

AZORES

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The nine beautiful islands of the Azores rise up in the middle of the Atlantic, some 1,000 miles off the coast of Portugal. Despite this isolation, the Azores, a politically autonomous region of Portugal since the revolution of 1974, have been caught up in the global web of international politics and economics since they were first settled over 500 years ago. The Portuguese, returning from the African coast, discovered the islands in the early 1400s, and settled them during the 15th and 16th centuries. The islands were ruled by Spain as a result of the Castilian domination of the Portuguese throne from 1582 until 1642, witnessed battles between the United States and Britain during the War of 1812, were used as a base by Dom Pedro in his fight for the Portuguese throne in the first half of the 19th century, and were the site of much intrigue during the Second World War. They have historically linked Europe and the Americas through their role in shipping, cable communications and trade, have furnished the British and US governments with military bases and have played an important part in global military strategy throughout the 20th century. Beginning with 19th-century whalers and continuing until the present day, numerous Azoreans seeking greater economic opportunity have settled in communities throughout North America. Indeed, more Azoreans and Azorean-Americans live in the United States and Canada than in the islands themselves, prompting the North American communities to be dubbed the 'tenth island'. Today, as a result of the first decades of autonomy and Portugal's entry into the European Union, the Azores are experiencing an increased standard of living and significant economic and cultural change.

This bibliography of primarily English-language publications is designed for those who are relatively unfamiliar with the Azores as well as more serious researchers. It includes details of some 800 books, journal articles, publications and theses. Those interested in the islands' history, politics, literature, contemporary culture, unique natural features and wide-ranging migration patterns will find the volume to be an essential reference tool.

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Introduction

The nine islands of the Azores (Açores) emerge from the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, where they rest at the tops of volcanic mountains formed some 1,000 miles off the Portuguese coast. Despite this geographical isolation, and their historical place at the political periphery of the Portuguese state, the Azores have been a focal point for international politics, economics and geo-strategy since they were first settled over 500 years ago. The cultural features of the society are unique. Forged by the original Portuguese settlers of the once uninhabited islands – and including some Flemish, Moors, Africans and Bretons – and influenced by others – Brazil, Britain and particularly the United States – the society has developed so that Azorean culture and Azorean identity, though firmly established in its Portuguese roots, has grown into and flourished as its own particular entity.

In 1976 the Azoreans' unique cultural and social identity, as a people with their own interests and issues, was reflected in a new political status of autonomy. In the wake of the 25 April 1974 revolution, the Constitutional assembly of the post-dictatorship Portuguese state granted the Azores status as an Autonomous Region of Portugal. This gave the archipelago the right to elect its own Regional Assembly and its own President who would have not only administrative but full political control over Azorean interests and affairs. Ratified in 1980, after 500 years of remaining at the political whim of Continental Portugal and Europe, Azorean autonomy would stand to finally recognize, in a tangible form, that the particular economic, social and intellectual interests of the Azorean people could be separate from the Portuguese state of which they are a part.

Geography, geology and natural features

In Portuguese an Açor means 'hawk' and in the most accepted myth, the early discoverers of the archipelago named the islands after the birds they believed they saw flying overhead. They were probably mistaken, as hawks do not exist

in the islands, and the birds in question were presumably kites or another bird which resembles the hawk. Whether it was a mistake or not, the name remained for the nine Azores islands found in the middle of the Atlantic some 2,000 miles from New York and 1,000 from Lisbon. The islands cover 375 miles as they run along a northwest to southwest diagonal between north $36^{\circ} 55' 33''$ and $39^{\circ} 43' 23''$ latitude and west $24^{\circ} 46' 15''$ and $31^{\circ} 16' 24''$ longitude. Distributed in three groups, the Azores are composed of the Oriental Group, comprising São Miguel and Santa Maria, the Central Group of Terceira, Graciosa, São Jorge, Pico and Faial, and the Occidental Group of Flores and Corvo.

Extending from the ocean on the peaks of volcanic mountains, the Azores are geologically situated on the Azores microplate, which comes together along the triple junction among the African, Eurasian and American plates. Potassium/Argon ratios indicate that the formation of the vast bulk of islands dates from the late Miocene to the Pliocene (approximately 7 mya [million years ago] to about 0.5 mya), although volcanic eruptions have continued to add land, including the Capelinhos volcano which augmented the area of Faial during an eruption over 1957-58 and an ephemeral island which formed between Terceira and São Miguel in the 19th century. Volcanic activity remains a prominent feature of the Azores, and there are no less than eleven active volcanoes on eight of the nine islands.

When originally discovered, none of the islands had any large land mammals, but vegetation, avian fauna and unique insect and marine life was, and remains, abundant. A natural experiment in biodiversity, the Azores is also the home to several unique species of animals. In a volcanic vent field off the coast of the Azores, for example, a variety of life, including bacteria, crustaceans, molluscs, tube worms, and fish, exists in conditions of extreme heat and darkness that would be toxic to most other organisms on the earth's surface. Animals existing in such extreme conditions could be important in explaining how life might exist in similar environments on other planets. The semi-tropical climate of the Azores, the result of trade winds and currents, provides the islands with weather that produces a lush green carpet of vegetation, and a fertile rich land that is easily cultivated.

São Miguel is the largest of the nine islands, covering 750 square kilometres, with neighbouring Santa Maria covering 97 square kilometres. In the central group, Terceira covers 382 square kilometres, Graciosa 62 square kilometres, São Jorge 246 square kilometres, Pico 300 square kilometres, and Faial 173 square kilometres. Flores, in the Occidental Group, covers 143 square kilometres while tiny Corvo covers only 17 square kilometres. The highest point in the Azores, and indeed in the whole of Portugal, is the peak of Pico (which means 'peak' in Portuguese) which measures 2,351 metres at its summit.

Figures from recent census data indicate that the population of the Azores is around 240,000, with 150,000 of these residing in São Miguel. However, this population figure does not include the large number of Azoreans living outside the archipelago. Although difficult to calculate exact numbers, it is clear that throughout the history of migration to North America over the 20th century there have been even more Azoreans living beyond the archipelago than within it.

Political history and development

From the sea and for the sea: the Azores discovery and settlement

There are few certainties in regard to the Portuguese and European discovery of the Azores. The most generally accepted date for Portuguese discovery is 1432, when Gonçalo Velho Cabral happened upon Santa Maria when trade winds blew him far into the Atlantic on his return voyage to Portugal from the African coastal explorations conducted under the guidance of the Dom Infante Henrique. But the true early history of the Azores is one that is clouded and murky.

Several early maps, from throughout the 14th century, depict what some interpret as the Azorean archipelago. Notably, the Florentine Atlas of 1351 demarcates four island groups, which have been taken by some to be the Azores, Madeira, Cape Verde and the Canaries. Furthermore, the Catalan Atlas of 1375-77 is interpreted as depicting an island group believed by some to demarcate the archipelago. There is further evidence that the existence of the Azores was known much earlier, even in the first half of the 14th century, as what appears to be the archipelago is drawn on the 14th-century Genoese Portolan maps.

Although these maps were among the most reliable of their time, it is difficult to consider them as accurate proof that the islands were known prior to Gonçalo Velho's discovery. These 14th-century maps are far from conclusive, as numerous myths surrounding the islands of the Atlantic during the early period of European maritime exploration were often revealed as erroneous upon further investigation by the increasing navigational enterprises throughout the region. In one example of the absurdity of some of these myths, Columbus wrote about a floating, untethered island group that he claimed was reputed to disappear and reappear in different locations each time they were encountered. In numerous cases, documented evidence of islands and archipelagos which were noted and meticulously recorded on charts and described in the logbooks of maritime explorers proved false as later voyages never encountered them, demonstrated that they had been erroneously demarcated or proved that the islands and archipelagos never existed in the first place.

One of the most enduring myths of the Azores discovery is the assertion that Carthaginian mariners, prior to 1000 BCE, had landed on the island of Corvo, leaving evidence of their presence in the form of a statue of a seated horseman pointing to the west, as well as a vaseful of Carthaginian coins that were said to have been deposited on the island by these early sea-going explorers. As archaeologically enticing as these stories may be, upon serious examination the evidence simply does not hold up. The statue of the seated horseman has never actually been found, and it exists only in legend.

