

The Bricks of an Empire 1415-1999: 585 years of Portuguese emigration

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Introduction

In this paper we take an initial foray, on the basis of available secondary sources, into the examination of Portuguese emigration and its demographic implications for Portugal and its overseas empire. We wish to obtain some understanding of the magnitude of the population outflow, and of the areas to which the emigrants went, and in subsequent work use these to better determine the causes and consequences of such movements and their impact on economic growth in different parts of the world.

PART I - General Trends of the Portuguese Empire

Sea travel has had a long tradition in Portugal. There is a record of a Portuguese shipwreck in the North Sea in 1194, only fifty years after the foundation of the country. Trade was always a major purpose on these trips. Even before the XIIIth century the Portuguese had a trading post in Bruges, the first foreign post in Flemish lands. In 1203, some Portuguese were allowed by the English crown to trade in England (Azevedo p.28).

But the usual date considered for the start of the Portuguese empire is the expedition to Ceuta (Morocco) of King João I (1385-1433) in 1415. This was followed by the voyages of the "caravelas" of

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Henrique the Navigator, fifth son of João I. The longest-lasting colonial empire in the world had started. It was to end only in our time.

1. 1415-1460: The first discoveries

The first period of the empire was centred in the Atlantic. Madeira and the Porto Santo islands (both known in Europe for some time) were colonized by two expeditions in 1419-20, under João Gonçalves Zarco, Tristão Vaz Teixeira, and Bartolomeu Perestrelo. The first Azores islands were discovered in 1427 by Diogo Silves. Meanwhile, discovery along the African coast was proceeding slowly. The coast had been explored in the centuries before by many expeditions, but the Portuguese were the first to undertake a systematic approach. Prince Henrique sent many ships there in order to gain ever-increasing knowledge of the African coast.

A milestone was achieved in 1434 when Gil Eanes passed the legendary cape Bojador (in the present Spanish Sahara). Cape White (in Mauritania) was passed in 1441 by Nuno Tristão, and Guiné was reached in the 1450s. In 1445 the first commercial settlement in West Africa was created, in Arguim (present-day Mauritania). In the decades of the 1450s and 1460s, the Cape Verde islands were found and colonized. Meanwhile, in 1441, the first cargo of slaves from the Mauritanian coast had been unloaded in Algarve (the province at the south-end of Portugal). By 1460, the date of Prince Henrique's death, the coast of Africa had been explored down to present-day Liberia, where the coastline turns dramatically towards the East.

2. 1460-1500: The two main routes

The years after the death of Prince Henrique witnessed a reduction of interest in discoveries. His nephew, King Afonso V (1438-1481), had many internal problems and was much more involved in the conquests in Morocco. But, nevertheless, Timbuctu and Mali were reached in the early 1480s. The drive for discovery was renewed under Afonso's son, King João II (1481-1495), who was the real strategist of the Portuguese discoveries. He ordered the building of the fortress of S. Jorge da Mina (present-day Ghana)

in 1482 to protect the Portuguese trade in the area. In the same year he sent Diogo Cão on a first trip, which reached Congo and Angola. In 1488, Bartolomeu Dias circled the tip of Africa, passing the Cape of Good Hope.

After the Portuguese-trained Cristovão Colombo returned from the Antilles in 1493, Portugal and Spain divided the world under the Treaty of Tordesilhas in 1494. Portugal obtained all the land east of the meridian passing 1184 miles west of the Cape Verde islands. D. João II died the year after, having opened the way to India. Other routes were also opened. In 1495, following Colombo, Pero de Barcelos and João Fernandes Lavrador (whose name was given to the coast of Canada) discovered Greenland, and in 1500 Gaspar Corte-Real reached Newfoundland. Many of the Spanish lands, under the Treaty of Tordesilhas, were actually discovered by the Portuguese.

But India was the main prize. D. Manuel I (1495-1521) sent Vasco da Gama there in 1497. He reached India in 1498, having visited the whole of the east coast of Africa. There was also a second important region to be discovered. The second Portuguese voyage to India departed in 1500 under Pedro Álvares Cabral. At mid-journey he discovered Brazil. The two basic areas of the new empire were now open.

3. 1500-1580: The first golden era

The general motivation of the enterprise of empire was now very different from the original one. At the time of D. Henrique's death (1460), the reasons for the discoveries were mainly the search for the lost Christian kingdom of Prester John ("Prestes João", found in Ethiopia) and gold and slaves from Guinea. During the kingdom of D. João II (1481-1495), these motives were reinforced by the search for the Asian spice trade. But D. Manuel (1495-1521) was now determined to get the spices trade from India by force, with the help of friendly Christian Indians (Boxer p.52).

The start of the XVIth century provided the finishing touches to the new empire. Afonso de Albuquerque, the third viceroy of India, conquered Goa (1510), Malacca (1511), and Ormuz (1515),

thus dominating the whole of the Eastern trade. The first Portuguese arrived in China in 1513 and Jorge Álvares led a trade mission there the following year. Japan was not reached until 1542. Under the Spanish flag, the Portuguese Fernão de Magalhães commanded the expedition which would circle the globe for the first time, in 1519-21.

The period which followed was the first golden era of the Portuguese empire. Trade with India dominated the picture, with Africa and Brazil only marginal players. Portugal became the middleman between Europe and the East. The Portuguese traders provided European goods (textiles, clocks, lenses, and other goods), along with bullion and other metals, in exchange for Indian spices, porcelains, silks, and other exotic products. During this period, the wealth of the Portuguese king was clear, but it remains doubtful if the country gained enough to compensate for the human effort involved. In addition to the economic flows, the cultural and religious aspects of expansion were also very important. The clash between two very complex civilisations was painful, but fertile. The missionaries became one of the most important driving forces of the empire. But the orient was regarded as "a frontier land of conquest" according to a Franciscan missionary in Goa at the height of the empire, in 1587. All people in the Orient were enemies of the Portuguese, either openly or covertly (Boxer p.287).

The measures to control an empire which stretched from Lisbon to Malacca were remarkably large for a small country, but remarkably small for such a huge territory. At the height of the empire Portugal had less than 300 ships (Boxer p.68).

4. 1580-1660: Decadence and recovery

In 1580 Portugal was conquered by Spain, and independence was not re-achieved until 1640. The Dutch then started attacking the Portuguese empire (a fight which constituted "the First World War", Boxer p.115). The resources of the Dutch were much greater, and the situation of Portugal was then very difficult, since it

was forced by Spain to fight in Europe. The final result of this global war was a significant victory for the Dutch in the East, a draw in Western Africa, and a clear victory for the Portuguese in Brazil (Boxer p.118). The main reason that the empire was kept afloat, was the deep cultural and personal roots the Portuguese had gained in the regions that had been colonised. The influence of the missionaries was clearly felt and these ties helped to maintain Portuguese influence, even after the defeats and the expulsions (Boxer p.127). After 1640 the reborn, independent Portugal began to reorganise its properties and tried to restore the strained colonial relations. The Eastern empire was to be reduced to a few local trading posts in India, Macau, and Timor. Brazil then became the new centre of the empire. A new golden era was about to begin.

5. 1660-1822: The second golden era

Portugal's loss of influence in the Far East was clear in the second part of the XVIIth century. The rise of first the Dutch, and later the British, reduced the Portuguese position to a small, but significant, presence in the Far East. On the other hand, Brazil was to gain an increasing importance within the empire. Sugar, after the second half of the XVIth century, became the main source of wealth for the colony. But by 1690 gold was discovered in the interior, and this reduced the economic significance of sugar. With Brazilian gold came the second golden age of the Portuguese empire. Its characteristics were quite similar to those of the Indian spice period, with the crown gaining most of the revenues. The kings D. João V (1706-1750) and D. José (1750-1777) lived in great wealth, as had D. Manuel and D. João III during the first golden age. For the people, the gains hardly covered the costs involved.

But there were now some important differences from the XVIth century. The main external elements were the greater conflicts with, and competition from, other European powers. Structurally, the main difference was that Brazil, unlike India, did not have a large native population to compete with the newcomers. This allowed for the building of a colonial society, which would gain

increased independence from the kingdom. The residence of the Portuguese king in Brazil after 1807, due to Napoleon's invasion of Portugal, gave a push to the colony's ambitions. In 1822 this reached a climax with Brazil becoming independent.

6. 1822-1961: The third and fourth empires

The loss of Brazil was a severe blow to Portuguese prospects. The former extensive empire, ranging from Lisbon to Malacca, was now reduced to a few localities spots, with its main centres in Angola, Moçambique, Goa, Macau, and Timor. The only significant remaining empire was in Africa. The sparse empire came under attack from other powers. A particularly serious blow was the British ultimatum of 1890, demanding the surrender of the territory between Angola and Mozambique. During the First World War, Portugal was involved in confrontations in Africa. In the Second World War only Timor was invaded by the Japanese, although allied bases were granted in the Azores islands.

The wealth from the colonies had always been an important asset for the country, and an important component of domestic politics. Never again, however, was there another golden age. Development policies were attempted in the colonies at various times, but with no coherent strategy and with only very limited success.

Portuguese emigration abroad, which had soared in the mid-XIXth century, was now, for the first time, directed mostly towards foreign countries. The last Portuguese "empire" was to be dispersed throughout the whole world, to areas where Portugal had no political control. Brazil was the main destination for most of the XIXth century, but the United States and Europe were also significant recipients of Portuguese out-migration.

