Unveiling Identity and Otherness in War Exile: An Anglo-Portuguese Perspective

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1.The Unknown History that Tainted the Portuguese Identity

When both Portuguese historians and the publishing world acknowledge that readers deserve to be enlightened and informed about the underestimated yet fascinating events of World War II on Portuguese soil,[1] it becomes evident that this period of Portuguese history deserves the publication of new historiographic insights. Many aspects of Portugal's external relations have been unknown and undermined nationwide until the beginning of the 21st century. In contrast, internal affairs during the *Estado Novo* period (1933 to 1974) under the rule of António de Oliveira Salazar (1933-1968) and later Marcelo Caetano (1968-1974) have been extensively discussed and written about.

This essay focuses on Neill Lochery's first book about Portugal, *Lisbon: War in the Shadows of the City of Light, 1935-1945* (2011), and how the author portrays the experiences of war exiles in the Portuguese capital during WWII. The main goal is to explore the dynamics between the English Self and the Portuguese Other, and to examine through Lochery's

1. This statement is our translation of the back cover of the paratext in Pedro Rabaçal's book *Portugueses na Segunda Guerra Mundial* (2023).

work, how different images contribute to maintaining or breaking down imbalances of power. Additionally, it aims to analyze the image of the Portuguese as depicted in contemporary British writing, and how the construction of Otherness shapes the perception of identity.

Until the beginning of the 21st century, Portuguese historians have primarily focused on the censorship, control, and oppression carried out by PIDE[2] (the political police), the extensive use of propaganda through the media,[3] and Salazar's strong determination to maintain Portugal's African colonies by initiating a colonial war from 1961 to 1974. Notable historians such as Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão[4] and João Medina[5] have contributed to our understanding of this period through their works dedicated to the *Estado Novo*. During this time, Portugal served as a hub for both Allied and Axis spies and provided refuge for war exiles. This pivotal international role has been somehow understated in Portuguese historical accounts of the 20th century.

While there are numerous studies about the *Estado Novo* period, published during the dictatorship, and continuing after the Revolution of 1974 up to recent times, the historical interpretation of this significant period in Portuguese history has evolved over the decades.

During the *Estado Novo* regime, António Ferro, a Portuguese journalist, politician, diplomat, and director of the Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional (SPN), was responsible for managing the government's

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2. This acronym stands for *Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado*.
3. By media, we mean newspapers, radio and TV. Newspapers such as *Diário de Notícias*, *O Século*, *Diário da Manhã* or *República*, even with private and theoretically independent management, had the function of disseminating government programs, official decisions and propaganda texts. It was inspected by the State and under the supervision of the Censorship. Due to the high rate of illiteracy, radio became a strong ally of the *Estado Novo*, particularly with the creation of the "Emissora Nacional" in 1935, which prosed a public broadcasting service and served as a source of propaganda for the Regime. Portuguese Radio Television (RTP) began broadcasting in 1957. Still, until 1974, it was subject to tight government control when broadcasting its programs, as it became the most important and effective means of communication due to the high illiteracy rate.
4. A close friend of Marcelo Caetano, Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão authored works such as *História de Portugal* (Lisboa: Verbo, 197-,19 vols.) and *Marcelo Caetano. Confidências no Exílio* (Lisboa: Verbo, 198-). Serrão represents one of the historians who started to bring to light the episode of the refugees in Portugal during World War II with the reference of Aristides de Sousa Mendes as the diplomat who saved 30,000 war refugees in his text "O Êxodo Maciço de Europeus para Portugal" (2000, 395). For further research see Serrão, *História de Portugal [1935-1941]* (Lisboa: Verbo, vol.XVI, 2000).
5. See Medina, *História Contemporânea de Portugal. Ditadura: O Estado Novo: Do 28 de Maio ao Movimento dos Capitães* (Lisboa: Amigos do Livro, vol. 1 and 2, 1985).

propaganda until 1949 and played a significant role in shaping the history of *Estado Novo* during wartime carefully communicating Salazar's ideology and determining what the public should know about the Regime's events and how it should be perceived and perpetuated. In opposition, Portuguese historians like Fernando Rosas[6] were silenced and only published their insight over the History of this period after the Revolution.

Concerned with influencing international opinion about the Regime, the propaganda machine targeted Portuguese scholars, but not only them. According to an interview published in 2018 in *Jornal Público*[7] and conducted by Luís Octávio Costa, the scholar Vasco Ribeiro mentioned that the Government Communication Department paid foreign historians and newspapers to shape the world's perception of Portugal. Ribeiro provides an example of a five-year commercial relationship that the Regime had with a communication agency based in New York, George Peabody and Associates. The agency was responsible for planting positive news about Portugal.

