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TURISMO E PATRIMÓNIO COLONIAL ENCONTRO DE CULTURAS

CONGRESSO INTERNACIONAL

<https://tourismheritage.wixsite.com/2026>

Keynotes

Mike Robinson
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ORGANIZAÇÃO

CHAM - Centro de Humanidades: Universidade NOVA Lisboa e Universidade dos Açores
ARTIS - Instituto de História de Arte, Universidade Lisboa
ISCE - Instituto Superior de Lisboa e Vale do Tejo

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APPROACHES TO A HISTORY OF PORTUGUESE COLONIAL TOURIST TRAVEL

28

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Abstract

The main destination of Portuguese colonial tourism was Africa, although it also extended to Portuguese India, Macau and Timor, albeit on a smaller scale. This began with steam passenger liners, a product of the Industrial Revolution and the colonial transport of choice during the 19th century. This article intends to give an historic glance of a journey that shows the political intentions in legitimize a tourism in colonies that reflects a targeted action whose repercussions still are visible today in the Memory Tourism.

Keywords

Colonial tourism, Portuguese Empire, Heritage, Memory tourism

1. Introduction

“Portugal does not end at the Algarve;
When travelling by sea, after many days
Portuguese land can still be found
From Africa to Oceania.”

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Preamble to the Itinerary of the 1st Holiday Cruise to the Colonies

The approach to a history of Portuguese colonial tourist travel necessarily derives from a multiseular evolutionary process inherited from the *Mare Liberum* of the post-Iberian expansion. This was established on the basis of geopolitical dynamics realised through a set of maritime routes that provided an ocean network operating at a global scale between the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century.

The Portuguese presence in Africa had been felt since the 15th/16th century, but this did not lead to effective occupation and colonisation until the mid-20th century. In fact, it was in the 19th century - the “Age of Empire” (Hobsbawm, 1990) - that European hegemonic policies were refocused, largely as a result of the directives issued at the Berlin Conference (1884-5), which had the direct consequence of establishing rules for colonising and governing African territories, particularly the principle of “effective” occupation as a criterion for granting colonial rights. This first demand for colonial travel resulted in a large number of European adventurers, missionaries and diplomats setting off for the interior of the African continent, supported by newly-created organisations such as Geographical Societies, which played a leading role in sponsoring and promoting expeditions, the results of which would be widely exhibited and publicised at the major universal and world expositions. This greatly contributed to the establishment of regular oceanic routes to ensure the movement of settlers to the overseas provinces as well as their return journey to the metropolis. This ascendancy provided a considerable impetus to shipping which, in the mid-1900s, changed from sails to steam (largely due to technological advances resulting from the Industrial Revolution) and saw the creation of the first transatlantic shipping companies.

A second and no less important contribution was that of the great 19th and 20th century European expositions, whether they were entitled universal, world, international or colonial. They made a major contribution to the growth of colonial travel, as they were genuine showcases of these colonial possessions. They began by exhibiting goods and

ethnographic objects, but quickly moved on to include pavilions reproducing local architecture and even villages, incorporating locals, in what constituted actual human zoos. It should be noted that, from the 18th century onwards, progress was seen as a universal force that governments used for their national benefit, and these expositions became veritable places for the creation and dissemination of these representations. What is more, these expositions embodied 19th century ideas about education through recreation, as these places were the best way of “observing” the world, as they brought together the best of each nation (and its colonies). Visiting them was the closest one could get to travelling around the world. The inaugural exposition in London in 1851 included a small exhibit on colonial India. The next event (in Paris, in 1855) even included a colonial section, and at the third (in 1862, also in the French capital) Portugal showcased products from its overseas provinces for the first time. Colonial pavilions appeared at the 1878 exposition and, the year after the Berlin Conference, in 1886, London went ahead with the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition*, with its focus on each colony of the British Empire. In 1889, it was the turn of Paris to mount the first colonial exposition in French history. To highlight this perspective, extensive representations of the overseas territories were set up, with the aim of reproducing in miniature all the resources of the empire, a veritable *tableaux vivant*, with Portugal involved through a colonial section organised by Andrade Corvo and with its items being supplied by the Lisbon Geographical Society. However, it was the 1900 Universal Exposition in Paris that, in taking stock of a century, enshrined overseas empires within a panoramic ecstasy: the *Tour du Monde*, a huge pavilion where visitors travelled around the world, evoking and simulating colonial realities as different as a Chinese pagoda or an Indian temple. Forming part of the foreign landscape brought to these international events was the human portrayal: exotic, it made the picture presented come alive. The genealogy of such expositions is indeed essential to understanding how the desire of metropolitans to set forth spread, giving rise to the development of transport, which in the case of the colonies was synonymous with oceanic navigation.

A third element stimulating the move to the colonies came from the need for raw materials to feed the voracious appetite of the Industrial Revolution back on the Old Continent. This search for untapped resources, which were later to be transformed into consumables in the metropolitan markets, led to the relocation of a sizeable number of investors and administrators and their families. As a result of this massive displacement, the need arose to create infrastructures to receive the new population. Consequently,

technicians from different specialities were called upon to set up and provide resources in these overseas lands, thereby replicating a metropolitan experience within them.

Settled in housing estates (or rural units) served by roads, bridges, railways and with the support of a set of basic services that reproduced models from the capital of the Empire, the new settlers adapted to the *Modus vivendi* of the tropics, and such settlement became permanent. This in turn led to a fourth aspect: travelling for leisure and recreation to neighbouring latitudes.

Strictly speaking, it cannot be said that the four elements listed formed part of colonial tourist travel, but they lay at its genesis, i.e. it was political interests (effective occupation of the colonial land), economic interests (exhibits at world fairs and the need for colonial raw materials to feed the post-Industrial Revolution economy), social interests (the transmigration of settlers and families) and cultural interests (visiting the surrounding areas) that lay at the origin of colonial tourist travel. But in order for this scenario to materialise, a fundamental aspect of colonial travel had to be developed, that is, transport.

