

Chapter 3 - State, nationalism and historiography

This chapter does the connection between theoretical and historical issues. Departing from the concepts of state and nation, an attempt to present the ideological characteristics of the *Estado Novo* will be made.

When trying to define the term 'state', authors, in general, tend to refer to the political organisation of a community and to the inherent 'monopoly' of political power. Seton-Watson says that the state is "a legal and political organisation".⁸⁴ When nationalism is the subject of discussion, the definition of state does not commonly occur, and the concept is usually used, either implicitly or explicitly, in the general sense mentioned above. According to the thesis of Joseph Strayer⁸⁵ the contemporaneous European 'state' is an invention of the Middle Ages. The political formations of the Greco-Latine antiquity were no longer known and the Oriental political experiences were geographically too far away to be used as models. Medieval Europe built the new state on the manorial and feudal institutions. Through the modern age political power was progressively centralised in the person of the sovereign, thus giving rise to absolute monarchies. Theories of power, sovereignty and state were produced. State formations crystallised and revolutions arose. The political regime changed but the state continued. The European state of the present is a legacy from that past.

To others the modern state is only to be found after the major political, social and economic revolutions, late in the eighteenth century.⁸⁶ Paul James, for example, says that it was in the ultimate period of Absolutism that a new type of state emerged, which he describes as an "abstract state", that is "a structure of power independent of rulers and ruled". It was grounded on a new national basis, a new type of social relations within the political construction, that the author

⁸⁴ Quoted by GRILLO, R. D. (ed.) - "*Nation" and State" in Europe. Anthropological Perspectives*, London, Academic Press, 1980, p.6.

⁸⁵ STRAYER, Joseph R. - *On the medieval origins of the moderns sate*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1970.

calls "abstract relations" (i.e., a "national community of strangers",⁸⁷ people who exercise mutual recognition of *membership* without actually knowing each other). This was, for the author, the birth of the nation-state of our epoch.

For the purpose of this chapter it is arguable that a broad concept of state, that is, a political, legal and powerful organisation of people, is the most adequate. The intention is not to analyse all known forms of the political and ideological use of historiography by the state, but it is important to mention some of the most important ones. Even if we only intend to study the use of historiography by the *Estado Novo*, some examples of prior types of manipulation can be relevant for the analysis.

Both for classical Athens and for republican or imperial Rome, it is very difficult to argue against the existence of some sort of a 'state'. Writing history was then for the purpose of the telling of past events. Yet some of these 'stories' were intended to be faithful to the facts, while others were dominated by the state power, telling what political interests determined should be told. This way of recording history is apparently the most ancient of all: the one that serves some interests other than what we now call 'scientific' aims. The purpose of this type of history production can be of a personal, economic, political or ideological nature, or even of any other kind. What they all have in common is the fact that the pursuit of 'truth' is less important than what the message of the 'story' is intended to be.

The state, as defined above, always tried to keep power in its hands, and historiography was frequently used to bolster this. The past, seen as a moral lesson, is a powerful weapon to induce others to believe that the state is the one and the only representative of a great, heroic, and glorious past. In order to do so, the state, has always needed to have 'history' told in a way that supports certain objectives, that is, in a way that will support its own agenda. Under economic, political or ideological strain, some 'historians' did in fact write it distortedly. This chapter will

⁸⁶ This is the position held by GELLNER, Ernest - *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1993, by GRILLO, R. D. (ed.) - *"Nation" and State" in Europe. Anthropological Perspectives*, London, Academic Press, 1980 and by JAMES, Paul - *Nation Formation: Towards a Theory of Abstract Community*, London, Sage, 1996, among others.

⁸⁷ JAMES - *op.cit.*, p.39-40.

focus on nationalism and on the kind of historiography that a nationalist state produces in order to credit its ideas.

3.1 - Nationalism and nationalist historiography.

The word 'nationalism' must be defined so that it can be used in a precise rather than in a common way. Defining is made easier by analysing some examples of recent nationalism, though cases of nationalism are not exclusive to the 20th century.⁸⁸ It is arguable that 20th century nationalism is different from that of earlier times. It is consequently necessary to define quite clearly how the term nationalism is understood in this research.

The concept of nationalism is strongly connected with the political ideologies of the 1920s and of the 1930s, and it played a very important role in the European political scene of that period. The dominant political ideologies were German Nazism, Italian Fascism, Soviet Stalinism and all those other political regimes that followed approximately similar principles. Despite the differences in these mentioned regimes they had a political basis in common: a powerful state that ruled the citizens and their wills, that was the conductor of the society and the 'redeemer' of economy and of national honour.

At this time, nationalism took two main forms: political nationalism and economic nationalism. Political nationalism arose from a variety of specific national situations, which make it difficult to produce a general view over the events, at least at a first glance. On economic matters such diversity is not typical. On the contrary, financial and economic crisis were, in general, one of the causes of the emergence of nationalist movements or regimes, since these proclaimed their capacity for solving the crisis. During the first half of the twentieth century, nationalism also took an economic form based upon protectionist policies, which gave the nations a great potential of economic aggressiveness. This situation led to political tension and finally broke out into a war. Germany is the most obvious example of this process and is therefore the first item of our subsequent analysis.

⁸⁸ Further in this chapter some different opinions will be discussed when presenting a theoretical approach to the concept of nationalism. Fundamental bibliography will be quoted.

Despite differences, regional nationalisms of the 20th century tended to converge on some main political and economic options. The economic crisis of 1929 brought about rivalry between nations. Keynes' analysis and the application of his theories, raised inflation and monetary depreciation in Europe and in the United States which led to protectionist policies. Economic antagonisms were ferociously and aggressively settled on the industrialised world of the 1930s. Overseas colonies were seen as fundamental pieces of the world puzzle: important sources of raw materials and preferential or exclusive markets for the surplus of the industrial production. 'Centre' and 'periphery'⁸⁹ could then be drawn quite precisely on the political map of the world.

From a political point of view it is important to remember that the wounds of the First World War had not been healed by the time of the 1929 crisis. Resentment towards Germany remained among the victors. Whereas, a sentiment of humiliation, due to the terms of Treaty of Versailles, affected the German people that hopefully faced the possibility of overcoming it (this is obviously one among other roots of the German nationalism, some dating from a distant past).⁹⁰ On this basis Hitler's ascent to political power was not a surprise. His 'excessive' and 'ostentatious' political speech with no remaining vestiges of the humility of the war losers was very appealing for the Germans. His ideas on the state and on state policy showed an authoritarian and directive vision of both politics and economy. Suddenly, and again by means of war, Germany was claiming for its 'vital space'. It was an attempt for political and economic hegemony, of spreading German nationalism in order to attain world-wide domination.

Mussolini's Italy, at first showing some hesitation but then demonstrating total adhesion to nationalist ideas, was also seeking for a powerful state and for a strong Nation. In the East, once political dominion had been attained, and the opponents eliminated, Stalin ruled, with an iron hand, the enormous country he had conquered out of the political games of the post-revolutionary period. Stalin acted as if he was the state himself. Individualism was banned from economy, the state now having the entire capacity of initiative and decision. In international terms this powerful

⁸⁹ PERROUX, François - *L'Économie du XX^e siècle*, P.U.F., Paris, 1961; LÉON, Pierre (ed.) - *História Económica e Social do Mundo*, vols. 4-5, Lisboa, Sá da Costa Editora, 1982.

⁹⁰ HUGHES, M. - *Nationalism and Society. Germany.1800 - 1945*, E. Arnold, London, 1988 and SCHULZE, H. *The Course of German Nationalism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993. Both give a broad perspective of the issue. See also GELLNER, Ernest - *Nation and Nationalism*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 1993, p.98-99, about German and Italian models of nationalism.

nation could be a threat for Europe, if Stalin faced the possibility of spreading his empire. Hitler took advantage of the fear that this Eastern threat was throwing upon his nation, by presenting himself and his political options as the only possible defence towards eastern communism.

The Civil War in Spain (1936 to 1939) led Franco to political power. After a fratricidal and sanguinary war Spain met an authoritarian nationalist regime that sought for economic development based on state direction. That regime found support abroad, both ideologically and materially, from Nazi Germany. In spite of his victory, Franco had difficulties in re-establishing internal peace because of all the remaining rivalries and hatred from the war. Spain, although under a central, unifying and nationalist government, maintained a great deal of regionalisms and potential for local autonomies, that only by the end of Franco's regime regained their space. Yet, in a few decades, Franco managed to overcome the economic crisis resulting from the war, by improving agriculture and industry, and by building a modern and efficient road system, in short, by moving Spanish economy away from the difficulties of the 1930s.

The examples of nationalism discussed above are the best known forms of nationalism of the 20th century. A number of important theoretical issues are raised by these examples of European nationalism. For instance, is nationalism only a phenomenon of the 20th century? If not, what other kinds of nationalism can we isolate? Did nationalism give rise to nations, or is it the other way round? Can we use the concept of nationalism when talking about non-industrial or pre-industrial societies? These questions have several different answers depending on the theoretical framework adopted. André Blas Guerrero⁹¹ emphasises the idea that nationalism is necessarily based on language, racial characters, religion and economy as structural elements of societies. So does A. Smith⁹² whose "ethnicist approach" to nationalism is based on the idea that long lasting ethno-cultural identities set the grounds for the nations. Meineck's⁹³ distinction between the "political nation" and the "cultural nation" is also relevant, as it tries to elucidate the differences between political bonds and cultural (ethnographic) identities. Although trying to provide an explanation to some of the characteristics of the feeling and of the perception of the

⁹¹ BLAS GUERRERO, Andrés - *Nacionalismos y naciones en Europa*, Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1995, p.32-34.

⁹² SMITH, Anthony - *Nations and nationalism in a Global Era*. Cambridge, Polity Press, 1996.

⁹³ MEINECK, F. - *Cosmopolitanism and the National State*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1970.

nation, this differentiation does not refer to any other further essential elements to join those mentioned by Blas Guerrero. However, it points out the essential difference between the awareness of the 'nation' while conceived as a political construction and the existence of the 'nation' while the result of a cultural legacy.

The definition of nation is not straightforward and depends on a multitude of variables such as the singularity of the building process of each nation.⁹⁴ What is then a 'nation'? A 'nation' depends on the historical conditions of its building process⁹⁵ and should not be understood as a synonym of 'state'. They are distinct concepts, functionally different and cause diverse feelings and behaviours amongst people.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, common sense seems to associate them so closely that they tend to be used interchangeably. Also it can be argued that 'stateness' is a necessary condition for the rise (or at least for the accomplishment) of a long lasting nation. This is the view held by Karl Deutsch who stated that a nation ought to be "independent, cohesive, politically organised, autonomous and internally legitimate".⁹⁷ It is also the idea expressed by Jenkins and Sofos when they state that a nation is an "unstable and «decentred» complex of social meanings constantly being transformed by political struggle" and that nations are also "«political» artefacts called into being by nationalist ideologies and movements".⁹⁸ Furthermore they say that for the existence of a nation a requirement is "some sort of aspiration to achieve statehood or some sort of recognition of sovereignty".⁹⁹ The notion of nation is closer to feelings, emotions and sentiments, and more distant from institutions, than the notion of state, at least in its origins. A

⁹⁴ See opinion of GELLNER, *op.cit.*, p.55.

⁹⁵ In his article JAFFRELOT, Christophe, "Los modelos explicativos del origen de las naciones y del nacionalismo. Revision crítica." in DELANNOI, Gil e TAGUIEFF, Pierre-André (eds.) - *Teorías del Nacionalismo*, Barcelona, Ediciones Paidós, 1993, p.220, points out as a historical condition for the birth of nations the political and economic antagonisms towards other nations.

⁹⁶ GELLNER - *op.cit.*, p.3-6. KUPCHAN, Charles A. (ed.) - *Nationalism and Nationalities in the new Europe*, London, Cornell University Press, 1995.

⁹⁷ According to Carl Friedrich's definition of nation quoted by DEUTSCH, Karl (ed.) - *Nation -Building*, London, Atherton Press, 1963, p.11-12.

⁹⁸ JENKINS, Brian and SOFOS, Spyros (ed.) - *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe*, London, Routledge, 1996, p.11.

⁹⁹ JENKINS and SOFOS - *op.cit.*, p.19.

'nation' requires the self-consciousness of its existence by its own members.¹⁰⁰ It requires 'time' and a 'place': time enough to sediment a national sentiment and a stable territory to ground the same sentiment. The birth of a 'nation' is, usually, difficult to locate in the past. 'National sentiment' or 'national honour'¹⁰¹ are quite commonly associated with the former concept.

On the origins of the nation two opposite theses are usually sustained: one is the 'modernist approach', the other is what we might call a 'historical approach'.¹⁰² The first identifies the rise of nations and of nationalism as a modern phenomenon, resulting of the circumstances of industrialism, urbanisation, economic growth, mass communication, among others. The second argues in favour of the existence of long lasting national characters, the roots of which are to be sought in a distant past. Partially, at least, this last approach covers the arguments of the 'ethnicist approach' mentioned above, since the relevant characters for the definition of the nation are of the same nature (i.e. language or culture). Another theoretical perspective concerns the future of the nation. Smith calls it the "global culture approach".¹⁰³ The general idea is that the nation-state is about to die in an era of globalisation, an hypothesis that stands on the possibility of the globalisation of politics as is said to be happening to economy and culture. Theorists can also be divided according to their materialist or idealist basis.¹⁰⁴ For materialists the nation materialises in a specific type of social relations.¹⁰⁵ For idealists nations are an ideological product of nationalism.

