

Chapter 7 - Temporary Exhibitions as media of political and ideological propaganda.

In the previous chapters the subject of analysis was the use of museums and museum objects by the *Estado Novo* in order to promote its nationalistic ideology. Not only did museums and museum objects serve this purpose but also the temporary exhibitions held in the Portuguese European territory as well as in the African colonies. The list of temporary exhibitions organised and sponsored by the State is impressive.⁵⁸⁹ These temporary exhibitions were designed to be visited by large numbers of Portuguese and the propagandistic impact was expected to be effective. The process of assembling these exhibitions and of using museum objects for the purpose, involved, more than once, disagreement with the Directors of museums.⁵⁹⁰ This process seems to be incoherent with all the legislation produced by the *Estado Novo* with the apparently obvious intention of preserving cultural property, especially on what concerns museum objects and national monuments. Nevertheless, it is evident that propagandistic interests and objectives, at least sometimes, overwhelmed the conservation concerns. Museum objects and national monuments were seen as pieces of a machine of propaganda that absolutely needed their concurrence to achieve its political and ideological objectives. This is one of the possible explanations for the very intense investment the *Estado Novo* made in the cultural heritage domain in an epoch when the regime was still struggling against economic and financial difficulties. It was an "investment", not an "expenditure". The regime needed the historical background to sustain its nationalistic ideology and this was only possible through monuments and museum objects that were well preserved and capable of demonstrating the past greatness of Portugal. Even the idea that Portugal was still a great country (great in territory, great in population, great in its geo-strategic importance, great in its concern of continuing the greatness of the past) demanded a great deal of care. Caring about the country's history and image would help constructing a 'respectable', nationalistic image of the 'self' for the nationals: a country that does not care about its history is not a respectable one. Monuments and museum objects were seen as

⁵⁸⁹ See Appendix 1.

⁵⁹⁰ See Chapter 4.

the ultimate proof of Portugal's important and decisive role in the universal history, and a live evidence of the respect Portugal and its regime had for the past.

Some of the temporary exhibitions held by the *Estado Novo* had a very strong colonial emphasis. One of the major political issues of the regime was the earnest defence of the unity of the nation including all colonial territories, as mentioned in chapter 3. Therefore temporary exhibitions focusing on the colonial domain had the intention of reinforcing the belief that Portugal, from the European territory to the far East in Timor, was all one country. For this purpose the history of the maritime discoveries was presented as one of the greatest deeds of mankind, using the so called 'historical rights of occupation' as arguments of colonial domination. Temporary exhibitions on colonial themes always had at least one section focusing on the history of the discoveries and emphasis was put on the fact that the Portuguese were the first Europeans to step onto those lands. In order to improve the sentiment of unity and the notion of cohesion, these temporary exhibitions attempted to recreate the colonial ambience in the grounds of the exhibition. For instance, African and Asian villages were built in traditional ways and natives transported from their homes to be 'on display' during the exhibition.⁵⁹¹



Fig. 34. Natives from Mozambique in the Colonial Exhibition of 1934 (Porto)

Photograph from Alvão in *Album fotográfico da 1ª Exposição Colonial Portuguesa - 101 clichés fotográficos de Alvão, fotógrafo oficial da Exposição Colonial*, Porto, Litografia Nacional, s.d..

⁵⁹¹ This question will be the object of further analysis when describing the Colonial Exhibition of 1934 in chapter 7.2.

In 1940 even the Portuguese from the European territory were submitted to this kind of treatment: from north to south, people came to the exhibition and lived for several months in artificial villages that were intended to represent the traditional architecture of the country. These 'actors' ⁵⁹² were expected to perform traditional day-to-day activities, to the delight and enlightenment of the visitors. Two of the main objectives of these exhibitions are evident: the need that the *Estado Novo* had to convince all Portuguese that Portugal was a colonial State by historical rights, and the nationalistic affirmation of the greatness of Portugal *vis a vis* with all the other countries of the world. These exhibitions exposed, possibly better than the museums, some of the political and ideological uses of cultural heritage of the *Estado Novo*. For this reason this chapter will analyse in detail some of the major temporary exhibitions organised by the regime.



Fig. 35. Interior of the Pavilion of the Colonies, "Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World".
Photograph from Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

⁵⁹² The *Estado Novo* made what could be called a 'Goffmanian' joke *avant la lettre*: people were expected to 'perform normal life', acting as "social actors" not on the stage of society but on the stage of propaganda. On the concept of "social actor" see GOFFMAN, E. - *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1969.

7.1 - "O Mundo Português": a museographic presentation of the Portuguese nation through a temporary exhibition.

The main event of the *Estado Novo*, after the celebration of the first decade of the regime, was the great exhibition of the Portuguese Nation, held in Lisboa in 1940. The exhibition was an important part of a vast program of commemorations dedicated to the centenaries of the Portuguese independence. Portugal was celebrating eight centuries of independence and three centuries of the restoration of that independence.⁵⁹³ The intention of the regime was that all Portuguese participated in the celebrations. This intention succeeded in very different forms and, in fact, the country recognised 1940 as the year of nationalistic festivities.⁵⁹⁴

The name chosen for this exhibition is a celebration of Portugal: the "Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World" (*Grande Exposição do Mundo Português*). The exhibition aimed at presenting Portugal in all its continental and colonial splendour, as one of the greatest nations of the world. Portugal was a country of many territories spread around the world. "From Minho to Timor" (*de Minho a Timor*)⁵⁹⁵ was a common saying symbolising the worldwide tradition of 'Portugality'. The greatness of the nation was represented by the variety of territories, the number of citizens (continental and overseas) and the number of native speakers.⁵⁹⁶ Portugal was to be presented as an important and active nation in fields such as international diplomacy, economy and military geo-strategy. The Portuguese people all around the world, whether living under the Portuguese flag or not, were to be presented as a culturally valid nation, united by common links of ancestral cultural background. The main idea was that since the existence of the *Lusitanos*⁵⁹⁷ the "soul" of Portugal had struggled to be free and to affirm its independence and importance as a Nation. This "magnificent" exhibition, at least as it was imagined by the *Estado Novo*, served the

⁵⁹³ In 1580 Portugal had its crown united with the Spanish dynasty. In 1640 the independence of the Portuguese crown was restored.

⁵⁹⁴ As an example it is possible to refer local efforts to celebrate the centenaries. In *Trás-os-Montes* Firmino Martins was working, since 1938, in a history of the county that was meant to be ready by 1940. He asked *Abade de Baçal* for help and his letters clearly stated that the year of 1940 was in fact the moment to have the work ready. JACOB, João Manuel - "Correspondência de Firmino Martins para o Abade de Baçal", in *Vinhais Património*, nº 1, Vinhais, Câmara Municipal de Vinhais, 1998, p.70. Another very well known example is the history of Portugal by João Ameal, especially written to be ready in 1940 (AMEAL, João - *op.cit.*).

⁵⁹⁵ *Minho* is situated in the north end of the Portuguese European territory; Timor was a Portuguese colony in the far East.

⁵⁹⁶ Portuguese was, and still is, one of the languages spoken by a very large number of people in the world.

⁵⁹⁷ The *Lusitanos* were a people of *celtiberos* (the result of a mixture of Celts and Iberians) who lived in the Iberian Peninsula before the Roman Invasion and who opposed to that invasion.

purpose of telling that story.⁵⁹⁸ The Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World was a moment of climax, a paroxysm of nationalistic excitement, the strong and (wished) definitive affirmation of Portugal as a powerful, pluri-continental and colonial nation.



Fig. 36. External views, "Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World" (over the historical pavilions).
Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.



Fig. 37. External views, "Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World" (over the Pavilion of the Portuguese *Diaspora*).
Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

⁵⁹⁸ This way of presenting national history is close to the concept of ethno-history developed by SMITH, A.D. - *National Identity*, London, Penguin, 1991, specially chapter 7.

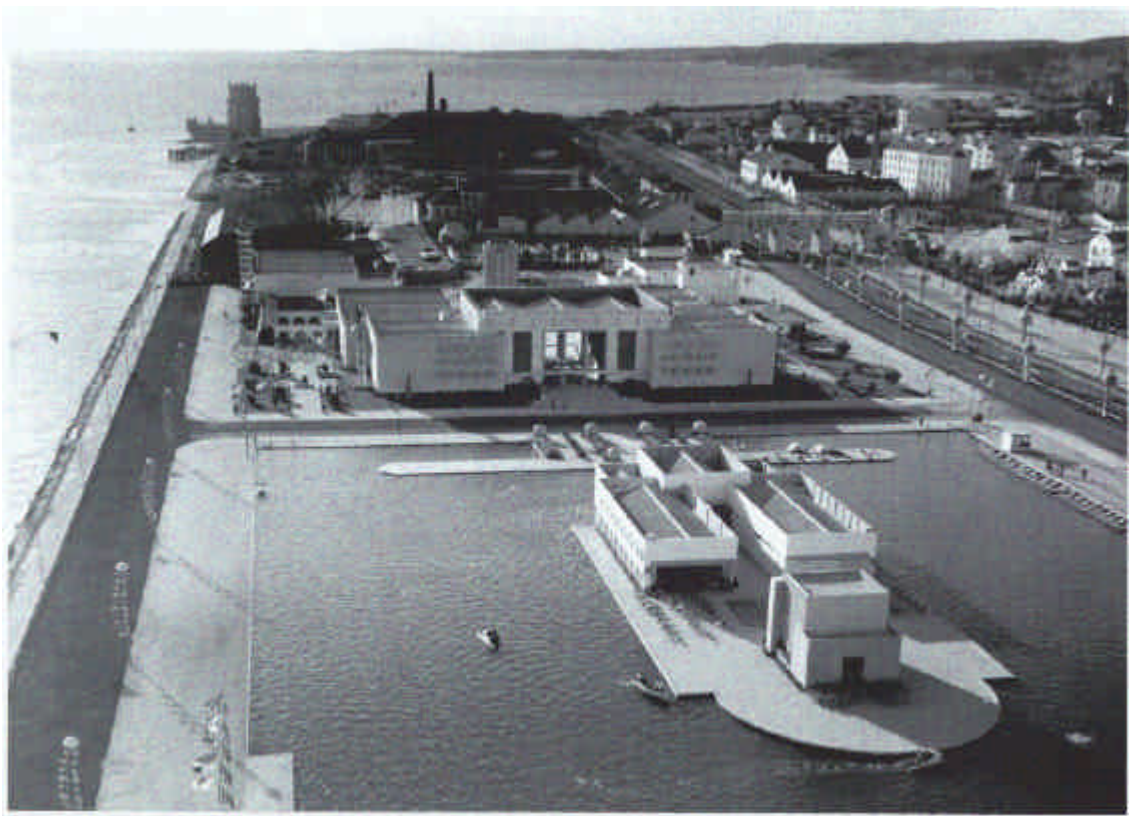


Fig. 38. External views, "Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World" (over the section of popular life). Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

Different strategies were used to produce this effect. The exhibition had a theatrical set up and each pavilion performed a special role in the complete scene.⁵⁹⁹ The exhibition was meant to receive several thousands of visitors and to overwhelm them, culturally and politically. The exhibition was a 'stage' for a 'performance', the actors being Portuguese nationalism, Portuguese traditions, Portuguese history, the Portuguese themselves and Portuguese reasons to exist. The exhibition was meant to impress.

The location chosen by the government⁶⁰⁰ was along the river *Tejo*, in front of the magnificent *Jerónimos*.⁶⁰¹ Not very far away, also by the river, another monument marked the

⁵⁹⁹ The best way of understanding the theatrical set up of the exhibition is by observing some of the photographs taken during this event. There are two major collections of official photographs: the one from Mário Novais (kept in the photography archive of the *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian*, Lisboa) and the one from Alvão (kept in the *Centro Português de Fotografia*, Porto). Another collection is available from the archives of the SNI that gathers photographs from different photographers. There are two main official publications that include vast collections of photographs of the exhibition: *Mundo Português: imagens de uma exposição histórica*, Lisboa, edições do SNI, 1957; *Portugal 1940*, Lisboa, SPN, 1940; *Mário Novais - Exposição do Mundo Português - 1940*, Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian e Caminho do Oriente, 1998.

⁶⁰⁰ Salazar, in 1938, already had some ideas about the location to be chosen. In a note published in the newspapers on the 27th March 1938, Salazar refers as a good idea to use unoccupied fields, from "*Junqueira to Belém*". SALAZAR, A.O. - *Discursos e Notas Políticas*, Coimbra Editora, 2^a ed., vol III Coimbra, 1959, p.41 and following. Augusto Castro, the main responsible for the exhibition agreed that the great area in front of the *Jerónimos* was the perfect "hall" to receive whoever came to visit the exhibition". CASTRO, Augusto - *A Exposição do Mundo Português e a sua Finalidade Nacional*, Lisboa, Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1940, p.17.

symbolic departure of the sailors who weighed anchor to discover the Atlantic in the 15th and 16th centuries. This monument is the "Tower of Belém" (*Torre de Belém*).⁶⁰² There could not be a better location for an exhibition organised by a state that used, as argument for colonial possession of overseas territories, the historic rights of occupation which went back to the maritime discoveries. Another argument in favour of this location was that this part of Lisboa needed investment and public rehabilitation. Thus, the *Estado Novo* had found where to build the exhibition. The process of setting it up took several months and the very difficult weather conditions of that winter (1939/1940), along with the troubled international situation created by the War, contributed for a few weeks delay in the public opening of the exhibition. It had been programmed to be in May, and occurred on the 23th of June 1940.⁶⁰³ Building the exhibition demanded a great number of workers. The seventeen months process involved 5,000 manual labourers, 15 engineers, 17 architects, 43 painters with 129 auxiliaries and 1,000 stuccoers working under the orientation of 7 supervisors.⁶⁰⁴ Except for the *Jerónimos* and the tower of *Belém* the grounds of the exhibition were almost⁶⁰⁵ unoccupied, and that simplified the process.



Fig. 39. Model of the main area of the "Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World".

Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

⁶⁰¹ *Jerónimos* is a great monastery built in the *Manuelino* style (16th century). This style, the end of the Portuguese gothic, represents an epoch of enrichment and glory in the Portuguese art history.

⁶⁰² This is also a monument built in the 16th century and in the same style of *Jerónimos*.

⁶⁰³ CASTRO - *op.cit.*, p.16.

⁶⁰⁴ *MUNDO Português - Roteiro dos Pavilhões (Descrição Pormenorizada do seu Conteúdo)*, Lisboa, Comemorações Centenárias, 1940.

⁶⁰⁵ Some buildings surrounded the tower of *Belém*. But these were constructions referred as ugly and even embarrassing, both because they were a national shame and because foreigners would think that Portugal paid less attention to its monuments. SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.41 and following.



Fig. 40. Location of the "Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World".

It is of some interest to take a look over the spatial and architectonic organisation of the exhibition.⁶⁰⁶ The grounds that had been settled to receive the pavilions occupied a vast area (circa 560.000 m²) between the *Jerónimos* and the river *Tejo*. It was possible to access the exhibition either from east and from west; a third access, from south, was by boat across the river.

The centre of the settlement was a vast open area with a monumental fountain in the middle, called "Plaza of the Empire" (*Praça do Império*) in an obvious allusion to the meaning of the exhibition. The whole area of the exhibition was surrounded by flags symbolising the Portuguese nation. Another monument gathered all historic flags that had been used since the medieval times to symbolise the longevity of the Portuguese nation. The regime needed so much to link the 'present' to the "glorious past" that the absence of any information about the flag used by our first king was not an inconvenience. Instead, a flag, a 'likely' flag, was invented and presented as the one used by D. Afonso Henriques before the battle of Ourique.⁶⁰⁷ As for the

⁶⁰⁶ See figure 42.

⁶⁰⁷ Nationalistic historiography always referred to the battle of *Ourique* as the moment chosen by D. Afonso Henriques to adopt the title of King of Portugal. The battle was described as a miraculous event: D. Afonso was very far away from his territories, down to the south, and with a tiny army of just some hundred knights. The Muslims were a hundred time

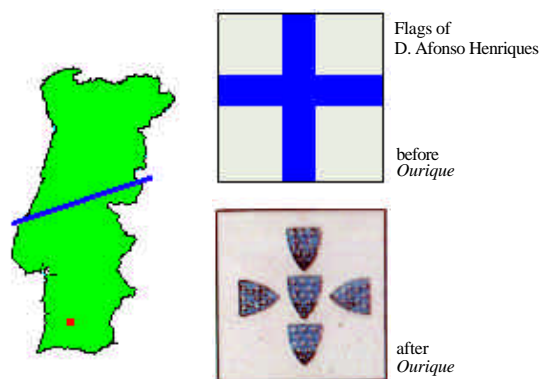
other flags it was possible to find information, documents with descriptions or maps with representations. In the very same year, when Salazar went to Guimarães for the commemorations of the independence, the invented flag was flying on the highest tower of the Castle. Ever since then Portugal has adopted that invention as a national symbol.⁶⁰⁸ And even nowadays, when the battle of D. Afonso Henriques against his mother⁶⁰⁹ is celebrated in the city of Guimarães, the flag is unfurled at the top of that same tower.

The pavilions that received the different displays that composed the exhibition were built around the central plaza. The main pavilions were dedicated to: the foundation of the nationality (*Pavilhão da Fundação de Portugal*), the independence of the country (*Pavilhão da Independência*), the maritime discoveries (*Pavilhão dos Descobrimentos*), the Portuguese Diaspora (*Pavilhão dos Portugueses no Mundo*) and the ethnographic collections from the European territory .

more numerous than the Christians and led by five kings. In the dawn before the battle Christ himself appeared to D. Afonso reassuring him and inciting to the battle. According to that historiography, D. Afonso defeated the Muslim army and killed the five kings. After that, he was claimed as King of the Portuguese (*Portugalensium Rex*) and changed his flag, using in the new one the symbols of the Muslim kings he had defeated, Christ's sores and the money Judas received for selling Christ.

