

The Portuguese Diaspora

There is another story to set alongside the grand narrative of the discoveries and the founding of Portugal's worldwide maritime empire. As the great navigators and conquistadores opened up the world, drew their maps and founded their empire which stretched across the globe, they set in motion a movement of the ordinary people, people who sailed their ships, manned their fortresses, and colonized the lands they discovered. They and their descendants founded new 'Portuguese' communities across the world which continued to flourish, even when the heroic age of exploration and conquest finally came to an end. Subaltern history, the history of ordinary people, does not always follow neatly in the wake of the activities of the politically powerful, indeed there is often significant divergence which it is important to understand to get a clearer picture of human development.

This story brings to the fore two aspects of European history which are not always given the importance they deserve. First, migration has always been a regular and accepted part of the life of very many ordinary people. Although, before the fifteenth century, most people were employed in agriculture, it was common for workers to migrate in search of seasonal employment, there was migration from the countryside to the towns and men from coastal communities would enlist as crew on fishing boats and merchant ships, being away from their communities for months at a time. The religious-minded went on pilgrimages and fighting men, like Chaucer's Knight, joined campaigns wherever they were being conducted. The educated moved between the courts and universities of Europe and there were movements of population to settle empty land as the frontiers of Europe expanded. Once new lands were discovered and new horizons opened for trade, conquest, and settlement, departures on ever more distant and speculative enterprises were greatly facilitated by networks and traditions of migration that already existed.

Just as migration was more common than is generally assumed, so also was the diversity of populations. The nationalist narrative that has people fitting neatly into boxes with nationally defined labels does not fit the realities of European history before nineteenth century politicians designed the nation states that appear on today's map. Before that century most states were multi-ethnic;

diverse languages and dialects were spoken and laws and customs differed, sometimes from one town to the next. People of all classes moved in search of employment, often resulting in a thoroughly polyglot population. Scottish and Swiss soldiers settled in countries where their contracts terminated; refugees from religious wars were scattered in dozens of different states; the crews of ships and populations of port-towns reflected a similar diversity, while at the other end of the social scale, the scholarly and scientific community and the royal courts attracted people of very diverse origins (McNeill 1978).

Three Streams of Migration

The spread throughout the world of communities that identified themselves as Portuguese was the first major expansion of European populations beyond Europe and it raises questions about cultural adjustment and the molding of identities, as cultures that had hitherto evolved largely in isolation from one another were brought into close contact.

This movement had a bewildering complexity, as three migratory streams with quite separate origins merged to form the 'Portuguese diaspora.' First, there were the migrants who left Portugal more or less voluntarily for employment or settlement overseas. Second was the forced migration of Africans who entered the Portuguese world as slaves and third was the migration of Jews from the Iberian peninsula which began toward the end of the fifteenth century. These three streams of migration, which continued to flow at least until the nineteenth century, merged with each other to create new Portuguese communities and these in turn mixed with the indigenous peoples in Africa, the New World, and Asia to form uniquely diverse Portuguese communities across the world.

The first phase of Portuguese expansion in the fifteenth century was characterized by conquests in Morocco, by slave raiding and trading on the African coast, and by the settlement of the islands of the eastern Atlantic (Vieira, 2007). The sailors who provided crews belonged to maritime communities in Portugal which made a living from fishing, gathering seaweed, and operating salt pans. When the Portuguese Crown began the settlement of the Atlantic Islands many men from the peasant communities of northern Portugal, who had traditionally moved in search of seasonal employment to supplement the incomes from family small holdings, took the opportunity to emigrate to cultivate the richly fertile volcanic soils of the islands. Not all those who availed themselves of these

opportunities were from Portugal and settlers came from elsewhere in Europe when the opportunity arose. Those who settled in Madeira after 1419 and the Azores from the 1430s also turned to the sea, sending their own trading expeditions to Africa and mounting exploratory voyages of their own into the Atlantic.

Slaves

Meanwhile, to this stream of migrants from Portugal was added a second movement of population, as slaves were brought from Africa both for sale in Portugal itself and in the islands where their labor was employed on sugar plantations. Madeira and the Azores were attractive to settler families from Portugal who constituted the largest part of the populations of those islands but the Cabo Verde and the Guinea Islands were a long way from Europe and presented a more hostile environment. Fewer settlers came from Portugal and slaves played a more important part in the settlement, slave women becoming the mothers of a free mixed race population that characterized these island settlements (Santos, 1991-2002).

