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BANKING IN THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL EMPIRE (1864-1975)

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Abstract

This paper provides a general view of the evolution of banking in the Portuguese Colonial Empire between the founding of the first Portuguese colonial bank in 1864 and the independence of most Portuguese colonies in 1975. The text summarizes the legal background, presents the banks existing during that period, examines their businesses and discusses their contribution to the economic evolution of the territories under consideration. As the paper's main conclusions, it may be said that: (i) Portuguese colonial banking followed the continental model of government initiative and tight control, not the British model of private initiative without much government control; (ii) the development of Portuguese colonial banking was always mainly a matter of profiting from the opportunities afforded by economic evolution rather than a matter of autonomously fostering the economic development of the territories.

Key words: Clonial banks

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1. Introduction

This paper provides a general view of the evolution of banking in the Portuguese Colonial Empire between the founding of the first Portuguese colonial bank in 1864¹ and the independence of most Portuguese colonies in 1975. The text summarizes the legal background, presents the banks existing during that period, examines their businesses and discusses their contribution to the economic evolution of the territories under consideration. It is divided into five sections, which correspond to the five main periods in the evolution of the Portuguese Colonial Empire: the decline of the Third Portuguese Colonial Empire (until the end of the 19th century); the making of the Fourth Portuguese Colonial Empire (until the end of the First World War); the inter-war and Second World War period of political stability and economic instability; the immediate post-Second World War period of political stability and economic prosperity; the era of colonial war (1961-1975).

The research was undertaken as part of a research project on the history of the Portuguese banking system supported by the *Banco de Portugal*, the results of which have been partly published (Valério *et al*, 2007) and are partly still forthcoming. It was based on published statistics, accounts and reports, documents available from the banks' archives (especially the *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* archive), and studies on the relevant organizations (namely Duarte, 2000; Paixão, 1964; Sá, 2005; Torres, 1991), and colonial monetary and economic evolution (namely Clarence-Smith, 1985; Estêvão, 1991; Leite, 1990; Valério, Tjipilica, 2008). Some comparisons were attempted with British and other European cases of colonial powers, based on the available bibliography (namely Jones, 1990; Jones, 1991; Liauzu, 2007).

¹ One might argue that the first Portuguese colonial bank was the (first) Banco do Brasil [Bank of Brazil], created by the Portuguese government in 1808, when it moved to Rio de Janeiro, fleeing from the occupation of Mainland Portugal by the French Imperial Army. This bank was founded by Royal Charter in October, 1808, with a proposed equity of 1,200 contos (£366,628), but opened its doors, with some difficulty, in December of the following year, with a paid-up equity of only 100 contos (£28,052). Throughout its existence, its main activity was making loans to the Government – firstly to the Portuguese Government in Brazil, and later to the Brazilian Government, after Brazil became independent in 1822. It was liquidated in the 1830s. Anyway, the activity of the first Bank of Brazil exclusively affected Brazilian economic life. For more details about its history, see Franco (1948).

2. Banking in an ailing empire (1864-1890)

2.1. The Portuguese Colonial Empire in the mid-19th century

In the mid-19th century, the Portuguese Colonial Empire was comprised of six provinces:

a) Cape Verde – Including the archipelago of Cape Verde and a few trading posts on the coast of Guinea, the main ones being at Bissau and Cacheu.

b) São Tomé and Príncipe – Including the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe in the Gulf of Guinea and a trading post on the coast of Dahomey, São João Baptista de Ajudá.

c) Angola – Including several territories on the South-Western coast of Africa, namely Cabinda, Angola proper (around Luanda), Benguela and Moçâmedes.

d) Mozambique – Including several territories on the Eastern coast of Africa, namely Lourenço Marques, Sena and Mozambique proper.

e) India – Including two territories on the coast of Malabar (Goa and Damão), one territory on the coast of Gujarat (Diu) and two enclaves further inland (Dadrá and Nagar-Haveli).

f) Macao – Including the trading post of Macao at the mouth of the Pearl River, over which Portugal had obtained full sovereignty during the 1840s in the wake of the Chinese defeat in the First Opium War, the neighbouring islands of Taipa and Coloane, and the eastern part of the island of Timor.

This was clearly an ailing empire. The eastern colonies had been declining since the 17th century, when the Netherlands, England and France replaced Portugal as the main European trading powers from the Indian Ocean to Japan. Mozambique had been in decline since the 18th century, when first Oman and a subsequently autonomous Zanzibar replaced Portugal in the control of the trade between East Africa and the Muslim world. The colonies of the west coast of Africa had begun to decline when the prohibition of the slave trade to the American continent, enacted in 1837, was completely enforced during the 1850s.

2.2. The *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* (BNU), 1864-1876

The foundation of the *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* [National Overseas Bank] (in short BNU) in 1864 was designed to improve the economic situation of Portugal's overseas possessions, by providing a stable currency and granting credit to business enterprises. It was a joint initiative of the Portuguese government and the entrepreneur Francisco Chamiço, who was linked to a Lisbon

banking house led by his brother Fortunato Chamiço². The Law of 16 May 1864 and the Decree of 12 August 1864 laid the groundwork for the start-up of the organization. Although the French colonial banks of the 1850s were invoked as a paradigm for the initiative, there were several significant divergences from such a paradigm: Portugal had a single colonial bank for the whole colonial empire, instead of a separate bank for each colony; the Portuguese colonial bank had its headquarters in Lisbon, not in the colonies themselves; and the Portuguese colonial bank was not a freestanding bank, as it was authorized to undertake operations as a commercial bank in the home country.

The BNU was to open branches in all Portuguese overseas possessions, with the exception of Macao, and was authorized to carry out all banking operations, including the issue of paper money. In return, the Bank enjoyed full exclusivity for these operations for a period of fifteen years and received a government subsidy. Francisco Chamiço was legally considered to be the founder of the Bank and was made its Governor for life. After his death, governors were elected by the General Assembly of shareholders and confirmed by the government.

The BNU started its operations on 2 January 1865 with the opening of the head office in Lisbon, despite some difficulty in raising its start-up capital – 4,000 *contos* (£888,888) were issued, but the subscription of the capital was slow: it reached 936 *contos* (£208,000) in 1865, 1,512 *contos* (£336,000) in 1866, 2,160 *contos* (£480,000) in 1868, 3,600 *contos* (£800,000) in 1875. Already in its first year, the Bank opened three branch offices, one in Portugal (Porto), one in Angola (Luanda), the other in Cape Verde (Praia), and issued its first banknotes, in Angola. In 1868, it opened four more branches: one in São Tomé and Príncipe (São Tomé), another in Portuguese India (Goa), and two more in Angola (Benguela and Moçâmedes). However, as it had opened no branches in Mozambique, it ceased to receive the government subsidy, which had been made conditional upon this fact.

The early years of the Bank showed rapid growth, in keeping with a banking boom taking place in the Portuguese economy at the time. However, such a development took place mainly in Portugal proper, where the Bank was able to undertake the activity of a genuine commercial bank, and not in the overseas territories, where the Bank was often forced to undertake what in fact amounted to the full range of operations of a colonial company: transport activities, trade in colonial commodities, mortgage lending, and even farming, as a consequence of the defaults in the payments of plantation owners.³

² This banking house later became Banco Totta, which was involved in colonial banking business during the 1960s, as will be explained below.

³ Public statements about the plans of the BNU's founders suggested that the original idea was to invest roughly 40% of the capital in Portugal proper and 60% in the Colonial Empire. Data published on the actual situation show that operations in Portugal proper absorbed roughly twice the amount of funds that were invested in the Colonial Empire.

2.3. The *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* (BNU), 1876-1890

The Portuguese banking boom was cut short by the onset of a banking crisis in 1876. As a result, the BNU's activities peaked in 1875 at a level not to be reached again until the 20th century. In the short run, these developments were compounded by an incident of fraudulent appropriation of funds (546 contos, £121,333) perpetrated by the Lisbon treasurer, which led to a lawsuit, and further harmed the credibility of the bank.

Anyway, the Law of 26 January 1876 extended the Bank's exclusive rights over banking operations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire by ten years (until 1889) and its issuing rights for another twenty years (until 1899). In return, the Bank was obliged to open a branch office in Mozambique within one calendar year. At the same time, it lowered the Bank's required equity to the subscribed level of 3,600 *contos*. In accordance with the provisions of this law, branches were opened in the town of Mozambique in 1877 and in Lourenço Marques (present-day Maputo) in 1883. The first banknotes were issued in Mozambique also in 1877.

In spite of the reduced level of the BNU's activities during the 1880s, this decade saw the development of some international links. Correspondent agents were established in several British possessions in South Africa and around the Indian Ocean (Aden, Bombay, Cape Town), and in Pretoria, in the South African (Transvaal) Republic.⁴

2.4. Banking and economic performance in the Portuguese Colonial Empire until the late 19th century

As explained above, the Portuguese Colonial Empire of the second half of the 19th century could not be said to be thriving. Hopes that the activity of the BNU would change such a situation were thwarted. On the one hand, the BNU's activity as a commercial bank in Portugal proper always exceeded its involvement in the overseas territories, which were supposed to be its main area of operation. On the other hand, the very structure of the Portuguese Colonial Empire needed to change a great deal before it might become an attractive field for banking, and for investment in general. To sum up: banking was unable to stem the tide of imperial decline.

⁴ In subsequent decades, Transvaal became closely involved, in economic terms, with Mozambique, both because it belonged to the natural hinterland of the port of Lourenço Marques, and because Mozambican workers emigrated on a large scale to Transvaal to work in its mines. The Pretoria correspondent agent's office of BNU was eventually upgraded to a branch after Transvaal became a British colony in the wake of the Boer War of 1900-1902.

3. Banking in an empire in the making (1890-1919)

3.1. The Fourth Portuguese Empire

In the late 19th century, the Portuguese Colonial Empire changed considerably. The scramble for Africa drove Portugal to seek to increase its possessions. The two main projects developed in this area did, however, fail. A protectorate over Dahomey was established (1885), but soon lapsed because of French ambitions in the area. Control over the territory between Angola and Mozambique (roughly corresponding to the Zambezi basin) was accepted by Belgium, France and Germany, but not by Britain (and especially not by Cecil Rhodes). When Portugal moved towards effective occupation (in the late 1880s), Britain reacted with an ultimatum (1890) and demanded the withdrawal of Portuguese forces. The final division of the territory under dispute was rather unequal: Britain ended up with Northern Rhodesia (present-day Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe) and (Northern) Nyasaland (present-day Malawi); Portugal received only Southern Nyasaland (thereafter known as Tete and incorporated into Mozambique). However, Portugal was able to secure the territory of Portuguese Guinea (36,000 square kilometres) in the face of French and British ambitions, and two large colonies in Southern Africa, Angola (1,245,000 square kilometres) and Mozambique (785,000 square kilometres). This was the core of what came to be called the Fourth Portuguese Colonial Empire.⁵ Guinea was separated from Cape Verde, and became a distinct province, through the Law of 18 March 1879. Timor was separated from Macao, and became a distinct province, through the Law of 15 October 1896. Until the end of the First World War, implementing an effective administration over an area of around 2,100,000 square kilometres, inhabited by more than 7 million people, became the main priority of the Portuguese colonial authorities.

The bulk of the Portuguese Colonial Empire was administered directly by the Portuguese authorities. However, two chartered companies came into being in the 1890s, having been created for the administration of part of the Mozambique territory. These were the *Companhia de Moçambique* [Mozambique Company], which took over the regions of Manica and Sofala, between the Zambezi and Save Rivers (around 140,000 square kilometres) for a twenty-five-year period (later extended to fifty), and the *Companhia do Niassa* [Nyasa Company], which took charge of the regions of Niassa and Cabo Delgado, north of the Lúrio River (around 200,000 square kilometres),

⁵ English-speaking scholars normally use the label of the Third Portuguese Empire, implicitly numbering the Eastern Empire of the 16th century and the Brazilian Empire of the 17th and 18th centuries, as respectively the First and Second Portuguese Empires. However, the Atlantic and Moroccan Empire of the 15th century should be considered separately as the First Portuguese Empire, thus increasing the respective numbering of the other three.

for the same duration. Although governed by Portuguese law, these companies had majority shareholdings of British and French capital.

3.2. Banking improvements

The expansion of the Portuguese Colonial Empire in the late 19th century gave rise to several improvements in its banking system. Mozambique began to attract banks from neighbouring South African territories: the Bank of Africa and the National Bank of the South African Republic, from Transvaal, and the Standard Bank from the British Cape Colony began to expand their activities into Mozambique in the early 1890s. At the same time, chartered companies were authorized to undertake banking activities in the regions of their jurisdiction, and even to issue banknotes. In practice, however, this did not happen immediately – the Mozambique BNU notes continued to circulate in the jurisdictions of these two companies, while the companies issued only scrip notes that represented metallic money.

3.3. The *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* (BNU), 1890-1901

The 1890s were not yet a truly prosperous period for the BNU, but there was some improvement in the gloomy situation that had prevailed during the 1876-1890 period. During this decade, the BNU started issuing banknotes in São Tomé and Príncipe (1891) and Cape Verde (1897). However, involvement in transportation activities (such as the *Companhia de Navegação no Cuanza* [Cuanza Navigation Company] in Angola, which had to be liquidated with losses), and farming activities (such as the *Companhia de Cazengo* [Cazengo Company] in Angola, and the *Companhia da Ilha do Príncipe* [Príncipe Island Company] in São Tomé and Príncipe) remained a burden upon the BNU's business.

3.4. The 1901 banking law for the Portuguese Colonial Empire

These developments led the Portuguese government to revise the legal framework governing banking activity in the Portuguese Colonial Empire. Until 1901, banking activity in the Portuguese Colonial Empire had been carried out in accordance with the regime established in the Law of 16 May 1864 and the Law of 26 January 1876, which, as explained above, granted exclusive issuing rights to the BNU. The period for exclusive issuing rights was repeatedly extended until such time as new general legislation was implemented, which only came about in the 20th century.

A new legal framework for banking activity in the Portuguese Colonial Empire was established by the Law of 27 April 1901. The new legislation divided banking operations into two groups: the issuing of notes and the granting of mortgage loans were an exclusive concession afforded to privileged banks, determined through a process of competitive bidding; all other operations were open to any bank, with the legal regime of Portugal proper being applied to its constitution and functioning. However, in the four West African provinces (Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea and São Tomé and Príncipe), only Portuguese banks could be established. The rights of the chartered companies in their respective jurisdictions were maintained.

According to the Law, different provinces could have different issuing banks, although each province could have only one, and, in the case of the four West African provinces specifically, a single bank was to provide the issues of banknotes for all four provinces. The minimum start-up capital was 5,000 *contos* (£1,111,111), 3,000 *contos* (£666,666) of which were for the issuing bank in the West African provinces. The issuing of banknotes was limited to the amount of the bank's total equity capital, with a minimum of one third being covered by metallic money. It was further determined that the banknotes of each of the West African provinces were to be exchanged in the other West African provinces and Portugal proper, with a 2% premium, but floating exchange rates were allowed with the other provinces. The Law imposed the role of government treasurers on the issuing banks, and exacted a 1,200 *contos* (£266,677) loan for promoting overseas development. It allowed for the disbursement of an 8% dividend, but reserved half of the remaining profits for the government, with a minimum of a quarter of a percentage point of circulation. Finally, it set the period of exclusivity over issuing rights at ten years and granted preference to the BNU, should equal bids be received.

Despite the wide range of new possibilities afforded by the Law, not a great deal changed. The BNU was the only bidder in the tender for the exclusive concession of banknote issues and mortgage loans, and was obviously awarded it – and for many years remained the only bank operating in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, with the exception of the activity of the National Bank of the South African Republic (which became the National Bank of South Africa after Transvaal became a British colony, and was later acquired in 1925 by Barclays Bank), the Bank of Africa (acquired in 1912 by the National Bank of South Africa) and the Standard Bank in Mozambique. Another feature of operations that was very reminiscent of the past was the fact that when the 10-year period of exclusivity expired, it was again extended in the expectation of a review of the banking law for the Colonial Empire, which, in fact, did not come about immediately.

