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### From “Normalization” to Global History: Empire and Colonialism in Modern Iberian Historiography

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## From “Normalization” to Global History: Empire and Colonialism in Modern Iberian Historiography

Andreas Stucki

“Spain deserves the credit for having civilized to a relatively high degree a population that had been found [...] ravaged by small wars and at the mercy of arbitrariness, and for having improved their situation in considerable ways.” In this blunt empire talk the German ethnographer Andreas Fedor Jagor summed up in 1873 the supposed Spanish achievements in the Philippines. Spain had claimed the Philippines as a colony since the late 1500s, yet in Jagor’s view the *status quo* as of the 1870s would not endure. The world was changing, and so was the global colonial landscape. China, Russia, and the United States, Jagor predicted, were the emerging powers that would broker the Pacific Ocean among themselves in the near future, and they would pursue “global trade (*Welthandel*)” in novel ways.<sup>1</sup>

Jagor, an ethnographer whose attention usually focused on cultures, the natural and built environment—he was also a collector of artefacts and human skulls for German museums—also had a fine eye when it came to geopolitics. In times of rapid globalization, as steamships, trains, and transatlantic telegraph cables had brought the world ever closer together, he witnessed geopolitical shifts with the retreat of the Iberian powers of Spain and Portugal and the emergence of new colonial players such as the United States.<sup>2</sup> For Jagor, the Americans were the “conquistadors of the modern age”, whom he regarded as “destined to bring to full fruition the seeds planted by the Spaniards,” though with somber prospects for the archipelago’s populations. Jagor reckoned that Spain had not “prepared” them to “compete with [...] restlessly creative, most ruthless” nations such as the US. Under Spanish rule indigenous people, figuratively speaking, had “dreamed away their youth,” as Jagor put it. This was both a hint to purported Spanish ineffectiveness as a colonial and “civilizing” power and an expression of Jagor’s racialized perceptions of societal hierarchies.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Fedor Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen: Mit zahlreichen Abbildungen und einer Karte* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1873), 517-19.

<sup>2</sup> Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), chapter XIV.

<sup>3</sup> Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen*, 518-19. On Jagor, see Hidde van der Wall, “Incompetent Masters, Indolent Natives, Savage Origins: The Philippines and its Inhabitants in the Travel Accounts of Carl Semper (1869) and Fedor Jagor (1873),” in *Savage Worlds: German Encounters Abroad, 1798-1914*, eds. Matthew P. Fitzpatrick and Peter Monteath (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 185-205.

Jagor's mid-nineteenth-century observations about Spanish colonialism and global trends suggested a point that became a central historiographical stereotype. Spain's colonial history of the nineteenth and twentieth century has long been told as a tale of decline, decadence, and backwardness.<sup>4</sup> The loss of the South American colonies in the early 1800s was sealed by the Spanish royalist army's defeat in Ayacucho, in the Peruvian Andes, in 1824. Losing their grip on Cuba (considered "the pearl of the Antilles"), Puerto Rico, and the Philippines in protracted guerrilla wars against the Cuban Liberation Army (1895-1898) and the Filipino independence fighters (1896-1898), and finally being deprived of the archipelagos through defeat in the war against the US in 1898 provided further proof that Spain languished among the "dying nations."<sup>5</sup> While other European nations such as France, Germany and Britain, or Belgium were thriving and conquering new territories, Spain, seen from this vantage point, had embarked on a fatal trajectory: one of decline, failed liberal revolutions in the nineteenth which were followed by civil wars and long-lasting dictatorships in the twentieth century.

As for the Philippines, however, when travelled throughout the archipelago between 1859 and 1860, Jagor had neglected Spain's efforts at reform and transformations. As recent research shows, political, economic, and scientific reforms were well underway in the colony in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, he had failed to appreciate that "Spain is an exemplary case of imperial flexibility and longevity," as Josep M. Delgado Ribas has highlighted.<sup>7</sup>

In Portugal, too, perceived crises and decay were common themes among the country's elites throughout the nineteenth century. What is more, Portuguese intellectual thought not only lamented the downfall of the Iberian powers, but of "Europe" and of "the whole civilized world". The loss of Brazil in the early 1820s triggered an enduring challenge to Portuguese identity, in which the nation's old, globe-encircling, and "heroic" empire provided a central component.<sup>8</sup> In the face

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<sup>4</sup> Richard L. Kagan, "Precscott's Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain," *American Historical Review* 101, no. 2 (April 1996): 423-46. See also the essays in Nigel Townson, ed., *¿Es España diferente? Una mirada comparativa (siglos XIX y XX)* (Madrid: Taurus, 2010).

<sup>5</sup> "Living and Dying Nations: From Lord Salisbury's Speech to the Primrose League, May 4," *The New York Times*, 18 May 1898.

<sup>6</sup> See María Dolores Elizalde Pérez Grueso and Xavier Huetz de Lemps, eds., *Anhelos de cambio: Reformas y modernización en las Filipinas del siglo XIX* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2021).

<sup>7</sup> Josep M. Delgado Ribas, "Eclipse and Collapse of the Spanish Empire, 1650-1898," in *Endless Empire: Spain's Retreat, Europe's Eclipse, America's Decline*, eds. Alfred W. McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 43.

<sup>8</sup> Francisco Bethencourt ("O lugar de Portugal no mundo. Conferência de abertura, in *Portugal na balança da Europa e do mundo*, ed. Casa Civil da Presidência da República (Lisbon: Presidência

of looming occupation of Portugal by Napoleon's armies late in 1807, the smaller Iberian country showed an astonishing capacity to adapt, resettling the Portuguese court and government to Brazil in 1808.<sup>9</sup> Rio de Janeiro became the empire's new center until 1821.<sup>10</sup> Given this shift from a Portuguese to a "Luso-Brazilian empire" and after retreat from Brazil the move towards "Portuguese Africa", "longevity" and "flexibility" also characterize the Portuguese empire. Both "on the level of time [...] and on the level of relatively continuous presence on various continents across the centuries," the Portuguese and Spanish cases make for remarkable comparisons regarding differences and commonalities between their empires.<sup>11</sup> However, comparative analyses which would contribute to a better understanding of Portuguese and Spanish colonialism in the globalizing nineteenth and twentieth century remain relatively rare.<sup>12</sup>

This chapter tracks the global trends in the writing on the history and cultures of modern Iberian empires, along with underscoring efforts in debunking alleged idiosyncratic imperial trajectories—among them the lack of modernization in colonial rule and deficiency in timely decolonization. While it attempts to bring the Portuguese and Spanish empire within a single framework, inevitably it cannot cover the entirety of historiographical trends and every new academic or popular publication. However, the tendency towards mainstreaming, or "normalization" in the historiography of Iberian empires—that is, the scholarly re-conception of empire and the incorporation of recent historiographical trends—as well as the increasingly gendered views on empire merit special attention. Along with further methodological shifts these new directions in the history of the Iberian world (and beyond) are at the forefront of this chapter.

### **Reconceptualizing Empire: Flexibility—Adaptation—Longevity**

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da República, 2013), 21-30) quotes Almeida Garrett's work (*Portugal na balança da Europa*, in *Obras*, 2 vols. (Porto: Lello, 1966), written between 1825 and 1830.

<sup>9</sup> Jurandir Malerba, *A Corte no exílio: Civilização e poder no Brasil às vésperas da independência (1808 a 1821)* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000).

<sup>10</sup> Kirsten Schultz, *Tropical Versailles: Empire, Monarchy, and the Portuguese Royal Court in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1821* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

<sup>11</sup> See Francisco Bethencourt, "The Longevity of the Portuguese Empire: Problems and Hypotheses," *Mediterranean Studies* 18, no. 9 (2000): 17, 21. The term is borrowed from Kenneth Maxwell, "The Generation of the 1790s and the Idea of Luso-Brazilian Empire," in *Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil*, ed. Dauril Alden (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 107-44.