7. 1961-1999: The return home

After 1961 came the years when Portugal lost its empire. The invasion, by Indian forces, of the Portuguese territories in Goa, Damão, and Diu in 1961 was almost contemporaneous with the

start of the liberation wars in some of the African colonies: Angola (1961), Mozambique (1963), and Guiné-Bissau (1964). Salazar's dictatorship (Salazar had ultimate power in Portugal from 1928 to 1968, within a dictatorship regime which lasted from 1926 to 1974), tried to create a "Portuguese economic space", including a monetary union, but with few real results, although some economic development was visible in some of the African colonies.

After the 1974 revolution, the colonies were granted independence. Guiné-Bissau in 1974, and Mozambique, Cabo Verde, S.Tomé and Príncipe, and Angola in 1975 became sovereign states. This process created a mass repatriation of people from the former colonies, raising the Portuguese population by almost 10 percent in less than two years. Only two colonies were kept, but both of these were under extraordinary circumstances. East Timor was invaded by Indonesia, just before achieving independence, and the problem of its occupation is still undecided. Macau will be, by treaty, integrated into China in 1999.

A new surge in emigration, in magnitude by far the largest of the whole period, took place in the 1960s. The main destination of the emigrants now was Western Europe. After 1974, emigration declined sharply and there was a significant return of emigrants. Today, the empire has almost come full circle. Portugal's population is about 10 million people, but 200 million all over the world now speak Portuguese. This is perhaps the main heritage of the first and longest colonial empire in the world.

PART II - Global Picture of the Portuguese Empire and Emigration

1. The population of the empire

The demographic dimension of the long and remarkable process of the Portuguese empire remains difficult to establish accurately. The following sections attempt to trace the main trends of the global picture from the sparse and sometimes uncertain numbers available.

1.1. Population of mainland Portugal

The country which was the first to have and the last to lose a colonial empire was always relatively small. In the late Middle Ages, the Portuguese population was around one million. There was a subsequent fall, due to the Black Death of 1348-49 and the war with Castela from 1383 to 1411. But by 1450, the population was above 1 million (Boxer p.22). The path followed to reach the present 9.3 millions in mainland Portugal is summarized in Table 1. Table 2 shows the population for the two largest cities in Portugal, Lisbon and Porto.

TABLE 1 - Population of mainland Portugal

1415	1,000,000-1,100,000*	1861	3,693,362
1527	1,100,000-1,400,000	1864	3,829,618
1636	1,100,000	1878	4,160,315
1732	2,143,368	1890	4,660,095
1768	2,408,698	1900	5,016,267
1801	2,931,930	1911	5,547,708
1821	3,026,450	1920	5,621,315
1835	3,061,684	1945	8,107,320
1838	3,224,474	1965	9,004,200
1841	3,396,972	1970	8,648,180
1854	3,499,121	1976	9,123,000
1858	3,584,677	1992	9,345,000

Source: Neto (1963), Neves (1994) pp.223-4; * Godinho (1971)

TABLE 2 - Population of Lisbon and Porto

	Lisboa	Porto
1415	60,000	12,000
1527-31	70,000	13,500
1550	100,000	-
1590	120,000	-
1619	165,000	14,500
1732	-	20,000
1801	200,000	43,000
1864	200,000	80,000
1960	800,000	300,000
1991	663,394-1,831,877*	302,472-1,167,800+

Source: Godinho(1971); 1991-Censos 91,INE; * Greater Lisboa; + Greater Porto

1.2. Population in the empire

From its small base, in the western-most part of Europe, Portugal, after 1415 had a large outflow of people. Although the numbers involved are still not clear, a few estimates have been attempted, with rough results. Table 3 presents the basic numbers for the stock of people in the empire, which must be complemented by the partial figures in the following sections.

TABLE 3 - Population in the total Portuguese empire (excluding Portugal)

Period	Number	Source
mid XV th c.	100,000 - 150 000 Portuguese resident out of Portugal	A
end XVII th c.	1,000,000 (of which 1/4 to 1/3 were of direct Portuguese origin.)	A
1820	7,305,730 (including Brazil)	C
mid- XIX th c.	1,650,000 (without Brazil)	B
1st quart. XX th c.	9,348,330	B

Note - In order to help the presentation of the data, the following *CODES OF THE MAIN STATISTICAL SOURCES* will be used in the tables

Source	Code	Source	Code	Source	Code
Godinho (1971) and (1978)	A	Matoso (1993) vol.III	D	Marques (1981) v.III, pp. 556-7	G
Neto (1963)	B	Boxer (1969)	E	Silva (1992)	H
Serrão (1982)	C	Baganha (1991) and (1994)	F	Nizza da Silva (1986)	I

1.3. Population speaking the Portuguese language

The influence of the Portuguese empire spread even after its political dominance had ceased. One simple way to measure its influence is to calculate the number of people in the world who use the Portuguese language. Table 4 presents a rough estimate of these numbers.

1.4. The global picture

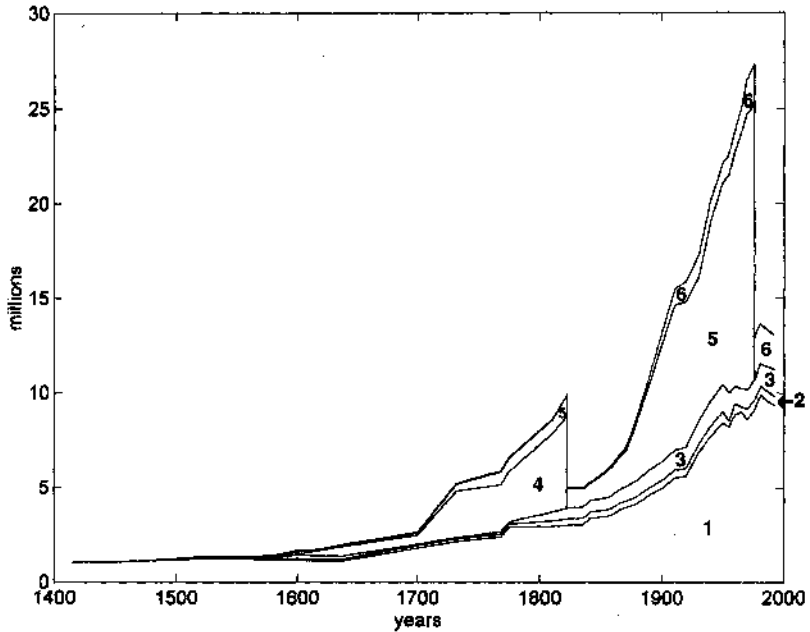
The information available, summarized in the next sections, allows us to attempt to trace the general outline of the Portuguese empire. Linear interpolations were used, along with some reasonable hypotheses, to supplement the available information. Figures 1 and 2 present the result of this exercise.

TABLE 4 - The Portuguese-speaking population in the world in 1994.

PORTUGAL		REST OF THE WORLD	
Mainland Portugal	9,350,000	Angola	10,442,000
Madeira and Azores	505,000	Moçambique	15,500,000
Macau and Timor	1,430,000	S.Tomé and Príncipe	125,000
TOTAL	11,285,000	Guiné-Bissau	1,000,000
		Cabo Verde	372,000
		Brazil	159,100,000
		Emigrants elsewhere	1,800,000
		TOTAL	188,339,000
TOTAL 199,624,000			

Source: World Bank (1996) pp. 188, 222 and estimates (see below)

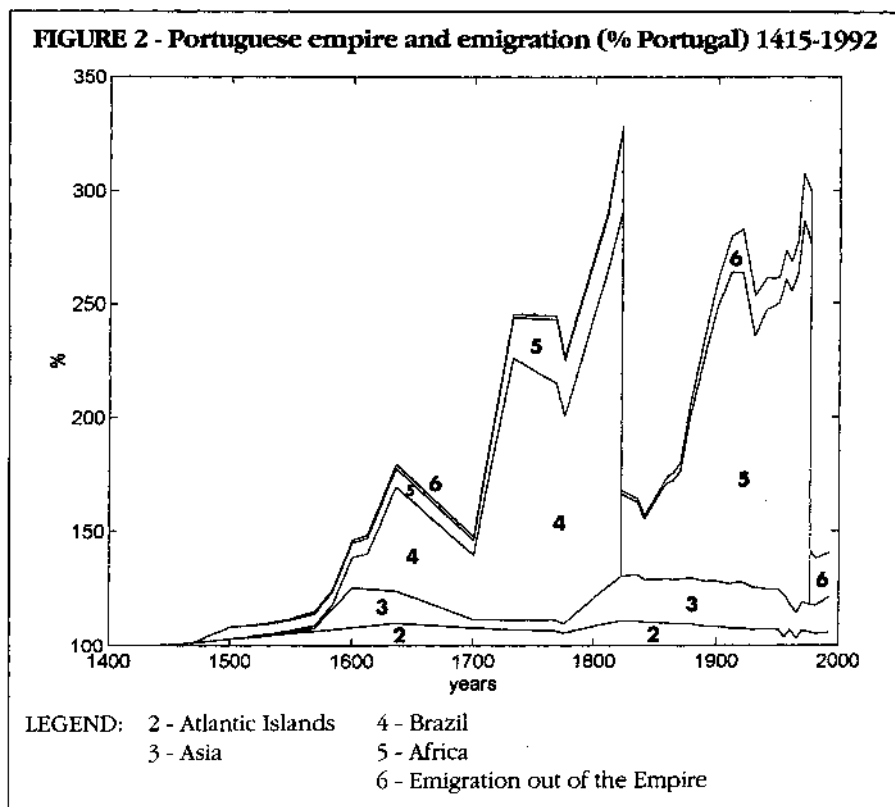
FIGURE 1 - Portuguese population (empire and emigration) 1415-1992



LEGEND: 1 - Portugal 4 - Brazil
 2 - Atlantic Islands 5 - Africa
 3 - Asia 6 - Emigration out of the Empire

Figure 1 presents the total population in the Portuguese empire, along with the numbers of Portuguese abroad. Total population is divided in six parts: Mainland Portugal, Azores and Madeira

(ATLAN), Asia (Macau and Timor), Brazil, Africa, and emigration out of the empire. The figure clearly shows the fluctuations in the Eastern empire, the building-up of the two "tropical empires" in Brazil and Africa, and the recent role of emigration abroad. The last two aspects are cleared in Figure 2, where the figures are seen in relation to the population in mainland Portugal.