3.5. The *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* (BNU), 1901-1919

During the first two decades of the 20th century, the BNU was able to increase its operations as a result of the development of the Portuguese Colonial Empire, by opening branches and issuing notes in all territories. The branch of Macao was opened in 1902 and the first banknotes for the territory were issued in 1905. The first branch in Guinea was opened in 1903 and the first issue of banknotes for the territory was made in 1909. The branch of Dili in Timor was opened in 1912 and the first issue of banknotes for the territory was made in 1915. However, what might be called the mortgage trap, that is to say the unplanned acquisition of real estate as a consequence of the defaults in the payments of plantation owners, and the bank's involvement in transportation and commercial activities remained significant hindrances to the BNU's strictly banking activity in the Portuguese Colonial Empire. As a consequence, it had to centre its main business elsewhere.

Thus, the most important initiatives of the BNU during the period under consideration were the opening of branch offices in Brazil and the expansion of its facilities and activities in the Portuguese homeland. In Brazil, a network was established that covered the main locations of Portuguese emigrants in Brazil (Rio de Janeiro in 1913; São Paulo and Santos in 1916; Belém, Campos, Recife and Salvador in 1917; and Paraíba and Manaus in 1918). The goal, of course, was to capture the market of the Portuguese emigrant communities in that country, profiting from what may be called cultural externalities. In Portugal, by the end of the second decade of the century, the BNU had around twenty branches all over the country. It thus became the first bank, apart from the Bank of Portugal and the government's bank, the *Caixa Geral de Depósitos*, to establish a network of branches throughout the Portuguese territory.

To finance the expansion of its activities, the BNU increased its equity capital, firstly to 5,400 *contos* (£1,200,000) in 1901, then to 9,000 *contos* (£2,000,000) just before the outbreak of the First World War, in two series of capital increases of 1,800 *contos* (£400,000) each, and to 12,000 *contos* (£2,666,667) in 1917.

3.6. Banking and economic performance in the Portuguese Colonial Empire until the end of the First World War

The BNU's priority expansion in Portugal and its spread into Brazil, the absence of any response to the opportunities opened up by the 1901 banking law and the absence of any expansion of the activities of South African banks and chartered companies into Mozambique clearly show that the time for significant economic expansion had not yet come to the Portuguese Colonial Empire. The enlargement in the area of Portuguese possessions, despite falling short of Portuguese ambitions, raised hopes that the colonial empire might become the engine of

Portuguese economic growth. However, these hopes were to be thwarted for two main reasons. As pointed out above, the task of implementing a Portuguese administration over the native societies previously inhabiting the territories where Portuguese sovereignty had been accepted by other European powers (as well as defending Angola and Mozambique from German attacks during the First World War) dominated the years until the end of the First World War. Moreover, the relatively low level of development of the Portuguese economy (and its rather disappointing performance during the so-called 'belle époque') meant that capital for colonial enterprises was in very short supply, and the opening up of Portuguese colonies to foreign capital was always undertaken with some care, to avoid what was criticized at the time as amounting to the denationalization of Portuguese territories. To sum up, banking in an empire in the making had to follow the flag, not to precede it, and the Portuguese flag was not fully introduced everywhere until the end of the First World War. As a consequence, Portuguese colonial banking during this period was far from matching the flourishing developments of British freestanding companies, and even far from rivalling the less spectacular, but usually solid, improvement of French, Belgian, Dutch and German colonial banking.

4. Banking in an era of crises (1919-1945)

4.1. The Portuguese Colonial Empire in the inter-war period

Between the end of the First World War and the end of the Second World War, the Portuguese Colonial Empire lived through a period of political stability, despite being subject to a series of recurrent economic crises. The absence of both native revolts and foreign challenges to Portuguese sovereignty ensured political stability. Domestic and international economic fluctuations were the cause of economic instability. Disturbances triggered by the Portuguese inflationary process until 1924, by the Great Depression throughout most of the 1930s, and by the Second World War during the first half of the 1940s, left the second half of the 1920s as the only period of relative prosperity during this quarter of a century.

4.2. The 1919 banking law for the Portuguese Colonial Empire and its implementation

The Decree with the force of Law No. 5809, of 30 May 1919, established a new regime for banking activities in the Portuguese Colonial Empire. Most of its provisions repeated those of the Law of 27 April 1901. The main differences consisted in:

a) Allowing for the concession of exclusivity over the rights to issue banknotes and mortgage bonds to a single bank for a period of 25 years (with the inevitable exception of the rights granted to the chartered companies) – thus abandoning the possibility of having a range of issuing banks in the several colonies (as allowed for in the Law of 1901, but never put into effect).

b) Establishing new quantitative rules regarding the equity capital of the issuing bank, which was to be 17,000 *contos* (£3,777,777); the existence of permanent and variable reserve funds, which were to be accumulated out of 10% of profits, up to the amount of the bank's equity capital; the limits for the issue of banknotes, which were allowed up to 30,000 *contos* (£6,666,667) in notes to be distinct for each colony; a loan to the government for promoting overseas development, consisting of an amount equal to 15% of circulation, and with a minimum of 2,400 *contos* (£533,333); and the payments to the government in return for the concession of the exclusive rights, which were to total an amount equal to 4% of the money in circulation each year, plus 20% of the commission earned on the sale of mortgage bonds.

c) Relaxing the rules concerning exchange premiums in all Portuguese territories, which ceased to have a legal limit.

As in 1901, the concession of exclusive rights was to be determined through a process of public tenders, in which the BNU was not to receive simple preference, but rather the right of first refusal. This time, two banks entered the bidding: the *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* (BNU) and the *Banco Colonial Português* [Portuguese Colonial Bank], which had been founded expressly for this purpose.⁶ The BNU won the bidding, without needing to exercise its option of first refusal, and signed the Contract of 4 August 1919 with the State, for the exclusive rights over the issue of banknotes and mortgage bonds in the Portuguese Colonial Empire until 1944.

Unlike the first two periods of exclusivity, which not only ran their full course, but were also extended beyond the date of their conclusion, this third period of exclusivity encountered serious problems and failed to last until its end. Firstly, the issuing rights in Angola had to be ceded to a new bank in 1926. Secondly, a new banking regime for the Portuguese Colonial Empire had to be implemented in 1929.

⁶ The *Banco Colonial Português* was an initiative of the entrepreneur, Cândido Sottomayor, created expressly to compete with the BNU in the “promotion and economic progress of the overseas provinces”. However, as a consequence of the failure of its bid to become the issuing bank for the overseas provinces, it never became involved in overseas business. Moreover, its activities in Portugal proper did not prosper, and it ended up merging with the *Banco Nacional Agrícola* in 1924, to no avail, because it closed its doors the same year.

4.3. The *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* (BNU), 1919-1929

The BNU kept expanding at the same rate between 1919 and 1929. Its equity capital was increased in 1919 to 24,000 *contos* (£5,333,333), comfortably exceeding the minimum required by the Decree with the force of Law No. 5809, of 30 May 1919. Between 1919 and 1921, it opened new branches abroad in London, Paris, Leopoldville (present-day Kinshasa), New York, and Bombay (present-day Mumbai). Although the New York branch had to be closed down in 1924, and the London and Paris branches were transformed into autonomous banks in the late 1920s, respectively under the name of the Anglo-Portuguese Colonial and Overseas Bank, and the *Banque Franco-Portugaise d'Outre-Mer* [French-Portuguese Overseas Bank], the BNU thus briefly enjoyed a significant representation in the leading financial centres of the world, and strengthened its links with the neighbours of Portuguese colonies that shared intense economic dealings with them. A few new branches were also opened in Portugal proper and in Angola (before 1926).

4.4. The foundation of the *Banco de Angola* [Bank of Angola]

Decree No. 13 of the High Commissioner of the Portuguese Republic in Angola, of 7 May 1921, altered the colony's monetary regime. This alteration led to the signing of the Contract of 26 June 1922 between the High Commissioner and the BNU regarding the position of the Bank as the issuing and commercial bank in Angola, which had two main provisions: the BNU promised to make two development loans to the colony, one for 3,000 gold *contos* (£666,667) immediately, the other for 10,000 gold *contos* (£2,222,222) to be made available over time, as the needs arose; and the ceiling on the fiduciary circulation in Angola was raised to 50,000 *contos* (£11,111,111 at par). The effects of these measures were twofold. On the one hand, the Angolan monetary unit (the Angolan *escudo*) depreciated *vis-à-vis* the Portuguese *escudo*, despite the Portuguese *escudo*'s own depreciation in the international currency markets. The Angolan *escudo* was traded at a mark-up of 16 to 25% over the Portuguese *escudo*. On the other hand, it was possible neither for the BNU to mobilize the funds needed to make the loan of 10,000 gold *contos* to the colony, nor for the Angolan economy to sustain the amount of public spending (notwithstanding its investment nature) that the loan would finance without aggravating inflation.⁷ The Bank's difficulties in making this second loan, and its passivity in the matter, prompted the publication of Decree No. 364 of the High Commissioner of the Portuguese Republic in Angola, of 14 September 1923, determining that the

⁷ By 1924, the combined depreciation of the Portuguese *escudo* against the pound and of the Angolan *escudo* against the Portuguese *escudo* had reduced the exchange value of the limit of 50,000 *contos* on fiduciary circulation to £363,636, roughly one sixth of the exchange value of the intended loan!

BNU was to be replaced by the *Banco de Angola* [Bank of Angola] (still to be created), as the colony's issuing bank. This Decree was not executable, however, as it never received the ratification of the Portuguese government, which was indispensable not only from the legal standpoint, but more importantly from the practical standpoint of setting up an entirely new banking entity. The situation entered into a situation of deadlock that lasted until 1926.⁸

Decrees Nos. 12123, 12124, and 12131, of 14 August 1926, attempted to remedy this state of affairs. The first of these decrees ratified a convention between the new High Commissioner of the Portuguese Republic in Angola (Colonel Vicente de Freitas) and the BNU, in which the Bank agreed to cede its issuing and commercial activities in Angola to a new bank, the *Banco de Angola* [Bank of Angola], while the colony renounced its claim upon the BNU for the 10,000 gold-*contos* loan, which still had not materialized. The second decree established a new monetary regime for Angola, formally recognizing the devaluation of the Angolan monetary unit in relation to the Portuguese unit, by replacing the Angolan *escudo* with a new currency, the *angolar*. The third decree regulated the constitution of the *Banco de Angola*, which had an equity capital of 50,000 *contos* (£526,316 at the existing exchange rate), initially divided into two equal parts between the Portuguese State and the BNU. The Bank received the exclusive right to issue banknotes in Angola for a period of 25 years (which could be curtailed to 15). In return, the Bank was to make an annual payment of 1,000 *contos* (£10,526 at the existing exchange rate) to the government and make a loan to the colony of 5,000 *contos* (£52,632 at the existing exchange rate), which would subsume the BNU's 1922 loan of 3,000 *contos*.

The Bank of Angola received the physical facilities and human resources from the BNU in Angola (including the branch in Léopoldville) as well as the BNU's loan assets to the colony of Angola, and the liabilities pertaining to the banknote issues and deposits of the BNU in the colony, and agreed to pay 5,460 *contos* (£57,474 at the existing exchange rate) to the BNU, as compensation for the issuing rights. An interesting point is that the preamble of Decree No. 12124 admitted to the possibility of creating a development bank in the colony, in order to complement the operations of the Bank of Angola, which was clearly restricted to conducting only issuing and commercial operations. However, this projected development bank never came into being.

⁸ The autonomy of the government in Angola, as established in this legislation over matters of money and banking, grew out of the administrative and financial regime of the Portuguese Colonial Empire, established by Law No. 1022, of 20 August 1920, and Decree No. 7008, of 9 October 1920. The far-reaching manner in which this autonomy was applied in Angola is illustrative of the thinking and personal temperament of the High Commissioner appointed for Angola in 1921, General José Norton de Matos. Norton de Matos left the post of High Commissioner in Angola in 1924.

4.5. The case of the *Banco Angola e Metrópole* [Angola and Metropolis Bank]

Meanwhile, the Portuguese banking system was shaken by a financial swindle linked to the *Banco Angola e Metrópole* [Angola and Metropolis Bank]. A group of individuals – the most notable among them being Artur Alves Reis – succeeded in gaining possession of about 100,000 *contos* (£909,091 at the existing exchange rate) in duplicate 500-*escudo* banknotes from the printers in London (Waterlow & Sons) and used the notes to finance a number of business deals, including the Bank itself. In spite of the criminal records of some of the project's proponents, including Alves Reis, who had already been convicted of fraud, the Minister of Finance gave his approval to the bank's formation, citing the potential that existed for investment projects in Angola (which, of course, never materialized).

The circulation of duplicate 500-*escudo* notes was detected early in December 1925, and the Bank of Portugal immediately withdrew all of the notes that had been printed from the plate identified – as the proper issues were entirely indistinguishable from the duplicates – and replaced the withdrawn notes with others.⁹ The discovery of the swindle brought an end to the dealings of Artur Alves Reis and his associates, all of whom were convicted and received heavy prison sentences. Beyond any question, the major fallout of the bank fraud was in the political arena, where the credibility of the democratic republican regime suffered. Without doubt, this loss of credibility paved the way for the military coup that replaced the democratic republican regime with a military dictatorship in 1926, and later with a right-wing authoritarian regime in 1933.¹⁰

4.6. The 1929 reform of the *Caixa Geral de Depósitos*

In 1929, the government's bank, the *Caixa Geral de Depósitos*, was reorganized by Decree with the force of Law No. 16665, of 27 March. This reform made the *Caixa Geral de Depósitos* the first Portuguese bank to perform the complete range of activities that were typical of a universal bank – commercial bank, savings bank and investment bank – although keeping the accounts, resources and liabilities related to these different activities completely separate. To this end, Decree with the force of Law No. 16666, of the same date, created the *Caixa Nacional de Crédito* [National Credit Fund] aimed at providing agricultural and industrial loans. It also authorized the *Caixa*

⁹ In all fairness, it was possible to determine the legal (first-run) notes from the unauthorized (second-run) impressions in some cases, due to minute differences in the printed details, but the decision to withdraw the entire issue was based on the desire not to penalize those bearers who were acting in good faith.

¹⁰ The bibliography on the bank fraud perpetrated by Alves Reis in 1925 affair is abundant. See, above all, Mota (1996) and the procedural publications with the attorneys' comments, especially those made by the Bank of Portugal's attorney, António Horta Osório.

Nacional de Crédito to issue bonds to expand its activities. The *Caixa Nacional de Crédito* became involved in colonial credit operations as a result of the reform of the banking regime of the Portuguese Colonial Empire introduced a few months later.

4.7. The 1929 banking regime of the Portuguese Colonial Empire

Decrees with the force of Law Nos. 17154 and 17155, of 26 July 1929, established new regimes for banking activities throughout Portugal's overseas possessions and in Angola, respectively. Decree No. 17154 ordered the BNU to increase its capital to at least 135,000 *contos* (£1,247,000 at the existing exchange rate) and renewed the Bank's exclusive issuing rights throughout the Portuguese Colonial Empire for another 30 years, commencing in 1929 – with the following circulation limits: 20,000 *contos* (£185,000) in Cape Verde, 17,000 *contos* (£157,000) in Guinea, 6,000 *contos* (£55,425) in São Tomé and Príncipe, 120,000 *contos* (£1,108,000) in Mozambique, 7,000 *contos* (£64,665) in India, 800 *contos* (£7,390) in Macao, and 600 *contos* (£5,540) in Timor. It also altered the Bank's administrative rules and its relationship with the government, cancelling out reciprocal debts between the government and the Bank. Decree No. 17155 ordered the Bank of Angola to increase its capital to 60,000 *contos* (£554,000), but made no changes to either the time period or the regime of fiduciary issues in the colony.

