Inequality in the Portuguese-Speaking World
Global and Historical Perspectives
Edited by Francisco Bethencourt
The Portuguese-Speaking World

ITS HISTORY, POLITICS AND CULTURE

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Inequalities on Trial: Conflict, Violence and Dissent in the Making of Colonial Angola (1907–1920)

Filipa Lowndes Vicente and Inês Vieira Gomes

In 1919, Captain José Veloso de Castro, Administrator of Luanda and the country’s Police Commander, was the subject of a judicial prosecution by military tribunal. Only one side of the process can still be found, and this offers us the twelve accusations Veloso de Castro was charged with, though these accusations are no longer available as part of a complete documentation for the trial. Rather, they are to be found in Veloso de Castro’s own defence, available in the Lisbon Military Archive, to which part of the colonial documentation was sent after 1975 to provide examples of texts related to decolonisation and Angola’s independence. Each of Veloso de Castro’s twelve answers represents a mirror of the accusation itself, even if a broken mirror, where some charges become clearer than others. Sometimes, the defendant quotes specific selected passages of the allegations, giving us a glimpse into the text we do not possess.

The Archive itself is an unequal place, a place of deliberate selection, resulting from the classification and safeguarding of some documents and the dismissal of others. In this case, there is the added factor of national and colonial transformations interfering in the history of the Archive itself. Political and governmental upheavals, added to the relocation of material, resulted in documents getting lost. The movement of documents and objects from one place to another, in this case from one continent to another, meant that the records that were sent off were not necessarily the same as those that arrived. The only complete judicial documentation available for Veloso de Castro concerns a previous trial in which he was involved, arising from a disagreement between him and another officer that took place in Angola in 1915. Another possible factor — one that should not be dismissed — is the intentional removal of documents. The fact that there are missing parts in the 1919 judicial process may be due to someone’s decision to remove items from their filing place.
An analysis of the different layers of inequality implicit in the judicial process applied to Veloso de Castro will form the core of this article. However, in order to better understand what happened in 1919, we will also examine the public, military, and institutional itinerary of a man whose life embodies so many dimensions of the inequality possible in this period and in these locations. The times and places of Veloso de Castro’s biography had an important influence on the hierarchies, differences, and power struggles in which he was involved. The places were Portugal and Angola: the former a metropolitan centre trying to consolidate its control over, and exploration of the West African territories of Angola; the latter a country whose frontiers were an embattled ground fought over by the Portuguese, local tribes, and other colonizing European nations. Veloso de Castro’s adulthood was lived through three very different Portuguese political contexts, which had enduring repercussions for Portugal’s colonial territories and for the position and voice he could aspire to. When he went to Angola in 1902, Portugal was a monarchy, as it had been since the twelfth century; whilst he was in Angola, the monarchy was replaced by a republic, following a coup d’état in 1910; and a few years after his return to Lisbon, in 1920, a right-wing military dictatorship replaced the First Republic. This last context, one in which public perception of republican upheaval and instability was replaced by the heavy hand of military dictatorship, was clearly the one in which Veloso de Castro could play his most public role.

Picture 13.1 Tenente José Veloso de Castro, Angola, 1910
Photograph, 9x12cm, José Veloso de Castro, P1AHM-FE-CAVE-VC-A10-1404.

Conflict, Violence and Dissent in Colonial Angola (1907–1920)

Writing, mapping and photographing military expeditions

Veloso de Castro was born in 1869, in Braga, in the north of Portugal, and enlisted for military service in 1887. In 1902, in his early thirties, he left for Angola, where he participated in several military campaigns before becoming Administrator of Luanda. In 1906, he returned to Vila Real for a few months, but by the time his daughter was born, in November 1907, he had already returned to Angola, the previous June, to take part in the Military Campaign of Cuamba. From 1901 to 1920, he climbed the military hierarchy, starting as an alfereci, and ending up as captain, a rank that he continued to occupy when he became Administrator of Luanda. The permanent Portuguese military campaign of “pacification” in the region — that is, occupying and controlling it, and killing any indigenous warriors who opposed the enterprise — lasted through the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth century, and involved a militarisation of the public functions of the colony. Most of the administrative positions were occupied by military officers, many of whom had taken an active role in “pacifying” the terrain, something that gave them the political legitimacy of men who had risked their lives in expeditions and combats.

It is in this context of a militarised colony that Veloso de Castro’s career trajectory should be understood. A military career offered a way of making a living, and an opportunity to have a professional occupation, to men from different social backgrounds and education. It was based on the idea of inequality, in the form of hierarchy, but contained within itself the possibility of moving up the social ladder and thus subverting the original assignation of a low position. The military provided training in various specialised types of knowledge, which benefited men who would otherwise never have had an equivalent opportunity. Moving into colonial territories might even widen these possibilities. Colonial societies, not yet consolidated, could provide more flexible environments, where the imperatives and determinants of social class could be more easily subverted.

In the case of British India, social mobility was a major subject in the nineteenth century, one characterised by its conflicting premises, positive for some, negative for many others. For some, moving from Great Britain to British India meant the possibility of assuming a higher-class identity, of moving up the ladder in a way that would have been impossible at home. However, for those whose birth already gave them an elite status, to witness the social ascension of those who, at home, would have been ascribed a lower position, often meant a threatening reminder of how colonial spaces subverted the social stratification that many — mostly those who occupied the highest ranks — would have preferred to see remain unchanged. A major context for this subversion lay in the military careers the empire provided for thousands of men. Castro’s case is certainly an example of how the army could be a source of education, and how moving overseas, where social inequality was overshadowed by more obvious racial and political inequalities, enhanced the possibilities of poorer white men.

In the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, science was part of these territorial expeditions in Angola led by the Portuguese military, not as an end in itself, but as a way of controlling, possessing and exploring. Mapping
was a crucial skill, but so was photography. At first sight, the case we are analysing here seems to fit perfectly with the idea of photography as an instrument of knowledge and power, not only as a witness to inequalities — social, political, gender and ethnic — but also as an active agent in their creation. For many, the reproductions of colonial imagery that appeared in Portuguese newspapers constituted the main knowledge of the national overseas territories, as they came to be called. Photography had been a discipline within Portuguese military education since 1864, but only in 1917 did a ministerial decree create a photographic and cinematographic section with the aim of "recording subjects related to the education and preparation of the Army, in peace and in war," and of "building an historical archive." José Veloso de Castro illustrates well a tradition of officers who also became photographers: 2,374 photographs, glass negatives some of them, were made by him in Angola; and, in addition, 27 images of Vila Real, dated 1907, were taken when he was home for a few months. The Lisbon Military Historical Archive (Arquivo Histórico Militar), where this rich corpus of images is kept, places them in the period between 1904 and 1914, even though Castro did not leave Luanda until 1920.

The list of materials and persons involved in a 1905 expedition to survey the navigability of some Angolan rivers was published in a report. In a total weight of ca. 500 kilos, 30 kilos were weapons, 60 kilos topographical instruments, and 20 kilos photographic materials. The material of the photographic process became part of these expeditions, where travellers were colonizers, and weapons and cameras were put at the service of surveillance and control. Many comparisons have already been established between the eye of the camera and the eye of the gun, and Susan Sonntag’s words on the predatory violence of photography, written in the late 1970s, still sound particularly poignant when we reflect on the practice of photography by European military expeditions within an imperial frame. "Aggression is implicit in every use of the camera," Sonntag wrote. "It turns people into objects that can be symbolically possessed."

