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*Historical Trajectories of the Third  
Portuguese Empire: Re-examining the  
Dynamics of Imperial Rule and  
Colonial Societies (1900-1975)*

Special Theme Issue

Editors: Cláudia Castelo, Philip J. Havik,  
and Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo

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SPECIAL THEME ISSUE

HISTORICAL TRAJECTORIES OF THE THIRD  
PORTUGUESE EMPIRE: RE-EXAMINING THE  
DYNAMICS OF IMPERIAL RULE AND  
COLONIAL SOCIETIES (1900-1975)



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## On the “Efficiency” of Civilization: Politics, Religion and the Native Settlement in Portuguese Africa in the 1940s<sup>1</sup>

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IN 1949, THE INSPECTOR of colonial education of Mozambique, Manuel Ferreira Rosa, prepared a legal proposal that addressed the possibility of enlarging the economic activities of the overseas religious missions, with a view to enhance their *civilizing* project. The proposal aimed to clarify categorically that the terms of the so-called Statute of João Belo (1926), regarding the commercial activities that were permitted to the missions, were outlawed by the dispositions of the Missionary Agreement (1940) and of the Missionary Statute (1941). According to Ferreira Rosa, in the case of the missions belonging to religious congregations (subjected to a vow of poverty), the incomes from their activities (agriculture, commerce, industry, and crafts) could contribute to the enactment of the proclaimed *nationalizing* and *civilizing* purposes of missionary work. The creation of schools, boarding schools, and sanitary posts, among others realizations, were the means to achieve those goals. The proposal prompted the Minister of the Colonies, Teófilo Duarte, to request the opinion of the Provincial Superiors of the religious institutes working overseas (and recognized by the Portuguese State) about the question of native settlements (“aldeamentos indígenas”).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This text is a result of the research project “Change to Remain? Welfare Colonialism in European Colonial Empires in Africa (1920-1975),” funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (Ref: IF/01628/2012), under the Strategic Plan UID/SOC/50012/2013.

<sup>2</sup>Proposal No. 1, by Manuel Ferreira Rosa, 20 October 1948; AHU/1438/1B/MU/DGEdu / 1946-62 – Folder DGEnsino/ Process No. 511/ Section C: “Aldeamentos Indígenas. Verbas do Ensino e Exercício do Comércio.” For the *Statute of Missions*, issued by the Minister of the Colonies, João Belo, see Hugo Gonçalves Dore, *A Missão da República. Política, religião e o*



Teófilo Duarte's plan was to reinforce the debate about the settlement of native populations in the African colonial territories (and also in East-Timor), which was seen as an important part of the colonial development strategy. As others colonial experts and officials (Duarte had been colonial governor in Cape-Verde and Timor in the 1920s), the minister had his own ideas about these settlements and about the related concentrationary logic. He had publicly presented his impressions back in 1941 and 1942. First, in his views about a proposed law (bill) on native villages, formulated by the Minister Vieira Machado. Afterwards, in an article on the concentrationary initiatives by Jesuit missionaries in Brazil and Paraguay during the early modern period, entitled "A concentração populacional indígena e os jesuítas" ("The concentration of indigenous population and the Jesuits"), published in four issues of the journal *O Mundo Português*, a joint edition publication by the Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional (National Propaganda Secretariat) and the Agência Geral das Colónias (General Agency of the Colonies). In itself a revealing fact, this article would be forwarded to the missionaries, since it should be used as *the* starting point of the debate about the policy to be devised. The minister's perspective on the history and alternatives solutions of native villagization, namely those based on a positive assessment of the Jesuits experiments, should guide the process.<sup>3</sup>

It was clear that he intended to give a pivotal role to Catholic missionaries in the colonial project, in spite of what some of his peers advocated. In that article, Teófilo Duarte addressed the historical process of population settlements implemented by the Society of Jesus in Brazil and Paraguay: the *aldeamentos* (villages) and the *reduções* (reductions), respectively. Considering that the Jesuits had achieved "exceptional results" in their two models of strategic native settlements, their example could and should be analyzed in

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*império colonial português em África (1910-1926)* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2015). For the 1940 Concordat see Rita Almeida de Carvalho, *A Concordata de Salazar* (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2013).

<sup>3</sup>Teófilo Duarte, "A concentração populacional indígena e os jesuítas," *O Mundo Português* IX (102) (1942): 249-259, IX (103) (1942): 305-314; IX (104-105) (1942): 343-357; IX (106) (1942): 407-415. For more on Teófilo Duarte's colonial views see his *Estudos coloniais* (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1942). For the Jesuit missions – in an endless bibliography – see a new synthesis by Thomas M. Cohen and Emanuele Colombo, "Jesuit Missions," in Hamish Scott, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern European History, 1350-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), II (*Cultures and Power*): 254-279, esp. 259-260 and 263-266.



detail and replicated in contemporary contexts with the necessary adjustments. The scrutiny of the inner-workings and (positive) consequences of these two models should, therefore, be a priority. The “repetition of [past] mistakes” should be avoided, especially those related to material and economic aspects, as Duarte emphasized. The villages and the reductions were nonetheless seen as exemplary models to follow, as they would facilitate “catechesis”—“in a permanent and not intermittent way”—and, as importantly, they would contribute to “the material and social progress of populations.” There, these populations would acquire “processes of labor” from the Europeans and would finally reach a “life of [social] relations.” Both were the *sine qua non* for “civilization”. Duarte praised the Jesuit settlement planning in comparison to “mobile missions” model. Sedentism was mandatory. The “permanent settlement of natives” was an imperative, from a political (i. e. securitarian) and religious point of view.<sup>4</sup>

The dispersion of native populations, at the time as in the past, entailed unquestionable inconveniences. The most noteworthy of them was the fact that dispersion caused a “reduced efficiency” in educational, medical, judicial, and religious activities. The “efficiency” of civilization projects was related to the efficacy of a successful concentrationary policy. So far, dispersion was only mitigated by the “necessities of manpower” that originated significant “inflows” of natives. Duarte expected that the “resistances to overcome” would be numerous, from those sustained by the colonists, the regular clergy, and the natives to those related to the problem of labor. The comparative assessment of both solutions should be carried on again, and one of them should be applied. The *aldeamentos* had the advantage of being “solidary pieces of a political and social organization” for the imperial and colonial states. On the contrary, the reductions were seen as a “state within the state,” “autonomous cysts” that formed a “theocratic society.” Despite this fact it should not be, in any way, devalued as a possibility.<sup>5</sup>

Since the late nineteenth-century, Jesuit ideas and past projects had been debated within Catholic missionary circles as models for future plans. The establishment of the so-called *Chrétientés* had a long and heterogeneous genealogy (which continues today). The debate about the multi-purpose

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<sup>4</sup>Duarte, “A concentração populacional,” 250-251.

<sup>5</sup>Duarte, “A concentração populacional,” 249, 344.

“civilizing stations” in the 1870s and 1880s echoed some of these concentrationary strategies.<sup>6</sup> The diverse modalities of Christian villages—certainly equivalents to that of the reductions—, which aimed to “socially engineer Christian communities,” also had other expressions.<sup>7</sup> Cardinal Charles Lavigerie, the archbishop of Algiers and founder of the Society of the Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers) envisaged such endeavours for Algeria and for East Africa.<sup>8</sup> In north-eastern Tanganyika, by 1896, there were fifty-two Christian villages connected to mission stations, essentially based on freed slaves (ransomed by the missionaries or entrusted by the British consul in Zanzibar).<sup>9</sup> Missionaries’ “paternalism” and “rigidity” led to many complaints and revolts. The villagers wanted more autonomy and “payment for their work.” In the report that assessed the state of affairs in early 1880s, the reporter A. Le Roy wrote that the “system was too Utopian, too much like the ‘phalanstery’ of the early French socialists which had failed elsewhere in the world.” The recommendations of the report, strongly influenced by Le Play, reinforced the interrelation between two cornerstones, as Le Roy explained in his *Address* at the 1896 *Congrès d’Économie Sociale*: the “Ten Commandments and Paternal Authority.”<sup>10</sup> Other similar experiments to develop Christian towns were carried out by Daniele Comboni and by his missionary project in Sudan, in El Obeid (North Kurdufan), in a context of outright religious competition.<sup>11</sup> In Spanish Equatorial Guinea, since the late nineteenth-century, the Spanish Claretian missionaries had organized

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<sup>6</sup>See Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, “Religion, Empire, and the Diplomacy of Colonialism: Portugal, Europe, and the Congo Question, ca. 1820–1890,” PhD Thesis (King’s College, University of London, 2008), 114–115, 117–119.