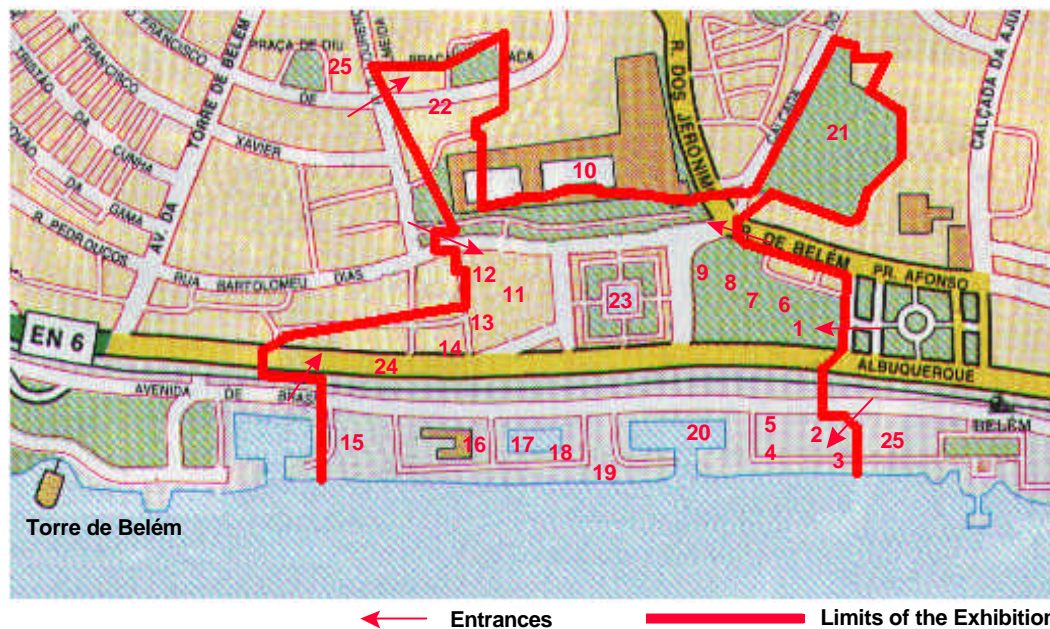
This is what an apocryphal document relates, what *Camões* tells in the *Lusíadas*, and what was adopted as an accepted miracle by the nationalistic historiography: Portugal was officially the result of the direct will of God himself. Nevertheless, no draw or document is available referring to the flag D. Afonso used before *Ourique*. The *Estado Novo*, invented one: a white flag with a blue cross over it. It became the official first flag of Portugal, and was reproduced in all children's' history books.

The map shows the probable location of *Ourique* (red spot) and the approximate border (*limes*) conquered by Afonso Henriques (blue line). The green territory corresponds to the present Portuguese continental territory and the lands of D. Afonso were, *grosso modo*, the ones to the north of the border. *Ourique* was some 200 Km to the south, away from the Christian border, and it is known that D. Afonso did not had with him reinforcements or reserve troops. These are some of the reasons normally refereed in defence of the miraculous explanation of that victory.



⁶⁰⁸ Serious history books clarified this question. For example the *Dicionário de História de Portugal* in an article called "National Flag" (*Bandeira Nacional*) states that the flag used in 1940 and said to be D. Afonso Henriques', was a forgery, based on very doubtful information. SERRÃO, Joel (ed.) - *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, 6 vol., Porto, Livraria Figueirinhas, p.290.

⁶⁰⁹ On the 25th of June 1128 D. Afonso Henriques sent his army against his mother who was supported by some noblemen from Galiza. Afonso Henriques wanted to rule the territory given to his father some thirty one years before. The success of the battle determined that the power came into his hands. He would be recognised as King by his cousin, King of Leon, in 1143 and by the Pope Alexander the III in 1179 by the bull *Manifestis Probatum est*.



1 - Pavilion of the Foundation of Portugal; 2 - Pavilion of the Formation and Conquest of the Territory; 3 - Pavilion of the Independence; 4 - Pavilion of the maritime Discoveries; 5 - Globe of the maritime Discoveries; 6 - Pavilion of Brazil; 7 - Pavilion of the Colonisation; 8 - House of Saint Anthony; 9 - Pavilion of Honour and Lisboa; 10 - Monastery of *Jerónimos*; 11 - Pavilion of the Portuguese in the World; 12 - Fireman, Police, Medical assistance, Complaints; 13 - Pavilion of Harbours and Railways; 14 - Post, Information on hotels, coaches; 15 - Poet's Gardens, Children's Playground; 16 - Pavilions of Popular Life; 17 - Restaurant over water; 18 - Swimming pool; 19 - Maritime Discoveries Monument; 20 - Vessel "Portugal"; 21 - Colonial Section; 22 - Playground; 23 - Plaza of the Empire; 24 - Portuguese Villages; 25 - Parking places.

Fig. 42. Plan of the "Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World".

Other less important pavilions and displays were there too: one about Lisboa, other from Brasil,⁶¹⁰ another dedicated to traditional goldsmithery, a garden, and a replica of a boat (representing those from the 15th and 16th centuries) which was floating on the Tejo since the opening of the exhibition. The exhibition was completed with some adjacent areas: one where the reconstitution of the traditional continental Portuguese architecture received the name of "Portuguese Villages" (*Aldeias Portuguesas*); another recreating colonial ambience (*Secção Colonial*); finally an area of popular enjoyment and recreation, a playground with several different fair attractions.

⁶¹⁰ Salazar made very clear that this exhibition was not an international one. Nevertheless, he stated, Brasil had a part in this exhibition as a country linked to Portugal by very tight connections. SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.41.



A - Pavilion of the Foundation of Portugal; B - Pavilion of the Foundation and bridge over railway; C - Pavilion of the Formation and Conquest of the Territory; D - Pavilion of the Independence; E - Pavilion of the maritime Discoveries; F - Globe of the maritime Discoveries; G - Vessel "Portugal"; H - Pavilion of Brazil; I - Pavilion of the Colonisation; J - Pavilion of Honour and Lisboa; K - Pavilion of the Portuguese in the World; L - Pavilion Portugal - 1940; M - Portuguese Villages; N - Pavilions of Popular Life; O - Maritime Discoveries Monument; P - Restaurant over water; Q - Monastery of *Jerónimos*.

Fig. 43. Plan of the "Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World" - area of the pavilions.



Fig. 44. South-west gate of the "Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World".
Photograph from Amadeu Ferrari, National Archive of Photography, Lisbon.

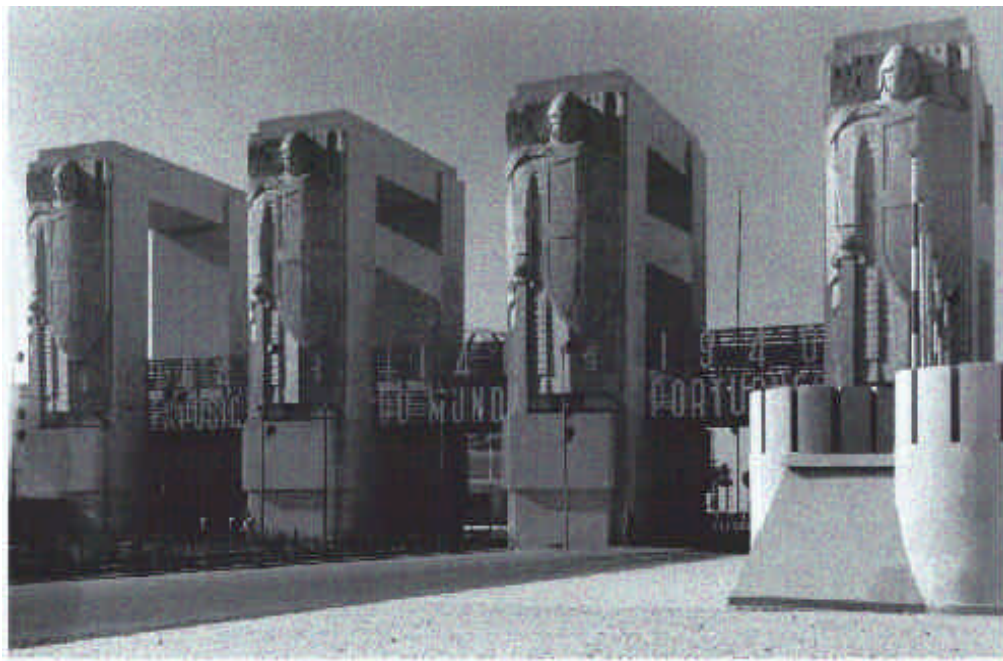


Fig. 45. Main entrance to the Historical Section (East) of the "Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World".

Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

This exhibition layout corresponds, in general, to the ideas expressed by Salazar when he presented the project of the exhibition in 1938.⁶¹¹ Augusto de Castro, who assumed the responsibility of supervising the exhibition, described it in a very similar way.⁶¹² The two sections of ethnography (continental and colonial) should be, in his opinion, lively sections. Natives from the colonies were to be placed in the recreated villages, working, dancing, eating, in a word, living, as if they were at home. In the "Portuguese Villages" the same idea was to be performed: locals were to be transported to Lisboa and to live there during the exhibition. Human beings were meant to be part of the exhibition as display material.⁶¹³

⁶¹¹ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.41 and following. Salazar expressed then the ideas that the commemorations would not have **one** exhibition but several. Some of his ideas for those possible exhibitions turned out to be "condensed" in the Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World. For example, he imagined as one of the exhibitions a historical exhibition about Portuguese history and importance in the world; this turned out to be the core of the exhibition; he also imagined an ethnographic exhibition, where the traditional architecture of the Portuguese territories (including overseas) would be the scenario for the presentation of the Portuguese variety, where real people from all over the country would be represented in their traditional clothes; this turned out to be organised in two different areas of the exhibition: the one designated as Colonial Section and the other called Portuguese Villages.

⁶¹² CASTRO - *op.cit.*, p.20-28.

⁶¹³ Further on this chapter the Colonial Exhibition that took place in Porto in 1934 will be analysed. There too natives were used as objects of display. Examples of other temporary exhibitions using human beings as objects of display can be found in BOLAÑOS, Maria - *op.cit.*, p.268-272. See also TESLOW, Tracy Lang - "Reifying race. Science and art in *Races of Mankind* at the Field Museum of Natural History" in MACDONALD, Sharon - *op.cit.*, p.53 on the exhibition held in Chicago in 1933.



Fig. 46. Fishermen working (section of popular life).

Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.



Fig. 47. Recreated street of Macau (colonial section).

Photograph from Amadeu Ferrari, National Archive of Photography, Lisbon.



Fig. 48. Recreated village of Mozambique (colonial section).
 Photograph from Amadeu Ferrari, National Archive of Photography, Lisbon.



Fig. 49. Recreated village of *Trás-os-Montes* (section of Portuguese villages).
 Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.



Fig. 50. Recreated interior of a village house (section of popular life)
 Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation,
 Lisbon.

The preparation of this exhibition was a demanding process. A team was established to take care of the different tasks, from designing the pavilions to preparing the labels and choosing objects to put on display. This preparation of the Great Exhibition gathered significant names of the cultural scene in Portugal. For example the 'official' director of films in Portugal,⁶¹⁴ António Lopes Ribeiro, participated in the event with films of propaganda about the Portuguese mission of civilising African territories. Others, who later on opposed to the regime, also contributed for the event. Perhaps the most significant example is Henrique Galvão. He was involved with the revolution of 28th of May 1926. He assumed responsibilities in the colonial administrative scheme, organised the Colonial Exhibition of Porto in 1934 and was the responsible for some of the events during the exhibition of 1940, including the organisation of the colonial section.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹⁴ The film industry in Portugal was growing in this period and António Lopes Ribeiro signed some of the most popular movies them made. These films showed Portuguese society, economy, politics, etc. in such a way that it is possible to say that they contributed to the "invented" Portugal of the *Estado Novo*.

⁶¹⁵ But a few years later he became a critic of the regime, was arrested in 1952 and eradicated from the army six years later; he was sentenced to eighteen years in prison but broke free in 1959; two years later he was one of the protagonists of one of the most spectacular strikes against Salazar's regime: he leaded the hijacking of a passengers ship, the *Santa Maria*, willing to draw international attention over the Portuguese political situation.

The exhibition of 1940 was a moment of national union around a common motive for celebration. It is important to remember that Portugal had recovered from a very difficult economic, financial, political and social situation and that significant parts of the Portuguese society supported Salazar and considered him as the redeemer of the country. Portugal had avoided participation in the Civil War in Spain, it was successful in remaining neutral in the Second World War and the Portuguese population thanked Salazar for that. National pride, one of the objectives of the *Estado Novo*, existed again and the commemoration of the centenaries was an extraordinary moment to acerbate it. The exhibition played a decisive part in this intention.

Probably no one understood the possibilities of reinforcing the nationalistic policy of the *Estado Novo* by using such events as the Exhibition of 1940 better than Salazar himself. In a very early stage of the preparation of the commemorations he stated clearly some of the goals he conceived for the celebrations. In 1938⁶¹⁶ he addressed the nation through the newspapers and explained what his intentions were. First, he made clear that Portugal should proudly proclaim its long lasting existence as an independent country: the oldest politically independent nation of Europe, the one with the oldest stable borders. He argued that even outside of Europe Portugal was an example of a very old political identity. He based his criteria on having the same people, the same Nation and the same State throughout a long time.⁶¹⁷ Another objective of the commemorations of 1940 was to demonstrate that Portugal was not "finished". Portugal had accomplished great deeds in the past but was still an influential country, mainly in Africa and in the other Portuguese overseas territories.⁶¹⁸ The Portuguese regime did not mean the exhibition to be a show off for foreigners; rather it was designed as internal propaganda. As Salazar explained in 1940 the exhibition in Lisboa would be a national, rather than an international one. Beyond aiming at being the celebration of important dates, it should be the reason to initiate or to complete projects that were fundamental to the cultural benefit of the country. Salazar gave examples of these: to finish the new buildings in the MNAA, to dignify the Tower of Belém that was surrounded by degraded constructions, to repair one of the most important palaces of the monarchy (the palace of *Vila Viçosa*) and make it a museum, to remodel the castle of Lisboa and transform it in a dignified monument. Other important enterprises were also part of a large list of

⁶¹⁶ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.41.

⁶¹⁷ *Idem, ibidem.*

⁶¹⁸ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.259. In a speech during the celebrations (4th of June 1940), from the Castle of Guimarães, again Salazar evoked this question.

works to accomplish before 1940, all aiming at the improvement of cultural needs of the country and especially of Lisboa.⁶¹⁹

In the inaugural address delivered at June 1940, Augusto Castro pointed out the three main objectives he thought the exhibition should achieve: first, a representation of the glorious past of the Portuguese nation, including all Imperial glories; second, the strong affirmation of the moral, political and creative forces of the present; third, the belief in the future. As he said, these three objectives could be condensed in the testimony and apotheosis of national consciousness.⁶²⁰ For Castro the main theme of the exhibition was "To know how to be Portuguese" (*Saber ser Português*).⁶²¹

The opening of the exhibition was a very formal moment: the President of the Republic was there, and all important politicians that had contributed to the event had the opportunity to make a statement. From the 23th of June onwards the exhibition was officially open to the public and during that summer an impressive number of people visited it. The official events continued until October and different pavilions and sections had their formal opening ceremonies over the summer months.⁶²² These were only ceremonial events, because the pavilions had already been opened to the public. These were opportunities to keep the public aware of the meaning and purpose of the exhibition, while maintaining the political and ideological presence of the *Estado Novo*.

⁶¹⁹ SALAZAR - *op.cit.*, p.41 and following.

⁶²⁰ CASTRO - *op.cit.*, p.65.

⁶²¹ CASTRO - *op.cit.*, p.217-218.

⁶²² See CASTRO - *op.cit.*; the book includes the main speeches of these events.



Fig. 51. Aspects of the cover of the Official Guide ("Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World").

To guide the visitors through the exhibition, an Official Guide was published.⁶²³ This was a leaflet with several photographs of the main pavilions, informative texts about the exhibition and all services and facilities available in the premises; it was printed on A3 sized paper which was folded. One side was occupied by a detailed plan of the exhibition; on the other side, the text began with the sentence "The proper way to visit the exhibition" (*Como se deve ver a Exposição*) and was written with the purpose of guiding the visitor through the exhibition: the "Portuguese Villages" should be visited before the Pavilions of Popular Life; the "Colonial Section" could be visited before the *Jerónimos* or in an other opportunity, as the leaflet says. The leaflet also includes useful information about transport, about tickets prices, about special events during the exhibition and other relevant information about Lisboa, such as restaurants and accommodation. The visitor was also informed that the exhibition opened daily at 9 a.m. and closed at 12 p.m.; the playground remained opened until 2.30 a.m..

Another guide was available, organised like a little pocket booklet.⁶²⁴ It was meant to guide the visitor inside each pavilion. It described 14 pavilions, one by one, presenting information on name, location, main objective, what it looked like seen from the outside and a description of

⁶²³ *Exposição do Mundo Português - Guia Oficial*, Lisboa, 1940.

⁶²⁴ *Mundo Português - Roteiro dos Pavilhões (Descrição Pormenorizada do seu Conteúdo)*, Lisboa, Comemorações Centenárias, 1940. The size of this booklet was about A₆.

each room inside. The objectives of each pavilion, referred in this guide, represented the official goals of the exhibition: Pavilion of the Foundation of Portugal, to remember the birth and growth of the nationality; Pavilion of the Independence, to remember three historical epochs (King John the First, King John the Second, Peninsular War⁶²⁵); Pavilion of the Colonisation, to represent the Faith and the Empire;⁶²⁶ Pavilion of Honour, to carry out official receptions, parties and artistic performances; Pavilion of *Lisboa*, to represent the traditions of the city; Pavilions of Popular Life and the "Portuguese Villages", to give a general view over the Portuguese traditions and architecture in an ethnographic way; Pavilion of the maritime Discoveries, to demonstrate the Portuguese nautical science; Pavilion of the Formation and Conquest of the Territory, to remember (in art objects, documents and historical objects) the life of the first Portuguese; House of Saint Anthony, to reconstruct, in a 13th century style, the house where the Saint was born; Pavilion of the Portuguese in the World, to evoke the life of important Portuguese in the four continents; Colonial Section, to represent the Empire and the evangelistic effort of the Portuguese Nation by giving an ethnographic vision of the Portuguese colonies.

The main facades of these pavilions were theatrical scenarios, planned to impress. Each one was decorated to represent the main theme of the pavilion. In the guides published for the event, it was possible to identify the pavilions by the facades, as some photographs were printed with that intention. The four following photographs show some of these facades, perhaps the most significant ones. The first one is of the entrance to the pavilion of the Foundation of Portugal, with a Romanesque-like door and the national symbols adopted by D. João I. The second one shows the entrance to the pavilion of the Popular Art which was decorated with popular-like motives and statues. To gain access to the pavilion of Lisboa the visitor had to cross some gothic-like arches, shown in the third photograph. The fourth photograph displays the main entrance of the pavilion of the Portuguese *diaspora* which was impressive with a huge statue in front of a planisphere and a label affirming "And if there it was any where else to go, we would have gone

⁶²⁵ The importance of these moments in the Portuguese History deserves an explanation. **King John the First** became king of Portugal after a period of war with Castilla: **King John the Second** was the king of the maritime discoveries; he was responsible for the negotiation of the treaty of *Tordesilhas*; **The Peninsular War** happened after the restoration of the Portuguese independence in 1640.

⁶²⁶ "Faith and Empire" are two words that have a very special meaning when put together as they were used by Camões in the beginning of the *Lusíadas* poem. The verses are: "[...] *as memórias gloriosas daqueles Reis que foram dilatando a Fé, o Império* [...]". A possible translation would be: [...] the glorious memories of those kings who widened the Faith and the Empire [...].

there".⁶²⁷ The interior of these pavilions was also meant to make an impression upon the visitor. Huge statues, magnificent scenarios, light and colour, adequate labels, were all used with the intention of impressing the visitor. Examples of these pavilions are shown in some photographs, below.