The most important reform introduced by the two Decrees was the separation of the issuing and commercial functions of the two banks from their mortgage and investment activities. To this end, authorization was given to create a *Banco de Fomento Colonial* [Colonial Development Bank], an investment bank which would enjoy the participation of the government, the colonies, and the issuing banks. This was not the first time that such a prospect had been mentioned in official reports and the preambles of legal documents, as we have seen above, but it was the first time that such a project was included in the text of any law. The creation of the *Banco de Fomento Colonial* was contained in Decree No. 18571 of 8 July 1930, calling for capital of 100,000 *contos* (£923,790 at the existing exchange rate) to be underwritten by the government (67,000 *contos*), the colony of Angola (7,500 *contos*), the colony of Mozambique (7,500 *contos*), the government's bank *Caixa Geral de Depósitos*, through its investment banking department *Caixa Nacional de Crédito* (10,000 *contos*), the BNU (5,000 *contos*), and the Bank of Angola (3,000 *contos*). However, these plans never came to fruition, although the *Caixa Nacional de Crédito* performed several colonial credit operations on behalf of the *Banco de Fomento Colonial* during the 1930s.

4.8. The Mozambique Company and its Bank of Beira

In 1919, the *Companhia de Moçambique* [Mozambique Company] created, for the first time, a bank within the territory under its administration, the *Banco da Beira* [Bank of Beira]. Negotiations with the BNU led to the closure of its branch in that city, and the Bank of Beira became the issuing bank for the territory of the Mozambique Company.

However, such an initiative was not a success. In October 1929, the General Assembly of the Bank of Beira decided to close the Bank. The Portuguese government reacted by issuing the Decree with the force of Law No. 17669, of 26 November 1929, which deemed the Mozambique Company responsible for all of the bank's liabilities and for the circulation of banknotes in Manica and Sofala, demanding a gold reserve equal to one third of the circulation and requiring a definitive solution to be found within six months. The solution was to create a savings bank, the *Caixa Económica da Companhia de Moçambique* [Mozambique Company Savings Bank], which took over responsibility for the circulation of banknotes in Manica and Sofala until the end of the administration of the territory by the Company (18 July 1942). The BNU branch in Beira was then reopened, and the BNU's responsibility for a single circulation of banknotes in Mozambique was then restored.

4.9. The *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* (BNU), 1929-1951

By 1931, the impact of the Great Depression on the Portuguese Colonial Empire and the businesses of the BNU had become so serious that the Bank was driven to the verge of bankruptcy and had to be rescued by the government. Through Decree No. 19335, of 19 February 1931, the government appointed an Administrative Council [*Conselho Administrativo*] to replace the Bank's decommissioned governing bodies, and Decree with the force of Law No. 19496, of 23 March 1931, raised the Bank's capital by an additional 25,000 *contos* (£230,945 at the existing exchange rate), underwritten by the government,¹¹ while at the same time the government's bank, the *Caixa Geral de Depósitos*, advanced 75,000 *contos* (£692,840 at the existing exchange rate) to the Bank as a form of relief. The fourth period of exclusivity over issuing rights thus began with the establishment of almost complete government control over the Bank. The preambles of the Decrees which regulated the intervention of the government clearly state that the bailout was performed because the BNU was the issuing bank of most of the Portuguese Colonial Empire and the second largest

¹¹ As only part of the increase in equity capital authorized in 1929 had already been paid up, the Bank's outstanding capital was thus raised to 92,500 *contos* (£854,500 at the existing exchange rate).

second-order bank of the country (second only to the government's bank, the *Caixa Geral de Depósitos*).

In 1938, Decree-Law No. 28489, of 19 February, reduced the BNU's capital to 40,000 *contos* (£363,636). The reduction of 52,500 *contos* (£477,273) corresponded to the losses absorbed during the decade. However, the government did not consider that the Bank's stabilization had yet been achieved, and government intervention in the Bank continued until 1951.

4.10. The Bank of Angola 1926-1946

The Bank of Angola did not experience hardships that were comparable with those of its counterpart for the rest of the Portuguese Colonial Empire, and did not require any bailing out. Nonetheless, it also fell under almost complete government control, as the BNU's shareholding in its capital was surrendered to the government's bank *Caixa Geral de Depósitos* by way of compensation for its support during the 1931 crisis. Moreover, it remained in a rather sluggish state until the end of the Second World War, in keeping with the similar situation experienced by the economy of Angola.

4.11. Colonial development funds

The failure of the project to create a colonial investment bank led the Portuguese government, in the late 1930s, to replace this project with the creation of colonial development funds of a public nature. Decree-Law No. 27537, of 25 February 1937, created the *Fundo de Fomento de Moçambique* [Mozambique Development Fund] and Decree-Law No. 28924, of 16 August 1939, created the *Fundo de Fomento de Angola* [Angola Development Fund]. Of course, such a solution was safer and increased government control of the situation, but inevitably led to a reduction in flexibility. Moreover, the early activity of these Funds was badly harmed by the Second World War. Above all, they were unable to perform long-term credit operations, as initially scheduled.

4.12. Banking statistics

Banking statistics began to be published for every Portuguese colony during the period under consideration, starting with Mozambique (1926), later extending to the other African colonies during the 1930s (Cape Verde in 1931, Angola in 1932, Portuguese Guinea in 1934 and São Tomé and Príncipe in 1938) and thereafter to the Eastern colonies during the 1940s (Macao in 1940,

Portuguese India in 1945 and Portuguese Timor in 1947). Figures confirm that, with the partial exceptions of Mozambique and Angola, the banking systems of the Portuguese colonies were relatively undeveloped: the Bank of Angola in Angola and the BNU in the other colonies enjoyed a complete monopoly of banking activity, except for the business of a few small savings banks and the activity of Barclays Bank and the Standard Bank in Mozambique; bank deposits remained below M0, with the sole exception of Angola; there were no time deposits, with the sole exception of Mozambique; and deposits at savings banks amounted to a significant proportion of total deposits. Moreover, as the evolution of the real index of economic activity shows in the cases of Angola, Cape Verde, Portuguese Guinea, Macao, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe, there was no significant growth anywhere after the onset of the Great Depression, and such a situation did nothing to improve the banking system.

4.13. Banking and economic performance in the Portuguese Colonial Empire during the inter-war period

In a certain sense, the inter-war years represented a period of dashed hopes for the Portuguese Colonial Empire. At first, the idea that the colonial empire might serve as the basis for Portuguese economic development still dominated the intellectual scene. Daring ideas were put forward, such as Norton de Matos' plans for the development of Angola; less ambitious initiatives, such as the formation of an investment bank for the Portuguese colonies, were even legally established; colonial or overseas business was often presented as a significant part of the intended activity of firms and even banks¹². Yet most of these grandiose enterprises led to almost nothing: modest-sized firms continued to dominate the economic landscape of the Portuguese Colonial Empire; economic activity fluctuated greatly, according to the available indexes; and the BNU, the main basis of the Portuguese colonial banking system, lost part of its business, a great deal of money, and had to be bailed out by the government. Not surprisingly, the financial conservatism of Oliveira Salazar, the man who came to dominate the newly-installed authoritarian regime in Portugal, imposed extreme restrictions on colonial expenditure (hence, the replacement of the project of a colonial investment bank with government-controlled colonial development funds).¹³

¹² Besides the case of the *Banco Colonial Português*, which failed in its bid to replace the BNU as the issuing bank for the Portuguese Colonial Empire, as explained above, and the notorious fraud perpetrated by Alves Reis, which has also already been examined, mention should be made of the case of the *Banco do Comércio e Ultramar* [Commerce and Overseas Bank], created in 1928 by the entrepreneur Artur Cupertino de Miranda and closed down in 1932 without ever undertaking any direct activity in the colonies.

¹³ Of course, this does not mean that some colonial firms, especially the larger ones, which had the centre of their business in Portugal proper, were unable to obtain credit from Portuguese commercial banks. These banks, especially when acting

5. Banking in an era of prosperity (1945-1961)

5.1. The Portuguese Colonial Empire in the post-Second World War years

As early as the late 1940s, Portugal began to feel the pressure of the 'winds of change' blowing in favour of decolonization. The Portuguese territories in India and the Far East were claimed by neighbouring countries: Portuguese India by India, Macao by China, and Portuguese Timor by Indonesia. The Portuguese territories in Africa witnessed the development of independence movements. However, for the time being, the African colonies remained rather quiet, and only India began to press its claims, with Dadra and Nagar Haveli being occupied in 1954. As a consequence, it is possible to consider these years as still representing a period of stability from a political point of view. At the same time, the favourable evolution of the World economy and the take-off of modern economic growth in Portugal ensured a period of economic prosperity for the Portuguese Colonial Empire.

5.2. Institutional background

The formal response of the Portuguese government to colonial problems was the introduction of a constitutional reform. In 1951, Angola, Cape Verde, Portuguese Guinea, Portuguese India, Macao, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Portuguese Timor, all ceased to be considered colonies and became overseas provinces, with special administrative and legal regimes, depending on their particular situations. At the same time, plans for closer economic integration between Portugal and its overseas territories were put forward. Article 158 of the Constitution now stated that “[...] the free circulation of goods within the whole of the national territory will be facilitated by appropriate means, including a gradual reduction or suspension of customs duties. Insofar as possible, the same principle will be applied to the circulation of people and capital”. Two years later, a new *Lei Orgânica do Ultramar Português* [Organic Law of the Portuguese Overseas Territories] completed these rules with some provisions concerning monetary matters. Basis LXXII of the Law stated that: “I – Overseas central banks shall have their head office and central administration in the Metropolis [Portugal proper], and shall set up their reserves there. II – The unit of currency shall be the *escudo* in all overseas provinces. Issuing banks shall seek to ensure the convertibility of their

as financial instruments for economic groups, even provided long-term credit and owned the capital of some important colonial firms.

notes into Metropolitan *escudos* and of the latter into the former, with such corrections as result from the exchange situation”.

At the same time, a new law was passed relating to banking activity in the overseas territories (Law No. 2061, of 9 May 1953). This Law did not change any rules affecting the issuing banks, but established a new framework for other banks. These were to be companies, with their head offices in the overseas territories, subject to Portuguese law and performing the customary activities of a commercial bank and the issuing of agricultural and industrial credit. Their creation was subject to authorization by the government, and preference was to be given to companies in which metropolitan banks participated with at least 50% of the capital. Such companies were to set up two reserve funds: a legal reserve fund, to serve as supplementary capital, with 5% of the net profits, up to the amount of the equity capital; and a variable reserve fund to guard against possible losses and capital depreciations, with 10% of the net profits, without any maximum limit being imposed. Their governing bodies, the General Assembly, the Board of Directors and the Board of Auditors, could not be formed exclusively from foreigners. Most rules that already applied to banks in Portugal proper were extended to banks in overseas territories: accounts were to be published annually; banks could not acquire real estate, except for their own use; the active interest rate was not to exceed the discount rate of the issuing bank of the respective province by more than two percentage points; the passive interest rate was not to exceed half of the discount rate of the issuing bank of the respective province; cash and deposit accounts were to be at least one fifth of outstanding sight liabilities; the rest of the outstanding liabilities were to be covered by assets payable in ninety days; the same entity was not to accept credit in excess of one tenth of the sum of the bank’s capital and reserves. The same Law created an *Inspecção Bancária* [Banking Inspectorate] in the provinces, where banks were to be formed in accordance with this Law, and maintained the former authorizations granted for banking activity (in practice, foreign banks – Barclays Bank and the Standard Bank – acting in Mozambique). An interesting rule forbade racial discrimination, and another obliged the branches of foreign banks to write their documents in Portuguese.

5.3. New bank in Angola

The opportunities opened up by Law No. 2061 were not greatly profited from during the 1950s, because only one new bank was opened in Angola. The new Angolan bank was the *Banco Comercial de Angola* [Commercial Bank of Angola], an Angolan subsidiary of one of the largest

Portuguese banks, the *Banco Português do Atlântico* [Portuguese Atlantic Bank]¹⁴. Moreover, it must be said that the *Banco Comercial de Angola* did not prosper greatly during the rest of the decade.

5.4. The *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* (BNU), 1951-1961

The definitive overcoming of the exceptional situation that had been experienced by the BNU since the early 1930s only occurred in the early 1950s. The first step was the re-establishment of administrative normality. The Administrative Council, with a majority of its members being appointed by the government, was replaced by a regular Board of Directors elected by the shareholders, in accordance with a decision of the Minister of Overseas Affairs, taken on 15 January 1951. The second step was the signing of a new contract as the issuing bank for most of the Portuguese overseas territories, authorized by Decree-Law No. 39221, of 25 May 1953. As a final step, new statutes were approved by Decree No. 39352, of 8 September 1953.

The new regime of the BNU established by Decree-Law No. 39221, of 25 May 1953, was based on a general principle of continuity in relation to the bank's past history: it was to be a private bank controlled by the government, becoming the sole issuer of banknotes for the whole Portuguese Colonial Empire (with the unavoidable exception of Angola, because of the particular regime established in the mid-1920s), acting as a commercial bank both in the territories where it had issuing rights and in Portugal proper, and also acting gratuitously as the government treasurer. The equity capital of the Bank was immediately raised to 150 thousand *contos* (5,454,545 dollars).

As the crisis was overcome, the expansion policy was renewed. Thus, until 1960, 25 new branches were opened and a small bank was absorbed in Portugal, 7 new branches were opened in Mozambique, 2 new branches were opened in Portuguese India and one new branch was opened in Cape Verde. However, the BNU was forced to close its branch in Bombay in 1952, because of the deterioration of relations between Portugal and India, due to the Indian claims of sovereignty over Portuguese India. In Brazil, although a new branch was opened in Porto Alegre in 1953, the BNU's business became autonomous, as had happened in the 1920s with the London and Paris branches. The new *Banco Ultramarino Brasileiro* [Brazilian Overseas Bank] was created, with a majority of its capital being held at that time by the BNU.

¹⁴ It should be noted that the *Banco Português do Atlântico* was an initiative of the entrepreneur Artur Cupertino de Miranda, whose first attempts in 1928-1932 to create a bank involved in colonial business, the *Banco do Comércio e Ultramar*, ended in failure, as explained above.

5.5. The Bank of Angola 1946-1961

Decree-Law No. 35670, of 28 May 1946, stated that the activity of the Angola Development Fund in promoting the economic development of the territory was to be complemented by a banking activity (an idea that had been avoided when the Fund was created in 1938, as explained above) and that such an activity was to be performed by the Bank of Angola (an idea that had been avoided since the Bank's creation in the 1920s). For this purpose, the Bank of Angola was authorized to perform investment operations, i.e. the provision of agricultural and industrial credit, common mortgage loans and colonization loans. These operations were to be performed by using the product of the equity capital and bond issues authorized by the same Decree-Law. The initial design of the Bank as a strictly issuing and commercial bank was thus changed. The capital of the Bank was accordingly raised from 60 to 100 thousand *contos* (3,636,363 dollars). At the same time, its exclusive issuing rights were extended until 1976 and the annual rent paid by the Bank was increased to 2 thousand *contos* (72,727 dollars). During the 1950s, the Bank of Angola opened three additional branches in Angola.

5.6. The project of the *Banco de Fomento do Ultramar* [Overseas Development Bank]

Law No. 2058, of 29 December 1952, determined the creation of the *Banco de Fomento do Ultramar* [Overseas Development Bank]. This Bank was designed to take over the investment activity of the Bank of Angola and the activity of the Development Funds of Mozambique and Angola, and to extend such activities into the other territories where the BNU was unable to do so. An initial equity capital was planned of 200,000 *contos* (7,272,727 dollars), 160,000 paid by the government, 20,000 paid by Angola and 20,000 paid by Mozambique. However, this project, just like previously similar projects, such as the *Banco de Fomento Colonial* in the 1930s, never came to fruition.

5.7. Colonial development funds

As a consequence, colonial development funds maintained their activity in Angola and Mozambique and a new development fund, the *Fundo Económico do Estado da Índia* [Economic Fund of the State of India], was created in Portuguese India by Decree-Law No. 39553, of 4 March 1954.