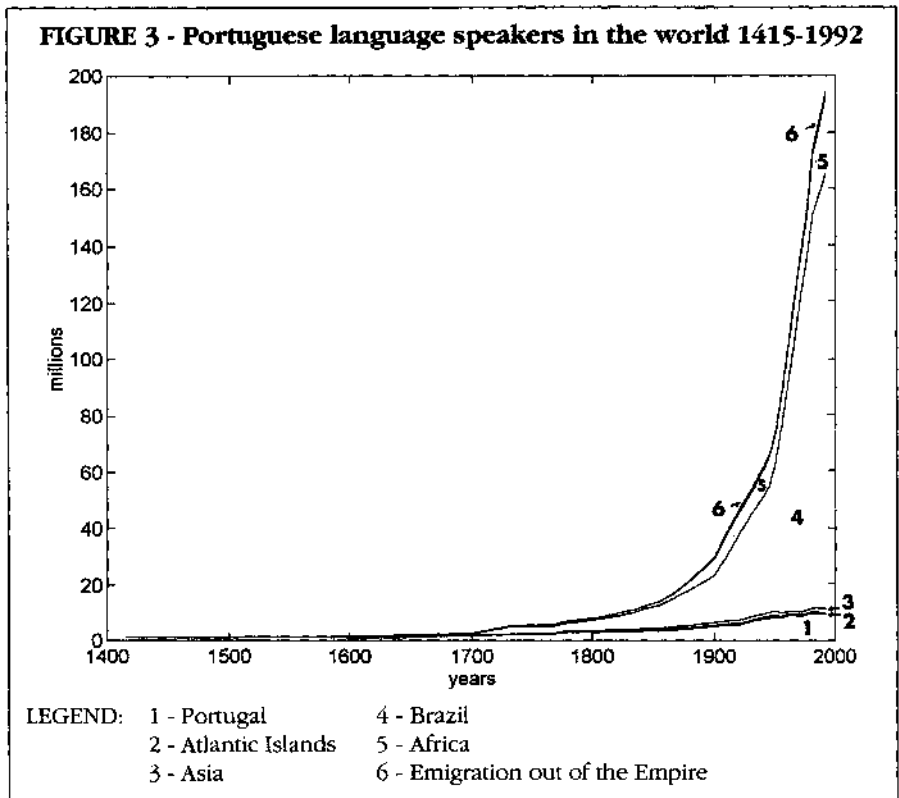


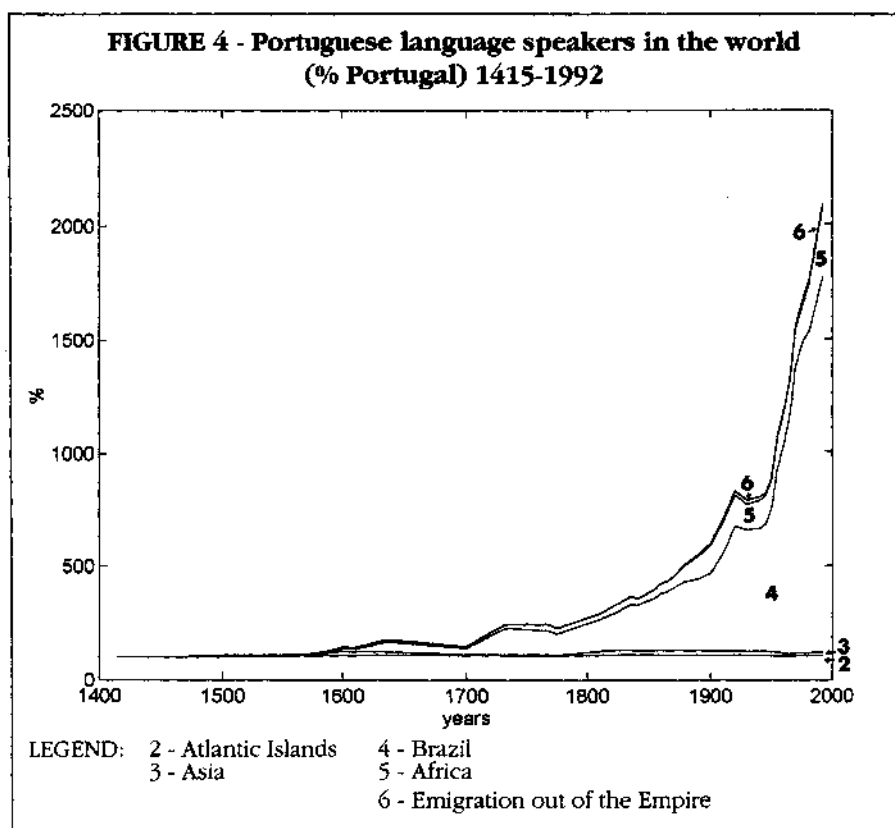
One of the main problems in the estimates depends on of the decision as to how to consider the numbers of local indigenous peoples in the population of the empire. Some general decisions had to be made and these followed a few simple rules. The Eastern empire was always a "frontier land", with the local society largely immune to dominance by the coloniser. For this reason, the numbers presented are limited to the Portuguese living in these regions. Only in recent times (the XXth century) were natives considered as part of

the empire (as the data are available only for some scattered dates, the figure includes the effects spreading over several years).

The two other components of the empire were very different. The conquest and transformation of the native Brazilian and African societies allowed for the native populations to be considered as part of the empire. Slaves were considered in the empire's population numbers from the start, while indigenous populations were included only after the effective penetration by the empire. In Brazil this happened in the second part of the XVIIIth century, while in Africa it occurred in the second part of the XIXth century.

Figures 3 and 4 present the data for the Portuguese-speaking population throughout the world, even those outside of Portuguese political control. The difference from figures 1 and 2 is, of course, that the former colonies are now included. Figure 3 presents the absolute





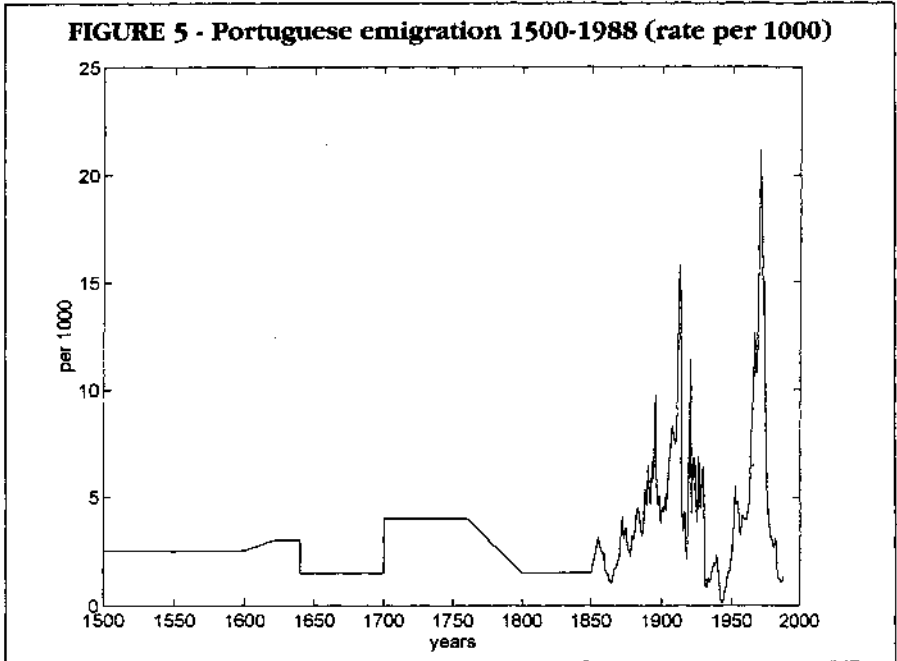
numbers and figure 4 the ratio to the population in Portugal.

Brazil clearly dominates the picture, with Africa as the second largest zone of Portuguese influence. Mainland Portugal comes only third.