Additionally, some historians were invited to Portugal by Portuguese institutions. In 1934, the British lusophile John Gibbons (1882-1949), who had close relations with António Ferro, visited Portugal. Gibbons was invited by the Tourism Initiative Committees of the Algarve region and wrote *Playtime in Portugal. An Unconventional Guide to the Algarve* (1936). (Matos 2012, 63) The author became friends with António Ferro and was invited to write the preface and translate Ferro's book *Salazar* (1933).

During the *Estado Novo*, the publication of national historiography was easier to manage than foreign historical narratives. The impossibility of silencing foreign authors who criticised the Regime led to

6. Fernando Rosas emerges as a prominent figure due to his multifaceted roles as an academic, a politician and founder of *Bloco de Esquerda*, a Portuguese left-wing party, and a historian. His dedication to political activism led to a prison sentence in 1972, highlighting the extent of his engagement in shaping the socio-political landscape of Portugal. It is noteworthy that during the *Estado Novo* era, Portuguese historians encountered substantial censorship, a topic that has been thoughtfully explored in the article authored by Christophe Araújo, "O Passado na Ponta da Pena. Liberdades e Censuras nas Práticas Historiográficas Antes e Depois do 25 de Abril de 1974" (2024) (https://hal.science/hal-04558433/document)

7. The full interview can be found here: https://www.publico.pt/2018/09/22/fugas/noticia/a-propaganda-do-estado-novo-disfarcada-de-guia-de-viagens-1844553

the publication of travel writing and tourist guides such as *Portuguese Panorama* (1955) written by Oswell Blakeston, who refers to Portugal as a "land of palaces and poverty, bright sun and censorship" and "life in Portugal is a nightmare for those who like freedom." Ralph Fox's *Portugal Now* (1937) also falls into this category. Although Fox cannot exactly be considered a lusophile, his unique travel narrative exposes the results of his investigations in an ironic tone but with critical precision, outlining the sociopolitical reality of the country during the dictatorship.

The neglect of significant aspects of Portuguese History may also be attributed to the challenges faced by historians in accessing and examining documentation related to the *Estado Novo*. Access to archives of Portuguese institutions directly linked to the *Estado Novo*, such as PIDE-DGS (International and State Defense Police), the Censorship Commission, the National Propaganda Department, and Salazar's archive, has been slow and gradual. (Silva 2009, 209) This limited access has led to the publication of numerous studies focusing primarily on internal social and political events of this period, contributing to the development of a fragile national historical image. The perpetuation of stereotypes, only sustained through repetition and dissemination by reputable sources, (McGarty 2002, 5) has resulted in national feelings of shame and negativity towards a dictatorship that is hoped never to be repeated.

Furthermore, the scant attention paid to external politics in national history encyclopedias, coupled with the emphasis on internal politics, has contributed to a distorted portrayal of Portugal during the Second World War. This distortion is achieved through the use of language that shapes cultural representations by communicating symbols associated with specific individuals, such as Salazar, and events like his public speeches. Additionally, objects like photos, newspapers, and propaganda posters were utilized to propagate this representation. (Hall 28)

However, starting from the 1990s, Portuguese historians such as António José Telo in *Portugal na Segunda Guerra (1941-1945)* (1991),[8]

8. In the Introduction to his book, António Telo admits the lack of "impartial" studies that create the image of Salazar as a great genius who plotted a brilliant strategy creating international envy and admiration. (5)

Fernando Rosas in *Portugal entre a Paz e a Guerra, 1939-1945* (1995), António Louçã in *Hitler e Salazar. Comércio em Tempos de Guerra* (2000), João Medina in *Salazar, Hitler e Franco* (2000), and more recently Pedro Rabaçal in *Segunda Guerra Mundial* (2023) have been uncovering a more comprehensive perspective on the events of World War II that have contributed to the construction of a more positive image and a rethinking of Portuguese national identity. At the same time, they shed light on some of the foreign policies carried out by António Oliveira Salazar.[9]

In addition, there is a growing interest in Portugal's role in World War II among international scholars, novelists, and historians. The onset of this century has been marked by numerous global conflicts, leading to the influx of thousands of war refugees seeking asylum in Europe. Within Portugal, there is a significant focus on works related to the Second World War, with the Jewish people and war exiles portrayed as literary protagonists. Furthermore, the country is commemorating fifty years since the conclusion of a nearly five-decade-long dictatorship, during which freedom of expression was stifled by censorship. Portugal is now emerging as a source of pride for previously marginalized minorities. These circumstances have instigated a growing interest among the people in innovative methods of narrating historical events, particularly within the realm of literature.

The publication of studies concerning the pivotal importance of Portugal in World War II and its actions towards war exiles has flourished in the literary panorama. Foreign contemporary historians such as Ronald Weber published *The Lisbon Route. Entry and Escape in Nazi Europe* in 2011, the same year Lochery released his historiographic narrative, *Lisbon* (2011). A decade later, in 2020, Tom Gallagher released the widely acclaimed *Salazar: The Dictator Who Refused to Die* (2020), followed by Marion Kaplan's *Os Refugiados Judeus de Hitler. Esperança e Ansiedade em Portugal* (2022).

