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## The Portuguese Presence in Western India

— John Correia-Afonso, S.J.

Vasco da Gama embarked from Lisbon in a fleet of four vessels on 8 July 1497, and sighted India on 18 May 1498. Two days later he dropped anchor a few miles north of Calicut, at the port of Capocate. It was not till the end of the month that he was received by the Zamorin, who were far from impressed by the gifts which da Gama had brought, but seemed pleased at the contents of the letter of which he was the bearer.

The *Lusiads*, the national epic of Portugal, is the story of a small nation which in the space of a little over a century spread over the seas, carrying the flag and the faith of their country from Brazil to Japan. Luis de Camões sang of "heroes, who leaving their native Portugal behind them opened the way to Ceylon and beyond, across seas no man had ever sailed before."<sup>1</sup> He adopted the voyage of Vasco de Gama to India as his fundamental theme in clear recognition of the key role played by the opening of Asia in the evolution of the Portuguese nation and of its literature. For Camões, what Portu-

gal had accomplished in the East was incomparably greater than the heroic motifs of Homer or Virgil. It had a national importance, but it boasted of an even wider import, inasmuch as Portugal was engaged in a fight for the spiritual values of Europe and for the true faith.

The repercussions of Portugal's achievement were momentous, and expanded the horizons of man's knowledge. "Now the Great Map of Mankind is unrolled at once," wrote Edmund Burke in 1777 concerning

the worldview that his generation was privileged to enjoy through the maps, travel accounts, and politico-philosophical treatises of the time.<sup>2</sup> It is good to recall that little Portugal played an important part in unrolling the "Great Map," especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and we might almost say that the unrolling began with western India, on whose shores terminated the European voyage of discovery of the sea route to India.

It is not our intention to deal here with the impulses behind the Age of Discovery and the efforts of Prince Henry the Navigator and his collaborators and successors. Let it just be mentioned that according to Charles Boxer, the eminent British historian, the four main motives (and they were often mingled) which inspired the Portuguese were, in chronological order: a crusading zeal; a desire for Guinea gold; the quest for Prester John, the Christian king said to rule over a kingdom in Africa; and the search for spices.<sup>3</sup> Another summary listing is that of Antonio do Carmo Reis, who speaks of a "motivating pentagon": scientific curiosity (to know what lands there might be beyond the Canary Islands); commercial



Vasco da Gama

1 <i>The Portuguese Presence in Western India</i>	23 <i>Special Report:</i> "Mozambique Update" —Dawit Toga	33 <i>The National Commission on the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries</i>
6 <i>The Indo-Portuguese Experience in the Context of World History</i>	An Interview with Albie Sachs on Mozambique Today	34 <i>Upcoming Events:</i> The Meadows Museum presents...
11 <i>Boxer on Boxer: A Conversation</i>	"Coping with the Consequences of War: The Rights of the Child" —Ilene Cohn	35 <i>Notes on Contributors to this Issue</i>
	"The Power of Music in Mozambique" —Lynette Peck	

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prospects (from the products which might be found there); military strategy (through more accurate knowledge of the Muhammadan power); political alliance with Christian rulers (in the spirit of the Crusades); and finally religious conversion (evangelization).<sup>4</sup>

But what did the Portuguese explorers achieve? They were the pathfinders of Europe's seaborne empires. Their discoveries not only extended the limits of the world known to Europe, but contributed greatly to its more accurate representation. At the end of the fifteenth century a revolutionary cartographical innovation was made with the introduction of a scale of latitudes, and subsequently Portugal became the European center for geographical and cartographical knowledge. The famous Cantino planisphere (1502) is the earliest dated map to delineate the Portuguese discovery of India.

The Portuguese did not just sail and chart the seas, but also traded,

conquered, and settled lands. Their dominion on the coasts and seas of Africa and Asia is essentially and peculiarly connected with the beginnings of the maritime expansion of Europe and Christendom which, above all else, marks off the modern from the medieval world. Here indeed was the beginning of a new age, for before the Iberian discoveries the most striking feature of the history of civilization was the dispersion and isolation of the different branches of mankind. "It was the Portuguese pioneers and the Castilian *conquistadores* from the western rim of Christendom, who brought together, for better or for worse, the widely sundered branches of the great human family. They thus first made humanity conscious, however dimly, of its essential unity."<sup>5</sup>

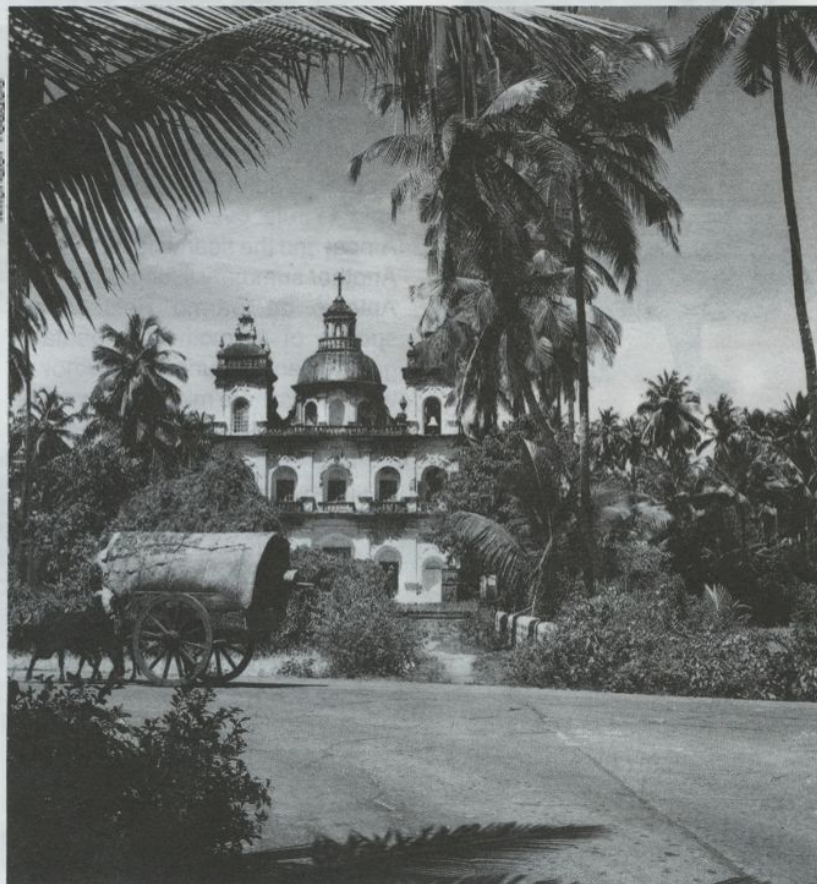
This unity was made more real by the bonds of trade. Not only were the two hemispheres brought closer to each other, but the European merchants engaged in the intercoastal

trade between the Asian ports also helped to bring parts of Asia close to one another, joining India, South-east Asia, China, and Japan.

Noteworthy too is the difference between the Portuguese experience in Asia, and their own in Africa and that of the Spaniards in South America. "The Portuguese showed Europe how to trade profitably in areas with advanced civilizations and strong indigenous governments."<sup>6</sup> Though the Portuguese were not devoid of injustice and cruelty in their relations with native princes and their peoples, these relations were basically of mutual recognition and even of "cousinly" friendship.

One may also stress the long duration of the Portuguese presence in western India. They were the first Europeans to establish themselves in the subcontinent, and the last formally to leave it. Almost exactly four and a half centuries passed between the conquest of Goa by Afonso de Albuquerque (1510) and the lowering of the Portuguese flag in that territory (1961). In this period they also cast deeper roots in the land than did the Dutch, the English, and the French elsewhere in India. Camões, no doubt with the benefit of hindsight, had already placed before Vasco da Gama an impressive vision: "This celebrated coast of India, as you see, continues to run southward till it ends in Cape Comorin, once Cape Cori, facing Taprobana or Ceylon. Everywhere along these shores Portuguese soldiers still to come will win victories, lands, and cities, and here for long ages they will make their abode."<sup>7</sup>

Contrary to popular belief, and probably owing its origin to the Portuguese chroniclers lauding their country's naval and military feats, the Portuguese were, in fact, more concerned with trade than with conquest. "The principle laid down by Albuquerque was always adhered to. Portugal must only hold key fortresses and trading factories. She must rely on naval power to defend them. Territorial empire was beyond her powers and would be unprofitable."<sup>8</sup> According to Charles Boxer,



The parish church at Calengute in Goa

there were probably not more than ten thousand able-bodied Portuguese in all the Portuguese overseas territories in the sixteenth century. It would have been foolish for them to believe that India could be conquered and held by such small numbers. And so the high-sounding term *Estado da India* (State of India), in fact, designated basically a series of posts along commercial sea routes controlled by Portugal in varying degrees. With the decline of this control and the rise of the Dutch and English navies in the seventeenth century, the *Estado da India* declined rapidly to a shadow of its former self.

If the commercial motive prevailed over the military and political, how did it fare with regard to the evangelical or missionary? The reported answer of Vasco da Gama's men when questioned at Calicut about the reason for their long journey is well-known—"Christians and spices." According to Boxer, this close association between God and Mammon formed the hallmark of the empire founded by the Portuguese in the East, and for that matter in Africa and in South America.

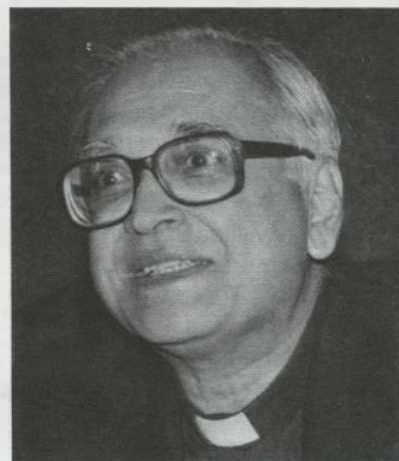
Boxer's conclusion seems to be a fair one: "The Portuguese did not seek to impose Roman Catholic Christianity at the point of the sword, but they did seek to foster their religion through coercive and discriminatory legislation."<sup>9</sup> It is this, and the caesaro-papism present for long in the *Estado da India* that leads many, especially in the Third World, to regard the spread of the Gospel as a phase and tool of the expansion of European domination.<sup>10</sup> There is also the view that the sustained exploitation of the natives by their white coreligionists in the colonies in the past has not merited any serious analysis and admission of some complicity of the Church and its missionaries in India.<sup>11</sup>

It is often claimed that there was no color bar or racial discrimination in the Portuguese colonies. This is an exaggeration. It is true that they were generally more liberal in this respect than the Dutch, the English,

or the French. On the whole, the Portuguese rulers took the line that religion and not color should be the criterion for full Portuguese citizenship, and that all Asian converts to Christianity should be treated as the equals of their Portuguese coreligionists. Yet, the religious orders in the Portuguese possessions would not admit nonwhites to their ranks for a very long time. Among the Portuguese in India, odious distinctions were made between the *reinois*, those born in the *reino* or Portugal itself, and the *indiatcos*, those born in Asia of Portuguese parents. Moreover, slavery was an important pillar of the Lusitanian empire.

In India the Portuguese kings usually favored the policy of interracial marriages which had been initiated by Albuquerque after his conquest of Goa in 1510. There were few white women in the *Estado da India*, and many Portuguese men entered into either regular or irregular unions with Asian and Eurasian women. The offspring of these unions generally remained loyal to the Portuguese Crown and the Catholic religion, and it is sometimes held that they formed the basis of the Portuguese power overseas. Yet, what is surprising is the relatively small number of Indo-Portuguese or *mesticos* to be found in India today. (Portuguese surnames do not necessarily signify Portuguese descent, since such surnames were given to converts in western India at the time of baptism, irrespective of their race.)

Another reason for the greater permanence of Portuguese influence in Asia was the wide acceptance of their language, which became a commercial lingua franca in the East, and contributed many words to native idioms. Even the Dutch, who beat the Portuguese at sea, found that it was futile to take drastic measures against the use of Portuguese, which was "an easy language to speak and easy to learn." It is said that Robert Clive, the British conqueror of Bengal who was never able to give an order in an Indian language, spoke Portuguese fluently.<sup>12</sup>



Father John Correia-Alfonso: "Culturally speaking, the Portuguese, according to Antonio da Silva Rego, were unconscious receivers and conscious givers."

It must be remembered that sixteenth-century Portugal was a poor country, "rotten at the core, an enormous deadweight of which Philip was to find himself master in 1580," as Fernand Braudel wrote.<sup>13</sup> As historian Michael Pearson notes: "Indeed, anyone who travels today on the Western Coast of India and in Portugal will be impressed by the appearance of fecundity and of lush vegetation in the former compared with the rocky, infertile appearance of much of Portugal. At least visually, and initially, Goa must have looked like paradise to a sixteenth-century Portuguese peasant."<sup>14</sup>

Vasco da Gama was followed by Pedro Alvares Cabral in 1500. Cabral was embroiled in a quarrel with the Zamorin. Learning that the ruler of Cochin hated them and was eager to do business with the Portuguese, Cabral called at Cochin, established friendly relations there, and loaded a cargo of pepper. He then called upon the raja of Cannanore (a city also rich in pepper) because he came to know that this prince too wished to escape the Zamorin's domination. Cannanore was thus drawn into the Portuguese sphere of influence.

But, the most important event in the establishment of the *Estado da India* was the capture of Goa from the forces of the Adil Shah of Bijapur in 1510. Goa provided the Portuguese with an excellent natural har-

bor and a base of operations better situated than Cochin. It also made the Indian rulers believe that the Portuguese meant to stay, and that they were now an Asian imperial force.

The Portuguese were moving northwards along the West Coast and they had visited Bassein in 1509. Becoming more ambitious, they made some raids on the town in 1530 and 1531, and two years later stormed and demolished the small fort the Sultan of Gujarat had built there. Thereupon, Sultan Bahadur Shah sought peace, and ceded Bassein to the Portuguese, who also acquired other neighboring areas, including Bombay (1534), and Daman and Diu.

In trying to strike even a rough balance of the positive and negative aspects of the Portuguese presence in western India, sweeping generalizations must be avoided. All are aware that this presence varied over a wide range in form, time, and even in place within western India itself.

Some of the Portuguese contributions (such as those in the fields of

religion and language) were made chiefly through the institutions which became associated with the Estado da India from its early days: the church, the primary school, the Misericordia, the hospital, the orphanage, and the hostel for girls. The attention paid to education, particularly to that of young boys, is worthy of special note. It was, of course, a part of the effort at evangelization, and hence the work of the primary schools was complemented by that of the minor seminaries and of institutions of higher education like that of the College of Saint Paul in Goa, which was endowed with a fine library. It was here that the first printing press with movable type was established in 1556, and was soon used to produce not only catechisms and dictionaries, but also philosophical and scientific works, first in Portuguese and Indian languages, and eventually in Indic characters.

Lusitanian traits are also to be found in the architecture, fine arts, music, and cuisine of western India. Although it is generally thought that

in the field of law it was the British who made the greatest contribution to Indian society and life, the Portuguese were ahead of them in the effort to abolish abuses like *sati*, and to guarantee to women basic rights of ownership and inheritance.<sup>15</sup>

On a more material plane, one may mention the contribution which the Portuguese are generally credited to have made to the flora of India, and to its study. Though their title is challenged today in some cases, tobacco, pineapple, papaya, maize, cashew, red pepper, sweet potato, and ornamental plants such as the pagoda tree are reputed to have been introduced by the Portuguese into India, generally from South America.

A recent panegyrist of the Portuguese power in India has written: "Of all the nations of Europe which ploughed the seas in search of the fabulous East, only Portugal displayed interests more lasting than those of a plain economic exploitation highly profitable and made by the arrogance of arms—the attitude



*A Portuguese gentleman with his retinue in India*

of the majority of the European nations which not only looted the riches of the East, but impoverished it to such a point that even today, the effects of that spoliation are noted in vast areas of Asia.<sup>16</sup> This is an oversimplification. Like other European powers, the Portuguese were also guilty of aggressiveness and exploitation in their relations with India. They have also been accused, not without reason, of denationalizing their converts to Christianity, i.e., of alienating them from their native culture. But it must be recognized that they also brought positive elements to enrich the mosaic of Indian civilization, elements which have lasted after their empire vanished.

But what of the effects of the Portuguese presence in western India on Portugal itself? It is not uncommon today to view these rather negatively. But already a century ago the Conde de Ficalho had cynically written: "The Portuguese looted India: India corrupted them. They are quits!"<sup>17</sup>

Such cynicism may not be totally baseless, yet the Portuguese—and Europe—did draw important benefits from the discoveries, and specifically from the Indian venture. As a well-known historian of western colonialism put it, the great voyages "liberated Europe from a geographic and mental cell."<sup>18</sup> And Martins Afonso declared, "The discovery of so many new realities brought as an immediate result the ruin of book knowledge, which was replaced by the knowledge of facts and by the observation of nature."<sup>19</sup>

Culturally speaking, the Portuguese, according to Antonio da Silva Rego, were unconscious receivers and conscious givers.<sup>20</sup> They were not consciously prepared to receive anything, yet the discoveries have a very important national significance by reason of the impress they left on the mentality and history of Portugal, by their role in the configuration of the modern national identity, by the value and transcontinental character they gave to the Portuguese language, and finally by the formation of a scientific, humanistic, and civic

tradition which has lasted to this day.

