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[SPECIAL ISSUE: *Migrations and Diasporas in Portuguese Speaking Africa(s)*]

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## Preface

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There were four considerations that prompted the editors to organize this special issue of the *e-Journal of Portuguese History*. The first reason why we embarked on this project was the rapid growth of migration studies over recent decades and the work being done across the globe on migration and diasporas in areas of former Portuguese presence. This growing body of work forms part of a multidisciplinary field of research which has, since the 1990s, shifted its focus to the transnational dimensions of migration and the social networks that underpin global interactions in the “age of migration.” Areas of former Portuguese presence in Africa offer a richly sourced continuum of migratory movements and the formation of diasporas in a wide variety of socio-historical contexts over a period of over five centuries. Hence, the time frame of the papers in this special issue ranges from the sixteenth century to the present.

The second reason was to explore the diversity of South-South migrations and under-researched human displacements and associated narratives in and from Africa. The history of migrations in the African case has mostly concerned itself with the forced dispersal of populations, and areas of former Portuguese presence are no exception to the rule. The trans-Atlantic slave trade and coerced forms of labor have largely dominated the study of migrations in the pre-colonial and colonial Lusophone world. The papers in this collection cover a variety of geographic spaces, including Angola, Cabo Verde, Mozambique, and Nigeria. They engage with the migration of African elites, trade diasporas, the circulation of knowledge between homeland and global diasporas, diasporic citizenship, coerced forms of displacement, and cross-border migration and insurgency.

The third reason was to follow up on a conference which had been held in 2004 to mark the centenary of the birth of Charles Boxer (who had died aged ninety-six in 2000). This resulted in the publication of a collection of papers (reissued in 2015) focused on creolization in the Portuguese-speaking world. Creolization, or transcultural interaction and assimilation, now freed from the political taint that it acquired during the *Estado Novo* (New

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State) dictatorship (1926–1974), is widely recognized and researched by scholars of pre-colonial and colonial Africa. Creolization results from the migration and acculturation of people from one cultural environment to another and the subsequent formation of transnational communities with novel, hybrid social identities and cultural practices. It was natural, therefore, for a follow-up from our previous conference to try to focus on migration in its various forms, not least in view of the broadening of the field of migration, development, and cultural studies to encompass the transnational dimensions of human mobility and social change.

The fourth reason was to give young scholars an opportunity to showcase their research, given their limited access to academic journals, especially when their research is often a work in progress. Not only does historiographical research on areas of former Portuguese presence form a niche in the broader field of migration studies, early-career scholars may view the major questions and debates of African history from a different point of view from that which preoccupied earlier generations. Their papers concern themselves with topical issues such as African biography, religious syncretism, coercive development, transnational citizenship, diasporas, and armed conflict. To that end, they are informed by multi-disciplinary approaches and methodologies grounded in history, anthropology, sociology, and political science.

The editors were fortunate to locate a number of scholars whose research focused on aspects of the topic of migration and identity in Africa. Sadly, not all these resulted in papers which we were able to include in this special issue. Nevertheless, all the papers in this collection, apart from the introduction, are representative of the diversity of the younger scholarly community working on areas of former Portuguese presence in Africa. In writing about African history, it is essential that voices of Africans and people of African descent be heard. Not only does this issue include scholars of African origin, but the papers make use of locally produced sources, both written and oral, in order to reflect upon pre-, proto-, colonial, or post-colonial periods.

Is there a reason to single out the history of Lusophone Africa, and is it distinct from that of its Anglophone or Francophone neighbors? The debate on the Portuguese Empire's exceptionalism is inconclusive. It is marked by the legacy of colonial ideologies and intense propaganda by the New State dictatorship and the violent dissolution of empire and of the regime itself in 1974–1975. In the post-colonial era, the term Lusophony (*Lusofonia*) has been employed to identify symbolic bonds between spaces and nations that once were part of an empire and are currently joined together politically in the Community of Portuguese

Speaking Countries (*Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*, CPLP) since 1992. Nevertheless, the social, economic, cultural, and political diversity of these countries is in essence no different from those pertaining to Anglophone or Francophone commonwealths.

However, when taking a historical perspective of human societies there are aspects that distinguish Portuguese areas of influence in Africa. Contact with the continent began in the fifteenth century and covers a broad timeframe, significantly longer than that of other Euro-African interactions. It has been characterized by the settlement of the Atlantic islands and Brazil, Portugal's key role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade from the early 1500s, and dynamics of cultural creolization induced by Euro-African contact beginning in the fifteenth century, as well as voluntary migrations from Portugal to areas of Portuguese presence and between the latter. These linkages principally resulted from trade and migration associated with the coerced uprooting and enslavement of Africans, the forced exile of Sephardi from the Iberian Peninsula, and the sentencing of convicted criminals to serve long or life sentences in distant colonial possessions (*degredo*). These complex human movements gave rise to a diverse mosaic of overseas diasporas with distinctive creole cultures emerging in the Cabo Verdean islands, São Tomé and Príncipe, and parts of the West African mainland in the early sixteenth century. At this juncture, other European states, except for Spain, had yet to establish a firm foothold overseas.

Over several centuries, the migration and settlement of Africans, Sephardi, and Europeans resulted in the formation of a Creole society in the Cabo Verdean archipelago and in the Gulf of Guinea islands, which exerted an influence on maritime West Africa and the Kongo/Angola region. The occupation of part of coastal Angola from 1575 initiated migratory flows and processes of cultural creolization, which also involved the African hinterland. The Portuguese diaspora, which began with the peopling of the Atlantic Islands, was accompanied by the migrations of Sephardim fleeing from forced conversion in the Iberian Peninsula, whose influence spread throughout the Mediterranean and the New World. The trans-Atlantic slave trade, which also expanded during the same period, formed a third element in the peopling of Atlantic islands and the creation of a Lusophone cultural space in the South Atlantic. Acting as the principal agents of expansion, trade diasporas based in West and East Africa, Brazil, and India extended the range of commercial routes and cross-cultural interaction throughout the empire and beyond. The regional and trans-Atlantic slave trade thus forged diverse economic, social, and cultural spaces of the South Atlantic, which had an impact on peripheral areas whilst the endogenous formations influenced pre- and proto-colonial institutions. Whereas they were Portuguese in a formal sense, they were

in fact hybrid products often run and staffed by non-metropolitan Portuguese until colonial occupation imposed a modern imperial political framework. Largely mediated by the Portuguese, much of West and Central Africa was connected with Europe and the New World.

These developments, which cover four centuries of pre- and proto-colonial African history, translate into particular imperial tropes that tend to set areas of former Portuguese presence in Africa apart from their Anglophone and Francophone neighbors. The fact that the Portuguese presence in Africa chronologically extended beyond that of other colonial dominions, until the empire crumbled following the overthrow of the New State in Portugal in 1974 and was marked by several simultaneous and protracted armed conflicts, also distinguishes it from its European counterparts. The massive migration of settlers and their families from Angola and Mozambique to Portugal in the wake of decolonization in 1974–1975 also demonstrates the particular nature of developments in Lusophone spaces. More recent developments regarding migrations in former Portuguese colonies in Africa testify to the continuity of certain phenomena from the colonial into the post-colonial era in these spaces, and their links to broader regional and global economic, social, and political contexts.

Given its importance for migrations, the formation of diasporas and creolized identities, Cabo Verde stands out with two contributions. While Cabo Verde has been a key focus of migration studies, the issue of comparative librarianship and outdated models of the circulation of knowledge between the islands and its global diaspora in the digital age addressed by Marilla MacGregor has, so far, attracted little attention. Similarly, the question of external citizenship and the political engagement of the archipelago's diasporic electorate in national politics as proposed by Aleida Mendes Borges provides a refreshing look at an under-researched topic. Early elite migrations of Itsekiri ruling lineages to Portugal as described by Allegra Ayida touch upon lesser-known Lusophone ramifications of these historical displacements and their impact upon African societies, which are still reflected in the relatively high proportion of Itsekiri seeking an education abroad. Ana Rita Amaral's paper on trade diasporas in Angola uses a locally produced archive and the biography of its author from a biographical angle using a local archive to examine issues of identity and mobility in a trading post, Bié, in proto-colonial Angola. Nikkie Wiegink's study of forced resettlements in colonial post-colonial Mozambique neatly portrays the many but underexposed continuities between the colonial and post-colonial periods in law, administrative practice, and the *mentalités* of the ruling elites. The recruitment of young men into the ranks of a recent Islamist insurgency in Northern Mozambique, presented by

Salvador Forquilha and João Pereira, addresses the complex and less visible economic, social and religious fault lines in a border region where internal migratory movements and transnational networks intersect.

Finally, the editors would like to emphasize the relevance of a micro-and meso-focus on these global and regional human movements and the *longue durée* during which migrations and cross-cultural interactions took place for an understanding of under-researched areas and topics. The papers in this special issue of the *e-Journal of Portuguese History* take African locations as the starting point for an analysis of the history of internal and external human mobility in different phases up to the present which privilege a South-South perspective. These contributions form a welcome contribution to debates on imperial and post-colonial migrations and will, hopefully, inspire other scholars to come forward with innovative research on these topics.

### Bionote/Nota Biográfica

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# Introduction: Migrations, Diasporas, and Identities in Lusophone Africa

Philip J. Havik<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

The historiography of modalities and trajectories of human mobility has engaged with imperial and postcolonial perspectives, highlighting the erstwhile and lingering connections between the former colonies and their European metropolises. Areas of former Portuguese presence in Africa are no exception to the rule. This special issue places coerced and voluntary migrations, and the socioeconomic, political, and cultural connections that emerged over time in a long-term regional African perspective. This publication brings together contributions on micro- and meso-histories of South-South migrations and diasporas with an emphasis on population movements, narratives, identities, and practices in empire and the post-colony.

## Keywords

Migrations, diasporas, trajectories, social change, identities, Africa, Portugal

## Resumo

A historiografia das modalidades e das trajetórias da mobilidade humana tem se envolvido com perspectivas imperiais e pós-coloniais destacando as ligações antigas e duradouras entre as antigas colônias e as suas metrópoles europeias. As áreas de antiga presença portuguesa em África não são exceção à regra. Este número especial coloca as migrações coercivas e voluntárias, e as ligações socioeconómicas, políticas e culturais que surgiram ao longo do tempo numa perspectiva regional africana a longo prazo. Esta publicação reúne contribuições sobre micro- e meso-histórias das migrações Sul-Sul e diásporas com ênfase nos movimentos populacionais, narrativas, identidades e práticas no império e na pós-colónia.

## Palavras-chave

Migrações, diásporas, trajetórias, mudança social, identidades, África, Portugal

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## Introduction

The principal aim of this special issue of the *e-Journal of Portuguese History* is three-fold: first, to give an opportunity for young, early career scholars to publish their research; second, to focus on aspects of migration and diasporas in areas of former Portuguese presence in Africa; and third, to present novel perspectives on patterns of human mobility in an inter-African perspective. The articles address a broad time frame from the seventeenth century to the present, covering both Western and South-Eastern Africa, and engaging with political, economic, social, and cultural aspects of human migrations. They deal with the transnational dynamics of voluntary migration and settlement, coerced displacement, emigration, and exile as a result of colonization, trade, social and political change, and armed conflict. A broad range of issues is analyzed here, including citizenship, transnationality, human rights, political rights, sociocultural identity, class, ethnicity, religion, and social and economic mobility. The contributions adopt a diversity of approaches, taking their cues mainly from history, anthropology, sociology, and political science. In the process, they document, by means of research into written and oral sources, past and present representations, experiences, and memories of populations and communities on the move in generally understudied Lusophone regions on the African continent.

The articles share a focus on the polyvalent, transcultural aspects of human mobility across natural and political boundaries and the manifold implications for social change and identity formation in areas of formal and informal Portuguese presence in Africa. They take a fresh look at a diversity of geographical and social spaces by following migratory pathways that include Cabo Verde, Angola, and Mozambique, but also extend beyond strictly Lusophone areas, such as Nigeria. By connecting local, regional, and global contexts, the articles address diaspora-induced change and its engagement with shared and distinct identities, as well as their evolution over time within particular social ecologies (Hall, 1990). The contributions included in this special issue thus allow readers to gain greater familiarity with non-linear dynamics of continuity and change that were (re)shaped by human mobility. They attempt to “show how meaning is never finished or completed, but keeps on moving to encompass other, additional or supplementary meanings” (Hall 1990: 229), underlining the importance of metaphors, representations, and narratives as cultural markers of movement and change. In doing so, they discuss different types of diasporas, ranging from elite migration to coerced forms of (re)settlement and refugee movements in colonial and postcolonial contexts.

From the 1950s, theories of migration evolved from their focus upon ecologically motivated movement, and forced, voluntary, and mass migration (Petersen 1958) to recognizing new forms of mobility. In the “age of migration,” a transnational perspective has taken hold as an alternative to approaches centering on the migrant/native divide (Glick Schiller et al. 1992). A variety of models have been put forward by exponents of neoclassical, new economics, and dependency/world systems theories with a strong economic dimension contrasting with those focusing upon social interaction and networks within a socio-cultural approach (King 2012; Portes 2010).

More recently, epistemological debates have centered on the need to put social transformations at the heart of a global perspective on migration whilst avoiding the temptation to cast them in the mold of uniform models (Castles 2010). Hence, a wide range of migratory movements including adaptive-, aspirational-, chain-, and refugee-based dynamics have come under scrutiny along with the ways they are mediated through social networks in particular sociohistorical contexts. In the era of globalization, the issue of health and transnational human mobility has gained great prominence in the face of ecological and climatic change, famines, and humanitarian crises (Koehn 2021; Freeman 2017). The shift towards recording the personal and collective lived experience of migrants has also informed novel approaches on how social structures built around kinship, gender, ethnicity, nation, and citizenship facilitate or impede people to migrate (King 2012: 24–26). These ongoing debates demonstrate to what extent migration studies have developed into a multi- and transdisciplinary science concerned with human agency in a field characterized by a considerable epistemological diversity.

Since the 1990s, transnationalism and its diasporic dimensions have gained widespread recognition. Diasporic perspectives have embraced the study of exile, migration, and immigration and their relations with politics, labor, trade and culture in empire and the post-colony (Bauböck and Faist 2010). Community and hybrid diasporas are characterized by their ability to retain, transmit, and assimilate cultural, religious, and political institutions and memory via intergenerational networks (Bruneau 2010). Their emergence in empire is closely tied to large-scale regional and intercontinental displacements of people in the “moving spaces” forged by the Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trades (Berthet, Rosa, and Viljoen 2019; Araujo et al. 2011; Allan 2011; Kagan and Morgan 2009). The global dispersal of populations gave rise a growing elasticity of the concept of diaspora to encompass the formation of a great variety of communities presenting hybrid, transnational identities (Cohen 1997; Clifford 1994). The Sephardi and African diasporas have featured prominently

in debates on transatlantic migration, as well as on the processes of cultural creolization associated with them. The question of social, cultural, and political boundaries has thus taken on greater relevance, as their fluidity challenged and subverted established notions of social order. Crossing geographical and social boundaries is a reminder of their transformative impact, but also of the barriers that have limited population flows, settlement, and assimilation (Flahaux and De Haas 2016). More recently, endogenous dimensions of displacement and social transformations have gained ground, correcting existing imbalances in scholarly literature, for example, regarding Africa (De Haas and Frankema 2020; Carpenter and Lawrance 2018). Hence, this special issue wishes to extend its purview beyond externally induced migrations by looking at human mobility within the African continent and its historical roots in colonial and postcolonial contexts.

The history of migrations and diasporas in empire has attracted increasing attention over the last decades, covering Anglophone, Francophone, and Lusophone regions (Alpers and Ball 2019; Fedorowich and Thompson 2013; Harper and Constantine 2010; Thénault 2017; Barou 2000). Lusophone perspectives have stressed the protracted nature of historical connections between Portugal, Africa, and Brazil built upon the ambivalent notion of *Lusofonia* seen through a transatlantic matrix (Arenas 2011: 1–44). One of the main issues debated in the scholarly literature is whether Portuguese imperial expansion and rule was a singular phenomenon which differed from (Arenas 2011: 37–43) or was similar to that of other European empires (Morier-Genoud and Cahen 2012: 2–3). Key aspects that characterize the study of migrations in areas of (erstwhile) Portuguese presence are their politico-ideological dimensions and their long-term perspective. The historiography of relations between Portugal and its former colonies has been deeply marked by state-sponsored narratives during the *Estado Novo* (New State) dictatorship in Portugal (1926–1974). Imbued with racist and nationalist tropes, these areas were reimagined as a Lusophone community in the 1950s when the Freyrian notion of Lusotropicalism was officially adopted by the regime (Anderson et al. 2019; Almeida and Corkill 2015; Matos 2012; Almeida 2004: 45–64; Castelo 1999).

Elements of this colonial discourse have continued to influence narratives guided by a historically forged shared transnational heritage in the postcolonial era (Almeida 2008). The overthrow of the regime with the Carnation Revolution led to the end of empire, decolonization, and the independence of its former colonies in Africa, i.e., Angola, Cabo Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe between 1974 and 1975. The establishment of the Community of Lusophone Countries (CPLP) in 1992 reinvented

an imagined, heterogeneous, and symbolic global Lusophone community with an otherwise peripheral Portugal at its center.

Whereas these political transformations changed the footing of relations between these countries and the former metropolis, European settlers as well as African populations migrated internally and externally within and beyond empire. The circulation of people has attracted considerable scholarly attention on emerging diasporic narratives and identities in empire (Sadlier 2016; Alpers and Ball 2012) and in the post-colony (Ashby 2017; Leite et al. 2014; Ribeiro 2004; Trindade 2004). The triangular relations between Europe, Latin America, and Africa tend to depict the former imperial metropolis as a core element of migratory networks. Lusophone diasporas extend far beyond the boundaries of areas of Portuguese influence in the wake of the maritime slave trade (Marques 2014; Caldeira 2013), the institutionalization of compulsory labor in empire (Silva and Alexopoulou 2020), and decolonization and the post-colony (Chabal 2001). For the postcolonial period, the study of migrations to and from Portugal (Trindade 2004) and recent returnees to the former colonies have identified social attitudes and tensions anchored in memories of the colonial past (Waldorff 2017; Akesson 2016a & 2021). These movements are set against the background of the “special relationship”—evoked by the CPLP—facilitating transnational migratory movements in which Portugal figures as the principal destination (Dib et al. 2020) and Lisbon as a multicultural urban hub (Arenas 2015).

More recently, transnational and intercontinental South-South migrations have also gained greater emphasis, associated with the impact of decolonization and postcolonial conditions on fluxes of voluntary and forced displacement of populations (Barreto 2020; Costa and Sousa 2017; Patrício 2016; Gupta 2009). The Cabo Verde islands constitute the single most prolific object of study of migration and diaspora in the Lusophone world, boasting a global diaspora greater in size than the population of the archipelago itself (Batalha and Carling 2008; Goís 2008; Évora 2015). Cabo Verdean migrations result above all from climatic, ecological factors associated with a succession of severe droughts and famines over the centuries, and also from a lack of living conditions in colonial times (Carreira 1977). Mozambique has been singled out for its extensive labor migration to neighboring South Africa (Newitt and Tornimbeni 2008; First 1983), as well as both Angola and Mozambique for their association with forced labor migration to São Tomé and Príncipe (Seibert 2006; Guthrie 2011).

One of the recurring topics regarding human displacements in areas of Portuguese influence is armed conflict. Angola and Mozambique have been deeply marked by protracted

colonial wars/liberation struggles and civil wars since the 1960s (Muanamoha and Raimundo 2018; Cruz 2019). The large numbers of refugees fleeing the fighting, many crossing into neighboring countries—that had only recently gained independence—raised humanitarian concerns that challenged colonial Lusotropicalist discourse and population management policies (Guardião 2021).

Population movements in a postcolonial perspective have also been associated with a lack of socio-economic conditions and opportunities, urbanization, discrimination or repression, and the operation of networks of illegal trafficking and undocumented immigration (Brezinska 2020; Rodrigues 2018; Rocha 2017; Feijó and Raimundo 2017; Patrício and Peixoto 2018; Pedro 2015; Birkeland 2001; Brinkman 2000; Coelho 1998). The tightening of restrictions imposed by immigration regimes in high-income countries, has raised barriers for immigration, exposing hierarchies of globalization and mobility, above all for unskilled younger generations, which, even in the case of countries like Cabo Verde with its extensive global connections, tend to limit options for transnational migration (Carling 2002).

### **Population Movements in Pre-Colonial Africa**

Migration is often considered a phenomenon that particularly characterizes the modern globalized world, resulting in transformations—and crises—of identity among those who work or settle away from their community of origin (De Haas, Castles, and Miller 2020). However, migrations are as old as human history itself, and most of the problems and experiences associated with migration in Africa today can be found in the earliest historical records (Rossi 2018). The papers in this collection look at aspects of migration in areas of Portuguese influence in Africa which show not only the extreme diversity of this experience but also its historical roots. These areas are particularly suited to long-term perspectives, owing to the availability of primary and secondary sources from the mid-1400s from European states, such as Portugal, bordering on the Atlantic, which were located at the center of global commercial networks for the next four centuries, giving rise to extensive migration flows. They document economic migrations from Europe to Africa, the Americas, and Asia and forced displacement of Africans to the Americas, as well as movements from Brazil to Africa. These migrations saw Portuguese and other Europeans settling islands such as Madeira and the Azores, Cabo Verde, and São Tomé and Príncipe, in addition to numerous European settlements in Brazil. They signaled the beginning of the transatlantic slave trade

and the expulsion of the Sephardim from the Iberian Peninsula (Alpers and Ball 2015; Mark and Horta 2011; Kagan and Morgan 2009). By the sixteenth century, different diasporas in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans had emerged with creolized identities and syncretic languages, cultures, and customs (Berthet, Rosa, and Viljoen 2019; Havik and Newitt 2015). Insular locations, such as Cabo Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe, served as Atlantic hubs, mediating and facilitating the slave trade from the African mainland to the Americas, while also absorbing African slave labor for plantation agriculture.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, transatlantic migrations, mostly coercive but also spontaneous, continued between Africa, Atlantic islands, and Portugal. Most of these fluxes were made up of slaves but there was a less conspicuous movement of what might be described as elite migrants. Elite migrations involved Africans travelling to Europe and India, while Creoles from areas of Portuguese presence moved to Brazil and Portugal, well into colonial times. From the 1400s, the *Padroado Real* was instrumental in promoting missionary activity abroad, creating religious institutions in areas of Portuguese presence in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. Members of chiefly African lineages travelled to Portugal, some as temporary migrants on diplomatic missions, like the embassies sent by the rulers of Kongo to Portugal and Rome. Others yet again went to Portugal to receive a metropolitan education and converted to Catholicism (Bethencourt 2011; Thornton 1998). Allegra Ayida's paper gives the example of three *olus* (kings) of Warri in early modern Nigeria who travelled to Portugal and Angola. They received a Catholic education and also built alliances with the Portuguese that would assist trade and strengthen their internal position. Such elite migrations helped to consolidate Warri's political, economic, and social development, which instrumentalized its connections with a creolized Lusophone world. In Portugal, embassies from the Kingdom of Kongo and from Senegal were received by Portuguese sovereigns, whilst their sons were purposefully educated at royal expense, receiving knighthoods in military orders.

Ayida's paper confirms the importance of African agency in establishing strategic alliances and partnerships, with religious and economic dimensions. These migrations (or visits) of elite Africans had precedents in the visits of delegations of Ethiopian Christians to Europe during the Middle Ages (Salvadore 2018). In the midst of a burgeoning slave and goods trade, African dignitaries bolstered their internal authority while gaining better insights into European societies and their ruling strata. By the nineteenth century, however, elite migrations involved an element of coercion, following military campaigns to subdue African

resistance; the case of the collapse of the Gaza empire and N'Gungunhana's subsequent exile on the Azores is one of the best-known examples.

The forging of linkages between Africa and Latin America, and Brazil in particular (Ferreira 2012; Candido 2011), increased the dependence of African societies on intermediaries and the spoils of the trade (Vos 2015; Green 2011). Processes of cultural creolization taking place in Angola were largely structured around migration. For two and a half centuries, large numbers of slaves were moved to the coast and shipped to Brazil in one of the largest forced migrations in history (Miller 1988). At the same time, traders based in Angola gradually extended their commercial migrations ever deeper into central Africa. These trading diasporas established privileged relations with African societies while seventeenth-century Portuguese military campaigns encroached upon African polities (Rodrigues 2021). By the nineteenth century, these commercial migrants from Angola had reached the upper Zambesi and the Barotse kingdom. Ana Rita Amaral's contribution on the archive of a Portuguese trader-traveler, Silva Porto, discusses the presence of Luso-Africans in Angola and their relations with African societies. Many of these commercial migrants, whose passage through the country could resemble that of a well-equipped army, gained a considerable influence in local politics (Dias 2002). However, the abolition of the slave trade and the transition to legitimate trade heralded a loss of power, thereby hastening the demise of influential African societies, such as the kingdom of Kongo (Vos 2015). Eventually, Portuguese military expeditions aiming to occupy these regions between 1895 and the 1910s were to undo alliances forged over the centuries, provoking large-scale migrations (Pélissier 2004).

### **Continuities Between Pre- and Postcolonial Africa**

As the relatively short period of colonial rule recedes in time, the continuities between pre- and postcolonial Africa come ever more into view. Nowhere is this more apparent than in population movements in Central Africa. Its climate is characterized by prolonged wet and dry periods, the latter often resulting in droughts that can last for years (Miller 1982). This forces populations to relocate to better watered regions, while the wet periods correspondingly allow for the resettlement of the drier areas. These population movements are accentuated by the prevailing systems of shifting agriculture which make the frequent relocation of settlements essential. Central Africa has seen the establishment of large, dynamic state systems, usually characterized by ill-defined boundaries, periodic tribute-

taking, and widespread popular mobility. Non-territorial forms of power and state-making left polities without effective control over their borders (Herbst 2000). Permeable boundaries allowed people to move beyond the range of tribute-taking raids, colonizing frontier zones, and seeking to establish independent polities. Most of these central African states were slave-owning, and the incorporation of slaves inevitably involved the movement of peoples and their resettlement (Lovejoy 2000). Central Africa also experienced the invasion and migration of relatively small and highly organized warbands who often traveled large distances, raided settled populations, and carved out new polities. Mercantile migrations involved traders and hunters who operated over long distances and whose separate identity could, with time, become a distinct ethnicity, like the Chicunda in Mozambique (Isaacman 1972) or the Ambakistas in Angola (Dias 2002).

During the nineteenth century, the expansion of the global economy intensified these trends. As the trans-Atlantic and Indian slave trades gradually diminished, the global demand for Africa's agricultural crops fomented an internal slave trade and forms of coercive labor which enabled producers to build up an indigenous workforce. Thus, large scale dislocations of populations took place, including forced migrations to the coast and to agricultural zones in the interior, as production for export of rubber, coffee, cocoa, sugar, and minerals such as diamonds and gold in Angola, Mozambique, and South Africa expanded (Henriques 1997; Newitt 1995). In Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, military campaigns were waged to occupy territories on which Portugal stated claims, formalized at the Berlin Conference, provoking the uprooting of entire communities (Pélissier 2004). The establishment of colonial rule divided the continent into separate colonial states with fixed frontiers. Nevertheless, despite the territorialization of power during the colonial and postcolonial periods, borders remained porous and seldom prevented the movement of people (Rodrigues and Tomás 2012; Nugent 1996; Kopytoff 1989), rather acting as "creative interfaces" (Foucher 2020). As the demand for labor on plantations, farms, and mines grew in intensity, a few trends emerged, each of them involving the relocation of people on a temporary or a permanent basis.

Various forms of coerced labor were introduced in Portugal's African colonies, especially in Angola and Mozambique (Silva and Alexopoulou 2020; Allina 2012; Newitt 1995; Bende, 1978); for example, state-sponsored forms of forced displacement of men and women to work for specified lengths of time on public works like road and railway construction and maintenance. Another common practice was for private employers, sanctioned by the state, to—surreptitiously—transform movements of laborers into

permanent migrations. A notorious example of such coerced labor diasporas is the contract labor (or *serviçais*) sent from Angola and Mozambique, and also from the Cabo Verde Islands, to work in the cocoa plantations of São Tomé and Príncipe. Finally, informal and clandestine migrations of entire populations occurred from one colonial region to another to evade taxation or compulsory labor and conscription, or simply in search of better living conditions (Alexopolou and Juif 2017; Keese 2015). They gave rise to internal and cross-border movements, from Angola into the Belgian Congo and Northern Rhodesia, and from Mozambique into Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. While informal movements from Mozambique to South Africa were originally sponsored by African dignitaries (Harries 1994), outmigration to the Rand mines in South Africa was organized via bilateral conventions from the early 1900s, regulating mobility, licenses, contracts, customs, and taxes (Newitt 1995: 482–503).

But other forms of migration also occurred, such as the immigration of white settler-traders to Angola who became the itinerant, acculturated *pumbeiros* and *sertanejos* referred to in the diaries of Silva Porto discussed in Ana Rita Amaral's paper. An examination of his writings on Viye/Bié, a stopover of long-distance caravans in the central Angolan highlands erected by migrants in the 1600s, which expanded with the slave trade, provides insights into the social stratification and cultural identities that emerged via commerce and the cross-cultural interactions it triggered. Above all, the archive illustrates the great social and cultural diversity of migrant diasporas that flocked to and settled in Viye and its surroundings from cities such as Luanda and Benguela, and also from the interior. A prominent feature are the African dignitaries, traders, brokers, workers, and slaves during a period of transition from the slave trade, its abolition, and the rise of legitimate trade and of internal slavery. The emergence of a Luso-African repertoire can be traced to these sketches, which introduce elements—often omitted from official sources—on the region's African societies and bonds created with them by settler-traders. The use of the term “Luso-Africans” in the late 1800s was meant to highlight the patriotic exploits of Portuguese settlers in Africa rather than praise forms of miscegenation or cultural mixing. Its meaning changed from the 1950s onwards when Lusotropicalism was embraced as an ideology by the New State regime in an attempt to project an imaginary “multi-racial and pluri-continental nation” upon societies deeply divided by colonial rule. These propagandistic efforts were, however, undermined once the colonial wars erupted in the early 1960s, thereby challenging the myth of harmonious Luso-African conviviality in Portugal's overseas possessions.

## Human Displacement and Colonial and Postcolonial Conflict

Colonial governments generally looked with disfavor on population movements which limited their capacity to control African populations. Hence, policies were put into place to retain populations in permanent, rural locations. The *indigenato* system, which applied racial criteria to the colonies' social, economic, and political organization, most particularly in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique, was instrumental for defining labor relations in these territories. African native populations' spatial and social mobility was restricted, whilst they could be taxed and compelled to grow crops like cotton or rice for export, or forcibly dislocated to carry out public works or work for private interests. These measures tended to conflict with long-standing nomadic pastoral mobility and seasonal migration. At the same time, metropolitan governments organized the controlled migration of Portuguese settlers to the colonies, above all Angola and Mozambique (Castelo 2007). Given the history of population mobility during the colonial period, it is not surprising that population management remained an important feature of postcolonial Africa. In areas of Portuguese influence, protracted armed conflict was to have a decisive impact on populations' mobility and states' efforts to control them. In Angola and Mozambique, late-colonial rule and the first decades of postcolonial independence saw almost continuous warfare during colonial and civil wars, giving rise to large-scale formal and informal movements of people uprooted from areas affected by the fighting or compelled to move for security reasons. Forced resettlement programs associated with anti-subversion strategies illustrated the coercive nature of colonial developmental and welfarist strategies (Jerónimo 2018; Coelho 1998).

As Nikkie Wiegink points out in her paper, postcolonial development policies and programs to re-educate populations also exhibited coercive elements. Securitarian concerns dictated the Mozambique government's construction of protected *aldeamentos* (fortified resettled villages): just like the *colonatos* (colonial rural settlements), they were framed as a means of providing rural population with modern amenities and services, whilst managing and controlling in an anti-subversion drive (Castelo 2020). Large infrastructural projects such as the Cahora-Bassa dam under colonial rule and coal mining in Tete province after independence led to the forcible eviction of resident populations. Official justifications underlined improvements in the living conditions of displaced communities. In the few brief years of peace that followed independence in 1975, the FRELIMO government established *aldeais comunais* (communal villages), ostensibly to implement the government's development policy but essentially motivated by notions of population control based upon a controversial

ideological drive to develop and transform society, foster nation building, and re-educate populations. Although based upon different policies and ideologies, Wiegink's paper stresses the element of continuity in colonial and postcolonial resettlement policies, in the lived experiences of uprooted populations, and in a steady stream of desertions as people preferred to leave the regimentations of the new villages and return to more unregulated, traditional life.

The civil war that raged in Mozambique between 1980 and 1992 once again transformed a large section of rural populations into migrants as people fled war zones, moving to urban areas or seeking refuge in neighboring countries (Morier-Genoud et al. 2018). When the 1992 General Peace Accords brought the civil war to an end, the FRELIMO government elected in 1994 had to develop a policy for uprooted and impoverished rural populations. Harking back to the colonial era, rural areas were divided into districts controlled by government appointed *régulos* (paramount chiefs) who supervised the land and resident populations (Kyed 2007). However, large population movements continued as people moved in search of land on which to settle, thereby creating potential conflicts between residents and new arrivals (Newitt and Tornimbeni 2008). Moreover, the disturbed political conditions in Zimbabwe at the time resulted in migrants crossing the border into Mozambique to seek secure places to settle.

Owing to the period of instability following the peace accords, government control of the rural population was precarious, so strengthening it became an overriding political imperative for FRELIMO. The revival of government-sponsored village settlements in the early 2000s, owing to mining operations and a succession of disastrous floods, was once again dressed up with promises of access to electricity, modern housing, health services, and education. While this resettlement policy was being pursued in the mining concession areas, illegal mining operations of a highly speculative nature were attracting large numbers of migrants. But informal gold and ruby mining also spread uncontrolledly in frontier and northern areas, causing authorities to expel the illegal miners. As Salvador Forquilha and João Pereira show in their paper, this enabled the al-Shabaab movement to recruit fighters from among the displaced miners in the Cabo Delgado province, close to the Tanzanian border. At the same time, economic migrations, again extending back to colonial times, enabled the movement to gain recruits from sections of the population who felt little loyalty to the existing order (Bonate 2022). Indeed, it was across this border that FRELIMO had recruited and infiltrated fighters during the struggle for independence (Bonate 2013).

During the post-independence period, a common ethnic identity between Makonde speakers on both sides of the border enabled continued movements of migrants in both directions, facilitating the movement of contraband goods. This porous border region and the absence of an effective frontier allowed Islamic fighters to operate freely in northern Mozambique and embark on the Cabo Delgado insurrection in October 2017. The interviews recorded for the paper in this dossier underline the importance of migration, particularly among the young and unemployed, as a key factor in the Northern insurrection. These developments are a reminder of how pre-colonial and colonial-era subsistence and survival strategies informed migrations in search of new pastures, hunting, fishing, trade, and remunerated employment. Informants' narratives also called attention to the religious tensions in northern Mozambican Islamic communities, as well as to local discontent with FRELIMO governance and the lack of economic opportunities and the historical importance of seasonal outmigration.

### **Transnational Migrations and Diasporas**

Seen in a broader perspective, cross-border migrations and their transnational dimensions are particularly evident in the history of insular locations like the Cabo Verde archipelago. They are best understood as migrations in the *longue durée*, involving Portuguese and European settlers, New Christian exiles, and the forced migration of slaves from the African mainland who contributed to the formation of the archipelago's Creole society (Santos 1991, 2000, & 2001). Over time, the economy of the islands became dependent on regular inward and outward movements of people. Slaves were brought to the insular Atlantic hub for onward shipment to the New World, but also to work the plantations on the islands. Mercantile migration also saw Cabo Verdeans engaged in slave trafficking on the Guinea coast, and later in the 1800s as settlers on seasonal farms with the groundnut boom (Carreira 1977). Serving onboard American whalers became a common activity for Cabo Verdeans in the 1800s, resulting in discharged crews establishing themselves in the United States, later to be joined by family members.

By the early twentieth century, there was a growing Cabo Verdean community in the U. S., which is currently host to the single biggest Cabo Verdean diasporic population. Soon, Cabo Verdeans trained in the Colonial School were serving in the Portuguese colonial service in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, forming a mid-level African administrative elite conditioned by their Creole status (Keese 2007; Batalha 2004). At the same time, a sizeable

Cabo Verdean diaspora formed in São Tomé and Príncipe as large numbers of the poorer strata on the islands were also recruited for the São Tomé cocoa and coffee plantations, or *roças*, which experienced an upsurge in the 1800s (Nascimento 2007). Emerging in part out of destitution and poverty caused by drought and famine, these migrants ended up being locked in permanent debt, unable to return home (Akesson 2016b).

During the colonial period, Portuguese authorities did little to develop the Cabo Verdean economy, which continued to suffer from periodic droughts causing widespread hunger, leaving emigration as the only resort for large sectors of the population (Bigman 1993; Patterson 1988). Successive periods of drought and famine during the twentieth century—such as the severe 1947–1948 famine which killed more than 10,000 inhabitants—further accelerated emigration movements, despite late colonial economic development programs (Keese 2012). Whereas the educated could find jobs in the Portuguese colonial service or in Portugal itself, other emigrants established communities in the U.S., in South America, and in neighboring Senegal and Guinea-Bissau. Once Cabo Verde became independent in 1975, its emigrant communities already equaled the number of people still resident in the islands, which was thus to play a crucial role in terms of the insular economy owing to the volume of remittances. Over the last few decades, the islands' economic development has drawn migrant flows from the African continent, for example from Senegal and Guinea-Bissau, which served as destinations for economic migrants from Cabo Verde in colonial times (Rocha 2017; Jung 2015).

Postcolonial developments have underlined the importance of national belonging as a key narrative of transnational connections. Two of the papers in this collection focus on the postcolonial importance of Cabo Verde's global diaspora. Marilla MacGregor discusses the way in which education and information policy since independence have been affected by the existence of overseas migrant communities. Although the Cabo Verdean government has invested heavily in education, the islands remain highly dependent on outside influences, in large part coming to it via the emigrant community. Many Cabo Verdeans still travel abroad for further training and education and rely on sources of information reaching them from foreign sources. This elite migration has roots that extend back in history and contribute to the complexities of identity for Cabo Verdeans located, as they have been, and still are, between Africa, Europe, and the Americas. However, many Cabo Verdeans work in lower-skilled jobs in high-income countries, investing their social capital in coping strategies, relying on informal networks to communicate with each other and to glean information on their home country. The emergence of digital platforms by and for Cabo Verdeans strongly

promoted by the U.S. diaspora has facilitated connections with other diasporas and with the archipelago in online affinity communities (Melo 2008).

As MacGregor demonstrates, on the islands themselves, official educational and information sources such as libraries have been slow to develop, remaining dependent on information models developed in Europe and the United States. The fragile library systems currently in place—which differ little from those of other African countries (Mchombu and Beukes-Amiss 2015)—seem to suggest that they are ill-adapted to Cabo Verdean society and fail to correspond to islanders' needs. The strong Anglophone influence stemming from the U.S. diaspora has to some extent bolstered competition with the official language, Portuguese, which is the second language spoken in the islands, with the archipelago's endogenous Kriolu (with a Portuguese lexicon). While maintaining Portuguese as a curricular language and investing in higher education, recent projects to better equip school libraries to facilitate a “working relationship with information,” remain insufficient to break the cycle of reliance on Europe as the matrix for sourcing knowledge.

The political dimensions of the role of the Cabo Verdean diaspora are discussed by Aleida Mendes Borges, who examines in detail how the emigrant community influences island politics. During the last century of the colonial period, Cabo Verde already formed part of a wider international community owing to its diasporic connections, which the independent state sought to maintain. While other African countries, including all Lusophone African states (*Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa*, PALOP), have voting provisions in place for non-resident nationals, in Cabo Verde, the state actually endeavored to strengthen contacts with the diaspora, partly because many expatriate Cabo Verdeans maintained family connections with the islands and intended to return to settle upon retirement. In addition, remittances of expatriates were and are a crucial asset for the islands' economy and for bolstering families' living conditions in a country with few strategic resources. Borges demonstrates how Cabo Verdean transnationalism permeates its political system as the state engages with “non-resident residents beyond remittances” through the emigrant vote. Although the relative weight of the vote is limited, she shows that in at least two of the presidential elections, the diaspora vote has had a decisive influence on the outcome. By promoting the participation of its global diaspora in the political life of the islands—which has in some instances been decisive for the outcome of elections—Cabo Verde has effectively elevated the relevance of external citizenship while effectively challenging “territorially bounded notions of the nation-state.”

Reinforcing the relationship between diasporas and national politics by facilitating their participation in presidential and legislative elections implies embracing the notion of external citizenship. Given the numeric significance of non-resident nationals, safeguards were put in place to prevent them from dominating the isles' political system. Nevertheless, 8.5% of seats are reserved for the electorate in the diaspora, the highest percentage among PALOP countries. As second and third generations of emigrants have access to Cabo Verdean citizenship, the potential pool of voters is considerable. Being consistently higher than on the islands, the turn-out rates of voters in the different emigrant constituencies illustrate the diaspora's strong sense of belonging and dedication to the exercise of external citizenship.

## Conclusions

This introduction to the *e-Journal's* special issue on migratory and diasporic dynamics in areas of former Portuguese presence has underscored connections between micro- and meso-histories of human mobility with broader global dynamics in imperial and post-imperial historiography, sociology, and anthropology. The cases presented here illustrate the diverse and protracted nature of these movements over a period of more than five centuries. While these movements have aspects in common with Anglophone and Francophone areas, the study of migration and diaspora in Lusophone regions has benefited from the availability of data and the unearthing of sources regarding an extended timeframe. However, the weight of history of the Portuguese Empire, which outlasted its European counterparts, remains a palpable feature in the literature. The fact that it was associated with the dictatorial New State regime in its latter stages, which was keen to exploit and rewrite that imperial heritage, infused debates in the postcolonial era with particular political and ideological dimensions. For example, the longevity and “vitality” of Lusotropicalist notions that live on in stereotypical representations in the former metropole and its erstwhile colonies have attracted increasing critical attention (Bastos 2019).

In this special issue, early career researchers take a fresh look at specific cases of migratory flows, pathways, and experiences in areas of former Portuguese presence in Africa, which take local agency as a starting point. Aiming to contribute to current debates in the field of migration studies, the discussed cases endeavor to explore different facets of human mobility from the 1600s to the present. They explore narratives, identities, and practices of coerced and voluntary displacement involving individuals, social groups, and states in West

Africa (Angola, Cabo Verde, and Nigeria) and East Africa (Mozambique). The articles offer novel insights into elite migration, transnational mobility and identities, the circulation of knowledge, emigration and external citizenship, forced displacement and resettlement, trade and internal migration, and migration and religious insurgency. Their focus on under-researched areas and topics highlight the diversified and negotiated nature of citizenship, transnationality, human rights, and cross-cultural identities shaped by populations on the move in a broad Lusophone time-space.

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# Pre-Colonial Lusophone Kingship and Elite Migrations: A Case Study of the Warri Kingdom<sup>1</sup>

Allegra Ayida<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

This paper examines how African kingship changed as a result of cross-cultural interaction due to the Portuguese presence in the Niger Delta on the Gulf of Guinea in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The early modern Warri Kingdom had connections to the wider Lusophone world and Europe through the diplomatic missions and migrations of its princes. The Warri Kingdom's dynasty is composed of twenty-one *olus* (kings) with the most recent *olu* being crowned in 2021. This paper examines the biographies of three successive *olus* who reigned between the late-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries and approaches the lives of these *olus* as a coeval prism through which to view and better understand the entanglements of religion, commerce, and elite migration.

## Keywords

African kingship, Christianity, religious syncretism, Warri, Itsekiri

## Resumo

Este artigo analisa como a realeza africana mudou como consequência de interações transculturais por causa da presença portuguesa nos séculos XVI e XVII na delta do Rio Níger no Golfo da Guiné. O reino de Warri, no início da Idade Moderna, tinha ligações com o mundo lusófono e a Europa através de missões diplomáticas e as migrações dos seus príncipes. A dinastia Warri é composta de vinte e um *olus* (reis), sendo que o mais recente foi coroado em 2021. Este artigo olha para as biografias de três *olus* sucessivos que reinaram entre o fim do século XVI e os meados do século XVII, e aborda as vidas destes *olus* por um prisma contemporâneo para melhor entender os entrelaçamentos de religião, comércio e migração de elites.

## Palavras-chave

Realeza Africana, Cristianismo, sincretismo religioso, Warri, Itsekiri

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## Introduction

The first encounter between the Itsekiri people and the Portuguese was at Ijala, located amongst the creeks of the Niger Delta. In the fifteenth century, Prince Ginuwa, the founder and first *olu* (king) of Warri, began what would be centuries-long encounters. The Portuguese were on a large sailing vessel carrying out a reconnaissance mission in the creeks. It would have been a shock for the Itsekiri, in their smaller fishing canoes, to see the much larger vessel. The arrival of the Portuguese caused a stir back at Ijala. In response, Ginuwa called upon the great doctor and medicine man Idibie to consult the oracle as to what sacrifice was necessary to appease the owners of the strange vessel (Moore 1970). The priest divined that a banana sacrifice was needed. The *olu* ordered bananas to be loaded into a canoe and sent to the sailing vessel. The canoes pulled alongside the vessel and the crew gave them a rope to fasten the bunches of bananas so that they could be loaded, bunch by bunch. They turned their canoes around to head back when the foreign crew signaled them to return and reloaded the Itsekiri canoes with provisions such as rum, garments, and tobacco in payment for the bananas (Moore 1970). After a few more exchanges of goods, the strangers wished to travel to Ijala to see the townspeople; they boarded the Itsekiri canoes and went to Ijala. They greeted Olu Ginuwa and brought with them several bags of *garri* (dried cassava grated into flakes), a gift for the trader and his people (Moore 1970). After this visit, the Portuguese vessel continued its voyage through the rivers and would not return until many years after the death of Ginuwa in 1510. By then, the migrants had finally settled at Ode-Itsekiri, which has remained the ancestral homeland of the Warri Kingdom until the present day.

This early encounter is illuminating in many ways. Firstly, it offers an insight into the Itsekiri perspective on this Atlantic encounter. From this perspective, the strangers in their large vessel were viewed as other-worldly beings who needed to be appeased. The consultation with the oracle is evidence of this thinking. Secondly, the reciprocal nature of these early exchanges is significant. The Itsekiri saw the offer of bananas as a sacrifice and did not expect anything physical as an offering in return. Their actions were similar to ritual exchanges that the Itsekiri carried out for local deities. However, when the strangers boarded the Itsekiri canoes, this gave the Itsekiri power over the visitors. These strangers were now within their territory and under their authority. The Portuguese gave them goods in return, reinforcing the beginnings of this connection through the gifting of *garri*.

The purpose of this article is to provide a case study of how African kingship changed as a result of cross-cultural interaction with Portuguese authorities in the sixteenth century,

which involved important elite migrations. One of the outcomes of these elite migrations was the political consolidation of the Warri Kingdom. Religious syncretism played a crucial role in the development of Itsekiri kingship and its impact upon Warri society. The Christian education of Itsekiri princes and the problems of establishing Christianity formed a key driver of this process. This case study is an important addition to the scholarship on elite migration between Europe and Africa in the early modern period (Lowe 2007). Finally, the importance of elite migrations, which saw future *olus* travel to Portugal and Portuguese-speaking territories on the West and Central African coast, will be examined.

This article first provides a general historical context which explains the foundation of the Warri kingdom and the development of Portuguese commerce on the coast, and which explores how this links to the Portuguese policy of encouraging religious conversion, particularly that of the elites. The article then looks at the emergence of Afro-Portuguese middlemen. Finally, the lives of three *olus* will be examined: Olu Sebastian (1597–1625), the first Christian *olu* of the Warri kingdom who was baptized as a child; his successor; Olu Atuwatse (Dom Domingos) (1625–1643), who completed a theological education in Portugal and married a Portuguese noblewoman; and lastly Olu Anthonio Domingos (1643–1653), who used the strength of Portuguese and other Lusophone connections to ensure he succeeded to the throne. This biographical approach uses the lives of these *olus* as a prism through which to view religion, commerce, and migration, while also considering the intercontinental connections that were formed between Christian Europe and Christian Africa (Lowe 2007). The Warri kingdom still exists, with the twenty-first *olu* of the Warri kingdom, His Majesty Ogame Atuwatse III, being crowned on 21 August 2021. Whereas the secondary literature on Portuguese-African cross-cultural interactions has examined other parts of West Africa, including the Senegambia and Guinea-Bissau regions (Havik 2004), this article focuses on the lesser-known example of the Warri Kingdom.

The historiography on the Warri Kingdom is limited. Notable is the *History of the Itsekiri* by William Moore, an Itsekiri political leader, published in 1936, which was the first written and published account of Itsekiri oral traditions and the early history of the kingdom. These oral traditions are foundational for understanding the early history of the Warri Kingdom as the written record for the early period is mainly from European sources. Most historiography on the Itsekiri was published between the years of 1956 and 1969. British anthropologists P. C. Lloyd and A. F. C. Ryder and professional Nigerian historians Kenneth Dike and Obaro Ikime published journal articles and books related to the Itsekiri (Dike 1956;

Ikime 1969 & 1995; Lloyd 1963; Ryder 1960). Obaro Ikime's work is based on oral history interviews done in and around Warri.

The Portuguese documentation on the Warri Kingdom centers on Dom Domingos during his studies in Portugal. Padre António Brásio collated and annotated a collection of documents related to Portuguese missionary activity in West Africa first published in 1954 by the Agência Geral do Ultramar, located in Lisbon. The collection has thirteen volumes on West Africa starting from 1471 through to 1699. Volume 5, which covers the years 1600–1610, contains information on Portuguese mission activity and the correspondence between the Kingdom of Portugal and the *olu* of the Warri kingdom. Using Brásio's records, Jorge Fonseca (2016) wrote an article focused on Dom Domingos's stay in Portugal and what this meant for relations between the two kingdoms. The Portuguese source material is valuable for understanding the Portuguese perspective. However, using European imperial sources to illuminate an African perspective has its own methodological constraints. This article relies heavily on oral traditions collected by Moore supplemented by oral history interviews carried out by the author during fieldwork in 2017.

### **Origins of the Warri Kingdom and the Portuguese Influence within the wider Atlantic Trading System**

The Warri kingdom is located in the Niger Delta region of what is modern-day Nigeria. The origins of the Warri Kingdom began in the neighboring Kingdom of Benin. The first *olu* (king) of the Warri Kingdom was a prince from the Benin Kingdom. Prince Ginuwa was the son of the *oba* of Benin who, with a retinue of noblemen, left the hinterland, moving towards the coast and settled near the Forcados River (Omeunukarin 1932). The formation of the new kingdom was centered politically around the *olu* and his *ojoye* council of chiefs, which included the aristocracy of the Indigenous people whom the exiled retinue met on arrival at their chosen destination. According to oral tradition, Prince Ginuwa left the Benin Kingdom due to his life being in danger because of the controversy around his father's actions (Moore 1970: 16). The foundational years of the Warri Kingdom saw the *olu* aim to assert his independence from the neighboring Benin Kingdom. The Itsekiri acted as middlemen between those located in the interior of the Niger Delta, the Urhobo and Ijaw, and the Europeans on the coast (Moore 1970). Over the centuries, the Itsekiri traded with a succession of merchants from different European countries, as each in turn sought to dominate maritime trade on the West African coast. The Itsekiri-Portuguese relationship was

particularly strong, with close ties forged through a succession of *olus* due to religious and familial ties. A. F. C. Ryder (1960: 2) argued that “a state seeking to establish its independence of Benin might also be ready to embrace the new religion as a means of counteracting the supernatural powers attributed to the Oba back in Benin.” A connection with the Portuguese raised the Warri Kingdom’s standing within the local balance of power, establishing their regional reputation.

The development of Portuguese commerce on the coast of western Africa saw the emergence of the Atlantic trade system. Portuguese interest in West Africa was focused on locating the source of West African gold, which had been present in Christian Europe and the Muslim world since 1000 CE through long-distance trade (Green 2019). The chronological predecessors of the Warri Kingdom, the fifteenth-century Malian Empire, grew alongside the gold trade (Gomez 2018). Mansa Musa’s pilgrimage to Mecca in the early fourteenth century, via Cairo, is emblematic of cross-cultural exchange between North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa (Green 2019). The first decades of exploration by the Portuguese were mainly raids for slaves and other booty, which gave the Portuguese a bad reputation on the coast (Elbl 1992). The Portuguese would face many casualties in skirmishes as they explored, and diminishing returns meant that they shifted to prioritizing trade rather than combat (Elbl 1992: 169). The linguistic diversity of the West African coast made establishing trade relations extremely difficult. When the Portuguese came across a language they were not familiar with, they would forcibly take local Africans back with them to Portugal to teach them Portuguese so that they could act as interpreters on their return to the coast (Green 2019). The Portuguese also established permanent Portuguese settlements including the Cabo Verde islands and São Tomé. These previously uninhabited archipelagos located off the coast of Africa became important hubs for trade following their discovery in 1460 and 1471 (Green 2012). The Portuguese also successfully established an outpost on the African mainland at São Jorge da Mina (Elmina) on the Gold Coast, which had Portuguese Crown representatives present (Elbl 1992).

The West African coast became part of this wider Atlantic world in the fifteenth century, and from the Itsekiri perspective, these new encounters broadened the horizons and ambitions of successive *olus*. The geographic proximity of São Tomé to the Warri Kingdom was important as the *olus* built a stronger connection with the Portuguese (Harriman-Ayida 2018). These ties led to the integration of the Warri Kingdom into a wider Luso-African world and enabled it to establish contact with other African kingdoms via Portuguese connections elsewhere such as the Kingdom of Kongo. It should be noted that internal long-

distance trade existed in the region before the arrival of European traders and the Warri Kingdom participated in this trade through salt-making (Omoneukarin 1932).