Fig. 52 and 53. Main entrances to the Pavilions of the Foundation of Portugal and of Popular Art. Photographs from Amadeu Ferrari, National Archive of Photography, Lisbon and from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.



Fig. 54 and 55. Main entrances to the Pavilions of Lisboa and of the Portuguese *Diaspora*. Photographs from Mário Novais (National Archive of Photography and Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon).

⁶²⁷ The sentence in Portuguese is "*E se mais mundo houvera lá chegara*", which is very difficult to translate. The sentence is from the *Lusíadas*, and was used to signify that the Portuguese spread to all over the world.

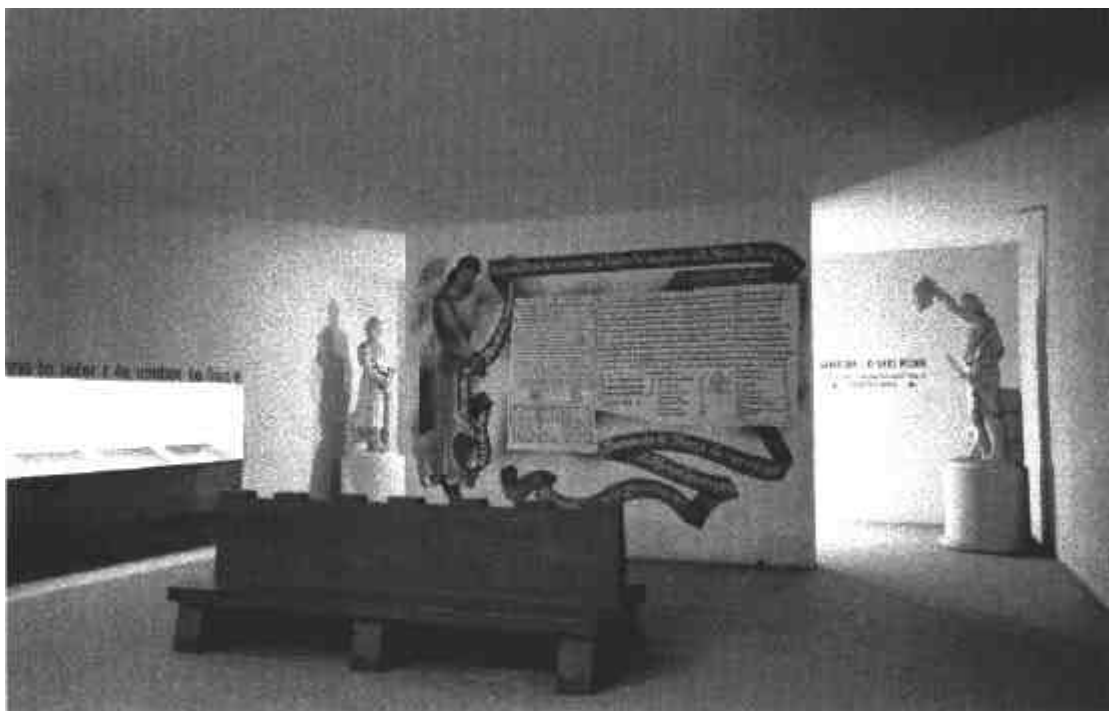


Fig. 56. Interior of the Pavilion of the Foundation of Portugal .
 Photograph from Mário Novais (Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon).

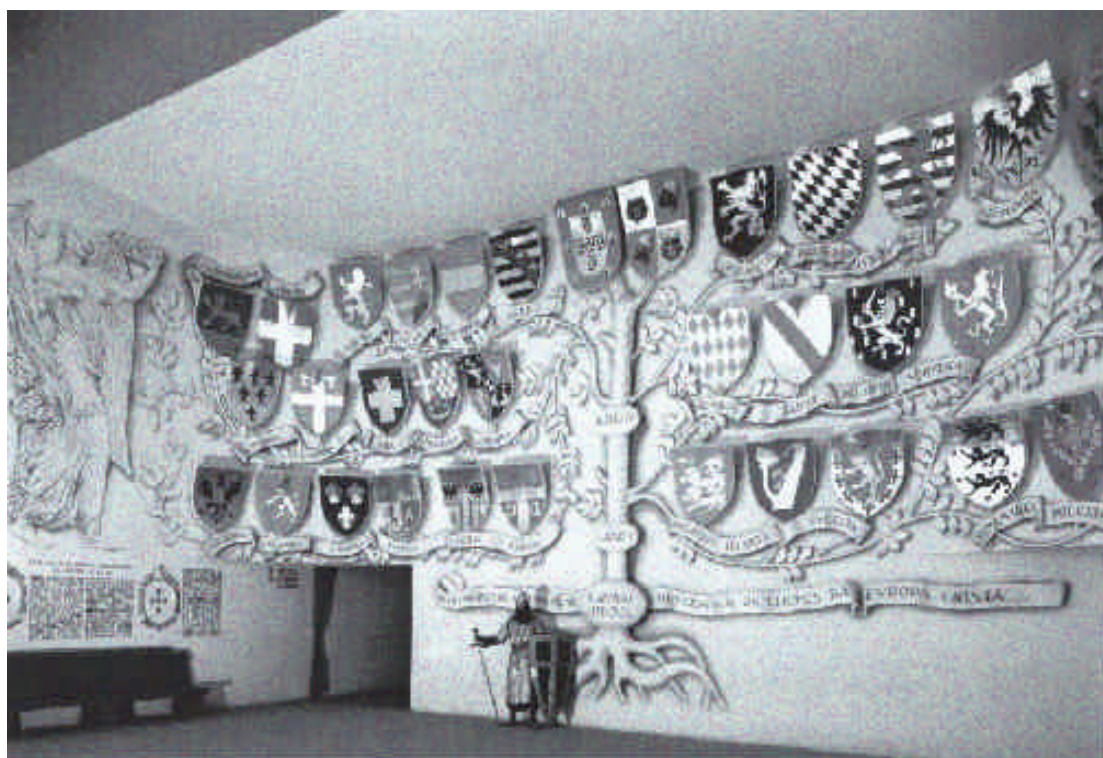


Fig. 57. Interior of the Pavilions of the Portuguese *Diaspora* .
 Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.



Fig. 58. Interior of the Pavilion of the Maritime Discoveries.
 Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.



Fig. 59. Interior of the Pavilion of India.
 Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

The exhibition remained open until the winter of 1940. The good weather conditions of that autumn and early winter meant the exhibition remained open longer than it was initially programmed, thus providing more time for the *Estado Novo* to spread its message. According to official statistics over three million people visited the exhibition. The real number of visitors is, however, lower, as it is known that several visitors went there more than once.⁶²⁸

The impact that this exhibition had from a political and ideological point of view is, obviously, very difficult to measure. Nevertheless, some testimonies remain from those who visited the exhibition that enable some analyses.⁶²⁹ One of those testimonies is an article published in a local newspaper⁶³⁰ called "Echoes from *Belém*" (*Ecos de Belém*). The author identifies his text as the faithful and minute description of the historical pavilions of the exhibition. He quotes, literally, the labels and other written information placed inside each pavilion. If we disregard all the enthusiastic and eulogistic adjectives,⁶³¹ it is possible to have a good idea of what the pavilions looked like seen from the inside. The two pavilions that had the most intense political and ideological messages were the one about the Portuguese *Diaspora* and another assigned to the achievements of the *Estado Novo*, called "Portugal - 1940".

In the first pavilion, in a room called "Culture", lists of the Portuguese who were well known in the world for their contribution to scientific knowledge were on display.⁶³² These lists included names from the 13th century to 1940 and a label in huge letters said that "The culture of these and others made the name of Portugal even greater" (*A cultura destes e doutros tornou maior [...] o nome de Portugal*).

⁶²⁸ The total figure of repeated visits is not known. Tickets for more than one visit had lower prices per visit than single tickets. The normal entry costed 2\$50. Free access during the all period of the exhibition would cost 200\$00. Large groups, over 200 people, had reduced prices (1\$50 per visitor); school groups and children paid half price. See *Exposição do Mundo Português - Guia Oficial*, Lisboa, 1940.

⁶²⁹ It must be kept in mind that the censorship was active in Portugal during the *Estado Novo* and therefore voices against the regime and against its events would not be allowed to be published.

⁶³⁰ NUNES, João Bastos - "Oito séculos de História (impressões de um visitante) - Descrição Minuciosa dos Pavilhões Históricos da Exposição do Mundo Português", in *Ecos de Belém*, s.d..

⁶³¹ For example, the article begins: "At *Belém*, embracing the sumptuous temple of *Jerónimos*, in the exact location of the ancient beach of *Restêlo*, was built in 1940, high and magnificent, the Exhibition of the Portuguese World, an event of a significant nationalistic character that was conceived in the patriotic spirit of a Great Portuguese: SALAZAR!". NUNES - *op.cit.*, p.1.

⁶³² The lists included: Humanities, Mathematics, History, Medicine, Anatomy, Teaching, Poetry, Music, Painting, Sculpture, Physics, Philosophy, Diplomacy, Botany, Laws and Theology.

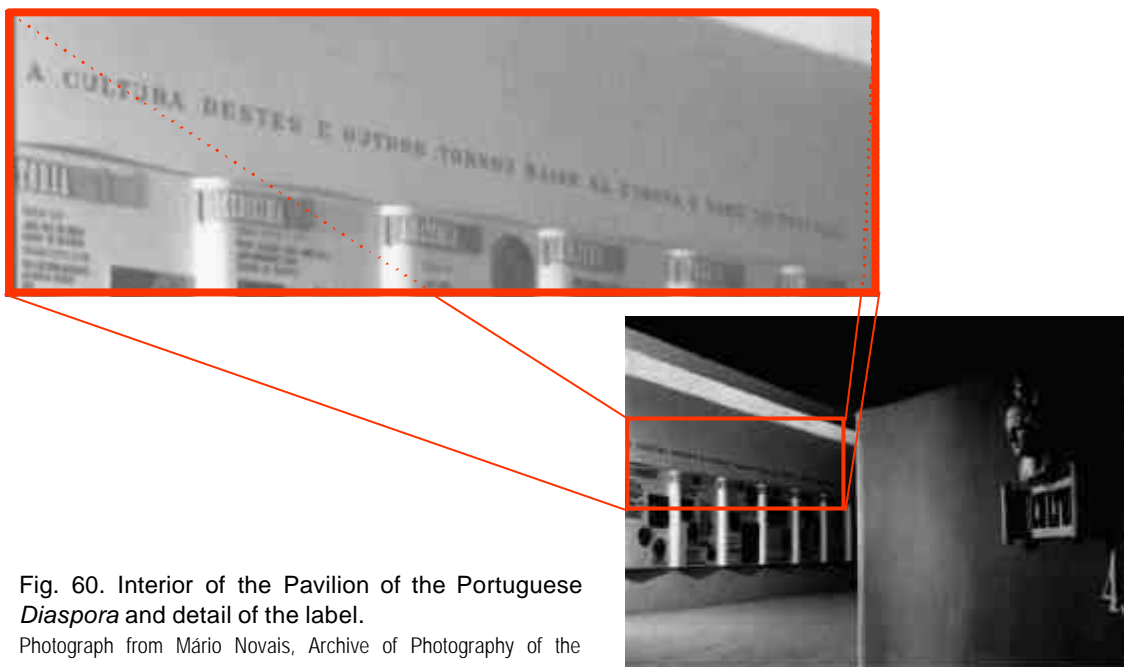


Fig. 60. Interior of the Pavilion of the Portuguese *Diaspora* and detail of the label.

Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

The next room was called "Faith and Sacrifice" and was about all Portuguese that had given their lives for their country. A very special mention was made of King *Sebastião*, and a monument was erected in memory of his very short life. The label identified D. Sebastião with fearlessness and honour, the two characteristics of Portuguese gentlemen. The same label had a moral conclusion saying⁶³³ that "Even today when we want to show someone the right way of honour we say *Be a man like D. Sebastião*".⁶³⁴

The room dedicated to the works of the *Estado Novo* (Portugal - 1940) had its own entry, in the South wing of the "Pavilion of the Portuguese in the World". This was a room organised by the governmental department of propaganda with the clear intention of publicising the achievements of the regime. The author of the article quoted above recognises this and states

⁶³³ Original text: "El-Rei D. Sebastião, símbolo da temeridade e do cavalheirismo português. Ainda hoje, quando queremos chamar alguém ao bom caminho da honra dizemos: «Sê homem como D. Sebastião.»".

⁶³⁴ It is necessary to explain this evocation of D. Sebastião in the context of the Portuguese History: D. Sebastião was the grandson of D. João III. His father died before he was born. So the young Sebastião was the last and only hope for the Portuguese royal family. He had a peculiar education and convinced himself that the future of the country was in the North of Africa and in the conquest of that region. He became King at the age of 14. Years later, against all advice, he prepared an army, invaded the North of Africa and suffered a tremendous defeat in *Alcácer Quibir* in 1578. The body of the young king was never recovered. So a legend began according to which D. Sebastião was not dead and claiming that he would come back to Portugal to save the country from all its problems, the major one being the annexation to the royal family of Spain once D. Sebastião had no descendants. One of the most peculiar descriptions of his character was written by Oliveira Martins (in *História de Portugal*, Lisboa, Guimarães e Cª Editores, 1977, 17ª ed.). The legend of the young king led to a "glorious" and pointless death by a sentiment of honour and tardy chivalry remained in the Portuguese tradition. Some of the most important Portuguese writers (Priest António Vieira or Fernando Pessoa) worked on this Portuguese characteristic of hoping for a hero that would come and change everything for the best. This sentiment is called *sebastianismo*.

that all visitors would recognise the great deeds of the *Estado Novo* after visiting this room.⁶³⁵ Entering the room the visitor had to face two statues: one of the President of the Republic and one of the Prime Minister. The labels on these statues were respectively: "I have always been a soldier, slave of duty and honour" (*Soldado fui sempre escravo do dever e da honra*); "To study with doubts and to carry out with Faith" (*Estudar com dúvida e realizar com Fé*). These were to symbolise the spirit of those two men: the President of the Republic as a guardian of all old and good traditions, the Prime Minister as the one who recognised the real problems of the country and dealt with them successfully.

In the next section of the room these characteristics of Salazar were again evident. A succession of drawings and photographs made the comparison between before and after the *Estado Novo*⁶³⁶ and it was made clear that the regime had changed a lot of what had been wrong in Portugal. Two quotations of Salazar marked this assertion: "It is characteristic of the Government not to promise - to do, not to begin - to accomplish." (*É timbre do Governo não prometer - realizar, não começar - fazer*); "Until now we have accomplished everything we had planned." (*Até agora temos realizado tudo o que nos havemos proposto*).

The ideas about social relations and social structure of Portuguese society were presented in seven text panels with allusive drawings that explained the main ideas of the regime. One of the panels was about the family, which was considered to be the 'root and flower' of the *Estado Novo* and one of the basic structures of the regime.⁶³⁷ No parallel or competing social organisation was considered as important. For the State it was inconceivable that the union of a couple would occur without formal marriage, and the state would also not recognise divorce. In the family the man was the "head of the couple" (*cabeça de casal*) (which was a legal status) responsible for the welfare of the family.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁵ NUNES - *op.cit.*, p.3.

⁶³⁶ The themes of these draws and photographs were: care for the young children; harbours and naval capacity; national monuments; fisheries; roads and other means of transport; primary and secondary schools; agriculture; theatre and culture; houses and popular low rate facilities to buy a house; mail and telecommunications.

⁶³⁷ "God, Motherland and Family" (*Deus, Pátria e Família*) were three fundamental structures of the *Estado Novo*.

⁶³⁸ This kind of mentality was deeply embedded in people's minds. E.g.: a sentence of a newspaper (*O Primeiro de Janeiro*, Porto, 1927/02/05) article published during a rebellion in Porto in 1927. The number of dead (civilians and militaries) was significant and a part of the city was almost destroyed. The journalist expresses his indignation because, during the battle, women who were at the windows observing what was going on, were injured or even killed. He wrote: "Why do men, who because of being men have superiority in command, not send them away from those places of death and force them to look for refuge at home?" (*Porque é que os homens, que por serem homens têm superioridade de mando, não as expulsam desses lugares de morte e as obrigam a refugiar nos lares?*).



Fig. 61. Interior of the Pavilion "Portugal - 1940".

The label above says "Social and Political Organisation of the Estado Novo"; the tree represents the pyramid of power and the images refer to working relations, family and social and political organisation.

Photograph from Novais (Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon).

Another panel was about the relationship between 'labour' and 'capital'. It stated that labour and capital are two sources of welfare that are equal and that must work together (*O Trabalho e o Capital, fontes de riqueza, são duas forças iguais e combinadas*). This was one of the basis of the corporative regime. There was no possibility of having an union of workers striking against an organisation of employers, because workers (labour) and employers (capital) of a particular sector had a common organisation where all questions should be discussed and solved. These organisations, called "Corporative Unions" (*Sindicatos Corporativos*) were supervised by the state in order to maintain the social peace, essential to the development of the country. This official discourse was represented in the exhibition on a wall where all corporative unions and other similar organisations were represented by their respective flags, forming an impressive sight.

A very significant panel was about the role of the leader of the country. The title read "The Leader is the living image of the Nation" (*O Chefe é a imagem viva da Nação*). Salazar was the leader, obviously, and the message behind this sentence was evident: all Portuguese ought to follow the example of the leader, to imitate his nationalism, to work as hard as he worked, to celebrate the name of Portugal as strongly as he did, and to be extremely careful about expenses as he was. In other words, to devote their lives to their country as he did.

Finally, the last room was about finance, the golden image of the *Estado Novo*. It was introduced in the statement: "Portugal is a country of good accounts" (*Portugal é um país de boas contas*), meaning that since 1928 (the year Salazar embraced the ministry of finance) Portugal was producing at least as much as it was consuming. Below this sentence there was a list of figures, year by year, which proved the statement. On the walls, tables of figures informed the visitor about all sectors of the national economy, explaining the (right) decisions of the *Estado Novo*. Another message was very important: Portugal was independent, not only politically, but also economically. And economic independence was, in fact, as important as political independence. Portugal, because of Salazar, was no longer under the constraint of international finance. This situation was the best guarantee of a moral and political independence.⁶³⁹

Propaganda was overt in this room. The regime used the exhibition as a media of propaganda with no intention of hiding that fact. It was fundamental to the ideology of the regime to inspire nationalistic feelings in the citizens. One of the goals of this exhibition was to produce, or to consolidate, those feelings, not only among cultural elite, but amongst all Portuguese. Every Portuguese should be proud of being part of such a great Nation, capable of so important deeds in the past and predestined to so many glories in the future. This was the main message of the exhibition and of all commemorations of the centenaries.