In his recent work, *The Portuguese in India*, Pearson comes to the conclusion that "in many areas the Portuguese impact was minor; in a few it was substantial. Overall, there was much more co-operation and interaction than dominance."<sup>21</sup> This is a view with which by and large I am in agreement. *Goa Dourada* (Golden Goa) should rather be termed *Goa Indica* (Indian Goa), according to Caroline Ifeka, "for the similarities between Hindu and Catholic cultures, which existed prior to contact, favored the evolution of not just a Portuguese society but a nice working out of the Portuguese and the Indian."<sup>22</sup>

The Portuguese presence was not an unmixed blessing for western India—some would not consider it a blessing in any form—but it left its mark. In an oft-quoted passage, the Portuguese chronicler João de Barros wrote in 1540: "The Portuguese arms and pillars placed in Africa and in Asia, and in countless isles beyond the bounds of three continents, are material things, and time may destroy them. But time will not destroy the religion, customs and language which the Portuguese have implanted in those lands."<sup>23</sup> A pretentious prophecy, perhaps, but it has proved substantially true for four and a half centuries.

And we conclude with the words of Balkrishna Borkar, a great Goan humanist, and a Hindu: "Though partially impaired under the Portuguese onslaught of superior arms and machinery, Goan culture not only outlived it but even absorbed some good and progressive features of their Latin culture. Besides, it turned every difficulty they thrust upon it into a new opportunity to revitalize and enrich itself. It adopted some fine modes of Western living and grafted on its ethos and aesthetics the good sense and good taste peculiar to Latin culture brought by the Portuguese."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *The Lusiads*, trans. William C. Atkinson, (London, 1952), p. 39.

<sup>17</sup> See P. J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind* (London, 1982).

<sup>18</sup> C. R. Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: A Succinct Survey* (Johannesburg, 1961), p. 6.

<sup>19</sup> Antonio da Carmo Feis, *História da Civilização Portuguesa* (Oporto, 1975), quoted by Carmo Azevedo, *Os Descobrimentos e Conquistas dos Portugueses na História da Humanidade* (Pangim, Goa, 1988), p. 7.

<sup>20</sup> Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: A Succinct Survey*, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> D. K. Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires from the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1971), p. 138.

<sup>22</sup> *The Lusiads*, p. 239.

<sup>23</sup> Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires from the Eighteenth Century*, p. 139.

<sup>24</sup> Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: A Succinct Survey*, p. 37.

<sup>25</sup> Perhaps the best-known work on European colonialism by an author from the Third World is K. M. Panikkar's *Asia and Western Dominance* (London, 1953). Also see Jerome D'Souza, *Sardar Panikkar and Christian Missions* (Dindigul, India, 1957).

<sup>26</sup> See Teotónio de Souza, "Jesuit History: Question of Relevance," in *Indian Missionological Review* 9 (Bombay, 1987), p. 275.

<sup>27</sup> See J. B. Harrison, "The Portuguese," in A. L. Basham ed., *A Cultural History of India* (London, 1975), p. 342.

<sup>28</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (London, 1972-73), I, 585-591, quoted by M. N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 20.

<sup>29</sup> Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, p. 20.

<sup>30</sup> See Pratima Kamat, "Some Legal Aspects of the Socio-Economic Life of Women in Portuguese Goa," in B. S. Shastry ed., *Goan Society Throughout the Ages* (New Delhi, 1987).

<sup>31</sup> Maria Selma de Vieira Velho in "As Possíveis Influências dos Viajantes em Algumas Sociedades Costeiras das Partes do Oriente," paper presented at the Fourth International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History (Lisbon, 1985), p. 15.

<sup>32</sup> In *Garcia de Oria e o seu tempo* (Lisbon, 1886), quoted by Carmo Azevedo, p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> Fieldhouse, quoted by Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, p. 13.

<sup>34</sup> *Breve História de Portugal* (Oporto n.d.), quoted by Carmo Azevedo, p. 12.

<sup>35</sup> See *Temas Sociomissiológicos e Históricos*, (Lisbon, 1982), pp. 45-49.

<sup>36</sup> Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> See "The Image of Goa" in Teotónio de Souza ed., *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions* (New Delhi, 1985), p. 191.

<sup>38</sup> Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825: A Succinct Survey*, p. 93.

<sup>39</sup> In "The Goan Personality," *Boletim do Instituto Meneses Bragança*, No. 96 (Pangim, 1971), p. 61.

## The Indo-Portuguese Experience in the Context of World History

As part of the recent Camões Center Symposium on Mughal India and the Portuguese, which was held in collaboration with the Southern Asian Institute of Columbia University, a group of senior scholars discussed the current situation in the study of Indo-Portuguese history. The panel was chaired by Professor Ainslie Embree, Director of the Southern Asian Institute. Other participants included Professor Charles Boxer, Camões Professor Emeritus, University of London, England; Father John Correia-Afonso, Director of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture in Bombay; Professor Michael Pearson, University of New South Wales, Australia; and Professor George Winius, University of Leiden, the Netherlands.

**Embree:** What do you see as the major problems in studying Indo-Portuguese history and world history in general?

**Winius:** First of all, Asia is not to be covered by the ball of one's thumb except in the University of Florida, where when I taught there we had an Asianist but the poor fellow was a Japanologist so, of course, neither Indian nor Chinese studies got taught. Moreover, he was supposed

to teach a survey course for the Asian studies program, but it ended up looking at Portugal from a European standpoint, stuck out there *do fim do mundo*. The only way to be rescued from this situation is by teaching the "Expansion of Europe" and by reinterpreting how world history should be taught and structured in universities. The strange thing is, in American universities, as you know, if you offer a course that the university has hired you to teach in the area of Latin American studies for example, your Chairman will probably say, "Well, what else can you offer?" Consequently, teaching the "Expansion of Europe" is always taught only if the professor himself decides to teach the subject as an elective.

When I taught the "Expansion of Europe" at the University of Florida for eleven years the moment I left, the course was dropped out of the catalogue. The same happened to Paul Hauffman, who taught at the University of Wyoming and later moved to Baton Rouge, and as soon as he left the University of Wyoming the course was also removed from the catalogue and it was added at Baton Rouge. The earliest course was perhaps taught at Columbia University by William R. Sheppard, who was really the inventor of this modern concept, and it was titled the "Expansion of Europe." Unfortunately, and I am ashamed to say, it hasn't gotten much further than in Sheppard's day and I think that most of the people who are teaching the course in this country all came from Columbia University. However, I do not know what the remedy is, although I think the reason I am saying this is that I wish you would be aware of the problems should you ever sit on a university curriculum board, or have money for endowing chairs, or have any influence to exert in this direction.

**Embree:** We have at present a very active world history movement in this country and one of the things the world history people are trying to discover is what world history is. Will it be just a series with a week on

China, a week on Mughal India, and a week on this and that, or is there any possibility of talking of a world history in terms of themes? Now, one theme that is interesting and has come up in conferences over the past few years is the possibility of world history taught in terms of empires and not in terms of the "expansion of Europe." So, in teaching world history we would talk not just of the expansion of Europe, but of the expansion of India, of the Chinese empires, and so on. I should add that while we have talked about this theme nobody has managed to come up with either a textbook or a syllabus.

**Pearson:** It is very important, as a matter of fact, that even in the framework of the "Expansion of Europe," there is no decent text and perhaps one of us should sit down and write one. Robert Palmer got a decent text on European world history simply by sitting down and writing it. Maybe that's a message for some of us.

**Winius:** I would like to add that if one did turn to world history my guess is that Portuguese expansion would be slighted. For those of us who did not have the advantage of having studied at Columbia with Professor Garrett Mattingly, these themes have not been heard before. This is true especially when scholars are extremely interested in their own topics and extremely uninterested in what goes on in the next room. I find it enlightening that the Dutch who are so full of Dutch expansion sometimes only remember me as a Portuguese specialist as an afterthought. They realize that the Portuguese were there first, but the topic is always seen as setting the stage for Dutch historical studies, so maybe there is not even as easy a remedy as I suggested.

**Pearson:** I think Professor Embree wanted us to talk about world history and so I thought in terms of what the Portuguese might mean in this context. In the first of my own works, as some of you know, I tried to look analytically at what the Portuguese experience really meant and I have proven to my own satisfaction that



OPRIMEIRO CONCILIO  
Prouinçial celebrado em Goa,

Frontispiece of a book published at Goa,  
1568

their impact was small on most parts of Asia. However, if one were writing a world history then I think that the place of the Portuguese would be quite significant because they led to a huge increase of knowledge. If you are writing a history of the world then that connection to knowledge of other parts of the world would seem to me to be a theme which would have to be prominent in it.

**Winius:** What we are talking about is a fundamental change in the curriculum and how to modernize it. I think that probably world history is the way to do it, but how, especially in universities in Europe and America which have been relatively stagnant for about twenty years in terms of budgets and of innovation?

**Embree:** Father John, do you want to say a word since you come from an educational system that is among the world's more conservative and more resistant to change?

**Father John:** This may sound a little hypercritical of the teaching of history, but I should like to add that I belong to a generation in India which had to do a lot of European history together with Indian history as part of our college education in the 1940s in Bombay University. In India we had to learn European and American history (I could talk to you about the New Deal and all sorts of things), but when we come to the United States we find that basically the American undergraduate student by and large really does not seem to have that knowledge which we ex-colonial territories had embedded in us and which has been a tremendous advantage to us when we go abroad.

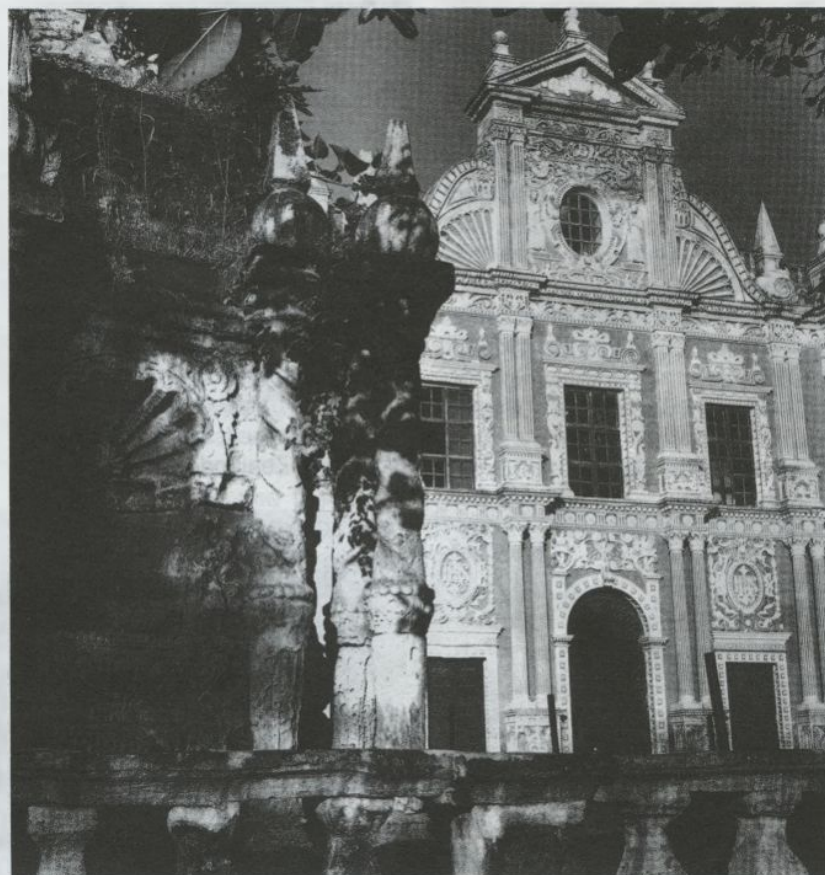
Regarding what Mike Pearson and George Winius said earlier about the importance of the Portuguese contribution, I would really like to come to the theme as I thought we should have discussed it, which is the obstacles and importance of studying Indo-Portuguese history (and this is also true about world history). First of all, it is very important to have a knowledge of languages and this is very difficult. What happens now in India, for example, is that very few of those Indians interested in Portu-

guese history, including those who come from my part of India, are familiar with the Portuguese language. Even before the integration of Goa into the Indian Union in 1961, English had gradually displaced Portuguese, even in Goa, as the commercial language. Today, the Portuguese language, though it is allowed in the curriculum of Bombay University, is nonetheless studied very little.

On the other hand, European historians dealing with India and Indo-Portuguese history are hopefully familiar with Portuguese, but not perhaps with the other European languages, like Dutch, necessary even for a knowledge of Portuguese India. These languages help to give a balanced view of the Indo-Portuguese experience. So, one obstacle that I see in this field of Indo-Portuguese history is the command of languages and which is found in very few people who combine the knowledge of the principal European languages with those of India.

The second obstacle which I see is the difficulty of the retrieval of relevant material in the archives, which are most important for Portuguese history. The archives in Lisbon, Rome, and Goa are rich in material and they are mostly well preserved. However, as those who have worked with them know, they are not well indexed, with the result that it is a herculean task to retrieve material. Sometimes what happens is that one particular gold mine is found in the archives and everybody concentrates on that forgetting the other mines waiting to be found.

I would say, however, that there have been new, positive developments in this field of study; one of them is the fact that historians of various countries, for example, India, Portugal, Australia, the Netherlands, England, or France, have been able to come together in a true spirit of cooperation and collaboration in our Indo-Portuguese history seminars. Those of us who have been present at these meetings can bear



The ornate façade of the Jesuit College in Diu

Michael Teague

witness that by and large these meetings have been very cordial, very objective, and although there are bound to be occasional strongly expressed differences of opinion, I think that a more objective view of the 450 years of the Indo-Portuguese experience in India has been found today more than before. So, I see that a great improvement has been made in the development of the Indo-Portuguese history and I am more hopeful for the future.

**Pearson:** The language problem is not to be sneered at because life is short and finite and to be the complete Indo-Portuguese historian you would need to know the two or three Indian languages and perhaps three or four European languages that Father John identified. I do not know how many of us have the expertise, competence, patience, or the time to acquire these. It may be an argument for more cooperative efforts between people who control Indian languages and people who control European languages.

The comment on the five seminars on Indo-Portuguese history, which all three of us here attended, are very much to the point. Father John forgot to tell you that he was probably the main instigator and still the main mover behind these very successful series of seminars and that should be acknowledged. You should be aware that the proceedings are normally published when they are in Portugal and the standard has been remarkably high.

Given that it was only in 1961 that Goa was liberated, as they say, I think that the amity and the civility

between Portuguese and Indian historians is something to be very much appreciated and feel happy about. It, of course, has something to do with Portugal's own revolution in 1974 as much as anything. Yet, I think these seminars provide a uniquely valuable forum for working out some of the problems that we face in doing Indo-Portuguese history.

One other comment, which George Winius could in fact talk about better than I, is the way in which in the 1950s, I think, especially when decolonization was in full swing, the colonialism in the empires was automatically seen as a negative and bad thing, and this even applied to the academic world so that it would not even be studied. Many of the previously flourishing courses in European expansionism and colonialism simply collapsed because they were seen as negative by the dominant intellectual fad of the time. Now, in Leiden, where George Winius teaches, there is a revival in the study of European expansionism.

The new emphasis, however, is that we really try not to write simply of Europeans in a vacuum on the West Coast of India or anywhere else, but rather by means of learning several languages to put the Europeans into the context in which they are operating, which may be in western India, Angola, Mozambique, Asia, or Africa. This then means that Indo-Portuguese history is both challenging and very difficult and the challenge is not only the language but, in looking at myself, for example, as a sort of New Zealand-Australian, who

is not indigenous to either Indian or Portuguese culture, I have got to acquire some sort of sympathy and familiarity with both of these before I feel that I can say anything very useful about Indo-Portuguese history. So the task is stimulating and fascinating, and there are all sorts of good things, but the difficulties are certainly not to be underestimated.

**Winius:** As you ask these larger questions which require more knowledge of other cultures and the integration of Portuguese studies into them, you require not only more tools, but also a great deal more time and research. Just to use the "shadow empire" theme: who were these people and where did they come from? The sources do not want to tell these things. In using the simile of ore—high or low grade—what you have to do is process an enormous number of sources for little scraps of information.

We all know that as graduate students when we go out to write dissertations what we really need to do is to grab some papers which are pretty concentrated in their information, like Barbosa Machado, or something like that, and then write a piece that more or less delineates what you found in your bundled documents. You have to maintain systematically an extremely large pile of cards drawn from many sources. Yet, because you get only a tiny idea out of one card, it is only until you have added it in the context of 150 other cards you cannot say anything. In other words, it means that research is becoming more meaningful. Perhaps we are asking bigger and better



Participants: Michael Pearson, George Winius, Ainslie Embree, Charles Boxer, Father John Correia-Afonso

questions, but the results come rather hard and rather slow.

**Embree:** One other familiar obstacle in this old question of studying Indo-European history is supposing one studies Indo-European history, either in India or in this country, what are the likelihoods of finding academics to teach it? Also, along with these intellectual obstacles one has to take seriously the whole question of how it fits into the curriculum. This is not an easy thing and for those of you who teach Portuguese history when you turn to a specialty like Indo-European history it requires the kind of language skills that you spoke about. How much incentive is there for doing this kind of work and how would you lead the students into it?

**Winius:** It is easy, because young scholars are rather pristine creatures and have not yet learned the wicked ways of universities! They do things for the love of it. Well, I think they will do what they love, and what they find worthwhile, and maybe they will find a teaching position all the same.

