The Estado Novo (‘New State’), the right-wing dictatorship which ruled Portugal between 1933 and 1974, summed up its core values with the slogan ‘God, Fatherland, and Family’, but its critics have long ago coined an alternative tripartite formula to describe the regime founded by António de Oliveira Salazar: Fatima, fado, and football.¹ More than denouncing the regime’s environment of alienation, the so-called ‘three Fs’ highlight a set of key cultural symbols espoused by official propaganda.² Fado referred to a type of acoustic ballad associated with melancholic themes and typically sung in working class taverns (‘fado houses’), accompanied by a Portuguese guitar. Fatima referred to the parish where sightings of the Virgin Mary (‘Our Lady of Fatima’) were reported in 1917, culminating in extraordinary solar activity that allegedly affected thousands of pilgrims, accepted by the Vatican as the ‘Miracle of the Sun’. Given their iconic role in domestic propaganda about Portuguese identity as well as in building the country’s tourist-friendly international image, this article will examine how the film industry of the United States – which dominated the world’s screens throughout the Estado Novo – engaged with those two symbols (football, known in the US as ‘soccer’ and traditionally unpopular among US audiences, was understandably absent).

Until 1974, Hollywood released almost three dozen productions set (at least partially) in Portugal that not only ignored the most controversial traits of the Salazar dictatorship – political repression, widespread poverty, colonial wars – but also reinforced cultural pillars of the regime.³ In order to better understand this phenomenon, the article will begin by briefly contextualizing the evolution of Portugal’s presence in US film fiction. It will then explore the films’ relationship with the Estado Novo’s propaganda through three different angles, namely the regime’s involvement in the
production process, the recurrent depictions of fado, and the discourse surrounding Fatima in a major Warner Brothers motion picture. The article will argue that, despite relatively weak ties between the Estado Novo and the US film industry, the latter helped project the dictatorship’s particular image of the country both in Portugal and abroad.

**Portugal’s presence in US film fiction**

Portugal’s image in US film fiction was established during the Second World War and distinctly shaped by that historical context. Prior to this conflict, the country’s presence in Hollywood’s output was almost non-existent. By contrast, Portugal played a role in the plot of over a dozen movies released in the early 1940s, ranging from the screwball comedy *One Night in Lisbon* (1941) to the semi-documentary *The House on 92nd Street* (1945). This set of war-themed productions placed Lisbon firmly on Hollywood’s map of international intrigue, recurrently depicting the city as an escape route for refugees, as a meeting point for spies, and as the last remnant of peace and hedonism in a devastated Europe. Although the Portuguese capital sometimes remained a distant goal, as in *Casablanca* (1942), it prominently served as the main setting for the spy yarns *The Lady Has Plans* (1942), *Storm over Lisbon* (1944), and *The Conspirators* (1944).

Notably, the era that established Portugal’s cinematic significance also generated a lenient attitude towards its regime. Following a strong push by the Catholic lobby in the early 1930s, the US film industry had developed a form of self-regulated censorship administered by the Production Code Administration (PCA), which among other aspects paid close attention to the depictions of foreign nations. In the case of wartime Portugal, the Hollywood establishment worried about alienating what temporarily became one of its last European markets. Likewise, the Office of War Information (OWI), in charge of
Washington’s propaganda, actively sought to minimize the chances of offending the Salazar dictatorship, with whom the US undertook crucial negotiations regarding access to a strategic airbase in the Azores. The combination of the OWI’s lobbying and Hollywood’s flair for light-hearted entertainment resulted in a benign portrayal of neutral Portugal, presented as a setting of spy games and romance. The ensuing films helped popularize an image of the country that not only omitted the Estado Novo’s ideological affinities with the Axis powers (in favor of emphasizing instances of cooperation with the Allies), but it also avoided any indications of inner conflict and oppression.⁷

By itself, the association with World War II would secure Lisbon’s presence on American screens for decades. For example, the B-movie *Jewels of Brandenburg* (1947) focused on international criminals who had moved to the Portuguese capital during the recent European conflict.⁸ *With a Song in My Heart* (1952), a biopic of singer Jane Froman, included a pivotal airplane crash in the Tagus River in 1943, when Froman had been on her way to support the war effort.⁹ Also allegedly inspired by real events,¹⁰ *The Secret Door* (1964) told the story of two safecrackers who broke into a safe in the Japanese Embassy in Lisbon during the war.¹¹ Trading on the city’s reputation as a cauldron of wartime espionage,¹² the World War II-set thrillers *36 Hours* (1965) and *I Deal in Danger* (1966) featured key sequences in Lisbon, with the heroes of both movies travelling there for intelligence exchange operations.¹³