The Portuguese controlled the slave trade until the end of the sixteenth century and also supplied slaves for the Spanish communities in the New World. It is thought that at least 300,000 slaves were traded from Africa between 1450 and 1600 and a further 2 million between 1600 and 1700. Possibly 200,000 of these were shipped to Portuguese communities—rather less than 1,000 a year, though heavily concentrated in the seventeenth century. The slaves came almost exclusively from the upper Guinea region from Senegal to Sierre Leone and from the Kongo and Angola area of central Africa (Atlantic Slave trade database; Curtin, 1969).

The slaves, although separated violently from their communities, took with them many elements of their culture, as Gilberto Freyre emphasized in his famous study *Casa Grande e Senzala*, originally published in 1933, and which has been confirmed by so much recent research. Among these were social and religious relationships, music, dance and oral tradition, matters effecting the domestic economy in dress, diet, medicine, etc., craft skills, and a general adherence to the moral values of their homeland (Freyre, 1933; Sweet, 2003).

Jews and New Christians

Toward the end of the fifteenth century a third stream of migration began. The persecution of Jews in Spain intensified with the founding of the Inquisition in 1480 and in Portugal the expulsion of Jews who would not convert was decreed in 1495. Tens of thousands of Sephardic Jews left the peninsula, many heading

for more tolerant regimes in Italy, the eastern Mediterranean or North Africa but many also going to Portuguese communities already established in the islands and on the west African mainland. It has been estimated that as many as 70,000 Jews were displaced from Spain and many also left Portugal in the final years of the fifteenth century, by far the biggest single exodus of population during that century. How many of these joined Portuguese communities overseas is not known, but migrants of Jewish or New Christian origin soon became an important element in the populations of Cabo Verde and the Guinea Islands (Saraiva 1964, 1969).

The exodus of people of Jewish origin did not cease with the new century. Although Jews who converted to Christianity (*Conversos* and New Christians) were able to remain in the Iberian peninsula, there was constant persecution as the Inquisition (which was established in Portugal in 1536) inquired into their orthodoxy. Whenever persecutions were intensified, there was a corresponding increase in the emigration of New Christians to join exile communities, and this stream of migration continued until the persecutions finally ended in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Jewish communities of Portuguese origin established themselves in many cities of the Mediterranean and in northern Europe. The largest and most prosperous communities were in Italy, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and London. These Sephardic communities kept their Portuguese identity, continuing to use the Portuguese language in religious ceremonies and their Portuguese names. They also retained their communal obligations to support the poor and to provide dowries for girls. They maintained links with families in Portugal and kept themselves very separate from Ashkenazi Jews coming from Germany and Eastern Europe. Their commercial investments extended to the New World where they were prominent in the sugar industry in Brazil and the Caribbean and in the early settlements in the United States (Bodian 1994, 1997).

The commercial networks of this early modern period were largely independent of the narrow, monopolistic policies of individual states. Merchant syndicates and commodity brokers did not belong to any one national group and in this international fraternity of finance and commerce, Jews of the Portuguese diaspora were prominent participants.

Numbers of Migrants

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the discovery of Brazil and the founding of the *Estado da Índia*, coinciding with the first Spanish settlements in the Caribbean,

began to divert the streams of migration. Migrants now looked beyond the Atlantic Islands and western Africa to opportunities in the New World and the East.

The numbers who left Portugal between 1500 and 1640 were estimated by Godinho to number 600,000, which would average at more than 4,000 a year, a number larger than the total who emigrated from Spain to the New World. This figure is very approximate as the patterns of emigration, return, and onward migration, are very complex. But this represented a major haemorrhage of population from a country whose total population was little more than one million (Godinho 1978).

This sustained migration was largely the result of economic opportunity: to farm better land in the islands or Brazil, to trade on the coast of Africa, to join Spanish expeditions in the New World or to endure the hardships of the long voyage to the Indian Ocean where there were many and varied opportunities to get rich, to marry and found families, and to acquire higher social status.