**Embree:** May I ask Father John if in India itself the study of Indo-Portuguese history is a kind of specialty that could be found valuable in the Indian academic context?

**Father John:** I am sorry to say that the Indian academic employment situation is very sad at the moment, and it is not the time that one should go into esoteric disciplines. In the total Indian economic context and in most other societies, certainly the teaching profession is not the most attractive field economically, but perhaps there are few places as bad in India. In other words, the situation is such that this little problem is lost in the totality of the academic field in India. Having said this as a background, I would like to say that precisely because of this, basically, in India teachers have to be generalists and they do not have opportunities to specialize, except perhaps at the high graduate school level. Basically, the field is not attractive.

**Embree:** Professor Boxer, as the senior scholar in the field, do you see

it as a field that would attract young scholars?

**Boxer:** Yes, I do. I certainly want to attract them. For instance, one field which is wide open and has everything in it like human interest and financial skulduggery is the archives of the Misericórdia—da Santa Casa da Misericórdia—in the provincial towns of Portugal. There you can find the papers of people who died, perhaps in Macau, India, or Timor, and who left all their capital, or anyway a slice of it, to the Misericórdia of their hometowns. In Portugal I have seen some of these, for example, in Ponte de Lima, Viana, Foz de Lima, and they are absolutely fascinating.

You see, when a man makes his will or *testamento* is when he starts speaking the truth. They say that they are making that testament in order to compensate for something they have done wrong and they pay an additional contribution to the local Misericórdia and they leave money to save five poor, but respectable, orphan girls—this is recognized as a popular way of easing your way into heaven, or still was in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

I happen to have some of the documents from Sintra and there are many of these in the archives of Macau, which have documents that do not go back further than about the 1760s (although they have copies of earlier ones) and in these there are many documents about *afilhadas* or the goddaughters the Portuguese took on. For example, the Chinese would deposit a baby girl (they did not want girls) in a little basket outside the door of some fairly wealthy Portuguese home and the babies would often be adopted by the family and when they grew up they would be given a dowry in order to induce someone to marry them.

In addition to having a human interest side, these documents also have a lot of financial information about how the money was paid and how it was secured. When the English and Dutch were controlling the trade of the Indian nation and capturing a large number of Portuguese



Title page of Damião de Góes's *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel* (Lisbon, 1566)

ships, the question became how to remit this money by letters of exchange, through Jews or some other way over land or by sea, but in such a way that the English and Dutch could not get a hold of it.

In one case I dealt with, it took the girls twenty-five years to receive the money, and by that time they must have been fairly old in age, but that's the way they got it. You find details of all this and many other things as well in the archives of the Misericórdia. This is the sort of thing I do not think you will get nearly so much of in the English and Dutch archives although you do get the odd ones. However, I think that it is very much more common with the Portuguese and I presume with the Spaniards.

What I am trying to get at with this long-winded response is that this is an enormous field and it is wide open with plenty of archival material. People working in the small provincial archives in Portugal and probably Spain in nine out of ten cases are only too glad to see someone working and using them, so you can be assured a very good reception. It is very rewarding and I would encourage any student, who is uncertain of what to do, to read some books about the Misericórdia, like Russell Woods' book on Bahia, then pick some particular archive in Portugal, like Ponte de Lima, which is one that I know, and dive into the archives. Once you get started you get fascinated and hooked and you won't leave it.



O compromisso da Contraria de Misericórdia, Lisbon, Valentim Fernandes & Hernão de Campos, 1516.

**João Carlos Gomez:** In Portuguese-speaking Africa we are very much interested these days in studying Portuguese history from a different perspective other than the perspective that the Portuguese presented to us during the colonial period. Do you know of any work being undertaken by someone who is trying to link the African, Indian, and Asian perspectives into one single work which I could use as a journalist? The reason why I am asking is that, for example, in my broadcasting programs back home in Guinea Bissau, we often find it very hard to put together a good program that would be well accepted by the natives because what we learned is sometimes very contradictory with what we hear from the ancestors of our country. I need something that has not only an African or Portuguese perspective, but which uses a more scientific approach.

**Father John:** The question I believe is whether there is an overall view of the experience written from a non-Eurocentric point of view. To my knowledge most of what has been written, let us say from an African or Indian point of view, has often been written before these territories obtained independence and therefore

it has been written with more heat than with light. As far as India goes the studies have been written perhaps more calmly and deliberately, but they are still partial studies.

To my knowledge there is no book that I would recommend as being a complete overall critical view of Goa, a book that one can say, "Look, here is an account of the colonial experience in Goa, which has neither the Portuguese nor Indian bias." Insofar as an "objective account" is possible in this limited world of ours, I am not aware of anything of that kind. Individual questions may have been dealt with a little bit more objectively and I would imagine this would be the case for Africa since Africa has experienced an even shorter period of independence. Yet, what is positive, and I will repeat what I have said earlier, is that there is much more interest in trying to find a common point of view and a certain interpretation that would be judged as fair-minded and that can at least be admitted as the truth. However, I do not think anything has been written to this date.

**Boxer:** I would like to just refer to Helen Issacman's very interesting book on Africa and the daughters to Zambezia, who were very wealthy women—*mulatas*—whose fathers or grandfathers were white and their mothers or grandmothers were black. Their history is fascinating and although good work has been done on this by Issacman and others, there are still a lot more possibilities there, if you want to explore black-white relations.

You see, they lived on these enormous estates in Zambezia and in the surrounding areas. They had their own armies and it is said they could mobilize about ten thousand men. The Portuguese government had to be very careful not to antagonize them.

There is one daughter of Zambezia, who is particularly well-known and who had a white husband with whom she quarreled (this happens between husbands and wives sometimes), and when she said she would

kill him he promptly fled down to the coast of Mozambique and then to Macau, where he thought he would be safe from her. However, before he got out of the Zambezia valley his wife sent out after him a few of her warriors in killer war canoes, who in chasing him met a Portuguese Sergeant Mor coming up in the opposite direction. When Sergeant Mor saw these canoes approaching he got a bit worried, of course, and called out, but they were not looking for him. In the end, they did not catch their man, who managed to escape to Macau.

These daughters of Zambezia lasted I think well into the nineteenth century. In one way, of course, the Portuguese had no control over them whatever, but on the other hand they kept the Portuguese presence there by always flying the Portuguese flag and regarding themselves as loyal vassals of the king of Portugal, providing the king did not bother them. They also paid some nominal tribute in gold, which was not all in all very substantial.

**João Carlos Gomez:** Don't you think it would be very useful to have a conference which would include Portuguese, Brazilians, Africans, and Asians, in order to set up some kind of an outline for future studies?

**Father John:** It would be. You know, there was a UNESCO history of the world that received criticism and, of course, probably satisfied nobody, but perhaps in the context of what used to be the Luso-Brazilian Colloquium held long ago and with our Indo-Portuguese seminars maybe this could be an item on the agenda.

**Pearson:** I would also like to add that a good many non-Portuguese historians, people like David Birmingham, have looked at that same history from a non-Portuguese standpoint. I should think that would serve some of your purposes. Portuguese history has attracted historians who are not Portuguese and who have a certain objectivity about certain aspects, although, of course, they are fanatically concentrated on things like slavery, perhaps to the exclusion of other kinds of history.

## Boxer on Boxer: A Conversation

The study of the Portuguese-speaking world has always had a low priority, especially in the United States. Few individuals have had mastery over the languages or possessed the local experience needed to tackle the breadth of this topic, though Charles R. Boxer with his ongoing prolific writings on the Portuguese experience in places such

as Japan, China, Brazil, India, and Angola has come close to it.

What follows is not the whole story of this eminent historian, book collector, and soldier, but the conversation does cover the various aspects which make up Boxer's extraordinary life, and also gives us a glimpse of his style and humor. Boxer's output, originality, and verve are legendary, but we know less about the man himself and how he became interested in Portugal and its empire. The aim of this conversation is to

help fill this gap.

The conversation took place over a dinner hosted by Richard and Julieta Ramer on May 6, 1989, in New York City. Other participants included his wife, Emily Hahn, and daughter, Carola Vecchio; Kenneth Maxwell, Director of the Camões Center; Lynette Peck, Program Assistant, Camões Center; Mia Turner, Editor, Camões Center Quarterly; and Michael Teague, Secretary, American Portuguese Society.



Michael Teague

A religious procession enters the Manueline-style entrance to a church in Cochin.

**Kenneth:** How did your interest in Portugal begin?

**Charles:** Well, through the Japanese. I wasn't interested in the Portuguese at all really, or the Dutch for that matter. However, I was very interested as a child in Japan. I used to collect *netsuke*, a Japanese carved ivory, and when I got older I collected Japanese prints from Nagasaki. I later read Japanese history in the ancient books and I realized that the Portuguese and the Dutch were there first.

**Carola:** Daddy, as a child how did you start to be interested?

**Charles:** Looking at books in grandmother's library in Australia where I was born.

**Emily:** He and Beryl used to write Japanese characters.

**Kenneth:** Who is Beryl?

**Carola:** His sister.

**Lynette:** When did you start studying Japanese?

**Charles:** Young—it was 1930 and I was born in 1904. We had a preliminary course in the School of Oriental Studies in London, which is not where it is now. It was at that time a very small place somewhere in the city. The school had a very good teacher of Japanese and there were only three classes a week, very short lessons, and no weekends. Anyway, that was preliminary work. I then took a very slow Japanese boat to Japan which called on places like Gibraltar, Marseille, Palermo, Shanghai, and so on.

**Kenneth:** Were you then in the army?

**Charles:** Yes, I was a captain.

**Kenneth:** You were going as part of a military contingent?

**Charles:** Yes, for three years. I was on an exchange of army officers, something which had been stopped in the navy.

**Michael:** How did you get involved in the army?

**Charles:** My great grandfather was in the army and my great great grandfather was in the navy. Later my grandfather became a captain in the

navy and drowned with 780 people on a ship called *H.M.S. Captain* which went down in September 1870 in the Bay of Biscay. The ship overturned and they say the designer was also on board and he was drowned too. The only people who escaped were the seven sailors who were on watch and who managed to scramble into lifeboats and get away. My grandmother was left pregnant. She produced two sons, one of whom was my father, who later joined the army—the regular army. So, you see they've all been either navy or army. I was supposed to go into the navy, but I failed because of my eyesight. My older brother got in to Dartmouth College (the Royal Navy Academy in Devon) and was expelled for insults, which infuriated my father very much and he was almost sent to Uruguay to grow oranges, but then the First World War broke out and my father was killed and my brother was badly wounded. He survived the Second World War and then died after that.

**Kenneth:** Where did you go to school?

**Charles:** Wellington College, then to Sandhurst, and finally to the army. It was more or less inevitable I would join because my father and brother were in it.

**Emily:** We had a neighbor who came to see us when we got back to Dorset and asked Charles if he wrote this particular book and Charles said, "Yes" and I said, "And he wrote all of those too" and the neighbor said, "Good gads, you must be brainy."

**Kenneth:** The thing not to be! So, you were in the artillery?

**Charles:** No, in the infantry. I ain't brainy like that! Of course, the infantry is one of the most prestigious branches in Japan. Usually in armies the smart people were in the cavalry, but in Japan the cavalry was regarded as a lot more stupid and upper-class and not nearly so good as the infantry. The Japanese are not good with horses and they had no idea then how to control a horse properly. They have changed a lot now. They had exceptions of course, because there was one man I knew,

Baron Nishi, from a very wealthy Japanese family in the 1930s, but there were not many of them. Baron Nishi went into the army and became a wonderful rider. He was one of the first people to have his horse jump over a Rolls-Royce. I wonder if anyone in the West did that? Yes, I am sure the French Cavalry School probably did it.

**Lynette:** How long were you in Japan?

**Charles:** I was there for three years, from 1930 to 1933. I was living in Tokyo, then in Nara, which is near Kyoto, and the last year I was in a place called Toyohashi. I've been back several times to Japan and it has sort of changed now.

**Mia:** Why were you attached to the Japanese army?

**Charles:** At that time, in 1930, it was the end of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, which hadn't been abrogated entirely. You see, because of the Washington Treaty in 1932 and pressure from the United States, Canada, and Australia, the Anglo-Japanese alliance was abrogated in the naval sector and the Japanese navy was very annoyed about this and would no longer allow English naval officers to come. However, the army did not do this. The Japanese emperor Hirohito was an honorary field marshal in the British army and he decided that the exchange of Japanese and English officers would continue as it had done since 1904 when the agreement was made. What that meant was that one or two, but never more than six English officers would go to Japan and be attached to Japanese units for three years and conversely the six Japanese officers would come to England and they would be attached to the English army. The Americans had the same thing, but the American officers did not stay with one unit for any length of time. They moved around quickly from one unit to another. They didn't get to know them very well, but as I was there for a year I knew them very well.

**Mia:** What was it like serving in the Japanese army?

**Charles:** I liked it. I was very pro-Japanese anyway and the older generation was still very pro-British. When they invaded Manchuria around 1930 it was a bit awkward, but they were very polite and I was very polite. It was a man's country and if you learned Japanese, which I did, it was fine.

**Lynette:** What happened to your Japanese friends during the war?

**Charles:** They were nearly all killed in the war, especially those in the army. Very few survived. You see, there was the war in China, the war with America, the war with England—in effect it was the Second World War.

**Mia:** Did some of them go up to Manchuria?

**Charles:** Yes, I think so. Some of them were killed before that, but most were killed in the Pacific War.

**Mia:** Could you have stayed on?

**Charles:** Yes, I had a Japanese house.

**Mia:** So, you were living quite well?

**Charles:** Yes, very well. When you're young and lusty as an eagle and with lots of money you do.

**Mia:** Where did your money come from? A grant?

**Charles:** No, I had my army pay, which was quite good, and I had some private means.

**Mia:** What else did you do besides your duties in the army?

**Charles:** I was a fencer and so I took up the Japanese fencing called *kendo*. Everyone does it now, but in 1930 all the foreigners did *jujitsu*. I was the first one to do *kendo*.

**Mia:** Why did you want to do *kendo*?

**Charles:** Oh, because I wanted to. I fenced in England. At that time I had two hands and could use my left hand.

**Mia:** What happened to your left hand?

**Charles:** I was shot in the vertical plexus. In *kendo* you grip with the left hand. After I fenced I would inevitably get a scolding by my cook.

**Mia:** Why?

**Charles:** She was "waiting for me,"

she said. She actually wanted to keep a bit of power. Anyway, never mind, that was a typical husband-wife quarrel.

**Mia:** So, she was like your wife?

**Charles:** She was a housekeeper who cooked me eggs and bacon. She could do that, you see, because she had been the cook to an American man first. In the army you only had the midday meal in the barracks and had your breakfast and evening meal at home. She was like a concubine. Well, there was no secret about it. She had been someone else's concubine before and was very reliable. She was not a Tokyo girl, but rather a northerner from Hakodati, on the island of Hokkaido.

**Mia:** How did you meet her?

**Charles:** Someone found her, and I leased her. You know, in the 1930s leasing someone was no problem and I don't think it is now. It was also very cheap.

**Mia:** How good were you at *kendo*?

**Charles:** I was quite good then since I was young and lusty as an eagle and I had two hands. I wasn't fantastic at all and my eyesight was bad, but the Japanese eyesight is mostly bad too. When I was in the Thirteenth Regiment I was in Nara, which is the seat of the famous girls training college, where they were training women to be teachers. The girls were taught Japanese fencing with *naginata*, which was a spear with a curved thing at the top for swiping your opponents legs and cutting them off. We had a fencing contest at the girls school with myself using *kendo* and the girls using *naginata* and bamboo sticks. The girl I fought with did hit my legs, but didn't cut them off. The whole performance created quite a sensation.

**Carola:** Daddy, didn't you wrestle as well?

**Charles:** No, never. I haven't got the size.

**Carola:** There is a photograph of you with wrestlers.

**Emily:** He was just showing off.

**Carola:** No, really, there is a photograph you showed me last summer

and it looks like you were being photographed with wrestlers or were they swordsmen?

**Charles:** They were *kendo* fighters.

**Lynette:** When was your last trip to Japan?

**Charles:** It was around five or six years ago. I just went to Tokyo, Kyoto, and Nara.

**Mia:** Has it changed?

**Charles:** The trains, first of all, were always good and very fast, but now there's the Bullet train. Also, today, of course, everything is very expensive and you need an enormous grant to live there. The first time I went I did not have an enormous grant, nor did I need one.

**Michael:** I was looking in some notes I wrote on Bandar Abbas [a southern Iranian port opposite Hormuz] and I had written that a Captain Boxer from Dorset lay in the cemetery there.

**Charles:** Yes, he was an uncle who died there of fever. He was in the Indian army and served as consul or something like that.

**Michael:** What was your first connection with the Persian Gulf area?

**Charles:** It was historical.

**Michael:** Just historical? I thought you were then still in the army.

**Charles:** Oh, no, not at all. I went there in 1950 or 1960.

**Michael:** But didn't you write your theory on the Persian Gulf earlier?

**Charles:** Yes, in 1930. It's being reprinted in my collected works.

**Michael:** I think that was your first book written on the Portuguese in the area.

**Charles:** No, I wrote about the attack of the Dutch in Macau and this Persian book came very soon after.

**Kenneth:** Did you know Dutch prior to 1949?

**Charles:** I have a reading knowledge of it and I could work in the archives. The only language I ever spoke, although I've forgotten it all now, was Japanese. I was an interpreter in Japanese and my Portuguese was and still is very bad. My reading in Portuguese is all right, particularly seventeenth century. I

am not too happy with twentieth-century Portuguese, but with seventeenth-century Portuguese I have no trouble at all.