The Portuguese encouraged conversion to Christianity for both political and commercial purposes. These conversions focused mainly on elites who controlled trade. The best-known example of this Portuguese missionary activity is evangelization in the central African Kingdom of Kongo. There, the missionaries focused on the ruling elite believing that, if the rulers were converted, the rest of the society would follow (Hilton 1985). The King of Kongo converted to Christianity in 1491 and was baptized, taking the same name as the King of Portugal—João. Together with him, six other titleholders were also baptized and took the names of the Portuguese King's household. (Hilton 1980: 51). The conversion of the kings of Kongo is often seen in political terms as a way for rulers to increase their power through harnessing the spiritual powers of Catholicism. The result was the forging of syncretic religious practice: John Thornton (2013: 54) argues that “Kongo Christianity incorporated elements of Kongo's original cosmology as well as some Christian elements.” However, the relationship between Portugal and the Kingdom of Kongo deteriorated by the end of the sixteenth century due to the impact of the slave trade on the region (Thornton 2013).

Many elite Africans travelled to Europe or India in the precolonial period. By the late fifteenth century, African delegations both royal and diplomatic were arriving in southern Europe by way of Portuguese ships. In 1484, the first delegation from the Kingdom of Kongo arrived, and in 1486, the *oba* of Benin also sent an envoy to Portugal (Northrup 2013). Around 1490, the Kongolese established an embassy in Lisbon at the Monastery of Saint Eloy, which eventually turned into a center of African studies in Europe. Some elite Africans came to secure an education, and in the sixteenth century there were always a number of youths from Kongo being educated in Lisbon, one of whom was made a bishop by Pope Leo X.

The earliest—albeit not the happiest—example of an embassy occurred in the 1480s. Jelen, the *bumi* of Jolof in the Senegambia region, was a trading partner of the Portuguese horse merchants. He found himself in dire political straits and, after being deposed in 1488, sought refuge in the Portuguese outpost of Arguim (Elbl 1992). The deposed ruler travelled to Portugal with an entourage to seek an audience with the Portuguese King João II (Elbl 1992). He was well received and treated like any European prince and was promised the requisite military assistance so he could claim back his territory (Bethencourt 2011). The Wolof ruler was a Muslim, so it was decided that he should convert to Christianity along with

his followers. Following his conversion, he was sent back with Portuguese ships and troops as well as building material for a church and fort. This expedition was ultimately unsuccessful with a disagreement between the Portuguese captain and Jelen resulting in the latter's murder (Bethencourt 2011).

The conversion policy was continued into the seventeenth century. In Angola, the Portuguese used conversion as a diplomatic tool with mixed success. After years of warfare, the Portuguese secured the conversion of Queen Nzinga as part of negotiations on behalf of her brother, the King of Ndongo, in what is present-day Angola (Heywood 2017). This strategic baptism was a diplomatic boon and meant that Nzinga could secure a temporary peace treaty with the Portuguese (Heywood 2017). Despite this conversion, when Nzinga acceded to the throne after her brother, she had his remains kept in a *misete* (reliquary) so that he was preserved as an ancestor she could later consult (Heywood 2017). At best, this is an example of Christianity existing alongside traditional religious beliefs and practices. In Eastern Africa, after the murder of the Jesuit Gonçalo da Silveira in 1561 had marked the failure of the first attempt at elite conversion, the Dominicans secured the formal baptism of the Monomotapa in 1629 and sent members of his family to Goa to be educated (Borges 2000: 115). A similar policy was followed, with disastrous results, in Mombasa, where the heir to the throne was educated in India and married to a Christian wife but returned to lead a major insurrection against the Portuguese. The same policy pursued by the Jesuits in Ethiopia, after initial success, led also to an uprising and the expulsion of the Portuguese missionaries in 1636.

Christianity was introduced to the Warri Kingdom by Augustinian friars who were sent by King Phillip II of Spain between 1571–1574, these dates coinciding with the time that the Augustinian Gaspar Cão was the bishop in residence at São Tomé (Fonseca 2016). The bishop sent a company of Augustinian friars to Warri, who founded a Christian settlement that they called Santo Agostinho in Ode-Itsekiri (Ryder 1960). Naming the settlement may indicate the elite's acceptance of the Christian faith, but it is not clear whether the conversion was completely accepted amongst the wider population or whether the presence of Christians was merely tolerated. Santo Agostinho could now be marked on the maps as the location of “civilization” and Christianity. A similar event had occurred earlier with the capital of the Kingdom of Kongo being renamed São Salvador by Portuguese missionaries (Ryder 1960).

Father Francisco a Mater Dei, one of the Augustinian friars in this first mission to Warri, had an even more important role to play in the installation of Christianity in the

kingdom, which followed a similar pattern to that of the Kingdom of Kongo—conversion beginning with the elites. Father Francisco looked for ways to be respected and held in high regard by the Itsekiri people and gained a prestigious position by destroying a tree that was ritually and symbolically important to them (Moore 1970). According to the oral tradition, he did this without being punished by their Indigenous gods, which the Itsekiri people interpreted as evidence of the power of Father Francisco's deity (Moore 1970). A result of this dramatic event was that Father Francisco was able to baptize the fifth *olu*'s son, with his father's approval, giving him the Christian name Sebastian, which in Latin means "venerable; revered." It is during the reign of Olu Sebastian that we see the beginnings of Christianity in the Warri kingdom.

### **Olu Sebastian (1597–1625)**

This prince would become the first Christian *olu* of Warri, Olu Sebastian, harnessing the spiritual authority of Christianity to strengthen the ritual power of the *olu*. In this way, religion became an important thread in Portuguese-Itsekiri relations and in establishing the spiritual and political authority of the *olu*. It was the insistence of Sebastian's father, Olu Esigie, and the work of the first Catholic mission that led to Sebastian's baptism (Harriman-Ayida 2018). Olu Esigie made a significant choice in allowing this baptism of his son. It is not clear from the historical record exactly how old the prince was when he was baptized or whether he had any choice. Nevertheless, his baptism had far-reaching symbolic meaning. Prince Sebastian was the most likely contender to be the next *olu*, so Olu Esigie was forward thinking in the way he wished to deepen ties with the Portuguese. The need to establish independence from Benin may have been another and perhaps more important factor for Olu Esigie. The baptism was symbolic as it suggested a closer tie between the Portuguese and the Itsekiri through this religious link, and the fact that Prince Sebastian was converted at a young age meant that he would have a different relationship with the Christian faith.

Despite this strong beginning for Christianity, with the baptism of the prince, those first Augustinian friars were soon withdrawn from Warri, most likely due to lack of funding from Portugal. There would not be any further missionary activity for several decades until a new Bishop of São Tomé arrived in 1593. The bishop sent some Franciscan friars from São Tomé to Warri. Despite this renewed effort, most of the priests who were sent there were dead by 1597, most likely succumbing to tropical diseases in the mangrove swamps of the area. The Warri Kingdom was once again without a resident missionary (Ryder 1960).

Pope Sixtus V had ruled that all bishops visiting Rome had to report on the state of their dioceses. A report of the visit made by Francisco de Villanova, Bishop of São Tomé, in 1597 was subsequently sent to the Vatican (Ryder 1960). Villanova said that, as for the priests, their very lives would be exposed to certain danger because of the great unhealthiness of the climate (Newitt 2010). It was for this reason that it proved difficult to convince any priests to take up a long-term residency in Warri. The Bishop of São Tomé's report covered an undivided diocese that went from Elmina to the Cape of Good Hope, and his report offers an overview of how he believed the conversion to Christianity had been progressing throughout the different Portuguese enterprises (Newitt 2010). In particular he discussed the Kingdom of Kongo, the Kingdom of Angola, which at that time had been in the process of being converted by force, and the Kingdom of "Oeri" (Newitt 2010). The description of the Warri kingdom is telling; the bishop reported the fact that "there is no parish church, although the king and a great part of his people are Christian" (Newitt 2010: 173). Bishop Villanova described the spiritual poverty of the kingdom as a result of a lack of physical buildings in which to worship. This Christian *olu*, who had been baptized as a prince and thereby had a strong attachment to Christianity, would have many difficult years ahead of him in trying to bolster the Christian faith amongst his people when there was no priest to administer the sacraments.

This raises questions about just how Christian Warri was if there were no churches and no priests. The nature of Christianity in Warri in this period is that it was embodied in the *olu*, who single handedly maintained the religion. Because the *olu* was so central to the political and cultural identity of the Warri Kingdom, the *olu* embracing a foreign religion had considerable importance for diplomatic relations. However, it can be argued that, despite the adherence to Christianity by the most powerful figure in the kingdom, the influence of Christianity in Warri was limited. The Bishop of São Tomé was aware of Olu Sebastian's plight, and wrote a letter suggesting to His Catholic Majesty, King Philip of Spain, that ships passing through São Tomé on their way to the main coastline of West Africa should take a priest on board so that he could perform the sacraments in the Warri Kingdom. This letter clearly resonated with the king who gave orders that the ships that went to trade with Warri should have a priest with them. Normally such trips there and back would take a couple months (Ryder 1960).

During the reign of Olu Sebastian, his eldest son was baptized and given the name Domingos. As the complication of the lack of priests in the kingdom persisted, the Bishop of São Tomé, Villanova, made a case to the Olu Sebastian to send his son, Domingos, to

Portugal so that “he might be instructed in theology and the rites of the Church.” Thus, he could return to the kingdom and continue with the goal of spreading Christianity (Ryder 1960: 5). So, Olu Sebastian wrote a letter to King Philip III requesting that his son be educated in European ways, so that, he could help his father with the conversion of the Itsekiri to Christianity as well as with governing of the kingdom (Ryder 1960).

Olu Sebastian’s reign is important for demonstrating how difficult it was to establish Christianity in the kingdom despite the king’s conversion. However, the importance of Catholicism to Olu Sebastian is shown in this moment when he reached out to the King of Spain for aid. This created a link between the two monarchies separated by thousands of miles and would cement the importance of this relationship for decades to come.

It is significant and symbolic that Olu Sebastian chose to send his son abroad to Portugal. The succession of *olus* functioned under a primogeniture system, though not as strict as that of the neighboring Benin Kingdom, as sometimes an uncle would take the throne over a son. (Omouneukarin 1942). As a result, the first son of the current *olu*, Prince Domingos, already held an important position within the kingdom, court and royal household. Sending him away for these studies would have meant that he would be away from the kingdom for a significant period of time and would only be reachable by letters that would take many months to be received, let alone replied to. However, Olu Sebastian saw that the benefits of such a decision outweighed the costs and that there were many advantages to sending his son to Europe to be educated, notably the prestige of sending him abroad at a time when a Portuguese connection was viewed in a positive light. From an educational and strategic standpoint, the prince would increase his knowledge of the Portuguese, which would be helpful in navigating trade relations. By this time, trade relations had been firmly established, with the Portuguese having trading stations at Warri and Ugborodo (another Itsekiri town further downstream) (Moore 1970: 88). The commodities traded were principally slaves as well as spices and pepper.

The Warri Kingdom had entered the Atlantic trade network through this Portuguese connection, which supplemented inland trading with the Urhobo and the Benin kingdom (Moore 1970). Demonstrating their close ties with the Portuguese would amount to a show of strength vis à vis the Benin Kingdom. As Olu Sebastian was a Christian, seeing his son advance his religious knowledge must have offered an additional incentive.

### **Olu Dom Domingos (1625–1643)**

Olu Dom Domingos was the second Christian *olu* of the Warri Kingdom. The Warri Kingdom's relationship with the Portuguese had been firmly established during the reign of his father Olu Sebastian, and Dom Domingos's studies had been sponsored and facilitated by the King of Spain. By the time Prince Domingos ascended the throne as Olu Atuwatse I in 1625, he was a graduate of the University of Coimbra. As a prince, he received a theological education in Portugal and returned to the Warri Kingdom with a Portuguese noblewoman, Maria Pereira, as his wife. He also brought with him two silver crowns gifted by the King of Spain (Ryder 1960). This aid included letters of recommendation and monetary support in the form of a yearly stipend. His time in Portugal is revealing when thinking more generally about the presence of elite Africans in Europe.

Domingos's ecclesiastical education began in Coimbra. King Philip and his viceroy decided that Prince Domingos should study at the Hieronymite Institute for Secular and Religious Studies, the Colégio de São Jerónimo, which was within walking distance from the Royal Palace in Coimbra and was a part of the University of Coimbra (Ryder 1960). It took a few months to finalize his board and schooling, but he was accepted for admission to the college with a pension approved by the college authorities (Brásio 1952). Given that the college was run by Hieronymite priests, Catholic instruction was a significant aspect of his studies. Despite this focus on religion, Prince Dom Domingos excelled in many aspects of his studies. After two years at Coimbra, he petitioned King Philip II in July 1604 to continue his studies in Latin at an Augustinian college in Lisbon (Ryder 1960). Overall, his studies lasted eight years.

The presence of Africans in Europe had been growing steadily since before Dom Domingos left the Warri Kingdom for Portugal. In 1600, after setting off from the West African coast with a stopover at São Tomé, Domingos spent many months aboard a Portuguese trading vessel travelling up the coast of Africa before he finally arrived in Lisbon (Ryder 1960). Despite his Catholic education, however, he could not be ordained according to the original plan of the bishop of São Tome as he had married a Portuguese noblewoman. He did, however, undertake a pilgrimage to the shrine of Santiago de Compostela and received the habit of the Order of Christ, together with his father and one of his brothers, before he finally returned home to the Warri Kingdom (Brásio 1952).

Prince Domingos's marriage created a direct kinship tie to the Portuguese and showed, from a Portuguese perspective, that Dom Domingos had accepted some European

ways, while from an Itsekiri perspective, it demonstrated that there were strategic benefits in terms of access to other trade partners and that the kingdom was now known to the wider world. Dom Domingos's story is indicative of how many Africans saw the adoption of European culture in a positive fashion. However, European acculturation was not always so straightforward for other Africans who came into contact with the Portuguese. Dom Domingos's marriage was exceptional in that it was officiated in Europe and thus acquired legitimacy in European eyes. The marriages and relationships between traders and African women were usually "local" in nature, in that they followed African custom, which was not applicable in Europe. Thus, these marriages normally only lasted as long as the European trader was stationed on the coast (Ipsen 2015). However, these unions, whether legitimate or illegitimate in the eyes of the Catholic Church, resulted in offspring that would become important intermediaries owing to their dual cultural heritage (Brooks 2003).

Dom Domingos used his Western education to forge closer ties with the Portuguese. This was evident not only in his marriage but also in the material objects he brought from Portugal. From an educational and strategic standpoint, the prince's increased knowledge of the Portuguese and their ways was helpful in navigating trade relations. His marriage is emblematic of gendered forms of authority both in Portugal and back home in the Warri Kingdom. The silver crowns are significant as an aspect of religious syncretism due to their Portuguese origin, and they became symbols of the *olu*'s authority. The origin of the crowns is common knowledge amongst members of the royal family and the elite in present-day Warri. Oral tradition states that Maria never wore the female crown, despite the set of crowns being made for a royal couple. This is because the *olu*, not the *olu*'s wife, was seen as the traditional source of authority in the patrilineal society of the Warri kingdom. The Portuguese crowns acted as symbols of authority for a male and female ruler, but in the Itsekiri case it took on a specific masculine form of authority.

In this case, Maria probably did not exercise authority in the traditional sense as power was concentrated in the masculine office of *olu*, and his all male *ojoye* (council of chiefs). With regard to the broader role of other Portuguese women in Afro-Atlantic trade relations, very few participated in the voyages of expansion and colonialism (Boxer 1975; Sarmiento 2008). The case of an African man marrying a European woman was rare at this time in Africa. Maria died of a tropical disease, most likely malaria, a few years after their return to Warri. There is no record of Domingos having other wives; according to the missionary records, following Maria's death, Domingos's relationship with the Portuguese deteriorated (Brásio 1952). Overall, the biography of Dom Domingos throws light on important aspects

of African elite migration to Europe, as well as gender and racial relations between Africans and Europeans.

### **Olu Anthonio Domingos (1643–1653)**

The final *olu* to be examined is Olu Anthonio Domingos, who succeeded Olu Atuwatse. His lineage raised important questions of succession and legitimacy, as he had to compete for the throne against two other claimants. Anthonio was of mixed heritage with a Portuguese mother and a Itsekiri father. In his youth, Anthonio joined a Portuguese vessel in the Benin River and went to the Portuguese colony of Angola to pursue an education, learning to read, write, and speak Portuguese fluently (Moore 1970). Being fluent in Portuguese was significant as this would have facilitated communication with Portuguese traders while also strengthening his position with them if he were to become the *olu*.

The connections between the Portuguese and various coastal African societies had differing results, but one effect was the creation of creolized societies and communities along the coast. The Cabo Verde islands and São Tomé were previously uninhabited archipelagos both located off the coast of Africa and became important hubs of trade for the Portuguese when they were discovered in 1460 and 1471, respectively. They are an example of the new creolized societies that were formed from encounters and interactions between Europeans and Africans in the Portuguese Atlantic world (Brooks 2013). The Cabo Verde islands became the hub of Portugal's North Atlantic networks linking the westernmost coast of Africa, down to present-day Liberia, to the Iberian Peninsula and the trade in slaves to Spanish America (Green 2012). São Tomé and Príncipe had a similar relationship with the Bight of Benin (where the Warri Kingdom was located), Kongo, and Angola. This particular trade route became part of the "triangular, transatlantic slave and commodity trade, that linked continental forts and settlements such as Elmina and Cacheu and their hinterland to Atlantic outlets" (Green 2012: 2). The geographic proximity of São Tomé to the Warri Kingdom was important as it enabled the *olus* to build a stronger connection with the Portuguese in the gulf region.

Prince Anthonio was of mixed Itsekiri-Portuguese heritage. He was known as the "prince with the golden-skin" (Moore 1970). Oral tradition states that he was the son of an Itsekiri princess, Magheghoeye, and Mingo, a Portuguese trader (Moore 1970). If this is true, it would make him the only *olu* to accede to the throne who descended through the matrilineal line. However, there is no information on the nature of the relationship between

Mingo and Princess Magheghoeye and whether they were married in accordance with Christian tradition, although this fits into the narrative explored earlier of European traders having intimate relations with local women. However, if he had been the son of Olu Dom Domingos and his wife Maria of noble birth (Moore 1970), this would have given him a stronger claim to the throne, being the son of the former *olu*. A different interpretation, which challenges the oral tradition, is that what aided Anthonio in his rise to the throne was the connection to Portugal which he cultivated in his youth.

After the demise of the former Olu Atuwatse, the Itsekiri throne had three possible successors, two were sons, Atuwatse and Omoluyere, and the third was a grandson Anthonio. The Itsekiri National Council, who oversaw the process of choosing the new *olu*, ordered the three candidates to return to their mother's home to obtain that which was necessary to rule. By this they were expected to provide a feast for the Itsekiri people to show that they could provide for them (Moore 1970). The two sons returned to Benin City and Ugborodo; Atuwatse brought yams and palm oil from Benin city, and Omoluyere arrived with fish and shrimp. At this point in time, Omoluyere was the favorite, however Benighere's (Anthonio's) return would prove triumphant. He returned to Warri in a Portuguese vessel laden with goods including "pure rum from the cask, tobacco, provisions, pipes, and various other fancy goods" (Moore 1970: 26). The luxury of these items won over the Itsekiri people. Olu Anthonio Domingos's authority became intimately linked to his connection with the Portuguese as he emerged victorious in the struggle for succession. This episode reveals how other factors besides cultural heritage became increasingly important. Such public displays of wealth illustrate to what extent the individual wealth of an *olu*, or of a claimant to the throne, had become a key indicator of their ability to rule. The Itsekiri Prince Anthonio was more successful since his accession to power was with the full blessing of the majority of the Itsekiri people who were impressed with the wealth he displayed, rather than having to wage a violent battle against another faction.

For the three *olus* discussed above, the traditional religion coexisted with Christianity. The Portuguese connection was symbolically important for asserting authority and for the Itsekiri people by their acceptance of the new religion and extensive, open interaction with the Portuguese. Nevertheless, Christianity did not completely penetrate the kingdom and remained a court religion in this early period (Ryder 1960), and despite these influences, the *olus*, custodians of the national culture, held on to their traditional beliefs, walking a fine line between Christianity and traditional religion while they sought to exert authority through these mutual exchanges.

From their early contact with the European traders as middlemen to the people in the hinterland, many Itsekiri words used today are derived from Portuguese. Lexical evidence suggests that the introduction of maize into the Nigerian geographical area was northern in origin (McCann 2005). The one exception is the Itsekiri language where the word for maize, *imiyo*, is a derivative of a Portuguese word *milho*. (McCann 2005). Hence, the kingdom had become part of local, regional, and global networks during the early modern period from 1450 to 1850.

## Conclusion

Overall, this article has shown how relations between the Portuguese and the Warri Kingdom developed during the seventeenth century. This relationship began in the fifteenth century with an early encounter between Portuguese trading vessels and the Itsekiri. This early connection with the Portuguese helped solidify the newly formed Warri Kingdom and allowed the kingdom to differentiate itself from its much larger neighbor, the Benin Kingdom. The early modern Warri Kingdom established connections with the wider Lusophone world and Europe through the migrations of its princes. Over time, it developed into a full diplomatic relationship with commercial exchange moving beyond the trade in commodities to encompass the mobility of people in both directions. The extent of conversion to Christianity influenced how the Warri Kingdom interacted with its neighbors, while the elite migrations of Itsekiri princes abroad affected the succession to the throne. In the case of the Warri Kingdom, pre-colonial Lusophone kingship was characterized by religious syncretism even though Christianity did not extend to the general population.

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# *Um Portuense em África: Notes for a Biography of a Luso-African Archive*

Ana Rita Amaral<sup>1</sup>

## **Abstract**

This article draws on my ongoing research into the life and archive of A.F.F. da Silva Porto (1817–1890), a trader-traveler who lived in nineteenth-century West Central Africa. Comprising a series of volumes of notes and various other manuscripts, the archive is currently in two Portuguese institutions. By historicizing this archive, I unravel Silva Porto's messy writing process and argue that the volumes known as his diaries correspond to distinct literary projects. I then problematize the classification practices related to the traders in Viye and argue that, as a Luso-African archive, it is a privileged observatory of the dynamics of migration and creolization associated with trade in the region.

## **Keywords**

Silva Porto, trade, Luso-Africans, archive, Viye, Angola

## **Resumo**

Este artigo baseia-se na minha investigação em curso sobre a vida e o arquivo de A. F. F. da Silva Porto (1817–1890), um comerciante-viajante que viveu na África Central Ocidental oitocentista. Composto por uma série de volumes de notas e vários outros manuscritos, o arquivo encontra-se hoje em duas instituições portuguesas. Ao historicizá-lo, deslindo o processo confuso de escrita de Silva Porto e sugiro que os volumes conhecidos como os seus diários correspondam de facto a projetos literários distintos. Problematizo então as práticas de classificação relativas aos comerciantes no Viye e argumento que, enquanto arquivo luso-africano, é um observatório privilegiado das dinâmicas de migração e criouliização associadas ao comércio na região.

## **Palavras-chave**

Silva Porto, comércio, Luso-Africanos, arquivo, Viye, Angola

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## Introduction

*The history of commerce is that of the communication between people.*

- Montesquieu

The epigraph above is doubly suggestive for the present text. Firstly, it allows me to take Montesquieu to West Central Africa and introduce António Francisco Ferreira da Silva Porto (1817–1890), a long-distance trader who lived and travelled in the region from 1839 until his death in 1890. This is because the epigraph was not taken directly from *The Spirit of Laws* (1748) but from a book published later by a Portuguese liberal politician and writer<sup>2</sup> that was part of Silva Porto's library in Viye,<sup>3</sup> an African polity and trading center on the eastern edge of the central highlands, more than three hundred miles from the port city of Benguela. This book was often a source of inspiration and moral reflection to Silva Porto in his writings about his commercial activities and travels, his relations with the political authorities and the diverse people involved with the long-distance caravan trade in Viye, and more generally, his daily life. Despite not having found a direct reference to Montesquieu's quote, it is likely that Silva Porto came across it and thought along similar lines. Commenting on trade towards the eastern part of the Upper Zambezi in 1853, he wrote:

Ivory is exchanged for cloth, *roncalha*,<sup>4</sup> brass wire, conch, and *mandés* or *pandés*,<sup>5</sup> with the parties coming from the land of the Bisa, an essentially trading people, similar to the Bianco people. Thus, the African continent is explored by the natives from both the East and the West coasts, meeting in the center at several points. And to what, if not to cosmopolitan commerce, do we owe such a portent? Because it travels the world and flourishes where it is protected.<sup>6</sup>

Indeed, the epigraph captures something of the spirit of the time. Thus, secondly, it is also an indicator of the larger African historical context, which Silva Porto saw as highly connected and characterized by the movement and encounter of different peoples resulting from “cosmopolitan commerce,” therefore not as an unknown and remote place inhabited

<sup>2</sup> Bastos, J. J. R. (1847). *Collecção de pensamentos, maximas e proverbios*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional.

<sup>3</sup> I am following the most common spelling of toponyms adopted in recent English publications.

<sup>4</sup> White ceramic beads.

<sup>5</sup> A type of shellfish from the Indian Ocean.

<sup>6</sup> Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto (BPMP), Ms. 1235, p. 345. All translations are my responsibility.

by isolated people, tropes that would characterize later colonial views of the continent. Yet, contrary to Montesquieuan ideas on commerce and peace, the increase in commercial contacts associated with the transatlantic slave trade and the opening of trade in the interior in the second half of the eighteenth century was accompanied by an intensification of violence and wars (Candido 2020; Childs 1949: 147). Silva Porto himself commented on how “the history of commerce in the interior” was one of instability, violence and conflicting economic and political interests, resulting in cyclical changes in the routes taken by trade caravans.<sup>7</sup> The impact of these transformations on the ground, especially in the interior, in the circulation and migration of people and the corresponding cultural and political reconfigurations, as well as Silva Porto’s views on (and practices associated with) the slave trade, abolition, and continuing practices of enslavement, are some of the topics that can be explored from his composite archive. Assembled over five decades of an itinerant life across West Central Africa, this archive is divided today between two Portuguese institutions, the public library of Porto (BPMP) and the Geographical Society of Lisbon (SGL).

This article’s contributions are made along two fronts. Firstly, I build upon the debates about archives as sites of knowledge production that have expanded remarkably over the last three decades to historicize Silva Porto’s archive.<sup>8</sup> I draw particular inspiration from Nicholas Dirks’s (1993) approach to the collection of documents assembled by a British officer in India on the eve of British rule to make sense of the ambiguities and messiness that can characterize personal archives and the situations in which they were assembled.<sup>9</sup> Far from being a static, coherent, and organized whole, Silva Porto’s archive is a messy and unstable assemblage of various documents. This is not strange in the debates about archives, especially personal ones, but what interests me here is understanding in what terms this messiness becomes relevant. The archive’s inextricable character and the analytical challenges it raises point precisely to this instability and ultimately to Silva Porto’s own itinerancy, to his status as a migrant, a trader, and a traveler in nineteenth-century West Central Africa. By regarding it as a Luso-African archive, I call attention to the context in which Silva Porto’s archive came into being. It highlights these histories of movement, migration, and cross-cultural contact associated with trade during this period. In this direction, as a second front of contributions, I argue that it is a privileged observatory of the dynamics of migration and creolization associated with long-distance trade in Viye. These dynamics have been observed

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<sup>7</sup> BPMP, Ms.1238, p. 20.

<sup>8</sup> This literature is extensive, but see the collection *Refiguring the Archive*, edited by C. Hamilton and others (2002).

<sup>9</sup> For other biographical approaches to archives, see Nuttall (2002) and Randolph (2005).

by other scholars working in West Africa and West Central Africa, usually with a focus on coastal regions.<sup>10</sup> As one of the few known archives of the many traders established in African trading centers like Viye, it offers the chance to extend this research further into the interior and to compare it with other Luso-African and trading communities in areas closer to the coast and the colonial power. It provides a unique prism that extends over five decades.

The article is divided into three parts. The first introduces Silva Porto through a discussion of the way he identified himself in the title of what he thought would be his *magnum opus*. The second part sketches the biography of the archive and pays particular attention to the volumes known as his diaries. Silva Porto's profuse habits of writing resulted in eighteen volumes of notebooks covering the period between 1846 and 1890. I examine how he conceived and circulated his manuscripts, questioning the perspective that sees them as two parallel series (Santos 1986: 15) and arguing that they reflect distinct literary projects instead. Building upon this analysis, in the third section, I explore the categories and practices of classification emerging from the archive and highlight its potential for a study from below of the trading diaspora and Luso-Africans in the social and cultural history of Viye.

My analysis, firstly of an outsider source, demonstrates that this was a relatively autonomous group composed of men occupying certain positions in trade and their descendants with diverse socio-cultural backgrounds. It also shows that their classification as *moradores* implied a hierarchy that placed those men at the head of the group, rendering others, who would be considered their dependents, invisible. Furthermore, when crossing their positions in trade with their categorization as "Black," "*pardo*," "*cabodo*" [*caboclo*] and "White," it indicates that while anyone could be a trader and clerk, those categorized as White and mixed heritage tended not to be recruiters (*pombeiros*). However, when confronting this source with Silva Porto's writings, these categories do not emerge as relevant, as these immigrant traders were commonly referred to as foreign or locally born *brancos*. This suggests other mechanisms of sociability and belonging at work within the trading community in Viye. A final aspect of my exploratory analysis of the archive regards language crossings. Silva Porto's writings show a mixture of Portuguese, Kimbundu, and Umbundu, which might be another indication of the group's sociocultural profile. Indeed, the archive offers the potential to observe locally relevant linguistic practices and social categories; to render visible those who were also part of this community, such as women, porters or servants/enslaved;

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<sup>10</sup> Philip Havik (2013) offers a good conceptual and historiographical discussion on cross-cultural trade and brokerage, covering both West Africa and West Central Africa. I will refer to other scholars in the third section.

to explore individual trajectories; and to characterize the group's composition and grasp its entanglements with the local African political authorities and the host society.

### *Um Portuense em África*

In the mid-1860s, Silva Porto decided to entitle his writings *Viagens e apontamentos de um portuense em África*. The idiosyncratic nature of the title's second part is a good place to begin unpacking some of the biographical and cultural meanings associated with how Silva Porto identified himself. The choice of the demonym *Portuense*, i.e., an inhabitant of Porto, cannot be reduced to an expression of Silva Porto's attachment to his birth city. It points to a much more interesting process of cultural exchange that reveals Silva Porto's life trajectory and identity.

In 1836, aged nineteen and having lived in Brazil for seven years, Silva Porto adopted the name of his hometown as his surname to distinguish himself from other people in Bahia surnamed Silva (Cordeiro 1891: 3). But this distinctive function of the name<sup>11</sup> would only acquire the idiosyncratic sense implied in the title after he crossed the Atlantic three years later.<sup>12</sup> In 1839, already in Luanda and after working for some time as a clerk in two taverns, Silva Porto decided to join one of the long-distance trading caravans that often arrived and departed from the city.<sup>13</sup> So he began his career as a *sertanejo*, a term that described itinerant traders in the interior (*sertão*). In 1840, he established himself in Viye, an African polity and by then an established trading center with a resident community of migrant traders connecting Benguela (and at times Luanda) to the markets in the highlands and East Central Africa. Silva Porto arrived in Viye at an opportune time, marked by a cycle of expansion of trade and an increasing number of immigrant traders involved. According to the tradition he recorded, Viye had been politically constituted in the seventeenth century, and its population resulted from people migrating from the South and the Northeast who had settled and mixed

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<sup>11</sup> Adopting toponyms as surnames was part of the repertoire of Lusophone naming practices (Pina Cabral 2008). Interestingly, the other famous Silva Porto, the naturalist painter António Carvalho da Silva Porto (1850–1893), also added the city's name to his surname.

<sup>12</sup> Silva Porto lived in Rio de Janeiro for six years and then moved to Bahia, from where he left to Luanda. Both his moves, from Portugal to Brazil and from Brazil to Angola, were part of larger migratory movements in this period. For a historical overview of Portuguese migration to Brazil, with a section on the nineteenth century highlighting the political and social unrest in Portugal in the late 1820s as push factors, see Newitt (2015). In turn, Silva Porto's move to Angola paralleled that of many individuals born in Brazil involved in the trans-Atlantic slave trade (Candido 2013b).

<sup>13</sup> He made a first trip to Luanda in 1837 but returned to Bahia after losing contact with his companion. One year later, he embarked again, never to return to Brazil (BPMP, Ms.1238, p. 51).

with those living in the region.<sup>14</sup> This population was also shaped by their involvement in multi-scale trade dynamics, which earned it Silva Porto's label of a "cosmopolitan people."<sup>15</sup>

Viye's political expansion and connection with the trans-Atlantic slave trade meant that many of these contacts occurred in contexts of violence, subjugation, and raids.<sup>16</sup> The end of the eighteenth century brought intensified contacts with the Portuguese, following a series of military campaigns and the attempt to establish an official presence in the highlands through the creation of a settlement named Amarante.<sup>17</sup> In 1791, according to Silva Porto's records, António Francisco da Conceição, a Brazilian trader from Bahia, had been nominated by the governor-general to occupy the post of "capitão-mor e juiz da provincia do Bihé," with the task of attracting "vassals" and expanding the "dominions" of the Portuguese crown by "the just and gentle means of peace, justice and commerce."<sup>18</sup> After a period of hostility towards foreign traders in the early nineteenth century, the 1830s saw the election of a new sovereign, Mbandua, more favorable to traders,<sup>19</sup> as well as a new Portuguese (nominal) authority with the appointment of Francisco José Coimbra, a trader of Goan descent from Caconda.

Like most immigrant traders in Viye, Silva Porto established his own settlement (*povoação*), which he improved and expanded over time. In writing, he referred to it as Belmonte, a name given by a fellow *sertanejo*, evocative of the beauty of the surrounding landscape, but the local population called it "Proto" or "Porto" since traditionally all *povoações* of some size had the name of their founder or chief.<sup>20</sup> Thus, to resume the argument above, Silva Porto had adopted the name of his land of birth to distinguish himself in Brazil, but later this distinction occasioned that, according to local political traditions, his surname became the identifier of his place, turning Porto into a Luso-African toponym. Identifying as a *Portuense* captured this meaning, almost becoming a self-referential adjective. Furthermore, the choice of *Portuense* is also significant considering its likely alternative, *A Portuguese in Africa*. It indicates that the way Silva Porto idealized his connection to Portugal did not prevail over his identity ties with his native Porto and his African Porto, i.e., Belmonte. This idiosyncrasy does not mean that Silva Porto did not hold strong convictions

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<sup>14</sup> According to Silva Porto, the population of Viye was a "mixture of the Ganguella, Mohumbe, Quimbangalla and Quimbunda races" (BPMP, Ms.1235, p. 98).

<sup>15</sup> BPMP, Ms.1235, pp. 111–112.

<sup>16</sup> About the connection between the people in the central highlands and trade, see especially Miller (1997).

<sup>17</sup> On the establishment of civil settlements during this period, see Madeira Santos (2019).

<sup>18</sup> BPMP, Ms.1236, pp. 124–125.

<sup>19</sup> BPMP, Ms.1235, pp. 100–101.

<sup>20</sup> Silva Porto explains this in one of his vocabularies (BPMP, Ms.1237, p. 75).

about what the Portuguese colonial project should be and the benefits of its extension to the central highlands. Nevertheless, as the military occupation of the central highlands only took place at the time of his death, he never wrote with any certainties or support derived from an effective colonial presence in Viye.

### Biographical Sketch of Silva Porto's Archive

What I am referring to here as Silva Porto's archive corresponds to what exists today in the Public Library of Porto and the Geographical Society of Lisbon. The collection in Porto includes thirteen bound manuscript volumes, with 4,664 numbered pages, whereas the collection in Lisbon is larger and more diverse. Overall, it contains five bound manuscript volumes;<sup>21</sup> a 75-page manuscript entitled *Memorial de Mucanos*, which consists of an account of the reparations Silva Porto had to pay for various crimes and offences committed by people who were part of his settlement, according to the local legal and political customs; more than sixty smaller manuscript notebooks, with a variable number of pages, including travel accounts, vocabularies, and different notes; a wealth of correspondence, including two bound volumes with copies of the official correspondence concerning the 1877–1880 scientific expedition;<sup>22</sup> two other bound volumes with more copies of Silva Porto's correspondence, and fifteen folders with hundreds of letters sent by Silva Porto but mostly received by him; several other separate documents; and finally, photographs and personal objects. These vast and rich materials contain elements that could help us imagine what once constituted Silva Porto's archive and library in Viye, which included not only the book from which Montesquieu's quotation was extracted but many others he comments on the text. A thorough study of his correspondence alone might allow the identification of other documents and similar archives, namely of other traders or even of the court of Viye and other polities in the region. This article, however, focuses only on what is accessible today in the two institutions mentioned above.

Scholars of West Central Africa have known Silva Porto for many decades and drawn from his archive in their analysis of long-distance trade and the region's political history.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Contrary to the BPMP volumes, which are all in reasonably good conditions, some at the SGL are not. Access to the first is now restricted.

<sup>22</sup> The expedition aimed at studying the area between Angola and Mozambique, and involved Alexandre de Serpa Pinto, Hermegildo Capello, and Roberto Ivens. Two major publications came out of it: Serpa Pinto's *Como eu atravessei África* (London, 1881); and H. Capello and R. Ivens' *De Benguela às terras de Iácca* (Lisbon, 1881). The correspondence refers to the assistance provided by Silva Porto, who was living in Benguela at the time.

<sup>23</sup> From Isaac Schapera's editions of David Livingstone's journals to the works of many scholars from the 1960s onwards, namely Jan Vansina, François Bontinck, Jean-Luc Vellut, Linda Heywood, John Thornton, Joseph C.

Part of the brief sociohistorical contextualization of Viye presented in the first section was based on Silva Porto's archive, showing his interest and efforts in collecting, interpreting, and recording this type of information. Although I cannot expand here on the ways he came to write about the region's social and political history, it is a critical dimension of the use historians have made of his writings, even if sometimes to express their reservations. Missionary and anthropologist G. Childs, for example, who worked in the central highlands during the colonial period, doubted the information provided by Silva Porto (for instance, about the political genealogy of Viye) as it did not conform with that of other more recognized observers such as the explorer A. Serpa Pinto and the missionary John Tucker (Childs 1949: 172).<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, these were later observers. If we consider that literacy was part of the dynamics of trade in Viye, as attested by the letters in the archive, what distinguishes Silva Porto from other traders was not the practice of writing and recording events relevant to the control of commercial operations but rather his tenacity and archival zeal. Both show that Silva Porto was, to some extent, convinced of the importance of his writings.<sup>25</sup> The closest and most widely used source in the historiography is the book published by the Hungarian trader Lázló Magyar (1818–1864), who lived in the region between 1849 and 1857.<sup>26</sup> Official colonial sources for the region are not as abundant as those for coastal areas such as Luanda or Benguela, given the weakness of the colonial presence in Viye until the end of the century. The same applies to ecclesiastical and missionary sources, as Catholic and Protestant missions only established themselves there in the 1880s.

Considering its size and potential, his archive remains a relatively underexplored source, especially if considered as a whole.<sup>27</sup> Two sets of challenges help to explain this. The

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Miller, Malyn Newitt, José C. Curto, Beatrix Heintze, Maria Emília Madeira Santos, or Mariana Candido (I refer to some of their works throughout the text). J. Vansina (2004) and more recently J. Hogan (2014) have also used it (what does “it” refer to here?) in their arguments about the political history of the regions east of the central highlands, namely the Upper Zambezi, to where Silva Porto travelled several times throughout his life. My research into Silva Porto's archive emerged from my participation in Jack Hogan's project aiming to produce an English scholarly edition of his travel accounts to the Upper Zambezi (forthcoming).

<sup>24</sup> For more recent discussions see Candido (2013a) and Thornton (2020), who also raises questions about Silva Porto's information regarding the political history of Viye.

<sup>25</sup> He did publish some of his travel accounts during his lifetime, first in the Angolan official gazette and the periodical of the Overseas Council (1850s and 1860s), then in the bulletins of the geographical societies of Lisbon and Porto (1880s).

<sup>26</sup> This book was first published in Hungarian and then in German in 1859. Rumours of a Portuguese translation circulate, but I do not know who is responsible for it. For a selection of texts recently translated to Portuguese, see Magyar (2019). For an overview of Magyar's trajectory, see E. Sebestyén (2015).

<sup>27</sup> Among the authors who have used it more extensively are Linda Heywood (1984) and M. E. Madeira Santos (1986), and more recently Constança Ceita (2014) and I. S. Gonçalves (2021). Heywood and many other scholars, especially anglophones, rely mostly on some of the material at the SGL and the three existing published editions. Madeira Santos' edition covers only the first three chapters of the first volume at the BPMP,

first concerns issues of access and time, leading most researchers to resort to the existing editions of Silva Porto's writings, which, valuable as they are, correspond to only a limited portion of the whole. Related to this is the lack of an updated catalogue of what is at the SGL. Although there are at least three descriptions of the archive (the most recent was published in 1977), they are not well known to researchers.<sup>28</sup>

The second set of challenges concerns the text itself. Silva Porto's handwriting is reasonably legible, although Luciano Cordeiro, one of the founders of the SGL who received Silva Porto's materials after his death, thought it was "tight" and "tortuous," "reminiscent of zigzags through closed forests" (Cordeiro 1891: 5). The main difficulty emerges from a degree of syntactical incoherence that renders some parts difficult to understand. In addition, the vocabulary reflects a cultural and linguistic mixture between mainly, but not exclusively, nineteenth-century Portuguese, Kimbundu, and Umbundu, which can be demanding to read and merits its own analysis. It reflects Silva Porto's life, namely his education, migratory experience in Brazil, and, on the other side of the Atlantic, and his reading habits. Silva Porto had an advanced understanding of Kimbundu and Umbundu, and he possibly spoke a mixture similar to the written text, almost a "creole language," in Cordeiro's words (1891: 5).

In addition to these challenges, further issues arise regarding the series of volumes with his notes, starting with correctly characterizing and dating them. Although I cannot elaborate on their analysis here, I want to highlight three critical aspects for an understanding of the archive. The first contradicts the perspective that the volumes in Porto and Lisbon constitute two parallel versions of the manuscript, with the latter being the draft and the former the more polished version. The second aspect is that they reflect a combination of genres, including travel accounts, diary entries of periods when he was not travelling, biographical and ethnographic vignettes and chapters, vocabularies, comments on books and newspaper articles, and copies of correspondence and official documents. They are an archive within the archive, which raises the question of whether seeing them as "diaries" (*diários*) captures the richness and complexity of the text. My analysis suggests that seeing them as diaries does not capture the complex and changing ways Silva Porto conceived his writings. Making sense of this complexity is the third aspect because the volumes reflect three distinct literary projects emerging at different times. As such, the SGL collection is not

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although her introduction shows her wider knowledge of the archive. Finally, Ceita and Gonçalves's theses show a broader use of the archive, although the latter's chronology ends in the 1860s.

<sup>28</sup> The first is included in L. Cordeiro (1891), the second was published on the initiative of António da Silva Rego (Cunha, 1961), and the third was undertaken by Maria Cristina Neto and included in the 1977 edition, *Catálogo-amostra evocativo do primeiro centenário da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (1875–1975)*, pp. 129–130.

incomplete, as it has been hypothesized, and cannot be seen as a parallel version of the BPMP (Santos 1986: 15).

Briefly, Silva Porto's first literary project was a travel book. It included a series of five travel accounts and a chapter on "native customs and habits," which he entitled *Cinco viagens ou costumes e usos gentílicos*. It was written between mid-1846 and 1856, and Silva Porto tried to publish it in Lisbon. It is unclear what happened to this manuscript, but it was possibly similar to SGL's first volume. The second project was what Silva Porto named *diário dos meos apontamentos*, "diary of my notes," which he began on 25 October 1860. Only two of the eighteen volumes bear this title, one in the SGL, starting on 25 October 1860 and ending on 31 July 1862, and the other in the BPMP, which continues from 1 August 1862 until 20 April 1866.<sup>29</sup> These two volumes include uninterrupted daily entries covering Silva Porto's life during these years, including a period between January and September 1863 during which he lived in Benguela, and several journeys, namely to Benguela and to Bulozzi or Lui as he always wrote. Finally, the third project was what became known as *Viagens e apontamentos de um portuense em África*, which resulted from Silva Porto's decision to revise his work in 1866. The motivation behind it is unclear, but he had recently read Major Gamitto's *O Muata Cazembe*, the account of the 1831–1832 expedition to Kazembe, published in Lisbon in 1854. This reading likely inspired him to resume the idea of publishing a travel book. Shortly afterwards, he decided to change its title to *Viagens e apontamentos*. He writes about this in the first entry of what would otherwise be the third volume of the *diário*, which was then also renamed *Viagens e apontamentos*.

The new title already points towards a larger literary project taking shape, which two years later, in 1868, went beyond a simple revision and became a fusion of all his writings, i.e., his first work (the travel book) and the *diários* that had just been renamed *Viagens e apontamentos*. His motivation was again connected to one of his readings, this time a book published in Lisbon under the title *Exame das viagens do doutor Livingstone* (Lacerda 1867). It was the first time that Silva Porto came across what David Livingstone had written about their meeting sixteen years earlier.<sup>30</sup> Lacerda's vehement argumentation against Livingstone's pioneering claims and portrayal of the Portuguese and their continued involvement with the slave trade left Silva Porto no other choice but to pen his reply. The same day he finished writing his comments, he began that larger literary project.<sup>31</sup> In February 1869, he began

<sup>29</sup> These are SGL's supposed second volume and BPMP's Ms.1237.

<sup>30</sup> See especially chapters 9 and 12 of Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (1857).

<sup>31</sup> He began writing this reply in September 1868, while in the Upper Zambezi, and finished by the end of January 1869 in Viye, sending the manuscript to Lisbon for publication shortly afterwards. The SGL has a

rewriting the new *Viagens e apontamentos de um portuense em África*, his *magnum opus*. This initial momentum, however, faded in the face of the immensity of the task of going through everything he had written thus far. The revision of the first book alone took Silva Porto more than three years to finish. In the meantime, he was still writing the other *Viagens e apontamentos*, the diaries, by then on the sixth volume. In the end, he only revised the text until 3 June 1864, roughly halfway through the second *diário*.<sup>32</sup>

In sum, the revised *Viagens e apontamentos de um portuense em África*, which today correspond to the first, second and third (“3 bis”) volumes at the BPMP,<sup>33</sup> were written roughly between 1869 and the 1870s, although they cover a period from 1846 to 1864. In turn, the unrevised *Viagens e apontamentos* constitute a sequence that flows from the *diário* starting on 25 October 1860 to the tenth volume ending on 13 March 1884.<sup>34</sup> These are not structured in chapters like the others because they are, after all, a continuation of Silva Porto’s *diário dos meos apontamentos*, even if their writing was influenced by the motivations and contingencies associated with the other literary projects. At the end of 1884, Silva Porto traveled to Portugal and donated the ten volumes to the Commercial Geographical Society of Porto. The last three volumes were written after this. The eleventh is unique because it was written three times, with copies sent as gifts to the Government of Benguela and the Geographical Societies of Porto and Lisbon. The last two volumes cover the final three years of Silva Porto’s life. He still managed to send the twelfth volume to Porto in February 1890, but the last one was brought to Portugal and handed to the SGL after Silva Porto’s death.<sup>35</sup>

Historicizing Silva Porto’s archive and unravelling his messy writings as conforming to different literary projects emerging at different times contribute to a better understanding of the source. It cautions against the propensity of assuming a diary entry date as the date of writing, which can be problematic since the first three volumes of the Porto collection were written after the subsequent three, although they cover prior events. It also draws attention to issues of interpretation and vocabulary changes associated with the revisions that cannot

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manuscript entitled *Apontamentos sobre a obra do Ex.mo Senhor D. José de Lacerda, ao Exame das viagens do Dr. David Livingstone por um Portuense*, which was published later by L. Cordeiro (1891).

<sup>32</sup> BPMP, Ms.1237.

<sup>33</sup> BPMP, Ms.1235, 1236, 1238.

<sup>34</sup> This sequence is constituted by SGL’s manuscript identified as the second volume, followed by BPMP Ms.1237, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, and 1245.

<sup>35</sup> The circulation of Silva Porto’s papers and mortal remains after his suicide in the context of the military occupation of Viye is an important part of the historicization of the archive, but it was not possible to include it here. A series of four opuscula published by the SGL after his death, as well as other documentation at the Overseas Historical Archive in Lisbon, contain information to support that analysis. About Silva Porto’s death, much remains to be said, but see Santos’s insights (1991).

be addressed here. Nevertheless, these projects have in common that they were all written by Silva Porto in West Central Africa, either in Viye, Benguela, or while travelling. Thus, along with the rest of Silva Porto's archive, they reflect the characteristics of the changing and moving African worlds he inhabited.

### A Luso-African Archive: Exploratory Notes

Building on the archive's biographical sketch elaborated above, this section serves as a research program aimed at exploring the archive's potential for a study from below of the trading community of which Silva Porto was part during almost all his life. Some of the questions guiding this future research include the following: who was part of that community? How was it constituted at the crossroads between trade and the movement of people, languages, cultural habits, and things? Which practices and forms of sociality characterize it? How did they relate to the hosting society? How did it change over time?

While scholars such as L. Heywood (1984) and M. E. Madeira Santos (1986) paved the way for this research, they did not engage in historicizing the archive nor examined in depth the categories and practices of classification emerging from it. This is one way to begin answering the questions raised above. The trading community in Viye during the early years of Silva Porto's residence in the 1840s can be grasped thanks to a survey undertaken by Joaquim Rodrigues Graça, a trader and resident in Golungo Alto (above the Kwanza), who was there between 1843 and 1846.<sup>36</sup> The title of the survey indicates the social diversity of this trading community and the categories used to classify people—"Map of the residents of the province of Bihé, natural children of the Portuguese who emigrated from the two markets of Benguela and Luanda, as well as from other *presídios* [fortresses] and districts, in addition to the itinerant traders that are established here."<sup>37</sup>

The reference to "natural affiliation" alludes to the children of unofficial marriages between African women and Portuguese immigrants coming from multiple places besides Benguela and Luanda, as well as other itinerant traders. Graça listed by name an impressive number of one hundred *moradores*,<sup>38</sup> whom he characterized according to origin, employment, place of residence, and "quality" (*qualidade*). The latter described a physical attribute (skin

<sup>36</sup> A partial version of Graça's text was published in 1855 in the periodical *Annaes do Conselho Ultramarino*, but the full manuscript was published later by the SGL (Graça, 1890).

<sup>37</sup> Vellut analyzed this document in his article on the "Luso-African frontier" (1972), as did other scholars (Dias 1998; Santos 1986). About the political significance of Graça's diplomatic mission to the Lunda capital, see I. C. Henriques (1997: 107).

<sup>38</sup> Yet the number must have been much higher, as Graça reported that most had not turned up (1890: 395).

color) according to four classificatory terms: *preto*, *pardo*, *branco*, and *cabodo*.<sup>39</sup> The vast majority of this resident trading community was composed of men whom Graça considered “Black” (54), followed by those of mixed heritage (42), hypothetically the “natural children.” In terms of origins, they were primarily locals from Viye (52), who in turn were mainly *pardos* (27) and *cabodos* (4), which indicates later generations of immigrant traders of Portuguese or Brazilian extraction. But there were also traders from Ambaca (16), Golungo Alto (11), Luanda (7), Pungo Andongo (5), trading centers, colonial administrative and military posts on the hinterland of Luanda, and finally Caconda, the fortress and trading post to the southwest of Viye (3). Finally, six were identified as “White,” four coming from Lisbon, one from Madeira, and one from Porto, who was evidently Silva Porto.

Besides showing how socially diverse the trading community in Viye was in the 1840s, the survey identified those one hundred men as one particular social group. The categories used reveal the interplay between who classifies and what/who is being classified, so their examination furthers our understanding of how they operated in Viye, a context historically marked by the interaction between people with different cultural backgrounds.<sup>40</sup> The people listed by Graça composed a heterogeneous group with four things in common: they were all men with Lusophone names, considered *moradores* of foreign origins (even if these origins were in the past, as in the case of the immigrants’ descendants), and involved in trading activities. Graça considered three trade-related occupations: *negociantes*, i.e., traders who made up the majority of the group, also known as *sertanejos*; *agências*, a term that probably referred to men responsible for recruiting porters, commonly known as *pombeiros*;<sup>41</sup> and finally, fewer in number, there were *caixeiros*, i.e., clerks or bookkeepers.

From this analysis, we can grasp something about the division of labor within the group. Men from different origins and “qualities” could become *negociantes* and *caixeiros*, but the same did not apply in the case of *agências*, who were all “qualified” (i.e. categorized) as “Black.” Thus, we can infer that trade was associated with some upward social mobility, as

<sup>39</sup> Vellut pointed out that *pardo* referred to people of mixed European and African heritage, with a lighter skin tone, while *cabodo* was likely a misspelling of *caboclo*, a term used in Brazil for people of mixed European and indigenous heritage, but here meaning people of darker skin colour (1972: 125).

<sup>40</sup> About the need to historicize categories, see the approach adopted by P. Mark in his study of Luso-Africans in precolonial Senegambia (see also Horta and Mark 2018; Mark 2002), or R. Williams’s contribution to the edited volume *Creole societies in the Portuguese colonial empire*, also highlighted in the introduction by the editors (Havik and Newitt 2015). Another relevant discussion on categories can be found in the work of António Hespanha, whose last book provides a relevant overview of the topic of who identified and was identified as “Portuguese” during the overseas expansion (Hespanha 2018 & 2019).