Although there is further evidence for the existence of the coins, they do not prove that there was a Carthaginian presence. They were said to have been found in an earthenware jar in 1749 on Corvo before passing through several hands and finally coming into the possession of a Swede, Johan Podolyn. It was concluded that because the coins were found on Corvo, they must prove that the Carthaginians had landed on the island before leaving the vase and its contents behind. As the coins dated to 1000 BCE, it would be evidence that the Carthaginians were also present during this time. However, the coins really prove nothing. Even if the coins were actually found on Corvo, which is impossible to verify, they were quickly removed from the archaeological context that could have been used to ascertain when they were deposited on the island. Without such a context, it is impossible to determine whether the coins were left by the Carthaginians or, if they were deposited, for example, by an 18th-century Portuguese coin collector, either in a deliberate hoax or simply as a result of losing the vase.

Another prominent legend regarding the undocumented history of the Azores is that the archipelago are the lost islands of Atlantis. Although this is a popular myth, there is less archaeological evidence available to prove this argument than there is to prove a Carthaginian presence.

These many myths aside, there are some dates and facts with a reasonable degree of certainty in this early period of Portuguese exploration. The first official documentation regarding the existence of the Azores is dated 2 July 1439, and states that seven islands had been discovered and that at Prince Henry's request sheep had been released in the archipelago.

Dates attributed by 16th-century historian Gaspar Frutuoso indicate that the islands were discovered by Gonçalo Velho who encountered Santa Maria in 1432 before claiming it at the behest of the Infante. Although this is the most commonly accepted date, other reconstructions of the history of discovery point to 1427 as the date of original discovery. A letter penned in 1439 by the Catalan Gabriel de Valsequa indicates that the islands were discovered in 1427 by Diogo de Silves (although the writing on the letter was unclear and there were many explorers to whom the discovery could be attributed). Citing historical inaccuracies surrounding the 1427 date, the Portuguese voyages of discovery and Valsequa's letter itself, many scholars discount this year as the true date of Portuguese discovery of the Azores. But whether or not Gabriel

Valsequa's letter is adequate evidence that the Azores were discovered in 1427, it does provide further documentation for the known existence of the archipelago in 1439, the year in which the letter was written.

After Santa Maria, the next island discovered was São Miguel and the third Terceira (originally known as the Island of Jesus Christ, Terceira means 'third' in Portuguese). From Terceira the rest of the Central Island group of Graciosa, São Jorge, Pico and Faial were encountered. It was not until 1452 that the most westerly islands of Flores and Corvo were eventually encountered by Diogo de Teive.

Settlement of the Azores was never carried out with the objective of undertaking a colonization that would lead to demographic expansion nor to support the exploration of natural resources. Discovered as a result of trade winds that forced ships returning to Portugal from the African coast to swing wide out into the Atlantic, the Azores settlement was intended to provide a population that would support the objectives of the Portuguese navigation and maritime commercial enterprises.

The Portuguese maritime empire was predicated upon the ability to control the sea and strategic access to it, rather than the conquering of large populations over grand expanses of non-Portuguese territory. When the Spanish and Portuguese were negotiating the 1494 Treaty of Tordesilhas, which effectively split the world into two spheres of influence between the two Iberian states, it was the Spanish who were most interested in claiming vast tracts of overseas territories in the Americas. It is true that the Portuguese were adamant that the line of demarcation be extended farther from the Cape Verde islands than was originally agreed upon (to 370 leagues west), and were therefore able to lay a claim on Brazil six years after the treaty once Brazil was discovered in 1500. Although it has been suggested that the Portuguese knew about the existence of Brazil prior to 1500 during negotiations for the Treaty of Tordesilhas, such a scenario is unlikely, or at least cannot be proved, as there is no documentation of the fact. But even if the Portuguese did know, it is clear that there was no initial agenda for overseas colonization. The wood found in Brazil was initially the primary motive for Portuguese travel to this land in the early 16th century, as it was used for furnishings and supplies in support of further overseas exploration and trade.

Historians also point out that Columbus, whose wife was a Portuguese noble woman, was rebuffed by the Portuguese King in his request to be outfitted for his overseas exploration, not because the King did not believe that the world was round, nor that Columbus would be unsuccessful in his journey, but rather because the King was confident that Portuguese navigators and astronomers had accurately determined that it was much quicker and shorter to sail around the Cape of Good Hope to reach Asia (where Portuguese trading interests lay) than to sail west to go east. Columbus had grossly miscalculated the circumference of the globe as much smaller than it actually was and the

King's astronomers were well aware of this fact. In 1488, just before Columbus' voyage, Bartolomeu Dias had already rounded the Cape of Good Hope and the Portuguese were confident that subsequent voyages would prove successful in completing the oceanic route around Africa to India for the silk and spice trade.

The small population of Portugal was not suited to the type of overseas expansion undertaken by other European nations in the ensuing centuries. Even when the Portuguese did occupy territories in Africa from the 15th century and in Asia from the 16th century, they would attempt to control only modest geographic locales in order to provide points of entry for peaceful trade with surrounding populations or to ensure security in the maintenance of Portuguese access to sea routes. After initial failures in conquering populations in Africa, the Portuguese changed tactics, adopting a general strategy of engagement whereby they would create trading partnerships with encountered peoples. In one extreme example, the Portuguese state encouraged officers and administrative officials to marry women in local populations. It was the strategy of the crown that the unions would produce children with significant ties to their mother's country, but also with loyalties to the Portugal of their fathers.

Therefore, as an initially unpopulated territory, the Azores would present quite a different challenge for Henry the Navigator and the Portuguese, and not only because they had little previous experience in colonizing an unpopulated land (Madeira provided some practice). The Azores were not only devoid of human populations, but also large mammals. Upon arrival, in order to survive, the early colonizers would have had to bring with them beasts of burden and animals intended for consumption. Rather than adopt such an unwieldy process of constantly supplying and re-supplying the islands, Prince Henry adopted the strategy of releasing such animals – cows, bulls and sheep – in the islands several years prior to human colonization, so that upon the arrival of human settlers, there would already be sizeable animal resources to sustain them.

When the Infante appointed Gonçalo Velho to undertake the early colonization of the islands, it was clearly Henry's intention that the Azores would serve Continental Portugal in its overseas initiatives. The Infante felt that the Azores could act as a trans-Atlantic base of operations from which ships could be re-provisioned and relaunched in maritime voyages along the western coast of Africa and on the way back from India. This attitude toward the islands adopted by Henry from the beginning – that the role of the Azores and their population would be to serve the needs of Continental Portugal – would characterize Portuguese relations with the islands throughout the next five hundred years. That the Azores were not settled with the goal of creating an overseas colony, but rather as a result of their geo-strategic position in relation to naval routes to Guinea, up and down the African coast and to India,

would also come to affect the development of the archipelago within regional and global history.

Henry, as regent of the Azores, appointed a mostly impoverished nobility to serve in the administrative feudal system that he imposed on the islands, placing the control of each island into the hands of a Captain-Donatary. The Captain-Donatary was a true feudal lord who swore loyalty to his regent and was responsible for the governmental administration of his island. Among his responsibilities were the ability to levy and collect taxes and to apply and enforce the law. Although it was required in principle that for some measures, such as capital punishment, the approval of the sovereign be granted, because the islands were so isolated from the centre of Portuguese power, and even from one another, the Captain-Donatary was truly the law supreme on each island. In some respects, the attitude of the Azores toward autonomy may be traced back to this system, as the Captains-Donatary had to strike a peculiar balance between their loyalty to their far-removed liege lord, the objectives of support to the Portuguese trade, of which they saw few personal rewards, and the reality of daily life in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean.