**Emily:** They loved it. They told me that Charles spoke seventeenth-century Portuguese when he first got to Lisbon. They took him to a Lisbon comedy and they asked him whether the girls were pretty and he said, "I liked the damsels in the last act."

**Carola:** A Dutch man said the same thing—that you speak beautiful seventeenth-century Dutch.

**Charles:** Anyway, I also noticed that one of the reviewers, who was a Dutchman, of *The Dutch in Brazil*, said the book was very good and all that, but the author is rather inclined to favor the Portuguese side. The reviewers in the *Portuguese Historical Review*, however, said the book is very good and all that, but the author is rather inclined to favor the Dutch. So, I think I rather got them just about right, or at least I hope so.

**Kenneth:** How did you first begin to get interested in writing history?

**Charles:** Well, you have the urge to write. How did you first start?

**Kenneth:** But you were an army officer!

**Charles:** Yes, but you can still write!

**Kenneth:** Not many army officers wrote a history of Portugal.

**Charles:** I joined the army in 1923 and provided you hunted and had a horse and that kind of thing then you were regarded as more or less all right. Whether you took any interest in history didn't really matter at all. If you were interested in Portuguese or Dutch that was regarded as mildly eccentric, but as long as you hunted and had a horse those were the main things. But, of course, it has all totally changed now. Quite rightly, you couldn't run an army like that any longer. It is clear that in this period between the wars the lesson of the First World War obviously had not been properly resolved.

**Lynette:** So you were collecting, writing, and serving as an officer in the army?

**Charles:** Yes, that's right.

**Michael:** Were you seconded to military intelligence because of your languages?

**Charles:** I don't remember. I was in the War Office in London in military intelligence from 1935 to 1936. Mickey—who was that man in China who had that scandal over the book he purloined written by the Italian woman? Oh yes, he was called Simon Hoggart Smith and he was in military intelligence and all these people, Blunt and so on, were all around at this time in London from 1935 to 1936.

Hoggart Smith was also in China with the British Embassy—an intelligent young man. He wrote a biography about Catherine Medici or some other Italian figure. It was very well reviewed. Then someone noticed that it seemed familiar and went and got a book out of the library published a year or two before and it was the same as Hoggart Smith's book, unchanged word for word. Even where the Italian made one or two mistakes and quoted something, he did the same. This was an obvious fraud and Hoggart Smith was only momentarily fired by the BBC where he was a broadcaster, but he got back again afterwards. The publishers paid the Italian authoress a large sum in compensation and had a proper English translation published as well with her name. But how did this come up? What does this have to do with going to Japan?

**Kenneth:** No wonder intelligence was so bad. What else did he plagiarize?

**Emily:** It took ages before anyone noticed and I thought that the British were so good at Italian, but I was wrong.

**Charles:** But, Simon Hoggart Smith spent time in China and he did a very good catalogue published in Tientsin around 1935, which I have got, of the foreign clocks and watches which were presented by the governments of Spain and Holland to the Chinese emperors. Chinese emperors loved clocks and watches, which were great things for bribing them. In the palace of Peking there were thousands of

cuckoo clocks made by the leading clock makers. Of course, they couldn't wind them up half the time.

**Michael:** Did the Japanese have the clock fetish that the Chinese had?

**Charles:** No, not to the same extent, but the Portuguese did present them with clocks.

**Kenneth:** So, you spent two years in London before going to Asia?

**Charles:** Yes, I was two years in the War Office in London. During that time I had something to do with Anthony Blunt or Anthony Burgess—one of those traitors who was in the Foreign Office because we had to liaise with each other over the phone.

**Kenneth:** When was that?

**Charles:** Nineteen thirty-five to 1936. But I don't remember anything about it much except that I did know these people. Then I had to go and was very thankful for it. I went to Hong Kong via the Trans Siberian Railroad. Fascinating. It was in 1936 and it was midwinter and I left just before the abdication and there was all this thing working up about Mrs. Simpson and so on. They were tearing out all the American magazines. It was so childish. There were also hordes of French and Italians bringing in the French and Italian newspapers that gave details about the latest. Anyway, I got on this railroad, which was the old imperial Russian pre-1917 rolling stock, so it chugged along rather at a walking pace.

**Lynette:** How long did it take to get to Moscow?

**Charles:** It took a week to get to Moscow. It didn't go as far as Vladivostok, but I went to the Manchurian border which was at the time under the Japanese control, and then took another infinitely faster express down to Mukden, Korea, and then I went over to Japan and on to Tokyo, Shanghai, and Hong Kong. That was a very nice trip too.

**Carola:** Didn't your sister join you on this trip?

**Charles:** Yes, my sister joined me in Moscow. She'd been in the Caucasuses, the Persian Caucasuses that is,

and had to come up to Moscow to meet me. It was all rather difficult because it turned out that when we met in Moscow, Stalin was going to be inaugurated or something or other was happening and lots of things were closed. Moreover, my sister as usual didn't have the proper amount of money or passport, but as usual she managed to talk her way, making eyes at the sentries and so on. She finally made it to the station and only just before the train pulled out. To her fury she had to travel first class since I as a rule travelled nothing but first class and she as a rule would travel nothing but third! But, this time she had to travel first class. She had another experience after we had been in Japan staying with the Dutch ambassador. I was coming down to Hong Kong and she came later to join me there, but when she got on the Japanese ferry from Shimonoseki to Shanghai, I think, she got a third class ticket and squatted down with all the rest of the people in third class. The captain, however, said, "No, you can't do this!" and she replied, "I've got no money." The captain then told her that it didn't matter if she had money or not she would *have* to have a cabin. There was then practically a wrestling match, with my sister eventually being driven almost forcibly into a cabin. If she couldn't do a thing the hard way she didn't want to do it at all.

**Emily:** What was the bet she made that she could get back from India to London on something like five pounds?

**Charles:** Something like that. I think it was a bit more than that.

**Emily:** And she did it.

**Michael:** Did you travel a lot together?

**Charles:** No, I avoided it. Good God, you had to fight to go first class!

**Kenneth:** You remained in the army in Hong Kong?

**Charles:** Yes, I was in military intelligence. I would go to Macau and travel to China. It was all that kind of thing.

**Kenneth:** Were you writing intelli-

gence reports on the situation in China?

**Emily:** Yes, he was.

**Michael:** Do you remember the story of breaking the Japanese code?

**Charles:** Oh, of course, they are still talking about it and it remains a controversy in the papers.

**Michael:** Can you tell us about it? It's really fascinating.

**Charles:** I don't agree with what other people are saying. It's true it is not altogether clear, but I was in the Army Joint Staff in Hong Kong and we were told by Headquarters, which was then in Singapore, that the Americans had broken the Japanese codes. This code was in a weather report. I don't know whether they passed that on to the White House, but the thing was that apparently they did not tell Hawaii or Honolulu. It is quite incredible that not even Manila knew. Everything was on the ground in Manila—all the planes and so on—and consequently they were bombed by the Japanese before they could take off. As you know the Japanese caught the Americans with their trousers down at Pearl Harbor. One explanation at the time, or shortly afterwards, was that Roosevelt was trying to swing American opinion. There was a very big antiwar movement in America—not universal but widespread—and the bombing of Pearl Harbor united the whole country. This apparently was all done by Roosevelt on purpose.

**Michael:** So you think they knew beforehand?

**Charles:** Yes.

**Mia:** Did you know personally?

**Charles:** We were told by the Americans about a week before. Consequently, the other man, a British air officer, and myself—the two who knew Japanese—had to be on twenty-four-hour duty listening to weather reports until these things came around.

**Kenneth:** How did you feel about it?

**Charles:** It was quite obvious what was going to happen. Everyone knew more or less and, in fact, I was surprised they attacked America. I



Charles Boxer: "You probably learned long before I did, but if the opportunity is there, take it."

thought that in spite of the signals they wouldn't. I couldn't believe it. I thought they would attack us, the Dutch, the French, or perhaps the Russians.

**Michael:** The Japanese codes had been broken like the German codes were broken with Eureka?

**Charles:** I don't know about the Germans, but the Japanese codes had been broken by the Americans, not by us.

**Carola:** Daddy, didn't you have to tell the Japanese that Hong Kong refused to surrender?

**Charles:** Yes, fortunately I didn't have to negotiate the surrender, because I was wounded in the hospital. It was Alf Bennett who had to do that. We surrendered on Christmas Day.

**Emily:** Yes, Charles was in the hospital bed and Alf Bennett came in and raised hell because Charles didn't have to do it. I was very angry.

**Charles:** Well, he was the interpreter of the general surrender and I was not the interpreter for it. We had been in the army together and in Japan and so forth. We were good friends.

**Carola:** In that little book *Captive*

*Christmas* published in Hong Kong, it said that you told the Japanese at first that Hong Kong would not surrender.

**Charles:** Yes, I did, but then they changed their minds. People always say "no surrender" and then five minutes later they surrender.

**Mia:** Were you afraid? I have heard terrible stories of what happened after the Japanese came into Hong Kong.

**Charles:** There was some raping but not actually a great deal. They behaved fairly well and it went better than Nanking. When they came in they started torturing Chinese and tying them up with barbed wire. They tortured about one hundred people but not in Hong Kong. I think people don't realize that they treated the Chinese far worse than they treated us, yet the whole of their propaganda was to liberate the Chinese people.

**Mia:** Why did the Japanese treat them differently?

**Charles:** They have a very ambivalent attitude towards the Chinese. They despise them enormously in many ways, but on the other hand they realize that their whole civilization is derived from China. Confucianism and everything else is all Chinese transplanted via Korea to Japan. The Japanese hated it that they got direct or indirect copies through Korea or China and that they were obligated to those two. So, this makes them terribly schizophrenic. The whole thing is so complicated. For example, the Chinese and Korean can hold their liquor very well and can drink all night and remain upright. The Japanese, however, fall over vomiting on the floor after about three glasses of sake. I don't know if they are much better now, but in the old days they could not hold anything. You could drink any Japanese under the table in about five minutes. Anyway, they are very schizophrenic. Actually, we, the British that is, had the same problem with the French. Our civilization was derived largely from the French—the Norman conquest and all that with a sort of Anglo-Saxon residual.

**Lynette:** Did you put your things away during the war?

**Charles:** No, I was in Hong Kong. When the Japanese captured Hong Kong they took all these things away to Japan. As much as I like these sort of things I don't lay awake thinking about them, although I've always been unfortunate like that, many ways preferring material things to people. As long as I've got books and my art things around me I don't care much whether people are there or not so long as I've someone who cooks.

**Michael:** Did you lose your books in the war, I mean what you collected?

**Charles:** Yes, they took everything. I got most of them back at the end of the war. They were mostly all in Japan in the Emperor's library.

**Michael:** In the Emperor's library?

**Richard:** I thought you once told me there were three missing?

**Charles:** Yes, there were three missing.

**Michael:** Was the Emperor's library good on these sorts of things?

**Charles:** Oh yes. You see, after Japan's surrender General MacArthur had issued an order that no foreign property taken by the Japanese was to be touched on the pain of death, realizing fully that hundreds of people wanted to do this. He also had a moratorium under which nothing could be touched or taken away. So, in order to get my books back I went to the American Liaison Office. Fortunately, I knew an American marine very well called Colonel Jurika, who I had known before the war and entertained in Hong Kong, and I explained to him that my Japanese friends told me the books were in the Imperial Library. So, he said that he would give me a truck and GI and I could go and get the books myself. I think it took about two years until everything was sorted out. Essentially, they took my whole library which was then in Hong Kong and not just the rare books. Thanks to Colonel Jurika I went and retrieved them and put them in the compound of the British Embassy and then one or two years later they sent them off.

**Michael:** Charles, were there many things that went into the Emperor's library apart from your things?

**Charles:** Oh yes, I think the whole Singapore Library was there. Most everything was sent back in the end either to Rangoon and Singapore, but I'm not terribly sure on that.

**Richard:** Were the books marked with your name?

**Charles:** Yes, a lot of them had my name, but others didn't. Unlike the non-rare books in my library the rare books had my book pages.

**Carola:** Nobody gave you any problems when you went to collect your books?

**Charles:** Well, of course I knew people like Colonel Jureka, who was an old friend from Hong Kong.

**Mia:** How many books were there?

**Charles:** Oh, I guess around a thousand or so. Anyway, several hundred, maybe a thousand.

**Mia:** Do you have any Japanese prints depicting the Portuguese?

**Charles:** I don't have any, but I do have some of those with the Dutch. I did have a very rare *Tuba Sword Hill Guard*, depicting Portuguese black slaves, but I lost that during the war. I got my library back, the screens and a lot of other things, but I never got that back.

**Michael:** Did you mainly buy your books from European sources or in the East?

**Charles:** I bought them all in Japan in the 1930s, that is the Japanese books and prints. The others I mainly bought from Mags in London, from Nijoff in Holland, and from the Libraries Coelho in Portugal. Of course, there were other places as well.

**Michael:** And most of those books are now in Indianapolis?

**Charles:** No, in Bloomington, Indiana.

**Mia:** We heard you have quite a collection of books.

**Charles:** Yes, I do. I sold part of my library in 1965 to the Lily Library.

**Richard:** Do you remember what was the first real rare book you ever bought?

**Charles:** It was the *Commentaries of Rui Freire de Andrade*.

**Richard:** There was a copy of that at the recent sale in Germany.

**Charles:** Yes, when I bought it years ago it didn't cost much.

**Richard:** It is quite a rare book.

**Charles:** Yes, but I have much rarer ones. I had the limited edition of *History of Macau*, which was printed in Canton and signed by the author, a Swede who lived in Macau called Andrew Ljungstedt. Only a hundred copies were printed and I've never seen more than another two. I bought this one before the war or just after the war and it has gone to the Lily Library and so it is not lost to civilization. I also had the other issues of the 1836 edition printed in Boston and which I've never been able to find again. I've tried in America; I've tried every bookstore I know and the nearest I came to it was in Lisbon where the bookseller had the unpublished plate the "View of Macau" for which he wanted a hundred pounds sterling and so I immediately wrote to my friend to come and buy it. Unfortunately, I should have cabled. It was gone, gone and I've seen nothing since. You probably learned long before I did, but if the opportunity is there, take it.

**Michael:** Are you now collecting again?

**Charles:** Yes, as far as my means allow. At that Reiss and Auvermann sale I only bought one atlas and I am very pleased with the one I did get. I would have liked to have bought a lot more. There were three items on the Portuguese East Indian Company in 1628, but I couldn't afford them.

**Mia:** In Japan who were you buying the books from?

**Charles:** From all over. There was a very good bookstore that is still there and is the number one rare bookstore in Japan run by a man called Isseido. He survived the bombing and he's still alive. Anyway, at their prices, you can't buy them in Japan now. Prices have gone through the atmosphere like they did for Picasso and so on and books are bought

even if Japan is only mentioned once in the texts.

**Richard:** In a way it's like in the 1920s when there were great collectors of Americana and even if there was a book with one or two words about America they made a big deal about it. Now if a book is about America it does not mean anything.

**Charles:** One of Maggs's catalogues, which I ordered from, was published in 1929, just at the time of the Stock Market Crash, and so lots of their main buyers either bought nothing or very little. Consequently, when I went to meet them and they saw I was young and had money and so on, they told me they had a book going for 1000-1200 sterling, but that I could have it for 750 sterling cash down and, of course, I bought it. Those were the days I like Maggs and trust them totally. I've known three generations of them. The government has helped them grow and become more well-known. They now have a worldwide prestige and quite rightly so. And they are still finding stuff.

**Richard:** I was there two years ago and one of John Maggs's employees was showing him a copy of Vancouver's voyages of the Pacific northwest, which in the 1920s and 1930s was very common—they must have had a dozen copies. Anyway, the employee said to John, "Well, this copy is an unusual copy" and John Maggs said, "Go down to the basement and get another copy and let's compare it" and the employee said, "We don't have another copy." So, I think that they are coming pretty close to the bottom. The quantity of stuff in the basement was nothing what it was and I think this was the perfect indication.

**Michael:** Where do you buy in Lisbon these days?

**Charles:** Well, I can't buy, because my finances don't permit me. If I did it would be mainly from Americo Marques, who is the one I know best and he knows what I want. But, I have not bought anything in Lisbon for a long time.

**Emily:** Charles, tell that story about the manuscripts.

**Charles:** Oh yes, well, Ruben Leitão's brother, a very nice army doctor, was on maneuvers once in the north of Portugal and told us later how, when the local people called up for conscription, the men had to strip down naked and stand in front of the medical officers and then go back and dress. Well, one very hot day when the new recruits were standing there sweating it out, the medical board told them to take some of the old parchments down and wipe themselves over with them. It ended up these old medieval parchments and documents, which were the proceedings of the local *comara*, dated back to 1500 or something like that.

**Michael:** Are there many Portuguese collectors now?

**Richard:** It's beginning to boom. The internal market is stronger than the international market. Yet, more than anything else there is a lot of interest in twentieth-century literature because it is the easiest thing for people to get involved in today. Many people don't have the kind of education to appreciate sixteenth-century books and they don't have the languages. They prefer instead the first editions of Fernando Pessoa, Mario Carnello, or the *modernistas* like Miguel Torga, who are just booming in Portugal.

