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TITLE: Constructing (auto)mobility system in a peripheral European country in the 1930s: visions and realities of the authoritarian Portugal

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Abstract:

The 1930s watched two simultaneous and apparently opposed trends: the rising of authoritarian regimes in several European countries and an intensive cooperation between international governmental and non-governmental organizations in settling common standards and policies. Reflecting automobile's main use in the first decades of the twentieth century, leisure (and not transport in a strictly utilitarian sense), even in developed/central countries, one cannot ignore the roles of non-governmental organisations related to tourism (AIT – *Alliance Internationale du Tourisme*) or to automobile sports (AIACR – *Association Internationale des Automobiles-Clubs Reconnus*) in establishing standards for elements of the 'automobile system' in issues such as road signs and international circulation (the issuing of documents such as the 'carnet de passage en douane'). There were also other important transnational organizations, governmental and non-governmental, which contributed to the construction of this system, such as a more technical organization on roads (AIPCR, *Association Internationale Permanente des Congrès de la Route*) (Schipper, 2008).

The 1930s in Portugal was a period of institutionalization of the dictatorship that would last more than 40 years, particularly with the issuing of its corporatist legal basis. The Automobile Club of Portugal (ACP), which had had, at least since 1911, an important role in Portuguese automobile system construction, reclaimed keeping the main role, namely as being the Portuguese member at AIT and therefore the organization that issued the documents for international circulation. There were rivalries between Automobile and Touring Clubs in Europe on this matter, which also happened in Portugal. It is at the level of the mediators (Oldenziel *et al.*, 2005) that the analysis will be made. The visions of the construction of the automobile system were produced both by organizations that preceded the dictatorship and those that were created after the 1926 *coup d'État* that began it, such as corporatist organizations (for instance of commercial companies that sold automobiles) and of State agencies related to roads or fuel. These visions of how automobility, tourism and road construction should evolve were discussed in several national congresses such as the first and second National Congresses of Automobility and Civil Aviation (1935 and 1937), the first National Congress of Tourism (1936) and the first National Congress of Transports (1939). One finds also 'imported' visions on automobility from other European countries, such as Germany, in the specialized press, namely the ACP journal. The reality of automobile use, tourism and road construction was somehow different as the statistics of the modal split or the special statistics made on the religious pilgrimage to Fatima show.

1 Introduction: reflection and framing

This paper is an exploratory study about the visions for automobility, tourism and roads in Portugal in the 1930s, with the background of the institutionalisation of a “new order” by the *Estado Novo* (new state) dictatorship, a right wing authoritarian regime, and the set of European standards for road mobility. These visions were analysed mostly through the papers presented at National Congresses that took place in this decade, in which papers about road mobility, tourism or coordination of land transports were presented. One particular mediator, the Automobile Club of Portugal (*Automóvel Clube de Portugal*, ACP), had an important representation in these congresses and a key role in the discussion of the automobile-road system.

It is structured in three parts, the first being this introduction, the second the discussion of stances presented in those congresses and the third are the final remarks. This introduction has three sub-parts, the first giving the context in Portugal, the second proving a problematization and the third addressing the role of ACP as a mediator. The second part has two sub-parts, one dealing with roads and the other with the land transport coordination debate. The final remarks discuss the paper and present open questions for the continuation of this work.

1.1 The context given by the *Estado Novo* regime, the congresses and the institutional actors

The institutionalisation of the Portuguese *Estado Novo* regime took place with the issuing of the Constitution of 1933 that created a “unitary and corporative Republic.”¹ It followed the military dictatorship installed with the 1926 *coup d'état*,² which ended the First Portuguese Republic (1910-26). This “constitutionalised dictatorship”³ was supported by the institutions fixed in the State corporatist regime,⁴ the single party *União Nacional* (National Union)⁵, presided by António de Oliveira Salazar (also president of the Council of Ministers), two chambers with reduced powers (National Assembly and Corporatist Chamber), censorship and a political police. Salazar's *Estado Novo* was part of the authoritarian cycle of the 1920s in Europe, mostly of military initiative and with the support of the authoritarian right wing parties, and was the dictatorship more institutionalised and with greater longevity (fell with the revolution of April 1974) from the European dictatorships born in the 1920s.⁶ There was a limited pluralism under the regime and some historians, such as the Portuguese Fernando Rosas, argue that different voices were kept and several compromises were made to keep a certain “harmony:” the disagreements didn't emerge openly but only

¹ António Costa Pinto, “O Estado Novo português e a vaga autoritária dos anos 1930 do século XX,” in *O Corporativismo em Português. Estado, Política e Sociedade no Salazarismo e no Varguismo*, ed. António Costa Pinto and Francisco Carlos Palomanes Martinho (Lisboa: ICS. Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2008), 30.

² There had been previous attempts to institutionalise the military dictatorship that have failed because of the divergences and fight for power between three different factions of the Portuguese right-wing politics and the actions of the opposition pro-democracy. Pinto, “O Estado Novo português e a vaga autoritária dos anos 1930 do século XX.”

³ Ibid., 32.

⁴ Portuguese State corporatism was promulgated in the same year of the political Constitution of the authoritarian regime, 1933, and was one of its pillars. Ideologically, Portuguese corporatism had its roots in the reactionary social-christian tradition. However, regarding governmental practices, it was closer to the authoritarian, bureaucratic and nationalistic school, such as the Italian corporatism. Its goal was not only to take clamping rights from the working classes, but also to collect data on them, and privilege the sectors closer to the regime. See Philippe C. Schmitter, *Portugal: do Autoritarismo à Democracia* (Lisboa: Instituto de Ciências Sociais, 1999).

⁵ This party was created by decree in 1930 and aggregated the civilian forces that supported the new regime. Pinto, “O Estado Novo português e a vaga autoritária dos anos 1930 do século XX,” 30.

⁶ Ibid., 45.

about technical or organisational aspects, not disturbing the “unity, cohesion and homogeneity,” defined as watchwords of the regime.⁷ However, this didn’t prevent that opposite stances were defended, for instance, the defenders of the rural (agricultural) interests and those of industry. “Ruralists” and “industrialists” had different opinions in what concerned several sectors of the Portuguese economy, namely the development of public works, such as infrastructures. But in spite the strong rhetoric by the rural interests group against urbanism, mechanization of agriculture, and machines in general, there was a real transformation process in Portugal during the 1930s.⁸ Along this decade, the costs with economic development were dominated by transports and communications, mostly for the execution of the port plan, and, in second place, for roads.⁹ In 1938, signalling the ten years of Salazar being in power,¹⁰ seven posters called “The Lesson of Salazar” (“A Lição de Salazar”) were designed to be placed in primary schools, with propaganda to the works of the regime, and roads were the theme for one of them, comparing the works done by *Estado Novo* with the bad shape roads were left by the First Portuguese Republic (see Figure 1): “Where there were bare mountains, parched fields and impassable paths, now there are pine trees greening, blond cornfields shining and magnificent roads cut length and breadth of Portugal”.



Figure 1: “A Lição de Salazar”

It is not surprising therefore to find in the Congresses analysed in this paper that there were different stances on automobility, on transport coordination or on the development of tourism policies – it was the limited pluralism allowed to the sectors close to the regime, kept under controlled limits. Also it is visible that for this “New State” regime, not only a new order was being established, but also a rhetoric on new politics of “national revival” (*ressurgimento nacional*) were affirmed over and over again on several occasions, including at the congresses, and in the propaganda publications. This was also applied to public works, as a special publication in 1940 glorifying the

⁷ Fernando Rosas, *O Estado Novo nos anos trinta: elementos para o estudo da natureza económica e social do Salazarismo (1928-1938)* (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1986), 150.

⁸ Ibid., 152-55.

⁹ Ibid., 202, 58.

¹⁰ He entered the government in April 1928 as Minister of Finances. See Fernando Rosas, *O Estado Novo (1926-1974)*, ed. José Mattoso, vol. VII, *História de Portugal* (Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 1994), 164 and ss., 252.

regime and, in particular, Salazar's work, the "Notebooks of National Revival," issued by the Secretariat of National Propaganda, asserts.¹¹

The congresses analysed in this paper are the following: the First Congress of *União Nacional* (Lisbon, 26-28 May 1934), the First National Congress of Tourism (Lisbon, 12-16 January 1936), the First and the Second National Congresses of Automobility and Civil Aviation (Oporto, 27-29 April 1935 and Oporto, 8-10 April 1937) and the First National Congress of Transports (Oporto, 23-26 March 1939).

The First Congress of *União Nacional* focused on economic, administrative law, transports and other issues, was "a doctrinal statement on the organisation at several levels, as a way to the achievement of a specific and global political project, with concrete answers to the problems of the new regime."¹² It was organised in four sections (general politics and internal functioning of *União Nacional*; public administration; national education and social action; documentary) and 21 subsections.

The First National Congress of Tourism in 1936 was the result of a proposal by the president of the Portuguese Touring Club, called Society Propaganda of Portugal (*Sociedade Propaganda de Portugal*, SPP), engineer Raul da Costa Cuvreur, voted at the First National Congress of Automobility and Civil Aviation.¹³ There were 179 delegates registered and the works were divided into five sections: organisation of tourism in Portugal; national and international tourism; transports and communications; accommodations and attractions; and miscellanea.¹⁴ This Congress had a great participation by several actors related with tourism: there were delegates representing ACP, SPP, the railways, the trucks and bus companies, the excursion companies, the interpreters, the local "initiative commissions" (*comissões de iniciativa*), the customs director,¹⁵ amongst others.