<sup>12</sup> As always, there are exceptions. For a thematic collective volume with essays on Portuguese and Spanish colonial territories from the Caribbean to Africa and Southeast Asia spanning from the nineteenth to the early twentieth century, see Xavier Huetz de Lempis, Gonzalo Álvarez Chillida, and María Dolores Elizalde Pérez Grueso, eds., *Gobernar colonias, administrar almas: Poder colonial y órdenes religiosas en los imperios ibéricos (1808-1930)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2018).

Historiography on Latin American independence has usually contrasted the Portuguese experience in Brazil (stressing the transfer of the court and the subsequent dynastic split resulting in emperor Dom Pedro ruling Brazil until 1831) with Spain's fratricidal wars throughout Spanish South America. The Brazilian "exception" is related to a peaceful process of independence ("sin violencia alguna").<sup>13</sup> Indeed, significant differences characterize the Brazilian experience in the Age of Revolutions, with the continuation of the monarchy and the ongoing integrity of the territory among the obvious. Violence, however, was endemic in the southern border region and had a political function in the interior. As recent studies emphasize, violence "from below" becomes an important political factor when broadening the chronological lens to include the 1830s and 1840s, that is, the broader transition from empire to nation-state.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, as Gabriel Paquette underlines, this stretch "was one of the most turbulent periods of Brazilian history, characterized by rebellions, revolts, and conspiracies of all shapes, sizes, and magnitudes of impact, affecting Brazil from the far north (Pará) to the deep south (Rio Grande do Sul)."<sup>15</sup> While recognizing important regional differences, recent contributions refer to "carnage and turmoil" in Brazil and conclude that, in general, "violence remade the Iberian Atlantic" in the first few decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

Given such commonalities, recent contributions have demonstrated that despite differences between the historical trajectories of the new republics in Spanish-speaking Latin America and the independent monarchy in Brazil, conceptualizing Brazilian independence within the processes of imperial adaptation and eventual retreat fits the Iberian imperial framework.<sup>17</sup> The global scope of the Atlantic revolutions with the Napoleonic wars and subsequent fiscal pressure (in order to finance the war efforts in Europe) as triggers for independence in Latin America between 1808 and 1824 informs large parts of the

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<sup>13</sup> Manuel Lucena Giraldo, *Naciones de rebeldes: Las revoluciones de independencia latinoamericanas* (Madrid: Santillana, 2010), 198.

<sup>14</sup> For an overview of the literature, see Barbara Weinstein, "Postcolonial Brazil," in *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American History*, ed. José C. Moyá (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 212-56.

<sup>15</sup> Gabriel Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: The Luso-Brazilian World, c. 1770-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 386 (quotation) and 1-5, 11-12 for a short general historiographical overview.

<sup>16</sup> Jeremy Adelman, "War and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic," in *The Iberian World 1450-1820*, eds. Fernando Bouza, Pedro Cardim, and Antonio Feros (London: Routledge, 2020), 635, and "The Rites of Statehood: Violence and Sovereignty in Spanish America, 1789-1821," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90, no. 3 (August 2010): 391-422.

<sup>17</sup> Jeremy Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 220-57.

current historiography.<sup>18</sup> Likewise, the failed earlier Andean revolutions, particularly the Túpac Amaru II and Túpac Katari uprisings in today's Peru and Bolivia (1780-1783), are increasingly included in the picture.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless these rebellions still struggle to find a place in the historiography of the Age of Revolutions.<sup>20</sup>

Yet it is the global and comparative focus of Josep M. Fradera's monograph on the *Imperial Nation* that stands out for the period under scrutiny here. Centering on the revolutionary events between 1780 and 1830, Fradera sets out to "decipher the historical keys of this cycle of destruction and reconstruction of empires."<sup>21</sup> He convincingly argues that the adoption of laws differentiating between citizens at home and subjects abroad defined a new imperial relationship in different European empires, including those of Spain and Portugal, in the first half of the nineteenth century. He identifies similarities and differences in the emergence of this "specialty" in the British, French, Spanish, and American imperial constitutions. Despite imperial retreat and a peculiar trajectory, Spain was not the odd man out in this new configuration.

Elsewhere Fradera included the Portuguese empire in his framework, underlining how "Spain and Portugal managed to reposition themselves as smaller and less ambitious imperial powers within a broad British-led world order" in the nineteenth century. Adjusting "to the trends of the times," they adopted "dual constitutions" in 1812 and 1822, respectively, "that were simultaneously liberal and imperial." In the long run, attempts at reform nevertheless proved unsuccessful, as retreat from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Southeast Asia suggests in the Spanish case. Yet Fradera advocates for an understanding of decolonization as a "long drawn-out process of unintentional but comparatively orderly retreat." The notion of "comparatively orderly" might be open to interpretation. However, conceptualizing decolonization in the long run as shaped by processes of retreat, reorientation, and reform between the 1820s and the 1970s points again to the adaptability and longevity of modern Iberian empires, and indeed other ones.<sup>22</sup> In fact, who would have thought in the early 1900s that Spain

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<sup>18</sup> Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution*. For a perspective challenging the notion of a coherent "age of revolution(s)", see Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*.

<sup>19</sup> Sergio Serulnikov, *Revolution in the Andes: The Age of Túpac Amaru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013); Charles Walker, *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

<sup>20</sup> Sinclair Thomas, "Sovereignty Disavowed: The Tupac Amaru Revolution in the Atlantic World," *Atlantic Studies* 13, no. 3 (July 2016): 407-31.

<sup>21</sup> Josep M. Fradera, *The Imperial Nation: Citizens and Subjects in the British, French, Spanish, and American Empires* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).

<sup>22</sup> Josep M. Fradera, "Empires in Retreat: Spain and Portugal after the Napoleonic Wars," in *Endless Empire*, eds. McCoy, Fradera, and Jacobson, 56-7, 59-60, 69.

and Portugal would be among the last European countries to decolonize the possessions they claimed in Africa?

The Portuguese ambitions to unite and connect the colonies of Angola and Mozambique after the Berlin conference in 1884 resulted in a looming military conflict with Great Britain—particularly when the extent and magnitude of the gold discovered on the Rand in 1886 became known. A British “ultimatum” in 1890 put a stop to the idea of further Portuguese colonial expansion in Africa and forced a treaty fixing the boundaries of the Portuguese territories in southern Africa in 1891.<sup>23</sup> Portuguese retreat in Africa triggered social and political repercussions in Portugal, including a failed republican uprising in Porto in 1891. Humiliating as it was to Lisbon, there was little comparison to the Spanish experience of 1898. The British ultimatum did not shatter the Portuguese hopes for “new Brazils” in Africa.<sup>24</sup> In Spain, “regeneration” became the catchword among politicians and intellectuals around 1900, and some soon saw in the “small Spanish empire” in Africa a new “source of wealth for the *Madre Patria*”.<sup>25</sup>

Portugal’s turn to Africa had foreshadowed Spain’s moves in Morocco in 1859 and 1860. Stephen Jacobson has captured Spain’s numerous mid-nineteenth century imperial adventures as “micromilitarism”, including the interventions in Vietnam, Morocco, Santo Domingo and Mexico as well as the disputes about the guano islands off the Peruvian and Chilean pacific coast.<sup>26</sup> In *A Missionary Nation*, Scott Eastman builds on Jacobson’s notion, analyzing in depth “the cultural and political fabric of nineteenth-century Spanish imperialism” from Morocco to the Dominican Republic and from Mexico to Guinea and beyond.<sup>27</sup> Spain’s nineteenth-century imperialism, long a neglected field, has evolved into one of the most vibrant areas of historical inquiry within the last few decades. In this change of perception of Spanish nineteenth-century imperialism, Christopher Schmidt-Nowara’s transnational focus on slavery and abolition had a significant

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<sup>23</sup> Malyn Newitt, *Portugal in European and World History* (London: Reaktion, 2009), 191-93; Norrie MacQueen, *Colonialism* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007), 47-8.