<sup>7</sup>See David Maxwell, “Freed Slaves, Missionaries, and Respectability: The Expansion of the Christian Frontier from Angola to Belgian Congo,” *The Journal of African History* 54 (1) (2013): 79–102 [79].

<sup>8</sup>Jean-Claude Ceillier, *Histoire des Missionnaires d’Afrique (Pères Blancs). De la fondation par Mgr Lavignerie à la mort du fondateur (1862–1892)* (Paris: Karthala, 2008), 50–53.

<sup>9</sup>Aylward Shorter, *Cross & Flag in Africa. The “White Fathers” during the Colonial Scramble (1892–1914)* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 2006), 72–75 and 170–172; Ralph Austen, *Northwest Tanzania under German and British Rule: Colonial Policy and Tribal Politics, 1889–1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 80–81.

<sup>10</sup>J. A. Kieran, “Christian Villages in North-eastern Tanzania,” *Transafrican Journal of History* 1 (1) (1971): 24–38 [24 and 26].

<sup>11</sup>Gianpaolo Romanato, *L’Africa nera fra Cristianesimo e Islam. L’esperienza di Daniele Comboni (1831–1881)* (Milan: Corbaccio, 2003).

the autochthonous Bubi people of Fernando Po “into little mission theocracies reminiscent of the famous Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay.” Among other relevant aspects, these mission theocracies preserved the Bubi from the pressure of labour requirements from the planters.<sup>12</sup>

The Kasai Mission in the Congo, ran by the Scheut Missionaries, was another exemplary case. Product of the missionary projects of Emile Van Hencxthoven, superior of the Jesuit mission of Kwango in the Congo Free State, the chapel farms (*fermes-chapelles*) model was, in a sense, a renewed re-interpretation of old sedentism models, applied to rural environments. Conversion based on *school colonies* was seen as a failed model that needed to be replaced. The chapel farms prevailed as a new missionary strategy, articulating evangelisation and labour—the tenets of civilization—, aiming to become “embryos of a Christian environment.” The chapel farms were forms of imagining Christian territories, in a spatial and in a social sense. 134 chapel farms existed by 1900, accommodating circa 3,800 children. In 1902, 250 chapel farms housed 5,000 children.<sup>13</sup> These “secluded settlements with state cooperation and in connection with military posts” eventually had to face severe criticism, being involved in the entire process that led to the Commission of Enquiry into the administration of the Congo Free State, linked to the internationalisation of the “Congo red rubber question.” The nature of the “guardianship” over “abandoned children” was one of the six main criticisms levelled against Leopold II’s project. The Commission criticized the “very rigid guardianship.” A synthesis of the criticism was provided by this long, but revealing, quotation: “They do not possess, strictly speaking, anything; their produce and the domestic animals they raise belong, in general, to the mission. They rarely receive the permission to marry or to re-

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<sup>12</sup>William Clarence Smith, “Spanish Equatorial Guinea 1898-1940,” in Arthur D. Roberts, ed., *The Cambridge History of Africa: From 1905 to 1940*, Vol. 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 537-544.

<sup>13</sup>For the Congo and the chapel farms, which ended in 1911, see Gerard Ciparisse, “Les origines de la méthode des fermes-chapelles au Bas-Congo (1895-1898),” *Bulletin de l’Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 43 (1973): 693-840; Bruno de Meulder, “Mavula: An African Heterotopia in Kwango, 1895-1911,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 52 (1) (1998): 20-29 [26]; Bram Cleys and Bruno de Meulder, “Imagining a Christian Territory: Changing Spatial Strategies in the Missionary Outposts of Scheut (Kasai, Congo, 1891-1940),” in Fassil Demissie, ed., *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism: Intertwined and Contested Histories* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 201-238; Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 247.

turn to their native villages. The majority of the natives who reside here are neither orphans nor workmen engaged by contract. They are demanded of the chiefs, who dare not refuse, and a coercion, more or less disguised, is necessary to restrain them.” These words echoed similar charges against schemes of labour recruitment and use. Another set of accusations emerged in 1909, with the so-called *Rapport Leclercq* (from the Judge P. M. Leclercq), which accused the chapel farms of being “a new Paraguay.” As a consequence, the experiments were closed in 1911.<sup>14</sup> The project of creating Christian nuclei failed. After 1912 no more *fermes-chapelles* were formed. The “scholastic” responsibilities were urgently prioritized over “the agricultural aspect” of the catechism.<sup>15</sup> Also the orphanages and freed slaves and liberty villages ran by the White Fathers in Uganda, French Sudan and Lake Victoria aroused some criticism, and the latter almost disappear after the First World War.<sup>16</sup>

In the 1930s, other forms of spatialization for social reform, which included political rationales and mobilized ecclesiastical and missionary motivations and concerns, emerged in the Belgian Congo. Designed to deal with the perceived consequences of the combination between urbanization, “de-tribalization” and social unrest, which also aroused particular interest in other colonial empires and was the focus of a large number of social experts, a strategy of creating numerous *centre indigène extra-coutumier*, as the African township in Élisabethville (in south Congo), was followed. Here, the role of the missionary was crucial. Moreover, one of the main voices in the entire debate was that of the Jesuit Father Pierre Charles, certainly aware of past

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<sup>14</sup>Arthur Berriedale Keith, *The Belgian Congo and the Berlin Act* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1919), 221-223. For the impact of the situation in the mission see Fernand Mukoso Ng’Ekieb, *Les origines et les débuts de la mission du Kwango (1879-1914)* (Kinshasa: Facultés catholiques de Kinshasa, 1993). For the Congo question see Kevin Grant, *A Civilized Savagery: Britain and the New Slavery in Africa, 1884-1926* (New York: Routledge, 2005) and Martin Ewans, *European Atrocity, African Catastrophe. Leopold II, the Congo Free State and its Aftermath* (London: Routledge, 2002). See also *The Congo: A Report of the Commission of Enquiry Appointed by the Congo Free State Government* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1906), 6, 128.

<sup>15</sup>Richard Gray, “Christianity,” in Arthur D. Roberts, ed., *The Cambridge History of Africa: From 1905 to 1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 140-190, esp. 166.