While Lisbon’s conspiratorial aura gradually extended beyond its specific connotation with the war, filmmakers clung to the trope that this city was a stage where foreign conflicts were secretly fought. Thus, after lingering, practically unseen, on the edges of post-war tales of intrigue,¹⁴ in the 1950s Lisbon was integrated into Cold War narratives: there, a Soviet agent (under the guise of wine merchant Raphael Garcia)
hired gangster Joe Victor to abduct an atomic physicist, in *A Bullet for Joey* (1955), and international thief Aristides Mavros hired smuggler Robert Evans to rescue a millionaire detained behind the Iron Curtain, in *Lisbon* (1956). Like the latter film, the spoof *A Man Could Get Killed* (1966) [henceforth *A Man...*] took place almost entirely in and around the capital. By then, the city’s reputation had been established to the point of allowing for easy parody in this tale of a harmless American bank employee who was mistaken for a secret agent.

Despite Lisbon’s enduring link to espionage, from the 1950s on the range of scenarios in which Portugal appeared spread beyond this genre. The religious epic *The Miracle of Our Lady of Fatima* (1952) [henceforth *Miracle...*] narrated the eponymous Catholic miracle. The disaster drama *Crash Landing* (1958) revolved around a flight from Lisbon to New York where two engines flamed out. In the comedy *Hook, Line and Sinker* (1969), Jerry Lewis played a man who, believing he had only a few months to live, went on an expensive credit-based fishing trip to Portugal. *The Last Run* (1971), an entry into the then-booming subgenre of car chase-heavy action movies, opened and closed in the coastal city of Albufeira, home of retired gangster Harry Garmes, who accepted one last job driving an escaped criminal across Spain.

While thematically diverse, these productions did not break away from the complacent attitude towards the Estado Novo. Besides mimicking the sanitized image of the regime instilled by World War II cinema, this approach was consistent with the overall concern with Hollywood’s international relations. Conscious of the rising importance of foreign markets and of film’s role in the propaganda of the early Cold War, the studios’ international departments, the PCA, and the International Committee of the Motion Picture Association of America (which was in contact with the State Department and, secretly, the CIA) worked to prevent film productions from upsetting
US allies. Hollywood also increasingly interacted with the Estado Novo, although, as detailed below, for the most part the relationship remained quite precarious.

**Portugal’s involvement in US productions**

The Estado Novo’s intelligentsia proved quick to acknowledge Hollywood’s propagandistic potential. In 1941, upon learning about Paramount’s upcoming *One Night in Lisbon*, the cinema-themed newspaper *Animatógrafo* (edited by António Lopes Ribeiro, the filmmaker most closely associated with the Salazar regime) declared that, given the worldwide exposure of American films, this movie was bound to be ‘a splendid element of propaganda that Portugal owes Paramount’. During World War II, António Ferro, founder of the Office of Propaganda (Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional – SPN), tried to convince Salazar to back a plan to promote Hollywood movies about Portugal. Based on the premise that cinema was the ‘most powerful weapon of penetration’ into the senses of the population, Ferro argued that the Estado Novo could use the US film industry in order to increase its projection across the Atlantic (particularly in Brazil, whose Portuguese-speaking market Ferro hoped to woo):

Americans love the picturesque, the different, that which strikes them as original. They are children who always want new toys. Therefore, if we could interest Hollywood filmmakers in the Portuguese case (by which I mean landscapes, customs, folklore, history, regional and political life), if we could make Portugal fashionable, for some years, in Hollywood studios, we would gain an extraordinary advantage in the whole of America, in the world, and above all in Brazil, which would admire us much more if it perceived us as popular in the country that practically rules them.
António Ferro’s proposal envisioned treating Los Angeles, where the studios were based, as one of the main diplomatic outposts in the US, if not all America. The plan involved appointing an especially cultured consul who would benefit from generous funding in order to mingle with Hollywood stars and producers while hosting shows and exhibitions prepared by the SPN. Despite Ferro’s assurance that three or four years of this propaganda campaign would reap unsurmountable benefits, however, at the time he was not able to persuade the notoriously budget-conscious Salazar. Over a decade went by before the Estado Novo began to actively woo the US motion picture industry.