<sup>24</sup> Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, “Portuguese Colonialism in Africa,” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*, eds. Thomas Spear et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.013.183>; Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*, chapter 5. For the long-lasting idea of “new Brazils” in the Portuguese colonial imagination, see Cláudia Castelo, “‘Novos Brasis’ em África: desenvolvimento e colonialismo português tardio,” *Varia história* 30, no. 53 (2014): 507-32.

<sup>25</sup> Juan Pedro Yaníz Ruiz, *La crisis del pequeño imperio español* (Barcelona: Dirosa, 1974); Angel Barrera, *Lo que son y lo que deben ser las posesiones españolas del golfo de Guinea* (Madrid: Imprenta de Eduardo Arias, 1907), 6.

<sup>26</sup> Stephen Jacobson, “Imperial Ambitions in an Era of Decline: Micromilitarism and the Eclipse of the Spanish Empire, 1858-1923,” in *Endless Empire*, eds. McCoy, Fradera, and Jacobson, 74-91.

<sup>27</sup> Scott Eastman, *A Missionary Nation: Race, Religion, and Spain’s Age of Liberal Imperialism, 1841-1881* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021).

historiographical impact. It triggered a rethinking of Spanish nationalism, repositioning the colonies within the wider construction of the nation.<sup>28</sup>

Indeed, recent work on empire and the nation has brought colonialism back into the picture of Spanish nationalism. While scholars of the Portuguese empire have long underlined the importance of the empire for the conception of the nation at home (“the empire *is* the nation”<sup>29</sup>), Spanish mainstream historiography on nationalism has often neglected the impact of the overseas colonies for the national imagination in the European metropole.<sup>30</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century, empire and nation were intrinsically connected through the flow of goods, migrants and soldiers, as well as of national and imperial imaginaries, including history writing and gendered concepts of the “other.”<sup>31</sup> Despite differences of size, inhabitants, and the uneven economic and cultural sway of empire in each Iberian country throughout the twentieth century, shared policies, discourses, and chronologies make for compelling comparisons when analyzing the construction of the Portuguese and Spanish nations.

### **Towards Normalization?**

In Spanish empire history, tendencies to “normalize” the 1898 disaster are already visible in Francoist historiography in the 1940s. José María García Escudero argued in *Arbor*, one of the dictatorship’s scientific journals, that the only difference between Spain in 1898 and the US after Pearl Harbor in 1941 was that Spain was “lacking millions of men and dollars” to turn “the tragedy [...] into just the bitter prologue of a victory.” Yet, for Spanish political and intellectual elites, the eclipse of what remained of the old empire, that is, withdrawal from the Caribbean and the Pacific, was harder to digest and accept. Notions of “los noventayochos”—the idea that there were many national disasters and imperial crises in world history—would not do the trick.<sup>32</sup> Forced or eager to follow the Franco regime’s ideological compass after 1940, many historians of empire felt

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<sup>28</sup> For an appraisal, see Scott Eastman’s and Stephen Jacobson’s introduction to *Rethinking the Atlantic Empire: Christopher Schmidt-Nowara’s Histories of Nineteenth-Century Spain and the Antilles* (New York: Berghahn, 2021).

<sup>29</sup> See Heriberto Cairo, “‘Portugal is not a Small Country’: Maps and Propaganda in the Salazar Regime,” *Geopolitics* 11, no. 3 (2006): 370.

<sup>30</sup> For the different standing of the empire in Portugal and Spain, see Filipe Ribeiro de Meneses, “The Idea of Empire in Portuguese and Spanish Life, 1890 to 1975,” in *The Routledge Companion to Iberian Studies*, eds. Javier Muñoz-Basols, Laura Lonsdale, and Manuel Delgado (London: Routledge, 2017), 401-12. For the traditional Spanish account, see José Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa: la idea de España en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Taurus, 2007).

<sup>31</sup> Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007); see also Christopher Schmidt-Nowara and John M. Nieto-Philips, eds., *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism: Empires, Nations, and Legends* (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 2005).

<sup>32</sup> José María García Escudero, “El Parlamento ante el Desastre,” *Arbor* 36 (December 1948): 415.

obliged to turn away from the supposedly unfortunate nineteenth century with its liberal revolutions and the loss of Spain's greatness as an imperial power. Their work focused instead on the allegedly glorious days of the "discoveries" and "conquest" of the fifteenth and sixteenth century.<sup>33</sup>

Portuguese empire historiography under the Salazar dictatorship followed similar trajectories. Historiographical revision in Portugal and Spain can be traced back to the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>34</sup> However, it was only after the transitions from dictatorship to democracy between 1974 and 1982 (and subsequent integration into the then European Community in 1986) that common perspectives on the empires in general and, in the Spanish case, on the "disaster" in particular, changed significantly.<sup>35</sup> "Democracy Beats the 'Disaster' Complex" was the title of Sylvia L. Hilton's historiographical review of research published around the centenary commemorations in 1998.<sup>36</sup> The hundred-year anniversary of the Spanish-Cuban-American-Filipino War of 1898 and the perceived "end" of the Spanish empire overseas triggered a broad historiographical and cultural production in Spain and beyond.<sup>37</sup>

In the late 1990s and following the commemorative fever, several studies have broadened the chronological range beyond 1898, extending the analyses from the 1860s to the 1920s.<sup>38</sup> "The result is that they are far less obsessed with

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<sup>33</sup> Miguel A. Cabrera, "Developments in Contemporary Spanish Historiography: From Social History to the New Cultural History," *Journal of Modern History* 77, no. 4 (December 2005): 989. See also the essays in Carlos Forcadell and Ignacio Peiró, eds., *Lecturas de la Historia: Nueve reflexiones sobre Historia de la Historiografía* (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico", 2001).

<sup>34</sup> Paulo Jorge Fernandes, Filipe Ribeiro de Menezes, and Manuel Baiôa, "The Political History of Nineteenth Century Portugal," *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 1, no. 1 (2003): 1-2; Miquel A. Marín Gelabert, "El fracaso de la normalización interior de la historiografía española en los años cincuenta," in *Usos públicos de la historia*, Vol. 1, eds. Carlos Forcadell et al. (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico", 2002), 425-49.

<sup>35</sup> Manuel Loff, "Coming to Terms with the Dictatorial Past in Portugal after 1974: Silence, Remembrance and Ambiguity," in *Postdiktatorische Geschichtskulturen im Süden und Osten Europas: Bestandsaufnahme und Forschungsperspektiven*, ed. Stefan Troebst (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2010), 55-121.

<sup>36</sup> Sylvia L. Hilton, "Democracy Beats the 'Disaster' Complex: Spanish Interpretations of the Colonial Crisis," *OAH Magazine of History* 12, no. 3 (Spring 1998): 11-7. See also María Dolores Elizalde Pérez-Gruoso, "El 98 desde una perspectiva normalizadora: Reflexión historiográfica de un centenario," *Hispania* 61, no. 208 (2001): 707-36.

<sup>37</sup> For the historiographical production until 1998, see *La Crisis del 98*, eds. Yanelet Castillo Ramírez et al. (Madrid: Centro de Información y Documentación Científica, 1998) and for recent trends José Antonio Piqueras, "Explicar la Guerra de Cuba a 120 años de distancia," *Anales de la Real Academia de Cultura Valenciana* 1, nº 93, (2018): 47-85.