2. Corpus

The main destination of Portuguese colonial tourism was Africa, although it also extended to Portuguese India, Macau and Timor, albeit on a smaller scale. This began with steam passenger liners, a product of the Industrial Revolution and the colonial transport of choice during the 19th century. In 1880, the first national maritime company was created, called the *Empresa Nacional de Navegação a Vapor para a África Portuguesa* (National Steam Navigation Company for Portuguese Africa - ENN), calling at ports located in Portuguese West Africa. In the meantime, its competitor the *Mala Real Portuguesa* (Portuguese Royal Baggage - MRP) emerged, focusing on regular connections to East Africa (Mozambique) and India. The year 1889 saw the appearance of the *Companhia de Vapores África Occidental Portuguesa* (Portuguese West Africa Steam Company), which was short-lived. At the beginning of the 20th century, more precisely in 1903, and following the bankruptcy of MRP (in 1893), ENN began to provide regular services to East Africa, increasing its fleet. In 1917, the magazine *Revista de Turismo* stated that “the government of our land has never paid heed to the important maritime problem, always forgetting that it is the greatest factor in developing the colonies”, adding that: “The African colonies may be lacking in shipping routes (...) but for India, Macau and Timor there are none at all”

(Revista de Turismo, 1917, p.113). Perhaps to fill this gap, in 1918 ENN was succeeded by the *Companhia Nacional de Navegação* (National Navigation Company – CNN), which not only provided routes to West and East Africa, but also to India, Macau and Timor, which lasted until 1985, the year in which the company was dissolved (Castro, 2020, p.144). However, that would be in the 1950s: until then, the First Republic, in its dizzying succession of national governments, impeded the establishment of an ongoing policy for the colonial merchant navy, although the Colonial Navy¹ was created in 1912 under the responsibility of the Ministry for the Colonies, which would be abolished in 1926.²

Meanwhile, in 1920, there was an unsuccessful attempt to draw up the first programme linking the merchant navy to the colonies (Imprensa Nacional, 1940, pp.27-28)³ and, in 1934 - already during the *Estado Novo* period - the government appointed a commission that made little progress. It would be necessary to wait until 1952 for the inauguration of the regular maritime route between Lisbon and Macau, with a stopover in Portuguese India, at a time when the first airports were being built in the capitals of Portuguese Africa⁴, which would eventually take precedence over the liners, leading to their slow extinction in the 1980s. Meanwhile, in 1922, the *Companhia Colonial de Navegação* (Colonial Navigation Company - CCN) appeared in Angola, a consortium that would ensure maritime transport between Portugal and its African colonies and, later, transatlantic routes (such as Brazil). Passenger liners such as the *Pátria*, *Império*, *Vera Cruz*, *Santa Maria* (propelled by steam turbines) and the *Uíge* (powered by a diesel engine) implemented the idea of colonial routes, although most of this traffic did not fall under the heading of tourism, and as such it is necessary to understand the mobility of the empire that gave rise to it.

Over the course of a century (from the end of the 19th century until the fall of the Portuguese empire, 1974-5), colonial travel from the “Motherland” to African and Asian geographical areas followed along with the imperial policy advocated by successive governments. In the middle of the 19th century, the Portuguese state took the first individual steps to create agricultural colonies in Angola, which led it to transport several hundred settlers free of charge. At the end of the 19th century, in 1896, passage to Portuguese Africa was made free of charge in order to encourage individuals living in the metropolis to take the initiative to migrate and, in 1907, they were even abolished, to facilitate movement

¹ Law of 10 July.

² Dec. No. 12,694 of 19 November.

³ The deputy Velinho Correia is credited with the earliest programme for a maritime link to the colonies in a report published in the Official Gazette *Diário do Governo*, 2nd series, on 7 November, which was never debated in the Chamber of Deputies.

⁴ The first flights to the colonies took place in 1922 (Brazil), 1924 (Macau), 1925 (Africa), 1930 (Goa) and 1934 (Timor).

within the empire. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 20th century, the white population in the African colonies was relatively small and formed a total of just over ten thousand (Castelo, 2009, p.18) and it is possible to understand this, as, at the time, Africa was not attractive to potential migrants who saw it as a land of convicts and exiles, which was inhospitable, full of dangers and deadly diseases. In the 1920s, the military occupation finalised, expansion of the civil administration and then the Colonial Act (1930) reinforced the migration of qualified civil servants and technicians. But it would be at the end of the Second World War that Portuguese migration (to Angola and Mozambique) peaked, thanks to the economic progress brought about by the rise in the price of colonial commodities through a development model that directly benefited the metropolitan economy. The heyday of this was between the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s and it was during these years that colonial tourism reached its peak in terms of transcontinental travel. This colonial migration was important in that it was from there that the first leisure trips within and outside the colonies took place, in a movement that was never structural but rather residual, with this largely being due to the delay in creating a policy for colonial tourism.

2.1 Colonial Tourism Policy

The creation of the General Agency for the Colonies (*Agência Geral das Colónias* - AGC) in 1924 gave rise to the colonial advertising which publicised the overseas territories in order to encourage colonial travel. The following year, Portugal joined the International Union of Official Travel Organisations (IUOTO), a consultative body of the UN with the aim of increasing and enhancing the free movement of people and establishing a common position among its members on all issues relating to international tourism.⁵ However, imperial tourism would only gain autonomous importance in 1953, with the creation of the *Agência Geral do Ultramar* (General Overseas Agency) through Decree-Law No 38,300 of 15 June 1951, which replaced the AGC (Decree No 9,944 of 29 July 1924). The structure was defined on the basis of Regional Committees, particularly the African Committee, which was split into another, AFTOUR (grouping countries south of the equator with common characteristics) and which included Angola and Mozambique. Another such committee was PATA (Pacific Area Travel Association), which included Macau. These

⁵ In 1925, tourism leaders from various European countries decided to create the International Union of Official Tourism Publicity Organisations, of which Portugal was a founder. After the Second World War, it was renamed the International Union of Official Tourism Organisations (IUOTO) and would later become the World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO).

bodies were prolific in organising a concerted, targeted and effective advertising programme, which included organising talks, producing films and posters, and promoting publications, maps and travel guides. Legally, the genesis of this demand dates back to 1934, the year following the legitimisation of the *Estado Novo* (with the 1933 Constitution), when the government of António Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970) made sure to operationalise colonial tourism through the enactment of Decree-Law No 23,445, of 5 January. This established the first embryonic organisations in the provinces to promote tourism - the *Casas da Metrópole* (Metropolis Houses).⁶ The brainchild of José Pedro Alvares, president of the Portuguese Industrial Association, the Metropolis Houses were intended to create highlights in the colonies of goods and products from the European continent, along with an information and publicity section.