¹⁰⁰ GELLNER - *op.cit.*, p.7: "Two men are of the same nation if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation.". The same idea of mutual recognition is postulated by James - *op.cit.*, p.31 to 37, when he describes what his "abstract community" and by Grillo - *op.cit.*, p.9, based on the concepts of identity of culture and language.

¹⁰¹ GELLNER - *op.cit.*, p.1-2: "Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent. [...] Nationalist sentiment is the feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle [...]". On national consciousness ANDERSON, Benedict - "Old Empires, new nations" in *Imagined Communities, reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism*, London, Verso, 1993, p.50-65, points out the fact that Comecom or EEC do not create those sentiments on people. He asks whether anyone would be willing to die for those organisations.

¹⁰² An overall view of the different theses on the subject can be picked from BESSEL, Richard - *Nation*, [Oxford], Open University, 1996, p.13-15, from JAMES - *op.cit.*, p.103 and from SMITH - *op.cit.*, p.1-7. See also DELANNOI, Gil e TAGUIEFF, Pierre-André (eds.) - *Teorías del Nacionalismo*, Ediciones Paidós, Barcelona, 1993 and SMITH, A. - "History and Modernity: Reflections on the theory of nationalism" in BOSWELL, David and EVANS Jessica (eds.) - *Representing the Nation: a Reader*, London, Routledge, 1999, p.45-61.

¹⁰³ SMITH - *op.cit.*, p.1-7.

¹⁰⁴ JAMES - *op.cit.*, p.39.

¹⁰⁵ This is the thesis of JAMES - *op.cit.*, p.39. He also argues that Benedict Andersen, in his *Imagined Communities*, does not empty the concept of nation of a material basis.

Kedourie argued that nations are part of a cultural identity, not of a natural one.¹⁰⁶ This idea meets another one, expressed by Gellner, when he states that "it is nationalism which engenders nations".¹⁰⁷ For Hobsbawm, traditions are "invented traditions", ideas rather than realities.¹⁰⁸ This thesis presupposes an ideological intention behind the making of a national consciousness and therefore behind the making of history.

Let us now focus on nationalistic historiography. Some examples of German or Soviet historiography could be brought in but, since this work is on the Portuguese reality, it seems preferable to analyse Portuguese examples. Two fundamental types of historiographic texts must be considered: textbooks and academic issues. During the *Estado Novo*,¹⁰⁹ nationalist ideals underpinning the narrative of history in school textbooks and history books for children are quite evident. These books represent the first images of a national history that was meant to build a national conscience. These first 'lessons' tended to be unforgettable and were meant to build a nationalistic adhesion, even if subconscious.¹¹⁰ It is important to mention that for the first four grades (children from 6 to 10 years old) there were official textbooks, one per grade. This policy began in 1936¹¹¹ and lasted until the end of the *Estado Novo*, in 1974.¹¹² These textbooks included all subjects taught during the four 'primary' school years (*ensino primário*). Even for the *liceu* (meaning the next seven years of school, before entering University) students had to use official textbooks. Once again the ideological charge of nationalist historiography was present

¹⁰⁶ Referred by BESSEL - *op.cit.*, p.13.

¹⁰⁷ GELLNER - *op.cit.*, p.55

¹⁰⁸ HOBBSAWM, Eric and RANGER, Terence (eds) - *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983.

¹⁰⁹ *Estado Novo* is the name of a regime that began formally in 1933 and lasted until 1974, when a military revolution put an end to it. Nevertheless the period between the military action that, in the 28th May 1926, ended the *First Republic*, and 1933 is also considered *lato senso* part of the *Estado Novo*.

¹¹⁰ DIOGO, Américo António Lindeza - *Literatura infantil. História, Teoria e Interpretações*, Porto Editora, Porto, 1994.

¹¹¹ The law that determined this decision dates from the 24th November 1936 (*Decreto-lei* 27279) but its implementation occurred only in 1937 with the *Decreto* 27882.

¹¹² The following are some school textbooks of the *Estado Novo*: GASPAR, Joaquim - *Livro de Leitura da 4ª Classe*, 5th ed., Coimbra, Atlântica Editora, 1968; LIMA, Augusto C. Pires - *Portugal, Livro de leitura Classes I e II*, Porto, 1933; LIMA, Augusto C. Pires - *Portugal, Livro de leitura Primeiro Ciclo anos 1º, 2º e 3º*, Porto, 1937; LIMA, Augusto C. Pires e LIMA, Américo Pires - *Leituras para o Ensino Primário, terceira classe*, 18th ed., Porto, Porto Editora, 1948; *LIVRO de Leitura para a 3ª Classe*, 4th ed., Porto, Porto Editora, 1958; MELO, Manuel de - *História de Portugal, Ensino Primário e Elementar*, 5th ed., Porto, Domingos Barreira Editor, 1941.

there. The first history lessons in Portuguese schools consisted of a succession of separate remarkable episodes most of them conducted by heroic protagonists. Some of the subjects were: the resistance to Roman invasion led by *Viriato*, the fight for independence conducted by *Afonso Henriques*, the war against *Castilla* in the late years of the fourteenth century whose heroes were *D. João Mestre de Aviz* (who became King John the First) and *Nuno Álvares Pereira*, the discoveries of the fifteenth century co-ordinated from *Sagres* by the *Infante D. Henrique*.¹¹³ In these books the facts of history were presented out of their context.¹¹⁴ As well as this, the events were always narrated in chronological order, with no regard to structural explanations or interpretations. These history lessons had a moral and nationalist purpose. If those Portuguese of the old times had been able to dignify their country, and were remembered for their heroic deeds, so would the achievements of the present be remembered. The message was that any Portuguese could, and should, take the example of those of whom Camões, the famous poet of the 16th century, said "*Of those whose brave acts have been releasing them from the rules of death*".¹¹⁵ These heroes were presented as models, the stories of their lives being treated as public heritage.¹¹⁶ Any Portuguese could attempt to follow their example although not all would become heroes. Those led to such position by their personal character and tireless effort could hope to be celebrated side by side with historic heroes in the future.

This idea suited, of course, the nationalist tendency to exalt the leader. Salazar was proclaimed as a national hero, side by side with the great achievers of the past. Tributes to the dictator celebrated most commonly his achievements of the 1930s, when he had solved the economic crisis. Salazar was frequently compared with Afonso Henriques,¹¹⁷ the first King of

¹¹³ Other examples, all of the same nature, are provided in PAULO, Heloisa - *Estado Novo e Propaganda em Portugal e no Brasil. O SPN/SNI e o DIP*, Coimbra, Minerva, 1994; see p.106-107 on the use of history as propaganda, specially with young children.

¹¹⁴ LEAL, Olavo d'Eça - *História de Portugal para meninos preguiçosos*, Porto, Livraria Tavares Martins, 1943, p.260, states: "*As it happened to Viriato [during the Roman conquest], Sidónio Pais [during the «First Republic»] was killed by Portuguese betrayers*".

¹¹⁵ "*E aqueles que por obras valerosas se vão da lei da morte libertando [...]*", CAMÕES, Luis Vaz de, *Lusíadas, Proposição*. Camões was one of the celebrated "heroes" of Portuguese literature, frequently quoted during the *Estado Novo*.

¹¹⁶ There is a book dedicated to children where the "lesson" is quite obvious: COSME, José de Oliveira (1977, reed.) *As lições do Tonecas - diálogos humorísticos*, Lisboa, Editorial Presença, p.110-111.

¹¹⁷ MAIA, Rui Leandro A. da C. - "História e Política: O uso da imagem de D. Afonso Henriques durante o Estado Novo" in *II Congresso Histórico de Guimarães - D. Afonso Henriques e a sua época*, Guimarães, 1996, (to be published; by courtesy of the author).

Portugal. Following a chronological sequence, Portuguese history presented Salazar as the 'last but not least' hero. This was common in both school textbooks and books read by children for leisure. These books created an image in which Salazar was identified with the destinies of the nation and, like past heroes, was capable of leading the country to an age of prosperity. The expression: "*Who lives? Portugal! Portugal! Portugal! Who rules? Salazar! Salazar! Salazar!*" used to be shouted in political demonstrations but was also reproduced in books designed for children.¹¹⁸ Soon the children's minds were imbued with the message.

Other type of books where we can find nationalist historiography are 'scientific' publications.¹¹⁹ A significant example is a book¹²⁰, written by João Ameal in 1940, and published during the year of the official celebrations of the *Descobrimentos* (the maritime discoveries of the fifteenth century). In this book João Ameal aimed to rewrite the history of Portugal, as stated in the preface.¹²¹ He stated that "history is a science, an art and an ethic and something more than that": history is, to the real historian, an "exam of consciousness".¹²² Ameal aimed to write the history of Portugal, beginning in the prehistory, proceeding to the formation of the state and the military process of the 'Reconquest';¹²³ moving on to the maritime discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the spread of Christianity; studying, one by one, the great kings that built the motherland; "painfully" documenting the decline of traditions during the 19th century and the victory of revolt and destruction over monarchy. He ends 'his' history on a hopeful note: Portugal climbed the hill once again during the 1930s. He states that his enthusiasm is defensible, because "making history is making a judgement", not on grounds of personal principles but on superior,

¹¹⁸ For instance: LEAL- *op.cit.*, p.267: "[...] -Paulo Guilherme! Who lives? [...] -Portugal! -Paulo Guilherme! Who rules? [...] -SALAZAR!!!" and CASTRO e ALMEIDA, Virgínia de - *História de Dona Redonda e da sua gente*, 6th ed., Lisboa, Clássica Editora, 1989, p.23-24:"[...] *Everybody was shouting: Portugal! Portugal! Portugal! [...] - Who rules? [...] - Salazar! Salazar! Salazar!*".

¹¹⁹ Some of these texts were not propagandistic texts in their forms or intentions: their authors believed they were producing *scientific* work.

¹²⁰ AMEAL, João - *História de Portugal das origens até 1940*, Porto, Livraria Tavares Martins, 7ª ed., 1974.

¹²¹ AMEAL - *op.cit.*, p.VII-XV.

¹²² AMEAL- *op.cit.*, p.VII and VIII: "*Que é a História? Uma ciência? Uma arte? Uma ética? [...] Tudo isso, e mais que tudo isso. [...]a História constitui, para o verdadeiro historiador, - um exame de consciência.*".

¹²³ Soon after the Muslim invasion of the Iberian peninsula (in 711 a. C.) the Christian people remaining there started the reconquest of the territory. That process is commonly known among Portuguese and Spanish as *A Reconquista* ("The Reconquest").

universal and eternal truths, those that the Portuguese had always known how to defend.¹²⁴ Another theme stated in Ameal's book is that Portugal had maintained a part of its great past: one of the major overseas Empire and the dignity of prior examples that could still claim for universal respect.¹²⁵ The author's will was to write a history denying what he considered to be the trend to diminish the Portuguese greatness (and he quotes Oliveira Martins¹²⁶ as an example of that): this was, he thought, a necessary project.¹²⁷

The same themes emerge from the table of contents of João Ameal's nationalistic history of Portugal. The third part that goes from 1385 to 1521 is called "The Golden Age" (*A Idade de Ouro*); the fourth part, from 1521 to 1621, is titled "Lights of Crepuscle" (*Fogos de Crepúsculo*); the fifth part that corresponds to the end of the Spanish domination, is called "Portugal Reborn" (*Portugal Nasce de Novo*). When referring to the influence of the French Revolution, the author opens a chapter by writing "Bad winds from France" (*Maus ventos sopram de França*); the beginning of the liberal period (after the revolution of 1820) is called "The Hell is broken loose" (*O Diabo à solta*); finally, the Republic is a "Bloody Mess" (*Balbúrdia sanguinolenta*) but the military dictatorship after the 28th May 1926 is the "Reconquest of the Order" (*Reconquista da Ordem*).¹²⁸

It is also revealing the way João Ameal refers to Salazar.¹²⁹ The end of his history of Portugal is a tribute to Salazar. The achievements in the financial and economic fields,¹³⁰ as well as the reconstruction of the Portuguese dignity, were the major topics. Salazar is presented as the

¹²⁴ AMEAL - *op.cit.*, p.X-XI: "[...] *historiar é julgar*."

¹²⁵ AMEAL - *op.cit.* p.XII: "*A par de um Império ultramarino que ainda é dos maiores do Mundo, alguma coisa mantivemos: a irradiação espiritual da dignidade, dos belos exemplos [...] que [...] ainda agora nos impõem ao respeito universal*."

¹²⁶ Oliveira Martins is one of the Portuguese historians of the nineteenth century. He wrote a Portuguese History disregarding some of the "myths" of Portuguese tradition. As an example he 'disrespected' the memory of the first king, *D. Afonso Henriques* comparing him with a wild pig (Cf. MARTINS, Oliveira - *História de Portugal*, Lisboa, Guimarães e C^a Editores, 1977, 17^a ed., p.75: "*Vivia dentro do seu Portugal como um javardo no seu refoio [...] possuía apenas a tenacidade brava e bronca do javali*.").

¹²⁷ AMEAL - *op.cit.*, p.XIV: "[...] *a empresa a que nos votámos [...] é uma empresa que se impunha*."

¹²⁸ AMEAL - *op.cit.*, p.843-846.

¹²⁹ AMEAL - *op.cit.*, p.718-727.