There is a massive literature on the impact of the slave trade on Africa, one aspect of which has been the impact of the loss of population, so it is interesting to compare the numbers involved in the slave trade with the emigration from Portugal over the same period. Over the period 1500 to 1850, 4.67 million slaves were sent to Brazil, mostly from the Kongo and Angola region—an average of 13,000 a year. Over the same period 2.9 million Portuguese emigrated, averaging approximately 8,000 a year. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a further 360,000 Portuguese emigrated to Brazil alone, part of the massive emigration from Europe which far exceeded the number of slaves exported from Africa during the whole of the slave trade (Newitt 2015, p.113).

Portuguese Migrants

At first most Portuguese migrants came from the populous northern provinces of Portugal, the Minho and Tras-os-Montes, but by the sixteenth century emigrants were also coming from the islands, which had been settled in the previous century. However, voluntary migration does not account for the totality of this population movement. Among those who left Portugal were convicts (*degradados*), men and women sentenced to exile by the Inquisition, and orphan children shipped overseas as servants or with dowries to enable them to marry (Coates 2001).

There was no gender balance to this exodus. Overwhelmingly it was men who joined the emigration from Portugal and very few women (except convicts and orphans and the occasional wife of some senior official) sailed to India or

relocated to the African settlements, or even to Brazil. As a result, the migrants had to take wives from the slaves they imported or from the native populations where they settled.

Migrants leaving Portugal or the islands took with them cultural baggage. As well as their language and Portuguese names, they took their particular form of Christianity—their Corpus Christi day celebration, their brotherhoods, their devotion to St Anthony and St Elmo, and those from the Azores their cult of the Holy Spirit. Throughout Africa and the East emigrants were subject to the *padroado real* which established a global Portuguese jurisdiction in all matters related to religious worship and became one of the main structures supporting this world-wide community. Migrants also took with them institutions—the *Misericórdias*, the local democracy of the town councils (*Senados da Câmara*), their acceptance of the social divisions between the married (*casados*) and the unmarried (*soldados*), and their particular forms of land tenure, the system of entailed property and the emphyteutic tenures which linked land use with social and political obligations. These were institutions which connected widely scattered populations and bound them together with a common understanding of the rights and duties of a member of a Portuguese community.

The Creation of Creole Societies in Africa

During the three centuries from 1450 to 1750 the Portuguese settled the Atlantic Islands and from there traded with most of the communities of the western African seaboard, establishing permanent settlements in the upper Guinea rivers, Elmina in modern Ghana, the Kongo, and Angola. While emigrants from Portugal (Christian and Jewish) carried with them their European Portuguese identity, their contacts with slaves and with the indigenous populations of the countries where they traded led to the adoption of elements of non-Portuguese culture which coalesced into a new creole identity. At the same time, their settlements became doors through which Atlantic trade and cultural influences entered Africa and spread widely among the peoples of the interior so that the early history of Atlantic trade is a story of cultural diversity and creolization.

The first areas to which migrants found their way were the Atlantic Islands. Although Madeira and the Azores largely replicated the society of Portugal, what happened in Cabo Verde and the Guinea Islands was very different. There the number of settlers who came from Europe was soon surpassed by the arrival of New Christians and by slaves. At first the society was very stratified with settlers

from Portugal becoming a landowning class who held local office and controlled the economic resources, but within a comparatively short space of time a mixed race population emerged and a process of creolization began. The large number of slaves speaking African languages soon gave rise to a widely spoken creole language, while the social culture of the islands became heavily Africanized.

The process of creolization was intensified when traders from the islands moved to the mainland and established trading settlements along the rivers of upper Guinea and in the region south of the Zaire. These trading communities (founded by the so-called *lançados*) intermarried with women from local lineages, adopted elements of African religious belief and local commercial practices. Although traders from the islands continued to control the maritime trade, within two generations the Portuguese resident on the coast had become almost completely Africanized, keeping Portuguese names and a nominal Christianity, even building square 'Portuguese' style houses, but in most other respects merging with local populations. In upper Guinea a Portuguese creole language also took root. These creole societies became intermediaries in the growing Atlantic trade, and when Dutch, English, and French began trading for slaves in West Africa they found a class of black 'Portuguese' middlemen who acted as brokers in the commercial relations with African states (Brook 2003, Green 2012).

São Tomé and Príncipe followed a rather different trajectory, its slave-operated sugar plantations enjoying fifty years of prosperity. A Portuguese institutional structure was established, with a town council and a bishopric, but by the end of the century the cathedral canons, the militia officers, and the town councillors were all black, the descendants of African slave women, and spoke a distinctive creole language (Garfield 1992).