The next step towards the institutionalisation of colonial tourism took place in 1959, with the creation of the Information and Tourism Centres (*Centros de Informação e Turismo* - CIT)⁷ in the overseas provinces, which had its beginnings with the Colonial Showcase Fairs (*Feiras de Amostras Coloniais*) that had sprung up in the 1930s in the African provinces. Co-ordinated by the General Agency for the Colonies (AGC), although under the supervision of the provincial governments, they provided the necessary guidance. At the same time, the legal diploma that created Information and Tourism Centres in the provinces of Angola, Mozambique and India (No 42,194 of 27 March 1959) determined the dissolution of the *Casas da Metrópole* in Luanda and Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) and regulated the transfer of their assets and the assignment of their staff. The same legal diploma instructed the Minister for Overseas Territories to set up similar organisations in the remaining provinces of Cabo Verde, Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe, Timor and Macau, the latter of which was created the following year, in 1960.⁸ The growing importance of tourism in the colonial context explains the constitution and evolution of these (and other) bodies attached to the central government, but it is interesting to see how these lines of action took shape and were experienced in practice by travellers and/or tourists.

⁶ Set up by Decree-Law No 23,445 of 5 January 1934.

⁷ Decree-Law No. 42,194 of 27 March 1959 created Information and Tourism Centres in the provinces of Angola, Mozambique and India and determined the extinction of the Metropolis Houses in Luanda and Lourenço Marques, providing for the transfer of their assets and the re-assignment of their staff.

⁸ Order No 18,111 of 7 December 1960.

2.2 African Practices and the Imagination

The first characteristic of note is the fact that Portuguese colonial travel was not accompanied by a systematic ongoing record - in other words, by a fruitful travel literature - as was the case with English (mainly to India) or French travellers (to Indochina). In order to bridge this gap, it was necessary in this paper to resort mainly to the indirect discourse which was produced, since this is what has helped to provide a clearer perspective of the beginnings of Luso-African-Asian recreational circulation.

The first major point to emphasise is that the main destination of the colonial travel movement was Africa. The justification for this was based not only on the fact that this was the continent closest to the capital of the Empire, but it was also where the national government's greatest economic and geostrategic interests were concentrated. The exploitation of raw materials and the establishment of a colonial administration on a par with other European administrations led the Portuguese Republic to prioritise its possessions in Africa to the detriment of the more distant and also less economically rich territories (such as India, Macau and Timor). That is why most of the testimonies focus on Africa, a mythical exotic place eternally fuelling the Lusitanian imagination.

Although it is only possible to speak of a Portuguese colonial tourism movement from the mid-1920s onwards - as will be seen below - the fact is that the conditions for this had been underway since the late 1800s. That was when the pioneer Francisco José de Lacerda e Almeida (1753-1798), one of the greatest explorer travellers, partially demarcated the limits of Brazil's borders (at the time a colony integrated within the national empire). Later, in 1797, he was commissioned to make the first crossing between Mozambique and Angola. Other explorers would follow in his footsteps in the 1900s, such as Alexandre de Serpa Pinto (1846-1900), Hermenegildo Capelo (1841-1917) and Roberto Ivens (1850-1898), who, in the 1870s and 1880s, dedicated themselves to mapping part of the Portuguese territory in Africa. Despite not having been written from a tourist perspective, it was the knowledge of these (and other) explorers that led to a gradual discovery of the geography, definition and implementation of structures and facilities (road and railway networks, bridges, harbours, civil architecture), as well as the ongoing construction of an imperial subjectivity that would offer a ludic experience of the Portuguese territories in Africa. In the first decade of the 20th century, the scientific mission of the Azorean naturalist Francisco Afonso Chaves (1857-1926) to East Africa, through his Logbook (*Agenda de*

Bordo) as well as his stereoscopic photographic work, described a certain “spirit of the times” in the Mozambican colony. However, it was necessary to wait for the Travel Diaries (*Diário de Viagens*) of António Jervis Pinto Basto (1862-1946) (Basto, 1910-1) – naval officer and aide-de-camp to King Carlos I (1863-1908) and King Manuel II (1839-1932). In them, the commander describes - and paints through many watercolours - the circumnavigation voyage undertaken during the two-year period of 1910-11, which passed through the Portuguese colonies of Africa, India, Macau and the coast of Timor, explaining points of interest, particular features of the navigation and coastlines, as well as mentioning some of the accommodation available for visitors.⁹ In the following decade - 1910/1920 - Aristides de Sousa Mendes (1885-1954), consul-general for Zanzibar (1911-1918), provided a preliminary perspective on recreational enjoyment of the island which, although at the time a British protectorate, had been part of the Portuguese empire for almost 200 years (1503-1698). In practice, the island was an important trading post in the Indian Ocean, where the Portuguese community was made up mainly of merchants who traded in spices. During the years the family stayed in Zanzibar, they toured not only the capital, Stone Town, but also around the island on “long walks along the northern beaches” (Mendes, 2017, p.68).

It only became truly possible to talk about the beginning of testimonies with a character, that if not touristic, were at least playful and recreational, in the 1920s. Armando Augusto Gonçalves de Moraes e Castro and António Pereira Cardoso - both colonial officials - published “A journey through the Portuguese colonies” (*Uma viagem através das colónias portuguesas*) in 1926. An epistolary novella, it was intended to be the first “guide to the overseas domains” (Castro, 1926, p.13) as it covered Cabo Verde, Guinea, São Tomé, Angola, Mozambique, India, Macau and Timor, with the ultimate aim of entering the Colonial Literature Competition¹⁰ organised for the first time that year by the General Agency for the Colonies. In this work, the preface by Ernesto de Vasconcelos (1852-1930) states that the authors had published a first edition of *Portuguese Colonies (Colónias Portuguesas)* in 1898, a book that “the press said little or almost nothing about, because the colonies were not yet of great interest (...) while the same did not happen in England where the *Times* filled a column with flattering appreciation for the work which, fortunately, is now in its third edition” (Castro, 1926, p.11). In 1925, the year before the

⁹ His training with the Spanish watercolour painter Enrique Casanova (1850-1913), master painter to King Luís I (1838-1889) and King Carlos I, was reflected in the quality of his illustrations, which were exhaustively descriptive and showed great technical mastery.

¹⁰ Order No 4,565, of 12 January 1926.

national publication of Castro e Cardoso, the journalist and writer Julião Quintinha (1886-1968) had left for Africa, embarking on a journey that would last more than two years – and which would provide him with copy for five works, published between 1929 and 1933, all of which were submitted to the Colonial Literature Competition. In them, the author corroborated the idea that Mozambique’s capital could offer the most suitable conditions for tourism, in writing: “Life in Lourenço Marques is like that of the best colonial cities (...) where there is no shortage of English people, Germans, Italians, Russians, Dutch, Greeks, Swiss, French, Hungarians, Chinese (...), as well as people from the Transvaal, millionaires from the mines who reside luxuriously in Polama, and old *Boers* who set up camp on the beach (...) all enamoured by the scenery offered by the beautiful Portuguese beach on the Indian Ocean (...), the bazaars that ruin the *touriste* (...) and the picturesque places in the surrounding area that issue an invitation for a pleasant stroll” (Quintinha, 1929).