Veloso de Castro was photographing precisely at the moment when technological progress made it easier and cheaper for photography to be published in books. This meant a revolution in the format of books and newspapers, and Veloso de Castro’s only book as an author became an early, and relatively rare, example of this combination. What had already become a regular practice of military expeditions — the inclusion of writing, maps and photographs within the format of a report — could now produce a book available to a wider audience: a metropolitan audience that could feel empowered by the progress of military expeditions in Africa and the assertions of Portuguese power in the region.

Veloso de Castro transformed his experience of an "expedition" or "campaign", the words used to designate territorial wars imposed on local populations by Portuguese troops, into published narratives where he also used the photographs he had taken along the journey. The same event was recorded by others within the narrative tradition of officials writing as witnesses and participants, and where photography contributed to the "we have been here" effect. In one of these books, General Roçadas, then Governor of the district of Huila, described how his aid, Veloso de Castro, had been wounded.

When, in 1919, Veloso de Castro had to defend himself against a number of accusations — different accusations from different people — one of the arguments he used to legitimate his service to the "good name and prestige of the military", was that he had aimed to "publish books of military techniques and colonial military history" and to "contribute to the progress of this colony with frequent works of geographical and hydrographical record, some of which were published by the government itself and honoured with flattering references by the most eminent men who have governed here."

In his introduction to a book published in 1908 on what the Portuguese called the Campaign of the Cuammbo, the alferes, a low rank position within the military hierarchy, dedicated the book to Henrique Paiva Couceiro, a high rank military officer who had been the Governor of Angola since 1907, precisely the year of the Cuammbo Campaign. As Patricia Haynes writes, the "expedition’s purpose was to avenge the 1904 slaughter of a large Portuguese expedition that had sought to occupy Owanza", which, in the opinion of Veloso de Castro, as Haynes also notes, was "the most disastrous reverse to figure in the annals of our colonial military history.

Paiva Couceiro had already lived in Angola and in Mozambique in an earlier period, around the time of the British Ultimatum to Portugal of 1899, which marked the culmination of many tensions between the two nations in relation to their colonial control over African territories. He had been a protagonist in many military campaigns and expeditions to assert and consolidate Portuguese control of different regions of Angola and Mozambique, and he had also contributed, on his African travels, to the military tradition of expeditionary writing in which Veloso de Castro’s work should be placed. After a few years back in Portugal,
his name was suggested by the King of Portugal, an acknowledged supporter both of him personally and of his public political positions, to occupy the prestigious position of Colonial Governor. Despite the approval of his government by the local elite, he only stayed for two years, and it was during this period that Veloso de Castro dedicated his book to Paiva Coceiro, as mentioned before, thanking him for authorizing its publication by the National Press of Angola, the Angolan printing press which, since its creation in 1845, had published daily government publication as well as many other books. This also explains the existence, in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, of two photographic albums of Angola dedicated to Paiva Coceiro. The albums were compiled by Veloso de Castro from his own photographs and offered to the highest ranking member of the Portuguese colonial state in Angola, the Governor General, also a military man, and therefore his hierarchical superior.

In 1908, and then in 1913, Veloso de Castro also published two reports, both of them written with Eugénio Torre de Valle, another military man who was, like him, a low ranking official, an alferes de infantaria. The first report, published in 1908, presented the maps and descriptions of the River Cambo that they had done in September and October of 1905. To investigate the possibility of navigating the rivers was an important task in the occupation of a territory, as it meant controlling a major means of transport when no alternative routes were in place, and when railway lines were still under construction and only covering very specific areas of the territory. The book is much more than that, however. More than 100 photographs, all with a short descriptive caption, in a small format, and the result of poor techniques of reproduction, occupy the end section of the booklet. Many are of the river itself, almost always to show the tree trunks and branches that had fallen into the river, complicating the passage of their boat. But many of them also show the Africans who were working for them in various roles, for example their African boatman or their guide, as well as the many populations they met along the river shores. The second booklet, published in 1913, was also a study on river navigability. Photography was also widely used on this occasion, with 94 images, while the visual dimension of map drawing became more relevant here, with 20 drawings illustrating the course of the river.

Photography was one more instrument of military expeditions and scientific inquiry mastered by the colonial authorities - a device utilized for a multitude of ends by agents in colonial contexts. However, beyond the photographs that are kept in the Archive of Military History in Lisbon because they were taken by a military man in the context of his service in Angola, it is clear that Veloso de Castro was commercializing his images, and possibly making a profit out of what was a thriving business, while still in Angola (his self-portrait is displayed on postcards on the wall).

This was a period in which photography was booming globally. There was a democratization of its possibilities, as it became easier and cheaper, and responded to a growth in image consumers. Veloso de Castro was taking part in that global process, where the colonial as subject became a major thread. He had acquired the technological and scientific knowledge of handling the camera and developing the photographs within the context of his military life and very probably it was this institutional realm that provided him with the laboratory-like conditions that enabled the practice of photography far beyond his military obligations. Examples of Veloso de Castro’s participation in the commercial world of photographic postcard circulation were the series of postcards he published. A series called “Province of Angola” was issued in a thematic series where each of the at least 17 booklets opened like a fan displaying 10 postcards, most with one image, some with multiple images in a single frame, which were meant to fit into the category announced on the cover. “Customs from the interior of Portuguese Western Africa: Malange, Population” was one of the titles on a cover where the photographer’s name was clearly visible.

In this great quantity of photographs of colonial scenes, situations of inequality are present in multiple ways. Hayes analyses a photographic album entitled “Auto de vassalagem” from the Portuguese expedition to Cuamba Pequeno (Ombandja) in 1907, considering it a pioneering example of war photography. When looking at the images Veloso de Castro took of the African carriers who transported all kinds of heavy materials, one can relate these to the rich critical bibliography that has reflected on the intersection of observation with pain, violence, war, atrocity — elements that were an inevitable part of colonial imposition. We could even argue that, at a moment when the “colonial” as a frame of analysis for photography has been questioned, this analytical frame could be an alternative. Susan Sontag’s Regarding the Pain of Others called attention to the ethical failure of photography in stopping what it was witnessing. Whatever the black African workers were carrying, they continued to do so. The richness of

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Picture 13.3 Rio Lualaba. Junto às quedas de Riamundu, Angola, 1905

the photographic archive of Veloso de Castro goes beyond the scope of this text.\textsuperscript{34} It is relevant, however, to understand how photography empowered him: even when he occupied a lower rank in the military hierarchy, the lens extended his vision and grasp of the experiences he was undergoing, somehow subverting the minimal power he had as an alferez in his first Angola years. Being a soldier in a colonial location, no matter how low in the military hierarchy, was very different from being one in a national location. The colonial situation itself presumed the intrinsic inequality of the colonizer vis-à-vis the colonized. Any soldier, in the context of colonial Angola at the beginning of the twentieth century, no matter how low his rank, occupied a superior position in relation to the black population. Veloso de Castro’s photographic camera added an extra layer of inequality to already existing ones.