The Kongo kingdom and the Portuguese colony of Angola also experienced creolization, with Christianity and many aspects of Portuguese material culture being adopted and assimilated by populations that were either mixed race or of wholly African descent. The Atlantic influences were felt in the increasing use of firearms and the spread of American food crops. In Angola powerful creole families controlled the land and the slave trade. They provided town councillors and officers in the armed forces and many of them had close ties with the African slave traders. They also attracted to themselves a large following from the local African population. As the seventeenth century wore on they became increasingly Africanized, using the Kimbundu language and adopting the customs and practices of the Mbundu elite (Thornton, 1992, Pinto 2015).

Portuguese who sailed for the Estado da India also made settlements on the coast of East Africa where another creole society became established with the Portuguese traders acquiring large followings of hunters, porters for inland trade, canoemen, and fighters. Dominican and Jesuit missionaries established a structure of Christianity to which the creole society more or less conformed, while retaining the practices of the established local spirit cults.

In western Africa it was the creole communities of the islands which provided personnel, shipping, and capital for the trade, but in eastern Africa soldiers, traders, and settlers did not come directly from Portugal but from the Estado da India. Many of them were Indians or sons of Portuguese and Indian women. Indians were prominent in establishing the inland fairs and Indian capital financed the trade in gold and ivory. The influence of the Estado da India can also be seen in the way that one of its institutions was grafted onto the eastern African settlements. The idea of *prazos* had developed in India and the Portuguese-occupied regions of Sri Lanka. The *prazo* was a grant of land (and of the population resident on it) made to individual Portuguese who collected tribute and administered the land, in return paying a rent to the Crown and undertaking to provide soldiers for the Estado da India. By the middle of the seventeenth century, a large area of land south of the Zambesi had been granted as *prazos*, but in Africa they had one distinctive feature—that they should be inherited by women who were then obligated to marry a Portuguese husband. The *prazos* passed down for three generations before reverting to the Crown. The *prazos* went through many evolutions but in one form or another survived until 1930, showing the extraordinary resilience of the creole society that had been established in eastern Africa (Rodrigues 2001, Newitt 1995).

One striking characteristic of the creole societies that emerged from Portuguese contacts with Africa was the important role that women had as land-owners, traders, investors of capital, and ship owners. This is particularly striking as society in Portugal was very patriarchal. The explanation for the importance of women in creole society can be found first and foremost in the matrilineal African families into which the Portuguese married where women occupied prominent positions as owners of property and heads of families. However, there is also a functional explanation. Portuguese traders were often transient and local women formed multiple liaisons, inheriting property and remaining in the country while the men with whom they established partnerships, which were often very brief, moved on or died or returned whence they came (Havik 1995).

In eastern Africa the prominent position of the *senhoras* of the *prazos* had been institutionalized by the Portuguese in the largely vain attempt to establish European families as a feudal elite. However, the prevalence of matrilineal customs among the African population undoubtedly assisted the *prazo* inheritance laws to become indigenized and acceptable to local ideas.

Brazil

Settlement on the coast of Brazil took some time to get established. Although the coast was divided into twelve captaincies in 1530, it was not till the end of the sixteenth century that sugar plantations at last began to attract settlement and the import of large numbers of slaves. The society that emerged was again highly creolized. Although an upper elite of European Portuguese came to own most of the plantations and filled the official positions in the towns, the rest of society reflected the culture of the African slaves and the native Indian population. As in the islands, it was not long before a free population of mixed race emerged and distinctive Brazilian cultural forms began to appear in music, religion, marriage, and domestic customs. A local creolized language, the so-called *língua geral*, was also widely used. In the seventeenth century, Brazil developed close links with the islands, West Africa, and Angola which, to some extent, bypassed Portugal itself and created a distinctive creole Atlantic community (Russell-Wood 2007).

The gold discoveries at the end of the seventeenth century resulted in renewed immigration from Portugal. In the first half of the eighteenth century, half a million Portuguese emigrated to Brazil and the Portuguese population there became the largest and, in many respects, the most dynamic settler population in the New World. At the end of the century, the gold mining center of Ouro Preto was larger and more populous than New York.