Still during the 1920s and related to Mozambique, ten Descriptive Photographic Albums of the Mozambican Colony (*Álbuns fotográficos e descritivos da Colónia de Moçambique*) by José dos Santos Rufino from 1929 provided a rare example of the promotion of an overseas destination that went far beyond simple imperial propaganda. The albums show images of a colony certainly on the rise and a point of passage for foreign visitors, particularly Americans on their way to the Transvaal (Rufino, 1929a, p.86).

In one of the *Albums* (Vol. 3), the author mentions Polana beach and the hotel of the same name, stating that it was frequented all year round not only by settlers but also “by tourists from the South African Union” (Rufino, 1929b) and was served by a tram line direct from the city, which always stayed close to the seafront, making it a pleasant holiday resort. “In Lourenço Marques, the habit of ‘getting some fresh air’ dates back to the country or sea excursions widespread in Europe since the 19th century. The Lisbon bourgeoisie’s preference for places like Sintra or Estoril served as a model for the ‘invention’ of Polana beach and other seaside resorts in Mozambique” (Correia, 2019, p.6). This means that colonial excursions had taken on new features, both in terms of preserving and reproducing symbolic resources, as well as social distinctions based on the metropolitan paradigm. But it should not be thought that this practice was something characteristic of this part of so-called Portuguese East Africa: this was just something that was found on the beaches neighbouring Durban or the more distant South African Cape Town and was mimicked there. The visual narrative of the ten *Albums* leaves no room for doubt: Lourenço Marques

- the pole of attraction - and the main provinces were prepared to welcome foreign and metropolitan tourists who arrived there. The photographs of maritime pleasure trips show how much the ideal of being able to go for a dip in the ocean reproduced the metropolitan imaginary, but it did not stop there: there were images of tropical landscapes alongside others that showed the process of modernisation underway. One important aspect was that the *Albums* were published in three languages (Portuguese, English and French), showing a clear concern to reach a target audience not only made up of Portuguese, but also of neighbouring South Africans, Rhodesians and Europeans. The Europeanised habits and customs of frequenting rest and recreation resorts replicated in Mozambique were reserved exclusively for the settlers and the beach was both a therapeutic and recreational social space. The presence of “boys”¹¹ on the beach was recorded in the photos and corresponded to socially marginalised individuals, as they were not there to bathe, relax or “take in the air”, but as servants. The normative mechanisms of colonialism prevented the “assimilated” and the indigenous from enjoying these. Perhaps the photographer framed the *boys* to portray a multiracial society in the tropics, but the fact was that they were forbidden from enjoying the tourist facilities of the white elite. Their presence should not be seen as proof of racial democracy, but as an example of the hierarchy of races within the colonial order. Those young men were tolerated because they were needed to look after the guests and visitors at the Hotel Polana. We should not forget that black wage earners were in practice almost slaves – they earned extraordinarily little (Cleveland, 2023) - they entered through different doors than whites, and could not frequent the places where they worked as customers. As a result, and like other records, José dos Santos Rufino’s photo albums repeat clichés that reflect a conservative view of colonial society, albeit disguised by a certain modernity, both in the structures they reproduced and in the very medium in which they were shown, namely photography, an objective capturing of an external reality that was considered truly modern.

With the legitimisation of the *Estado Novo* in 1933 through the referendum on the revised Constitution, colonial tourism became a resource which local government would prioritise, and in this way imperialism was covered with a pleasant veneer to dilute the perverse effects of Portuguese hegemony. In those years, Mozambique became a destination of choice due to the growing (and significant) number of visitors from South

¹¹ Employees of the families of the colonists who spent the summer by the seaside.

Africa as well as travellers from the Americas. In addition, the Portuguese settlers were seeking to experience “Europe in Africa”, which meant that Mozambique offered a set of tourist facilities that were remarkably similar to those they were used to on the Old Continent, with the difference being its exotic scenery and the more permissive habits for holidaymakers.

This focus on promoting the European market and bringing it closer to/reproducing its existing leisure infrastructures was the opposite of what, at the same time, many European colonisers were promoting in their cross-border campaigns. Their appeal lay in pitching a visit to the “Real Africa”, that of hunting and indigenous encampments, the savannah and the wild spirit of the pristine continent, with Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) being a case in point. This does not mean that the Portuguese administrators did not publicise hunting in its colonies, as can be seen in issues of the magazine *Portugal Colonial*,¹² but it primarily shows a focus on a more restrained attitude, reflecting the country of “gentle habits” governed by Salazar. This differentiated advertising positioning seduced a large number of Western travellers (Europeans and Americans) who, while wanting to set foot in Africa, still wished to feel at home. In other words, they wanted to travel and experience the exoticism of Africa without giving up the comfort they were used to. And this conciliation was possible - and successful - in the Mozambican colony, but it was not the only example.

The existence of holiday cruises to the colonies in the 1930s shows the institutional will of the *Estado Novo* to promote colonial travel. In 1935, the 1st Holiday Cruise to the Colonies was organised, at the initiative of the magazine Portuguese Word (*Mundo Português*). Salazar’s government understood the nationalist scope of this venture and gave it its full support and protection, and patriotic Portuguese rushed to sign up as passengers in a kind of “delegation from the motherland to the distant sons and daughters of the fatherland” (*Mundo Português*, 1935). In practice, the aim was to make the students and teachers who embarked on this journey aware of Portugal’s greatness in the world through a journey displaying national and international sovereignty. Its precise purpose was to raise funds and enhance cultural subordination. It would achieve this by reiterating the defence of its colonial policies as a driving force behind the mobilisation of the Portuguese to emigrate and settle in African territories. The journey included the colonies of Cabo Verde, Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe and Angola, and was undertaken with the cooperation of

¹² Issues 52 and 54, 1935.

the local authorities (cardigos, 1936). Still in 1935, a Hunting Excursion to Angola took place, also organised by the General Agency for the Colonies (AGC), the “first major international hunt aiming to publicise tourism”, as mentioned in the magazine *Portugal Colonial* issues 52 and 54, the latter of which read: “International tourism, having exhausted all the thrills offered by the old world, is beginning to seek out Africa (...) and there are already thousands of tourists who every year seek out Africa and Asia and organise many hunts there”, further on concluding: “Some tourists provide an impetus to others. And while one may come back disappointed from a tourist trip in Europe, one certainly will not come back disappointed from a hunting trip to Africa (...) and the Portuguese colonies - at least in Angola and Guinea - are not as expensive in terms of time and money as many assume” (Galvão, 1935). These trips were encouraged by the Portuguese shipping companies themselves, which reduced prices for those looking for this type of activity for two or three months of the year, helping to “form a tourist chain that would grow in strength”.