Some of these campaigns could be placed in the category of survey expeditions, aimed at producing all kinds of knowledge on territories that were not previously known — or not well enough known — by the people requesting the surveys. Other military campaigns in which he participated were aimed at controlling, negotiating, and subjugating specific territories and peoples. This was a period for the “mapping and remapping of power between the colonisers and the African societies undergoing colonisation”, and Veloso de Castro was actively participating in such mapping, literally.\textsuperscript{35} Very often no frontiers could be established between the two military tasks: war and knowledge were entangled in the same experience - and Veloso de Castro illustrates well the case of colonial agents who assumed different identities and roles. In a period when occupying a position in a colonial location was only possible through the use of arms and force, it was within the military orbit that many areas of knowledge intersected with the colonial. The scientific instruments could only be used because there were weapons, instruments of military imposition and power, even if not always used.

Veloso de Castro, himself, in his judicial response to the accusations leveled against him, mentions his “most important collaboration, for the international exhibition of London in 1917, on the documentation of the Portuguese military campaign”.\textsuperscript{36} It is not clear which exhibition he is referring to, and the only possible exhibition we could identify in London was the Allied War Photography Exhibition. Such photography exhibitions were quite common during the First World War, as they were seen as a valuable medium of propaganda, co-opting visitors into the war effort and showing the united efforts of different countries.\textsuperscript{37} The 1914–18 war coincided with a great democratisation of photographic technology. Its practice was available to a growing number of people, soldiers included, and the possibilities for reproducing images, much easier with the development of lithographic techniques, meant that newspapers could keep a visual track of the development of the war.\textsuperscript{38} It also meant that photographs were easily reproduced and exhibited under a propaganda banner, which showed an understanding of the possibilities of images. Having done research in archive of the Victoria and Albert Museum, a major site for photographic exhibitions in London during the First World War, we could not find any reference to Veloso de Castro’s participation in the Allied Exhibition, as the Portuguese Commissioner.\textsuperscript{39} A military document states that he was the photographer of all or some of the images sent to represent Portugal’s participation during the War;\textsuperscript{40} and Portugal appears in the poster\textsuperscript{41} of the exhibition alongside the other participating countries; but there is no mention in the album-catalogue\textsuperscript{42} that was published to accompany the exhibition.

### The 1919 judicial prosecution

In two entries, Veloso de Castro responds to the twelve accusations against him, while sometimes quoting directly from the accusation, and thus giving us a glance into the document we do not have access to. In 25 typed pages, dated 19 October 1919, and addressed to Major Pedro Augusto de Souza e Silva, Veloso de Castro gives his version of each of the accusations — his motives, justifications, and decisions.\textsuperscript{43} By doing so, he enables us to access many different layers of inequality, not only the more obvious ones inherent in a colonial presence which had inequality at its core, but also heterogeneous layers of inequality. Here we will focus especially on the rich insights into gender inequality which emerge, frequently and strongly, from the document: insights which the historiography of military subjects tends to overlook as belonging to a non-political and non-military sphere.

Very often these inequalities saw their threads entangled in other inequalities, where other identities were at stake. The same person could experience subordination in one context, while holding the power to subdue others in another context. This document, therefore, works as a case-study to explore how the experience of inequality can be a malleable one, being continuously challenged by the different spaces a specific person or group of people occupies and the interpersonal relationships these establish. Taking place in a colonial location gives the process an added challenge at different levels. In contexts where inequality was a necessary condition for the existence of colonial, external, governments, we have to search beyond that obvious inequality to look for other dimensions of inequality.

One immediate conclusion to be drawn from reading about the trial is how the political and the intimate, the public and the personal, the state and the private, are intertwined, not necessarily in hierarchical ways. While here we will give more attention to the intimate, sexual and personal layers of violence that encroach on the judicial process — those where women appear — it is also pertinent to briefly refer to the wider context within which this should be placed. First, we focus on the militarisation of the colonial state and its conflicts with the political parties that emerged from the 1910 Republic. One of the accusations against Veloso de Castro was that he was an enemy of the Republic, and that this motivated his actions and personal pursuits. His self-representation was that of an agent of military order. He exemplified the many military men who occupied administrative colonial positions, while revealing the constant tensions between those political party members who, he believed, brought disorder and turmoil to the desired stability of the colonial state. “In those occult spaces, or in political associations, your Excellency can be sure not to find me”, he responds to one of the accusations, in a double reference to Freemasonry and the republican parties.\textsuperscript{44}
Velasco de Castro’s angry words sometimes hint at the path to a totalitarian political trend which would be consolidated by 1926 with, precisely, the intervention of a military coup d’état. The fact that he emerged as an active contributor to the 1930s colonial project may help us to understand the political conflicts he was going through in 1919. Implicit in his words is also the military right to the exercise of colonial power. The military were the ones reaping their lives in the expeditions and campaigns that enabled the subjugation of colonised people and colonised territories. Beyond the widespread political conflicts, his prosecution gives us an indication of, and also reveals personal conflicts within the military and conflicts between the law enforcers — administrative and military — and those who wanted to fight the law with the practice of trafficking goods or women.

This judicial process also reveals the culture of the written document and report — those millions of written pages that fill the colonial archive, in this case the colonial military archive. It reveals a culture of complaint, both written and oral, for the most diverse array of motives. One of the striking aspects of the document is the array of references to indigenous people who had complained to a state institution, in this case the police station of Luanda, where Castro was the main person responsible. Two of the cases of indigenous complaints are related to money. The complainants appear in the process not as direct protagonists, but because they are complaining of men who are themselves making a complaint against Velasco de Castro precisely because he wanted to punish their actions.

The boy was fourteen years old, an under-age African servant of Manuel Rodrigues de Oliveira, and his entire savings totalled three escudos in silver, which he kept in a small leather purse. When, one day, another employee, no mention of his ethnicity, realised his four escudos in paper had disappeared, all the “pretoos” were searched and the young servant’s savings were seized as being the stolen money. The boy went to the “administration” crying at having his money taken away when he had not stolen anything. Oliveira, the employer, recognised the boy was right but justified the seizure by his need to replace the other, clearly superior, servant’s missing money. Velasco de Castro states that he told Oliveira to refund the boy’s money, but the latter refused, alleging that the authorities had nothing to do with this.

At this point, Velasco de Castro realized how irritated he was with Oliveira. Only the fact that the latter was an “old negro” and a “European merchant” stopped Velasco de Castro from putting him in prison until the money was restored to the 14-year-old servant. For Oliveira, this mercy — the result of his status, race and nationality — was not sufficient and he made a complaint to the Governor General about what he considered to be Velasco de Castro’s arrogance.