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9. Also, through fiction, novel writers such as the Serbian Dejan Tiago-Stankovic (1965-2022) in *Estoril. Um Romance de Guerra* (2016), the Portuguese writer Maria João Fialho Gouveia with her novel *Sob os Ceús do Estoril: Um Romance entre os Espiões na 2ª Guerra Mundial* (2017) and the TV Series *A Espia* (2020) have greatly contributed to widening the general public's knowledge on the diplomatic participation of Portugal and how its neutrality served both Allies and Axis.

2. The Scottish Historian and his Infatuation with Portuguese History

The extensive body of work by Scottish author and historian Neill Lochery (born in 1965) focuses on the modern history of Europe and the Mediterranean Middle East.[10] It includes not only books, but also numerous contributions to newspapers and journals. Lochery's deep interest in Portuguese history has driven him to years of research and writing, through which he has uncovered new information, documents, and photos, shedding light on the country's culture and identity. His work can be analyzed under the light of Imagology,[11] as the author enters the problematic territory of representation, contrasts alterities and identities, hugely contributing to unveil a different perspective on Portugal and the Portuguese.[12] Lochery's metahistory, as defined by Hayden White,[13] presents Portugal's history in a relatable narrative, delving into social, cultural, and everyday aspects.

The works of the author have shed light on the significance of Portugal in global affairs from 1935 to the present day. This is evident in the publication of *Lisbon: War in the Shadows of the City of Light* (2011),[14] which marked the beginning of the exploration. Subsequently, the focus on Lisbon as the "city of light" continued with *Outside Looking*

10. The references of Neill Lochery's books and journal publications can be found on his website, http://www.neill-lochery.co.uk/home.html, along with several book reviews. *Lisbon: War in the Shadows of the City of Light, 1935-1945* (2011) has been Lochery's most acclaimed book. See http://www.neill-lochery.co.uk/publications-lisbon-war-in-the-shadows-of-the-city-of-light-1939-45-2011-.html.
11. Imagology, as a scholarly discipline, focuses on cross-national perceptions and images as conveyed in literary and cultural discourses. It scrutinizes the portrayal of the Other, investigates concepts of foreignness and the foreigner, and consequently prompts an examination of the Image as a historical construct. For further study see M. Beller and J.T. Leerssen (ed.), *Imagology. The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters. A Critical Survey* (Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2007).
12. The English writer Aubrey Bell (1882-1950) in his work *Portugal and the Portuguese* (1915) is also a great example of representing the Portuguese identity through a British perspective. He also reflects upon Portuguese culture by characterizing the society, the religion and the educational system in a period of change from the monarchy to the republic up to the second decade of the 20th century.
13. See Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).
14. From now on it will be referred to as *Lisbon* (2011).

In – City of Light, 1933-1974 (2013).[15] In this work, the author delves deeper into how Lisbon was perceived by external entities, making a valuable contribution to Anglo-Portuguese Studies and potential future research on the external perceptions of the Portuguese and the reconstruction of their identity during the dictatorship and the subsequent transition to democracy. The significance of the author's *oeuvre* in the literary sphere is evident from the immediate interest shown by the publisher, Editorial Presença, in translating the author's work. An example of this is the translation *Lisboa: A Cidade Vista de Fora, 1933-1974* (2013), by Manuel António Vieira and Alberto Gomes, which was published in the same year as the original text.

In his book *Out of the Shadows: Portugal from Revolution to the Present Day* (2017), Lochery explores Portuguese history from the end of the *Estado Novo* to the beginning of the 21st century. He aims to challenge the perception of Portugal as just a tourist destination and a financially struggling European country. Instead, he presents Portugal as a nation with a promising future, one that has overcome political and economic challenges to enter a new era.[16] This perspective is offered by a Scottish historian with a deep interest in Portuguese history and culture. Thus, this British Self denounces itself in the discourse about the Other, (Terenas 40) by reflecting and producing a certain image of the Portuguese history and culture.

The author's fascination with Portuguese history and his endeavor to alter the perception of Portugal as a small, inconsequential nation, with a role in Europe's fate that has often been overlooked, drove his research and further publication of *Porto: Gateway to the World* (2020).[17] In this work, Oporto is portrayed as one of Europe's ancient cities, with the author acknowledging its "rich history, from its inception to the contemporary era."[18]

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15. Despite the reference to this title on Neill Lochery's website (http://www.neill-lochery.co.uk/), the bibliographic reference to the original English text could not be located in any publisher, bookstore, or library. This leads to the conclusion that the original text may have been directly managed by the Portuguese publisher responsible for its translation into Portuguese.
16. Back cover paratext (Lochery 2017).
17. Also translated to Portuguese in the same year – *Porto: A Entrada para o Mundo* (2020).
18. See http://www.neill-lochery.co.uk/publications-porto-gateway-to-the-world.html

