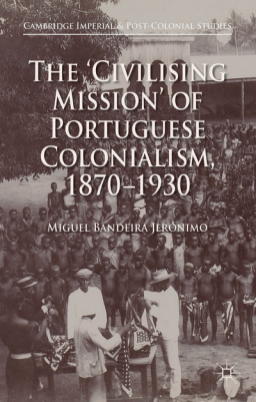


CAMBRIDGE IMPERIAL & POST-COLONIAL STUDIES

THE 'CIVILISING MISSION' OF PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM, 1870–1930

MIGUEL BANDEIRA JERÓNIMO





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Introduction

In 1876, Henry Rowley wrote: ‘the instructions which these governors [of African territories under Portuguese administration], major and minor, received from the home government are admirable. The blessings of civilization and Christianity are set forth in eloquent phraseology, and the duty of extending such blessings urgently enforced [...] Theoretically, nothing can be better than the position, the policy, and the character of the Portuguese in Africa [...] Practically, nothing can be worse or more humiliating’.¹

In a certain sense, this quotation summarises the fundamental question that is at the heart of this study.² This book provides an historical analysis of the formation and development of the doctrine of the *civilising mission* in Portuguese colonialism since 1870, a crucial period in international and national, imperial and colonial history.³ The fundamentals and justifications of the doctrine are analysed and their actual materialisation assessed, thereby exploring the recurrent disjuncture between them, especially in what relates to the most important aspect of Portuguese colonial endeavour by the turn of the century: the recruitment, employment, organisation and distribution of native labour. The question of the *trabalho indígena* in the third Portuguese empire was at the forefront of the country’s foreign, metropolitan and colonial policies, being promoted as the most important instrument that enabled the native populations to enter the ‘civilisation guild’, as one important colonial specialist stated at the time. The convoluted historical transition from an imperial configuration which focused on Brazil to another one that was African-oriented was unquestionably marked by the resilience of slavery and other modalities of forced or compulsory labour.⁴

Acknowledging metropolitan and colonial dynamics, this research places the case of the Portuguese colonial empire within a wider,

2 The 'Civilising Mission' of Portuguese Colonialism

international and transnational framework, exploring the relationship between the role of labour in colonial imagination and contexts – namely in the definition of politics and policies of difference – and the sociocultural representations of the native communities that legitimised, from an ethical, ideological and political point of view, several projects of the Portuguese (and European) new imperialism.⁵

In the Portuguese case, the enduring influence of racialised pro-slavery standpoints in the metropolitan and colonial societies was noteworthy. It marked the constitution of the third empire's plural political imagination and influenced the formulation of novel idioms and repertoires of imperial and colonial legitimation (at the metropole, overseas and internationally); namely those related to the doctrines and policies of the 'civilising mission' that emerged within and across imperial formations. This civilisational rationale, supported and nurtured by old and resilient racialised outlooks, was particularly instrumental in the creation and institutionalisation of a *system* of colonial labour, which became the cornerstone of the organisation of the new imperial and colonial political economies in the aftermath of the legal abolition of the transatlantic slave trade. Legalised, organised and managed by the empire-state (with local collaborators and not without resistance, locally and internationally, and manifold appropriations), this *system* was characterised by multiple modalities of coercion and compulsion that substituted slavery from legal and practical points of view. At the same time, the issue of native labour also became a theme, and a problem around which the Portuguese empire-state's international relations (not merely diplomatic) formed and evolved historically. As a political, economic but also sociocultural repertoire of colonial rule and administration, and as an instrument of international engagement and legitimation of the country as a *civilised* and *civilising* imperial formation, the native labour question assumed a 'double centrality', as argued elsewhere. Given the political, economic, social and cultural consequences of this centrality, the problem of native labour turned into a predictable object of critical assessments, motivated by reformist outlooks, by purposes of interimperial competition and moral differentiation, or, later on, by idioms and movements that questioned the legitimacy of imperial and colonial formations, demanded reformed politics and policies of difference, and eventually insisted on political emancipation.⁶

This book analyses the international, metropolitan and, to a lesser extent, colonial historical circumstances of the instrumental use of idioms and repertoires of the 'civilising mission' and their close association to a legalised compulsory *system* of native labour.⁷ For many, this

state-coordinated scheme promoted labour conditions and relations that were ‘analogous to slavery’.⁸ This volume demonstrates the pivotal role that European doctrines of the ‘civilising mission’, certainly associated with the original template provided by Victorian imperialism and by the appearance of a ‘standard of civilization’ (diffused in an international and interimperial level⁹), played in the emergence and development of late nineteenth-century new imperialism, capturing its importance in the histories of: humanitarian and anti-slavery movements; evangelical and missionary revival and competition; the new imperial moral and political economies; novel diplomacies of imperialism; an evolving pan-European imperial science, and international and colonial law. Portuguese international, metropolitan and, to a lesser extent, colonial histories are therefore scrutinised as observatories of global and transnational historical processes, appreciated in relationship with other (old and emergent) imperial and colonial powers, and interrogated within a wider analytical framework, which takes into account the expansion of and the effective occupation by European colonial rule (not without significant resistance and protest¹⁰) and the growing internationalisation of imperial and colonial affairs, as a result of multiple political, cultural, scientific and ethical developments.

