

**General Editors:** Megan Vaughan, Kings' College, Cambridge and Richard Drayton, King's College London

This informative series covers the broad span of modern imperial history while also exploring the recent developments in former colonial states where residues of empire can still be found. The books provide in-depth examinations of empires as competing and complementary power structures encouraging the reader to reconsider their understanding of international and world history during recent centuries.

*Titles include:*

Tony Ballantyne

ORIENTALISM AND RACE

Aryanism in the British Empire

Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo

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

Peter F. Bang and C. A. Bayly (*editors*)

TRIBUTARY EMPIRES IN GLOBAL HISTORY

Gregory A. Barton

INFORMAL EMPIRE AND THE RISE OF ONE WORLD CULTURE

James Beattie

EMPIRE AND ENVIRONMENTAL ANXIETY, 1800–1920

Health, Aesthetics and Conservation in South Asia and Australasia

Rachel Berger

AYURVEDA MADE MODERN

Political Histories of Indigenous Medicine in North India, 1900–1955

Robert J. Blyth

THE EMPIRE OF THE RAJ

Eastern Africa and the Middle East, 1858–1947

Rachel Bright

CHINESE LABOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1902–10

Race, Violence, and Global Spectacle

Larry Butler and Sarah Stockwell

THE WIND OF CHANGE

Harold Macmillan and British Decolonization

Kit Candlin

THE LAST CARIBBEAN FRONTIER, 1795–1815

Nandini Chatterjee

THE MAKING OF INDIAN SECULARISM

Empire, Law and Christianity, 1830–1960

Esme Cleall

MISSIONARY DISCOURSE

Negotiating Difference in the British Empire, c.1840–95

T. J. Cribb (*editor*)

IMAGINED COMMONWEALTH

Cambridge Essays on Commonwealth and International Literature in English

Bronwen Everill

ABOLITION AND EMPIRE IN SIERRA LEONE AND LIBERIA

Róisín Healy and Enrico Dal Lago (*editors*)

THE SHADOW OF COLONIALISM IN EUROPE'S MODERN PAST

B. D. Hopkins

THE MAKING OF MODERN AFGHANISTAN

Ronald Hyam

BRITAIN'S IMPERIAL CENTURY, 1815–1914: A STUDY OF EMPIRE AND EXPANSION

Third Edition

Iftekhar Iqbal

THE BENGAL DELTA

Ecology, State and Social Change, 1843–1943

Leslie James  
GEORGE PADMORE AND DECOLONIZATION FROM BELOW  
Pan-Africanism, the Cold War, and the End of Empire

Robin Jeffrey  
POLITICS, WOMEN AND WELL-BEING  
How Kerala became a 'Model'

Gerold Krozewski  
MONEY AND THE END OF EMPIRE  
British International Economic Policy and the Colonies, 1947–58

Zoë Laidlaw and Alan Lester (*editors*)  
INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES AND SETTLER COLONIALISM  
Land Holding, Loss and Survival in an Interconnected World

Javed Majeed  
AUTOBIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL AND POST-NATIONAL IDENTITY

Francine McKenzie  
REDEFINING THE BONDS OF COMMONWEALTH 1939–1948  
The Politics of Preference

Gabriel Paquette  
ENLIGHTENMENT, GOVERNANCE AND REFORM IN SPAIN AND  
ITS EMPIRE 1759–1808

Sandhya L. Polu  
PERCEPTION OF RISK  
Policy-Making on Infectious Disease in India 1892–1940

Sophus Reinert and Pernille Røge  
THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF EMPIRE IN THE EARLY MODERN WORLD

Jonathan Saha  
LAW, DISORDER AND THE COLONIAL STATE  
Corruption in Burma c.1900

John Singleton and Paul Robertson  
ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN BRITAIN AND AUSTRALASIA 1945–1970

Leonard Smith  
INSANITY, RACE AND COLONIALISM  
Managing Mental Disorder in the Post-Emancipation British Caribbean, 1838–1914

Miguel Suárez Bosa  
ATLANTIC PORTS AND THE FIRST GLOBALISATION C. 1850–1930

Jerome Teelucksingh  
LABOUR AND THE DECOLONIZATION STRUGGLE IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Julia Tischler  
LIGHT AND POWER FOR A MULTIRACIAL NATION  
The Kariba Dam Scheme in the Central African Federation

Erica Wald  
VICE IN THE BARRACKS  
Medicine, the Military and the Making of Colonial India, 1780–1868

---

**Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series**  
**Series Standing Order ISBN 978-0-333-91908-8 (hardback)**  
**978-0-333-91909-5 (paperback)**  
(*outside North America only*)

You can receive future titles in this series as they are published by placing a standing order. Please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address, the title of the series and the ISBN quoted above.