¹³⁰ AMEAL - *op.cit.*, p.718.

most recent national hero, his political points of view representing the only way for Portugal to regain its place in the international scene. Ameal compares Salazar to other dictators of his time: Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler and Franco. Yet Salazar was presented as someone who disliked public spectacle, preferring a lonely, tranquil, methodical and ascetic life. These were seen as virtues, as the public interest was the only real concern of the leader of the regime. All his work and all his effort were presented as focused on the recovering of the nation and none on his personal vanity. Finally, the author concludes that "the greatness of Salazar is at the reach of the most myopic: his achievement is the reconstruction of the homeland, high and pure, as History made it".¹³¹

This is one out of many examples that can be used to illustrate this type of history written during the *Estado Novo*. These works were not naive productions, neither did their authors pretend them to be so. On the contrary, authors openly proclaimed their nationalist point of view and their engagement with the political *status quo*. The history they produced could be classified as "an imaginary history", and it was intended to be effective in terms of cultural intervention.¹³² It is important, however, to point out that not all historians were at the service of state propaganda. During the *Estado Novo* some historians were working very seriously on scientific issues, unaware of political tendencies. This attitude must not be confused with aversion or opposition to the political regime. Although there was some historical research guided by opposite ideological positions, there was a number of researchers who did not involve themselves in the debate. One example of this is the labour of those, writing about the medieval period, who conducted in publishing entire collections of medieval documentation, without expressing political preferences or intentions at all.¹³³

¹³¹ AMEAL - *op.cit.*, p.726: "A grandeza de Salazar já está ao alcance da vista, ainda dos mais míopes. [...] A Pátria, aí a temos, de novo erguida - pura e alta como a história a fez."

¹³² Using Bennett's concept, when he refers to the example of Beamish Museum, BENNETT, Tony – "Museums and ...", p.69.

¹³³ Among many others, one name emerges: Avelino de Jesus da Costa, who was a professor in the University of Coimbra.

3.2 - The political ideology of the Portuguese *Estado Novo*.

In order to understand the evolution of the Portuguese political changes during the 20th century, it is essential to consider the political history of the last decades of the previous century.¹³⁴ Since 1820 some radical transformations occurred in the Portuguese political scene. In that year, under the influence of the ideas of the French Revolution, a revolution led by Liberals took place, transforming the absolute monarchy into a constitutional one. The opposition to that radical change led to civil war that ended with the victory of the liberal forces. Portugal became a constitutional monarchy. This was however, short lived. Republican ideals quickly spread through the country and some crucial decisions put the King in a very difficult position. It is the issue of what the Portuguese usually called the 'Pink Map' (*Mapa Cor-de-Rosa*¹³⁵) which opposed in 1890 Portuguese and British diplomacy over the control of African territories between Angola and Mozambique. British diplomacy insisted that Portugal had no right to occupy those territories and demanded the withdrawal of all Portuguese troops. The incident remained diplomatic and no significant military confrontation took place, but the King of Portugal came to accept British demands. This victory of the British position and the 'humiliation' imposed by D. Carlos to Portugal became powerful weapons in the hands of the republicans. Other difficulties, of political, financial and economic nature, also made the task of ruling the country impossible: parliamentary powers completely overruled Royal will to impose stable governments, and Portugal had an average of more than three governments per year. After a badly organised and unsuccessful insurrection in Porto (the *31 de Janeiro*) in 1891, the Republican Party saw the continuous growth of the number of its members. D. Carlos and his son were murdered in Lisbon in 1 February 1908. In 5 October 1910, after a short battle in Lisbon, the Republicans defeated the royal troops and the Republican period began.

¹³⁴ Further information on Portuguese History of this period: SERÃO, Joel e MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (dir.) - *NOVA História de Portugal*, Lisboa, Editorial Presença, 1990, vol. XI.; MATTOSO, José (dir.) - *História de Portugal*, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, vols. 5-6-7. On museums see SANTOS, Maria Alcina Ribeiro Correia Afonso dos - *Aspectos da Museologia em Portugal no século XIX - Lisboa*, Direcção Geral do Ensino Superior e das Belas-Artes e Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisboa, 1970.

¹³⁵ The map has this name because the area between Angola and Mozambique, the one in question, and the areas of the two mentioned colonies, were colored pink.

The Portuguese *First Republic* (from 1910 until 1926¹³⁶) was a "disastrous" experience.¹³⁷ Republican governments made the same mistakes as their predecessors. Due to the parliamentary regime no governments lasted long enough to define continuous and congruous policies. The President of the Republic had no power over crises, as the constitutional text conferred him very limited authority; some bloody rebellions, which opposed different political forces, took place and the country lived years of great social, economic and financial difficulties. After endless political arguments, Portugal entered the First World War which was a painful and apparently pointless experience. The main reason to enter the War, it was argued, was the acquisition of a good diplomatic position to discuss the future of the colonies, among the victors; however, the constant changes in Portuguese government made the national participation in the conflict a very dubious action and even that goal was not achieved. A significant number of Portuguese soldiers died in France.

After the War, Portuguese economy faced bankruptcy. On the 28th of May 1926 a military rebellion broke out and a military dictatorship was established. Discipline and public authority, although seen as necessary to reinstall political order, were not sufficient to solve economic and financial problems.

António Oliveira Salazar, a teacher of Economy and Finance at the University of Coimbra who believed in his own capacity for solving the Portuguese economic problems, was then invited to become minister of finance. He actually resigned from government soon after he had joined it. He was asked to return, but he imposed conditions to accept the charge. His main demand was that every governmental decision implying expenditure or affecting the national economy and finance could not be taken without his approval. His conditions were accepted and so were his policies.¹³⁸ He was successful in his attempt to overcome the Portuguese economic crisis and this

¹³⁶ The *First Republic* was the result of a revolution (1910, October the 5th) that put an end to the monarchy. This regime ended with another revolution, that began a military dictatorship (1926, May the 26th)

¹³⁷ SERÃO, Joel e MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (dir.) - *NOVA História de Portugal*, Lisboa, Editorial Presença, 1990, vol. XI.

¹³⁸ The text of Salazar's speech during the ceremony of acceptance of the Ministry of Finance is very important. There is a English version: SALAZAR, A.O. - *Doctrine and Action: internal and foreign policy of the new Portugal, 1928-1939*, translated by Edgar Broughton, London, Faber, 1939. The quotation of the speech dated 27th April 1928 is as follows: [Salazar's demands to accept the Ministry of Finance] "a) *That each Government department shall undertake to limit and to organize its services within the total amount allotted to it by the Ministry of Finance;* b) *That any measures adopted by the*

assured his political support. As a consequence Salazar became *Presidente do Conselho* (Prime Minister) and extended his authority from Finance to the entire control of the government, a situation that lasted for several decades. He founded the so called *Estado Novo* by grounding it on a legal basis, which became the new Constitution of 1933. From then on, the Portuguese state was standing on a strong, authoritarian, corporative and nationalist Constitution. These were the basic principles of the new regime. The *Estado Novo* was intended to be a regeneration of Portuguese cultural, moral, political and historical values and a way to a peaceful and prosperous era. Nevertheless, Salazar always said that the first years would be difficult ones.¹³⁹ The major problems were economic and financial. Salazar explained the situation to the country in very simple terms: he said¹⁴⁰ that the circumstances were so serious that the government could not admit the luxury of mispending a single *centavo*.¹⁴¹ Salazar's assertion that [the Portuguese must] *produce and save*, which summarised the dictator's basic economic idea and also his most important political decisions on economic matters, became a national example, repeatedly quoted. Salazar, as a good housekeeper,¹⁴² would not ask for loans and would administrate the finance of the country exclusively within the national income.¹⁴³

Salazar was, undoubtedly, the head of the regime. During the military dictatorship, which lasted from the revolution against the Republican regime (1926) until the approval of the new constitution (1933), Salazar had the opportunity to prove his political ideas in government. But, as

various Government departments which may directly affect the State's receipts and expenditure shall be discussed beforehand and an agreement arrived at the Ministry of Finance; c) That the Ministry of Finance shall be entitled to place his veto on all increases of current and ordinary expenditure, as well as on expenditure for development purposes, for which the necessary credit operations shall not be undertaken without the knowledge of the Ministry of Finance."

¹³⁹ SALAZAR, A.O. - *Discursos e notas Políticas*, Coimbra Editora, 2ª ed., vol. II, 1946, p.146-148: when Salazar opened an exhibition commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Revolution he made a speech evoking the idea of *era of restoration, era of development*; he stated that the past ten years had been necessary to rebuild the nation: the following ten would be of economic and financial wealth.

¹⁴⁰ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p 97: "*O Tesouro não tem um centavo que possa ser mal gasto.*"

¹⁴¹ *Centavo* is the hundredth part of the *escudo*. In the context, one *centavo* was an insignificant amount of money.

¹⁴² FERRO, António - *Salazar - O homem e a sua obra*, Lisboa, Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1933, p.5, establishes that comparison. Salazar himself makes the comparison, more than once; for instance in SALAZAR, A.O. - *Discursos*, vol. I, Coimbra ed., Coimbra, 1935, p.10 and 11. These ideas, however, are not original ones: in a selection of literary texts published in 1902 to be used in Portuguese lessons in the *Liceu* (from the fifth to the eleventh grade) there is one entitled "The Influence of domestic economy in manners and in public happiness" in *Nova Selecta Portuguesa*, 5ª ed., Livraria Académica, Braga, 1902, p.5-8.

¹⁴³ SALAZAR, A.O. - *Discursos e notas Políticas*, Coimbra Editora, 2ª ed., vol. II, 1946, p 18.

he said, politics and government were not his personal ambition.¹⁴⁴ Even though he claimed this, his previous active political and ideological life prove the contrary. When he was a student in Coimbra his activities were well known among those who resisted Republican ideas of a secular society.¹⁴⁵ His political tendency is not easy to define. It is nevertheless known that Salazar was a member of the *CADC - Centro Académico de Democracia Cristã* (Christian Democracy Academic Centre¹⁴⁶). Later he gathered political support as a result of his action as a Minister of Finance. Being considered as the 'redeemer' of the home-land he was able to ground the basic institutions of the *Estado Novo* on the Constitution of 1933.¹⁴⁷

Salazar's political speeches became an ideological and doctrinaire reference to the regime.¹⁴⁸ If read now it is quite obvious that it was precisely one of his aims. Some other relevant personalities of the regime also had an important political intervention, but Salazar was always the key reference. Consequently, in order to understand the formation of the *Estado Novo*, it is important to analyse the earlier speeches and political notes written by Salazar, shortly after the approval of the new constitution. The *Estado Novo* was still being built, but Salazar had already a firm position in power. As we are tracking the building of an ideology, we will observe the period between the official beginning of the *Estado Novo* and the end of the 1930s;¹⁴⁹ then the war partially destroyed Salazar's plan of ten years of development. We will only take into consideration the most relevant statements concerning politics and ideological concepts. It is possible to divide the contents of Salazar's speeches into six major themes: what he thought about

¹⁴⁴ Salazar refers his one day presence in the parliament and the five days of his first participation in government. Salazar, *apud* AMEAL - *op.cit.*, p.723.

¹⁴⁵ On Salazar's youth and on his activities as a student see his biography by NOGUEIRA - *op.cit.*, vol. I, p.83-90.

¹⁴⁶ MARTINS, Moisés de Lemos - *O Olho de Deus no Discurso de Salazar*, Lisboa, Afrontamento, 1990, p.56.

¹⁴⁷ FERRO, António - *Salazar - O homem e a sua obra*, Lisboa, Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1933. António Ferro's description of Salazar is worthy of quotation: "[...] a modest house [...] an office without an ante-chamber; one desk; a single suit made by an obscure tailor; [...] pure clear eyes, ordering an entire people's disorder. That is all". Also of interest: GOMES, F. Matos - *Salazar. Professor e educador de um povo*, Porto, Edições Além, 1953 and LIMA, Fernando Castro Pires de - *Salazar no vértice de oito séculos de história*, Porto, Domingos Barreira Editor, 1940.

¹⁴⁸ PAULO, Heloisa - *Estado Novo e Propaganda em Portugal e no Brasil. O SPN/SNI e o DIP*, Minerva, Coimbra, 1994, p.83. FERRO - *op.cit.*, p.5. Ferro considers Salazar as a steersman who leads the country to redemption. Another comparison is made on pages 164-165: Salazar is like D. Henrique (the famous son of King John the First who begun the Maritime Discoveries); D. Henrique worked on the maps trying to find the way across the dangerous Atlantic; Salazar worked on Portuguese budget trying to find the way across financial and economic problems.

¹⁴⁹ See note 134.

the revolution of the 28th May 1926, his ideas on nationalism, his major concerns on internal politics, his guidelines referring to economic matters, his discourse about the overseas colonies and what he thought Portuguese external politics should be.

Salazar saw the 1926 revolution as the only way to a peaceful recovery from so many years of Republican instability.¹⁵⁰ Only the army had the necessary strength to lead the revolution, so Portugal had a debt towards it.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless Portugal needed a civil government, not a military one. Salazar believed that the revolution raised the necessary conditions to the development of "an honest administration and to a moral way of doing politics".¹⁵² As Salazar said "the previous disorder was more than the lack of order: it was the accumulation of all the elements of national ruin, degradation and dissolution".¹⁵³ Another of his convictions was that the "Portuguese people would appreciate the possibility of believing that the State was, indeed, an «Honest Person»".¹⁵⁴ In 1935 he recognised that the possibility of rebellion was still a threat against the *Estado Novo*. In his words, "not only does a past of indiscipline weigh on us, but also the fact that all the ones who lost their positions of command or profit because of the national revolution will try to recover their influence and previous interests in any way".¹⁵⁵ Yet, Salazar believed that the right way was the one pointed out by the militaries. Order, discipline, honest administration and honest politics, these were, according to Salazar, necessary elements for the redemption of Portugal.