<sup>16</sup>Shorter, *Cross & Flag in Africa*, 74-75.

disputes and previous models.<sup>17</sup> On a different level, the *paysannats indigènes*, large-scale schemes aiming rural development and the spatial fixation of rural populations in rural areas (aspect of crucial importance) that emerged as early as the mid-1930s, also entailed political-religious connections and raised significant criticism, as happened with the *centres extra-coutumiers*.<sup>18</sup>

As these examples elucidate, among other important aspects, the persisting trans-historical evocation, circulation, appropriation, and adaptation of imperial models and solutions to population control administration *within* and *among* imperial formations are fundamental aspects that need to be highlighted in order to understand this case. Furthermore, perceiving the processes and dynamics of inter- and trans-imperial comparison, differentiation, replication and appropriation of political and religious repertoires of power and rule is also important. To Teófilo Duarte, a disciplined *cura animarum* should guide the secular efforts of imperial development. The dialogue and the articulation between political and religious modalities of colonial social intervention and transformation should be promoted, and enhanced, in a process marked by historical interrogations and comparisons about past and coeval models. As happened in other colonial geographies, in the 1940s and 1950s Catholic missionary activity in the Portuguese colonial

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<sup>17</sup>For the *centres extra-coutumiers* see Pierre Charles, “Le problème des centres extra-coutumiers et quelques-uns de ses aspects,” in Institut Colonial International, ed., *Compte Rendu de la XXIII<sup>e</sup> Session tenue à Londres, les 5, 6, 7 et 8 Octobre 1936* (Bruxelles: Établissements Généraux d’Imprimerie, 1937), 27-180. For the shared concern by European colonial empires see Institut Colonial International, ed., *Compte Rendu de la XXIII<sup>e</sup> Session tenue à Londres, les 5, 6, 7 et 8 Octobre 1936* (Bruxelles: Établissements généraux d’imprimerie, 1937), 29-89. For one classic analysis see Bogumil Jewsiewicki, *Modernisation ou destruction du village africain. L’économie politique de la “modernisation agricole” au Congo belge* (Bruxelles: CEDAF, 1983). See also the analysis by Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society. The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), and by Amandine Lauro, “Suspect Cities and the (Re)Making of Colonial Order: Urbanization, Security Anxieties and Police Reforms in Postwar Congo (1945-1960),” in Jonas Campion and Xavier Rousseaux, eds., *Policing New Risks in Modern European History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), 57-85. For the political and religious connections see, among others, Marvin D. Markowitz, *Cross and sword: The Political Role of Christian missions in the Belgian Congo, 1908-1960* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution, 1973).

<sup>18</sup>See, among others, Bogumil Jewsiewicki, “Rural Society and the Belgian Colonial Economy,” in David Birmingham and Phyllis Martin, eds., *History of Central Africa* (London: Longman, 1983), II: 95-125; Jewsiewicki, *Modernisation ou destruction du village africain*; and Jeannot Mokili Danga Kassa, *Politiques agricoles et promotion rurale au Congo-Zaïre (1885-1997)* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1998), *maxime* 135-182.

empire was marked by a more or less clear support—of a pragmatic and instrumental nature, nonetheless—to the policies pursued by the imperial and the colonial states. The latter expected that missionary activities could contribute to the promotion and expansion of their secular interests, via education, social control or even spatial control. Teófilo Duarte's position was not a surprise. The improvement of the missionaries' evangelizing—and therefore *nationalizing* and *civilizing*—action and their contribution to the settlement of native communities and related economic benefits were obviously seen as important aspects. The combined impact on the actual living conditions of the African communities was not undervalued as well. The political utility of their action at colonial, metropolitan and international levels was seen as unquestionable.<sup>19</sup>

From the considerations issued by Teófilo Duarte, before and while he was minister of the Colonies, this text explores native population concentration as pivotal to the projects of development of the Portuguese empire-state. These assertions had promoted an intensification of debates, with distinct political and religious genealogies, about its potential advantages and inconveniences or its utility as an instrument of political and socio-economic control and transformation. By scrutinizing the stance of several political and religious actors about the possibilities of concentrationary solutions (avoiding the simplistic arguments of an obedient or passive collaboration of missionaries, or those that obliterate their instrumental and pragmatic cooperation), we seek to relate these stands with the diverse way in which civilizing and evangelizing projects were articulated since the 1930s.

The analysis of a series of exchanges and arguments that were ignited by Teófilo Duarte's considerations and by the door he opened to the active participation of Catholic missionaries in the political debate about native settlement, and respective concentrationary logic, enables a combined approach to the political and ecclesiastical arguments and projects about the colonial

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<sup>19</sup>For the evangelical activities see, for instance, Nuno da Silva Gonçalves, "A dimensão missionária do catolicismo português," in Carlos Moreira de Azevedo, ed., *História religiosa de Portugal* (Rio de Mouro: Círculo de Leitores, 2002), 3 (*Religião e Secularização*): 353-396; Eric Morier-Genoud, "The Catholic Church, Religious Orders and the Making of Politics in Colonial Mozambique," PhD Thesis (State University of New York, 2005); Lawrence Henderson, *The Church in Angola: A River of Many Currents* (Cleveland: Pilgrim Press, 1992); Didier Péclard, "Religion and Politics in Angola: The Church, the Colonial State, and the Emergence of Angolan Nationalism (1940-1961)," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 27 (2) (1998): 160-186; Didier Péclard, *Les incertitudes de la nation en Angola* (Paris: Karthala, 2015).

situation. It also allows us to ponder the ways in which their centrality to the socio-cultural, political and economic transformation of the Portuguese colonial empire was weighed. Finally, the analysis of the positions taken by the overseas regular and secular clergy, by the main overseas prelates, and by colonial governors and metropolitan authorities, also facilitates the understanding of the agreements and divergences between the state and the church—in its overseas ecclesiastical and missionary dimensions—on topics such as those related to the *politics of difference* (and their corresponding idioms and repertoires of rule)<sup>20</sup>, to the contending socio-spatial models of population control and administration<sup>21</sup> and to the projects of evangelization, *civilization* and development of colonial societies and communities.<sup>22</sup>

*For a “reform of the spirits”*

In June 1939, the Minister of the Colonies (1936-1944), Francisco Vieira Machado sent his draft bill, entitled “Projecto de Organização Social e Económica das Populações Indígenas”<sup>23</sup>, to the Conselho do Império Colonial (Council of the Colonial Empire), the advisory body of the Ministry of the

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<sup>20</sup>Frederick Cooper and Jane Burbank, *Empires and the Politics of Difference in World History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

<sup>21</sup>The topic of native settlements in the Portuguese colonial empire is still understudied. For some references see Gerald Bender, *Angola under the Portuguese* (London: Heinemann, 1978) and Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and António Costa Pinto, “A Modernizing Empire? Politics, Culture, and Economy in Portuguese Late Colonialism,” in Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and António Costa Pinto, eds., *The Ends of European Colonial Empires: Cases and comparisons* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 61-80. For the overall question of settlement see Cláudia Castelo, *Passagens para África. O povoamento de Angola e Moçambique com naturais da metrópole (1920-1974)* (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 2007). See also her latest “Reproducing Portuguese Villages in Africa: Agricultural Science, Ideology and Empire,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 42 (2) (2016): 267-281. See also Bernardo Pinto da Cruz and Diogo Ramada Curto’s article in this volume.

<sup>22</sup>About colonial development see Cláudia Castelo, “Developing ‘Portuguese Africa’ in Late Colonialism: Confronting Discourses,” in Joseph M. Hodge, Gerald Hödl and Martina Kopf, eds., *Developing Africa. Concepts and Practices in Twentieth-Century Colonialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 63-86; Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and António Costa Pinto, “A Modernizing Empire?”; and Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, “A Battle in the Field of Human Relations: The Official Minds of Repressive Development in Portuguese Angola,” in Martin Thomas and Gareth Curless, eds., *Decolonization and Conflict: Colonial Comparisons and Legacies* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017).

<sup>23</sup>“Projecto de Organização Social e Económica das Populações Indígenas,” *Boletim Geral das Colónias* [hereafter BGCL.] 16 (178) (April 1940).