3. Lochery's Exotopy: Salazar and War Exiles

The role of Portugal in wartime and its policy of political neutrality through diplomacy are not well-known by the general public. In his early study, *Lisbon* (2011), Lochery reveals the economic benefits that Salazar promoted in the name of neutrality during the war period, and how diplomacy was skillfully used to serve national interests. A photo (Fig.1) shows several diplomats socializing on Portuguese soil, illustrating Salazar's mastery in balancing his interests between the Allies and the Axis powers:

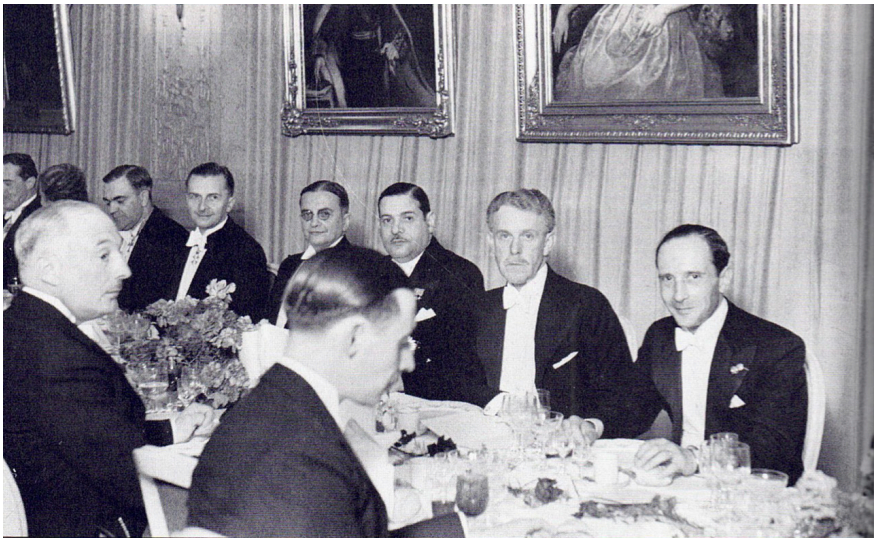

Fig.1 – The British Ambassador, Sir Walford Selby (second from the right, facing camera), dining in Lisbon with local business leaders while being closely shadowed by the German ambassador, Baron Oswald von Hoyningen-Huene (fifth from the right, facing camera) (Lochery 2011).

As an extension of his book *Lisbon* (2011), Neill Lochery inaugurates two exhibitions, one in 2012 named *Lisboa: Bottleneck of Europe in World War II – 1939-1945* and ten years later, *1941: Guggenheim &*

Fleming, Artistas e Espiões em Portugal durante a II Guerra Mundial.[19] In an interview about the latter exhibition, Lochery emphasized the international importance of Portugal during WWII, highlighting aspects that Portuguese scholars and historians had not previously emphasized.[20]

In recent decades, there has been a growing interest in understanding Portugal's role in the War, particularly concerning exiles, and especially Jewish refugees. Works by historians and scholars such as Manuel Loff's *As Duas Ditaduras Ibéricas na Nova Ordem Eurofascista (1936-1945)* (2004), Ansgar Schaefer's *Portugal e os Refugiados Judeus Provenientes do Território Alemão* (2014), Jorge Martins' *Portugal e os Judeus* (2006), Irene Flunser Pimentel's *Judeus em Portugal durante a II Guerra Mundial* (2008), and Avraham Milgram's *Portugal, Salazar e os Judeus* (2010), among others, have significantly contributed to uncovering previously unknown events in Portuguese history during this period.

Understanding Portuguese history and culture has become Lochery's life quest, as a *homo viator*, and ten years after the publishing of the original text *Lisbon* (2011), in the preface of the translation *Lisboa. A Guerra nas Sombras da Cidade da Luz* (2021) the author expresses his commitment to continue his research due to unanswered questions and undiscovered documents. (20)[21]

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19. Inspired by the historian's latest research and both his books *Lisbon: The War in the Shadows of the City of Light* (2012) and *Porto: Gateway to the World* (2020), this photographic and never before shown document display was made public by the Portuguese Radio TSF on April 18 2022 during an interview by Rute Fonseca to Emma Lochery. V. https://www.tsf.pt/portugal/cultura/os-segredos-dos-espioes-da-ii-guerra-mundial-em-exposicao-no-porto-14778260.html. Previously, on April 4 2022, Oporto online portal news published the exhibition purpose of bringing together more than a hundred previously unpublished documents, photographs and videos of spies and artists who were refugees in Portugal during World War II." V. https://www.porto.pt/pt/video/1941-guggenheim-and-fleming-artists-spies-in-wwii-portugal-para-visitar-nos-pacos-do-concelho

20. The interview may be watched at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4p14e9CXywo.

21. The author's intention of further studying the events related to the Allies and Axies during World War II have resulted in his most recent book *Cashing Out: The Flight of Nazi Treasure, 1945-1948* (2023) where additional information about the Portuguese commercial and political relationship with Germany during war time is revealed.