Luso Asiatic Communities

The early Portuguese voyages to India did not result in permanent settlements but, with the capture of Goa in 1510, the Estado da Índia had a fixed base in the East. Portuguese settled in the city which soon became the capital of what was a new kingdom of the Crown of Portugal. Goa was an episcopal See, had a town council modelled on that of Lisbon, and a *Misericórdia*. As there were few if any Portuguese women who went to the East, the Portuguese married Indian women and much of the 'Portuguese' population of Goa became in effect Luso-Indians. Alongside this Portuguese population, there grew up an increasing number of Indians who

became Christian, entered the Portuguese community at some level and became Lusitanized, although most of them had no direct connection with Portugal itself.

From Goa, other Portuguese towns were founded until by the middle years of the sixteenth century there were as many as fifty Portuguese settlements that formed the Estado da India. In northern India the Portuguese established the so-called Provincia do Norte which was made up of a string of towns, including Bassein, Chaul and Damão; in Malabar the city of Cochin was the unofficial capital of a number of smaller towns under Portuguese control. Each of these Indian towns reflected the Portuguese culture of Goa with a ruling elite of Portuguese and Luso-Indians and a large indigenous population which became more or less Lusitanized. Although the Portuguese came to control considerable areas of land around these towns where they established the regime of *prazos*, these settlements were primarily urban and commercial (Ames 2007).

A similar process led to the founding of important Portuguese settlements at Ormuz, Malacca on the Malay peninsula and Colombo on the island of Sri Lanka from which the Portuguese proceeded to take control of much of the lowland areas of the island. These fortress towns and commercial factories were all part of the Portuguese Estado da India, subject to the viceroy. Although ships continued to arrive from Portugal with officials to occupy senior posts and with soldiers for the fortresses, increasingly the Estado da India became a Luso-Indian project (Subrahmanyam, 1993, Newitt 2005).

Alongside the Estado da India with its network of fortresses and towns, there also grew up an unofficial network of independent Portuguese communities. These were founded by independent merchants or by Portuguese who sold their services to Indian rulers as mercenaries. Many of them also took to piracy. Christian missionaries, working in areas not directly controlled by the Estado da India, also created the nuclei for unofficial Portuguese communities, although they recognized the jurisdiction of the *padroado real* in religious matters. Important communities, largely independent of Goa, were formed on the eastern coast of India, notably at São Tomé, the supposed burial place of the apostle Thomas, and in the Bay of Bengal. Portuguese soldiers in the service of Asian rulers were also to be found fighting in Cambodia and Myanmar (Burma) where more or less permanent Portuguese communities were formed by the soldiers and their followers.

The most important of all these independent Portuguese communities were in China and Japan. Macao was founded by traders in 1556 and settlements in Japan, notably at Nagasaki, grew up around the Jesuit missions from the 1570s.

In the seventeenth century, the Dutch and English began to attack the towns of the Estado da India and in the middle years of the seventeenth century captured Ormuz, Muscat, Malacca, Colombo and the Malabar ports. This led to a dispersal of the Portuguese populations of these towns. Many settled down under English or Dutch rule, so that Bombay had a large Portuguese population during its early years, as did the Dutch capital at Batavia. Sri Lanka also had a population which identified as Portuguese. Other Portuguese refugees settled in Indonesia, where Macassar became a center of Portuguese population. In the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago 'Portuguese' Christian populations survived in Timor and Flores.

By the eighteenth century, although remnants of the old Estado da India survived on the East African coast and in Goa, Diu, and Macao, most of the 'Portuguese' populations in Asia are best described as a separate caste or tribe, distinguished by the use of Portuguese names, adherence to Catholicism, the use of Portuguese creole languages and, strangely, the wearing of hats. Few, if any, of these 'Portuguese' had any connection with Portugal at all and were, in fact, of Asian or African origin and had assumed a 'Portuguese' identity from among the diverse castes and cultures of maritime Asia.

The Portuguese soldiers, merchants, and settlers who had founded so many new communities across the globe had a profound influence on the course of human history. As a result of their activities, what is understood today as globalization had entered its first stage of development. Portuguese had become the first truly global language of maritime commerce and the silver that circulated as a result of Portuguese trade had become the first global currency. Missionaries of the *padroado real* had made Christianity the first truly global religion and Portuguese map-makers had made a scientific understanding of the nature of the world a possibility. For the first time, the products of Asia and the Americas reached global markets, while the food crops of the Americas were beginning to revolutionize the diet of Africans and Europeans and the cattle and horses of the Europeans were transforming the economy of the New World. Moreover, the slave trade, initiated by the Portuguese, constituted the first global migration of labor.