Two years later, in 1937, the 1st Students' Holiday Cruise from the Colonies to the Metropolis took place, which was also an initiative of the *Mundo Português* magazine. This time, some of the students, children of settlers from Angola and Mozambique, were given the opportunity to visit the Historical Exhibition of Occupation in Lisbon and then travelled from the north to the south of the country (Roteiro, 1937). The aim of both activities was to embody the collective imagination of both the colony and the mother country, which was largely achieved. At the turn of the decade, in 1940, and on the occasion of the Centenary Commemorations of the founding of the Portuguese nation in 1140 and the restoration of independence in 1640, the *Cruzeiro dos Velhos Colonos de África* (Cruise for the Old Settlers of Africa), promoted by the Minister for the Colonies Francisco Vieira de Machado (1898-1972), provided an opportunity to “bring back to the metropolis a few hundred former empire employees” from Cabo Verde, Angola and Mozambique (Cunha, 1940, 335). The travellers visited various places in Portugal (such as the monastery at Batalha, Alcobaça, Coimbra, Aveiro, Espinho, Porto, Guimarães, Braga, Curia, Fátima and Sintra) on a tourist excursion to further emphasise the greatness of the country, according to the nationalist criteria advocated by the *Estado Novo*.

In 1941, the Brazilian Arnon de Mello published *África: viagem ao Império Portuguez e à União Sul-Africana* (Africa: a journey to the Portuguese Empire and the South African Union), a volume in which he underlined that “at night, everyone has fun in the dancing

halls and in the casino” (Mello, 1941, p.137). Earlier, in 1932, an article published in the magazine *Portugal Colonial* entitled Lourenço Marques "the Blue Coast of Southern Africa" mentioned that the capital of the colony of Mozambique offered “tourism in the noble and heightened sense of the term” (Aguar, 1932, pp.28-30).

In 1952, Lourenço Marques hosted the *Fourth International Congress of African Tourism* (Boletim Geral Ultramar, 1952) which showed the emergence of colonial tourism as part of the political propaganda of the Portuguese government. At this meeting, Marcelo Caetano (1906-1980), chairperson of the Portuguese delegation and formerly Minister for the Colonies (1944-47), stated the following about colonial tourism: “A country should not only make it easier for those who visit it to contemplate its natural beauty, admire its constructive endeavours and enjoy the comfort of its hospitality, but also understand the way its inhabitants live, the character of its society and even the particular features of its government and administration” (Boletim Geral Ultramar, 1952, p.84). This quote shows the awareness that colonial tourism facilitated the creation of a positive image for overseas possessions, thereby justifying, to those who endeavoured to do so, the maintenance of the empire at a time when the other European hegemonic powers were ceding their colonies to new independencies. This was the recognition that “colonial tourism had significance as a diplomatic tool” (Cleveland, 2023, p.23). Some have considered this to be “prestigious imperialism”, characterised more by historical traditions than by obtaining foreign exchange (Andrade, 2004, pp.960-1).

The *Anuário do Turismo do Ultramar (Overseas Tourism Yearbook)* which was published during 1959-60, offers some clues about the structuring of overseas tourism, although limiting its focus to the 1950s. In it, José de Freitas begins by stating that “writing about tourism in the Portuguese Overseas Territories was difficult, not because of a lack of reasons to do so, but because of the abundance and diversity of material” (Andrade, 1959, p.1). The reality was that it was indeed not easy, but for another reason, namely the absence of an effective and well-structured policy capable of spreading colonial ideology among the population in the metropolis. As well as this aspect there was also the lack of tourist facilities in the colonies of the empire: only in Mozambique (Lourenço Marques and Beira) and Macau was it possible to find accommodation at an international level. This did not encourage foreigners to experience the Portuguese colonies and the Portuguese themselves tended to avoid leaving their comfort zone. Meanwhile, legislation was passed on natural heritage, the greatest attraction at the time as far as the African provinces were concerned.

The *Yearbook* provided information on regular shipping lines, aviation, places to visit and tourism support centres: in the province of Portuguese India, casinos, libraries, palaces, galleries, viewpoints, temples and waterfalls were listed, while in Macau and Timor the list was more modest. However, this praise for the overseas tourist attractions concealed the structural weaknesses of a government that did not take care to implement a comprehensive tourism campaign, limiting itself to merely providing notes on a scenario that was constantly being formed.

In 1966, the Minister for Overseas Territories, Joaquim da Silva Cunha (1920-2014), warned that it was necessary to “complete the inventory of the tourist assets of all the provinces by drawing up their respective charts, as a starting point to design a general plan regarding tourism policy in the overseas territories” (Cunha, 1966, p.14). The idea was to bring the metropolitan and provincial services together in order to organise a concerted policy for mutual tourist publicity that would maximise both destinations. A boost was given to colonial architectural projects for tourism purposes and the restructuring of road and rail networks in an initiative coordinated by the Overseas Colonial Urbanisation Office (*Gabinete de urbanização Colonial do Ultramar*), which was set up in 1944.¹³ Alongside this, the General Agency for the Colonies (AGC) tried to organise a range of colonial tourism advertising which, among numerous activities, included the publication of brochures, guides and posters highlighting the tourist qualities of the colonies. However, these activities would cease upon the outbreak of the colonial war, thus rendering null and void the implementation of an anachronistic programme that was out of step with the world’s geopolitical reality.

As a complementary influence, the presidential trips to the colonies should also be mentioned. Although these trips were not for entertainment or tourism, but for propaganda purposes, the visits by the Head of State were essential in promoting overseas geographical areas. In 1938, the Head of State Óscar Carmona (1869-1951) undertook his first colonial trip to the provinces of São Tomé and Príncipe and Angola, which resulted in the work by Fernando de Pamplona (1909-1989) *Ao Sol do Império* (Under the Empire’s Sun),¹⁴ a title with a clear tourist connotation. The following year, in 1939, Carmona would visit Cabo Verde and Mozambique.¹⁵ During the Second World War, presidential trips were

¹³ Decree-Law No 34,173 of 6 December 1944.