2. The numbers of portuguese outflow

Estimates of the outflow of population from Portugal are based on limited evidence. Some bold estimates, particularly those made by Godinho (1971) and (1978) enable us to present a long-term trend, as shown in table 5 and Figure 5.

Emigration from the early XVth century until the mid XVIIIth century had a clear pattern. It started at a rate of less than 1 per thousand of Portuguese population, never went above 4.5 per thousand, and most of the time was between 2.5 and 3 per thousand.



Comparison with Spain is very significant since Spain was the only other country actively involved in the discoveries in the XVIth and early XVIIth centuries. During the XVIth century, out of a population of about 1 to 1.4 million, on average 2400 people left Portugal annually to go to the Far East. In Spain, with a population of 7 to 8 million, a total of only 60 000 had left the country before 1570 to go to America, which is an annual average of less than 1000 per year (Boxer p.66).

The high mortality rate on the trip to the Far East should be taken into consideration. More Portuguese died each year on the 8 month long trip to India than did the Spaniards embarked on the 3 month long trip to America. This created problems due to a lack of manpower in this period. At the same time, very few women migrated to India. In a ship carrying 800 people, for example, there were never more than 15 women, more often there were none.

Migration from Portugal came mostly from Minho, Douro, Lisbon, Madeira, and Azores. Strangely, no reduction in population in mainland Portugal was recorded but the low level of population

TABLE 5 - Outflow of Portuguese, 1400-1760

1400-1760	1,000,000 - 1,500,000
1400-1500	50,000
1500-1580	280,000
1580-1640	360,000
1640-1700	150,000
1700-1760	600,000

Source: Godinho (1978)

on the continent was clear throughout the period, even with slaves added to the population (Boxer pp.66-67).

The cumulative number of outmigrants involved was staggering, as suggested by Table 5. The total number who left the country during the first 350 years of the empire was equal in number to the population in Portugal at the start of the empire.

Table 7 shows the ratio between emigration and population growth. The XXth century witnessed several periods with an

TABLE 6 - Outflow from Portugal, 1415-1988

PERIOD	AVERAGE ANNUAL OUTFLOW				SOURCE
	Flow (people)		Rate (flow/pop)		
	Interval	Most prob.	Interval	Most prob.	
XVth cent.	2,000-5,000	3,500	1.5 per 1000-3.5 per 1000	2.5 per 1000	A
XVth cent.	2,400				E
1620-1640	5,000-8,000	6,000	2.5 per 1000-4 per 1000	3 per 1000	A
1640-1700	2,000-3,000	2,500		1.5 per 1000	A
1700-1760	8,000-10,000		3.5 per 1000-4.5 per 1000	4 per 1000	A
end 18 th		3,000			A
1800-1850	4,000-4,500			1.5 per 1000	A
1855-1900				3.51 per 1000	F
1901-1920				7.02 per 1000	F
1921-1945				2.83 per 1000	F
1946-1973				7.02 per 1000	F
1946-1958				3.28 per 1000	F
1959-1965				5.94 per 1000	F
1966-1973				15.04 per 1000	F
1961-1965				8.3 per 1000	A
1966-1969				18.4 per 1000	A
1970				20.77 per 1000	A
1974-1988				3.78 per 1000	F
1974-1979				6.34 per 1000	F
1980-1988				1.79 per 1000	F

absolute reduction in the magnitude of population, with emigration outnumbering the natural growth of the population. In particular, in the 1960s, the ratio of emigration to the natural rate of increase of the population was a staggering 136 percent.

TABLE 7 - Ratio of emigration (including illegal) to natural growth of population (%)

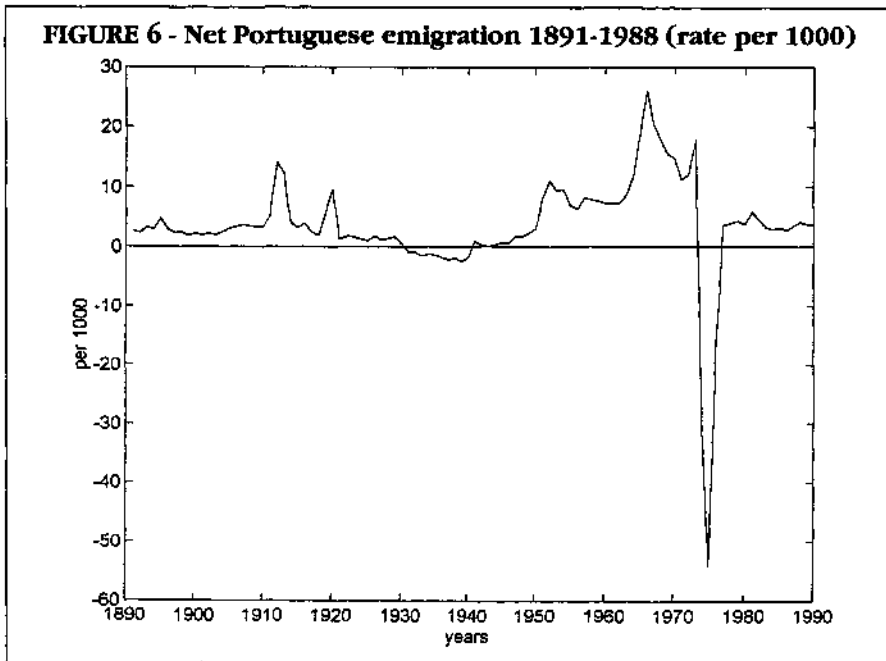
1886-1959	50%
1912-1913	> 100%
1918-1920	> 100%
1951-1962	40.1%
1960-1969	83.6%
1966-1972	136.4%

Source: Godinho (1978) p.12, see also Livi-Bacci (1971), p.36

TABLE 8 - Net emigration from Portugal (thousand people)

1890	1	1916	24	1942	2	1968	155
1891	13	1917	15	1943	1	1969	135
1892	12	1918	11	1944	3	1970	128
1893	17	1919	35	1945	6	1971	97
1894	15	1920	58	1946	4	1972	104
1895	25	1921	7	1947	14	1973	154
1896	15	1922	11	1948	13	1974	-271
1897	12	1923	10	1949	19	1975	-484
1898	13	1924	8	1950	25	1976	-143
1899	10	1925	6	1951	68	1977	33
1900	12	1926	11	1952	95	1978	36
1901	10	1927	7	1953	80	1979	40
1902	12	1928	9	1954	83	1980	35
1903	11	1929	11	1955	60	1981	55
1904	14	1930	3	1956	54	1982	43
1905	17	1931	-6	1957	71	1983	30
1906	19	1932	-6	1958	69	1984	27
1907	21	1933	-10	1959	67	1985	30
1908	20	1934	-8	1960	65	1986	26
1909	19	1935	-10	1961	65	1987	34
1910	20	1936	-13	1962	65	1988	40
1911	31	1937	-16	1963	77	1989	36
1912	85	1938	-14	1964	107	1990	36
1913	74	1939	-19	1965	172		
1914	25	1940	-13	1966	232		
1915	19	1941	7	1967	179		

Source: 1890-1980 Nunes *et al* (1989), 1981-1990 Mata and Valério (1994)



For the period after the mid-XIXth century more detailed information is available (see Neves [1994] p.227 for data sources). This period also witnessed the largest outflow of Portuguese population, both in absolute and relative numbers. The improvement in transportation methods and the reduction in poverty and the geographic isolation of the population help to account for this .

Figure 6 and table 8 present, only for the most recent period, the net numbers of migrants, showing both immigration and the return of emigrants. The Second World War and the dramatic repatriation after the independence of the African colonies are the most important factors in accounting for changes in net immigration.

PART III - The Specific Parts of the Empire

1. The Atlantic

The conquest of Ceuta, in Morocco, marked the start of the overseas Portuguese empire, but Portugal's presence in Morocco was brief and never very extensive. The Atlantic part of the empire

TABLE 9 - Portuguese population in the Atlantic

Location	Period	Number of Portuguese	Source
MOROCCO	before 1470	less than 1,000	A
	end XVth cent.	25, 000 (+ 5, 000 soldiers)	A
	1540	almost nothing	A
AZORES + MADEIRA (and CABO VERDE)			
	1820	325, 730	C
AZORES AND MADEIRA			
	1 st quart. XXth c.	411, 014	B
MADEIRA			
	mid XVth c.	3,000 (+ 160-200 in Porto Santo)	A
	1550	20,000 (of which 3,000 slaves)	A
	end XVIth c.	30,000	B
	end XVIIth c.	50,000	A
	end XVIIIth c.	70,000	A
	1869-70	116,463	B
AZORES			
	end XVIIth c.	90,000	A
	end XVIIIth c.	90,000	A
	1864	251,894	B
of which in S.MIGUEL ISLAND			
	end XVIth c.	42,300	B
	1640	31,400	B
	end XVIIIth c.	57,300	B

therefore consisted primarily of the islands off the western coast of Africa, and areas on the western coast of Africa itself.