For Salazar nationalism was among the most important items for the Portuguese recovery after the Republican period. The participation in the First World War, and the disaster of the

¹⁵⁰ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.28.

¹⁵¹ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.75.

¹⁵² SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.3-4; p.11-12; p.72.

¹⁵³ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.24: "a desordem que não era apenas falta de ordem mas o conjunto de todos os elementos positivos de desagregação, de ruína, de dissolução nacional".

¹⁵⁴ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.30: "O Povo [...] aprecia a certeza de que o Estado é uma «Pessoa de Bem»".

¹⁵⁵ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.67: "Nem temos de admirar-nos de que exista permanentemente uma certa agitação: não só pesa sobre nós longo passado de indisciplina, como todos os que perderam posições de mando ou de lucro, por efeito da Revolução nacional [...] hão-de tentar por vários modos reconstituir as influências e interesses anteriores."

political indifference towards the Portuguese troops abandoned in France,¹⁵⁶ among other external political decisions of the Republican period, lead Salazar to the sustain that Portugal should seek its way into international politics, though bearing in mind that the Portuguese interests were to preserve and that Portugal should never again take any decisions under pressure from other countries.¹⁵⁷ Looking back into history and analysing the independence crises of 1383-85 and 1579-80 Salazar divided the Portuguese people in two different groups: those who always struggled for independence, putting their motherland above all; and those who only thought of their own interests, disregarding the superior importance of the country.¹⁵⁸ This dichotomy was part of a rhetorical and moral discourse, which demanded all Portuguese to be faithful to nationalistic principles. This intention is very clearly stated in another part of his speeches, where he says that institutions and laws should almost force everybody to be patriot "when one is not by discipline or virtue".¹⁵⁹ One of the strongest reasons presented to respect Portuguese national independence was the long lasting stability of its borders. They were eight centuries old and, as such, they were the oldest stable frontiers of Europe. Salazar strongly emphasised that fact by affirming that Portugal would not be separated from any of the territories under its sovereignty.¹⁶⁰ For him, "the national consciousness and the cohesion of the Portuguese people were the essence and the reason of being of the nation".¹⁶¹ This nationalism was the basis, the indestructible basis, of the *Estado Novo*.¹⁶² Nevertheless Salazar had the perception that nationalism, if aggressive, might not be the best way. He feared international conflicts and always sustained that nationalism should not be a willing to conquer other nations. Portugal was not disturbing the peace of other

¹⁵⁶ The discussion for and against the Portuguese participation in the World War gained a political nature. After the decision of sending troops to France, the change of government led to power those who were not in favour of Portuguese participation. So Portuguese troops were almost forgotten and died in France because of the lack of support. This is one of the most "indecent" events of the First Republic, ever since remembered and a cause for popular repulsion. On this subject see SERRÃO, Joel and MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (dir.) - *op.cit.*, Vol. XI, p.709-722.

¹⁵⁷ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.26.

¹⁵⁸ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.52-53.

¹⁵⁹ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.170-171: " *Mas as instituições e as leis devem funcionar para que se seja patriota por necessidade, quando se não é por disciplina ou virtude.*"

¹⁶⁰ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.132.

¹⁶¹ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.128: "[...] *a coesão dos portugueses [...] a consciência Nacional, quer dizer a essência e a razão de ser da Nação [...]*".

¹⁶² SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.132: "*Sem receio colocamos o nacionalismo português na base indestrutível do Estado Novo [...]*".

nations and therefore wanted to be left in peace. However, Salazar affirmed that even an "aggressive" nationalism was better than the "internationalisms" of that time¹⁶³, in a clear allusion to communist ideals.

As far as internal politics were concerned Salazar had firm ideas: order, discipline, financial and economic sanity, redemption of cultural and moral values. One of the major problems Salazar found once he took control of government, was what he called "administrative immorality".¹⁶⁴ The Portuguese administration was invaded by civil servants who were said not to have any other interest but filling their own pockets with public money. To stop this chaotic situation, Salazar ordered a national inquest in order to establish the role of each civil servant and the salaries paid.¹⁶⁵ For Salazar this was fundamental: as he said, despite being against violence in government (that is using excess of force, with no moral and no legality¹⁶⁶), he believed that it was worse not to be obeyed than not to let others criticise his orders.¹⁶⁷ A ministerial commission designed to study the problem of different salaries for similar tasks in public administration, did not perform as he expected; Salazar concluded "Unfortunately, there are lots of things that only I am capable of doing".¹⁶⁸ This way of thinking led Salazar to another conclusion: "I am not even interested that everyone thinks I am right; it is enough for me that the country knows my reasons".¹⁶⁹ Those reasons were about some fundamental issues: "We [*Portuguese*] do not discuss God; we do not discuss the Motherland; we do not discuss Authority; we do not discuss Family; we do not discuss Work".¹⁷⁰ In 1937, after an attempt against his life, Salazar demonstrated that he was

¹⁶³ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.223: "[...] piores que nacionalismos, mesmo agressivos, são alguns internacionalismos da hora presente."

¹⁶⁴ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.70: "[...] tenho sido, até onde chego, absolutamente inflexível contra a desordem, a imoralidade administrativa, o compadrio nacional, o assalto dos interesses ilegítimos [...]"

¹⁶⁵ SALAZAR, - *op.cit.*, p.100.

¹⁶⁶ SALAZAR, - *op.cit.*, p.70.

¹⁶⁷ SALAZAR, - *op.cit.*, p.133: "[...] há menos dano em não me deixar criticar do que em não me fazer obedecer."

¹⁶⁸ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.102: "Promovi a constituição de uma comissão interministerial para estudar o caso [disparidades dos salários] [...]. Se os deixo trabalhar mais, os resultados seriam contraproducentes [...] Infelizmente há muita coisa que parece que só eu posso fazer."

¹⁶⁹ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.103: "Também não me interessa que todos me dêem razão; basta-me que o País saiba as minhas razões."

¹⁷⁰ These ideas are explained in SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.130-135. As far as family is concerned, it is useful to mention some concepts Salazar explained in his interview to António Ferro (FERRO - *op.cit.*, 137-138): Those who were not married,

aware of some criticisms towards the regime. As he said: "This regime that they still call a dictatorship, and now nicknamed as fascist, is as gentle as our manners, as modest as the life of the nation, friend of work and of the people".¹⁷¹ Salazar knew that, despite being constitutional, the regime was indeed authoritarian. The power rested in his hands, he would not tolerate insubordination and he demanded the control over administration, government and all civil servants.

Economic matters were another of Salazar's major problems. He spent the first years in government solving the severe debts Portugal had inherited from the Republican regime. His ideas were simple and effective: the country and its people should not spend more than they were capable of producing.¹⁷² The implications were obvious: Portugal should never get international loans and Portugal should live within national production. The government and all national administration should keep the expenses under control, and the State should be the first to give the example.¹⁷³ As a result, most governmental economic measures were intended for the Portuguese state to "receive more and to pay less".¹⁷⁴ This is reflected in the title of one particular speech: "in order, to work in favour of Portugal".¹⁷⁵ Salazar's project included an important role for public initiative. The State would take responsibility for the major national projects (as electrification) but the economy needed public investments, in the European territory as well as in the colonies.¹⁷⁶ Another problem that concerned Salazar was the high demographic growth. As he saw it, only two solutions could face this problem, because agriculture would not absorb all demographic surplus: industry should develop and people should emigrate to the colonies. He

with very few exceptions, were considered non valid citizens because that proved that they were not able to keep regular human relations, that they could not produce enough to keep a family. A very good analysis on this questions is produced in MARTINS - *op.cit.*, p.94 to 96

¹⁷¹ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.302: "[...] este regime a que ainda chamam Ditadura, e agora carregado com o apôdo de fascista, é brando como os nossos costumes, modesto como a própria vida da Nação, amigo do trabalho e do povo.". On the use of the word "fascist" to classify the Portuguese regime, see PINTO, António Costa - *O Salazarismo e o Fascismo Europeu. Problemas de interpretação nas Ciências Sociais*, Lisboa, Ed. Estampa, 1992.

¹⁷² SALAZAR - "Duas Economias" in *Estudos*, Coimbra, nº 71, Março de 1928, p.577 to 600, explains his ideas about saving. Again the image of the good housekeeper is evoked in page 591.

¹⁷³ SALAZAR - *Discursos e notas Políticas*, Coimbra Editora, 2ª ed., vol. II, 1946, p.18, 89-93 and 97.

¹⁷⁴ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.99: "[...] as minhas reformas são em geral para pagar menos e receber mais [...]".

¹⁷⁵ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.45: "Na ordem, pelo trabalho, em prol de Portugal."

¹⁷⁶ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.159-166.

considered absolutely obvious that colonies should sell raw materials to Portugal and buy industrial products with the money thus obtained.¹⁷⁷

The colonies were an important question in Salazar's political and ideological discourse. Whenever Salazar affirms Portuguese identity he always includes overseas territories in the definition. After the threats to the Portuguese colonies before and during the First World War (the German military actions near Angola's frontiers caused the Portuguese first armed reaction) the *Estado Novo* never ceased to proclaim the colonies as a fundamental part of the Portuguese territory. Salazar identifies Portugal as an "Atlantic nation", attached to the ocean by economic and political links.¹⁷⁸ Portuguese governance of the overseas territories was established after the discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the subsequent occupation of the land was presented as based on historic rights of ownership.¹⁷⁹ Another important issue was in Salazar's mind when he discussed the colonies: he wanted a significant place for Portugal in the international political scene. Despite the importance of its colonies, Portugal had had no international influence during the former decades, because of internal disorder.¹⁸⁰ However, in Salazar's hands, the colonies were to become decisive pieces to be played on the international chessboard. In this game, the UK had a particular role. As the UK and Portuguese were allied, it was absolutely necessary for Salazar's international policy that the UK recognised the colonies as an integral part of Portugal.¹⁸¹ It was also important for Salazar to get international recognition that the political reality of the Portuguese Colonial Empire was not new: before being a political reality the Empire had been a political thought, an idea, sustained by generations of Portuguese. Therefore, the colonies had not only economic but also political importance. Salazar upheld the idea of a global economy, including the European territory and the colonies. He believed that the colonies were not to be luxury properties that would sustain absent and lazy owners; on the contrary, all

¹⁷⁷ SALAZAR, - *op.cit.*, p.157-159.

¹⁷⁸ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.79-80.

¹⁷⁹ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.XXIII and p.44. The ideology of the regime also stated that the Portuguese were a people capable of good social relations wherever they went; see CASTELO, Cláudia - «O Modo Português de Estar no Mundo» O luso-tropicalismo e a ideologia colonial portuguesa (1933-1961), Porto, Afrontamento, 1998.

¹⁸⁰ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.76.

¹⁸¹ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.147.

Portuguese territories, with no exception, should contribute to the national economy.¹⁸² Furthermore, Salazar would not accept the possibility of the disposal of any part of the national territory. When, at the beginning of 1937, a rumour about the possibility of a contract with Germany in which Portugal would rent out Angola spread, it provoked a violent reaction from Salazar. He said that Portugal would never sell, rent or by any other way share its colonies. The Portuguese constitution formally forbade this kind of bargains, and even if that was not the case, national consciousness would prevent it.¹⁸³ This would remain as the basis of colonial policy during the *Estado Novo*. Even after the Second World War, and when all the colonial countries of Europe were decolonising, Portugal remained attached to the former position: all overseas territories were formally part of the Portuguese territory. It was said that the Nation was one and the same in Europe, Africa or Asia and Portuguese citizenship was recognised in each of those territories.

During the 1930s, after overcoming the threat of financial bankruptcy, one of Salazar's priorities became the improvement of Portuguese foreign affairs. At the beginning of the decade the world was still recovering from the 1929 crisis, following Keynes' advice and developing aggressive monetary policies. Portugal, due to its ancient agriculture, poor industrial development and colonial Empire did not suffer much with the 1929 crisis.¹⁸⁴ Salazar was concerned with the balance of Portuguese foreign policy, between the necessity of external support and good relations and the need for self decision, away from other countries' pressure. When Salazar refers to the alliance with the UK these ideas are clearly stated: "as we have to give, we will also know how to demand something in return".¹⁸⁵ The end of the decade was marked by the Spanish civil war and Salazar made every necessary effort to prevent Portugal from any kind of direct participation. But he understood that war in Europe, either close to the Portuguese borders or far away, could potentially draw the country into a conflict against its own interests. The Portuguese

¹⁸² SALAZAR, - *op.cit.*, p.155.

¹⁸³ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.264.

¹⁸⁴ SILVA, Duarte *et all.* - *Salazar e o Salazarismo*, Lisboa, Pub. D. Quixote, 1989, specially: ROSAS, Fernando - "Salazar e o Salazarismo: Um caso de longevidade política", p.13-31 and BRITO, José M. Brandão de - "Sobre as ideias Económicas de Salazar", p.33-58 and ROSAS, Fernando - *O Estado Novo nos anos trinta: 1928-1938*, Editorial Estampa, Lisboa, 1986.