Many examples on the author's exotopy[22] are present throughout his writings in *Lisbon: War in the Shadows of the City of Light, 1939-1945* (2011). Lochery's narrative centers around Salazar, the most significant figure of the *Estado Novo* regime, and reshapes the general perception of Salazar as a strict and inflexible dictator who was seen as a national hero (Fig. 2), challenging the traditional view:

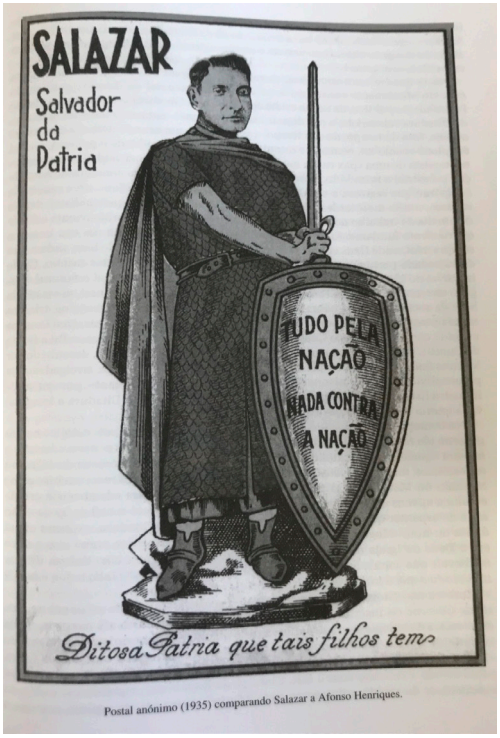

Fig.2 – Anonymous postcard comparing Salazar to Afonso Henriques as the nation's savior (1935).[23]

22. According to Mikhail Bakhtin, exotopy is defined as the capacity to project oneself through the eyes of another individual. It involves the perception that a person, the self, has of the other, which is made feasible by the respective positions and relational dynamics of both individuals within the world. Exotopy is distinguished by the act of observing from an external vantage point, from the position of the self as perceived by the other, and reciprocally. (Bakhtin 2017, 28)

23. Cf. Medina 2000, 57.

In the second chapter of the book, entitled "The Most Beautiful Dictator", Lochery completely shatters the contemporary Portuguese image of the evil and controlling dictator who deprived citizens of their liberty by characterizing Salazar as never before. "Beautiful" would never be an adjective chosen by a Portuguese scholar when referring to such political character (Fig. 3):

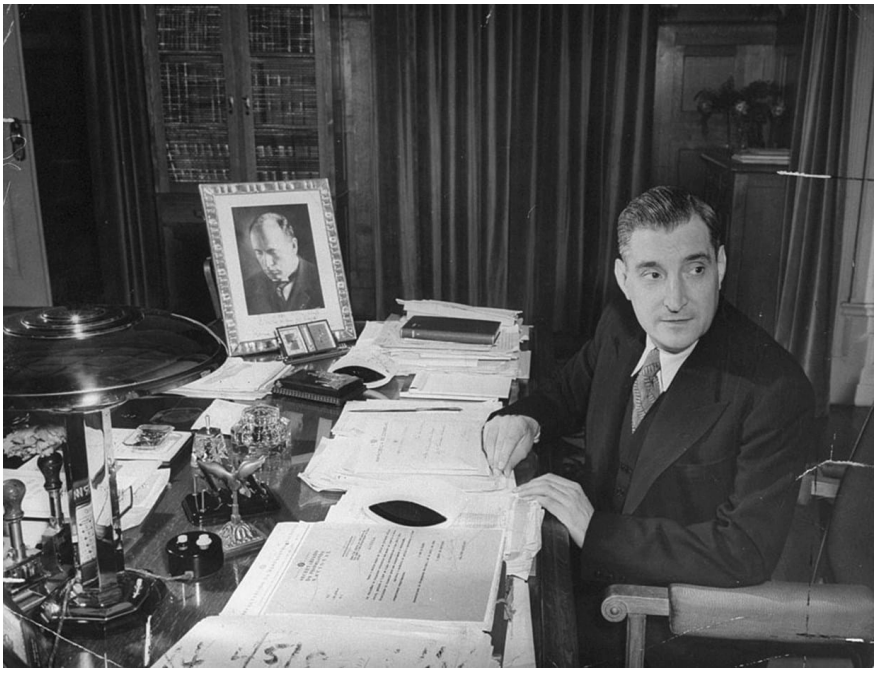

Fig.3 – António de Oliveira Salazar, the most "beautiful" dictator sitting at his desk with an autographed portrait of Benito Mussolini.[24]