1.1. The Northwestern coast of Africa

It was on the western coast of Africa that an interesting phenomenon occurred, almost at the very start of the empire. After 1508 we find documented the existence of Portuguese living with the tribes along the rivers of West Africa. These Portuguese, called "lançados" or "tangomaus", were fully immersed in the local culture, and adopted African habits. They were regarded by those in Portugal as pirates and depraved people (Mota (1971)). They were, therefore, strongly opposed and punished. In 1518, D. Manuel I published a law forbidding this form of colonisation, and sent ships to bring back all of these persons. The ones who

persisted in staying were threatened with death and their properties in Portugal confiscated. This was the only example of an anti-emigration law in the first years of the empire. The king's attitude could be explained by the fact that these "lançados" created a danger for the crown's monopoly of trade. The local African kings, allied to Portugal, were not supposed to deal with them; but the African kings were very interested in the competition these men created in the trade. Nevertheless, the law which prescribed death to the "lançados" was probably never applied (Boxer p.47).

1.2. Madeira and Azores

The islands of Madeira and the Azores were discovered at a still uncertain date. It is probable, however, that they were first discovered during the XIVth century. Nevertheless, the first dates of colonisation were not until 1425 (Madeira) and 1439 (Azores). The first settlers were private persons, sent by the king. The same happened later in regard to the other Atlantic islands, Cabo Verde and S.Tomé e Príncipe (Matoso p.237).

Madeira had only 3,000 souls in 1455, and there were about 160-200 in Porto Santo (according to Cadamosto). These numbers were maintained until the end of the century. In the XVth century there was emigration from Madeira to the Azores and to Brazil. In 1550 there were 20,000 people in Madeira, with 3,000 of them being slaves. At the end of the XVIth century there were 29,000 people in Madeira (of whom 3,000 were slaves) and 900 in Porto Santo (Matoso vol. III p.237).

TABLE 10 - Percentage of total Portuguese emigration coming from the Islands

	1866-1871	1866-88	1900-57	1960-65	1969
Madeira and Azores	27.3%	27%			
Azores			16.7%	very small	17.1%

Percentage of Population emigrating in 1965

AZORES 15.8 per 1000

Madeira 9.6 per 1000

Source: Godinho (1978) pp.20-2

1.2.1. The islands as source of emigration

Early in the process, the islands became an important source of emigration, as was the mainland of Portugal (Matoso p.237). This process started in the last quarter of the XVth century.

In the second part of XVth century people began to leave Madeira and Azores, some for the Canarias and Africa, but mostly to Brazil. By then the state had created incentives to keep people in the Azores. After 1630 interest in the North Atlantic islands faded, and most migrants went to Brazil (Matoso, vol. III, p.237).

2. Orient

India and, in general, south Asia, were to become the first centre of the empire, and dominate the first of its two golden ages. Only towards the end of the XVth century did the Portuguese become interested in the spice trade from India, with shipments sent by the new Cape route. (Boxer p.50). The *carreira da Índia*, the regular voyage (of 7-8 months) from Europe to Goa, was a very long and dangerous trip, "the hardest in the world". In particular, it was more difficult than any in the Spanish empire, except for the "carrera das Filipinas" from Mexico to the Philippines (sometimes taking less than 3 months). But, the regular trip to the Philippines took place only from 1565 to 1815, while the trip to India started in 1489 with Vasco da Gama and ended only with the steamship. (Boxer p.205)

The death rate on this trip was quite high. Filipe Sasseti, an Italian in India, wrote in 1585 that every year some 2500-3000 men left Portugal, with between 25 and 33 percent, sometimes one half, lost during the trip. Pyrard, a Frenchman, said that out of the number of people who filled two ships leaving for India, the survivors were too few to fill one ship back to Lisbon (Azevedo pp.156-7). From 1500 to 1635, some 912 ships left Lisbon, of which 768 arrived in Goa. In the same period 550 ships left the Orient, with 470 arriving back in Portugal. (Boxer p.218)

The king dominated the process of colonisation. "Practically all the Portuguese men who left Lisbon for Goa during the three

centuries went to the Orient at the service of the crown, the missionaries as soldiers of the Cross and the great majority of the laymen as soldiers of the king" (Boxer p.287).

The prospect of extraordinary gains from the trade in spices was

TABLE 11 - Population in the oriental Portuguese empire

Location	Period	Number of Portuguese	Source
TOTAL	1513	2,500	A
	1516	4,000	A
	1540	6,000-7,000	A
	1570's	16,000	A
	end XVIIIth c.	120,000	A
	1820	580,900	C
INDIA	end XVIIth c.	60,000	A
	1852	408,596	B
	1 st quart. XXth c.	531,952	B
of which in GOA	mid XVIth c.	5,000-6,000	A
	end XVIth c.	total population 100,000	D
	end XVIIth c.	50,000 (very few from Portugal)	A
INDIA outside GOA	end XVIIth c.	10,000	A
in Mascate	mid XVIth c.	30	A
in Ormuz	mid XVIth c.	150-200 married	A
in Diu	mid XVIth c.	350 soldiers + 60 families	A
in Sena	mid XVIth c.	10	A
in Cochin	1546	350	A
in Cochin	mid XVIth c.	1,000	A
in S.Tomé de Meliapor	1545	100	A
in S.Tomé de Meliapor	mid XVIth c.	1,000	A
in Malacca	end XVIth c.	1,000 families	A
in Bengale	1582	900	A
MACAU	early XVIIth c.	1,000	A
	end XVIIth c.	1,000	A
	1871	71,834	B
	1 st quart. XXth c.	157,175	B
TIMOR	XIXth c.	180,000-200,000	B
	1 st quart. XXth c.	442,261	B

the main driving force for the non-missionary (and in some cases missionary) colonisation. In a ship, all men, from the captain down to the youngest boy, were part of the trade in pepper and other spices, a monopoly of the crown. All (including, in some cases, the prisoners) had a right to a *quintalada*, a portion of pepper they could buy in India and bring to Portugal (Azevedo pp. 101-7).

In India, the Portuguese were divided into two classes: the soldiers and the *casados* (married). The soldiers who married local (rich) women were allowed to leave the service and become citizens and merchants. These were the *casados*. The others were called "soldiers" and were in the service until they died, married, deserted, or became invalides through by wounds. Most lived in misery (Boxer p.287, Azevedo pp.158-59).

One of the problems of the Eastern empire was the lack of Portuguese women in the colonies since very few Portuguese women went to the East. The main exception were the "orphans of the king", girls who were sent to the East to marry (Boxer p.136).

3. Brazil

3.1. The Brazilian empire

The early importance of the trade in spices from the Orient reduced the interest Portugal had in its new possession in America. During the first 30 years of the XVIth century very few contacts were made (Boxer pp.95-6). After the *pau brasil* (a wood), sugar was the main product of Brazil and its production changed the face of Brazil (Boxer pp.96-98), at least until the discovery of gold in Minas Gerais in the 1690s (Boxer p.160). By 1725 the economic centre of the empire had moved from "golden" Goa to S. Salvador da Baía in Brazil (Boxer p.153).

In the second half of XVIth century, when the main emigration movement started, Brasil had 2,000 Europeans and 4,000 slaves (Matoso vol. III, pp.236-8); and it was the biggest colony of Portugal at the end of XVIth century. It then had 57,000 residents, of whom 25,000 were whites, 18,000 Indians, and 14,000 blacks (Matoso vol. III p.211, Boxer p.112).

TABLE 12 - Population in the Portuguese Brazilian empire

Period	Number of Portuguese				Source
mid 16 th c.	2,000 (+ 4 000 slaves)				A
1583-1584	> 20,000				A
	Total	Whites	Indians	Blacks	
end 16 th c.	57,000	25,000	18,000	14,000	D,E
1600	30,000 (+ 120,000 slaves)				A
1612	50,000 (+ 120,000 slaves)				A
end 17 th c.	500,000 (1/5 from Portugal)				A
end 18 th c.	1,850,000				A
1770	2,502,000				I
1780	2,841,000				I
1790	3,325,000				I
1800	3,660,000				I
1810	4,155,000				I
1820	4,717,000				I

There were five main types of migrants from Portugal to Brazil in the first years of the empire: sailors, merchants, artisans, workers, and owners. All were anxious to return to Portugal (Boxer p.101).

3.2. Brazil after independence

The importance of Brazil to Portugal changed dramatically with independence. The independence of Brazil was proclaimed by the eldest son of the Portuguese King D. João VI (1816-1826) in 1822

TABLE 13 - Population of Brazil after independence

Period	Total Pop. of Brazil	Non naturalised Portuguese*
1822	4,540,000 (1.5 x Mainland Portugal)	
1850	8,000,000	
1872	10,000,000	120,000
1890		150,000 - 200,000
1900	> 17,000,000	
1917		800,000
1920	30,600,000	
1940	41,500,000	
1950	52,600,000	

Source Godinho (1978)

* Non - naturalised Portuguese are those migrants who kept Portuguese citizenship and were not naturalised as Brazilians.

and was accepted by Portugal in 1825. This prince became the first emperor of Brazil, D. Pedro I (1822-1831), and was to become, for a brief period, king of Portugal D. Pedro IV (1826)

During the XIXth century, Brazil was the main destination of Portuguese emigration. This was an indirect way of maintaining relations between the two countries which, in economic terms, had drifted away from one another.