The exhibition was indeed one of the main events of the *Estado Novo*, and one of the most important propagandistic event. Not only did the *Estado Novo* use it during the months of the exhibition but also afterwards. An important example of this propagandistic use of the exhibition is a book that was published in 1957 about the event. This book was published by the SNI, a governmental department of propaganda. The book begins with the transcription of two main speeches delivered in the official opening ceremony (on 23/06/1940): the one from Duarte Pacheco who was the Minister of Public Works, and the other from Augusto de Castro. The rest of the book are photographs of the exhibition. An introductory text affirms that the exhibition would remain in the Portuguese memory.⁶⁴⁰

The period that ended in 1940 with the Great Exhibition was the golden age of the *Estado Novo*: Salazar achieved important success in the financial and economic fields: the country

⁶³⁹ Two labels marked these points: " *O saneamento da dívida pública deu-nos o desafogo da tesouraria...* "; " *O equilíbrio financeiro está na base do resurgimento português* ".

⁶⁴⁰ *Mundo Português: imagens de uma exposição histórica*, Lisboa, edições do SNI, 1957.

changed for the best and large investments were made into public works; the colonies were an important source of raw material and a good market for the young Portuguese industry, the international situation was favourable. The *Estado Novo* had to face little internal political opposition as a large majority of the population was with the regime or, at least, not actively against it. Everything changed with the Second World War and the *Estado Novo* never had another moment of 'pure glory' as seen at the 1940 Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World. The regime had succeeded in other propagandistic events before, and achieved other interesting moments after this exhibition, but the 1940 exhibition remained as 'the' event.

7.2 - Other main temporary exhibitions.

During the *Estado Novo*, temporary exhibitions were used as a means of political and ideological propaganda, as the exhibition of 1940 clearly demonstrates. It is also important to bear in mind that temporary exhibitions were not an invention of the *Estado Novo*. In the nineteenth century, following the European and American trend, Portugal participated in international exhibitions hosted in European and American cities. Some important events of this kind also took place in Portugal.⁶⁴¹ The participation of Portugal in international exhibitions created a tradition of such events in the country. Internally, participation was seen (at least by the intellectual elite) as a matter of national pride.⁶⁴² The colonial theme of some of these events was particularly interesting to Portugal. Being recognised as an imperial country with undeniable rights to the overseas territories was one of the national objectives. The international situation and the foreign pressures over Portuguese colonies reinforced the necessity of presenting the country as a powerful, vast and historically solid Empire. This way of presenting Portugal lasted until the *Estado Novo*, when it was reinforced by the nationalistic policy of the regime. As a consequence, Portugal continued to participate in the main international exhibitions during the first half of the 20th century, presenting itself (by rights of historic discovery and occupation) as a colonial

⁶⁴¹ It is, for example, the case of the "International Exhibition of Industry of Porto" (*Exposição Internacional de Indústria do Porto*) that opened to the public in September 1865. See SANTOS, José Coelho dos - *O Palácio de Cristal e a Arquitectura do Ferro no Porto em meados do século XIX*, Porto, Fundação Eng. António de Almeida, 1989.

⁶⁴² About the Portuguese presence in international exhibitions during the second half of the 19th century see GREENHALGH, Paul - *Ephemeral Vistas. The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and world's Fairs, 1851 - 1939*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1988, specially p.12-70.

Empire.⁶⁴³ Internally, some major exhibitions were organised during the *Estado Novo* as means of political and ideological propaganda⁶⁴⁴ and the number of such events was impressive.⁶⁴⁵

It is possible to gather these events in three main thematic groups as the *Estado Novo* emphasised three major domains of its propaganda in temporary exhibitions: the maritime discoveries and the Portuguese presence in the overseas provinces, the Portuguese rural and traditional popular life and the development of the country under the *Estado Novo* (industry, agriculture, roads and railways, culture and education and political peace and stability). Each temporary exhibition was meant to work as a propagandistic event in one or more of these themes, thus helping the *Estado Novo* to consolidate its power (*grosso modo* until the end of the Second World War) and to maintain that power (from the middle 1940s to the middle 1970s).

In the early 1930s two exhibitions, both about the colonies, took place in Lisboa: the 1931 exhibition was about Timor and the 1932 exhibition was about Guiné. The organisation of the catalogues for these two exhibitions was similar.⁶⁴⁶ First, there was an introduction to the colony, referring to the main aspects of its geography and economic potentialities; then, a list of its main manufactured produce (especially agricultural); and finally, a vast list of reference material about the colony, including maps. The two exhibitions were mounted in the beginning of a period in which the overseas territories were seen as major topics for Portuguese temporary exhibitions. As far as it is possible to understand from the scarce documentation still existing, the impact upon the public was not very significant. This is perhaps the result of the little propagandistic effort that had been made until then.

⁶⁴³ In the 1930s the Director of the MNAA was very active on what concerned both the participation of Portugal in the International Exhibition of Anvers and the Portuguese presence in the Exhibition of Paris.

⁶⁴⁴ In this chapter, some of the main temporary exhibitions with clear political, ideological or propagandistic intentions will be analysed. A vast number of other took place during the *Estado Novo*, organised by official entities. In some of these events it is possible to detect a political or ideological meaning, but it was not the main and declared intention of the exhibition. The number of such temporary exhibitions is so large that a complete research could be planned to fully understand their meaning, importance and significance. Clearly, that is not the plan of this research. For these reasons those exhibitions will not be systematically analysed in this thesis. Some references to international events and to minor temporary exhibitions will be made whenever necessary.

⁶⁴⁵ It is of some interest to see a catalogue of the publications of the official department of propaganda (SNI), between 1933 and 1948. Between 1944 and 1955 the number of temporary exhibitions held in Portugal and organised by governmental departments is of more than one hundred. The complete collection of the catalogues of temporary exhibition published by the SNI is available at the Library of the Museum of *Chiado* (Lisboa). In this chapter exhibitions will be presented in a chronological sequence, in order to enable a comprehensive vision of the all period.

⁶⁴⁶ *Exposição de Timor - Catálogo*, Lisboa, Museu Colonial, Sociedade e Geografia de Lisboa, 1931 and *Exposição da Colónia da Guiné - Catálogo*, Lisboa, Museu Colonial, Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, 1932.

Another major topic considered by the *Estado Novo* as a subject of temporary exhibitions was the Portuguese ability to finally overcome the long lasting economic and financial deficit and therefore to achieve progress. According to this idea, in 1932 a temporary exhibition about Portuguese Industry was mounted in Lisboa in a vast public park (*Parque Eduardo VII*).⁶⁴⁷ This exhibition lasted for several months and had a clear intention of publicising the improvements of national industry. Another objective of the exhibition was to encourage the consumption of Portuguese products instead of imported ones. The catalogue of the exhibition stated: "To consume Portuguese products will have as a consequence the development of our industries; that progress will correspond to the enrichment of the country and its citizens".⁶⁴⁸ The Portuguese Government was aware that this sort of propaganda would be more useful if some pragmatic examples were given. Thus, the catalogue had a note about its process of production: all its materials were Portuguese and all work had been done by Portuguese workers.⁶⁴⁹ Finally, the *Estado Novo* used this exhibition to reinforce the message that would become one of the major principles of Salazar's economic policy: the richest nation is not defined by having the largest amount of money or gold in its reserves;⁶⁵⁰ rather, the economic power of a nation is the result of its capacity to be economically independent, that is, to produce what it needs inside its borders, importing as little as possible from other nations.⁶⁵¹

During 1933 and 1934 the theme of the colonial empire regained major importance and two significant events took place: the Colonial Imperial Conference (*Conferência Colonial Imperial*) and the First Congress of Commercial Relations with the Colonies (*I Congresso de Intercâmbio Comercial com as Colónias*). Although these were not exhibitions, they also contributed to the general trend of giving utmost importance to the colonies. They were also directly related to the First Portuguese Colonial Exhibition (*I Exposição Colonial Portuguesa*), which opened to the public on the 16th of June 1934 in Porto.⁶⁵² This exhibition proved to be a

⁶⁴⁷ *Exposição Industrial Portuguesa - Catálogo Oficial* - Lisboa, Imprensa do anuário Comercial, 1932.

⁶⁴⁸ Original text: "Consumir os produtos portugueses terá por consequência o desenvolvimento das nossas indústrias; e esse progresso equivalerá ao aumento da riqueza do país e dos seus cidadãos.". *Exposição Industrial ...*, page II.

⁶⁴⁹ *Exposição Industrial ...*, page CLXIV.

⁶⁵⁰ Yet one of the economic actions performed by Salazar was the enlargement of the reserves of gold, as soon as the national economic conditions allowed it.

⁶⁵¹ *Exposição Industrial...*, page I.

⁶⁵² See GALVÃO, Henrique - *Álbum Comemorativo da Primeira Exposição Colonial Portuguesa*, Porto, Litografia Nacional, 1934, the end of this Album includes several drawings of "natives" identified by name and region of origin. See also the official guide for visitors *Exposição Colonial Portuguesa - Guia Oficial dos Visitantes*, Porto, Mário Antunes Leitão e

major event. Its preparation had begun in 1931 and the original intention was to locate it in Lisboa. Yet, during 1932, the government decided that Porto should be the definitive location.

The premises of the Crystal Palace were the place chosen for the exhibition.⁶⁵³ It was said to be the perfect location⁶⁵⁴ as the gardens included vast spaces that could be arranged so as to look like the colonial territories. Lots of trees and abundance of shadows, long and wide alleys and a magnificent landscape,⁶⁵⁵ were the ideal conditions to mount the exhibition. The actual planning of the exhibition started on the 1st September 1933. The preliminary operations for adapting the gardens and the main building of the Crystal Palace began in January 1934. On the 16th June 1934 the exhibition was ready to open to the public.

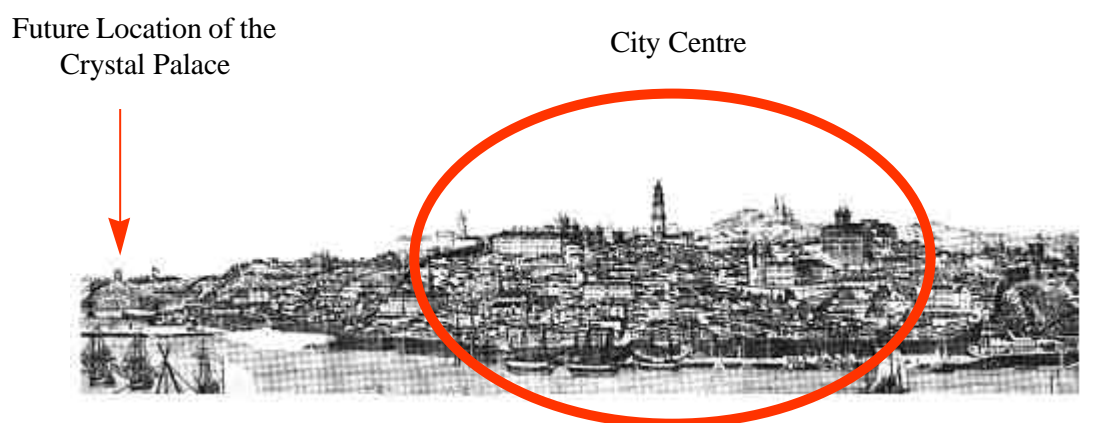


Fig. 62. Partial aspect of Porto in 1791 (taken from Gaia) with future location of the Crystal Palace

Vitorino Coimbra editores, 2^a ed., 1934.) See also a collection of photographs *Álbum fotográfico da 1^a Exposição Colonial Portuguesa - 101 clichés fotográficos de Alvão - Porto, fotógrafo oficial da Exposição Colonial*, Porto, Litigrafia Nacional, s.d.). Finally, the complete collection of photographs taken by the official photographer (Alvão) is available at the *Centro de Fotografia do Porto*.

⁶⁵³ The Crystal Palace of Porto was built in the 19th century and was ready for the International Exhibition of Industry that opened in 1865. But the maintenance of such a building was a precarious balance and by the end of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th the Palace went through significant degradation. Finally in the beginning of 1934 the local authorities of Porto bought the building and its gardens. The intention was to save the Palace and the Colonial Exhibition contributed for that purpose. In fact, one of the most traditional newspapers of Porto (*O Tripeiro*, n° 9, Janeiro de 1952, V Série, ano VII, p.200) refers to the exhibition as one of the most important events that had taken place in the Crystal Palace. See SANTOS - *op.cit.*, specially p.345-346 and 359-363.

⁶⁵⁴ GALVÃO, Henrique - *p.cit.*, p.9.

⁶⁵⁵ About the importance of the Crystal Palace in the temporary exhibition that took place in Porto, see BARROS, Alexandre Ferreira - "O Palácio de Cristal nas Exposições do Porto", in *O Tripeiro*, Setembro de 1956, p.153-155. The Crystal Palace was demolished in 1951 for the construction of a new building that opened to the public in 1952 with an Exhibition of Agriculture.

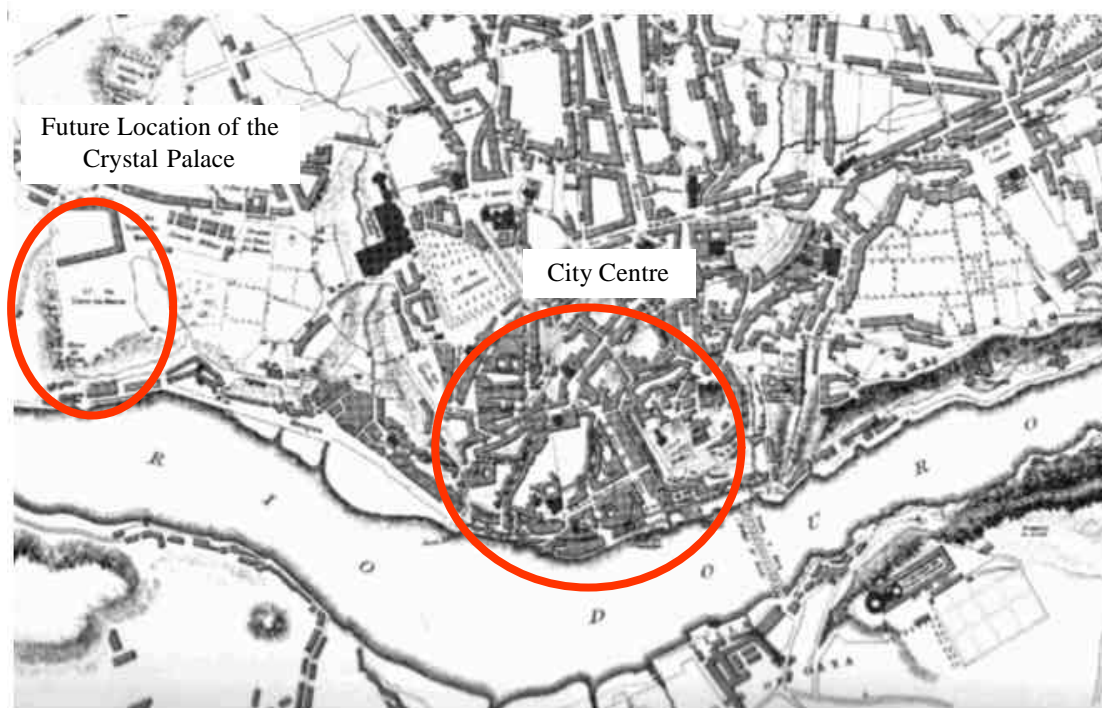


Fig. 63. Plan of Porto in 1833 (partial) with future location of the Crystal Palace

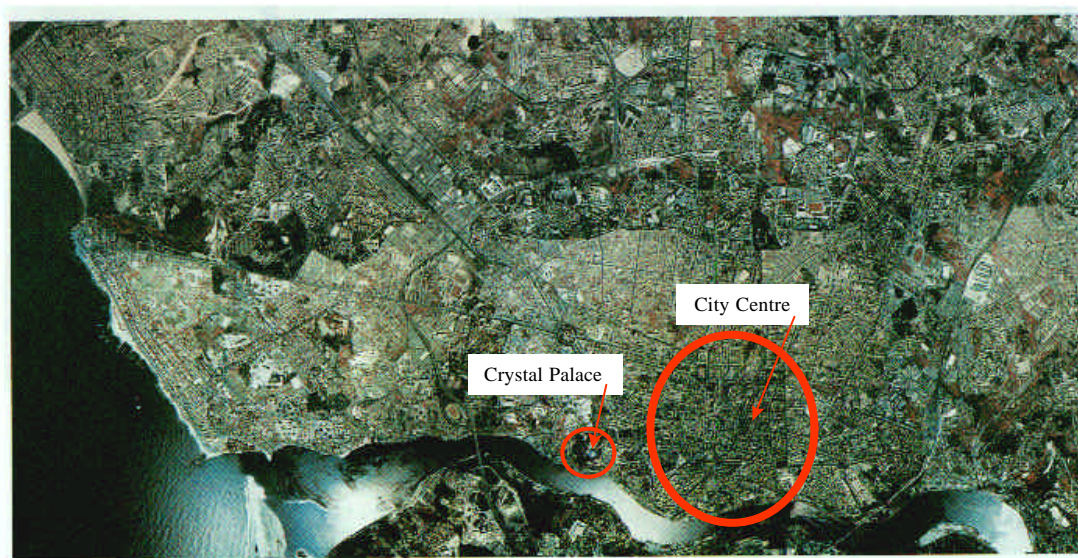


Fig. 64. Aerial photograph of Porto (1990) with location of the Crystal Palace



Fig. 65. Partial Plan of Porto (1993) with location of the Gardens of the Crystal Palace.

The grey spots mark the limits of the protected historic area; the grey line marks the limits of UNESCO's classification as world heritage.



Fig. 66. Main entrance of the Crystal Palace (original building).

The exhibition was divided into two main sections: the official section and the private section. The first one was undoubtedly the core of the exhibition. It included fifteen major sub-sections that corresponded to different areas:⁶⁵⁶ history (dating from 1415); Portuguese Colonial enterprise of the last forty years; ethnographic representation;⁶⁵⁷ army representation; monuments; zoological park; official theatre; official cinema; bureau of information; mail and telegraph; colonial

⁶⁵⁶ GALVÃO - *op.cit.*

⁶⁵⁷ Henrique Galvão affirms that each colony sent some of its natives that lived in traditional villages, keeping their habits and traditional ways of living during the exhibition. GALVÃO - *op.cit.*, p.19.

bookshop; medical assistance to the natives; hall for art exhibitions, conferences and congresses; official stands for tasting colonial products; restaurant for the staff of the exhibition. The private section only included an industrial exhibition, commercial areas consigned to private business and some fair attractions. Each section was meant to give an important contribution to the core message of the exhibition: the colonies were an important and inseparable part of the Portuguese nation by reasons of history and of social, economic and cultural links.

The grounds of the Crystal Palace were transformed into a miniaturised Portuguese Colonial Empire: the tropical forest, the desert, a road in Angola, typical villages from all the colonies, and many other reconstructions gave the visitor a *grand tour* of the Portuguese colonial possessions. A colonial house from Angola was rebuilt and several pavilions were dedicated to each colony. A lake was created there and was used for the presentation of some of the places where water was a fundamental piece of the natural environment, such as the archipelago of the *Bijagóz* in Guiné.⁶⁵⁸



Fig. 67. Recreated archipelago of the *Bijagóz* (Guine) (Porto, 1934)

Photograph from Alvão (*Álbum fotográfico da 1ª Exposição Colonial Portuguesa - 101 clichés fotográficos de Alvão - Porto, fotógrafo oficial da Exposição Colonial*, Porto, Litografia Nacional)

⁶⁵⁸ The following photographs were taken by Alvão, the official photographer of the exhibition and are kept in the *Centro de Fotografia do Porto*. They were also published in *Álbum fotográfico*....