The First and Second Congresses of Automobility and Civil Aviation (1935 and 1937)¹⁶ and the First National Congress of Transports took place in the second most important Portuguese city, Oporto, where, simultaneously, automobile's expositions took place.¹⁷ They were all organised by the daily national newspaper "Diário de Notícias" with the collaboration of ACP and other entities.¹⁸ The First Congress of Automobility and Civil Aviation had around 117 delegates, while the Second had around 250.¹⁹ The First Congress had voted 13 proposals on issues related with automobility, where the major interests were represented: ACP; automobile sales companies' association; and commercial road vehicles' companies.²⁰ The Second Congress had three sections related with automobility, which were "Tourism and

¹¹ Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional, *Cadernos do Ressurgimento Nacional. Obras Públicas* (Lisboa: Edições S.P.N., 1940).

¹² Fernando Rosas, ed., *Portugal e o Estado Novo (1930-1960)*, Nova História de Portugal (Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1992), 41.

¹³ "O I Congresso Nacional de Automobilismo e Aviação Civil," *ACP - Órgão Oficial do Automóvel Club de Portugal* 54 (1935): 50.

¹⁴ *Relatório do I Congresso Nacional de Turismo*, I Congresso Nacional de Turismo (Lisboa: Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, 1936).

¹⁵ See Manoel Gonçalves Monteiro, "As alfândegas nas suas relações com o turismo automobilístico," in *I Congresso de Automobilismo e Aviação Civil* (Porto: Soc. Nac. de Tipografia, 1935), Manoel Gonçalves Monteiro, "As alfândegas nas suas relações com o turismo" (paper presented at the I Congresso Nacional de Turismo, Lisboa, 1936). Manoel Gonçalves Monteiro became director of Lisbon's Customs.

¹⁶ The First Congress of Automobility and Civil Aviation was the most difficult source to find. However, we had access to four papers, three of them presented by ACP board members discussing road safety, tourism and taxation policies and the forth presented by the then sub-director of the Customs of Lisbon. Besides these papers, there are references to the congress in the ACP's journal.

¹⁷ These automobile expositions (*Salão Automóvel*) took place in Oporto, at the Crystal Palace, since 1914.

¹⁸ "O I Congresso Nacional de Automobilismo e Aviação Civil," 28. "O 1º Congresso Nacional de Transportes," *ACP - Órgão Oficial do Automóvel Club de Portugal* 2 (1939): 13.

¹⁹ "José de Miranda, secretário do «II Congresso Nacional de Automobilismo e Aviação Civil»," *ACP - Órgão Oficial do Automóvel Club de Portugal* 3 (1937): 19.

²⁰ "O I Congresso Nacional de Automobilismo e Aviação Civil."

traffic"; "Industry and professions"; and "Legislation, economy and others."²¹ The First National Congress of Transports was organised on the sequence of the First and Second Congresses of Automobilmism and Civil Aviation, and its works were divided in seven sessions: automobilism, aviation, railways, circulation and traffic, roads, navigation and ports, and tourism. It seems to have been better attended than the other congresses mentioned: there were around 850 inscriptions, including individual and institutional ones.

The congresses, their reports with the conclusions and votes and their papers are sources to understand to creation of a controlled public sphere to discuss specific "technical" aspects. They are, moreover, important to identify institutional (some intermediary) and individual actors, which had an important role in the discussion and materialization of the construction of the automobile-road system in Portugal. Several of these actors are present in at least three of the congresses analysed here. At the institutional level, there were those institutions created by the *Estado Novo* regime as new administrative and technical organisms, others also created by the regime as part of the State corporatism in force, such as the "Grémios", and finally those civil society associations that preceding the regime or having been created during its existence were tolerated or even cherished because its membership was part of the regime's elites. The first included the Autonomous Board of Roads (*Junta Autónoma de Estradas*, JAE, created in 1927), the National Council for Tourism (*Conselho Nacional de Turismo*, CNT, created in 1929) and the General-Directorate for the Services of Traffic (*Direcção-Geral dos Serviços de Viação*, DGSV, created in 1934). The second included the Guild of Industrial Transport by Automobile (*Grémio dos Industriais de Transportes em Automóveis*, GITA), an "obligatory guild"²² created by the Ministry of Public Works and Communications in 1935, which demanded the mandatory association of all "industrials" that operated in commercial transport, which included taxis, bus and truck companies.²³ The third included automobile clubs, SPP and some associations of the automobile commercial sector.

These congresses are also important to identify the themes being discussed and the existent polemics, although contrary to the regime's ideology, averse to open social conflict, whose expression was allowed. There are transversal themes that sometimes are presented by the same actors in different congresses and some proposals voted in the Congresses were brought about by the government.

From these congresses, this paper emphasizes issues related to the road network and to its operation and the commencement of the debate of land transport coordination. It is important to understand these issues in the light of what was being discussed internationally (or, more specifically, in Europe) and how that relates to the options made for Portugal. As far as we can see, Portugal had representatives in the majority of European organizations dealing with the automobile system and the resolutions taken were ratified by the Portuguese government (for instance, those regarding international circulation by road). The allusion to the realities in other countries appeared with some frequency in the congresses' papers, for instance in

²¹ *Relatórios do II Congresso Nacional de Automobilismo e Aviação Civil*, (Lisboa: Tip. da Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1937).

²² This was done under the decree no. 23049 of 23 September 1933 which allowed the regime to create corporatist institutions in which it could intervene in terms of regulation, coordination of economic and social activities. Under this decree, the State could take the initiative to order the creation of patronage guilds of any industrial, commercial or agricultural sector. It could demand that all those operating in that sector adhered and subscribed the guild; it could exert total control of their internal decision process; it could determine that the guild decisions were legally compulsory to all its members. The objective was to organise from top to bottom and regulate the production and distribution of certain products that were essential to the Portuguese external commerce or to the national consumption. Schmitter, *Portugal: do Autoritarismo à Democracia*, 122, 23.

²³ Ministério das Obras Públicas e Comunicações, "Decreto nº 25004," in *Diário do Governo*, 1ª Série, Nº 28 de 5 de Fevereiro de 1935 (1935).

what regards national tourism policies and organization,²⁴ or the coordination of land transport policies.²⁵ The most relevant examples were made by board members of ACP, who were also members of international organisations, generally as delegates of ACP.

1.2 A possible problematisation: understanding the roots of the development of the automobile-road system during Estado Novo in a European context

The understanding of what was being discussed in these congresses is also important for the second part of a broader study, which will not be addressed in this paper, which will follow these matters in the post-Second World War period.

During the interwar period, in Europe, plans for motorways were discussed in international conferences, as studied by Frank Schipper,²⁶ but they, according to the maps available, almost completely excluded Portugal.²⁷ The majority of these projects haven't left the project phase, also because most of the discussants preferred the reconstructions of existing ordinary road network than the construction of expensive motorways which would have little use,²⁸ but there were three European countries that built highways in this period: Germany²⁹, Italy³⁰ and the Netherlands. Gijs Mom³¹ presents the Netherlands as an exception to the pattern of an authoritarian central power (the Nazi and the Fascist regimes, respectively) as a condition to the development of highway projects. Portugal and other European countries with authoritarian regimes in this period seem to be another type of exception because they didn't opt for the construction of highways. The only exception in Portugal in this period was the construction of a few highway kilometres between the capital, Lisbon, and the Coastal Road to Estoril, a very important touristic region in Portugal, if not the most important by then. This trend continued and highways were hardly constructed in Portugal until the 1980s,³² which is something that needs to be studied and that seemed a paradox with the Portuguese participation in the European-road network (E-road network) in the 1950s,³³ which was not made exclusively of highways, and the fact that this European road network was influenced by USA traffic engineering.³⁴

²⁴ See, for instance, Joaquim Roque da Fonseca, "Do turismo nacional e sua organização " in *I Congresso de Automobilismo e Aviação Civil* (Porto: Soc. Nac. de Tipografia, 1935).

²⁵ Carlos Santos, "Elementos de estudo para a coordenação dos transportes em Portugal," in *II Congresso Nacional de Automobilismo e Aviação Civil* (Porto: Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, 1937).

²⁶ Frank Schipper, *Driving Europe. Building Europe on roads in the twentieth century*, ed. Ruth Oldenziel and Johan Schot, Technology and European History Series (Amsterdam: Aksant Academic Publishers, 2008).

²⁷ For a study of these projects see *Ibid.*, 83-120.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 118.

²⁹ See Thomas Zeller, "Building and Rebuilding the Landscape of the Autobahn, 1930-70," in *The world beyond the windshield: roads and landscapes in the United States and Europe*, ed. Christof Mauch and Thomas Zeller (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2008).

³⁰ See Massimo Moraglio, "A rough modernization: landscapes and highways in twentieth-century Italy," in *The world beyond the windshield: roads and landscapes in the United States and Europe*, ed. Christof Mauch and Thomas Zeller (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2008).

³¹ Gijs Mom, "Roads without Rails. European Highway-Network Building and the Desire for Long-Range Motorized Mobility," *Technology and Culture* 46, no. 4 (2005).

³² The construction of a highway network had been planned in the 1950s, but its length by the 1970s was not significant. See Maria Eugénia Mata and Nuno Valério, *História Económica de Portugal. Uma Perspectiva Global* (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 2003), 211. In 1970, it has been planned again the construction and concession of new highways, with a total length of 480 Km that should be concluded in 1982, making important connections, such as the link between the two most important Portuguese cities, Lisbon and Oporto. However, this plan was not accomplished and in 1979, the highway network in Portugal had only 74 Km of length (see Magda Pinheiro, "Transportes," in *Estatísticas Históricas Portuguesas*, ed. Nuno Valério (Lisbon: I.N.E., 2001), 365).