The shattering of imagotypes of the Other continues with the complimentary intellectual and physical description of Salazar as "one of the most intellectually gifted men of his generation", (15) that "one

24. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar sitting at his desk (by Bernard Hoffman, 1940) – Google Art Project.png (public domain): https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ant%C3%B3nio_de_Oliveira_Salazar. Although the picture was taken in 1940, Lochery translates image into text when describing the dictator in *Lisbon* (2011).

senior British official **described as the most physically beautiful**[25] of all European dictators", (14) with a "love of detail, ability to work long hours, and apparent lack of interest in social life or family (…)." (15) The author also stuns the reader by narrating a perspective of the dictator as a multifaceted leader comparing him to Mussolini by holding multiple portfolios, such as prime minister, minister of war affairs, foreign affairs and finance, (14) and as being "**frugal** (…) A **man hugely dedicated to his job and country**, Salazar was determined that his **crafted policy** of neutrality would save the nation, and the Portuguese empire, from the horrors of war. (14)

This historical perspective taken as the mirror of truth reveals the fragility and how fallacious the historical narrative can be. Lochery's historical perspective is built upon the access of never-before-seen documents, creating a reality and validating the implicit explications present in the language used in the text. (Barker 105) This leads us to question the weight of reality and factual veracity in historical documents and narratives, taking this case as an example. From the reader's perspective, the historical narratives must be looked at as cultural and social representations through language, the imagotypes as interpretations of what is seen and not stated objective facts. (Beller & Leerssen 2007, xiii) It also leads us to admit the importance of the prior existence of imagotypes responsible for the construction of cultural representations in the process of writing a historical document and its contribution to a more complete construction of the Portuguese Other. The shattering of imagotypes of the Other continue with complimentary intellectual and physical description of the dictator as "one of the most intellectually gifted men of his generation." (15)

Having his presence in the plot throughout the narrative, Lochery addresses, among other themes, the experience of war exiles in Lisbon and Salazar's political actions towards the refugees. In his discussion, Lochery sheds light on Salazar's treatment of Jewish refugees and his actions towards Consul Aristides de Sousa Mendes after he issued

25. Our bold.

thousands of exit visas from Bordeaux to Portugal for Jews, without the knowledge of the Foreign Affairs. Additionally, Lochery reveals that "Salazar's attitude concerning the Holocaust had never changed: It was an internal issue of the Third Reich. It was nothing to do with Portugal, whose gold had been earned in return for the provision of wolfram and the other goods to Germany." (2011, 238)

Seeming to understand Salazar's positioning towards Aristides de Sousa Mendes, when the dictator severely punished the consul, taking him from his duties and leading him to poverty, Lochery presents Sousa Mendes not as a "homem bom" (a "good man"), as Irene Flunser Pimentel calls him in "O Trânsito e a Presença de Refugiados em Portugal" (2004), nor as "o anjo de Bordéus" ("the angel of Bordeaux") as Pedro Rabaçal dubs him in *Portugueses na Segunda Guerra Mundial* (2023), but as a "retired" and an "outcast" (45) explaining in detail the serious diplomatic problem between Portugal and the Axis the consul has created with his indiscipline of going against the famous Circular 14.[26]

4. Lisbon as the City of Light to War Exiles

One additional main character is the city of Lisbon itself. In his book *Lisbon* (2011) Neill Lochery offers a filmlike vision of the capital and its atmosphere by creating a parallel with the film *Casablanca*:

> Lisbon's Portela Airport was the scene of much smuggling towards the end of the war (…). Despite its proximity to the city, Portela still felt isolated. In the film *Casablanca*, Ilsa Lund (Ingrid Bergman) and Victor Laszlo (Paul Henreid) were to fly to Portela; in fact Portela Airport actually looked rather similar to the movie set version of Casablanca airport.
>
> Often at night the airport suffered from sea mists that come off the river or the Sintra hills. This naturally added to the shades-of-grey atmosphere of the place. (211)

26. See Galante, *O Discurso do Estado Salazarista Perante o "Indesejável" (1933-1939)* (2011).

When Lochery names Lisbon as the "City of Light" is somehow an endearing intention of enhancing the city's importance in the European sphere. Primarily, when one usually uses the expression "city of light", a clear reference to Paris is made, "Le Ville Lumière", as the first city in Europe to use gas lighting to illuminate streets in the beginning of the 19th century. However, one can also associate the author's choice of naming Lisbon as the "city of light" as an interpretation of the metropole as being part of a new age of enlightenment, and, if so, approximately two centuries later, the capital has lit John Locke's philosophy by being a safe haven not only to Jews but also to all of those that needed to flee the war and find a safe refuge in Portugal in a time of inequality, injustice, lack of religious intolerance and denial of human rights, being this such a topical matter. This comparison is strengthened when the author calls Avenida da Liberdade as the Portuguese "Champs Élysees of Lisbon." (11) (Fig. 4):

Fig. 4 – Avenida da Liberdade at night – the Champs-Élysées of Lisbon. The Hotel Tivoli was located along its wide, tree-lined boulevards.