<sup>38</sup> Aline Helg set the tone in Cuban and Spanish empire history in 1995, see her *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

1898 than traditional works, and indeed, such studies would seem to indicate that the wars of 1895-98 were much less disruptive than earlier historiography suggests,” Hilton concludes in view of the impact of the wars for Spain.<sup>39</sup> Particularly in Cuba, though, the almost thirty years of anti-colonial warfare between 1868 and 1898 left “deep wounds,” as the Cuban historian Francisco Pérez Guzmán put it.<sup>40</sup> The profound social impact of the war of 1895 to 1898 with some 155,000 to 170,000 civilian deaths—around ten percent of the island’s population—has recently received renewed attention.<sup>41</sup> From a Spanish standpoint, however, more than twenty years after Franco’s death in 1975, and in view of what was widely seen as a successful and even exemplary transition from authoritarian rule to democracy, it seemed time to reframe Spain’s inglorious recent past from a new democratic vantage point: this was “the end of a century of pessimism.”<sup>42</sup>

Analytical and chronological shifts, including more global perspectives, thereby contributed to reframing and “normalizing” scholarly writing about historical experiences in the Spanish empire as it stood at the beginning of the twentieth century. Several excellent studies transcend the previously accepted watershed of “before” and “after” 1898. It is worth pointing out at least two innovative monographs that go beyond the received periodization, particularly in Cuban socio-economic and intellectual history. One is Lillian Guerra’s *The Myth of José Martí*, a path-breaking study analyzing the many meanings ascribed to the Cuban writer, poet, revolutionary, and politician in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>43</sup> Martí’s premature death at Dos Ríos in eastern Cuba in May 1895, when the Cuban War of Independence was still in its early stages, opened the way for the appropriation of his writing as well as his revolutionary life by conservative and social revolutionary factions among the Cuban independence fighters, strategists, and activists. Martí was invoked after the war as a national hero when the island came under U.S. control and later when the Batista dictatorship had Cuba in its grip. The so-called Martian thought also became an ideological pillar of Fidel Castro’s revolution after 1959. Martí’s mysterious

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<sup>39</sup> Hilton, “Democracy,” 12.

<sup>40</sup> Francisco Pérez Guzmán, *Herida profunda* (La Habana: Unión, 1998).

<sup>41</sup> See John L. Tone, *War and Genocide in Cuba, 1895-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Andreas Stucki, *Las Guerras de Cuba: Violencia y campos de concentración (1868-1898)* (Madrid: Esfera de los Libros, 2017).

<sup>42</sup> Amando de Miguel and Roberto-Luciano Barbeito, *El final de un siglo de pesimismo (1898-1998): El estado de ánimo de los españoles* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1998). For new perspectives on the Iberian transitions, see Pamela Radcliff, “Unsettling the Iberian Transitions to Democracy of the 1970s,” in *Routledge Companion to Iberian Studies*, eds. Muñoz-Basols, Lonsdale, and Delgado, 450-61.

<sup>43</sup> Lillian Guerra, *The Myth of José Martí: Conflicting Nationalism in Early Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

death, along with his often ambiguous writing, which left open diverse interpretations, makes him one of the rare personalities revered both in socialist Cuba and within the anti-Castro diaspora in the United States. José Martí's mystique can only be understood and deconstructed when challenging common chronological boundaries and breaking with national paradigms in historical analysis, a feat Lillian Guerra masterfully accomplished.<sup>44</sup>

From a different perspective, Gillian McGillivray's *Blazing Cane* is another contribution deserving attention. McGillivray investigates the intersections of economic, social, and national issues regarding the Cuban sugar industry and state formation from the beginning of the Ten Years' War in 1868 to the brink of the Cuban Revolution in 1959.<sup>45</sup> Again, the focus on a longer span of time allows McGillivray to stress imperial continuities in societal and economic structures that endured beyond Spanish domination. She offers new perspectives on disruptions in the social and natural environment of the island in the long run. With innovative angles on social, economic, environmental, and intellectual history over almost a century, Guerra and McGillivray have contributed significantly to "normalize" the history of the Spanish empire around 1900 and beyond. Their scholarship points the way forward to innovative modes of thinking empire and nation together. As a whole, Cuba and the Caribbean have proven to be an innovative field of historical research, placing the Spanish empire and its institutions in a transnational context, including its relationship with the African Atlantic.<sup>46</sup> As recent contributions suggest, the innovative potential seems far from exhausted.<sup>47</sup>

### **Gender and Race in the Iberian Empires**

From a conceptual point of view, trends in empire historiography hint to further "normalization" in prominently including gender as an analytical category for Iberian colonial history at the turn of the twentieth century. Kristin L. Hoganson's *Fighting for American Manhood* (1998), a study of how notions of masculinity informed the decision in the United States to go to war with Spain in 1898, occupied a rather solitary position in the historiographical landscape until

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<sup>44</sup> See also Paul Estrade, *José Martí: Los fundamentos de la democracia en Latinoamérica* (Aranjuez: Doce Calles, 2000); Armando García de la Torre, *José Martí and the Global Origins of Cuban Independence* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2015).

<sup>45</sup> Gillian McGillivray, *Blazing Cane: Sugar Communities, Class, & State Formation in Cuba, 1868-1959* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).

<sup>46</sup> Benita Sampedro Vizcaya, "Inscribing Islands: From Cuba to Fernando Pó and Back," in *Transatlantic Studies: Latin America, Iberia, and Africa*, eds. Cecilia Enjuto-Rangel et al. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019), 99-113.

<sup>47</sup> See Scott Eastman, "New Directions in Nineteenth-Century Cuban History," *Bulletin for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies* 46, no. 1 (2021): <https://asphs.net/article/new-directions-in-nineteenth-century-cuban-history>.

the publication of Teresa Prados-Torreira's *Mambisas: Rebel Women in Nineteenth-Century Cuba* in 2005.<sup>48</sup> Only in the second decade of the twenty-first century did historians such as Albert García Balaña begin to scrutinize the intersections of race and gender with notions of the Spanish nation that evolved during Spain's colonial wars in Africa, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.<sup>49</sup>

Meticulous research in private and public archives and recently published collections of Spanish soldiers' correspondence has allowed Garcia Balaña to compile a set of private letters written by Spanish soldiers fighting for the integrity of the empire.<sup>50</sup> Their letter writing allows for a gendered analysis, identifying long-lasting stereotypes of Afro-Cuban women and the *mulata* as objects of sexual gratification for Spanish soldiers and of racialized notions of the "other" that reaffirmed their position in the imperial nation.<sup>51</sup> Garcia Balaña's forthcoming monograph on Spain's "war against women" in Cuba, the Philippines, and Morocco will further contribute to our understanding of the intersections of gender, race, empire, and the nation in the Spanish-speaking world of the late nineteenth century.

Concentrating on the Portuguese-speaking world, scholars such as the social anthropologist Ricardo Roque have also focused on gender and ethnic relations in "Portuguese Asia," analyzing such issues as *barlake*, that is, late nineteenth-century marriage practices in Portuguese Timor. The topic is not a trivial one, as intermarriage between Portuguese colonizers and local women contributed to one of the long-standing beliefs about early modern Portuguese colonialism. As the wedding metaphor has it, seafarers and conquerors engaged in

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<sup>48</sup> Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998); Teresa Prados-Torreira, *Mambisas: Rebel Women in Nineteenth-Century Cuba* (Gainesville: University Press of Gainesville, 2005). Prados-Torreira's most recent book focuses on women as slave holders in Cuba, see *The Power of Their Will: Slaveholding Women in Nineteenth-Century Cuba* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2021).

<sup>49</sup> Albert García Balaña, "Patriotismos trasatlánticos: Raza y nación en el impacto de la Guerra de Africa en el Caribe español de 1860," *Ayer* 106, no. 2 (2017): 207-37.

<sup>50</sup> Albert García Balaña, "Colonial Wars, Gender, and Nation in Nineteenth-Century Spain: Soldiers' Writings, Metropolitan Views," in *The Routledge Hispanic Studies Companion to Nineteenth-Century Spain*, ed. Elisa Martí López (London: Routledge, 2020), 136-50. For collections of edited letters, see Manuel Montero, *Las guerras de Cuba y Filipinas contadas por soldados del pueblo: Cartas de Baracaldo* (Bilbao: Ediciones Beta, 2015). With *Sinais de Vida: Cartas da Guerra 1961-1974* (Lisbon: Tinta da China, 2019), Joana Pontes has recently published and commented a collection of letters authored by Portuguese soldiers during the colonial wars in Africa between, 1961-1974.