³³ Portugal seem to have adhered well to the E-road network: It has signed the Declaration on the Construction of Main International Traffic Arteries (initially signed by five other States in Geneva on 16 September 1950) in 1954 and in 1955 it already had submitted to the 1108 km to the E-road network, which placed it in the middle of the table of the number of km per km² (territory). In 1957, only Portugal

Although the post-Second World War period is out of the scope of this paper, which means that this question will remain open for now, this reflection is important because the construction of highways, on the one hand, addresses problems of the ordinary road networks such as the conflicts between motorised transport and other road users and safety problems caused by multidirectional traffic and crossings (including railroads). It solves these problems by creating an "automobile-only" road with unidirectional traffic and by having no intersections (both of roads and railways) and it is important to have this in mind when one thinks about how ordinary road plans and regulation tried to solve those problems. On the other hand, it also is part of the discussion of long-range mobility, and consequently, of the "coordination debate" between road and railway mobility. Although in the mid-1920s the actual use of roads was peri-urban and regional and long-range automobility was nearly inexistent,³⁵ the international "coordination debate" of the 1920s and the 1930s focused on the protection of long-range mobility by railways, and legislation in some European countries limited bus and trucks transport range.³⁶ This was also reflected in the international circulation regimes for commercial road traffic discussed during this period, which kept largely excluded from the international conventions approved in the Paris Conference of 1926 and in the Geneva Conference of 1931 (European Conference on Road Traffic) that had very important results for individual automobility.³⁷ Portugal being a geographically peripheral country in Europe, only through Spain connected to the rest of Europe by land, it is tempting to ask how long-range mobility was thought about during this period and what role roads played in there.

1.3 The role of the mediator Automobile Club of Portugal on roads and regulation

There are two intermediary actors that seem to have a particular significance in these discussions, which were the ACP and, although to a much lesser extent, the SPP. These can be considered as "mediators" in the construction of the automobile-road system.³⁸

and the Netherlands had marked their roads with the green rectangular signs of the E-road networks. Schipper, *Driving Europe. Building Europe on roads in the twentieth century*, 193, 97, 201.

³⁴ See Pär Blomkvist, "Roads for Flow - roads for Peace: Lobbying for a European Highway System " in *Networking Europe: transnational infrastructures and the shaping of Europe, 1850-2000*, ed. Erik Van der Vleuten and Arne Kaijser (Sagamore Beach: Science History Publications, 2006). Blomkvist also says that the national road plans several European countries made, including Portugal, during the 1950s were influenced by methods favoured by the International Road Federation, which was founded in 1948 by American roads and automobile interest to promote mass motorization and direct infrastructure investment in Europe. Blomkvist, "Roads for Flow - roads for Peace: Lobbying for a European Highway System ", 162-66. However, as Mom signals "...European countries have responded differently to «Americanization,» but all have to cope with forced modernization in one way or another." Mom, "Roads without Rails. European Highway-Network Building and the Desire for Long-Range Motorized Mobility," 769. It still remains to be studied how Portugal coped with this modernisation, although apparently, Portugal didn't accept to participate in the courses on traffic engineering in Yale in the post Second World War period. António José de Santa-Rita, *As estradas em Portugal: da Monarquia ao Estado Novo, 1900-1947* (Lisboa: Edições Universitárias Lusófonas, 2006), 242.

³⁵ Mom, "Roads without Rails. European Highway-Network Building and the Desire for Long-Range Motorized Mobility," 754.

³⁶ Ibid.: 771.

³⁷ Schipper, *Driving Europe. Building Europe on roads in the twentieth century*, 121-57.

³⁸ This is an explicit reference to the article by the Dutch historian Ruth Oldenziel *et al.* This article discusses and proposes a research agenda that explores the role of these mediators as junctions between technology and consumption, as a way to emphasize the role of users in the process of appropriation of a technology. Automobile clubs are one of the examples of mediators given in that article. Ruth Oldenziel, Adri Albert de la Bruhèze, and Onno de Wit, "Europe's mediation junction: technology and consumer society in the 20th century," *History & Technology* 21, no. 1 (2005).

It is not surprising that in Portugal these clubs are important in the construction of mobility systems or tourism systems because automobile and touring clubs in Europe had an important role in defining these systems both at a national³⁹ and at a European level:

Automobile and touring clubs played a crucial role in the first international arrangements for the cross-border use of roads in Europe. Their work served as input for the 1909 Convention, the high-mark of international negotiations for cross-border motorized traffic before the First World War. While these clubs represented the interest of the individual motorist, the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) emerged as the representative of the business user of road transport. The PIARC [Permanent International Association of Road Congresses] was the more technical engineering association.⁴⁰

Automobile and touring clubs organised in international associations, such as the *Association Internationale des Automobiles-Clubs Reconnus* (AIACR) and the *Ligue Internationale des Associations Touristes* (LIAT), which together with the *Permanent International Association of Road Congresses* (PIARC) had a very important role in the negotiations for the international road circulation in Europe and on the creation of material conditions for that circulation, by issuing road maps, establishing road signs and discussing the improvement of road pavements.⁴¹ These negotiations made the conflict between national and international regulations visible and also took to the creation of a series of means to make international circulation easier, such as the *triptyque* or the *carnet de passage en douane*, for vehicles crossing borders in Europe, which were created by AIACR.⁴² These initiatives were interrupted by the First World War that, nevertheless, was an important period of socialization with motoring cultures.⁴³

However, the role of these mediators didn't end with the First World War. In some cases perhaps some of the functions assured by them started to be secured by State agencies, but these institutions would continue to act in an important way in the construction of the automobile-road system, either by integrating those State agencies or by finding themselves new functions.

Automobile clubs were mediators of the appropriation of the automobile and the construction of its system because they can be considered as representing the users, although their membership might not be significant in the universe of drivers: "Representation might also occur absent of any formal mandate from those being represented" such as the "automobile clubs for car drivers."⁴⁴ In Portugal, as a non original producing country⁴⁵ the appropriation of motor vehicles can be studied through the construction of the automobile-road system.

The Royal Automobile Club of Portugal⁴⁶ (*Real Automóvel Club de Portugal*) was then founded on the 15th April 1903, when there should have been around 200

³⁹ Mentioning the Dutch case, Oldenziel *et al.* state: "The automotive clubs acted as an important system builder; they lobbied for road construction, sign posting, petrol distribution, service stations, repair shops, and traffic coordination. In this constellation, it was the users of automobiles rather than the producers that intertwined the car and its infrastructure." *Ibid.*: 115.

⁴⁰ Schipper, *Driving Europe. Building Europe on roads in the twentieth century*, 25.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 63-68. LIAT was founded in Bruxelles in 1898. It was dissolved in 1919 with the creation of the *Alliance Internationale du Tourisme* (AIT). AIT and AIACR founded in 1925 the *Conseil Central de Tourisme International* for consolidating their cooperation in matters related with the road system, such as the use of roads. AIACR was founded in Paris in 1904 and PIARC was founded in the same city in 1908. Schipper, *Driving Europe. Building Europe on roads in the twentieth century*, 64, 72.

⁴² For a description of these documents, how they were used and the regulations on automobile circulation in several European countries in 1907 see Schipper, *Driving Europe. Building Europe on roads in the twentieth century*, 60, 61.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 68-73.

⁴⁴ Oldenziel, de la Bruhèze, and de Wit, "Europe's mediation junction: technology and consumer society in the 20th century," 114.

⁴⁵ There were some attempts before the 1960s to manufacture automobiles in Portugal. Only in this decade an automobile assemblage industry would be installed, through government initiative.

⁴⁶ It was founded in the last years of the Portuguese Monarchy and King Carlos was its honorary president. After the installation of the Republic, on 5th October 1910, the Club adopted the name of Automobile Club of Portugal, abandoning the "Royal" word.

automobiles in the country.⁴⁷ One of the first activities of the Club, which consistently accompanied all its life was the establishment of relations with its foreign partners. ACP, through its relations with the Automobile Club de France, was, from the beginning, a member of AIACR.⁴⁸ The close relations with international partners and organisations allowed the Club to be updated on the development of indications towards the automobile itself and its 'system' (infrastructures, regulation, etc.).⁴⁹

In 1911, about six months after the implementation of the First Portuguese Republic, and with few more than 100 members, the ACP was nominated by the new law of 27th May, the Regulation on the Circulation of Automobiles, as the unique official entity for the emission of international certificates for crossing borders, and responsible for the appointment of ten persons to work at the traffic technical commissions, which issued vehicles' circulation permits and driving licences.⁵⁰ The publication of this decree in 1911 also met other ACP claims: the reduction of traffic fines' values, the increasing of speed limits,⁵¹ and the financial means for the Club's works in signalling the roads.⁵² The Tourism State Department (*Repartição de Turismo*), created also in 1911,⁵³ was against it and argued, with no success, that those services should be left to that department.⁵⁴ With the Regulation of 1911, ACP was also responsible to alert, monthly, to the bad state of national or municipal roads to the District's Public Works Board or to the Municipality of the County, respectively.⁵⁵

During the First Portuguese Republic, ACP continued playing its role in the construction of the automobile road system through several activities, such as through participating in the placing of regions' plates in collaboration with municipalities⁵⁶ and by negotiating on the railways crossings with the railways. Races and other automobile-sport initiatives started to be organized also by other entities, like journals, sometimes with ACP support. One of the automobile's main functions during this period was certainly related to touring activities. Not only it issued the *triptyques* for international tourism, but it also published maps of Portugal⁵⁷ and negotiated with the railways and ferryboat companies⁵⁸ a discount for their members to transport cars.