Fig. 68. Native village of Mozambique (Porto, 1934)

Photograph from Alvão (*Álbum fotográfico da 1ª Exposição Colonial Portuguesa - 101 clichés fotográficos de Alvão - Porto, fotógrafo oficial da Exposição Colonial, Porto, Litigrafia Nacional*)

The main building of the Crystal Palace was transformed into the "Palace of the Colonies" (*Palácio das Colónias*): the central hall received the official exhibition (on the subjects of harbours, railways, religious missions, health and hygiene) representing all the achievements in the colonies of which Portugal was proud. In this central area it was also possible to find displays about native art and ethnographic objects.



Fig. 69 and 70. Main hall of the Crystal Palace during the exhibition (Porto, 1934)
 Photograph from Alvão (*Álbum fotográfico da 1ª Exposição Colonial Portuguesa - 101 clichés fotográficos de Alvão - Porto, fotógrafo oficial da Exposição Colonial, Porto, Litografia Nacional*)

Along the right wing it was possible to visit stands representative of private enterprises from the colonies whereas along the left wing stands representative of private enterprises from the European territory. The main building was also used for providing other facilities such as a bar, an indoor theatre, a hall for receptions, public telephones, public toilets and administrative spaces. The visitor would get some help in finding his way around the exhibition by using the "Official

Visitor Guide".⁶⁵⁹ This guide described the exhibition in detail, display by display, mentioning both what was in the building and what was outside. It included photographs of the main exhibits and suggested a path through the exhibition. It also included a complete list of the private enterprises represented in the exhibition and some pages with advertisements. It also provided a map of the gardens with the exact location of the main attractions and a detailed plan of the main building.

The last day of the exhibition ended with a spectacular parade, the "Colonial Parade" (*Cortejo Colonial*), which marched past the streets of the city. This parade included not only people from all the colonies but also from the continental provinces. It was organised as an ethnographic train with the intention of showing the whole of Portugal. Men and women, animals and allegoric vehicles, representing the different provinces of the European territory and the overseas colonies, passed through crowded streets and marked the closure of the exhibition.

The underlying ideological and political intentions can be perceived by an analysis of the layout of the exhibition, the kind of displays and the themes of the ensemble. In addition to this, the publications quoted above give more precise information on the matter. In the introductory text to the *Album* of photographs by Alvão, Henrique Galvão affirms that the number of visitors of the exhibition had been nearly one and a half million people. He then concludes that the exhibition was a success because, as he puts it, all the visitors returned home with the certainty that they "were not the citizens of a small country".⁶⁶⁰ In his publication dedicated to the exhibition, Galvão further explained the idea. In order to do so, a map of Europe with, overlaying the European territory, the areas of the Portuguese colonies, was on show in the exhibition and was reproduced in the publication. The title of the map - "Portugal is not a small country" (*Portugal não é um País pequeno*) - expressed the main idea of the exhibition. The areas of the

⁶⁵⁹ *Exposição Colonial Portuguesa - Guia Oficial dos Visitantes*, Porto, Mário Antunes Leitão e Vitorino Coimbra editores, 2ª ed., 1934.

⁶⁶⁰ *Álbum fotográfico ...*, p.4: "não eram habitantes de um país pequeno".

colonies, altogether, occupied an area almost equal to Europe.⁶⁶¹ Some quantitative data stressed this comparison, by giving totals of the sum of some of the areas of the biggest European countries side-by-side with the areas of Angola and Mozambique, for example.

From an ideological point of view, Galvão makes it perfectly clear that the exhibition in Porto was a consequence of a structured policy and of imperial political planning. The foundations of both, he refers, could be perceived in the Portuguese representation in the exhibition *Paris Coloniale Internationale*.⁶⁶² Galvão strengthens the importance of the Portuguese representation in that international exhibition as the first result of such imperial political thought.⁶⁶³ Further in his text he clearly explains that the exhibition of Porto was the direct result of the policy the Portuguese government had been laboriously developing since 1926. Its strength depended on three fundamental achievements: political and social order, economic and financial order, and colonial order.⁶⁶⁴

In such discourse Galvão's words were the image of the regime. In the 1930s, as well as in the beginning of the century, Portugal had to face international menace over its African colonies.⁶⁶⁵ The Portuguese policy during this decade and in face of the menace of another world war, included an important activity of propaganda. It aimed at establishing at both national and international level, the certainty that Portugal was a vast and stable country, with both European and overseas territories. This was meant to be an indisputable assertion, and one which no one

⁶⁶¹ The areas of the Portuguese territories were (in Km²):

Territories	Areas
European Continental Territory	92.076
Angola (Africa)	1.246.700
Moçambique (Africa)	783.030
Guiné (Africa)	36.125
Timor (Asia)	14.926
Cabo Verde (Africa)	4.032
Estado da Índia (Asia) (Goa, Damão and Diu)	4.194
Açores (Europe)	2.314
S. Tomé e Príncipe (Africa)	963
Madeira (Europe)	797
Macau (Asia)	16
Total area	2.185.173

in SILVA, J. R. - *Mapa de Portugal Insular e Ultramarino*, Lisboa, Editorial Organizações Lda, 1971.

⁶⁶² GREENHALGH - *op.cit.*, p.68-71.

⁶⁶³ See GALVÃO - *op.cit.*, p.7.

⁶⁶⁴ See GALVÃO - *op.cit.*, p.13.

⁶⁶⁵ See Chapter 3. It is important to reaffirm that the Portuguese policy towards the colonies had been stable, at least ever since the Republican Revolution.

had the right to challenge or change. The First Colonial Exhibition was the result of such propaganda, which was meant to have both internal and external impact.

Several different aspects of the Portuguese presence in the overseas territories were the object of other smaller temporary exhibitions. For example, in 1936 an exhibition on native art took place from 19 to 29 April, a week dedicated to the colonies (*Semana das Colónias*) organised by the Lisbon Society of Geography (*Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*). The objects on display were works of art collected in Africa. The catalogue listed the specimens giving only the original name and the Portuguese translation. This was solely an exhibition based on aesthetics with no anthropological interpretation of the objects. The introductory text of the catalogue is quite clear on this matter: it affirms that the Portuguese had never destroyed native art and that, on the contrary, they had always had the capacity for appreciating and understanding it.⁶⁶⁶ This was presented as something the Portuguese should be proud of. The deep interest in African art and other subjects related with the overseas territories, led to several small temporary exhibitions of this kind. The Portuguese cultural elite was convinced of the fundamental importance of Portugal in Africa. This idea integrally matched with the political and ideological propaganda elaborated by the *Estado Novo* and helped in achieving its goals.⁶⁶⁷

In 1936, ten years after the revolution of the 28th May 1926, Salazar and the staff of the *Estado Novo* decided that it was the right time to commemorate its foundation. One of the initiatives for celebrating this anniversary was the organisation of an exhibition in which the achievements of the dictatorship and of the *Estado Novo* would be on display.⁶⁶⁸ These 'achievements' would be the proof that the revolution had been successful and that therefore there was a reason to continue. In order to organise the exhibition the "National Union" (*União Nacional*)⁶⁶⁹ asked for material, on behalf of the *Estado Novo*, from all kinds of institutions, including museums. The Museum of *Abade de Baçal* in Bragança, for instance, received a letter sent on 2nd October 1936 from the government department in charge of museums requesting a detailed list of all the changes that had been made in the museum since May 1926. Figures and

⁶⁶⁶ *Exposição de Arte Gentílica - África Portuguesa*, Lisboa, Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, 1936..

⁶⁶⁷ Another important example of the time is the "First Economic Conference of the Colonial Empire" (*I Conferência Económica do Império Colonial*), also organised in 1936.

⁶⁶⁸ It is not worth mentioning all the initiatives related with the anniversary, because they had limited political or ideological intentions. The "National Exhibition of Typical Cloths" (*Exposição Nacional de Trajes Regionais*), which was held in Lisboa from May 16th to June 14th 1936, is an example of those.

statistical data which would enable a qualitative and quantitative evaluation of such changes were also requested as well as photographs of the museum and the name of someone who would be willing to act as a link between the museum and the organisers of the exhibition. The letter specified that no graphics, charts or diagrams were needed because the elaboration of those was a task for the commission in charge of the exhibition. All the interpretation and the public presentation of the material was centralised and controlled in a very strict manner. The letter explained that the main objective of the exhibition was the presentation of the services and of the achievements of the National Revolution of 1926.⁶⁷⁰ The Museum seems to have failed to meet some of the demands, because some months later another letter was sent from the same government department. It insisted on the urgent need for photographs (at least one) showing buildings recently constructed or objects recently bought that would clearly demonstrate the progress of the museum since 1926.⁶⁷¹ This example clearly demonstrates the way the *Estado Novo* wanted the exhibition to be a statement of the great benefits of the Revolution for Portugal. This political event was an important step for the consolidation of the regime.

As the above examples illustrate, during this decade there were two main guidelines for the temporary exhibitions held by the Portuguese government: on the one hand, the firm proclamation of the Empire as one of the irreducible aspects of the Portuguese state; and on the other, the ideological and propagandistic use of the exhibitions as a means of consolidation of the *Estado Novo*. These two perspectives became evident in the early 1930s and remained perceptible until the end of the regime. In some particular moments, the two tendencies gathered for some especial events. Such was the case of some major exhibitions, held both within the national territory and abroad. This was the case for the participation of Portugal in the International Exhibition held in Paris in 1937. Portugal was presented there as a country that had overcome a very difficult financial and economic situation due to the intervention of a national 'hero' - Salazar. Other topics represented were the importance of the colonies and of popular traditions. One example of the latter was the presence of traditional popular boats: the Portuguese pavilions were set by the river which enabled the presence of some typical boats of the river Douro (the so called *rabelos*) traditionally used for the transportation of port from the production areas down the river, to the

⁶⁶⁹ This was the name of the only legal political party that existed during the *Estado Novo*.

⁶⁷⁰ The letter finally remarked that all the elements were very urgent and that the deadline was February the 15th.

⁶⁷¹ Letter (1936/05/04).

cellars in Vila Nova de Gaia. These boats were (and still are) a 'trade mark' of the Douro river, closely connected to popular traditions and to popular economic activities, as the work in the river⁶⁷² was a very important source of revenue.

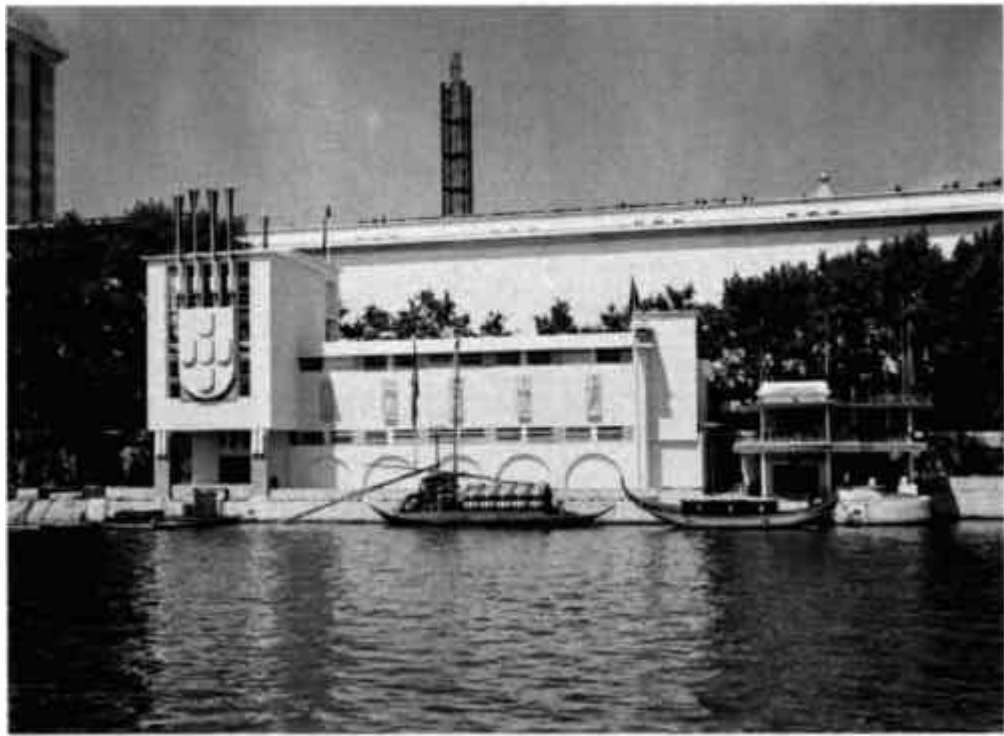


Fig. 71. Exterior of the Portuguese Pavilion with *barcos rabelos* (Paris, 1937)
 Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

In the Paris exhibition of 1937 the Portuguese Pavilion concentrated on the political organisation of the country as an opportunity for propaganda. The hierarchy of the State and the reorganised model of political structure settled by the Constitution of 1933 were presented as very important improvements. The role of Salazar, as prime minister, was a major one. He represented the Portuguese political organisation and was an incontestable leader ("*Le Chefe*").



Fig. 72. Scheme explaining the Portuguese political corporative structure (Paris, 1937). The image of a pyramid suggests hierarchy and order. *Le Chefe* is marked in red.

⁶⁷² For example the transport of wine, stones, sand and stone-coal; another important source of revenue was the fishing activity.

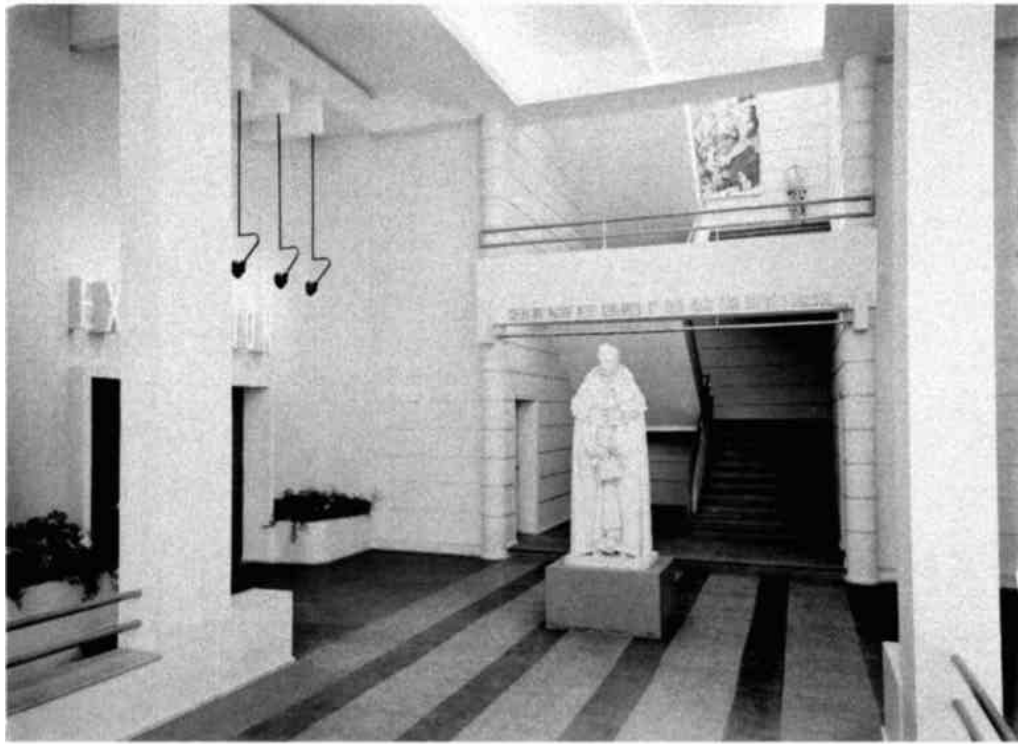


Fig. 73. Hall of the Portuguese Pavilion (Paris, 1937)

Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

At the main entrance hall there was a huge statue of Salazar in academic robes, which was an obvious reference to the respectable intellectual status of the Prime Minister (*Presidente do Conselho*). The title above the statue affirmed that it was possible for anyone to pass and see, even without admiring the leader (*Celui qui passe peut regarder et voir sans être obligé d'admirer.*) Different displays were mounted, which included aspects of Portuguese art, history, political organisation and economic and financial situation. These themes had a propagandistic purpose. For example, on the subject of finances, the display showed several graphs on the evolution of the economy and the main statement read "Portugal - a balanced country. Healthy Finances and their Consequences" (*Portugal Pays Équilibré. Finances Saines et leurs conséquences*).



Fig. 74. Interior of the finances room in the Portuguese Pavilion (Paris, 1937)
 Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

In the ethnographic displays traditional objects and artefacts were on view and typical scenes were recreated, such as a popular fair of the North of the country and a tavern where it was possible to listen to *fados*.⁶⁷³ The colonial perspective was there too: the main characteristics of each colony were represented by using photographs, charts and maps. Once again, the areas of the colonies were compared to the areas of the biggest countries of Europe by using a similar map to the one used in the colonial exhibition of Porto in 1934, previously mentioned.

⁶⁷³ *Fado* is a traditional song, especially appreciated in the region of Lisboa but frequently considered as the "national song". There are two main different types of *fado*: Lisboa's and Coimbra's. In Lisboa the *fado* is traditionally sang in taverns in the old and historic areas of the city. The lyrics of the songs are usually about destiny, love and tragedy.