The second complaint against Velasco de Castro was made by a certain Batista. Again, Velasco de Castro censured Batista’s behaviour towards his employees. One day an “indigenous servant” came to the police to complain that his employer owed him more than 20 escudos and had dismissed him without paying his debt. Batista was asked to pay the servant, in order to “avoid problems with the natives”, and promised to do so that afternoon. That same afternoon the indigenous servant returned to complain again that Batista had refused to pay him. A “European soldier from the police” accompanied the indigenous servant to the Café Central, where Batista was to be found. But Batista reacted by hitting his former servant and leaving him with “blood running out of his mouth and nose”. And this “in front of three Belgians, one of them being the Consul himself”! Velasco de Castro continues his description of the event by stating that he ordered Batista to be arrested, and even punished the soldier for not having done so immediately. Batista resisted and had to be taken to prison by force. However, two hours later, when Velasco de Castro went to the Café Bijou, the members of the Commercial Association begged him to release their colleague, Batista, which Castro did on condition of him paying a fine. Not only did Batista ignore the fine but he also repeated his “ignominious actions”. According to Velasco de Castro’s statements, Batista hit an old black woman who was begging at the Café Central so hard that she was sent to hospital “flowing with blood”.

Here, as in most of his defence, Velasco de Castro redirects the accusations made against him towards his accusers. He himself is the victim, precisely for wanting to stop the unlawful despoilment of those who mistreated the most vulnerable. Those who accuse him are the culprits: malfeactors who do not like seeing themselves under the rule of authority and justice. The possibility of complaint pervaded the different layers of Luanda’s social sphere, one where race was a factor, as was age, profession and administrative position. Our first inclination would be to read into the indigenous servant’s easy access to a judicial institution a surprising agency of those more vulnerable and “unequal”. This enabled indigenous subjects to make not a written complaint, but an oral one; one that required only the physical effort of taking themselves to an institution where they sought justice and the re-imposition of order. But did this agency, this access to a legal channel, this voice, in short, give those subjects a proportionate institutional response?

Beyond the administrative, military and police buildings, the central urban spaces of white male sociability in Luanda seem to have been the cafés. Velasco de Castro’s descriptions constantly refer to the Café Central, the Café Bijou and the Café Biker. These were not only “unequal” spaces of entertainment where the colonising agents could engage with each other, but also spaces of conflict, political and personal, within that community. When defending himself against an accusation from António Ferreira David, the “professor”, Velasco de Castro argues that David publicly harassed the Governor and led a “political rally” which started at the Pastelaria Bijou. Velasco de Castro adds to an impression of the tolerance he extended by stating how he allowed this “freedom of political action”; and, in another instance in his defence, he states how “no one was imprisoned or mistreated for reasons of political revenge or persecution”, a rebuttal to those who accused him of using his official power to punish those with opposing political views, in this case Republican ideals. Café also appear in the accusations as spaces where gender and ethnicity were subverted - “The women of bad reputation with whom I spent nights at the cafés, do not exist” responds Velasco de Castro to one of the accusations against him. He denies ever talking to any “dubious women” in cafés. He would go there only with one woman, one who was well accepted by all “good people”, who knew of her misery and were sorry for her. So, who was this woman? Curiously, and probably
not by chance, she is the only person who was not described in terms of their race, meaning that she would have been white and Portuguese. In another section of his
defense, Veloso de Castro had mentioned how he had taken this “unfortunate woman, who belonged to a renowned family in Lisbon and had brothers in the
"castle", to Bomu.” The woman had lived with David Nunes, a known smuggler and
dealer but had left him for reasons unknown, and Castro began protecting her out of pity, mainly when Nunes, the abandoned man, presented a complaint
against her accusing her of stealing his furniture and selling it to military officials
who worked for the Governor General. However, the document does not make
clear the identities of the other women, those of “low life”, who also frequented
Luanda’s public spaces.

Another urban location which became problematic was the police headquarters
itself. This was an official, military, white and male space within Luanda, but
Veloso de Castro was accused of bringing it to “a few women every night” and
of “transforming the barracks into a savageiro”, the expression used to
designate the sequestered living quarters of women in households in the Ottoman
empire, and a word that was also used — in an orientalist and crude fashion — to
describe a brothel.30 For Veloso de Castro these were, however, “untruthful expressions”
used to describe “simple facts” which he was “not ashamed to confirm as
accurately describing his practice”. Because the police headquarters was open all
night to people of “all classes and ages and of both sexes” Veloso de Castro had
no scruples about receiving in his house, the “people serving me during that time”
but only “one at a time”. Clearly, here he is referring to the common practice of
Portuguese men living alone, who employed local black women. The word he uses
is “serving”, as if they were servants. But implied in this role of “servant” was that
of sexual partner. He is quite clear, however, about his “scruples” being “touching”
those women who ended up in the police barracks for different reasons. His vehemence
of an accusation of “involving honest people” in his soliciting of local prostitutes
becomes even more explicit in a subsequent section. This denial hints at a common
practice of organised prostitution in Luanda. The women he ordered to be sent
him at police headquarters were those with whom he already had a relationship.
If he wanted to have relationships with “those” others, he did not have to involve
“honest people” as “there are in Luanda specific agencies who deal with
cases with no significant inconvenience.”31 With this subtle distinction, Veloso
de Castro is clearly establishing a moral difference between an involvement with
local prostitutes and one with local women with whom a sexual relationship had
been established. In another accusation, he seems to have been accused by a group
of mothers — black Africans — of having sexually abused their daughters a few
years before, during his military posting in Pungo Andongo.32 He refutes this,
stating that he had been fortunate enough to arrange for an adequate “servant”
during the whole of his time in that posting. By denying the need for “prostitutes”
with the argument that he had a “good servant”, Castro is reaffirming the sexual
dimension of these employees-employee, male-female, relationships.

There are references to the common practice of the Portuguese military of
hiring a “lavadeira” to take care of their clothing. This meant, on one side of
the relationship, white men belonging to the nationality and ethnicity of the colonisers,

and, on the other, black women and girls, African born and thus native to the
territories that were being subjected to dominance. The boundaries of the
relationship between these “washwomen” and single men (or men married to
wives who stayed in Portugal, as was Veloso de Castro’s case) were clearly fluid.
The inferiority inherent in this labour carried out in the domestic space favoured
sexual and intimate contacts where violence could easily be perpetrated. With
the women out of sight and alone, their vulnerability was reinforced. Any violence
that occurred could be sexual, physical, or verbal, or could be present in the labour
relationship itself, manifested by a lack of a salary or ambiguous duties. The
common practice of black African women working for white Portuguese men
should be also approached as part of the rich historiographical perspectives that
have analysed forced labour as an intrinsic aspect of the colonial state.33 This
was a widespread colonial practice not limited to the Portuguese context and a rich
bibliography has explored it in relation to other geographies.34

In the many layers of accusation and counter-accusation present in the
document, we can identify that a series of complaints made by many officials and
also by Veloso de Castro himself, were directed against the women who acted as
labour mediators for female domestic workers. Veloso de Castro had not been an
administrator for long when he received a complaint from Diniz, a marine officer,
who described how he was defrauded by an alcoviteira, a Portuguese word used
for intermediary that tended to have sexual connotations. Diniz paid the mediator
60 escudos in advance but, when the girl arrived disappeared after only a few
days, he demanded his money back, something which the woman refused. Castro
had already heard about many similar cases, and when it happened to him, he did
not make an undue fuss about it because he was the one who had dismissed the
reporters “for not knowing how to do laundry”.