⁴⁷ See João Lopes da Silva, *100 Anos de Automóvel Club de Portugal* (Lisboa: Chaves Ferreira Publicações, 2003). Car registration only became obligatory with the new law issued on 27th April 1911.

⁴⁸ AIACR was founded in 1904 by France, Austria, Belgium, Great-Britain, USA, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Suisse and Russia. It became FIA (*Fédération Internationale de L'Automobile*) in 1946. Ibid.

⁴⁹ For instance, during the second Congress of AIACR, the adoption of road signalisation was discussed, which would be part of the international rules of automobile traffic. Ibid., 27.

⁵⁰ Driving licences were issued since 1911, on the basis of this decree. The Minister of Commerce and Communications accepted the names of ten persons appointed by ACP to the traffic technical commissions, five to the commission of the North, in Oporto, and the other five to the commission of the South, in Lisbon. The other two circumscriptions, Azores and Madeira had one ACP delegate each. *Relatório da Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Viação*, (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1935), 31.

⁵¹ In the first decree of 3rd October 1901 the speed limits were established at 10 km/h within localities and 30 km/h outside localities. With the new law of 27th April 1911 those speed limits were raised to 20 km/h and 40 km/h, respectively.

⁵² This financial support was an indirect one. ACP collected the money the traffic technical commissions charged for issuing vehicles' circulation permits and driving licences, and was also responsible for paying all the expenses the technical commissions had. The remnant between the income and expenses was then used to mark the roads according to the international convention for the circulation of vehicles. *Relatório da Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Viação*, 31.

⁵³ See Sérgio Palma Brito, *Notas sobre a evolução do viajar e a formação do turismo* (Lisboa: Medialivros, 2003), 482, 83.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 478.

⁵⁵ Santa-Rita, *As estradas em Portugal: da Monarquia ao Estado Novo, 1900-1947*, 81, 82.

⁵⁶ The plates would be placed in the first house of the locality on the left, because in that period cars drove on the left side of the road.

⁵⁷ The first Guide for automobilists («Guia do Automobilista») was published by the Vaccum Oil Co., in 1907. In 1913, ACP distributed through all the members (around 170) its Official Guide (financed by the Vaccum Oil Co.), which had useful information for the drivers. In 1902, Vaccum Oil Co. (then called Colonial Oil Co.) gave logistical support by supplying fuel to the race Figueira da Foz-Lisboa, which led to ACP's foundation. The collaboration of Vaccum Oil Company (later, in 1955, Móbil Oil Company) with ACP

With the 1926 *coup d'état* that initiated the military dictatorship and led to *Estado Novo* regime, ACP, although not having been incorporated by the state corporatism, kept being an important actor in the construction of the automobile-road system. This is noticeable by its participation in the congresses, both by co-organising them and by papers' presentation by its most notorious members, marking important stances, and by its presence and integration in State agencies related to roads and traffic: ACP was represented with a delegate in JAE (roads) and DGSV (traffic). In Congresses' papers, one even easily finds the role played by ACP during the first third of the twentieth century in promoting automobility recognised.⁵⁹ For instance, the engineer Carlos Santos,⁶⁰ while ACP's president (1932-37), had an important part in the First Congress of *União Nacional* in 1934,⁶¹ where he presented a paper complaining about the exclusion of ACP from CNT (Tourism Board).⁶² At the First National Congress of Tourism in 1936, Santos presented a paper on the role of the Automobile in the regulation and issuing of legislation.⁶³ In this paper, he made a revision of the existing laws in Portugal, since 1901, on the circulation of automobiles, and he also commented on the most important ones and on ACP's role in issuing them. ACP had been recognised in 1931 as an institution of public utility.⁶⁴

In the 1928, traffic was ruled to drive officially on the right side of the road,⁶⁵ and for that purpose, Vaccum Oil Co. and the newspaper "Diário de Notícias" placed signs "By the right" ("pela direita") along the roads. The Traffic Code issued in 1928 was called the first traffic code because it replaced the existing laws, which were considered

would last for many years. Silva, *100 Anos de Automóvel Club de Portugal*, 14. For instance, it participated in the effort of signaling roads: in 1920, it started signaling streets and roads.

⁵⁸ One of the examples of these boat companies was the Parceria dos Vapores Lisbonenses for the crossing of river Tagus between Lisbon and Cacilhas (on the south bank).

⁵⁹ ACP's role was recognised both in First National Congresses of Automobility and Civil Aviation (1935) and of Tourism (1936). Monteiro, "As alfândegas nas suas relações com o turismo", 7. The role of SPP in the development of tourism in Portugal was also recognised. José de Penha Garcia, "Algumas bases para a organização do turismo em Portugal" (paper presented at the I Congresso Nacional de Turismo, Lisboa, 1936), 10.

⁶⁰ Carlos Santos had been ACP's vice-president and as ACP's delegate in JAE presented directly motorists' reclamations of roads. See "Ecos e comentários," *Boletim Oficial do Automóvel Club de Portugal* 11 (1929). He also presented reports on his work with JAE and on the international congresses of roads he attended, and translated articles written in foreign magazines about technical aspects of roads. See, for instance, Carlos Santos, "Estradas. Metodos gerais de conservação das estradas, por M. Jeannin, engenheiro em Chefe de Pontes e Calçadas," *Boletim Oficial do Automóvel Club de Portugal* 9 (1929).

⁶¹ In this Congress he was one of the five members of the Executive Commission and was the president of the 21st subsection, whose title was "The Work done by the Government of National Dictatorship".

⁶² Carlos Santos, "Turismo," in *I Congresso da União Nacional* (Lisboa: Edição da União Nacional, 1934).

⁶³ Carlos Santos, "A legislação portuguesa sobre o automobilismo particular e a colaboração que nela tem tido o Automóvel Club de Portugal" (paper presented at the I Congresso Nacional de Turismo, Lisboa, 1936).

⁶⁴ Decree of 21st March 1931. "Ecos," *ACP - Órgão Oficial do Automóvel Club de Portugal* 8 (1931).

⁶⁵ This decision probably followed an orientation discussed in 1926 to all the countries in the European continent change their traffic direction to the right. Schipper, *Driving Europe. Building Europe on roads in the twentieth century*, 142, 43.

rudimental.⁶⁶ The second traffic code was issued in 1930⁶⁷ creating, for the first time, a special group of traffic police to supervise and maintain discipline on the road.⁶⁸

ACP also took initiatives in terms of road safety, which would later be followed by JAE, such as the placement of safety nets in dangerous curves in roads in the surroundings of Lisbon that were authorised by JAE, which would later apply it in the rest of the country as well.⁶⁹

In the mid 1930s, the increase of the importance of road transport, and the work done by JAE in constructing and repairing roads,⁷⁰ lead to restructuring State services concerning national transportation. Traffic services only became official in the decree number 14988 of 30th January 1928 by the creation of a Superior Council of Traffic, part of the General Direction of Roads from the Ministry of Commerce and Communications. This decree divided the country into five circumscriptions (four districts⁷¹ plus Centre) and the new Traffic Council included several members, such as the president of ACP. ACP had also two delegates in the local Technical Commissions of Automobility. The legislation on traffic services kept on changing in 1933 and 1934, and finally in 1935, the then General Direction of Traffic Services followed the general reorganisation of public services as a part of the Ministry of Public Works and Communications, and the Superior Council of Traffic became by then just a consultant organ.⁷²

Regarding international circulation, the government nominated a commission⁷³ that met in ACP and presented a report that originated the Decree 26080 of 22nd November 1934 that gathered all the legislation about the Portuguese border crossing by automobiles, updating it according to the international conventions of Paris (1926) and Geneva (1931) and making some changes, which resulted in the extension of the regime of *cartes de passage en douanes* or the *triptique*, both issued by ACP and the widening of the timetable of the fiscal stations at the Portuguese borders. To travel abroad the driver needed not only the *carte* or the *triptique*, but also the international certificate of circulation, the international driving licence, and the international fiscal certificate, all issued by ACP.

Regarding tourism, in 1931 it launched the idea of the creation of "Portuguese houses," an initiative that preceded the country-house hotels called "pousadas." In 1932, following the same strategy, ACP created a Portuguese Tourism Centre, and

⁶⁶ The traffic code was issued in the 14th April 1928, by the decree number 15536. See *Relatório da Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Viação*, 4. This was already a change to the first version issued by decree 14988 on the 30th January 1928.

⁶⁷ The second traffic code was issued on 31st May 1930, by the decree number 18406, and was regulated by the decree number 19545 of 31st March 1931. This code was issued by the Minister of Commerce and Communications, João Antunes Guimarães, who was also vice-president of the general assembly of ACP. He occupied the functions of Minister of Commerce and Communications between 8th July 1929 and 5th July 1932. As Minister he also issued other important legislation on automobilism, namely on taxation (the unification of taxes), Decree 17813. *Relatório do I Congresso Nacional de Turismo*, 199. This decree was published on the 30th December 1929, was regulated by the decree no. 18319, published on 14 May 1930, and suppressed the former traffic tax and municipal licenses, replacing it by a unique tax on gasoline, oil and tires. *Relatório da Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Viação*, 5.

⁶⁸ *Relatório da Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Viação*, 4.

⁶⁹ Mário de Gusmão Madeira, "A segurança: problema fundamental da circulação," in *I Congresso de Automobilismo e Aviação Civil* (Porto: Soc. Nac. de Tipografia, 1935), 11.

⁷⁰ ACP participated actively in the process of repairing roads, namely by placing advertisements in the newspapers to accept complains on roads and then would work on them. Silva, *100 Anos de Automóvel Club de Portugal*, 63.

⁷¹ See note 50 above.

⁷² *Relatório da Direcção Geral dos Serviços de Viação*, 4, 5.