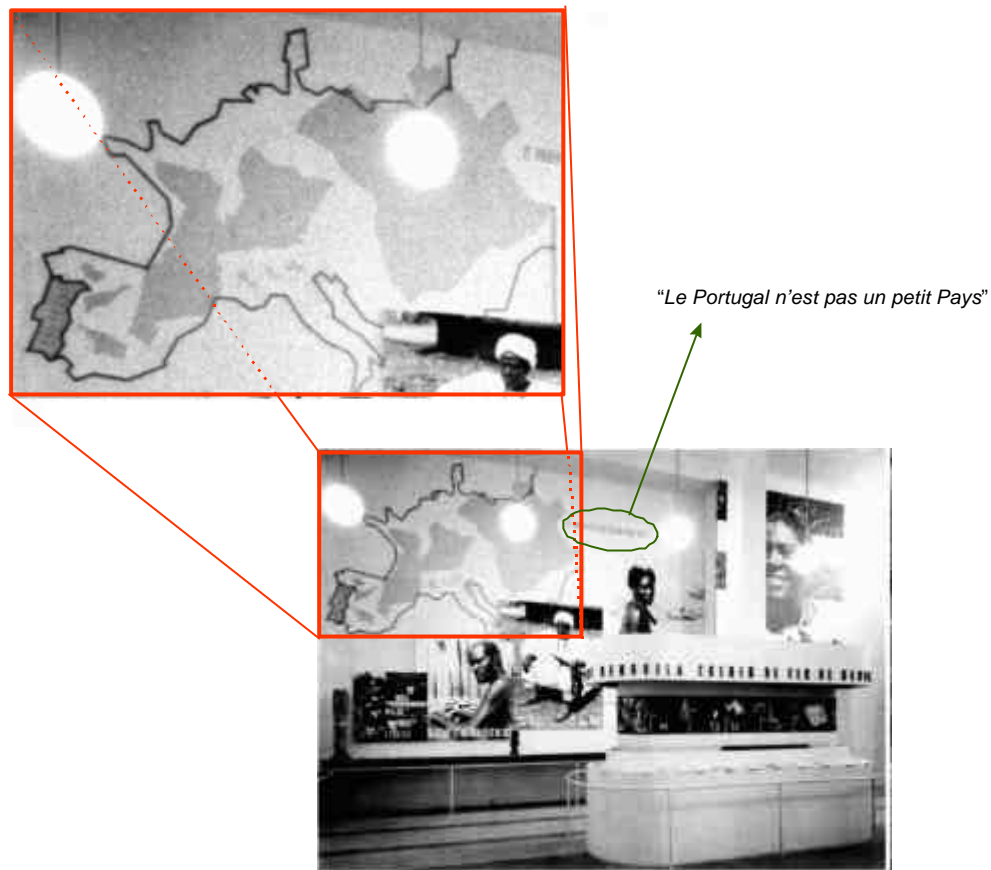


Fig. 75. Interior of the Colonies room in the Portuguese Pavilion, with detail of map (Paris, 1937)
 Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

In 1937 another temporary exhibition, which was about the colonies and the Empire, took place in Lisboa. It was the "Historical Exhibition of the Occupation" (*Exposição Histórica da Ocupação*). The preparation of this event began in 1936⁶⁷⁴ and it was the government's decision that all institutions (archives, libraries, museums, governmental departments) should help in the task of assembling the material needed for this exhibition. The government saw the event as fundamental because they considered that all Portuguese action and effort to colonise and occupy the overseas territories was a "glorious" history that was worth celebrating.

The exhibition was originally planned to focus on the period before the First World War and one of its major objectives was to show the Portuguese effort to assimilate the indigenous people.⁶⁷⁵ In December 1936, a decree specified that this exhibition of the Portuguese presence overseas should mention the military actions and efforts, the exploratory activity, the missionary

⁶⁷⁴ Decree 27.269 (1936/11/24).

⁶⁷⁵ Original text: "[...] *mostrar os trabalhos e acção dos portugueses para assimilação dos indígenas*".

practice and all other actions undertaken by the Portuguese.⁶⁷⁶ Side-by-side with the exhibition another two events were planned: the "First Congress of the History of the Portuguese Expansion in the World" (*1º Congresso da História da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo*) and an exhibition called "The Art and the Portuguese Expansion Overseas" (*A Arte e a Expansão Portuguesa Além-Mar*).⁶⁷⁷ Finally, the decree mentioned the "Historical Archive of Occupation" (*Arquivo Histórico da Ocupação*) and the "Museum of Ancient Art" (*Museu de Arte Antiga*) as the two institutions that could provide colonial objects and documents for these events. The exhibition opened to the public in June 1937 in the "Palace of Exhibitions" (*Palácio de Exposições*) of the *Parque Eduardo VII*.⁶⁷⁸ Various specimens of cartography and manuscript documents that illustrated the epoch of the maritime discoveries were on display. Once again the argument of the historical occupation as justification for the right of colonising was put forward. Ancient books related to the maritime discoveries and documenting all Portuguese activity overseas (especially the exploration of Africa and the activity of missionaries on the spread of Catholicism) were also displayed. The military actions in the overseas territories were documented by displaying miniatures of soldiers wearing different uniforms of different epochs and exhibiting their weapons and by showing real size mannequins wearing complete uniforms.⁶⁷⁹ As a whole, the exhibition was an encomium to the Portuguese presence in the colonies, establishing the rights of occupation with historical reasons (the maritime discoveries) alongside the benefits brought to the overseas territories by Portuguese activity and presence. Furthermore, the exhibition presented the Portuguese occupation as an act of civilisation, even if the armed force had sometimes been necessary. Portugal was established as an Empire: both by historical right and by association with the respectable task of spreading civilisation. These were the arguments underpinning the exhibition and this was the message to be understood and engraved in peoples' minds, thus shaping public opinion. Once again, ideology and propaganda were the main intentions of the exhibition.

In 1939, a temporary exhibition about the maritime activities of the north of the country was installed in the Crystal Palace of Porto. It was the "Maritime Exhibition of the North of

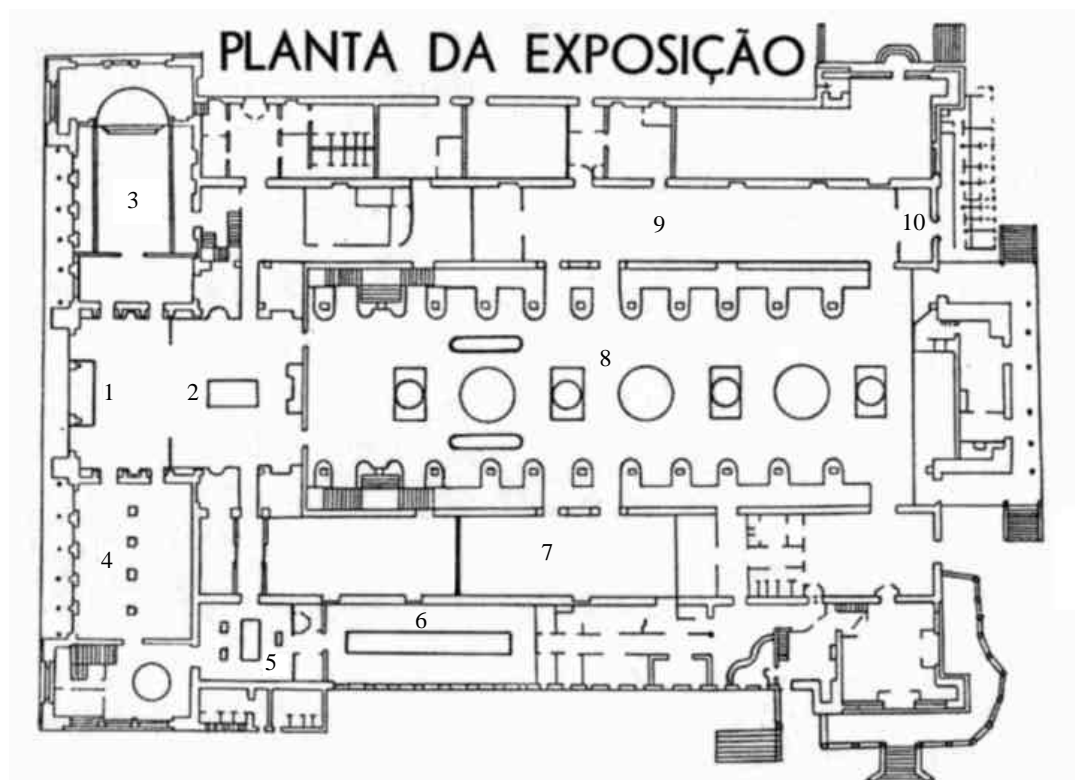
⁶⁷⁶ Decree 27.346 (1936/12/18).

⁶⁷⁷ This exhibition was to be prepared under the supervision of the director of the MNAA.

⁶⁷⁸ A large public park in Lisboa.

⁶⁷⁹ A collection of photographs about this exhibition was made by Mario Novaes and is available at the Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisboa.

Portugal" (*Exposição Marítima do Norte de Portugal*) and was organised by the Social Services of the Portuguese Legion.⁶⁸⁰ As Silva Leal, one of the heads of the organisation remarked, the exhibition was a manifestation of nationalism.⁶⁸¹ The main objectives were to illustrate how much Portugal cared for those who worked on the ocean and to celebrate all the work the *Estado Novo* had developed in the social field on behalf of fishing communities.⁶⁸² The exhibition occupied the main building of the Crystal Palace and was divided into several sections. The most important sections were: "Religion - Faith and Art" (*Religião - Fé e Arte*); "Nautical Sports and Fishing" (*Desportos Náuticos e Pesca Desportiva*); "Social Services of the Portuguese Legion" (*Acção Social da Legião Portuguesa*); "Corporative organisation of the fisheries" (*Acção Corporativa e Organização Corporativa das Pescas*); "People of Fisheries" (*Gente da Pescaria*); "The Ocean and the Coast" (*O Mar e a Costa*); "Commerce and Industry" (*Comércio e Indústria*).⁶⁸³



1 - Main entry; 2 - Religion - Faith and Art; 3 - Sports; 4 - Religious Art; 5 - Social Services of the Portuguese Legion; 6 - Corporative Organisations; 7 - People of Fisheries; 8 - The Ocean and the Coast; 9 - Commerce and Industry; 10 - Fishing as a sport. (Plan from the official Catalogue)

Fig. 76. Plan of the "Maritime Exhibition of the North of Portugal" (Crystal Palace, 1939).

⁶⁸⁰ These services were called *Serviços de Acção Social*. The Portuguese Legion was an organisation with a military profile devoted to the defence of the country and of the State.

⁶⁸¹ See LEAL, M. da Silva - "Razões" in *Exposição Marítima do Norte de Portugal - Catálogo Oficial*, Porto, Hernâni da Costa e C^a ed., 1939: "A *Exposição Marítima* é uma manifestação nacionalista".

⁶⁸² See LEAL - *op.cit.*: "Fez-se a *Exposição Marítima do Norte* (...) para mostrar quanto o *Estado Novo* tem feito no campo Social."

The content and the organisation of these sections is significant. Immediately after the main entrance the visitor would enter a room with a huge statue of Saint Peter in the middle. St Peter was a fisherman and the statue represented the throwing of nets, thus symbolising the 'fishing' of souls.⁶⁸⁴ All around the room there were several displays related with popular faith, including crosses, *alminhas*,⁶⁸⁵ altars and *andores*.⁶⁸⁶ The next room, to the right, was dedicated to religion and art. It was the most opulent room of the whole exhibition. The gold and silver on exhibition would have given the visitor the impression of being inside a treasury.⁶⁸⁷

The following room was dedicated to art and photography related to the fishing activities. From this room it was possible to enter the next section dedicated to the Social Services of the Portuguese Legion. This part of the exhibition had an obvious political intention, by displaying the evidences of the benefits of the *Estado Novo* to the fishing communities. Roads, affordable and comfortable houses, public water distribution and other improvements were presented as the deeds of the *Estado Novo*. The ideological tone of this section continued in the adjacent room which was about the corporative organisation of the country and particularly of the fishing activities.⁶⁸⁸

The main hall housed "The Ocean and the Coast" section where all activities related with the Atlantic Sea were represented. Maps of the harbours and of the shoreline, photographs taken both from the land and from the air, stuffed fishes representing the most common and the most

⁶⁸³ The main sections were referred in the plan of the exhibition published in *Exposição Marítima do Norte de Portugal - Catálogo Oficial*, Porto, Hernâni da Costa e C^a ed., 1939.

⁶⁸⁴ This is the explanation that can be read in the official catalogue of the exhibition.

⁶⁸⁵ *Alminhas* are niches usually in walls, on the border of footpaths or roads indicating dangerous places or the location where someone died. People light candles, bring flowers and stop to pray near these altars.

⁶⁸⁶ An *andor* is a wooden framework to carry statues in a procession. It is carried by four, six or even eight men. The tradition in fishing villages is that the statue goes on a journey on a fishing boat so that the Ocean 'behaves' during the next year.

⁶⁸⁷ The official catalogue refers to this room in such an enthusiastic paragraph that the reader almost has the sensation of actually being inside a treasury.

⁶⁸⁸ Among other objectives, the corporative organisation of productive activities intended to put an end to all disputes between Capital and Labour. The *Estado Novo* wanted to convince the people that this was the most interesting option for everybody, and therefore for the country as a whole.

rare species fished. Boats, miniatures and models⁶⁸⁹ were also on display. As a whole, the intention was to represent the success of the Portuguese Northern shore fishing and other related economic activities. Another room contained exhibitions on the people of the region; traditional clothes, everyday objects, plans of typical houses, some more models and miniatures of working scenes, all were intended to give the visitor a general idea about the way of life in fishing communities.

The left wing of the building had a section on Commerce and Industry, which were associated with the fishing activity because it had led to the growth of the cannery industry. Such industries were concentrated in a few places and became of major importance to the local economy. A significant part of the catch went directly to the canning industry and a network of commercial distribution became necessary. Thus one of the policies of the *Estado Novo* was the promotion of this national production and of the consumption of canned sardines and tuna fish.⁶⁹⁰ This section of the exhibition tuned in with this purpose. It is also important to mention another two rooms dedicated to sports. One was about fishing as a sport. It was not a very important section of the exhibition but some attention was drawn upon this leisure activity. Another, having access from the entrance room, was about several other water sports.

Portuguese state propaganda was not confined to the national territory. The *Estado Novo* also felt the need to convince others of the benefits of its policies. In 1939 Portugal was present at the International Exhibition in San Francisco (California) and this opportunity was used to present to the world what the country had turned into, in terms of institutional organisation, financial recovery and economic balance. The ideas used in this exhibition were not of great originality and some of the labels, translated into English, were the same that had been used two years before in Paris. The internal organisation of the state, alongside the theme of financial recovery, were, once again, two of the major topics of the *Estado Novo* external propaganda. One of the first panels of the exhibition was titled "Portugal Land of Well Balanced Affairs".

⁶⁸⁹ One of the models on display was about the way codfish was salted and dried. Codfish used to be one of the most popular and affordable food in Portugal, it was even called the "faithful friend" (*o fiel amigo*) because if there was not enough money to buy meat, it might be possible to buy codfish.

⁶⁹⁰ During the World Wars canned food (sardines, tuna and anchovies) had an important role, both on what concerned feeding the troops in the First World War and having private reserves at home when Portugal was under the threat of bombings.

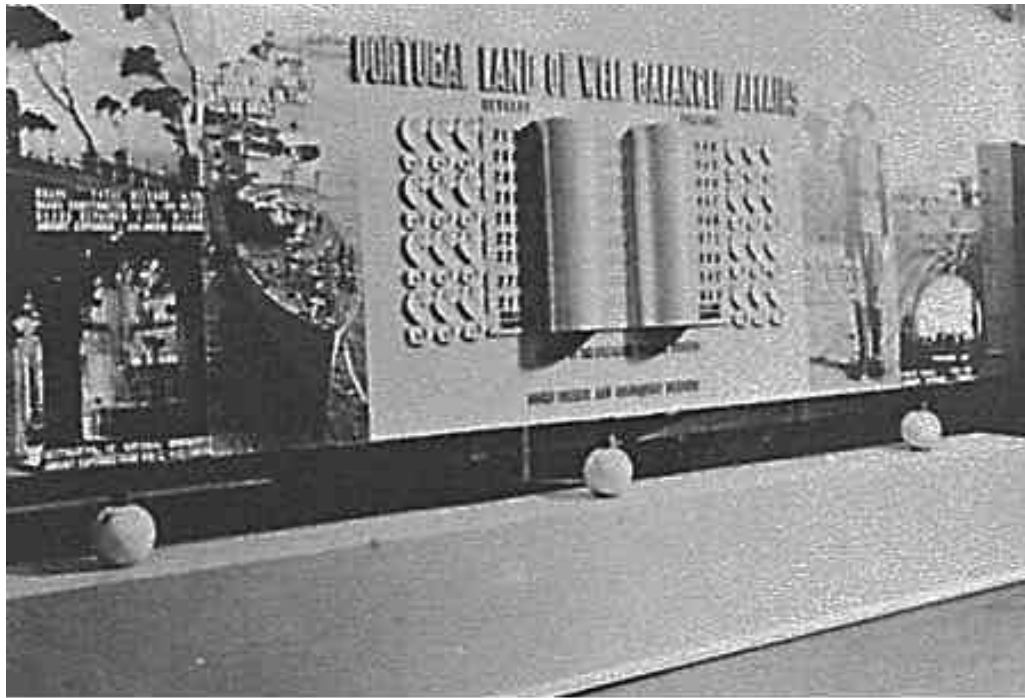


Fig. 77. Main entrance to the Portuguese Pavilion (S. Francisco, 1939)
 Photograph from Mário Novais, National Archive of Photography, Lisbon.

The display inside the pavilion told the visitor that Salazar's policies had changed the country for the better and that Portugal was no longer the diplomatically weak, disorganised, internationally and internally owing economy of a decade before.

The idea of a pyramid, like the one used in the Paris exhibition, to evidence the new political organisation of the country was not abandoned. A large scheme of the main Portuguese institutions with the title: "Scheme of the organization of the Portuguese NEW STATE" was on display at the entrance of the exhibition. It is interesting to observe the existence of a "Head" of the regime. The "Head" connected with the Government, the Assembly and the Tribunals, and clearly controlled the all system. This "Head" was, obviously, Salazar.

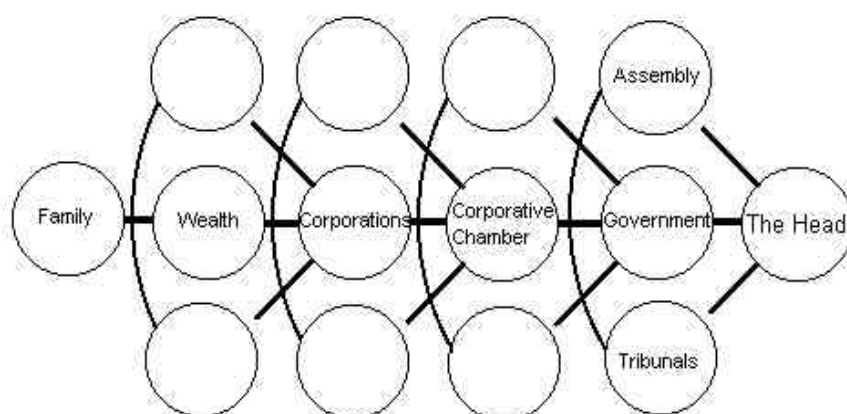


Fig. 78 and 79. "Scheme of the organization of the Portuguese New State" (S. Francisco, 1939)

Photograph from Mário Novais, National Archive of Photography, Lisbon.

The quality of the photograph does not allow the reading of all the scheme. The diagram represents what can be read from the original photograph.

In September 1940 the Crystal Palace received another exhibition. It was the "Ethnographic Exhibition of *Douro Litoral*"⁶⁹¹ together with the "Second Harvest Fair" (*Exposição Etnográfica do Douro Litoral e II Feira das Colheitas*). Once again the building was chosen for its display potential, and because it was one of the very few buildings in Porto that could receive such an event. The ethnographic characteristic of the exhibition was in absolute harmony with the policy and desires of the *Estado Novo*: Portugal was a reunion of differences, a mosaic of characteristics. National unity found part of its strength in diversity.⁶⁹² Such an argument could be, and actually was, extended to the overseas territories.⁶⁹³ This kind of exhibition was a powerful instrument to strengthen these arguments and that must have been a strong reason for the *Estado Novo* to be associated with them.