Using the settlement of the Azores as a blueprint and trial case for their later Brazilian colonization, the Portuguese sent a diverse amalgam of populations to the archipelago. The predominantly Portuguese settlers included nobles with little wealth and even less opportunity on the mainland than they would have had in the Atlantic, and many dispossessed Portuguese from the Algarve region, Madeira and Minho. In addition to the majority Portuguese population were also many Jews, Spanish, Bretons, Moors, Africans and a sizeable population from Flanders. Although the climate of the Azores was not unlike that of the south of Portugal, their extreme isolation made it difficult to populate and not all of the early settlers were voluntary, including prisoners, the criminally convicted *degradados* and the impoverished. Early settlement was predominantly composed of migrating family groups, although many individuals, primarily the *degradados*, also numbered among the families. With the exception of Flores and Corvo, which were not occupied until the beginning of the 16th century, the seven other islands had well-established populations by the close of the 15th century.

Making up a large portion of the early non-Portuguese settlers were the Flemish who were to play an important role in the early population of the Azores, notably in the Central Group of islands. During the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453), the Infanta Isabel, sister of Henry the Navigator, was married to Philip, the Duke of Burgundy. As Burgundy was allied with Britain, battles in the Burgundian county of Flanders left many homeless and others wanting desperately to leave in order to avoid the conflict and the hardships imposed by the war. Responding to the entreaties of his sister, Henry provided for the displaced Flemish, granting islands in the Central Group to Flemish Captains-Donatary with the stipulation that they populate those islands.

Notable Flemish donees were Jácome de Bruges (Josué van den Berge) on Terceira, Jorge d'Utra or Dutra (Josse van Hurtere) on Faial and Guilherme da Silveira (Willem van der Haghe) on São Jorge. Some influences, in imported art objects and in certain windmills there, can be traced to the Flemish, but the Flemish themselves, together with the many other non-Portuguese settlers, were quickly absorbed into the majority Portuguese population.

The crossroads of the Atlantic

During the 15th and throughout the 16th century, the economy of the Azores revolved around subsistence crops and some export products, but the archipelago's primary role was to re-provision ships traversing the Atlantic. Subsistence activities, such as fishing, animal husbandry and flax production (for clothing), produced the foodstuffs and goods necessary to sustain the resident population. Exports throughout the century would be the first of a recurring pattern of Azorean dependence on monocultures, which left the archipelago subject to the wishes of the Portuguese administration and their mediation of the international markets in which Azorean products were sold. The Azores were originally involved in sugar cane and wheat production, but these were to give way eventually to pastel, a plant used as a dye, which was the Azores' primary export crop by the end of the 16th century. In addition, the Azores exported cereal grain, honey and wood products during the 15th and 16th centuries.

A recurring theme in the history of the archipelago is the conflict that developed between the Azores and Continental Portugal, resulting from the Azorean reliance on such monocultures and the subordinate status of the Azorean economy to that of the mainland. This was the case with a protest to the Monarchy in 1562, in which Azoreans complained that at times of shortage, cultivating wheat for export to the mainland left the islanders without enough wheat to take care of their own needs.

The economic mainstay of the archipelago, however, was its place as a mid-Atlantic re-supply post in support of overseas expansion, to furnish ships on voyages to and from Africa, Europe, India and the rest of Asia with wood, water and foodstuffs. In addition, defences against pirates were coordinated from the Azores to help protect ships in the area. The Azores had already become a prominent centre of trans-Atlantic commerce during the 16th century, a place that they would hold along with the other Atlantic islands through the 17th century and without which not only would the shape of Atlantic trade have been altered, but relations within the Portuguese empire and between it and the international community would also have been drastically different.

During this period, there was no unifying nor centralizing force within the islands, as the feudal system, governed by the Captains-Donatary, remained in

place. Although many historians write that class differences were muted among the Captains and those within their sphere of control, as a result of the initially harsh conditions in the islands, it is certain that the landed proprietors held the advantage. If there was a modicum of equality in the early stages of settlement this did not last for long. However, it was not the Captains-Donatary who were gaining the most wealth from the trans-Atlantic trade, but those in the mainland, as any riches coming to the Azores remained there only temporarily, before passing to the continent.

This fact was reflected in the lack of public investment during this period, when little attention was paid to infrastructure, unless it was directly related to the Azores' primary role in commerce. Investments in the islands that were not related to overseas activities were generally internal to Azorean private initiative.

Mainland Portugal was most concerned with building on its overseas successes in Africa and Asia as it augmented its presence in Brazil; the Azores and other Atlantic island territories served to support those endeavours. Developments in the late-16th century were to highlight the importance of the islands in the geo-strategic necessity for control of the Atlantic. With the wealth of four continents, the prosperity of the Portuguese maritime empire seemed boundless. The success of Portuguese trading enterprises in Africa, India and throughout Asia were predicated upon the model of Portuguese maritime dominance with minimal overland military activity. It was a shift in this general policy in the 16th century that would lead to the abrupt faltering and decline of the Portuguese dominance in world commerce and trade.

In 1578, the young, brash Portuguese King Dom Sebastião undertook an ill-fated campaign in North Africa. Attempting a conquest of Morocco, Sebastião led an invasion into Alcázar Quibir where he was soundly defeated by the Sultan 'Abd al-Malek. The military battle left Sebastião and the Portuguese nobility who fought with him dead or missing on the field. Sebastião's great-uncle, Cardinal Henrique, who was acting as Regent for his nephew, assumed the crown, but upon his death two years later there was no acceptable heir. In 1580 Philip II of Spain (Philip I of Portugal) then invaded his neighbour and claimed the Portuguese throne, thereby incorporating the Portuguese territory and treasury into that of Spain, where they would remain until 1640. The body of D. Sebastião was never found and the King never returned, giving rise to the Utopian concept of Sebastianismo in Portugal with the belief that the King would one day return to rid Portugal of the Spanish and restore the Empire.

Upon the usurpation of the Portuguese throne by Philip II, factions rose up against the Spanish King, primarily led by Dom António, who had much support in the Azores. Although the noble classes of the Azores tended to support the Spanish King, among other classes, notably on the island of Terceira, there was a resistance to the Spanish dominion.

In 1581, the Spanish sent a new Governor-General to the Azores, Ambrósio de Aguiar Coutinho, who was not widely accepted by the Azoreans; and it was to the Azores that Dom António came to organize his resistance. Battles between the Azoreans and the Spanish occurred as the Spanish set up their regional administration and mechanisms of control in the archipelago. Perhaps the most renowned battle against the Spanish was the Battle of Salga, during which the Spanish were beaten back to the sea by a group of farmers when the Spanish attempted to land in a rural pasture area on the Terceirense coast. It was at this battle that the Terceirenses used their bulls in a (likely apocryphal) defence strategy. It is told that the approaching Spanish army was sent into disarray when the farmers gathered together their bulls, set their tails on fire and chased them into the invading forces, causing the confused and disconcerted Castilian army to retreat back onto their ships.

Although the Azorean response, primarily occurring on the island of Terceira, was significant in keeping the Spanish from both maintaining a firm control of the islands and from subsequently being able to use them to establish supremacy in the Atlantic, the local insular uprisings were not the most consequential factor in the difficulties presented to Spanish authority.

General scholarship about the resistance is often written from a perspective emphasizing Azorean nationalism, claiming that the insurgency pitted the Azorean people against the Spanish occupation. However, notable recent scholarship has demonstrated that the Azoreans were able to fight for as long as they did only as a result of military and economic aid from England, France and Holland. These traditional enemies of Spain hoped to sever the spine of the Spanish Atlantic Empire by gaining influence in the archipelago, perhaps even with the intention of later occupying the islands for themselves.

Numerous battles occurred between the British, the French and the Dutch, on one side, and the Spanish on the other. Elizabeth I was most adamant in her belief of the importance of the Azores for control of the Atlantic, and the British were particularly active in their efforts against Spain. British naval and military operations also included the dispatching of military advisors Captain Henry Richards and Captain John Sachfield to aid the defence of the Azores, and the granting of letters of marque to privateers charged with attacking Spanish ships (these letters granted a person the right to capture ships and cargo of the nation that wronged them without fear of reprisals from that nation). The Spanish responded by using Terceira, the island that was presenting the greatest challenge to their domain, as their control base. Philip II also placed a formidable military force in Terceira's largest city, Angra do Heroísmo, as well as the installation of a Governor-General in the city.

