have tended to pay more attention to the bigger Portuguese picture than their Spanish-writing counterparts. This difference has also continued in Anglo-American scholarship: while David Brading's work on miners and merchants in Bourbon Mexico has become exemplary for the school of Spanish-American history writing by concentrating more on local elites and case-studies, Charles Boxer and Stuart Schwartz were two influential historians who focused more on the bigger Luso-American picture. This is not to say, however, that detailed studies on Brazil don't exist; in fact, quite the contrary. In the introduction, one of the book's major shortcomings can already be noticed: a lack of attention to South American scholarly production. On page 16,

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reference is made to Brazilian historiography, and Roberto Simonsen and Virgilio Noya Pinto's influential works on Brazil's economic history<sup>2</sup> and the gold cycle<sup>3</sup> also receive a mention, but Brazilian and Spanish American historiography as a whole remains undervalued. This is a pity, all the more so because Dr. Wiecker is not hindered by issues of language, as many publications in Spanish and Portuguese are included in his bibliography. This has resulted in an undervaluation of interior developments in the New World, such as the construction of proper economies, intercolonial trade, and the resulting national convergence.<sup>4</sup>

The second chapter deals with the Portuguese and Spanish colonial policies related to trade. The two Iberian powers developed different approaches when searching for profit from their South American endeavors, although these were not without certain overlaps. The Portuguese had to allow for a sizeable participation of English merchants in their overseas trade (both legal and clandestine), something they tried to oppose at different times during the eighteenth century. The Marquis of Pombal, Portugal's most powerful figure for several decades after the 1755 earthquake, was opposed to foreign participation in Brazilian trade, and the foundation of a Junta do Comércio in Lisbon, as well as the establishment of different privileged companies, the Companhia Geral de Comércio de Pernambuco e Paraíba (1756) and the Companhia Geral de Comércio de Grão Pará e Maranhão (1759), were aimed at gaining a larger share for Portuguese merchants at the expense of foreign traders in general, and the English in particular. This system of monopolistic companies was, however, not the common tactic of the Portuguese government, although it was pursued for much of the eighteenth century in diamond production, and in trade as well. The Spanish, on the contrary, sought to develop an Atlantic trade based on the exclusion of foreigners (except the *Asiento*), the establishment of privileges centered on membership of the *Consulado*, which was a mercantile body controlled by the *Casa de Contratación* in Seville (Cadiz after 1717), and the organization of the *flotas* from Cadiz to Veracruz, Portobelo, Cartagena, and Havana.

Dr. Wiecker's discourse on trade policies is firmly rooted in existing knowledge, and the chapter mostly serves as an introduction for things to come. The attempt to expand national frameworks into an Atlantic one and the idea of offering a comparative

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<sup>2</sup> Simonsen, *História econômica do Brasil, 1500–1820*.

<sup>3</sup> Pinto, *O ouro brasileiro e o comércio anglo-português: Uma contribuição aos estudos da economia atlântica no século XVIII*.

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, Caldeira, *A Nação Mercantilista – Ensaio sobre o Brasil; Alves, Minas e Currais: Produção Rural e Mercado Interno de Minas Gerais (1674–1807)*. Later, the author briefly discusses the historiographical debate, dominated by Brazilian historians, concerning the developing Brazilian economy linked to a Portuguese colonial 'crisis' (199–200).

viewpoint to the Portuguese and Spanish approaches to the New World still make for relevant reading. The third chapter of the book contains its most original contribution to current historiography: the meticulous construction of a database of transatlantic shipping in the eighteenth century. In an accessible form, using MS-Access, different data are linked together and allow for searches to be made. Information about shipments taking place across the Atlantic (sailing dates, goods, captains, ships) is central, being linked to the port cities visited and the merchants who were active there. Made available through <http://www.wiecker.info>,<sup>5</sup> the database offers historians the possibility of using it for their own research and adding yet more data. The author has used all the care that is warranted when constructing a historical database, not only discussing theoretical and conceptual limits and benefits, based on the relevant bibliography, but also using caution with the data. It has to be said, though, that most of these data come from different published sources, and the fragmentation of the source material is a problem when trying to determine how complete the data are. This is not to deny that it is a very interesting tool: it is not difficult to use, but it can prove tricky to handle without reading Dr. Wiecker's monograph.