⁷³ This commission was composed by Manuel Gonçalves Monteiro, then sub-director of Lisbon Customs (president), Alberto Feliz de Carvalho, representing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Balbino Rego, representing the National Council for Tourism, Augusto Ribeiro Vaz, representing the Superior Council for Traffic and Mário Gusmão Madeira, representing ACP. Later, Captain Agostinho Lourenço, director of the Police of Vigilance and Defence of the State (that became a political police) joined the commission. Santos, "A legislação portuguesa sobre o automobilismo particular e a colaboração que nela tem tido o Automóvel Club de Portugal", 21.

started representing Portugal at AIT for that purpose, excluding SPP.⁷⁴ The competition for representing officially tourism in Portugal between ACP and SPP⁷⁵ became visible in these years. ACP continued its efforts in legitimating its role on tourism, by demanding to be member of the National Council on Tourism (questioning the announced membership of SPP)⁷⁶ and increasing in its journal the number of articles on tourism.⁷⁷ In 1937, ACP launched a propaganda campaign for the motor camping, giving information, making and exhibition on caravans and advising automobilists to tour within Portuguese borders, because the neighbour country, Spain, was a stage of a bloody civil war.⁷⁸

The ACP journal started to be issued in 1929 and since then it published several articles on legislation, on tourism, on sports, and on roads. It also published several articles on aspects of the automobile-road system of foreign countries and technical articles, both national and published in foreign technical journals. The Portuguese historian António Costa Pinto, addressing the Portuguese ambiguous neutrality during the Second World War affirms that "[i]n the first phase of the war the propaganda pro-Axis was more tolerated than the pro-Allies and small delegations of nazi and fascist parties appeared with sympathy in the press."⁷⁹ In the ACP journal one finds in the late 1930s and beginning of 1940 a sympathy with the German automobile-road system.

2 Visions for the construction of an automobile-road system in the authoritarian Portugal of the 1930s

The congresses analysed in this paper present several themes related to the construction of the automobile-road system in Portugal.⁸⁰ However, this section highlights two of those themes, which are the roads aspects, and especially those related with roads for tourism, and the coordination of land transports debate.

2.1 Roads

The adaptation of roads to motorised vehicles was discussed since the beginning of the twentieth century in international forums, such as the PIARC, and

⁷⁴ The affiliation of ACP to AIT was presented as the "conquest of a resounding victory with the affiliation in an autonomous section of the Alliance International du Tourisme for which it has been attributed the functions of the Touring in Portugal". "O ACP e o novo organismo Centro Português de Turismo," *ACP - Órgão Oficial do Automóvel Club de Portugal* 21 (1932): 9.

⁷⁵ SPP was recognised as institution of public utility in 1920, eleven years before ACP (Decree no. 6440, of 3/3/1920). It grows during the 1910s in terms of members but seems to stagnate in the mid-1920s. Brito, *Notas sobre a evolução do viajar e a formação do turismo* 478.

⁷⁶ "ACP does not intend to depreciate the services that SPP has rendered to the country, although one has to recognise that its action has escaped one's notice, and that its efficiency regarding the important problems of tourism equals to nil. What ACP cannot understand is why CNT [The National Council of Tourism] considers SPP's collaboration indispensable, before inviting ACP for that purpose, which (...) has worked enough to not be admissible CNT's ignorance of its existence, only distinguishing SPP". "Um assunto palpitante. O ACP em face do Conselho Nacional de Turismo," *ACP - Órgão Oficial do Automóvel Club de Portugal* 16 (1932). The exclusion of ACP from this Council was also raised by engineer Carlos Santos in a conference paper in 1934. See note 62 above.

⁷⁷ The increase of tourism articles, similar to those SPP published between 1907 and 1913, seems to be accidental and related to this legitimization process. This, at least, can be deduced from ACP's journal issues of 1932 until 1934.

⁷⁸ Silva, *100 Anos de Automóvel Club de Portugal*, 84. There is an article on caravans in this year on the ACP's journal: "Camping automobilista e as suas modalidades," *ACP - Órgão Oficial do Automóvel Club de Portugal* 2 (1937).

⁷⁹ Pinto, "O Estado Novo português e a vaga autoritária dos anos 1930 do século XX," 44.

⁸⁰ For instance, medical issues related to driving activity, road accidents and road safety, fuel and the discussion of a "national fuel" (gasogene), the discussion on the need to created an automobile industry, or the professionalization of the drivers of commercial road transport.

national boards were created to specifically deal with this new problem roads faced. During the first Portuguese Republic (1910-26), a General Administration of Roads and Tourism (*Administração Geral de Estradas e Turismo*, AGET) was created in 1920,⁸¹ but it didn't prevent the road construction and maintenance being in a ruinous state in the mid-1920s.⁸² In this period motorisation of road transport in Portugal was becoming more relevant. According to the Portuguese historian António Lopes Vieira the years between 1926 and 1940 mark the start of public and private road transport in Portugal: passengers and goods started to be transported in a greater percentage by commercial road transport (in detriment of railways), and concentrated mostly on the littoral districts, particularly Lisbon.⁸³

In July 1927, the new regime created JAE,⁸⁴ replacing AGET. JAE soon revealed much more proactive than its predecessor. Between 1927 and 1931, JAE enlarged and rectified roads, suppressed curves, replaced bridges and made great works of repair with different pavements in 3213 km of the existing roads (from which 501 were bituminous) and constructed 209 km of new roads.⁸⁵ From 1930 to 1939 JAE built 500 km of new national roads, which totalised 14579 km of national roads⁸⁶ concentrated in the connections between the most important cities and their relation to the border, representing the second major investment in these period in infrastructures.⁸⁷ JAE was to have a very important role in the construction of roads, their maintenance, administration, planning, and image in the following decades, having become one of the most important offices of the Ministry of Public Works.⁸⁸ According to the Portuguese historian Amélia Aguiar Andrade, JAE changed the image of the Portuguese roads, in a way that would remain almost unchanged until the 1980s. A modern image of the road was given by the demarcation and signalisation processes, which consolidated the image of a road police, materialising the political orientation of the *Estado Novo* regime.⁸⁹ From 1933 on, the signalisation of roads, which before was done by several entities such as ACP, the Superior Council of Traffic, and private fuel companies Vaccum Oil Company and Shell Company, was centralised by JAE.⁹⁰ This materialisation of the construction of an image was done through the several types of road signalisation: guidance; artistic, which indicated sight seeing places, "pousadas," "panoramas;" and administrative, which indicated roads' hierarchical administrative organisation in regional board, conservation sections, and cantons, and "served to mark the tutelary presence of JAE over the road, transmitting an image of regularity and effective control, as well as the notion of hierarchy of power exercise."⁹¹

⁸¹ This Administration was created by the decree no. 7037, 17th October 1920. This preamble of this decree includes considerations on the state of the existing roads and on the construction of future roads. Brito, *Notas sobre a evolução do viajar e a formação do turismo* 456. Both ACP and SPP delegates were members of the general council of roads and tourism (a council associated with the Administration created in 1920, created to appreciate and vote its activity). Brito, *Notas sobre a evolução do viajar e a formação do turismo* 485.

⁸² Santa-Rita, *As estradas em Portugal: da Monarquia ao Estado Novo, 1900-1947*, 94, 95, 109.

⁸³ António Lopes Vieira, "Os transportes rodoviários em Portugal, 1900-1940," *Revista de História Económica e Social* 5 (1980): 58, 61, 62.

⁸⁴ Decree 13969 of 20th July 1927.

⁸⁵ Santa-Rita, *As estradas em Portugal: da Monarquia ao Estado Novo, 1900-1947*, 114.

⁸⁶ Besides the national roads, there were also 9415 km of municipal roads by 1939. Pinheiro, "Transportes," 363, 64.

⁸⁷ Rosas, *O Estado Novo nos anos trinta: elementos para o estudo da natureza económica e social do Salazarismo (1928-1938)*, 259-61.

⁸⁸ Brito, *Notas sobre a evolução do viajar e a formação do turismo* 579.

⁸⁹ Amélia Aguiar Andrade, "Sobre a construção da imagem contemporânea de estrada," in *Momentos de Inovação e Engenharia em Portugal no Século XX. Grandes Temas*, ed. Manuel Heitor, José Maria Brandão de Brito, and Maria Fernanda Rollo (Alfragide: Dom Quixote, 2004), 413-15.

⁹⁰ João Rodil, *75 anos da administração rodoviária portuguesa* (Almada: EP-Estradas de Portugal, 2005), 62.

⁹¹ Andrade, "Sobre a construção da imagem contemporânea de estrada," 416.