Colonies, for consideration.<sup>24</sup> In the introductory note, Vieira Machado assumed that “all civilizing work” would be incomplete if it did not “seek for the reform of the spirits.” “Progress” was, he argued, “more a product of the soul than of the arm.” The education of the “spirits” should be attributed to the Portuguese Catholic missions. Moreover, they should also have the “primordial role” in the “formation and direction of the ‘villages’” to be established in order to effectively settle African populations. If the village’s administration would be set by administrative authorities (which should also retain the function of inspecting the villages), the spiritual and economic dimensions should be the sole responsibility of the Portuguese Catholic missions, and their appointed missionaries.<sup>25</sup>

Years before, in 1934, during the Congress of Colonization, as part of the Porto Colonial Congress, native settlements issues was also addressed, being considered as an essential instrument to the establishment of a solid colonial policy, especially regarding the so-called native policy (*política indígena*). The formation of a political strategy for colonial reform, for population (social, demographic and sanitary), economic (especially agricultural), and security reasons placed the issue of native settlements at the heart of the concerns of many politicians and colonial experts. Like other major figures, such as José de Oliveira Ferreira Diniz (former director of the Department of Indigenous Affairs of Angola) or José Silvestre Ferreira Bossa (director of the High Inspectorate of Colonial Administration), the missionary António Miranda Magalhães was one of those who closely related an intended territorial policy of evangelization (and “civilization”), organized around Christian villages, with the formation of a social development policy. Another important contribution came from António Leite de Magalhães, official with a solid colonial traineeship, who also assessed the subject of Christian villages as having a central place within a social, economic and political transformation policy in colonial contexts.<sup>26</sup> His arguments became a starting point for fu-

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<sup>24</sup>For Francisco Vieira Machado’s views see, for instance, *Colonização: projectos de decretos* (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1940). See also João Carlos Paulo, “Machado, Francisco Vieira,” in Fernando Rosas and José Maria Brandão de Brito, coords., *Dicionário de História do Estado Novo* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1996), 1: 535-536.

<sup>25</sup>“Projecto de Organização Social e Económica das Populações Indígenas,” 173.

<sup>26</sup>See, for example, the following chapters in AAVV, *Conclusões das Teses Apresentadas ao Primeiro Congresso de Colonização* (Porto: Imprensa Moderna, Lda., 1934): Álvaro de



ture debates, from the second Conference of Colonial Governors (1936) to the formulation of the Vieira Machado's bill (which was never promulgated, even though it gathered a considerable institutional support). Either way, the scrutiny of these debates allow us to understand the nature of state-church relations in the imperial contexts and in the colonial situations, mostly in what regarded the establishment of developmental rationales and in what related to the centrality that native settlements could and should have in them.<sup>27</sup>

In order to attract the Africans to settle in the projected villages and to bolster their “foundation, economic development, moral evolution, sanity and hygiene,” the proposed law granted some privileges to those who were willing to collaborate with this scheme. The exemption of taxes—the native tax<sup>28</sup>—, at least during the first year of settlement; elementary education by a teacher with missionary training; and also the prohibition of recruitment for state or private works, during the first three years of their settlement, were some of those privileges. This last concession, an important one given

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Noronha e Castro, “Utilidade e necessidade das culturas alimentares para indígenas das Colónias em proveito próprio”; António Miranda Magalhães, “O desenvolvimento e fixação da população indígena e as missões”; José Silvestre Ferreira Bossa, “O regime de concessão de terras aos indígenas nas colónias de África”; and José de Oliveira Ferreira Diniz, “Métodos para activar o desenvolvimento da população indígena e sua fixação”. See also, José de Oliveira Ferreira Diniz, *Populações indígenas de Angola* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1918); and António Leite de Magalhães, “Bases para uma nova organização social-económica das populações indígenas de Angola e Moçambique, tendo por fim a sua fixação e desenvolvimento”, *Missões de Angola e Congo* 15 (1935): 8-13. For analysis of the overall debates see Samuël Coghe, “Population Politics in the Tropics: demography, health and colonial rule in Portuguese Angola, 1890s-1940s,” PhD Thesis (European University Institute, Florence, 2014), 347-350, and Coghe, “Reordering Colonial Society: Model Villages and Social Planning in Rural Angola, 1920-45”, *Journal of Contemporary History* 52 (1) (2016): 16-44; and Bárbara Direito, “Políticas coloniais de terras em Moçambique: o caso de Manica e Sofala sob a Companhia de Moçambique, 1892-1942,” PhD Thesis (Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon, 2013), 69-74.

<sup>27</sup>See “2. Conferência dos Governadores Coloniais,” *BGCL* 137 (1937): 3-90; Conselho Superior do Império, “Organização social e económica das populações indígenas. Parecer no. 44 – Processo de Consulta no. 37;” and Câmara Corporativa, “Parecer sobre o projecto de decreto realtivo à organização social e económica das populações indígenas,” *BGCL* 191 (1941): 7-97 and 98-120, respectively. See also Coghe, “Population Politics in the Tropics,” 349-350; and Direito, “Políticas coloniais de terras em Moçambique,” 78-79.

<sup>28</sup>For colonial taxation see Philip Havik, Alexander Keese, and Maciel Santos, *Administration and Taxation in Portugal's African Empire, Guinea and Mozambique (1900-1945)* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015).

the traditional and widespread aggressive policies of labour exaction, could be extended for two more years, “whenever” it was considered “necessary to facilitate the planned settlement.”<sup>29</sup> But, this extension was nonetheless dependent upon the discretionary decision by colonial governors. Political authorities must also assure technical, sanitary and spiritual assistances, welfare and family safeguard measures and the “protection against inconvenient immigration” flows. Additionally, in order to promote economic activities and productivity, the authorities should also provide agricultural tools, and seeds and plants for farming, and the assistance by agricultural technicians. In sum, the proposed law sought to create the optimal conditions for “the ‘great possible increase of the goods of the body, of the spirit and of the fortune,’” via “the organization of native societies.” The “primacy of moral improvement” was advocated, based on the promotion of “faith, language, education and the community of feelings and ideas, of habits and tastes.” The “reform of the spirits” was crucial to the creation of the “natural bonds” that would solidify the “unity and indestructibility of the Empire.”<sup>30</sup>

Submitted to the Council of the Empire in June 1939, Vieira Machado’s bill was only discussed by the consultative body almost two years later, in March 1941. Among the participants attending the Council’s meeting were Marcelo Caetano, who would succeed Vieira Machado in the ministerial post in September 1944, and Teófilo Duarte, who would succeed Caetano in February 1947. In the *Parecer No. 44*, the Council’s legal appraisal, the members recognized not only that native settlement planning was “necessary and important,” but also that it should start as soon as possible, “without inter-

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<sup>29</sup>For the labour issue see, for instance, Alexander Keese, “Searching for the Reluctant Hands: Obsession, Ambivalence, and the Practice of Organizing Involuntary Labour in Colonial Cuanza-Sul and Malange Districts, Angola, 1926–1945,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41 (2) (2013): 238–258; Philip Havik, “‘Estradas sem fim’: o trabalho forçado e a ‘política indígena,’” in AAVV, *Trabalho Forçado Africano—Experiências Coloniais Comparadas* (Porto: Campo das Letras, 2006), 229–247; Eric Allina, *Slavery by Other Name: African Life under Company Rule in Colonial Mozambique* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012); Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and José Pedro Monteiro, “O império do trabalho. Portugal, as dinâmicas do internacionalismo e os mundos coloniais,” in Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and António Costa Pinto, eds., *Portugal e o fim do colonialismo. Dimensões internacionais* (Lisboa: Edições 70, 2014), 15–54.