Having decided to finish with widespread “exploitation” — here meaning
exploitation of officials who were dependent on these domestic tasks for their
wellbeing — Veloso de Castro made use of his powers to address the case. The
alcoviteiras, however, subverted the inquiry by accusing one another in relation to
the whereabouts of the money, and all had to be sent to police headquarters.
The girl herself also appeared, with her mother. She was 12 or 14 years old, and
complained to the police of the inappropriate acts committed by Diniz, the man
who had hired her through the mediator. Still, mother and daughter returned the
money Diniz had paid to the police — money that they had to borrow. During the
inquiry, the alcoviteira who long before had arranged the “bad” washwoman
whom Veloso de Castro had to dismiss also reimbursed him the 20 escudos.
The money returned by these women was delivered to a charity, and Veloso de
Castro congratulated himself for having stopped both the exploitation perpetrated
by these women brokers and also the “exploitation” of underage girls to the Belgian
Congos.35 But Diniz was not happy with the decision, wanted his money back, and
charged Veloso de Castro for this. In this intricate web of relationships, one in which
colonial and ethnic identities are interwoven with gender ones, we can see how
people depended on each other and what negotiations they entered into to protect
their interests. The girl could run away from the sexual violence perpetuated against
her. She could even complain about it to the authorities. But, according to Veloso
Castro’s report, she still had to pay back the money to regain her freedom. Veloso de Castro ends his report on this trading of domestic female services with another personal case.60 Needing a “woman from the muisqueiros [slums surrounding the city for work in conditions of slavery],” Veloso de Castro contacted and paid a young man who was also an intermediary. When he didn’t hear anything more from him, Veloso de Castro sent an “indigenous” policeman to search for him. The young man came with his father, a “policeman,” and with the money and the girl. Castro not only refused the money and the girl, but withdrew his police status as it was “not appropriate” to have “police acoceirados.”

Another dimension that surfaces from the document is the widespread practice of trafficking across colonial frontiers. Veloso de Castro referred to the smuggling of arms, gunpowder and cattle into the Belgian Congo at a time when the law forbade all such exports.7 But the most striking reference to trans-colonial movement is to the trafficking of women for obvious sexual purposes between Portuguese Angola and the Belgian Congo, a subject that would benefit from a cross-national archival search. As happens in many other instances with this document, women — and the fact that they were subjected to sexual violence — do not emerge as the central issue, but as one that lies beneath. Albino Valenté, one of the owners of the Café Biker, made charges against Veloso de Castro. Again, Castro attributes this vindictiveness towards him to the fact that he had stopped the trafficking of women in which Valenté was involved. Charged with fulfilling the role of Agent for Passports, Valenté was sending pretend to the Belgian Congo “without verifying their identity as part of the process” and Castro compelled him to stop, an action that was consistent with an “attitude I had adopted a long time ago after a scandalous case the administration had to confront”. Clearly this was not a new practice.

Finally, there is a further accusation, somehow the most delicate one, of Veloso de Castro having “deflowered a goddaughter aged 12 years”, which will be dealt elsewhere, because it needs a deeper and longer analysis.8 However, here we will just refer to how he contested this accusation by turning it back against the African woman with whom he lived at the time, the only one who is named, Isabel. It was she, Veloso de Castro argued, who had suggested he should have a sexual relationship with the girl, who was not 12 but eight years old, because she had already been with many soldiers. It was he, indifferent, who, I believe, knowing how older women negotiated the supply of young “goddaughters” with the Congo sexual traffickers, sent her away from his home. In this interplay of powers and relationships, we see how identities were adjusted to specific contexts: how some women exercised violence over other women; how violence had many dimensions that were intrinsic to the different dimensions of inequality; and how next to the exercise of violence there often lay the exercise of resistance — even when resistance led to further violence.

The immediate consequence of Veloso de Castro’s trial was his dismissal from the post of Capi
dado Mor de Santo Antonio do Zaire by the Governor of Angola.90 The charges against him also affected the progress of his military career, as can be seen from the extensive report of the Superior Council of Promotions, published on 26 October 1920. The report referred to the inappropriateness and insubordination of the language he used in his defense causing doubts as to his state of mind. The official in charge of Veloso de Castro’s trial regretted how the event “cast a shadow over an official who had worked hard and extended himself on behalf of this Province.”51

Finally, Veloso de Castro was condemned to three days in prison by the Governor of Angola — clearly merely an exemplary punishment with no real consequence; and even this was finally overturned by an official order. Veloso de Castro used his right of appeal against his three days of prison and in February 1923 his appeal was accepted.52 One request of his that seems not to have been granted, however, was a claim for compensation, probably for moral damages, although this is not specified.53 This, however, was not the first or the last time that Veloso de Castro’s name appeared in the annals of the Military Court. Two other cases deserve mention. The first was dealt with at the Tribunal Militar Territorial da Província de Angola in 1913, and is revealing as to the violence within the military itself, between those who were higher in the hierarchy and those who were below them, especially those black African soldiers who made a living with the Portuguese troops.54 “Antônio André, an indigenous soldier” was told by his superior, Veloso de Castro, to tuck his shirt inside his trousers. He did so partially, tucking in only the front of the shirt, but not its back. Challenged by this semi-disobedience, Veloso de Castro punched him in the face, something justified by his military rank and legitimized in court on the grounds of an inferior’s disobedience. But something unforeseen happened. The black soldier gave Veloso de Castro a firm push, throwing him to the floor, and leaving him with a cut on his arm that meant he was away from work for 10 days.

The African soldier’s punishment was signed by Norton de Matos. Instead of three years in prison, he was exiled to Mozambique as a degredado. This legitimate practice of physical violence within the military was based on the premise of inequality itself, since it was the prerogative of only some. What this case also reveals, however, is the possibility of dissension, even if at a high price, for those who chose it. António André resisted twice: by partially disobeying the order on how to wear his uniform, and by reacting to a punch from a white, superior, for which his punishment was a life sentence.

The last evidence in the Military Archive worth mentioning refers to Veloso de Castro’s family, which had always existed but only appeared in documentation when it was on the verge of dissolution. Like so many military men in the colonies, Veloso de Castro had a wife and three young children back in Lisbon. However, when he returned to the metropolis in 1920, he did not go back to his family. His wife, very ill and living in poverty, appealed to the military for the maintenance allowance her husband had never paid.55 This was not for her, she argued, but for the three children she was now incapable of caring for. The Military Court sent an official to confirm her situation but dismissed her request, arguing that only a civil court could make Veloso de Castro pay the maintenance he owed and provide for his abandoned family. Once again, we see an instance of gender violence within the military archive, and one that refers to a relevant social dimension of the colonial project — the place of women within the distant territories where these military men circulated and interacted.
More than 20 years ago, Patrícia Hayes published a very interesting article in the journal *Gender and History* on a commission in Ovamboiland, in the South of Angola, who had some resemblances to Veloso de Castro. 54 "Cocky Hahn" was another example of those men who practiced a non-professional ethnography whilst occupying a post in a colonial administration. Like Castro, he was the object of a complaint and an inquiry in the 1920s that, like Castro's prosecution, gives us no insight into instances of violence, also gendered, and "issues of domination, control and resistance". 55 This example also deals with issues of illegal trading and trans-colonial transgressions, such as when Hahn was accused of hunting in Angola, and had to justify it by arguing that his official Portuguese counterparts had invited him. 56 Through his prosecution, as through Veloso de Castro's, we grasp how violence could be "regulated and sanctioned" — as when Castro punched his disobedient African subordinate, or Hahn justified flagging natives in a context of upheaval and instability. 57 But violence could also be the subject of denunciation and therefore was not wholly "regulated and sanctioned", as when Hahn was accused of kicking a woman servant "between her legs" or when Batista hit his former African servant in a Luanda café. 60