<sup>51</sup> Albert García Balaña, "'No hay ningún soldado que no tenga una negrita': Raza, género, sexualidad y nación en la experiencia metropolitana de la guerra colonial (Cuba, 1895-1898), in *Vivir la nación: Nuevos debates sobre nacionalismo español*, ed. Xavier Andreu Miralles (Granada: Comares, 2019), 153-86.

strategic marriage *in situ*, particularly in India, to solidify their position in society and trade. Benevolent interpretations of Portuguese colonialism attested to the myth of “a special inclination to marry, or to simply interact sexually with, indigenous people of distinct cultural, racial and ethnic backgrounds, and consequently a tendency to produce harmonious mixed-race communities.”<sup>52</sup> In the mid-twentieth century, this perspective on Portuguese colonial relations, commonly referred to as Lusotropicalism, had become official empire talk.

While Roque emphasizes the variety of Timorese marital cultures throughout the territory, he distinguishes between three main categories of predatory, parasitic, and mimetic “colonial modes of relating to indigenous marriage ties”. Usually promoted by missionaries, the predatory form aimed at ending the local practices of the “transfer of women and the exchange of presents between wife-giving and wife-taking houses” and imposing canonical Catholic weddings. The parasitic and the mimetic form often overlapped. Parasitic models were widespread, and they hint at the fact that Portuguese officers and governors, and not only in Timor, attempted to manipulate the local institutions to create kinship and thereby strategic alliances to their benefit. The mimetic form represented the equivalent to “going native,” occasionally practiced by Portuguese convicts and settlers. This relational approach to *barlake* as “abstract social forms of social interaction” on the spot provides a blueprint for further comparisons of gendered ethnic relations in colonial contexts. It allows scholars to identify indigenous agency through “mutual parasitism in colonial interactions” and to disentangle differing, competing, and changing projects within the colonial states.<sup>53</sup>

The image and the standing of Timor within the Portuguese empire metamorphosed significantly in the post-Second World War period. The supposedly “useless and problematic backwater colony” shifted “from the margins to the center in the imagination of the Portuguese Empire as a national community of affect” in the 1940s and 1950s. This shift was also reflected in Portuguese propaganda slogans imagining Portugal as “one nation” composed of “many races.” As official Portuguese empire rhetoric (inspired by the work of the Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre) maintained, the alleged “multiracial nation” stretched from Minho, a province in northern Portugal, to Portuguese

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<sup>52</sup> Ricardo Roque, “Marriage Traps: Colonial Interactions with Indigenous Marriage Ties in East Timor,” in *Racism and Ethnic Relations in the Portuguese-Speaking World*, eds. Francisco Bethencourt and Adrian J. Pearce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 205, 207-08.

<sup>53</sup> Roque, “Marriage Traps,” 209-10, 214; Ricardo Roque, *Headhunting and Colonialism: Anthropology and the Circulation of Human Skulls in the Portuguese Empire, 1870-1930* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 218-19. Together with Patrice Ladwig Roque has recently further explored the “States of imitation” in colonial situations, see Patrice Ladwig and Ricardo Roque, eds., *States of Imitation: Mimetic Governmentality and Colonial Rule* (New York: Berghahn, 2020).

Timor in Southeast Asia.<sup>54</sup> However, within the purported “multiracial” family, Portuguese anthropologists such as António Mendes Correia ascribed peculiar characteristics to the peoples of Timor. On an anthropological mission in Timor in 1953, Mendes Correia was searching for a “pure race,” a “‘primitive’ other.” Timor was allegedly a cradle of mankind and therefore a perfect laboratory for racial scientists. Critically reflecting on Mendes Correia’s conception of the Timorese people as “biologically different, but spiritually Portuguese,” Roque’s analysis provides a reminder that conceptions of miscegenation and Lusotropicalism were not hegemonic within the Portuguese world in the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>55</sup> Although closely related, biological notions of race coexisted with culturally informed concepts of benevolent Portuguese colonialism, miscegenation, and harmonious ethnic relations.<sup>56</sup>

There have also been recent publications with a particular emphasis on the intersections of race and gender in the Iberian colonies in Africa in the second half of the twentieth century. A handful of these contributions have drawn on the colonial archives of the official Portuguese and Spanish women’s organizations, the *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina* (MPF) and the *Sección Femenina* (SF).<sup>57</sup> Both the MPF and the SF started their activities in the colonies in the early 1960s. While the Portuguese youth organization was functioning from Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde to Macau, and from Portuguese Timor to Angola and Mozambique, its Spanish counterpart was setting up new bases in Ifni, the Spanish enclave on Morocco’s Atlantic coast, in the Spanish Sahara (today Western Sahara), and in Spanish Guinea (today Equatorial Guinea). The Spanish protectorate in northern Morocco had gained independence in 1956.<sup>58</sup> Along with

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<sup>54</sup> Ricardo Roque, “The Racial Science of Patriotic Primitives: António Mendes Correia in Portuguese Timor,” in *Luso-Tropicalism and its Discontents: The Making and Unmaking of Racial Exceptionalism*, eds. Warwick Anderson, Ricardo Roque, and Ricardo Ventura Santos (New York: Berghahn, 2019), 172.

<sup>55</sup> Roque, “Racial Science,” 161, 163, 174.

<sup>56</sup> For an overview and further literature, see the essays in Bethencourt and Pearce, eds., *Racism and Ethnic Relations*.

<sup>57</sup> See, e.g., Ana Paula Ferreira, *Women Writing Portuguese Colonialism in Africa* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020); Cécile Stephanie Stehrenberger, *Franco’s Tänzerinnen auf Auslandstournee: Folklore, Nation und Geschlecht in “Colonial Encounter”* (Bielefeld: Transkript, 2013); *La sección Femenina de Falange en la Guinea Española (1964-1969)*, ed. Gustau Nerin (Barcelona: Ceiba ediciones, Centros Culturales Españoles de Guinea Ecuatorial, 2007).

<sup>58</sup> For the networks and activists working towards Moroccan independence, see David Stenner, *Globalizing Morocco: Transnational Activism and the Postcolonial State* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019); for Morocco’s significant place in recent Spanish history, see Sebastian Balfour, *Deadly Embrace: Morocco and the Road to the Spanish Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) and for the Hispano-African borderland Sasha D. Pack, *The Deepest Border: The Strait of Gibraltar and the Making of the Modern Hispano-African Borderland*

a rich set of published ephemera, Enrique Bengochea Tirado's work is distinguished by the in-depth use of SF records to reconstruct and critically engage with the themes of race and gender in the colonial history of the Spanish Sahara from the 1950s to the 1970s. While aiming at transforming Sahrawis' lives through consumerism and "lifting up (*elevant*)" the female population of the territory through gendered education, especially in home sciences and childcare, members of the SF witnessed how "their girls" subverted the organization's program to serve the women's own goals: organizing anti-colonial protests and moving towards self-determination.<sup>59</sup>

Building on related sources as well as on a broad set of face-to-face interviews, Joanna Allan expands the frame of analysis in *Silenced Resistance* by including both Western Sahara and Equatorial Guinea. Allan further transcends the colonial chronology by going beyond the independence of Equatorial Guinea in 1968 and the Spanish withdrawal from Western Sahara late in 1975 and early 1976. Drawing on the concept of genderwashing, that is, taking advantage of the rhetoric of gender equality for political gain and international prestige, Allan carries her investigation to the present in Moroccan-occupied Western Sahara and to the Teodoro Obiang Nguema dictatorship that has ruled Equatorial Guinea from 1979 until today. Purported gender equality was a shared discourse in both territories in colonial times, and it remains so. As Allan argues, "both the Moroccan and Equatoguinean governments have successfully masked heinous human rights abuses thanks to international public relations campaigns that foreground alleged dedication to gender equality." For Sahrawis in Algerian exile, however, gender equality is a means to "strengthen [the nationalist] revolution."<sup>60</sup> And, one could add, to promote the "ideal [Muslim] refugee" to a Western audience.<sup>61</sup> In essence, *Silenced Resistance* provides fresh insights into the relationship between resistance and gender in authoritarian regimes in both colonial and post-independence times.