¹⁸⁵ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.81: "[...] visto que temos de dar, havemos de saber exigir."

position became more and more difficult. When asked about how to maintain Portuguese policy, Salazar said that he was counting on "our moral force and our material strength".¹⁸⁶ In fact, the Portuguese army was receiving financial support, new weapons and equipment, the navy was being equipped with new ships and land forces were being remodelled. Salazar defined his strategy in simple words: to be strong enough to argue and to keep political initiative.¹⁸⁷ In October 1936 the fear that the Spanish war might spread to all Europe made Salazar announce that "Portugal does not disturb the peace in the world and will not tolerate anyone who disturbs Portuguese peace".¹⁸⁸ Finally, war in Spain could no longer be seen as a regional or national conflict. The growth of German interest in the Spanish war, Hitler's intention to rule the world (or at least Europe) and the politics and desires of Stalin to create a world revolution resulted in another world war. Salazar feared Communism as a threat to civilisation, and once said that a great and violent struggle was being prepared in Europe: "order against disorder, nation against internationalism, communism against civilisation".¹⁸⁹ In fact the Second World War changed all Salazar's plans for the next ten years: he had planned for them to be years of economic growth, once the nation had been rebuilt, but they turned out to be years of difficulties and hard struggle to keep Portugal neutral. However, by the end of the 1930s the ideological construction of the *Estado Novo* was completed. From then on only minor adjustments were introduced. Until the 1960s, Salazar kept to a great part of his original political and ideological positions. But then he became too old to govern. With Salazar the regime of the *Estado Novo* remained almost the same for more than thirty years.

¹⁸⁶ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.85: "[...] e se me perguntarem como fazê-los valer, direi que, [...] conto conosco - quere dizer, com a nossa forma moral e com a nossa força material."

¹⁸⁷ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.149.

¹⁸⁸ SALAZAR, - *op.cit.*, p.216: "[...] Portugal não perturba a paz no mundo nem a ninguém pode permitir que perturbe a sua".

¹⁸⁹ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.282: "[...] uma violenta luta está desenhada [na Europa] [...] entre as forças da ordem e as da desordem, entre a nação e o internacionalismo, entre o comunismo e a civilização."

3.3 - The nature of Portuguese Nationalism in the 20th century.

Nationalism is not independent from its chronological context. Despite the fact that Portuguese nationalism of the twentieth century had specific characteristics it is useful to take a look over the Portuguese nationalism of the previous century: some of the long lasting realities of Portuguese culture can be found that way.

One of the most important cultural references of Portuguese nineteenth century is the so called 'Generation of the 1870s' (*Geração de setenta*). Under the strain of international literary tendencies, the last thirty years of the century in Portugal were times of great changes. Young writers rebelled against the romanticism of previous decades and proclaimed new ideas in their writings. One of the best known is *Eça de Queirós* who, in different novels, exposed the dissolution of life in Lisbon and criticised politics and politicians in a very caustic manner. One of his major themes was the lack of strength in Portuguese positions towards Spain, the 'eternal' enemy. Corruption and constant changes in government, the impossible balance between a powerless King and a parliamentary regime, provoked some of *Eça's* most sarcastic excerpts.¹⁹⁰ The disbelief in traditional values, underestimating national history and allowing the degradation of civic conduct among politicians, were some of the major criticisms made by *Eça* and shared by a large number of intellectuals.

Another important aspect of the Portuguese literature of the 19th century is the renewal of an ancient 'myth': the belief in the possibility of the return of *D. Sebastião*, the young Portuguese King who had died in 1578 in Africa, in a senseless battle against Muslims. The death of the King at 24 and with no descendants provoked, two years later the Spanish domination. Between 1580 and 1640 the Portuguese crown was held by Spanish Kings. The corpse of *D. Sebastião* was never found, and people began to say that he would come back in a misty morning to restore the kingdom and defeat the Spanish. After the return of *D. Sebastião* the *fifth Empire* would begin and Portugal would then know years of greatness again. During the second half of the seventeenth

¹⁹⁰ As example: QUEIRÓS, Eça de - *Os Maias*, Lisboa, Livros do Brasil, s.d., p.169. (The novel describes life in Lisbon in 1875): One of the characters, *Dâmaso Salcede*, who believed that only in Paris civilization could be found, declares that Lisbon is a pigsty. The same *Dâmaso*, when discussing the possibility of a Spanish invasion, affirms the intention of escaping to Paris. Another character, *João da Ega* answers *Dâmaso* violently: for him the constitutional regime was the responsible for that lack of honor and self-respect; the Portuguese were, he said, "*the most weak and coward race of Europe*".

century, this myth became a literary theme in the writings of *Padre António Vieira*. From then on the *sebastianismo* (a national myth that stands on the belief in the coming of someone who will solve all problems and redeem Portugal) has become part of the Portuguese mentality. In the late 19th century and in the first twenty years of the 20th century a group of writers (*Teixeira de Pascoaes, Jaime Cortesão, Leonardo Coimbra, António Carneiro, António Sérgio, Fernando Pessoa*, among others) gave new attention to this idea. *Fernando Pessoa* in particular became one of the best known writers who proclaimed the need of redemption for Portugal, as well as he defended the national values and the greatness of national history.¹⁹¹ Some important literary journals of the epoch echoed this tendency.¹⁹² Portuguese cultural agenda was dominated by nationalistic ideals. Many believed in the idea of the downtrodden country that urgently needed to be rebuilt by someone who would take the lead and show the way. This ideas and feelings held by the intellectuals reinforced the myth of *D. Sebastião*. With the reinforcement of its literary use the myth grew to the status of a 'national thesis'.

The *First Republic* raised the peoples hope for a real change for better. These expectations, however, were rapidly defeated. The political program of the Republican party included many promises that were never accomplished. The First World War, and all difficulties that Portugal went through during those years, produced the feeling that the country had to change. The political ambience was favourable to a revolution, and it did occur in 1926. The positives results obtained by Salazar in this field, along with propaganda,¹⁹³ transformed him into the '*D. Sebastião*' that had been long waited. Finally Portugal had found the leader, the one (and only) able to solve all the problems, so that Portugal would find its way to the future. Perhaps more than ever nationalism was necessary as a political support for Salazar's regime. It was urgent to 'organise' all the amalgam of sentiments, to make them converge in one direction: the

There is a English translation: PATRÍCIA McGowan Pinheiro and ANN Stevens, London, Bodley Head, 1965; the above quotations are in p.141-151.

¹⁹¹ The best example of *Fernando Pessoa* 's book of this thematic is *Mensagem*. For an example of Salazar seen in the role of *D. Sebastião*, see PINTO, Pereira - *Salazar. O novo desejado*, Porto, author's edition, 1971.

¹⁹² One of these is *The Eagle (A Águia)*. See BARREIRA, Cecília - *Nacionalismo e Modernismo. De Homem Cristo Filho a Almada Negreiros*, Lisboa, Assírio e Alvim, 1981 and PAULO - *op.cit.*, p.13.

¹⁹³ SALAZAR - "A Lição de Salazar" - Gravuras dos quadros distribuídos pelas escolas do ensino primário, in *Escola Portuguesa*, ano IV, nº 181, 1938. MAIA - *op.cit.* on the way Salazar was compared with the first king, *D. Afonso Henriques*. This was deliberate propaganda. Also PAULO - *op.cit.*, p.58.

rebuilding of the motherland, that is a collective effort leading to the redemption of Portugal.¹⁹⁴ It is therefore interesting to consider how nationalism gained momentum and to look at the fundamental themes and subjects that the *Estado Novo* used in its nationalist propaganda. The main subjects of the Portuguese nationalism of the *Estado Novo* were: 'territory', 'nation', 'history', 'traditions' and 'mother-land'. These gathered arguments, passions, political and military decision as well as diplomacy.

Territory was one of the key ideas to the nationalistic discourse of the *Estado Novo*. The national territory consisted of the metropolitan parcel plus the Atlantic archipelagos of Azores, Madera, São Tomé and Príncipe and Cape Verde, the African territories of Guinea, São João Baptista de Ajudá, Cabinda, Angola and Mozambique, the Indian state of Goa, Damão and Diu, and part of the island of Timor. Macau had a different statute because, although being under Portuguese administration, it was not strictly a Portuguese colony. All these parcels were considered integral and fundamental parts of the national territory, and the possibility of alienating them was completely out of question. The official political discourse always stated that the country would object to all foreign interest in those territories.¹⁹⁵

The nation was another important issue in Portuguese nationalism.¹⁹⁶ The definition of the idea raised a number of arguments and several theses on the foundation of the nation were written and debated.¹⁹⁷ The very fact that Portugal had had approximately the same frontiers for eight hundred years was regularly celebrated by politicians, as well as in schools all over the country. A common argument was that the identity of such an ancient nation should remain intact. It was seen

¹⁹⁴ This can also be interpreted in terms of culture, power and resistance; as Tony Bennett argues, "the accommodation between the working-class and ruling-class cultures which had characterised the 1930s and the 1940s was profoundly disturbed by the intrusive invasion of the postwar ideologies" (see BENNETT, Tony - *Culture: A Reformer's Science*, London, Sage, 1998, p.173). . The *Estado Novo* used this "accommodation" to impose its ideas; a real resistance to the regime, from both a political and cultural perspective, only occurred after the War.

¹⁹⁵ Refer to the *Colonial Act* added to the Constitution of 1933. See SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.264. As an example of Salazar's firm ideas on what concerns overseas territories it is worth referring to what happened in the early 1960s when India invaded Portuguese territories of Goa, Damão and Diu: Salazar considered that military invasion as an unacceptable act of war and appealed to the UN. Even having a majority of countries willing to vote against India, the *veto* of the URSS denied Portuguese request. See the analysis of KAY, Hug - *Salazar and Modern Portugal*, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1970, p.294-328.

¹⁹⁶ As an example, Salazar's prologue to the book of FERRO, António - *Salazar - O homem e a sua obra*, Lisboa, Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1933

¹⁹⁷ For a summary of the main theses, see PERES, Damião - *Como Nasceu Portugal*, Vertente, Porto, s.d.

as a reason for national pride and the conservation of its integrity as a duty of the state and of each citizen.

History and tradition were also main concepts and considered directly related to territory and nation. Portuguese history served as state propaganda and was presented as a sequence of heroic acts, showing the nationalistic self sacrifice of some mythical characters. Those were presented as a succession of unique and extraordinary deeds which could only have been achieved by the Portuguese people. Of course, not all historians agreed with such an ideological view of history but this was what was mostly disseminated. History was then a succession of events, of facts, of episodes, that were evidenced by material vestiges, documents and monuments. History and archaeology museums of the time wanted to present the real objects¹⁹⁸ to the public, authentic and rare, rather than to explain their functions or provide information about their contexts. Museums, as history, tended to describe or narrate, instead of explaining or commenting.¹⁹⁹ The labels identifying objects consisted of name and date of the object, authorship (if any), owner or collection of origin, but hardly any interpretation.²⁰⁰

Some of the great exhibitions held in Portugal during the *Estado Novo* focused either on Portugal as a nation or on some particular characteristics (such as industry). Those exhibitions were held to magnify the nation, its glorious past and present events and its heroes. Portugal was shown as a large motherland for the extension of its territory and of its history. A motherland that dignified its past and followed its 'lessons' at the present. Overseas territories were of great importance in these displays. The Portuguese European territory was narrow and had a small number of inhabitants. Yet, there was plenty of land and of people scattered all over the world to prove the capacity of a tiny country to expand. Portugal was therefore a country of a world-wide dimension. The language, spoken in every continent, reaffirmed the past and present world-wide role of Portugal. In 1940 the "Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World" (*Grande Exposição do*

¹⁹⁸ On the notion "the real thing": PEARCE, Susan - *Museum Objects and Collections. A Cultural Study*, Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1992, p.24.

¹⁹⁹ On the characteristics of museum communication see MAROEVIC, Ivo - "Between the document and information", p.30 in HOOPER-GREENHILL - *Museum, Media, Message*, Routledge, London, 1995, p.24 - 36.

²⁰⁰ On museum objects labels see SERRELL, Beverly - *Exhibit Labels - An Interpretative Approach*, Altamira Press, Walnut Creek, 1996. The example of a buffcoat that is said to have been worn by King John the First in the battle of

Mundo Português) gathered both the European and the overseas territories to show the past and present place and role of the country, not only in its history but also in the World's history .

Tradition was very much emphasised in museums. Subsequently, whenever a definition of the Portuguese character was attempted, a great deal of attention was given to custom or repeated habits of doing things, to ancient ways of working and of surviving. Old agricultural artefacts, traditional costumes, songs, festivals, gastronomy were collected and kept as precious parts of the Portuguese national identity. Despite their differences, regions were shown as complementary parts of a whole. There were tourist maps and school maps that showed Portugal as a patchwork of regions that fitted together. Strong emphasis was also put on traditional economic activities such as agriculture, grazing sheep and fishing. What was extracted from land or sea was presented to the Portuguese people as symbols of national identity. Ethnographic museums were developed by the *Estado Novo* and used to provide material evidence of the Portuguese nation. They displayed the traditional material culture of most Portuguese regions, always taking into account the bonds that tied it to nationality.²⁰¹

Fig. 1. Poster of the Bureau of Propaganda (*Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional - SPN*) used in the Portuguese pavilion of the International Exhibition of Paris (1937) illustrating the diversity of popular culture in the European continental territory.



The *Estado Novo* also 'invented' tradition, in the style discussed by Hobsbawm.²⁰² Official celebrations and political 'ritual' were developed or changed to suit the regime. New military and civic holidays were introduced (for instance the 28th of May became an annual celebration),

Aljubarrota. Despite the difficulties of identification of a garment's owner it is worth to point out the fact that museum labels describe it as a unique object, which it is, but never refer to its functionality or chronological context.

²⁰¹ In 1940 the *Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World* included a pavilion of *Popular Art* that became the *Museum of Popular Art*. The original exhibition, which is organised geographically, presented the country in its cohered diversity.