**Charles:** What about the sale in Oporto?

**Richard:** Yes, they had an auction sale in Oporto in November and there were both private individuals and institutions buying. The institutions are very erratic in their buying. They don't have fixed budgets such as the American or English libraries have, but for special occasions they can get grants from the Gulbenkian Foundation or sometimes directly from the government because the director of the National Library is a friend of the Minister of Culture. At the sale in Germany the National Library spent about 400,000 deutsche marks, but if I offer them a book for \$300 they say, "Oh, this is so expensive. We are a poor coun-

try." Yet, I can understand, because they don't have a budget to buy on a regular basis, but rather for special occasions for which they get a grant that they must spend. I bought one lot on commission for Harvard but most [American] universities don't have the money or the patience to read the catalogues.

**Michael:** But, are the Portuguese collections in the United States in general expanding?

**Richard:** Yes, but at a reduced rate. American institutions just don't have a great amount of money and the prices of books have gone up three to five times what they were ten to twenty years ago. Also, while the budgets for some of the libraries have doubled, if they are lucky, a lot of them are the same and some are less than what they were before. In addition, they need to spend a certain amount of money buying all the newly published books and periodicals.

**Michael:** The University of Texas told me the other day that they had on their open shelves the *Gazeta de Lisboa* from 1702 to 1850—a complete set.

**Kenneth:** That's true for all the big libraries in the United States. The one thing the older American universities have are all these gazetas.

**Richard:** They also have rare eighteenth- and nineteenth-century books which today have great value, but which they bought one hundred years ago when they were just second-hand books. I go up to Harvard a couple times a year and one of the side functions of my visit is showing them rare books and it often turns out that two or three of the books they not only have, but they are out on the open shelves. Consequently, they make an evaluation and retrieve them.

**Kenneth:** How did you get interested in Holland and Brazil?

**Charles:** I got interested in the Dutch in 1936, the same year as the Portuguese. For Brazil my interest arrived via Japan, Portugal and Holland and so on. I first went to Brazil in 1949,

and once you've been to Brazil you're stuck, because they are all so friendly. They are such a different sort of Portuguese, so very open.

**Michael:** Was this around the time of the first Luso-Brazilian colloquium in the Library of Congress? Weren't you instrumental in getting that together?

**Charles:** For the Library of Congress's 150th anniversary I did the inventory. I was what they call "consultant." I think it was for two months during 1949 and 1950, but I'm not sure.

**Michael:** What was your job?

**Charles:** My job was in the Latin American section. It was then headed by Lewis Hanke. He wanted me to help with the cataloguing, buying, or something or other, of Portuguese books. I really can't remember now. I also worked with that old man who died, who did that dictionary on the Ching Dynasty, now what was his name? Arthur Hummel. Yes, Hummel wanted me to do Portuguese stuff on China. So, I had a kind of double thing like that.

**Michael:** Wasn't there a symposium about that time?

**Charles:** Yes there was, the Luso-Brazilian Symposium. That was again Hanke's doing in 1950. It was later made into a book.

**Kenneth:** What about your book on Salvador de Sá?

**Charles:** That came out later in the 1950s.

**Michael:** Did Salvador de Sá follow

on your 1949 trip to Brazil?

**Charles:** Yes.

**Mia:** Have you travelled in Africa?

**Charles:** Yes, before independence, but not recently. I was in Angola, Mozambique, and São Tomé. I climbed up the volcanic mountain in São Tomé where I found at the top a little tin and inside it was paper left behind by Gago Coutinho, the famous Portuguese admiral and aviator, when he went up there twenty or thirty years before. I brought it down and gave it to the governor and I told him he had better keep it there to protect it against the weather and deterioration. I also remember I stayed a night in the district office. I had arrived in my sombrero, khaki shirt, and so on, which were all ripped, torn, and absolutely unwearable. I had, of course, another change down below and so I said he could throw these clothes away and he said, "No, I will give them to the slaves and have them mended." Next morning, my clothes were as if they had just come out of Savile Row. They must have stayed up all night sewing and then ironing. That was in 1955.

**Kenneth:** When you did the race relations book on the Portuguese colonial empire which caused that huge scandal in 1967...

**Charles:** My book?

**Kenneth:** Yes, it was a little book. There were very vicious attacks against it.

**Charles:** Yes, they were very annoyed about it. But, that is all gone now.



Charles Boxer (with Mia Turner): "Home is where I hang my hat."

**Kenneth:** It is interesting what happened. I remember when I came through Indiana when you were there and I'll never forget that you had in your wallet two things which you showed to us, myself and Richard Kagan. Do you remember Kagan, the Spanish historian with the little MG? We drove what seemed like six hundred miles to go to a decent restaurant that actually served wine and beer. You might forget, but to me it was extraordinary, because we seemed to drive endlessly. But, when we finally got there you showed us two things in your wallet: one was a gold coin from São Tomé and the other was a letter that Armando Cortesão had written in the *Diário de Notícias* or some other publication attacking you. Yet, several years later I opened a book and saw that you had dedicated it to him.

**Charles:** Well, yes, I did. Before, we were very great friends up until this happened. I never broke with Armando, he broke with me. He was very annoyed with me. What annoyed Salazar was that I played upon the word of Capitão Antonio de Oliveira de Cadornega as though it was Antonio de Oliveira de Salazar. Capitão de Oliveira de Cadornega was a Portuguese living in the seventeenth century in Angola, where he died. I criticized very politely the Salazar thing about the blacks and Portuguese all being brothers and that there was no racial question. Yet, I think in retrospect Capitão Oliveira de Cadornega knew rather more about the Portuguese attitude towards blacks in the seventeenth century than his Excellency Antonio de Oliveira de Salazar, which understandably annoyed him a great deal. He then issued an edict and a denunciation was to be published, but people had never heard of Cadornega and I think some of them had hardly heard of Salazar. The whole thing was ludicrous beyond belief.

**Kenneth:** I remember in the Casa do Livro in Lisbon there used to be a big portrait, which was a photograph of you in uniform entitled *Capitão Boxer*, which then disappeared.

**Charles:** No, they still have it. They

put it upstairs, they never destroyed it. It is still there now and it has been put back in place. They had merely put it away in an upstairs room. They are very loyal.

**Mia:** Are you going to travel again soon?

**Charles:** I am planning to go to Macau later on this year, but I don't know when that will be. I have to go to Lisbon, because Mario Soares telephoned me not long ago and said that he is going to confer on me the order of the Gran Cruz de Santiago de Espada.

**Mia:** Congratulations!

**Charles:** He didn't say, however, that he would arrange for me to come, he merely said when I come to let him know and he will do it then, which I will do. I go to Lisbon two or three times a year.

**Mia:** What made them come to this decision now?

**Charles:** Oh, I have no idea. Well, yes, it's my eighty-fifth birthday! I got telegrams and congratulations—things from all over the world.

**Mia:** Will you be going back to Macau in the near future?

**Charles:** I try to as often as they ask and pay me. I hoped to have my eighty-fifth birthday there, but they said not to come then. Of course, they are reorganizing the university and they asked that I come later this year when the reorganization was completed, to which I agreed.

**Mia:** What kind of reorganization?

**Charles:** There is a lot of infighting going on as in all universities as to whom will have what share and how things will be developed and so on, and until this is settled they won't send me the formal invitation. But, it will come sooner or later I think.

**Mia:** What was your life like in Hong Kong during those nine years you were there?

**Charles:** It was very good. The nine years included four years in the hands of the Japanese, but in general we lived high on the hog.

**Mia:** And then the war came and things changed drastically.

**Charles:** Naturally of course, but life

is now back as it was in Hong Kong and people are living high on the hog now.

**Mia:** Were you in a concentration camp in Hong Kong?

**Charles:** One was in Kowloon and one in Hong Kong, but because I was wounded I was in hospital. I was later sent to a camp in Kowloon and then to a jail in Canton.

**Mia:** Why Canton?

**Charles:** Well, they found us doing something and three of us were shot and I was luckily not one of them. The others who were not shot were sentenced from fifteen to twenty years apiece. We were moved to a jail in Canton two or three months before the end of the war.

**Mia:** Did you think you would be there for fifteen years?

**Charles:** No, of course not! I knew the Americans would win the war long before that, but the Japanese were determined to kill all their prisoners, every man, woman, and child and then fight to the last.

**Mia:** It must have been a fearful time.

**Charles:** No, I knew the Japanese and I saw clearly what would happen to us. I knew damned well that if they treated their own people badly why should they treat us any better. The Japanese army's discipline was very severe, even when they made the slightest mistake. We had seen all this in Japan and I had no illusions.

**Mia:** Well, wouldn't you then be afraid knowing they treated their own people so severely?

**Charles:** No, there was no reason to be afraid. It was part of life. I feel sorry that a lot of people who died never lived to see the end of the war. My friends never lived to see this, because they were shot and killed. I was one of the lucky ones.

**Kenneth:** Did you both meet in China?

**Emily:** Yes. When did we meet, Charles?

**Charles:** Nineteen thirty-eight or 1939, or something like that.

**Emily:** He came to Shanghai and I was living there teaching school and



Charles Boxer in prison camp in Hong Kong in 1943

working for a newspaper called the *North China Daily News*. Charles and I both wrote for the magazine *Tienxia* and that's how we met. ('Tienxia' means 'everything under heaven.') It was a literary magazine in English for Chinese intellectuals.

**Michael:** Were you both in Hong Kong during the war?

**Emily:** I was in Hong Kong and Charles was in jail. He was captured in Hong Kong. As an American I did not have to get out, but I left two years later.

**Michael:** Were you both interned in Hong Kong?

**Charles:** I was in prison first in Hong Kong and then in Canton. I ended up in Canton.

**Emily:** I didn't go to jail. This is a rather delicate question, because I lied and said I was Eurasian and since they were not interning anyone with Asian blood they left me alone.

**Charles:** The Japanese Consul, Takeo Oda, helped to arrange that because he knew perfectly well you weren't Eurasian. Oda was the Japanese consul before the war and we were friends.

**Michael:** Were you able to see Charles in prison?

**Emily:** No, I was able to bring food and he could stand outside in the yard. They all did that.

**Kenneth:** So, you met in Shanghai and both of you stayed on?

**Emily:** Well, I went to Chungking to follow the Saong sisters because I

was writing a book about them. After that I didn't come back to Shanghai but went on to Hong Kong and was there the last three years of my nine years.

**Mia:** How did you like Hong Kong during those nine years?

**Emily:** Oh, I liked Hong Kong, but it has changed now.

**Charles:** Yes, I also loved Hong Kong. Life was very easy and very pleasant. I like it now but it's so hectic. It's a cross between New York and Chicago. It's all right for a week or ten days, but when you're my age it's a constant round of cocktail parties and entertainment.

**Mia:** Do you speak Chinese?

**Charles:** I was nine years in Hong Kong and I never learned Chinese. It was quite unnecessary since everyone in Hong Kong spoke English. Also, travelling in China in those days, about 1937-39—Indian tariff time—outside of Canton and the Pearl River Delta nobody spoke Cantonese. We discovered this when friends of mine and myself went on a trip by car and took along a Hong Kong Chinese boy to cook our meals. The boy, who was bouncing on twenty years old, had never been away from his mother before and we thought he would cry when he got out of Canton. He was at first completely useless, but we couldn't take him back so we had to drag him along. He got a bit more useful later on, but he was very much of a mother's boy.

**Mia:** How did you manage without speaking Chinese?

**Charles:** When we came to a village it was often pitch dark and I would write in Japanese characters (which have some similarities with Chinese characters) "English Officers" and they would say, "That's okay." They would then go away and produce within minutes someone in the village who had either been in Singapore, Hong Kong, or the Philippines, and who spoke English. If worse came to worse they would produce someone who spoke Japanese.

**Emily:** During the Japanese occupation you saw everywhere people

writing to each other on their hands in both Chinese and Japanese characters. As Charles said, the characters look similar when written, but they sound differently.

**Mia:** When you were in Hong Kong how were you conducting your Portuguese studies?

**Charles:** I was going to Macau and working in the archives when I had the weekend. You could go to Macau since there were ferries three times a day. Now, you have the jetfoil, but then it was by ferry—a very nice ferry through calm seas normally and past all these islands in the South Pearl River Delta. Half of the islands, of course, are now cities, but at that time there were not even fishermen huts on some of them. Now, you have the bloody big skyscrapers. Oh God, it has changed!

**Mia:** When did you both leave Hong Kong?

**Emily:** Charles was there until the end of the war and I was there for two years and then Carola was born and I was repatriated when she was two.

**Charles:** When the war ended the Japanese let us out to Hong Kong where they were still in control because the British fleet was still down in Australia a thousand miles away and the Japanese wouldn't surrender to the Chinese. The Chinese were on the border of Hong Kong and wanted to come and take it and, actually, the Americans would not have stopped them. The Americans were very anticolonialist. It was the Japanese who said, "No, we took Hong Kong from the British," and so the Japanese stayed. Eventually British and American warships came in and they surrendered. I was there about another month or two and then boarded a ship for California.

**Mia:** Californial

**Charles:** Yes, it was an American ship and I never saw land again until we got to the San Diego Naval Base.

**Mia:** Why California?

**Charles:** Well, it didn't go to Hawaii or anywhere, but rather went to San Diego. It was an American naval ship, but very comfortable. I was the only Englishman on board. Then

I got a plane from San Diego to New York where my wife had a house.

**Mia:** You had not seen each other for how long?

**Charles:** Not long, about three years or something like that.

**Mia:** Did she know you were alive?

**Charles:** Oh yes!

**Mia:** Were you married in China?

**Emily:** No, we were married here.

**Charles:** We bribed a judge because we discovered that there was a law that a marriage with one of the party being divorced was illegal. So we had to hire a car and drive up to New Haven, I think. I must ask about this. Do you remember in our marriage when we or you had to bribe the judge?

**Emily:** Yes, we bribed him for \$100.

**Charles:** Yes, but exactly why couldn't we get married in New York?

**Emily:** Because you hadn't been divorced long enough. It's very difficult to get married in New York if you haven't been divorced over a certain amount of time and you had only just been divorced.

**Charles:** Then we or you had to hire a car and we had to drive up to New Haven and then you had to pay \$100.

**Michael:** How long had you been married the first time?

**Charles:** Not all that long.



The exaggerated mast of the Portuguese nau (great black ship) which traded with China. From Japanese Namban screen, 1593-1600.

**Emily:** One day Charles took Carola's little sister, Amanda, and Amanda's friend to Whipsnade, a country zoo about two miles from us (Charles doesn't like zoos). Anyway, apparently while they were there a strange woman walked up to him and said, "How is the gallant major?" and he said to himself, "Oh, crash, it is somebody in the village!" Charles doesn't remember people, it's awful. He doesn't care about people! So, he said, "I'm all right" and "Do you think it will rain" and he went on like that and she said, "You haven't a

clue who I am, have you?" And he said, "Well, it's on the tip of my tongue." And she was his wife. She must have changed.

**Charles:** We were not together very long.

**Emily:** I asked had she changed much and he said, "No, she was quite the same, I simply hadn't expected to meet her."

**Richard:** Well, that can happen when you meet people out of context.

**Emily:** I see your point.

**Charles:** Well, Carola said that this woman looked at me for some considerable time before she finally came up.

**Emily:** Yes, she followed you around all the way to the hippopotamus.

**Charles:** It appears she wasn't quite sure.

**Mia:** How did you get started in teaching?

**Charles:** I was offered a teaching position at the University of London and I told the principal of King's College that I can read Portuguese without any trouble and I can write about it, but I can't teach it. I said if we get students I must get a number two or an assistant to teach the grammar of the language and I'll be in the background and teach the history. After two years they got this man.



Charles Boxer and company

**Kenneth:** You recruited Portuguese to come to teach?

**Charles:** Yes, but this was during Salazar's time and they were very sticky. They wanted to have fascists and people like that in England as teaching assistants. There was a perpetual battle to tell them that they couldn't do that. In Portugal it was the government which controls, and it can say "yes" or "no" to anyone. Not now, of course, but in the Salazar period.

**Kenneth:** What happened in the end?

**Charles:** There were always arguments and the Portuguese Embassy was in a difficult position because they knew what the English wanted, but they also knew how difficult Salazar was. Eventually, things were more or less settled. Gulbenkian took it over in the end and the Portuguese still give a sort of small fortune, but since 1975 they pay much more.

**Kenneth:** How is the department doing now?

**Charles:** All I know is that it is really flourishing. They have eighty to one hundred students and a lot of professors, teachers, and girls from Mozambique. It's all very exotic, erotic, and everything else.

**Kenneth:** So when exactly were you teaching at King's?

**Charles:** We fended students off until 1947-48 and I was there until 1967, when I retired. I also had two years as professor of Japanese and Chinese history at the School of Oriental Studies but I resigned that after a couple of years and went back to King's.

**Mia:** Why did you go to the School of Oriental Studies?

**Charles:** Well, they had a Chair there and they asked me to become the first professor and after some hesitation I accepted. However, I resigned it after a year or two because I couldn't speak a word of Chinese. I had never spoken Chinese in my life.