TABLE 14 - Emigration from Portugal to Brazil

	Total during period	Yearly average	Source
1820-1909	702,790	7,808	(1)
1855-1865		4,055	(1)
1871-1874		11,689	(1)
1880-1881		14,000	(1)
Percentage of total Portuguese emigrants going to Brazil			
1855-65	55.5%	(1)	86% (2)
1880-88	85%	(1)	
1891-1900			93% (2)
1900-30	70%	(1)	
1901-11			92.8% (2)
1912-20			77.8% (2)
1921-30			66.9% (2)
1931-46	76.1%	(1)	
1931-35			73.7% (2)
1941-50			79.3% (2)
1947-54	78.6%	(1)	
1951-60			76.3% (2)
1961-65			20.4% (2)

Source: (1) Godinho (1978) p.16, (2) Serrão (1982) p.43

Another very important component of population in Brazil were the slaves from Africa. Between 1840 and 1850, Brazil received 33,500 slaves yearly. This figure fell to 3,287 in 1851 and the last of the slave shipments occurred in 1864 (Godinho (1978) p.10). It is estimated (Curtin, p.268) that overall Brazil received more slave imports from Africa over the period of the slave trade than did any other area, some 38 percent of the transatlantic slave movement. In the period 1811-1870, the Brazilian share rose to 60 percent.

TABLE 15 - Population in the African Portuguese empire

Location	Period	Number of Portuguese			Source
TOTAL AFRICA					
	end XVIIIth c.	80,000-100,000			A
	1820	1,100,000 (no CABO VERDE)			C
		Total	Whites	Half-breed	
		Population.			
	1940	10,880 000	81,911	168,473	A
	1950	12,113 000	185,609	171,693	A
CABO VERDE + GUINÉ + S.TOMÉ					
	end XVIIth c.	25,000 - 30,000.			
CABO VERDE					
	1873	82,864			B
	1st quart.XXth c.	148,300			B
GUINÉ					
	1873	6,154			B
	1st quart.XXth c.	343,961			B
S.TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE					
	early XVIth c.	4,000 (1/2 slaves)			A
		(+ 5,000-6,000 slaves to reexport)			
	1554	>10,000			B
	1590	8,000-9,000			D
	1872	21,307			B
	1st quart. XXth c.	59,055			B
in Povoação	1506	1,000			A
in Povoação	mid XVIth c.	3,000-3,500			A
in Povoação	around 1575	4,000 (1/2 slaves)			A
in Povoação	1590	8,000-9,000			A
ANGOLA + MOZAMBIQUE					
	end XVIIth c.	80,000 -100,000			A
ANGOLA					
S. Paulo de Luanda founded	3rd quarter XVIth c.	with 700 people			D
	1869	433,397			B
	1925	2,438,000			B
	1940	3,740,000			B
MOZAMBIQUE					
	XVIth c.	0			D
in Mozambique island	mid XVIth c.	40-50			A
	1849	68,411			B
	1st quart XXth c.	3,514,612			B
REST OF AFRICA					
in Abissínia	mid XVIth c	200 very rich			A

4. Africa

Africa was, in some respects, the first as well as the last component of the Portuguese empire. Gold and slaves from Guiné were the starting point of the economic success of the empire, and the African missions were the first areas of expansion of Portuguese cultural influence in the world. But four hundred years later, with the fascination of India and Brazil gone, and the two golden eras of the Portuguese colonial domination ended, Africa became, once again, the most significant element of this empire.

The castles of Mina in 1482 and Axim in 1503 (both in present-day Ghana) were the first permanent, significant presence of Portugal on the west coast of Africa. They defended the trade of gold and slaves in West Africa (Boxer p.47). This trade however became unprofitable by the end of the XVth century (Azevedo p.79).

By 1483 there were friendly relations between Portugal and King Afonso I of the Congo (Boxer pp.106-8). These friendly relations continued throughout the period. It must be added that if, in XVth and XVIth century Africa the Portuguese used force to obtain their goals, it was only as a measure of last resort (Russel-Wood, p.21).

After 1822, the African colonies became the most important part of the reduced Portuguese empire. In particular, the strip of land which occupies present-day Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique became the new centre of the empire. The centre of this territory (Zambia and Zimbabwe) was taken by Britain in 1891. The scale of Portuguese emigration to this part of the world is shown in table 16.

TABLE 16 - Emigration to Portuguese Africa

	yearly emigration (persons)	
last quarter XIXth c.	50	(from Portugal and islands)
1901-1906	2,033	(from Portugal and islands)
1937-1945	1,800	(only from Portugal)
1946-1950	6,857	(only from Portugal) <=> 51.9% of total
1950-1960	12,000	(only from Portugal) <=> 15% of total
1965-1970		<=> 6.5% of total

Source: Godinho (1978) p.17

5. Rest of the world

There were no geographical limits to Portuguese emigration during the 560 years of Portugal's formal empire. The empire was the major magnet, but many other areas should also be mentioned. Table 18 presents some estimates which sketch these migrations outside the empire

TABLE 17 - Portuguese population in foreign countries

Location	Period	Number of Portuguese	Source
HAWAII	mid XIXth c.	9,377	A
PORTUGUESE IN SPANISH EMPIRE			
SPAIN	first half XVIIth c.	several thousands	A
Buenos Aires	first half XVIIth c.	1/3 of population	A
Peru	first half XVIIth c.	several thousands	A

PART IV - Specific Problems of Portuguese emigration

1. Reasons for Portuguese emigration

Portuguese historians have created a "canonical explanation" for the phenomenon of Portuguese emigration, emphasizing a few traditional reasons. The basic and central reason specified was the misery of the people in Portugal. This was due to the concentration of property in land and the lack of investment, attributed to the luxury consumption of the nobility (Godinho (1978) p.24). The fact is, however, that emigration remained high even after the wages and general welfare levels of the people were raised significantly. The emigration peaks are to be found in the 1960s. Various other reasons have been mentioned, including the conditions of climate and land, in particular the "variable rain precipitation and poverty of the soil". The plague, especially during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, was also an important force. And in some cases, a reference was made simply to the fact "that there was no alternative" (Boxer pp.100-1).

2. Destinations and returns in modern emigration

The destinations of modern Portuguese emigration are rather clear. Brazil and the Americas dominated the XIXth century and early XXth century, with Europe and the rest of the world receiving the

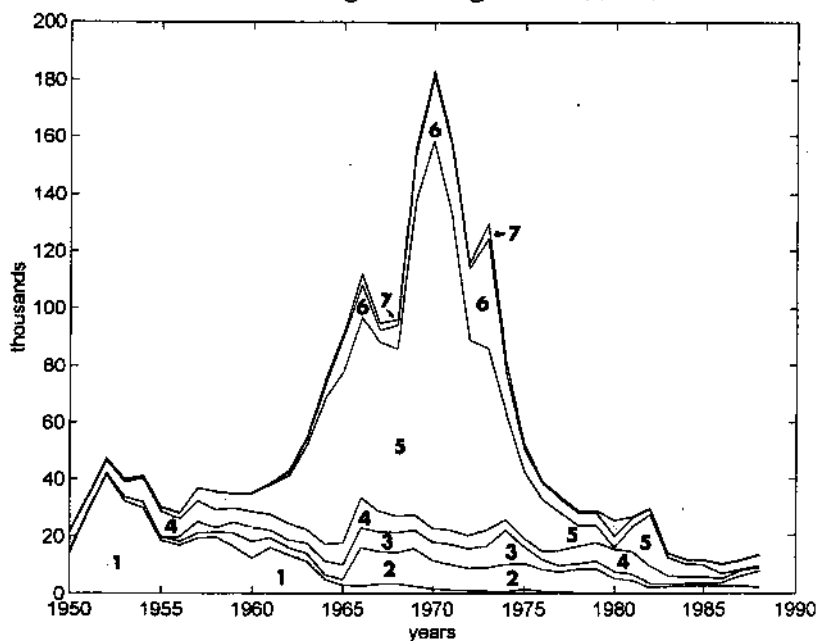
residual. This picture was completely reversed by the surge in the third quarter of the XXth century. Europe, especially France, dominated Portugal's emigration. Figure 7 shows clearly this change, capturing the end of the "Brazilian era" and the whole of the "European era" of Portuguese emigration. The return of migrants had never been an important aspect of Portuguese emigration until recent years. Most of the persons who left Portugal became assimilated into the culture of the country they had migrated to. The *lançados* were an early example of this but they were by no means the only one. In those cases where there were emigrants returning, they were usually tied to some very specific events. The world wars, and in particular the Second World War, were important episodes giving rise to returning emigrants. But the most important single phenomenon causing a return of emigrants was the independence of the African colonies in 1975-76. In these two years some 800,000 persons entered Portugal, an amount equal to almost 10 percent of its total population. The fact that these persons were able to become integrated into Portuguese society within a decade after their return provides an important indication of its flexibility.