Portuguese Emigration in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

In the nineteenth century, emigration from Portugal and the Atlantic Islands began to increase again and by the end of the century had become a flood. However, as Miriam Halpern Pereira wrote, migration "came to acquire...new

characteristics; it ceased to be predominantly integrated into an imperial project and became the result of distortions in the development of dependence capitalism" (Halpern Pereira, 1981, p7). Portugal had suffered widespread destruction during the Napoleonic Wars. In 1822 Brazil broke away from Portugal, threatening to sever the commercial ties that had kept the Portuguese economy afloat during the previous two hundred years and this was followed by a twenty-five year period, from 1826 to 1851, when there were three civil wars and constant rural unrest. Meanwhile, Madeira, the Azores, and the Cabo Verde Islands suffered from a deteriorating environment, overpopulation, a landowning system that was archaic, and an economy that was either controlled by foreign business or lacked entirely the means to modernize (Carreira 1962).

Driven by desperate poverty, ordinary Portuguese began to emigrate in large numbers. The most popular destination was Brazil where many had family connections and where the language and culture made relocation relatively easy. Most Portuguese immigrants settled in and around the main port cities and sought employment in the retail and commercial sectors.

However, other destinations were becoming increasingly popular.

Portuguese, both from mainland Portugal and the islands, joined the mass migration to the United States. The links between the islands and the United States went back to the time when American whalers called at the Azores and the Cabo Verde Islands to recruit crews. When the whalers returned to the New England ports, Portuguese crew members were paid off and many settled in the country. Family members crossed the Atlantic to join them and, by the end of the century, there were large communities of Azoreans, Cabo Verdians, and mainland Portuguese in many of the towns of New England (Serrão 1981).

Not all this migration was voluntary as there were hidden forms of pressure, and Portuguese emigration played out one of the great ironies of modern history. Portugal had been the biggest single participant in the slave trade from Africa. However, by the nineteenth century one country after another, including Portugal itself, abandoned the slave trade and freed the slave populations in their countries. Contract labor now replaced African slaves in the growing economies of the New World and laborers were sought from Portugal and its Atlantic Islands where there were large numbers of poor and underemployed people willing to be recruited. Agents engaged Portuguese for the Caribbean sugar plantations, for newly settled Hawaii, and for the *fazendas* of Brazil. The conditions under which these contract laborers worked was little better than slavery as the

laborers were tied to their employers and could be subject to corporal punishment and other forms of coercion.

The former slavers now found themselves working in very similar conditions to the slaves they had once transported. Many died in unhealthy conditions, but for those who survived, once their contracts ended, there were opportunities to settle and Portuguese communities established themselves in many of the Caribbean countries, notably Trinidad, Bermuda, and Guiana, as well as Hawaii where they came to form a substantial part of the population.

If there is an unavoidable irony in Portuguese contract laborers being recruited to replace slaves who had been freed, there is further irony in the way the Portuguese were treated. Portuguese in the Caribbean and the United States were often considered to be a separate racial group, distinct from Asians and white Europeans. There are two reasons for this; it allowed white planters and colonial officials to treat Portuguese differently from other whites and subject them to a coercion which would not have been possible had they been seen as belonging to the white community. However, this treatment also recognized the fact that many of the Portuguese immigrants, especially from Cabo Verde, were of a mixed racial appearance.

Portuguese emigration reached a peak in the years 1909-1911 when over 200,000 legal emigrants were recorded. Emigrants also sought new destinations and began to settle in Argentina, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Partly this was in response to the United States and Brazil closing the doors to new migrants in the 1920s and 1930s. In the case of the U.S. this was largely racially motivated, in the case of Brazil it was a reflection of the downturn in the world economy (Baganha 1990). After the Second World War when the world's economy began to expand, migrants began to go to Canada and, after the 1952 earthquake in the Azores caused a widespread refugee crisis, the U.S. opened its doors again. In total, 1.6 million emigrated between 1901 and 1961.