¹⁴ Available online at: <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/ShowImage.aspx?q=BGC/BGC-N163&p=246>

¹⁵ Photographic albums of presidential trips (1939-40). Available online at: <http://memoria-africa.ua.pt/Library/VisitasPresidenciais.aspx>

interrupted and resumed in the 1950s. In 1954, Craveiro Lopes (1894-1964) travelled to the provinces of São Tomé and Príncipe and Angola; in 1955 he travelled to Guinea and Cabo Verde and, in 1956, to Mozambique. In the 1960s, it was Américo Thomaz's (1894-1987) turn to visit Angola and São Tomé and Príncipe in 1963, Mozambique and Príncipe Island in 1964, Guinea and Cabo Verde in 1968, and finally São Tomé in 1970. As for Marcelo Caetano, in 1969 he would travel to Guinea, Angola and Mozambique. António José de Almeida (1866-1929) travelled to the former colony of Brazil in 1922, and was followed by Craveiro Lopes in 1957, Marcelo Caetano in 1969 and Américo Thomaz in 1972.¹⁶ These were the highlights of a propaganda policy focused on reaffirming Portugal's sovereignty and legitimising the empire in the post-World War II period. What makes these trips relevant to the analysis undertaken throughout this paper is the fact that their wide dissemination in the press encouraged some individuals in the metropolis to include the geographical areas of the empire within their leisure excursions. This was the case of Francisco Carvalho who, travelling by plane, toured Mozambique, a "tourist poster (...) offering all the services and facilities to receive tourists" (Carvalho, 1954, p.12). As part of a line of ongoing activity, in the 1960s "Mozambique became the biggest tourist destination in southern Africa" (Cleveland, 2023, p.2), which should not imply that other areas were not also successful, as indeed was the case with Angola.

During the colonial times, the tourist potential of the largest colony on the West African coast was acknowledged, but its development did not take place due to the lack of attention given to the sector and, as early as the 1960s, the colonial war definitively prevented any more permanent tourist development, having in fact diminished whatever there was. The 1959-60 *Overseas Tourism Yearbook* mentions the various tourist resorts in the main cities such as Luanda, Sá da Bandeira, Moçâmedes, Malange, Lobito and Benguela, drawing attention to hunting tourism and sports fishing and even suggesting excursions by bus, car or train. There were more than seventy accommodation units, including hotels, pensions, inns and guesthouses, as well as cinemas, theatres, nightclubs, dancing halls and cabarets, and amenities. In 1972, Angola offered fifty-seven hotel units, with Luanda, Huambo, Lubango and Lobito offering 54.4% out of a total of almost 4 000 beds.¹⁷ The war closed down some of the tourist facilities. The same *Yearbook* also highlighted this

¹⁶ Also worth mentioning are the trips made by the Colonial Ministers Bacelar Bebião (1894-1967), Armindo Monteiro (1896-1955), Vieira Machado, Marcello Caetano, Sarmiento Rodrigues, Raul Ventura (1919-1999) and Adriano Moreira (1922-2022) who, as part of a policy of continuity, interspersed occasional trips to the far reaches of the Portuguese empire with the Heads of State.

¹⁷ Data from the General Consulate of Angola. Available online at: <http://www.consuladogeralangola-porto.pt/informacao-geral>

accommodation and their daily rates, as well as the historical and natural heritage of Cabo Verde, Guinea and São Tomé and Príncipe.

As far as Cabo Verde was concerned, *Arquipélago* - a weekly newspaper run by the Centre for Information and Tourism (CIT) - provided a reliable source of information on local colonial tourism. Published between 1962 and 1974, it was promoted by Adriano Moreira, then Minister for the Overseas Territories, during his visit to the province. Many of its articles were devoted to extolling the qualities of Cabo Verde for tourism, such as the ability of tourism to attract capital, boost employment and raise people's standard of living. Seeking to deconstruct the image of aridity associated with the islands, the texts extolled their diverse landscape, sport fishing and spearfishing (Rovisco, 2019, p.556). Connections to the outside world by sea were provided by Guinea-Bissau vessels that left Lisbon twice a month, arriving in Cabo Verde about a week later. From 1964 onwards, the Portuguese airline TAP made a weekly stopover in the archipelago and despite its limitations (the terrible state of the roads, the poor supply of water and electricity and the lack of accommodation units), foreign tourists began to arrive in Cabo Verde, starting with cruise ships that called at the ports of Mindelo and Praia. However, there were "almost no mentions of Portuguese tourists, and their absence is lamented and a warning of the need to create a national chain [of tourism]" (Rovisco, 2019, p.557), which came to fruition in 1966, with the arrival of the cruise organised by the F.N.A.T.¹⁸ in S. Vicente which was bound for Luanda. The following year, 1967, the die had already been cast and the islands had been chosen to host a major project to turn Cabo Verde into an alternative destination to the Canaries, and as such the Ministry for the Overseas Territories sent a delegation from the General Agency for the Colonies (AGC) to assess Cabo Verde's tourism conditions. The tourist offer, despite its growth, continued to provide an obstacle to the real development of the archipelago as a sun and beach destination with paradisiacal attributes. "Cabo Verde, more than in any other African colony, had its promotion adapted to narratives denying the war and praising one of the main ingredients of Luso-tropicalism, namely the mixing of different races in the Portuguese overseas territories" (Rovisco, 2019, p.567).

As for Guinea-Bissau, the scenario would be different. With a prominent position as an international stopover for the passenger liners that served Angola and Mozambique, the

¹⁸ The National Foundation for Joy at Work (*Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho*), set up in 1935 by Decree-Law 25 495 of 13 June.

fact that it was surrounded by French and British colonies and in an area where there was a notable US diplomatic presence, made it a nerve centre for colonial administration. Perhaps that is why Gilberto Freyre's (1900-1987) visit to Guinea in 1951, at the invitation of the Portuguese Minister for the Overseas Territories, Sarmento Rodrigues, was of a "dual nature - official and tourist" (Massa, 1998, p.229), and would in fact begin in Guinea, putting it on the colonial tourism map. This trip was to become a milestone in the country's policy for its overseas territories, as it was during that trip that Freyre put forward his quasi-theory of Luso-tropicalism,¹⁹ which was soon used by the regime in its propaganda and foreign policy. Indeed, the international situation demanded this, as there was a need to affirm national unity in the face of external pressures in favour of self-determination for the colonies. Nevertheless, colonial tourists rarely headed for Guinea-Bissau, perhaps because this province of the Portuguese empire was "a model of colonialism but without colonisation" (George, 2023), having been the first on the African continent to gain independence. At most, the stopovers made by the passenger liners that travelled to Africa gave passengers a glimpse of a coastline dotted with islands containing unusually rich natural heritage.