**Mia:** Did the School try to dissuade you?

**Charles:** When I resigned I said I was going back to King's, and they said, "Why are you doing this?" I told them that my knowledge of Japanese is colloquial and *katikana*, *hiragana*, and no further. Well, I could read the newspaper with the characters in Japanese, but I was certainly not capable of the Chair. Also, among my students I had Chinese, who were graduated from China. It was ludicrous! Then they appointed Bisle and he didn't speak Chinese either. Anyway, he took the job. There is a story about a Portuguese king. Do you know anything about Portuguese history?

**Mia:** A bit.

**Charles:** There is someone in the eighteenth century called King John V who was a very famous man, very rich and so on. He had varied love lives, one of which was with a nun for whom he built an enormous nunnery where he could visit her. Anyway, he had this love affair and one of his confessors was a rather famous man—a priest, but not a Jesuit—who kept on agitating with the King and saying, "Your Majesty, you're not really setting a good example to your subjects and everyone knows about it. The Queen (*rainha*) is very disturbed and the counsels too and the Princess of Austria, the Daughter of the Austrian Emperor, is very upset about it. The whole nation knows it and you shouldn't do this." Well, he kept agitating like this and the King got fed up with it and so he gave instructions to the Royal chef that for all meals the confessor was to be served nothing but chicken (*galinha*). The confessor went on eating chicken for every meal, but he saw others getting served other foods and he couldn't understand why he alone was having chicken so he went up to the King and asked, "Excuse me, your Majesty, but I don't understand the object of this. I like chicken, of course, but you make me have it at every meal and I never get a change." The King looked at him and said, "Galinha, galinha, rainha, rainha."

**Mia:** Did you dig up these stories in the archives?

**Charles:** No, it is a well-known anecdote. Bah, anyone could tell it and make it sound like an ancient tale!

**Mia:** It seems listening to you talk that you have always had a strong inclination to be in Asia.

**Charles:** Of course, I've always been very interested in Japan, Macau, and China too, but I didn't learn Chinese. My wife learned Chinese and I learned Japanese. I've been to Indonesia quite a bit, but never got to Timor. I'd love to go to Timor.

**Mia:** Would you have stayed in China and Asia?

**Charles:** It depends. You need a helluva lot of money, especially in Japan and Hong Kong. I am quite happy where I am in the "provincia" in England. London is close and I get to Lisbon and Holland easily. I also come to America frequently. I think at my age, which is eighty-five, you can't really stay in Asia. You have to have the financial means to live in Asia. If I had that I might accept to live in Hong Kong and since my wife doesn't live in England anyway, she could go to Hong Kong just as easily. I have an unmarried daughter still in England. But, I don't think any of this will happen.

**Mia:** But, in retrospect, would you have stayed on in Asia after the war finished?

**Charles:** No, I wanted to come back to England. I had a big country house in England.

**Mia:** But you also had a home in Asia.

**Charles:** Yes, but I was finished with the army and I was offered a Chair in England at King's College. I am quite happy where I am, but I would quite like invitations to travel like this one here from Columbia University. Yet, if England became a bloodbath or taken over by communists or something like that then I would go to Hong Kong, Singapore, or someplace else. Otherwise, I was very happy living three years in Japan and I am quite happy where I am. Home is where I hang my hat.

## Special Report:

### Mozambique Update

— Dawit Toga

Despite the recent Namibian settlement, the southern African region is still going through tumultuous times largely due to continued South African support for antigovernment insurgent forces in the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. This policy is most damaging in Mozambique where RENAMO (Resistencia Nacional Moçambicana) guerrilla forces, in opposition to the current government headed by FRELIMO (Frente da Libertação de Moçambique), are creating chaos for the nation's political and economic life.

Even before attaining independence in 1975, Mozambique played a pivotal role in the shaping of South Africa's national security strategy. Despite the fact that the Nkomati Accords of 1984 were to insure that military aid to RENAMO from South Africa be cut, clandestine support continues.

Since gaining its independence Mozambique, because of its economic dependence, has also been vulnerable to pressure from South Africa. Indeed, in the two years following its independence, South Africa not only replaced Portugal as Mozambique's principal source of imports, but it also provided the new nation with 80% of its hard currency earnings.

The postindependence government established by FRELIMO tried to minimize this dependency on South Africa, but without success. This formidable economic reality has undoubtedly influenced FRELIMO's decision to adopt a more pragmatic approach, which is not only unique in revolutionary African politics, but also in a movement professing a Marxist-Leninist ideology. This pragmatism is central in understanding the internal and external political and economic landscape in contemporary Mozambique.

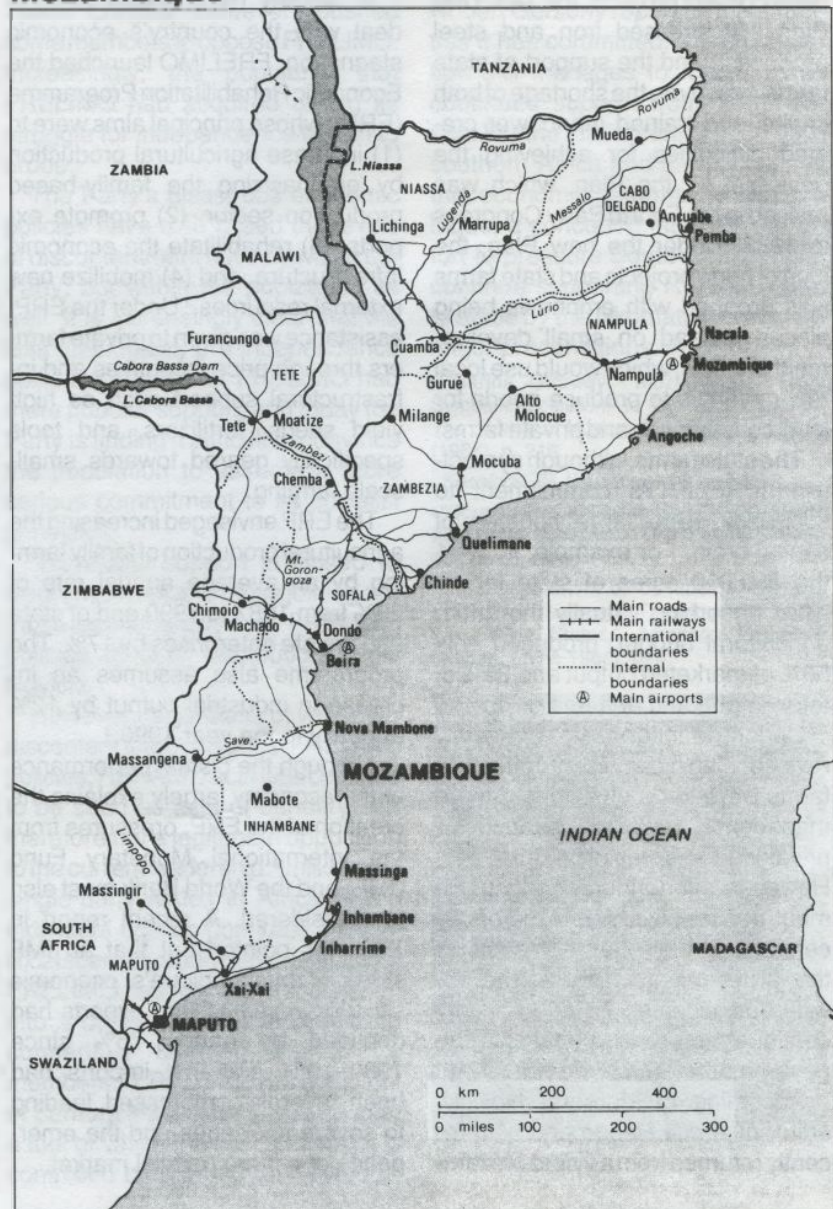
Reconstruction in the aftermath of

independence posed a great challenge to the new FRELIMO government. FRELIMO recognized early on that its organization was too loose to undertake the massive task of restructuring Mozambique's shattered political and economic apparatus and in these circumstances the creation of a strong Marxist-Leninist Party directing a highly centralized economic system seemed the most appropriate response. Consequently, in 1977 at the Third Party Congress, FRELIMO adopted a Marxist-Leninist ideology (the definition of the new ideology was articu-

lated only in 1980) and the socialist economic strategy which came within this ideology emphasized a policy of central planning whereby the state assumed control over the economy.

For FRELIMO, this economic strategy was perceived as the most appropriate for a nation newly independent and burdened with a fragile economy largely dependent on South Africa, as well as with a scarcity of skilled personnel after the mass departures of Portuguese expatriates. Although the strategy brought initial economic gains during the 1978-80 period, the growth of

### Mozambique



Mozambique's economy came to a complete standstill in 1981.

The failings in the economy, intensified by the guerilla warfare carried out by RENAMO, made FRELIMO realize that a reconsideration of its policies was essential. Consequently, a Ten-Year Victory Over Underdevelopment Plan was instituted in 1981 and called for a 17% increase in the country's gross national product (GNP) and a fivefold increase in agricultural production by the end of the decade.

In spite of the earlier recognition by the FRELIMO leadership that its economy could not support large development projects, the Ten-Year Plan still stressed iron and steel production and the support of state farms. However, the shortage of both capital and trained manpower created difficulties for achieving the goals set by the Plan, which was revised in the Fourth Party Congress in 1983. Under the new Plan, the idea of huge projects and state farms was dropped with emphasis being placed instead on small development projects, which would use local raw materials to produce goods for local consumption and private farms.

The state farms, although symbolizing FRELIMO's commitment to socialism, were large sources of capital drain. For example, in 1981 the 350,000 acres of state farms, while absorbing virtually the entire agricultural budget, produced only 50% of marketed output and 25% of total output, and at a heavy loss.<sup>1</sup>

Under the influence of the newly revised Ten-Year Plan the state farms were to be divided into more manageable units and support for private farmers was to be increased. However, even though the government has resolved the issue of decentralizing state farms the role of the larger private farmers and private businessman in the economy continues to be debated within the government.

According to Margaret Novicki, editor of *Africa Report* and who recently returned from a visit to Mozam-

bique, the government is trying to combine both state and private sectors. "They do not want to go completely private, because they still believe in state guidance, but then they are faced with the country's difficult economic realities," said Novicki.

The state farms in Mozambique, as in most quasi-socialist states in developing countries, not only hinder the growth and transformation of agricultural institutions, but also adversely affect the revitalization of unproductive sectors of the economy as they require a disproportionate amount of capital.

In January 1987, in attempting to deal with the country's economic stagnation, FRELIMO launched the Economic Rehabilitation Programme (ERP), whose principal aims were to (1) increase agricultural production by emphasizing the family-based production sector, (2) promote exports, (3) rehabilitate the economic infrastructure, and (4) mobilize new external resources.<sup>2</sup> Under the ERP, assistance was given to private farmers through price incentives and infrastructural support such as high yield seeds, fertilizers, and tools specifically geared towards small-scale farming.

The ERP envisaged increasing the agricultural production of family farming by an average annual rate of 29% from 1987 to 1990 and of state and private enterprises by 17%. The programme also assumes an increase in industrial output by 12% annually to the year 1990.<sup>3</sup>

Although the dismal performance of the economy largely explains the creation of the ERP, pressures from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank must also be considered. A recent report in *Kessings* pointed out that an IMF study of Mozambique's economic situation revealed that exports had declined by nearly 75% since 1980-1981 and that imports had been severely compressed, leading to severe shortages and the emergence of a large parallel market.

The reform package suggested by the IMF involved a whole new strategy for Mozambique including the deregulation of government controlled prices on agricultural produce, a wage freeze, devaluation of currencies by as much as 300%, and even the reduction of the size of Mozambique's armed forces as a means for controlling budgetary spending.

Albie Sachs, a longtime observer of Mozambique, in a recent interview disputed the extent of the IMF pressure as a source for instituting the new economic reform program. According to Sachs, the reforms were generated after an assessment by the Mozambicans of their economic situation and the recognition that major adjustments had to be made. "The involvement of the IMF and World Bank came within that recognition," said Sachs.

The initiation of ERP has been beneficial to Mozambique's efforts to secure external aid. In 1987 alone the London and Paris Clubs gave the country \$407 million of debt relief and new commitments for \$700 million. Moreover, in the November 1988 meeting of the Paris Club, donors and creditors pledged to give \$820 million through 1989.

The most significant measure of success for FRELIMO's economic restructuring is the military support it is getting from the "donor community." Both Spain and Britain provide the country with military assistance specifically designated to protect economic projects from RENAMO attacks.

Collen Morna explained in a recent article published in *African Business* that despite the concrete 4% gross domestic product (GDP) growth achieved in 1987 as a result of the IMF sponsored economic reform program, these gains are largely restricted to the urban areas. Consequently, although industrial production expanded by 18% in 1987, agriculture remained stagnant even with price hikes in producer goods and government support for this sector.

Although it is too early to assess the success of the ERP, a report by the U.S. Department of Commerce on Mozambique's economic performance indicates "a slight rebound in production." The report emphasized that the per capita GDP rose by 11.4% and the ERP has managed to arrest the "vicious circle of economic decline which had characterized the economy's performance in previous years."<sup>4</sup>

Despite these tangible gains, the restructuring did not make the economy a free-market system. Privatization did not abolish the state sector and had little impact on the rural peasant economy, affecting instead the urban population and the peasants working on the state farms and in communal village cooperatives.

It is interesting to note that FRELIMO has not completely rejected the planned economy model nor accepted wholeheartedly a policy of decentralization and free markets. Before initiating the ERP, an experiment of free markets was attempted in the province of Zambezia in 1983 under the direction of its former governor and the current Prime Minister of Mozambique, Mario Machungo. Despite early criticisms, Machungo's experiments of liberalization and free markets in Zambezia were hailed as successful and adopted as general policy in 1985.

The country's economic problems continue to be exacerbated by the guerilla activities of RENAMO which attack economic installations with the aim of forcing the breakdown of transportation, and commercial and government infrastructures like schools, roads, and health centers.

It was the Rhodesian secret services which created RENAMO in 1977 as a way to penalize Mozambique for the political and military support it was providing to the Zimbabwean liberation organizations of ZANU and ZAPU. After Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, South Africa began training and supplying RENAMO forces. In 1984, former President of Mozambique Samora Machel at-

tempted to negotiate with RENAMO using South Africa as an intermediary. The talks were stalled, however, when RENAMO representatives walked out of the negotiations.

Undoubtedly, the revised economic strategy has posed a daunting challenge to the leadership as it implies re-analyzing FRELIMO's commitment to its Marxist-Leninist ideology and dismantling its policy of central planning.

An "ideological purification movement" was launched in the late 1970s in an attempt to purify the Party of its disenchanted members whose loyalty to FRELIMO could not be trusted. These purges, however, pushed some members to oppose FRELIMO. Increasingly, the popularity that FRELIMO had acquired during its struggle for independence began to erode.

The Party's disastrous economic policies have also raised the levels of discontentment not only within the Party, but within the population as well. It is increasingly clear that the less ideological, pre-independence political structure of FRELIMO had more popular support, and today the Party is finding it difficult to convince the population to assume a more serious commitment to its socialist principles.

"RENAMO support is limited to disgruntlement and those joining are those disaffected by early FRELIMO policies of land distribution," said Novicki.

However, regardless of whatever discontent there is against FRELIMO policies, RENAMO activities continue to be seen as acts of banditry and therefore not a legitimate opposition to the current leadership. Unlike most single-party states in Africa where individual figures dominate the political scene through personality cults, FRELIMO has managed to develop into a cohesive force emphasizing consensus building among its members. "FRELIMO was not a tool of Samora Machel before, and is not a tool of Chissano now. Rather, it is controlled by a group of individuals

closely associated with the Party prior to independence," observed Marina Ottaway, who has written on Mozambique.

Nothing is more threatening to the future stability of Mozambique than the continuing threat from RENAMO. The success of the economic reforms depends on peace and national reconciliation which is currently unobtainable given the scope of RENAMO attacks on Mozambique's economic infrastructure.

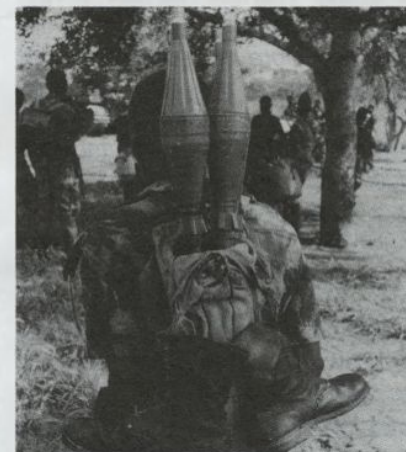
Although RENAMO has certainly lost much of the little international support it had, especially after the U.S. State Department published the Robert Gersony report on the atrocities it has committed, the organization still manages to function with continued support from South Africa. For the attainment of security in southern Africa and the success of the economic reforms in Mozambique, a concerted international effort to pressure South Africa to discontinue supporting RENAMO and to abide by the Nkomati Accords are major preconditions.

Marina Ottaway, "Mozambique: From Symbolic Socialism to Symbolic Reform," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 26, 2 (1988), p. 216.

<sup>4</sup> *Kessings*, 34 (February 1988), 35688.

<sup>5</sup> "Country Profile: Mozambique, 1986-1989," *Economist Intelligence Unit* (London, 1989), p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> U.S. Department of Commerce, "Foreign Economic Trends and Their Implications for the United States," American Embassy, Maputo, (June 1988), p. 3.