TABLE 18 - Destinations of modern Portuguese emigration

% of total	1880-1888	1900-1950
Brazil	85%	71.5%
Rest of Americas	7.2%	-
USA	4%	14.2%
Argentina	2%	2.58%
British Guiana	1.2%	-
Rest of World		11.72%
Europe and Asia	2%	-
Portuguese Africa	3%	-
numbers (peop.)	1950-59	1960-69
Germany	0	45,474
Argentina	8,549	2,828
Brazil	237,327	73,267
Canada	11,350	50,405
United States	16,193	66,674
France	14,924	329,050
South Africa	6,193	15,793
Venezuela	35,236	37,318
Others	11,356	26,153

Source: Godinho (1978) pp.16-17

FIGURE 7 - Portuguese emigration 1950-1988



LEGEND: 1 - Brazil 4 - Other America 7 - Other Europe
 2 - USA 5 - France
 3 - Canada 6 - Germany

TABLE 19 - Return flows of modern Portuguese Emigration

	Percentage of returns
XVth c.	only 10% returned (1)
late XIXth c.	50% returned (2)
After 1930	only 10% returned
1936-1949	52.8%
1950-1970	3.4%
1970	1.4%

Source: Godinho (1978) p.19, (1) estimation Costa Lobo, (2) Oliveira Martins (1888)

Re-entries (n. people)	1919-1930	
Brazil	9,596	
USA	109	
France	250	
Spain	322	
Other	219	
TOTAL	10,496	3.5% of exits
1940-1968		6.8% of exits

Source: Serrão (1982) pp.38-39

TABLE 20 - Destinations of Portuguese Emigration 1950-1988

	TOTAL	Brazil	USA	Canada	Tot.Ame.	France	Germany	Tot.Eur.
1950	21,892	14,143	938	0	21,491	319	1	401
1951	34,015	28,104	676	0	33,341	418	2	674
1952	47,407	41,518	582	0	46,544	650	4	863
1953	39,962	32,159	1,455	0	39,026	690	0	936
1954	41,190	29,943	1,918	0	40,234	747	4	956
1955	30,147	18,486	1,328	0	28,690	1,336	0	1,457
1956	28,096	16,814	1,503	1,612	26,072	1,851	6	2,024
1957	36,894	19,321	1,628	4,158	32,150	4,640	5	4,744
1958	35,600	19,829	1,596	1,619	29,207	6,264	2	6,393
1959	34,754	16,400	4,569	3,961	29,780	4,838	6	4,974
1960	35,159	12,451	5,679	4,895	28,513	6,434	54	6,646
1961	38,572	16,073	3,370	2,635	27,499	10,492	277	11,073
1962	43,002	13,555	2,425	2,739	24,376	16,798	1,393	18,626
1963	55,218	11,281	2,922	3,424	22,420	29,843	2,118	32,798
1964	75,576	4,929	1,601	4,770	17,232	51,668	4,771	58,344
1965	91,488	3,051	1,852	5,197	17,557	60,267	12,197	73,931
1966	111,995	2,607	13,357	6,795	33,266	63,611	11,250	78,729
1967	94,712	3,271	11,516	6,615	28,584	59,597	4,070	66,128
1968	96,227	3,512	10,841	6,833	27,014	58,741	8,435	69,213
1969	155,672	2,537	13,111	6,502	27,383	110,614	15,406	128,289
1970	183,205	1,669	9,726	6,529	22,659	135,667	22,915	160,546
1971	158,473	1,200	8,839	6,983	21,962	110,820	24,273	136,511
1972	115,545	1,158	7,574	6,845	20,122	68,692	24,946	95,423
1973	129,732	890	8,160	7,403	22,091	63,942	38,444	107,641
1974	80,859	729	9,540	11,650	25,822	37,727	13,352	55,037
1975	52,486	1,553	8,957	5,857	19,304	23,436	8,177	33,182
1976	39,192	837	7,499	3,585	14,762	17,919	5,913	24,430
1977	33,676	557	6,748	2,280	14,826	13,265	4,835	18,850
1978	28,858	323	8,171	1,871	16,307	7,406	4,509	12,551
1979	28,726	215	8,181	2,805	17,532	5,987	4,400	11,194
1980	25,173	230	4,999	2,334	15,281	520	4,000	9,892
1981	26,607	228	4,295	2,196	14,498	8,600	3,100	12,109
1982	29,505	187	1,889	1,484	9,420	17,900	1,900	20,085
1983	14,208	197	2,437	823	6,242	6,300	1,500	7,966
1984	11,863	121	2,651	764	5,747	4,600	1,400	6,116
1985	11,551	136	2,783	791	5,842	4,000	1,600	5,709
1986	10,204	91	2,704	983	5,024	1,800	3,100	5,180
1987	11,415	28	2,643	3,398	7,757	400	3,100	3,658
1988	13,332	21	2,112	5,646	8,934	600	3,600	4,398

Source: Baganha (1994)

2. Legal attitudes towards emigration

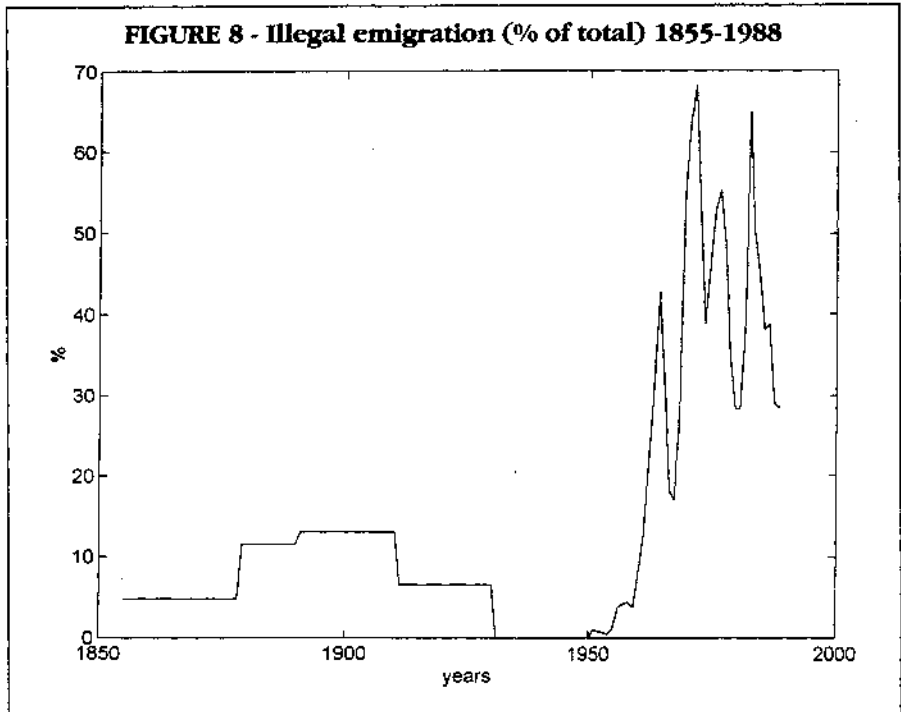
Portuguese law has had an ambiguous and changing attitude towards emigration. In some cases there was promotion of colonization and emigration; in other cases, especially in the periods with sudden surges of emigration, there were attempts to control and/or guide the outflow. In some cases, the king was, at the same time, both limiting and promoting emigration. In the XVIIIth century, the law tried to reduce the "gold rush" to Minas Gerais in Brazil, while at the same time attempting to promote the colonization of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, also in Brazil (Serrão (1971) p.20)

In the first centuries, the major problem was populating the newly-discovered countries. Due to its taxes and monopolies, the king had much to gain from emigration. For this reason, the law generally ignored the repeated fears that there was a lack of population in the kingdom. The first case of emigration limits was the already mentioned phenomenon of the *lançados* on the west coast of Africa, but that was primarily because of the problems they created for the crown's trade monopoly.

Brazil was to become the main destination of emigration after the XVIIth century, and the magnitude of the phenomenon was such that after 1667 (even before the gold discoveries) there was four legal documents trying to limit the outflow of Portuguese to Brazil. But gold was to make these limits ineffective. The fear of depopulation in the kingdom generated a call for other, stricter measures. In the first half of the XVIIIth century there were nine other laws trying to prevent emigration. A law of 1720 even prohibited emigration of non-officials (Serrão (1971) p.22). Legal limits to emigration have remained present since then, but violation of the law has also continued. Illegal emigration became a constant problem of Portuguese emigration.

Godinho (*op.cit* p.12) mentioned that the illegal emigration in the XIXth and XXth centuries fluctuated at a level between one-quarter and one-third of the amount of legal emigration. Luciano Cordeiro (1883) says that illegal emigration equalled one-third of

legal emigration, Oliveira Martins (late XIXth century) claims that the illegal emigration equaled about one-half of legal, and Afonso Costa, a Portuguese prime-minister in the 1910s classified Portuguese emigration laws as "based on "prohibiting criteria". In 1896 a "special emigration police" was created.



The traditional view is that Portuguese emigration laws were very strict. Recent research has modified this picture. In the XVIIIth century, the legal limits were strict. Passport issues for Brazil were limited to officials and people already having business in the colony. But these laws had severe enforcement problems. The liberal attitudes of the XIXth century changed this picture. The freedom of movement was defined by the *Carta Constitucional* (constitution) of 1826, with some small limits. The state always tried to maintain administrative control over population movements, but there were never emigration quotas

or limits based either on race, religion, profession or other personal elements; and there were never prohibitions regarding specific destinations (Leite (1987)).

In order to leave the country, a passport was generally required. After 1896 passports for the colonies were made free of charge and were dispensed with after 1906. The administrative procedure to get a passport to a foreign country was costly, both in time and money, and this caused some illegal migration. But, according to Leite (1987), the money cost of a passport to Brazil after independence in 1822 had amounted to less than a tenth of the cost of the travel ticket during the XIXth century (actually, the high cost of the ticket, according to this author, points to the fact that the emigrants to Brazil must have had some financial means, and were not destitute people as was generally considered).