In addition to Spain's late colonialism and its subversion in Africa, my own *Violence and Gender in Africa's Iberian Colonies* brings the Portuguese

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(Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2019). See Benita Sampedro's recent review in *Bulletin for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies* 46, no. 1 (2021): [https://asphs.net/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/Review\\_7\\_The-Deepest-Border.pdf](https://asphs.net/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/Review_7_The-Deepest-Border.pdf)

<sup>59</sup> Enrique Bengochea Tirado, *La Sección Femenina en la provincia de Sahara: Entrega, hogar e imperio* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2019), 105, 173.

<sup>60</sup> Joanna Allan, *Silenced Resistance: Women, Dictatorships, and Genderwashing in Western Sahara and Equatorial Guinea* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2019), 5. Konstantina Isidoros, *Nomads and Nation-Building in the Western Sahara: Gender, Politics and the Sahrawi* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2018) offers further opportunities to reflect on gender and politics in Western Sahara in the past and present.

<sup>61</sup> Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, *The Ideal Refugees: Gender, Islam, and the Sahrawi Politics of Survival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014).

empire and the large territories of Angola and Mozambique from the 1950s to the 1970s into the picture. Thematically organized, the study aims at broad coverage of major themes in colonial and empire historiography—from the gendered tools of violence and forced modernization to the “bargains” of women’s cooperation within the colonial power matrix; from cultural endeavors, such as staging domesticity in the colonies, to the anti-colonial movements, the “other modernizers,” and their respective women’s organizations. The book draws on new and hitherto neglected primary material from archives in Portugal, Spain, and the US, and, in particular, on accounts from African women themselves. From a gendered lens the book brings the Iberian empires in Africa into a comparative perspective and elucidates the circulation of gender ideologies, exploring the overlooked overlap between women’s advancement, race, and colonial domination.<sup>62</sup>

A 2020 special issue of *Itinerario: Journal of Imperial and Global Interactions* on “Violence, Migration, and Gender in the Portuguese- and Spanish-speaking World” further expands these themes, both chronologically and geographically. While Susana Trovão and Sandra Araújo’s essay analyzes the intersections of class, gender, and the imperial nation for the communities of Indian descent and Indian nationals in Mozambique after the Portuguese loss of Goa in 1961, Yolanda Aixelà Cabré traces the legal and cultural hurdles, including racial and sexual prejudice, faced by women from Equatorial Guinea in Spain today. The issue brings together an interdisciplinary group of specialists on Africa’s Iberian colonies, as well as scholars focusing on the domestic impacts of decolonization in Spain and Portugal, to analyze more than half a century of social change. Focusing on questions related to violence and gender, forced migration, and current migration regimes, the essays shed light on the presence of colonial pasts.<sup>63</sup>

*Gendering the Portuguese-Speaking World: From the Middle Ages to the Present* is a recent contribution providing a glimpse into the Lusophone world from the Americas to Africa, South and Southeast Asia, still “a world that is not well known [...] in relation to gender.” The book offers an overview of the “state of the art, identif[ying] problems, experiment[ing] methods and suggest[ing] new perspectives”, as the editor Francisco Bethencourt explains.<sup>64</sup> With its accomplished mix of broad overviews of gender relations and sexual orientation

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<sup>62</sup> Andreas Stucki, *Violence and Gender in Africa’s Iberian Colonies: Feminizing the Portuguese and Spanish Empire, 1950s-1970s* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

<sup>63</sup> See the *Itinerario: Journal of Imperial and Global Interactions* 44, no. 1 (2020) special issue “Violence, Migration, and Gender in the Portuguese-and Spanish-speaking World: Local Impacts, Global Processes and the Echoes of Empire, 1945-2019,” ed. Andreas Stucki.

<sup>64</sup> Francisco Bethencourt, “Introduction” to *Gendering the Portuguese-Speaking World: From the Middle Ages to the Present* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 5.

in Portugal as well as in the overseas empire and specialized case studies (e.g., by Anna M. Klobucka on queerness and homophobia in Brazil in the nineteenth century and by Philip J. Havik on gendering health in Portugal's African colonies from 1945 to 1975), the volume brings together varied themes related to gender and empire.

In gendering the modern Iberian empires, historians have frequently followed the pathways scholars from cultural studies opened several decades ago, while exploring new or hitherto neglected archival sources across the Portuguese- and Spanish-speaking world.<sup>65</sup> Historians of the Iberian empires have also taken inspiration from peers in British and French colonial history. Having said that, one should keep in mind that it was only in 2004 that the *Oxford History of the British Empire* issued a volume on *Gender and Empire* in its companion series. And it was only the year before when Robert Aldrich published his monograph *Colonialism and Homosexuality*, a key contribution to the analysis of masculinities in the colonial world.<sup>66</sup>

While there is almost a boom in recent scholarship on the broad cultural context of Spanish (post-)colonialism in Africa in the twentieth century, there is still a lack of comparable works to Bethencourt's edited volume on gender and empire in the *longue durée*.<sup>67</sup> What is more, despite shared rhetoric and similar trajectories, the differences between the Portuguese and Spanish imperial projects, particularly throughout the twentieth century, seem to have forestalled comparative approaches. Comparative takes may lead the way to a global history of modern Iberian empires.

### **Towards Global History**

To return to Jagor's analysis, he hinted at a globalizing world with retreating Iberian powers and emerging new imperial players as well as buoyant old ones in the late nineteenth century.<sup>68</sup> His comments on imperial entanglements

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<sup>65</sup> Jennifer Smith and Lisa Nalbone, eds., *Intersections of Race, Class, Gender, and Nation in Fin-de-siècle Spanish Literature and Culture* (London: Routledge, 2017); Hilary Owen and Anna M. Klobucka, eds., *Gender, Empire, and Postcolony: Luso-Afro-Brazilian Intersections* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Susan Martín-Márquez, *Disorientations: Spanish Colonialism in Africa and the Performance of Identity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008).

<sup>66</sup> Philippa Levine, ed., *Gender and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Robert Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality* (London: Routledge, 2003).

<sup>67</sup> See, among others, the special issue of the *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 20, no. 1-2 (2019), "Entering the Global Hispanophone," eds. Adolfo Campoy-Cubillo and Benita Sampedro Vizcaya, or recent work by Sara Santamaría Colmenero, "Una nación moderna: Masculinidades españolas postimperiales frente a Guinea Ecuatorial," *Studia Histórica: Historia Contemporánea* 38 (2020): 175-99.

<sup>68</sup> See also Fedor Jagor, *Singapore, Malacca, Java: Reiseskizzen* (Berlin: Verlag von Julius Springer, 1866), 92.

and geopolitics offer a reminder that scholars of the Iberian world have shaped “global history” long before the concept conquered the academic world.<sup>69</sup> From the Philippines to Cuba and Western Sahara, from Angola to Brazil and Portuguese Timor, analyses of modern Iberian empires regularly stretch across the globe, underlining human mobilities and entanglements and exchange in trade, culture, and ideas. Until the 1970s and 1980s, studies of economic interactions, diplomacy, and the mobility of colonial administrators may have dominated the picture while later historians were, at times, torn between regional and global approaches. Critiques from historians such as Jeremy Adelman on the limits of the “global turn” in history writing—particularly scholars’ heavy reliance on English language sources and their predominant focus on entanglements within the anglophone world—have found their way to popular outlets and a diverse readership. In a review essay, David A. Bell reminded readers that global historians have fleshed out myriad shared experiences, connections, and networks around the globe. Yet when focusing on the bigger picture, they often struggle to explain “not just [...] how things changed, but why.”<sup>70</sup>

Richard Drayton and David Motadel addressed Adelman’s and Bell’s criticisms in defense of global perspectives in the *Journal of Global History*. Titled “The Futures of Global History”, the response leaves a rather artificial black and white impression. In fact, neither Adelman nor Bell aimed at obliterating global history as a perspective of analysis, despite their provocatively phrased criticism. As Adelman underlined in his reply, his was “a call for a little more humility and a lot more clarity” when writing the global; his was an “effort to make the case for [global history’s] continued importance in a new historic conjuncture.”<sup>71</sup> Indeed, from a global perspective, the Portuguese and Spanish empire provide a “fertile field of opportunities,” as Jorge Luengo and Pol Dalmau put it.<sup>72</sup> Even though a late-comer in what has been an anglophone field, global history is innate to investigating the Iberian colonial world, including after its early modern periods of domination.