This work comprises two parts. *The ‘Civilisation Guild’: Native Labour and Portuguese Colonialism*, the first part of this book, focuses on the historical constitution of the doctrine of the *civilising mission* in Portugal, assessing its role in the tentative formation of *new Brazils in Africa*. Capturing its genesis as a variation of the ideology of slavery that justified the secular existence and protracted abolition of the slave trade in the Portuguese Euro-African-Brazilian empire, this part explores how the ‘civilising mission’ doctrine became a vital element in the formulation of a renewed foreign policy focused on imperial and colonial issues, in the devising and promotion of political and cultural strategies of nationalisation of the empire originated at the metropole (from State institutions to scientific and religious, missionary ones), and in the conception of imperial and colonial policies, namely those related to the administration of native populations (the politics and policies of difference), and especially in what concerned their socioeconomic function within the new colonial political and moral economy.¹¹

The civilisational rhetoric was fundamental in the overall process of maintenance and legitimation, especially at an international level, of a model of recruitment and employment of labour that preserved several elements characteristic of slavery. At the same time, it used the abolitionist rationale to justify the expansion of the colonial administrative

4 *The 'Civilising Mission' of Portuguese Colonialism*

apparatus: in order to effectively suppress the slave trade and slavery itself, effective occupation was necessary and legitimate. The analysis of the variety of forms of 'civilised savagery' (as one author aptly described the colonial *systems* of labour) is fundamental to the study of new imperialism.¹² It is also crucial to the much needed reappraisal of the widespread narratives of emancipation and abolitionism that presume the end of slavery with the processes of its formal and legal suppression. Mobilising political, economic and sociocultural aspects, this work contributes to this purpose. The international debates and historical events associated with these issues (from the Berlin West Africa Conference to the Brussels Anti-slavery one) are identified and analysed. Their impact on the constitution of a common normative framework that legitimised colonial occupation and enabled the legalisation of forced labour is noted and explored.¹³ So is the fact that they entailed the creation of fora where processes of collection, comparison and circulation of knowledge (legal, moral, political, economic, scientific) and repertoires of administration were fostered, which in turn assisted the constitution of standards of (inter-)imperial accountability. These are some of the main aspects addressed in the chapter 'Between Benevolence and Inevitability: The 'Civilising Mission' of Portuguese Colonialism'.

Following the insights presented in the first chapter, the case of the S. Thomé's 'slave cocoa' is used as an exemplary historical observatory of the politico-diplomatic and economic instrumental use given to the 'civilising mission'.¹⁴ The definition of native policies, particularly those related to the organisation and regulation of a native labour market based on forced labour and characterised by conditions 'analogous to slavery', is a rich example of those uses and abuses. Labour, forced if necessary, was promoted to be *the* foremost civilising tool used within the empire. Only through labour could the natives get a dignified place at the 'civilisation guild'. The 'civilising mission' was not based on the propagation of the word, via education or evangelisation. Examining the politico-administrative, diplomatic, economic, missionary and educational aspects of Portuguese colonialism, as well as the main discourses that developed its proclaimed civilising ends, the first part of the book shows that the true 'historical mission' of the Portuguese civilising programmes in Africa was to create the conditions in which to prepare, or induce, the natives' bodies and souls for work, compulsorily if necessary. Theories of colonial pragmatism, economic interests and racial and cultural prejudices, sustained by the propagation of scientific forms of racism, thus determined.

The chapters ‘The Civilisation Guild and the “Engineers of Depression”: The Case of the S. Thomé Cocoa’ and “Redemptive Labour” and the Missionaries of the Alphabet’ explain why and demonstrate how this was a reality. The intense and profuse outpouring of legislation focusing on the administration of the colonies that supported the process described above, which was disproportionately focused on labour and on the so-called native policy, is a matter for special consideration in order to ascertain the actual meaning of Reverend Rowley’s words. At the same time, this succession of legal codifications – which governed the methods of *effective* colonisation of the colonial territories, and the models of native labour, and affected a wide range of reformist programmes (hygienist, educational, economic, moral, religious, administrative) – not only reveals and denounces its ineffectiveness, but allows us to discern the nature and *modus operandi* of the administrative implantation of the Portuguese empire-state. As was the case with almost all colonial administrations, the type of political, economic and sociocultural authority projected in the Portuguese colonies was spatially and socially concentrated, restricted to a few territorial outposts, and dependent on many instances of local intermediation, including the process of labour recruitment, in which the role of the administrative officials and of *chefes de posto*, of the *cipaios* (native police) and of the local chiefs was fundamental. The men on the spot were surely decisive, but their action was not completely disconnected from, or immune to, external problems and dynamics.¹⁵