Although the British, French and Dutch supported naval operations against the Spanish in the Azores into the 1590s, Philip II prevailed. His reign, and the subsequent reigns of Philip III (II of Portugal, 1598-1621) and Philip IV (III of Portugal, 1621-40; the Spanish were to retain control of the archipelago

until 1642), would have numerous consequences for the development and economy of the islands, and not all of these consequences were necessarily negative. With changing loyalties, the Azores lost England as its primary market for pastel and the uncertainty caused by the threat of military activities interrupted and thwarted much trade. But Spain's attitude towards the Azores was somewhat different than Portugal's had been, and although it was clear that the primary purpose of the islands was to support Spanish overseas expansion (in this way making it similar to the Portuguese), the Spanish had a greater interest in the internal development of the islands than the Portuguese previously had, at least on the island of Terceira. The Spanish were to build some of Angra's most prominent architectural features and introduced the Terceirenses to the *tourada de praça* which grew into that island's grand tradition of bullfighting in the ring.

In 1640 the Duke of Braganza was crowned as King João, signalling the return to Portuguese sovereignty and the expulsion of Castille. However, the Portuguese maritime Empire was a shadow of its former self. Overseas territories remained, but the treasury had been depleted during the Philips' reign. In 1642, after a siege of more than a year, the Portuguese expelled the Spanish from the Monte Brasil fortress and the Azores, and by 1654 the Captains-Donatary had been returned to power.

When scholars discuss the history of the Azores in relation to the decline of the Portuguese maritime Empire at the end of the 16th century and in the early 17th century, they often assume that the decline of the latter led to a subsequent decline in the Azores prominence in trans-Atlantic commerce and navigation connecting Europe to the Americas. This, however, was not the case. As was true of the Spanish dominion in the Azores, for which the islands remained a focal point for geo-political manoeuvring, the 17th and 18th centuries saw the Azores remain at the economic and military crossroads of the Atlantic. Recent scholarship demonstrates that once Portuguese power began to wane and falter, the Azores never lost their role as the navigational and commercial link between the continents, but rather the archipelago served that purpose for the Dutch, the French and predominantly the British, instead of just the Portuguese.

The Pombaline reforms and the Liberal monarchy

Upon the restoration of the Captains-Donatary to their previous administrative and political power in each island, the Azores were again under a decentralized system of governance. This was to change with the ascension to power of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, who was granted the title of Marquis de Pombal under King José in 1770.

The reforms instituted under Pombal in 1766, designed as part of a broader plan which aimed to re-establish Portuguese control and

influence in regional and global commerce, centralized the mechanisms of governmental power throughout Portugal. This had numerous consequences in the islands. The first and most sweeping change for the Azores was the replacement of the Captains-Donatary with a centralized form of governmental administration through which a Captain-General appointed by Lisbon would administer the archipelago from Angra. Daily administrative problems and functions were all to be dealt with on Terceira, with individual islands thereby giving up their local autonomy. Because of the islands' isolation, each one had become accustomed to a tradition of *de facto* autonomy in their daily affairs. Therefore, when Pombal established the first of a succession of Captains-General, they were naturally rebuffed, as traditional centres of power based within each island were denuded in favour of the centralized system. Furthermore, the Pombaline edict to expel the Jesuits and close their religious convents and monasteries, which was carried out in order to diminish the church's competition for political power, presented a great offence to the ultra-religious Azoreans. It was the centralization of power advocated and implemented by Pombal in these reforms that would number among the reasons for Azorean support of the Liberal revolt of 1820, particularly on São Miguel.

The first half of the 1800s was indeed marked by revolt and counter-revolt, with the Azores playing a prominent role in the battles over the Portuguese crown between the Liberal constitutional monarchist Dom Pedro and the Absolutist monarchist Dom Miguel.

When Napoleon's army invaded Portugal in 1807, Maria I gathered the royal family and her court and fled towards the Brazilian colony where they would establish the first and only European empire to be controlled from the Americas in its new capital of Rio de Janeiro. By 1809, the French had been expelled from Continental Portugal and upon the death of Maria I her son João IV took control, declaring the unification of Brazil and Portugal and choosing to rule from Brazil until 1821. A revolution for Liberal Constitutionalism, based in Oporto, forced João IV to return to Portugal where a constitution was drafted in 1822. Initially attempting compromise, João IV's son Dom Pedro, who assumed the throne upon his father's death in 1826, soon became an advocate for a constitutional monarchy in direct conflict with his brother Dom Miguel who claimed the throne as an absolutist.

The ideas behind the Liberal revolt on the continent, which was based in Oporto, spread to the Azores when a group of dissident intellectuals and writers were exiled on São Miguel. However, Micaelense support of the Liberal position had perhaps less to do with the belief of its major Azorean proponents in the righteousness of the Oporto cause than it did with anger at the Micaelense subjugation to the central administration of

Terceira that remained in the archipelago since their imposition during the Pombaline reforms. With the installation of the Captain-General, who ruled from Terceira, came a subsequent loss of Micaelense control over their own island affairs, and many Micaelense business and political interests were dissatisfied with this secondary role. Their opposition was to a certain extent ironic, because the majority of Micaelenses were traditionally in favour of church and absolute monarchy; in supporting the Liberal Revolt of 1821 on São Miguel, Micaelenses were not necessarily pitting the Azores against the continent, but rather rebelling against the Captain-General of Terceira and, by proxy, Lisbon for having given control and domain over their land to their neighbouring island. The traditional, religious, conservative Micaelenses were probably not strong adherents of the goals of the Oporto movement in embracing the liberal ideology, but rather were more interested in freeing themselves from their administrative subjugation to Terceira.

In 1822 the royal court acquiesced to a new Constitution, dividing the archipelago into three administrative branches: Ponta Delgada was the seat for the Oriental Group of São Miguel and Santa Maria; Angra do Heroísmo was the seat for the Central Group of all islands there but Faial; and Horta was the seat for Faial, Flores and Corvo. However, this new administrative system was to be short-lived, as the Absolutist revolt of 1823 brought the Captain-General back to the Azores, once again re-establishing a centralized administration. In 1828, when Dom Miguel proclaimed himself King Miguel I and the church endorsed his legitimacy, elements within the Azores refused to recognize him as rightful King. When Miguelian forces embarked in 1829 in Praia da Vitória on Terceira, they were defeated by Liberal troops. (The name of the town was changed from Vila da Praia to its current name as a result of the victory.)

In his efforts to regain the Crown, Dom Pedro arrived in the archipelago in 1832 where he was received by the Azoreans and provided with arms and ships in support of the Liberal cause. From the Azores Dom Pedro launched his assault of the continent, resulting in victory in 1834 and the subsequent exile of his brother, the defeated Dom Miguel.

But the issue of Azorean administration was not entirely settled. With Dom Pedro's death in 1834, the subsequent power struggle in Continental Portugal restored a conservative government to power. The Azores found themselves little better off after the Liberal revolt than they were before it, as the new administrative scheme adopted by the conservative government divided the Azores into a region that was administered by a Counselor Prefect installed in Angra do Heroísmo, with São Miguel and Horta to receive Sub-prefects that would be subordinate to the Counselor on Terceira. After subsequent harangues with the Monarchy and changes

in national administration, in 1836 the Azores were again divided into three administrative groups.

Autonomous movement of the 1890s

The 19th century was a period of great investment in infrastructure, public works and internal communications in Continental Portugal, yet little of this reached the Azores and the other Portuguese insular territories. Furthermore, the lack of continental support for educational initiatives (in 1891 there was an eighty-two per cent illiteracy rate in the islands), an adequate and fair justice system, social welfare and public health initiatives, as well as the development of ports and structures necessary for the growth of insular commerce instilled a feeling of isolation and second-class status *vis-à-vis* the continent among many Azoreans, in particular the Micaelenses.

During this period most initiatives in public works and internal infrastructure were undertaken by private citizens, such as José do Canto who helped to create a public library and inspired or led many other municipal and infrastructural improvements, including parks and the dock of Ponta Delgada. It was this feeling of isolation and the sense that the benefits of the Azores were enjoyed by Portugal without Lisbon sharing a proportional responsibility for their internal development which gave rise to the autonomous movement in the 1890s.