²⁰² HOBBSAWM and RANGER - *op.cit.*, p.1-14.

others were extinguished. Some street names were changed and even some *liceus* (high schools) had their names changed. Republican revolutionary names of the previous era were no longer acceptable for public places. The protocol of certain public acts was altered, many public buildings were readapted and others were built in a grandiose new style. In essence, a 'new' tradition was being made.

Another example of the establishment of Portuguese national tradition was the importance given to typical Portuguese houses. From north to south the use of traditional architectural styles was emphasised and those models were spread as the ideal for the independent families' own house.²⁰³ Salazar claimed the importance of possessing an intimate home, humble but comfortable.²⁰⁴ The diversity of traditional forms and traditional constructive solutions was seen as an interesting characteristic of Portuguese popular architecture. Nationalism highlighted the values of traditional ways of living. What was 'really' Portuguese was worth a reference and deserved national interest. This idea was applied to a play garden in Coimbra called the 'Portugal of the Children' (*Portugal dos Pequenitos*). The garden was built to present Portugal to the children in a miniaturised way. In this garden the children were to play inside and around miniatures of Portuguese monuments and typical houses. While going in and out of traditional houses, looking at farm animals or at watermills, or climbing to a castle tower, children experienced an entire laboratory of Portuguese 'reality' and absorbed a subliminal message of nationalism. The garden is a condensed combination of all major aspects of the Portuguese nationalism and was planned in five main areas.²⁰⁵ After the main entrance there is the Colonial Section with a pavilion for each colony and huge statues of Africans, symbolising the Portuguese possession of the overseas territories; separating this section from the section of "Continental Portugal" was the Insular Section, where Azores and Madeira are represented. This first part of the garden ended with a world map mounted on a wall²⁰⁶ showing the major deeds of the Portuguese sailors of the maritime discoveries with a statue of one of the official national heroes of the *Estado Novo*

²⁰³ MARTINS - *op.cit.*, p.71.

²⁰⁴ SALAZAR - *Discursos I*, (1928-1934), Coimbra ed., Coimbra, 1935, p.202.

²⁰⁵ See end of chapter for plan and photographs. The Garden is still open; photographs were taken by the author in July 2000.

(Infante D. Henrique who promoted the maritime discoveries). The castle of Guimarães (the mythical birthplace of the nation) and all other important national monuments were miniaturised in the next section of the garden called Monuments of Portugal. The castle is important as the setting for a statue of the first King of Portugal, D. Afonso Henriques, who is 'defeating' the Muslims (the dates of famous battles are on the sides of the statue). The last section is devoted to popular architecture and includes models of the main types of Portuguese traditional architecture. The *Estado Novo*, by gathering in one space all 'crystallised' forms of typical architecture, invented a tradition and proclaimed the existence and the importance of such thing as traditional architecture.²⁰⁷ As well as other traditional ways of living, traditional architecture became a 'cultural' feature. Portuguese diversity was seen as a fertile ground producing results of unique quality. The people became aware that what were previously seen as 'normal', 'popular' and 'poor'²⁰⁸ houses had, in fact, a high cultural value that should be preserved and respected.

The ideas of territory, nation, history and tradition were the main inseparable parts of Portuguese identity. These ideas were to be taught to the younger generations. This was the only way to be sure that the ideology would remain. Therefore great part of the nationalist campaign was directed to youngsters. School books, teachers' lectures,²⁰⁹ maps, museums, exhibitions²¹⁰ and monuments all repeated the same national 'lesson' that congregated people around their *mother-land*. A nation-wide organisation gathered all the students from fifth to eleventh grade. It was the 'Portuguese Youth' (*Mocidade Portuguesa*) that gave to youngsters their first paramilitary instruction side by side with sports and games. This organisation had its own anthem,

²⁰⁶ The legend of the map is a celebrated sentence from Camões, the epic poet of the 16th century: "*E se mais mundo houvera lá chegara*", which signifies that the Portuguese spread to all over the world.

²⁰⁷ MARTINS - *op.cit.*, p.88-89. Studies on traditional Portuguese architecture, as well as other studies on ethnology, had a great development during the *Estado Novo*. On traditional Portuguese architecture see: *Arquitetura Popular em Portugal*, 3 vol., Associação dos Arquitectos Portugueses, s.d.; OLIVEIRA, Ernesto Veiga de e GALHANO, Fernando - *Arquitetura Tradicional Portuguesa*, Lisboa, Pub. D. Quixote, 1992; OLIVEIRA, Ernesto Veiga de, GALHANO, Fernando e PEREIRA, B. - *Construções Primitivas em Portugal*, Lisboa, Pub. D. Quixote, 1988.

²⁰⁸ This was in total coherence with Salazar's ideas about nationalism and independence: *poor but honest* ("*pobrezinho mas honesto*") was one of his most divulged principals, that applied to individuals as well as to the country.

²⁰⁹ A "good" teacher was a nationalist one; a "bad" teacher was a Bolshevik and a laic one. See MÓNICA, Maria Filomena - *Educação e Sociedade no Portugal de Salazar*, Lisboa, Ed. Presença, 1978, p.146.

²¹⁰ As an example see PAULO - *op.cit.*, p.91, about the *Historic Parade of the Portuguese World* ("*Cortejo Histórico do Mundo Português*") in 1940.

the words of which exalted patriotism and devotion towards the nation.²¹¹ In primary schools the photographs of the President of the Republic and of the Prime Minister would hang on the wall, above the teachers' chair (this became a legal imposition after 1935). And as the country was Catholic, the crucifix had to be hung in all classrooms (this was also imposed by a reform in primary school laws known as *Carneiro Pacheco Reform*, in 1936). The crucifix was to be put between the two photographs mentioned above,²¹² thus giving Portuguese political leaders similar relevance and respect as religion.

Mother-land was another main subject of the Portuguese nationalism. The mother-land has a history to be proud of, with past and present heroes, with monuments and documents proving its authenticity and showing its grandiosity. It had to be respected and honoured as it had been capable of heroic deeds in the past which could be repeated in the present. The *Estado Novo* was presented as a period of the national history designed to recover the magnificence of mother-land that had decayed during the previous decades.

Nationalism was also seen as an individual issue.²¹³ Salazar's idea that the people should be nationalist "by discipline or virtue".²¹⁴ was mentioned before. In fact the *Estado Novo* wanted all citizens to be nationalist, to believe that 'God, Motherland and Family' (*Deus, Pátria e Família*) were the fundamental values to defend.²¹⁵ After God, the Motherland was the most important thing in a person's life and was worth personal sacrifice. Nationalism became one of the most important aspects in Portuguese life and, at length and with the exception of religious values, overwhelmed all others. Family values were seen as part of nationalist ones, the family being the primary and ultimate cell of education, protection and survival.

²¹¹ Just a short part of it: *When the country rises / also God whit it goes forward* ("*Quando a Pátria se levanta / também Deus com ela avança*"). See PAULO -*op.cit.*, p.59 and MARTINS - *op.cit.*, p.77-79.

²¹² MARTINS - *op.cit.*, p.101.

²¹³ On the expected qualities of individuals see MARTINS - *op.cit.*, p.73.

²¹⁴ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.170-171.

²¹⁵ This expression, *God, Motherland and Family* ("*Deus, Pátria e Família*") was used as the resume of the all ideology of the regime.

This is the political and cultural ambience within which the significance and role of museums will be analysed. As cultural and educational institutions,²¹⁶ museums played an important part in the *Estado Novo* project. Early in the process of building the *Estado Novo*, legislators turned their attention to matters related to museums and monuments and implemented new and important legislation, which had nationalist objectives.

²¹⁶ In 1931 a law (*decreto* 19414, 5th March 1931) changed the rules of access to state museums, imposing entrance charge. Nevertheless, to enable the access of the poorest, the entrance was free on some days of the week. The main reason given to explain this option was that museums were important educational institutions.

Fig. 2 - Portugal dos Pequenitos

3.4 - The politics of museums in Portugal (from the 1930s to the 1960s)

3.4.1 - Inheritances from the First Republic

The period that is known as the First Republic (1910-1926) overlaps several years of major political and economical difficulties.²¹⁷ Despite this, the governments of the First Republic were able to achieve important results in cultural and educational issues. In the beginning of the 20th century a great percentage of the Portuguese population was illiterate. Changing that situation was one of the Republic's priorities. Numerous schools were built and the rates of illiteracy began to drop, but they were still high by the end of the first republican regime.²¹⁸ An all new legislation was designed for national monuments, museums and, artistic, historic or archaeological heritage. An example of this is that before the first Republic no efficient legislative restrictions regarding exportation of cultural heritage had been settled and therefore the Portuguese State could not take possession of any cultural goods belonging to private people or institutions. During the First Republic several decrees were produced in order to reverse this situation. After the revolution of 1926, the leaders partially maintained that legislation. As a result, the management of cultural heritage and museums is one of the examples of some continuity between the two regimes. Thus, when evaluating the policies of the *Estado Novo* it is necessary to take into consideration those laws concerning museums that were produced during the First Republic.

²¹⁷ See AMEAL, João - *História de Portugal das origens até 1940*, Porto, Livraria Tavares Martins, 7ª ed., 1974; MATTOSO, José (dir.) - *História de Portugal*, Lisboa, Ed. Estampa, s.d., vols. 5-6-7-8; NOGUEIRA, Franco - *Salazar*, Porto, Livraria Civilização, 1977/81; SERRÃO, Joel and MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira (dir.) - *Nova História de Portugal*, Lisboa, Ed. Presença, vols. XI-XII.

²¹⁸ MATTOSO - *op.cit.*, vols. 7-8. Some statistics are presented.

In this text, two diplomas that were produced before the revolution of 1926 will be considered.²¹⁹ The first is the law number 1700 (1924, December the 18th) which organised the "Superior Council of Fine Arts" and the "Art and Archaeology Councils";²²⁰ it also focused on national monuments and on the preservation and inventorying of national cultural heritage, also having museums among its concerns. The second is the decree number 11445 (1926, February the 13th) that was published in order to complete the aspects of that previous law which had been considered insufficiently developed. Then, in 1932 during the military dictatorship, this legislation was partially changed and partially repealed.

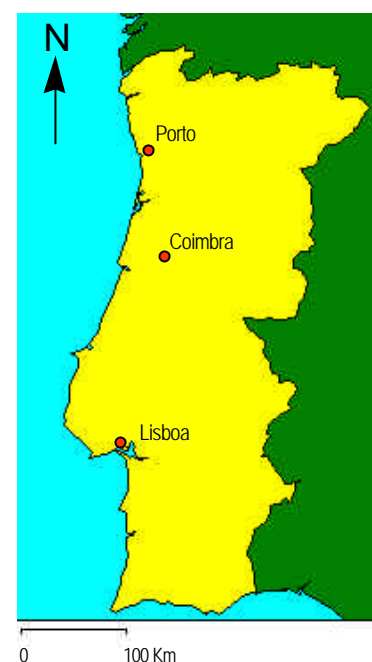


Fig. 3. Art and Archaeology Councils

The law number 1700 is divided into seven chapters (some of which with internal sub-divisions) and had an important role in matters related with fine arts, art and archaeology, museums, protection of art and archaeology heritage, and finally, monuments and national palaces.

The main concerns which related to the management of museums were those of inspection and supervision. The Art and Archaeology Councils' Chairmen of each region were instructed to verify the normal work of museums under Government subvention in their respective areas. This inspection would be specifically concerned with organisation and administration, good care of art objects and respect for security rules. Government was to be immediately informed of any action disregarding what was established or that could jeopardise the terms of cultural heritage protection against illegal trade and exportation. Acquisitions were another responsibility of the Art and Archaeology Councils: museums were always to ask for their opinion and respect it, on this matter. Sometimes it was the Council itself that should take the initiative for an acquisition, the

²¹⁹ It could be of interest to take into consideration other laws produced in the early phase of the First Republic, for example the decrees of 19 November 1910 and 20 April 1911. On this subject see ROCHA-TRINDADE, Maria Beatriz (coord.) - *Iniciação à Museologia*, Lisboa, Universidade Aberta, 1993, p.44-49 and MOREIRA, Isabel M. Martins - *Museus e Monumentos em Portugal*, Lisboa, Universidade Aberta, 1989. This legislation began the trend that is still present in the law number 1700.

museum being expected to accept the decision with almost no possibility of interference. Government was responsible for choosing most of the museum staff; directors and curators depended on governmental decisions for nearly everything. Internal organisation of museums and fundamental rules for functioning were absent from this law. The Superior Council of Fine Arts had the final word on the foundation of new museums, acquisition, building of new museums and adaptation of already built museums. The Art and Archaeology Councils were responsible for the study, conservation and enrichment of museum collections; they should organise temporary exhibitions and should also determine what objects were to be in permanent exhibition or kept in reserves. They were also responsible for conservation and restoration decisions. The Councils had financial power over the budget of museums, expenses and acquisitions. This arrangement appears to be a very difficult one, but it must be kept in mind that museum directors were necessarily permanent members of the Art and Archaeology Councils. Finally, another very important aspect of this law concerned the rules and limitations on cultural heritage trade and exportation. A national list of objects with historical, archaeological or artistic value was determined and all the objects belonging to that list could neither be exported nor transacted without prior notice to official entities.²²¹ The Portuguese State would always be given preference in acquisition. If its decision was not to buy, the private buyer had to be informed that the item to be transacted was in the list mentioned above. That information was essential, as the item was subject to the inherent trade limitations. This law determined that all transactions disregarding these terms should be considered of no legal value.