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<sup>69</sup> See also Stefan Rinke and Frederik Schulze, “Global History *avant la lettre*: The Historiography on Latin America between Regional Studies and Global Challenges,” *Comparativ* 29, no. 2 (2019): 20-35.

<sup>70</sup> Jeremy Adelman, “What is Global History Now?,” *Aeon*, 2 March 2017; David A. Bell, “This Is What Happens When Historians Overuse the Idea of the Network,” *The New Republic*, 26. October 2013.

<sup>71</sup> See for the debate between David A. Bell, Jeremy Adelman, Richard Drayton, and David Motadel, “Discussion: The Futures of Global History,” *Journal of Global History* 13, no. 1 (March 2018): 1-21, esp. 18 & 20 (quotations).

<sup>72</sup> Jorge Luengo and Pol Dalmau, “Writing Spanish History in the Global Age: Connections and Entanglements in the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Global History* 13, no. 3 (November 2018): 425; Frederick Schulze and Georg Fischer, “Brazilian History as Global History,” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 38, no. 4 (September 2019): 408-22.

A good model for innovative research towards global entanglements with a fine eye for micro-historical contexts has been the recent research on the history of the transatlantic slave trade and slave labor in the Americas in the nineteenth century. For example, recent publications on the “Second Slavery” and on Cuba and the “hidden Atlantic”—the illegal slave trade that persisted well into the 1860s—, as well as on Brazil, where slavery was not abolished until 1888, have reshaped our understanding of abolition and forced labor in the Atlantic world.<sup>73</sup> Trends in the scholarship on nineteenth-century slavery and concepts of “race” in the Spanish-speaking world are the subject of another article in this special issue. Thus, it may suffice here to stress that forced labor, ethnic relations, and racism in the modern Iberian empires and beyond are among the pertinent topics when scrutinizing global historical processes and their local impacts.<sup>74</sup> Conceptions of race and ethnic relations in the Iberian empires in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are indeed one further example of how scholarship on Spanish and Portuguese colonialism may contribute to expand our understanding of the global history of “race”. The field has long been dominated by North Atlantic conceptions, yet scholars such as Warwick Anderson have hinted at the missing links in research on race sciences regarding the “Global South”. This was more than a laboratory of racial sciences, but a “site of knowledge making.”<sup>75</sup> The volumes *Racism and Ethnic Relations in the Portuguese-speaking World* and *Luso-tropicalism and its Discontents*, with essays covering race relations around the globe, point the way forward for further comparative and global analysis of a social and cultural question, the legacies of which shape societies across the world to this day.<sup>76</sup>

Scholars such as Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and José Pedro Monteiro have analyzed forced labor in the Portuguese empire with an emphasis on modern Africa.<sup>77</sup> In the interwar years, the question of forced labor in the Portuguese

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<sup>73</sup> Michael Zeuske, “Out of the Americas: Slave Traders and the *Hidden Atlantic* in the Nineteenth Century,” *Atlantic Studies* 15, no. 1 (2018): 103-135; Michael Zeuske, *Amistad: A Hidden Network of Slavers and Merchants* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2015); Dale W. Tomich, ed., *Atlantic Transformations: Empire, Politics, and Slavery During the Nineteenth Century* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2020); Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *Empire and Antislavery: Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, 1863-1874* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999); Herbert S. Klein and Francisco Vidal Luna, *Slavery in Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>74</sup> Francisco Bethencourt and Adrian J. Pearce, eds., *Racism and Ethnic Relations in the Portuguese-Speaking World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>75</sup> Warwick Anderson, “Racial Conceptions in the Global South,” *Isis* 105, no. 2 (2014): 783.

<sup>76</sup> Bethencourt and Pearce, eds., *Racism and Ethnic Relations*; Anderson, Roque, and Ventura Santos, eds., *Luso-Tropicalism and its Discontents*.

<sup>77</sup> Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, *The “Civilising Mission” of Portuguese Colonialism, 1870-1930* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and José Pedro Monteiro, “Colonial Labour Internationalized: Portugal and the Decolonization Momentum (1945-1975),” *International History Review* 42, no. 3 (2020): 485-504.

empire was widely discussed and critically assessed in transnational forums such as the League of Nations and its International Labor Organization. After 1945, the thorny issue regularly appeared on the agenda of the United Nations and its sub-organizations as forced labor practices endured in the Portuguese colonies until reforms in 1961.<sup>78</sup> Recent contributions have skillfully located the labor politics and practices in the Portuguese empire in their global context, convincingly showing Portugal's endeavors to adapt to international standards or at least to adopt the idioms of internationalism. Identifying both adaptation and resistance on the part of Portuguese empire policy makers to international pressure, fresh scholarship has contributed to "normalizing" the trajectory of Portuguese colonialism in the twentieth century, deflating, among other issues, notions of international isolation.<sup>79</sup>

Current research has made a significant step towards including Portugal and its empire in the global history of international relations in the twentieth century.<sup>80</sup> Global perspectives suggest analyzing historical "phenomena, events, or processes" in relation to "global contexts." Hence, the move towards global history in Iberian empire and colonial historiography may be seen as a further step towards "normalization." From a methodological point of view, centering on "local events" as "shaped by a global context that can be understood structurally or even systemically" forces perceived special paths to take a backseat.<sup>81</sup> This focus opens up further opportunities to integrate empire and colonialism in modern Iberian history into comparative and global perspectives. There is, of course, still work to do, particularly when it comes to Spanish imperial history after 1945 and to the general legacies of Iberian colonialism today.<sup>82</sup>

### Future Directions

For the early modern Iberian empires political, economic, social, and cultural entanglements have been thoroughly explored in recent years.<sup>83</sup> While in

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<sup>78</sup> Eric Allina, *Slavery by any other Name: African Life under Company Rule in Colonial Mozambique* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

<sup>79</sup> See the essays in the special issue of *Portuguese Studies* 29, no. 2 (2013), "International Dimensions of Portuguese Late Colonialism and Decolonization," eds. Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and António Costa Pinto.

<sup>80</sup> See the special issue of the *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 48, no. 5 (2020) on "Imperialism, Internationalism and Globalisation in Twentieth Century Africa," eds. Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and Damiano Matasci.

<sup>81</sup> Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 5, 11. Thanks to the anonymous reviewer for pointing me in this direction.

<sup>82</sup> See, e.g., Yolanda Aixelà-Cabré, ed., *Africa in Europe and Europe in Africa: Reassessing the Cultural Legacy* (New York: Peter Lang, 2021).

<sup>83</sup> For the early modern period, see, e.g., Daniela Bleichmar et al., eds., *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009); John H. Elliott,

the early modern period, Spain and Portugal are also well present in comparative approaches and debates on global history, the Iberian colonies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries often are not. Though nineteenth-century historiography is catching up, Spain's residual twentieth-century empire is often absent in comparative and global histories of the late colonial world. This is particularly true when it comes to analyzing the global historical process of the eclipse of empires after 1945. So far, Spanish colonialism in Africa in the second half of the twentieth century has carried the label of Francisco Franco's idle fancy. While recent studies have shown the long-lasting impact of Spanish colonialism in Africa, the belated or incomplete decolonization, as in the case of Western Sahara in 1975 and 1976, are either ignored or appear as an Iberian exception in comparative overviews of the topic.