The image of the road created by JAE was also composed by the afforestation of the sides of the roads. Although JAE became in charge of this, and that, for instance, between 1929 and 1931 it planted more than 55000 trees,⁹² congress participants of the First Congress of *União Nacional* in 1934 and the First National Congress of Tourism demanded that this work needed to be done in all the roads of the country.⁹³ Other elements constructing roads' image were several buildings intended mainly to support the road maintenance and conservation, namely the housing of the workers responsible to mend roads. These workers, called "cantoneiros," had to plug holes, clean ditches and gutters, plant trees, prune and water them, paint markers and directional signs, amongst other things in each canton.⁹⁴ To encourage their work, ACP created in 1937 a prize to distinguish the best "cantoneiro" in each Portuguese district, a proposal presented by its delegate at JAE, João Ortigão Ramos, and accepted.⁹⁵

In spite of the works done by JAE, there were suggestions of several improvements, as the conclusions of the group of roads of the First National Congress of Tourism in 1936 show:⁹⁶

- The improvement of roads destined to tourism:
 - The pavements used should be modern;
 - The Ministry of Public Works should do the conservation of all roads (a reference to the fact that it didn't do it for the municipal roads, only the national);
 - Roads with greater touristic traffic should be larger; the works of rectification of its profile and the afforestation of the roadsides should continue; rural urbanisation should be considered in order to end with bad appearance of roads' surroundings;
- The increase of the number of housing for "cantoneiros" and their connection with telephone;
- The continuation of the suppression of level crossings and the improvement, in terms of safety, of the existing ones;
- The application of the law that regulated the use of speed limit equipment to heavy weight (commercial) vehicles to diminish accidents caused by their high speed;
- The conclusion of the signalisation of national roads (1st and 2nd class) and the placement of visible location plates;
- In order to develop tourism, the construction of highways should be studied and those who connect or give access to tourism regions should be called Tourism Roads (*Estradas de Turismo*) and be subject of more works, and a commission should be nominated to propose which roads should be included;
- The State should consider the promotion of road assistance for tourists.

2.1.1 Roads for tourism

Tourism was seen as part of the work of renovation, or "national revival," done by the new regime *Estado Novo*.⁹⁷ In the First Congress of the single party *União Nacional* in 1934 three papers were presented on tourism. Two of them⁹⁸ raised issues that would be taken up especially in the First National Congress of Tourism two

⁹² Rodil, *75 anos da administração rodoviária portuguesa*, 61.

⁹³ José Duarte Ferreira, "A indústria de turismo," in *I Congresso da União Nacional* (Lisboa: Edição da União Nacional, 1934), 359. Aquilino Ribeiro, "Estradas. Como encara o problema o homem que vai no seu carro ou a pé e não tem o curso de engenharia" (paper presented at the I Congresso Nacional de Turismo, Lisboa, 1936), Domingos Pepulim, "Estradas, hotéis e hospedarias: arborização das estradas" (paper presented at the I Congresso Nacional de Turismo, Lisboa, 1936).

⁹⁴ Each canton had an average of 5 km. Rodil, *75 anos da administração rodoviária portuguesa*, 66.

⁹⁵ "Uma iniciativa útil. O ACP institui prémios que servirão de estímulo aos melhores cantoneiros do país," *ACP - Órgão Oficial do Automóvel Club de Portugal* 7 (1937).

⁹⁶ Here we are only presenting the conclusions for the roads in general and not for specific roads or regions. *Relatório do I Congresso Nacional de Turismo*, 149-53.

⁹⁷ These words were declared in the closing session of the First National Congress of Tourism by the president of its organisation, João Antunes Guimarães (see note 67, above).

⁹⁸ Ferreira, "A indústria de turismo.," Carlos Manito Torres, "Bases do desenvolvimento e organização do turismo nacional," in *I Congresso da União Nacional* (Lisboa: Edição da União Nacional, 1934).

years later, but also in other congresses.⁹⁹ These papers highlighted the importance of the conditions of “trust, tranquillity, public safety and peace”¹⁰⁰ created by *Estado Novo*.¹⁰¹ In spite of that, they all proposed a reorganization of the tourism state services in one central office with more executive power to apply a national tourism plan¹⁰² or the creation of a corporation for tourism.¹⁰³ Some emphasised the need to plan the kind of suitable tourism for the size of continental Portugal: not a luxurious tourism but one for passengers in transit or for resting.¹⁰⁴ The idea that in Portuguese mainland everything had to be proportionate and small to the population of the European continental Portugal, asserted by Salazar, was appropriated by the discourse on tourism conditions: for instance, hotels should be medium or small size.¹⁰⁵

Beyond peace, the other attractions for foreign tourists in Portugal presented by the congressmen were the mild temperatures, the landscape, and the Portuguese traditional “mores.” All agreed that general improvements needed to be made to accommodate foreign tourists, used to better comforts and to have “entertainments.” These improvements were also considered regarding the manners of the Portuguese people. Although some papers only evoked the tourism done by foreigners in Portugal, some have also reflected on the importance of the national tourism, done by the Portuguese in Portugal.¹⁰⁶ National tourism could correspond to the need to educate the popular classes in terms of manners, tastes and “hygiene of body and spirit”¹⁰⁷ and to contribute to the ideal of social peace by bringing to these modest classes “joy in intimate communion with work.”¹⁰⁸ This stance underlined the mission of the recently created National Foundation for Joy at Work (*Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho*, FNAT), founded in June 1935 after the institutionalisation of *Estado Novo*, inspired by the Fascist Italian organisation “Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro” and by the Nazi German organisation “Kraft durch Freude” (Strength through joy).¹⁰⁹ National tourism would also serve as a kind of preparation for receiving international tourists. Congressmen, especially at the First Congress of National Tourism, also wanted to educate and train workers interacting with tourists in hotels, in transports, in restaurants, etc.

There was a proposal for the creation of a general orderly, clean and polite image of Portugal, by, not only cleaning the streets but also by excluding beggars or other less positive realities from public spaces. Censorship was supported to avoid bad publicity, for instance in terms of public health, epidemic diseases shouldn't be publicised. There was also the pleading of a picturesque and sometimes rural image of Portugal. For instance, engineer Carlos Manitto Torres in a paper presented in 1934 endorsed the conservation of the rural and non-motorised transports in rural areas, such as vehicle drawn by mules in Alentejo or the oxcart of Minho in the North in

⁹⁹ Fonseca, “Do turismo nacional e sua organização”.

¹⁰⁰ Torres, “Bases do desenvolvimento e organização do turismo nacional,” 70.

¹⁰¹ This was particularly relevant during the years of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), which preceded the Second World War.

¹⁰² Torres, “Bases do desenvolvimento e organização do turismo nacional,” 110-16. Armando Gonçalves Pereira, “Relatório da 1ª secção. Organização do Turismo em Portugal,” in *Relatório do I Congresso Nacional de Turismo* (Lisboa: Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, 1936).

¹⁰³ Garcia, “Algumas bases para a organização do turismo em Portugal”.

¹⁰⁴ Ferreira, “A indústria de turismo.”

¹⁰⁵ Santos, “Turismo,” 391. This position included the “pousadas” also favoured by Luiz Lupi, the coordinator of the session on tourism of the First National Congress of Transports, in 1939. *I Congresso Nacional de Transportes. Programa oficial, teses e relatórios*, (Porto: 1939).

¹⁰⁶ Ferreira, “A indústria de turismo,” 347.

¹⁰⁷ See, for instance, Álvaro Viana de Lemos, “Excursionismo popular: turismo médio” (paper presented at the I Congresso Nacional de Turismo, Lisboa, 1936).

¹⁰⁸ João Faria Lapa, “O caminho de ferro, elemento de turismo” (paper presented at the I Congresso Nacional de Turismo, Lisboa, 1936), 5.

¹⁰⁹ José Carlos Valente, *Estado Novo e Alegria no Trabalho. Uma História Política da FNAT (1935-1958)* (Lisboa: Edições Colibri/ INATEL, 1999), 38-43, 81, 82.

detriment of the “uncharacteristic truck, which habitat is not that one...”¹¹⁰ In this paper, automobilism was presented merely as a sport that the foreign tourist should have available to practice in Portugal.¹¹¹ There were, however, other papers that recognised the importance of automobile for agriculture for the transport of perishable goods or even for the mechanisation of the agriculture itself.¹¹²

Regarding transports the congressmen stressed the importance of the ports for the arrival of tourists coming to Europe, generally in transit in Portugal, and the need to make them visit Portugal, but also the increasing importance of those coming through land, stressing the need to improve the trains and ports' stations and also the land borders for those coming by roads.

Although there were some papers on other regions of the country, Lisbon got the majority of the observations, especially in terms of transport, mobility and infrastructures' development. In the mid-1930s, Lisbon was still imagined as the quay of Europe, as it was presented in the beginning of the century by SPP, because through Lisbon, it could connect the Americas to the rest of Europe by the luxury train «Sud-Express» running from Lisbon to Paris.¹¹³ Several papers addressed, therefore, the importance of improving transports to allow the tourists, even if in transit, to visit Lisbon and its surroundings, particularly the triangle formed with the important tourism regions of Cascais (and Estoril) and Sintra. Some pleaded for the development of infrastructures and the construction of highways in this area,¹¹⁴ others related it with the need to construct new exits of Lisbon¹¹⁵ and a new plan of urbanisation was already discussed in the First National Congress of Tourism.¹¹⁶ This was, after all, considered to be one the most important region for tourism by foreigners.¹¹⁷

There were two roads that were the result of the assumption of the importance of tourism and excursionist tours in the region between Lisbon and Cascais. Both projects of the tourism coastal road (“estrada marginal”) and the highway were integrated in the centennial celebrations of 1940.¹¹⁸ The highway had the goal of connecting *Costa do Sol* (“Sun Coast”) of Estoril and Cascais to the planned national stadium and the forest park at the outskirts of Lisbon, allowing a “fast, safe and intense” automobile circulation.¹¹⁹ This was the first and, for a long time, the single highway, and, according to the Portuguese historian António de Oliveira Marques, they followed the model of the German highways.¹²⁰

The well known work called “Portuguese Ethnography” published in 1941 and written by the Portuguese academic Leite de Vasconcelos already mentioned these two roads: “Now large roads are being shred giving Lisbon the exits that correspond to traffic demands, without neglecting the natural beauties. Mostly, I have in mind the two

¹¹⁰ Torres, “Bases do desenvolvimento e organização do turismo nacional,” 96.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 85, 86.

¹¹² Rafael Seruya, “A influência do Cooperativismo no desenvolvimento dos transportes mecânicos em regime colectivo,” in *II Congresso Nacional de Automobilismo e Aviação Civil* (Porto: Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, 1937).