5.8. The Marshall Plan and the *Fundo de Fomento Nacional* [National Development Fund]

There were, however, other significant developments arising as a consequence of the Marshall Plan that superseded the activity of the colonial development funds. First of all, the Marshall Plan provided two loans for investment in Mozambique. Decree-Law No. 37988, of 2 October 1950, authorized a loan of 1,100,000 dollars and 4,250,000 Dutch guilder, with an interest rate of 2.5% and redeemable within 20 years, for the port of Beira. Decree-Law No. 39139, of 19 March 1953, authorized a loan of 17,000,000 dollars, with an interest rate of 4% and redeemable within 20 years, for the Limpopo railway line. But even more important was the creation of the *Fundo de Fomento Nacional* [National Development Fund], established in 1952 with resources provided by Marshall aid. The Fund was a national version of the colonial development funds and became the main basis for financing the *Planos de Fomento* [Development Plans], started in 1953. These were medium-term (six-year) public investment plans, designed to improve the structural economic situation of the country, which included both Portugal proper and the colonial empire. During the 1950s, the *Fundo de Fomento Nacional* provided 718 thousand contos (roughly 25 million dollars) for investments in Portuguese overseas territories.

5.9. The *Banco de Fomento Nacional* [National Development Bank]

Decree-Law No. 41957, of 13 November 1959, transformed the *Fundo de Fomento Nacional* into the *Banco de Fomento Nacional* [National Development Bank]. The Bank was intended to be an investment bank, acting both in Portugal proper and in Portuguese overseas territories, performing industrial, real estate and agricultural credit operations, providing collateral for credit operations of third parties, performing development operations on behalf of the government, participating in the capital of firms, subscribing bonds, and realizing the issue of securities. Resources for these operations were to be obtained by bond issues, long-term deposits, loans and instalments from the government or the overseas provinces. The initial equity capital amounted to 1 million *contos* (36,363,636 dollars), 610,000 *contos* underwritten by the government, 75,000 *contos* underwritten by the Bank of Angola (through the incorporation of its development department), 20,000 *contos* underwritten by the province of Angola, 20,000 *contos* underwritten by the province of Mozambique and 275,000 *contos* sold to the public. Thus, Portugal proper and its Colonial Empire had, at long last, their long planned and frequently postponed investment bank, which opened branches in Angola and Mozambique in 1960.

5.10. Banking and economic performance in the Portuguese Colonial Empire in an era of prosperity

During the period under consideration, there was an important increase in economic activity in all Portuguese overseas territories. Increases in the real index of economic activity ranged from a mere 30% in Cape Verde to a twelve-fold increase in Macao, with the main colonies boasting very respectable increases: four-fold in the case of Mozambique and almost seven-fold in the case of Angola. Increases in gross domestic product were around 50% in Angola, Cape Verde and Mozambique, the three cases for which figures are available. As pointed out above, this may be seen partly as a consequence of the positive evolution of the international economy, partly as a consequence of the take-off of modern economic growth in Portugal proper, which provided new resources for colonial investment of both public and private origin. As might be expected, this ensured a favourable background for the activity of the two main Portuguese colonial (issuing and commercial) banks, the BNU and the Bank of Angola. Thus, both overcame the sluggish, or even critical, situation they had previously faced, and entered upon a period of expansion clearly reflected in the growth of their assets, which doubled in the case of the BNU and experienced a four-fold increase in the case of the Bank of Angola.

At the same time, the new legal framework for banking activities, some diversification in the banking system of Angola, and the creation of the *Banco de Fomento Nacional* heralded a new era for the banking system of the Portuguese Colonial Empire. The outbreak of colonial wars in Angola, Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique in the early 1960s threatened to cut short these developments, but the Portuguese resistance to decolonization until the mid-1970s allowed them to continue to develop for one and a half decades.

6. Banking in an era of war (1961-1975)

6.1. An era of war

1961 marked a turning point in the history of the Portuguese Colonial Empire: revolts led by nationalist parties broke out in Angola (February-March); Dahomey (present-day Benin) occupied São João Baptista de Ajudá by force (August); India completed its conquest of Portuguese India, occupying Goa, Damão and Diu (December). Soon, further revolts led by nationalist parties broke out in Portuguese Guinea (1962) and Mozambique (1964). As a consequence, Portugal became involved in a guerrilla war on three fronts. As the nationalist movements were unable to control the towns or cut the main communication lines, and the Portuguese army was unable to destroy the bases of the nationalist movements in neighbouring countries and in rural areas, the situation

became a military stalemate, which dragged on until 1974. In 1973, the independence of Portuguese Guinea was proclaimed under the name of Guinea-Bissau. Though a significant part of the territory was already under the control of the PAIGC, the main towns were still under the control of the Portuguese authorities, and the government of the new state had to remain in Conakry in the neighbouring Republic of Guinea. At the same time, the World economy continued its favourable evolution and the drive began towards the maturity of modern economic growth in Portugal, ensuring that prosperity remained the general economic climate of the Portuguese Colonial Empire.

The downturn in the World economy in 1973 and, in 1974, the overthrow of the authoritarian regime that had ruled Portugal since the 1920s soon led to the break-up of the Portuguese Colonial Empire. The occupations of the Portuguese Indian territories by India and of São João Baptista de Ajudá by Benin were recognised in 1974, as was the independence of Guinea-Bissau. Independence was granted to Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, Mozambique and Angola in 1975.

There remained only the cases of Macao and Portuguese Timor. Macao was recognised as Chinese territory in 1974, although an agreement for implementing a Chinese administration was not reached until 1987. According to this agreement, Portugal remained the administrative power until 1999. Then Macao became a special administrative region of China, a situation that, according to the 1987 agreement, was to be maintained until at least 2049. In Timor, a civil war broke out in 1975 between the supporters of integration with Indonesia and the supporters of the independence of the territory. As the Portuguese authorities had lost control of the situation, Indonesia occupied the territory in December 1975. Occupation was followed by annexation, which was not recognised by Portugal or the United Nations, and attempts to crush the independence movement were not successful. In 1999, Indonesia had to accept a referendum, which revealed an overwhelming majority in favour of independence, and administration of the territory was handed to the United Nations. East Timor became independent in 2002.

6.2. The *Espaço Económico Português* [Portuguese Economic Area]

The period of the colonial war witnessed an attempt to bring the constitutional rules on economic integration between Portugal and its overseas territories into full implementation, through the introduction of a free trade zone and a monetary union. This was called the *Espaço Económico Português* [Portuguese Economic Area].

Decree-Law No. 44016, of 8 November 1961, immediately abolished all restrictions on trade between the Portuguese colonies (an almost irrelevant move because of the small trade flows that existed between these territories) and lifted the quantitative restrictions on trade between Portugal

and each of its colonies. At the same time, it established a calendar to abolish tariffs on trade between Portugal and each of its colonies until the early 1970s.

Roughly one year later, Decree-Law No. 44703, of 17 November 1962, attempted to establish a monetary union among Portuguese territories, implying a common unit of currency, separate circulating media among the existing Portuguese territories, stable and formally irrevocable exchange rates (1:1 between the *escudos* of all Portuguese territories) and free convertibility for current operations (free capital movements appeared to be convenient, although these were impossible to achieve at that time). Drawing upon international experience after the Second World War, the Portuguese monetary authorities sought to devise two mechanisms that could help the scheme to work. One was a clearing scheme, based on the model of the European Payments Union, designed to reduce the amounts of inter-territorial means of payment that would be needed. The other was the *Fundo Monetário da Zona do Escudo* [Monetary Fund of the Escudo Zone] (in short FMZE), based on the model of the International Monetary Fund. The Portuguese central bank, the *Banco de Portugal* [Bank of Portugal], organised the clearing scheme and managed the FMZE. Each colony retained an exchange fund, managed by its issuing bank (the Bank of Angola or the BNU).

The so-called Portuguese Economic Area was thus set up. However, the clearing system and the FMZE proved unable to guarantee the exchange rate stability among the *escudos* of different Portuguese territories. Roughly a decade later, the whole scheme collapsed. As a purely monetary solution (to be achieved by devaluing the units of currency in the overseas territories) seemed unlikely to re-establish the equilibrium of the external payments, the Portuguese authorities opted for raising the customs duties in Portuguese overseas territories on Portuguese goods. Although formally they represented only a temporary solution, these measures proved to be an economic prelude to political decolonization a few years later.¹⁵

6.3. Banking in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1961-1975

Implementing the Portuguese Economic Area did not imply a significant revision of the legal framework for banking in the Portuguese Colonial Empire. As a matter of fact, Decree-Law No. 44891, of 20 February 1963, and Decree-Law No. 44892, of the same date, changed the regimes of the BNU and the Bank of Angola, respectively, and Decree-Law No. 45296, of 8 October 1963, changed the regime for non-issuing banks. The main changes introduced by these decrees concerned capital requirements and long-term credit. Banks and banking houses created in the

¹⁵ On this subject, see Valério, 2007.

Portuguese Colonial Empire were required to raise a starting capital of, respectively, 50 thousand *contos* (1,818,181 dollars) and 20 thousand *contos* (727,272 dollars) if they had their head offices or any branch in Luanda, Lobito, Benguela, Nova Lisboa (present-day Huambo), Lourenço Marques (present-day Maputo), or Beira, 25 thousand *contos* (909,091 dollars) and 15 thousand *contos* (545,454 dollars) if they were established only in other places. Commercial banks were allowed to create financial departments devoted to medium and long-term credit operations, the creation of investment banks was envisaged, and overseas development bonds were created to finance the government's overseas development plans. However, some of the novelties of these decrees did not come to fruition until the late 1960s. The financial departments of commercial banks were regulated only by Decree No. 49030, of 26 May 1969. Overseas development bonds were regulated only by Decree-Law No. 46380, of 11 June 1965, and issued according to Decree-Law No. 49296, of 10 October 1969, with 200 thousand *contos* (7,272,727 dollars) being made available for investment in Angola and 100 thousand *contos* (3,636,363 dollars) for investment in Mozambique. Moreover, no investment banks were established, except for delegations of the already-mentioned Portuguese investment bank, *Banco de Fomento Nacional*.

The annual rent paid by the Bank of Angola was increased to 10 thousand *contos* (363,637 dollars) by Decree-Law No. 32/71, of 8 February 1971. The issuing privilege of the BNU was renewed by Decree-Law No. 212/72, of 24 June 1972, for a twenty-year period. Meanwhile, the Bank of Angola had engaged in the creation of a subsidiary bank, the Bank of Lisbon & South Africa with its headquarters in Johannesburg. However, the most important aspect of the evolution of banking in the Portuguese Colonial Empire during the period of colonial war was the creation of new banks in some of the territories.

6.4. Banking in Angola, 1961-1975

The Bank of Angola remained the issuing bank and an important commercial bank in Angola during the period under consideration. It opened 11 new branches in Angola and 14 new branches in Portugal proper. Its total assets were roughly quadrupled, and its total deposits roughly tripled. However, while, in the early 1960s, it had an overwhelming market share in Angola's banking system (around 80% of total deposits), by the early 1970s its market share had sunk below one fifth of total deposits, and it was no longer the largest commercial bank in Angola.

Such a change was partly the result of the expansion of the other commercial bank created during the 1950s, the *Banco Comercial de Angola*, which reached a market share of around one fourth of total deposits and became the largest bank in Angola. But it was mainly the result of the fact that five new banks started their activity in Angola: the *Banco de Crédito Comercial e Industrial* [Bank of Commercial and Industrial Credit] in 1965; the *Banco Totta-Standard* in 1966; the *Banco*

Pinto & Sotó Mayor in 1967; the *Instituto de Crédito de Angola* [Angola Credit Institute] in 1969; and the *Banco Inter-Unido* in 1973. Most of these banks were linked to the main Portuguese banks of the time, although under slightly different schemes. The *Banco de Crédito Comercial e Industrial* was a subsidiary of *Banco Borges & Irmão*, a medium-sized bank from Porto. The *Banco Pinto & Sotó Mayor* was the financial arm of the second largest industrial group of the country, usually known as the Champalimaud Group, because of the leading role played by the entrepreneur António Champalimaud. The *Banco Totta-Standard* and the *Banco Inter-Unido* were joint ventures between Portuguese banks and foreign banks: *Banco Totta-Standard* was a joint venture between *Banco Totta-Aliança* (later *Banco Totta & Açores*, after merging with *Banco Lisboa & Açores* in 1969), the financial arm of the main industrial group of the country, the *Companhia União Fabril*, and the Standard Bank from South Africa¹⁶; *Banco Inter-Unido* was a joint venture between *Banco Espírito Santo & Comercial de Lisboa*, an important Portuguese financial group, and the First National City Bank of the United States of America. The *Instituto de Crédito de Angola* was a government bank similar to the *Caixa Geral de Depósitos* in Portugal proper. All commercial banks developed branch networks comparable to the network of the Bank of Angola, and the private banks were able to capture significant market shares: by the early 1970s, besides the leading position of the *Banco Comercial de Angola*, the *Banco de Crédito Comercial e Industrial* had reached a size that was roughly similar to that of the Bank of Angola, and the *Banco Totta-Standard* and the *Banco Pinto & Sotó Mayor* had market shares of roughly half that size. On the whole, sight deposits were multiplied by a factor of around 10, time deposits by a factor of around 100, and deposits at savings banks by a factor of around 20.

The sophistication of the banking system of Angola was enhanced by two other facts. The *Banco de Fomento Nacional* [National Development Bank] had opened a branch in Angola in 1960, as mentioned above, adding an investment bank element to the system. Credit cards of the BankAmeriCard network were introduced by *Banco Pinto & Sotó Mayor* in 1973.

Such a development in the banking system of Angola must be explained by the size, the level of development and the economic growth of the territory. At the beginning of the 1960s, Angola was the second largest Portuguese colony from an economic point of view, its gross domestic product reaching around one tenth of Portugal's gross domestic product. The country had an intermediate level of development, its *per capita* gross domestic product reaching around one fifth of Portugal's *per capita* gross domestic product. Growth was very significant during the period under consideration: the real index of economic activity almost trebled; gross domestic product increased more than 60%; *per capita* gross domestic product increased almost 30%. Although both the

¹⁶ As the simultaneous change of the name of the Mozambican branch of the Standard Bank to Banco Standard-Totta suggests, the joint venture involved both Portuguese colonies in Southern Africa.

Portuguese Economic Area and the colonial war itself failed to accomplish their main objectives, they were seen by Portuguese financial groups as an opportunity to foster profitable financial and banking operations, while Portuguese emigration to Angola, which expanded considerably in this decade, fuelled these optimistic expectations.

Independence cut short the development of the banking system in Angola, as the new government opted for a centrally planned economy. In 1975, the operations of the *Banco de Angola*, the *Instituto de Crédito de Angola* and the *Banco de Fomento Nacional* in Angola were handed to the newly created *Banco Nacional de Angola* [National Bank of Angola]. At the same time, the *Comissão Coordenadora da Actividade Bancária* [Coordination Committee of Banking Activity] took over the management of the other banks. The whole banking system of Angola was reorganized by Law No. 69/76, of 5 November, which established the *Banco Nacional de Angola* as an issuing and credit bank, and Law No. 70/76, of 10 November, which created the *Banco Popular de Angola* [People's Bank of Angola] as a deposit bank, both fully owned by the government. All other banking institutions handed their operations to these two banks.

6.5. Banking in Cape Verde, 1961-1975

The BNU remained the issuing bank and the main commercial bank of Cape Verde during the period under consideration. It opened no new branches in the territory, but a new bank, the *Caixa de Crédito de Cabo Verde* [Cape Verde Credit Bank], started its activity in 1962. The *Banco de Fomento Nacional* [National Development Bank] also opened a branch in Cape Verde in 1973. However, the banking system remained fairly unsophisticated: deposits remained below M0; there were no time deposits; and deposits at savings banks remained a significant proportion of total deposits.

Such a situation may be linked to the small size, intermediate level of development of the territory, and the positive, but far from exceptional, economic performance of the territory during the period under consideration. At the beginning of the 1960s, Cape Verde's gross domestic product was less than one hundredth of Portugal's gross domestic product, and *per capita* gross domestic product was around one fifth of Portugal's *per capita* gross domestic product. Until the mid-1970s, the real index of economic activity more than doubled, gross domestic product increased by around 50%, but there was some stagnation during the late 1960s and early 1970s, and *per capita* gross domestic product showed only a rather small increase. Actually, the country's economic prospects were such as to attract very few private economic interests or emigrants from Portugal.

In 1975, the operations of the BNU and the *Banco de Fomento Nacional* in Cape Verde were handed to the *Banco de Cabo Verde* [Bank of Cape Verde], which became the central bank of the

new country. As a consequence, the new government acquired almost complete control over the banking system, although it did not implement a full nationalization policy.