<sup>30</sup>“Projecto de Organização Social e Económica das Populações Indígenas,” 173.

mittence or neglect [but] with tenacious and effortful persistence,” even if it had to be “necessarily slow” in order not to become too costly for the state.<sup>31</sup>

The *Parecer* started by highlighting that the purpose of “making Christianity”—the establishment of *Chrétientés*—was a “justifiable basis” of the Portuguese colonial expansion, which had been supported by the Papal Bull of 1494, issued by Alexander VI, that divided the world between Portugal and Castile. “Making Christianity” entailed not only the catechization of the native populations but also the “stabilization and moralization of the Christian family and of Christian social aggregates.” In that sense, Vieira Machado’s bill was seen as corresponding, “undoubtedly,” to an old “manifestation” of “spiritual imperialism,” being a natural corollary of past achievements. At the time, it is important to recall, national and colonial legislation granted many powers to the Catholic missions over some aspects of moral, social and economic organization of colonial populations.<sup>32</sup> In order to facilitate the evangelical contribution to the “civilizing mission” and, aspect of utmost importance, to enhance the “progress and improvement of the civil administration of the natives, regarding both the levels of socio-political and the economic organization,” the villagization of the natives emerged as fundamental. Villagization should favour “order, civilization, moralization and economic progress.” Therefore, it was, or should be, the cornerstone of the (still evoked and proclaimed) “civilizing mission” of Portuguese colonialism.<sup>33</sup>

The Council’s legal appraisal explained that population settlement and concentration would enable social stabilization, and this would assure the continuity of contacts between “the indigenous and the civilized element.” This was one of the objective benefits of the bill. Seen as a characteristic of numerous and different human groups in Africa and considered to be an obstacle to the success of the villagization process, nomadism should be fought intensively through the settlement of communities already existing

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<sup>31</sup>*Parecer No. 44*, in *Pareceres do Conselho do Império Colonial*, AHU, p. 1. The statement and the votes of the members were published in *BGCL* 27 (191) (May 1941): 7-98.

<sup>32</sup>The 1926 *Statute of João Belo* still ruled Portuguese missionary action and its relation to the State. The Missionary Agreement, annexed to the 1940 Concordat, was already signed, but the Missionary Statute of 1941, which would turn the agreement effective, replacing the 1926 statute, was only published in 5 April 1941.

<sup>33</sup>*Parecer No. 44*, in *Pareceres*, 19 and 21-22.

and the establishment of new ones. These should be placed near thoroughfares and in fertile areas, favourable for farming and cattle-raising. The provision of basic goods to villages' population and the guarantee of significant and tradable "production surplus" were essential. So was the offering of agricultural teaching, "strictly practical", and "permanently" given by missionaries. The 1941 Missionary Statute reinforced this idea. The native education, which should rely entirely on missionary personnel (article 66), must be "essentially nationalistic, practical and conducive to the indigenous to be able to obtain the means of his and his family subsistence." This meant that his "idleness" should be combatted and that he should be prepared to be a rural worker or craftsman (article 68). Finally, the Council asserted that villagization could not be a "violent coercion." It should be carried out in a way that was always "very appropriate" in the enactment of any aspect of "native policy": it should "always appear to be (...) a simple enticement," not a forced manoeuvre.<sup>34</sup>

Missionary responsibility on economic matters, as envisaged in Vieira Machado's bill, raised some objections by several members of the Council. Eduardo Marques considered that the supervision of economic aspects by missions was an inconvenient. It could become a "source of frictions" between missionaries and administrative authorities. The latter should be the sole responsible. This stand was also shared by Álvaro Neves da Fontoura. Marques also questioned the probable "promiscuity between Christian and gentiles" in the planned Christian villages, which could only end in "bad consequences", given the "moral and social differences" between the two groups. So, he proposed the establishment of three different types of settlements: Christian villages (formed by Catholic missions-educated couples); villages of "assimilated" natives and *mestiços* (seen as "ill adapted to life in Christian villages"); and *bairros indígenas* (native neighbourhoods, established near urban areas, where the indigenous labourers worked).<sup>35</sup>

Others Council's members went further, dismissing the overall plan. That was the case of Marcelo Caetano, who claimed that the policy principles regarding the native villagization and concentration were already legally defined. Moreover, he argued that the "regulation of the details" should be

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<sup>34</sup>*Parecer No. 44*, in *Pareceres do Conselho do Império Colonial*, AHU, 38, 44-45 and 51.

<sup>35</sup>Marques' and Fontoura's expositions, in *Pareceres do Conselho do Império Colonial*, AHU.

the result of local conditions. Perhaps more importantly, the problem required the use of a “technique”, not the formulation of a “doctrine.” The actual implantation and experimentation, capable of offering insights about posterior improvements, was a priority. On the role given, or not, to the Catholic missions regarding economic affairs, Caetano supported the argument offered by Teófilo Duarte.<sup>36</sup>

Teófilo Duarte also expressed some concerns about the project submitted by Vieira Machado and to the assumptions of the *Parecer No. 44*. Despite voting favourably the proposed law, he had some doubts about the plan’s application, especially given its nature too generic. He was concerned with the fact that the governors would be left alone in setting the norms and the conditions over a subject that was “very sensitive” and hardly familiar to the Portuguese modern colonial administration. Consequently, as Duarte stated, the understanding of “historical experiments” carried out in different historical periods and in distinct geographies was mandatory. The experiments created and ran by the Jesuits in Brazil and in Paraguay throughout the sixteen- to the eighteen-centuries, praised in Duarte’s articles as exemplary, could be use as inspiration for future projects. But the concentrationary project could face several obstacles. In his exposition, Teófilo Duarte singled out the most important: the system of native labour recruitment. As he acknowledged, for Africans “life in semi-isolation” was preferable to the “constant calls” for several labour requirements, provided for free, in the case of state requests, or, in exchange of remuneration, in the case of private enterprises. It was therefore essential to devise a “longstanding regime of exception” that would allow the inhabitants of the native settlements to be immune to this intense labour exaction pressure. If Vieira Machado’s bill proposed three years for recruitment exemption, Duarte suggested ten, which should also be the period for tax exemptions, since the settled natives would incur in initial expenses that justified this measure as well. Duarte underpinned other procedures to facilitate the attraction and the permanence of the natives in the *aldeamentos*, such as governmental financial and technical aid. Regarding the hot topic of the villages’ economic administration, Duarte considered that the missionary should be in charge. After all, they were “disciplinarily and spiritually integrated in a single organization.” Even the

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<sup>36</sup>*Pareceres do Conselho do Império Colonial*, AHU, 60-61. Caetano’s exposition, in *Pareceres do Conselho do Império Colonial*, AHU.

selection of the auxiliary personnel should also be entrusted to the missionaries, in order to avoid increasingly conflicts between those chosen by them and those chosen by the government. These conflicts could be easily explored by the natives “on their behalf,” as the old Jesuit experiments demonstrated. Given their “ample historical tradition” in dealing with modalities of concentration, the Catholic missions should be the sole responsible for the *aldeamentos*, and should be granted an “ample freedom of action.” Civil authorities should be solely responsible for inspection activities.<sup>37</sup>

Notwithstanding the positive appraisal by the Council, which included participants’ suggestions, modifications and voting declarations, there was no significant initiative by the government to carry on with the project of native villagization. About a year later, from June 1942 onwards, Teófilo Duarte started to publish his article “A concentração populacional indígena e os jesuítas,” as we already noted. He sustained that results did not correspond to the expectations of the political authorities, despite the existing legislation. Here we could see a silent criticism to Caetano’s defence of the available legal proceedings. As we have seen, given the “exceptional results” of the Jesuits in concentration experiments, Duarte advised the authorities, namely the legislators, to gather “some telling insights” from their experience. This would help to avoid past mistakes. Accordingly, a little more “doctrine” could be useful to improve the chances of future endeavours.

When Duarte had the opportunity, he returned to this same subject, now as Minister of the Colonies. This position could certainly facilitate the accomplishment of his ideas on native villagization that he had been sustaining since his address at the Council of the Empire and in his articles published in 1942. The doubts raised by inspector Ferreira Rosa about the limits of the missions’ economic activities were the perfect occasion for resuming the question. Above all, the context enabled the minister to gauge in what extent missionaries were interested in his project and, also, willing to get actively involved in it.