¹¹³ Brito, *Notas sobre a evolução do viajar e a formação do turismo* 574.

¹¹⁴ Salvador de Sá Nogueira, “O papel do porto de Lisboa no turismo nacional” (paper presented at the I Congresso Nacional de Turismo, Lisboa, 1936).

¹¹⁵ José Duarte Ferreira, “Projecto da organização do turismo em Portugal” (paper presented at the I Congresso Nacional de Turismo, Lisboa, 1936).

¹¹⁶ *Relatório do I Congresso Nacional de Turismo*, 106, 20.

¹¹⁷ Lapa, “O caminho de ferro, elemento de turismo”, 4.

¹¹⁸ These centennial celebrations commemorated the Foundation of the Portuguese Kingdom in 1140 and the Restoration of the Independence from Spain in 1640, after 60 years of Spanish rule.

¹¹⁹ Junta Autónoma de Estradas, “Relatório referente à gerência de 1 de Janeiro de 1936 a 31 de Dezembro de 1941,” (Lisboa: 1941), 46.

¹²⁰ A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *História de Portugal, Volume III. Das revoluções liberais ao nossos dias*, 13^a ed., 3 vols., vol. 3 (Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1998), 480.

roads that connect the capital to Estoril and Cascais: one that follows the *Costa do Sol* and the highway from which one can get pleasure from the magnificent panoramas."¹²¹



Figure 2: *Estrada marginal Lisboa-Cascais*¹²² (costal road)

Other regions of the country were depending on road classification to have roads for tourism. In what concerns road plans and classification, in 1926, the general plan for national roads was approved and in 1933,¹²³ there was a change in the classification of roads: national roads, i.e. roads under the State's responsibility, were divided in two classes, while municipal roads and vicinal paths, i.e. roads under the City Councils' responsibility, stayed.¹²⁴ A proposal in the First Congress of Tourism for the creation of tourism roads in the road classification¹²⁵ might have been followed by a decree in 1938 that granted JAE a special budget to works of embellishment and improvement of roads to be considered tourist pathways.¹²⁶ As an annex to this decree there was a list of 22 tourism roads across the country that became national roads.¹²⁷

Although during this period Portugal had an authoritarian regime and created a central office for the construction of (national) roads, and made it one of the symbols of the achievements of the new regime and of the "national revival" project, putting in contrast with the "disorder" and stagnation of the First Portuguese Republic, it didn't invest on the construction of highways. This is not much different elsewhere in Europe, when motorway plans during the interbellum period met resistance in many of the PIARC members, who "preferred the reconstruction of the ordinary road system over the construction of expensive motorways for which there was little need – if there was a need at all."¹²⁸

Nonetheless, a particular image of the road was built by JAE, which, at least in terms of the rhetoric, seems to have a special interest in an image of order and in the

¹²¹ José Leite de Vasconcelos, "Reflexões atinentes à civilização material do 5º Período, a qual faz contrastar este período com todos os anteriores," in *Etnografia Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, 1980 [1941]), 741.

¹²² Junta Autónoma de Estradas, "Relatório referente à gerência de 1 de Janeiro de 1936 a 31 de Dezembro de 1941," 47.

¹²³ Decrees 12100 of 31st July 1926 and 23239 of 20th November 1933, respectively.

¹²⁴ Between these decrees, there were two more: decree 13969 of 20th July 1927 that confirmed the decree of 1926 and the decree 16075 of 30th September 1928 that completed it. Brito, *Notas sobre a evolução do viajar e a formação do turismo* 577. To a description of the classification see Santa-Rita, *As estradas em Portugal: da Monarquia ao Estado Novo, 1900-1947*, 167, 68.

¹²⁵ José Miguel de Melo Veloso Salgado, "Estradas de turismo" (paper presented at the I Congresso Nacional de Turismo, Lisboa, 1936). This engineer also proposed the study of a plan for highways.

¹²⁶ Decree Decreto-Lei no. 29224, of 7th December 1938.

¹²⁷ Brito, *Notas sobre a evolução do viajar e a formação do turismo* 577. In the report of JAE published in 1941, it presented the construction of four roads for tourism (besides the costal road from Lisbon to Estoril), describing why they were considered as having touristic interest. Junta Autónoma de Estradas, "Relatório referente à gerência de 1 de Janeiro de 1936 a 31 de Dezembro de 1941," 21.

¹²⁸ Schipper, *Driving Europe. Building Europe on roads in the twentieth century*, 118.

propaganda of the landscapes of the country to promote tourism. In the "Portuguese Ethnography" there is a description that supports this interpretation:

In the finer points of the roads, viewpoints, fountains, crosses, chapels, tiles with subtitles were set up, and here is how the panoramas are valued through becoming more known and more visited.

Once the road is open there arrive the tours, excursions and photos, films, articles in the press, and the panorama, hitherto unknown, came to be admired by many, who not only praise it but make intense and disinterested propaganda.¹²⁹

2.2 On the coordination of land transports

The coordination of land transports in Portugal was subject to the law in 1945, which determined the railways' concentration, and other policy measures for transports, such as the new regulation for automobile transportation in 1948, conditioned the way that railways and road transport have developed in the second half of the twentieth century. However, as in other countries, the "coordination debate" started much earlier and the 1930s was an important period of growing definition of the debate, which is perceptible in the congresses' papers and conclusions.

The coordination of land transports in Portugal was already discussed and presented in the conclusions of the First Congress of the Portuguese Industry in 1933, but in a more liberal basis than it would be discussed and legislated later, because it was against the dominant canon of the regime. It was defended as the "[e]stablishment of a national transport policy based on the coordination between road and railway transport, but grounded on a «free and loyal competition» without constraining the automobile transport prices to the railways, and that the «State should recognise the modification brought to the exploration of railways by the lost of the transports' monopoly."¹³⁰

Most of the bus lines in the 1920s were either tributary to the railways, i.e. connecting localities not served by railways to the nearest railway station, or independent, i.e. not interfering with the railways. They generally didn't have a good coverage between the countryside's regions and between these and the littoral. The existing coverage was still limited and they acted more as a complement to the railways than a competitor.¹³¹ This would change in the 1930s, when the lines of buses and trucks competing with railways increased. Although there was no land transports' coordination policy by then, there was legislation issued that started to regulate this sector, which resulted of the work of a commission nominated by the government in 1931¹³² to study the regulation of road transport in heavy weight vehicles and their conjugation with railways, answering this way the reclamations made by railways' companies. As a result, a special regulation for commercial road transport was approved by decree 22718 of 22nd June 1933, which was completed by decree 23499 of 24th January 1934.¹³³ This regulation sought to avoid the until then deregulated development of the truck and bus sectors and made the creation of truck or bus lines more difficult whenever they competed with railways. The regular lines were classified in terms of their relation to railway lines: independent, serving locations in an area not served by railways in a radius of 10km, or interfering. The latter ones were divided in tributary, complementary, and competitive. Apparently, all lines with a route longer than

¹²⁹ Leite Vasconcelos here quotes an employee of the railway company Companhia dos Caminhos de Ferro Portugueses, António Montez. Vasconcelos, "Reflexões atinentes à civilização material do 5º Período, a qual faz contrastar este período com todos os anteriores," 739.

¹³⁰ Rosas, *O Estado Novo nos anos trinta: elementos para o estudo da natureza económica e social do Salazarismo (1928-1938)*, 187.

¹³¹ Vieira, "Os transportes rodoviários em Portugal, 1900-1940," 69, 70.

¹³² Portaria of 15 April 1931.

¹³³ A comment to these laws was made in Santos, "Elementos de estudo para a coordenação dos transportes em Portugal." In this paper Carlos Santos uses the work of Albitreccia, "La route et le rail dans 40 pays," which excluded Portugal but allowed Santos to present comparative perspectives from the coordination debate in other countries.

100 km were competing with railways, which meant that this law promoted long-range transport by railways. This was similar to what was done in other European countries in this period.¹³⁴ There was not a definitive prohibition regarding the setting up of the road transport lines, but taxes provided competitive advantage for the railways. The creation by the government of the corporatist organism GITA in 1935 also intended to regulate the activity of commercial road transport.¹³⁵ These measures were nevertheless considered insufficient for solving the problem of coordination of land transports.¹³⁶

In the congresses, as the years pass in the 1930s, one sees the initially discreet positions in favour of the railways or in favour of road transport development becoming increasingly assertive. In the first Congress of *União Nacional* in 1934, a former member of the then extinct Superior Council for Traffic (*Conselho Superior de Viação*) said that "the automobile cannot have, at least in the next years, the whim to want to substitute the railways, nor the State (...) can do without this means of transport, not only because of economy, but also because of national defence."¹³⁷ This speaker advocated that bus and truck services should be developed as a complement to the railways and that long-distance transport should be reserved for this latter mode of transport.¹³⁸ The argument that long-distance transport should be operated by railways seems to have been accepted even by the "industrialists" of the road transport sector, which, in compensation emphasised the importance of road transport to small and medium distances.¹³⁹ The argument that road transport should remain complementary to the railways continued to be supported by the defenders of railways' interests, but was contested by the defenders of road transport interests.¹⁴⁰ For instance, João Faria Lapa, a full professor in Economics who would be a member of the board of the railways journal (*Gazeta dos Caminhos de Ferro*), presented, in 1936, the automobile (light and commercial vehicles) as a complement to the railways and highlighted the success of the excursions organised by train since 1933, affirming that it was the only means of transport capable to carry "large masses of excursionists."¹⁴¹

In spite of the different stances, all seemed to agree on one thing: the need for the State intervention through the creation of a body that would coordinate land transport and stop the existing conditions of competition, which while not completely unregulated were seen as prejudicial for both road and railway companies.¹⁴² Although the First National Congress of Transports in 1939 had other themes to discuss, the land transports coordination was the dominating theme.¹⁴³ The general secretary of the Congress, José de Miranda, argued about the need to "harmonise" transport systems because each had its different functions and that it should be considered the "fair

¹³⁴ See note 35 above.