The legislation passed in 1926, to update the 1924 law, introduced some minor changes for museums management. Museum directors were to inform the Ministry about their needs regarding preparation and publication of catalogues and inventories of national and regional museums and the Superior Council of Fine Arts was committed with the task of preparing general regulation for museums. As for cultural heritage, this decree adds some important definitions to the previous law. Under national protection against illegal trade or exportation, it clearly stated

²²⁰ This decision created three different areas with "cultural Capitals". From South to North: Lisboa, Coimbra and Porto.

²²¹ The resemblance between what this decree stated and the system introduced in the United Kingdom in 1952 and known as the "Waverley Criteria" is worth a reference. See FAHY, Anne (ed.) - *Collections Management*, London, Routledge,

what should be considered artistic and archaeological heritage. Article number 47 of this decree states:

"For general purposes of the law are considered works of art and archaeological objects any sculptures, paintings, sketches, draws, pieces of furniture, china, glazed and painted pottery, goldsmithery, glasses, enamel ware, carpets and tapestries, laces, jewellery, embroideries, tissues and textiles, cloths, armoury, objects of forged iron, bronzes, fans, medals and coins, inscriptions, musical instruments, manuscripts with illuminations, and, in general, all objects that can constitute model of art or represent valuable teaching for artists, or, by their merit, are worth being in public art museums and yet, all of those that can be classified as historical objects".²²²

Furthermore, every and any object for sale in public auction was considered cultural heritage if, before the final decision of the buyer, a legal representative of the Government declared the State's intention of buying it (this legal representative could be any of the national museum directors, or their deputies). Finally, and for purpose of exportation, this decree established taxation on artistic and archaeological objects in possession of non-official institutions. This taxation was of 50% *ad valorem* and in some circumstances this value could be exchanged by objects offered to national museums.

By the time of the military revolution of the 28th May 1926, this was the principal legislation for museums and cultural heritage. Two aspects of this legislation are of relevance: in the first place, the Republic treated the cultural patrimony as a national concern, this principle being applied even when objects were of private possession; secondly, both national and regional museums were considered of major importance, as keepers of historic, cultural and artistic values. Nevertheless, economic difficulties made it impossible for Republican governments to implement an actual operative policy for museums and cultural heritage. Some of the legislative principles never became effective and sometimes (as it can be perceived through documentation of museums) museum directors complained about some disrespect of the law.²²³

1995 and MAURICE, C. and TURNOR, R. - "The Export Licensing Rules in the United Kingdom and the Waverlay Criteria" in *International Journal of Cultural Property*, nº 2, vol. 3, 1994.

²²² Original text: "*Para os efeitos gerais da lei consideram-se obras de arte ou objectos arqueológicos: as esculturas, pinturas, gravuras, desenhos, móveis, peças de porcelana, de faiança e de ourivesaria, vidros, esmaltes, tapetes, tapeçarias, rendas, jóias, bordados, tecidos, trajos, armas, peças de ferro forjado, bronzes, leques, medalhas e moedas, inscrições, instrumentos músicos, manuscritos iluminados e de um modo geral todos os objectos que possam constituir modelo de arte ou representar valiosos ensinamentos para os artistas, ou pelo seu mérito sejam dignos de figurar em museus públicos de arte, e ainda todos aqueles que mereçam qualificação de históricos.*"

²²³ As examples, two letters from the director of the Museum of Alberto Sampaio, (15/03/1933, 20/09/1933).

These are the guidelines of the First Republic legislation for museums. But what kind of museums existed in Portugal during this period? Two major types were significant: those considered "national" museums and those classified as "regional". Most of the national museums (five) were in Lisboa; in Porto the museum Soares dos Reis, although not classified as a national museum, repeatedly claimed that status, but obtained it only in 1932; in Coimbra, the museum Machado de Castro (an art museum) had the role of national museum. These national museums were thought to be representative of Portuguese cultural values, especially with regard to art. National collections, or objects with national importance because of their value or significance, were to be kept in these national museums.

Regional museums were another concern of the First Republic policy.²²⁴ In fact, regional museums received a great deal of attention during this period and a significant number of these museums were established during the First Republic. Between 1912 and 1924 thirteen new regional museums were instituted. They were devoted to art, history, archaeology and numismatics. From a financial point of view, they depended on public money, either from central government or from local authorities. The designation as 'regional'²²⁵ had nothing to do with funding: these museums were regional because of their collections and because they were meant to serve a regional area, a regional community. One of their major objectives was to receive and preserve the results of archaeological research. Ever since the last decades of the nineteenth century archaeological activities were producing important collections that needed a place to be held and displayed. Regional museums were seen as the ideal solution.

An important objective for regional museums was to receive and preserve the treasures that had belonged to the Church (art collections, goldsmithery) and that the First Republic had nationalised. A strong movement against the Catholic Church occurred in Portugal during the last half of the nineteenth century and intensified during the Republican period. The Republic legitimated an ambience of anticlericalism with few precedents in Portuguese history. The Church

²²⁴ Regional museums were planned since 1836, when a law determined that in all major cities (*capitais de distrito*) were to exist a public library and a "cabinet of rarities". This determination was never accomplished. See MOREIRA - *op.cit.*, p.54-62.

²²⁵ Central administration took charge of several regional museums that could no longer exist only on local resources.

was deprived of important material heritage (buildings, treasures, archives) and part of that heritage was sent to regional museums. Regional museums also had an important role caring for ethnographic material. The interest in ethnography grew during the first decades of the 20th century,²²⁶ so material was being gathered and there was a need for places to display it. Once again regional museums had an important role in this matter.

As a consequence, many of these regional museums became a complex mixture of very different collections. The lack of coherence in their acquisition policies, imposed by the nature of their objectives, became one of the major future problems for museum management.²²⁷ They were seen as important means of preserving cultural heritage in danger of disappearance. Thus, regional museums were to collect in different fields, gathering collections of different natures. Their directors contributed more than once to this, by collecting everything that was considered of cultural value and that was in danger of being sold to private foreign collectors.

In 1926, when the First Republic came to an end, the country had several national museums and a significant number of regional museums. Legislation for museums, monuments and cultural heritage was settled and considered as potentially efficient. A major problem was, however, the lack of money. Museums, monuments, implementation of cultural legislation, all had associated costs, and the Portuguese state's financial condition was such that there was no availability of money for that sort of expenditure. The legacy of the Republic was more a package of good intentions than of effective results.²²⁸ However, legislation on museums, monuments and cultural patrimony was absolutely essential, and the governments of the military dictatorship that followed the First Republic found a lot of work done in this field. What the Republic had accomplished in terms of laws was considered enough and well done, and great changes would only occur in 1932.

²²⁶ The Portuguese Society of Anthropology and Ethnology was founded in 1918.

²²⁷ Even today Portuguese museums have collections which correspond to this period. As a consequence they have to deal with very different and incoherent sets of objects.

²²⁸ See MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira - "A 1ª República", in *Sociedade e Cultura Portuguesas*, nº 2, Lisboa, 1990, p.292, quoted in ROCHA-TRINDADE, Maria Beatriz (coord.) - *Iniciação à Museologia*, Lisboa, Universidade Aberta, 1993, p.44-45.

3.4.2 - The Estado Novo policy concerning museums: political definitions of museums role and specific legislation.

In the late 1920s (after the revolution of 1926 and even before the new Constitution of 1933) Portugal was still under the military dictatorship and, after a period of some revolutionary agitation, governments (specially after Salazar's entry into politics) were putting legislation in place in preparation for the *Estado Novo*. Legislation was, indeed, one of the major concerns of these governments protected by militaries. "Law and Order" (*Lei e Ordem*) was one of the slogans, associated with "Progress and Work" (*Progresso e Trabalho*). Hence, museums and cultural heritage also had the attention of these governments and a number of laws concerning these areas was produced. It is important to consider the legislation produced during this period, as it was to become the basis of all the policy of the *Estado Novo* regarding museums until the 1950s.

The most relevant laws produced between 1926 and 1933 concerning museums date from:

- March 1928²²⁹ (a decree reorganised all artistic and archaeological services);
- April 1929²³⁰ (a new department in government was created called the "General Department of National Buildings and Monuments" - *Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais* - DGEMN);
- March 1931²³¹ (the end of free access to museums was decided)
- December 1931²³² (legislation was intended to protect all cultural heritage that had not been referred in previous legislation);
- March 1932²³³ (some changes occurred in important parts of the previous legislation, in particular that of 1924);
- January 1933²³⁴ (a regulation for the courses for museum curators and tyrocinium was published).

²²⁹ Decree number 15216 - 14th March.

²³⁰ Decree number 16791 - 30th April.

²³¹ Decree number 19414 - 5th March.

²³² Decree number 20586 - 4th December.

²³³ Decree number 20958 - 7th March.

²³⁴ Decree number 22110 - 12th January.

The decree of 1928 was intended to reorganise artistic and archaeological national services. However, the introductory text of this decree emphasises that the previous legislation (after 1911) had proved its value. Bearing this in mind, the government only intended to change minor aspects, in order to improve the work and accomplishments that had resulted from previous laws, rather than changing everything and carrying the responsibility of inventing an entirely new organisation.²³⁵ There was only one main change with this decree: prior to it free entrance in every national and regional museum was a national policy. Now, access to museums was to be charged on some days of the week; yet on two days per week, at least, access was to be free. This principle became only effective in 1931. The fee to access any national or regional museum amounted to 2\$50 on paying days;²³⁶ Sundays and Thursdays were free admission days. This was meant to "benefit lower classes that wanted to visit those museums and instruct themselves".²³⁷ All art teachers and students had free access, and anyone who wanted to study a particular piece of art could get permission for free entrance from the museum director. Teachers and students, of any public or private school, could also ask for free entrance and obtain it.

An important decision, as far as monuments are concerned, was the creation of a specific governmental department to deal with all decisions related with buildings of historical value and public monuments. Most Portuguese national and regional museums were (and still are) installed in such buildings. Everything concerning the museum building had to be dealt with through the government department known as DGEMN. The department, during the 1930s and the 1940s, became one of the most important pieces of cultural propaganda of the *Estado Novo*.

The decree introduced in 1931 demonstrates the great concern dedicated to the safeguarding of cultural heritage by the military dictatorship governments. Following the previous legislation on this matter, this decree reinforced state rights over private objects considered of public interest. The list of objects in the national inventory was extended and any object

²³⁵ Original text: "*Nestas condições o Governo entendeu que o que se impunha era, não a confecção de novas leis, que ofereceria, pelo menos, os riscos de tudo o que é novo e imprevisto, mas sim modificar e melhorar a antiga, [...]*".

²³⁶ An architect working in a public service would earn 1.333\$50 per month; a museum servant between 360\$00 and 501\$00; the Director of the MNAA received circa 1.500\$00. See decrees 11445 and 21514.

²³⁷ Original text: "*favorecendo assim as classes pobres que desejem instruir-se e visitar esses museus*". This justification coincides with what Bennett refers about the 19th century museum: "of 'improving' the people by exposing them

corresponding to the criteria of the inventory was now under the protection of the law, even if its existence had not been declared to the State. Article number 2 of this decree stated:

"The Portuguese incunabula, xilographyc and paleotipic specimens, cartularies and other old manuscripts membranaceous or chartaceous, parchments and sundry papers of diplomatic or paleographic interest; books and booklets considered rare or precious; bibliographic nucleus recommended for the value of their cimelia or because of their collection value."²³⁸

In 1932 another important decree on museum matters was published. This decree introduced important changes in national policy concerning museums, cultural heritage and monuments. The introductory text of this decree stated that the previous legislation was too "complex". Despite the good results achieved during the previous two decades, the legislator considered that the good will, dedication and hard work of museum staff had been more relevant to achieve positive results than the quality of the existing legislation. In order to simplify the administrative scheme, the three "Art and Archaeology Councils"²³⁹ were extinguished and some of their functions moved to the Superior Council of Fine Arts. Museum directors became more important in this Council and a new section, entirely dedicated to museums, was created. Acquisitions, transference of objects, internal organisation of museums, conservation and restoration of museum objects became responsibilities of this Superior Council. This Council was also responsible for the foundation of new museums, the acquisition, building or adaptation of buildings and monuments to be used as museums, and the authorisation for temporary exportation of museum objects (to be displayed in international temporary exhibitions). This decree also opened the possibility for the existence of county councils of art and archaeology, depending on local will and capacity of organisation. This was the 'way out' for the government's need to reduce public expenses: financial responsibilities were transferred to these county councils that were supposed to depend on private donations to accomplish their tasks.

to the beneficial influence of middle-class culture" (see BENNETT, Tony – "Museums and... - p.73) . See also BENNETT, Tony - *Culture: A Reformer's Science*, London, Sage, 1998, p.148.

²³⁸ Original text: "[...] *os incunábulo portugueses; as espécies xilográficas e paleotípicas estrangeiras; os cartulários e outros códices, membranáceos ou cartáceos; os pergaminhos e papéis avulsos de interesse diplomático paleográfico ou histórico; os livros e folhetos considerados raros ou preciosos; e os núcleos bibliográficos que se recomendam pelos valor dos seus cimélios ou simplesmente pelo seu valor de colecção.*". This legislation can be compared with the Spanish policy on cultural heritage protection and museums; there too is a list of valuable objects; see BOLAÑOS, Maria - *op.cit.*, p.343-344.

²³⁹ See note 220.