<sup>41</sup> Other scholars who have used Graça’s survey do not provide any clarification about this term (Santos 1986; especially Vellut 1972), but Silva Porto uses words such as “agenciar” and “agencia” in reference to the recruitment of porters by *pombeiros*. See, for example, BPMP, Ms.1236, p. 269 or Ms.1240, p.2 09.

men from different origins and “qualities” could become traders and clerks. However, at the level of *agências*, i.e., *pombeiros*, the fact that all men were “qualified” as “Black” suggests that those otherwise categorized tended not to do this work. Another question can be raised about who is missing from the survey and why. Other people involved in trade, such as women, porters, servants, or enslaved people, were not listed possibly due to status, meaning they were not considered *moradores* (but their dependants).<sup>42</sup> At the same time, there were other traders, *pombeiros*, and clerks in Viye who were also not listed because they were not *moradores*, but worked within the realm of the sovereign and the country’s political elites. This points to the autonomy attributed to this group of migrant traders vis-à-vis the Viyen society. One final revealing aspect of the list concerns the category “qualidade,” mobilized by Graça based on an empirical ascription of the terms *preto*, *pardo*, *branco*, and *cabodo*. As mentioned above, most *moradores* were considered “Black,” but there were a significant number of mixed-heritage people and six “Whites.” It is not difficult to assume that the second group were the “natural children” of older immigrants of European extraction with African women. However, we cannot rule out that some of those Graça considered “Black” could also be descendants of or related to those unions, especially those listed as being from Viye. This nuance raises the question of the relevance of such distinctions and the person making them, and Graça was indeed an outsider on an official mission. So other questions arise: was this perspective consistent with local practices of categorizing people in Viye? Were these categories used, and if so, were they used similarly? How was this group of immigrants and their descendants, resident in Viye and involved in trading, perceived locally?

Silva Porto’s archive is a rich source for exploring these issues further because it contains countless detailed narrations of multiple people involved in trade, not only *moradores*. Many of the names on Graça’s list appear in his writings, making it possible to research their trajectories and experiences.<sup>43</sup> However, the richness of the archive also lies in the access it provides to a perspective that is different from other more official colonial or outside sources. It is significant that terms such as *pardo* or similar were used in official sources

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<sup>42</sup> Jill Dias argued that the term *morador* appeared in nineteenth-century sources to designate a heterogeneous group of people, which included “Blacks not subject to the collective authority of the *sobas*” and dispensed from the service as porters,” which seems to confirm my inference. The term could also be applied to “*mestiços* and whites living in the interior,” “descendants of white Portuguese soldiers, merchants or convicts who, for more than two centuries, had flocked to the interior.” Finally, Dias added that their use of European clothing and shoes occasioned their identification by African populations as “whites” (Dias 1998: 359). See below my discussion of Silva Porto’s use of this terminology.

<sup>43</sup> M. E. Madeira Santos initiated this research (1986). F. Bontinck (1976) and B. Heintze (2004) developed similar works on the trajectories of intermediaries, interpreters, and Luso-Africans who were mentioned in the publications of Africanist explorers.

concerning other regions, as discussed by M. Candido (2008) for the case of the Caconda censuses or C. Madeira Santos (2019), but are practically absent in Silva Porto's writings. In turn, the most common way in which Silva Porto referred to traders was through the word *brancos*, articulated in various expressions, such as *brancos naturais do paiz e europeus* or *brancos estranhos e naturais do paiz* (respectively, "native and European whites" or "foreign and native whites"). In one of his vocabularies, Silva Porto explained that the word for "white" was "Quindér or Xindér," which was given to Europeans and their descendants.<sup>44</sup> "Foreign whites" were the immigrant traders who were able to create their own settlements in Viye, like Silva Porto, and their offspring were "native whites" regardless of their "quality."<sup>45</sup> Further analysis is needed about second-generation traders coming from other trading posts outside Viye and how they were perceived; likewise regarding the place of women and other people who composed the *povoações dos brancos*, especially enslaved people and servants, their backgrounds and social trajectories; not to mention the group's interactions with the "Bianos," whom Silva Porto described as the "children of the *soba*," a "cosmopolitan people," itself also very heterogeneous as mentioned in the first section.

Much remains to be studied about this group from a critical analysis of Silva Porto's Luso-African archive, including which other cross-cultural practices characterized the group, such as language, religion, or norms associated with the regulation of social and economic life. Considering linguistic practices, Silva Porto's writings show a mixture of several languages, mainly Portuguese, Kimbundu, and Umbundu, as mentioned above. His transit between these languages is remarkable. Often words introduced as Portuguese were not part of the official lexicon, demonstrating their incorporation in the local use of the language—for example, *capata* is described as "the *Portuguese* term here applied to the inebriating drink prepared from maize cobs";<sup>46</sup> or the word *libata*, "*Portuguese* term here applied to settlements [*povoações*] in general,"<sup>47</sup> whose translation to Umbundu is also provided as "himbo or

<sup>44</sup> BPMP, Ms.1235, p. 173. Reflecting on a later period, I. Dulley mentions the adoption of the term *ovindele* ("whites") by *assimilados* (a legal status during the colonial period defining "civilized natives") and notes its opposition with *ovimbundu*, "Black," the ethnonym which would later classify people from this region (Dulley 2010: 66).

<sup>45</sup> In a particularly insightful article, F. Bontinck examines how Europeans were designated in many Bantu languages, highlighting the problem of translating "mindele" (sing. "mundele," from the Kikongo) into "white." He explains—as other authors have done (see reference to Jill Dias above)—that many Africans designated themselves and were designated in this way because they dressed like Europeans and spoke a European language. More precisely, they were seen as "Black Europeans" or "Europeanized Blacks." The generalization of the translation into "white" added an equivocal meaning to the description of these people, as it happens here in the case of Silva Porto, who unfortunately does not clarify how common the Portuguese word "branco" was in relation to corresponding terms in the locally used languages (Bontinck 1995).

<sup>46</sup> BPMP, Ms.1235, p. 6; italics added.

<sup>47</sup> BPMP, Ms.1235, p. 12; italics added.

quimbo,” challenging the expectation that this latter language would be preferential among those living in Viye, including the trading community, as it was the predominant language of the region.<sup>48</sup> Thus, another facet of the research potential of Silva Porto’s archive regards the field of socio-historical studies of African languages and language contact in this region.<sup>49</sup>

The analysis of these practices allows us to understand the processes of mixture and distinction that characterized Luso-Africans and their social interactions in Viye during this period. Many of these topics are raised and discussed in the historiography on social groups and identities in contexts historically marked by contacts between Portuguese or other immigrant and local African populations, particularly in West and West Central Africa, and the term Luso-African has become somewhat consolidated to refer to them.<sup>50</sup> This historiography goes back several decades and has intersected with debates on creolization in the Atlantic world, so the case of Viye is worth exploring in dialogue with it.<sup>51</sup> Its relevance lies, to a large extent, in the possibility of advancing M. Candido’s (2018) discussion regarding how the processes of creolization also affected the interior. The history of Viye was marked from early on by the movement and crossing of people with diverse backgrounds, as well as by multi-scale trade dynamics. The arrival and establishment of foreign traders, namely those of European and Brazilian extraction, from the end of the eighteenth century onwards was not a novelty from the local point of view. Traders like Silva Porto were always on the move, looking for business opportunities, but they also relied heavily on having suitable domestic arrangements, including functioning establishments and trusting relationships, and, in sum, on their successful insertion within the local society.

## Conclusion

As my research into the life and archive of Silva Porto progresses, many questions emerge along the way. Can we speak of a Luso-African community in Viye? When and how was it constituted? Who was part of it, and how did it change over time? How was Silva Porto integrated into it, and what can we learn about it from his archive? Approaching the

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<sup>48</sup> On the distinctive character of Umbundu, see Childs (1949: 169).

<sup>49</sup> See, for example, the volume *Language Contact in Africa and the African Diaspora in the Americas* (2017) or O. Zwartjes’s (2011) chapter on African languages analysing three grammars of Kongo, Kimbundu, and Sena. I thank the reviewers for these and other bibliographical suggestions. On Angolan Portuguese see Inverno 2018.

<sup>50</sup> Among the alternatives advanced by some authors are “Afro-Portuguese” (Dias 1998; Newitt 2008) or “Afro-Lusitanian society” (Heywood 2002). For a discussion on terminology see B. Heintze (2011).

<sup>51</sup> Among some of the key contributions are Candido 2013a; Dias 1998; Ferreira 2006; Green 2012; Havik and Newitt 2015; Heintze 2004 & 2005; Heywood 2002; Mark 2002; Miller 1988; Newitt 2008; Vellut 1972.

archive as a Luso-African archive is an innovative way of researching these questions, as it emphasizes the archive's hybrid and plural nature.

This article's first contribution was to provide a historicization of Silva Porto's archive, which departed from a discussion of the idiosyncratic way he identified himself as a *Portuense* in the title of his *magnum opus*. I unraveled some of the archive's messiness and Silva Porto's writing process, clarifying many points neglected by other scholars, such as that the volumes known as his diaries correspond to distinct literary projects, written, rewritten, and circulated at different times with different motivations. The biographical sketch of the archive was then the basis for the second contribution, which regards its potential for a study from below of the trading community established in Viye. My analysis of Graça's survey showed that it was a group headed by men classified as *moradores*, with diverse backgrounds, characterized by a division of labor between traders, clerks, and recruiters, and some degree of social mobility in the first two occupations. In turn, my contrasting of the categories mobilized by Graça to classify these traders according to "quality" with Silva Porto's writings showed that they were not as relevant locally. Other mechanisms of identification and belonging, perhaps more fluid, seem to enter into play when seen from an insider's perspective.

Silva Porto's archive does not allow us to observe everything about what it reveals; its analysis requires other articulations, both in terms of sources and comparative historiography. That said, it does constitute a privileged observatory of the multiplicity of perspectives and cross-cultural practices associated with the experience of Luso-Africans in Viye in the nineteenth century. Those perspectives include those who were rendered invisible in the survey, such as women, porters, servants, and enslaved people. The archive allows for an exploration of individual trajectories within this community as well as outside it. It also allows for an understanding of cultural and linguistic crossings that characterized the trading community and the Viyen society. While allowing for a discussion of the man, who would later, after his death, become a colonial martyr and a symbol in the discourses on the Portuguese colonial project, the archive is also larger than Silva Porto himself.

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# Confronting Different Realities: Libraries in Cabo Verde and the Case for Comparative Librarianship

Marilla MacGregor<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

Libraries are institutions whose mission is to both conserve and disseminate information for the purposes of education, culture, and amusement. This paper analyzes the history, politics, culture, economy, and state of education in Cabo Verde, emphasizing the unique situation of libraries and Library and Information Science (LIS) on the islands. Notwithstanding their global mobility, serving the diaspora and the islands implies retaining trained LIS professionals, sustaining digital library platforms and websites, and building collections. In the spirit of comparative librarianship, this paper proposes ways in which Cabo Verde can create a new “mission” for libraries which best serves its people, honors its culture, and helps the nation to flourish in the information age.

## Keywords

Libraries, LIS, information systems, higher education, constitution, Cabo Verde

## Resumo

As bibliotecas são instituições cuja missão é de conservar e disseminar informação para apoiar o ensino, a cultura e o lazer. Através de uma análise da história, política, cultura, economia e o estado do ensino em Cabo Verde, este artigo pretende discutir a situação única de bibliotecas e a Biblioteconomia e Ciência da Informação (LIS) nas ilhas. Apesar da mobilidade global cabo-verdiana, servir as ilhas e a diáspora significa a retenção de profissionais de LIS, manter plataformas e websites de bibliotecas e construir coleções. No espírito da biblioteconomia comparada, este artigo propõe formas para que Cabo Verde possa construir uma nova “missão” para as bibliotecas nas ilhas que melhor sirva a sua população, homenageie a sua cultura e ajude a nação de florescer nesta era da informação.

## Palavras-chave

Bibliotecas, LIS, sistemas de informação, ensino superior, constituição, Cabo Verde

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## Introduction

Comparative librarianship is the practice of comparing facets of library and information science (LIS) across cultures or societies in an attempt to understand how these facets may work differently from one culture to the next. The aim of this comparison is to expand the horizons of one's conception of LIS with a view to creating theories which will improve librarianship overall (Chandra 2017). However, it is important to realize that each practitioner of comparative librarianship starts—naturally—with the understanding of libraries and LIS which pertains to her/his/their reality. For Western researchers, the results of such comparisons often show that, while there may be differences in LIS across countries and cultures, there are enough similarities, both in the libraries themselves and in the cultures, so that the model these researchers default to when speaking of “libraries, librarianship, and library and information science” can simply be tweaked and adjusted to fit the needs of the “other” being studied. This Western model is based on the notion that libraries—most particularly public libraries—are places that offer free access to information, both for research and pleasure purposes, relying heavily on modern technology for both the organization and dissemination of this information. It thus assumes an infrastructure that provides these resources, including librarians specifically trained to run the institutions, and a population of which the majority is literate and for which reading and digesting information forms part of daily life. Additionally, the model defines libraries as service institutions, often helping to serve the community beyond the realm of literature. However, there are some cases where the very realities of daily life, of what it means to live well and to succeed and how information is used and valued, are so different from the ‘normal’ point of view that the western LIS model—even a modified version of it—does not work, or even ceases to exist.

One such case is found in the country of Cabo Verde, a Lusophone island nation about 350 miles off the west coast of Africa (Fyfe 1981; Carreira 1982). A country that has struggled with drought, famine, colonial domination, and isolation, Cabo Verde is unique in terms of its history, the development of its peoples, and its current reality in the information age. Its indigenous culture is one which was created simultaneously with its colonial culture, as the islands were uninhabited when the Portuguese arrived in the fifteenth century (Challinor 2008; Fyfe 1981), and this alone sets Cabo Verde apart from other Lusophone African nations (except perhaps São Tomé and Príncipe), as well as most other formerly colonized nations in the world. Cabo Verde's created culture and its historical position within the Portuguese Empire changes its reality in terms of language development, cultural history

and traditions, and political positioning. Since language, culture, and politics greatly affect the development of education and the value of information, its dissemination, and of libraries, librarianship, and LIS, in terms of the western model, have played a much different role in the life of Cabo Verdeans than in many other countries. In reviewing the history, politics, culture, economy, and state of education of the country, Cabo Verde reveals itself to be a nation and a culture in which the existence of a completely different reality as the basis for LIS needs to be accepted so that libraries can fulfill their roles of providing access to information, educating communities, and upholding intellectual freedom in the name of universal human rights.

### **Cabo Verde: An Overview**

To understand the state of LIS in Cabo Verde, one must look at its history. The nation of Cabo Verde is composed of a string of ten islands in the Atlantic Ocean, nine of which are inhabited, and is geographically isolated both from mainland Africa and from its nearest neighboring island country, São Tomé and Príncipe (Atchoaréna et al. 2008). The eastern islands are flat and eroded, while the western islands are mountainous and contain one active volcano, the Pico do Fogo (Lobban et al. 2019). Access to fresh water is limited, and the majority of the soils are not suitable for agriculture (Lobban et al. 2019). This, combined with the aridness of the climate and the frequency of droughts, means that the nation is not self-sufficient when it comes to food production (Lobban et al. 2019; Keese 2008; CountryWatch Incorporated 2020). The islands are also vulnerable to torrential flooding, when rain does occur, as well as other natural disasters (Lobban et al. 2019).

It was within this harsh climate that the population and culture of Cabo Verde was created. Portuguese settlers first landed on the islands in 1460, and by 1495, Cabo Verde had become an official colony of the Portuguese Empire (Fyfe 1981; CountryWatch Incorporated 2020). Over a period of four centuries settlers came to the islands from Portugal, Italy, and Spain, and in the nineteenth century from France, Britain, and other northern European countries, but most of their work force was imported from mainland Africa in the form of African slaves (Fyfe 1981; Carreira 1982)<sup>2</sup>. Asian immigrants, mainly from Goa, were also brought in as doctors, priests, and other types of civil servants.<sup>3</sup> The population that emerged on the islands, therefore, was a mixture of Europeans, Asians,

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<sup>2</sup> Isabel Ferreira, pers. comm., 7 June 2020.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

African slaves, and the descendants of the union of these demographics, a mixture which created racial and class-based tensions (Challinor 2008). As Challinor (2008: 88) points out, this situation “broke down the rigid division between whites and blacks . . . Thus, although skin color initially defined everyone’s position on the social scale, this changed as an intermediate class emerged in society, consisting of creoles and of freed slaves.”

The blurred line of distinction in terms of race put native Cabo Verdeans in a unique position in terms of status within the Portuguese Empire. As Alexander Keese (2007) explains, starting in the nineteenth century, Cabo Verdeans were given more access to western education than the natives of other Portuguese colonies. For example, the Seminário-Liceu de S. Nicolau was founded in 1866 (Neves 2017). This allowed the Portuguese administration to use Cabo Verdeans to help settle other colonies, and often the Cabo Verdeans would be put in low-rank or middle-rank posts in places like Angola and Portuguese Guinea (Keese, 2007). Due to the harsh climate, poor natural resources, and the use of Cabo Verdeans to populate other colonies, migration from the islands slowly became a “structural characteristic” of the Cabo Verdean society (Challinor 2008: 87). Migration became so common that currently, the emigrant population of Cabo Verdeans outnumbers those who remain on the islands (Fyfe 1981; Carreira 1982; Challinor 2008).

Thus, while a native culture was formed on the islands during and after colonial rule, finding expression in different musical forms and in the development of Kriolu, the culture with which Cabo Verdeans identify, this culture is also affected by the experiences of relatives living abroad and the ideas about race which have grown from this situation. For example, many Cabo Verdeans attribute an increase in urban crime to repatriated citizens whose ancestors had migrated to the United States and had encountered violent Black youth culture (Challinor 2008). Unfortunately, views like these, as well as the history of racism prevalent throughout the colonial period, has caused terms of color to become synonymous with socioeconomic status: a well-to-do Cabo Verdean does not want to be called “Black,” though a great majority of Cabo Verdeans have black or brown skin, but considers him/herself more Eurocentric than those too poor to afford this status (Challinor 2008)<sup>4</sup>.

As noted above, Cabo Verdeans had access to Western education far earlier than other Lusophone colonies (Keese 2007). Though universities were established in Cabo Verde after independence, many Cabo Verdeans still choose to study abroad, contributing to the Cabo Verdean diaspora. Portugal provides Cabo Verde with approximately twenty-seven million euros each year to support university education for the citizens, while Brazil offers

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

twenty scholarships annually for Cabo Verdeans to pursue master's or doctoral degrees in Brazil (Resources and Infrastructure 2007). Though primary education is now universal on the islands, and secondary education is going in that direction (Atchoaréna et al. 2008), the literacy level remains below 80%, and only 69.2% of women are literate (CountryWatch Incorporated 2020).

As a demographic group, women are generally at a disadvantage in Cabo Verde. In the island culture, it is common for women to have multiple partners: monogamy and exclusivity are not expected (Challinor 2008). However, many fathers do not accept responsibility for providing for their offspring, which creates a hardship on women (CountryWatch Incorporated 2020). Economically, only 46.9% of females are economically "active," and the estimated annual earned income of women amounts to only \$3,392 (CountryWatch Incorporated 2020). Though women have the right to vote and the right to stand for election, they are underrepresented, undereducated, and to them often falls the burden of raising children and being "exemplary mothers" (CountryWatch Incorporated 2020; Challinor 2017). This was especially the case when it was mostly men who migrated to other countries to find work, leaving the women behind (Challinor 2017). In more recent years, more women have started migrating for education and work opportunities; however, many women still stay behind to care for younger siblings, nieces, and nephews, and the idea of women as caregivers is still prominent (Challinor 2017). Within Cabo Verde's unstable economy, employment opportunities are more limited for women and many face unemployment while trying to support their families (Challinor 2017).

The economy of Cabo Verde, still precarious today, was never stable. Cabo Verde is situated conveniently in the Atlantic between Africa and North and South America, and thus it became a center for the slave trade between the two continents (Fyfe 1981). However, due to cyclical famine during the whaling industry period, which began in the seventeenth century, many Cabo Verdeans found joining whaling ships a way to escape the harsh realities of island life, beginning the pattern of emigration from the islands still found today. Through serving on whaling ships, Cape Verdeans were able to settle in large numbers in the US where their descendants constitute a large Anglophone diasporic community (Fyfe 1981; Challinor 2008). After gaining independence in 1975, the new government of Cabo Verde was left with the problems the Portuguese Empire had been unwilling to solve: a poor agricultural situation, with not enough resources for proper nutrition, the continued prospect of drought and famine and the need to build up a weak economy to take part in the global market (Keese 2008). Though the economy has grown since the late twentieth century, raising the country

to the level of “lower-middle income countries” (Atchoaréna et al 2008: 172), Cabo Verde is still not self-sustaining in terms of food, over 80% of which must be imported (CountryWatch Incorporated 2020). The harsh climatic conditions, unstable economy, dependence on Portugal and Brazil, and the history of emigration have all contributed to the large Cabo Verdean diaspora, affecting not only the island population itself, but also the form libraries and information services take on the island and the services they offer.

As can be seen from the picture painted above, Cabo Verde’s history, culture, and current situation present a unique setting for the development of libraries. Often an issue with libraries in former European colonies is the collection and preservation of information created before the period of colonization, as well as the issue of providing resources in the native language(s) of the country. In Cabo Verde, all information—both oral and written—grew in tandem with the society itself, shifting the focus of libraries’ archival functions. And, though the majority of the island’s inhabitants speak the Kriolu language, *Kabuverdianu*, there is no support for bilingual education, which affects the country’s literacy rates, as those who are literate speak Portuguese as the official language of the nation (Spolsky 2018). Thus, many of those Cabo Verdeans who pursue higher education still do so abroad, using other countries’ information resources (Spolsky 2018; Challinor 2008). In a nation where identity is associated with Eurocentric as well as African roots, the realm of information and higher education has been left to Western culture, and those remaining on the islands to use the libraries may not be in a position to make reading and information digestion a priority in their daily lives. This, combined with the fact that a large percentage of the population is burdened with both familial and economic duties, has affected the development of libraries in Cabo Verde—their creation, the way they are used, and their maintenance. The development and current status of libraries in Cabo Verde is largely dependent on the economic and educational aspects of the country and the priorities given to information access and information literacy by the Cabo Verdean government.

### **The Development of Libraries in Cabo Verde: Economy, Education, and Government Priorities**

The first libraries created in Lusophone Africa were meant for the use of Portuguese officials and not for the community at large (Saunders and Stewart Saunders 1994). The struggles of the nation to survive while under colonial rule did not allow for further development of a library system, so that by 1967, only eight years before declaring

independence, Cabo Verde had only a handful of libraries to serve all nine inhabited islands: two public libraries, one lycée library, and eleven smaller libraries (Saunders and Stewart Saunders 1994).

After independence, the focus of the new government was on sustaining the nation and redressing the problems caused by agrarian and nutritional shortages. In order to grow the economy, Cabo Verde relied heavily on foreign aid, including aid for education. Since for many years the only aid received for education was from Portugal and was meant to allow Cabo Verdeans to study in Portugal, libraries were not seen as being needed on the islands to support education—a primary function of libraries in the West (Challinor 2008). Additionally, as the government's focus was on the economy and not on civic services, no priority was placed on providing a library system for the general public's education or leisure.

Thus, cultural institutions took a back seat until the last decades of the twentieth century, when the country's economy had finally started to grow and the government started to prioritize education. As previously stated, lack of both higher education on the islands and aid from Portugal meant that high-achieving students attained post-secondary degrees abroad and often did not return, creating a “brain drain” for the country in several sectors (Challinor 2008). However, beginning in the 1980s, the Cabo Verdean government started putting more emphasis on literacy and primary education for its citizens (Ramos et al 2011). A reform movement in the 1990s increased the length of primary education from four years to six, which improved enrollment (Atchoaréna et al 2008). A push was then made to increase enrollment in secondary schools and to make secondary education universal (Atchoaréna et al 2008). The government began to give more attention to vocational schools as a method to increase retention rates (Atchoaréna et al 2008). At the same time, the demand for tertiary education on the islands became stronger, and, in 2006, Cabo Verde's first university, the Universidade Pública de Cabo Verde, was opened in Praia (Atchoaréna et al, 2008).

The libraries of Cabo Verde can be seen as having developed in tandem with the education system. The educational reform began in the 1980s, and it was on December 31, 1988 that the National Historical Archive was inaugurated, the first national institution of information in the country (Casa Comum n.d.). With education continuing to be a priority in the 1990s, the country finally opened its national library, the Biblioteca Nacional de Cabo Verde, in 1999 (IBNL 2012). Happily, after the creation of the National Library, the next eight years saw an increase in the number of libraries on the islands. With the opening of the Universidade Pública de Cabo Verde in 2006, the country gained its first academic library (Atchoaréna et al 2008), and soon gained more as other universities opened, due to the fact

that, as Ocholla (2009) explains, many universities were required to have a library for accreditation purposes. By 2007, The International Federation of Library Associations & Institutions (IFLA) (2007) reported Cabo Verde as having reported on thirty public libraries (including the National Library), six university research libraries, ten school libraries, and two other research libraries funded by the government.

That libraries were being seen more as partners in the area of the economy as well as education is shown by the fact that in 2013, the West Africa Institute (WAI), which focuses on regional integration for Africa, placed its research library within Cabo Verde's National Library, adding another institute to the libraries to be found on the islands (West Africa Institute 2012). Additionally, the country's National Assembly has its own library, which is well-equipped with 15,090 bibliographic records and contains many print works, including monographs, periodicals, newspapers, and parliamentary documentation (National Assembly 2018). These two libraries are the best equipped in the country in terms of resources, which aligns with the government's priorities in terms of the economy and becoming a globally competitive nation. To ensure continued prioritization by the government of libraries in general, in 2015, Cabo Verde was one of thirteen African countries to sign the Cape Town declaration, a series of resolutions related to providing resources to develop African libraries, promote policies on access to information, and encourage the ministers of African countries within whose purview libraries fall to meet regularly to discuss the status of their libraries (Eberhart 2015). In less than twenty years, Cabo Verde had gained thirty-four libraries and joined efforts to be part of the larger movement for information freedom and access.

It would seem, from this trajectory, that the Western library system and the discipline of LIS in Cabo Verde were securely established and thriving by the middle of the last decade. Such, however, was not the case. Though, as of 2012, there were around fifty libraries on the islands, very little information is to be found about them, as very few maintain a website. Even the National Library's website has been relegated to the *Wayback Machine*, as it has not been updated since 2012 (IBNL 2012). Additionally, libraries that are fully digitized, such as the digital library created by the Jean Piaget University in an attempt to increase access to resources, and the African Digital Library, which provides access to many databases for researchers all over Africa, have not been maintained (Barreto Da Rosa & Lamas 2012; African Digital Library 2014). The link to Jean Piaget's digital library is broken, calling into question its whole *raison d'être*, and the African Digital Library had been updated in 2014, but its domain expired in 2021 (African Digital Library 2014). While it is unclear why such

important projects would become defunct, both cases imply difficulties with maintenance and a lack of human resources working to ensure continued access to information.

Another indicator of the lack of a human element in the library structure in Cabo Verde is the fact that there is no national library association or code of ethics for librarians to adhere to (IFLA/FAIFE 2007). Thus, there is no national support for the careers and duties of those in charge of libraries. Additionally, the discipline of Library and Information Science, as it is understood in most parts of the world, simply does not exist in Cabo Verde.<sup>5</sup> Anyone who can read and write is qualified for such a position and, as there is very little information to be found about Cabo Verde's libraries in general, there is no information as to what degrees current librarians hold.<sup>6</sup> As there is no LIS discipline in the country, so there is no specialized education for librarians. The only two degrees somewhat related are an undergraduate degree in history which provides training in "Museology, Libraries, and Archives," as well as several other areas, and another undergraduate degree in Cultural Heritage Management, which can train people to manage libraries, along with training in other areas of management (Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Art, 2020b, para. 4; Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Art, 2020a). The lack of a discipline and teaching model for LIS means that there is not a standard way of operating libraries, nor a shared understanding of how to promote library services, advocate for libraries, and expand the library system.

In addition to the lack of a trained human element to maintain library services, whether in a physical or digital space, there is relatively little funding and no direct legislation pertaining to libraries in Cabo Verde. While in theory the National Archive and the municipal (public) libraries are funded by the state, in reality money is scarce.<sup>7</sup> Cabo Verdean libraries thus rely heavily on external aid for funding, which puts their budgets in a consistently precarious position (Barreto Da Rosa and Lamas 2012). Indeed, the National Archive does not currently have the means to buy books.<sup>8</sup> As there is only a small book industry in Cabo Verde, all resources must be imported, and this is quite expensive.<sup>9</sup> Due to the country depending mainly on money from citizens from the EU, the U.S., and China, investing in libraries, even for the benefit of education, is not a priority<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> Isabel Ferreira, pers. comm., 16 April 2020.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

In line with the low prioritization of library funding by the government, there seems to be no constitutional law to enforce the support of a public library system in the country. The Cabo Verde Constitution upholds the freedom of thought, expression, and “intellectual, artistic, and cultural creation” (Cape Verde Constitution, pt.2, art. XXVII, sec. 2) as well as the freedom of the press (Cape Verde Constitution, pt.2, art. XLVI, sec. 1). Additionally, the constitution states that one of the tasks of the state is to “foment education, culture, scientific investigation, the dissemination of new technologies, as well as the dissemination of Cape Verdean culture in the world” (Cape Verde Constitution, pt. 1, art. VII, sec. 1h), and declares the right of citizens to have the freedom to “inform and be informed, to search for, receive, and disseminate information” (Cape Verde Constitution, pt. 2, art. XLV, sec. 2). While these rights align with the purpose of libraries as understood in Western terms, there is nothing explicit about establishing and funding libraries in the Constitution, though it does clearly state the support of establishing radio and television stations. This indicates that the government, while acknowledging the need for some support for its country’s information infrastructure, has not prioritized libraries as disseminators of information for its population (Cape Verde Constitution, pt. 2, art. XLV, sec. 9).

The fact that the constitution does support the dissemination of technology and culture, as well as freedom of information, shows that there is a basis for more government support of libraries in Cabo Verde. Recent legislation in related areas indicates that the country is moving in that direction. In 2019, the government of Cabo Verde joined three international treaties covering copyright: the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) Copyright Treaty, the WIPO Performances and Phonograms Treaty, and the Marrakesh Treaty (World Intellectual Property Organization 2019). These treaties will increase the rights of creators of content in Cabo Verde, and the Marrakesh Treaty aims to facilitate access to published works for disabled persons (World Intellectual Property Organization 2019). Cabo Verde’s intent is that these treaties will help to protect the historical and cultural materials of the country, including those in the National Library and Cape Verdean Historical Archive (Cape Verde 2019). Whether protecting these materials includes expanding access to them and services surrounding them remains to be seen.

At the present moment, the state of libraries and other information centers in Cabo Verde leaves much to be desired for them to reach their full potential. According to Dr. Isabel Ferreira, born and raised in Portugal but of Cabo Verdean descent, the libraries in Cabo Verde are “generalist, small, and very . . . outdated,” and the academic libraries have

small print collections, outdated and written only in Portuguese.<sup>11</sup> As noted above, importing books is expensive, and, with no national book industry, there are not enough resources in the native language to draw the interest of much of the community (Barreto Da Rosa and Lamas 2012; Lor 2000). Additionally, though there are local archives in the Cabo Verdean municipalities, which hold a great deal of documentation on local social and political issues, these resources have sadly been stored in cellars, not organized or maintained, and left without any inventories).<sup>12</sup>

Though digital libraries are seen to be a solution to the lack of resources, there are issues with access, training, and costs (Barreto da Rosa and Lamas 2012). Dr. Ferreira reports that she assisted the ISCEE (translated as the Higher Institute of Economic and Business Sciences) to connect to international data bases but had to have assistance from a university in Portugal, which ensures the continued Western influence on the library system (Ferreira, pers. comm., 16 April 2020). Nevertheless, Cabo Verde increasingly depends on distance learning and digital resources as solutions to providing education across geographic barriers, and of the higher education institutions which do provide information about their libraries, most still rely heavily on digital resources and online catalogues from other libraries and consider the physical library principally as a space to study and gain internet access (Barreto Da Rosa & Lamas 2012; Ramos et al 2011; Universidade de Mindelo 2017; Higher Institute of Economic and Business Sciences 2014; Universidade de Cabo Verde 2020).

There is, however, a ray of hope for the growth and development of libraries and their prioritization by the government and the people. In 2018, two primary schools opened new libraries as part of the “Dynamization of School Libraries” project, an effort by the governments of both Cabo Verde and Portugal to ensure schools are well-equipped with books in order to assist in the teaching of children (Cape Verde: Achada Leitão and Salineiro elementary schools, 2018, para.1). The emphasis here is not just on sources, but also on physical books and the development of children’s relationship with these books (Cape Verde: Achada Leitão and Salineiro elementary schools, 2018). The project explicitly makes the connection between information access and literacy, and democratization and culture (Cape Verde: Achada Leitão and Salineiro elementary schools, 2018). The focus on helping the young generation, investing in resources other than digital databases, and making connections between libraries and the greater world is a step in the direction of creating a

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<sup>11</sup> Isabel Ferreira, personal communications, 16 April 2020; 7 June 2020.

<sup>12</sup> Alexander Keese, pers. comm., 18 April 2020.

cultural atmosphere where information is valued not just as a commodity, but for its service to the quality of life of the people of the nation.

### **Different Realities: A Canvas for Comparative Librarianship**

While LIS researchers understand that context affects the workings of any library system, most comparative librarian researchers approach their subject stationed firmly in their own reality. However, in order to collaborate with a culture, to help develop a library system without forcing changes which will end up inhibiting progress, one must put on a different pair of glasses and step into the reality of the culture under scrutiny. Such was the case for me in trying to discover the state of libraries and LIS in Cabo Verde. When I finally made contact with Dr. Ferreira, I put to her the questions I had compiled from my own understanding of the existence of libraries and LIS in the world: “What are the educational standards for LIS in your country?” “How does the public library system work?” “What funding and legislation deal with the libraries in Cabo Verde?” These were the pieces of information I was aiming to discover, but, in fact, some of that information does not even exist. This is because, as Dr. Ferreira kindly told me, “the basis of your perspective does not correspond to Caboverdean reality” (Ferreira, pers. comm., 16 April 2020).

These words were the switch that turned the light on in my mind and illuminated the fact that there are people who not only live differently from oneself as an individual but have an entirely different perception of reality—of how the world works, how the timeline of one’s life should be organized and what is important in terms of quality of life. This is the case with Cabo Verde, where its Western-style libraries do not work cohesively with the realities of its citizens’ daily lives (Ferreira, pers. comm., 16 April 2020). These libraries were built on the Western model, as the first libraries were meant for the Portuguese colonizers. The modern university libraries have been aided by Western institutions and also try to make use of databases and digital resources in the same way that Western academic libraries do in order to educate citizens to compete in a global capitalist economy dominated by western powers. However, the current state of Cabo Verde’s libraries seems to indicate that the Western model is not the best system for this society (Saunders and Stewart Saunders 1994).

Western libraries are sources of literature and information, but also serve as types of community centers, offering education, information on civic matters, and other programs. These libraries are supported by a methodology behind the running of these institutions, an organizational system, and an educational discipline that provides a highly trained human

element for information services. This system grew out of societies that had much more money and power as well as longer histories of democracy and more self-sustainability, allowing the philosophical importance of information and public service to become priorities.

This is not the reality in Cabo Verde. With a culture born of interactions between master and slave, with no previous indigenous cultural information to protect, Cabo Verde has thus turned to Europe for its information and education. What use would a system such as the one described above be to these citizens? For Cabo Verdeans, the reality of everyday life is that of trying to survive and make a living in a country with a precarious economy and of experiencing a formation of identity associated with the understanding that the “good life” is synonymous with inhabitation elsewhere through migration for work or study. This is not a society where public library use is routine, where civic programs are abundantly available, and information is treasured for its own sake. Much of primary education is rote learning and is not given in the commonly spoken native language (Lor 2000; Spolsky 2018). Additionally, there are very few published materials in Krioulu, so the culture is not supported in this way (IFLA/FAIFE 2007). Higher education available in the home country is only fourteen years old, and the institutions are not well-staffed or supported, so many Cabo Verdeans continue to consider Europe or the United States as the location of knowledge resources (Ferreira, pers. comm., 16 April 2020; Challinor 2008). Both education and information are seen as a means to an end—a job, money, survival—and too often this also involves emigration. The success of a library system depends on its ability to work symbiotically with the realities of its society, and the western model of libraries and LIS simply does not fit into the structure of Cabo Verde’s reality and what its people require to have a fulfilling life.

Cabo Verde thus becomes a canvas for creating a new library system and a new way of practicing LIS. The point of a library is to serve each individual in a community, to meet her/his/their information needs, and support her/his/their intellectual freedom. However, as Lor (2000) points out, we must first think of the composition of the potential users of a library and their information needs. Once again, one must step into Cabo Verdean reality to understand where to start in meeting these needs. In the reality of Cabo Verde, the Western library model does not meet the information needs of the society: while many Cabo Verdeans enjoy reading, public libraries are not a main source for this material: books are found in private home libraries, exchanged with friends, and often purchased from abroad (Ferreira, pers. comm., 7 June 2020). The recent emphasis on early childhood literacy does seem to

align more with the Western idea of school libraries, but, again, school libraries as the west sees them have not been created and may not necessarily be needed to provide the physical access to books the government is intent upon. Perhaps the Western idea of a library is not what is needed at all, but rather, a type of information center, one that meets the needs of both the literate and illiterate members of the community (Hussey 2020: 11:31; Lor 2000). The discipline of LIS should also, then, be reworked to be the science behind the running of these information centers and the training of those who become the “librarians” in this society: not—at least immediately, however, it is important—a whole discipline complete with full curricula and standard systems to learn. Rather, LIS in Cabo Verde will need to develop organically alongside educational institutions and what they offer: It must constantly observe and evaluate the needs of its communities, compare these with the resources available (both from the government and from education centers), and adapt to create systems that provide maximum service to citizens in terms of access to information.

Before any organization, librarian from another country, or other foreign entity suggests or tries to implement “improvements” to Cabo Verde’s system, they need to take a step back and absorb the culture, its needs, its priorities, and its way of addressing both the latter and the former. While this paper is by no means a comprehensive dive into Cabo Verdean culture, the information provided within it presents some ideas as to what types of services and information behaviors could benefit the society. First, every level of education and general literacy needs to be supported. The recent project of the “Dynamization of School Libraries” is a step toward reforming the way libraries work in tandem with education because it focuses on the actual needs of the children and the fact that they have a working relationship with information (Cape Verde: Achada Leito and Salineiro elementary schools, 2018, para.1). But this kind of support is not limited to school libraries: other information centers can also offer this kind of support as well as many other services. For example, creating a space and system for organizing those municipal archives which currently have no home would be a significant contribution to each community’s understanding of itself, past and present. Second, offering information services for mothers, who are juggling child-rearing and career duties, as well as often being the only parent actively participating in school meetings and other community groups, can encourage and extend their self-reliance and ability to support their families through independent endeavors, such as selling handicrafts (Challinor 2017). Extending government funding to public libraries to provide additional pleasure reading material can broaden the dissemination of these resources, reaching more of the population. Finally, creating a space that celebrates the Krioulu culture, which will

display the artifacts available and encourage other types of information dissemination, such as performance and storytelling, can create a sense of cohesiveness in communities and a sense of ownership of one's own information. As Lor (2000) says, building from the ground up and starting with the idea that a library is community-owned is an alternative way to revitalize the library system and keep people invested in its maintenance and use. It is vital to remember, however, that there will always be many alternatives, and no one person, group, or organization can decide conclusively which is the best for a whole society.

## Conclusions

Cabo Verde is a unique case for the practice of comparative librarianship and the realization of the fact that there can be many working models of librarianship throughout the world. Cases are rare where an existing culture has nothing to return to after decolonization, while it does not wish to be (and possibly, at this time, cannot be) assimilated into Western modes. Without the added concerns of preserving an indigenous history, rebuilding an entire culture post-colonization, and being divided by several languages, Cabo Verde offers a chance to experiment with new library systems while at the same time supporting the growth of education in the country and helping to empower its citizens. Trying to impose the western library model on this culture without the infrastructure to support it does not promote access to information. For those in the information and education fields in Cabo Verde, working with the local communities to understand what services and education they need and creating dedicated spaces to supply these seems to be a much more viable way of increasing an LIS presence in the country. How information centers develop on these islands over time will be important for researchers of comparative librarianship to watch, but one thing is clear: if successful library systems depend on understanding a culture's reality, then Cabo Verde's library (or information center) system must be built by its own people. Only in this way can the system that emerges truly serve the information needs of this unique culture and help it to flourish in the information age.

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# Emigration and Citizenship: Diaspora Political Engagement in Cabo Verde

Aleida Mendes Borges<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

Citizenship, belonging, and identity in our globalizing world are increasingly stretched out across borders of multiple countries. Thus, state-diaspora relations and the role of the state are relevant for an understanding of emigrant engagement in the social, political, and economic development of their home nations. Using the conceptual framework of migrant transnationalism, the case of Cabo Verde is analyzed here to demonstrate how state-sponsored mechanisms can engage the diaspora in homeland politics. This paper highlights that as external citizens, emigrants remain motivated and interested in their home countries. Thus, the state can play an important role in strengthening bonds between diaspora communities and the homeland through active citizenship and the political integration of external citizens.

## Keywords

Emigrant communities, external citizenship, sovereignty, territorially bounded nation-states

## Resumo

A cidadania, o pertencimento e a identidade no mundo globalizado estão cada vez mais espalhados por fronteiras de diferentes países. Portanto, as relações entre Estados e diásporas são relevantes para a compreensão da motivação de emigrantes de se envolverem no desenvolvimento político e económico dos seus países de origem. Utilizando o enquadramento do transnacionalismo migratório, o caso de Cabo Verde analisa-se aqui para demonstrar como mecanismos promovidos pelo Estado podem desempenhar um papel importante para reforçar as ligações entre as comunidades diaspóricas e o país de origem através da cidadania ativa e a integração de cidadãos externos.

## Palavras-chave

Comunidades de emigrantes, cidadania externa, soberania, Estados-nação territorializados

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## Introduction

*“Si ka badu, ka ta biradu.”*

*(If one does not go, one cannot return.)*

- Eugénio Tavares, Cabo Verdean poet, 1962

A Google Scholar search for academic texts that combine the words “emigration and citizenship” provided the suggestion, “Did you mean immigration and citizenship,” and yielded only 95,400 results, whereas the search for “immigration and citizenship” generated 714,000 results. Considering that, as emphasized already by Sayad (1977), every immigrant is, initially, an emigrant, the fact that emigration states and their relationship with their external citizens has not received much attention in scholarly research is symptomatic of what Sayad (1977) termed an “ethnocentric way” of conceptualizing the impact of migration. In recent decades, however, there has been a renewed interest in the phenomena of transnationalism and external citizenship in the context of emigration states. This has challenged the paradigm of “methodological nationalism” (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002) informed by the assumption that nation-states and society are the natural social political forms of the modern world and thus, domestic policies beyond borders are a deviation from the traditional notion of the territorial nation-state.

Going beyond the default assumption that “emigration states are disinterested with respect to their diasporas” (Bauböck 2003), a rich literature emerged focusing on different questions supported by different theoretical frameworks. From research on the practice of sending remittances (Durand, Parrado, and Massey 1996; Åkesson 2010), to political participation (Bauböck and Faist 2010; Batalha and Carling 2008; Schiller and Faist 2010; Vertovec 2009), diaspora engagement (Cohen 1996; Gamlen 2006; Dufoix 2008; Brubaker 2005; Lopes and Lundy 2011), and second-generation engagement in homeland development (Graça 2013; Lima-Neves 2009), there has been widespread recognition that migrants “do not delink themselves from their home country, instead they keep and nourish their linkages to their place of origin” (Itzigsohn 2000: 317).

Against this backdrop, this paper examines the ways in which emigration is compelling states to redefine their conceptualization of the notions of “citizenship” and “nation-state” in order to incorporate external citizens as part of the political community. It examines the Cabo

Verdean case as an emigration state *par excellence*, which has, historically, maintained consistently strong ties with its emigrant communities all over the world.

A small, barren and isolated archipelago, Cabo Verde has prospered because of migration opportunities (Carling 2004). In light of the mismanagement of the archipelago by the Portuguese administration during the centuries of colonialism, which led to multiple famines that eradicated more than half of the population by the 1800s<sup>2</sup> (Carreira 1977), emigration, characterized by a strong engagement with the home country, became a structural aspect of the Cabo-Verdean society (Grassi 2006; Åkesson and Baaz 2015; Åkesson 2010; 2016), thus contributing to the development of transnational lifestyles within the archipelago predating the founding of the nation-state (Lima-Neves 2009; Lopes and Lundy 2011; Åkesson 2010; Graça 2013; Batalha and Carling 2008).

While Portuguese is the official language, the Cabo Verdean Creole (*Kriolu*) is emblematic of both the language and identity that unites Cabo Verdeans on the archipelago, but also across the four continents bordering on the Atlantic Ocean where diaspora communities have settled (Batalha and Carling 2008). The presence of the Creole language in the archipelago dates back from the 1580s, making it one of the oldest and most studied Creole languages in the world (Alexandre and Gonçalves 2018).

Today, despite being considered a top emigration country<sup>3</sup> and among the most migration dependent in the world<sup>4</sup> (Carling 2004; Ratha, Eigen-Zucchi, and Plaza 2016), the islands have a reputation for “good governance” and respect for democratic principles (Baker 2006; Meyns 2002). Nevertheless, its “practice” and experience of external citizenship (Bauböck 2009) through emigrant external voting has received scanty research attention. Most of research has focused on the importance of remittances (Carling 2004; Åkesson 2010), on knowledge transfers (Åkesson 2016; Åkesson and Baaz 2015), and on the transnational lifestyle demonstrated by the Cabo Verdean diaspora (Batalha and Carling 2008; Andrade-Watkins 1987 & 2015; Åkesson 2010). Recent research has emphasized the links with the second-generation in Europe (Graça 2013) and the United States of America (hereafter USA) (Lopes

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<sup>2</sup> Between 1831–1834 alone, it is estimated that 33,627 people died due to consecutive famines (Carreira 1983).

<sup>3</sup> According to the World Bank in 2013, 34.1% of the Cabo-Verdean population were emigrants and 10.2% of the GDP came from remittances, making Cabo Verde a top remittance receiver country not only in Africa, but also in the world (Ratha, Eigen-Zucchi, and Plaza 2016).

<sup>4</sup> A study by the African Development Bank estimated that in 2011, Cabo Verde received the highest per capita remittance rates of any African country (African Development Bank 2012).

and Lundy 2011), and also the engagement of the diaspora in homeland development (Lima-Neves 2009; Åkesson and Baaz 2015).

### **Transnationalism and External Citizenship**

Traditionally, research on migration studies has tended to focus on theories of assimilation and acculturation of international migrants in the societies of the country of residence (Vertovec 2009; Gamlen 2008). Consequently, a vast array of research on the integration of immigrants followed. Critics such as Sayad (1977) were already pointing out in the 1970s that there was too much emphasis on the “immigrant phenomena” and that the other side of the coin, i.e., the emigrant status of every immigrant, was being ignored by social science researchers.

Currently, it can be argued that global migration is “disrupting tidy concepts of nation-states as bounded territorial entities with fixed populations of citizens” (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002; Barry 2006: 17), and in the past two decades there has been a significant increase in the number of states engaging with their emigrant communities (Bauböck and Faist 2010; Brubaker 2005). This has, in turn, led to transnationalism as a theoretical framework, becoming one of the fundamental lenses through which to view contemporary migrant practices across the full range of social sciences (Vertovec 2009) by addressing social, economic, and political processes that transcend national borders (Villa-Torres et al 2017). This epistemological revolution which started in the 1990s challenged models of “closed societies” and of exclusive loyalties of citizens towards single states developed by traditional political theorists (Riccio 2001).

Consequently, new forms of political action and citizenship that transcend territorial and political state boundaries have emerged. The idea of citizenship, today, is associated with the “membership of a particular political community that entails basic rights, legal obligations and opportunities to participate actively in political decision-making” (Bauböck 2009: 475). As argued by Barry (2006: 16), citizenship necessarily constructs “the polity that defines the nation.” It is therefore not a passive status like that of nationality. Citizenship requires action and practice (Marshall 1992) by means of which states define the people and subsequently the nation. Legal scholars define citizenship as a relation between a state and its members in which persons are assigned a legal status (Bauböck 1994). However, this relationship necessarily

changes when citizens leave the territory of their home country (Collyer 2013). Emigration, therefore, requires that both the state and its non-resident citizens actively take steps to redefine their relationship (Bauböck 2009; Collyer and Vathi 2007).

From the perspective of the state, Lafleur (2013) argued that a change in attitude of emigration states occurred at two levels almost simultaneously: on the one hand, at the discursive level, as suggested by Waterbury (2010), states adopted a new rhetoric of “global nation” whereby the idea of nationhood extends beyond the traditional borders of the nation-state to incorporate emigrant communities. This strategic change led countries such as India, Mexico, and Morocco to revise the way in which they presented emigrants to the home society, shifting the discourse from considering them as deserters to presenting them as a valuable resource, sometimes even national heroes (Durand, Parrado, and Massey 1996; Collyer 2013; Khadria 2001).

An example which is often cited in the literature is that of Haiti, which went as far as redefining the national boundaries of the nation-state to become an extraterritorial entity incorporating the multiple spaces where the diaspora—officially named the eleventh department by the then head of state—is located (Collyer 2013; Laguerre 2006; Lafleur 2013; Bauböck 2009). On the other hand, at policy level, home countries adopted policies that incorporated and accommodated the specific needs of the emigrant population (emigrant bank accounts, tax advantages, investment opportunities, provisions for dual citizenship, etc.) (Lafleur 2013; Gamlen 2006; Barry 2006; Waterbury 2010; Østergaard-Nielsen 2003). Some states have also created state institutions, dedicated agencies, administrators, departments, consultative bodies, and sometimes even ministries to administer the relations with emigrants.

It is in this context that the concept of external citizenship emerges. Bauböck (2009: 475) defined it as both a legal status (granted by the state), “of holding the citizenship of a State where one does not live” and a “practice” emerging from emigrant’s practices of maintaining links to the home country polity through voting in home country elections from outside the national territory. Hence, it is through practicing external citizenship that there can be an ongoing relationship between emigration states and their citizens who are absent from the national territory, either temporarily or permanently (Barry 2006). Hartmann (2015: 907) developed a more state-centered approach and defined external citizenship as “provisions and procedures, which enable some or all electors of a country who are temporarily or permanently outside the country to exercise their voting rights from outside the territory of the country.”

Lafleur (2013: 3) added that it is “the operation by which qualified non-resident citizens, as defined in the electoral legislation, are added to the electoral roll of citizens residing abroad.”

As the exercise of citizenship is closely associated with active political participation (Marshall 1992), external voting has become the most significant tool through which emigrants practice their external citizenship. It is a mechanism of inclusion in the polity, which has had several names attributed to it over time, such as out-of-country voting, expatriate voting, diaspora voting, absentee voting, absent voting, emigrant voting, extra-territorial voting, transnational voting, distance voting, and remote voting (Lafleur 2013).

As demonstrated by Ellis (2007), the practice is not recent. In the Roman Empire, Emperor Augustus allowed senators in newly founded colonies to send their votes to Rome by mail. The practice became more generalized in the 1900s, when states such as Canada (1915), the USA (1942), the UK (1945), India (1950), Indonesia (1953), and Colombia (1961) recognized the right of external voting, albeit under very restricted conditions, applying only to citizens on foreign missions to serve the state, such as military and diplomatic personnel. These measures were, therefore, not aimed at emigrants, who were at the time mostly (with a few notable exceptions) seen as poor, uneducated “deserters and undesirables” who broke ties with their countries of origin (Lafleur 2013) and left for good.

The end of World War II saw more countries opting for external voting legislation, and indeed today, as illustrated by the worldwide project *International IDEA Handbook on External Voting* (Ellis et al 2007), the practice of external voting is widespread with over 100 countries adopting such legislation in one form or another. Coyller and Vathi (2007) found that about 115 countries allowed some form of external voting, while Lafleur (2013) more recently added that the number has increased to a total of 130 countries and territories. Thus, although not much attention has been given to the phenomenon by social scientists, the practice has boomed in recent years (Lafleur 2013; Boccagni, Lafleur, and Levitt 2016).

Lafleur (2011) concluded in his study about external voting in Mexico, Italy, and Belgium that, although it is easy to argue that only poor countries that depend on remittances would pass external voting laws, a closer look at the list of countries that allow such practice contradicts this widespread view. Boccagni (2016) argued in his study on external voting among Ecuadorian immigrants in Italy that no systematic correlation has been found between emigrant enfranchisement and the relative weight of the emigrant population or their remittances. Thus, there has been an overemphasis in the still exiguous literature on the

normative aspects of external voting, to the detriment of research on the electoral participation of emigrants (Boccagni 2016).

In addition, despite becoming a widespread practice, the idea of electoral campaigns happening outside the borders of the relevant national territory and homeland-oriented political engagement still triggers “classic Westphalian fears” of dual loyalties and the import ethnonational and religious conflicts (Collyer 2013; Schiller and Faist 2010; Lafleur 2013; Boccagni et al 2016). This became apparent in the recent diplomatic crisis between the Netherlands and Turkey after the government of the former decided to ban some of the Turkish prime-minister’s rallies in its national territory, arguing that they ought to give priority to their own national elections, which were due to start soon (Tharoor 2017). Canada has also explicitly declared its reluctance to being considered a “foreign electoral constituency” or an “extra-territorial constituency” defined as “a voting district or riding determined by a foreign state to include territory in Canada.” It has officially announced that it does not allow for its territory to be included as any of such constituencies (Government of Canada 2011). It does, however, accept the practice of absentee voting within its territory. This has led to much criticism mainly because of the inherently multicultural characteristic of Canadian society.