*Assembling “authorized opinions”: the ecclesiastical views*

In the beginning of February 1949, the Directorate General of Education of the Ministry of the Colonies sent the proposal elaborated by Ferreira Rosa to the Provincial Superiors of the Catholic religious congregations. They

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<sup>37</sup>Teófilo Duarte’s exposition, in *Pareceres do Conselho do Império Colonial*, AHU.

should appreciate the document and meet with the minister. Their “authorized opinion” was crucial. In the official letter forwarded by the Ministry it was highlighted that the minister wanted to base the “progressive villagization of the colonies” upon the missions and the missionary activities. This connection was of “fundamental importance to the missionary expansion,” as underpinned in the letter. The lessons of the past should be revived. Copies of “A concentração populacional indígena e os jesuítas” were attached to the dispatches sent to the clergymen. The meeting at the Ministry was planned to 12<sup>th</sup> March. The main missionary organizations (only the male ones) that had activities in the overseas were summoned: the Jesuits, the Holy Ghost Fathers (or Spiritans), the Franciscans, the Benedictines, the Congregation of the Mission (Lazarists or Vincentians), the Salesian Society (Salesians), the Brothers Hospitallers of Saint John of God, the Claretians and the Sociedade Portuguesa das Missões Católicas Ultramarinas (SPMCU - Portuguese Society of Overseas Catholic Missions, secular clergy, also known as Fathers of Cernache).<sup>38</sup>

In a collective response, with the date of the meeting, the Provincial Superiors, while claiming that the idea of native villages was “generous and interesting,” warned that the subject was “extremely complex” and should take into account the “ethnic elements of the different colonies.”<sup>39</sup> The problem required a solid knowledge about the actual possibilities of an effective accomplishment of the planned project. For the Superiors only the overseas missionaries could provide that knowledge and that assessment based on direct, local observation. A qualified answer to the minister’s request would depend on these local agents. They were fundamental to assess the feasibility of the plan. And they were also the ones that could evaluate the convenience of conferring certain responsibilities and posts in the local public administration to the missionaries of each village (e.g. *chefe de posto* or judges of peace in minor lawsuits), essential for “enhancing the villages prestige and for the good of the native.” The Superiors assumed that entrust administrat-

<sup>38</sup>Dispatch No. 301/49, 5 February 1949; AHU/1438/1B/MU/DGEdu/1946-62 – Dossier DGEnsino/ Process No. 511/ Section C: “Aldeamentos Indígenas. Verbas do Ensino e Exercício do Comércio.”

<sup>39</sup>“Resposta dos Provinciais das Corporações Missionárias ao Offício N.º 301/49 da Direcção-Geral do Ensino, do Ministério das Colónias, de 5/II/49; AHU/1438/1B/ MU/ DGEdu/1946-62” – Dossier DGEnsino/Process N.º 511/ Secção C: “Respostas dos Superiores das Corporações (incluindo uma colectiva)” [hereafter AHU – *Respostas dos Superiores*].

ive responsibility to the missionaries could be arguably justified by economic reasons, such as colonial financial constraints, but this option should not entail the same kind of generous solution followed in Brazil or in Paraguay. The administrative prerogatives conceded to the religious personnel were seen as having a strong justification: the missionaries were “the protectors of the native.” Curiously enough, the Superiors said nothing similar about the administrative authorities.<sup>40</sup>

The missionaries were therefore the obvious choice for leading this project, and were essential to this achievement. For the Superiors, as the Council’s appraisal had carefully underlined, it was fundamental that the administrative authorities could guarantee that no force would be involved in the strategies designed to bring and to keep the natives in the villages. “Appropriate means to attract” them should also be enacted. Likewise, privileges should be provided: tax and labour exemption, technical support for agricultural production. In the Superiors’ letter, the aim to turn the mission into “the cornerstones of a grand village” and a village into a “grand settlement”, depended on these guidelines.<sup>41</sup> Accordingly, the Provincial Superiors assured that the missionaries would be enquire about the feasibility of the overall plan, asking for precise information about local conditions and the most suitable places, near missions, to erect the new villages. The goal was to ensure the optimal conditions in order to “avoid the emigration, to settle the indigenous in that land, [and] to facilitate his evangelization and civilization.” The raise of the native’s “material and economic standards” was obviously defined as a major end. For Teófilo Duarte and the Provincial Superiors alike, the local missionaries were pivotal to the creation, development and ultimate success of the entire concentrationary enterprise. Their cooperation was an imperative. Of course, the minister also wanted to hear and involve, in varying degrees, both the overseas prelates and the colonial governors.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Draft dispatch to be sent to the Superiors of the Missions; AHU – *Respostas dos Superiores*.

<sup>41</sup>Letter to be sent to the Superiors of the Missions, written by Manuel Ferreira da Silva and David de Sousa (Bishop of Gurza and Superior of the SPMCU; and Franciscan Provincial Superior, respectively), c. II April 1949; AHU – *Respostas dos Superiores*.

<sup>42</sup>Letter to be sent to the Superiors of the Missions, AHU – *Respostas dos Superiores*.



Despite the commitment of both the minister and the Superiors, and the subject's importance, few replies were sent. At the beginning of 1950, when the Directorate-General of Education prepared a report on the question, only the Jesuits and the Lazarists had answered. The "first useful document," as the Directorate-General called it, was a transcription of a report sent by the superior of the Mission S. Jerónimo de Magude (in southern Mozambique, a few kilometres away from Lourenço Marques). In April, a year after the ministerial request, the Benedictines, settled in southeast Angola, sent their answer. The Holy Ghost Fathers (or Spiritans), the main Catholic missionary presence in Angola, failed to answer.<sup>43</sup> Likewise, there was a strange muteness from the Franciscans and from the Fathers of Cernache (secular missionaries of the SPMCU), even if their Provincial Superiors were the ones who coordinated the enquiry to all Catholic missions overseas. However, some of the most important religious representatives—the overseas prelates—did not miss the opportunity to offer their views.<sup>44</sup> The majority of the prelates answered: from Angola, the archbishop of Luanda (Moisés Alves de Pinho) and the bishops of Nova Lisboa (Daniel Gomes Junqueira) and Silva Porto (António dos Santos Silva); from Mozambique, the archbishop of Lourenço Marques (cardinal Teodósio Clemente de Gouveia) and the bishops of Beira (Sebastião Soares de Resende) and of Nampula (Teófilo de Andrade).

In general, prelates and missionaries considered the plans for native villagization clearly "advantageous and desirable." But the project must be thoroughly defined. The Jesuits required "absolute guarantees of continuity" of the endeavour, a point shared by the bishop of Beira, who suggested that the experiment should at least entail a period of 15 years. Otherwise, it would be "better not to start" at all. Immediate results were certain improbable. Being effectively crucial to colonization policies it should be acknowledged as a long-term initiative. Teófilo de Andrade, the Franciscan bishop of Nampula, advocated that native villagization would be "highly advantage-

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<sup>43</sup>There is no document about the Holy Ghost Fathers' position on the matter in the archival materials consulted.