Customer Services Department, Macmillan Distribution Ltd, Houndmills, Basingstoke,  
Hampshire RG21 6XS, England

---

# The 'Civilising Mission' of Portuguese Colonialism, 1870–1930

Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo

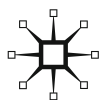
*Research Fellow, Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon*

Translated by

Stewart Lloyd-Jones

*Revision: Margarida Fino Jerónimo/Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo*

palgrave  
macmillan



© Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo 2015

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2015 978-1-137-35590-4

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The author has asserted his right to be identified as the author of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2015 by  
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, RG21 6XS

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-67548-7 ISBN 978-1-137-35591-1 (eBook)  
DOI 10.1057/9781137355911

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Typeset by MPS Limited, Chennai, India.

# Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	vii
Introduction	1
<b>Part I The ‘Civilisation Guild’: Native Labour and Portuguese Colonialism</b>	
1 Between Benevolence and Inevitability: The ‘Civilising Mission’ of Portuguese Colonialism	11
From Brussels to Berlin: the internationalisation of African affairs	11
From Berlin to Brussels: civilising colonial sovereignty	17
Laws, clauses and inconsistencies: Portuguese colonies and vigilantes of the empire	23
2 The ‘Civilisation Guild’ and the ‘Engineers of Depression’: The Case of S. Thomé Cocoa	38
Justificatory memoranda and ‘humanitarian’ acts: civilising through work	38
Reports, conferences and boycotts: the ‘slave cocoa’ of S. Thomé	46
‘More laws than mosquitos’: preserving the pearls of the empire	54
White books, black souls	67
3 ‘Redemptive Labour’ and the Missionaries of the Alphabet	77
Work to civilise or educate to colonise?	77
On ‘the difficulties to make the natives work’	89
Educating the <i>bodies</i> and the <i>souls</i> : myths and realities	96
<b>Part II Colonialism without Borders</b>	
4 Bibles, Flags and Transnational Loyalties: Educating Empires	109
In the vanguard of civilisation: exporting educational philanthropy to Africa	109
Spreading the social gospel: missionaries, educators and social scientists	121
5 New Methods, Old Conclusions: The Ross Report	134
‘Colonisers <i>par excellence</i> ’	134

‘Without documentation and just with simple declarations, we can end in a bad situation’	147
The Social Gospel at the League of Nations	156
‘I must ask you not to quote from it in any way’	165
Against another ‘defamatory campaign’: on methods and interpretations	174
Manoeuvring the ‘sacred trust’	188
Conclusion	195
<i>Notes</i>	199
<i>Sources and Bibliography</i>	238
<i>Index</i>	260

# Acknowledgements

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to several individuals and institutions for their support. Without them this work would not exist, or would be entirely different, for sure. First and foremost, I am obliged to reckon the fundamental funding given by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology, especially regarding the collective research project *Internationalism and Empire: The Politics of Difference in the Portuguese Colonial Empire in Comparative Perspective (1920–1975)* (FCT-PTDC/EPH-HIS/5176/2012), that I coordinate and in which part of this research was developed. A special mention is due to the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon, to King's College London – namely to the History Department – to Brown University – namely the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies – and to the Luso-American Foundation for Development (FLAD), which in the last years offered me excellent conditions to continue this research, which started at the New University of Lisbon, at the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences.

I have received generous encouragement and supportive criticism from many sources. Not least, from numerous students that tolerantly dialogued with me in the past fifteen years. Fortunately, throughout my academic life I had the honour to learn and debate with many colleagues who helped me develop and improve my thoughts on these subjects (or sometimes abandon them altogether). Amongst these, in no particular order, I feel fortunate to mention: William Roger Louis, Frederick Cooper, Francisco Bethencourt, Crawford Young, Martin Thomas, Jason Parker, Filipa Vicente, Abdoolkarim Vakil, Corinna Unger, Malyn Newitt, Dane Kennedy, Jean-François Bayart, Richard Drayton, Sebastian Conrad, Ian Phimister, Philippa Levine, William Clarence-Smith, Ryan Irwin, Andrew Zimmerman, Philip Murphy, Sarah Stockwell, Martin Shipway, David Justino, Alexander Keese, Pedro Tavares de Almeida, Margarida Marques, Jorge Pedreira, Rui Santos, Nuno Domingos, Hugo Gonçalves Dores, Nuno Mota, Ana Prata, and Carlos Silva.

I want to appreciate the suggestions and critical remarks made by the anonymous reviewers of this volume. I also want to mention Jenny McCall and Holly Tyler at Palgrave Macmillan: they know why.

To the editors of Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series: I am honoured to be a part of this excellent collection.

For reasons they certainly are aware of, I hope, I must express my wholehearted gratefulness to Diogo Ramada Curto, Andrew Porter, António Costa Pinto, Onésimo Teotónio de Almeida, and José Pedro Monteiro. To be able to benefit from their knowledge and friendship is a great privilege.

To my close family – Laura, Isabel, Vasco, Elsa, António, Luís, Pedro, Vasco, Margarida, Manuel, Thibaud, Théo, Alice, Hugo, Manuel, Gonçalo – the warmest word for a life of companionship and unconditional love.

To Magda: for the past, the present and the future.

I want to dedicate this book to my little boy Diogo. One day he will fully understand why, I hope.