These two chapters are also illustrative of the impact of the internationalisation of imperial and colonial affairs addressed in the first chapter. The ‘slave cocoa’ episode can only be properly understood if we include in our analysis the process of international accountability and legitimisation of imperial rule and colonial administration, and its growing importance. This process was later formally given substance and scope at the League of Nations and International Labour Office/Organisation commissions. Usually considered by the Portuguese authorities as a mere instrument of imperial covetousness by other powers, and certainly motivated by specific economic interests, this event also demonstrates the renewed interest and sensibility of metropolitan populations regarding imperial issues, surely as a result, at least partially, of the activism beyond borders, namely of the philanthropic associations and missionary societies.¹⁶

Notwithstanding the persistent disjuncture between legislation and actual practices (a reality in many colonial situations), efforts to renovate and improve the legal framework which dealt with native labour

conditions and relations in the Portuguese colonial empire, starting with the codes of 1911 and 1914, were the answers given by the Portuguese authorities to cope with the torrent of critical remarks coming from numerous political, religious and economic personal and institutional standpoints, and multiple geographies. The third chapter, for instance, is particularly illustrative of the centrality of the circulation of idioms and repertoires related to common problems of colonial administration at international and transnational levels. Here, the assessment of the question of native labour reveals the limitations and shortcomings of the colonial powers' capacity for political, economic and sociocultural change, but it also shows the inadequacies of the doctrines of colonial pragmatism to cope with the novel normative demands brought about by the internationalisation of imperial and colonial affairs, as a result of multiple historical developments, as stated above. In order to be understood and managed, these developments required the colonial specialisation of the existing scientific knowledge and the constitution of a new type of colonial information, able to be compared and *transferred*, not without numerous difficulties and failures, to Africa. In this sense, this book also explores the international and transnational intersections of politics and human and social sciences, as well as those of labour, race and empire.¹⁷ The 'imperialism of knowledge', as an instrument of *civilised* and *civilising* imperial and colonial rule and as a demonstration of international integration, became central in the (inter-)imperial game.¹⁸

The second part of this book, *Colonialism Without Borders*, widens the investigation carried out in the first part and reinforces its conclusions. The first part shows how the efforts to understand the formation and uses of the 'civilising mission' doctrine require an analytical framework that integrates and articulates several scales of analysis, at the same time refusing various procedures of methodological, analytical and historiographical *nationalisms*; that is, an enquiry restricted to a single national or imperial analytical framework, essentially focused on *endogenous* factors (metropolitan or colonial).¹⁹ The same happens in order to explain the actual employment of *civilising* programmes in a colonial context. The chapters 'Bibles, Flags and Transnational Loyalties: Educating Empires' and 'New Methods, Old Conclusions: The Ross Report' reveal the need for international and transnational approaches in order to comprehend, for instance: the causes and consequences of the humanitarian and anti-slavery movements that converged on the imperial worlds; the emergence of modernising and progressive movements focused on the colonial contexts and respective problems (such as education and economic and social development); the rise of colonial science. It also

suggests the centrality of comparative analytical exercises. Focusing on the global circumstances, on the international processes and on the transnational actors that originated two major works on Africa – the two volumes about *Education in Africa* by Thomas Jesse-Jones (1922/1925) and Edward Ross' *Report on Employment of Native Labour in Portuguese Africa* (1925), the latter submitted to and appreciated at the League of Nations – these two chapters provide sound evidence of how useful are these methodological and analytical precepts. Accordingly, this book critically examines the international and transnational circulation of models of: native labour and colonial education; principles of scientific colonial administration and paradigms of colonial science (from the natural to the social sciences); theories and methods of *racialisation* of the colonial populations; and 'civilising missions'.

This second part also addresses an aspect that is frequently ignored or downplayed in the history of the third Portuguese colonial empire: the decisive impact of the expanding and intensifying internationalisation of imperial issues promoted by the creation of the system of the League of Nations in 1919.²⁰ The institutionalisation of this process of internationalisation entailed the constitution of: standards of 'good' imperial administration and colonial government; debates on and circulation of idioms, norms and repertoires of action regarding the politics and policies of colonial rule, including those related to the politics and policies of difference; and the establishment of systematic and institutionalised mechanisms of comparable accountability and supervision. All these aspects created the conditions for the emergence of reformist dynamics, not least because they strengthened the critical assessments that periodically originated from philanthropic or missionary societies, and echoed across many newspapers throughout the world. The series of events related to the Ross Report is just one illustration of how these aspects profoundly impacted on national and colonial politics and policies. The suppression of forced recruitment to private ends determined by the Code of Native Labour of 1928 is just one important example. This book demonstrates the crucial role and the decisive relevance of these international (not merely diplomatic) and transnational forces and dynamics in the history of the Portuguese colonial empire.²¹

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