Some trials conducted with this tool make it clear that the author has included more information on Spanish America than on Brazil: a search for ships arriving in Veracruz between 1728 and 1735 shows 147 ships, neatly divided by year and port of origin, and thus showing two arrivals from Maracaibo in 1730 and twenty from Cadiz two years later, while a search for ships arriving in Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, Pará, and Maranhão does not yield anything for the same time period. This must be due to technical difficulties, because a search for ships leaving the port of Lisbon between 1728 and 1735 shows sixteen ships leaving for Bahia, eight for Pernambuco and fourteen for Rio de Janeiro in 1730 alone, while vessels also arrived in the Portuguese capital from those regions in the same years. The link between people and shipping is promising, but a lot of information is missing. For Cadiz, 109 people can be found in the database for the whole eighteenth century: shipowners, traders, and consuls, but for Lisbon, only three merchants can be found in the database. This means that a lot of work still remains to be done before the database can be fully used in research. The monograph also shows certain limitations in the linking of a publication on paper with an online database: some of the functions discussed in the book, such as the possibility of comparing shipping, directly export one's research findings into Excel, while the possibility of constructing diagrams is no longer available online.

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<sup>5</sup> Accessed 16 May 2013.

The greatest merit of the database at this point is its existence and the effort that the author has made to afford it firm theoretical and technical grounds. As such, it might serve as a starting point for the construction of a more detailed database, perhaps in the same vein as Navigocorpus (available on [www.navigocorpus.org](http://www.navigocorpus.org)), a database on European shipping and maritime trade from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. For immediate application in research, however, its use is limited. This is implicitly acknowledged by the author in the fourth part of the book, which deals precisely with shipping between the Iberian Peninsula and the New World, but does not make explicit use of the information contained in the database constructed a chapter earlier. This fourth chapter, with 122 pages, makes up half of the monograph, and is divided into three sections: Iberian ports, Atlantic islands; and ports in the New World.

Focusing on the respective roles of Cadiz, Barcelona, Porto, and Lisbon in the larger context of transatlantic trade, the author manages to draw an interesting parallel between Barcelona and Porto. Both of these were involved in trade but relied heavily on a relationship with their hinterlands, where wine and wool were produced, while Cadiz and Lisbon did not have the same connection with their surroundings but exercised an important commercial function on a national, European, and even global scale. The Atlantic islands, particularly the Azores, have received disproportionate attention from historians considering their minor importance in transatlantic trade, since their role was mainly that of providing a stopover on the Atlantic shipping route. Madeira was, in fact, the island that had greatest economic importance. At the other end of the route, Dr. Wiecker discusses the economic developments in Spanish America and Brazil during the eighteenth century, as explained by the diverse range of products sent abroad, such as cacao, and the growing importance of new regions, such as Maranhão and Rio de Janeiro in Brazil and Venezuela in New Spain. He also discusses Spanish-Portuguese interaction, by analyzing (illegal) trade and economic development in the River Plate region, after the Portuguese founded their Colônia do Sacramento there in 1680.

Throughout the work, the author does not evade those issues that have made large-scale histories of commerce difficult to write, most notably the problems encountered with sources, and the ever-present problem of smuggling, but he does not always take a strong position himself. He points out, for instance, that the impact of a growing Brazilian economy on Portugal and its colonial structure is still the subject of much debate: Jobson de Andrade Arruda sees a growing erosion of that system, with the ever greater amount of smuggling taking place toward the end of the eighteenth century being central to his

argument,<sup>6</sup> while Jorge Pedreira has argued that smuggling was an integral part of that system, which only began to decline when the Portuguese court fled to Brazil to escape the French.<sup>7</sup> Dr. Wiecker does not provide any new insights to support either one claim or the other, but he remarks that both opinions are valid.<sup>8</sup> This is an indication that his monograph is largely synthetic, as it bundles together existing knowledge in an accessible manner, within a comparative and Atlantic framework. It also focuses on a period—the eighteenth century—that is often understudied, although it was also a period of economic reform for both Portugal and Spain. This, together with the construction of the database, is the work's greatest merit, a fact that is also confirmed by the author in his conclusion: "Much of what was already known from individual case studies has been confirmed in a larger perspective."<sup>9</sup> And, *en passant*, he does away with the notion that is often present in Anglo-American historiography, namely that the concept of the Iberian Atlantic is synonymous with an Ibero-American commercial system. The comparative efforts made by Niels Wiecker in his monograph clearly demonstrate that, while an Iberian Atlantic is valid as a concept, a Spanish-American and a Brazilian commercial system existed separately.

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<sup>6</sup> Arruda, "Decadence or Crisis in the Luso-Brazilian Empire: A New Model of Colonization in the Eighteenth Century."

<sup>7</sup> Pedreira, "From Growth to Collapse: Portugal, Brazil and the Breakdown of the Old Colonial System (1760–1830)."

<sup>8</sup> Wiecker, *Der iberische Atlantikhandel: Schiffsverkehr zwischen Spanien, Portugal und Iberoamerika, 1700–1800*, 199–200.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 240.

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