In the summer of 1940, the "city of light" is the central stage of Salazar's international propaganda with "Exposição do Mundo Português".[27] In an attempt to reduce increasing tension in Anglo-Portuguese relations due to the British constant mistrust and uncertainty of Salazar's political and financial interactions with the Axis, the British Royal Family was represented at the event by the Dukes of Kent. (Lochery 2011, 35) At the same time, Lisbon was starting to experience some changes by welcoming refugees. The Allies, being aware of this, were only concerned with winning the war, and the focus was on evaluating the pros and cons of Portuguese neutrality in strategic terms not attributing relevance to the war exiles issue. (Leite 1998, 193)

With the German invasion of France and the presence of the German army in the French-Spanish border, both noticeable and anonymous refugees headed to Lisbon. English, French, German, Polish and even Russian voices started to be heard in the Portuguese capital, Estoril and Cascais area in the streets and cafés as Lochery describes it:

> The refugees who sat at the tables looked and dressed completely differently from Lisboetas. Most of the men still wore suits, but the cut was invariably different from the locals, more relaxed and slightly baggier – usually Fench-influenced. The women looked from a different era than the **locals in their conservative old-fashionable buttoned-up style**. Dressed in slacks the female refugees stood at street bars where only men stood before. (…) **Lisboetas looked at the uninvited guests with a sense of sad and passive wonderment. Too reserved to protest**, they were nonetheless deeply shocked by the intrusion of the refugees on their social custom and values. (39)

27. The exhibition, inaugurated on July 23 1940, coincided with the onset of the Second World War. Its primary purpose was to commemorate the establishment of the Portuguese State in 1140 and the Restoration of Independence in 1640. Additionally, it served as a platform to celebrate the *Estado Novo*, which was then in a phase of consolidation. Notably, this exhibition was a significant political and cultural event for the Regime and remained the most extensive of its kind in the country until Expo 98 in 1998. Despite the global context of the World War II, the exhibition was utilized by the Regime as a means to disseminate the nation's history and to promote the *Estado Novo*. It encompassed various dedicated spaces focusing on themes such as the history of Portugal, its colonies and ethnography.

Lochery's choice of words reveals the author's insight of the Other. Moreover, the author, through his construction of the image of the Portuguese, reflects on the peculiar and foreign, and by doing so, raises the question of "image" as a historical construct, (Simões 10) allowing the reader to question his/her Portuguese "Self". Additional to Lochery's perspective on how the Lisboners viewed the refugees, Peggy Guggenheim, one of the famous war exiles, adds the catholic, prude and intolerant action of the Portuguese police, in her autobiography *Out of this Century: Confessions of an Art Addict* (2005):

> One evening in Cascais [at the end of the Lisbon coast] I went swimming naked. It was pretty dark, but Max [Ernst] was terrified. **The Portuguese are Catholics and we were always being taken up by the police for wearing what they considered indecent bathing-suits. As they could not speak French or English they used to measure the outstanding parts of our bodies**, making scenes, and then proceed to fine us. We protested violently and went back to the shops that had sold us the suits. They exchanged them for others, but the police were never satisfied. (242)

After examining the perspectives of both Lochery and Guggenheim regarding the Portuguese, it becomes clear that both the Portuguese Police and people were not only aligned with the catholic creed, but also with the ideology of the Regime. When it comes to understanding Lochery's views on how the *Estado Novo* dealt with war exiles, it is made clear the Regime's response to the flux of foreigners entering the country varied according to the type of refugees. Wealthy Jewish exiles such as Peggy Guggenheim and Royals were welcomed for political and financial reasons. One of the most famous refugees, the Duke of Windsor, escaping from Paris to Lisbon in the summer of 1940, was house guest of the Espírito Santo family house in Cascais (Figs.5 and 6):

Fig. 5 – Ricardo Espírito Santo and the Duke of Windsor discuss the latest developments at the banker's house at Boca do Inferno in Cascais.

Fig. 6 – Ricardo and his wife relaxing in their garden in Cascais with the Duke and Duchess of Windsor.

Ricardo Espírito Santo was a Portuguese banker, personal friend and confident of Salazar, considered by Lochery to be the major financial figure of the Estado Novo. (35) The author addresses the strong relations built between Ricardo Espírito Santo and the Duke of Windsor, being the latter believed to be a sympathizer of the German regime. Some argue the Duke of Windsor was secretly plotting with the Germans to be a puppet king in case Germany took over British territory. (Lochery 2021, 19)