6.6. Banking in Portuguese Guinea, 1961-1974

The BNU remained the issuing bank and the only commercial bank in Portuguese Guinea during the period under consideration. It opened no new branches in the territory, and no other bank started its activity there. As a consequence, the banking system remained fairly unsophisticated: deposits remained below M0; there was no time deposits; and deposits at savings banks remained a significant proportion of total deposits.

Such a situation of the banking system must be considered quite normal, given the small size and low level of development of the territory, and also because of the strained military situation. There are no data on gross domestic product. However, it is possible to speculate that gross domestic product was less than one hundredth of Portugal's gross domestic product and *per capita* gross domestic product was clearly below one tenth of Portugal's *per capita* gross domestic product at the beginning of the 1960s. During the period under consideration, the real index of economic activity roughly doubled. Such an increase in economic activity may be explained by the presence of a Portuguese army corresponding to around one tenth of the population¹⁷. Guinea remained a rather poor territory in the context of the Portuguese Colonial Empire and, in such a context, private financial and banking activities showed no interest in entering this market.

After independence, there were some difficulties in handing the operations of the BNU in Guinea-Bissau to a new national bank. Only in 1976 did the *Banco Nacional da Guiné-Bissau* [National Bank of Guinea-Bissau] effectively start its operations and become the issuing and commercial bank of the new country.

6.7. Banking in Portuguese India, 1961

The Indian occupation of the whole territory of Portuguese India brought an end to the BNU's activity in the territory. The BNU's branches were closed down, and the issue of banknotes ceased, as was to be expected. Deposits of jewels and valuables had been transferred to Lisbon a few

¹⁷ In Angola and Mozambique, the number of Portuguese troops was only around one hundredth of the population, and in other territories it remained around one thousandth of the population (these figures do not include local conscription).

weeks before the invasion. The BNU's liabilities in the territory were settled only after Indian sovereignty was recognized by Portugal in 1974.

Portuguese India's banking system was still rather unsophisticated at the time of the Indian occupation: deposits exceeded M0, but there were no time deposits, and deposits at savings banks were a significant proportion of total deposits. There are no data available on gross domestic product, and no real index of economic activity. However, it is possible to speculate that gross domestic product was around one thirtieth of Portugal's gross domestic product, and *per capita* gross domestic product was nearly half of Portugal's *per capita* gross domestic product. Thus, Portuguese India was a small economy, but rather well placed in terms of its level of development, both among Portuguese colonies and among Indian states. Anyway, its small size, its distance from Portugal and the still relatively low level of sophistication of the Portuguese financial and banking system until the 1950s had a detrimental effect on encouraging potential private enterprise.

After the Indian takeover, Goa became an Indian state, but Damão and Diu remains an Indian territory to this date, and the same is the case with Dadrá and Nagar Haveli. Goa is still the Indian state with the highest *per capita* gross domestic product today.

6.8. Banking in Macao, 1961-1975

The BNU remained the issuing bank and the main commercial bank of Macao during the period under consideration. It opened no new branches in the territory, but four new banks started their activity: Tai Fung Bank and Seng Heng Bank in 1972, *Banco Comercial de Macau* [Commercial Bank of Macao] and *Banco Luso Internacional* [International Luso Bank] in 1974. Only *Banco Comercial de Macau* was linked to a Portuguese bank, being a subsidiary of the *Banco Português do Atlântico*. The other banks were ventures undertaken by Chinese entrepreneurs. As a consequence, the banking system remained relatively undeveloped: deposits remained below M0; there were almost no time deposits; and deposits at savings banks remained a significant proportion of total deposits.

Such developments in the banking system must be considered as a spillover from the development of neighbouring Hong Kong. There are no data available on gross domestic product. However, it is possible to speculate that gross domestic product was around one hundredth of Portugal's gross domestic product, and *per capita* gross domestic product was nearly half of Portugal's *per capita* gross domestic product, at the beginning of the 1960s. Thus, Macao was a very small economy, but relatively well placed among the other Portuguese colonies in terms of its level of development. The economic growth of the territory was significant, but far from exceptional, during the period under consideration. The real index of economic activity roughly doubled. Both economic growth and the development of the banking system continued during the following

decades, giving Macao the status of a small Asian tiger by the time of the handover of its administration to China in 1999.

6.9. Banking in Mozambique, 1961-1975

The BNU remained the issuing bank and the main commercial bank of Mozambique, during the period under consideration. It opened 26 new branches in the territory, and was able to keep a market share comfortably above half the amount of total deposits.

As a matter of fact, there were several developments in the banking system of Mozambique that were similar to those occurring at the same time in Angola, and for many of the same reasons. Three new banks started their activity in Mozambique: the *Banco de Crédito Comercial e Industrial* [Bank of Commercial and Industrial Credit] in 1965; the *Banco Pinto & Sotto Mayor* in 1966; and the *Instituto de Crédito de Moçambique* [Mozambique Credit Institute] in 1969. Moreover, the Standard Bank became *Banco Standard-Totta* in 1966. Most of these new banks were linked to the main Portuguese banks of the time, as was the case in Angola. The *Banco de Crédito Comercial e Industrial* was a subsidiary of Banco Borges & Irmão. The *Banco Pinto & Sotto Mayor* was the financial arm of the Champalimaud Group. The *Banco Standard-Totta* was a joint venture between *Banco Totta-Aliança*, the financial arm of the *Companhia União Fabril*, and the Standard Bank from South Africa. The *Instituto de Crédito de Moçambique* was a government bank similar to the *Caixa Geral de Depósitos* in Portugal proper. All these commercial banks developed branch networks comparable to the network of the BNU. However, private banks were unable to capture market shares similar to those gained in Angola. Total deposits were multiplied by a factor of around 7, deposits in savings banks were multiplied by a similar factor (and remained a significant proportion of total deposits), and time deposits were multiplied by a factor of around 60.

As in Angola the sophistication of the banking system was enhanced by some other facts. The *Banco de Fomento Nacional* [National Development Bank] had also opened a branch in Mozambique in 1960, as mentioned above, adding an investment bank element to the system.¹⁸ Credit cards of the BankAmeriCard network were also introduced by *Banco Pinto & Sotto Mayor* in 1973. There was even an added plus on the Mozambican side: in 1967, the *Sociedade Moçambicana de Administração e Gestão de Bens* [Mozambican Society for Asset Administration and Management] was created, and it launched an investment fund, the Fundo de Investimento Ultramarino [Overseas Investment Fund] (FIUL), in the same year.

¹⁸ This development was even more important than in Angola, because in Mozambique there had been no previous development department at the issuing bank.

The development of the banking system, somewhat smaller than the one that happened in Angola, but clearly greater than in any other Portuguese colony, must be related to the size, the level of development and the economic growth of the territory. At the beginning of the 1960s, Mozambique was the largest Portuguese colony from an economic point of view, with a gross domestic product of somewhat more than one tenth of Portugal's gross domestic product, and had an intermediate level of development, with *per capita* gross domestic product somewhat below one fifth of Portugal's *per capita* gross domestic product. Growth was important during the period under consideration: the real index of economic activity more than doubled; gross domestic product increased by around 50%; *per capita* gross domestic product increased by around 20%. As in Angola, the Portuguese Economic Area and the colonial war were seen by Portuguese financial groups as an opportunity to foster profitable financial and banking operations, although Portuguese emigration to Mozambique did not reach the levels found in the colony on the west coast.

Independence cut short the development of the banking system in Mozambique, as in Angola, as the new government also opted for a centrally planned economy. In 1975, the operations of the BNU and the *Instituto de Crédito de Moçambique* in Mozambique were handed to the *Banco de Moçambique* [Bank of Mozambique], which became the central bank and main commercial bank of the new country. In 1977, the operations of Barclays Bank and *Banco Standard-Totta* were closed down.

6.10. Banking in São Tomé and Príncipe 1961-1975

The BNU remained the issuing bank and the main commercial bank of São Tomé and Príncipe during the period under consideration. It opened no new branches in the territory, but one new bank, the *Banco Comercial de Angola*, started its activity there in 1973. Of course, it was a subsidiary of the Portuguese *Banco Português do Atlântico*, as explained above. As a consequence, the banking system remained relatively undeveloped: deposits never significantly exceeded M0; and time deposits appeared only in 1973, although deposits at savings banks never reached a significant proportion of total deposits.

Such a moderate development of the banking system may be explained by the small size, the intermediate level of development and the poor economic performance of the territory. There are no data available on gross domestic product. However, it is possible to speculate that gross domestic product was around one thousandth of Portugal's gross domestic product, and *per capita* gross domestic product around one fifth of Portugal's *per capita* gross domestic product, at the beginning of the 1960s. During the period under consideration, the real index of economic activity increased by roughly one half. This was a rather poor performance, hindered by the international boycott of colonial

Portuguese goods, which led to a sluggish demand for the territory's main export (cocoa). In such a context, it is not surprising that financial groups showed no special interest in entering this market. The evolution of the banking system of São Tomé and Príncipe after independence was similar to that of Angola and Mozambique. In 1975, the BNU's operations in São Tomé and Príncipe were handed to the *Banco Nacional de São Tomé and Príncipe* [National Bank of São Tomé and Príncipe], and the operations of the *Banco Comercial de Angola* in São Tomé and Príncipe were closed down.

6.11. Banking in Portuguese Timor 1961-1975

The BNU remained the issuing bank and the only commercial bank in Portuguese Timor during the period under consideration. It opened no new branches in the territory, and no other bank started its activity there. As a consequence, the banking system remained quite unsophisticated: deposits remained below M0; there were no time deposits; and deposits at savings banks remained a significant proportion of total deposits.

Such a situation of the banking system must be considered quite normal, given the small size and the low level of development of the territory. There are no data available on gross domestic product, and there is no real index of economic activity. However, it is possible to speculate that gross domestic product was clearly less than one hundredth of Portugal's gross domestic product and *per capita* gross domestic product was clearly below one twentieth of Portugal's *per capita* gross domestic product at the beginning of the 1960s. During the period under consideration, the nominal index of economic activity more than trebled, but it is quite certain that Eastern Timor remained the poorest territory under Portuguese administration until the mid-1970s. Again, as in the other similar poor and distant colonies, there was no private enterprise involved in the financial sector.

The Indonesian occupation of the territory of Portuguese Timor brought an end to the BNU's activity in the territory in 1975. The BNU's branches were closed down, and the issue of banknotes ceased, as was to be expected. The BNU's liabilities in the territory were settled only after the United Nations administration of the territory was established in 1999.

6.12. Banking and economic performance in the Portuguese Colonial Empire in an era of war

The development of banking activity was certainly correlated with the economic development of the different territories of the Portuguese Colonial Empire during the period under consideration, as shown above. It is possible to suggest that the size of the territories and their level of development

were more important for explaining the development of their banking activity than the rates of growth. As a matter of fact, the ranking of the territories by the development of new banks (Angola — Macao — Mozambique — Cape Verde — São Tomé and Príncipe — Portuguese Guinea / Portuguese Timor) is much closer to the ranking by size (Mozambique — Angola — Macao — Portuguese Guinea — Cape Verde — Portuguese Timor — São Tomé and Príncipe) and by level of development (Macao — Cape Verde — São Tomé and Príncipe — Angola — Mozambique — Portuguese Guinea — Portuguese Timor) than to the ranking by the rate of growth of the index of economic activity (Portuguese Timor — Portuguese Guinea — Angola — Cape Verde — Mozambique — Macao — São Tomé and Príncipe).¹⁹ This confirms the idea that the development of banking organizations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire was always more of a consequence than an actual cause of economic growth.

7. Conclusion

As the main conclusions about the long-term evolution of Portuguese colonial banking, it may be said that: (i) Portuguese colonial banking followed the continental model of government initiative and tight control, not the British model of private initiative without much government control; (ii) the development of Portuguese colonial banking was always mainly a matter of taking advantage of the opportunities afforded by the economic evolution rather than a matter of autonomously fostering the economic development of the territories.

Significant opportunities for profitable banking business in the Portuguese Colonial empire appeared relatively late, in the post-Second World War period, and especially in the 1960s, for both national and international reasons. The national reasons had to do with the slow, non-sustained growth, tight budgetary constraints and relative backwardness of the Portuguese banking and financial system until the mid-20th century. International reasons related mainly to the hardships of the inter-war period. Thus, government attempts to foster the economic development of the territories by providing a favourable framework for banking activities repeatedly failed. The mid-19th century creation of the BNU, the possibilities opened up by the 1901 legislation, and Norton de Matos' plans for the development of Angola financed by the BNU in the 1920s may be mentioned as the main cases of such failures.

¹⁹ It should be noted that there was some convergence among Portuguese colonies during the period under consideration, as the rates of growth of the real index of economic activity were negatively correlated to the level of development at the beginning of the period (correlation coefficient - 0.57, which would increase to - 0.72 if the figures of São Tomé and Príncipe were dropped). Of course, Portuguese India is not included in the rankings and computations.

A postscript: the BNU and the Bank of Angola after 1975

In 1974, both the Bank of Angola and the BNU were nationalized (Decree-Law No. 450/74, of 13 September, for the Bank of Angola; Decree-Law No. 451/74, of the same date, for the BNU). In 1975, the operations of both banks were significantly reduced because their activities in the Portuguese Colonial Empire were handed to national banks (with the exception of the BNU's activities in Macao).

In 1978, what remained of *Banco de Angola* in Portugal was merged with *Banco da Agricultura* and *Banco Pinto de Magalhães* to form the *União de Bancos Portugueses*.

The BNU, which had opened 57 new branches in Portugal proper between 1961 and its nationalization, remained an important commercial bank in Portugal and Macao, and the issuing bank of Macao until 2000. In that year, the Portuguese and Macao branches were separated. The Portuguese BNU was absorbed by the government bank *Caixa Geral de Depósitos* in 2001. The branch of Macao remains the issuing bank and a significant commercial bank of the Chinese autonomous region.

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Appendix 1 – Chronology

Angola

- 1865 – BNU branch opened in Luanda. First banknotes issued by the BNU.
- 1868 – BNU branch opened in Benguela. BNU branch opened in Moçâmedes (present-day Namibe).
- 1915 – BNU branch opened in Novo Redondo (present-day Sumbe).
- 1918 – BNU branch opened in Lobito. BNU branch opened in Malange.
- 1919 – BNU branch opened in Cabinda.
- 1921 – BNU branch opened in Bié (later called Silva Porto, present-day Kwito). BNU branch opened in Lubango (later called Sá da Bandeira).
- 1926 – BNU operations in Angola handed to the *Banco de Angola*.
- 1929 – *Banco de Angola* branch opened in Nova Lisboa (former and present-day Huambo).
- 1930 – *Banco de Angola* branch opened in Santo António do Zaire (present-day Soyo).
- 1935 – *Banco de Angola* branch closed down in Santo António do Zaire.
- 1954 – *Banco de Angola* branch opened in Carmona (former and present-day Uíge). *Banco de Angola* branch opened in Gabela. *Banco de Angola* branch opened in Luso (former and present-day Luena).
- 1956 – *Banco Comercial de Angola* created.
- 1960 – *Banco de Fomento Nacional* branch opened.
- 1961 – *Banco de Angola* branch opened in Salazar (former and present-day N'dalatando).
- 1963 – *Banco de Angola* branch opened in Henrique de Carvalho (former and present-day Saurimo).
- 1964 – *Banco de Angola* branch opened in Mariano Machado (former and present-day Balombo).
Banco de Angola branch opened in Robert Williams (former and present-day Caála). *Banco de Angola* branch opened in São Salvador do Congo (former and present-day M'banza Kongo).
- 1965 – *Banco de Angola* branch opened in Cubal. *Banco de Crédito Comercial e Industrial* created.
- 1966 – *Banco Totta-Standard* created. *Banco de Angola* branch opened in Matala. Second branch of *Banco de Angola* opened in Luanda.
- 1967 – *Banco de Angola* branch opened in Serpa Pinto (former and present-day Menongue). *Banco Pinto & Sotto Mayor* starts operations in Angola.
- 1968 – *Banco de Angola* branch opened in Porto Amboim.
- 1969 – *Instituto de Crédito de Angola* created. *Banco de Angola* branch opened in Quiculungo.
- 1972 – *Banco de Angola* branch opened in Pereira de Eça (present-day Ondjiva).
- 1973 – *Banco Inter-Unido* created.
- 1975 – *Banco de Angola* and *Instituto de Crédito de Angola* operations in Angola handed to the *Banco Nacional de Angola*. The *Comissão Coordenadora da Actividade Bancária* takes over the management of the other banks.