Despite some authors arguing that globalization and transnationalism undermine the salience of national sovereignty and citizenship through the creation of “deterritorialised” forms of citizenship, it is important to recognize that transnational political spaces cannot emerge independently of state-based systems of citizenship (Bauböck 2003a; Collyer 2013). Moreover, no contrast can be made between transnational and national politics as the former is dependent on the latter (Bauböck 2003a). Thus, one ought to be cautious not to confuse “extra-territoriality” with “deterritorialization,” as recognizing the existence of emigrant nations is not about a general undermining of state sovereignty through processes of economic globalization. Emigrant nationhood is a connection between states and extra-territorial populations that tends to expand rather than shrink the powers of States (Collyer 2013).

### **Locating External Citizens: History and Geography of Cabo Verdean Emigration**

A small archipelago of ten islands totaling 4.033 km<sup>2</sup>, located approximately 500 km off the coast of Senegal in West Africa, Cabo Verde was uninhabited when the Portuguese arrived in there in the fifteenth century. Its current population numbers around 500,000 people (World

Bank 2019) scattered across nine islands: Santiago (the biggest and most populated), Santo Antão, São Vicente, São Nicolau, Boavista, Sal, Maio, Fogo, and Brava. The tenth island, Santa Luzia, remains uninhabited.

The archipelago is devoid of natural resources and its climate is semi-arid with a very short and irregular rainy season from August to October. Apart from the dearth of precipitation, the archipelago's soils are mostly bare and organically poor, with only an estimated ten percent of its area suitable for agriculture (AfDB 2012). For that reason, emigration was historically seen as the only solution for many poor Cabo Verdeans, resulting in a sizeable diaspora scattered around the world, believed to be larger than the national population (Carling 2002; Batalha and Carling 2008; Nascimento 2008).

The history of emigration from the archipelago is characterized by multiple waves (Carling 2004; Carreira 1977). At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Cabo Verdean emigrants joined Southern Europeans as seamen of the whalers sailing to the United States (Andrade-Watkins 1987 & 2015; Lima-Neves 2009). Alongside Azoreans, Madeirans, and continental Portuguese, Cabo Verdeans are reported to have been living in New England as early as 1820 (Meintel 2002; Lima-Neves 2009; Andrade-Watkins 2015).

The 1940s were a period of significant migration due to severe famines, which saw about a quarter of the total population die (Batalha and Carling 2008). Cabo Verdeans moved to different parts of Africa, including Senegal, Angola, and South Africa (Graça 2013; Cardoso 2012; Batalha and Carling 2008). Furthermore, there was also a significant number of Cabo Verdeans who were sent to São Tomé and Príncipe during the colonial period as indentured labor (Seibert 1999; Batalha and Carling 2008). To this date, Cabo Verdeans constitute the majority of the foreign-born population (50.3%) in the archipelago (INE 2012).

From the 1960s onwards, a new migration chain began towards Western Europe, first facilitated by Portuguese construction companies who brought Cabo Verdean workers to Portugal (Batalha and Carling 2008). After 1975, migration to both the U.S. and Europe continued but in much reduced numbers due to the restrictions introduced in host countries (Carling 2004).

Today, the main emigrant communities are in the U.S. (mostly located in New England), Brazil and Argentina in the Americas, Portugal, France, and the Netherlands in Europe, and Senegal, São Tomé and Príncipe and Angola in Africa. The links between these communities established in more than twenty-five countries around the world (Carling 2002;

Avelino Carvalho 2010; Åkesson 2016; Batalha and Carling 2008; Lima-Neves 2009) and their home country go beyond just economics, they are also psychological (Carling 2002). These are expressed through feelings of *sodade*,<sup>5</sup> a sentiment of longing for the homeland which has found expression into much of the islands' poetry, music, and literature (Lima-Neves 2009). Thus, despite experiencing mass emigration for well over two centuries with peaks and troughs in emigration figures (Åkesson 2010; Carling 2004; Lopes and Lundy 2011; Åkesson and Baaz 2015; Graça 2013), the state has preserved durable connections with the emigrant communities, making it an interesting case-study for contextualizing the practice of external citizenship.

### **State Approaches to the Inclusion of Transnational Citizens: “Global Nation” Policies**

Emigration states such as Cabo Verde are currently faced with an important dilemma: a significant proportion of their citizens are non-resident citizens or external citizens, often referred to as the “diaspora” (Cardoso 2012; Lopes and Lundy 2011; Graça 2013; Lima-Neves 2009). The relationship between states and citizens changes with emigration and as such emigration-states see their jurisdiction extended, albeit in a constrained manner, to the territory of the foreign sovereign states their citizens enter (Bauböck 2009; Lafleur 2015; Collyer 2013), therefore requiring a certain level of institutional re-organization.

Beyond the well-documented literature on remittances, states engage with external citizens based on a pre-existing relationship of rights and obligations. Given that external citizens for one reason or another have kept their citizenship of origin, through external citizenship, the state is able to tie potentially reluctant or increasingly distant (in time and space) populations abroad to their state of origin (Barry 2006; Gamlen 2008). This, for instance, is the case for Brazil, which conceptualizes voting as a civil duty of adult and capable citizens and extends this obligation to emigrants. If emigrants fail to vote, they can be penalized through the payment of fines and also face difficulties in terms of renewing travel documents. (Calderón-Chelius 2007).

As a theoretical framework, transnationalism (Bauböck 2003 & 2007; Bauböck and Faist 2010; Itzigsohn 2000) offers tools to acknowledge the agency of states to “claim back” or

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<sup>5</sup> *Sodade* in Cabo-Verdean Creole means the longing or homesickness towards the homeland (Lopes and Lundy 2011).

“make emigrants their own” (Gamlen 2008) by not discriminating between external and local citizens. Contrary to suggestions in the literature that emigrant states often engage with emigrant communities to fulfil the interests of political elites (Hampshire 2013; Lafleur 2011; Gamlen 2006), the “claiming back” in his context is conceptualized as integrating often marginalized citizens who are thus able to maintain a sense of belonging through external citizenship, rather than to control and manipulate them. Considering that research has shown that often immigrants face discrimination, racism, and marginalization (Lafleur 2005; Ashutosh 2013; Anderson 2013; Brader, Valentino, and Suhay 2008; Sargent and Larchanche 2007; Statham and Geddes 2006), the recognition of external citizenship grants a sense of social justice and fairness by providing space for the inclusion of external citizens, particularly important in an increasingly mobile and globalized world.

### **Legal Framework and Overview of Electoral Legislation**

The Republic of Cabo Verde has several institutions, agencies, and organizations that deal with questions related to the political and economic integration of external citizens. Defining itself as a “global nation” (Graça 2013; Bauböck and Faist 2010; Waterbury 2010), the state implements a conjuncture of “global nation policies,” (Graça 2013; Meintel 2002; Collyer 2013) resulting on attention being directed towards the maintenance and consolidation of links with extraterritorial communities aiming for an increased approximation and participation of members of the diaspora with the archipelago.

The Ministry of Emigrant Communities has the duty to coordinate institutions and agencies that deal with the implications of emigration. The Ministry of Justice has the authority to attribute Cabo Verdean citizenship under the provisions of the Constitution, which has emigrant specific provisions. Article 7 (g) of the Constitution (República de Cabo Verde 1999) states that one of the fundamental duties of the state is: “to support the Cabo Verdean community dispersed around the world and promote the preservation and development of the Cabo Verdean culture within these communities.” The government is therefore under a legal obligation to support the emigrant community. However, the circumstances in which this support can be required are not specified.

Article 22 (2) (República de Cabo Verde, 1999) explicitly mentions that emigrants are citizens in their full right: “the Cabo-Verdean citizens who reside or find themselves abroad

benefit from rights, freedoms and guarantees and are subjected to the duties established constitutionally which are not incompatible with their absence from the country.” Article 5 of the constitution (República de Cabo Verde 1999) establishes the right of Cabo Verdean citizens to dual citizenship.

Another important legal instrument is the *Nationality Law*, which presents two innovations. First, Article 8 extends the right to nationality in two occasions: to an individual born abroad whose 1) father or mother or 2) grandfather and grandmother are Cabo Verdean nationals by birth. This means that, on the one hand it grants nationality to the children of at least one emigrant parent, the so-called “second-generation” and, on the other extends it to the grand-children of two Cabo Verdean nationals, the so-called “third-generation.” Through this legislation, emigrants and their descendants saw their *de jure* condition of plural citizens protected whilst being able to simultaneously practice different aspects of political transnationalism (Meintel 2002; Lafleur 2005; Boccagni et al 2016).

Emigrants can vote for both legislative and presidential elections. The conditions for external voting are as follow: 1) must have emigrated from Cabo Verde no more than five years prior to the date of the beginning registration period; or 2) be the parents of and providing for a child or children under the age of eighteen or disabled, or are a spouse or older relative habitually residing in the national territory at the beginning of the registration period; 3) be serving a state commission or a public service position recognized as such by the competent authority, or residing outside the national territory as the spouse of a person in that position; or 4) if resident abroad for more than five years, they must have visited Cabo Verde within the past three years (Silva and Chantre 2007).

The electoral code makes a formal distinction between temporary emigrants (i.e., those who have emigrated no more than five years prior to the beginning of the registration period) and long-term emigrants, permanent emigrants, and members of the diaspora (i.e., those who have been abroad for more than five years). It does not, however, include any additional requirements for citizens to prove their bond to the national territory (Silva and Chantre, 2007). Cabo Verdean citizenship is sufficient, and according to Article 6 of the Electoral Code,<sup>6</sup> entitlement is not affected by dual or multiple citizenship. It is therefore clear that

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<sup>6</sup> Electoral Code, Lei n. 92/V/99.

lawmakers wanted to ensure that all citizens who maintain a bond with the country are entitled to vote.

For the presidential elections, given the potentially significant number of emigrant votes, there was a concern from the beginning to prevent the possible dominance of absent citizens in the political process (Silva and Chantre 2007; Brooke 1989). Therefore, it was decided that a system of weighting was required. As a result, each non-resident citizen is entitled to one vote, but those votes cannot amount to more than one-fifth at most of the total votes counted in the national territory (Hartmann 2015). If this threshold is met, the votes are converted into a number equal to that limit and the number of votes cast abroad for each candidate are adjusted proportionately. The system is designed to avoid the potential dominance of non-resident voters given that the number of extra-territorial representatives is not proportionate to the number of registered non-resident voters. As a person being interviewed by *The New York Times* admitted, there would be a risk of Cabo Verde being run by the diaspora in the U.S., in view of sheer number (Brooke 1989).

External citizens can stand for election to the National Assembly, but not for presidential elections. Candidates in the presidential elections must have been residents within the national territory for three years prior to the election and cannot have dual or multiple nationalities. Arguably the most remarkable feature of the Cabo Verdean model of external citizenship is the extra-territorial political representation through the allocation of extra-territorial seats to represent external citizens in the legislature. The system provides six out of seventy-two representatives for the external citizens. The extra-territorial seats correspond to three constituencies: Africa, the Americas and Europe, and the rest of the world, with two representatives for each constituency. Cabo Verde has the highest percentage per total seats of seats allocated to extra-territorial constituencies in the PALOP<sup>7</sup> (Table 1).

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<sup>7</sup> PALOP (*Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa*) refers to the countries in Africa that have Portuguese as an official language.

| N. | Country                           | Extraterritorial seats            | Total Seats | Extra-territorial<br>Seats as % of<br>Total |
|----|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 1  | Angola <sup>8</sup>               | 3 seats (1 constituency)          | 220         | 1.40%                                       |
| 2  | <b>Cabo Verde</b>                 | <b>6 seats (3 constituencies)</b> | <b>72</b>   | <b>8.30%</b>                                |
| 3  | Guinea-Bissau <sup>9</sup>        | 2 seats (2 constituencies)        | 102         | 1.96%                                       |
| 4  | Mozambique                        | 2 (2 constituencies)              | 250         | 0.80%                                       |
| 5  | São Tomé e Príncipe <sup>10</sup> | 0                                 | 55          | -                                           |

**Table 1:** List of Lusophone African countries and their respective position in terms of extra-territorial representation  
Source: Author's compilation

All Lusophone African countries (Table 1), except for São Tomé and Príncipe, have provisions in place for extra-territorial representation (Hartmann 2015; Marques and Góis 2013). Nonetheless, the allocation for diaspora parliamentary representation in Cabo Verde is significantly higher than in other countries, attesting to the nation's historically demonstrated active agency in redefining its territorial conceptions and political system to incorporate external citizens in the polis.

### Practicing External Citizenship: The Cabo-Verdean Experience of External Voting

Despite efforts to include and represent the diaspora in the local polity, voter turnout remains low. A myriad of reasons can justify the low turnout of external citizens. For instance, states may grant the right to external vote in theory but then in practice resist polling methods that would facilitate the practice. Some states may also have limited capacity to reach out to increasingly dispersed emigrant communities, resulting in low numbers of registered voters. Therefore, there may be a gap between the theoretical form of membership (access to

<sup>8</sup> Angola introduced the extraterritorial seats system with the Electoral Law of 1992, but it has not yet been implemented.

<sup>9</sup> In Guinea-Bissau, there is a strong emphasis on external voting both in the constitution and the electoral law, however, external voting was only implemented for the 1999 elections.

<sup>10</sup> São Tomé and Príncipe only allows external voting for presidential elections and does not have any provision for extraterritorial seats.

citizenship rights) and its substantive content (“practicing citizenship”) (Gamlen 2006; Østergaard-Nielsen 2003).

The Cabo Verdean electoral code states that registration to vote is compulsory and for external citizens it can take place all year around, instead of exclusively between the months of June and July, as it is for resident citizens. The analysis of the legislative elections follows the official distribution of the diaspora according to the three distinct extra-territorial constituencies.

| Year of Election | Registered Voters | N. Voters | Turnout (%) | Abstention (%) |
|------------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------|----------------|
| 1991             | 2,976             | 1,557     | 52%         | 48%            |
| 1995             | 4,414             | 2,946     | 63%         | 37%            |
| 2001             | 5,702             | 2,480     | 43%         | 57%            |
| 2006             | 8,475             | 5,063     | 60%         | 40%            |
| 2011             | 4,196             | 2,983     | 71%         | 29%            |
| 2016             | 5,919             | 3,191     | 54%         | 46%            |

**Table 2:** Voting turnout and abstention of the Africa constituency calculated for every election  
Source: Author’s compilation based upon data available on the website of the National Electoral Commission:  
<https://cnc.cv/>

As an extra-territorial constituency, Africa represents citizens in countries in the other PALOP, as well as in Senegal. It presents interesting dynamics of external voting, as turnout has been consistently above fifty percent, except for the elections in 2001 (Table 2), showing that there is a clear commitment to remain engaged. The number of registered voters grew steadily until 2011, when it dropped to less than half, from 8,475 in 2006 to 4,196 in 2011. It is not clear why there was such a drastic drop in the number of registered voters. Despite this decline, the 2011 election was the year of the highest turnout of all time, for the African constituency at 71%, further emphasizing the volatility of voter turnout.

The relatively low numbers of Cabo Verdeans migrating to African countries imply that perhaps the Africa constituency might be the one with the most representative of—albeit far from perfect—the total number of registered voters. However, it also has its own specific

challenges in terms of practicing external citizenship due to some socio-economic constraints faced by citizens. As such, if citizens live in rural São Tomé e Príncipe, rural Guinea-Bissau, or Mozambique, they might register to vote if they do not possess a second citizenship, because it is compulsory. However, they might in turn be impeded to participate due to socio-economic limitations which affect their ability to travel for instance. Such factors reduce the hypothesis of examining the prevalence of their desire to stay engaged in the politics of the home-country.

| Year of Election | Registered Voters | N. Voters | Turnout (%) | Abstention (%) |
|------------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------|----------------|
| 1991             | 2,997             | 965       | 32%         | 68%            |
| 1995             | 10,114            | 2,482     | 25%         | 75%            |
| 2001             | 14,182            | 2,260     | 16%         | 84%            |
| 2006             | 31,677            | 26,775    | 85%         | 15%            |
| 2011             | 22,157            | 11,492    | 52%         | 48%            |
| 2016             | 28,832            | 8,128     | 28%         | 72%            |

**Table 3:** Voting turnout and abstention of the Europe and the rest of the world constituency calculated for every election

Source: Author's own compilation using information from the National Electoral Commission of the Republic of Cabo Verde<sup>11</sup>

Europe and the rest of the world represents emigrant communities all over Europe in Portugal, France, Italy, Spain, The Netherlands, Switzerland, Belgium, Luxembourg, as well in other parts of the world such as China (Macau), India, and Russia. It is the constituency with the highest number of registered voters. Firstly, because it covers “the rest of the world,” wherever Cabo Verdean emigrants happen to find themselves, meaning that it can incorporate a very large number of emigrants, and secondly, the European wave of migration is more recent and thus probably includes a significant number of first-generation emigrants.

Recent research on the engagement of second and third generations (Cardoso 2012; Cabral Alves 2015; Graça 2013) has demonstrated an emphasis on cultural aspects such as speaking the language, going on holiday, and keeping close contact with family members. There is however, a strong sense of identity and belonging as second- and third-generation

<sup>11</sup> For more information, please consult the official website: <http://www.cne.cv>

individuals often admit to identifying as Cabo Verdean and taking the step to acquire the formal citizenship available to them (Cardoso 2012; Cabral Alves 2015; Lopes and Lundy 2011).

In 2006 (Table 3), the registered number of voters in this constituency accounted for almost 10% (31,677) of the total number of registered voters (322,767) (Table 5), with most of the registered voters choosing to exercise their right. This contributed to a turnout of 84.53%, well-above the national turnout of 46%. This illustrates that, through practiced external citizenship, non-resident citizens can effectively take part in civic participation and be part of the political community of the nation. Nonetheless, registrations to vote and turnout fluctuate quite substantially, going from only 16% in the 2001 election to the highest ever in 2006 at 85%.

| <b>Year of Election</b> | <b>Registered Voters</b> | <b>N. Voters</b> | <b>Turnout</b> | <b>Abstention (%)</b> |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| <b>1991</b>             | 857                      | 495              | 58%            | 42%                   |
| <b>1995</b>             | 5,993                    | 3,252            | 54%            | 46%                   |
| <b>2001</b>             | 8,120                    | 2,812            | 35%            | 65%                   |
| <b>2006</b>             | 11,388                   | 8,295            | 73%            | 27%                   |
| <b>2011</b>             | 7,994                    | 6,175            | 77%            | 23%                   |
| <b>2016</b>             | 9,929                    | 5,075            | 51%            | 49%                   |

**Table 4:** Voting turnout and abstention of the Americas constituency

Source: Author's compilation based upon data provided by the National Electoral Commission of the Republic of Cabo Verde; <http://www.cne.cv>

The Americas represent emigrant communities in the USA, Brazil, Argentina, and Cuba and include the oldest and best-established emigrant communities. The USA emigrant community has consistently maintained strong links with the archipelago and has traditionally shown interest in politics. It went from 857 registered voters in 1991 to 5,993 in 1995 (Table 4). While the number of registered voters declined in 2011 from 11,338 to 7,994, turnout remained high. It registered its lowest turnout in the 2001 elections (35%), but during the following election in 2006, it rose again to 73%.

Considering that the U.S. has a large third- and fourth-generation group of Cabo Verdeans (Andrade-Watkins 1987; 2015; Lima-Neves 2009; Lopes and Lundy 2011), the consistent and relatively high turnout is a positive sign of practicing external citizenship.

However, considering that it is estimated that the U.S. has well over 300,000 Cabo Verdean emigrants (Lima-Neves 2009; Avelino Carvalho 2010; Andrade-Watkins 2015; Lopes and Lundy 2011), the significantly low numbers of registered voters appear to confirm the literature on the engagement of the second generation in home country politics (Lima-Neves 2009; Cabral Alves 2015; Graça 2013). Second and subsequent generations tend to be less interested in politics in countries they often perceive as merely being the country of origin of their parents or grandparents.

| Year of Election | Registered Voters | N. Voters | Turnout (%) | Abstention (%) |
|------------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------|----------------|
| 1991             | 166,618           | 125,564   | 73%         | 27%            |
| 1995             | 207,618           | 158,901   | 77%         | 33%            |
| 2001             | 260,126           | 141,836   | 55%         | 45%            |
| 2006             | 322,767           | 147,937   | 46%         | 54%            |
| 2011             | 298,567           | 226,942   | 24%         | 76%            |
| 2016             | 347,622           | 229,337   | 66%         | 34%            |

**Table 5:** Total number of registered voters for every election held in Cabo Verde

Source: Author's compilation based upon data provided by the National Electoral Commission of the Republic of Cabo Verde; <http://www.cne.cv>

In terms of the overall picture, in the 2006 election, all extraterritorial constituencies had a turnout of over 50%, which was superior to the national average of 46%. Both the “Americas” and “Europe and the rest of the world” constituencies registered an exceptional turnout of 72.84% and 84.53%, respectively, with the latter constituting almost double the national turnout. This raises important questions about the future of democracy in Cabo Verde and contributes to an important debate on the perceived deficit of democracy in the archipelago (Costa 2013; Varela and Lima 2014), resulting in people turning away from the exercise of democracy (Costa 2013; R. W. Lima 2017; Varela and Lima 2014; Lima 2012).

### Does the Emigrant Vote Make a Difference?

Only thirteen countries in the world allocate extra-territorial constituencies representing emigrant communities, five in Africa (Algeria, Angola, Cabo Verde, Mozambique,

and Tunisia), five in Europe (Croatia, Italy, France, Portugal, and Romania), and three in Latin America (Colombia, Ecuador, and Panama). Cabo Verde shares the top position with Tunisia<sup>12</sup> of having the highest percentage of emigrant political representation in the legislative per total of representatives (8.3%). This is relevant because the actual weight of the representatives depends on the size of the assembly (Ellis et al 2007).

These provisions provide assurances that there is no risk of the emigrant vote dominating the legislative elections. External citizens vote for their own political representation in parliament, which serves as a reminder that although not physically present, emigrants are part of the nation. These seats are important because, unlike alternative tools to give voice to emigrants, such as consultative bodies, elected representatives for the extra-territorial constituencies have equal power in comparison to national representatives and are responsible exclusively for ensuring that emigrants have a voice in both the running of the country and the drafting of legislation (Lafleur 2013).

Despite the fact that in presidential elections all citizens are entitled to one vote, there has never been a single presidential election where expatriate citizens came close to reaching the limit imposed for external citizens (Hartmann 2015). Nonetheless, there were two presidential elections where a relatively small number of external voters reached what Bauböck and Faist (2010) called the “tipping scenario,” and were perceived to have determined the final outcome of the elections in a close electoral competition.

In the 2001 election, candidate Carlos Veiga won the election in the national territory with a total number of 72,289 votes (50.11%) of the total number of 144,249 votes (Table 6). However, the other candidate Pedro Pires, although only amassing 70,372 (48.79%) votes, managed to get 5,456 votes (59.58%) in the extra-territorial constituencies, making a total of 75,828 votes (49.43%) and therefore winning the 2001 election by a decimal percentage-point due to the advantage of the “migrant vote.” Carlos Veiga only obtained 3,522 (38.46%) of the total votes in the diaspora, giving him a total of 75,811 votes (49.42%).

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<sup>12</sup> Tunisia incorporated the system of emigrant political representation in the aftermath of the “Arab Spring” in 2011 (Jaulin 2016).

| Constituency     | Registered Voters | N. Voters | Abstention (%) | Carlos Veiga  | Pedro Pires   |
|------------------|-------------------|-----------|----------------|---------------|---------------|
| National         | 232,205           | 144,249   | 87,956         | 72,289        | 70,372        |
|                  | 89.24%            | 62.12%    | 37.88%         | 50.11%        | 48.79%        |
| Extraterritorial | 28,004            | 9,153     | 18,846         | 3,522         | 5,456         |
|                  | 10.76%            | 32.70%    | 67.30%         | 38.46%        | 59.58%        |
| Total            | 260,209           | 153,407   | 106,802        | <b>75,811</b> | <b>75,828</b> |
|                  | 100%              | 58.96%    | 41.04%         | <b>49,42%</b> | <b>49.43%</b> |

**Table 6:** Results for the two main candidates of the 2001 election

Source: Author's compilation based upon data provided by the National Electoral Commission of the Republic of Cabo Verde; <http://www.cne.cv>

Curiously, the same situation was repeated in the 2006 presidential elections which featured the same candidates (Table 7). Candidate Pedro Pires obtained only 49.99% of the total votes, against the 50.01% obtained by the candidate Carlos Veiga in the national constituencies. However, he obtained 65.14% of the votes in the extra-territorial constituencies, against the 34.86% of the votes obtained by candidate Carlos Veiga. Consequently, the candidate Pedro Pires was able to secure an overall majority of 50.98% against the 49.02% obtained by Carlos Veiga, thus winning again the presidential elections by a very small margin.

The “emigrant advantage” through the so-called “emigrant vote” was not at all contested at the national level, neither by candidates, nor by the resident citizens. This reflects a broad social consensus within Cabo Verde that emigrants are part of the national landscape thus encouraged to participate in the polity. This scenario supports the literature illustrating that “a candidate who carries his or her electoral campaign abroad challenges the traditional assumption that domestic politics are exclusively decided within the internal arenas of the nation-state” (Bauböck 2003a: 702). Furthermore, the fact that in both the 2011 and 2016 presidential elections, the fact that the candidate who won, José Carlos Fonseca, was himself a returnee emigrant who worked in Portugal between 1982 and 1990, illustrates that the Cabo Verdean society recognizes not only the political integration of the emigrant communities expressed through their right to vote in elections, but also their right to be candidates to represent the nation.

| Constituency     | N. Registered Voters | N. Voters | Abstention (%) | Carlos Veiga  | Pedro Pires   |
|------------------|----------------------|-----------|----------------|---------------|---------------|
| National         | 272,020              | 160,475   | 111,545        | 79,365        | 79,341        |
|                  | 84.07%               | 58.99%    | 41.01%         | 50.01%        | 49.99%        |
| Extraterritorial | 51,534               | 11,344    | 40,190         | 3,876         | 7,242         |
|                  | 15.93%               | 22.01%    | 77.99%         | 34.86%        | 65.14%        |
| Total            | 323,554              | 171,819   | 151,735        | <b>83,41</b>  | <b>86,583</b> |
|                  | 100%                 | 53.10%    | 46.90%         | <b>49,02%</b> | <b>50.98%</b> |

**Table 7:** Results for the two main candidates of the 2006 election

Source: Author's compilation based upon data provided by the National Electoral Commission of the Republic of Cabo Verde; <http://www.cne.cv>

Through their practice of external citizenship, Cabo Verdean emigrants, diaspora, and the state effectively challenge territorially bounded notions of the nation-state by showing that the decision to live beyond the territorial boundaries of a nation-state does not imply severing ties with it. On the contrary, practices of external citizenship manifested through external voting illustrate that in an increasingly mobile and globalized world where individuals are no longer tied to their countries of birth or residence, and indeed might hold multiple citizenships, territorially bounded notions of a nation and its people have become a thing of the past.

## Conclusions

The Cabo Verdean government has been consistent in considering the emigrant communities as an essential part of the state's political community. It has sought to maintain external citizens engaged and relevant to the country and it has achieved this feat mainly by providing for the representation of diasporic citizens in parliament. It can be argued that through the joint initiative of the state and the agency of emigrant communities, the borders and boundaries of the Cabo Verdean state are redefined to include what is often referred to as the eleventh island, the diaspora. The Cabo Verdean state has, therefore, successfully contested bounded notions of the nation-state, as indeed states across the globe becoming increasingly accustomed to doing (Ellis et al 2007).

Transnationalism challenges the notion that emigration states are not interested in engaging with their non-resident citizens beyond remittances. The Cabo Verdean case discussed here illustrates that emigrants can become “transmigrants” (Bauböck 2003). Whilst well integrated in their host societies, they remain linked to the home country through various transnational activities, including external voting. They achieve this by working within mechanisms that are put in place by the state to foster the continuous engagement of external citizens. What makes the Cabo Verdean case interesting and unique is the fact that, despite the relatively high turnout in overseas constituencies with a tangible impact on electoral results, this is not interpreted as challenging the future of democracy in the archipelago. This paper shows that the contrary is the case. The volition to include the diasporic vote while being open to the entire adult citizenry is illustrative of the way in which the diaspora has always been constructed in the political and social imaginary of the archipelago, namely, as forming part of the nation. This tallies with the literature on transnationalism and transnational political participation and mobilization which emphasizes the need to think beyond territorial borders.

The willingness of external citizens to engage with their home countries is further evidenced by the fact that at one point the “Europe and the rest of the world” constituency registered a turnout of almost 10% of the number of votes cast. Furthermore, the “emigrant vote” has proved decisive on two occasions (2001 and 2006 elections), changing the final result of the overall majority, thereby heightening the importance of their vote. Despite the relatively low turnout, the strength of external voting lies in the fact that it does not alienate citizens living abroad and that it includes those who, whatever their geographical location, decide to maintain a close bond with their country of origin. Cabo Verdean citizens have shown that they continue mobilizing identity and practicing citizenship (Soysal 2000) through a range of transnational practices; today’s generation of Cabo Verdean emigrants can be legitimately called “transmigrants” (Meintel 2002). They are better educated than their forebears, multilingual, and relatively well-connected to the ruling elite in Cabo Verde (Meintel 2002). Therefore, they stay informed about the political life on the islands and see engagement in politics as potentially positive upon their return (Meintel 2002).

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# Resettlements in Mozambique: Development, Displacement, and Control in the (Post)Colony

Nikkie Wiegink<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

Mozambique has a long history of resettling people in urbanizations that are centrally initiated and shaped by development discourses and governments' desire to control populations. This article places the recent resettlements in the surroundings of extractive projects in the country in a historical context, by comparing the *aldeamentos* created by the Portuguese colonial administration with the *aldeais comunais* by FRELIMO after independence. It focuses on successive resettlement initiatives in the Tete province, where mining-induced resettlement has recently received much attention. Despite the disparate political contexts, it demonstrates similarities between the resettlement projects, which have resulted in hardship for the dislocated populations.

## Keywords

Resettlement, counterinsurgency, extractive industry, displacement, Mozambique

## Resumo

Moçambique tem uma longa história de repovoamento de pessoas em urbanizações que são iniciadas centralmente e moldadas por discursos de desenvolvimento e o desejo de governos de controlar populações. Este artigo situa os repovoamentos recentes nas zonas de projetos de extração de recursos na província de Tete numa perspectiva histórica, comparando os aldeamentos criadas pela administração colonial portuguesa com as aldeias comunais pelo regime do FRELIMO. O artigo focaliza nos repovoamentos sucessivos na província de Tete onde repovoamentos recentes induzidos pelo garimpo receberam muita atenção. Apesar de contextos políticos díspares, o artigo demonstra as semelhanças entre os projectos, que dificultaram as vidas das populações deslocadas.

## Palavras-chave

Repovoamento, contrainsurgência, indústria extrativa, deslocamento, Moçambique

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## Introduction

*“There is only one well... this is an appalling situation! . . . [T]he villagers refuse to participate in such works [as digging a well] alleging that the government dragged them out of a good area to resettle them in a new one without the minimum conditions.”*

- Quote from a CNAC report from 1982, in Borges Coelho (1993: 388)

*“We used to have four hectares of land, close to home. There were no difficulties. But now we are here. In the middle of these stones.”*

- Woman living in Mualadzi, resettlement area, interview 1/11/2016.

These two quotes reflect experiences of people displaced by planned resettlement programs taking place over forty years apart in Tete province, Mozambique. The first quote refers to the situation in an *aldeia comunal*, a communal village, constructed in the early 1980s as part of the ambitious campaign of the Frelimo government that aimed at the socialization and modernization of the countryside. The second quote is from an interview I conducted in a resettlement area constructed by a coal mining company. The quotes illustrate the recurring implementation of planned resettlement in Mozambique and the long tradition of suffering related to this form of often involuntary displacement.

In this paper, I will analyze three instances of planned resettlement in Mozambique. First, I will concentrate on the colonial villagization program, referred to as *aldeamentos*, a large-scale operation involving around one million people and regarded as an example for other colonial resettlement policies (Borges Coelho 1993: 203). Second, I will discuss the *aldeias comunais*, the communal villages program implemented in post-independence Mozambique. Third, I focus on the contemporary wave of resettlements largely induced by “mega-projects” of the extractive industry, but also increasingly employed as a way to house refugees fleeing flooding and armed conflict. These resettlement processes took place at different times but, despite several fundamental differences, entail striking parallels and continuities. This paper aims to show how planned resettlement, time and again, has created hardship and loss for rural populations and questions why it continues to reemerge as a mode of organizing and developing Mozambique’s rural areas. This is particularly relevant as in contemporary Mozambique resettlement programs are implemented as a response to the problems faced by populations affected by land acquisition for extractive projects, disasters (such as flooding after Cyclones Kenneth and Idai), and armed conflict. More generally, the

paper shows how resettlement in a particular place and time is shaped by past occurrences of organized population displacement, and past forms of resistance against such dislocations.

I define resettlement as “the planned, physical displacement of people to a new, permanent location” (Arnall et al 2013: 468). This definition does not from the outset assume that resettlement is involuntary or voluntary and allows for a comparison of three rather diverse projects. Resettlement can be seen as part of the state’s attempts to make “populations legible” (Scott 1998), as communal villages simplify certain state functions, such as taxation, conscription, and the prevention of rebellion (Monjane 2016). In addition, the concentration of population also allows for biopolitical or developmental projects of the state, such as providing healthcare and education. This way, resettlement can be seen as a form of social engineering to establish control and promote development. In relation to the massive resettlements for the Volta dam in Ghana, Yarrow (2017: 572), for example, notes that the newly planned urban space was a modernizing project geared to promote social and economic development and “intended to literalize a new relationship between citizen and the state.” Resettlement schemes are thus generally shaped by various logics and interests. In Mozambique and elsewhere, resettlement has been employed as a counter-insurgency tactic as well as a response to economic development projects (Cernea 2004) and conservation projects (Milgroom and Spierenburg 2008). Resettlement is also increasingly a preferred approach to post-disaster reconstruction (Arnall et al 2013; Artur and Hilhorst 2014; Badri et al 2006) and is seen as a potential response to climate related disasters (Barnett and Webber 2009). In this guise, resettlement is presented as policy solution, responding to problems at hand (Arnall et al 2013). Resettlement is however, also associated with force, loss, and impoverishment (Cernea 1997 & 2004; Bardi et al 2006). It is a process that is politically highly sensitive and should be planned and understood in a social, historical, and political context (Artur and Hilhorst 2013; Monjane 2016).

In this article, I focus on resettlement programs and experiences at three different moments in Mozambique’s recent history. My analysis of the different planned resettlement programs or processes in Tete Province involves three main elements: 1) the political and economic context of the resettlement; 2) the design and rationale for the resettlement; and 3) the experiences of the people targeted for the resettlement. This analysis will allow me to compare how different relocation processes have unfolded, and to trace the continuities and particularities in contemporary resettlement programmes in Mozambique. Confirming observations made by Artur and Hilhorst (2014: 362), I will show how each case of resettlement involved an element of control by state actors as well as a particular notion of

modernity or development. I add to this analysis a comparative discussion of the experiences of *reassentados* (resettled people), which, as I will conclude, is characterized by loss and hardship, and has produced different forms of resistance and dependency on state actors. In addition, I explore the role of (extractive) corporations in designing and implementing resettlement processes.

I focus my analysis on Tete Province because this makes it easier to tease out contextual factors and draw out parallels and differences over time. Tete is particularly relevant as the province has been the locus of a variety of resettlement projects since the late 1960s. In addition, there is a methodological reason to focus on Tete: more than for other provinces, the colonial and post-independence resettlement processes have been documented in the extensive works of the historians João Paulo Borges Coelho (1993 & 1998) and Allen and Barbara Isaacman (2013). I draw heavily on these studies for my analysis of the *aldeamentos* and the *aldeias comunais*. For the discussion of the coal mining induced resettlement programs, I will draw on my own empirical work and on the work of Selemene (2010) and Lesutis (2022), among others. I conducted nine months of fieldwork in Moatize district between 2016 and 2019. I collected data through participant observation in resettlement villages and joined company community relations officers in their everyday work activities. In addition, I conducted over fifty interviews with relevant individuals, including employees of mining companies, government officials, and *reassentados*.

The paper is structured as follows: I will first discuss the dynamics of displacement, development, and control in relation to the *aldeamentos*, the protected villages established by the Portuguese colonial administration. Subsequently, I will discuss the *aldeias comunais*, and the post-independence villagization policies. This is followed by a discussion of recent resettlements. While I will focus specifically on the coal-mining-induced resettlements in Tete, I make a deliberate effort to situate this in a wider context of resettlement as a solution to control (rural) populations in Mozambique. The conclusion will be focused on that.

### ***Aldeamentos*: Concentrated Settlements and the Anticolonial War**

The first large-scale resettlement program in Mozambique was the creation of *aldeamentos* by the Portuguese colonial administration.<sup>2</sup> The *aldeamentos* have been described as “protected

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<sup>2</sup> There were already attempts at planned resettlement during the regime of Salazar in the late 1940s and 1950s, which attempted the “social and economic organization of native populations” and referred to this as “a project for native villagization” (Borges Coelho 1993: 120; Gallo 2016: 18).

villages” and were part of the counter-insurgency strategy of the Portuguese to counter the military advances and popular support of Frelimo, the Mozambican Liberation Front (*Frente da Liberação de Moçambique*), whose armed struggle against the Portuguese colonial administration started in 1964 (Borges Coelho 1993; Isaacman and Isaacman 2013: 96; Jundanian 1975). Concentrating the population was a military strategy, as the villages would isolate the population from the guerrillas, and it allowed the Portuguese army to employ scorched-earth-type operations outside of the controlled areas (Borges Coelho 1993: 202–204). In addition, the villagization programs were also concerned with social and economic development, with “a ‘psychological’ purpose of ‘winning the hearts and minds’ of their villagers” (Borges Coelho 1993: 204). The rationale behind the *aldeamento* program was thus both military and developmental.

The first *aldeamentos* were founded in 1965 in the northern parts of Mozambique, south of the border with Tanzania, from where Frelimo operated in the first years of its war for independence (Jundanian 1975: 522–523).<sup>3</sup> In Tete, the *aldeamentos* program was initially slow, but in 1970 it gathered momentum due to the more intense Frelimo activity in the area (Borges Coelho 1993: 222). Frelimo’s presence was partly due to the interest in the works on the Cabora Bassa dam, which was at the time one of the largest dam projects in the world (Borges Coelho 1993: 179–180; Jundanian 1974: 525). The dam, which Frelimo aimed to capture, was a symbol of potential nationalist pride (Borges Coelho 1993: 180–181; Isaacman and Isaacman 2013). The development of the Cabora Bassa project also warranted the eviction of 25,000 people living close to the Zambezi River (Isaacman and Isaacman 2013). Planning for the forced eviction of people for the Cabora Bassa project paralleled the *aldeamento* policy. As Isaacman and Isaacman (2013: 95) report, the relocation was presented by government officials as a “social transformation” that would elevate “the quality of life” of Africans. The long-term advantages of the dam would far outweigh the disruptions involved in displacement, the government anticipated (Isaacman and Isaacman 2013: 95).

At the height of the *aldeamentos* campaign, over fifty-eight percent of the total population of Tete (estimated population of 492,233) was confined to these villages, as was nearly seventy percent of the rural population (Borges Coelho 1993: 231). Borges Coelho (1993: 230) lists 251 communal villages in Tete. For the Portuguese administration, a

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<sup>3</sup> Jundanian (1974) describes two other relocation programs in Mozambique during the war for independence: the *colonatos*, European settlements to which migration of Portuguese settlers was relatively unsuccessfully encouraged, and the *colonatos dos militares desmobilizados*, settlements of ex-service men of the Portuguese military, who were also rather unsuccessfully encouraged to settle together. These relocation programs show the “many-tiered Portuguese relocation of peoples in Mozambique” (Jundanian 1974: 534).

successful *aldeamento*, in theory, was supposed to offer fertile land, abundant water, communication lines, and defensive conditions (Jundanian 1974: 526–527). The *aldeamento*'s security was typically arranged by “small African militia detachments headed by a European police or military element” (Borges Coelho 1993: 210). As Frelimo forces advanced, the construction of *aldeamentos* was rushed, and in many cases, military criteria received priority over proper consideration of land and water availability (Borges Coelho 1993: 210). Services and infrastructure, such as health posts, schools, and electrical generators, were also not given the highest priority (Jundanian 1974: 527).

The impact of the villagization policy on rural life in Tete was significant as it changed people's settlement structures, administration structures, agricultural practices, and much more. The relocation into fortified villages altered the settlement pattern for most of Tete's population, which generally had a dispersed pattern of habitation. Borges Coelho (1993: 284–285) concluded that the villagization process was met with “deep reservations” by those targeted for relocation, as it “implied abandoning their ancestors' land and the places where they had been buried, abandoning the *machambas* [agricultural land] sometimes before harvest, and leaving behind most of their belongings” (see also Jundanian 1974: 539). In addition to these losses, the relocation also meant the destruction of family ties and changes to the political organization, as different traditional authorities were placed in the same area, which resulted in higher levels and new forms of social, cultural, and political conflict (Borges Coelho 1993: 285; Gallo 2016: 22; Isaacman and Isaacman 2013: 96). Isaacman and Isaacman (2013: 96), drawing on interviews with residents of *aldeamentos*, describe the forced evictions for the dam as traumatic. They also note “the control over physical space, access to critical economic and cultural resources, and the power to decide where and how to live” as causes of suffering (Isaacman and Isaacman 2013: 96).

One of the most prominent grievances was the lack of access to fertile land and water (Borges Coelho 1993; Jundanian 1974: 523), which continues to be a recurring problem in relocation processes in Mozambique (and elsewhere). Generally, families received less land than they had previously worked. The land was often less fertile and lacked water resources.<sup>4</sup> It did not allow for the slash and burn agriculture that most of Tete's rural population employed (Borges Coelho 1993:13). The *aldeamentos* increased pressure on the land in the surroundings of the villages, as well as on other resources such as wild fruits and wildlife.

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<sup>4</sup> Generally, a household would receive 0.5 hectares of cleared land, depending on family size, polygamous families were entitled to 300 square meters extra per wife and status; *Régulos* (chiefs) were entitled to double sized plots (Borges Coelho 1993: 209–210). This was often less than the land a family previously owned (Gallo 2016: 22).

Using the *aldeamento* N'cungas as a case study, Borges Coelho (1993: 322) concludes that by 1974, it was “a village of diseased and malnourished people, deprived of their basic means of subsistence and almost entirely dependent on external food aid.” It is interesting to note N'cungas was situated close to another *aldeamento*, Cateme, which is the area where now the coal-mining resettlement villages Cateme and Mualadzi are located (Gallo 2016: 23).

Borges Coelho (1993) concludes that while the *aldeamentos*, in terms of strategic military purposes, were relatively successful, in terms of bringing development they were a failure (see also Jundanian 1974). The impact of the *aldeamentos* should not be underestimated, as it changed the lives of over half of Tete's inhabitants dramatically (Borges Coelho 1993: 213). It caused massive suffering and loss of life and, in addition, the *aldeamento* campaign influenced how the post-independence Frelimo government designed its communal village program. Frelimo saw the *aldeamentos* as the enemy and one of their tactics in war was to free people from *aldeamentos*, encouraging them to join the guerrilla movement and to inhabit what Frelimo called “liberated zones.”

### ***Aldeias comunais*: Post-independence Communal Villages**

After independence, the Frelimo government embarked on an ambitious program to consolidate the presence of the government's structures throughout the territory and to reeducate the population into socialism and to become “new men” (Borges Coelho 1998: 62–63; Chichava 2013). The “socialization and modernization of the countryside” included various policies including resettlement programs, collective *machambas*, and cooperatives (Chichava 2013: 112).<sup>5</sup> The Frelimo government regarded the dispersed population settlement pattern of Mozambique's peasant population and related spiritual attachments as signs of backwardness and as alien to the idea of the modern nation (Chichava 129; Gallo 2016: 25). Therefore, starting in 1976, Frelimo implemented a strong campaign of *aldeias comunais*, communal villages which occupied an essential place in Frelimo's vision of a modern socialist society (Chichava 2013: 113). The communal villages were a vehicle of state formation, nation building, re-education, and development (Lunstrum 2009).

A total of 1,360 villages were constructed, and the program displaced almost two million Mozambicans (Borges Coelho 1993: 345). The villagization campaign was based on

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<sup>5</sup> The resettlement programs included the creation of rural villages for former combatants called *centros de produção dos antigos combatentes* (Taju 1992) and the infamous *operação produção*, operation production, which targeted designated marginalized people largely from urban centers and forcibly relocated them to state farms in the provinces of Niassa and Cabo-Delgado.

two pillars: population resettlement and the transformation of production relations (Borges-Coelho 1998: 61; Lunstrum 2007). Generally, the characteristics of a communal village included collective or cooperative production as the basis of the economy, a planned physical setting different from the traditional villages in its separation of residential and productive areas, and institutions of local administration (Borges Coelho 1993: 372).

In Tete province, the organization of *aldeias comunais* did not take off as fast as in other provinces. Borges Coelho (1998: 63) found that in 1977 there were only three small communal villages, of which two were former *aldeamentos* and one a former Frelimo war base. The delay in the campaign was due to the scattered settlements in Tete, often difficult to access because of bad roads and landmines from the war for independence, the incapacity of the government institutions, and the security situation in the region. Soon after independence, the security situation in Tete became unstable because of military attacks from Southern Rhodesia and later the presence of Renamo (the Mozambican National Resistance, *Resistência Nacional de Moçambique*), the insurgency movement that fought against the Mozambican state from 1976 until 1992 (Hall and Young 1997).

The communal village policy of the government gathered momentum in Tete in 1978 when the provincial commission was created, and heavy flooding affected central Mozambique, displacing close to 90,000 people (Borges Coelho 1998: 68–69). The government response to the emergency relief was coordinated by an “Inter-Provincial Commission of Natural Disasters and Communal Villages” linking the emergency response to displacement to the villagization policy (Borges Coelho 1998: 69). The aim was to resettle people from the lower, floodable areas in new communal villages on higher grounds. The plan was assigned to the National Housing Directorate in Maputo, whose team formulated the criteria for the new settlements and swiftly demarcated nine future communal villages in Mutarara district (Borges Coelho 1998: 69–70).

The new villages faced resistance from the targeted residents, who were reminded of the experience of the *aldeamentos*, which was still fresh in their memory and were considered exploitative (Borges Coelho 1998: 70). Yet, the main reason for the community resistance was that the residents would be swapping the fertile lowlands of the margins of the Zambezi River (and several other rivers) for less productive land placed on higher ground (Borges Coelho 1998: 70). In fact, many people returned to their former riverine areas of residence. The government, in turn, made sure that emergency aid was only distributed to communal villages and not to others (Borges Coelho 1993: 383). “These strategies led on occasion to

the new authorities being compared with their colonial predecessors: both were keen to villagize people against their will,” Borges Coelho notes (1998: 70).

The flooding-induced resettlements marked the start of a wider campaign to establish communal villages in Tete, however without much success. In his comparative study, Borges Coelho (1993) shows that the hardship experienced by residents of the communal villages was not altogether different from what the peasants experienced years before in the *aldeamentos*. One of the main problems of the communal villages was also the availability of fertile land, as Tete has only small, scattered pockets of fertile soil. *Machambas* were often located at a considerable distance from residences and the most fertile parts of the land were used for the cooperative (Borges Coelho 1993: 415). Water availability was also a problem in the communal villages, resulting in serious health problems (Borges Coelho 1993: 388). As residents of the *aldeamentos* had also experienced, the water availability in Tete does not allow for large human agglomerations, as many of the province’s small rivers are dry during part of the year and the region suffers regular droughts (Borges Coelho 1998: 71–72).

The *aldeias* were supposed to be community-driven, but soon they became a top-down project, characterized by “a paternalistic character and the lack of respect for local social realities” (Chichava 2013: 121). Political guidelines called for people’s participation but were, due to the haste of the government actors, often not considered. The district or provincial authorities in most cases chose the location of the habitation sites and the communal villages were generally built by the government. Borges Coelho quotes one of the officials involved who said: “[a]fterwards, we would say to the villagers: ‘Everything is ready now. Here you have your house. Let us distribute them’ . . . The villagers would only watch. Everything was supposed to be done by the state” (1998: 71). The inhabitants also received much state support in setting up the collective agricultural production. Borges Coelho (1993) notes that companies were involved in capacity building sessions to implement modern technology. However, such assistance was not structural and did not forge different agricultural practices (Borges Coelho 1993). Generally, there was a lack of ownership of the communal villages and related elements, such as the collective *machambas*. As Gallo (2016: 28) cites from a government communication from 1987, these were in some instances called “*machambas do governo*.”

The communal villages were not militarized as much as the *aldeamentos* had been and were a target for Renamo attacks and looting, as they were rather vulnerable symbols of the presence of the Frelimo state (Borges Coelho 1993: 430; Chichava 2013; Lunstrum 2009: 885). In the early 1980s, the civil war intensified and in many parts of Tete, people suffered

famine. The communal village program halted and many people left the villages for safer areas, both in Tete or in neighboring countries. In the end, Borges Coelho estimated that the communal villages at their height only included about thirteen percent of the population of Tete. By 1982, most of the communal villages had ceased to exist.

By and large, the communal villages were a policy that was experienced as disruptive rather than transformative and did not result in the envisioned agricultural revolution (Pitcher 1998; Borges Coelho 1998; Chichava 2013). In the late 1980s, Frelimo abandoned its socialist project and moved toward a “state of structural adjustments” (Obarrio 2014: 87) in which governance became characterized by the interventions of NGOs (McKay 2012: 290; West 2005: 262). Engagement with rural populations and service provision, such as health care, happened largely through the implementation of “projects” by non-state actors (McKay 2012). Resettlement became one of these projects with the continued focus to control and concentration of populations (Monjane 2016).

### **Resettlements and the Extractive Industry**

The resettlement of rural populations in Mozambique continued to be a common practice. Examples that stand out are the building of new villages in response to flooding (Artur and Hilhorst 2014; Arnall et al 2013) and as a response to conservation projects, such as the resettlements in Massingir district for the creation of the frontier peace park at the border with South Africa and Zimbabwe (Milgroom and Spierenburg 2008; Otsuki 2019). The largest resettlements in the 2000s have happened in connection with extractive projects. The extractive industry has boomed in Mozambique in the last fifteen years. One of the direct consequences for people living near mining projects has been displacement and the loss of housing and livelihoods. The preferred response of companies and the state has been large scale resettlement projects, to which I will refer as mining-induced resettlements. These have occurred in relation to coal mining projects in Tete Province. In addition, there have been significant resettlements efforts around the ruby mines (Cabo Delgado Province), the mineral sands extraction projects (provinces of Cabo Delgado, Nampula, Zambezia, and Gaza), and the Liquid Natural Gas projects (Cabo Delgado). These resettlements have affected tens of thousands of people across Mozambique and are bound to affect many more.

The mining-induced resettlement projects are often paid for and instigated by the foreign extractive industry. According to the mining law and the regulation for “the resettlement resulting from economic activities,” the state, in many guises and through

multiple agencies, oversees the exchange deals made between the companies and the communities (Diphoorn and Wiegink 2022; Salimo 2018: 105). The main reason for resettlement is to make way for extractive or infrastructural projects. In this way, resettlement is regarded as a sacrifice necessary for national development (Wiegink 2020). However, increasingly, resettlement itself is presented as an opportunity for sustainable development in Mozambique (Milgroom and Spierenburg 2008; Wiegink 2020) and elsewhere (Yarrow 2017: 570). In accordance with the standards of the International Finance Corporation of the World Bank Group, Mozambique's resettlement regulation (Decree nr. 31/2012) stipulates that people should be compensated for their loss of land, residence, and other possessions, and should be better off after resettlement than before.<sup>6</sup> Mining-induced resettlement thus surfaces as a developmental project of centralizing populations for the sake of offering services, infrastructure, and control. At the same time, resettlement is also often the most controversial part of extractive operations in Mozambique and elsewhere (e.g. Borras and Franco 2013; Hilson et al 2007; Owen and Kemp 2015: 583; Peluso and Lund 2011).

The first large scale resettlements for mining projects took place in the district of Moatize in Tete province. Since 2013, over ten thousand people have been dislocated for the mine and hundreds of families are still awaiting resettlement (Lesutis 2022; Wiegink 2018). The coal mining companies facilitated the construction of new neighborhoods and two entirely new villages to house the people who were dislocated. The first village, Cateme, was constructed for the people resettled for the mine owned by the Brazilian mining company Vale. The second village, Mualadzi, was constructed for the people who were resettled for the Benga mine, which was subsequently owned by the Australian company Riversdale and Rio Tinto, currently owned by the Indian consortium International Coal Ventures Limited (ICVL).

The geographical location of resettlement villages was chosen by the government, yet the mining companies and their subcontracted firms were in charge of the design and construction of the resettlement area. The companies provided for new housing and additional infrastructure of the village such as electricity (considered one of the main perks of resettlement), a water supply system, roads, lampposts, a market, government buildings, a hospital, a school, an orphanage, a police station, housing for civil servants, roads, and a cemetery. The companies also took care of the compensation awarded per household as, in

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<sup>6</sup> [https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/topics\\_ext\\_content/ifc\\_external\\_corporate\\_site/sustainability-at-ifc/policies-standards/performance-standards/ps5](https://www.ifc.org/wps/wcm/connect/topics_ext_content/ifc_external_corporate_site/sustainability-at-ifc/policies-standards/performance-standards/ps5), last accessed 8 September 2021.

the initial phases of the resettlement process, the relocated families received a furniture set for the house, one hectare of land, and a sum of money—119,000 meticaís (equivalent of approximately 4,000 USD at the time), a fortune for most (Lillywhite et al 2015). The *reassentados* in Mualadzi also received for a while a *cesto básico*, a basic food basket, containing flour, oil, and sugar. Furthermore, the companies organized a series of capacity building workshops on agriculture and several young men were given internships in the company, though the mining activities did not result in jobs to the resettled people. As one male *reassentado* from Mualadzi recalled in an interview in 2017: “The company did provide us with work in the beginning, one month. Unpaid though. It was a kind of internship. Then the company, Riversdale at the time, would give us jobs. As brick makers, and so on. But that never happened. . . We are just sitting here” (interview, Mualadzi, 21 November 2016).