Without the guidance of Ferro’s concerted strategy, American cinema’s approaches to Portugal varied wildly. Despite the PCA’s insistence that the producers of *Jewels of Brandenburg* get ‘competent technical advice with regard to all Portuguese angles’ in the story, especially the names, the released version still included characters with distinctly Spanish names like ‘Pablo’ and ‘Carmelita Mendoza’. Likewise, aside from placing a few signs in Portuguese, *Crash Landing* made little effort to disguise the fact that shots of the ‘Lisbon airport’ were taken in LA, with airplanes from the (West American) Western Airlines clearly visible in the background. Conversely, other productions fetishized the notion of ‘authenticity’, particularly history films. The producers of *Miracle...* boasted about ‘the skilled and coordinated efforts’ of several international craftsmen in order to capture every detail of the Fatima setting. The studio greens department ostensibly sent inquiries to Portugal regarding the exact type of shrubbery, trees, and foliage. The wardrobe department,
despite ‘thousands of different costumes available’, added a carefully tailored new variety of garb to its extensive stock.31

The overall tendency was for increasing Portuguese involvement. After peaking in 1946, Hollywood’s domestic profits went into rapid decline, mostly because of the competition of television and the 1948 court-ordered anti-monopolist divestment of theatres owned by the major studios, separating the production and exhibition branches.

In response, producers tried to escape the high costs of LA crews by shooting overseas, resulting in a cycle of Hollywood movies filmed in Europe in the 1950s and 1960s.32

Thus, if in the 1940s all images of Portugal were a combination of stock footage and Hollywood sets, the following decades saw the expansion of on-location shooting, although only in the cases of Lisbon and The Secret Door were Portuguese sequences shot entirely in the country.33 The shift was noticeable. Not only did props and exterior scenes look less artificial, but by casting locals in small parts films now occasionally included actors with a clear accent from Portugal alongside the usual assortment of Spanish, Brazilian, and vaguely Latin pronunciations.34

Less visible were the practical implications of working in Portugal. The dictatorship allowed only one month for the filming of 1956’s Lisbon, which was closely scrutinized by agents of the political police.35 In an interview to the state radio station Emissora Nacional, the movie’s director, producer, and leading actor, Ray Milland, declared that, as far as filmmaking went, Portugal had only sun and landscape to give – everything else had to be imported.36 Likewise, Milland complained to the Los Angeles Times about the difficulties of shooting in such a tight schedule and in such an unprepared country. The filmmaker’s accumulated anecdotic evidence indicated his clear frustration over Portugal’s amateurish standards of production compared to
Hollywood’s industrial culture, as well as over the obstacles posed by the regime’s securitarian mind-set.  

In the end, *Lisbon* had a contradictory impact. On the one hand, the Estado Novo came to appreciate the financial benefits of welcoming productions from the United States – local workers who took part in *Lisbon*’s shoot had been paid 95 cents per day, in contrast to their regular 50-cents-a-day jobs. Alerted to the possible advantages in terms of publicity, job creation, and source of dollar income, in 1958 Salazar endorsed an unsuccessful effort by the LA consul to persuade Hollywood producers to establish a production center in Lisbon where films could be made regularly all year round. On the other hand, Ray Milland’s vocal complaints generated resentment among the Portuguese film milieu, as filmmaker José Perdigão Queiroga (who had worked as assistant in *Lisbon*) rebuked each of Milland’s charges. Moreover, the logistical and bureaucratic problems surrounding *Lisbon*, once disseminated across Hollywood, are likely to have dissuaded other studios from backing big budget projects in Portugal for the rest of the decade. This stood in stark contrast to the neighboring Spanish regime, which established a prolific relationship (including some editorial oversight) with the US film industry at the time.

Portugal’s reputation was further compromised by its wave of anti-Americanism in the early years of the John F. Kennedy Administration, which initially expressed a wish to encourage Portuguese decolonization. The dictatorship denounced Washington’s complacency regarding various crises that shook the Portuguese empire in 1961, such as the uprising of liberation movements in Angola and the invasion of Goa by Indian forces. After voting favorably for UN resolutions condemning Portugal’s repressive measures in Angola and calling for a transfer of power to local peoples, the US was vigorously criticized in the Portuguese press and street demonstrations. At the time,
Hollywood producer Jack Miles, who acted as executive-producer in the British-Portuguese co-production *Forbidden Fruit/O Elixir do Diabo*, complained that – on top of the fact that the sound and camera equipment available in Lisbon could not secure technical quality for the world market – he was not able to clarify contractual obligations with his local partner, the Portuguese Tobis studio. According to trade magazine *Variety*, after two weeks of ‘snail-like filming’, Jack Miles called on the US consul for help, only to be told that given the United States’ unpopularity in Portugal nothing could be done through diplomatic channels to support his case. Miles also appealed to the Portuguese film authorities, who expressed doubt that Tobis could raise the money stipulated in the co-production agreement signed by the company’s Hollywood representative.\(^44\)