Leaving Luanda after the judicial process: colonial propaganda and policy-making from the metropolis Veloso de Castro retired to Portugal in 1920, after 18 years in Angola, shortly after his prosecution, and very probably as a consequence of it. The next traces we have of him, nevertheless, show that the judicial process did not blight his prestige. In 1935, and therefore not long after returning from Luanda, he was granted a major honour for services to the nation, when he was nominated as *Comendador da Ordem Militar de Aviz*. 61 Nor did his trial prevent him from an active involvement in the creation of a discourse on Portuguese colonialism, from participation in conferences and congresses, from directing and writing in newspapers on colonial subjects, or from being nominated by the Minister for the Colonies — in 1926 — to membership of a commission in charge of writing a report on colonial activities. The passage from Angola to Portugal, from Luanda to Lisbon, seems to have enabled the creation of a frontier between the before and the after from which only advantages were obtained. The upset and negativity that Veloso de Castro had caused during his time in Luanda appear to have stayed behind, not accompanying him to his new metropolitan identity. Somehow, he managed to bring back home mainly the beneficial aspects of having lived in Luanda — increased knowledge and legitimacy — and erase the problematic and conflictive aspects of his Angolan life. How else would it have been possible for him to access the public benefits he did when in Lisbon, from ministerial invitations to the direction of colonial newspapers?

After living so many years in Angola as an active agent of Portuguese colonial occupation and military power, the second part of Veloso de Castro's adult life was spent in another major sphere of colonial consolidation — that of discourse, information, knowledge, propaganda and policy. The centre of the overseas empire, the metropolis, was the site of many public and governmental initiatives in which the colonies were defined and discussed both in their past and their present state, and their future was planned. Veloso de Castro participated in both these paths of reflection — on the "how it is" and the "how it should be". His almost two decades on the terrain, as well as his military career in so many different hierarchical positions, gave him legitimacy as a specialist, not only on Angola, but on the "colonial" as an overarching project. His work in Angola, his production of knowledge through writing, mapping and photographing, combined with his practical experience of many military expeditions and campaigns, was put to good use in his later metropolitan years, when he directed it into other formats, from conferences to reports and newspaper articles, with his photographs also appearing in the latter. From Luanda to Lisbon, he brought his capital of experience, the history he had witnessed and the knowledge he had gained; and he used the photographs he had taken to illustrate the texts dealing with colonial subjects that he contributed to newspapers.

Veloso de Castro's role in writing on colonial matters in Lisbon, and his service in Luanda, deserve a thorough analysis, but here we will only briefly refer to his most official and public positions. Four years after his return from Angola, he participated in the Second National Colonial Congress, at the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* (Geographical Society of Lisbon), contributing a paper on "Colonial Campaigns in the Course of Military Operations Undertaken in the Congo, in the Lombo and in the Low Cunene". 62 Two years later, he published this same conference paper as an article in a newspaper of which he was one of the editor. 63 A few years after that, at the Third National Colonial Congress in Lisbon, again at the Geographical Society — an institution whose history and role was inseparable from the Portuguese colonial enterprise — his name appears in the organizing commission. 64

Finally, Veloso de Castro was chosen to replace one of the members of a commission nominated by the Ministry of the Colonies to produce a major report on "The Value of Portuguese Colonial Activity". 65 Even though the appointment was made by the Ministry of the Colonies, ministers from two other departments signed the official document — the Minister for the Colonies, Emesto Maria Vieira da Rocha; the Minister for War, José Estevés da Conceição Mascarenhas; and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Vasco Borges — a trio that demonstrated well the dimensions involved in the colonial project, its national and international aspects, and its intrinsic relationship with the military. The Commission was first formed in February 1926 by the Republican government, with the clear intention of demonstrating to other colonizing nations the efforts Portugal was putting into the "physical and economic territories" they possessed. Significant for the understanding of this context is the 1925 Ross Report, the result of an investigation by Edward Ross, an American sociologist, of labour conditions in Angola and Mozambique, which was carried out on behalf of the Temporary Slavery Commission of the League of Nations. 66 The initial commission was made up of Jaime Alberto de Castro Morais, a medical lieutenant commander, who was appointed to head it; a law graduate, José de Almada; a major in the infantry, António Leite de Magalhães; a captain in the infantry, Luis Quirino Monteiro; and a captain in the military administration, Vergílio Pereira da Costa. They were all army men, and probably all of them had been in colonial territories in the course of their military careers.
For six months, the five men were exempt from their usual responsibilities, and were wholly dedicated to the task of working on the report. As the date for the delivery of the report drew near, the government body recognised that the period had not been sufficient to "obtain, bring together and coordinate" all the information scattered through a wide array of documents, from "overseas legislation" to "reports, memoirs, official correspondence", and use it for the task of producing "surveys to be sent to the colonies". It was only towards the end of September 1926 that Veloso de Castro, identified as a "majo de infantaria de reserva" was chosen to replace one of the members of the Commission.58 This time, the document was signed by the future President of Portugal, then the Minister for Foreign Affairs and for War, António Oscar de Fragoso Carmona, and by João Belo, then Minister for the Colonies. Both men had participated actively in the major political event that had taken place on 28 May that year, a coup d’état which had overthrown the Republican Parliament, replacing it with a military dictatorship which lasted until 1928, when Oliveira Salazar initiated a right-wing authoritarian regime that would last until 1974. With Salazar as a totalitarian prime-minister, Carmona became President of the Republic. Can this major political transformation have had anything to do with the choice of Veloso de Castro for such a prestigious task as writing the colonial report? The delivery date for the report was extended twice more, until the end of 1927, but after that the project disappears from the sources we have identified so far.59 Each time there was an extension, a text was published in the official newspaper explaining the reasons for the delay and replacing some of the names of the initial commission members, for reasons not always explained. Suddenly, however, no more notices appear on the project. Therefore, we cannot be sure at this distance whether this major colonial report was ever completed, or whether the transformations of the political regime, from a republican government to a military dictatorship, followed by Salazar’s Estado Novo, with its changes in policy, ideologies and actors, may have been a determining factor. One dimension of inequality comes to mind in relation to the status occupied by public men within a particular political context. To be against or outside the political powers could mean not having access to the public sphere of decision-making, and not being able to write in the mainstream print culture, while to be with or within the core could open up wide possibilities, from economic, to professional and public ones. Was this the case for Veloso de Castro, a man within the military orbit, as were the majority of men occupying active roles during this period, both in national and colonial politics? Had the man who, in Angola, had been accused of not aligning himself with Republican ideals now found his recognition within the context of the right-wing military dictatorship?