Prior to the 1890s a slow progression of events and minor revolts had been building up to the organization of what would become the Azores' first successful major autonomous movement. In the 1840s, a series of small revolts in São Miguel enabled local municipal authorities to gain a limited degree of control in their internal affairs. In 1869 a tax revolt, occurring on Faial and São Miguel, resulted in the burning of tax records and the imposition of military order. But these isolated events of insular dissatisfaction were eventually to lead to an organized movement in the 1880s, which arose as the result of a series of political and administrative decisions that Lisbon imposed on the archipelago. In the 1880s, circulation of the Azores metallic coin was discontinued and replaced with the Portuguese coin, but at a lesser value. This, and the gradually increasing circulation of Portuguese paper currency, had the effect of decreasing Azorean economic power *vis-à-vis* Continental Portugal. During this period, the Lisbon monarchy cited specious economic reasons in an attempt to abolish the High Court in the Azores, which had been created by Dom Pedro IV. If they had been successful, this would have effectively removed all juridical decisions from local powers and placed them under the auspices of the mainland. In 1892, Lisbon abolished the local municipal governments and embezzled the revenue which had been used for public works and cultural institutions such as museums.

However, there was a final blow against Micaelense business interests which was to foment an organized response to the continental administrative powers. Following the destruction of the orange crop, the Azores had become increasingly dependent on alcohol production as its primary source of export revenue. When the Portuguese Minister Mariano de Carvalho approved a special law that created a Portuguese monopoly over the alcohol industry, it allowed for the Azorean factories to be expropriated and Azorean alcohol to be sold abroad at prices set by Lisbon, rather than those who were producing it.

The press raised great objections, particularly Gil Mont' Alverne de Sequeira, who raised his voice and pen against this unfair measure. His effective arguments rallied a population that had long felt they were subordinate to an overseas power little concerned with their well-being. Political leaders, journalists and intellectuals gathered to create a committee to defend and advocate the interests of the Azores. The autonomous movement was established.

The committee enumerated what it felt were the major problems within the Azores administrative structure and presented a redress of grievances to Lisbon. It is important to note that unlike the later autonomous movement, which occurred after the Portuguese 25 April Revolution of 1974, the 1890s movement was primarily concerned with lessening the centralized administrative control of the mainland and achieving a greater degree of bureaucratic control in their own economic and administrative affairs, rather than entirely developing their own institutions of regional political power.

When the continental press scoffed at the archipelago and Lisbon ignored the redress of grievances presented to them, the movement was only spurred to greater action. Newspapers were founded with the express goal of gaining administrative autonomy and coalitions were formed among previously competing interests which were now united under the goal of autonomy. Azorean Deputy Aristides da Mota, who won the election on an autonomy platform, presented the Parliament with a decentralization project, whose aims included granting general autonomy to the Azores.

The success of the campaign for autonomy came about as the result of a lessening of the party distinctions that had existed between republicans and progressivists in favour of coalitions intended to support Autonomista candidates and help them to win seats as Parliamentary deputies. Sensing the growing pressure from the archipelago and probably in an attempt to stop the Azoreans seeking full independence should they once again be rebuffed, the Parliament granted the right of the Azorean districts to petition for autonomy in 1895.

Far from the sweeping reforms that would grant the Azores true political autonomy after 25 April 1974, the law originally passed by Parliament on 2 March 1895 and modified on 12 June 1901 only granted the Azores a greater

degree of administrative control over internal affairs. It provided for a civil governor to administer the governmental functions through a Junta Geral (General Junta) and divided the archipelago into more localized spheres of influence. The ultimate goal of the movement was to augment the role of Azorean business interests, but it ended by highlighting the notion that Azoreans should not be subject to a centralized power in the handling of their own economic affairs.

The 1890s witnessed another major landmark in Azorean history as the trans-Atlantic telegraph cable was laid through the islands, connecting Europe and the United States. Some argue that the telegraph cable of 1893 was laid in order to 'keep tabs' on the Azoreans during that politically turbulent time. Of course plans for the cable had been in place since 1855, and although this theory is not terribly cogent, there is no doubt that as a result of the cable, closer attention could be paid to the day-to-day activities within the Azores. On the other hand, the Azores would also be able to remain in touch with the world beyond the archipelago. For the first time since Gonçalo Velho first began settling the islands in the mid-15th century, the Azores had immediate contact with the outside world. That the cable extended to the Americas as well as Europe would be significant, as the great period of Azorean migration to the Americas was in its nascent stages.

It was therefore with expectation that the Azores faced the new century, no longer completely subject to the whims of the far-away seat of national government in Lisbon, and far less isolated than they had been prior to the installation of the telegraph cable. However, a few years later, power struggles in the far-off mainland would again envelop the Azores, putting the archipelago's future in doubt once more.

20th-century geo-politics: the end of the Monarchy and Salazar's Estado Novo

The following period saw those gains made toward Azorean autonomy gradually eroded. The Republican movement in Portugal toppled the Monarchy, first by shooting King Carlos and his heir Luís Filipe in 1908 and then by forcing his successor, a younger son, Manuel II and his family to flee the country in October 1910. Micaelense Teófilo Braga would serve as the first provisional President of the Republic before being succeeded by the first elected President, Manuel de Arriaga from Faial.

That these two Azoreans were in power in Continental Portugal at this time is ironic when one considers that the Azores lost a large measure of control and authority during the Republican period. Francisco d'Athayde Machado Faria e Maia pleaded the cause of Azorean autonomy to the new government but to little avail. With the Proclamation of the Republic on 5 October 1910, the Lisbon government had already begun to slowly remove local

administrative and financial control of the islands in favour of increased centralization.

The disintegration of the Republican Party in Portugal, due to fierce political battles and nagging economic problems within the nation after the First World War, led to the 1926 military coup that would make António de Oliveira Salazar Prime Minister and effective dictator of Portugal for some forty years. A professor of economics who originally served as the Finance Minister for Portugal, Salazar was to introduce and maintain a distinctly Portuguese brand of fascism that he passed on to his successor Marcello Caetano when he went into a coma from a brain haemorrhage in 1968 (from which he would never recover, dying in 1970), a fascism that would last until the dictatorship was overthrown in 1974.

When Salazar was given control to reform the economy, first as Minister of Finance in 1928, then as Prime Minister in 1932, insular Portugal became ever more subordinate to the whims of mainland Portugal. In 1938, Salazar's Parliament approved a law in which it was stressed that it would be 'contrary to the public good' to foster 'the disintegration of the state'. This decree was in part directed at the Azores and relegated the islands to the status of the Provincial districts of the mainland. Salazar maintained further control of the islands, as Azorean officials were appointed by and beholden to the state.

The history of the Azores in the 20th century under the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships is one in which the Azores were repeatedly used as a bargaining chip in international relations. The Portuguese were able to exchange the use of the Azores for military purposes in order to maintain their sovereignty, develop their strategic initiatives in circles of international power and maintain their grip on the Portuguese colonial possessions in Asia and Africa.

Throughout the 500-year history of the archipelago, military operations have been a part of the Azorean experience. Whether staging battles fought by the Spanish against the British and French during the Castilian dominion, outfitting American privateers in the American Revolution, or witnessing battles between the United States and Britain in the War of 1812, the Azores have been the location of numerous oceanic battles. During the 20th century, when much of the success of the two World Wars depended on the control of Atlantic shipping routes, the Azores again assumed a prominent geo-strategic position in global politics.

During the First World War, the Germans had designs on the Azores, hoping to annex the archipelago and turn them into a base of operations for their Atlantic U-boat campaign. US President Wilson was wary of German efforts and warned against allowing the Germans to establish a base in the archipelago. When the Portuguese declared war against Germany, the United States was invited to establish a naval base in the archipelago, which became instrumental in the fight against German submarines.

The Second World War was to witness increased politicking between Portugal and the Allies and the Germans, as both parties were keen to establish their bases in the Azores and to keep them out of the hands of the other. To keep the Azores from falling under German influence and to prevent Germany from gaining control of the Atlantic, Roosevelt was on the verge of committing US troops to battle and entering the war prior to the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbour.