However, the most momentous changes were experienced in Europe. There had always been emigration to the countries nearest to Portugal, to Morocco, Gibraltar, and, of course, Spain and France. This migration was often on a seasonal basis with workers returning at the end of short contracts. However, with the formation of the Common Market in 1956, the economies of Germany, France, the Low Countries, and Switzerland all experienced rapid growth. Large numbers of Portuguese came to these countries, not only seeking well-paid jobs but, in the 1960s, trying to escape military service in the colonies. Between 1961 and 1970,

680,000 Portuguese emigrated. Many of these were not permanent migrants and return visits to Portugal and retirement back home were a common feature of this movement. Even so, the numbers who settled permanently in France soon made Paris, after Lisbon, the second biggest 'Portuguese' city in Europe.

In the 1960s, Portuguese immigrants, especially from Madeira, found employment in the tourist industry in Britain and a large population established itself in Jersey as well as the British mainland. The African colonies had never attracted Portuguese migrants because they were penal colonies and had a reputation for being disease-ridden and primitive. However, in the 1950s, encouraged by the Salazar government, increasing numbers went to Angola and Mozambique and from there to South Africa where the growing economy provided job prospects for immigrant people of European origin (Castillo 2007).

A Worldwide Portuguese Community

Over the last hundred and fifty years the movement of populations around the world has created diasporic communities of almost every nationality. The Portuguese diaspora, however, has some unusual features which set it apart, for example, from the Irish or Italians.

First, it was part of a very old process that extended back to the fifteenth century. Seeking employment overseas, at sea, in the Atlantic islands, and in western Africa, and in the commercial cities of the East became part of the life pattern of generations of Portuguese. This emigration deeply marked Portuguese society where women were often left behind and rural parts of Portugal supported populations of widows and single women. Migrants tried to maintain a strong Portuguese identity through the church and other communal institutions and, particularly in recent times, many migrants returned to Portugal to find wives, to claim inheritances or to retire permanently.

The second characteristic was the growth of communities that called themselves 'Portuguese' but with no direct links back to Portugal itself. In West Africa, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and elsewhere there were 'Portuguese' communities often made up of Catholics of local birth who adopted a Portuguese identity as a way of defining their status and identity in a world where caste was all important. It is not easy to find many parallels to this phenomenon in the diasporas of other European peoples.

A third characteristic is the way in which Portuguese diasporic communities generated their own emigration, independently of what was happening in Portugal. The most obvious example is the Atlantic Islands, settled in the first

wave of migration in the fifteenth century, from which emigrants then left to settle in Africa and later, in the nineteenth century, generating a constant emigrant flow to the United States, the Caribbean, Canada, Hawaii, and other destinations.

Another example is provided by Goa. Goa was the capital of the *Estado da Índia* and for a century one of the most important commercial ports in India. It was also the ecclesiastical center of the *padroado real* and the base for the missionary orders. A large Christian population became established, made up of Portuguese, their children by Indian women, Indians who converted, slaves, and numerous other people who for one reason and another attached themselves to the Portuguese. By the eighteenth century, the great days of Goa were over and the old city was abandoned for the more healthy site of Panjim. The large Lusitanized population of Goa had achieved a relatively advanced level of education and a medical school had been established. Unable to find employment in the Goan territories, increasing numbers of Goans left for British India and eventually for British colonies in Africa where they occupied clerical and medical positions in the British colonies and enjoyed a status above that of Hindu and Muslim Indians. The Goan diaspora received a fresh impetus when India annexed Goa and the other Portuguese enclaves in 1961.

A Worldwide Community

After the final retreat from empire in 1974-1975, Portugal joined the EU in 1986, following the logic of the tens of thousands of Portuguese who had already settled elsewhere in Europe. But in 1996 the *Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* (CPLP) was founded to bring together the eight members of the United Nations who recognized Portuguese as one of their official languages (Equatorial Guinea joined as a ninth member in 2014). The CPLP was dominated not by Portugal but by Brazil whose size and economic strength exerted a gravitational pull like a large planet. Language was the cement that bound together the members of the CPLP, but also their colonial past and this became more obvious as other countries which had been connected with Portugal in the era of its maritime empire also sought to join or become associate observers, among them Senegal and Morocco and territories such as Macau, Goa, and Malacca which were formerly Portuguese colonies but were now parts of other states.

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