Once the political tension between Lisbon and Washington cooled down, the Estado Novo’s propagandistic and financial interests prevailed, with the filming process becoming more streamlined. After scrutinizing each screenplay, the National Office for Information, Popular Culture and Tourism (Secretariado Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo – SNI), which had replaced the SPN, approved and supported the shooting of numerous foreign films in Portugal throughout the 1960s, including American productions. For example, the SNI helped mediate requests for equipment and facilities made by the producers of *A Man...* (under the working-title ‘Welcome, Mr. Beddoes’) to Portugal’s Customs, to the Ministry of the Navy, and to the Tobis studio.\(^45\) The general atmosphere was now one of cooperation, with only the Lisbon Police Chief proving reticent to lend police uniforms and officers to act in minor roles.\(^46\) In a dispatch asking the Customs Office to expedite the authorization for the import of around 3,000 items brought in for the shoot of *A Man...*, the head of the SNI, César Moreira Baptista, argued that this production was ‘of great national interest’.\(^9\)
Baptista explained that the film would publicize Portugal’s ‘landscape’ and ‘touristic importance’ while also pointing out the ‘monetary movement’ it would usher since the American crew was budgeted to spend 22,000 dollars in Portugal on a daily basis.\footnote{47}

While as rule the dictatorship did not interfere with these films’ content, it did occasionally seek to take advantage of the material and expertise brought into the country. A precedent was set during the filming of the Tagus for the British war movie *The Cockleshell Heroes* (1955).\footnote{48} The Portuguese liaison threatened to stop the production unless the film company, Warwick Pictures, agreed to make a short documentary about Portugal, in CinemaScope and color, to be shown with the main feature. The ensuing documentary, *April in Portugal* (1956),\footnote{49} which won awards at the international film festivals of Berlin and Mar del Plata, was later perceived by its Portuguese proponents as having substantially attracted to the country British as well as American tourists.\footnote{50} They therefore attempted, less forcefully and ultimately without success, to convince the producers of *A Man...* to make a similar documentary, with the proposed title of ‘Spring in Portugal’.\footnote{51} Furthermore, Ray Milland’s controversy aside, the presence of famous faces also served domestic-oriented propaganda. In 1955, Milland and his co-star, Maureen O’Hara, publicly delivered toys to orphans at a Christmas event organized by the newspaper *Diário de Notícias* (closely aligned with the regime).\footnote{52} In interviews, international stars sought to please their hosts by praising the country’s accepted symbols. Maureen O’Hara emphasized the importance of Fatima for Catholics in the US, like her.\footnote{53} Tony Franciosa claimed to appreciate Portuguese music, adding that ‘fado is the most heartfelt expression of the Portuguese people’.\footnote{54}

The Estado Novo’s censors largely shared the pragmatic acceptance of these productions, even if they did not welcome Portugal’s association with subversive intrigue. They ordered the removal of a line in *House on 92nd Street* that described
Lisbon as the ‘communication center for international espionage’ as well as any indication that the Soviet agent in *A Bullet for Joey* might be Portuguese.\(^5^5\) In the case of *A Man…*, cuts targeted other aspects contrary to the dictatorship’s image of the country, namely shots of prostitutes, of a driver spitting, and of barefooted stevedores.\(^5^6\) Overall, however, censors proved quite tolerant towards Hollywood’s depiction of Portugal – since film censorship became centralized, in 1945, none of the abovementioned movies was officially banned and, according to the available files of the Censorship archive, the remaining cuts did not concern Portugal-set sequences. After all, while the films did not strictly toe the line regarding the Estado Novo’s idealized conception of the country, they likewise did not challenge its central tenets. At times, they even looked like promotional travelogues, one of the most extreme cases being Jerry Lewis’ narration in *Hook, Line and Sinker*, over a shot of fishing boats: ‘Picturesque Portugal, by the sea. A beautiful country with marvelous, hardworking people who worked primarily with fish. A very big fish export.’\(^5^7\) In particular, as shown in the following sections, Hollywood enthusiastically advertised two important cultural symbols of the Salazar regime.