Although Portugal was officially neutral, the nature of that neutrality was constantly in question throughout the war, and although the Portuguese publicly supported neither Axis nor Ally, behind the scenes they attempted to negotiate with all sides in order to gain national advantage. Salazar would eventually use the islands as a bargaining chip with the United States in order to maintain the Portuguese colonial Empire. The British and the United States had sought control of the Azores since the beginning of the war as they well knew that the Azores would offer the Axis a perfect base with which to effect operations of German U-boat wolf pack attacks that could, and did, cut Allied supply lines. If the islands were used to serve their own purposes, the Allies could be assured of control of the Atlantic.

A series of Allied naval defeats coupled with Portuguese realpolitik would lead to the eventual establishment of Allied naval air bases in the islands. During 1941 and 1942 in the Battle of the Atlantic, German submarine wolf packs were highly successful in disrupting Allied supply lines in a series of tenacious operations throughout the North Atlantic. The Allies desperately needed a base of operations from which to counter-attack, and the Azores proved the most obvious choice. However, the fact that Portugal was clinging to neutrality presented a problem for the Allies.

Portuguese neutrality was based far more on geo-strategic politicking, than it was on conviction, as the Portuguese suspected both Franco's Spain, which was sympathetic to the Axis powers, and Germany itself, which they feared would invade the peninsula as Napoleon had done a century earlier. Furthermore, the Portuguese were wary of German interests all along, as is shown by the fact that state officials had provisions to relocate the government to the Azores should the Germans attack and capture mainland Portugal, a plan reminiscent of the Portuguese Royalty's flight to Brazil when faced with the French invading army in 1809. It is therefore not surprising that the Portuguese let their neutrality slip.

In 1943 the Allies exerted pressure on Portugal to grant use of the Azores for air bases as the situation in the Atlantic was worsening. The Portuguese struck a deal with the United States that allowed for the Allied use of the archipelago. In exchange, the United States was encouraged to intervene in the cause of liberating Timor – then a Portuguese colonial territory – which had been occupied by the Japanese in the Pacific theatre of war. In that year, anti-U-boat air-operations began to successfully break up the German wolf packs

in missions flying out of São Miguel and Lajes air base on Terceira, with Santa Maria providing a fuel depot. The German hold on the Atlantic supply routes was subsequently loosened.

Like the trans-Atlantic cable which connected in the Azores and joined two continents, the first inter-continental commercial air service was conducted through the Azores in 1939. The sailing ships of previous centuries had for their 20th-century counterpart the Pan-Am 'clippers', which would refuel and re-supply in the Azores before continuing on their airborne trans-oceanic journeys. But it was the military's use of the Azores for air operations that would have a significant effect in shaping 20th-century Azorean and Portuguese politics and was the key factor driving Portuguese relations with the United States. Due to the importance of air travel in the Cold War period for military and defence purposes, the Portuguese state was able to use the Azores to entice the United States (and, through the United States, the United Nations) into aiding Portuguese colonial endeavours. In 1951 a treaty was signed which provided the United States with the use of the Lajes air base on Terceira. Through updates of the treaty the United States Air force still operates the base. One of the most geo-strategically significant of the US military installations, it forms the point leg in the US eastern seaboard defence triangle and is the point of departure for military air operations throughout Europe, the Middle East and the hemisphere. The base in the Azores was to play an important part in the international geopolitics of Portugal in the nation's move toward the 25 April 1974 Revolution.

Marcello Caetano, Salazar's successor, negotiated the continued use of the Lajes air base by the United States in exchange for 436 million US dollars. In addition to the money, the agreement was brokered with the intention of appeasing the Nixon administration's disapprobation of the Portuguese colonial wars in Africa. The effect, however, was only to draw attention to Caetano's colonial endeavours. In response to the update of the 1951 agreement, American Congressman and head of the Congressional Black Caucus, Charles C. Diggs Jr., resigned from the US delegation to the United Nations, citing that President Nixon had allied himself with Portugal, a nation that would only use the United States' money to wage war against the 'black peoples' of the African territories. Portugal was also playing other cards, negotiating with the Arabs, who, embroiled in the Middle East war of October 1973, offered to end an oil embargo against Portugal if they prohibited the United States from using the Azorean air base.

Faced with stormy economic times and a continental government not only indifferent to such problems but actually predicated upon austere economic measures, the Azoreans faced a difficult future. Until 1931, the only real action undertaken by the Azoreans against the dictatorship was to leave and migrate to the United States and Canada. In 1931, however, a revolt did take place. It was orchestrated and conducted by a group of Republicans in the

Azores and Madeira who had been deported to the islands where they were placed under house arrest by the Estado Novo of Salazar for participating in acts of sedition against the fascist government. Basing their actions primarily on Madeira, the revolutionaries took over the political and military institutions of that island, while the group in the Azores took over some of the archipelago's most important military institutions and assumed control of some political administrative functions. The coup was overthrown when the Salazar regime dispatched troops who reassumed control of the insular governments. As it was led principally by exiled Republicans from the continent, the revolt was not so much a case of Azoreans revolting against Salazar, but rather a coup against Salazar that happened to take place in the Azores.

There is a line bandied about by some in the islands that says that the Azores are one of the few places on earth to be in the midst of the post-modern period without having passed through modernity. It is true that under the fascist dictatorship, the Azores was, along with the rest of Portugal, clearly and overwhelmingly retarded in the development of infrastructure and technological advancements. The Azores was, without a doubt, the poorest region of Portugal, with the majority of residents living just at or below subsistence levels. However, some growth was achieved, for example, with the first flight of SATA, the Azores regional commercial airline, in 1947. But it is telling of the period that it was not until the 1990s that the Azores' largest island was to have an airport with a paved runway.

Revolution and Azorean regional autonomy

In the early hours of 25 April 1974 'Grândola Vila Morena', a song written by leftist José 'Zeca' Afonso, was played across Lisbon's radio waves. It was the cue for the Portuguese military to move into position throughout Lisbon from where they would overthrow the Caetano regime, ending half a century of fascism. The reasons behind the overthrow were directly related to the military's unwillingness to continue to fight the Portuguese colonial wars in Africa, but also to the atrocious economic conditions and the failing agricultural sector within the Portuguese state.

In initiating the coup, the junta of junior military officers in the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA) had the backing of the socialist and communist parties in Portugal. This coalition would present an intriguing political situation in the aftermath of the revolution. There being no obvious leader, on 15 May 1974 the junta appointed as President General Spínola, who had fought in the African colonial wars and spoken out against Portuguese policy, notably through his book *Portugal e o futuro*. But power struggles between the communists, socialists and the MFA in Continental Portugal eventually caused Spínola to resign and also left the Azores in a precarious balance. US

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, fearing that the Portuguese state would join the communist bloc, had already made contingencies to annex the Azores in order to keep them out of the Soviet sphere of influence. Kissinger was concerned that the Soviets would be given a second base of operations, in addition to Cuba, in the hemisphere, which would give it an important strategic position *vis-à-vis* the eastern seaboard of the United States. Kissinger was not the only statesman at the time concerned with the fate of the archipelago as the status of the Azores was discussed at the highest levels of world power, by President Ford, Chairman Brezhnev and German Chancellor Schmidt, forming a part of the SALT II negotiations.

Within the archipelago, the battles between the communists and socialists presented other problems. Post-revolution Azorean politics were marked by a pro-independence movement and by anti-communist riots (including the rise of the Frente de Libertação Açoriano – Azorean Liberation Front). Activities included the destruction of the Communist Party headquarters in Angra do Heroísmo and the blocking of the runway at São Miguel's airport. Pro-independence factions feared domination by Continental Portugal and were also concerned that if the nation became a communist bloc country they would lose their ability to visit and remain in contact with their families in North America. Many Azoreans, angry that once again their interests were subjugated to those of the Continent, felt great empathy with the former Portuguese colonial territories, who one by one, beginning with Guinea-Bissau and including Cape Verde, Mozambique and Angola, all won independence from mainland Portugal. Much of the drive for Azorean autonomy and independence grew from this.

In addition, the CIA was actively encouraging Azorean populations in the United States to demonstrate and advocate for independence. Because of the long tradition of migration and return migration between the United States and Canada with the Azores, in many ways Azoreans had a greater affinity with North America than they had with Continental Portugal. The US government was well aware if the archipelago were to secede from Portugal and form an independent state, the tradition of close contacts between relatives there and in America, in addition to the archipelago's small size and lack of financial resources, would make the Azores dependent upon the United States, which would draw the new nation into the American sphere of influence.