<sup>44</sup>Two absences need to be highlighted: neither the bishop of Dili nor the apostolic prefect of the Portuguese Guinea responded. The bishops of Cape-Verde, São Tomé and those from Estado Português da Índia (as part of the Patronage of the East) were not questioned at all, because the project was not devised for application in these three territories.

ous” for the imperial power to begin a real colonization of the Portuguese domains in Africa. In 1949, the challenges of *effective occupation* were still evoked by many. Nomadism would be tackled and the emigration movements to foreign colonies counterbalanced. For the Benedictines, whose missions were near the Belgian Congo and both Rhodesias, villagization might break the existing “robust migration flow.” For the Lazarists, settlement plans might enhance conversion, because population dispersion made it “impossible to keep a perfect contact” with Africans. If the missionaries were the civilizers *par excellence*, as the bishop of Nampula declared (as many others, of course), with no contact and communication the enactment of evangelizing and *civilizing* processes was surely not possible.<sup>45</sup>

Native villagization was therefore seen as a crucial colonizing tool. It was also central to the formulation of discourses about the material and human aspects of colonial development. After the Second World War, concentrationary solutions assumed a greater importance, originating different strategies and projects, sometimes in competition with each other. The superior of the Lazarist mission of S. Jerónimo de Magude argued that the villagization “would greatly contribute to the absolute, rapid and efficient colonization of indigenous masses.” Accordingly, a “greater, more civilized and more Christian Portugal” could be a reality. In this sense, native villagization was a pre-condition for a *greater Portugal*. Likewise, villagization could be an instrument of missionary expansion too, sustaining the association between conversion and development advocated by the missionaries. For instance, the Jesuits suggested the creation of a village in the Makanja circumscription (northern-west Mozambique), based on the fact that there was no mission in the area. Villagization enabled a more effective conversion, and a more effective conversion enhanced “colonizing and civilizing or evangelizing” achievements, as Andrade noted. This social and cultural *mechanics* bolstered by villagization was of course related to “greater agricultural, workshop and industrial outcomes,” that is, socio-economic development. According to Santos Silva (bishop of Silva Porto), the villages were a “great step towards the moral and economic progress.” Soares de Resende provided

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<sup>45</sup>Dispatch No. 102/49, 20 May 1949 [statement by archbishop of Loanda, Moisés Alves de Pinho]; Dispatch No. 5056/A-15, 21 December 1949, by Governor-Geral of Mozambique; AHU – *Respostas dos Prelados*. Letter by Manuel Lopes, SJ, 20 September 1949; AHU – *Respostas dos Superiores*.

another example of moral “progress” generated by villagization: concentration would enable “the stability of families,” and the increase of the birth rate. The multiplication of Catholics was also, and obviously, praised.<sup>46</sup>

In order to turn the native villagization process a reality, the missionaries insisted that it was crucial to actively involve the natives themselves in the process. Villagization should not be merely a consequence of a legal enforcement by political authorities. Settling should be a conscious option, not an obligation. The conferral of certain privileges could of course facilitate the voluntary adhesion to the project. If the Benedictines talked about exemptions in a general sense, and Santos Silva of some non-specified privileges, others highlighted the two most important of them: the payment exemption of certain taxes, even if temporarily, as the Lazarists, the Jesuits and Soares de Resende defended; and the exemption from compulsory labour contracts, referred by the latter and also by Gomes Junqueira. Again, the labour question was given the highest importance. The bishop of Beira warned that private companies would not support or even hamper native villagization. They competed with each other in the “assault upon indigenous labour.” Villagization was going to be seen as “the shipwreck of many labour units” that were crucial “to the increase of their capitals.” Other incentives could be related to the provision of agricultural tools, essential to the economic take-off of the project. The existence of good, exemplary villages, would also be instrumental. As Soares de Resende noted, good examples would serve as “a school and incentive” to other natives.<sup>47</sup>

In regard of administrative functions and incumbencies, the debate was also revealing. Soares de Resende argued that native villages should be exempted of “certain interventions by administrative authorities,” allowing to the missions to work freely. This perspective was similarly close to Teófilo Duarte’s views on Jesuit achievements in Brazil and Paraguay back in the early modern period. As the minister had already sustained, the past models

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<sup>46</sup>Copy of letter by the Superior of S. Jerónimo de Magude (Congregation of the Mission – Lazarists), 27<sup>th</sup> May 1949; letter by Manuel Lopes, SJ, 20 September 1949; AHU – *Respostas dos Superiores*. Dispatch No. 33/PS/949, 6 June 1949 [statement by bishop of Silva Porto, António dos Santos Silva]; Dispatch No. 102/49, 20 May 1949 [statement by archbishop of Luanda, Moisés Alves de Pinho]; Dispatch No. 5056/A-15, 21 December 1949, by Governor-General of Mozambique; AHU – *Respostas dos Prelados*.

<sup>47</sup>On Soares de Resende and his action in Beira see Morier-Genoud, “The Catholic Church.”

should be pondered as useful and instructive for new plans, though some aspects must be avoided. Alves de Pinho had clearly rejected the possibilities to resume that old Jesuit tradition. The Benedictines suggested that the villages could correspond to an administrative district, with its functions entrusted to the missionaries. They would select their own leading personnel after consulting the bishop of the dioceses where the village would be placed. The Jesuits, which would hardly turn down the flattering appraisal of their ancestors' accomplishments, asserted that the powers related with the "functioning and welfare of the villages" should depend on missionaries. But they left a warning: those powers should be "extremely well defined" by legislation and by the authorities. The Lazarists concurred entirely. An accurate definition and delimitation of powers between religious and secular responsibilities was mandatory. And the missionaries even offered an example: a separation between minor judicial offences (that could be sorted out by missionaries) and major offences (submitted to the administrative authorities) should be clearly drawn. The fear of unwanted conflicts between secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions was widespread. Cardinal Gouveia, of Lourenço Marques, discerned that it was a "serious mistake" to divert the missionaries from their spiritual function to activities "strange" to the scope of his work, even if those activities were "useful and commendable." He believed that this diversion could bring on serious tribulations to missionary presence and activity. If cooperation with the state in the overall villagization process was overtly positive, the equation and juxtaposition of roles and responsibilities was undoubtedly risky and troublesome.<sup>48</sup>

The clear definition of obligations was therefore one of the most important issues. For some, it was perhaps the reason why the natives' villagization plan would have to face "real difficulties", namely the incomprehension of certain authorities, as Alves de Pinho, Soares de Resende, and the Jesuits signalled. The report by the Governor-General of Mozambique, Gabriel Teixeira, was a good example of the potential dissensions over the project. In his opinion, missions should not be in charge of the villages, even taking into consideration their attributes regarding religious, educational and moral assistance and the fact that they could be responsible for those activities

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<sup>48</sup>Dispatch No. 5056/A-15, 21 December 1949 [statement by Cardinal Gouveia, archbishop of Lourenço Marques], by the Governor-General of Mozambique to the Minister of the Colonies, AHU – *Respostas dos Prelados*.

within the villages. Moreover, the rural approach, which was also favoured by the missionaries, was criticized. For the Governor-General, native villages, seen as urbanized conglomerates of population, were only possible near large urban areas, for the accommodation of those who worked there. That was the whole idea of the *bairros indígenas* (native neighbourhoods or wards), similar to that addressed by Eduardo Marques during the discussion on Vieira Machado's bill, in 1941. In 1948, the Governor-General of Angola, Silva Carvalho, set in train a plan for the creation of native neighbourhoods, which promoted the construction of c. 500 dwellings until 1951. Conversely, the surroundings of Lourenço Marques were an obvious example to Gabriel Teixeira.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, as Teixeira asserted, the idea of rural villagization would also collide with particular native habits of farming and cattle-raising. At most, population concentration planning would be certainly preferable in fertile areas, as the cotton fields in Mozambique.<sup>50</sup>

### Conclusion

In January 1950, the Directorate-General of Education was able to elaborate the *Informação N.º 879 (Information No. 879)*, assembling all information related to this dossier on native villagization.<sup>51</sup> The *Informação* concluded that the villages should be grounded in “economic profits” and guarantee “steady and strongly protected moral basis.” Therefore, “Christian families or, bet-