Cape Verde

- 1865 – BNU branch opened in Praia.
- 1894 – BNU branch opened in Mindelo.
- 1897 – First banknotes issued by the BNU.
- 1928 – *Caixa Económica Postal* opened.
- 1948 – BNU branch opened in Sal.
- 1962 – *Caixa de Crédito de Cabo Verde* opened.
- 1973 – *Banco de Fomento Nacional* branch opened.
- 1975 – BNU and *Banco de Fomento Nacional* operations in Cape Verde handed to the Bank of Cape Verde.

Guinea

- 1903 – BNU branch opened in Bolama.
- 1909 – First banknotes issued by the BNU.
- 1917 – BNU branch opened in Bissau.
- 1942 – BNU branch closed down in Bolama.
- 1976 – BNU operations in Guinea handed to the *Banco Nacional da Guinea-Bissau*.

India

- 1868 – BNU branch opened in Goa.
- 1906 – First banknotes issued by the BNU.

- 1916 – BNU branch opened in Mormugão.
- 1946 – BNU branch opened in Mapuçá.
- 1960 – BNU branch opened in Damão.
- 1961 – BNU branches in India closed down and issue of banknotes ceased due to the occupation of the territory by India. Deposits of jewels and valuables transferred to Lisbon.

Macao

- 1902 – BNU branch opened in Macao.
- 1905 – First banknotes issued by the BNU.
- 1935 – *Banco Delta Ásia* created.
- 1941 – Branch of Weng Hang Bank from Guangdong established.
- 1972 – *Banco Tai Fung* created. *Banco Seng Heng* created.
- 1974 – *Banco Comercial de Macau* created. *Banco Luso Internacional* created.
- 1985 – *Banco Luso Internacional* acquired by Xiamen International Banking.
- 1989 – *Autoridade Monetária de Macau* created.
- 2005 – *Banco Comercial de Macau* acquired by Dah Sing Group.

Mozambique

- 1877 – BNU branch opened in Mozambique. First banknotes issued by the BNU.
- 1883 – BNU branch opened in Lourenço Marques.
- 1890 – *Bank of Africa* branch opened in Beira.
- 1891 – *Standard Bank* branch opened in Beira.
- 1891 – Mozambique Company administration of Manica and Sofala. Nyasa Company administration of Niassa and Cabo Delgado. Permission given to the companies to engage in banking activities, but not performed for the time being.
- 1894 – *Standard Bank* branch opened in Lourenço Marques.
- 1901 – *Standard Bank* branch opened in Macequece.
- 1902 – *Bank of Africa* branch opened in Lourenço Marques.
- 1902 – BNU branch opened in Quelimane. BNU branch opened in Inhambane.
- 1912 – *Standard Bank* branch opened in Vila Fontes. *Bank of Africa* acquired by the *National Bank of South Africa*.
- 1913 – BNU branch opened in Chinde.
- 1915 – BNU branch opened in Tete. *Standard Bank* branch closed down in Vila Fontes.
- 1916 – BNU branch opened in Beira.
- 1919 – Mozambique Company creates *Bank of Beira*. BNU branch closed down in Beira.
- 1920 – BNU branch opened in Ibo.
- 1925 – The *National Bank of South Africa* merges with the *Colonial Bank* and the *Anglo-Egyptian Bank* to form *Barclays Bank* (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas).
- 1929 – *Bank of Beira* liquidated, Mozambique Company takes over responsibility for banknote circulation in Manica and Sofala.
- 1930 – Mozambique Company Savings Bank created; takes over responsibility for banknote circulation in Manica and Sofala.
- 1931 – BNU branch closed down in Ibo.
- 1942 – End of Mozambique Company administration in Manica and Sofala; BNU takes over responsibility for banknote circulation in the territory. BNU branch reopened in Beira.
- 1951 – BNU branch opened in Nampula.
- 1952 – BNU branch opened in Ressano Garcia.
- 1957 – BNU branch opened in João Belo. BNU branch opened in Vila Pery. BNU branch opened in António Enes. BNU branch opened in Mocuba.
- 1959 – BNU branch opened in Alto Maé.
- 1960 – *Banco de Fomento Nacional* branch opened.
- 1961 – BNU branch opened in Malema. BNU branch opened in Vila Cabral. BNU branch opened in Macuti.
- 1963 – BNU branch opened at Lourenço Marques airport.
- 1964 – BNU branch opened in Nacala.
- 1965 – *Banco de Crédito Comercial e Industrial* created.

- 1966 – BNU branch opened in Vila Junqueiro. *Banco Pinto & Sotto Mayor* starts operations in Mozambique, with branches in Lourenço Marques, Beira, Nacala, Nampula and Vila Perry. *Standard Bank* becomes *Banco Standard-Totta*.
 - 1967 – BNU branch opened in Vila Salazar. BNU branch opened in Maxaquene. BNU branch opened in São José. BNU branch opened at Lourenço Marques camping site. BNU branch opened in Machipanda.
 - 1968 – BNU branch opened in Chibuto. BNU branch opened in Maxixe. BNU branch opened in Nova Freixo. BNU branch opened at Beira airport.
 - 1969 – *Instituto de Crédito de Moçambique* created.
 - 1970 – BNU branch opened in Songo.
 - 1971 – BNU branch opened at Lourenço Marques Hotel Turismo.
 - 1972 – BNU branch opened in Namaacha. BNU branch opened in Machava. BNU branch opened in Mutarara.
 - 1973 – BNU branch opened in Polana. BNU branch opened in Vila Trigo de Morais. BNU branch opened in Montepuez. BNU branch opened in Malvéria.
 - 1974 – BNU branch opened in Malhangalene. BNU branch opened in Manga.
 - 1975 – BNU and *Instituto de Crédito de Moçambique* operations in Mozambique handed to the Bank of Mozambique.
 - 1977 – Barclays Bank and *Banco Standard-Totta* operations closed down.
- São Tomé and Príncipe**
- 1868 – BNU branch opened in São Tomé. Circulation of banknotes of the Angola issue counter-stamped by the São Tomé branch.
 - 1891 – First banknotes issued by the BNU.
 - 1919 – BNU branch opened in Príncipe.
 - 1973 – São Tomé branch of *Banco Comercial de Angola* created.
 - 1975 – BNU operations handed to the *Banco Nacional de São Tomé and Príncipe*. São Tomé branch of *Banco Comercial de Angola* closed down.

Timor

- 1912 – BNU branch opened in Dili.
- 1915 – First banknotes issued by the BNU.
- 1975 – BNU branch in Dili closed down and issue of banknotes in Timor ceased as a consequence of the collapse of the Portuguese colonial administration (soon followed by Indonesian occupation).

The BNU after decolonization

- 1988 – BNU acquired by *Caixa Geral de Depósitos*.
- 1991 – BNU branch opened in London.
- 1993 – BNU branch opened in Zhuhai.
- 1995 – BNU confirmed as issuing bank of Macao until 2010.
- 1999 – BNU branches opened in Mumbai, Goa and Díli.
- 2000 – Separation of BNU Portugal and BNU Macau.
- 2001 – BNU Portugal merged with *Caixa Geral de Depósitos*.

Banco de Angola after decolonization

- 1978 – *Banco de Angola* merged with *Banco da Agricultura* and *Banco Pinto de Magalhães* to form the *União de Bancos Portugueses*.

Appendix 2 – Macroeconomic and banking data

Sources – *Anuário Estatístico de Portugal*; *Anuário Estatístico Colonial*, later *Anuário Estatístico do Ultramar*; *Anuário Estatístico da Colónia de Cabo Verde*, later *Anuário Estatístico da Província de Cabo Verde*, and similar publications for the other colonies – various issues. Index of economic activity from Valério, Tjiplica, 2008. Gross domestic product from Maddison, 2001.

Unit – Thousand contos, unless otherwise specified.

Angola

Angola	Popula- tion (thou- sands)	Price index (base 1914 = 100)	coins	Bank notes and scrip notes	M0	Sight de- posits	Time deposits	Deposits at savings banks	Real index of economic activity (base 1973 = 1000)	Gross domestic product (million G-K dollars)
1932	3269	2289	?	?	?	96	+0	14	36	?
1933	3281	2329	?	45	?	110	+0	15	44	?
1934	3293	2426	?	43	?	134	0	14	43	?
1935	3305	2539	?	40	?	117	0	13	41	?
1936	3388	2529	?	47	?	128	0	12	46	?
1937	3472	2564	0	49	49	107	0	11	52	?
1938	3559	2628	0	51	51	148	0	11	53	?
1939	3647	2650	0	60	60	158	0	11	56	?
1940	3738	3021	0	68	68	134	0	13	49	?
1941	3777	3524	?	?	?	211	0	14	47	?
1942	3816	4134	+0	38	38	269	0	18	48	?
1943	3856	4690	+0	146	146	365	0	24	54	?
1944	3896	5088	3	190	193	195	0	29	49	?
1945	3936	5300	3	230	232	250	0	35	56	?
1946	3977	5592	3	268	270	266	0	38	70	?
1947	4018	6360	3	317	319	699	0	43	80	?
1948	4060	5274	5	351	356	857	0	41	112	?
1949	4102	5194	7	427	433	817	0	50	143	?
1950	4145	5406	11	534	544	1179	0	64	167	4331
1951	4188	5035	11	676	686	1710	0	81	244	4491
1952	4230	5168	31	656	687	1993	0	98	253	4660
1953	4274	5168	69	747	817	2295	0	103	238	4833
1954	4318	4982	75	733	808	2454	0	133	258	4703
1955	4362	4956	115	748	864	2679	0	142	261	5080
1956	4459	5088	119	885	1004	3105	0	167	302	4985
1957	4559	5141	144	1013	1157	3024	0	194	322	5461
1958	4661	5247	153	953	1107	2840	33	222	358	5751
1959	4765	5247	153	973	1126	2536	55	227	353	5777
1960	4871	5194	153	1053	1206	2571	36	225	360	6011
1961	4876	5300	73	1165	1238	3060	71	222	374	6635
1962	4945	5592	80	1367	1447	3527	84	225	396	6444

Angola	Popula- -tion (thou- sands)	Price index (base 1914 = 100)	coins	Bank notes and scrip notes	M0	Sight de- posits	Time deposits	Deposits at savings banks	Real index of economic activity (base 1973 = 1000)	Gross domestic product (million G-K dollars)
1963	5015	5706	86	1449	1535	3569	102	247	447	6791
1964	5084	6048	95	1599	1693	3984	238	291	468	7587
1965	5154	6390	97	1794	1890	4527	273	322	488	8194
1966	5223	6618	102	1885	1987	5336	414	311	515	8635
1967	5293	7132	115	1964	2079	5873	849	290	554	9064
1968	5362	7417	121	2125	2245	7782	1569	254	644	8947
1969	5432	8045	131	2227	2358	9067	2739	220	692	9255
1970	5673	8330	146	2659	2805	14082	4017	233	831	9909
1971	5715	8844	162	2882	3044	15772	5278	2987	906	9943
1972	5798	9585	179	3579	3758	17852	6911	3413	930	10091
1973	5882	11411	213	4434	4647	23654	8110	4166	1000	10784

Cape Verde

Cape Verde	Population (thousands)	Price index (base 1914 = 100)	coins	Bank notes and scrip notes	M0	Sight deposits	Time deposits	Deposits at savings banks	Real index of economic activity (base 1973 = 1000)	Gross domestic product (million G-K dollars)
1931	149	1915	?	14	?	2	?	?	223	?
1932	151	1870	?	12	?	2	?	?	228	?
1933	153	1826	0.6	9	10	2	0	2	184	?
1934	157	1782	0.8	9	10	2	0	2	197	?
1935	159	1740	0.8	10	11	2	0	2	228	?
1936	162	1718	0.7	9	10	2	0	2	233	?
1937	166	1611	0.7	10	11	2	0	2	353	?
1938	170	1585	0.7	10	11	2	0	2	361	?
1939	174	1656	0.7	11	11	2	?	?	327	?
1940	181	1822	0.7	11	12	3	0	3	331	?
1941	174	1744	0.7	12	13	4	0	3	190	?
1942	160	1981	1	17	18	6	0	3	256	?
1943	158	2235	1	18	19	7	0	3	196	?
1944	161	2346	1	20	21	8	0	4	197	?
1945	166	2378	1	19	20	8	0	4	341	?
1946	169	2568	1	20	21	8	0	4	544	?
1947	155	3091	1	17	18	10	0	3	383	?
1948	140	3630	1	20	21	9	0	3	551	?
1949	139	3788	1	18	19	8	0	3	367	?
1950	148	3582	1	20	21	7	0	4	348	66
1951	152	3510	1	25	26	8	0	5	365	69
1952	157	3582	1	23	25	7	0	5	373	71
1953	162	3475	1	26	27	9	0	4	400	75
1954	167	3618	2	33	34	10	0	5	570	76
1955	172	3546	4	30	34	12	0	5	492	78
1956	177	3761	4	35	39	13	0	6	471	82
1957	183	3833	4	40	44	13	0	6	555	81
1958	188	3976	4	44	48	16	0	7	530	83
1959	194	3761	4	47	51	16	0	8	590	93
1960	200	3833	4	57	61	20	0	9	661	100
1961	203	3904	4	52	56	20	0	10	429	107
1962	209	4191	4	53	56	19	0	11	413	113
1963	216	4621	4	58	62	25	0	12	335	120
1964	220	4657	4	63	67	110	0	12	395	127
1965	224	4693	5	72	77	30	0	14	430	133
1966	231	4585	5	84	89	42	0	18	521	140

Cape Verde	Population (thousands)	Price index (base 1914 = 100)	coins	Bank notes and scrip notes	M0	Sight deposits	Time deposits	Deposits at savings banks	Real index of economic activity (base 1973 = 1000)	Gross domestic product (million G-K dollars)
1967	238	4764	5	94	99	51	0	22	550	147
1968	245	4728	5	109	115	60	0	26	631	153
1969	250	4943	6	114	120	0	0	30	759	160
1970	272	5596	6	134	140	0	0	35	740	166
1971	272	6439	6	154	160	89	0	43	846	155
1972	270	7091	6	173	179	104	0	57	912	148
1973	268	8087	8	206	214	126	0	65	1000	147

Portuguese Guinea

Port. Guinea	Popu- lation (thou- sands)	Price index (base 1939 = 100)	coins	Bank notes and scrip notes	M0	Sight deposits	Time deposits	Deposits at savings banks	Real index of economic activity (base 1973 = 1000)	Gross domestic product (million G-K dollars)
1934	331	?	0.8	9	10	?	?	1	?	?
1935	335	?	0.8	10	11	?	?	1	?	?
1936	338	?	0.7	9	10	?	?	1	?	?
1937	341	?	0.7	10	11	?	?	1	?	?
1938	344	?	1	7	8	4	?	1	?	?
1939	348	100	1	7	8	?	?	1	105	?
1940	351	120	1	8	9	2	?	1	108	?
1941	364	131	1	10	11	2	0	1	129	?
1942	378	165	1	14	15	7	0	1	124	?
1943	393	206	0	19	19	20	0	2	131	?
1944	408	234	0	25	25	7	0	2	98	?
1945	424	221	0	26	26	16	0	2	130	?
1946	440	231	0	29	29	22	0	2	131	?
1947	457	243	0	35	35	5	0	2	177	?
1948	474	238	2	37	39	8	0	3	223	?
1949	492	245	2	37	40	16	0	3	196	?
1950	511	249	3	43	46	21	0	3	192	?
1951	512	242	3	53	56	26	0.08	3	237	?
1952	513	254	16	33	48	19	0	4	257	?
1953	513	264	18	35	53	35	?	4	226	?
1954	514	251	19	34	53	17	?	6	247	?
1955	515	264	21	36	57	20	0	6	253	?
1956	516	251	27	46	73	27	?	6	289	?
1957	517	251	27	51	78	32	0	7	338	?
1958	517	254	23	50	73	42	0	6	342	?
1959	518	256	26	52	78	38	?	?	342	?
1960	519	261	24	45	69	37	?	?	367	?
1961	522	259	23	47	70	58	0	10	375	?
1962	523	269	24	59	83	56	0	10	404	?
1963	524	266	24	77	100	24	0	11	462	?
1964	525	266	25	89	114	28	0	14	508	?
1965	526	271	26	98	124	27	0	13	523	?
1966	527	294	27	106	133	30	0	17	522	?
1967	528	276	26	92	118	38	0	20	605	?
1968	529	284	29	126	155	47	0	22	626	?
1969	530	289	28	155	183	60	0	35	778	?