Poll statistics from the time showed that forty-five per cent of Azoreans favoured complete independence, compared to thirty-seven per cent who preferred to remain part of the federal government in Lisbon, showing that a majority of the population was in favour of some form of autonomy. This sentiment of Azorean separatism and independence was reflected in the Constitutional Assembly of 1976.

João Bosco Mota Amaral, who served five terms as the Azores President from 1976 to 1996, had as early as May 1974, one month after the revolution,

presented a political programme for autonomy. Mota Amaral, together with another Constitutional delegate from the Azores, Jaime Gama (who at the time of writing serves as the Portuguese Foreign Minister and Minister of Defence), was to play a key role in the argument for and shape of Azorean autonomy as decided upon in the Constitutional debates. These two figures took specific roles in the discussions, with Mota Amaral (PPD and later PSD) as the primary proponent of autonomy and Gama (PS) in a conciliatory role.

The goal of the text outlining autonomy was to create for the Azores an administrative and political structure that went beyond mere finances, so that the archipelago would have full control over its regional, local and municipal organs of government. The primary principles of the text were as follows: the Azores were to be not only an administrative autonomous region, but also a politically autonomous region, which meant the islands would have their own regional organs of power, including a Legislative Assembly and an Executive branch. Although various branches of regional government would be spread throughout the archipelago, the organization of the Autonomous Region was to be composed of one administrative unit, not three as was previously the case. Autonomy was to be constitutionally and not legislatively based and fiscal resources raised in the region were to remain in the region.

Much of the discourse surrounding Azorean autonomy had been driven by intellectuals in the period prior to the Revolution. These writers and thinkers were in large part responsible for creating the concepts that would lead to the flowering of the concept of Açorianidade, the notion that not only geography but also an inherent and unique Azorean identity separates the islanders from the rest of the Lusophone world. Although Gaspar Frutuoso had written what may be considered the first Azorean literary work in the 16th century, it was not until the early 20th century that a true Azorean literature was to develop. Vitorino Nemésio first brought attention to Roberto Mesquita whose poetry is suffused with insular themes particular to the islands and his native Flores. Nemésio would further be the key figure in the development of Azorean literature through his own prolific and diverse writings in criticism, *crónica*, fiction and poetry. Azorean literature, as it was developed by these and other writers during the period, dealt with both regional and universal questions, but through a frame that was mediated by Azorean life and the peculiar issues relating to the archipelago's geographic position, the insularity of which was often reflected in the writing as was the islands' relations with the exterior world.

It is difficult to separate Azorean literature from the inherent and conscious sense of identity from which it both developed and also helped to create. This was certainly the case with the intellectual movements that developed in the archipelago during the late 1950s. Using Nemésio, Mesquita and Silveira as reference points, writers galvanized around the concept of Açorianidade. Angra do Heroísmo became a centre for such writing, as for example with the

journal *Gávea*, through which intellectuals examined island issues from a viewpoint that was self-consciously Azorean. In spite of the oppressive intellectual climate of Salazar's Portugal, which banned books and the open discussion of certain topics, a small cultural elite in the islands were addressing the major political issues confronting their society. Writers would often treat subjects in code in order to avoid problems with the state, using the euphemisms of India or Vietnam, among other cases, to refer to the Azores or the Portuguese colonies in Africa.

In the late 1960s, the islands' literary and cultural intelligentsia came together for a series of important conferences held throughout the Azores. The five 'Semana de Estudos Açores' conferences, organized by the Azorean Institute of Culture, did much to influence the way in which Azoreans saw themselves as a distinct entity from other areas of Portugal, while critically examining the issues surrounding the intra-regional development of the islands. Through the conferences, an elite Azorean intellectual community awakened to the social, economic and cultural problems of the islands in the act of creating an interior Azorean consciousness. These Azorean intellectuals grappled with issues regarding the modernization of the islands, not from the perspective of Lisbon – from which all administrative decisions about the archipelago had previously come – but with Azoreans themselves articulating their own issues and calling the attention of Lisbon to the problems of the long forgotten insular region. It was from this intellectual environment that individuals, including politicians, independence leaders and Constitutional delegates, would influence the politics and arguments underpinning Azorean autonomy.

On 26 March 1976, the Constitutional Assembly approved the text of the foundation of Azorean autonomy, which was formally approved in 1980 by the Assembly of the Republic as Section VII of the Portuguese Constitution. The option of independence was rejected in favour of an agreement which would give the archipelago true political and administrative autonomy within the Portuguese state. In June 1976 elections were held for the Regional Assembly, together with presidential elections, won with an absolute majority by Mota Amaral, who won subsequent elections until standing down in 1996, when he was succeeded by Carlos César.

Over the past twenty-five years since the 25 April Revolution, the archipelago has developed rapidly, steadily making improvements in infrastructure and the quality of life of its inhabitants. Since the revolution, the Azores has developed an exceptional University, constructed highways that traverse its major islands, modernized its airports and instituted regular inter-island and international flights. It even has a football club which plays in the Portuguese First Division.

As the advent of the European Union has provided easier access to European markets through the opening of borders among its member nations,

the Azores has enjoyed an even greater degree of autonomy. The archipelago also serves as an entry point into Europe for the former Portuguese African colonies as well as for Brazil. With these ties to Europe and Africa, as well as the older ties to the United States through existing military treaties and the substantial number of Azorean migrants there, the Azores remain at the crossroads of several continents.

The 'Tenth Island': migration and overseas populations

There are more Azoreans and Azorean-Americans living outside of the archipelago than there are living in it. This simple fact demonstrates the importance of the migration story of the Azores in the archipelago's general history. Adding to the significance of the large number of Azoreans abroad is the fact that they have traditionally maintained a close contact between themselves and migrating family members. Visits between Azoreans living in the archipelago and those in the overseas communities are frequent, often lasting for several months. Return migration and semi-permanent migration patterns are also common, through which Azoreans migrate from the islands to live in one location for many years before returning to the islands to live either permanently or for an extended period before again returning to North America. For many other Azoreans, the summer feast and festival cycle offers a reason to return and visit family and friends. For a mid-summer feast on Terceira, for example, local government estimates indicated that some 10,000 former residents and their family members returned to take part in the festivities. Such is the closeness between Azoreans in the islands and Azorean populations living abroad, that one prominent Azorean intellectual has coined the term for the Azorean-American communities of North America as forming the archipelago's 'Tenth Island'.

There are other populations of Azoreans who have migrated to Continental Portugal, as well as to other insular territories and to the former African colonies, but the majority of Azoreans living abroad have settled in North America. Although Portuguese populations in the Americas include other Atlantic islanders from Madeira and Cape Verde, as well as from Continental Portugal, the overwhelming majority of these Portuguese are Azorean.

The majority of Azorean migrants left the islands in the period following 1880 up to the present day, bound for destinations such as the Continental United States, Hawaii, Canada and Bermuda. However, the out-migration history of the archipelago extends farther back, to the 18th century when the Portuguese were attempting to populate the south of Brazil. Border disputes between Brazil and the Spanish dominions in the Americas, arising from differing interpretations of boundary demarcations from the 1494 Treaty of Tordesilhas, were often resolved based upon the demonstration of population settlement in these marginal areas. The Portuguese Crown therefore needed to

populate the southern region of Brazil in order to lay claim to a territory potentially in dispute with Argentina. To bring about the population increase the Portuguese sponsored the migration of married couples to the region from the Azores in the mid-1700s. Many of these couples were willing to migrate in order to escape harsh conditions and natural disasters in the Azores; however the Portuguese state was not acting primarily in their interests but in its own.

The areas of Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul in the south of Brazil still contain numerous Azorean populations and many features of Azorean cultural life are prominently reflected in the region. The Azorean-Brazilians practice the Festas of the Espírito Santo and conduct a type of *tourada à corda*, a bullfight where a bull is released to run among a crowd, widely practised on Terceira. Connections between the archipelago and the Brazilian populations are also reflected in University programmes in the region which offer courses in Azorean studies, including the Universidade Federal de Rio Grande do Sul.