For the first time in the legislation of this period museums were divided into three different groups: "national museums", "regional museums" and "other museums" (which included "county museums, treasures of religious art, other collections with artistic, historical or archaeological value").²⁴⁰ Directors were always to be chosen by the government and were responsible for the valuables kept in the museum; the regional museums directors should perform a three year tyrocinium in the National Museum of Ancient Art (*Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* - MNAA). Also related with this issue, and to set the rules of this tyrocinium, the decree introduced in January 1933 established that the MNAA was the national 'school museum' and that the future directors and curators had to spend three years working there, under direct supervision of the museum director. The certificate obtained was a necessary requisite to apply for staff positions in national and in regional museums under national administration.

The types of objects that were kept in Portuguese museums at this time relate to the dominant concept of museum object of the period, especially in its legal definition.²⁴¹ Of the documents discussed above it is possible to grasp quite a precise idea of what was considered a "museum object". It is not of great relevance to differentiate between legislative periods on this particular subject. Politics changed, legislation changed, but the general idea of what was to be considered as museum object remained. The laws and decrees mentioned above refer to museum objects in general terms. The law introduced in 1924 uses abundantly such terms as "artistic", "archaeological" and "historical" as if the definition of these terms were clear and unquestionable. This procedure is commonly repeated in subsequent legislation. Only twice, during the period under analysis, was a definition of museum object produced: the decree introduced in 1926 specifies what can be considered a work of art or archaeological object. A list of such specimens includes very specific designations, as well as very vague ones: in fact, everything that could be

²⁴⁰ Original text: "Art. 49º [...] a) *Museus Nacionais*; b) *Museus regionais*; c) *Museus, Museus municipais, tesouros de arte sacra e outras mais coleções oferecendo valor artístico, histórico ou arqueológico*." The decree specified which museums were National and Regional.

²⁴¹ If compared what was considered museum object under the law and what was really in museums, it will become evident that museums used to collect outside legislative definition. To this would contribute both the narrow legislative definition and the will of some directors that were the "soul" of the museum: they had initiated the collection, and treated the museum almost as a personal matter. In this case are, for example, the Museum of Alberto Sampaio and the Museum of the Abade de Baçal.

classified as "historical" is protected by this decree. The 1931 decree,²⁴² without contradicting this definition, adds other very specific objects that had been left out by the previous decree.²⁴³ The 1932 decree established that all objects with recognised artistic, archaeological or historical value, or very important to the national artistic, archaeological or historical patrimony, should not leave the country without proper authorisation. When referring to acquisitions by museums, once again, only fine art and archaeological objects deserved mention.

Another source to understand what was considered a museum object, is the nature of the professional training museum staff was supposed to have. Most of the specific training of museum professionals was in the areas of art and history. In 1953 one of the exams established in order to achieve recognition as museum curator, for all of national and regional museums, was a practical one: the candidates had to prepare an exhibition using objects of the reserves of the MNAA. Those exhibits were, obviously, about art or history of art. This perspective of what a museum object was is reinforced by some documents dating to the 1950's. During the Cold War, and under the perspective of another European or world conflict, the government decided the formation of a committee that was in charge of preventing major damages to cultural heritage during the war. Correspondence exchanged between this committee and museum directors is very interesting and shows that the intention was to preserve objects of "exceptional value" and "specimens of artistic and historical interest".²⁴⁴ Nevertheless, it is not specified what those objects were.

In 1965 with the "General Regulation for Art, History and Archaeology Museums" (*Regulamento Geral dos Museus de Arte História e Arqueologia*) the permanent and overwhelming importance of art, history and archaeology as fundamental sources of museum objects had not changed. One of the first objectives of museums, according to that decree, was the preservation and enlargement of collections of "objects with artistic, historical or

²⁴² Number 20586.

²⁴³ See note 238.

²⁴⁴ As examples, letters sent by Director of the MNAA (18/05/1953, 03/08/1953 in Archive of the MNAA); see also a copy of a letter received in the MNSR), from the National Committee responsible for the safeguard of art objects in case of war, dated 1954 (Archive of the MNSR).

archaeological value".²⁴⁵ This was the paradigmatic conception of museum objects during the *Estado Novo*. Obviously, there were other objects in museums, as some had very different kinds of collections, yet these were not worth of legislation. The remarkable importance given to artistic and historical objects, as *real* museum objects, must have an explanation. For some reason the *Estado Novo*, even before the approval of the 1933 Constitution, was very concerned with cultural heritage and gave much attention to legislation regarding these matters. Perhaps the point, the hidden reason, was common to both questions: propaganda.²⁴⁶

As we have seen, museum objects were protected by law against illegal trade and exportation; but at the same time they were used politically as objects of propaganda. Museums, seen as institutions where historical and artistic objects should be preserved and exhibited, functioned as places of propaganda: the official nationalism needed historical material to support the myths of a past of greatness and glory. Some particular objects - like the sword of D. Afonso Henriques²⁴⁷ (the first King of Portugal) - were frequently requested to be exhibited in temporary exhibitions. In 1940 this sword was requested to be displayed in the "Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World" (*Grande Exposição do Mundo Português*) that took place in Lisbon; a few years later the sword was again borrowed to be in the exhibition that was held to celebrate the conquest of Lisbon.²⁴⁸ Against all precautions and conservation guidelines, museum objects shifted from one place to another in order to be used as propaganda material, frequently disregarding directors' advice and disapproval. On different occasions, political power overwhelmed the best interest of museums conservation policy and sometimes it happened that objects were returned to museums in poorer condition. In a letter from the director of the MNAA to the responsible of the "Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World" (dated from 20/04/1940) the director expressly disagrees with the request of one particular object (the chair of King *Afonso V*). He explained that the conservation conditions necessary for the long term care of this chair were incompatible with its removal from the museum; consequently the director affirmed that he

²⁴⁵ Decree number 46758.

²⁴⁶ See PAULO - *op.cit.*.

²⁴⁷ This sword was part of the collection of the MNSR.

²⁴⁸ Archive of the MNSR, copies of the mail sent (25/04/1940 and 13/05/1947).

could not assume any responsibility, if someone decided to take it away from the museum.²⁴⁹ In another letter to the government, dated 09/12/1948, the director, once again, protested against the use of museum objects (in this case French silverware of the eighteenth century) in official ceremonies.²⁵⁰ These objects were frequently returned to the Museum damaged.

As the *Estado Novo* strengthened its political power, these impositions on museums became stronger and more evident. In 1936, for an exhibition called "Historical Exhibition of Occupation" (*Exposição Histórica da Ocupação*) a decree was introduced that gave powers to the commission in charge of the organisation to ask for assistance from various institutions, including museums and public archives. In 1938, while preparing the "Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World", another decree determined that all necessary assistance would be "demanded" by the commission. This included requisition of museum and archive material, and directors of museums or civil servants could not deny whatever was demanded. The explicit terms of this authority, expressed in this decree, are extraordinarily precise. Concerns with security and proper conservation procedures, however, are almost absent; the text only stated, vaguely, that objects should be held in an adequate manner.

Even before 1933, the official starting point of the *Estado Novo*, important changes had taken place in legislation concerning museums and cultural heritage. Keeping some of the previous organisation at first, and changing a lot of it in the early 1930s Military Dictatorship governments, especially after Salazar's entry to government, led to solutions that announced the *Estado Novo*. In 1933 almost all the legislation on museums had already been set up and was working. It is obvious that cultural heritage in general, and monuments and museums in particular, were one of the greatest concerns (together with financial and economic problems) of these governments of the late 1920s. In two of his public speeches (in 1935 and 1936)²⁵¹ Salazar reaffirmed the importance of monuments and museums. Propaganda was certainly an important issue for the

²⁴⁹ Archive of the MNSR, copies of the mail sent Another example: letter from the director of the MNAA (08/01/1941) to the responsible of the "Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World": the director emphasises that museum objects should never leave museums and he uses the example of two chairs borrowed to the Exhibition and returned in very poor conditions.

²⁵⁰ Archive of the MNAA.

²⁵¹ SALAZAR, António de Oliveira - *Discursos e notas Políticas*, Coimbra Editora, 2ª ed., vol. II, 1946, p.73, 146-148

building of a new ideology, and, as far as it can be noticed, cultural heritage and museums, had an unquestionable part in that process. After 1933, and until the 1950s, almost nothing changed in the legislation concerning museums. Major changes would only occur in the 1950s and especially in the 1960s.

After 1933, the *Estado Novo* turned its attentions to matters other than museums and monuments: the previously defined guidelines were considered to be operative and efficient. The use of national cultural heritage as propaganda was well established. Portuguese nationalism, that demanded a great deal of investment in the care for the national monuments and museums, was the official discourse, strongly affirmed by the incontestable leader of the country. The nationalistic ideology demanded historical material to found a "reinvented national tradition" to quote Hobsbawm.²⁵² The improvement of the finances and of the economic status of the country, which was accomplished by the end of the 1930s, enabled Salazar to prepare some of the greatest events of the *Estado Novo*: the exhibitions that took place in the late years of the decade.

It is however important to examine some of the legislative activity of the *Estado Novo* during the period between 1933 and 1940, even if not directly related with museums, before moving on to the analysis of the next period of museums development in Portugal. The changes that occurred during that period and the consolidation of the regime are essential to understand the subsequent museum policy of the *Estado Novo*. In September 1933 a decree was introduced that created the National Bureau of Propaganda (*Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* - SPN). The introductory text of this decree stated that propaganda was a national necessity and that all modern countries recognised this. The need for internal and external propaganda was justified with the international situation and with the necessity of integrating all Portuguese citizens in the moral orientation of the nation.²⁵³ The internal section of the Bureau of Propaganda had some very important tasks to accomplish. The first one was that it had to rule over the press, controlling the news that were to be published and improving the publication of everything that could be beneficial for the Portuguese image. Then it was also their responsibility to organise national educational events or public demonstrations in favour of the regime. They were to fight

²⁵² HOBSBAWM and RANGER - *op.cit.*

²⁵³ Original text: "[...] *integrar os portugueses no pensamento moral que deve dirigir a Nação.*".

every idea considered to be against the national interest. The maintenance of internal unity was another task of this Bureau. This decree also stated that all media (radio, cinema and theatre) should be used to fulfil that task and that all national administration, all government sections, all national services should provide all the assistance demanded by the Bureau of Propaganda.

Between 1935 and 1936²⁵⁴ two fundamental decrees were produced. The intention of this legislation was that of excluding of all national services and all governmental and administrative institutions any person that was not totally in accordance with the regime. The first decree determined that all personnel that had demonstrated any kind of opposition towards the Constitution should be retired or dismissed. The second one was more radical: everyone willing to become a civil servant or working in direct relation with the State interests was constrained to declare, under word of honour, that he or she agreed with the National Constitution and with the social order thereby established, and also that he or she was active against communism and all other subversive ideas.²⁵⁵ A hierarchical responsibility was then set and all superior staff had to denounce any activity suspected of being against that declaration taking place in his or her services. Even private enterprises were under this constraint. If any subversive activity perpetrated by anyone working in a private company became public, the government would immediately end any commercial relation with that company and even public funds would be terminated at once. In December of 1936 the Portuguese Youth (*Mocidade Portuguesa*) had its formal beginning: this was a paramilitary organisation that gathered all Portuguese youngsters, providing a first military training as well as leisure-time activities, such as sailing, horse-riding, gymnastics and camping. This organisation was to form good, loyal, nationalistic citizens, that were to be ready to die for their country if necessary.

During 1937 other laws were published which are of some interest to understand the political ambience that the *Estado Novo* installed in Portugal: in July a decree determined that,

²⁵⁴ Decrees 25317 (1935/05/13) and 27003 (1936/09/15)

²⁵⁵ Original text: "*Declaro por minha honra que estou integrado na ordem social estabelecida pela Constituição política de 1933, com activo repúdio do comunismo e de todas as ideias subversivas.*".

from 1 January 1939, all typewriters transacted in Portugal ought to have the national keyboard²⁵⁶ and not the international one. If someone wanted a typewriter with the international keyboard it was absolutely necessary to prove that that particular machine was to be used for typing in a foreign language and not in Portuguese. Another decree was published to end up with freedom of choice on what concerned basic school books. Until then teachers in every school could choose what books to use. This decree determined that all schools in Portugal ought to use the same book for each class. The legislator affirmed that this was meant to put an end to the freedom of expressing personal ideas in books that should form young minds. The moral unity of the Nation was more important than the freedom of speech.²⁵⁷

If the chronological succession of decrees and laws about cultural heritage and museums as a whole is considered, and if compared with other legislative measures that were seen as fundamental to build the *Estado Novo*, it becomes quite clear that concerns with cultural heritage were established in an early phase of the regime. During the late 1920s and the early 1930s governments had solved the question of cultural heritage management. Only thirty years later, and under external influences, the *Estado Novo* focused legislative attention once again on cultural heritage and museums.²⁵⁸ Only in the 1950s and the 1960s did major legislative changes alter this *status quo*. New concepts of museums, contacts with European experiments in exhibition techniques and a new importance given to the public, made new legislation necessary.

²⁵⁶ The international keyboard (AZERT) was not convenient to type in Portuguese because of the use of the letter A, the most used letter in Portuguese. The national keyboard organised the letters in such a manner as that the ones more frequently used were easily at reach of the central fingers. HCESAR was the denomination of the national keyboard.

²⁵⁷ See decree 27882 and BIVAR, Maria de Fátima - *Ensino primário e ideologia*, D. Quixote, Lisboa, 1971.

²⁵⁸ During the late forties and the fifties the director of the MNAA participated in several international conferences and produced formal reports; other member of museums staff went abroad specifically to observe what was being done in other countries on what concerns temporary exhibitions and display techniques. Archive of the MNAA, mail sent 1948-1955.