FRELIMO soldier

Margaret A. Novicki

## **An Interview with Albie Sachs on Mozambique Today**

*Mozambique has experienced important changes in its legal, economic, social, and political structures since its independence in 1975. The judiciary was severely damaged by the departure of most of its judges. The economy has suffered from the ongoing military conflict with the RENAMO insurgent forces and from the problems of a state-oriented development program. The war itself has left thousands dead or displaced and food production has fallen by 75%, leaving half of Mozambique's population of 16 million people dependent on food aid.*

*A new economic program in which state controls were relaxed was introduced by former President Samora Machel, who was killed in a plane crash in South African territory in 1986 returning from an official visit in Zimbabwe, and have continued under the leadership of President Joaquim Chissano. The new program seeks to encourage a more active private sector and necessitates political readjustments for the government's postindependence ideology.*

*Professor Albie Sachs, a South African lawyer, writer, and member of the African National Congress, has spent over ten years living and working in Mozambique. He was teaching international law in the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo before he became Director of Research in the Ministry of Justice. In addition, he has been active in the cultural movement and produced a film on war and art in Mozambique entitled *The Deeper Meaning*. Following his recovery from an assassination attempt in which he lost his arm, Albie Sachs accepted an invitation to teach for a semester at the Law School of Columbia University where the following interview was held in April 1989.*

### **—On the current state of the legal system:**

The policy at the time of independence was to completely break with

the colonial system and create totally new institutions. Yet, in order to avoid anarchy in the judicial system many of the legal codes of Portugal, such as the commercial code, were retained and have been adapted to some extent. The areas of biggest change have been in public law, family law, and laws regulating the economy.

After independence out of a total of seventy judges only five remained in Mozambique. The few that stayed on performed a valuable service, but basically Mozambique has had to build up a whole new legal structure and that was done quite successfully.

Perhaps the most important change and a major achievement was establishing Popular Tribunals in the local communities. About eight hundred of them are now in operation with thousands of judges, many illiterate, who are drawn from the communities and handle cases involving family law and neighbor disputes.

The judges in the popular tribunals do not work with written codes but rather use the oral African tradition; however, the norms they apply are drawn from the principles of the Constitution. The whole approach and rules they use are completely new, but the procedures are informal, intimate, friendly, and courteous—very much in the African style.

### **—On the economic development program:**

The main thrust of development in Mozambique was aimed at improving the lives of the working people. The impact of the war, however, combined with what the Mozambican leadership recognizes as their own mistakes, resulted in an extremely difficult economic situation and clearly measures had to be taken.

The "new thinking" began to surface around 1985–86, but the problems were already evident, especially because of the war. Earlier in 1983–84 attempts had been made to deal with the very difficult economic situation provoked by the war, for example, by penalizing black market activities. However, by

1985–86 there was a shift towards a policy of regulation rather than penalization.

The post of Prime Minister was created to supervise the Economic Rehabilitation Programme and it is currently held by Mario Machungo, a leading FRELIMO economist.

The new strategy involved the deregulation of prices, especially for goods produced by the peasantry, a devaluation of the currency so that it came closer to black market value, and a move towards trying to regulate the whole black market or parallel economy rather than suppress it. What I did notice when I was back on a visit to Maputo in December 1988 was that morale has picked up considerably and the economic upturn was really evident.

### **—Problems facing the economic development program:**

The new economic program is showing very positive signs. The shops now clearly have ample stocks and there is a sense of free trading. Yet, there are limitations since a lot of this is being financed by loans and the results do not necessarily represent a major revival of productive capacity.

In addition, there are the problems that arise from greater social stratification. What has emerged from the discussions is that, while there is



Albie Sachs

general popular understanding and support for the changes, there is a lot of concern about the social effects in producing wealthier and poorer sections in the society. There are special measures being taken to deal with this problem.

You must also recognize that having a mixed economy implies that if there was going to be a private sector then proper conditions had to be provided for the private sector to function. You still have a large number of parastatal enterprises and an extensive network of cooperatives, which are particularly important in the consumer field.

**—On external aid:**

Mozambique gets quite a lot of external economic support and some of it is food aid, which has become vital because the war has destroyed food production. Secondly, there is quite substantial bilateral government-to-government aid. The Scandinavian countries, Italy, Canada, and the Netherlands play a particularly important role here.

There are also a lot of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) which are involved in small programs, but because they have become so extensive now there is some debate about whether or not they are influencing policy. Everybody recognizes that they play a valuable role, but their decision-making role and the role of the government always has to be worked out.

Then you have international financing in terms of loans from the IMF, which Mozambique has joined, and the World Bank. The problem is to integrate all these inputs into comprehensive programs.

It should be stressed, however, that the new economic strategy was not brought on by pressure from the IMF. The new strategy was based on an assessment by the Mozambicans of their own economic situation and the recognition that major adjustments had to be made. The involvement of the IMF and World Bank came within that recognition, and was not its cause.

**—On ideological reorientations and consensus within FRELIMO with respect to the economic reforms:**

I think there is a consensus on the need for change. The argument is more on the rate of change and the controls that are necessary. There is a very big debate going on in Mozambique in the run up to the Fifth Party Congress of FRELIMO scheduled for July this year.

I think what is clear is that people feel free to debate even fundamental questions and although I have not heard a proposal to permit alternative organizations to function within FRELIMO, and in public in general, there is a relaxed air. People are not tense when they debate these hard political questions, and they are not worried that they will be denounced as antipatriotic or counterrevolutionary. On the contrary, people are encouraged to speak out frankly and say what they feel. In preparing for the Congress a series of these have been distributed and literally thousands of people are taking part in the discussion.

**—On open political discussion as a FRELIMO policy:**

Well, it is a tradition of FRELIMO, but there have been times when there was certainly far less free and open discussion. Public debate is not something that is being invented now. It is something that started in the liberated zones. There have been periods of lively public political debate and periods where serious debate took place only behind closed doors. For a couple of years now there has been relaxed and relatively open debate.

**—On Mozambique-South Africa relations and the Nkomati Accords:**

The Nkomati Accords were signed in 1984. The Mozambican objective was to bring peace to the country. Unfortunately, after Nkomati the war continued and the economic situation got worse. Mozambique has been anxious to hold South Africa to the terms of the Accords, and it has

been Pretoria that has basically violated them.

The pressure of sanctions on South Africa indirectly helps Mozambique in the sense that some countries or leaders who are against the imposition of sanctions wish to prove their anti-apartheid credentials by manifesting support for the frontline states as an alternative to sanctions. In this way they support the territorial integrity of Mozambique, which gives rise to some international pressure on Pretoria. Also, the massacres and brutalities of RENAMO have been so horrendous and well-documented that it makes it extremely difficult for South Africa to continue to support RENAMO overtly.

**—On economic relations with South Africa:**

That has been very much exaggerated, partly because South Africa has, in fact, applied sanctions against Mozambique for many years rather than give support. For example, the rail traffic from the Rand to Maputo was reduced from something like 9 million to 2 million tons a year.

What has been important is the employment the South African gold mines provide to Mozambican workers. The fact is these tend to be relatively skilled workers and South African mines need them just as much as the miners need the income. But the damage South Africa has caused the Mozambican economy outweighs by a hundred times the economic benefits that it has received.

**—On the current status of RENAMO:**

I think that from a diplomatic point of view RENAMO's position is disastrous. The U.S. State Department issued a report that was extremely critical. They have no leadership and no program. Internationally, there is no one who dares to come up with any support.

At the same time in the rural areas of Mozambique there are RENAMO groups that are still capable of causing severe damage. The key thing is



Maíangatana mural, Maputo

how much support they get from within South Africa. Without this support RENAMO could not exist. RENAMO, however, continues to actively destroy the rural economy, creating a landless roving population from which it press-gangs further members.

**—On relations with the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc countries:**

FRELIMO has quite a long history. It was formed in 1962 and established its current core leadership by the late 1960s. In one sense it is a strongly nationalistic organization. The army emerged only after the popular struggle. It was not the army which launched the popular struggle, but rather it was the popular struggle which created the army, and I think the leadership has manifested this all the way.

I believe there was a tendency at a certain stage to take over certain institutional forms and features of the socialist countries because Mozambicans thought that they were best suited for Mozambique. Yet, what is interesting is that the review

of many of these institutions was started in Mozambique before *perestroika* and so it was not a result of *perestroika* that there the "new thinking" emerged nor, clearly, vice versa.

What is evident in Mozambique is that the country has managed to have very good relations with an extremely wide range of countries both East and West. They maintained this position even during the Cold War, and during the conflict between China and the Soviet Union. I think FRELIMO was the only organization in the world that had good relations with both countries, and that policy continues.

**—On relations with the African National Congress (ANC):**

The Mozambican leadership has insisted all the time that apartheid must go in South Africa. They have stressed that this is an international problem for which the whole international community has responsibility. They also stress that they do not wish any relations Mozambique has with South Africa to be used as a justification for weakening the international pressure against the system of apartheid.

Mozambique has always maintained friendly relations with the ANC. It discusses questions with the ANC and has given full diplomatic and political support to the organization. The ANC for its part is aware of the enormous price the frontline states have been called on to pay for the liberation of southern Africa.

**—On the historical legacy of the Portuguese colonization and relevance to the current situation in Mozambique:**

Portuguese colonization clearly produced an impact in Mozambique. There are many aspects of Portuguese culture and society, which now in a transformed way constitute part of the new Mozambican personality. The difference is, however, that in the past these Portuguese features were imposed in a unilateral way whereby Mozambicans were compelled to adopt Portuguese culture, religion, and way of life in order to be

what was called "assimilated." Now, it is a totally different kind of a process: the Mozambicans have developed their own national culture or national personality based on a powerful African heritage.

The strong elements derived from Portugal and which have been integrated into Mozambican society are not "Luso-tropicalism" but "Africa-emergent," and take from the world things that are beneficial to Africa.

Something that I found noticeable, though I would not say it comes from Portugal, is the role of culture in Mozambique's struggle for independence which was far stronger than it was in anticolonial struggles in British colonies. I think it is no accident that almost all the founders of liberation movements against Portuguese colonialism like Agostinho Neto of Angola and Amílcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau wrote on culture or were poets. This was not a tradition in colonial struggles in many other parts of Africa.

There is a dance movement and painters and sculptors are household names, even better known than football stars. There are also small but developing TV and film industries, an interesting theater movement, good radio, excellent photographers, and some lively journalists. Moreover, in Central Park in downtown Maputo on the first Saturday of every month they have public poetry and guitar recitals. I think some of this dates back to the importance that cultural affirmation had in expressing the African-Mozambican personality during the struggle for independence.

The resistance to the assimilation policy produced a strong interaction between nationalism and cultural affirmation and I think that has been very important in the postindependence period. Although Mozambique has suffered extensively in the economic sphere I would say on the broader cultural front the country has registered very noticeable advances and compares very favorably with neighboring states.

**Coping with the  
Consequences of War:  
The Rights of the Child**

—Ilene Cohn

Ms. Cohn is a lawyer and Research Director of the Project on Children and War, a collaborative project between Columbia University and Duke University. Ms. Cohn recently returned from Mozambique where she is organizing a study, in conjunction with the Ministries of Health, Justice, and Education in Maputo, on the legal and psychosocial problems of children in war in Mozambique. The aim of the study is to find practical responses in the form of prevention and rehabilitative programs as well as the use of human rights in order to promote the welfare of these children.

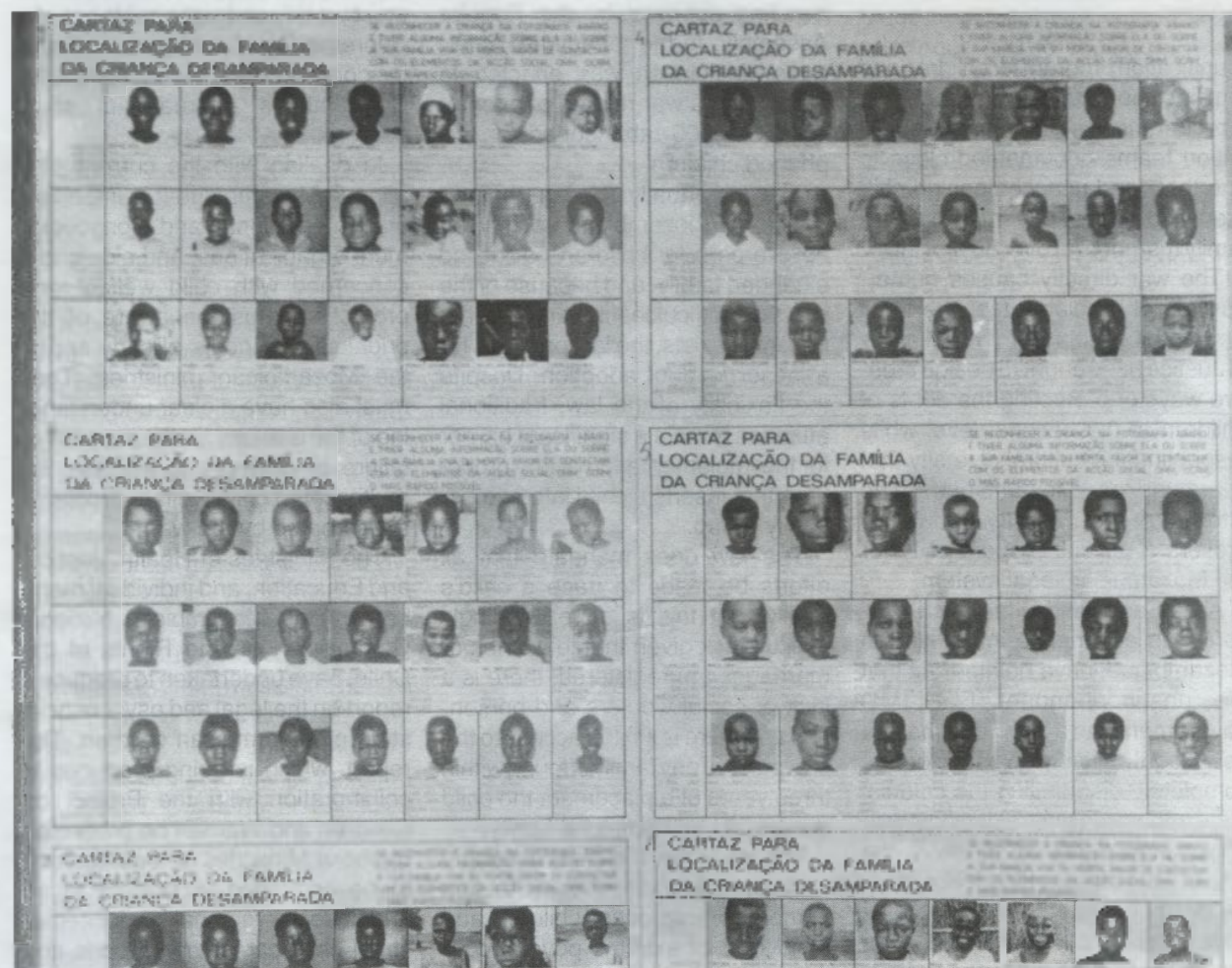
It is difficult to grasp or convey the extent and the implications of the psychological damage done to tens of thousands of Mozambican children by the country's fourteen-year-old internal war. Over the past few years media reports on this situation have been so consistently gruesome that tales of inconceivable suffering have become the norm and individual names, histories, and total numbers of affected populations merge into an impression of inexplicable violence.

In Mozambique today there are starving children roaming the countryside, forced to witness the brutal destruction of their families and communities and then made to repeat the death and destruction themselves as slave-soldiers. Children without schools, without stability,

without security or visions of their own futures—these are the products of the war. Yet, to merely list these realities is perhaps to diminish the impact and significance of each one. There are so many stories and public awareness is only one step toward a solution.

The government of Mozambique has not assumed the role of helpless victim in the struggle to address the war's effects on these children. A 1985 "Children in Difficult Circumstances" policy has stimulated a number of innovative, community-based responses to the tragedy of orphaned and unaccompanied children.

In response to this situation the Department of Social Action in the Ministry of Health promotes, among other things, a family tracing and



Billboard bearing photos of abandoned children

Margaret A. Novoski



Refugees

reunification program for children and families separated by the war. Over a recent three month period, social action teams documented close to one thousand unaccompanied children and succeeded in tracing the family members of over 80% of them.

The war directly causes numerous social problems that the legal system must confront. The Ministry of Justice has sought to design creative ways of protecting the rights of children at the national level while respecting the cultural diversity that characterizes Mozambique. The efforts of the Ministry, however, present a difficult responsibility for the Mozambican legal system.

Albie Sachs and Gita Welch, lawyers with experience in working in Mozambique, have pointed out that the postindependent FRELIMO government had a clear idea that the new legal system would require completely dismantling the colonial state apparatus and replacing it with a new one designed to serve the interests of the people. Unlike other newly independent African states where the emphasis had been on continuity and the prevention of disruption, Mozambique sought to

completely scrap the whole state apparatus inherited from years of colonial domination and replace it with a totally new one.

Yet, even if peace had followed the country's independence in 1975, building a new legal system would have been hampered by the almost total absence of trained professionals, an extremely high illiteracy rate, ethnic and cultural diversity, the existence of approximately twenty language groups, and shortages of financial and human resources.

The legal system has begun to respond innovatively to several urgent child welfare problems involving, for example, orphaned children and juvenile delinquents. A new family law, which attempts to reconcile the customs of a diverse traditional society with the need for a unitary national legislation is now awaiting approval by the Popular Assembly. In the meantime, emergency legislation was enacted to respond to a war-related phenomenon—300,000 abandoned or orphaned children.