The majority of the migrating populations of the Azores, however, have settled in North America, with communities in Canada, Southeastern New England, California, Hawaii and others scattered along the eastern and western coasts of the United States.

As the Azores is an archipelago in the middle of a vast ocean with a history tied to the sea, one might expect the Azores to produce a large number of fishermen. But the Azoreans, perhaps because they are so far from land, have traditionally turned their backs to the ocean, opting instead to do agrarian and dairy work which have remained the primary economic activities of the islanders for centuries. Although there are fishermen, they compose only a minuscule percentage of the population.

One area, however, in which the Azoreans have taken to the sea and excelled has been in whaling. Azoreans sailed throughout the world on 18th-century and 19th-century whalers (even hunting Moby Dick on the mythical *Pequod* in Melville's novel) and until the latter half of the 20th century Azoreans participated in the art of open-boat whaling, in which crews of whalers would hunt the whales from small boats rowed into the ocean from the shore. It was the overseas whaling industry that would lead the Azoreans to the Americas, as from the late 1820s onwards many of the islanders would abandon difficult lives at sea for agricultural work in America, a vocation with which they were more readily accustomed due to their earlier farm activities in the archipelago.

In fact, the first Azorean migrant communities in the United States did settle in or near cities related to the whaling industry. Therefore, the epicentre of the Southeastern New England Azorean communities is the New England whaling capital of New Bedford, Massachusetts, the place where Ishmael opens his narrative in *Moby Dick*. Upon settling in Southeastern New England, these Azoreans, together with other Portuguese from the Cape Verde Islands,

moved to agricultural work and, in the larger cities, into work in the textile mills. The majority of the Azoreans in the region reside in Massachusetts and Rhode Island (in which ten per cent of the state's population is Portuguese), followed by Connecticut.

The pattern in California was much the same, with whalers leaving ships to assume work in agriculture. On the west coast, however, the communities were much more dispersed along the littoral of California than they were in New England, as Azoreans settled along the coast from San Diego to the San Francisco Bay area, before moving inland to California's central valley. In the period prior to the Second World War, these Azorean populations predominantly adopted agriculture as their primary labour occupation with some populations continuing the practice of open-boat whaling brought with them from the islands. The California populations, who were composed predominantly of Azoreans from the Central and Occidental Groups of islands, would come to dominate the California dairy industry in the first half of the 20th century.

On the east coast, Azorean migrants, composed for the most part of Micaelenses, provided a major source of labour for the textile mills of Fall River and New Bedford, Massachusetts, developed fishing communities and were involved in agriculture. Beginning as workers harvesting cranberries and as labourers in the strawberry fields, the Azoreans soon began to cultivate their own strawberry crops. As west coast Azoreans came to control the dairy industry, east coast Azoreans controlled strawberry production. In the period prior to the Second World War Azoreans and other Portuguese were responsible for a substantial portion of the US strawberry production.

By 1930 there were some 300,000 Portuguese and their children living in the United States, the vast majority of these having migrated from the Azores between 1880 and 1930. Of this figure some 100,000 settled in California; some 150,000 settled in Southeastern New England; and in the Pacific archipelago of Hawaii there were some 20,000 Portuguese, primarily from the Azores and Madeira.

The migration history of Azoreans in Hawaii evolved quite separately from that of populations in the Continental United States. Although there were some 400 Portuguese on Hawaii in the period before 1870, as a result of whaling voyages, the vast majority of the Azoreans came to the Pacific archipelago after 1878. Similar to the pattern of migration in Brazil during the 18th century, Azoreans migrated to Hawaii as a result of a calculated migration programme undertaken by private industry and the Hawaiian immigration board which provided Azorean migrants with passage from one archipelago to another, and jobs, housing and medical care when they arrived. In return, the Azoreans and other Portuguese signed a contract that required them to work in manual labour positions for thirty-six months.

Migration patterns in Canada developed along similar lines during the 1950s. In 1953-54 the first significant numbers of Azoreans migrated to Canada, as the result of a Canadian government plan to provide extreme rural areas with a cheap labour force. In the period from 1946 to 1952 only some 700 Portuguese had migrated to Canada, a number that would be almost tripled in the years of 1953-54 alone. By 1980 there were more than 160,000 Portuguese in Canada, the majority of whom were from the Azores.

The first Azorean settlers in Canada encountered greater difficulties in survival and in their ability to organize communities than their counterparts in the United States. Generally migration in the United States was a calculated family affair, with families either migrating en masse, or with one person coming first before later sending for the rest of family. The migration was almost always within the confines of an established Azorean network to an established Azorean community. The nature of the state-sponsored Canadian migration, however, was such that Azorean labourers were usually placed on rural farms far from other Portuguese or those who even knew their language. This resulted in an extreme sense of isolation among many of the labourers. Eventually, however, they were able to make their way to the cities like Toronto and Montreal where they established vibrant communities as they were joined by other family members.

The period prior to the Second World War saw a shift among some within the Azorean-American population away from agriculture and often into factory, construction and service sector work as well as into professional and skilled employment positions. Although migration slowed from the period of 1930 to around 1960, primarily due to laws restricting migration, the period of 1958 to 1977 saw some 150,000 Portuguese entering the Americas. The majority were Azoreans, as following a volcanic eruption off Faial in 1957-58, the US government relaxed migration restrictions. An earthquake in 1980, which destroyed much of Terceira, caused many Azoreans from that island to migrate to the Americas. Wary of the mass exodus that occurred after the volcanic eruption on Faial two decades earlier, however, the Autonomous government stepped in with financial aid and government-sponsored programmes intended to help rebuild the island and stem another mass migration.

A unifying element of the majority of the North American Azorean populations is the retention of a sense of Azorean and Portuguese identity, among Azoreans in the Americas and other Azorean-Americans, even extending into the fourth generation. The strong Portuguese-language print media keeps immigrants involved in happenings and news in the islands and also provides a unifying presence among the diverse communities. Some publications in the Portuguese immigrant press have even greater circulation figures than the population numbers of all but the largest island in the Azores. Fulfilling a similar role for television is RTP International, a twenty-four-hour

Introduction

news and general programming station that broadcasts daily on cable television throughout the communities abroad. Traditional Azorean cultural elements among communities also remain strong; in fact, celebrations of traditional Azorean feasts such as the Festas do Espírito Santo are often celebrated more widely and with greater participation in Azorean-America than they are in the archipelago.

The connection with immigrant communities abroad is equally strong for those in the islands. It is virtually impossible to find an individual who does not have a close family member who has lived in the Americas, Brazil or Bermuda, if the individual has not already lived there himself. Return migrants compose the primary group of 'tourists' who fill the islands during the summer months; and on the evening news of the region's television station, RTP-Azores, one is as likely to see a news report of a car accident occurring at the Fall River Town Hall as a speech by the Azores' President. In the islands, it is easier to find a US-compatible video recorder than one that is solely compatible for use in Europe – the result of grandparents in the Azores wanting a machine that they can use to see videos of their grandchildren, sent to them from America.

Azorean migration to the Americas has continued, but with the improving economic and political situation that has resulted from the 25 April Revolution, the traditional motivation to migrate – poverty and lack of economic opportunity – is not as prevalent as it once was. And although the improved political and economic situation can do nothing to prevent the natural disasters in the islands that often caused migration, it can help to diminish the economic and personal damage caused by such disasters, as was the case with the Terceira earthquake in 1980. That migration is slowing down can only speak positively for the economic and social conditions of the archipelago.

Although the impetus for permanent migration has diminished, temporary visits between the two banks of the 'Atlantic River' have increased, facilitated by the ease of air travel. In addition, technological advances have made trans-Atlantic communication easier and more affordable. More and more Azorean-Americans travel back to the Azores from the Americas, either to the Azores of their ancestors or the Azores of their own youth. Furthermore, travel to the Americas has been greatly facilitated, as the United States, recognizing the connection between the archipelago and the American communities, now allows Portuguese citizens to enter the United States for a limited period of time without having to obtain a visa. Such events suggest that rather than moving farther apart, the nine islands of the archipelago and the 'Tenth island' of the Azorean-North American communities are only moving closer together.