It was between 1926 and 1929 that Veloso de Castro became very active in writing and running two colonial journals published in Lisbon. In a period when there was a thriving print culture, colonial subjects occupied a major place in this, both in specialised newspapers dedicated to colonial matters and in newspapers covering a range of subjects, where colonial matters were a constant theme. This was not merely a metropolitan endeavour. The number of newspapers written, edited and printed within the colonies themselves made it possible for a multitude of voices to be heard, even critical and dissident voices.60

Veloso de Castro was the editor of the periodical Gazeta das colónias: semanário de propaganda e defesa das colónias between 10 September 1926 and 25 November 1926, the latter being its last publishing date (numbers 37 to 41). The newspaper had started in 1924 as a fortnightly publication, but, as frequently happened, its appearances soon started to fall off. Veloso de Castro managed to get it back to being printed every two weeks, while introducing, on the front page, the novelty of a summary of the headlines.61 But finally, by the end of 1926, and despite editorial and advertising hints about future issues, the newspaper stopped being printed.

The other periodical venture in which Veloso de Castro was a major figure was Luso-colonial. Revista de defesa e propaganda (Lusocolonial. A Review of Defence and Propaganda). He became one of the three creators and managers of the colonial journal, which published 18 issues between 1927 and 1929, suddenly coming to a halt just on the eve of his death in 1930, perhaps due to his physical incapacity to pursue the project. We have seen how, on his return to Lisbon and in his reinvention of himself as a specialist on colonial subjects, Veloso de Castro used his Angolan experience in different ways. This also happened with the extensive collection of photographs he had taken while living in the territory. Some of them at least were used to illustrate articles in the newspaper he managed. An editor’s note in Lusocolonial says that all the illustrations published in the magazine are available for sale.62 They had been archived by the Army’s Photography Section since 1917, and prints could be ordered for various purposes — the text offers some suggestions — “to illustrate books and magazines, to be shown at conferences, or to be looked at by the general public.” There is no mention of any requirement to pay a fee for the images; only a requirement to refer to their provenance. Veloso de Castro’s Angolan photographic booty kept on being used in new contexts and assuming new meanings in the printed pages of the metropolitan propaganda press.

Conclusion

Much has been written on inequality in colonial relationships and contexts, as inequality is in itself the central paradigm of colonial states. Racial difference, discrimination and inequality — and the conflicts, negotiations and heterogeneous categories these imply — have therefore been an ever-present question in approaches to colonialism. Gender inequality should be added as a pertinent axis of reflection. Gender relationships in colonial spaces, in their entanglements with racial, hierarchical, and colonial relationships, have not been explored enough in historiographical approaches to the Portuguese colonial experience.63 The evidence of their centrality is explicit in many ways in the textual and visual archive, as well as in the oral one for more recent times. Portuguese historiography, however, has not yet fully embraced them, first and foremost because gender approaches are still not mainstream, as they are in other national scholarly contexts. Another reason lies perhaps in the problematic nature of much of the archival evidence — evidence that traditional historiographies tend to place outside the realm of...
"historiographically legitimate subjects. To write about gender in colonial territories can imply writing on sexual violence, on rape, on paedophilia, on the sexual trafficking of women and girls, on the mixed race children born out of these intimate relationships, on absent fathers, or fathers not assuming responsibility for their children, on double standards of morality within Christian family values — or families in the metropolis on the one side, and sexual, emotional or affective relationships with African women on the other, where no legal, or moral, responsibility needed to be assumed.

The reasons for this historical unwillingness to see the evidence are multiple, but we could suggest some of them. First of all, there is a remaining patriarchal scholarship which tends to overlook practices which "everyone knows existed", but are not meant to be voiced. This scholarship treats history as a Pandora's box that should not be opened for fear of the unexpected consequences. Secondly, and inseparable from the previous reason, there is an overall hierarchy in historical themes where the political, the military, the decision-making, or the narration of war occupy a higher position than subjects such as sexuality, intimacy, emotions, or women- and gender-related subjects overall. There is much more space for the study of violence as part of war or the imposition of the colonial state, than for the study of sexual violence, which, despite being an intrinsic part of the both the practice of war and colonial state formation, is somehow "naturalized" and therefore de-historized, as if not belonging to the domain of those subjects valued as relevant. The fact that much of the history of the colonial experience has been written by men and within the historical category of "military history", also male-dominated, may likewise contribute to the invisibility of these subjects. Finally, and we would argue, perhaps the strongest, deterrent, though it may be unconscious, could be that of recent Portuguese colonial wars opposing paths towards independence. To think historically on questions of gender relations in the context of colonialism or colonial wars would necessarily imply a confrontation with the very recent history of interactions between Portuguese soldiers and African women. Perhaps it is not by chance that the major approaches to the subject have been those of women, for example of Margarida Calafate Silbers, who is also collaborating in this volume.74

How can we place sexual violence within this perspective, especially the violence practiced within colonial contexts where the wider inequality between colonisers and colonized was entangled with another layer of inequality — that of the dominant relationships of white men and black women? How can these double asymmetrical relationships of power nevertheless enable us to find in the archive affections, emotional involvement and reciprocity? An inference from this document, and especially from those instances where women appear as individual or generalised actors, is how intimate violence and state violence can be entangled, and how gender approaches can give us a precious insight precisely into those dimensions of intimate violence which pervaded colonial interpersonal relationships. It is an obvious fact, even though it is often taken for granted by historians, that the colonial divide was a gendered one — most of the "colonizers" in Angola at this time were men. On the other side of this determining and fundamental inequality, there were African men and women. This first inequality has many gendered implications in colonial daily life, ones which this document enables us to explore. It is likely not by chance that most of the women mentioned in the document, with only one exception, do not have names — identities — in a clear contrast to the many male names referred to.

Our analysis has far from exhausted the density of a source from which so many threads can be pulled. This source's richness lies also in the ways in which it invalidates divisions between official and non-official dimensions, between the private, the personal and the public, between the military and the civic. These dimensions are entangled in complex negotiations of transgression and acceptance, of what was legitimate and what was not, of what could be practiced with discretion and away from the public view, and what could be publicly displayed. We would argue that military archives are a privileged place to explore those dimensions of the colonial state that not only should not be overlooked — as belonging to the realm of the personal — but also should be acknowledged as a central aspect of the embodiment of colonialism. Intimacy and sexual violence, as well as daily relationships and contacts between different peoples, in colonial spaces, are entangled with military and official relationships, and should also be mixed into historiographical approaches. Violence and inequalities were certainly found not only in war, armed conflict and labor relationships, but also in the daily life of interrelationships where multiple identities — gender, race, social and military status — were at stake. It is not possible to verify all these levels of abuse, as Hayes also argues; but more relevant is what we can verify — how what was acceptable and what was not acceptable emerge from this culture of complaints and written conflicts, often referring to physical conflicts.75 "Colonial power worked simultaneously through the production of knowledge and the exercise of physical force, and both were gendered to the core", as Hayes states; and Castro’s case has provided us with the possibility of exploring both dimensions of power, and of inequality.76