Port. Guinea	Popu- lation (thou- sands)	Price index (base 1939 = 100)	coins	Bank notes and scrip notes	M0	Sight deposits	Time deposits	Deposits at savings banks	Real index of economic activity (base 1973 = 1000)	Gross domestic product (million G-K dollars)
1970	487	301	35	205	240	82	0	44	917	?
1971	486	269	35	223	258	87	0	46	1157	?
1972	482	349	39	286	325	105	0	56	892	?
1973	478	381	42	342	384	114	0	53	1000	?

Portuguese India

Port. India	Popu- lation (thou- sands)	Price index	coins	Bank notes and scrip notes	M0	Sight de- posits	Time de- posits	Deposits at savings banks	Nominal index of economic activity (base 1960 = 1000)	Gross domestic product (million G-K dollars)
1945	632	?	?	?	81	48	?	?	141	?
1946	633	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	117	?
1947	634	?	?	?	?	67	24	154	157	?
1948	636	?	?	?	?	27	3	21	182	?
1949	637	?	0.2	?	?	27	3	21	185	?
1950	638	?	2	46	48	207	8	23	250	?
1951	638	?	3	48	51	242	0	25	298	?
1952	640	?	5	58	64	259	25	26	346	?
1953	641	?	8	109	117	269	0	27	408	?
1954	642	?	9	171	179	229	0	130	365	?
1955	644	?	11	218	229	248	0	134	503	?
1956	645	?	25	272	297	314	0	201	555	?
1957	646	?	26	306	333	362	0	232	704	?
1958	648	?	26	317	344	370	0	230	655	?
1959	637	?	27	349	376	473	0	251	753	?
1960	626	?	?	?	458	515	0	282	1000	?

Macao

Macao	Popu- lation (thou- sands)	Price index (base 1939 = 100)	coins	Bank notes and scrip notes	M0	Sight de- posits	Time de- posits	Deposits at savings banks	Real index of economic activity (base 1973 = 1000)	Gross domestic product (million G-K dollars)
1940	375	124	?	6	?	3	0.3	2	133	?
1941	375	256	?	5	?	4	0.2	3	54	?
1942	375	493	?	5	?	4	0.02	2	39	?
1943	375	800	?	4	?	4	0	2	32	?
1944	375	928	?	6	?	4	0	2	36	?
1945	375	806	?	11	?	5	0	2	39	?
1946	337	622	?	13	?	3	0	2	56	?
1947	303	551	?	44	?	3	0	2	53	?
1948	273	594	?	12	?	4	?	?	74	?
1949	245	519	165	12	177	3	0	13	129	?
1950	188	635	?	18	?	5	0	6	98	?
1951	186	597	?	16	?	5	?	6	106	?
1952	184	666	?	19	?	4	?	5	84	?
1953	182	743	34	51	85	21	0	5	184	?
1954	180	442	3	124	128	22	0	6	281	?
1955	178	423	?	?	130	109	0.1	?	230	?
1956	176	431	?	?	130	31	0	20	243	?
1957	174	442	?	125	?	29	0	18	320	?
1958	173	453	?	135	?	44	0.09	20	353	?
1959	171	474	8	138	146	48	0.09	23	417	?
1960	169	482	7	126	133	48	0.09	21	427	?
1961	181	481	?	137	?	49	0.08	19	484	?
1962	233	483	?	180	?	61	0.04	19	592	?
1963	279	503	?	203	?	66	0.02	17	645	?
1964	282	531	?	233	?	77	0.02	20	698	?
1965	280	530	?	227	?	70	0.02	20	696	?
1966	278	530	?	234	?	63	0.02	17	763	?
1967	268	535	?	206	?	68	0.02	15	683	?
1968	254	569	?	216	?	64	0.3	17	720	?
1969	244	593	?	208	?	74	0.4	17	817	?
1970	248	641	?	277	?	89	0.2	21	836	?
1971	249	688	?	308	?	97	1	26	892	?
1972	251	731	?	384	?	200	4	27	1117	?
1973	253	1060	?	476	?	193	2	31	1000	?

Mozambique

Mo- zam- bique	Popu- lation (thou- sands)	Price index (base 1939 = 100)	coins	Bank notes and scrip notes	M0	Sight de- posits	Time de- posits	Deposits at savings banks	Real index of economic activity (base 1973 = 1000)	Gross domestic product (million G-K dollars)
1926	3836	?	?	49	?	12	?	9	58	?
1927	3876	?	?	73	?	25	?	18	73	?
1928	3916	?	?	74	?	18	?	19	80	?
1929	3956	?	?	78	?	21	0	0	80	?
1930	3996	?	?	80	?	29	2	29	80	?
1931	4104	?	?	81	?	25	0.6	32	73	?
1932	4213	?	?	91	?	34	?	49	65	?
1933	4321	?	?	85	?	35	?	57	65	?
1934	4430	?	?	86	?	30	?	56	61	?
1935	4539	?	?	102	?	27	0	58	65	?
1936	4647	?	?	109	?	31	0	64	77	?
1937	4756	?	?	107	?	21	0	70	88	?
1938	4864	?	0	114	114	370	0	71	104	?
1939	4973	100	0	132	132	373	0	76	115	?
1940	5086	110	0	154	154	276	0	81	108	?
1941	5148	120	0	175	175	399	4	80	101	?
1942	5210	131	0	317	317	330	0.03	90	105	?
1943	5274	141	0	364	364	301	0.2	121	106	?
1944	5338	145	24	446	470	420	0.05	171	124	?
1945	5403	169	24	466	491	459	0.03	208	117	?
1946	5468	181	27	520	546	480	0.03	238	144	?
1947	5535	184	26	583	609	427	0.03	246	149	?
1948	5602	190	26	627	653	402	0.03	256	188	?
1949	5670	194	28	696	724	434	0.03	317	178	?
1950	5739	196	36	697	734	394	0.03	331	175	7084
1951	5818	200	46	767	813	512	0.03	374	204	7332
1952	5898	209	55	827	882	974	0.1	421	234	7594
1953	5979	205	73	929	1002	1050	0.3	472	254	7857
1954	6061	204	78	994	1072	1213	0.3	554	255	8041
1955	6145	205	80	958	1038	1296	1	606	272	8537
1956	6229	205	119	1044	1164	1440	8	672	297	8579
1957	6315	213	126	1094	1221	1521	15	704	319	8770
1958	6402	216	135	1117	1252	1587	24	742	354	9188
1959	6490	220	135	1225	1359	1779	54	847	394	9684
1960	6579	211	171	1181	1353	1948	90	898	448	9918
1961	6657	210	174	1275	1449	1964	165	924	470	10202

Mo- zam- bique	Popu- lation (thou- sands)	Price index (base 1939 = 100)	coins	Bank notes and scrip notes	M0	Sight de- posits	Time de- posits	Deposits at savings banks	Real index of economic activity (base 1973 = 1000)	Gross domestic product (million G-K dollars)
1962	6742	215	187	1344	1531	1782	234	965	482	10903
1963	6828	218	206	1388	1595	1843	265	1001	498	10513
1964	6913	223	202	1423	1625	2107	329	1130	517	10967
1965	6999	226	210	1436	1646	2313	394	1301	553	11215
1966	7084	237	224	1599	1823	2752	579	1539	594	11576
1967	7170	246	246	1632	1877	3312	1104	1705	619	12369
1968	7274	250	247	1756	2002	3919	1792	1905	718	13758
1969	7360	251	268	1851	2119	4704	2598	2272	794	15394
1970	8234	268	269	2026	2295	5088	3359	2628	851	16216
1971	8356	341	309	2325	2534	7268	4066	3422	761	17321
1972	8519	365	352	2960	3312	12128	5914	6974	886	17881
1973	8685	385	398	3522	3920	14374	6742	7765	1000	18894

São Tomé and Príncipe

São Tomé and Príncipe	Population (thousands)	Price index (base 1939 = 100)	coins	Bank notes and scrip notes	M0	Sight deposits	Time deposits	Deposits at savings banks	Real index of economic activity (base 1973 = 1000)	Gross domestic product (million G-K dollars)
1938	60	?	?	?	?	1	?	?	104	?
1939	60	100	?	?	3	1	?	?	115	?
1940	60	107	?	?	3	1	?	?	211	?
1941	60	120	?	?	?	1	0	?	190	?
1942	60	136	?	?	?	2	?	?	199	?
1943	60	153	?	?	?	?	?	?	153	?
1944	60	172	1	4	6	4	0	?	240	?
1945	60	194	1	5	6	4	0	0.004	182	?
1946	60	195	1	6	7	5	0	0.01	295	?
1947	60	193	?	?	?	8	0	0.02	482	?
1948	60	181	1	9	11	10	0	0.04	566	?
1949	60	173	2	9	11	6	0	0.06	512	?
1950	60	177	2	10	12	9	9	0.01	582	?
1951	60	154	2	11	13	9	0	0.1	794	?
1952	61	164	2	10	12	8	0	0.04	676	?
1953	61	167	2	11	13	15	0	0.03	710	?
1954	62	167	?	?	13	16	?	?	732	?
1955	62	167	?	?	14	11	?	?	609	?
1956	62	167	?	?	14	23	?	?	656	?
1957	63	167	2	13	15	17	?	0.04	710	?
1958	63	174	2	14	16	22	0	0.04	726	?
1959	64	176	2	13	15	16	0	0.05	717	?
1960	64	176	2	15	17	13	0	0.06	732	?
1961	63	176	2	16	18	15	0	0.05	722	?
1962	59	179	2	16	18	13	0	0.05	678	?
1963	58	181	2	19	21	16	0	0.2	687	?
1964	58	183	2	19	21	17	0	1	707	?
1965	61	189	2	20	22	17	0	1	701	?
1966	62	188	2	22	25	20	0	2	767	?
1967	63	196	3	25	28	30	0	2	818	?
1968	64	201	3	29	32	63	0	3	889	?
1969	66	203	3	36	39	77	0	4	1015	?
1970	69	211	5	36	41	53	0	5	1028	?
1971	74	227	9	33	42	37	0	6	866	?
1972	75	235	12	40	52	52	0	6	832	?
1973	76	241	13	45	58	76	6	6	1000	?

Portuguese Timor

Port. Timor	Popu- lation (thou- sands)	Price index	coins	Bank notes and scrip notes	M0	Sight deposits	Time deposits	Deposits at savings banks	Nominal index of economic activity (base 1973 = 1000)	Gross domestic product (million G-K dollars)
1947	425	?	0.3	15	15	4	0	0.4	103	?
1948	420	?	0.3	18	19	7	0	1	139	?
1949	431	?	2	18	20	5	0	1	147	?
1950	442	?	2	26	28	6	0	1	171	?
1951	449	?	2	32	34	6	0	1	192	?
1952	456	?	3	35	38	6	0	1	231	?
1953	463	?	3	36	38	4	0	1	264	?
1954	471	?	3	38	42	4	0	1	246	?
1955	478	?	4	38	42	4	0	2	249	?
1956	486	?	5	36	41	4	0	2	251	?
1957	493	?	6	36	41	5	0.09	2	252	?
1958	501	?	6	38	44	5	0	2	276	?
1959	509	?	6	38	44	6	0	3	259	?
1960	517	?	7	29	36	6	0	2	259	?
1961	520	?	10	32	42	6	0	?	294	?
1962	527	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	339	?
1963	535	?	?	?	?	?	?	2	348	?
1964	544	?	?	?	?	?	?	3	379	?
1965	553	?	?	?	24	8	0	3	409	?
1966	561	?	2	24	27	9	0	4	393	?
1967	572	?	16	71	87	9	0	?	510	?
1968	591	?	17	74	91	12	0	5	514	?
1969	593	?	17	88	105	12	0	6	590	?
1970	609	?	17	95	112	16	0	7	700	?
1971	622	?	15	112	127	18	0	8	824	?
1972	637	?	19	136	155	19	0	10	869	?
1973	652	?	20	147	167	26	0	12	1000	?

Appendix 3 – Statistical data on colonial banks

BNU

Source: Bancos Coloniaes

BNU	cashflow	dividend	capital	reserves	banknotes	deposits	bills	loans	profits
1865	26483	8	937	5	0	7084	5717	434	65
1866	28676	8	1508	15	41	8541	4220	287	117
1867	37620	7.5	1512	25	70	20681	7362	616	136
1868	44752	7	2160	35	107	23102	7464	764	174
1869	43247	7	2160	40	146	23579	9184	902	168
1870	48293	7	2160	45	225	25839	10209	759	169
1871	60143	7.5	2160	50	354	34286	10177	770	118
1872	65008	8	2160	55	455	35444	10806	849	197
1873	?	7.5	2160	75	344	?	?	?	209
1874	72261	8	2160	75	357	40481	8627	?	218
1875	114640	8.5	3600	100	?	71422	8511	1277	294
1876	74455	6	3600	140	237	44730	6296	1622	256
1877	58843	5.5	3600	140	446	34659	4930	1601	214
1878	?	2.5	3600	140	579	?	?	?	?
1879	27285	0	3600	287	601	15429	1924	180	206
1880	25574	3	3600	493	576	14127	2020	80	183
1881	33290	4	3600	0	?	12515	3632	254	160
1882	27000	0	3600	0	?	8829	3884	284	107
1883	22232	1.5	3600	0	?	6463	3145	389	192
1884	19146	0	3600	100	?	4047	3257	468	56
1885	16324	0	3600	100	?	2170	3095	83	101
1886	14254	0	3600	100	?	440	3619	94	179
1887	9144	2	3600	100	?	503	3152	87	237
1888	11650	2.5	3600	110	?	514	3554	43	203
1889	19651	3	3600	120	?	2534	4624	55	194
1890	22876	3	3600	135	?	3534	5718	50	181
1891	18557	3	3600	150	1406	5952	9779	47	190
1892	31504	3	3600	165	1431	5621	9033	150	186
1893	31163	3.5	3600	180	1585	9003	8162	221	192
1894	39452	3.5	3600	190	1581	12172	8904	167	195
1895	34605	4	3600	200	1666	8410	9707	158	199
1896	41297	5	3600	210	1863	11690	11165	126	231
1897	43133	6	3600	220	2101	12458	13639	161	272

BNU	cashflow	dividend	capital	reserves	banknotes	deposits	bills	loans	profits
1898	82274	7	3600	230	2344	14597	15157	24564	387
1899	85852	8	3600	240	2572	14597	16303	24608	407
1900	76877	9	3600	250	3117	27233	6962	36388	368
1901	77178	8	5400	260	2674	24972	8106	38982	355
1902	?	8	5400	772	2694	?	?	?	447
1903	?	6.5	5400	772	?	?	?	?	365
1904	?	6.5	5400	772	?	?	?	?	402
1905	50170	6	5400	772	?	18913	6349	15199	340
1906	39819	6	5400	772	3253	30901	8195	26696	420
1907	129297	6	5400	800	3343	61805	12110	40005	470
1908	154004	6	5400	820	3579	81973	18782	33935	531
1909	195128	6	5400	840	3400	108823	25723	46843	533
1910	237031	6.5	5400	860	3967	127591	35032	67865	583

Source – *Estatísticas Bancárias* [Banking Statistics].
Unit – *Contos*.