The experience of resettlement reflects generally a feeling of loss and a sense of being treated as lesser Mozambicans (see also Lesutis 2022). At the same time, it increased people’s sense of dependency on the company and the state. During fieldwork from September to December in 2017 in Mualadzi, most people were experiencing a food crisis. While this was part of a drought that impacted the lives of many people in central Mozambique, people in Mualadzi attributed their poor harvests to the aridity of the agricultural land allotted to the resettled families. As aptly captured in the title of the Human Rights Watch Report published in 2013, people wondered, “What is a house without food?” The inhabitants of Mualadzi, came from an area called Capanga, situated along the banks of the Rovubue and Zambezi rivers (see map). The *machambas* on the banks of the rivers allowed for several harvests a year. The *machambas* the families received in Mualadzi were regarded dry and “stony” and generally of poor quality.

In Capanga, people had gained extra income by selling stones or sand along the road for construction purposes, cutting wood or making bricks. Because of its remote location, in Mualadzi there was no one to sell sand, stones, wood, or bricks to, and for most people, transportation to Moatize (approximately forty kilometers away) was unaffordable. Basically, in many ways people’s lives and means of livelihood had become jeopardized by the resettlement to Mualadzi. In addition, people reported an insecure water supply and worried about the inability to bury the dead in ancestral lands.<sup>7</sup> Residents of Mualadzi also recalled the lack of consultation prior to the resettlement process, but also their anticipation, the

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<sup>7</sup> There are multiple reports on and academic studies of the resettlement areas of Cateme and Mualazi, some key works are: Human Rights Watch, (2013); Lesutis (2019a, 2019b, & 2022); Lillywhite et al (2015); Mosca and Selemane (2011); Osório and Cruz e Silva (2017); Selemane (2010); and Siteo and Queface (2015).

promises of the companies, which shaped their hope for a better life in the resettlement area (Wiegink 2018). However, their expectations were not met. Lesutis has called the resettlement areas in Moatize “spaces of suffering,” describing people who are “doing nothing” and who feel as if they are considered “nothing” (2019a: 121–122).

The resettlement processes in Tete were met by protests by the local populations, in confrontational and less confrontational ways (Lesutis 2019b). In January 2012, inhabitants of the resettlement village Cateme blocked the railroad that transports coal from the Vale mining site to Beira port (Human Rights Watch 2013; Lillywhite et al 2015). The demonstrators were violently dispersed by state security forces and several people were detained and beaten (Human Rights Watch 2013; Lillywhite et al 2015; Lesutis 2019b; Marshall 2015: 8). The reaction from the government security forces reflects broader tendencies of the criminalization of criticism and the securitization around extractive projects (Brock and Dunlap 2018; Middeldorp et al 2016). The protests and the violent response of state security forces should also be situated in the wider political context of central Mozambique, which was from 2012 onwards characterized by a political armed conflict between insurgents of Renamo and the security forces of the Frelimo government. During fieldwork in 2017 and 2018, residents of Mualadzi expressed fear of protesting, as this could be regarded as an act of opposition and spark violent responses from state security forces (see also Lesutis 2019b).

Generally, the resettlements in Tete are largely considered as having resulted in the impoverishment of already vulnerable populations and are considered—to a certain extent—as failures (Wiegink 2020). This is illustrated by the fact that many people in the resettlement areas have left or sought (or maintained) other residences elsewhere. Nevertheless, planned resettlement continues to be a common practice for dealing with dispersed populations.

## Conclusion

In this article, my aim has been to analyze three resettlement programs that occurred at different moments in Mozambique’s recent history and to delineate certain continuities and differences. The *aldeamentos*, *aldeias comunais*, and mining-induced resettlements differ profoundly in their historical moment and in the actors pursuing the planned relocation, but each is also in some ways a continuation of its predecessor.

Resettlement surfaces in all three cases discussed as a policy that is both driven by agendas for development and control (see also Artur and Hilhorst 2014: 362). The *aldeamentos*

were largely a counter-insurgency effort, but also aimed at modernizing and centralizing services, such as electricity, health posts, and schools. The *aldeias comunais* were explicitly oriented toward development through a socialist idea of modernity. Yet at the same time these were also attempts to extend the presence and authority of the state. The more recent corporate-led mining-induced resettlements were also regarded as opportunities for development. At the same time, resettlement planning was also considered as part of the soft security measures of the company (see also Buur and Sumich 2019). Especially after protests in 2012, the resettlement efforts were also geared at preventing protest or sabotage in the surroundings of the mine to safeguard the operations.

In each case, the resettlement process was planned and implemented without significant participation of the rural populations who were to be relocated. In quite similar ways, the resettlement programs envisioned the advantages of centralized settlements, which included access to electricity, proximity of health posts and schools, and centralized government administration, among many other things. Both the *aldeias comunais* program and mining-induced resettlements particularly emphasized the advantage of “proper” housing. Yet, each resettlement program disregarded the importance of easily accessible fertile land, preferred housing arrangements, access to water ancestral burial grounds, and the linkages of traditional authority structures to the land. The top-down implementation of the resettlement also resulted in a lack of ownership of local populations and a dependency on the state or company to solve things. In this sense, there is not much difference between resettlement programs initiated by government actors or corporate actors.

Each of the resettlements resulted in suffering and hardship for those who were dislocated. Resettlement did not affect all people in the same way, of course, and this paper does not allow for much discussion of how experiences differ along the lines of, for instance, gender, socio-economic status, and age. But what can be concluded is that these resettlement projects have resulted in loss of the means of livelihood for many. In addition, while none of the processes was presented as forced, most were experienced as such. Each case also shows the politicization of resettlement and different forms of resistance, explicit by protesting or joining an armed movement, but also more passive forms of resistance, such as leaving the resettlement area (Lesutis 2019b).

Resettlement surfaces as a planned form of displacement in Mozambique that is often regarded as both necessary and as an opportunity for much wanted development, but that has also repeatedly failed in bringing development and security, and has caused suffering and fueled popular resistance. Generally, this comparison reveals resettlement to be a top-

down practice of social engineering with often devastating consequences. This analysis thus calls for caution to regard resettlement as a vehicle for development and as a panacea for dealing with displaced populations caused by armed conflict and other disasters.

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# Migration Dynamics and the Making of the Jihadi Insurgency in Northern Mozambique

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## Abstract

Drawing on extensive fieldwork conducted in Cabo Delgado, Nampula, and Niassa Provinces, this article analyses the links between migration dynamics and the development of the jihadi insurgency in Northern Mozambique. It argues that the advance of the insurgency made use of the dynamics of external and internal migration, which fed a vast network of recruitment to *Al-Shabaab*, facilitated essentially by the porous nature of the border with Tanzania and by fishing activity on the islands of the Cabo Delgado coast. The article investigates the intense cross-border dynamics (Mozambique/Tanzania) and the way these dynamics have been exploited by the *Al-Shabaab* group for recruitment purposes. In addition, it shows that there is a long tradition of migration in Northern Mozambique, from Nampula coastal districts (Angoche, Mossuril, Ilha de Moçambique, Nacala-a-Porto, Nacala-a-Velha, and Memba) to Cabo Delgado coastal zones (specially Macomia, Mocímboa da Praia, and Palma) linked to fishery activities. Most of the young people who have been recruited from Nampula coastal districts to join the *Al-Shabaab* group were attracted by the “dream” of finding a job in the fishery in Macomia, Mocímboa da Praia, or Palma districts, in Cabo Delgado Province, as has always been the case in the past.

## Keywords

Migration, jihadi insurgency, recruitment, *Al-Shabaab*, Northern Mozambique

## Resumo

Baseado em extenso trabalho de campo nas Províncias de Cabo Delgado, Nampula e Niassa, este artigo analisa as ligações entre as dinâmicas de migração e o desenvolvimento da insurgência jihad no Norte de Moçambique. O artigo argumenta que o avanço da insurgência se serviu da dinâmica da migração externa e interna, que alimentou uma vasta rede de recrutamento ao *Al-Shabaab*, facilitada essencialmente pela porosidade da fronteira com a Tanzânia e pela atividade pesqueira nas ilhas da costa de Cabo Delgado. O artigo investiga a intensa dinâmica transfronteiriça (Moçambique/Tanzânia) e a forma como essa dinâmica tem sido explorada pelo grupo *Al-Shabaab* para fins de recrutamento. Além disso, o artigo mostra que existe uma longa tradição de migração no norte de Moçambique, dos distritos costeiros de Nampula (Angoche, Mossuril, Ilha de Moçambique, Nacala-a-Porto, Nacala-a-Velha

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e Memba) para a zona costeira de Cabo Delgado (especialmente Macomia, Mocímboa da Praia e Palma) ligadas à actividade pesqueira. A maioria dos jovens, que têm sido recrutados nos distritos do litoral de Nampula para integrar o grupo *Al-Shabaab*, foi atraída pelo “sonho” de arranjar um emprego nas pescas nos distritos de Macomia, Mocímboa da Praia ou Palma, na província de Cabo Delgado, como sempre foi no passado.

### **Palavras-chave**

Migração, insurgência jihad, recrutamento, *Al-Shabaab*, Norte de Moçambique

## Introduction: The Origins of the Insurgency

In early October 2017, a group consisting mostly of armed youths attacked state institutions in the municipality of Mocímboa da Praia in the northeast of Cabo Delgado province. Known locally as *Al-Shabaab*, the group had set itself up in Mocímboa da Praia and other Cabo Delgado districts well before 2017, preaching a radical Islam in the local mosques, forbidding children from attending public schools and banning all collaboration with the state authorities (Habibe, Forquilha, and Pereira 2019; Morier-Genoud 2020). At the start, there was strong resistance by local Muslim religious leaderships, who not only did not accept the “ideology” of *Al-Shabaab* because they regarded it as an aberration and contrary to the teachings and principles of Islam, but also denounced the group to the local authorities (Habibe, Forquilha, and Pereira 2019). However, far from a single and concerted reaction on the part of the government authorities to confront the group, there were significant differences in the way the matter was dealt with in each district. While in Chiure District, for example, the government reacted firmly, resulting in the dispersal of the members of the group to other districts, in Mocímboa da Praia the local authorities regarded it as an internal matter among Muslims and, as such, something that should be solved in the mosques. As time went on, the conflict between members of *Al-Shabaab* and the local Muslim leaderships became ever more visible, particularly in Mocímboa da Praia district. Expelled from the local mosques, the group built their own places of worship and their own *madrassas*, thus giving greater expression to their sectarian nature (Morier-Genoud 2020). A group which was, in the beginning, merely religious and preached and demanded the practice of a radical Islam, the introduction of Sharia law, and opposition to any form of collaboration with the state, *Al-Shabaab* came to include military cells and hardened its discourse as from late 2015. It then launched armed action on 5 October 2017.

Likened to banditry which merely disturbs public order, the phenomenon quickly took on alarming proportions. Attacks began to multiply. Two months after the first attack, the police had already detained 251 suspects, of whom thirty-seven were Tanzanian citizens (Marcos 2017). In December 2017, the Mozambique Republic Police (PRM), was in the area and visited Mocímboa da Praia and Palma districts. At the rally held in the Mocímboa da Praia district capital, the general commander of the police, Bernardino Rafael, gave an ultimatum to the Mocímboa da Praia attackers. He gave them seven days to hand themselves over to the authorities (Marcos 2017). However, the violence continued and, in the weeks and months that followed the attack on the Mocímboa da Praia district capital, the security

situation deteriorated on the ground. Between late March and mid-April 2020, armed violence reached levels never previously seen, with the assault on and temporary occupation of three towns in the districts of Mocímboa da Praia, Quissanga, and Macomia. Four months later, in August 2020, the advance of *Al-Shabaab* on the ground was consolidated with the capture and occupation of the port town of Mocímboa da Praia, a strategic place from which the insurgents planned and executed attacks against neighbouring districts.

From October 2017 to early 2021, before the foreign military intervention by troops from Rwanda and from the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the *Al-Shabaab* group evolved significantly on the ground. Indeed, from a religious sect focusing on some districts in Cabo Delgado in 2010–2012, with ramifications in the neighboring provinces of Nampula and Niassa, the group transformed into a military movement with jihadi characteristics. From Mocímboa da Praia, where the first armed attack occurred in October 2017, the group expanded its actions to other districts, namely Macomia, Quissanga, Muidumbe, Nangade, Ibo, Meluco, and Palma; from attacks on villages and small hamlets, the group moved on to attack large population centers, particularly district capitals, posing a serious challenge to the security situation in the region, with strong political, economic, and social impacts.

How can the rapid advance of *Al-Shabaab* be explained, and what local dynamics favored the development of their actions on the ground before the arrival of the Rwandan and SADC troops? Based on extensive field research in Nampula, Niassa, and Cabo Delgado provinces, this article analyzes the link between local migration dynamics and the development of the insurgency in northern Mozambique. We argue that the advance of the insurgency made use of the dynamics of external and internal migration, which fed a vast network of recruitment to *Al-Shabaab*, facilitated essentially by the porous nature of the border with Tanzania and by fishing activity on the islands of the Cabo Delgado coast. We develop our argument in three phases. Firstly, we describe and analyze the frontier dynamic between Mozambique and Tanzania characterized by a certain porosity of the border, which facilitates the illegal circulation of people and goods, feeding illicit activities, some of which are associated with the development of the jihadi insurgency on the Mozambican side. Secondly, we describe and analyze the phenomenon of the migration of fishermen from the Nampula coastal area to the Cabo Delgado islands located in the Bay of Montepuez and in the Quirimbas Archipelago. With this, we want to show how this longstanding phenomenon in the region took on a new dynamic in the context of the jihadi insurgency in Northern Mozambique. Finally, we try to show how, on the one hand, the frontier dynamic between

Mozambique and Tanzania and, on the other, the internal migration of fishermen from the Nampula coast have fed the recruitment network of the *Al-Shabaab* group, allowing it to expand its ranks and consolidate its actions on the ground.

The research for this article followed a qualitative methodological approach, resorting to semi-structured interviews, observation, and focus groups discussions. The interviews covered the following previously selected categories: a) administrative authorities of the districts covered by the research; b) Mozambican immigration officials at three border posts on the frontier between Mozambique and Tanzania, namely Chiuledze (in Mecula District), Matchedge (in Sanga District) and Cobué (in Lago District); c) fishermen who migrate internally, particularly in the Nampula coastal area; and d) people internally displaced by the war. The focus group discussions were held with migrant fishermen who had returned from the Cabo Delgado islands and people displaced internally by the war. In all, sixty-five interviews and ten focus group discussions were held. The fieldwork took place between July 2020 and July 2021, for a total of fourteen weeks, covering some districts of Nampula, Niassa, and Cabo Delgado. In Nampula province, the field work took place in the coastal areas, known as the place from which migrant fishermen depart who go fishing on the Cabo Delgado islands. These are the districts of Angoche, Ilha de Moçambique, Mossuril, Nacala-a-Porto, Nacala-a-Velha, and Memba. In Niassa province, the interviews and focus group discussions were held in districts bordering Tanzania and Malawi, namely Mecula, Sanga, and Lago. In these districts we visited the three border posts mentioned above. Finally, in Cabo Delgado province, the field work was undertaken in the Pemba, Palma, and Chiure districts.<sup>3</sup> All the interviews and focus group discussions were held in Portuguese, utilizing a translator/interpreter, a member of the research team.

### **Migratory Movement along the Mozambique/Tanzania Border**

Mozambique and Tanzania share a common border, which coincides essentially with the course of the Rovuma River, over a length of 756 kilometers. Although it is one of the oldest borders (Newitt 1995), the border between Mozambique and Tanzania, like other African borders, appeared in its current form following the Conference of Berlin in 1884–1885 and the subsequent treaties. One can mention, for example, the treaty between

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<sup>3</sup> Because of the lack of security in some districts in the province, it was not possible, during fieldwork, for us to visit the districts directly affected by the armed violence (Quissanga, Macomia, Mocímboa da Praia, Muidumbe, Nangade, and Mueda).

Germany and Portugal, which dates from 1886 (Newitt 1995; Souto 1995), and the subsequent agreements between Portugal and Britain, after World War I, when Germany lost its possessions in Africa. The frontier is formed by two regions on the Tanzanian side (Mtwara and Ruvuma) and two provinces on the Mozambican side (Cabo Delgado and Niassa).

Officially, there are five border posts on the Mozambican side, namely Namoto and Negomano (in Cabo Delgado) and 2nd Congress, Chiuledze, and Cobuè (in Niassa). Unlike the other four frontier posts, the Chiuledze post is rudimentary, without adequate infrastructures and frontier services.<sup>4</sup> Despite this, the Chiuledze post, due to its location, plays a very important role in controlling the movement of people and goods in the frontier zone of the vast Niassa Reserve.

As happens in frontier areas, the populations living on both sides of the Rovuma River have historical, economic, cultural, and even religious ties that date back for several centuries (Newitt 1995; Pelissier 1984). The current cross border dynamics show how arbitrary the border decisions made by the European colonial powers in the late 1880s are. Indeed, people living on both sides of the border share common history, culture, language, and, in some cases, religion. Over the last sixty years, two important factors stand out in the development of these multiple ties, namely the wars (colonial and civil) and informal cross-border trade, catalyzed, to a large extent, by the porous nature of the frontier. Indeed, the colonial and civil wars on the Mozambican side resulted in refugees who settled in Tanzania and, despite this, continued to maintain links with their respective families and communities in Mozambique. Furthermore, the dynamic of informal cross-border trade facilitated and strengthened the ties between the populations on the two sides of the frontier, and created an economy based essentially on agriculture, fishing, and consumer goods. A report assessing the informal trade on the border between Mozambique and Tanzania, based on fieldwork undertaken by a joint mission in 2006, shows evidence of cross-border trade in food, characterized by the flow of foodstuffs from Mozambique to Tanzania (maize, paddy rice, sesame) and consumer goods from Tanzania to Mozambique (domestic articles, clothing, bicycles, radios, motorcycles) (Bata et al. 2006).

Our interviews in the frontier districts of Cabo Delgado (Palma) and Niassa (Mecula, Sanga and Lago) suggest that, in recent years, this trade has intensified, in some cases galvanized by artisanal mining, particularly in the districts of Montepuez, and in Lago and

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<sup>4</sup> The Chiuledze post does not possess conventional buildings. The border services operate out of improvised tents.

Sanga, on the border with Tanzania. Given the absence of a transport network for the movement of people and goods from the border to the mining area, the acquisition of motorcycles sold in Tanzania became popular in, for example, the locality of Matchedge (border post on the Mozambican side). Acquired essentially by local youths, these motorcycles are an important source for income generation. But the border dynamics between Mozambique and Tanzania cannot be reduced just to the legal cross-border trade. They also, and above all, include smuggling, trafficking, and illegal migration, feeding a variety of networks of organized crime on both sides of the border (Haysom 2018; Habibe, Forquilha, and Pereira 2019).

### **Migration and Illegal Mining: Two Faces of a Complex Phenomenon**

The growth of illegal mining in the three provinces of northern Mozambique (Cabo Delgado, Niassa, and Nampula) has fed and intensified migration, often clandestine, facilitated by the porous nature of the frontier between Mozambique and Tanzania (Haysom 2018). Interviews with the local authorities in Matchedge and Lupilichi localities, in Sanga and Lago districts respectively (in Niassa Province, for example), confirm the link between illegal mining and the growing clandestine migratory movement of citizens from Tanzania, Kenya, and the Great Lakes region. The case of ruby mining in the administrative post of Namanhumbir in the Cabo Delgado district of Montepuez is probably one of the best illustrative examples of the link between migration and illegal mining (Maquenzi and Feijó 2019).

Undertaken within the perimeter of the area granted to Montepuez Ruby Mining (MRM),<sup>5</sup> the illegal mining in Namanhumbir has been marked by recurrent conflicts, not only between MRM and the miners (Mozambicans and foreigners), but also between the latter and the state. According to the Mozambican press, since the start of its operations in 2012, MRM has complained frequently of the invasion of its concession by illegal miners (*Carta* 2020; *Diário Económico* 2020). In February 2020, after a group of illegal miners had seriously injured three MRM officials and set fire to a company vehicle, MRM stepped up its appeals to the Mozambican state to put a halt to illegal mining. But three years earlier, as from February 2017, the Mozambican state had unleashed a polemical campaign, marked by violence, with the objective of expelling illegal miners from the mining area. At this time,

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<sup>5</sup> A company owned 75% by Gemfields and 25% by Muiriti Limitada.

speaking of the operation to the press, a representative of the Mozambican police in Cabo Delgado province said:

We removed 3,672 people. Of these, 1,010 are Mozambicans and the rest are foreigners. This is an ongoing operation. It aims to remove all those who are prospecting for this mineral (rubies) illegally, and who have come to Montepuez municipality, attracted by this activity . . . It was a forced operation, because the people did not want to leave their homes and leave the mining prospection areas. Hence it's a coercive operation, so that they leave. Many Mozambicans, under police pressure, left by their own means. The immigrants were removed with our resources, of the security forces, some returned to where they had come from and others were repatriated. The PRM is continuing to repatriate those immigrants who are in an illegal situation. (Melo 2017)

As can be noted from the above extract, most of the illegal miners involved in this operation were foreign citizens (2,622 or about 72%). Data provided by the Mozambican police in Cabo Delgado say that among the illegal foreign miners expelled, there were citizens from Tanzania, Gambia, Senegal, Thailand, and Mali (Teixeira 2017). By far the largest number of illegal miners came from Tanzania, to such an extent that the incident involved the Tanzanian diplomatic representation in Maputo. The press cited an official in the Tanzanian Foreign Ministry in the following terms:

The main responsibility of the Government of Tanzania, through the Embassy in Maputo, is to ensure that the interests of the Tanzanians who comply with the law, and even those who do not, are protected. The official there will enter into dialogue with the government of Mozambique to guarantee that the Tanzanians are safe and we shall deal with the logistics in order to bring them back. (Teixeira 2017)

Back in 2006, in another operation, this time in the locality of Lupilichi (on the border between Mozambique and Tanzania) in Lago District, Niassa Province, the police expelled about 4,600 foreigners who were illegally exploiting gold (*Moçambique para todos* 2006). Most of them were Tanzanians. In addition to illegal mining, they were also stimulating cross-border trade.

The operations carried out by the Mozambican police to dislodge the illegal miners from Namanhumbir and from Lupilichi were accompanied by the excessive use of force and violence. Many miners lost their possessions during the operations, and there were criticisms by human rights organizations, denouncing police brutality during the operations (Teixeira 2017). During our fieldwork, many interviewees mentioned the police violence against the illegal miners, particularly in Namanhumbir. Some of these foreigners took refuge in other Cabo Delgado districts, notably in Mocímboa da Praia, shortly before the start of the armed violence. It is important to note that evidence on the ground suggests that there were foreign illegal miners who had been in contact with radical circles in Tanzania before their illegal entry into Mozambique, and that the sites of illegal mining had also become spaces for the dissemination of Salafist ideas (Habibe, Forquilha, and Pereira 2019).

### **External Migration and the Establishment of the Jihadi Insurgency**

As mentioned above, in October 2017, the first attack against state institutions and the civilian population took place in the town of Mocímboa da Praia, undertaken by a group known locally as *Al-Shabaab*, who were demanding the practice of a radical Islam. Some authors believe that some of the illegal miners expelled during the police operation in Namanhumbir, particularly foreigners, joined the group of attackers (Chichava 2020). Despite the debate about the identity of the insurgents, it is known today that the attackers in Mocímboa de Praia included members of a local sect who had set themselves up in some districts of Cabo Delgado at the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century (Morier-Genoud 2020). Inspired by the ideas and teachings of radical Tanzanian and Kenyan Muslim clerics, notably Aboud Rogo, the sect was established in some districts of Cabo Delgado by Mozambicans who had studied in radical madrasas in Tanzania (Habibe, Forquilha, and Pereira 2019; Morier-Genoud 2020).

After its foundation, the sect developed with the help of Tanzanian clerics, some of whom had settled in Mozambique through ties of marriage (Habibe, Forquilha, and Pereira 2019). Contact with Tanzania was fundamental in the development of the sect. In Cabo Delgado, in Niassa and in Nampula, our interviews suggest that radical Tanzanian Islamic religious circles played an important role in the development of the sect. For example, when looking at the profile of the leaders who carried out the attack on Mocímboa da Praia on 5 October 2017, one notes that they all had links with Tanzania, either through trade, through studies in Tanzanian madrassas, or through the fact that they were themselves Tanzanian

nationals (Habibe, Forquilha, and Pereira 2019: 13–15). We found a similar situation in Niassa. A local Muslim leader interviewed during our research told us how three young men from Niassa, who practiced a radical form of Islam had been in contact with radical circles in Tanzania:

Faridi Daude, Murane Daude and Saide Aide Mbuane are young men who were born here in Niassa. They went to study in Tanzania in the madrassa of Imam Xhafi in Tanga. There they imbibed ideas of Salafism. From there, they came back to Mozambique . . . They are from here, from Lichinga district. In around 2015/2016, these youths had a well-designed plan to penetrate the mosques of Lichinga and to begin working from below . . . Saide Aide Mbuane began to attend the stalls to spread his ideas. He began at the Khaiba mosque, near the train station here in Lichinga. He was discovered by the leader of the mosque, who is a member of the Islamic Council of Mozambique (CISLAMO). Then Saide Aide Mbuane began to show openly that he had a radical group . . . He began to speak against elections, saying that, if people voted for a non-Muslim President, they were voting for disbelief and idolatry. In 2016, the CISLAMO, delegation in Niassa, denounced the anomalous situation in the mosques to the provincial government, even before the events in Mocímboa da Praia . . . But the Government's reaction was to say "that's your problem, there in the mosques."<sup>6</sup>

Youths going to Tanzania to study in local madrassas was an established phenomenon in northern Mozambique, well before the start of the jihadi insurgency. Our interviewees said that this practice is frequent among the families of some Muslim leaderships with certain responsibilities in the local mosques. In the cases where they are unable to send their children to Tanzania, Maputo has been an option if they can obtain scholarships. That is the case, for example, of a leader in one of the mosques in the Marrupa district capital, in Niassa Province, whose son is studying in Maputo. For historic reasons, the prestige of the Tanzanian madrassas and the reputation of Tanzanian Muslim clerics in the imaginations of many Muslims from humble families in Northern Mozambique has been one of the factors driving families to send young men to study the Quran in Tanzania. Local conceptions and practices of Islam in northern Mozambique have been deeply shaped by East Coast African Islam and Swahili traditions, particularly those traditions coming from Zanzibar and Comoros in the

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<sup>6</sup> Interview with Sheik Adam Bonoumar, Lichinga, 8 December 2020.

late 1880s (Bonate 2010). These links to Swahili world have played an important role in the reputation of Tanzanian Muslim clerics in Northern Mozambique. But these young men have not always crossed the border between Mozambique and Tanzania legally. Since the start of the jihadi insurgency in Northern Mozambique and the subsequent strengthening of vigilance along the border, Mozambican and Tanzanian authorities have referred to intercepting young men moving in both directions. They linked their movements to the study of radical madrasas in Tanzania and, in some cases, their later incorporation into the ranks of *Al-Shabaab* in the bush of Cabo Delgado. In this regard, an officer of the Mozambican Frontier Guard, stationed at the Chiuledze border post, said:

Last week, we intercepted a minibus here at the border post, with about eight young men inside. They said they came from Nampula Province and were going to Tanzania. Since the youths did not have up-to-date documents, we were suspicious, and we began to interrogate them about the reasons for their trip. After a lengthy interrogation, we discovered that they were going to Tanga in Tanzania to study . . . They had contacts there and promises to study the Quran in local madrasas. We sent the youths back to where they had come from.<sup>7</sup>

We encountered a similar situation at the Cobué border post, in Lago District, Niassa Province. In this regard, one of the local immigration officials told us the following:

Two weeks ago, a group of thirteen young Tanzanians was intercepted, here in Cobué. They entered from the Mbamba Bay border post in Tanzania . . . and by boat they came down Lake Niassa to Cobué. From Cobué, they were going to Metangula . . . from Metangula to Lichinga and from there to Marrupa. Once in Marrupa, they would enter Cabo Delgado province, where they would join the insurgents. Fortunately, there was a denunciation here in Cobué and we managed to intercept the group. Three days ago, another group of seven young men, also Tanzanians, was intercepted. Recently, we have been seeing strange movements similar to what happened in Cabo Delgado in the early moments of the armed violence. The movement has been stepped up, here in Cobué. When they arrive, they sometimes try to entice local youths with sums of money or promises of jobs in Cabo Delgado.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Interview with Américo António, Chiuledze, 23 September 2020.

<sup>8</sup> Interview with Maria Luís, official at the Cóbue border post, Cóbue, 10 December 2020.

But it is not only Tanzanian citizens who cross the Mozambique-Tanzania border to join the ranks of *Al-Shabaab*. Our interviews show that there are also citizens from Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Somalia among them. The porous nature of the border and the lack of resources of border officials, particularly on the Mozambican side, have made the frontier line extremely vulnerable to clandestine immigrants, many of them associated with organized crime, smuggling, and trafficking of all kinds and, in recent years, with the development of the jihadi insurgency in Northern Mozambique. This wave of migration has also brought into Mozambique individuals from war zones (particularly from the Democratic Republic of Congo) with military experience and involved in organized crime networks. Furthermore, the porous nature of the borders has also allowed the entry into Mozambican territory of individuals linked to Salafist circles particularly from Tanzania, Kenya, and Somalia, many of whom are also involved in illegal mining. Hence the illegal mining sites have become spaces for the dissemination of Salafist ideas and for recruitment.

While it is true that the jihadi insurgency takes advantage of the border dynamics, particularly the porous nature of the border between Mozambique and Tanzania, it also exploits the internal migratory movements characteristic of the coastal zone of Nampula, linked to fishing in the islands of the Quirimbas Archipelago, off the coast of Cabo Delgado Province. We shall discuss this issue in the following section.

### **The Coast of Cabo Delgado: Eldorado and the Jihadi Insurgency**

The departure of artisanal fishermen from the coastal zone of Nampula<sup>9</sup> to other regions is a longstanding phenomenon (Muanamoha and Raimundo, 2018). Among the pull factors (Peixot 2004; Patricio 2015; Rocha-Trindade 1995) in their destinations, we found the search for better fishing opportunities, particularly linked to an increase in income, and learning better techniques for catching fish. According to our interviews, the migratory movement of fishermen from the Nampula coast goes fundamentally in two directions: to the coast of Cabo Delgado and to the coast of Zambézia and Sofala. For Cabo Delgado,<sup>10</sup> the destinations are the Bay of Montepuez and the Quirimbas Archipelago, while for Sofala

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<sup>9</sup> These are the districts of Angoche, Mozambique Island, Mossuril, Nacala Port, Nacala-a-Velha, and Memba.

<sup>10</sup> The fisherman from Nampula who migrate to Cabo Delgado mostly come from the districts of Mozambique Island, Mossuril, Nacala-a-Porto, Nacala-a-Velha, and Memba.

and Zambézia,<sup>11</sup> the artisanal fishermen from the Nampula coast migrate to the Bank of Sofala (*Wamphulafax* 2014).

For our analysis in this article, we made particular use of information gathered from migrant fishermen heading to the Cabo Delgado coast, where the pull factors are, above all, the opportunities that the Bay of Montepuez and the Quirimbas Archipelago offer in terms of the quantity and quality of fish produced (Gell 1999), which are expressed in higher incomes for the fishermen. Comparative data from the survey of households of fishermen and fish farmers from Cabo Delgado and Nampula Provinces show interesting differences, to Cabo Delgado's advantage. For example, while in Nampula the average number of months of highest income from fishing and aquaculture is four months, it is five months in Cabo Delgado. In this period, the income per household per month is 15,000 meticaís<sup>12</sup> in Nampula and 21,000 meticaís<sup>13</sup> in Cabo Delgado (Amade 2017a & 2017b).

Based on our interview, we identified two types of artisanal fishermen who migrate from the coastal zone of Nampula to Cabo Delgado. The first type of fishermen consists of migrants who go to the Cabo Delgado coast for a long period. In general, they are young fishermen who intend to settle and raise a family in Cabo Delgado. From time to time, they return to their places of origin for a short visit to their relatives. Many of them have prospered in Cabo Delgado from fishing. Some witnessed in their villages the arrival of the first members of *Al-Shabaab*, well before the start of the armed violence. With the war, they have lost everything and were forced to return to Nampula. One of our interviewees told us his story as follows:

I was born here in Quissimajulu, Nacala-a-Porto. I am a fisherman, and in 2003 I went to Cabo Delgado, specifically to the Mucojo administrative post, in Macomia district. I decided to move to Mucojo, because I was fishing better there and made a profit from my business of selling fish. I owned two boats that were seventeen and four meters long. I also had fishing nets . . . goats and palm trees. I witnessed the start of the armed conflict [of *Al-Shabaab*]. I saw two mosques that young radical Muslims attended. These youths came into conflict with their parents. The Government intervened and those youths were arrested. They told us they were taken to Maputo. But when they came back to the village [Mutone village], they did

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<sup>11</sup> They are mainly fishermen from Angoche and Moma.

<sup>12</sup> Equivalent to 237 USD at the exchange rate of 63.2 MZN to 1 USD.

<sup>13</sup> Equivalent to 332 USD at the exchange rate of 63.2 MZN to 1 USD

not agree to follow the guidance of the government and they spread to Mocímboa da Praia and began to wage war . . . At the beginning, these youths sold their goods, and their houses, so that they could have money and travel to meet other youths of *Al-Shabaab* . . . and the war began. At the start, the village where I was living organized for self-defence. We organized ourselves into groups of ten people. Using machetes and spears we guarded our village. Later the head of the village asked the government for firearms. Those with machetes and spears guarded the village in groups, while those who had firearms patrolled. But when the security situation worsened, I decided to return to my birthplace, here in Quissimajulu, Nacala-a-Porto.<sup>14</sup>

A similar story was told by another interviewee, who also migrated to the Cabo Delgado coast in search of better conditions for fishing:

I went to Cabo Delgado in 2010. I decided to stay in Macomia, in the Quiterajo administrative post. I am a fisherman. When I arrived there, I liked the lands . . . I obtained a plot of land, I built my house, and I married there. Until 2014, there was no problem. But as from 2014, the situation began to change. The Tanzanians began to arrive, who brought a new way of practicing Islam. When I arrived in Quiterajo, there was only one mosque in my village. When these Tanzanians arrived, they went to build a new mosque. Then the confusion began. The new believers went to the new mosques, and with new rules: the men should wear turbans, and knee-length shorts, and they called us “Kafir” . . . even though we are Muslims. At that time, some youths were selling goods in the village, and they said that with the money they wanted to pay for trips to Somalia to go and study . . . they began by selling fish. Then they sold their houses, and finally they moved to Mocímboa da Praia and there the war began. I was living in Ilala village. There we also decided to organize ourselves for the self-defense of our village just as they were doing in other villages. In our village, we formed groups of 15 people to patrol. I was a member of one of the patrol groups . . . we were using spears. One day the *Al-Shabaab* began to attack and behead the people who were patrolling the village . . . it was then that I gave up. It didn’t take long . . . the *Al-Shabaab* burnt down my village. I lost six sets of fishing gear and nets, a solar panel, a battery . . . everything was set on fire. That day, before they left,

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<sup>14</sup> Interview with Momade Juma, Quissimajulu, 10 July 2020.

the *Al-Shabaab* promised to return. So, I decided to flee with my family, and return to Quissimajulu, here in Nacala Port.<sup>15</sup>

The second type of fishermen consists of migrants who go to the Cabo Delgado coast for a short period. In general, they are people who intend to earn money to solve specific problems in their families in their places of origin: building or improving houses, costs of marriage, health problems, etc. This type of migrant is common in the Baixo Pinda village, in Memba District, from which many fishermen have gone to the islands of Cabo Delgado. One of the interviewees, who returned from Cabo Delgado three years ago, explained:

Normally, it [migration to Cabo Delgado] works like this: the fishermen plan before migrating: “this year I’m going to Mocímboa da Praia to fish. The aim is to build a better house with the money I earn from fishing.” Then he (the fisherman) goes to Cabo Delgado. As you can see, here in Baixo Pinda, there are many improved houses . . . they all belong to fishermen who have returned from the islands of Cabo Delgado.<sup>16</sup>

Over the years, an extremely efficient informal mechanism has developed locally which allows artisanal fishermen to migrate to the coast of Cabo Delgado. It is a mechanism that essentially involves two types of stakeholders.

The first type of stakeholder consists of boat owners. They are “small businesspeople” who have managed to accumulate some money, thanks to the business of selling fish. Most of them come from the coastal districts of Cabo Delgado, notably Macomia, Quissanga, Mocímboa da Praia, and Palma. There are also cases of boat owners from Tanzania. Each boat owner sets up his own labor recruitment network, which makes it possible for individual fishermen to come to the Cabo Delgado coast. According to our interviews, with the arrival of *Al-Shabaab*, these labor recruitment networks took on a new meaning, in the context of recruiting young men to the ranks of *Al-Shabaab*. One of the young fishermen who worked on the Cabo Delgado coast in recent years told us of his experience:

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<sup>15</sup> Interview with Rajabo Amade, Quissimajulu, 10 July 2020.

<sup>16</sup> Interview with Amade Ali, Baixo Pinda, 7 July 2021.

I went to Cabo Delgado to work for a boss [boat owner] from Mocímboa da Praia. When the war began, I didn't know that my boss was working for *Al-Shabaab*. One day, he came to talk with us and said: "today we're going to have a visit . . . take advantage of it because you're going to have a lot of money." It turned out that the visit was by members of *Al-Shabaab*, who came to entice us with money to join their group.<sup>17</sup>

There were also cases when some members of *Al-Shabaab* were also "bosses" in that they owned fishing boats or were buyers of large amounts of fish for later sale in the cities of Pemba and Nampula or even in Tanzania. Speaking about the first moments of the insurgency on the Cabo Delgado coast, one of the fishermen explained:

In the first moments, *Al-Shabaab* came as bosses. They used to buy a lot of our fish, and they were paying well. They could pay, for example, 50,000—100,000 meticaís in one go. Many of them [*Al-Shabaab*] were educated people and they spoke a lot about the Koran . . . They used to tell people to go into the mosques wearing shoes on their feet . . . This was before the first attack against Mocímboa da Praia. After this attack, many young men were recruited to join *Al-Shabaab*. They were enticed with jobs, money . . . the youths were going to work (in fishing) and then they fell into the hands of *Al-Shabaab*.<sup>18</sup>

The second type of stakeholder in the informal mechanism that allows migration are individual fishermen, recruited locally. Consisting mostly of young men, these fishermen migrate to the coast of Cabo Delgado looking for job opportunities and work for the boat owners mentioned above. The journey from the Nampula coast to Cabo Delgado follows well defined routes along the coast, with stops at some islands. It is organized by the boat owners. One of the interviewees gave his experience of the journey in the following terms:

Normally, people receive information about the journey. The boat owners send notice saying that on day X, boat Y will leave for Cabo Delgado. The boat owner himself gives information about the journey. In the case of Memba, in general the boats leave from the zone of Metemane. When they leave from Metemane, they

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<sup>17</sup> Interview with Issufo Abudo, Baixo Pinda, 3 July 2021.

<sup>18</sup> Interview with Nicolau Alberto, Baixo Pinda, 7 July 2021.

spend the night in Serisse in the Lúrio administrative post. The next day, the boat sets off towards Pemba and Ibo. It stops at Tanzua, in Quissanga District, and the next day the boat leaves for Pangane, Mucojo, in Macomia District. Then the boat travels on to the islands of Quiranhone, Dimbuzi, and Igungu, in Mocímboa da Praia, and Kifuque, in Palma District.<sup>19</sup>

Upon arrival, the fishermen find a network of solidarity formed by other migrants, who, in general, are from their own zones of origin. Thanks to these solidarity networks, they obtain financial resources to set themselves up in the places where they arrived before beginning their work commitment with their respective bosses who were at the origin of their journeys to Cabo Delgado. These solidarity networks also operate as an important factor for the social and economic integration of the fishermen in the places where they arrive.

The dynamics of external migration (on the frontier between Mozambique and Tanzania) and of internal migration (fishermen going from the Nampula coast to Cabo Delgado) described and analyzed above took on a new impulse in the context of the establishment and development of the jihadi insurgency in Northern Mozambique. They allowed the establishment of radical religious cells and the recruitment of youths to the ranks of *Al-Shabaab*. We discuss this in the following lines.

### **Radical Religious Cells and Recruitment to *Al-Shabaab* in Northern Mozambique**

Before the first attack against Mocímboa da Praia in October 2017, there was already evidence of the existence of radical religious cells in some districts of Cabo Delgado, Nampula, and Niassa. With the eruption of armed violence, these cells came to operate as important elements in recruitment to swell the ranks of the insurgents in Cabo Delgado. When one looks at the establishment of these cells, it is interesting to note the similarity between what happened in different districts of Cabo Delgado, Nampula, and Niassa in terms of stages: first, the religious cells are established, and thereafter the military cells. Our interviews show that the religious cells were established by Tanzanian or Mozambican individuals who attended mosques of a Salafist tendency in Tanzania.

When these individuals arrived in Cabo Delgado, Nampula, and Niassa, they first sought to penetrate the local mosques. Examples of this are the cases of Mocímboa da Praia and Macomia (Cabo Delgado Province) before 2017, the case of the Mutotope zone on the

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<sup>19</sup> Interview with Magid Sulemane, Baixo Pinda, 3 July 2021.

outskirts of Nampula city in 2017, or Memba in 2016 (Nampula Province), Mecula in 2017, and Lichinga in 2014/15 (Niassa Province). In all these cases, *Al-Shabaab* met with resistance from the local Muslim religious leaderships, whether from the Islamic Council of Mozambique (in the cases of Mocímboa da Praia, Lichinga, and Mutotope), or from the Islamic Congress (in the case of Mecula). Following this, they decided to build their own mosques, and, at the same time, some young men began to leave to join the group of insurgents in Cabo Delgado. The resistance from the religious leaderships was accompanied with denunciations to the local authorities. However, it is important to note that, unlike Cabo Delgado, the cells in Nampula and Niassa have been unable to militarize and launch large scale armed actions against state institutions and the civilian population. This difference may be related to at least two factors, namely: a) better coordinated action in Nampula and Niassa between the government authorities and the local Muslim religious leaderships in denouncing members of the group and, in some cases, neutralizing them; b) difficulties faced by the group in establishing logistics capable of unleashing and continuing armed attacks in Nampula and Niassa. Despite this, in the areas where the group has managed to establish radical religious cells, these cells have come to operate as important poles for recruiting young men in order for them to join the ranks of *Al-Shabaab* in the districts of Cabo Delgado. How does this recruitment take place? We shall deal with the matter in the following section.

### Dynamics of Recruitment

Evidence on the ground suggests that the elements that comprise the *Al-Shabaab* group do not come solely from Cabo Delgado. Indeed, dynamics linked with the evolution of the violence have allowed *Al-Shabaab* to set up a vast and complex recruitment network, allowing it to include fighters not only from abroad, but also from various places inside Mozambique, notably from Cabo Delgado, Nampula, and Niassa, a fact which, to a large extent, denied the hypothesis of an “ethnic war.” Indeed, the conflict in Cabo Delgado cannot be seen as a war of Mwani people against Makonde people. In fact, the ranks of *Al-Shabaab* includes people from different ethnic groups, including Mwani, Makonde, and Makwa.

The growing literature on extremist movements of a jihadi nature (Hansen 2018; Sageman 2004; Neumann 2013; Schuurman 2019; Zenn 2014) converges in considering that recruitment is not uniform, in that there are differences in the way that recruitment occurs in the various jihadi groups. For example, Omenma, Hendricks, and Ajaebili (2020), in their

comparative work on *Boko Haram* and *Al-Shabaab* of Somalia, stress that the two groups prioritize different recruitment strategies, resulting from the political configuration of the countries in which they operate.

As for northern Mozambique, our interviews suggest that *Al-Shabaab* exploits local social, economic, political, and religious dynamics for purposes of recruitment, focusing its action on differing aspects, namely religious cleavages within Islam locally; ethnic divisions; taking advantage of the anti-State/Frelimo narrative; micro-credit schemes intended to stimulate small businesses of future recruits; and promises of jobs in Cabo Delgado in fishing (for the case of young men from the coastal districts of Nampula) and in mining and other types of activity (for the youths from Niassa districts). The anti-State/Frelimo narrative builds on the failure of government public policies mainly in the sectors of education, health, water, and sanitation. It is reinforced by social inequalities and the feeling of social, political, and economic exclusion, and is mobilized by *Al-Shabaab* in the context of jihadi insurgency in northern Mozambique.

In many cases, the incentives for recruits are based essentially on two aspects: high wages, believed to exist in Cabo Delgado; and the possibility of improving living conditions (for example, by building improved houses for the families of recruits in the urban centers of Nampula and Niassa from the money earned from supposed jobs in Cabo Delgado). In terms of the target group, recruitment is aimed essentially at young men, mostly living in conditions of great vulnerability, expressed in the absence of jobs and prospects, particularly in the coastal districts of Nampula (Angoche, Ilha de Moçambique, Mossuril, Nacala-a-Porto, Nacala-a-Velha, and Memba) and the Niassa districts bordering on Tanzania (Sanga) and Cabo Delgado (Mecula and Marrupa). Under these circumstances, *Al-Shabaab* has structured its recruitment discourse by manipulating factors that are not only religious but also involve opposition to the state. Our interviews show that the recruitment strategies used by *Al-Shabaab* in Northern Mozambique rest essentially on the dynamics of the local context, a fact which makes recruitment a contextually determined phenomenon.

Evidence from research on the conflict in Cabo Delgado suggests that the jihadi insurgency in Northern Mozambique is a part of global terrorism in that it makes use of a vast transnational jihadi network in terms of ideology and recruitment (Bonate 2022; Morier-Genoud 2020; Habibe, Forquilha, and Pereira, 2019). The claims from the Islamic State of authorship of the attacks in Cabo Delgado, from June 2019 onwards, reinforced the need to place Mozambican Al-Shabaab in a broader picture of jihadi surgencies in Africa and beyond. Indeed, when looking at the literature on violent jihadist movements in Africa and their

relationships with global terrorism, it can be concluded that the case of *Al-Shabaab* in Cabo Delgado is not an exception (Hansen 2018; Oyewole 2015; Forest and Giroux 2011). These are groups that result from local dynamics and, at a certain point in time, seek a connection with global terrorism by promising loyalty. However, as Hansen (2018) stresses, one should not lose sight of the relevance of the local dimension of these groups, in that it is the multiple local cleavages that allow insurgencies to develop.

## Conclusion

The local dynamics of migration in northern Mozambique constitute an important entry point for the analysis and understanding of the establishment and development of the jihadi insurgency. In this article, based on extensive field work, we have tried to show that the advance of the insurgency has made use of the dynamics of external and internal migration, which have fed a vast network of *Al-Shabaab* recruitment, facilitated essentially by the porous nature of the border with Tanzania and by fishing activity on the islands off the coast of Cabo Delgado. The porosity of the border with Tanzania lies at the origin of a strong migratory movement associated with illegal mining. This movement has brought into Mozambican territory, on the one hand, individuals linked with Salafist circles particularly from Tanzania, Kenya, and Somalia, and, on the other, individuals from war zones (particularly from the Democratic Republic of Congo) with military experience and involved in international crime networks. For its part, the internal migratory movement of artisanal fishermen from the Nampula coast to Cabo Delgado has gained a fresh impetus in the context of the insurgency in northern Mozambique and has transformed into an important factor in recruitment to the ranks of *Al-Shabaab*.

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# A Message from the *Cortes de amor*: An Admonishment on New Christians Attributed to Father António Vieira<sup>1</sup>

Claude B. Stuczynski<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

This article is a textual and contextual analysis of one of Father António Vieira's apocryphal writings addressed to Portugal's prince regent D. Pedro: the "Paper on the Parliament made by the Prince and Regent Dom Pedro." Besides reinforcing Vieira's authorship, this study sheds light on the way the Jesuit faced one of the worst moments in the history of the New Christian phenomenon in Portugal, after a host desecration in the Church of Odivelas in May 1671, when politics and anti-converso feelings became intertwined. Rhetoric and political messianism appear in this manuscript as tools to transform hatred of New Christians into empathy and support.

## Keywords

New Christians, Inquisition, Parliamentarism, antisemitism, political messianism, philosemitism

## Resumo

Este artigo sobre o "Papel nas Cortes que fez o Príncipe-Regente Dom Pedro, depois Rei de Portugal, seu autor o Padre António Vieira da Companhia," é uma análise textual e contextual de uma das obras apócrifas do Padre António Vieira, endereçada ao Príncipe-Regente de Portugal D. Pedro. Além de reforçar a autoria de Vieira, este estudo revela como o Jesuíta confrontou um dos piores momentos na história do fenômeno Cristão-novo em Portugal, após a profanação de hóstias na igreja de Odivelas, em maio de 1671. Naqueles dias, quando questões políticas e sentimentos anti-conversos se entrelaçaram, a retórica e o messianismo político afloram naquele manuscrito para transformar o ódio contra os Cristãos-novos em empatia e apoio.

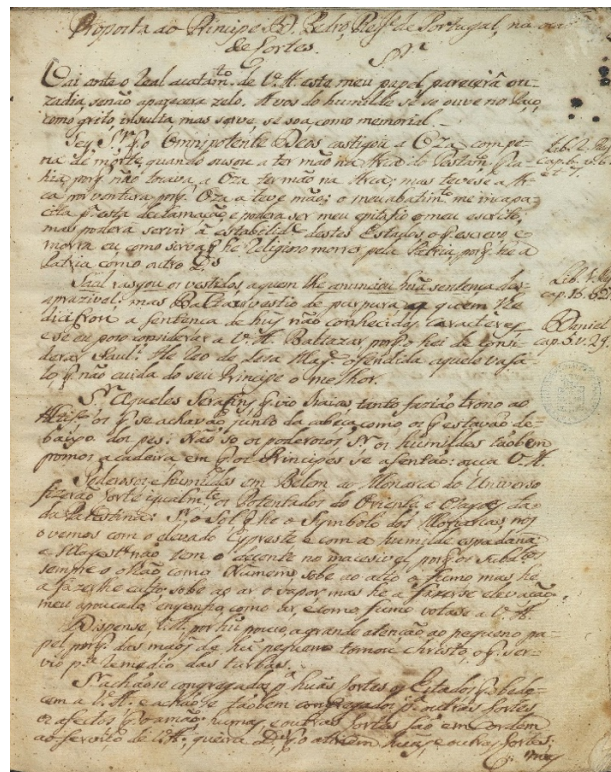
## Palavras-chave

Cristãos-novos, Inquisição, parlamentarismo, antissemitismo, messianismo político, filo-semitismo

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**Illustration 1.** Papel de Padre António Vieira

Source: Biblioteca da Academia das Ciências, <https://biblioteca.acad-ciencias.pt/pacweb/files/mv019.pdf>

The publication in 2014 of the twenty-volume complete works of Father António Vieira (1608–1697) brought the Jesuit’s apocryphal writings to a broader readership.<sup>3</sup> One of these works is a long undated tract held at the library of Lisbon’s Academy of Sciences under the title: “Paper on the Parliament made by the Prince and Regent Dom Pedro, who afterwards was King of Portugal. Its author, Father António Vieira of the Society [of Jesus].”<sup>4</sup> Whereas this manuscript (hereafter called “Vieira’s Paper” for the sake of brevity) is probably not autographical, according to the information appended to this document, it was given to the erudite antiquarian, the Franciscan Friar Vicente Salgado (1732–1802), by the intendent of Lisbon’s maritime port Ribeira das Naus, Fernando de Lavre, one hundred years after Vieira’s death.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> José Eduardo Franco and Pedro Calafate, eds., *Obra completa: Padre António Vieira*, 20 vols. (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2014). Despite the title of this work, the editors acknowledge that other writings of the prolific Vieira may still be discovered or identified in the future.

<sup>4</sup> Biblioteca da Académia das Ciências de Lisboa (BACL), “Papel nas Cortes que fez o Principe Regente Dom Pedro, depois Rei de Portugal, seu autor o Padre António Vieira da Companhia,” série vermelha de manuscritos, ms. 19. The document was transcribed in tome 1, volume V of Vieira’s above-mentioned *Obra completa*: (Vieira 2014c: 254–349) (hereafter, “Vieira’s Paper”).

<sup>5</sup> In the same year, namely 1797, the intendent of Ribeira das Naus of Lisbon, Fernando de Lavre G. Lobo Palha e Almeida, who was vice president of the council of finances of the navy, was reinstated to his charge after being temporarily suspended for alleged “criminal behavior” (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP), “Conjunto de diplomas oficiais do período da regência de D. João VI,” COD. 805/ /35, ff. 347–348). Founded

Modern editors of this document have expressed skepticism about Vieira's authorship, partly because a large part of the work does not reflect the Jesuit's well-known views on Jews and New Christians.<sup>6</sup> Whereas Vieira was a fervent advocate of the converso or New Christian group, even earning his current designation as a philosemite by calling for the professing Jews' return to Portugal in the 1640s (Novinsky, 1992; Novinsky, 2021; Niskier, 2004; Schwarz, 2003; Schwarz, 2008), this document echoes fierce anti-Jewish and anti-converso accusations and stereotypes. Without being able to definitively prove the authorship of this writing, I suggest that both contents and form fully correspond to the Jesuit's views.