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<sup>49</sup>For the *bairros indígenas*, see Diploma Legislativo No. 2.097, 17 November 1948; Regulamento dos Bairros Indígenas (Native Neighbourhoods Ordinance), approved by the Diploma Legislativo No. 2.799, 9 May 1957 (Luanda: 1957). See also Amadeu de Castilho Soares, *Política de Bem-estar rural em Angola (Ensaio)* (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1961), esp. 173-210; Maria Conceição Neto, “In Town and Out of Town: A Social History of Huambo, (Angola), 1902-1961,” PhD Dissertation (School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 2012), esp. 256-265; Nuno Domingos and Elsa Peralta, eds., *Cidade e império. Dinâmicas coloniais e reconfigurações pós-coloniais* (Lisbon: Edições 70, 2013); Carlos Nunes Silva, ed., *Urban Planning in Lusophone African Countries* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

<sup>50</sup>Dispatch No. 102/49, 20 May 1949 [statement by the archbishop of Loanda, Moisés Alves de Pinho]; Dispatch No. 5056/A-15, 21 December 1949. Letter by Manuel Lopes, SJ, 20 September 1949; AHU – *Respostas dos Superiores*. About the cotton culture see M. Anne Pitcher, *Politics in the Portuguese Empire: The State, Industry and Cotton, 1926-1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) and Allen F. Isaacman, *Cotton is the Mother of Poverty: Peasants, Work, and Rural Struggle in Colonial Mozambique, 1938-1961* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1996).

<sup>51</sup>The official letter of the Benedictine abbot of Singeverga (Provincial Superior of the Benedictine order in Portugal) was not included since it was only sent in April 1950.

ter, families who live in a Christian manner and organized themselves in Christian societies” should constitute the villages. The idea of congregating the villages around the missions was “vital”. The missions could and should have an “indispensable intervention” in the overall process. Notwithstanding this perspective, the “possibility of the exclusive command of the enterprise” by the missionaries was unadvisable at the time. This contrasted with Teófilo Duarte’s preferences, since he had strongly favoured missionary leadership. Yet it was not too distant from some missionaries’ stances that preferred a clear division between functions and obligations, between religious and civil authorities. For several missionaries, the forthcoming acceptance of the leading administrative functions in native villages without a clear restriction of civil authorities’ interference would likely prompt more potential problems than evident rewards.<sup>52</sup>

Apart from these reservations and the fact that native villagization program was not entrusted to the missions, as Duarte had planned, the missionaries enthusiastically endorsed native settlements idea. *Portugal em África*, the Spiritan missionary official journal did not hesitate to state that the program (this one or other with similar goals) would bring wealth to the whole province of Angola. Although, the congregation had strangely failed to send any answer to the Directorate-General, the overall program and the evangelical possibilities it arguably entailed were vigorously praised with enthusiasm. From the missionary perspective, the combined effects of native villagization were undeniably important: the counterbalance of migration, the instigation of settlement practices and, of course, the moral *stabilization* of native communities.<sup>53</sup>

Conversely, political authorities clearly endorsed the need for an active role by the Catholic Church and its missionaries, as was demonstrated in Vieira Machado’s proposal and in Teófilo Duarte’s projects. The entire project of using villagization as a way to foster a new set of moral and social norms and rules, counteracting nomadism as a social habit, thus determined. The ecclesiastical and missionary forces were seen as the key players in

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<sup>52</sup>*Informação* N.º 897, 24 January 1950; AHU – “Missões – Suas Actividades Económicas Intervenção no Aldeamento Indígena; Escolas que lhe foram confiadas.”

<sup>53</sup>*Portugal em África* VII (1950), 307. For further information on the program see “Colonatos indígenas,” *Boletim Geral do Ultramar* 27 (323) (May 1952): 132-133; and F. Boaventura, “Os colonatos indígenas em Angola,” *Agros* 1/2 (1951): 44-50.

this spatialized conception of social and moral transformation in colonial contexts. They were also crucial to projects of economic change. Native villages should be centres of intensive economic production, especially of farming and cattle-raising, but also of craftworks. Moral domestication and the fostering of an African *homo economicus* were two sides of the same coin. Since 1941, this double process was inscribed as rule in the terms of the Missionary Statute, when native education came under the aegis of the Catholic missions. The main purpose of native educational system was to prepare “rural workers and craftsmen.” Agricultural Schools and Arts and Crafts Schools, many of them directed by missions, would gradually become training centres for those to be villagized. For example, in the report of the superior of Mission S. Jerónimo de Magude, when the superior had proposed the mission area to settle a native village, according to the villagization planning, he had also suggested the creation of an agricultural school. There, native settlers would learn how to cultivate their *machambas* [farm land]. The already existing school of arts and crafts would therefore teach them a “profession”. In a context of growing centrality of (political, economic and sociocultural) developmental discourses, the demonstration of the capacity to promote the advancement of material and moral *conditions* of the natives was extremely valued. The Jesuit António da Silva affirmed that the “African populations must be educated into new labour methods, because of the new demands of the civilising action.” Furthermore, he highlighted that the missionary “has always been the best educator for work, without using any compulsory labour systems.”<sup>54</sup>

Moreover, the Catholic Church was also addressing the problem of economic development of the colonies. The growing importance of human development, side by side to more economic appraisals, meant that missionary endeavour was pivotal. Human development was essentially the conversion of native peoples. During the First Missionary Studies University Week, in 1951, the Franciscan father Dias Dinis asserted that to obtain Christians it was necessary, firstly, to get “conscious and free, actives and productive men, endowed with work habits.” Creating Christians (e.g. Catholics) and productive workers were indissoluble and inter-relational aspects of missionary

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<sup>54</sup>Copy of letter by the Superior of S. Jerónimo de Magude, 27 May 1949, AHU – *Respostas dos Superiores*. António da Silva, SJ, “Os Problemas do Trabalho e o Esforço Missionário,” *Missões* VI (3) (July-August, 1953): 126 and 128.

(and civilizing) work. In 1953, in the Jesuit missionary journal *Missões*, it was argued that economic development was the “condition for the evolution of missionary activity.” Evangelizing entailed the transmission of *productive* social norms, the basis of new Christianities. The still persistent arguments that supported the idea of the African as indolent and idle needed to be prove wrong. The need for levels of productivity that could sustain more significant levels of economic development was a sufficient reason to downplay longstanding prejudices. The moderation of these preconceptions was not, however, a predominant feature in the debates about villagization, development and social change.<sup>55</sup>

Contradictions, dissensions, and strategic coalitions aside, the connections between securitarian projects, evangelization and development in colonial contexts were thought by many as a fundamental political instrument in the late colonial period. The formulation and exploratory implementation of *spaces* of development that could turn these connections into realities was an important drive in the post-war period, revitalizing old (and not that old) genealogies, models, strategies, solutions—what Teófilo Duarte called “historical experiments” –, and mobilizing numerous actors and institutions working at several levels. The intersections between political and religious repertoires of power and rule—of population control, of intense and intensive social transformation, and of solutions to improve the “efficiency” of civilization—were an important aspect of these connections, which are still somehow understudied.

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<sup>55</sup>See, for instance, *Missões* VI (1) (January-February 1953): 19. Statement by father Dias Dinis, OFM, in *1 Semana Universitária de Estudos Missionários. Conferências* (Coimbra: Liga Académica Missionária, 1951), 9.





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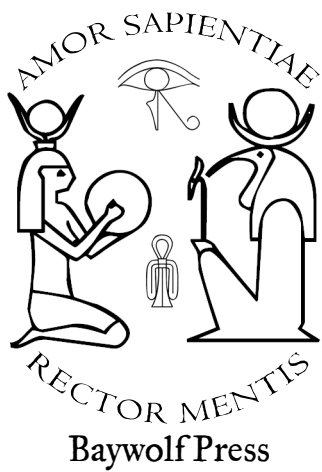
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