BNU	cash	bills discounted	loans with collateral	deposits	capital
1865	105	861	139	389	936
1866	139	1296	211	457	1512
1867	195	1691	343	622	1512
1868	152	1771	430	500	2160
1869	273	1662	456	710	2160
1870	273	1974	445	855	2160
1871	325	1707	439	1178	2160
1872	375	1756	457	1347	2160
1873	349	1778	580	1276	2160
1874	429	1629	552	1643	2160
1875	943	1582	860	2298	3600
1876	211	875	846	1104	3600
1877	256	774	797	1086	3600
1878	126	484	757	636	3600
1879	140	330	515	433	3600
1880	108	320	440	278	3600
1881	225	361	362	471	3600
1882	78	291	356	560	3600
1883	84	240	350	310	3600
1884	37	235	348	221	3600
1885	37	210	323	180	3600
1886	22	206	310	70	3600
1887	74	353	298	73	3600
1888	115	337	239	110	3600
1889	162	348	249	180	3600
1890	207	403	242	219	3600
1891	212	395	233	352	3600
1892	217	380	64	354	3600

Unit – Thousand contos.

BNU	cash	bills discounted	loans with collateral	deposits	banknotes
1913	+0	4	4	2	4
1914	+0	3	4	3	5
1915	1	5	6	5	8
1916	1	7	9	7	8
1917	1	10	16	10	11
1918	3	19	30	19	14
1919	46	138	151	201	20
1920	23	136	91	145	43
1921	18	137	56	209	38
1922	29	171	60	279	54
1923	36	196	67	293	96
1924	45	174	81	320	119
1925	35	166	70	291	117
1926	17	238	66	282	74
1927	24	182	78	307	99
1928	29	199	107	328	103
1929	35	194	97	334	172
...
1936	53	328	170	359	131
1937	38	356	211	516	191
1938	48	449	223	525	190
1939	57	511	212	600	222
1940	51	483	145	669	251
1941	69	486	242	930	292
1942	69	539	283	1539	292
1943	85	623	404	1466	546
1944	99	804	457	1778	708
1945	100	1016	624	1909	769
1946	143	1347	724	2022	802
1947	167	1487	441	2013	849

Source – *Relatórios do Conselho de Administração* [Reports of the Board of Directors] (various years).
Unit – Thousand *contos*.

BNU	total assets	assets in custody	own assets	monetary reserve	bills and loans	fixed assets	other
1948	14980	8128	6852	857	5589	256	150
1949	14601	7359	7242	967	5873	262	139
1950	15491	7742	7749	1088	6422	235	4
1951	17206	8384	8822	1278	7014	257	273
1952	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
1953	17997	8597	9400	1815	7121	336	128
1954	20635	9898	10737	2050	8185	330	171
1955	21944	10477	11466	2196	8700	377	194
1956	23775	11121	12654	2539	9434	412	270
1957	24915	11968	12946	2478	9809	376	282
1958	26858	13571	13287	2440	10220	397	229
1959	31412	17530	13881	2272	10880	416	313
1960	38787	25138	13649	1906	11282	187	273
1961	43389	30472	12917	1539	11012	100	267
1962	45455	32032	13423	1373	11361	136	553
1963	49215	35107	14107	1392	11095	136	1484
1964	52147	36656	15491	1344	12492	151	1505
1965	54432	37985	16446	1097	13713	208	1428
1966	57034	38950	18084	1226	14901	265	1692
1967	59181	39355	19825	1390	16348	272	1815
1968	64210	42026	22182	1679	17736	328	2440
1969	77083	51080	26002	1557	21207	404	2833
1970	87381	55790	31591	1606	25972	401	3611
1971	98279	59791	38487	2289	31307	402	4489
1972	109874	65717	44156	2811	37847	409	3089
1973	125006	74176	50830	2516	43736	450	4127

BNU	liabilities	banknotes	sight liabilities	other	net value	capital and reserves	Retaine earnings
1948	6754	894	5859	+0	98	67	31
1949	7132	991	6141	+0	110	85	25
1950	7564	993	6570	+0	185	160	25
1951	8520	1095	7279	146	302	278	24
1952	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
1953	9012	1265	7625	122	388	343	45
1954	10320	1409	8779	133	417	361	56
1955	11023	1427	9446	151	443	381	62
1956	12108	1580	10378	151	546	474	72
1957	12371	1671	10546	154	575	497	78
1958	12680	1725	10764	191	607	522	85
1959	13259	1864	11180	215	622	548	74
1960	12988	1888	9891	1209	661	562	99
1961	12137	1562	8605	1970	780	592	188
1962	12736	1691	8789	2255	687	607	80
1963	13246	1795	8107	3344	861	775	86
1964	14612	1885	9186	3540	879	792	87
1965	15541	1917	9988	3636	905	809	96
1966	17152	2106	10795	4251	932	828	104
1967	18875	2138	11824	4914	950	848	102
1968	21211	2301	12968	5944	971	868	103
1969	24999	2454	15568	6977	1003	888	115
1970	30565	2777	18647	9141	1026	910	116
1971	37427	3159	23196	11074	1060	934	126
1972	42663	3984	29268	9411	1493	1357	136
1973	49048	4747	35296	9005	1782	1634	148

BNU	liabilities	banknotes	sight liabilities	other	net value	capital and reserves	retained earnings
1948	6754	894	5859	+0	98	67	31
1949	7132	991	6141	+0	110	85	25
1950	7564	993	6570	+0	185	160	25
1951	8520	1095	7279	146	302	278	24
1952	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
1953	9012	1265	7625	122	388	343	45
1954	10320	1409	8779	133	417	361	56
1955	11023	1427	9446	151	443	381	62
1956	12108	1580	10378	151	546	474	72
1957	12371	1671	10546	154	575	497	78
1958	12680	1725	10764	191	607	522	85
1959	13259	1864	11180	215	622	548	74
1960	12988	1888	9891	1209	661	562	99
1961	12137	1562	8605	1970	780	592	188
1962	12736	1691	8789	2255	687	607	80
1963	13246	1795	8107	3344	861	775	86
1964	14612	1885	9186	3540	879	792	87
1965	15541	1917	9988	3636	905	809	96
1966	17152	2106	10795	4251	932	828	104
1967	18875	2138	11824	4914	950	848	102
1968	21211	2301	12968	5944	971	868	103
1969	24999	2454	15568	6977	1003	888	115
1970	30565	2777	18647	9141	1026	910	116
1971	37427	3159	23196	11074	1060	934	126
1972	42663	3984	29268	9411	1493	1357	136
1973	49048	4747	35296	9005	1782	1634	148

Banco de Angola

Source – Relatórios do Conselho de Administração [Reports of the Board of Directors] (various years).
Unit – Thousand contos.

Bank of Angola	total assets	assets in custody	own assets	cash and deposits	bills	loans	securities	Exchange Fund	Development Department	other
1926	401	165	236	63	36	32	63	—	—	42
1927	464	223	241	23	55	38	55	—	—	70
1928	604	300	304	12	86	44	79	—	—	83
1929	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
1930	781	380	401	8	43	59	22	—	—	269
1931	711	420	291	28	34	84	22	40	—	83
1932	942	595	347	28	38	100	34	66	—	81
1933	689	328	361	24	38	97	68	69	—	65
1934	729	327	402	20	24	98	93	81	—	86
1935	748	341	407	9	26	130	88	89	—	65
1936	779	304	475	21	25	87	95	132	—	115
1937	825	347	478	18	31	53	101	112	—	163
1938	1017	467	550	38	35	240	100	0	—	137
1939	1006	452	554	77	47	229	107	0	—	94
1940	1035	400	635	106	48	281	105	0	—	95
1941	1278	413	865	216	65	376	107	0	—	101
1942	1270	346	924	310	76	325	110	0	—	103
1943	1580	427	1153	367	95	446	138	0	—	107
1944	1721	460	1261	460	119	412	157	0	—	113
1945	1933	451	1472	482	123	551	204	0	—	112
1946	2504	687	1817	690	162	596	250	0	—	119
1947	2931	850	2081	822	213	648	211	0	40	147
1948	3392	1006	2386	862	253	827	218	0	57	169
1949	3213	925	2288	859	239	736	212	0	74	168
1950	3964	934	3030	1242	265	991	251	0	91	190
1951	5688	1904	3784	1190	320	453	24	17	75	1705
1952	6702	2429	4273	1463	456	588	29	733	75	929
1953	8055	3236	4819	1747	541	641	44	783	75	988
1954	8449	3830	4219	1576	690	822	60	364	75	632
1955	9717	4512	5205	1644	803	1048	60	447	75	1128
1956	11548	5058	6490	1926	927	1357	106	976	75	1123
1957	11870	5172	6698	1616	1077	1754	131	875	75	1170
1958	12110	5095	7015	1303	1226	1969	147	997	75	1298
1959	12176	5646	6530	1146	794	1852	14	796	75	1853
1960	12255	6051	6204	1069	662	2441	223	529	—	1280

Bank of Angola	total assets	assets in custody	own assets	cash and deposits	bills	loans	securities	Exchange Fund	Development Department	other
1961	12599	6130	6469	552	695	3021	230	554	—	1417
1962	15012	7218	7794	747	603	3245	434	399	—	2366
1963	14572	5434	9138	410	975	3170	938	+0	—	3645
1964	16929	5833	11096	458	1337	3265	1933	16	—	4087
1965	19144	7286	11858	463	1339	3980	1778	+0	—	4298
1966	20739	7561	13178	555	2046	4123	1730	1	—	4723
1967	21698	7478	14220	612	2294	4482	1857	18	—	4957
1968	23910	8665	15245	616	2670	4926	1860	347	—	4826
1969	26595	8782	17813	645	2814	5660	2055	355	—	6284
1970	32892	10965	21927	899	3920	6972	2208	186	—	7742
1971	36813	13510	23303	1035	4321	8274	2166	415	—	7092
1972	42011	14318	27693	1021	3933	6966	2463	7755	—	5555
1973	46190	15715	29475	682	5800	7387	2426	8104	—	5076

Banco Comercial de Angola

Source – Boletim de Crédito (various years).
Unit – Thousand contos.

Banco Comercial de Angola	total assets	assets in custody	own assets	cash and deposits	bills	loans	securities	other
1967	5001	1918	3083	577	1294	699	171	342
1968	6090	2558	3532	714	1493	815	172	338
1969	7962	3150	4812	831	1960	1124	192	705
1970	9867	3928	5939	994	2813	1181	211	740
1971	14636	6320	7316	1717	3562	1611	283	1143
1972	18918	8530	10388	2324	4300	2094	388	1282
1973	24442	11232	13210	2554	5502	3158	273	1723

Banco Comercial de Angola	liabilities	deposits	other	net value	capital	reserves	retained earnings
1967	2874	2215	659	209	150	33	26
1968	3311	2650	661	221	150	43	28
1969	4577	3642	935	235	150	56	29
1970	5565	4710	855	374	250	89	35
1971	6853	6316	537	463	267	157	39
1972	9903	8043	1860	485	267	171	47
1973	12702	9631	3071	508	267	191	50

Banco de Crédito Comercial e Industrial

Source – Boletim de Crédito (various years).
Unit – Thousand contos.

Banco de Crédito Comercial e Industrial	total assets	assets in custody	own assets	cash and deposits	bills	loans	securities	other
1967	3548	1609	1939	459	711	293	153	323
1968	5458	2225	3233	713	1186	622	180	532
1969	6594	2521	4073	852	1575	806	165	675
1970	8942	3411	5531	1079	2160	1088	166	1038
1971	10329	3976	6353	1456	2585	1175	203	934
1972	12963	4562	8401	2087	3263	1431	392	1228
1973	16077	5734	10343	2212	4446	2127	177	1381

Banco de Crédit Comercial e Industrial	liabilities	deposits	other	net value	capital	reserves	retained earnings
1967	1776	1328	448	163	150	3	10
1968	3055	2431	624	178	150	13	15
1969	3824	3115	709	249	200	28	21
1970	5269	4152	1117	262	200	41	21
1971	6080	4938	1142	273	200	52	21
1972	8115	6442	1673	286	200	63	23
1973	9935	7977	1958	408	300	74	34

Banco Standard-Totta de Angola

Source – Boletim de Crédito (various years).
Unit – Thousand contos.

Banco Standard-Totta de Angola	total assets	assets in custody	own assets	cash and deposits	bills	loans	securities	other
1967	1309	573	736	208	240	186	12	90
1968	1921	801	1120	311	382	225	3	199
1969	2584	1084	1500	368	530	198	168	236
1970	3618	1421	2197	537	900	203	168	389
1971	4873	1779	3094	670	1442	285	168	529
1972	7096	2426	4670	909	1900	545	168	1148
1973	8578	3344	5234	1232	2551	592	168	691

Banco Standard-Totta de Angola	liabilities	deposits	other	net value	capital	reserves	retained earnings
1967	660	464	196	76	75	0	1
1968	1043	749	294	77	75	1	1
1969	1341	904	437	159	150	2	7
1970	2027	1506	521	170	150	9	11
1971	2907	2149	758	187	150	20	17
1972	4477	3122	1355	193	150	28	15
1973	5019	4121	898	215	150	36	29

Banco Standard-Totta de Moçambique

Source – Boletim de Crédito (various years).
Unit – Thousand contos.

Banco Standard-Totta de Moçambique	total assets	assets in custody	own assets	cash and deposits	bills	loans	securities	other
1967	1313	766	547	129	137	151	74	56
1968	1981	1060	921	144	273	234	96	174
1969	4276	1511	1235	170	386	327	96	256
1970	3617	1805	1812	277	604	452	116	363
1971	4039	1975	2064	551	550	503	126	334
1972	5117	2464	2653	625	818	673	184	353
1973	6252	3156	3096	560	1163	867	98	408

Banco Standard-Totta de Moçambique	liabilities	deposits	other	net value	capital	reserves	retained earnings
1967	469	341	128	78	75	0	3
1968	839	580	259	82	75	3	4
1969	1112	757	355	123	113	6	4
1970	1676	1165	511	136	113	9	14
1971	1927	1476	451	137	113	15	9
1972	2504	2117	387	149	113	21	15
1973	2934	2499	435	162	113	28	21

Barclays Bank D.C.O. (Mozambique branch)

Source – Boletim de Crédito (various years).
Unit – Thousand contos.

Barclays Bank	total assets	assets in custody	own assets	cash and deposits	bills	loans	securities	other
1967	657	204	453	118	72	204	0	59
1968	756	235	521	141	82	233	0	65
1969	889	284	605	167	93	277	0	68
1970	974	327	647	171	65	339	0	72

Barclays Bank	liabilities	deposits	other	net value	capital	reserves	retained earnings
1967	412	369	43	41	40	1	0
1968	479	399	80	42	40	2	0
1969	562	440	122	43	40	3	0
1970	605	473	132	42	40	2	0

Casa Bancária de Moçambique

Source – Boletim de Crédito
Unit – Thousand contos.

Casa Bancária de Moçambique	total assets	assets in custody	own assets	cash and deposits	bills	loans	securities	other
1973	173	55	118	21	48	29	0	20

Casa Bancária de Moçambique	liabilities	deposits	other	net value	capital	reserves	retained earnings
1973	73	73	0	45	50	0	-5

Caixa Económica do Montepio de Moçambique

Source – Boletim de Crédito (various years).
Unit – Thousand contos.

Caixa Económica do Montepio de Moçambique	total assets	assets in custody	own assets	cash and deposits	bills	loans	Securities	other
1970	1513	15	1498	492	19	978	0	9
1971	1699	15	1684	464	30	1178	0	12
1972	2693	0	2693	1093	31	1553	0	16
1973	3413	1	3412	1290	63	2034	0	25

Caixa Económica do Montepio de Moçambique	liabilities	deposits	other	net value	capital	reserves	retained earnings
1970	1471	1385	86	27	0	27	0
1971	1651	1552	99	33	0	33	0
1972	2653	2560	93	40	0	40	0
1973	3362	3128	234	50	0	50	0

Fundo de Investimento Ultramarino (FIUL)

Source – Boletim de Crédito (various years).
Unit – Thousand contos.

date	assets (contos)	outstanding certificates
1967-07-01	40000	162600
1967-12-31	45796	182926
1968-12-31	84215	331876
1969-12-31	154696	603500
1970-12-31	228188	876300
1971-12-31	273208	1040000
1972-12-31	366148	1383950
1973-12-31	529057	1979950