Through the case of Veloso de Castro and the richness of textual sources linked to his name, the Military Archive became a privileged space for the grasping of subjectivities. One of the challenges for today’s historiographies of colonialism, of slavery, and the multiple subjects of labour, colonial, and sexual oppression, is precisely how to go beyond the discourses on them. The archives are full of documents where these subjects are spoken of, written about, represented. How can we go beyond their study as objects of discourse to their study as subjects of discourse — disrupting their representations with their gestures, voices, agencies, affects, creativity, resistance, disobedience? How can we move from the colonised, in its broadest sense, as object, to the colonized as subject? Even if mediated by the written description of the military source, those who had no access to the agency of written tools came to the fore in unexpected disruptions and gestures. Military archives may be one of the privileged sites to search for a multiplicity of subjectivities of the subaltern. Could an historiographical search for the subjugation of women and men in colonial spaces, or in other spaces where inequality is the major frame of interrelationships, be a strategy to overcome inequality itself? Can history mitigate inequalities by searching for the subjectivities of those who led their lives in the most hidden spaces and circumstances of inequality.
Notes
1. Ministério do Relatório de 12 January 1917, endorsed by the Decreto of 13 April 1918. Then, in 1919, there was a reorganization of the section, which had no autonomous funds, and it became part of the Direction of the Graphic Services of the Army (Decreto 5/93, 28 June 1919), quoted in Eduardo Antônio Martins Mendonça, "O Cinema Produzido pelo Serviço Cartográfico do Exército nas Campanhas de África (1961-1974)" (degree dissertation, Catholic University of Portugal, 1993), p. 28.
2. AIM, Caixa 2124 and photographic collection AIM/TEC/CAVE/CA/010.
7. David Martins de Lima, A Campanha dos Cuamantes: Contada por um Soldado Expedicionário (Lisboa: Livraria Ferreiro, 1908); José Augusto Alves Roças, Conferência sobre o Sul de Angola a Propósito das Operações Militares no Cuamante Feita na Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa pelo Governador do Huila José Augusto Alves Roças, Comandante da Colônia de Operações (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1908); A Campanha d'Africa ou a Guerra com os Cuamantes: Contada por um Soldado e Vários Oficiais (Porto: J. Ferreira dos Santos, 1908).
8. A Campanha d'Africa ou a Guerra com os Cuamantes, p. 66; in Veloso de Castro’s trial it was stated that he was “seriously wounded in the combat of Mufíka” on 27 August 1907.
12. “The photographic album of Paiva Cocecer, available online at the Arquivo Histórico Militar, Caixa 2124.”
15. This article was first published in the journal Colonialism, Violence and Dissent in Colonial Angola (1907-1920) 239.
Conflict, Violence and Dissent in Colonial Angola (1907–1920)


AHM, Caixa 2124. Letter dated 19 October 1919, p. 16.


Analyzing a case-study situated between the north of today’s Namibia and the south of Angola in the early twentieth century, Patricia Hayes refers to the smuggling between colonial frontiers: Hayes, “‘Cocky’ Hahn”, p. 340.


We are working on an article focusing on this case and on Veloso de Castro’s relationship with Isabel, a local black woman with whom he lived in Santo António do Zaire and in Luanda, and whom he photographed.


“The request for compensation of $130 was dismissed by his Excellency the High Commissioner for the Province of Angola.” AHM, Caixa 2124. Ofício da Provincia de Angola, nº 109/5163 de 14 de Outubro quoted in a document from the Ministério das Colónias, Direção Geral Militar, 4.ª Repartição, 2.ª Secção, Serviço da República, Lisboa, 16 November 1921.


Hayes, “‘Cocky’ Hahn”.

Hayes, “‘Cocky’ Hahn”, p. 338.

Hayes, “‘Cocky’ Hahn”, p. 341.

Hayes, “‘Cocky’ Hahn”, p. 342.

Hayes, “‘Cocky’ Hahn”, pp. 344–45.

Hayes, “‘Cocky’ Hahn”, pp. 344–45.

O. E. nº 17 (2.ª série), 5 October 1923. Information from his personal individual process. AHM, Caixa 2124.


These are the documents where we searched for Veloso de Castro’s or for Portuguese participation in the exhibition but found no mention of any Central Office of Information (formerly Ministry of Information, Partidacts). P 1 1917–1945, ref. MA4/54901, A0046, A0359, A0441, and A0057, Victoria and Albert Archive, London.

Archive histories determine the fate of documents. At the Biblioteca de Academia Militar, we found a typed inventory of the photographic collections of the Army in 1992 which mentions the “Reproductions to the Exhibition of London” (Album A, A/3. Data: 1917, Negative – Q-14, Formato, 8x12, E-M, Arquivo C-29 – 16 a 30. Lack of negative n.º 235). When all army photographs were sorted, those taken from 1976 on remained in the CAVE (Centro de Audiovisuals do Exército), while those taken up to 1975 were transferred to the arquivo Histórico Militar. In the process, the previous references were lost, which prevented us from identifying which of Castro’s photographs were sent to be exhibited in London.


Exhibition of Allied War Photographs 1917. (R.G. nos. 651 to 662-1917) - A0046, Victoria and Albert Archive. Each page of the album has a different photograph of a room of the exhibition. Under each photograph, glued to the cardboard pages, is a short handwritten text. The first one shows the British section. We found none for the Portuguese section, only finding references to Salomica, India, France, Russia, Italy and Serbia.


AHM, Caixa 2124. Letter dated 19 October 1919, p. 32.

For this we can refer to the powerful argument in the chapter on imperialism in Hannah Arendt, The Origins of Totalitarianism (New York: Schenck Books, 1951).


AHM, Caixa 2124. Letter dated 19 October 1919, p. 15.


Managing Inequalities: Welfare Colonialism in the Portuguese Empire since the 1940s

MIGUEL BANDEIRA JERÓNIMO

This chapter focuses on the role played by welfare idioms and repertoires in late colonialism, aiming to identify their multiple genealogies, rationales and intents, from the management of inequalities in colonial contexts to political control of the population and to the supervision of socio-economic and cultural change. It essentially deals with the Portuguese case, although it provides some comparative insights into other colonial empires. In the first section, the chapter points to some of the fundamental transformations of the post-war colonial empires, namely the emergence of a particular type of empire-state, with novel modalities of colonial rule and new demands for imperial legitimation, facing new challenges and prospects, tentatively devising new strategies of resilience. In the next two sections, the chapter deals, in a necessarily succinct way, with two fundamental issues of the period: the rise and institutionalization of welfare colonialism; and its development in the Portuguese case. On the one hand, it addresses some of the main facets of the post-war recalibration of the languages and the projects of welfare colonialism, highlighting their international, inter-imperial, national and, of course, colonial dynamics. On the other, it assesses how some of these languages and the projects were embraced, selectively appropriated and put to use, in similar, although not necessarily equivalent, ways, by Portuguese authorities and experts.

The post-war rejuvenation of imperial projects

Contrary to still-persisting narratives, the post-war moment was one of significant imperial rejuvenation. It entailed a "second colonial occupation", a novel "order" bolstered by initiatives aiming at an "accelerated economic growth", reacting to the multifarious challenges of the post-war world. A "late colonial shift" was noticeable. The outlooks and respective expectations of the imperial and colonial