"Vieira's Paper" was addressed to D. Pedro II (1648–1706) by the then regent of his elderly brother, King Afonso VI (1643–83), after his dismissal from the throne by a *coup d'état* in November 1667. Written from the perspective of a "humble voice" that prompted an "outcry of anger" in the form of an "explanatory memorial" (254), this work shows strong affinities with Vieira's political writings addressed to King John IV (1604–56), his wife D. Luísa de Gusmão (1613–66), and their son, Pedro. Moreover, it also bears the rhetorical and stylistic imprint of his acclaimed sermons (Cantel 1959; Saraiva 1996; Mendes 1989). In this article I argue that "Vieira's Paper" sheds light on the way the Jesuit faced one of the worst moments in the history of the New Christian phenomenon in Portugal when politics and anti-converso feelings became intertwined. Rhetoric and political messianism appear in this manuscript as tools to transform hatred of New Christians into empathy and support.

Vieira attained an influential position at Portugal's court in the 1640s as confidant of John IV, diplomatic emissary and royal preacher. The Jesuit saw in the dynasty of Bragança, newly restored from the Spanish Habsburgs, the beginning of a salvific era announced by the Portuguese prophet Gonçalo Anes Bandarra (1500–1556). In 1656, John IV died, and Vieira, by then preaching in the forests of Brazil, informed his widow that her husband would soon revive and fulfill Bandarra's prophecies as the awaited "hidden" king (*o Encoberto*). When Vieira returned to Portugal at the end of 1661, however, he found the kingdom embroiled in turmoil. Most significant was the rift between the supporters of D. Luísa and those who sought to raise her son Afonso to the throne under the aegis of Luís de Vasconcelos e Sousa,

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in 1779, the Lisbon Academy of Sciences holds some of Salgado's works, as well as his portrait. The "red series" of its library is comprised of manuscripts and documents originally held by the library of the friars of the third order of St. Francis, where Salgado was its distinguished librarian.

<sup>6</sup> The editors commented on the supposed claim by Vieira that the Portuguese monarchs who supported Jews and conversos were punished by God: "[t]hese arguments are of dubious attribution to Vieira, thus reinforcing the apocryphal character of the writing. However, they are a good example of how the probable enemies of Vieira aimed to discredit him" (Vieira 2014c: 262 n. 347).

3rd Count of Castelo Melhor (1636–1720). The queen mother repeatedly attempted to postpone Afonso's ascension to power on grounds of mental instability while she promoted her younger child, Pedro, as a better heir. Father Vieira was appointed by D. Luísa as Pedro's personal confessor, and, according to Thomas M. Cohen, Vieira already alluded to his support for Pedro over Afonso in the sermon of Epiphany of 1662 (Cohen 1998: 233 n.3). That said, after the latter's triumphant arrival in Lisbon as king in June 1662, Vieira, like other supporters of the Queen Mother, fell into disgrace and was exiled to the city of Porto. There, he faced a difficult inquisitorial prosecution which ran from July 1663 until December 1667 (Muhana 1999; Paiva 2011b). Early in 1668, our Jesuit departed in exile to Rome, where he obtained inquisitorial immunity from the pope and became engaged in the converso cause against the Portuguese Holy Office. Although the ascension of Pedro as prince regent might have meant the reinstatement of Vieira's favor at court, it seems that the former was not overly receptive to the views of the latter. Despite moments of proximity and convergence, the relationship between the two was antagonistic (Azevedo 1918–1920, 2: 95–218; Vainfas 2011: 220–254; Lourenço 2010: 172, 279–81). Nonetheless, as Vieira's 1689 "Apologetical Discourse" (*Discurso Apologético*), among other works, attests, the Jesuit continued to perceive Pedro II and his heirs as upholding the messianic hopes that he had invested in the person of John IV (Vieira 2014e: 249–306).<sup>7</sup> As we shall see, "Vieira's Paper," which interweaves critique, optimism, and advice, expresses precisely these sorts of ambivalence.

The author of "Vieira's Paper" begins by stating that he is aware of the temerity of intervening in matters of state, recalling that the biblical Uzzah was struck dead for touching the ark of the covenant despite his laudatory intentions (2 Samuel 6:6–7). He goes on to parallel his own situation with those of the prophets Samuel and Daniel, who had the difficult task of informing Saul and Belshazzar, respectively, that their reigns would soon end. In this initial *captatio benevolentiae*, the author expresses his hope that Pedro will follow the latter example rather than the former: while Samuel, as the bearer of this difficult news, became the object of Saul's ire (1 Samuel 15:27), Daniel was richly rewarded by the Babylonian monarch (Daniel 5:29).

The rationale behind this behavior was the perception of political duty as compliance to the sovereign, which nevertheless entails civic responsibility: "a criminal of high treason

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<sup>7</sup> According to Thomas M. Cohen: "[o]ver the course of his prophetic writings, Vieira transferred the focus of his hope in the *Encoberto* successively from D. Sebastião to D. João IV, D. Afonso VI, D. Pedro II, and finally to D. Pedro's two sons ... [t]his continuous transfer, rather than reflecting the inconsistencies in Vieira's interpretation of the Fifth Empire, obeys the logic of prophecy that he develops for the first time in the *Esperanças* [i.e., "Hopes of Portugal" from 1659]" (Cohen 1998: 133).

is a subject who does not look after the best of his prince” (Vieira 2014c: 254). This principle especially applies in the case of “subjects” like Samuel and Daniel, who were endowed with particular wisdom and vision. In this self-fashioning address, the author of “Vieira’s Paper” is a simple subject whose task is nevertheless akin to that of the ancient prophets. Moreover, the Portuguese monarchs, in his view, are comparable to the biblical kings of Israel. Consequently, he claims, Portugal’s parliament or *Cortes* convoked by the prince regent does not correspond to the biblical character of its monarchy. Later in the treatise, he will elaborate on this claim, arguing that in earthly and political matters a Christian prince has absolute power over his subjects, although in spiritual and ecclesiastical issues he is bound by the authority of God’s earthly representative, the pope. Parliaments, for our author, violate the absolute nature of monarchy by limiting the power of the ruler, and in the case of the *Cortes* they also blur Christ’s fundamental division between the domains of God and Caesar (Matthew 22:21), which were given into the hands of Portugal’s secular ruler and the Roman pontiff (Vieira 2014c: 302–311, 331–332, 337–347). Additionally, he argues that parliaments are driven by power: fear of it, on the one hand, or abuse of it, on the other. Only spontaneous initiatives of subjects who genuinely care about the sovereign and the kingdom deserve the description “parliaments of love” (*Cortes de amor*). On the one hand, our author was elaborating on the widespread metaphorical political principle that allegiance between the prince and his subjects should be grounded on “love” (Gil Pujol, 2016). On the other hand, *Cortes de amor* also played on the concept of “court”: broadly understood as the space where the prince lived and interacted with his subjects. According to António Manuel Hespanha, the early modern court was a privileged arena to obtain concessions from the sovereign based on grace, thus contouring established norms and rigid criteria of justice (Hespanha 1993: 177–202). In other words, the author of “Vieira’s Paper” joined those who contested the legitimacy of parliaments by addressing Pedro in a more informal way of loving the prince in order to obtain his spontaneous loving grace. In this regard, the decision of the King of France, Louis XI (1423–1483), to outlaw parliamentary meetings as crimes of *lèse-majesté* is instructive. Accordingly, this harsh measure proved beneficial to France in the long run as it led to a tradition of avoiding the convocation of the three estates by subsequent monarchs. In contrast, the author presents the case of England, whose powerful parliament, he contends, was responsible for the calamitous civil wars of 1642–1651 (Vieira 2014c: 331).

These attacks against the *Cortes* merit discussion. On the one hand, by arguing that it is impossible to institutionalize a “parliament of love,” “Vieira’s Paper” seeks to undermine one of the main justifications for early modern Portuguese parliamentarism: as the best

occasion for subjects and princes to express “mutual love” (Cardim 1998: 76–84). On the other hand, it implicitly questions the role of the *Cortes* at that moment of political instability: “not only for taxes, but also because now it became a growing concern to safeguard the crown from more than a probable crisis of succession” (Xavier and Cardim 2006: 101). On January 27, 1668, Pedro was hailed as prince regent by the *Cortes*, and on January 20, 1673, he officially convoked the *Cortes* to pronounce an oath of allegiance to his daughter, the princess Isabel Luísa Josefa (1669–1690). However, in these parliamentary gatherings and in the *Cortes* of 1679–80, the prince regent was seeking approval for the controversial dismissal of Afonso VI and his own recognition as Portugal’s ruler. Like in Vieira’s writings, the author of “Vieira’s Paper” questioned the legitimating function of the *Cortes* (Cardim 1998: 96, 112–114, Xavier and Cardim 2006: 203–214).

For our purposes, it is important to remember that Portugal’s *Cortes*, and particularly the ecclesiastical and third estates, traditionally held an anti-converso bias. They saw the New Christian “men of the nation” (*bomens da nação*), as they were known, as an internal threat or a *de facto* “estate within the estates” rather than as mostly sincere Catholics and useful state-builders, as Vieira and other pro-converso elements claimed (Stuczynski 2011; Stuczynski 2019a). Moreover, inquisitorial persecution against the conversos, consistently supported by the ecclesiastical order, was envisioned by the third estate (“the people,” *o povo*) as a tangible expression of Portugal’s catholicity (Marcocci 2004: 337–354; Paiva 2011a: 213–260). In letters sent from Rome to the courtier and diplomat Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo (1618–1680), Vieira lamented that the Holy Office used parliamentary gatherings for their own purposes (Vieira 2014b: 385, 387, 431, 436). At the same time, the money and collective “pardon taxes” (*fiatas do perdão*), which were periodically gathered by the New Christian group in exchange for inquisitorial amnesties and/or softer measures against converso exclusion (broadly called “general pardons”) as well as the economic contributions that the richest among the converso “men of the nation” (Boyajian 1979; Stuczynski 2007) were perceived by members of the third estate as a way of undermining their influence at the *Cortes* through taxation and political support.

During Pedro’s regency, the issue of his own legitimacy—threatened by actual or potential supporters of Afonso VI—taxation and the New Christian problem became tightly interwoven. Mostly for “reason of state” considerations, the prince regent was ready to moderate converso exclusion and appease inquisitorial persecution, to the point of almost conceding them the right of obtaining from the pope a general pardon, in exchange for the re-establishment of the short-lived company of commerce in India with New Christian

capital and/or the offering of large sums of money to reinvigorate Portugal's expansion in the East (Silva 1974; Disney 1977). Yet the prince regent relied heavily on the support of the *Cortes* in those years of political instability (Xavier 1998). This dilemma partly explains Pedro's zigzagging from the moment he ascended to power until the sessions of the *Cortes* of May 24, 1674, when he finally opted, not without hesitation, to adopt a sustained anti-New Christian agenda (Azevedo 1989: 288–305; Xavier and Cardim 2006: 233–240, 258–261).<sup>8</sup> In my view, “Vieira's Paper” was probably written close to this turning point.<sup>9</sup>

As noted, “Vieira's Paper” endorses French anti-parliamentarian attitudes. During the seventeenth century, the French governmental model was attractive for many pro-converso thinkers and writers, because it opposed centrifugal forces such as an autonomous Inquisition or a powerful parliament (Stuczynski, 2019 b). That said, “Vieira's Paper” does not fully accept the Gallican model of politics and confessionalization. As in Vieira's writings, “Vieira's Paper” supports an “upgraded” Inquisition after the Roman model and upholds the views of the Jesuit cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), who conferred to the pope the authority to intervene indirectly in secular matters (*potestas papalis indirecta*) when these touched upon spiritual issues (Bellarmine, 2012). As we shall see, for ideological and practical reasons, Father Vieira and “Vieira's Paper” saw in the indirect intervention of the pope a legitimate and indispensable means to disentangle the knotty New Christian problem and Pedro's dependence on the *Cortes*.

“Vieira's Paper” is divided into three main sections. The first (Vieira 2014c: 256–265) aims to show that the Portuguese were destined by God to be his second “chosen people” after the election of the Jews. The author claims that the history of the Portuguese was analogous to that of the ancient Hebrews and biblical Jews (Vieira 2014c: 260–262). Thus, King Afonso Henriques (r. 1139–85) and his son Sancho I (r. 1185–1211) mirrored Moses and Joshua by relentlessly fighting idolatry before and after conquering their “promised land” of Portugal (Vieira 2014c: 262). Like biblical Judeans, Portuguese also suffered a sort of exile, when the foreign Spanish Habsburgs kings ruled over their motherland for sixty years (1580–1640) (Vieira 2014c: 262–265). Moreover, just as God revealed his election to the sons of

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<sup>8</sup> According to Carl H. Hanson (1981: 97), Pedro's sudden adoption of a consistent policy against the New Christians was related to political considerations: “[t]he reasons of his turnaround are not altogether clear, but it is likely that an ominous event of 1673, the threat of being deposed by a counter coup, was the principal consideration.”

<sup>9</sup> Vieira addressed another petition to the prince regent after his decision at the *Cortes* of May 24, 1674 to reject New Christians' claims before the Holy See: “Papel que em nome do Padre Antonio Vieira se offereceo ao Principe D. Pedro, Regente deste Reyno, em defeza da gente da Nação, e a favor do recurso que intentava obter de S. Santidade sobre a mudança dos estilos do Santo Officio” (*BACL*, série vermelha de manuscritos, ms. 455, 29r-45v).

Israel in the “written law” (*lei escrita*), in times of the Christian “law of grace” (*lei da graça*), Portugal was chosen to be a “peculiar kingdom of the Lord” after the miraculous revelation at Ourique. The so-called “miracle of Ourique” (or “oath of Ourique”), which is quoted *in extenso* in our manuscript (Vieira, 2014 c: 256-8), is the account of Jesus’ appearance to the founder of Portugal’s monarchy, Afonso Henriques, during the Battle of Ourique in 1139 against the Almoravids. Accordingly, Christ assigned to Portugal and its first king a sacred mission: “I am the founder and destroyer of kingdoms and empires, and I desire in you and in your descendants to found for myself a kingdom, by which means my name will be known in far-off nations” (Brandão 1632: 120; Buescu 1987). As in the prophetic writings of Vieira, the “miracle of Ourique” was considered a covenant (*pacto*) through which God conferred to the Portuguese the task of spreading Christianity throughout the world (Cantel 1950: 65–84; Azevedo e Silva 2008). This episode attained a sort of canonical status following its depiction by the royal chronicler Duarte Galvão (1440–1517), who cherished millenarian expectations (Aubin, 1996). Particularly after the dynastical “restoration” of Portugal’s throne from the Spanish Habsburgs on December 1, 1640, this myth—along with the lyric prophecies of Bandarra—became a foundational text of the variegated and evolving forms of Portuguese political messianism. (Lipiner 1996; Franco 2000; Gandra 2002; Bethencourt 2015).

Still, correlations and parallelisms between Hebrews or Jews and the Portuguese did not necessarily entail philosemitism. At least in the early modern Iberian world, these correspondences often exacerbated Jewish hatred (Kaplan 1988; Jordán 2003; Stuczynski 2008; Stuczynski 2012). Interpreted in a typological way, God’s distinction of the Portuguese not only was a new election; it was also understood as an upgraded one. In many respects, this was an extension of Christian theological supersessionism vis-à-vis Judaism to the ethnic and national political spheres, implying more than assuming that the election of the Catholic Portuguese transformed professing Jews into fossilized remnants of a glorious bygone era (Cohen 1999). Since God’s enhanced election was built upon the previous one, this view often propagated quasi-gnostic-Marcionite tenets. Thus, if the task of biblical Hebrews was to obey God and fight against the idolatrous peoples in Canaan, the mission of the Portuguese was to evangelize non-Christian Gentiles around the world and suppress “idolatrous Judaism” in the kingdom (Vieira 2014c: 256). In this section of the treatise, Jews and New Christians are depicted as the main obstacles to the fulfillment of Portugal’s sacred destiny revealed in Ourique. Accordingly, every time that Portuguese monarchs protected Jews and conversos (e.g., by admitting expelled Jews from Castile or enabling New Christians

to marry Old Christians), the anger of God was aroused. Consequently, the kings João II (1455–9145) and Manuel I (1469–1521), who gave shelter to the expelled Spanish Jews in 1492, were punished by the premature death of their beloved heirs (i.e., the *Infante* Afonso, who died in an equestrian accident in 1491 and Miguel, the hereditary prince of Portugal and Spain, who passed away at the age of two). In the same manner, conversos' promiscuity with Old Christians was divinely chastised by the usurpation of the Portuguese throne by Philip II of Spain (1527–98). Accordingly, this event mirrored the episode of Eglon, king of Moab, as related in the Book of Judges: "Again the Israelites did evil in the eyes of the Lord, and because they did this evil the Lord gave Eglon king of Moab power over Israel ... [t]he Israelites were subject to Eglon king of Moab for eighteen years" (Judges 3:12-14).

Our author also specifies that God is always ready to forgive the faults of his cherished peoples, accepting expressions of repentance and assisting them in their tribulations. Hence, just as God sent Deborah to liberate the Israelites from foreign oppressors and Gideon to uproot idolatry among them (Judges 4), the Portuguese received their own Deborah in the person of Queen D. Luísa de Gusmão—who played a central role in the dynastical restitution of the throne—and a new Gideon—none other than Pedro—whose main task was to extirpate Judaism (*extirpação do Judaísmo*) through a "law of extermination" (*lei do extermínio*) and the creation of a special council (*Junta*) to implement the law (Vieira 2014c: 263–265).

In three specific ways, "Vieira's Paper" resembles other anti-converso discourses of its time, such as sermons, advisory essays (*memoriales*), and declarations pronounced by Portugal's estates at the *Cortes* (Stuczynski 2007; Marques 1988; Marques 2010; Paiva 2010: 213–260; Soyer 2014: 96–97). First, such writings made extensive use of examples taken from history in order to show that God stood against the New Christian cause, as demonstrated by the outcome of specific historical events. Since God displays his divine providence to reveal his will, it is unsurprising that these examples were often taken from the Bible. Such references aimed to emphasize the holy character of the conflict between the Old and the New Christian populations, simultaneously perceived as a clash of civilizations and almost a cosmological rift between the forces of good and evil. In Carl Schmitt's theological-political terms of politics, conversos were depicted by the initial part of "Vieira's paper" as the second of the binary pair: friend/enemy (Schmitt 1996).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Let us remember, however, that providentialism was disseminated in both anti-converso and pro-converso entourages and shared a common belief in Portugal's historical mission supported by God's divine Providence (Marques 2007; Stuczynski 2008; Lima 2010). Even ex-converso Sephardi Jews employed providential discourses to support their claims (Orfali 2003).

The author of “Vieira’s Paper” presents D. Pedro’s anti-converso measures without discussing his abovementioned moments of hesitation or favor on behalf of the New Christians. For this reason, the Extermination Law and the gathering of a special *Junta* appear in our document as if they emerged from a single decision taken at the *Cortes*. The facts, however, were different. During the *Cortes* of 1668, the third estate already asked the new ruler to forbid New Christians honorable charges and offices, to outlaw marriages with Old Christians, and to expel from the kingdom those converso families who were convicted by the Inquisition as heretics (Azevedo 1989: 289).<sup>11</sup> These requirements were considered by Pedro only after the affair of Odivelas, when New Christians were accused of desecrating hosts and other objects of cult in the Church of Odivelas during the night of May 10-11, 1671 (Paixão, 1938-1939, 2:120-5; Hanson, 1981: 90-107; Martins, 2002).

The episode of Odivelas surpassed previous outbursts of converso hatred, such as a similar episode of a host desecration at the Church of Santa Engrácia in 1630 (Stuczynski, 2022), in at least one respect. Rather than being dragged into the affair by the Inquisition and popular pressure, this time Portugal’s *Cortes*, members of the government, and the prince regent led a campaign of anti-converso retaliation. Thus, already in June 1671, Pedro was ready to adopt suggestions made by the *Cortes* of 1668 and members of his government and announced the expulsion of convicted New Christians and their families.<sup>12</sup> This decree was the Law of Extermination of June 22, 1671, referred to by “Vieira’s Paper.” In July and August of that year, the prince regent issued additional laws, also recommended by the parliament and supported by Pedro’s political entourage, which reinforced converso exclusion from official charges and banned lawyers and physicians who were condemned by the Holy Office (Paixão 1938–1939, 3: 5–6; Andrade e Silva 1856, 8 : 191–192). In a vitriolic tract published in August 1671, Pedro’s secretary of state, Roque Monteiro Paim (1643–1706), explained the necessity of fully enforcing the “extermination” of the New Christians even before knowing the identity of the author of Odivela’s profanation. For, everybody presumed the effects of New Christian “infected blood,” which entailed a natural tendency to commit sacrileges like this. Although in the dedicatory introduction, the chaplain of the Portuguese ambassador in Madrid, Francisco Paez Ferreira, argued that Paim was just

<sup>11</sup> In a petition to the prince regent by the ecclesiastical estate of March 28, 1668, concerning the urgent need to reinforce existing measures of converso exclusion, an expulsion was not considered. See *B/A*, 44-XIII-43, 115r-118v.

<sup>12</sup> “Copia que se fez no Desembargo do Passo, sobre os meios que paressem conuinientes para se extinguir o Judaísmo de Portugal” (Biblioteca da Ajuda (*B/A*), 51-II-34, 42v-50v). From this document, we also know that on June, 2 1671, members of Pedro’s governmental entourage suggested the formation of a special council to consider juridical aspects of the expulsion.

paraphrasing Pedro's decree of June 22, and Bruno Feitler suggested that this tract could be a probable source of it, the later publication of the booklet was probably meant to be an admonition to a hesitant ruler to apply all the anti-converso measures required towards an "extirpation" of Judaism from the kingdom (Paim 1671: 1v; Feitler 2015: 61–65, 79).

Note that the concepts of "extirpation" and "extermination" were primarily understood as eradication of any form of Jewish heresy from Portugal because "only" New Christians convicted *de vehementi* by the Holy Office with their families (including children and grandchildren) were to be expelled.<sup>13</sup> At the same time, the rest of the measures (i.e., the prohibition of marriages with Old Christians, the exclusion from offices, titles of nobility, and other honors, denial of entry to universities, and inability to entail estates or *morgadios* in their families), were collectively and retroactively applied to the entire New Christian "*nação*."

Without necessarily using the word "extermination," already in the 1620s voices were increasingly heard calling for implementing an expulsion of Portugal's convicted Judaizers, as well as the reinforcement of "purity of blood" criteria, as parallel means to solve the persistent New Christian problem (Mattos 1622; Mattos 1625; Areda 1625: 8r–16v). For this purpose, an assembly of bishops, theologians, and other influential churchmen was reunited in Tomar in 1629 (Cohen 2003; Figueirôa-Rêgo 2011: 174–184). Vicente da Costa Mattos' suggestions, made in his popular "Breve discurso contra a heretica perfidia do judaismo" (first published in 1622), to expel Judaizers because "a little Jewish blood is enough to destroy the world," were published again in 1668 (Mattos 1668; Orfali 2001). But this did not mean that the anti-converso argumentation was the same. On the one hand, the concept of extermination became ubiquitous during Pedro's reign, meaning a decanted combination between theological anti-Judaism and racial anti-Semitism. On the other hand, whereas the radical anti-converso voices of the 1620s were heralded by churchmen, inquisitors, and individuals (Yerushalmi 1982; Riandière La-Roche 1983), much against the opinion of kings and their counselors, now such an approach was adopted by the political class. Such shift in the discursive regimes of the 1660s and 1670s enabled the Duke of Aveiro to infer from the Odivelas affair these satirical comments:

Men of the nation have two types [*castas*] of blood: one that flows through the veins; other from the bags [*bolças*]. From the veins, all of them are Jews [*Judeus*]; from the

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<sup>13</sup> This was the meaning of "extermination" as given by Fernão Ximenes de Aragão in the second edition of his anti-Rabbinic book "Doutrina Catholica" (Stuczynski 2016).

bags, many of them are noblemen [*fidalgos*]. From the side of being Jews, all of them are despised; and from the side of being noblemen, they are loved by many.<sup>14</sup>

Unsurprisingly, Vieira was a leading voice against the Extermination Law, arguing that it was approved well before knowing the real author of the crime of Odivelas: a simple Old Christian thief called António Ferreira who only had some diluted converso blood in his veins. He also denounced the law for being unfair, unmerciful, and therefore un-Christian (Vieira 2014d: 82–106). Pedro was also dissuaded by his confessor, the Jesuit Manuel Fernandes (1614–1693) (Camarão 2017: 156–165). Thus, in order to obtain additional support for this controversial juridical measure, Pedro first submitted it to the advice of a council (*Junta grande*) of churchmen, theologians, jurists, and counselors, which was intended “to punish, extinguish and diminish by any means possible, those of that nation who live in this kingdom and in the conquests, seeming more lenient the punishments given by the Holy Office than what they deserved to receive by reason and justice,”<sup>15</sup> and then, he addressed it to the *Cortes* (Azevedo 1989: 297). Both events are referred in our tract.

The first section of “Vieira’s Paper” ends with a set of learned quotations illustrating the difficulty a simple author faces when telling his powerful addressee a disturbing truth (Vieira 2014c: 265). Thus, the reader of this manuscript is left with the impression that the juridical measures taken by Pedro at the *Cortes* to destroy Judaism embarrassed the very legislator who had advocated for their implementation.

The enigmatic corollary of the first part is elucidated throughout the second section of the manuscript (Vieira 2014c: 265–311). The first half (Vieira 2014c: 265–80) is an answer to those who questioned the efficacy of Pedro’s anti-converso measures by detailing the damage they could cause to Portugal’s demography and economy. Our author answered these objections—which stemmed from mercantilist assumptions and were central in pro-converso discourses of the seventeenth century, including Vieira’s letters to King John IV (Vieira 2014d: 31–46, 49–81)—by claiming that neither a demographic surplus nor the smoothing effect of money were guarantees of social stability and welfare, as seen in the biblical destruction of the wealthy and populous Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 18–19). More recent historical events, he adds, confirm that war against idolaters, apostates, and infidels is necessary to purge a country from its evils and rebuild it again with the help of God and a country’s pious subjects. Portugal’s successful medieval wars of *Reconquista* against

<sup>14</sup> “Papel que fez o Duque d’Aveiro a S. Magestade sobre os Christãos Novos, quando furtarão o Santissimo Sacramento de Odivelas” (*BACL*, série vermelha de manuscritos, ms. 455, 20r).

<sup>15</sup> Quoted from a letter written on August 6, 1673 by the bishop of Leiria, Pedro Vieira da Silva (1598–1676) to D. Pedro (Paixão 1939?, 3: 93).

Islam were a telling example of this. But even from a non-providential perspective, a numerous religious minority always entails a potential threat. That is why King Ferdinand II (1452–1516) expelled Spain's large Jewish population in 1492 and Philip III (1578–1621) did the same with the *morisco* masses between 1609 and 1614.<sup>16</sup> Even a few heretics could be enough to arouse seditions and civil wars, as evidenced by the Hussites in Bohemia and the Huguenots in France. Moreover, “four or five Lutherans broke down the Church in Germany, and a few more Calvinists corrupted the religion in England, Holland, Dacia, Norway and in the rest of the countries of the North” (Vieira 2014c: 267).<sup>17</sup>

Concerning economy, “Vieira's Paper” combines converso hatred with a widespread critique against the deceptive power of riches (Vilches 2010). Most likely, the author is alluding to the noxious effects purportedly caused by New Christian money offered as “services” in exchange for general pardons and other indulgences, when he declared: “even for good deeds, this money doesn't help at all: if it is offered to the church and it is accepted, it causes schism; and if it is given to the prince, it serves him to harm” (Vieira 2014c: 269). Wealth easily corrupts morals and faith. Thus, in the same way that the riches of Gentiles who lived in biblical Palestine provoked idolatry in their Hebrew neighbors, the wealth of those “Hebrews” who now live in Portugal provoke the propagation of Jewish heresy among Christians: “This happens, my Lord, and this is what we see every day, that there are a few places in our Portugal where there are not polluted (*impuros*) people. I do not mean everybody, but many of its inhabitants; for actually there are so many synagogues as churches, and with the same retinue is worshiped the calf and the lamb” (Vieira 2014c: 270).

The fight of Pedro against powerful Judaizers is compared to Judas Maccabeus' strife against the mighty idolatrous forces of Seron, governor of Syria (1 Maccabees 3) (Vieira 2014c: 270–272). This analogy is followed by a list of crimes purportedly committed by New Christians in Portugal (i.e. sacrileges, blasphemies, theft of hosts and sacred images, mockery of religion, and the crucifixion of innocent people), which echoes the recent affair of Odivelas (Vieira 2014c: 272–273).

In light of all this evidence, the author must address this question: How could the harm threatened by New Christians be stopped, considering the fact that none of the existing means, including the Inquisition and the exclusory laws of purity of blood, suppressed it?

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<sup>16</sup> On debates whether Portuguese New Christians should be collectively expelled after the *morisco* antecedent, see Pulido Serrano 2014.

<sup>17</sup> The author mentions the case of the humanist courtier Agustín Cazalla (1510–1559), who was condemned by the Spanish Inquisition for “Lutheranism.” Accordingly, with the purported help of eleven thousand followers in Castile, he was “machining a revolution in this part of Europe” (Vieira 2014c: 267).

Members of the Cortes, the *Junta*, and Pedro's advisors like Paim answered: through the enforcement of the Extermination Law. In its answer, "Vieira's Paper" even rejects Pedro's decree, arguing that the way exiled conversos were welcomed by "the nations of the north" (*as nações do Norte*) proves that banishment was for them a relief (*descanso*) rather than a punishment. Therefore, the author calls for reducing converso Judaizers to slavery. If it is true that after baptism, theological serfdom of Jews is definitively abrogated and no secular authority can intervene by its own initiative in matters pertaining to the Church, such as the Inquisition. At the same time, a Catholic sovereign can reinforce decisions taken by the Church, such as declaring any conversos, along with their families, slaves if convicted by the Holy Office. Being aware that these measures countervail aspects of canon law and the lenient attitudes of leading theologians and churchmen (including Bernard of Clairvaux and Thomas Aquinas)—that even the most radical supporters of "extermination" did not seriously envisage slavery as a feasible means to solve the persisting converso problem—the author of "Vieira's Paper" evokes the subjection of the Gibeonites by Joshua (Joshua 9:16–27) and compares it to the modern enslavement of black people (*etíopes*) by the Portuguese (Vieira 2014c: 274–279).<sup>18</sup> Whereas in the latter's case, serfdom was a means to obtain their spiritual salvation, the subjugation of the Gibeonites as "woodcutters and water carriers" was a deserved punishment for their deceptive behavior and a preventive means of any future attempt at treason. In other words, the enslavement of New Christians resembles the situation of the Gibeonites in constituting an emergency measure of state dictated by theological-political considerations. Our author finally claims that without such an extraordinary juridical measure, Portugal will shortly arrive at the situation of Sodom and Gomorrah before its destruction, when the number of their righteous citizens was less than ten (Genesis 18:16–33). On the one hand, "Vieira's Paper" endorses apocalyptic overtones of those who wholeheartedly supported the Extermination Law, including the author of this anonymous poem: "If the Law is that of Moses, / According to what do they say [i.e. the New Christians], / And the sword of our God/ Do not slay heresies, / In days less than a few, / we shall all become Jews" (Paixão 1938–1939, 3: 61). On the other hand, the embarrassment of the author of "Vieira's Paper" vis-à-vis Portugal's ruler here appears as the result of the realization that Pedro's anti-converso measures were not severe enough.

Surprisingly, the extant half of the second section (Vieira 2014c: 280–311) entails a dramatic shift: "[but] now, my Lord, let us temper this declaration, so it would not seem that

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<sup>18</sup> Despite the analogical resemblance of moriscos and conversos, our author does not mention Philip II's decree of enslavement of Granadan moriscos after the defeat of the Alpujarras rebellion (Casares 2013).

hate, instead of Catholic zeal, sharpened our pen.” Thus, after summarizing the damages purportedly caused by the New Christians, he announces:

Nevertheless (*todavia*), I will now argue (*direi agora*) that these punishments never happened, and will never happen in this kingdom because of the Jews (*judens*): the men of this nation should not be expelled from the church, specifically because their ancestors killed Christ, but only if these men do not believe in Christ; and for this reason, those who believed and believe [in Christ] deserve to stay within the Church, in spite of descending from those who killed [Christ] (Vieira 2014c: 280).

It is worth noting the dialectical-scholastic character of this excerpt was typical of the juridical culture of the time (Hespanha and Cabral 2002). After extensively elaborating a justification and intensification of the anti-converso measures taken by the prince regent, the author now announced its antithesis. As in some of Vieira’s sermons, the sudden change is aimed to arouse surprise. Furthermore, the *reductio ad absurdum* of opinions held by the addressee, using hyperbole, is aimed at efficaciously dismantling them (Cantel 1959: 377–388, 422–425). In a letter addressed from Rome to his friend Rodrigo de Meneses at the height of the Odivelas affair, Vieira employed similar anti-Semitic overtones by calling conversos “Jews” and comparing them to excrement: “Shit, says St. Augustine, out of its place dirties the house, and put in its place fertilizes the field.” Accordingly, the noxious presence of New Christians in Portugal was nonetheless needed to enrich its imperial and evangelical endeavors: “Remove from Portugal the Jews, the sacrileges, the offence to God and keep in Portugal the merchants, the commerce, the opulence” (Vieira 2014b: 133; Chakravarti 2018: 297).<sup>19</sup> In the case of “Vieira’s Paper,” by underscoring that the main reason for the anti-converso measures was heresy, its author could now easily argue that at the core of the New Christian problem is the question of religious sincerity and not matters of lineage, purity of blood, or ethnicity. Thus, if the New Christian phenomenon is fundamentally a religious issue, it can also be inferred that its ultimate solution should come from the pope, the Church’s supreme authority. At the same time, the words “now” and “nevertheless” indicate casuistry. As Carlo Ginzburg and other scholars have explained, casuistry is a sophisticated cognitive instrument

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<sup>19</sup> I partly agree with Ananya Chakravarti in claiming that such hostile depictions “may have been a rhetorical compromise, rather than a true measure of his attitude, as Hernani Cidade and António Sérgio suggest” in their own edition of Vieira’s selected works (Chakravarti 2018: 297 n. 61). At the same time, Vieira’s appropriation of anti-Jewish and anti-converso stereotypes were not so “unusual,” as Chakravarti contends. This also stemmed from his dialectical views on matter and Jewishness as paradoxical propellers of spirit and Christianity (Stuczynski 2021).

or technique that approaches difficult choices which contemplate exceptions within norms (“exceptions include the norms, not the other way around”) (Ginzburg and Biasori 2019: XI). Ginzburg sought to rehabilitate this erstwhile widespread technique from discredit by influential thinkers, such as Blaise Pascal in his “The Provincial Letters” (1656–1657), who famously associated casuistry with “Jesuitical” sophistry and hypocrisy. In the case of “Vieira’s Paper,” the use of the word “nevertheless” ironically indicates that the author’s purported exception is the appropriate norm (Ginzburg 2018: 29). In other words, casuistry helps our author to counterargue that neither Pedro’s anti-converso legislation nor the instigations of the *Cortes* against the “men of the nation” are adequate or legitimate.

Following these new premises, the author of “Vieira’s Paper” declares himself unopposed to the punishment of heretical Judaizers. But he also calls for honor to be shown to the faithful New Christians. Furthermore, if the duty of a Christian prince is to support the Church, the prince regent should know that the traditional attitude of the Catholic church vis-à-vis converted Jews followed Paul’s ecclesiological principle, accordingly: “Anyone who believes in him will never be put to shame. For there is no difference between Jew and Gentile” (Romans 10:11–12). Moreover, as a pious Christian the prince regent must do everything he can to ensure that “good Catholics [will]...come from the Hebrews” (Vieira 2014c: 280). In order to attain this goal, Portugal should avoid the collective abasement of the converso group. Rather, Castile ought to be lifted as an example, since there baptized Jews often received royal honors and many of them successfully intermarried with the most noble of the Old Christian families. The results were telling: “an ocular result of this good Catholic policy is the fidelity of them to the Church, because in a short time, and since no error was discovered among them, their blood went unnoticed” (Vieira 2014c: 281; cf. Vieira 2014d: 351). Paradoxically, when blood purity criteria were enforced (e.g., during Toledo’s anti-converso uprising of 1449), Castilian New Christians “began to commit errors of Judaism” (Vieira 2014c: 282).

Such a portrait of integrative Castile versus exclusionist Portugal was not fully accurate, nor it was new. Better known from the third chapter of Baruch Spinoza’s “Theologico-Political Treatise” (1670), this argument echoed an apology on behalf of the Portuguese “men of the nation” written in 1619 by the Spanish *licenciado* Martín González de Cellorigo (c. 1565?–1635?) (Stuczynski 2011; Yerushalmi 2014). According to the author of “Vieira’s Paper,” the Castilian model promotes social integration and offers conversos a powerful incentive to avoid heresy and embrace Christian faith. Similar policies, he adds, were enforced in France, Germany, and Italy (Vieira 2014c: 293). Note that contrary to

Vieira's letters addressed to King John IV in the 1640s, the author of "Vieira's Paper" does not overemphasize the proverbial economic skills of the "men of the nation." Perhaps, at the height of a process of stratification in Portuguese society, the choice of employing a rationale grounded on meritocracy and mercantilism would be a rhetorical mistake.<sup>20</sup> No wonder, then, that our author opts to remind his audience of the potentially noble status of the conversos as a way of demonstrating that New Christians could be integrated into the different strata of society. Since ideas about nobility were strongly associated with Old Christian aristocracy and built upon an antagonistic rejection of the New Christian "stained blood," "Vieira's Paper," like many other pro-converso apologies, has to deconstruct these widespread assumptions. In the first place, our author employs authoritative tracts, such as André Tiraqueau's "De Nobilitate et Jure Primigeniorum" (1549), to demonstrate three different ways of becoming noble: "generous," if given by God; "political," when conferred by princes; and "acquired," as a result of riches (Vieira 2014c: 282–283).<sup>21</sup> New Christians, our author claims, could access nobility from all these avenues. Thus, considering that the members of the Hebrew nation were the offspring of God's patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of Jesus Christ the man, the Virgin Mary, and her parents, who "were very noble people of this nation," he asks: "Whose nobility could be compared to the Hebrews?" (Vieira 2014c: 283). Our author also recalls the authoritative opinion of the Castilian jurist Juan de Arce de Otálora (c. 1515–1562), who stressed that New Christians could be ennobled by secular rulers (Arce de Otálora 1613: 197–210). In confirming this well-known fact, he adds that "acquired" nobility was not an obstacle for many New Christians.

"Vieira's Paper" also responds to those who believe that the participation of the Jews in the crucifixion disqualified their offspring forever from honors.<sup>22</sup> This contention is true, the author says, but only for professing Jews. By employing a series of hyperbolic questions, our author demonstrates that this could not be applied to Jews who embraced Christianity: Who will be able to say that St. Paul the Apostle retained a stain of infamy? Would it be

<sup>20</sup> But see Vieira's address to Pedro "Carta ao mesmo, louvando a S. Alteza, e animando-o para que enriquecesse o Reyno por meio do Comércio, no que allude a favorecer os Judeos; agradecendo o ordenar-lhe, que estampasse os seus Sermoens: ponderando o cazo de Odivellas; persuadindo, que se tomasse no Reyno, o seu arbitrio sobre os Judeos, e dizendo que lhe parecia fazer nisto mais grato serviço a Deos, do que se fosse ser Martyr ao Japão" (*BACL*, série vermelha de manuscritos, ms. 450, 103r–6v) and the letters addressed to Rodrigo de Menezes, on October 24, 1671, and December 31, 1672 arguing that the Extermination Law will be damaging to Portugal's economy (*BACL*, série vermelha de manuscritos, ms. 450, 111r–20r; 156r–65r; Vieira 2014b: 132–135, 279–283).

<sup>21</sup> "Tiraqueau thought that nobility was primarily a social recognition ... but he also said it was a dignity given by the prince." At the same time, "it did not prevent Tiraqueau from thinking that the older the nobility, the more it was esteemed" (Haddad 2011: 151–2).

<sup>22</sup> E.g., Mattos, 1622, 85v–92v. Our author labelled "erroneous" the way the jurist João de Carvalho (?–1631) interpreted converso exclusion from nobility, dignities, and honors (pp. 290–291). See Carvalho 1631: 33r–34r.

reasonable to argue that such inherited shame could be imposed on the founders of the church, who were Jewish converts (*“Dei ecclesia fundata est de Judaeis conversis”*)? Should illustrious conversos and devout sons of Jews, like Pope Evaristus (c. 99–c. 107), Archbishop Julian of Toledo (642–690), or Pablo de Santamaría (c. 1350–1435) and his son Alonso de Cartagena (1384–1456)—both bishops of Burgos (285, 287)—be excluded from high ecclesiastical ranks and honors? Precisely, our author contends, Paul, the “Apostle to the Gentiles,” addressed his “Epistles to the Romans” against this mistake (Cf. Vieira 2014d: 192–195). In this and in other texts, Paul called Gentile Christ-believers to wholeheartedly welcome Jewish Christ-believers without despising them, to the point of feeling a need to recall his own Jewish roots (Acts 22:3; Romans 11:1; Philippians 3:5). Still following Paul, our author reminds his readers that Jews take part in the project of universal salvation of mankind which was revealed in Paul’s Romans 11, whenever they convert to Christianity and rejoin “their natural tree trunk” (Vieira 2014c: 285–287, 290).

“Vieira’s Paper” denounces the erroneous interpretation of Paul’s concept of the “neophyte” (Timothy 3:6) to justify converso exclusion from dignities and honors.<sup>23</sup> A neophyte, our author notes, was an ephemeral juridical status of two years intended to give the freshly converted Christian time to adapt to his new life before applying for ecclesiastical ordination (Vieira 2014c: 288). In addition, this interpretation negates all those who compare the status of the New Christians to the juridical shame inherited by sons and grandsons of slaves. For, unlike the case of slavery, nobody can inherit Jewish stigma after becoming “new men” through baptism (e.g., 2 Corinthians 5:17). Even the juridical infamy transmitted by crimes of heresy disappear after two generations (Vieira 2014c: 291–293; cf. Bond 2014).

In one respect, “Vieira’s Paper” recalls António Ribeiro Sanches’s (1699–1783) proposal of 1748, which advocated for the abrogation of the categories of Old and New Christians by focusing on psychological aspects of converso exclusion (Sanches 1956; Saraiva 2001: 123–129). According to the author of “Vieira’s Paper,” whereas New Christians were collectively shamed for crimes committed by distant ancestors who lived in Second Temple’s Palestine (despite the fact that not all the Jews took part in the deicide), the participation of Gentiles in the crucifixion of Jesus and in the persecution of Christians throughout history and even in their present times (e.g., the persecution of Catholics by Protestants) did not prevent their progeny from immediately attaining honors once they converted to Catholicism. A sentiment of indignation was particularly vivid among the educated “men of the nation” who were numerous within the group (Vieira 2014c: 294–296). This widespread

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<sup>23</sup> For early debates on Iberian conversos as “neophytes,” see Yisraeli and Israeli 2022.

feeling was encapsulated by paraphrasing Aristotle's principle of greatness of soul in the Nicomachean Ethics (book 4, chapter 3): "Honor is the highest good . . . and without honor, life is considered as terminated" (Vieira 2014c: 297).

Contrary to Ribeiro Sanches, however, the author of "Vieira's Paper" does not call Pedro to immediately suppress the category of New Christians. It would suffice to treat the converso group as full-fledged Catholic subjects, and this would happen naturally in the same way that in some parts of Portugal descendants of the Jewish children baptized by King Manuel I in 1497 lived unmolested and without ever Judaizing because "they were always treated as Catholics" (Vieira 2014c: 293). In other words, the main means to suppress Judaism is to halt collective stigmatization. This, however, requires the abrogation of exclusionary laws impeding New Christians from attaining the same ranks and functions (e.g., judges and magistrates) as Old Christians. Being "members of the mystical composite of the Church" (*membros do composto místico da Igreja*), New Christians should be seen as part of a same collectivity (*fazendo um todo*) along with the Old Christians (Vieira 2014c: 296). Therefore, Portuguese society would attain this lauded "apostolic unity" through punishing persistent evildoers and rewarding its virtuous members: "My Lord, let those who will not apostatize become citizens (*cidadãos*), and slaves those who will relapse, and in a few years the name of New Christian will disappear from Portugal forever" (Vieira 2014c: 299). Note that the author of "Vieira's Paper" employs a traditional pro-converso *leitmotif*: the Pauline idea that baptized Jews were part of a same "mystical body" with Gentile Christian believers (e.g., 1 Corinthians 12:12–27; Ephesians 4:3–5). Pro-converso writers had diverse perceptions concerning the precise contours of that "body" (since its original ecclesiological dimension was increasingly understood within secularized terms of "body politics") and put a different emphasis on the issue of internal roles and hierarchies of the "organs" within the "body" (i.e. hierarchy of functions vs. parity vis-à-vis a common "head"). Still, all of them avoided obliterating its original Pauline connotations, precisely because Paul made the metaphor explicitly about how to integrate Jews and Gentiles in the same community of Christ believers (Stuczynski 2014a). In the case of "Vieira's Paper," the concept of a "mystical body" is perceived as the community of congregants whose bonds are created by a shared faith and participation in the sacraments, which then overflows into the social and political domains. Such a perception of Portuguese society is strongly sacramental and fully corresponds to what Alcir Pécora (2016) identified in Vieira's sermons.

Approaching the end of the second part of the tract, the author of "Vieira's Paper" returns to employ the apocalyptic overtones of the first section, to warn the prince regent

yet again of the increasing influence of Judaism in Portugal: “either we make them Catholics, or they will make us Jews. If your highness will not ennoble them (*fazer fidalgos*), they will turn us into handworkers (*mecânicos*)” (Vieira, 2014c: 299–300). The New Christian problem is still perceived by our author as an urgent matter. But this time, its resolution is radically opposed to what Pedro promoted with the support of the *Cortes*.

This way of symmetrically reversing the claims of the first half of the tract is apparent, among others, in the fact that our author again invokes measures taken in the past to “eradicate Judaism.” However, his purpose is now to demonstrate that the traditional use of inquisitorial persecution and other forms of coercion (“the practical remedies of the iron and the stake”) are not efficacious remedies to heal the prolonged afflictions suffered by the converso group.<sup>24</sup> Rather, he invites the prince regent to employ a therapeutic means he called the “music of franchise” (*musica dos foros*), inspired by the widespread metaphoric idea that the sweet sound of music heals melancholy and other forms of “evil spirit” (e.g., David playing the harp before Saul in 1 Samuel 16:14–23) and promotes harmony between subjects and their sovereign (Bouza Álvarez 2000). Thus, instead of supporting preachers who harshly condemn “Judaic errors” made by conversos before an audience of New and Old Christian congregants and increase estrangement, our author calls on Pedro to privilege sermons that demonstrate the inconsistencies of the rabbis with persuasive and tempered words in order to obtain the social integration of the converso group as full-fledged Catholics (Vieira 2014c: 300–301). This is precisely what Vieira intended to do in an uncompleted missionary and catechetical book, addressed to professing Jews and New Christians, which he called “Secret Counselor” (*Conselheiro Secreto*) (Vieira, 2014a: 229, 334; Muhana 2021).

Our author also calls to apply that “music of franchise” to nullify a law instigated by the *Cortes*, which forbade the New Christians to seek assistance from the pope in matters related to the Inquisition. Let us remember that as the Extermination Law undermined much of the inquisitorial activity against the converso group, and because it shamed many noble families who were already stained with New Christian blood, the prince regent finally decided not to enforce it.<sup>25</sup> As a sort of compensation, in May 1672, the General-Inquisitor issued a decree stipulating that convicted Judaizers and their offspring would be forbidden to display

<sup>24</sup> According to the bishop of Leiria: “We bishops are physicians (*Prothomédicos*) of diseases of the soul, and a good physician does not permit patients to do what they wish, but what is appropriate to their health” (“Carta do Bispo de Leiria D. Pedro Vieira da Silva aos Bispos que estavam em Cortes sobre o negocio dos Christãos Novos,” *BACL*, série vermelha de manuscritos, ms. 455, 11r).

<sup>25</sup> A mitigated version of the Extermination Law was finally issued by Pedro II on September 1, 1683. According to Azevedo, “if there were exiled people, their number and quality were not such as to make noteworthy this stage of the persecution” (Azevedo 1989: 326–329).

public manifestations of social distinction (riding on horses, travel in coaches, wearing silk and jewels), obtain honorific charges and titles, or farm taxes for the crown. During the months of July and August, wealthy leading converso merchants were imprisoned by the Holy Office. Pedro was asked by New Christian leaders and pro-converso supporters like Vieira for the right to negotiate in Rome a general pardon for these and other “men of the nation” and obtain an eventual reform of Portugal’s biased Holy Office. In 1673, the prince regent was ready to accept these queries. To appease the protests of the anti-converso faction, Pedro also enabled the Inquisition to send their own representatives to Rome (Paiva, 2012). From January 1674, the *Cortes* begun to ask the prince regent to reject the conversos’ pretensions before the Holy See (Paixão 1938–1939, 3: 42, 49–50, 54–56, 60–70; Azevedo 1989: 293–295, 300–301; Marcocci and Paiva 2013: 202–203).<sup>26</sup> This initiative was finally accepted by Pedro on May 24.<sup>27</sup> The reason invoked by the peoples’ representatives at the Cortes was that conversos’ money would incline Rome in their favor. This argument is labelled by our author as “a sacrilegious profanation” against the Vicar of Christ. The pope, he replies, is the “visible head of the Church” and therefore the sole “source of justice” inspired by God. How could his divine probity be questioned? “The pope and God constitute a same tribunal” because “the pope is a living God on earth” (Vieira 2014c: 303). Whereas in his previous argumentation the author of “Vieira’s Paper” responds to those who, one way or another, aimed to fulfil the spirit of the Extermination Law, at the core of this part of the tract is a defense of the inalienable right of Christian members of the “Hebrew nation” to apply to their supreme spiritual shepherd and the right of the Roman pontiff to modify or nullify any norm “when this law is harmful to the salvation of the Christian flock” (Vieira 2014c: 306). These arguments are summarized by Vieira in his “Catholic Disillusionment” (*Desengano Católico*) in response to the claims made of the bishop of Leiria that the prince regent was committed to safeguard the rights and privileges of the Portuguese Inquisition which were conceded by previous monarchs (Vieira 2014d: 111–114).<sup>28</sup> In other writings, the Jesuit notes that the committee of theologians, lawyers, churchmen, and

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<sup>26</sup> BA, 51-II-34, 56r-62v.

<sup>27</sup> See “Consulta contra os Judeus que fez o Estado dos Povos ao Principe Regente D. Pedro, feita por Mendo Foios em 2 de Mayo de 1674” (BACL, série vermelha de manuscritos, ms. 445, foIs. 1r-13v); “A este papel [i.e., Vieira’s “Catholic Disillusionment”] respondeo Mendo de Foios Pereira com o seguinte que se intitulou ‘Egano judaico contra o Desengano Catholico de hum Author Reo enganoxo, e enganado’ (BACL, série vermelha de manuscritos, ms. 455, 24v-37).

<sup>28</sup> “Carta do Bispo de Leiria D. Pedro Vieira da Silva aos Bispos que estavam em Cortes sobre o negocio dos Christãos Novos” (op. cit., 1r-15r). See the letter of June 6, 1671; “Carta do Padre Vicira para certo Religiozo, em que lhe toca nos tributos, que se querião ajustar nas Cortes de Lisboa, no negocio dos Judeos e Inquizidores” (BACL, série vermelha de manuscritos, ms. 454-A, 47r-52r).

inquisitors gathered by the prince regent supported the right of the New Christians to apply to the Holy See, without forgetting to mention their pecuniary offer to avoid the loss of India to Portugal's enemies (Vieira 2014d: 186–189). Moreover, what at the beginning of the tract appears as the more relevant issue (i.e., Pedro's Extermination Law) became a sort of prolegomenon to the most burning subject: the reform of the Inquisition.

Our author admits that the Holy Office was established with the approval of the pontiff and the college of cardinals. This tribunal, he acquiesces, would still play a fundamentally positive role in eradicating heresy in different Christian lands. What is at stake is not the existence of that institution. Rather, it is the pressing need to review the procedures employed by the Portuguese Holy Office against the “men of the nation” and eventually adjust them to the methods employed by the Roman Inquisition.<sup>29</sup> Thus, he argues that the “anxious people” at the *Cortes* were wrongly offended by the supplications of the New Christians to the pope. By submitting their requests to the arbitration of the Holy See, they made an act of obedience to the head of the Church and a laudable demonstration of judicious piety, “because a hasty zeal sometimes provokes horrible crimes” (Vieira 2014c: 309). Probably, these words make reference to the way anti-converso zeal, heralded by the third estate in the *Cortes*, affected the Odivelas affair, the truncated Extermination Law, and the opposition to Inquisition reform.<sup>30</sup> At the same time, the conclusion of the second part of the tract announces an intensification of the efforts made by all those who, like Vieira, asked the pope to put an end to the biased, rigorous, and unevangelical way of facing the New Christian problem in Portugal, now embodied by the Inquisition. Not much time after the probable composition of “Vieira's Paper,” on October 3, 1674, Pope Clement X (1590–1676) suspended the Inquisition's activities (Faria 2007; Marcocci and Paiva 2013: 201–209; Lloyd 2018).