On the one hand, comparative studies examining Spanish and Portuguese decolonization in the long run (1820s to 1970s) would contribute to a better understanding of the adaptability and longevity of empire as a form of social organization. On the other, comparisons beyond the "Iberian worlds" could provide fresh perspectives on modern global empire history. Comparative vantage points are also promising when it comes to the cultural legacies of colonialism that "Europe after empire" is debating now. How should colonialism be remembered, how are museums with colonial collections to deal with artefacts when provenance is unclear?<sup>84</sup> So far, scholars of the Iberian world have not spearheaded these discussions.

What is more, the lack of critical public assessments of the history of Iberian empires has paved the way for political appropriation and whitewashing of imperial pasts, both in Portugal and in Spain. Since 1991, official Spain aimed to refashion the cultural ties with the former colonies via recurrent conferences with the heads of state and government, i.e., the Ibero-American Summits, and through cultural institutions such as the Instituto Cervantes. "Our shared languages and cultures and our firm conviction that only with authentic democracy [...] can our nations successfully face the challenges of the twenty-first century," King Juan Carlos stated in a speech at a summit in Havana in November 1999. Cultural bonds embodied by a shared language and a

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*Spain, Europe & the Wider World, 1500-1800* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009); Bethany Aram and Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla, eds., *Global Goods and the Spanish Empire, 1492-1824: Circulation, Resistance and Diversity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

<sup>84</sup> Robert Aldrich, "Remembrances of Empires Past," *PORTAL: Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies* 7, no. 1 (2010): 1-19; Robert Aldrich, "Apologies, Restitutions, and Compensation: Making Reparation for Colonialism," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Ends of Empire*, eds. Martin Thomas and Andrew S. Thompson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1-21.

commitment to democracy were allegedly the keys to cohesion of the community.<sup>85</sup>

After almost four decades of dictatorship, Spain had swiftly showcased itself as a beacon of democracy for the former Latin American colonies, many of which were struggling to come to terms with their recent military dictatorships and civil wars. Spain's "exemplary" transition from dictatorship to democracy became a valuable add-on to the *Hispanidad* of the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century. The imagined Hispanic cultural bond between Spain and its former colonies in South America, the Caribbean, and Southeast Asia had already been extended to the small Spanish empire in Africa with the *Hispanidad africana* in the mid-twentieth century. Towards the millennium, European integration had strengthened the Spanish position beyond the cultural realm. Madrid-based companies such as Telefónica had begun reconquering (in economic terms) the American subcontinent from Argentina and Peru to Panama since the 1990s.<sup>86</sup>

For Portugal, the economic shift towards Europe since the 1960s and European integration in 1986 (alongside Spain) made for a smooth transition from empire to nation at the European periphery, as scholars such as António Costa Pinto have argued.<sup>87</sup> Others, however, contend "that Portugal has never really given up her colonies;" meaning that decolonization as a social and cultural process is still pending. Elsa Peralta recently concluded that "in the national collective mind the empire has perhaps never ceased to exist."<sup>88</sup> Indeed, with the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries (CPLP: Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa), Portugal in the 1990s undertook its own "post-colonial attempt to establish a grouping akin to the British Commonwealth."<sup>89</sup> Like Spain, Portugal also "needed a European bypass" for a "re-imagination of a Lusophone world," António Costa Pinto and Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo have argued.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> This and the following paragraphs are based on the "Epilog: The Presence of Imperial Pasts" in Stucki, *Violence and Gender*, 291-301.

<sup>86</sup> For a critical view on Hispanic Atlantic constructs, see Abril Trigo, "Transatlantic Studies and the Geopolitics of Hispanism," in *Transatlantic Studies*, eds. Enjuto-Rangel et al., 67-75.

<sup>87</sup> António Costa Pinto, "The Transition to Democracy and Portugal's Decolonization," in *The Last Empire: Thirty Years of Portuguese Decolonization*, eds. Stewart Lloyd-Jones and António Costa Pinto (Bristol: Intellect, 2003), 17-35.

<sup>88</sup> Landeg White, "Empire's Revenge," *Index on Censorship* 28, no. 1 (1999): 55 (quotation); Elsa Peralta, "Fictions of a Creole Nation: (Re)Presenting Portugal's Imperial Past," in *Negotiating Identities: Constructed Selves and Others*, ed. Helena Vella Bonavita (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011), 193-217 (quotation on page 212).

<sup>89</sup> Norrie MacQueen, "Belated Decolonization and UN Politics Against the Backdrop of the Cold War: Portugal, Britain, and Guinea-Bissau's Proclamation of Independence, 1973-1974," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 8 no. 4 (Summer 2006), 29.

<sup>90</sup> António Costa Pinto and Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, "Ideologies of Exceptionality and the Legacies of Empire in Portugal," in *Memories of Post-Imperial Nations: The Aftermath of*

Cultural constructs such as the CPLP and the Ibero-American Community of Nations contributed to “normalize” the imperial pasts of the Iberian countries. On a political stage, shared languages and cultures pushed the violence of colonialism away. The year 2021 saw the sixtieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Portuguese colonial wars in Angola which lasted until the “Carnation Revolution” in April 1974. In the political realm in Portugal, Costa Pinto has explained, it is difficult to stimulate politicians’ critical engagement with the recent colonial past in the Iberian country. For his part, another historian, Manuel Loff, argues that there is still a lack of critical engagement with mass violence perpetrated by Portuguese troops in the colonial wars in the national cultures of remembrance.<sup>91</sup> The trope of the “good-hearted Portuguese people” is still very much alive.<sup>92</sup> When it comes to “Europe after Empire” and to “de-imperializing” the historiography of the Iberian empires, there is still work to do.<sup>93</sup>

As this essay has shown, “normalization” in modern Iberian empire historiography has many meanings. “Normalization” points to the scholarly re-conceptions of empire during the long Iberian retreat, highlighting the shape-shifting abilities of the Portuguese and the Spanish empires, which help to explain (at least in part) the longevity of empire as a form of social organization across the globe and throughout the centuries.<sup>94</sup> In the Iberian context, “normalization” is also a reminder of how the present shapes the interpretations of the past, particularly of what had been perceived by intellectuals and politicians at the time as traumatic events. Furthermore, the theme of “normalization” reveals how the disciplines dedicated to empire history—which, for many decades, were in the service of the dictatorial regimes in Madrid and Lisbon—have caught up with and shaped new trends: from gendering the modern Iberian empires to adopting global approaches, in which the Portuguese- and Spanish-speaking world of the nineteenth and twentieth century has too long been absent.

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*Decolonization, 1945-2013*, ed. Dietmar Rothermund (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 110-11.

<sup>91</sup> See Ana Sá Lopes’ interview with António Costa Pinto in *Público* 19 July 2021; Manuel Loff, “Nos 60 anos da Guerra Colonial: (Des)memória e imaturidade,” *Público*, 14 March 2021.

<sup>92</sup> Omar Ribeiro Thomaz, “‘The Good-Hearted Portuguese People’: Anthropology of Nation, Anthropology of Empire,” in *Empires, Nations, and Natives: Anthropology and State-Making*, eds. Benoît de L’Estoile, Federico Neiburg, and Lygia Maria Sigaud (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 58-87.

<sup>93</sup> Elizabeth Buettner, *Europe after Empire: Decolonization, Society, and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Cristiana Bastos, “Intersections of Empire, Post-Empire, and Diaspora: De-Imperializing Lusophone Studies,” *Journal of Lusophone Studies* 5, no. 2 (December 2020): 27-54.

<sup>94</sup> Delgado Ribas, “Eclipse and Collapse,” 43-54; Francisco Bethencourt, “Low-Cost Empire: Interaction Between the Portuguese and Local Societies in Asia,” in *Rivalry and Conflict: European Traders and Asian Trading Networks in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, eds. Ernst van Veen and Leonard Blussé (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2005), 108-30.