5. The Otherness in Lochery's Paratexts

Paratexts also contribute to Lochery's use of exotopy. When comparing Lochery's historical narrative to contemporary Portuguese historiography about the Second World War, the main difference lies in Lochery's approach, which is closer to the reader. For example, in his book *Lisbon* (2011), Lochery presents a more humanized image of Portugal during wartime. He achieves this by using black and white photographs to bring the faces of the characters in history to life, rather than focusing on the institutions they represent. Moreover, the author uses paratexts as an extension of his interest in Portugal. This otherness that allures him may lay on the luxurious, charming way of high society in wartime, when he focuses on the details of the brief passage of famous Jews such as Peggy Guggenheim or Royals like the Dukes of Windsor. The colorful and bright mask that served as a curtain to hide the shadowy, dark face of the war shown in Lochery's narrative is transported to the thirty-seven black and white photos the author presents in his book *Lisbon* (2011). These paratexts, photos not paged and placed between page eighty-four and eighty-five of the book, along with the reveal of four documents, are used as a privileged space that establishes a connection between the narrative and the image. The choice of presenting certain photos and documents to the detriment of others allows for highlighting the textual aspects giving meaning to the author's perspective. (Genette 9)

According to this conception of paratext, one can perceive it as an extension of the imagotype of the Other. As a result, it was not enough to write about Lisbon's lights and shadows, Salazar, the Portuguese relations between the Allies and the Axis, and the war exiles. As a historian, the author needed to document it through visual images. In his work *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1997) Gerard Genette even states that the paratext's function is so important that the text does not exist without it, as this allows the readers to read comments about the work, positively influencing their reception of the work. (12) As a result, it was not enough to write about Lisbon's lights and shadows, about the Portuguese "Champs Èlysees", as a historian the author needed to document it through visual images (Figs.7 and 8):

Fig.7 – Central Lisbon, where the street lights continued to burn brightly at night throughout World War II, but they cast deep shadows.

Fig. 8 – Rossio Square at night. The lights show the silhouette of the medieval castle of St George which has overlooked Lisbon since the era of the Crusades.

6. Conclusion

The Portuguese Otherness revealed in Lochery's narrative and paratexts has progressively allowed the Portuguese to recreate their own identity as a people and as a nation that are not so small in importance as they are in number and in size. The author's feeling of proximity towards the Portuguese culture,[28] allows his Self to serve as a rich contribution for the construction of the Other. This hetero and self-information amplifies Portuguese perception of identity opening a refreshed way of self-knowledge (Terenas 40) and search for a renewed identity.

This process of creating an identification invariably involves the reflection of one's identity, carrying the imprint of division from the Other. (Bhabha 45) The repetition of the Self, present in Lochery's several history books on Portugal, lies in the yearning to observe, constrained by the boundaries of language. Lochery's proximity to the Portuguese community, most specifically with many of the descendants of the prestigious lineage society who played pivotal roles during wartime, and his (British self) interaction with the Portuguese Other significantly shape his historical narratives as the author himself acknowledges: "The book would not exist in its present form without the kind help that a number of individuals and archives gave me (...). A special mention must go to Miguel Champalimaud for his friendship, deep knowledge of Portuguese history, and great enthusiasm for the project." (241)

Moreover, as an historian who received relevant information straight from the many families who played a direct role in WWII events, Lochery offered the reader a fresh perspective on how the war exiles experienced their passage through Lisbon. The shadows over this period of History came to light when Lochery reveals the difference in treatment of the privileged war exiles, such as the Dukes of

28. The author divides his time between London, Oporto and the United States. See https://www.porto.pt/en/news/porto--interviewed-neill-lochery-about-porto-gateway-to-the-world

Windsor or Peggy Guggenheim, in comparison to the less wealthy, non-royals exiles.

Lochery's choice of perspective towards Salazar, positioning him in the centre of his narrative, intrigues the reader and makes one wonder whether a distant perspective allows the history telling to be less forgiving of Salazar, or a distant British self has contributed to create a diverse national image. Through his lens, the author delves into the intricate realm of representation, juxtaposing alterities and identities, and significantly unveiling a new image on Portugal and the Portuguese. Lochery's metahistory, in accordance with Hayden White's definition, emerges as an accessible narrative for the general reader by presenting Portugal's history from social, cultural, and everyday viewpoints.

Lochery's narrative intertwines his British identity with his close engagement with Portuguese culture, crafting a story that is both empathetic and nuanced. This approach offers a rich portrayal of Portuguese life and history, though his closeness to the subject may introduce a certain bias shaped by his admiration for the country. Nonetheless, this intimate perspective can be a strength, providing insights that a distant observer might miss. By grounding his narrative in everyday experiences and cultural subtleties, Lochery connects readers with Portugal on a personal level, making history feel relevant and alive. This method not only broadens the understanding of Portugal's past but also enhances the reader's perception of its contemporary cultural identity. In conclusion, Lochery's depiction of Portugal combines empathy and scholarship, bridging historical analysis worthy of a scholar with an approachable discourse understandable to the common reader. His work shows how proximity to the subject can create a deeply humanized historical narrative, highlighting the balance between objectivity and personal involvement in historical writing.

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