¹³⁵ See notes 22 and 23 above.

¹³⁶ Santos, "Elementos de estudo para a coordenação dos transportes em Portugal."

¹³⁷ Augusto Alves Rodrigues, "Transportes mecânicos em Portugal," in *I Congresso da União Nacional* (Lisboa: Edição da União Nacional, 1934), 42.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 51-53.

¹³⁹ Henrique Bravo and Carlos Santos, "A coordenação dos transportes em Portugal," in *I Congresso Nacional dos Transportes* (Porto: 1939).

¹⁴⁰ Seruya, "A influência do Cooperativismo no desenvolvimento dos transportes mecânicos em regime colectivo."

¹⁴¹ Lapa, "O caminho de ferro, elemento de turismo", 6.

¹⁴² Here are examples of papers where this was stated, although with slight differences in the proposals: A. do Sacramento Monteiro and Joaquim Jerónimo, "A indústria dos transportes em automóveis," in *II Congresso Nacional de Automobilismo e Aviação Civil* (Porto: Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, 1937). Santos, "Elementos de estudo para a coordenação dos transportes em Portugal." A. Do Sacramento Monteiro presented also a thesis on this subject at the First National Congress for Transports, in 1939, called "O problema dos transportes em automóveis"; João Faria Lapa, "Um problema económico: o preço do transporte de mercadorias, por caminho de ferro, em face da concorrência automóvel," in *I Congresso Nacional dos Transportes* (Porto: 1939), Bravo and Santos, "A coordenação dos transportes em Portugal.", Joaquim Ferreira de Sousa, "Solução do problema de transportes em caminhos de ferro e camionagem," in *I Congresso Nacional dos Transportes* (Porto: 1939).

¹⁴³ *I Congresso Nacional de Transportes. Programa oficial, teses e relatórios.*

equilibrium that exists between them.”¹⁴⁴ The sessions of “railways” and “automobilism (2nd part)”, although presenting different conclusions to specific issues of the regulation of coordination, namely on how the existing law should be revised, both plead for the creation of a state organism to coordinate land transports, where all interests should be represented.¹⁴⁵ This would only happen in 1951 with the creation of the Directorate General of Land Transportation (*Direcção Geral de Transportes Terrestres*), already planned in the law of coordination of transports of 1945, which was intensively debated in both chambers, National Assembly and Corporatist Chamber.¹⁴⁶

3 Final remarks: realities and open questions

A generalized praise for the works of *Estado Novo*, namely on the reconstruction of roads, or on the creation of order and social peace contrasting with the state of disorder in which the First Portuguese Republic had supposedly left the country was part of the rhetoric of Salazar's regime. Nonetheless, the congresses here analysed show that different actors made several proposals for improvement of what was being already done and even expressed some divergences of opinion. The exposition of these conflicts was only possible perhaps because these were limited to a controlled sphere, the actors were close to the regime and the issues debated were “technical.” This is very interesting, because it allows us to investigate what was being discussed at this level in terms of mobility, roads, transport policy or tourism.

These visions discussed in the congresses are, however, sometimes misadjusted to reality, which is a warning that one needs to look also for other sources and levels of analysis. For instance, looking at the statistics of the road modal split in this period confirms that automobile (light vehicles) were a minority of the existing vehicles using roads (see Figure 3).

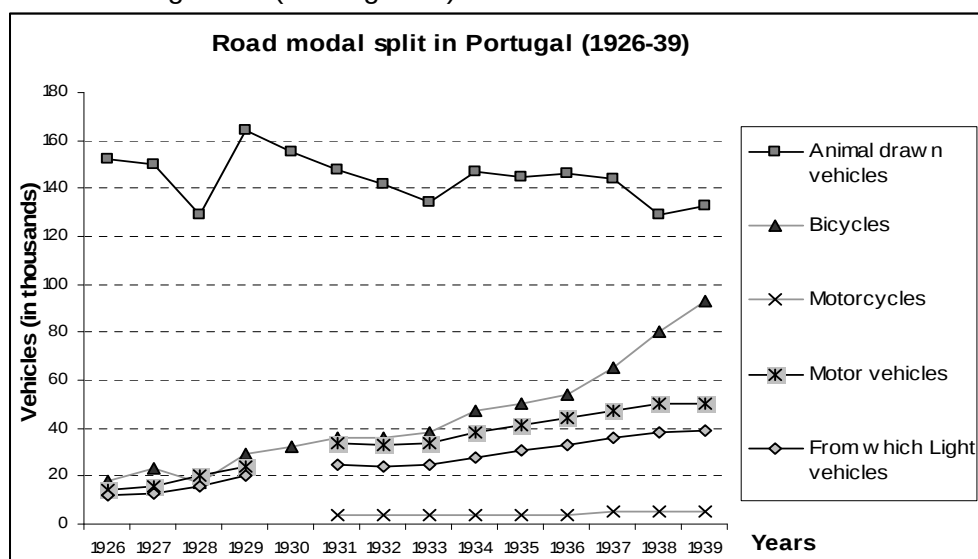


Figure 3: Road modal split in Portugal (1926-39)¹⁴⁷

This is important because what these congresses give us is, normally, the motorists' point of view. The reality was that roads and streets were also used by other

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 5, 6.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ See Pedro Manuel Mendes Castelo, "Políticas e coordenação de transportes terrestres no pós II Guerra Mundial em Portugal, 1945-1953" (Mestrado, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2008).

¹⁴⁷ Pinheiro, "Transportes," 366, 67.

modes of mobility not represented by the congressmen. In the countryside motorists would find animal-drawn carts, slow and heavy weighted trucks, horse riders, pedestrians (including children), and loose animals. In the streets of the major cities, such as Lisbon and Oporto, besides these users, motorists had to share their use with the electric tramways, which were considered to be rather slow. The motorist's point of view in this regard was expressed in the congresses by their will to promote the education and discipline of other road users.¹⁴⁸ Generally, they didn't consider the creation of automobile-only roads, therefore removing other road users, but instead this construction of hierarchy of mobility modes,¹⁴⁹ in spite of being a minority, because they moved faster and had more political power.

Still, when we talk about the motorist's point of view, we have to ask who we are referring to. Although both interests of individual motorists and commercial road vehicles were represented at the congresses, it seems clear that they were not fighting for the same things, and maybe not even for the same type of roads. Sometimes, they even took opposite sides. For instance, papers in the First National Congress of Tourism in 1936 highlighted the importance of the application of a law regarding the obligatory use of an appliance for the limitation of speed for commercial vehicles, a factor that was said being responsible for traffic accidents.¹⁵⁰ The statutes of ACP excluded employed professional drivers from their membership¹⁵¹ and a journal of an Association of road commercial transport, in its first issue stated that the ruling classes were little familiarised with issues related with the automobile transport industry and that their attention was directed to automobile sports, which can be view as a critique to ACP, the official organiser automobile races.¹⁵² This raises the issue that other actors, eventually mediators, need to be studied together with ACP, for instance, the corporatist organization GITA.

The questions open are what roads were discussed, associated to which representations and functions, how the motorists' point of view helped to discipline the uses of the roads, taking in consideration these actors and understanding how the coordination debate contributed to it. Some of the questions raised in this paper (particularly section 1.2) therefore remain open, but also give directions for the continuation of this work.

¹⁴⁸ Madeira, "A segurança: problema fundamental da circulação," 19-21. This concern is also present in at least three papers of the Second Congress of Automobilmism and Civil Aviation. *Relatórios do II Congresso Nacional de Automobilismo e Aviação Civil*, 5-7. A. de Pina Junior, "A criança e o trânsito moderno," in *II Congresso Nacional de Automobilismo e Aviação Civil* (Porto: Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, 1937), Tovar de Lemos, "Educar o peão," in *II Congresso Nacional de Automobilismo e Aviação Civil* (Porto: Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, 1937), Pedro Veiga, "A circulação nas cidades," in *II Congresso Nacional de Automobilismo e Aviação Civil* (Porto: Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, 1937). See also papers presented in the session of "circulation and traffic" of the First National Congress of Transports in 1939. *I Congresso Nacional de Transportes. Programa oficial, teses e relatórios*.

¹⁴⁹ This reflection is inspired by the work of Jennifer Bonham, "Transport: disciplining the body that travels," in *Against Automobility*, ed. Steffen Böhm, et al. (Oxford: Sociological Review Monographs, Blackwell Publishing, 2006).

¹⁵⁰ Fernando Santos and João Perfeito de Magalhães, "Da imperiosa necessidade de assistência em estrada ao automobilismo e turismo em Portugal " (paper presented at the I Congresso Nacional de Turismo, Lisboa, 1936). See also Fernando Teixeira, "Os acidentes de viação nas estradas portuguesas," in *II Congresso Nacional de Automobilismo e Aviação Civil* (Porto: Sociedade Nacional de Tipografia, 1937).

¹⁵¹ "Ecos e comentários," *Boletim Oficial do Automóvel Club de Portugal* 12 (1929).

¹⁵² "Duas palavras," *Auto: revista mensal patrocinada e recomendada pela Associação de Classe dos Empresários de Carreiras de Auto-Omnibus e pelas principais organizações de Táxis* 1 (1934): 1.

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