During the most difficult years of the Second World War few exhibitions were organised. Only in the second half of the 1940s did the *Estado Novo* return to the policy of organising national exhibitions with evident ideological and political objectives.⁶⁹⁴ This new era of national exhibitions began in 1947 with two major events: the festivities organised to celebrate the eight

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Fig. 80. Map of Portugal with location of *Douro Litoral*

Douro Litoral (dark blue in the map) is the region crossed and influenced by the river Douro (light blue in the map) near the Atlantic, some 60 Km East/West and 50 Km North/South.

⁶⁹² There was a children's puzzle produced by *edições Majora* consisting of a map of the European Portuguese territory that could be separated into different pieces according to the administrative and ethnographic 'frontiers'. Each piece had representations of traditional clothes, natural products, typical food and popular houses. The 'lesson' was that Portugal was a reunion of differences and that that reunion was a successful one.

⁶⁹³ See Chapter 7.1 about the Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World.

⁶⁹⁴ As an exception Portugal participated in the Exhibition of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) in 1942. The Portuguese representation was minor if compared with other International Exhibitions. Another minor exhibition was organised in Lisboa by the end of the 1930s called "Ancient Lisboa" (*Lisboa Antiga*). There is a set of photographs in the National Archive of Photography in Lisboa.

centuries of the conquest of Lisboa⁶⁹⁵ and the exhibition "14 years of spirit policy" (*14 anos de política do espírito*)⁶⁹⁶ which took place at the *Palácio Foz*, in Lisboa.

The conquest of Lisboa was a very important historical date for the *Estado Novo*. It marked the symbolic moment when D. Afonso Henriques finally gained complete control over the northern part of the territory. In fact the river Tejo and its defensive fortresses were the last natural frontier between Christians and Muslims. When the Tejo was finally taken, all the southern territory was open to the Christian forces.⁶⁹⁷ This military victory made it possible for the king and his forces to conquer more land. This was not only greed for more land, it was also imperative for D. Afonso to succeed in the war against the Muslims to be recognised as king by the Pope.⁶⁹⁸ Therefore, the conquest of Lisboa was a major objective in his policy.

The city of Lisboa did not become the capital of the kingdom until the middle of the fourteenth century, and since then no other city has had that status. The belief that Lisboa was one of the main symbols of Portuguese independence was evident, during the war with Castilla between 1383-85. The Castillian army always had Lisboa as the final objective of its campaigns. Historically and culturally Lisboa was 'the' city.⁶⁹⁹ Therefore, in the 20th century, the commemoration of the conquest of the city was a national event with a political and ideological significance. The commemorations were about the



Fig. 81. Commemorative Poster of the exhibition of the Conquest of Lisboa (1947).

⁶⁹⁵ Lisboa was conquered by D. Afonso Henriques in 1147/10/25 after more than four months of siege. Lisboa was an important military and commercial city. Negotiations led by the bishop of Porto (D. Pedro Pitões) with some crusades who were passing by (going to the middle east via Atlantic) brought important help to the Portuguese King.

⁶⁹⁶ The name of this exhibition is a difficult one to translate. In essence it means the commemoration of the 14 years (1933-1947) of the *Estado Novo* new policy concerning nationalism and national values.

⁶⁹⁷ D. Afonso Henriques conquered a vast area to the South before his death. His son, D. Sancho I, found great difficulties in keeping this territory and his successors felt the same problems. Only in 1249, did D. Afonso III conquer the kingdom of Algarve definitely.

⁶⁹⁸ That recognition only occurred in 1179 by the bull *Manifestis Probatum est*.

⁶⁹⁹ One of the Portuguese authors that better evidenced this aspect is Eça de Queirós in his romance *Os Maias* (QUEIRÓS, Eça de - *Os Maias*, Lisboa, Livros do Brasil, s.d., p.169 and following. There is an English translation from Patrícia McGowan Pinheiro and Ann Stevens, London, Bodley Head, 1965. Discussing about the importance of Lisboa one of the characters affirms that "Lisboa is Portugal" (*Lisboa é Portugal!*) meaning that all that really matters happens there.

conquest of the city and, at the same time, were about the existence and independence of Portugal as the oldest independent country of all Europe. Another significant aspect of these commemorations was the importance given to D. Afonso Henriques as the hero who made Portugal an independent country. The cult of historic heroes was one of the characteristics of the *Estado Novo*⁷⁰⁰ and this was an ideal opportunity to praise the conduct of D. Afonso Henriques.

The exhibition *14 anos de política do espírito*, mounted in the *Palácio Foz* in 1947, also had clear ideological and propagandistic objectives. Its title reveals precisely what it was about: it commemorated the fourteen years of cultural improvement with the impulse created by the *Estado Novo*. The SNI organised the exhibition and a significant part of it was propaganda to the SNI itself. For the sake of illustration, it is interesting to quote two of the texts of the exhibitions. A title, exhibited above a showcase, where it was possible to see several books and other printed material, said that "the literary prizes of the SNI have already gathered an impressive anthology of modern Portuguese literature" (*Os prémios literários de SNI constituíram já uma antologia riquíssima da literatura portuguesa actual*). Another title, above a display showing photographs and other related material, stated "With cultural missions and travelling libraries the SNI brings its cultural program to the whole country" (*Com as missões culturais e as bibliotecas ambulantes o SNI leva o seu programa de divulgação cultural a todo o país*).⁷⁰¹ This activity of the SNI, developed by the *Estado Novo*, was part of the general plan to reduce illiteracy. The regime continued the policy of the First Republic and tried to provide basic education for all citizens by building schools in almost every village and by establishing a compulsory system of basic education for all children under fourteen years of age.

⁷⁰⁰ See Chapter 3.

⁷⁰¹ Photographs about this exhibition are in the archive of photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, in Lisboa, belonging to the collection of Mário Novais.



Fig. 82. One of the the SNI displays (exhibition "*14 anos da política do espírito*" - 1947)

Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.



Fig. 82. Interior of the ethnography room (exhibition "*14 anos da política do espírito*" - 1947)

Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

The exhibition included a vast number of displays. Ethnography was one of the main subjects, but leisure activities organised by the SNI, theatre, cinema and tourism were also mentioned. The Portuguese Youth (*Mocidade Portuguesa*) were also represented because its activities were seen as an important contribution to the cultural and physical development of the Portuguese children. An architectural competition, organised with the objective of developing and encouraging the traditional, popular and rural Portuguese architecture, was also included in the exhibition. The message of this exhibition was (as in previous exhibitions) that Portugal had gained significant benefits with the *Estado Novo* cultural policy.

The same way of presenting the regime is manifest in another temporary exhibition held in Lisboa in 1948. It was the "Exhibition of Public Works - commemorations of the 15 years (1932-1947)" (*Exposição de Obras Públicas - comemorações de 15 anos [1932-1947]*). Once again the regime was presented as the redeemer of the country. The exhibition aimed to prove that the *Estado Novo* had already accomplished important material results. The main areas in which the *Estado Novo* invested were transport development (roads, railways, bridges and maritime harbours both for commerce and for fishing boats) and public buildings (monuments and historic buildings and new constructions for the state services).

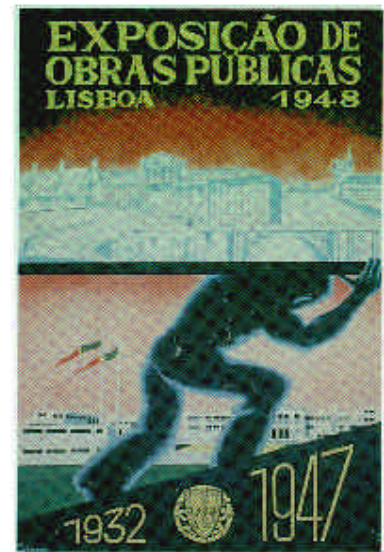


Fig. 84. Commemorative Poster of the exhibition of Public Works (1948)

During the late 1940s and the early 1950s the colonial theme was not forgotten. Temporary exhibitions hosted in Lisboa brought objects and other testimonies from Africa and, with them, the permanent presence of the overseas territories. In 1949 an art exhibition about Guiné was organised by the SNI.⁷⁰² The intention was to maintain the proximity between the "main land" and the colonies, at least amongst small but very important sectors of the population. In 1949 another art exhibition was organised. It was about "Black Art" (*Exposição de Arte Negra*)⁷⁰³ and one of the governmental departments for the colonies (*Agência Geral das Colónias*) was the responsible for the exhibition. Clearly, the *Estado Novo* had a very strong

⁷⁰² *Exposição sobre motivos da Guiné de Martins da Costa*, Lisboa, SNI, 1949. There are no figures available about the visitors to this exhibition, but its duration (less than a month) may indicate a low number of visits.

⁷⁰³ *Exposição de Arte Negra*, Lisboa, SNI, 1949.

interest in keeping the connection and the cultural interchange between the European territory and overseas. The political theory applied to the country⁷⁰⁴ was such that it made it fundamental for any Portuguese to feel the intimate relation between all the territories. And that 'intimacy' demanded cultural bounds that linked the provinces.

Another important area for the *Estado Novo* was the missionary activity in Africa and the Far East. During the maritime discoveries and the military campaigns in North Africa, Portugal had assumed the role of spreading "Faith" and "Civilisation". The *Estado Novo* did not reject that role; on the contrary, it was seen as one of the main tasks of the Portuguese people. In order to do so, Catholic missionary work in the overseas territories was seen as one of the most important deeds of Portugal and the State always supported such Church initiatives. In 1951 an exhibition on "Missionary Sacred Art" (*Exposição de Arte Sacra Missionária*) arrived in Lisboa after having been held in the Vatican and in Madrid.⁷⁰⁵ The exhibition included several sections about different regions (China, India, Vietnam, Japan, Central and South America) and had contributions both from Portuguese and Spanish missionary activity. It proved the strong presence of both countries in the overseas territories and approved the missionary action developed there.

From December 1951 to January 1952, the SNI organised another temporary exhibition about the colonies. The source of the material used was an excursion of the Portuguese Youth⁷⁰⁶ that had visited the Atlantic Islands and Angola. The impressions and recollections of that voyage gathered by José Amaro Júnior were the main 'collections' on display. The official view about Angola was represented in this exhibition. This official perspective could be adapted to all the other colonies, as Angola was the 'jewel of the crown' of the Portuguese colonies. What is interesting about this particular exhibition is that the propagandistic machine in Portugal did not waste the opportunity to present the official view. In fact, it is even possible that the journey was organised with the firm intention of mounting the exhibition.

In 1953 it was time again to celebrate: the occasion were the 25 years of Salazar's government. The exhibition was called "25 years of government of the Nation" (*25 Anos de*

⁷⁰⁴ See Chapter 3.

⁷⁰⁵ *Exposição de Arte Sacra Missionária - Catálogo*, Lisboa, 1951. The catalogue includes photographs of some objects on display.

⁷⁰⁶ This organisation had a department called "Imperial Formation" (*Formação Imperial*) that was responsible for the journey. *Exposição "Apontamentos de Viagem" de José Amaro Júnior*, Lisboa, SNI, Agência do Ultramar, 1952.

Governo da Nação). Salazar was one of the main subjects of the exhibition. The visitor was confronted with a huge photograph of the leader with the title "This man did not want to be Governor" (*Este homem não queria ser Governo*). The sentence is part of propaganda too: Salazar always proclaimed he had no interest in political power; he was prime minister only because of his sentiment of duty, not because of personal ambition. The conclusion was to be obvious: Salazar was prime minister because the country needed and wanted him; he was serving the country against his personal interest. After this 'clarification' the exhibition reflected the work of Salazar, while governor, represented in photographs, models and large panels with graphics. The themes were the development of industry, the stabilisation of finance, the development of education, the construction of harbours and airports, the effort to extend electricity to the whole country, and the colonial policy. The intention was for the visitor to leave the exhibition with the solid conviction that nobody could have done better for "the Nation".

These themes were also apparent in another exhibition held two years later in London. The effort Portugal had undertaken to improve its image of a culturally rich, economically important and diplomatically influential country side-by-side with other European countries, especially through the participation in international temporary exhibitions, was the theme of the exhibition "Portuguese Art 800 - 1800" that took place in the Royal Academy of London between October 1955 and February 1956. The exhibition included displays of all major kinds of art and fine art produced either in Portugal or by Portuguese artists. It included paintings, sculpture, sacred art, goldsmithery and furniture as main themes. Other objects, such as china, silver and cloth were present there too. The exhibition was organised in several reconstructions of antique interiors, each one representing an epoch or a historical period.⁷⁰⁷ The whole exhibition was intended to create the overall impression that Portugal was a rich and important country. The propagandistic intention was very clear. The message was that Portugal was taking good care of its history. History was seen as one of the basis of nationalism and historical remains of the past were seen as a sacred legacy. A nationalistic state should, therefore, be committed to the preservation of that legacy.

⁷⁰⁷ Photographs from Mário Novais are in the Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisboa.



Fig. 85. One of the rooms of the exhibition "Portuguese Art 800-1800 (London, 1956).
Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

The Crystal Palace of Porto was demolished in 1951. After the enormous success of the colonial exhibition in 1934, the building suffered some severe damages during the winter of 1941. Extraordinarily strong winds and heavy rain destroyed part of the construction and made its recovery an impossible task for the owners. Ten years elapsed without a solution and finally, in December 1951, the decision to demolish the building was taken and it began. Five years later, in October 1956, a new building was opened to the public with an "Exhibition of Agriculture" (*Exposição Agrícola*). This new building inherited the name of the former one, despite the fact that its architectural conception was completely different: the new "Crystal Palace" was a concrete building, a spherical dome of a conspicuous design, imposed on the classical gardens that were yet kept almost untouched.⁷⁰⁸ The exhibition called the public's attention to the importance of the agricultural activity of the country. In the 1950s a very important percentage of the Portuguese population was still working in agriculture and the high dependence of the population on agriculture was presented as positive. Portuguese culture was, arguably, rooted in rural life.⁷⁰⁹ This characteristic established a strong cultural link with the past. In terms of nationalism, that link was seen as essential because the traditional way of life was considered as one of the attributes of Portuguese identity.

⁷⁰⁸ The building still exists with minor changes. The name of the building remained even in formal use. A newspaper article of the epoch, on the Exhibition of Agriculture, called the new building "Crystal Palace"; see "A propósito da próxima Exposição Agrícola no novo Palácio de Cristal..." in *O Tripeiro*, September 1956, p.134-140. It is also of interest to see BARROS, Alexandre Ferreira - "O Palácio de Cristal nas Exposições do Porto", in *O Tripeiro*, September 1956, p.153-155.

⁷⁰⁹ Salazar himself was born in a rural environment and kept for all his life that 'mark'. See NOGUEIRA, Franco, *op.cit.*, volume I.



Fig. 86. Aerial view of the new "Crystal Palace".
(Photograph from postcard of the 1960s)



Fig. 87. Perspective of the new "Crystal Palace" taken from the lake.
(Photograph from postcard of the 1960s)

Despite the symbolic importance given to the agricultural character of the country, the *Estado Novo* intended to develop a policy of industrialisation. This was coherent with the main rule of Salazar's economic policy:⁷¹⁰ to be independent and to import as little as possible. Industrialisation was the object of an exhibition that was held in 1957 in Lisboa under the name of "Know your homeland as an industrial country" (*Conheça a sua terra como país industrial*). This exhibition displayed numerous photographs of industrial enterprises, from North to South. It also displayed quotations from Salazar's speeches on industry and its importance for the national economy. Another object of interest were the tables, figures and graphs showing the development of the national industrialisation during 1955 and 1956.

⁷¹⁰ See Chapter 3.

In 1960 the subject of the maritime discoveries regained a relevant role as a subject for temporary exhibitions, represented by the organisation of the *Exposição Henriquina*⁷¹¹ in Lisboa. 1960 was chosen to celebrate the five centuries of the death of the *Infant*.⁷¹² Beyond the celebration of that event, the exhibition was about an epoch. The displays gave the visitors a view over the entire period of the maritime discoveries, that is from the end of the 14th century (with D. João I) to the beginning of the 16th century (with D. Manuel I). The exhibition was divided in three major areas:⁷¹³ the first one was dedicated to the period of D. João I and to the effort to consolidate independence; the second part was about the Infant D. Henrique and his contribution to maritime discoveries; the third and last part was assigned to the kingdoms of D. João II and D. Manuel I, the epoch when the maritime connection with the Orient was achieved and about when Brazil was first reached by the Portuguese.

This exhibition was mounted near the river Tejo, connecting with the space of the MAP. The exhibition entrance was through the cloister of the Museum and the event was assisted by Museum personnel; for instance, the museum guards helped with security.⁷¹⁴ The location chosen to mount the event was very appropriate, with a vast open space and a magnificent vista over the river. The area had been used in 1940 for the Great Exhibition of the Portuguese World and still had a particular style because of that. Furthermore, the "Monument to the Discoveries", the *Jerónimos* and the "Tower of Belém" were nearby, and added a symbolic value to the exhibition.

⁷¹¹ It is almost impossible to translate the name of this exhibition. It was about Infant D. Henrique, one of the sons of D. João I, said to be the one responsible for the beginning of the maritime discoveries. Modern historiography tends to demystify the role of D. Henrique.

⁷¹² *Exposição Henriquina*, Lisboa, Comissão executiva das comemorações do quinto centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1960.

⁷¹³ *Exposição Henriquina...*, p.11.

⁷¹⁴ See archive of the MAP, documents about Personnel, decade of 1960.