As for the São Tomé and Príncipe archipelago, it was the world's largest cocoa producer before the First World War, and received a state visit from Crown Prince Luís Filipe (1887-1908) in 1907, in what was the first and only trip to the colonies by a Portuguese monarch. The tour made its first stop in São Tomé, a place where external criticism had been running high, due to the British accusations of slavery on its agricultural plantations.

Three decades later, the presidential trips of 1938 and 1939 also included the archipelago, but data is scarce on metropolitan travellers following in their wake. It is known that between the 1940s and 1970s, potential businesspeople and family members of plantation owners²⁰ from São Tomé visited the islands, but little is known about their stays. Through literature and indirect sources, it can be understood that more than "the high mortality due to its deadly climate, it was the economic and political circumstances that determined a low level presence of Europeans" (Nascimento, 2000, p.381). Julião

¹⁹ Freyre's Luso-tropicalist theory was created around Portugal's relationship with its tropical colonies and was initially formulated on the basis of the particular characteristics of the Portuguese colonisation of Brazil. In general terms, it affirmed that the Portuguese were able to adapt to the tropics and that their ability to relate to local cultural and ethnic groups was manifested through a mixing of races, based on Portugal being formed from the Portuguese people coming into contact with Moors and Jews in the Iberian Peninsula during its first centuries of nationhood.

²⁰ Estates producing cocoa and coffee for export dictated how the physical and human landscape was structured and utilised, which was greatly marked by this extensive agricultural production. The characteristics of the buildings and land use were colonial in style, with these forming micro-cities with a range of facilities, infrastructures and forms of housing depending on their economic importance.

Quintinha, on his trip to the island in the 1920s, stated that life took place around the administrator's house, which was unmistakably grand and had an adjoining garden where visitors could stroll and socialise (Quintinha, 1929, p.21). On a rural scale, the “*roça*”, properties with plantations/agricultural estates, reproduced the social form of life at the heart of the empire, despite being confined to home life, as entertainments outside their walls were practically non-existent. There was the General Carmona sports park (inaugurated on the occasion of the visit of that president in 1939), sporadic parties at the Government Palace, the Império cinema, the Sarmento Rodrigues Stadium, and the Radio Aero Club with a ballroom (all built in the 1950s and 1960s). In the final phase of colonialism, “the administrator of the *roça* would organise celebrations at his house, accompanied by music played by Angolan musicians” (Bialoborska, 2020), in an attempt to entertain guests on an island where recreation was not widespread.

2.3 Beyond the African Continent

However, the tour of the empire was not limited to Africa. Of course, the further the distance on any colonial journey, the less frequent the routes and the number of passengers, and this is understandable, as travelling a greater distance meant spending more time and money, two factors that were crucial to the choice of destination for settlers living at the centre of the empire.

In 1935, the magazine *Portugal Colonial* (Santos, 1935, p.11) reported on the Lisbon-Timor-Lisbon air route with stopovers in India and Macau, noting that travelling to the empire in the east meant taking regular foreign routes due to the lack of such routes from Portuguese shipping companies. This aspect would present an obstacle to transporting those from the metropolis to India, Macau and Timor, but it would not be the only one, as the chronic lack of investment and publicity meant there was little traffic to the Portuguese Asiatic-Oceanic territories.

The first colony to gain independence from the Portuguese empire was that of Goa, in India, in 1961. It was in Portugal's “Pearl of the Orient” (along with Daman and Diu) that Gilberto Freyre “drew up and developed the concept of luso-tropicalism” (Avelar, 2012, p.249) in 1951, a decade before Goa's emancipation from the Portuguese empire. For Freyre, Goa encapsulated the example of a Luso-tropical civilisation based on Catholicism

and the mixing of races into a romantic vision of Portuguese colonialism, of interest to Salazar's imperial ideology.

In 1952, on the occasion of the inauguration of the regular maritime route between Lisbon and Macau, the Minister for the Overseas Territories, Sarmento Rodrigues (1899-1979) made a stopover in Mormugão (Oliveira, 1953, p.12), where a technical committee - including Baltazar de Castro (1891-1967), inspector of National Buildings and Monuments, and six other specialised workers who had accompanied him - had arrived with the mission of continuing the restoration work on monuments in India. 1952 was also the year of the commemorations of the fourth centenary of the death of St Francis Xavier (1506-1552), which formed the pretext for inaugurating the Mandovi hotel, the best hotel ever built in Goa until then. In 1959, the Lisbon government set up the Indian Information and Tourism Centre (CIT) (note 8), which drew up a detailed plan, aiming to “beautify” some of the beaches (Breda, 2010, p.31), but the constraints resulting from the closure of the border between India and Goa the following year limited (and then rendered void) any tourist influx.

With regard to Macau, in 1919, the Tourism Commission²¹ was set up, serving as the embryo for the colony's tourism services, and in 1931, the Tourism Agency.²² However, the First Development Plan for the Portuguese colonies (1953-1958) did not make any progress in the area of tourism, although there were some signs of change in Portuguese tourism management, such as the Tourism Statute (1952), the approval of the Hotel Law (1954) and the organisation of travel, gambling, rent-a-car and camping agencies (1956). The eleven thousand kilometre distance from the decision-making centre in the metropolis had a noticeable effect and it was not until 1962 that there was an observable shift towards tourism, when an exclusive gaming concession contract was signed between the Portuguese government and the Tourism and Entertainment Company of Macau (*Sociedade de Turismo e Diversões de Macau* - STDM), an action that would lead to considerable development for Macau (Piçarra, 2017, p.74).

As for Timor - the most distant province of the Portuguese empire - it was also the most forgotten. The few travellers to the territory found an island where the Portuguese administration's governance model did not disturb the customs and habits of the traditional society, and where the necessary infrastructure to welcome visitors was lacking. In an

²¹ Provincial Order No 40 of 27 February.