There is virtually no precedence in traditional Mozambican society on how to care for children having no extended family, and because of the practical difficulties in verifying that no family exists, the law provides for a looser level of adoption. Despite the flexibility of the law, traditional attitudes remain a significant barrier for the implementation of any procedure that inserts a child into another family group.

The law does mandate that all efforts be made to trace a child's family, but this is an exceedingly difficult task given that few births or marriages are registered, there is a lack of social workers and personnel, and there is limited access to the provinces. If any family is found within three years of a placement the child is returned to the natural family.

The influx into the cities of people escaping violence, the increasing numbers of abandoned children, and conditions of extreme poverty contribute to the rise in juvenile delin-

quency. Mozambique's penal law prohibits incarceration of children under the age of sixteen, and alternative institutional arrangements are being attempted.

The Children's Tribunal is supposed to provide the services to trace a child's family, and in the event no family is found, the system would provide care, education, and rehabilitation. Yet, social workers are in short supply, as are personnel and transportation to reunite families and, of course, there are not nearly enough trained teachers. Again, policy and possibility diverge.

In spite of the very real limitations, Mozambique has already formed a National Commission on the Rights of the Child in anticipation of the completion of the United Nations Convention this fall. Child care specialists, lawyers, and policy makers meet weekly under the guidance of a Supreme Court Justice to reexamine domestic legislation in light of the Convention's international standards.

In dealing with the current situation in Mozambique it is important that international and nongovernment organizations, and aid donors concerned with child welfare and protection, must be aware of the priorities and goals already set by the Mozambican ministries. They must also have a clear understanding of the reasons for the success or failure of attempts to address the multifaceted child welfare problems exacerbated by the war.

The Ministries of Health, Justice, and Education, and individual members of the Mozambican National Commission on the Rights of the Child, have undertaken to produce a report on the legal and psychosocial state of Mozambican children. The report, which is being produced in collaboration with the Project on Children and War will be presented by these Ministries at a conference to be convened in Maputo to an audience of regional and international child care organizations and aid donors.

## The Power of Music in Mozambique

—Lynette Peck

National unity is not easy to achieve in a country like Mozambique, where hundreds of diverse peoples come together under a single political umbrella. Culture defines community; mere political boundaries are not likely to override communal bonds. But when in 1895 Mozambique was arbitrarily carved out of southeastern Africa, no one thought about the difficult task of building a viable nation in the face of communal segregation. It was not necessary: colonial rule disguised the issue. Fourteen years after independence, however, cultural fragmentation continues to belie the unity which defines "nation."

Today the FRELIMO government is pursuing a new tack in the hope of bridging cultural segregation: the promotion of national music. João Soeiro de Carvalho, a Portuguese graduate student in ethnomusicology at Columbia University, spoke with me recently about music in Mozambique and its primary role in the struggle for national unity.

Music has long been recognized as a highly effective conductor of social and political processes. Cultures throughout history have used music to bind together their members and maintain the fabric of indigenous traditions. "Music is a tool, a tool to work out social relations and political groupings," said Carvalho. "It can express a particular ideology, often not explicitly but through symbols that are specific to each language or culture."

In modern times music has been a rallying call to national identity and pride, and without doubt Mozambique has begun to feel its power in this regard. Carvalho emphasized that despite the lack of a common cultural root in Mozambique, the music which emerged from the liberation struggle has introduced a foundation of cultural unity. "What's happening is that through the music of the liberation struggle, which came

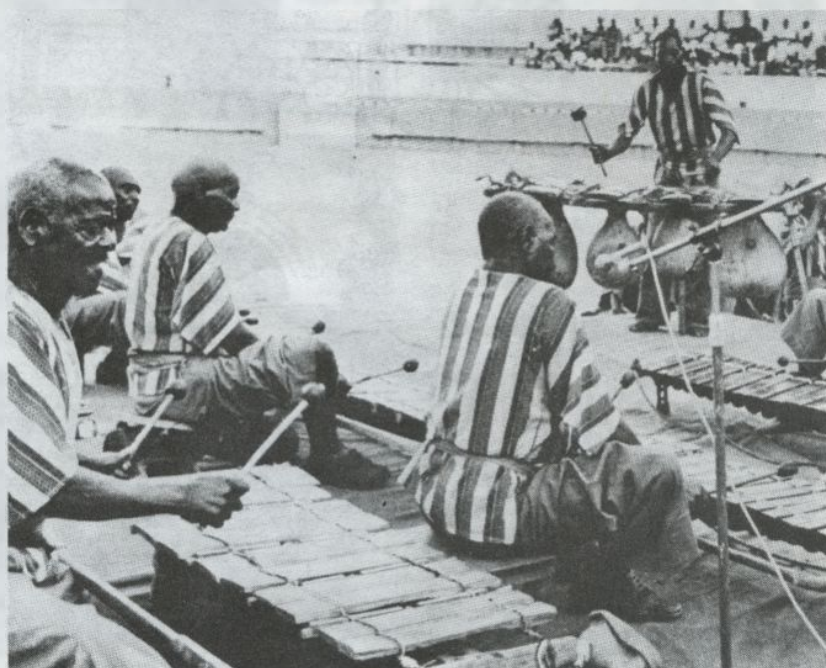
from the traditional music of each people involved, unity is emerging." In this way music has helped solidify political aims and has provided a discourse for revolution, and the power of community ties is slowly being superceded. It is this trend which the government is eager to sustain.

In addition, Carvalho underscored the ongoing influence of the liberation movement in South Africa, which predates by several generations the struggle in Mozambique. "Throughout this century thousands of Mozambicans have emigrated every year to the South African mines. Most of them have come back again to the southern zone of Mozambique, bringing with them new kinds of liberation music in addition to a heightened awareness of the South African situation." The power of music is laid bare in this dynamic; politics and music are closely linked.

Carvalho also drew a connection between the music of Mozambique's liberation struggle and that of the African experience in America. The musical forms which went to America through slavery have returned to Mozambique and other African coun-

tries to nurture political solidarity. "African music in America developed over two or three centuries to become, for instance, black jazz or spirituals; these forms are coming back again to Africa," Carvalho maintained. "They are symbols of oppressed black Africans who achieved liberation. It's a reinterpretation of their own traditional music through an American experience."

A persistent question is how exactly FRELIMO will implement its policy of music promotion. For many people music's function is primarily aesthetic. It is hard to picture its capacity as a practical and effective political tool. Indeed, this is a knot which FRELIMO has yet to undo entirely. Governments can support particular performance groups, just as European countries support their national orchestras. But in Mozambique traditional musical forms are numerous and to choose between them brings political consequences of its own. Financial assistance means broader outreach; however, since not all representative performance groups can receive support, the political effect will be selective. Only these groups will become na-



Mozambique Mission

"Music has long been recognized as a highly effective conductor of social and political processes."

tional symbols, said Carvalho: "If you are in Maputo or another place and you hear a performance group, you say, That's fine music. But if you hear a national performance group, that's different. Then you say, This is good music and it's *our* music. It has a different symbolic impact."

Carvalho also pointed out that the government by way of its choice is

politically associated with the music itself. A political preference is indicated, and in a country as volatile as Mozambique nothing will defeat more quickly an attempt to spawn a truly national identity.

Despite these logistical uncertainties, however, the government's emphasis on music as a vehicle toward cultural integration is an

encouraging sign that Mozambique is looking beyond its colonial origins in ways other than political. The Portuguese left behind unity of a sort. The challenge, as Carvalho indicated, is to build Mozambique into a nation rooted in its uniquely African traits. Obstacles abound, but the foot is certainly well inside the door.

Michael Teague

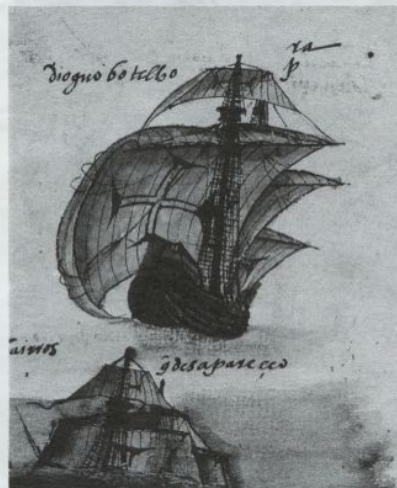


A fine example of eighteenth-century Portuguese architecture on Mozambique Island

## The National Commission on the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries

Vasco Graça Moura, who gave the first Camões Center Annual Lecture on May 3, 1989, is Chief Executive Officer of the National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries, a post to which he was nominated in 1988. He has also since 1979 been Administrator of the Portuguese National Press, where he is responsible for editorial policy, and is Portuguese Commissioner for the Seville Universal Exposition of 1992.

Born in Oporto in 1942, Dr. Graça Moura took his law degree at the University of Lisbon. His many professional positions include membership on the Board of Directors of the Bar Association of Oporto, Director of Portuguese Radio and Television, Secretary of State for Social Security, President of the Portuguese PEN Club, and Representative of the Portuguese Government to the Council of Europe's North-South Commission. He is the author of many works of poetry, and for his translation of Shakespeare's sonnets he received the Calouste Gulbenkian Prize of the Portuguese Academy of Science.

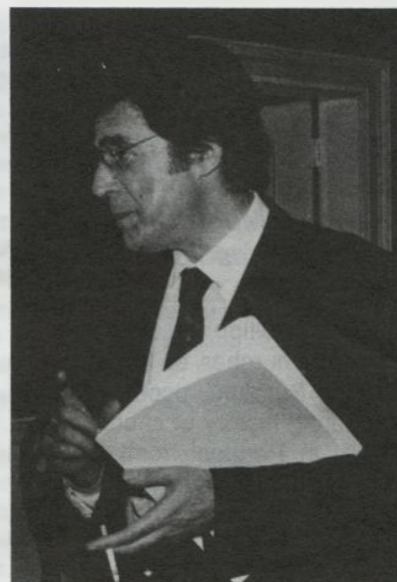


On June 12, Camões Day, municipalities throughout Portugal will launch celebrations commemorating the nation's historical navigations and overseas discoveries. The celebrations officially began in 1988 and will end in the year 2000, which will mark the quincentennial of the arrival of the Portuguese in Brazil. Between these two dates numerous events are planned to correspond with the maritime discoveries that were made as the Portuguese navigators sought to open up connections between Europe and the world at large.

The commemorative project was initially aimed at celebrating Bartolomeu Diaz's voyage to the Cape of Good Hope. A commission was formed to organize the program, but international pressures directed at South Africa made organizers decide to give the project a broader perspective, emphasizing not only the importance of the discoveries of Diaz but of all the major Portuguese navigators.

The broader mandate was also designed to show the cultural links that were consequently established between countries. "The Portuguese discoveries marked the first time western man had a natural image of the extension of the world, its geography and diverse cultures, so that afterwards there were no monsters in the human race, but instead unity and a global idea of mankind," said Dr. Vasco Graça Moura, National Commissioner of the Discoveries Program, during a recent visit to the Camões Center.

Bilateral commissions will be established in several countries. According to Dr. Moura, the former Portuguese colonies are very interested in participating in the program which will not only generate historical research, but will also help to preserve monuments and sites in these countries. Dr. Moura pointed out that the Commission does not want to thrust the program on other countries, but instead negotiate the creation of bilateral commissions. "It



Vasco Graça Moura

would not make sense for them if the former explorers or conquerors were trying to impose on them some kind of program," he said.

Celebrations will also take place in other countries such as the United States, France, and England. In 1990 and 1991 the New York Public Library and the National Gallery in Washington are scheduled to hold major exhibitions on the Portuguese discoveries.

The Commission is made up of a staff of about thirty permanent members, but as new events are suggested a temporary task force comprised mainly of academics is established to organize the program. Financing for the celebrations will come out of the national budget, private sponsorship, and the sale of special coins for collectors.

In addition to academic research, the celebrations will also include events aimed at attracting a popular audience such as book exhibitions, musical and theatrical programs, and sports competitions.

"There can be no celebration if you forget the common man. We want people to feel that celebrating the Discoveries is not specialized, but includes everyone," emphasized Dr. Moura.

## Upcoming Events

**The Meadows  
Museum presents  
"Churches of Portugal"  
Southern Methodist Univ.  
Dallas, Texas 75275  
June 8–July 22, 1989**

The exhibition of photographs entitled "Churches of Portugal" by Chester Brummel documents the captivating history of church architecture in Portugal from the Visigothic period through the eighteenth century. Compared to the famous churches in other European countries, many of those in Portugal are relatively unknown and Brummel's detailed photographs provide the first in-depth study of Portugal's rich architectural heritage.

On two separate occasions in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, Portuguese architecture achieved great distinction. During the early sixteenth century, with the discovery of Brazil and the sea route to India, Portugal gained control of the spice trade. It was during the reign of King Manuel that "Manueline," a unique style of architectural ornamentation emerged. The style was character-

ized by nautical motifs such as anchors, chains, and seaweed, and the ornamentation was superimposed on typically Gothic structures.

In the eighteenth century under the rule of King John V, the discovery of gold and diamonds ushered in a new era of wealth for Portugal. With the availability of Brazilian gold, the interiors of churches were lavishly decorated with *Talha Dourada*, a gilded carving combined with polychromed tiles. From this concept was born the "Golden Church," a style which became immensely popular in both Portugal and Brazil during this age of prosperity.

By the nineteenth century a chain of historical events put an end to the age of great religious building in Portugal. The Napoleonic invasions forced the flight of the royal family to Brazil. When they returned to Portugal in 1821, they were stripped of their autocratic power and no longer had access to the royal treasury in order to support the costly architectural programs.

Chester Brummel became interested in the architecture of Portugal when he first visited the country in 1966. Trained both as an art historian and a photographer, Brummel has been back to Portugal ten times

to document its architecture. In 1981 he received a grant from the Graham Foundation to support his studies. "Portugal is a unique country with a unique culture," said Brummel, "I was elated by this architectural style that reflects Christian, Moorish, and Indian flavor."

Brummel will give a free public lecture at 12:00 p.m. on Friday, June 9 in The Meadows Museum. For more information call (214) 692-2614.

**Friday, November 10, 1989, the Camões Center will host a symposium on the "Portuguese Constitution."** The symposium will take place in the Kellogg Conference Center, 15th floor, International Affairs Building, Columbia University, 420 West 118th Street, New York City. For more information please contact the Camões Center, (212) 854-4672.

**June 7–9, 1990, the Camões Center will host a special symposium on "Portugal and the Making of the Modern World."** The symposium will take place in the Kellogg Conference Center, 15th floor, International Affairs Building, Columbia University, 420 West 118th Street, New York City. For more information please contact the Camões Center, (212) 854-4672.



Macao in the eighteenth century—OU-MUN-KEI-LEOK

## Notes on Contributors to this Issue

**John Correia-Afonso**, born in 1924 in Goa, had a very distinguished career as a student at St. Xavier's College and the University of Bombay, graduating in 1943 with first class honors in economics, and obtaining his Ph.D. in history in 1953. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1946, and studied in Sri Lanka, Spain, and the United States. In 1967 he was appointed Secretary-General of the Society of Jesus in Rome, and later Assistant (for India) to the Superior-General. He returned to India in 1975 and is now Director of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Bombay. Father John is the author of *Jesuit Letters and Indian History* (2nd edition, 1969), *The Soul of Modern India* (1960), *Letters from the Mughal Court* (1980), and *Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems* (1981). The lecture on which his article is based was part of the Portugal-Dimensions Series, made possible with funds from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.

**Charles R. Boxer**, Camões Professor Emeritus, University of London, is the author of *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825* (1969), *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia and Luanda, 1510-1800* (1965), *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire* (1963), and many other works on the Portuguese in Asia, Africa, and South America.

**Ilene Cohn** is a lawyer and Research Director of the Project on Children and War, a collaborative project between Columbia University and Duke University.

**Ainslie Embree**, Director, Southern Asia Institute, Columbia University, coauthored with S. M. Ikram *Muslim Civilization in India*, and is the author of *Charles Grant and British Rule in India*, and *India's Search for National Identity*. He is the editor of *The Hindu Tradition*, and *Pakistan's Western Borderlands*.

**João Carlos Gomez**, who participated in the Symposium on Mughal India and the Portuguese, is a broadcast journalist from Guinea-Bissau.

**Michael Pearson**, University of New South Wales, is the author of *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the 16th Century* (1976); *Coastal Western India* (1981); *The Portuguese in India: Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1, part 1 (1987).

**Lynette Peck** is an assistant at the Camões Center and a graduate student of political science at Columbia University.

**Michael Teague**, American-Portuguese Society, New York, is the author of *In the Wake of the Portuguese Navigators*, and has lectured extensively on the architectural heritage of the Portuguese in Africa, Brazil, India, and the Far East. The Camões Center is grateful to Mr Teague for permission to reproduce photographs from his book in this issue.

**Dawit Toga** is an assistant at the Camões Center and a graduate student of political science at Columbia University.

**George Winlus**, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, the Netherlands, coauthored with the late Bailey W. Diffie *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire 1415-1580* (1977) and *The Fatal History of Portuguese Ceylon: Transition to Dutch Rule* (1971).



Goods were brought from China or even India and transported from the nau in small barges. From Japanese Nanban Screen, 1593-1600.

Upcoming

The Atlantic

Program

Contributors to  
this issue

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