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<sup>29</sup> See Vieira's following manuscripts: “Papel que fez o Padre António Vieira, por Ordem do Summo Pontífice, sobre os estylos das Inquições de Portugal” (*BACL*, série vermelha de manuscritos, ms. 443, fols. 285 ss). See also Vieira's letters to D. Pedro: “Carta ao mesmo, ponderando o cazo, que tinha succedido, do roubo do Sacramento de Odivellas: afirmando, que o deixar fora os Judeos era perdição do Reyno: aconselhando que se obrassem com elles em Portugal, como em Roma: declarando largamente esta matéria, e fazendo-lhe mimo de dous livros históricos, e de Author moderno, que continuou a história de Famiano Estrada” (*BACL*, série vermelha de manuscritos, ms. 450, fols. 111r-120v); “Carta ao mesmo, duvidando o estar na graça de S. Alteza, confirmando essa duvida no fim da carta, com exemplos de se'us parentes desfavorecidos; agradecendo a firmeza de seu affecto: dando notícias políticas: sentindo o estado do Reyno: applicando por remédio serem os Judeos admittidos, e que devia o Principe deixar a cauza dos estylos do Santo Offício nas mãos do Papa, e afirmando, que falla nessa materia com pureza de consciência” (*BACL*, série vermelha de manuscritos, ms. 450, fols. 121r-120v).

<sup>30</sup> “If your Highness . . . will desire to see the passion of such desire of the people, that is almost blinded, without knowing what they want” (Vieira 2014d: 200).

The third and final section of “Vieira’s Paper” is a return to the initial premise: that the Portuguese people received divine election and must fulfill the covenant of Ourique. The prince regent is thus called to reassume this task through “navigation, trade and conquest in Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India” (Vieira 2014c: 311–349). Here, instead of arguing that Portugal’s election primarily meant an extermination of Judaism, it implies a focus on overseas expansion. Moreover, its author addresses a list of memorable actions made by each Portuguese monarch in which neither Jews nor conversos were a cause of sin. Thus, while the seizure of the throne by the Spanish Habsburgs is still understood as a divine punishment, it is now explained as a result of the loss at the Battle of Ksar El Kebir in 1578 by King Sebastian (1554–1578), because “he pretended, with Christian blood, to obtain lands for a Moor which belonged to another Moor.” Sebastian’s fatal error was to follow the North African policies of his grandfather, King John III, which diverted the Portuguese from their holy duty. Neither monarch understood that “the Almighty does not support endeavors made by Catholics, if they are not Catholic endeavors” (Vieira 2014c: 315). Although it never exhibited the same level of verbal vitriol, islamophobia now replaced antisemitism, since the enemy of Catholic Portugal became Islam instead of Judaism. As I have argued elsewhere, this shift was one of the main characteristics of late medieval and early modern Judeo-Christian affinities in Iberia. And it was apparent in writers and thinkers like Vieira, whose views were imbued with the millenarian tradition associated with Joachim da Fiore (c. 1135–1202) (Stuczynski 2019c).

Since Portuguese rulers were rewarded or punished by God according to their commitment to Ourique’s legacy, our author now encourages the prince regent “to sculpt his own actions against the wretched infidel,” meaning the Muslims. Once the prolonged dynastical conflict with Castile came to an end in 1668, it was time to return to Portugal’s crusade of expansion to the East. The author of “Vieira’s Paper” enthusiastically calls upon Pedro to restore the glorious beginnings of the Portuguese conquests in the *Estado da Índia*, invoking iconic heroes and infamous foes: “Bring again to the East the propitious omens of the Gamas, the Almeidas, the Albuquerque, the Castros, the Cunhas, the Cabrals; let the young noblemen (*fidalgos*) gird the first sword before the sight of arrogant Adil Khan (*Hidalcão*), the presumptuous Turk and the intrepid Persian” (Vieira 2014c: 316). As attested by the almost verbatim reference to King Manuel’s titles: “Lord of navigation, conquest and trade in Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India,” Pedro’s duty is to return to Manuel’s objectives of achieving a messianic empire (Thomaz 1990; Stuczynski 2013). This enterprise not only

requires fighting against the “infamous Muhammad” (*infame Mafoma*) (Vieira 2014c: 317); it also entails a reprisal of missionary activities in the East, as foretold by Isaiah:

Woe to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia: That sendeth ambassadors by the sea, even in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters, saying, Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from their beginning hitherto; a nation meted out and trodden down, whose land the rivers have spoiled (Isaiah 18:1-2).<sup>31</sup>

Accordingly, the military and spiritual dominion over India is not simply another step towards the achievement of Portugal’s vocation; it constitutes a dramatic qualitative leap. Supported by the Fourth Book of Esdras (especially chapter thirteen), “Vieira’s Paper” infers that the “nation” mentioned by Isaiah as living beyond Ethiopia somewhere in India are the ten lost tribes of Israel. No wonder that the same prophet said: “Do not be afraid, for I am with you; I will bring your children from the east and gather you from the west” (Isaiah 43:5). This must be a prophetic allusion to the Portuguese who “rule from over the last waves of the [Atlantic] ocean to the eastern waters of the Indian sea, and from the last sands of the Tagus to the end of the universe (*remate do universo*).” In other words, the Portuguese are destined by God to discover, gather, and convert to Christianity the lost ten tribes of Israel. It was probably for this reason that “Portugal was the province through which by chance or mercy, almost all of the Hebrews crossed during almost all of the ages”: from the exiled Judeans by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II (c. 605 B.C.–c. 562 B.C.) to those numerous Jews who arrived to *Sefarad* after the destruction of the Second Temple of Jerusalem in 70 CE by Titus and Vespasian to the more recent masses of Castilian and Aragonese Jews expelled in 1492 by the Catholic Monarchs (Vieira 2014c: 318–323; Beaver 2013; García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 2015). Whereas in their journey many of them converted to Christianity and adopted Portugal as their homeland, these subsequent migrations were a sort of rehearsal for the final and most dramatic one: that of the lost ten tribes of Israel.

It is not my aim to trace the evolution of this enduring biblical myth (Ben-Dor Benite 2009; Volpato 2018). Suffice it to say that the eventual encounter with members of these tribes in a remote part of the world aroused messianic hopes and millenarian expectations among both early modern Jews and Christians. We know that for Vieira, the discovery,

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<sup>31</sup> I quote from King James’s version, whose translation closely follows the Vulgate.

conversion to Christianity, and gathering of the lost ten tribes of Israel in Palestine, along with the rest of the Jews, was a crucial step towards the last and most supreme stage of human history, initially called by him the “Fifth Empire,” after the Book of Daniel, and then also depicted as “the reign of Christ on earth” (Valdez 2016; Valdez 2017). Fully corresponding to Vieira’s prophetic and messianic interpretations, “Vieira’s Paper” conveys the conviction that the renewal of the military and spiritual conquest of India by Pedro would hasten the salvation of humankind by the evangelization of non-Christian Gentiles and especially by the discovery of the ten lost tribes of Israel. As revealed in Paul’s Epistle to the Romans 11:25–26, after Jesus’s coming, “blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in. And so all Israel shall be saved: as it is written, there shall come out of Sion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob.” For Vieira, this implied that the process of salvation of Gentiles and Jews was simultaneously distinct and interrelated. On the one hand, the discovery of those lost sons of Jacob would be a sign of the final salvation of the entire Jewish people, understood by him as conversion to Christianity. On the other hand, it would be a most tangible sign that the salvation of the Gentiles (“the fullness of the Gentiles”) had already occurred (Cohen 2005; Stuczynski 2021).

In “Vieira’s Paper,” these alternating Judeo-Gentile rhythms of salvation appear in an implicit way, prompting its author to call on his addressee to adopt a twofold policy: a proper evangelization of the Jews (including the conversos) and the resumption of expansion in the *Estado da Índia*. Judaism, the author summarizes, will be uprooted through the good example given by the Portuguese. The suggestions made throughout the second half of the tract on how to employ the “music of franchise” to solve the converso problem require that Pedro never forget that God always loved the Jewish people; even from the cross Christ asked forgiveness for the crimes committed against him (Luke 23:34). It is true that the Portuguese were God’s elected people in Ourique. But he never abandoned his first choice, promising that one day all of the Jews would be finally enlightened by the “evangelical torches” supported by Portuguese monarchs who, in this way, act as “quasi-apostles” (*quase apóstolos*) (Vieira 2014c: 325).<sup>32</sup> Therefore, Pedro must take the example of friar Vicente Ferrer (1350–1419), who in a single sermon “converted in Valencia five thousand Jews” (cf. Cátedra 1997). Implicitly, the author of “Vieira’s Paper” is claiming that the missionary’s “word” employed by Friar Ferrer through his “peaceful” evangelical activities is more efficacious

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<sup>32</sup>The concept of “quasi-apostles” is close to the Greek term *ἰσαπόστολος* (“equal-to-the-Apostles”), which was employed in the late Roman and Byzantine empire to design emperors, such as Constantine “the Great,” who excelled in their support to Christianity (Eusebius of Caesarea, 1890, IV: 60).

than the Inquisition's frightening "sword." Explicitly, he is appealing to the prince regent to support the election of bishops according to the requirements of Paul in the First Epistle to Timothy (Timothy 3): "for only virtuous bishops devoted to God will name in their turn virtuous missionaries and preachers who will successfully spread the Gospel among the Hebrews, wherever they are" (Vieira 2014c: 325–36). This suggestion endorses an almost overt critique against the hostile attitudes taken by most of Portugal's high clergy vis-à-vis the New Christians.

The author of "Vieira's Paper" concludes the tract by focusing again on his Indian project. In the first place, he calls on the prince regent to follow the magnanimity of previous monarchs in their efforts to attain "the salvation of souls and the expansion of the Lusitanian empire." This certainly entailed heavy expenses to equip the navy with soldiers, arms, and missionaries and would require new tributes from the people, even against the will of the *Cortes* (Vieira 2014c: 327–330). In light of the absolute character of the ruler over his subjects and his divine task (Vieira 2014c: 334–347), our author encourages Pedro to ignore the parliament and just follow the "fine and Catholic reason of state" prescribed by the pact of Ourique (Vieira 2014c: 333).

It is in this vein that "Vieira's Paper" ends; glossing on the meaning of two major symbols of Portugal that were revealed in Ourique: the five corners or *quinas*, which were symbolic of the five wounds of Christ at the cross, and the serpent, which evoked the healing properties of believing in God-the-Son, as prefigured in Numbers 21:8 (Vieira 2014c: 348). The message is unmistakable: Pedro should never desist from following the emblems woven in Portugal's flag. Note, however, that the symbol of the thirty silver coins, recalling the money received by Judas Iscariot in exchange for handing over Jesus Christ (Matthew 26:15) and often associated with Jewish covetousness and treachery, was never mentioned, probably for obvious rhetorical reasons (Castaño 2001). The same can be said about the silence over Portugal's concession of Mumbai to England as part of the contract of marriage between Catherine of Braganza (1638–1705) and King Charles II (1630–1685) in 1661 as our author reviews those parts of the *Estado da Índia* which fell under the foreign, heretic, and infidel hands of the Dutch, the Persians, the Moghul, the king of Arakan, the Imam of Oman, and other princes (Vieira 2014c: 349). According to "Vieira's Paper," these significant losses do not mean that the prince regent should abandon imperial aspirations. Quite the contrary. As prophesized by Isaiah, the prince regent must complete the conquest of India because only in this way will Portugal attain its prescribed goal: to unite Jews and Gentiles "into the faithful flock of the Catholic union." In this way, "the doors of the universe will be opened" to the

Portuguese and Pedro will be finally enthroned as the “universal emperor on earth” (Vieira, 2014c: 349). Therefore, instead of vainly pursuing a simple political recognition by the *Cortes*, Pedro must commit to the legacy of Ourique and in this way, he will finally gain a universal empire.

Note that views of the *Estado da Índia* as “an increasingly spiritual entity” were shared by contemporary missionaries, who also grounded their millenarian hopes upon the “miracle of Ourique” (Winus 2001: 48–49; Jordán 2003; Zupanov 2007; Xavier 2016). In some cases, it is even possible to identify influences on Vieira’s views (Biedermann 2012). For Jesuit missionaries, like the young Vieira initially preaching in Brazil, “the Portuguese empire was more than a means to safeguard their local missions . . . they begun to understand their own peripheral position in the politics of imperial rivalry, literally and figuratively.” Moreover, “their local missions became theatres of global empire,” especially after our Jesuit joined the court in Portugal (Chakravarti 2018: 231, 243). According to George D. Winus (2001: 42), the successful conquests of the Dutch in Asia during the seventh century stimulated the following rationale akin to those found in “Vieira’s Paper”: “Now of course if something divinely ordained comes in peril, one can only conclude that God’s will is being thwarted. But since He is omnipotent, He only permits the hindrance to exist to show His displeasure with, in this case, the sins of children of Portugal. Once they have repented, the divine plan would of course continue to unfold.” Perhaps for this reason “Vieira’s Paper” does not mention Pedro’s refusal to sign a common alliance with the French against the Dutch in India, which “ended any lingering hopes among realistic Portuguese that the *Estado da Índia*’s losses of the past half-century might still regained by force,” nor expressed any awareness of the increasing encroachment upon the rights of Portugal’s *Padroado* through the missionary activities of the Propaganda Fide (Disney 2009, 2: 301; Chakravarti 2018: 299; Xavier and Olival 2018: 139–144).

Such setbacks did not mean that the prince regent had no plans regarding India. According to Glenn J. Ames:

There is every indication that the years commencing with the reign of Prince Regent Pedro (1668) and culminating with the Viceroyalty of Luis de Mendonça Furtado (1671–1677) witnessed a notable reformation campaign. The wide-ranging reforms discussed and implemented during these years emanated from the belief on the part of Pedro, his grandee advisors, and the members of the Overseas Council in Lisbon, that the remaining Asian holdings, if properly administered and exploited, in

conjunction with the rich *Rios de Cuama* region of Mozambique could serve as the basis for a profitable and viable *Estado* (Ames 2000: 14).

Moreover, Pedro's pragmatic policies of reform in the extant *Estado da India* "would ultimately result in a gradual stabilization of the Asian empire after a half century of setbacks in Europe and the East" (Ames 2000: 14). However, these reforms had little in common with the enthusiastic projections of "Vieira's Paper," nor with Vieira's messianic designs and failed plans of 1672 to establish again an Indian Company with converso investment in exchange of a general pardon to be granted to the "men of the nation" by the loving grace of D. Pedro (Chakravarti 2018: 300–308).

As I here argued, the content, form, and historical context of "Vieira's Paper" indicate a more than probable authorship by Vieira. If so, "Vieira's Paper" would be a clear example of the way the Jesuit combined in a single discourse the circumstantial and the ideological, pragmatism and belief, theology, and politics. Various crucial topics during Pedro's regency—such as the power of the parliament and the Inquisition, the authority of the pope and the secular ruler, the New Christian question of integration before and after the affair of Odivelas, the controversial Extermination Law, debates around the reform of Portugal's Holy Office, and the setbacks suffered by the Portuguese in the *Estado da India*—alternate with a firm belief in God's election of the Portuguese and the ensuing task of their rulers to spread Christianity through conquest, evangelization, and the peaceful integration of the converso group as indispensable agents of empire and evangelization. Different rhetorical strategies used in "Vieira's Paper" explained to the addressee the meaning and implications of leading a "chosen people" which combine an Old Testament sense of particularism with a Pauline call for expansive universalism. Written much in the way Vieira composed his acclaimed sermons, "Vieira's Paper" maintains the performative overtones and the admonishing-reformative character of the Jesuit's political writings.

If "Vieira's Paper" was indeed written by Father António Vieira, this document sheds light on the Jesuit in at least two important respects. First, it nuances a too-rigid periodization by some Vieira scholars between his Lusocentric messianic writings prior to the 1660s and the more universalistic overtones adopted in his unfinished "Clavis Prophetarum" (Real 2008: 15–23). This does not mean that his views did not evolve over time. At least for rhetorical reasons, "Vieira's Paper" does not employ the controversial lyric prophecies or *Trovas* of Bandarra (which caused the Inquisition to condemn Vieira), and focuses instead on interpreting his prophetic views on the more consensual "miracle of Ourique." Second,

“Vieira’s Paper” attests to the way the Jesuit approached the New Christian issue in the 1670s. Broadly speaking, Vieira’s activities on behalf of the “men of the nation” in Rome were characterized by an intense political activism through lobbying and spokespersonship, which included circumstantial writings aimed at supporting specific issues and solving *ad hoc* problems, such as the refutation of the accusations of Odivelas, the concession of a general pardon for conversos, the denunciation of the biased proceedings of the Portuguese Inquisition, and so on.<sup>33</sup> In this sense, “Vieira’s Paper” illustrates how specific events and circumstances (e.g., the Extermination Law and the right of Portugal’s New Christians to submit to the pope complaints regarding the Inquisition) did not set aside the articulation of their place in a messianic Lusocentric horizon or the role he conferred to the sons of Israel, whether baptized New Christians or professing Jews, in the advancement of human salvation, as was also elaborated in his universalist *opus magnum* (Lopes 1999). In this sense, the attitudes in “Vieira’s Paper” vis-à-vis the New Christians fully coincides with Ananya Chakravarti’s portrait of Father Vieira as a tenacious missionary (Chakravarti 2018: 231–314) and with what Thomas M. Cohen (1991) sees in Vieira’s persistent fidelity to King Pedro II and his heirs: a strong sense of coherence which combined admonishment and praise, disappointment, and hope.

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<sup>33</sup> Even the comprehensiveness of Vieira’s “memorial,” written by the time of the composition of “Vieira’s Paper” (Vieira 2014d: 209–360), lacks the same aspiration to combine the New Christian issue, Portugal’s imperial vocation, and messianic hopes.

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# Mouzinho da Silveira or the Unforeseen Revolution

Fernando Dores Costa<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

Alexandre Herculano stated that Mouzinho da Silveira was a superior and even brilliant man for the reason that he was a verb; the incarnation of an idea, the personification of a great social fact. This great fact is what was called, in the interpretive framework inspired by the French Revolution, the abolition of “feudalism” in Portugal, a profound social change. However, the scope and consequences of the law of *forais* were unexpected and not the result of a project.

## Keywords

Liberalism, feudalism (abolition), emphyteusis, revolution, legislator

## Resumo

Alexandre Herculano afirmou que Mouzinho da Silveira era um homem superior e até genial pelo facto de ser um verbo, a encarnação de uma ideia, a personificação de um grande facto social. Este grande facto foi o que se chamou, no quadro interpretativo inspirado na Revolução Francesa, a abolição do “feudalismo” em Portugal, uma grande mudança social. No entanto, o alcance e as consequências da lei de forais foram inesperados e não o resultado de um projeto.

## Palavras-chave

Liberalismo, feudalismo (abolição), enfiteuse, revolução, legislador

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This paper resumes research carried out in 1986–1987 and presented to the French Revolution Bicentennial Congress held in the University of Coimbra in March 1987. The results were published in volume 23 of *Revista Portuguesa de História* (Costa 1987).<sup>2</sup> It fits into the expected resumption of debates about the period between the first Liberal Revolution of 1820 and the final liberal victory in 1834. Now, thirty-five years after publication, it remains an unsurpassed contribution to the research into the abolition in Portugal of what was then referred to as “feudalism.” This research, together with the contemporary works of Nuno G. Monteiro (1987, 1989, 2003, & 2015), outlines the interpretation of the law of *forais* (the land settlement charters of medieval origin) through the mastery of primary sources and of the particularities of the specific “feudal” laws, as well as those of emphyteutic jurisprudence.

These papers followed the works of Albert Silbert, although his fundamental book (1978) did not concern “feudal” issues. However, Silbert published the petitions addressed to the *cortes* identifying numerous examples of conflicts about “feudal” rents (1985). Other crucial documents about the problem of *forais* were published in 1979 by M. H. Pereira (141–196). The tradition of Mouzinho da Silveira as the incarnation of the liberal legislator was revisited by Brandão and Feijó (1980). Monteiro studied the case of the Alcobaça Monastery and worked on the detailed information of the inquiry of local powers in 1824–1826 about *forais* in their districts (Monteiro 1985, 1987, & 2003). Other investigations into the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra illustrated the *anti-senhorial* (anti-lordship) conflicts, making clear the existence of several simultaneous levels of ownership, with the monastic lords coexisting in conflict with those below them. Some of these men (in some cases *foreiros* in spite of themselves) were rich and powerful on a local scale (Neto 1997). Two main studies were concerned with the parallel topic of the sales of “national estates” (Silva 1997; Silveira 1980 & 1991).

Alexandre Herculano made Mouzinho da Silveira the hero of Portuguese liberalism and this image, which has become a tradition, has been taken up by many other authors. Herculano stated that Mouzinho was a superior and even brilliant man because he was a verb; the incarnation of an idea, the personification of a great social fact (Herculano 1874: 172). This great fact is what was called, in the interpretive framework inspired by the French Revolution, the abolition of feudalism in Portugal, a decisive moment in the long transition from the rentier model to the property model (Macpherson 1973). This abolition

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was embodied in the so-called law of *forais*, a name generally given to the decree of 13 August 1832, the Portuguese equivalent of the decisions of the French constituent assembly on the famous night of 4 August 1789. *Forais* are medieval settlement charters given by kings (and in a few cases by lords) to the people living and working on their lands, with a wide range of taxes and rules, revised in the beginning of sixteenth century but without introducing substantial changes in the medieval texts.

Mouzinho became the redemptive figure of the weaknesses for which Portuguese liberalism was criticized, since he would have suggested a different path from the one that was followed. He embodied liberal virtue; he had been a simple and unblemished man, the opposite of a courtier. Several times, he demonstrated his detachment from the positions of authority that he occupied for only short periods, as minister of King João VI in 1823 and then minister of King Pedro IV in 1832 (as regent in name of his daughter Queen Maria II). Then under the liberal regime, after fleetingly being a member of the Chamber of Deputies, he ended up in exile once again in France.

Mouzinho da Silveira embodies the figure of the legislator, the mythical figure of the creator of political order. He who has limitless power—without legal limitations and in the absence of representative assemblies—uses it to break social routines and impose the introduction of major social changes. The legislator opened up a means of transformation based exclusively on his “enlightenment,” being the original producer of a new social cohesion. For this reason, the legislator was attacked by the defenders of monotonous mechanisms, and some of those who opposed the laws were among the liberal movement. The legislator’s work is a divine work, the creation of order, and this is why Herculano used to say that Mouzinho was a verb.

This is an example of the use of the state of political suspension (state of exception or dictatorship) for proper constitutional action. The law was drafted in the midst of the civil war between liberals and absolutists or Miguelistas (1832–1834). It was the time of the “revolutionary government,” which took advantage of an exceptional period of time, a suspension of routine. This explains the disconcerting parallels made with the actions of the Marquis of Pombal, the prime minister of King José (r. 1750–1777) that used intensively unlimited powers. But this liberalism already had its fundamental law: the Constitutional Charter (*Carta Constitucional*) granted in 1826 by King Dom Pedro IV, which was in force until 1828. Why was this legislative activity, then, necessary? In 1832, Mouzinho was, and would always remain, a defender of the 1826 *Carta* as a constitutional version that was interpreted as a compromise between royal and “popular” or “national”

legitimacy. The matrix of the *Carta* is defined by two “conservative” dimensions, the moderating power of the king and the existence of an upper aristocratic chamber. The 1826 charter seemed to adapt well to the orientation that pointed to a merger of parties expressed through the planned marriage of Queen Maria II with her uncle Dom Miguel. Mouzinho was not a “radical.” After the resounding failure in 1828 to apply the orientation aiming the fusion of liberal and absolutist parties, the celebrated “Mouzinho laws,” a series of “revolutionary” laws in several domains, including administration, and on 13 August, 1832, the abolition of *forais* and *bens da coroa* (crown assets), two secular characteristics of the Portuguese monarchy. These laws gave a new dimension to the liberal party of Queen Maria II and her father Pedro, the former emperor of Brazil, that wanted to obtain support from the “people.” But, as Herculano explained, when he spoke of the people, he did not refer to the plebeians, who did not reflect or have interests linked to the new laws, but to those who were property owners (Herculano 1874–1882: 196). This was a matter for the middle classes.

Essentially, Mouzinho’s law of *forais*, starting with the repeal of royal grants—that is, using the special legal status of these grants to extinguish the traditional system of grants itself—canceled grants of any assets in the area and extinguished all *forais*. Consequently, it extinguished all types of payments imposed on the Crown’s assets and also contracts of emphyteusis and sub-emphyteusis, or census, or any other indeterminate title when founded on royal grants or *forais*. Emphyteusis is a legal division of property in two domains, *direto* and *útil*, the original owner transmitting the holding and the improvements to another person for a long period, different from the ordinary lease. The holder of this second domain, the *enfiteuta*, had to pay an annual rent and also another amount (*laudémio*) for transmission to another holder. This domain evolved toward heredity and full ownership. It could be doubled in a sub-emphyteutical level, which, as we will see, is not unusual.

I here translate *enfiteuta* as “copyhold” (with quotation marks, to mark the distance between the English and the Portuguese legal orders) as we can find similarity between the two conditions. The main difference lies in the legal support. In “copyhold” we find a strict manorial concession, consequently “feudal,” resulting from the custom of a particular manor. The presence of personal links of subordination and protections seems predominant. The jurisdictional power of the lord appears as a complementary dimension of land exploitation. In the *enfiteuse* we find a legal tradition of Roman origin and a generally codified understanding of this kind of pact. The manorial matrix seems less clear.

However, in remote times, the terms of an emphyteutical “contract” could include a great number of unusual conditions giving those “contracts” many singularities. Furthermore, as in emphyteusis, copyhold evolved into a lasting type of ownership. Both evolved in the direction of divided ownership. Copyholds “were originally granted at the mere arbitrary will of the lords . . . but through the indulgence of the lords, on the one hand, and the gradual encroachment of the tenants on the other, they are now, and have been for ages, become an absolute and established species of landlord property” (Fisher 1803: 9).

It is in this paragraph six of the decree of 13 August 1832, the law of *forais*, that the future problems of law enforcement started, which remained in the provisions that determined that assets be left alodial in the full possession of those who paid the extinct payments and, moreover, revoking for the benefit of those registered all taxes covered with the names of *emprazamento* or *subemprazamento* (i.e., the conclusion of an emphyteusis and sub-emphyteusis contract) by kings or grantees or those who obtained the estates by any title. The great problem of law enforcement would reside in the scope of application of its crucial measures, as we shall see below.

However, the law provided for the compensation of the affected persons or corporations, with the exception of the so-called unworthy, that is, the Miguelist supporters. This stipulation of an indemnity guaranteed the legislator a certain operating space in the process of simplifying the agrarian land-ownership system. It should be noted that grantees who were in possession of the estates without having transferred them on a permanent basis should keep them as free and alodial (except for the unworthy). The aim was not to affect the grantees, but rather—and this is the consistency of the law—to annul any division of property in the assets.

### **The Question of the *Forais***

The so-called question of *forais* reached the political forefront through the law of 13 March 1810, inspired by the Count of Linhares, an enlightened man, a minister between 1796 and 1803, and the prominent figure of the government of King João VI in Rio de Janeiro from 1808 until his death in January 1812. The issue of the harmful effects of charges imposed by *forais* had been raised previously, namely by the most prominent jurists (Silbert 1977: 83). A tradition of conflicts was also known between farmers and grantees concerning these charges.

In 1810, with the loss of a colonial-type commercial link with Brazil, efforts were made to encourage investors to move their capital to the agrarian sector, and for that it would be essential to relieve very heavy agrarian payments such as those of the residents of lands of the Cistercian order headed by the Alcobaça Monastery, the best-known example because there were numerous conflicts between its farmers and its *Esmoler mor*, a title that was displayed by its abbots (Monteiro 1985).

In Lisbon, the Count of Linhares's brother, Dom António de Sousa Coutinho, known as Principal Sousa, the main canon of the Patriarchal church, joined the council of governors of the kingdom that same year and was the promoter of his brother's proposals. In this way, a type of anti-feudal agrarian reformism was enunciated, formulated by leaders who were attentive to liberal economic reforms but were not in line with political liberalism, being reformers generally identified as "neo-Pombaline."

Sousa's account for the Prince Regent of 27 March 1811, that is, immediately after the destructive invasion of Portugal by Masséna's troops, invites people to cultivate the lands that they had been forced to abandon (Arquivo da Torre do Tombo, Ministério do Reino, Livro n.º. 314, f.167v170). He insists that the prince should be like Dom Dinis "the Farmer" (the medieval king of Portugal and protector of agriculture) because otherwise, it was thought, the kingdom would end. Indeed, it is not possible for a settler to sacrifice himself, being subjected to taxes that made it prohibitive to work the land. On cerealproducing lands, there were many taxes from which the state did not gain anything, including the *dízimo a Deus* (the tithe is the traditional tribute to support the clergy) and eighths, thirds, fourths, and fifths (variable rents, proportional to the harvest) according to the *forais*. In addition to these, they paid the state the *décima territorial* (tribute for the support of the permanent army created for the first time in 1641 and again in 1704 and 1762) and the *sisá* (a tax over commercial activity), all this weighing on the culture of this precious branch that saw so many people leave Portugal.

There were still other tributes and vexations. The reason for the lack of bread in Portugal was clear. In the early days of the monarchy, the sovereigns had enough for their expenditures. With the new wars, the *sisá* and the *sisá dobrada* (duplication of the *sisá*) taxes were created along with the *décima* and other necessary levies, and so the growing of grain decreased because in the first *forais*, the diversity of the lands had not been considered when allocating the tax to be levied, and so a piece of land that produced from one seed another eight or ten could be taxed in the same way as another land that which only produced three or four seeds. The *arneiros* (sandy land with low productivity) and weak

lands remained fallow, and the kingdom was deprived of its most important crop. This had always been a problem, but even more so after the Peninsular War (Arquivo da Torre do Tombo, Ministério do Reino, Livro n.º. 314, f.169) to invite and call the people to their ruined lands. What Sousa proposed was aimed at short-term objectives. In three months, he said, not only would the population be kept on the lands, but the measures would allow for the maintenance of the army, which had been affected by the lack of cultivation throughout the province of Estremadura and part of Beira. He proposed that in that year, people should be relieved of those extravagant taxes, a proposal that aimed to eliminate the taxes which had more vexatious than economic goals. In a more substantial way, he proposed that in the lands of clay and *arneiros*, the *jugada* (a tax on cereals) should be reduced from one in eight to one in fifteen in instances when the tenant was not exempt from all taxation.

Sousa answered two objections to his project in advance. One, he stated that he did not fear at all the reaction of the people who could stop paying all rents and not just those fixed by the reform, and that they would praise and exalt the prince for his mercy. As for the grantees, what they held was by royal grace and those that had been sold would have been *a retro aberto* (i.e., providing that the party that sells can take over the property by indemnifying the buyer) and could have been taken to the Crown in the form of a contract, with the Crown benefiting from this. The “public cause” should prevail over private parties and the decrease in the income of the grantees would be compensated by the increase in cultivated land. In conclusion, the reestablishment of the kingdom depended on “a new *foral*,” which, by regulating the taxes according to the quality of the land, would mean great relief for the grain growers and allow the increase of public rents and the prosperity of the kingdom, saving the immense sum of cash that was paid annually to obtain the necessary subsistence.

### Importation of Cereals

Sousa was referring to the huge expenditure on the import of cereals into the city of Lisbon, a topic that was gaining increasing importance and was discussed by the deputies of the *Cortes* of 1821. In the six years between 1814 and 1819, the import of cereals had cost the kingdom almost twenty-two thousand *contos de réis* (or twenty-two million *réis*), a sum that corresponded to about a third of all state revenues in six years.

This amount could stay in the kingdom if there were a grain supply to feed the city of Lisbon that could ideally sustain an intense investment of capital in the vicinity of the city. The proposal in the *Cortes* in 1821 highlighted protectionism for autochthonous cereals. The policy of cheap bread, a tradition of distant origin—from ancient Rome—at the center of the traditional social order, was criticized. The grain traders were traditionally viewed with enormous suspicion as men whose greed could cost the lives of other human beings or at least make them pay an excessive price for a vital item. It was thus a paternalistic government that sought to ensure that the people had bread, preventing the grain from being withdrawn for trade when stimulated by the price game. As a rule, the economic space was purposefully compartmentalized, and the severe punishment of middlemen was enshrined in the law. But in the title of the *Ordenanças* (ordinances, the compilation of the laws of the realm) on the subject, three locations were identified that were always deficient in cereals: Lisbon, the island of Madeira, and the Algarve.

Several provisions were inscribed in the Manueline Ordinances (Book 4, title 32) and in the laws of King João III, providing for a prison sentence (the law of 5 June 1553), and in those of King Sebastião, specifying that only those who had bread from their harvest or tenants could sell it and forbidding money being advanced to the farmers (thus revealing the capitalist presence in this field). According to a liberal deputy, until 1689, cereals had come from Africa, Sicily, Poland, and Denmark, and after that date from England, the result of the orientation that country had adopted in creating export premiums (*Diário das Cortes* 537). There was some internal supply from Lisbon from locations on the banks of the Tagus. In 1750, the traders in this region took measures so as not to be covered by a license against the middlemen and were allowed to continue their activity (Tengarrinha 1994, 1: 79).

The municipal governments of each area had an obligation to safeguard the grains for their population, preventing their passage outside the municipality. Basic subsistence was thus purposely outside the free market. Subsistence was the object of transactions but in politically-linked conditions. However, the paternalistic government was beginning to be called into question by those who believed that the increase in the volume of production should be stimulated by investments motivated by the expectation of greater profits in a wider commercial space. The creation of the market that would allow the support of a class of capitalist investors in agriculture was at stake. This market was not generated “naturally”; it was the result of a political option against paternalism and the formation of the social space necessary for investment. But this creation was made in two senses that, in

a pure liberal perspective, were opposed in the doctrinal field: the reshaping of the economic space of cereals on the scale of the entire kingdom, on the one hand, and the protection of the Lisbon grain market by prohibiting importation, on the other. Both ideally came together to form a protected national market, but the first was liberal and the second was protectionist. The foundation of this protectionism was in opposition to the new economic ideas, as explained by Borges Carneiro when he declared that he did not believe in books, or rather that he believed in only one book: that of the world, that of nature, that of man. Anything that did not conform to that was worth nothing. How was it possible to persuade people to buy foreign goods and not be able to consume their own, he queried. The option for foreign goods looked only at the momentary relief of the *jornaleiros*, the workers hired for a day who wanted cheap bread, and not at the benefit of the landowners and farmers who provided a steady abundance of goods. If this continued, the crops would be ruined, the scarce money in circulation would be exported, the domestic trade would be paralyzed, and the *jornaleiros* would have nothing to do. Carneiro concluded Portugal would be a country of inert men, asking other countries to support them (*Diário das Cortes* 540).

The objective was, in short, to remove crucial areas of the country's economy from the international sphere: cereal imports that Bettencourt (1824: 18–21) estimated at 140 thousand *moios* (from an annual average of almost ninety-three thousand in the official register; considering that forty-seven thousand were contraband, an increase of fifty percent) and the introduction of grain from Spain across land borders. The market was not a natural or spontaneous result, a reality that was only covered by political barriers and that therefore needed to be “freed” from these obstacles. It was the result of a political option: the abandonment of paternalism in favor of the desired reinforcement of a class of landowners dedicated to agrarian investment.

### **The Sale of National Estates in 1821**

Since the final years of the eighteenth century, the selling of estates that were available in the hands of the state was a common topic. The sale of estates of the *comendas* was integrated into the new public debt policy. It included, for example, the Vargem farm bought by the capitalist Gaspar Pessoa Tavares, which became the imaginary old and original manor of the family, who added the surname “da Vargem.” The sale of Crown estates continued in the years before 1820 (Tengarrinha 1993).

The sale of estates now designated as national (belonging to the nation and not to the Crown) was defined by the decree of 25 April 1821. All Crown assets transformed into national estates that became available by the death of the grantees had their income applied to the separate recipe (*caixa*) of public debt amortization. However, in the case of donations made by the king in remuneration for services during more than one lifetime, the second beneficiary of the donation, the heir of the awarded of the first, could remain donee of the estate.

Both the income and the proceeds from the sale of estates would be delivered to the administration of the public debt (*junta dos juros*) that was left with this task. The sale would be made when the administration of the estates had negative effects (which indicates the hesitation between the benefit of the current revenues and that of the sales) and made in the place where the estates were located or where there was a career judge (*juiz de fora*) and *editais* (notices) placed in the head office of local administration (*cabeça de comarca*) and in the gazette of the Regency. The payments would be in paper money and in any credit securities “settled at the value corresponding to the same paper money on the day of the auction” (decree of 25 April 1821).

The scope of this guidance was limited by the delay imposed by the recognition of “lives” (as were currently named the first and second beneficiaries of the royal donations) already granted in the possession of estates. Another noteworthy difference from the laws of 1832–1834 was that the estates considered here did not include those of the dissolved monastic orders. According to Franzini in 1826, the separate *caixa* of the administration of public debt (*junta dos juros*) that collected the income applied to the debt received on average 900 contos in five years (one *conto* = 1.000.000 *réis*). Of these, 431 *contos* came from the “manorial system” (Franzini 1827: 3–4). Selling national assets in exchange for debt papers would entail taking these assets out of the income financing the payment of debt interests and consequently losing this source of income. The paradox of the great debt amortization operation through the disposition of national assets—a national “capital” that was alienated—is that it could only be done once, and to be rational and not just an expedient or mere opportunism it required that the debt did not undergo, after this operation, a new process of uncontrolled growth.

## The 1822 Law of *Forais*

Soares Franco, deputy and expert on this legal domain, systematized in his explanatory booklet on the measures provided for in the law of 5 June 1822 three reasons that justified the changes in this area. In the early days of the monarchy, the only rights that were paid were those of the *forais*. Then came the *sis*a tax, the *real de água*, the *décima*, the literary subsidy, and other taxes. The Portuguese could not pay both kinds of taxes, “feudal” taxes and modern-state taxes, without being ruined, and as the second group, being composed of more rational general taxes, could not be abolished, it was necessary to reduce the former.

Wars that had been waged at the expense of the grandees and landlords were now paid for by the people, and for this reason, a part of the rents that the grandees received had to remain with these people. Cereal agriculture could not flourish in Portugal under such heavy and burdensome taxes and these were in opposition to the clearest principles of political economy. “Gothic” institutions (as he named them, highlighting the medieval origins) had chased away the production of wealth and the abundance of staple goods (Franco 1822: 3–4).

The first and main change foreseen in the law referred to the crucial aspect of the statutory charges provided by the *forais*, which were reduced by half. It was a compromise option. The conflict that would result from the discontent of the grantees affected by the measure was attenuated and a part of the income that paid the new taxes which supported the public debt service was not extinguished. But the scope of the application of such a law was confronted with the complexity of the agrarian legal regime. The first article—as Franco (1822: 5–7) put it—contained five provisions: first, relating to uncertain quotas or rents proportional to the harvest, such as quarters, eighths, and so on, which was an easily identifiable domain; second, on the fixed rents (*foros*) and pensions (unlike the previous ones) imposed by *forais*, which also makes them identifiable; third, referring to certain rents, which were not imposed by the *foral*, but rather by the landlord, who subsequently made new appointments to holders who would be paying a new rent (*foro*) or pension; fourth, related to the *jugas*das; and fifth, related to the adjustments that the landlords made with the local people to give the landlords in place of variable rents (as quarters, eighths, etc.) a certain payment that was generally called *avenças* (covenants).

This was therefore the scope of legitimate political action to impose change in the existing state of affairs. The third domain could be a field of litigation, as predicted by the

author of this explanation of the law. There was a clear area of what could be and what was desired to be eliminated or reduced—that of the rents proportional to harvest (*prestações raçãoeiras*)—and an area of potential litigation: that in which benefits are imposed by titles which in the debate on the revision of the new law of 1832 (as I will point out later) will be designated as a “particular title” with a contractual appearance, as opposed to the “generic title,” which had the characteristic of seigniorial origin.

Those affected by the reduction of this income would be the landlords who had received them by royal grants and who in some cases would suffer a substantial loss of their income. This was the case for several houses of some of the larger monastic orders and with an older foundation. An overview of this importance of the Crown’s assets in these areas was possible based on the relations that were sent to the administration of public debt (*junta dos juros*) for the purpose of imposing the extraordinary *décima* for public debt (Costa 1989b). The law that halved the payments imposed by *forais* had an effect on the income of several houses of the order of São Bernardo, like Alcobaça and Cós (Monteiro 1985) and also the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra (Costa 1989b).

The characteristics of the formation of the patrimony of these monasteries in medieval times when “settlement” of an area could, due to the lack of previous structuring, be done through *forais* in which the so-called generic proportional rents were established, explains this, and examples are therefore concentrated in a specific region of Portugal. This type of heavy payment was therefore only a problem for farmers in a few areas of the kingdom (Monteiro, 1987). But they illustrated the inhibition of investment by a manorial regime that supported men who were considered, in the mildest version, of little use, or, in the most brutal, parasitic bodies living off the work of others (Correia 1974). The monasteries of these rich orders were traditionally a form of “socialization” for the support of children of the nobility who were not destined to be heirs to the houses or for women to establish alliances through marriage. In the case of the order of São Bento, for example, the entry of commoners was forbidden until 1780, the year in which Cardinal Saraiva entered the order (Ramos 1972: 7).

### **The End of the “Asian System”**

Mouzinho da Silveira was looking for the social point of no return of liberal political innovations. The recent history of France after the Restoration of the Bourbons

would demonstrate that this point of irreversibility was effective, and in this example was found the explicit inspiration for the decree of *forais*.

In the preamble of the decree of *forais*, Mouzinho explained that while living in exile in Paris, he had seen the means employed by the Bourbonic government before the revolution of July 1830 to weaken and perhaps extinguish the 1814 Constitutional Charter of Louis XVIII, the Charter had resisted by being anchored in the laws of material interest that the nation had enacted. The contrast between the failure of the Portuguese Charter in 1828 and the French Charter in 1830 was a crucial experience. The recent history of France proved the possibility of an irreversible change towards political freedom whose key was not in politics but in the configuration of the property regime (report—decree of 13 August 1832).

Mouzinho was motivated by the fact that the survival and persistence of political regimes was based on the material interests created and associated with the defense of those new regimes. This tradition of Machiavellian roots was the inspiration of this policy, as Mouzinho explained in the 15 April 1839 session of the Chamber of Deputies, that when revolutions are made, it is necessary to make changes in the material world as well, because if this is not done, the authors of the revolutions can count on the gallows (*Diário da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados* 1839: 82). It was a frequently repeated assertion: without the creation of interests, political changes did not last. Linking tangible material advantages to the new type of government was the way to recruit supporters who would defend it. The French example showed, as he said, that supporters of the old regime, longing to restore it, looked at the laws that had freed the land of France from all that was feudal and that reduced the clergy to the state of being paid by the government as (in his words) bastions of freedom. People were sure of the impossibility of an absolutist restoration before the repeal of those laws.

The key to the political system did not reside in the political system itself, but rather in the system of property. France would thus have reached a point of irreversibility in changing the property system, which had made it impossible to return to absolutism. This theme was a logical obsession for Mouzinho, who had been forced into exile by the restoration of Miguelist absolutism after a brief and frustrating trial of the very unstable government under the Constitutional Charter from 1826 to 1828.

Mouzinho noted the inspiration taken from the French example of the resistance on the charter of Louis XVIII. The first Portuguese nobility that became the main supporter of Miguelist absolutism and enemy of D. Pedro's Constitutional Charter of 1826

had not been immediately offended by this new fundamental law, on the contrary, it guaranteed the status of his members. The political importance of the first nobility even increased through the creation of a sort of chamber of lords, the *Câmara dos Pares*. Hostility to liberalism came only from the fear that legislation similar to that of France would abolish the royal donations system of crown assets to the first nobility and, in Mouzinho own words, assume their ability of abusing men and things and live off what they extracted from the misguided will of the princes.

The opposition between two different types of nobility was evident based on two ways of obtaining income, a contrast that governed Mouzinho's thinking. One is the nobility who live on the income resulting from royal donations of crown assets for one or two lifetimes and is always subject to confirmation by the new king, made as so-called "remuneration for services" allegedly provided for kings, and which in the Portuguese system does not become their freehold property. As the liberal and most distinguished leader Fernandes Tomás explained, they were administrators of the donated assets and not its proprietors. This would be a nobility dependent on mercy and for that very reason, (in Mouzinho terms) creepy and treacherous.

Another kind of nobility, the ideal, would be an independent aristocracy, living off its own full properties. The formation, then, of an aristocracy that would faithfully integrate the upper house (*Câmara dos Pares*) provided for in the *Carta*, as opposed to the aristocracy that had shown itself to be a defender of Miguelism. The explanation for the betrayal of the project that had called this group, to the astonishment of its members, to the forefront of politics was the fear of the abolition of the royal donations system. They had seen that in the *Carta*, profitable favors could not be given without approval from the Chamber of Deputies, which would dry up the source of their future hopes: Mouzinho concluded that this kind of veto deposited in the elective chamber was the basis of all resistance.

This Miguelist nobility was, in his words, composed of essentially low people, educated by lackeys and raised in the sordidness and dependence on the *lei mental* (literally mental law), an invention of Portuguese despotism, and had no character to feel and appreciate the *carta* and its existence, as new as it was noble. The *lei mental* was a law of 1434 made "to give a certain limitation and true interpretation of donations of land and things pertaining to the Crown" (Law of 8 April 1434), in which it was determined that the assets donated by kings did not lose their peculiar status and could not be divided and made patrimonial. These dispositions were explicitly revoked by Mouzinho's law. The

betrayal of the Miguelistas, he said, had made it necessary for the government of King Pedro “to seize the occasion to lay the foundations for an Aristocracy that, due to its real independence and the nobility of the feelings that arise from it, is worthy to prefer the high category of Peer of the Kingdom to the baseness that snatches the *mercês* [donations, i.e., the system of temporary donations] of Princes through objections.” (Silveira 1989, I: 739–743).

This is the core of liberal thinking. The philosophy of property links the political capacity of independence based on the property that sustains the individual, just as it underlies the definition of the censitary capacity of voters and those eligible for the lower chamber, the *Câmara dos Deputados*. Ownership organizes society. Ownership in its full capacity of disposition allows for the formation of individuals who, being independent, can oppose any attempts at tyrannical deviation wherever they come from and consequently safeguard freedom in society. Property is therefore sacred.

Significantly, a decree on 7 March 1832, signed by Mouzinho, was intended to annul a seizure of assets proclaimed by the liberal regency—this invalidation being seen by Mouzinho as promoting the social influence of liberals—showing that there would be no confiscation of the property of enemies. Mouzinho hoped it had an international dimension. He wanted to make it unequivocal that, as he claimed, the spirit of reaction and revenge had never been that of the regency of Queen Maria II, and that the regency was taking an entirely different path from that followed by absolutist usurpation. The liberal government, he added, did not want the assets of the rebels. Europe would see in King Pedro (the regent in the name of his daughter) a great and generous prince. It differentiated the new administration from the previous one: removing the risk of abuse of positions to place in question the property of enemies. Furthermore, only in Portugal did public order, freedom, and the economy be present, and it was impossible for King Pedro not to become king of the Peninsula and later an arbiter of Europe. In this way, full individualism was enshrined.

Mouzinho’s decree of 18 April 1832 ruling for the rigorous protection of private property intended to destroy collective and traditional conditioning for the progression of agrarian individualism. In the preamble, nations where laws were sufficient to decide all differences on property were opposed to nations where the anti-proprietary spirit of barbaric peoples was still observed due to the fact that it was not common knowledge that property, far from being the cause of someone’s state of poverty, was the cause of laborers becoming happier. The actions that rendered useless the government’s measures and the

efforts of the individuals that tended toward the progressive increase of agriculture, industry, and population were at stake due to their capriciously arbitrary nature.

Mouzinho was looking for the lasting link between government and opinion: solid popularity, as he claimed, was born out of the strict observance of the precept of giving each person what is theirs, and the property of others, even when badly acquired, was not to be invaded but rather legally claimed, and furthermore, property was always to be used and not destroyed. Finally, “the faculty that attributes a certain fraction of the people against the general will, which is contained in the laws, is a particular will, or, in other words, injustice or divergent force that must be severely repressed” (Introductory report—decree of 18 April 1832).

Property is the true creative center of society to which everything else must be subordinated. Legislation is directed against what appears as an obstacle to its approach to fullness of disposition: in the juridical area, such as bonds; in the corporate area, like the company of the vineyards of Alto Douro; and in the area of taxation, such as *sisa* (tax over mercantile activity) and rents imposed by *forais*. The different characteristics that nations have are not the result of only one nature. “The influence of the institutions and laws is not a chimera . . . and all nations without changing terrain and climate rise or fall according to whether their government is good or bad” (Introductory report—decree of 18 April 1832).

For this reason, it was necessary to reform the state. We find in Mouzinho’s words the same identification of the evil that those living on public revenues performed, the parasitic elements, which are at the center of the speech of the deputies of the Constituent Assembly of 1821–22 (Costa 2020). “Enjoy each one your private property and do not allow the government to live on contributions but for the men needed for things. . . Among us there is no proportion between the ability to find taxable material and the people destined to devour it” (Introductory report—decree of 18 April 1832).

### **Mouzinho’s Law of *Forais***

The application of the law providing for the revocation of contracts of emphyteusis and sub-emphyteusis in Crown assets made in an environment of political change, especially after the dissolution of monastic religious orders and the consequent incorporation of their property in the state, led to a very large wave of nonpayment of rents. In the case of the relationship between “copyholders” and direct landlords, the law

being favorable to the middle classes, it would not present much opposition. Even so, members of the highest nobility who had joined D. Pedro's party expressed their discontent. But in the case of the relationship between the "copyholders" and "sub-copyholders" (i.e., holders of emphyteusis and sub-emphyteusis), there was a feeling of injury to the sacred sphere of property, as this relationship was understood to be purely contractual—the creation of the property of a rent over a material asset and outside the sphere of the seigniorial or "feudal" regime, where there would be the shadow of coercion.

Mouzinho was accused of being attached to general theories and removed from the realities to which the principles applied. The deputy Agostinho Albano said that the luminous principles of political economy that lead to the decree of the *forais* (whose replacement was in discussion in 1839) "are good and exact for all times, they are the same that I support and defend, but in the abstract, because I do not consider them always admissible, always adoptable in all circumstances as fully as they are written in books" (*Diário da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados* 1839: 86). The affirmation that only full ownership of property gives independence is undoubtedly accepted. However, the insertion of the middle class and investors in the agrarian domain was frequently made not by buying land but by using an imperfect legal form, emphyteusis, that divides property into two or three domains, and this was far from the doctrine. Mouzinho was an example not only of the mischievous habit of "doctrinalism," but also of ignorance of the existent social appropriations of legal forms.

Surely the deputies would be surprised by the statement that one could not be a "copyholder" and a free individual and that being a "copyholder" (*enfiteuta*) represented misery. This provoked the response of deputy Albano, who used the example of the province of Minho and emphasized the difference between the abstract and the concrete: "I heard a doctrine that I am not comfortable with being delivered and one which I generally do not admit; he [Mouzinho] said where there is emphyteusis there is misery! This proposition is unsustainable in concrete terms while in the abstract it may in principle be unquestionable" (*Diário da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados* 1839: 86). The "conservative" critics of the law would not fail to accuse him of ignorance and of transposing simplified and polarized representations associated with the idea of "feudal oppression" where nothing like this existed. This occurred when the revision, or rather the effective abolition, of the "law of *forais*" was debated. The supreme irony was that the law guided by the consecration of full and unlimited property was accused of having violated property rights.

The generic disposition to eliminate the different coexisting levels of property had led to the extinguishing of the rights of perception of rents from emphyteusis that were the inherent (and only subsistent) rights to the owners of the direct domain, with the “copyholders” obtaining full ownership of the assets, without having to bail out those *foros*, thus constituting a free donation from government to the “copyholders” in the form of eliminating a level that was classified as an original taxation and rendered illegitimate by the duplication of tax systems and the appropriation of the incomes of the old system by social classes perceived as useless. This provision could possibly harm the holders of the right over the *foros* imposed by emphyteutic contracts on Crown assets. But the scope would be limited.

However, the effective extension of the application of the law resulted from an unexpected widening of its scope: not the Crown’s assets in the strict sense, but all the properties and possessions that were transferred to the state administration after the dissolution of the monastic orders. It was something unexpected. The government hoped to proceed with the bailout or sale of the *foros* that had been incorporated from the vast domains of the monastic orders. The bailout began, but with little effect.

But the crucial point is that logically, Mouzinho defined in the law that the same disposition (the elimination of different levels of property in the same estate) applied to cases in which the land was under a regime of sub-emphyteusis. If the rule was to enable the leaders of the effective exploitation of the land to reach the level of their full power, there was no doubt that the “copyholder” would have to be eliminated in favor of the “sub-copyholder.”

It was here that the law created the great social problem: it eliminated not only landlords (*senhorios diretos*, proprietors of rents) but also “copyholders” where the land was under a regime of three levels. Suddenly, as the sub-copyholders became full owners of the assets and the copyholders could no longer claim the *sub-foros*, while at the same time the mobilization of large sums for a public reparation of the copyholders was remote, the unexpected execution of the law expropriated many of the members of the middle classes (including presumably some deputies), which for them was absurd. Everything indicates that this happened unexpectedly. The drafting of the law, confirmed when liberal troops passed through the Alcobaça region (the region of passionate anti-feudal struggles), in conjunction with the dissolution of monastic orders, led to an unforeseen result.

The assessment of the social scope of the extensive application of the law depended on a better understanding of the social structure, especially in the case of the

region of Minho. The province of Minho has a well-defined cultural specificity supported by two juridical forms: first, a specific method of succession in the emphyteutical property; and second, the importance of sub-emphyteutic domains. The first was the “copyholds” of free appointment (*prazos de livre nomeação*) in which the holder could carry out the transmission of the land without strict rules. The deputies of the province emphasized that a stronger authority of fathers over their sons was the consequence of this regime. Obedience was the rule. This method allowed the transmission of undivided patrimony to the next generation. Children removed from succession received assistance to emigrate to Brazil or to establish themselves in other endeavors. This kind of “copyhold” was frequently explained as a sort of “popular entail.” The other characteristic of Minho was the large number of lands under a regime of sub-emphyteusis. Two levels of proprietors of rents existed in most of the lands of the province, according to some deputies (Costa 1989a). Unfortunately, the cultural peculiarities of Minho remains today largely unstudied.