²² Official Bulletin No 19 of 9 May.

attempt to attract potential tourists, the General Agency for the Colonies (AGC) produced two small volumes: one entitled *Timor*, in 1950, and another, entitled *Timor, a small monograph*, in 1965. The year before (1964), *Tourism: A Guide to Continental Portugal, the Islands and Overseas Territories* (*Turismo: guia de Portugal Continental, Insular e Ultramarino*) had been published by the *Empresa Nacional de Publicidade*, the first guide to include this territory. In 1961, Miguel Spiguel's film *Tourist Notes for Timor* (*Apontamentos turísticos de Timor*), also sponsored by the General Agency for the Colonies (AGC), was released, featuring items on the modernisation of Dili, artisanal fishing, the beauty of the area, buffalo rearing, traditional dances and cockfights, the Maubara horsemen, the peaks of Ramelau, hunting scenes and the decorations of traditional houses (Piçarra, 2017, p.134). In 1966, it was the turn of the Minister for Overseas Territories, Joaquim da Silva e Cunha, to state that "only recently had the respective (tourist) services been set up in Timor" (Cunha, 1966, p.13) and in 1971, in one of the reports on the CIT director's visit to the province, three of its tourist attractions were mentioned: fishing, hunting and its natural beauty (Oliveira, 2013, p.28). However, the lack of tourist infrastructures made it impossible to travel to Timor for leisure, a reality that would continue until 1975, when independence was proclaimed.

In a summary made by the Minister for Overseas Territories, Joaquim da Silva e Cunha, at the closing session of the 2nd National Tourism Congress in Lourenço Marques in 1966, it was felt that there were a shortage of resources to achieve coordination between the General Agency for the Colonies (AGC) and the Information and Tourism Centres (CIT) due to the "priority nature of expenditure on the defence, security and peace of the territories (...) which, even so, cannot serve as an excuse for inertia" (Cunha, 1966, p.13). An inventory of the tourist assets of the overseas provinces had yet to be finalised (and was in progress), which was the starting point for drawing up a general plan for the tourism policy for the overseas territories. This was not limited to infrastructures and operating methods, but also dealt with vocational training, complementary mechanisms (communications, access routes, development of cultural and sports programmes) and coordinated promotion. Given this, there continued to be Development Plans, but tourism was only introduced in the Interim Plan (1965-1967) in a chapter that recognised it as "a valuable operational instrument (...) for internal financial stability and the external solvency of the Portuguese currency" (Pina, 1988, p.169). In the next edition - relating to the 3rd Development Plan (1968-73) tourism would be considered a "strategic sector for economic

growth” (Pina, 1988, p.169). It was finally beginning to be realised that tourism had a significant value in the balance of foreign payments and could be a source of foreign currency (as a part of colonial tourism) at a time when a European elite was starting to abandon leisure travel to the colonies of the last existing empire, Portugal, due to the colonial war.

At the same time, and on a domestic level, marketing for travel to the colonies was largely conducted through national expositions in the main cities of the imperial centre which - like their European counterparts - included extensive representations of overseas territories. This was the case with the First Portuguese Colonial Exposition held in Porto (1934) or the Great Exposition of the Portuguese World in Lisbon (1940), to name the most significant. These highlighted the best of each colony in a parade of imperial power, seducing a settler from the mother country to set foot in the areas beyond the sea, and inviting them to set off on a journey.

3. Conclusion

In the period ranging from the mid-1920s to the loss of the empire in 1974-75, Portuguese colonial tourism was organised, developed and then done away with, having become a considerable source of foreign currency for Portugal. Throughout this time – of around half a century – travellers (both Portuguese and foreign) and tourism employees from the Portuguese colonies reinforced, albeit from different perspectives, stereotypes of an “exotic” Africa (Cleveland, 2021), experiencing and perpetuating an ideology that was already extinct in the rest of the European hegemonic colonial world. This anachronism provided tourist travel to the Portuguese empire with its own specific features at various levels:

- Social: Accompanying the growing flow of tourists (national or foreign) to the colonies under the national flag, some of the natives took advantage of employment opportunities in tourism to obtain social mobility in colonial Africa, shaping interracial interactions and power relations to different degrees and types.
- Economic: Investments made in tourist structures and amenities were rarely amortised, largely due to the absence of a long-term strategy for overseas tourism, which was more concerned with the anachronistic legitimisation of the empire than with its enjoyment and profitability.

- Cultural: Instrumentalised by the authorities as an identity journey under the same banner, colonial tourist travel offered a set of local cultural exhibition devices such as museums, with their collections displaying local artefacts, popular activities (craft markets) and codified activities (staging of indigenous dances, the theatricalisation of legends), in addition to the hybrid natural and built heritage that could be used for tourism, such as dams, waterfalls, river trips, visits to indigenous villages, among many other aspects particular to each colony, such as hot springs or caves. Among the latter was the case of Khodwze or Chimbarata (Mozambique), where tourist excursions were organised from the town of Inhaminga during the colonial period.
- Recreational: Colonial tourism was essentially structured around nature activities (safaris, beaches, hunting and fishing) and the appropriation of space was created in the image of places of leisure in the metropolis (such as Estoril, Figueira da Foz or Granja) albeit set in a tropical environment and exotic atmosphere. Like their counterparts built in other parts of the imperial world of Old Europe, they were originally intended to serve Portuguese colonisation and were exclusive to it.

In any event, in the history of contemporary Portuguese colonial tourist travel, the overseas territories were points of attraction for an experience that, in certain aspects and in certain places, was ahead of metropolitan society. This can be explained by the fact that, far from the imperial capital, the control and surveillance of those in charge was looser and the pace of life was more “relaxed”. Furthermore, the indigenous population did the domestic work, so the settlers had more free time to mingle outside their domestic space, which gave considerable prominence to socialising and leisure time. Through spending less time in homemaking (because they had their chores done by the locals), they spent more time socialising outside, in clubs and on outdoor terraces. Under the auspices of the tropical climate, relationships were, if not less hierarchical, at least more informal or flexible in terms of codes of conduct. This scenario proved attractive for tourists, a magnet that in those days was only accessible to a social stratum made up of settlers, a few of those who were “assimilated”²³ and foreigners.

In 1974-75, the empire returned to the Lisbon docks and with this, the end of Portuguese colonial tourism occurred, at a time when mass tourism was beginning to spread throughout

²³ Status of indigenous people who had attained a level of “civilisation”, in legal terms, which theoretically qualified them for full rights as Portuguese citizens.

the western world. In the meantime, most of the Portuguese moved away from the former overseas territories due to subsequent civil wars, internal power struggles or simply bad memories of the colonial war, preferring other destinations. It is only in recent years that there has been a consistent and continuous revival of interest in these destinations, largely due to the rediscovery of a shared history and, above all, an emerging heritage, which is often recovered, reconverted and reassessed.

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