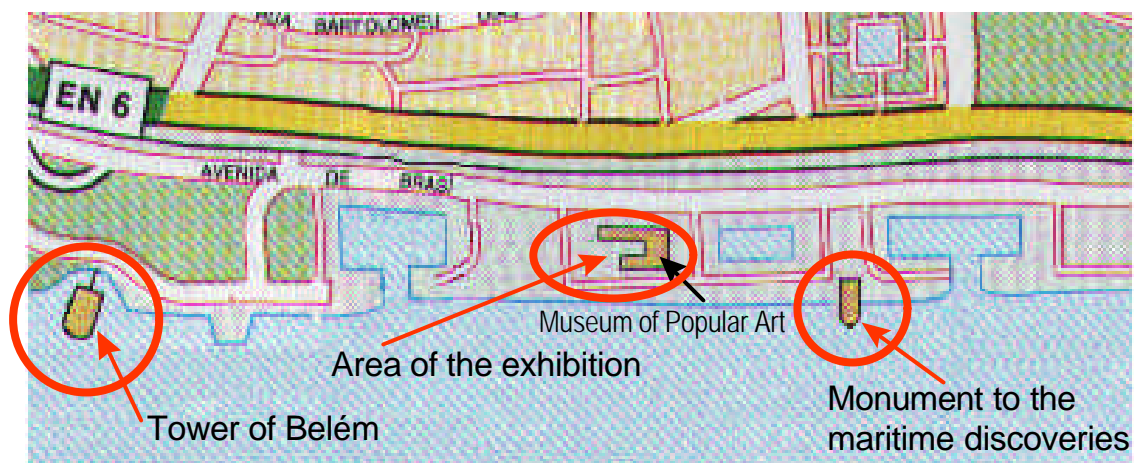
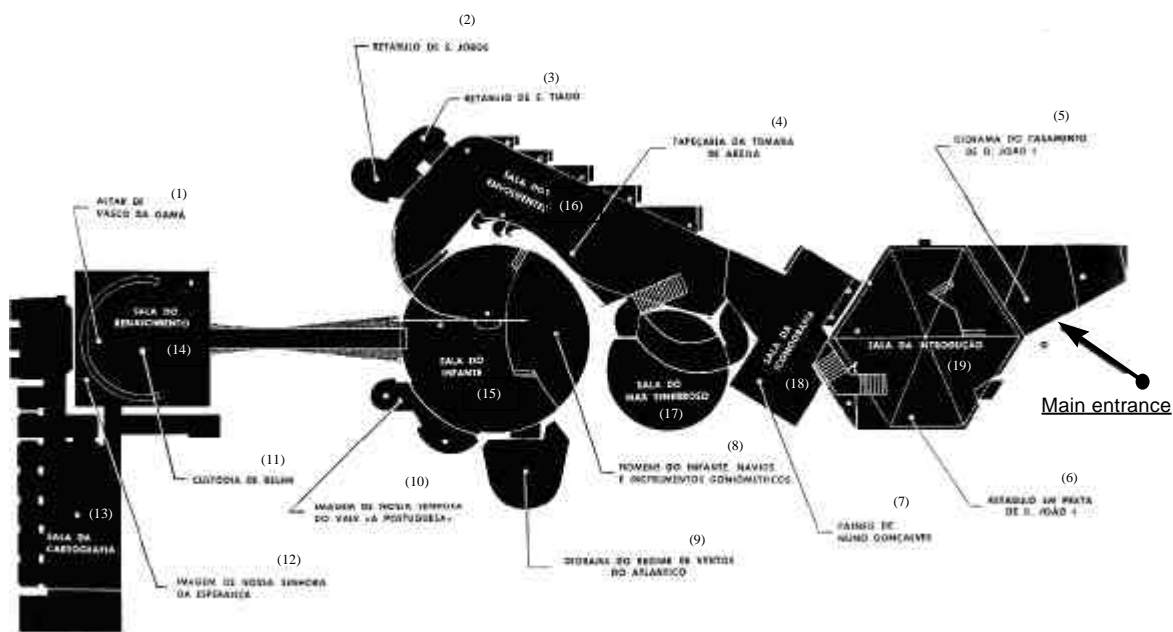


Fig. 88. Location of the "Exposição Henriquina" (1960)



1 - altar of Vasco da Gama; 2 - retablo of Saint Jorge; 3 - retablo of Saint Tiago; 4 - tapestry of the conquest of Arzila; 5 - diorama of the marriage of D. João I; 6 - silver retablo of D. João I; 7 - paintings from Nuno Gonçalves; 8 - man of the Infant, ships and goniometrical instruments; 9 - diorama of the Atlantic winds; 10 - image of Saint Mary of the Valley «the Portuguese»; 11 - custodial of Belém; 12 - Image of Saint Mary of Good Hope; 13 - room of Cartography; 14 - room of the Renaissance; 15 - room of the Infant; 16 - room of the Involvement; 17 - room of the Threatening Ocean; 18 - room of Iconography; 19 - room of the Introduction.

Fig. 89. Plan of the *Exposição Henriquina* (1960).

The plan of the exhibition reflected the organisation in the three major parts mentioned above. The inner spaces were vast, with empty spaces and careful design of lighting, which gave visitors the sensation of being in 'another world'.⁷¹⁵ Some very important objects were presented

⁷¹⁵ Two different collections of photographs on this exhibition are available in public archives: Archive of the Gulbenkian Foundation (Lisboa) and National Archive of Photography (Lisboa).

in this exhibition. For example a sculpture D. João I offered to the church of Guimarães after the battle of Aljubarrota⁷¹⁶ was one of the first pieces the visitor would see when entering the exhibition. The paintings of Nuno Gonçalves, one of the masterpieces of the Portuguese ancient art history, were also there. The presence of these kinds of objects reveals the symbolic importance of this exhibition.

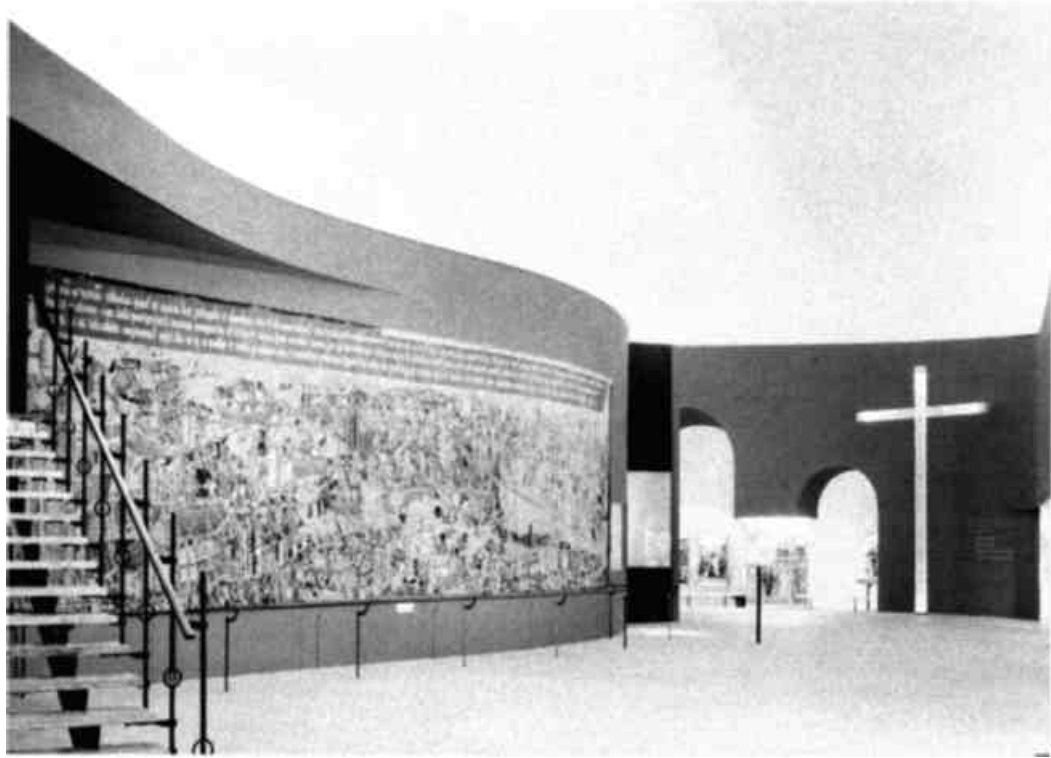


Fig. 90. One of the rooms of the "*Exposição Henriquina*", with a tapestry representing the conquest of *Arzila*.

Photograph from Mário Novais, Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

The three parts of the exhibition were presented in a chronological sequence. The objects put on display included manuscripts, maps, specimens of medieval cartography and objects of sacred art. Contrasting with the age of these objects the ambience was modern, with architectural features that were not very common in the Portuguese temporary exhibitions of the epoch. For example, it was difficult to find a room with square angles: both the walls and the floor plans were based on triangles and circles; some windows were hidden behind false walls enabling indirect lighting and different levels separated the rooms, making the visitor 'travel' between different environments.

⁷¹⁶ Aljubarrota was the decisive battle against Castilla during the crisis of 1383/85. This battle marked the end of the danger over the Portuguese independence and therefore is always remembered in the Portuguese historiography as a remarkable event. After the battle D. João went as a pilgrim to Guimarães and made important offers to the church of Saint Mary.



Fig. 91. One of the rooms of the "*Exposição Henriquina*", with models of *caravelas*.
Photograph from Mário Novais (Archive of Photography of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon)

The exhibition had a theatrical sequence, like a voyage through a period of time, leading the visitor from the early times of the maritime discoveries to the knowledge of a vast world - that is to say, from the tiny world of medieval Europe to the immense world of the 16th century. D. João I knew his own country and could imagine a world as vast as Europe; D. Manuel was king of a huge Empire,⁷¹⁷ received richness from all over the world and had maps where only the Pacific Ocean was still *incognito* space. The presentation implied that in a little more than one hundred years the world got some thousand times larger. The exhibition ended in a cartography room, giving the visitor a perspective of that expansion. Under the nationalistic ideology, Portugal and the Portuguese were presented as the main makers of such progress. The concluding message of the exhibition was that his World is how we know it today, because *we* 'made' it like this.⁷¹⁸

In the beginning of the 1960s Portugal was represented in some international events. In 1960 an exhibition dedicated to port wine was organised in Paris. In 1961, in the Elisabethville

⁷¹⁷ The title of D. Manuel is a very long one indeed: *Dom Manuel per graça de Deus Rey de Portugal e dos Algraves daquem e dalém mar em África Senhor da Guiné e da Conquista e Navegação e Comércio da Etiópia, Arábia, Pérsia e Índia*. In English it would be: "Dom Manuel, by God's will King of Portugal and of the Algarve, of the near and the far African ocean, Lord of Guinea, and of the conquest, navigation and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India". Not too bad for the grand-grandson of D. João I.

⁷¹⁸ This sentence was not written anywhere in the exhibition but summarises the main message of it.

exhibition⁷¹⁹ Portugal had two pavilions, one about the whole country and another dedicated to Angola and the railway of Benguela.⁷²⁰ In the same year Portugal was present in the XXV Fair of Bologna (Italy); however, the Portuguese stand was not very impressive and the products on display were mainly coffee and canned fish. There was also another Portuguese stand, organised by the exporters of coffee and sponsored by the Portuguese State, where it was possible to sample and buy different kinds of Portuguese coffee.⁷²¹

In 1963 and 1964 three important exhibitions in terms of colonial policy took place, two in Luanda and one in Lisboa. The first one was an exhibition based on miniatures handmade by Ana de Sousa Santos, who worked in the department of Ethnology and Ethnography of the Institute of Scientific Research of Angola.⁷²² These miniatures were about different ethnic groups in Angola and their clothes and personal objects. The exhibition characterised a particular European view of the "natives" which reflected an European ethnocentric perspective. Another exhibition was organised the following year, again in Luanda, in the Museum of Angola and under the impulse of the same Institute. This one was about musical instruments and masks of the people of Angola (*Exposição Etnográfica de Instrumentos Musicais e Máscaras dos Povos de Angola*)⁷²³ and presented several objects collected across the vast colony. Once again, the exhibition had an European perspective. The exhibition held in Lisboa in 1964 had a peculiar name: "How the journalist Emile Marini has seen the Portuguese Overseas Provinces through his photographic lense".⁷²⁴ This exhibition was based on photographs taken in the colonies and was organised by the governmental departments of the overseas territories and propaganda. War was escalating at this time in Angola and in other African territories; in terms of propaganda it was important (even vital) for the regime to show no anxiety concerning the colonies. The *Estado Novo* aimed to

⁷¹⁹ The name of this town is now Lubumbashi, in the South of the Democratic Republic of Congo (ex Zaire)

⁷²⁰ This railway was of major importance for the territory as it crossed the provinces of Benguela, Huambo, Bié and Moxico (from West to East) allowing an efficient connection with the interior of the colony and with other territories in Central Africa.

⁷²¹ During the 1960s and the 1970s Portugal was present in other international events, with minor relevance from a political and propagandistic point of view. This is the case of the International Fairs of München (in 1960) and Osaka (in 1970). The International Fairs of Madrid, Geneva, Valencia, among others also had a Portuguese presence.

⁷²² SANTOS, Ana de Sousa - *Exposição de miniaturas Angolanas - Catálogo*, Luanda, Instituto de Investigação Científica de Angola, divisão de Etnologia e Etnografia, 1963.

⁷²³ *Exposição Etnográfica de Instrumentos Musicais e Máscaras dos Povos de Angola*, Luanda, Museu de Angola, Instituto de Investigação Científica de Angola, 1964.

⁷²⁴ *Catálogo da Exposição "Como viu através da sua objectiva, as Províncias Ultramarinas Portuguesas o jornalista Emile Marini*, Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar e SNI, 1964.

demonstrate a total confidence in its political and ideological discourse and, consequently, in the future of the empire. This kind of exhibition became more frequent during the end of the decade and the beginning of the 1970s. The opportunity to hold exhibitions about the colonies which ignored or minimised the war and insisted on the Portuguese indisputable right of sovereignty, was systematically taken.⁷²⁵

The commemoration of the fortieth anniversary (1966) of the "National Revolution" included a temporary exhibition organised under the name of "The Arts serving the Nation" (*As Artes ao serviço da Nação*).⁷²⁶ This exhibition intended to show how the *Estado Novo* had improved the arts and how the arts, from a cultural point of view, had helped to the national reconstruction. The exhibition covered mainly the areas of sculpture, paintings and photography. Other items were on display, such as a model of the monument to the discoveries.⁷²⁷ The model was important as it reinforced the idea that the maritime discoveries were one of the major topics of the *Estado Novo*. That period, regarded and presented as the climax of the Portuguese glory, was always represented in temporary exhibitions when the nationalistic sentiment was to be evoked. During the celebrations of this date, another exhibition on arts was organised. It was about the art awards given by the SNI. The propaganda of the regime, as mentor of arts, was obvious and deliberate.

The end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s was the period when a small but very determined group of scholars developed ethnographic research in Portugal.⁷²⁸ From their efforts arose the National Museum of Ethnology⁷²⁹ and a very important temporary exhibition held in Lisboa (in the palace *Burnay*) in July 1968. The exhibition was called "Exhibition of Portuguese Agricultural Implements" (*Exposição de Alfaia Agrícola Portuguesa*) and gathered

⁷²⁵ As some examples it is worth to refer: *Ultramar Português de Hoje e de Sempre*, an exhibition organised by the SNI in Lisboa (July 1968); in 1973 another exhibition was called "Exhibition of the Cultural activities of the Overseas Ministry" (*Exposição Actividades Culturais do Ministério do Ultramar*, Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar, September 1973); in 1974 another exhibition of this kind was organised (*Exposição "Uma Acção de estímulo aos artistas portugueses de temática ultramarina"*, Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1974). The regime was obviously making a strong effort to continue its colonial policy.

⁷²⁶ *As Artes ao Serviço da Nação*, Lisboa, SNI, Comissão executiva das comemorações do 40º aniversário da Revolução Nacional, 1966.

⁷²⁷ This monument was erected near the Tower of Belém by the river Tejo, in front of the monastery of *Jerónimos*, and was one of the symbols of the Portuguese "golden age".

⁷²⁸ The core of this group was constituted by Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira, Fernando Galhano, Jorge Dias and Benjamim Pereira. See Appendix for synopsis of interview with Pereira.

⁷²⁹ See Chapter 6.

a very important collection of objects. This exhibition was the starting point for the extraordinary collection of agricultural implements the National Museum of Ethnology still possesses. As Veiga de Oliveira confirmed, this exhibition was the first one about this issue ever organised in Portugal in a scientific systematic way.⁷³⁰ This movement, centred on ethnology, was not seen as very interesting by the authorities. The official trend was that ethnography should study overseas territories cultures and populations, not the European ones. Nevertheless some important fieldwork⁷³¹ was done during this last phase of the *Estado Novo*. Some of this work had a political motivation and the researchers were sometimes carefully watched (and even persecuted) by the political police.

In 1968 another exhibition about the maritime discoveries took place in Lisboa, at the National Gallery of Art of Belém: "Pedro Álvares Cabral and his epoch" (*Pedro Álvares Cabral e a sua época*). The exhibition was based on cartographic originals of the epoch, manuscripts, navigation instruments, paintings and miniatures of boats. The voyage of Pedro Álvares Cabral and the discovery of Brazil (in 1500) were the pretext on which to develop an exhibition about the epoch. The importance of Portugal in the world during that period was emphasised, in the nationalistic way already mentioned for other exhibitions of this nature.

Finally, some temporary exhibitions that were not individually very significant but that as a whole were quite important are worth a reference. In the beginning of the 1970s, following a trend that had begun in the previous decades, the SNI and other departments of propaganda organised several temporary exhibitions to promote individual artists. They were mainly painters and ceramists. During January and February 1974 five of these exhibitions took place.⁷³² Even in its final days, the regime did not give up the propaganda and used the arts and temporary exhibitions to forward its ideology. This is important mainly because the leaders of the *Estado Novo* were aware of the politically difficult situation of the regime. Even facing major problems to

⁷³⁰ See OLIVEIRA, Ernesto Veiga de - "Exposição da Alfaia Agrícola Portuguesa do Museu de Etnologia do Ultramar". In *Revista de Etnografia*, nº 26, Porto, Junta Distrital do Porto, Museu de Etnografia e História, 1968, page 1.

⁷³¹ It is of relevance the work of Jacometi and Lopes Graça on what concerns folk songs.

⁷³² Fernando Fernandes (painter); Jony Joanes (painter); Artur José (ceramist); Mário Oliveira (painter); Maria Adelaide Cruz (painter). The catalogues of these exhibitions were published by the SNI and are available in the archive of the Museu do Chiado, Lisboa. Photographs of the exhibitions are available at the National Archive of Photography.

maintain the control of the country⁷³³, the *Estado Novo* was not giving up propaganda as an important means of spreading its ideology.

This chapter has discussed the evidence of the propagandistic and ideological objectives of the *Estado Novo* when organising temporary exhibitions. Propaganda was not seen as an 'evil' thing; on the contrary, the objectives of the governmental departments of propaganda, as they were established by law, were quite simple: to promote the national policy based upon a nationalistic ideology and to control the media (radio, press, and all others capable of forming public opinion).⁷³⁴ If controlled and properly used, museums and especially temporary exhibitions were excellent means for spreading propaganda. Temporary exhibitions, exactly for the fact of being temporary, enabled intense 'experiences' of state propaganda. Some of the results, judged as positive, were used again and again. The *Estado Novo* never underestimated the power of such media and 'invested' in its accuracy and efficiency. The main themes of such exhibitions were the colonial empire and the maritime discoveries, as well as the support to the arts and culture and the economic and financial achievements of the regime. The exhibitions on these themes were to demonstrate that the *Estado Novo* had proved to be the best possible regime for Portugal. Furthermore, the exhibitions aimed to establish that the country needed to maintain the regime as the only solution to face future problems and difficulties.

⁷³³ One of the symptoms were the problems inside the army. In March 1974 a rebellion did not succeed but made evident that the *status quo* was about to be changed.

⁷³⁴ See, for example, decree 23054 (1933/09/25) that established the existence of the SPN directly linked to the Prime Minister.