The law, then, was no major obstacle. The clearest exception to this result is the case of males of military age. In order to emigrate before having been in the army, young boys must pay a deposit to be allowed to leave the country. This deposit amounted to several times the cost of the passage to Brazil (in 1910 the deposit was almost twice the cost of the ticket, but in 1882 was more than 6 times higher (Leite (1987) p.467). This was the only real limit the law imposed on emigration.

One should also point to the existence of "emigration agents"; middle-men who dealt with workers promoted labour contracts and arranged for the trip. As the law forbade "emigration incitement", these agents had a strong influence over the increase of illegal emigration. Leite (1978) and (1994) mentions the fact that the change from sailing ship to steamships in the late XIXth century strongly reduced the percentage of illegal emigrants. Steamships typically belonged to formally established firms, with a more organised and scheduled operation, making the task of the "emigration police" easier.

Recent research has contributed to a clarification of the picture of Portuguese illegal emigration. Figure 8 (see source in Neves (1994) p.227) presents the most recent estimates of the size of this

illegal flow. All these estimates are based mainly on approximations. This figure makes clear the fact that the problem of illegal emigrants was mostly residual during the "liberal" XIXth century, contrary to the traditional view. The situation is different in the 1960s and 1970s. Then, on average, nearly 40 % of all migration was illegal, with peak ratios of almost 70%. These high numbers reflect the fact that migration was then mostly directed towards elsewhere in Europe. The trip over land made migration controls much more difficult than the trips in ships since people could leave the country at any point along the border.

3. Slaves

Slavery had, in some respects, opposite effects from emigration. When there were early complaints that emigration caused depopulation of the country, the use of slaves was seen as part of the answer. As they were.

The first shipment of slaves (235 persons) in 1443, came from the land south of Cape Bojador, and were brought to the Algarve by Lançarote. Total shipments until 1448 totalled 927 persons (Azevedo p.69). From 1486 to 1493 3,589 slaves entered (*ibidem* p.70), while from 1511 to 1513 there were 1,265 (*ibidem* p.71). The first slaves from the east coast of Africa arrived in Brasil in 1645 (Azevedo p.202)

In the XVIth century Portugal had more slaves than any other country in Europe. About 10 percent of the population of Lisbon were slaves (Boxer p.16, see also Saunders): there were around 9,950 slaves in a population of about 100,000 people (Azevedo p.73). The authorities in the interior of the country wanted more slaves and asked the king to forbid the sale of slaves from Portugal to Europe, because of the lack of workers. The king, who gained much from this trade, refused (Azevedo p.75). Pombal abolished slavery in Portugal in 1761-63, but mainly as a way to divert slaves from Portugal to the plantations and mines in Brazil (Boxer p.191)

PART V - Impacts of Emigration and Empire in Portugal

1. The "classical" view

The general view of historians in Portugal, especially before the XXth century, was that the country was ruined by the discoveries. A good example of this claim is that of J.Lúcio de Azevedo (1928), whose work we shall draw upon in this section. According to him the country was depopulated by emigration, the large number of widows in the 1527 census being an indication of this (Azevedo p.154). And, he argued, the results of overseas expansion were meagre. Expeditions to Africa after 1415 did not pay for their costs (Azevedo p.64). Trade from Africa in the XVth century was also ruinous to the country. A few private persons gained a lot, but the country as a whole was depressed because of the burden of taxes (Azevedo p.80).

Only during the years of its conquest did India return its costs (Azevedo p.151). The gold found on the east coast of Africa was limited and costly (Azevedo p.189), silver did not exist (Azevedo p.201), and all the profits were consumed in India (Azevedo p.173). The trade in gold from Africa (mostly from Mina in the west coast) was much more profitable than the spice trade from India, and many regretted that the quest for spices prevented the building of an empire in Africa (Azevedo p.180). But in the second decade of the XVIth century gold from Mina was costing more than it returned (Azevedo p.183). The French, English, and Africans got the profits, while the king of Portugal paid the expenses (Azevedo p.184)

Profits from the trade in spices, wood, and slaves were not enough to pay for the costs of the voyages (ships, payments to sailors, soldiers, administrators, and the expenses of the king). The costs of the fortresses and defence of the empire were large, so that the empire was in deficit. Even during Afonso de Albuquerque's conquests, revenues were below costs (Azevedo p.79, p.117, Serrão p.280).

The king, who had been the "main farmer" of the country in the period before discoveries, owning most of the land, was now the main trader (Azevedo p.120). The king's monopoly of trade through

the "House of India" enriched mainly the officials in charge. It was liberalised in 1570 and it then became possible for anyone to buy spices from anyone at any price. But the spices had to be shipped to Portugal, and had to be sold by the "House of India" (Azevedo p.132). In the late 1570s, the crown's trade was farmed out to a private firm, but the successive rentiers went bankrupt (Azevedo p.137).

The crown was deeply in debt after the reign of D. João II, but the situation became critical in the mid-XVIth century. In 1544 there came the first threat of default of the Portuguese king's debt in Antwerp. In 1560 the crown (through the "House of India") defaulted. Interest costs were then included in the debt. They were paid only inside the kingdom, with the interest rate being reduced. This practice was copied from the policy adopted by Philip II of Spain in 1557 (Azevedo p.125-9). Most of the lenders (who were German) went bankrupt by the end of century (except the Fuggers and the Imhofs) (Azevedo p.134-5).

The nobility gained a lot from the offices, concessions and commands it received from the crown. (Azevedo p.152). The smuggling of spices was a common practice, and was undertaken even by those who were supposed to prevent it (Azevedo p.161).

In the spice trade, Portugal was merely an intermediary. It bought spices in exchange for goods from Europe. Little of Portugal's production went to India, with the exception of wine for the Europeans (Azevedo p.115).

2. The "modern" view

Today, while many historians still support the principles in the classical view of the consequences of emigration, they are somewhat more balanced in their assessment of its impact. It is noted that the kingdom's population never declined, except in a few small local areas or for limited periods (Matoso vol.III p.211). There was a sharp decline in the population of Portugal at the end of Middle Ages, as there was also elsewhere in Europe, but after 1450 population growth gained momentum and maintained a strong dynamic throughout the XVIth century, ending only at the

start of the XVIIth century. This was one of the main reasons that the impact of emigration on the economy was limited (Marques vol. I p.285-286; vol. II p.87-88; Matoso vol. III p.212).

The main problems were due to a scarcity of population, particularly of skilled workers. There were, in this period, immigration of Italians, Germans, Flemish, and English, as well as of Spaniards, Catalans, Muslims and Jews. The numbers in skilled occupations rose significantly in the XVIth century, particularly in Lisbon and Porto (Matoso vol.III, p.211, 241).

Of great importance influencing population changes were the epidemics and plagues throughout the XVIth century. The most important, with nation-wide effects, were in 1505-07, 1521-23, 1527-29, 1569 ("the year of the great plague"), 1579-80, and 1598-1603. These episodes were connected to famines. There were also earthquakes and small local wars (Matoso vol.III, p.214-222)

Similarly, the idea that the size of the empire and of emigration must have had a severe negative impact on the Portuguese economy is misleading. Several small nations had managed to maintain large empires early in the period (e.g. Venice, Genoa, Holland). Besides, Portugal did not have a real empire until the mid-XVIth century, and, from Brazil to the Moluccas, less than 40,000 men were adequate to manage trade and keep enemies in check.

It should be noted that the first voyages were very expensive. Henry the Navigator used all the riches of the Order of Christ to finance them, and died with large debts (Boxer p.41). Even with its monopolies, the crown never had a financial surplus, not even during the "golden ages" of D. Manuel (1495-1521) and D.João V (1706-1750). Both reigns saw a large increase in revenues, but an even larger increase in expenditures. Administrative wages were low and this led to corruption (Boxer p.311).

The private fortunes earned in the empire were not reinvested in trade enterprises, but spent on houses, servants, and charity (Boxer p.315). The *Misericórdias* (mercy) brotherhood institutions of charity were very important and had a surprising good record of honesty throughout the empire (Boxer p.280). It was a typical

Portuguese institution and the good it provided outweighed its imperfections. It was one of the major advantages to the Portuguese empire, which helps explain its duration and resilience (Boxer p.286)

After 1660 the Portuguese economy lived by the re-export of Brazilian sugar and tobacco and the exports of salt, wine, and fruit. These were used to buy cereals, textiles, and other products from Europe. The balance of payments was, however, in deficit (Boxer p.155).

Gold and diamonds from Brazil made the crown rich in the XVIIIth century. King D.João V (1706-1750) said "My grandfather owed and feared. My father owed. I don't owe and I don't fear" (Boxer p.162). A global balance of the empire in 1750 during the reign of D.João V would show that profits were greater than costs (Boxer p.177). But this money was used mostly in construction and in the church (Boxer pp.165-67).

Conclusions

This paper has tried to present, in simple and, when possible, in numerical terms, the problems of Portuguese emigration during the period of the several Portuguese empires. The questions which remain to be answered, or which have thus far only an incomplete answer, are many and important. But the general picture regarding the direction and magnitude of emigration seems to stand out clearly. And it is an imposing picture.

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