However, Mouzinho seemed to ignore what happened with the application of his decree. In 1839, when he returned to the Chamber of Deputies, he was the first to speak in the general debate on the project to revise his 1832 law. He reaffirmed his authorship of the and law resumed the theme of “feudalism.” He seemed totally out of place in the debate in which he did not participate again. His strict economic determinism was confirmed in his speech: “A man does not dispose of himself freely . . . the soul of a man is subordinated to the facts that surround him. . . consequently, the land must be free . . . the emphyteutic lands that are so many entails (*morgados*) of things are still a heavy burden upon our shoulders.” Feudalism was the foreground: “The decree of 13th August is highly political and highly economic because it ends the ideas that have produced everywhere and at all times thousands of revolutions, these are the feudal ideas” (*Diário da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados* 1839: 82–83).

Mouzinho said that he had thought that the system of reversible grants had been the idea of João das Regras, but he later discovered that they had already been established in Asia. The “feudal ideas” were very old, existing thousands of years before Charlemagne or Montesquieu, and gave origin to many revolutions in Asia. He had already written in 1832: “Usurpation (the absolutist regime of Miguelismo) left the European system.” Miguelismo would be an “Asian” phenomenon and the victory of King Pedro would return the realm to “the guild (*grémio*) of Europe.” In his intervention on 15 April 1839, he returned to the theme of the lowliness of the aristocracy in the shadow of “feudal ideas” (*Diário da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados* 1839: 82–83). Although the term “ideas” can cause

some uncertainty, we can deduce that “feudal” means the precarious possession of a source of income, thereby obtaining a bond of fidelity from the one who receives in relation to the donor.

The possibility of revocation of possession of an estate was the connection between the distant feudo-vassalic pact, the precarious donation of Crown assets under the already mentioned *lei mental* and emphyteusis, but only in the case of the most ancient forms of emphyteusis, no long present in the nineteenth century. Mouzinho saw emphyteusis in the same light that led him to identify the effects he believed to be those of the Portuguese system of royal grants. Just as this system prevented the existence of a nobility with enough independence to prevent a tyrannical drift, so “copyholders” would also be dependent on the landlords.

The abolition of rents that fed the nobility was not the only thing at stake. The Count of Taipa claimed that “the rights of the aristocracy” were at stake, because not only had it had been despoiled but “the whole of society,” but also because the principle of property was attacked (*Diário da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados* 1839: 84). In fact, the idea that the “copyholders” were miserable individuals, dependent on and subject to the landlords’ yoke and masterful power would be an eccentricity statement without great consequences in as much as, in the case of the abolition of the *foros* that they paid to the landlords, these were always the beneficiaries of the law. The biggest social and political problem arose only when Mouzinho decided that, in the case of sub-emphyteusis, the “copyholders” would also see the extinction of the rents (*subforos*) paid by the “sub-copyholders.” This was the unforeseen scandal. Stipulating this abolition, Mouzinho did not respect the social and political barrier that would prevent him from entering a domain that was considered to be sacred property.

Indeed, while the extinction of the benefits imposed by *forais* was considered as a disabling of an archaic and perverse tax system, the sub-emphyteusis created by the holders of the useful domain (*enfiteutas*) were not at the same level in the social perception the sub-emphyteusis resulted, albeit in a paradoxical way, from using the “feudal” form in duplicating the domains of rentier landlords, from what was considered a strictly contractual exercise. In fact, the different classification of the two types of impositions could be considered arbitrary, but it was undoubtedly rightful, given the social importance of many “copyholders.”

In 1839, Mouzinho did not seem to recognize the problem created by his law, or did so only in a misleading way. What he proposed was very limited: he accepted a more

restrictive delimitation of the assets where the law applied. He considered only those designated as owned directly by the Crown, and which were listed as such, and he proposed the publication of that list approved by the Chamber of Deputies. This proposal was strongly criticized by a deputy who pointed out that such a process, in addition to being difficult to execute, would leave out most cases of potential application: “Infinite assets of the Crown would be left out of that list and those included therein would be the object of innumerable disputes to demonstrate, today, the identification of their boundaries. In addition, by this method, all the more assets of the national treasury that were not described as owned directly by the Crown would be excluded from the sentence of the decree” (Deputy Guilherme Henriques, *Diário da Câmara* 1839: 93). Now, the scope of application envisaged in 1832 had completely changed with the dissolution of the monastic orders. The payment of the *foros* that had belonged to these orders would have ceased immediately and the possibility that the state may sell these *foros* was canceled. In the session of 23 January 1835, Deputy Francisco António de Campos presented the complaints of the Misericórdia of Porto concerning the refusal of payment of many *foros* and *subforos* outside the strict domain of the law (*Diário da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados* 1835: 39).

Everything points to Mouzinho not understanding the complexity of the agrarian system in many regions of Portugal. Mouzinho himself stated that it was the most difficult subject that could occupy human minds (*Diário da Câmara*, 1839, 82). Only a few members of the *Câmara* were able to discuss the details of the juridical and social domain. It was not common knowledge, even among members of the political elite.

Mouzinho seems to take the rhetoric of oppression as a description of reality. The petitioners who went to the 1821 Constituent Assembly against the payments imposed by the *forais* resorted to images of servitude to characterize their condition. Not being socially homogeneous, the groups of contestants were almost always composed of the wealthiest peasants on the land and were far from extreme poverty and dependence. As emphasized before, emphyteutic property was divided into two properties: that of the *foro* and that of the disposition of the land, but the former could not expropriate the latter, existing in parallel. A few years later, in 1874, Herculano explained how the emphyteusis had undergone an evolution, which the Civil Code of 1867 had completed by abolishing the *laudêmio*, the payment signaling the recognition of the level above, until it was a consecration of a double property (Herculano 1882: 234).

The abolition of the rents imposed on lands through “feudal” charters seems to be a natural quest of a bourgeois program, as this rent discourages investment. This amount of agrarian surplus could be transferred to the capitalist farmers. However, the path of capital in the direction of innovation and the improvement of agrarian productivity is only one of several possibilities. The other could be in the opposite direction, aiming a more methodical and stricter collection of the feudal rents. The collection of rents by large traders could lead to the aggravation of the “feudal burden.” In Portugal, in the anti-feudal petitions of 1821–1822, the group most negatively mentioned is the *rendeiros*, those men who contract with the landlords for the collection of rents. They could inspire what was designated as a “feudal reaction.”

The problem of being able to draw the line of separation between the “feudal burden” (imposed originally by political force) and sacred property (presented as a strict “contractual” relationship) was not a specific problem of the Liberal Revolution in Portugal. In France, similar difficulties arose from the application of laws concerning “abolition of feudalism.” The first law suffered several attempts to limit its effects, as if the legislators had repented of their initial dispositions. The decisions of the 4 August 1789 session were haunted by the pressure of peasant revolts. This transformation in the agrarian regime that became the alleged matrix of the “bourgeois revolution” program was in fact a bond of bourgeois legislators with the *paysannerie*, a social group with particular interests. Furthermore, the law foresaw the bailout of a part of the extinguished rents. This perspective of indemnity remained until 1793. Several complaints claimed the offense of property due to abuse of anti-feudal laws (Aulard 1919: 85, 137; Costa 1987: 243–248). The interpretation pattern founded on the opposition between the overcharged concept of feudalism and the imagined agrarian program of the bourgeois revolution does not withstand the complexity of conflicts in the agrarian social world (see: Markoff 1996; in several perspectives: Béaur 2008; Congost 2007; Morán 2004; Sutherland 2002). A similar problem concerning the frontier of revolutionary laws took place in Portugal with the circumstances here presented.

## Conclusion

The breadth of the social effects of applying Mouzinho da Silveira’s law on *forais* was the result not of a project, but of chance. Not all liberal leaders agreed with this orientation. The powerful duke of Palmela was against it (Monteiro 2015). Also the Count

of Taipa, who claimed that his household had lost eighteen-thousand *cruzados*, was in 1839 a frontal opponent of Mouzinho's law in the Chamber of Deputies. (*Diário da Câmara* 1839: 85). When the law was drafted, its author was guided by the will to extinguish both the Crown assets donated and administered according to the *lei mental* (the law defining the revocability of royal donations)—a source of dependence and corruption of the first nobility, and, due to the desire to consecrate full ownership of these assets—and the levels of direct landlords and also the level of emphyteusis in the case of sub-emphyteusis. The reason is the same: the character of men is grounded in the free disposing of the assets from which they derive their income. Those who did not own their land fully were not free. When Mouzinho said this, he could not fail to cause the surprise of the deputies who were “copyholders.” Mouzinho seems to ignore that the juridical form of emphyteusis had been the legal support that had allowed the middle and upper classes to be able to enroll in the agrarian income production system without altering the existing property of the direct domain, namely the monastic corporations.

In several domains, Mouzinho seems to take ideas at their literal value. So it also occur is with regard to foreign trade, clashing with the widespread defense of the protection of national products in the domestic market. He seems to take literally as well the inviolability of property, including that of enemies, which does not allow a compromise with the needs of everyday government; and with regard to the division of property classified as feudal in which the subsistence of a relationship of personal subordination of a farmer to a landowner was imagined, albeit in a regime without the precariousness of those of a settler or a tenant. Mouzinho's law was not the application of a solid plan. Plans of political and social change certainly exist, but the action of humans takes place in a space filled with sets of actions from multiple points and therefore the application of plans are subject to a great number of accidents. The creation of heroes like the legislator comes to give coherence to this confusion.

Mouzinho foresaw that the law would apply only to the Crown's assets in the strictest sense and that the despicable behavior of the first nobility would no longer be possible. The law also favored the farmers, who would become full owners of their lands. The law also provided that in the case of the Crown's estates that were in the full possession of the beneficiaries of royal donations, these assets would become their full propriety. This seems to have happen in the case of grantees of royal estates in the *lezírias* region who became full landowners of crown lands (Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Reservados, Cod. 8859, f. 142). The law also provided for the compensation of those who

lost rents as a consequence of their measures. The scope of law enforcement was very different than expected because it was made after the extinction of the male monastic orders, their assets being considered the Crown's by common opinion. The *foreiros* refused to pay the rents of monastic origin and the treasury was unable to make the onerous cancelation of these rents as initially planned. Much more serious was the refusal of the *subforeiros* to pay the *subforos* to the *foreiros*.

The plan presented by the Viscount of Vilarinho de S. Romão in the Chamber of Peers in the session of 12 January 1836 for a bill to replace the law of 1832 confirms the main problems created by Mouzinho's law. The first point declared that the 1832 law would not include the "certain and known" rents that private individuals received, nor did it alter anything in the emphyteutic contracts, including those of the religious and other corporations listed. The strict interdiction of political interference in the property sphere that the law of 1832 had sacrilegiously disregarded was reestablished. In the second article, the Crown's assets were restricted to those assets registered in the books of the so-called "Crown's own assets" (*próprios da coroa*). This was the original scope of this kind of law. But it also did not apply to the assets whose juridical nature had changed as a result of having been sold by the Crown to private individuals. The viscount provided that even in the case of seemingly feudal rents (those that were generic like taxes) sold by the Crown, compensation would have to precede their abolition. In the case of these feudal-looking rents, the task of establishing their origin in *forais* was the task of those who wanted to stop paying and not the duty of those who demanded its payment.

Briefly, the law of 1832 had exceeded its objectives in two ways: in scope, having effects on all assets that could be classified as Crown assets; and in the depth of change, entering the sphere of ownership of *enfiteutas* in favor of sub-emphyteusis holders. The viscount's project would be a drastic restriction of the unexpected effects of the law. The revision of the law, discussed several times by the deputies until the new law was approved in 1846, would adopt a less radical direction. In the social context of the civil war of 1832–1834, the law was seen as a Machiavellian instrument creating supporters of the new regime, individuals interested in its defense of very tangible benefits from the new order. Thereafter, the radical modification of these benefits created a huge political problem. The viscount also identified the executive action in courts demanding payment of the rents as the practical path that the *foreiros* could follow. The courts could nullify the effects of the 1832 law case by case. The complaints about the law came to the deputies and *Pares* from regions like the city of Porto and the province of Minho with anti-feudal traditions. The

initial law included an answer to this problem: the compensation of those who lost rents. However, the scope of the compensation was unsustainable in the new conditions. In 1835, in the first session of the Chamber of Deputies of the new victorious liberal regime, the expected indemnities were debated and the “sub-copyholders” (those who were in the possession of estates under the regime of sub-emphyteusis) identified as the main beneficiaries of the law. The deputy Passos Manuel mentions the lowest estimate of this compensation as forty million *cruzados* or sixteen-thousand *contos*, a huge sum corresponding to twenty percent of the national annual product if we accept its computation in eighty-thousand *contos*. In 1835, the deputies discussed the possibility that this compensation could be placed within the scope of the “sale of national assets.” The same deputy pointed out that otherwise it was unthinkable to create a tax that would finance the nonpayment of *subforos* by the holders of sub-emphyteusis. That would be an unbearable forced income transference: owners of free property were not obliged to pay taxes to enrich *colonos* (*subenfitentas*), and this is what the decree of 13 August 1832 did when it extinguished *subenfitenses* and decreed a compensation for *foreiros* (*enfiteutas*) that should have been made prior and was not even done subsequently (*Diário da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados* 1835: 115).

In conclusion, Alexandre Herculano, one the most prominent liberal intellectuals, highly praised the law of *forais* and its author Mouzinho da Silveira. This law would have been the pillar of what he called the “great social revolution of 1834” (Herculano 1882: 167). I conclude, however, that the law of 1832 became a central theme of politics in Portugal not for its “anti-feudal” measures, but for the unexpected effects in the sphere of property. Mouzinho da Silveira, in Herculano’s works, is a fictional character, a legislator guided by a programmatic coherence that clearly lacked an earthly perspective. Someone who ruled for a brief time, he was the ideal figure for creating the image of the unpolluted liberal whose ambition for liberal social change had been shunned. But it is unthinkable that Herculano could be in tune with the application of the law that interfered in the sphere of emphyteusis, that is, of property as it was held by the middle class.

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# Anticolonialism in Early Twentieth-Century Portugal: The Ambivalences of Race and Transnationalism in *O Negro* (1911)

Richard Cleminson<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

The short-lived publication *O Negro* (1911) was a journal created and written by a group of individuals who came mainly from the colonized islands of São Tomé and Príncipe, off the west coast of Africa. This article argues that the publication constituted the first, although ephemeral, Black-owned journal to question the colonial status quo in Lisbon in the twentieth century. By means of a powerful, albeit often ambivalent discourse on exploitation, racial injustice, and economic hardship, *O Negro* articulated a transnational focus for a reassessment of the colonial relationship in Lusophone territories. It thereby provided the foundation for later attempts struggling for racial justice up to the establishment of the Salazar dictatorship.

## Keywords

Anticolonialism, São Tomé and Príncipe, transnationalism, Portugal

## Resumo

A publicação *O Negro* (1911), de curta duração, foi um jornal criado e escrito por um grupo de indivíduos que eram principalmente das ilhas colonizadas de São Tomé e Príncipe, na costa oeste da África. O argumento deste artigo é que esta publicação constitui o primeiro, embora efêmero, periódico da propriedade de pessoas oriundas da África a fornecer uma reavaliação da relação colonial em Lisboa no século XX. Por meio de um poderoso e às vezes ambivalente discurso sobre a exploração, a injustiça racial e as dificuldades económicas, *O Negro* articulou um enfoque transnacional para aqueles que questionavam a relação colonial nos territórios lusófonos. Assim, forneceu a base para tentativas em épocas posteriores a favor da luta pela justiça racial até o estabelecimento da ditadura de Salazar.

## Palavras-chave

Anticolonialismo, São Tomé e Príncipe, transnacionalismo, Portugal

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## Introduction

On 9 March 1911, the “*efémera mas significativa publicação*” [ephemeral yet significant publication] *O Negro* exploded onto the political scene in Lisbon (Andrade 1997: 79). Riding on the wave of the promise of a more liberal and democratic regime inaugurated by the Republic in October 1910, the journal’s editors seized what at first sight appeared to be the ideal opportunity to plead in favor of a more sympathetic hearing for the cause of Black Africans under colonial rule (Marques 1980; Gallagher 1983; Torgal 2012). Although only three issues of *O Negro* were printed, the four-page paper became the first Black-owned publication of the twentieth century to do battle with the iniquities of colonialism and to provide a sophisticated discourse on the significance of “race” in Portugal. It did so, however, from a position that was highly mediated and which arose from the relatively privileged socio-economic background of the paper’s protagonists as members or descendants of the land-owning classes or economic elites on the archipelago of São Tomé and Príncipe. Such a positioning meant that the paper often occupied an ambivalent space with respect to the republicanism that it hurried to evoke and even towards the ongoing relationship between Portugal and the colonies, combining elements of political radicalism with conventional or conformist demands. Underlying its discourse, nevertheless, was an acute sense of place, both physical and discursive, articulated as part of a broad internationalist sentiment. *O Negro* is understood here as a foundational initiative in Black movements that sought to address the colonized status of Africans in early twentieth-century imperial Portugal.

Most of those centrally involved in *O Negro*, including the director, the engineering student José Cunha Lisboa, Ayres de Menezes, Arthur (often written Artur) Monteiro de Castro, Alberto José da Costa, and Pedro Gambôa, had journeyed to the metropole to take up their studies. They formed part of what Augusto Nascimento (2005: 66) has called an “*elite expatriada em Lisboa*” [expatriate elite in Lisbon] whose origins in the upper socio-economic echelons of the islands, whether as plantation owners, descendants from these, or members of the well-off middle classes, meant that they occupied a space in between the wealthy and the much poorer indigenous farmers. They also occupied a position between white European plantation owners, the colonial machine and the “uneducated” indigenous, and thus formed part of the assimilated elite in the colony. The paper’s editor, Ayres de Menezes, descended from a *roça*-owning family and went to medical school in Lisbon (Andrade 1997: 200–201). Artur Monteiro de Castro was a member of a family dedicated to African politics and the brother of the activist João de Castro, who would take up significant

positions in the Black African movement in the 1910s and 1920 (Hill 1995: 636 n. 4). Their father was a landowner, chief clerk and later cashier at the Banco Nacional Ultramarino and evidently the family had enough money to send both Artur and his brother Heliodoro to Lisbon to study. Their mother was also a plantation owner (Andrade 1997: 191).

Their educated and relatively privileged backgrounds led them to establish the Liga Académica Internacional dos Negros and the Associação dos Estudantes Negros, of which *O Negro* was also the mouthpiece. Although little is known about either (Roldão, Pereira, and Varela 2021: 3), it is probable that both were based at the paper's address, Rua Maria 47, r/c, near Avenida Almirante Reis. Although *O Negro* was intended from its second issue in May 1911 to be a fortnightly affair, it ceased publication after its third appearance in October that same year. The platform it offered, despite its short existence, was nevertheless unique and had it not been for the trenchant opposition to the newspaper and its principal supporters' erratic presence in Lisbon, exemplified by the departure of its director to Manchester, it might have become consolidated as a long-lasting publication.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the space that *O Negro* offered for discourses that critiqued colonial relations and the conditions in which colonized peoples lived, it provided a distinctly transnational vehicle for raising awareness about the plight of Black people not only in those territories which formed part of the Portuguese Empire, but elsewhere across the globe. It achieved this through a strong commitment to the dissemination of news from different countries, combined with the overt attempt to seal connections between anticolonial struggles across a wide range of geographical spaces. It appealed to Black communities in Portugal, Africa, and elsewhere, thereby forging an incipient associational tie between Portuguese-speaking Africans and other Black communities across the world. This transnational approach was cemented by its direct connection to ongoing events in São Tomé and Príncipe and the close relations it established with individuals and groupings in the archipelago. Africa and the politics of race were thus transported directly to the heart of the old colonial capital, decentering Europe as a site of struggle and re-centering it as a locus of Black affirmation and contestation (cf. Chakrabarty 2000).

A strident stance that combined anticolonialism, a demand for racial justice, anti-militarism, circumspection towards religion, and support for progressive education as an

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<sup>2</sup> In issue number two, Anon (1911a) noted that numerous anonymous threats had been received by the paper. *O Negro* also noted that José Cunha Lisboa had departed from Lisbon on the *Antony* in order to complete his engineering studies in Manchester (Anon 1911b). He was listed in that same issue as a correspondent in this city. It was reported in addition that Ayres de Menezes would be leaving Lisbon to travel to his homeland, São Tomé, for a few months (Anon 1911c). Anon (1911d) wrote that Menezes had subsequently returned to Lisbon. Another key figure, José Alberto da Costa, was also recorded as having arrived back in Lisbon after an absence.

emancipatory tool all placed *O Negro* among vanguard movements seeking change. Never precisely revolutionary, however, the paper coincided with what Reis Torgal would identify as a characteristic of the later Liga Africana (1919), that is, in its adoption of a “via iluminista, ou racionalista” [enlightened or rationalist approach] with respect to its core issues (Torgal 2012: 15), based on a set of arguably just demands. Its main claims were apparently assimilated quickly and endorsed, as *O Negro* itself reported, by a range of contemporary publications from *A Capital* (Lisbon), to *Vida Livre* (Coimbra) and *O Sindicalista* (Lisbon), thereby displaying connections and a sympathetic reception with a variety of political tendencies from radical republicanism to anarchism and syndicalism (Anon 1911e). The newly established Lisbon-based republican daily, *A Capital*, for example, “cordially saluted” *O Negro* a day after its appearance (Anon 1911f). The paper was publicly available in the center of Lisbon, being offered for sale at various tobacconists’ and kiosks, including those located in the Rossio, Rua do Príncipe, and the Praça Dom Pedro V (Anon 1911g).

### **“A nossa escravidão é secular”: A Radical Transnational Perspective**

The first issue of *O Negro* set out in militant style the parameters of its specific claim for justice. From a deeply historicized Black perspective, it charted the injustices of the colonial system and, more broadly, the fallacy of rigidified notions of “race” and nationality. From its very first words, *O Negro* positioned itself as a publication that was fully integrated into international discourses on race and the prejudices that surrounded it. Under the first issue’s masthead, in an article inviting the reader to reflect on the current state of affairs in which Black people found themselves, *O Negro* pointed to the suffering of and the crimes committed against Africans: “A nossa escravidão é secular” [Our slavery is centuries-old], the piece read, noting that the current generation, parents and grandparents, had suffered “todos os vexames e tirannias” [all forms of denigration and tyranny] with impunity (Anon 1911h).<sup>3</sup> Further, it declared that “não queremos continuar a ser enganados” [we do not want to continue being deceived], that the time was over for saviors and that it was necessary to learn to “orientar as nossas ideias e a libertar-nos de todas as fórmulas de tirannia e exploração com que nos teem escravizado” [direct our own ideas and free ourselves from all the forms of tyranny and exploitation through which we have been enslaved] (Anon 1911h).

In what may be read as the publication’s manifesto, “A nossa Orientação” [Our Orientation], the paper drew a clear line between the paternalistic and ultimately racist

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<sup>3</sup> The original Portuguese orthography is retained throughout this article.

approach adopted by European states to colonized Africa and the values of true education, emancipation, and social transformation (Redacção 1911). The essay by the French parliamentary deputy, Lucien Hubert, *Le Devoir de l'Europe en Afrique* (Hubert c. 1910),<sup>4</sup> was cited as an example of the “simplesmente irrisorio” [simply ridiculous] argument of some European philanthropists whereby “um systema completo de garantias juridicas, servido por austeras instituições e especialmente a do trabalho livre e a sua remuneração, e alguns elementos de instrucção” [a complete system of legal guarantees, especially those including the right to work with proper pay and basic instruction, overseen by responsible institutions], would serve to raise the moral, political and educational standing “das populações negras, indigenas d'África” [of the Black populations, the indigenous of Africa] (Redacção 1911).

The editors displayed a remarkably incisive critique of the colonial legal system and the ways in which it reflected the particular interests of the groups behind its creation. Authors in *O Negro*, from a position that combined familiarity with ideas on racial emancipation and economic freedom in accordance with their elevated social position, argued that the law on its own was not capable of raising the moral tone of a population given the fact that it was fundamentally compromised as “o arbitrio dos fortes” [the weapon of the strong] (Redacção 1911). In tune with what Raewyn Connell would later call “southern theory” from a subaltern position (Connell 2007), the editors argued that the law was a product of the “consciencia colectiva das categorias sociaes dominantes” [collective conscience of dominant social categories] (Redacção 1911) and that it had been created as part of a system that obeyed the conditions set down by those dominating the economic structures of society. While the radical dimension of such an appreciation was somewhat tempered by their own relatively privileged socio-economic position, their protestations did not merely aim for greater advantage for native landowners. The authors argued that a *modus vivendi* between labor and capital would not provide a solution to these age-old problems. In addition to this class-inflected interpretation, they argued from a racial perspective that nothing less than a revolutionary rebellion of oppressed peoples would remedy the present state of affairs in which certain races were “victimas e martyres” [victims and martyrs] (Redacção 1911). The path advocated by *O Negro*, more generally, coinciding with Pan-Africanists such as Du Bois and, later on, other Black activists such as Marcus Garvey, was dedicated to “modificar e engrandecer as condições de toda a natureza do meio sociologico

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<sup>4</sup> Georges Froment, in his introductory words to the Ardennes deputy Lucien Hubert's essay, signalled that the latter had proposed a European congress to discuss how to “fixer les règles générales dont la colonisation moderne doit s'inspirer pour la sauvegarde et l'éducation des indigènes” [establish general rules upon which modern colonization can be inspired in order to safeguard and educate the indigenous] (Hubert c. 1910: 3).

em que elle [o homem] vive” [modifying and ennobling all natural conditions of the sociological milieu in which he [man] lives] (Redacção 1911). The only way of achieving this was the expropriation of the property that had been robbed from the indigenous “em detrimento dos seus legítimos donos” [to the detriment of the legitimate owners] (Redacção 1911): Africa had to be returned to Africans.

How would such an ambitious objective be achieved? The editorial in this first issue of *O Negro* advocated the creation of a body that would unite all across the educational divide; an international “Partido Africano” that would put an end to both economic and social, that is, racial, slavery. Such a party would be created in 1921 in the shape of the Partido Nacional Africano (Pélissier 1968: 224). Just as there was a struggle between one race and another in more “civilized” societies, so there was a struggle between classes and between nationalities. In order to confront the belief that some races and civilizations were destined to rule over others—the persecution of Jews in Austria and of the Armenians by Turkey were cited as cases in point—it was necessary that each race fought for its own emancipation. All obstacles impeding fraternization should be swept aside in tune with an exhortation that echoed the *motif* of the workers’ First International: “a emancipação de cada raça só póde e deve ser o resultado dos seus proprios esforços” [the emancipation of each race can only and must be the product of its own efforts] (Redacção 1911).

This internationalist perspective, which coincided with other bodies set up around the world in the early years of the twentieth century such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP, established in 1908 by WEB Du Bois), ran through all three issues of the paper. Although Du Bois was not mentioned, the perspective of *O Negro* was, in the aspects discussed above, more radical than the former’s National Association, which wavered in respect of its political outlook. The same can be said of Marcus Garvey’s later Universal Negro Improvement Association (established in 1916), whose leader at times praised Hitler and demonstrated a convoluted approach to communism (Martin 1976: 60–61, 221–272) as well as opposing miscegenation. *O Negro* sought its own ideological masthead, and this reflected, broadly, a leftist stance, although, as we will see, this was also tinged with conformism. Internationalism, nevertheless, was a permanent trait. In its third issue, the possibility of an organization to take up the defense of the Black race in London was received positively. Set up by “enlightened Europeans” who had lived in the Americas, Africa, and Australia, the society aimed to establish schools in various parts of the world and to promote the interests of the Black race in all lands (Anon 1911i).

The possession of an extraordinarily extensive range of correspondents from Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé, Angola, Cape Town, Mozambique, England, Germany, Russia, France, and the United States—where Booker T. Washington was listed as a correspondent—would no doubt have aided the paper’s international mission (Anon 1911j). Such a network enabled reports on a range of events from the uprising of the Rio de Janeiro fleet against corporal punishment (Anon 1911k) to the lack of proper education in Mozambique (Anon 1911l). In the European area, the paper’s Paris correspondent, listed as W. C. Thompson [Thompson?] celebrated the collapse of the repressive Briand government in France while describing as a betrayal his volte face against socialism. A report on an interview given by Booker T. Washington, published in the Parisian *Le Journal*, provided an informative piece on the “questão da raça negra” [question of the Black race] and Black people’s struggles in America and South Africa in the same issue (Anon 1911m).<sup>5</sup>

### Colonial Tensions, Republican Disappointments

The territory that received most detailed analysis in *O Negro* was, unsurprisingly, given the background of the publication’s main authors, São Tomé. In contrast to the expectations created by the Republic in respect of altering the socio-economic order operating in the colonies, the paper unremittingly attacked the failings of the new regime. This disappointment connected with broader disillusionment across all the Portuguese colonies as a response to the unkept promises of the Republic (Zamparoni 2014).

The punitive and restrictive laws of the Portuguese Empire regarding the colonies and indigenous populations were examined in detail. In the first issue, the continuing exceptionality of a range of nineteenth-century laws was a phenomenon described as one more of the “mil vexames” [thousand indignities] imposed on the population (Anon 1911n). Among these was the decree of 20 February 1894, which allowed for misdemeanors by members of the local population to be punished through forced labor instead of prison. Other parts of the existing legislation conferred the title of “indigenous” on those who had been born in the colonies from a mother and father resident in the territory and who did not differ in respect of their education and customs from other members of their race.<sup>6</sup> This, ultimately, condemned them to second-class status. These were the laws, the article satirically

<sup>5</sup> This was probably the interview printed in late August 1910 in *Le Journal* (Anon 1910).

<sup>6</sup> On the dynamics of Portuguese colonialism and the legal frameworks for the indigenous, see Jerónimo (2012a), and for the Indigenous Statute (the so-called *Indigenato*) of 1926, see Cahen (2012).

remarked, that the “enorme coração humanitário” [generous humanitarian heart] of the Portuguese had bestowed upon the populace (Anon 1911n). The article finished with a robust warning: “Mas reparai; será breve esta vossa orgia, gozada em detrimento da nossa liberdade que nos roubastes, e que saberemos reconquistar” [But behold; your luxuriousness, derived in detriment to our freedom stolen by you from us, will be short-lived. We know how to take it back] (Anon 1911n). A further piece on the colonial situation by the University of Coimbra law expert Ruy Ennes Ulrich (1911) did not mince words either and declared that the system followed by the Portuguese, particularly in Brazil in the past, had been one of “sujeição excessiva” [excessive oppressiveness]. The twentieth century had brought little progress and even though there were some voices in favor of greater autonomy for the colonies, Ulrich argued, the system should begin to prepare the colonies for self-governance.

News from the Portuguese colonies was conveyed in the three issues, with an emphasis on the conditions pertaining in each setting, and, in the case of Angola and São Tomé, the steps taken towards incipient political organization. The first of these, the “province” of Angola, as *O Negro* put it, “se começa a interessar com o seu destino futuro” [has begun to take an interest in its own future destiny] by means of the organization of the Partido Reformista d’Angola (PRA), whose statutes were reproduced for the reader (Anon 1911o). The PRA initially began as the Junta Revolucionária de Luanda and constituted one of the many different manifestations of the republican kaleidoscope in Angola that sought greater justice and autonomy for the colony (Rodrigues 2003: 26). While not initially independentist in its aims, the PRA became highly critical of regime policy. A similar critical and eventually independentist stance was adopted in São Tomé in the early 1920s by certain manifestations of republicanism under the auspices of figures such as Augusto Gambôa and António José de Almeida (Nascimento 1994: 169).

The limitations of the in-between position adopted by *O Negro* are evident, however, when the situation in Guinea was discussed in the final issue of the paper. In a letter signed by “C. B.” from Cacheu, Guinea, printed under the rubric of “The People’s Tribune” (C. B. 1911), the author praised the existence of *O Negro* for its role in the struggle against injustice and the sufferings of the Guinean population. The article cited cases of ill treatment by the authorities and hope was placed, despite other authors’ acerbic criticism of the new regime, on the Republic for a change in circumstances. Schools were demanded as well as identity documents, as promised, in order that Guineans could undertake public roles. The poor educational and labor situation in Guinea was contrasted to that of Cabo Verde where at least one high school operated. The right of Guineans to become military officers, currently

prohibited, was also demanded—hardly a radical objective, but an issue that, for the author, showed once more, the failure of the Republic to live up to its progressive spirit: “Se fosse no tempo da monarchia, não admirava! Agora, no tempo da egualdade e fraternidade, faz arripiar os cabelos!” [If we were under the monarchy, I wouldn’t be surprised. But now, in the time of freedom and fraternity, it makes my hair stand on end!] (C. B. 1911).

### Portugal, “pequena nação continental”

Racial discrimination and the dire situation of most of the local population and those who came to work on the São Tomé and Príncipe cocoa and coffee plantations, the so-called *serviçais* or contract workers, were core issues for *O Negro*. The paper’s correspondent, Pedro Gambôa, reported how racial prejudice was often at the heart of the resulting conflicts. During the recent electoral campaign, Gambôa reported, a local military officer, Major Nicolau Reys, had presented himself as a candidate for governor. Reys, however, had made disparaging remarks about the island’s people, which had resulted in unrest and the provisional take-over of power by Captain Henrique de Oliveira (Gambôa 1911a). Gambôa made it clear that few of the abuses suffered under the monarchy, including police violence and repression, had evaporated under the new republican regime.

In a further incident of discrimination, *O Negro* reported that a publication founded just after the advent of the Republic, *A Voz de S. Thomé*, had made racial slurs against the locals. The *Voz* had declared in its inaugural issue that it was necessary to raise the province out of the mire and, specifically, free white people from the “promiscuity” in which they lived with the Black population. A new district of the capital had been proposed as a European-only quarter. The irony that it was the liberal Republic that had permitted local whites to discover the terrible living conditions of most Blacks was not lost on *O Negro*.

Running through many articles, in addition to comments on labor and living conditions, was an account of the steps taken towards enduring and effective political organization. Rather than advocating independence or a formal end to the exploitative colonial relationship, however, this sometimes encapsulated a form of nationalism, leaving both concepts of nation and colony intact. A demand, drawn up in 1908 on the representation of the indigenous population, had been delivered to the Provisional Government of the Republic in 1910 (Anon 1911p). Framed as part of a “justa rebeldia” [just rebellion] against the conditions of slavery imposed on the islands and their lack of representation in Lisbon, the text argued that instead of the “pequena nação continental”

[small continental nation] that Portugal currently was, if careful administration of the colonies had been followed, it could have been a great country and its colonies could have been rich. Instead, Portugal had managed to “implantar o regime colonial mais absurdo do mundo” [establish the most absurd colonial regime in the world].

This theme continued into the next issue of *O Negro*. Drawing on insights taken from the official bulletin of São Tomé and Príncipe from December 1910, the penury of the people in Príncipe was put down to a variety of causes, including exploitation by Europeans, the tax regime, terrible working conditions, and poor health care. In contrast to imperial representations, a regime of enforced labor endured on the islands. Presented by the colonial state as a “civilizing” necessity providing discipline for the indigenous, such a regime was signed into legislation in a November 1899 decree (Jerónimo 2012b: 168–169). Opposition by the owners of the cocoa plantations, the *roceiros*, to the introduction of better working conditions merely conserved “o estigma da escravidão” [the stigma of slavery] (Anon 1911q1; cf. Clarence-Smith 1993; Macedo 2012; Cahen 2015).

The labor situation in the cocoa plantations on the islands was, to say the least, highly problematic. Cocoa production reached its height in São Tomé in the first decade of the twentieth century. It required ever higher inputs of labor, and an average of 4,000 laborers a year had to be imported, mainly from Angola, to maintain a workforce of between 30,000 to 40,000 (Hodges and Newitt 1988: 36–37).<sup>7</sup> Under 1903 legislation, workers’ contracts, drawn up by a local recruitment officer or *curador*, were for five years and could be renewed. Part of the workers’ wages, in theory, were to be used for the eventual repatriation of the *serviçais*. Those from Cape Verde were offered one- or two-year contracts and expected to return home as their engagement ended (Hodges and Newitt 1988: 36–37); other nationalities remained for longer. The working conditions on the islands and the high death rate, as well as the inefficiencies of the repatriation policy, had reached an international audience following concerns about the inhumane conditions prevailing in King Leopold’s Congo Free State and recruitment practices in South Africa (Hodges and Newitt 1988: 37).

Although the article did not go into more details about the workers on the *roças*, it did state that many locals, at least in São Tomé, had refused to work on them given the terrible conditions. Reports for the British chocolate manufacturers Cadbury and Fry, alerted

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<sup>7</sup> Kiesow (2017: 59) notes by drawing on the São Tomé Emigration Society’s statistics: “Between 1901 and 1928, plantation owners and administrators recruited a total of 100,821 African workers on the islands. The majority originated from Angola (50,444) and Mozambique (44,053), fewer from the Cape Verde Islands (6,305), and only nineteen people from other countries. Further evidence for the constant lack of workers is represented by numbers from recruited *serviçais* in Angola: in 1899, 7,363 official contracts were signed within the country and half of these laborers went to São Tomé and Príncipe.”

to possible abuses, pointed out that *serviçais* were indeed in theory contracted for five years and then permitted to return home. In reality, the regime was so strict and punitive that it was difficult to do so, and many fugitive workers were captured and forced to continue on the farms (Higgs 2014: 58). One report writer, Henry Nevinson, remarked that conditions could be described at the very least as “a mild form of slavery” (Higgs 2014: 66).<sup>8</sup> Historians concur. Clarence-Smith (1993: 149) would define the labor system as “almost identical to slavery.” Only in 1911 did the republican government introduce legislation to the effect that contracts would be for two years; it took until 1913 for the governor of Angola to enforce the law (Higgs 2014: 68) and it was only in 1912 that Angolans began to return to work on the islands (Clarence-Smith 1990: 154).

Such complaints about working conditions were broadened out to criticize the funding received by the armed forces in comparison to social causes such as education and justice (Anon 1911q2). In a long article, the lack of respect shown towards the indigenous population by certain military figures, as expressed in a report published in the local São Tomé *Boletim Oficial*, was highlighted as yet another example of racial injustice (Anon 1911r). The words of the report writers, Capt. Alfredo Pedreira Martins de Lima and Lt. Manuel de Souza Brazão, only served to “desprestigiar e amesquinhar os nativos” [ridicule and besmirch the natives] of São Tomé (Anon 1911r). A “distinção odiosa” [odious distinction] had been traced by the authors between the Europeans present on the island and the locals, an attitude deemed anomalous with the spirit of the new republican regime supposedly guided by liberty, equality, and fraternity (Anon 1911r). Among the many assertions contained in the original report was the admittance that no Black police officers had been appointed because all previous attempts had not turned out well. Rather than identifying the indigenous population as being at fault, the fact that trained locals had not been allowed to take on such a role was seen as evidence by *O Negro* of “um nojento odio de raça” [a revolting racial prejudice] (Anon 1911r). This contrasted with the situation in British India where “natives” undertook extensive policing roles. To add insult to injury, the report writers had argued that policemen recruited from Cape Verde and Mozambique were more reliable and conscientious than the locals. The existence of this kind of prejudice was defined as one of many “vices” that had grown out the specific despotic conditions prevalent in the colonies of West Africa.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> On Nevinson’s and others’ reports, see Jerónimo (2012b: 172); Oliveira (2017: 132).

<sup>9</sup> Poverty in Cape Verde was also signalled as an important issue in the paper. See the letter addressed to the Provisional Government of the Republic by Cape Verde residents in Anon (1911s), containing the statement “Nós temos o direito de que a metropole, quando aqui o povo corre o perigo de morrer de fome, pelo menos nos pague o que d’aqui nos levou o que d’aqui levantou n’outras épocas” [We have the right that the metropole,

Such wording coincided with a sharp yet uneasy differentiation being drawn between certain bodies and organizations that defended the status quo, whether racial or economic (or both), and those that outlined an assertive route for potential contestation against the empire's power base. In a short piece in the news section of *O Negro*, the creation on 27 April 1911 of the União Colonial Portuguesa was reported upon (Anon 1911t). Presided over by Magalhães Lima in Lisbon, the Union's stated aims were explicitly progressive, declaring that justice and humanity would be their watchwords "para o preto, para o branco, para o amarello" [for black, white, and yellow] (Anon 1911t). The proof of these noble principles, however, would be in how they were put into practice. Perhaps just as the Republic was seen to be failing in its progressive promise, so would the União Colonial.

This circumspection displayed towards an organization created in the metropole was not articulated by *O Negro* when it came to combative associations that were established in the colonies. In a bid for the representation of the colonies in the Lisbon government, one organization, the Liga Ultramarina, denounced the continuing marginalization of these territories in regards to decision making (Anon 1911u). The Liga pointed to the fact that the colonies had saved the country from bankruptcy in the early 1890s (Santos 2001). Because of this reality, the colonies should enjoy representation in Lisbon and should have a hand in the new colonial statute that was being debated by the new regime. If a regime of complete subjection had continued, the paper argued, it was logical for the colonies to have no representation. If the colonies enjoyed a regime of autonomy, it was likewise clear that no representatives should be sent since laws would be made locally. Neither case, however, prevailed. Other organizations, including the Liga dos Interesses dos Indigenas, based in São Tomé and formed in 1910, made similar incipient demands (Andrade 1997: 87–88). The Liga's statutes were promptly outlined in *O Negro*, not least by the Liga secretary, Manuel da Trindade Franco e Lagos (Lagos 1911).

Such comments came in the context of *O Negro's* continued support for the creation of a transnational Partido Africano. In a strongly worded editorial in the paper's second issue, it declared that freedom was the alpha and the omega of modern times. The irony of the Portuguese civilizing project, referred to in the previous article on the Liga Ultramarina, which despite its supposedly noble motivations did not allow for its populations to speak, was plainly articulated in an article that refused any limitations on liberty: "Nada de grilhões,

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when the people here are at risk of dying from hunger, at least pays us for what it took away from us from here in previous periods].

ainda mesmo que elles sejam de oiro” [No prison bars even if they are made of gold].<sup>10</sup> The reference to modern times and to discourses of liberty show how in tune *O Negro* was with the expectations and the disappointments, not to speak of the deceptions, arising during the modern period. Rather than rejecting the central premises of modernity, however, *O Negro* effectively articulated an alternative vision of modernity, or a form of what Appadurai has termed grassroots globalization, as a vehicle for protest and for the self-realization, although perhaps not quite independence, of the subaltern subject (Appadurai 2001).

In the editorial, “Fartae villanagem!” (Anon 1911v), which followed the statement on the colonial regime’s auriferous prison bars, the situation of “the sons of Africa” was likened to the broader “social question” of the late nineteenth century. This issue, as pressing and legitimate as matters of the health of the population or the dispute between labor and capital, arose as a result of the “violenta exclusão da posse e usufructo dos bens da terra” [violent theft of the ownership and benefits to be derived from the wealth of the earth] (Anon 1911v) originally belonging to Africans. The violation of natural law merited the utmost derision on the part of the newspaper and justice was demanded from the possessing powers. This would not come, however, from a mere change in law, which, as noted above, was rejected as a tool of those “nações que nos roubaram a terra natal” [nations that stole our native land] (Anon 1911v). As a reinforcement to these power structures, the native populations had been denied access to the administration of their own territories and had been deprived of education and access to intellectual pursuits. Now, however, the forces of plunder (those behind the “villanagem” in the article’s title) had been sent a warning: the hopes for social redemption were completely divorced from the increased desire for economic gain, which, in turn, acted against indigenous honor and dignity. Such antagonism, *O Negro* hoped, would give birth to a Partido Africano composed of guilds, associations, and cooperatives whose realization would constitute the application of the Monroe Doctrine *par excellence*. Despite the fact that such a party would raise “inimigos irreductiveis” [indefatigable enemies] and would stoke the ire of “adversarios colericos” [rabid adversaries] (as, in fact, *O Negro* had), it would triumph in the name of humanity. Such was the confidence of this movement that it asked rhetorically, “Quem poderá deter o raio refulgente que serpeia pelas nuvens?” [Who will be capable of deflecting the lightening blow that is gathering in the clouds?] (Anon 1911v).

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<sup>10</sup> These words appeared in bold above the editorial in Anon (1911v).

## Eclecticism as an Ideological Vehicle

Despite some writers for *O Negro* articulating demands that were ambivalent in respect of their radicalism, such as indigenous access to the (colonial) police and armed forces, there were traces of the positive reception of certain leftist ideologies from socialism through to anarchism.<sup>11</sup> Antimilitarism in the newspaper was accompanied by a strong critique of religion, defined in one article as a plague (Anon 1911w), while threats to health, such as the consumption of alcohol, were highlighted. Alcohol was also thought to be responsible for the creation of “degenerate” offspring (Anon 1911x). All these attitudes were common currency within turn-of-the-century progressive and labor movement organizations. Hostility to the church, for example, defined by Birmingham as “the anti-clerical backbone of republicanism,” was prominent in political discourse at the time (Birmingham 2003: 152).

Nevertheless, in the case of *O Negro*, there seems to have been a closer affinity, at least on the part of some of its writers, with some radical nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century figures who were named as inspirational for the struggle. The emancipatory élan of international agitators such as Peter Kropotkin, for example, graced the pages of *O Negro* (P. K. 1911) in respect of the political capacity of the youth. The educational background of those animating the paper no doubt encouraged the exploration of new pedagogical techniques and programs. Of these, *O Negro* highlighted the progressive educational model of the Catalan anarchist and founder of the “rationalist” Modern School, Francisco Ferrer (Anon 1911y). It was here that the paper’s antimilitarism and anti-religiousness coincided. Ferrer’s main ideas were presented in a homage piece two years after his execution by the Spanish state for his supposed involvement in the July 1909 riots in Barcelona against the call-up for men to fight in the Moroccan war. The philosophical connections between Ferrer and other left-leaning libertarians such as Odón de Buen, Élisée Reclus, and Anselmo Lorenzo were traced, as well as the modern, harmonious, and progressive nature of his school curriculum. The anti-religious tenets of the article were reinforced by the use of terms such as “clericalha” [vile priesthood] and the newspaper also identified the need to free children from the “preconceitos de raças, das tradições do passado” [prejudices of race and of past traditions] (Anon 1911y), showing how anticlericalism,

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<sup>11</sup> As Roldão, Pereira, and Varela note (2021: 2), Arthur Monteiro de Castro would also collaborate with the anarchosyndicalist *A Batalha*. See Castro (1926). That *O Negro* appeared to be sympathetic to anarchism in particular is also intimated by the publicity carried for the Lourenço Marques-based anarchist paper *Os Simples*, directed by M.J. de Sousa Amorim. See the advertisements page of *O Negro*, 1 (3) (1911): 4.

educational radicalism, and anti-racism were mobilized by *O Negro* in order to galvanize opposition to restrictive colonial rule and racial prejudice.

This paean to the inhabitants of a world without racial distinctions was articulated comprehensively in an article in the paper's second issue written by the São Tomé correspondent, Pedro Gambôa, precisely on the subject of "race" (Gambôa 1911b). Reflecting on a speech he had given in São Tomé on the occasion of the visit of Prince Luiz Filipe in July 1907 in which he had argued that "Não ha raças, ha homens e ha civilizações" [There are no races, only men and civilizations] (Gambôa 1911b), Gambôa expanded on his thoughts in April 1911 for publication in *O Negro* later that year. The author began with a critique of Europe's conquest and the feelings of racial superiority that reigned in this part of the world; this continent acted as the "maior entrave que hoje existe para a emancipação rapida das raças incultas" [main brake that exists today for the speedy emancipation of the uninstructed races] (Gambôa 1911b). At the heart of this impediment was a false conception of law, which had enslaved native populations. While some local leaders, *O Negro* argued, had found a degree of privilege within the colonial set-up, most inhabitants were subject to brutal rule. The history of Europe itself, nevertheless, had continually been turned back on the very structures of the colonial system and, where despots had once ruled—whether in the case of Napoleon or in the Spanish take-over of Portugal—liberty had eventually triumphed. An identical fate, the paper continued, awaited oppressed Blacks who would, sooner or later, overthrow their lords. In seeking emancipation, however, violence should not be pursued; instead, progress and evolution would lead to freedom. Once such justice had been restored, Africa would then be for Africans just as Europe would be for Europeans.

### **Concluding Remarks: Foundations for Future Anticolonial Struggle**

The short-lived *O Negro* constituted a combative and articulate voice against the inequities of colonialism. Although it only survived for three issues, and clearly did not speak with one voice, it laid down the groundwork for later developments in five principal ways. First, like other publications that would follow, such as *A Voz d'Africa* (1912-1913) and *O Correio de Africa* (1921-1924), *O Negro* questioned the colonial relationship from diverse perspectives. Like many publications of the time, although these perspectives were complementary, they were not necessarily entirely compatible. As Pinto de Andrade (1997: 184) has argued, ambivalence was one of the defining characteristics of the Black-led publications (termed "proto-nationalist" by this author) that came to light in Lisbon up to the 1930s. Some of

these were completely opposed to colonialism and sought independence for the colonies; others argued for a more representative or just relationship between colony and metropole with a reform of the fiscal and labor regime. This ambivalence arose partly as a result of the socio-economic position occupied by the animators of such periodicals (Nascimento 2005). As Eugénia Rodrigues has argued in the case of Angola, organizations that sprung up in the 1910s responded to discontent among the *mestiço* or local elites in respect of the economic and political subordination of the colony to the metropole (Rodrigues 2003: 9–11). Oliveira has argued further that “the core constituency of [oppositional] groups was an intermediary class of creole or ‘assimilated’ Africans who had a long past of collaboration with the Portuguese” (Oliveira 2017: 140). It is only when this background is recognized that it is possible “to make sense of the ambivalence of their attitudes and trajectories” (Oliveira 2017: 140). The figures behind *O Negro* acted, at least in part, in accordance with the position of those groups marginalized by centers of power in non-European localities (Connell 2007: 14); they contested elements of colonialism in no uncertain terms, but also reproduced some oppressive structures. This is evident from arguments in favor of a “fairer deal” within the colonial model and support for an economic relationship with Portugal that did little to alter the fundamentals of either colonialism or notions of the nation, from demands for indigenous access to policing and the armed forces. Despite a somewhat compromised position, nevertheless, *O Negro* served to voice contestations from the heart of the empire, to circulate knowledge on the situation of other Black populations, and to garner resistance from what Boehmer has termed a site of “potentially productive inbetweenness” (Boehmer 2005: 21).

Second, *O Negro* was important because the protagonists that cut their teeth within its pages resurfaced in later movements and publications throughout the 1910s and 1920s. This continuity was encapsulated by figures such as Castro and Ayres de Menezes. Ayres de Menezes, for example, went on to join the Junta de Defesa dos Direitos d’África (established in 1912) and performed a fundamental role in its publications, *A Voz d’África* and *Tribuna d’África. Órgão da Junta de Defesa dos Direitos d’África*.<sup>12</sup> Cunha Lisboa and Artur Monteiro de Castro reappeared in the second phase of the by then unaffiliated *Tribuna d’África* as late as 1931–1932 (Varela and Pereira 2020: 10). We can therefore consider *O Negro* to be foundational in its establishment of the networks and trajectories of Black activism that would inform the anticolonial movement until the 1930s before their eclipse under the Salazar dictatorship.

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<sup>12</sup> See the table on the principal figures for each publication in Varela and Pereira (2020: 9).

Third, the paper functioned as a networking space by creating ideological overlaps between disparate movements. These ranged from radical republicanism to the new ideologies of the left. The fact that *O Negro* made reference to theories in favor of a redistribution of the land and the sharing of the profits of work placed many of its writers in a long segue of radical thought from Proudhon to Marx and Bakunin. While this does not convert *O Negro* into a journal of revolutionary socialism or anarchism, the borrowings and the affective connections afforded by such references evidently struck a chord with these *saotomenses* who were keen to link Black emancipation with radical republicanism and revolutionary socialism. While the stance of *O Negro* and the later Liga dos Interesses Indígenas based on the islands was hamstrung by their failure to break fully from what Andrade (1997: 184) termed the “parâmetros fixados” [fixed framework] of republican legality, the connections they forged are suggestive for they change our understanding of early anticolonialism and its ideological permeations in the Lusophone world in the 1910s.

Four, the doctrine and practice of internationalism from São Tomé to Angola reflect the dynamics of the early transnational twentieth-century anticolonial struggle, from the United States to West Africa, and they are testimony to the organizational power of the Portuguese language and colonial condition. The degree to which Portuguese was a vehicle of mobilization and dissent, however, must be questioned. While it served to bind movements together and enabled the transfer of insights from one colony to the next in publications like *O Negro*, it must be borne in mind that only a small percentage of these populations could read and write and, more specifically, it was mainly the educated, so-called “assimilated” elite, including most readers and writers connected to *O Negro*, who knew Portuguese.

A fifth way in which *O Negro* was significant for later developments was in its establishment of associations, which were in turn internationalist and embryonic of the new federalism that anticolonialism sought. Although the Liga Acadêmica Internacional dos Negros and the Associação dos Estudantes Negros were most likely to have been short-lived, the networking effects afforded by such groupings showed the potential of Black associational ties for future developments. It is worth noting that the Association drew up a lively program of meetings on Thursday and Saturday evenings (Direcção 1911) and a short notice in the paper reminded readers about the meetings, allowing us to suppose that Black students had been meeting even before *O Negro* was established. Details about the league were less specific, but it was remarked in issue two of *O Negro* that it continued to meet in the same place as it had done before (Anon 1911z). The associational and affective

continuities forged by *O Negro* suggest that the journal established an important fulcrum around which the construction of the anticolonial movement in Portugal took place in the early twentieth century. Its significance for the global Black and anticolonial movement, furthermore, far outweighs its ephemeral existence over a period of little more than seven months.

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