**Promoting fado and Portugal’s musical identity**

While romanticizing Portugal’s connotation with foreign intrigue, North American productions sought to carve out a distinct musical identity for the country. As part of this effort, soundtracks drew on the specificities of Portuguese music, which coincided with the Estado Novo’s own cultural production program. In 1942, António Ferro founded the Musical Studies Bureau (Gabinete de Estudos Musicais), which sought to actively promote the ‘Portuguesation’ of light music through compositions that drew on Portuguese folklore, including variations of the music genres ‘fado’ and ‘vira’\(^5^8\). The Salazar dictatorship also sought to promote the international projection of fado through
records and concert tours by famous fado singer (‘fadista’) Amália Rodrigues, as well as fado houses that, while mimicking the aesthetics of working class taverns, were aimed primarily at tourists. Remarkably, fado became a favorite motif of the regime’s attempt to create a national cinematography that could be simultaneously popular in domestic as well as foreign markets, with emphasis on Amália’s film career.59

Just like in Portuguese cinema, in American movies fado was not merely part of the soundtrack; it was visually enacted and explicitly identified within the story. The World War II thriller *The Conspirators* featured a key scene set in a fado house in which the protagonist, Dutch resistance hero Vincent Van Der Lyn, professed his love to French refugee Irene Duchatel.60 Their conversation was interrupted by a rendition of the fado ‘Rua do Capelão’, performed by the Brazilian Aurora Miranda (feigning an accent from Portugal) while the camera panned across a moved audience. The film left out a scripted line in which Irene would have explained that ‘These songs are a thousand years old – from the time when the Moors ruled Portugal.’61 Nevertheless, the pan shot established the performance as a local ritual, faithfully fulfilling the indications in the screenplay:

It is a simple tavern – no tablecloths on wooden tables, rather small and crowded. No foreigners here. Only Portuguese, and poor at that. Mostly couples, but also a few solitary men. Oblivious of their drinks – beer or coffee – they live every word they hear. Here a young couple holding hands, there a man, his eyes closed, there a lonely girl on the verge of tears. They all stare at the singer in a religious silence.62

Besides providing atmosphere and local flavor, fado allowed the characters to indirectly address their feelings. The scene’s subtext revolved around the tension between Vincent’s enthusiastic infatuation and Irene’s defeatist attitude about their romance, later
explained by the revelation that she was married to an official of the German Legation in Lisbon. Irene told Vincent that the song they were listening to was a fado and that ‘fado’ meant ‘fate’, adding that the song was ‘about a love that can never be’. The following exchange about fado reflected their different perspectives, with Irene focusing on the lyrics’ sadness while Vincent emphasized the music’s romantic mood:

IRENE: To me all these songs are sad. Like the first fado I ever heard. The words still haunt me: For the love of you I lost God / For the love of you I lost myself / Now I see myself alone / Without God, without love, without you. That’s what the song is about.

VINCENT: No, that’s what the words are about. But the song, if you listen to it with your heart, means: In the love of you I lost myself / And now I’m alone no more / But with God, with love, with you.

This was such a central exchange that it earned a call-back at the end of the movie. In one of many echoes of *Casablanca*, *The Conspirators* ended with two lovers separated by their commitment to the anti-Nazi resistance. Vincent returned to the Netherlands, while Irene stayed in Portugal. Looking back at Irene, Vincent’s voice-over longed for their reunion after Europe’s liberation and concluded with a reference to his interpretation of the fado song: ‘And through the long hours of the night, I keep clinging to the memories… and I remember: In the love of you I lost myself and now I’m alone no more, but with God, with love, with you.’

Although no production went as far as *The Conspirators* in terms of incorporating fado into the story, the plot device of bringing characters closer together by having one introduce the other to such a specific musical tradition proved appealing to Hollywood
filmmakers. In Lisbon, Portugal-based Robert Evans met the recently arrived Sylvia Merrill at a fado house in the old neighborhood of Alfama, where they enjoyed a rendition of ‘Lisboa Antiga’ by the fadista Anita Guerreiro. Sylvia expressed great appreciation for the song and Robert exhibited his worldliness by telling her that the title meant ‘Old Lisbon’ and comparing it to the nostalgic American song ‘Home, Sweet Home’. An early script for The Secret Door (under the working-title ‘Now It Can Be Told’) used the same device: the mysterious Russian Tanya (Sonia in the finalized movie) was to have sung a fado before explaining to her American date that fado is ‘a sad, sweet song about unrequited love and jealousy. There are a great many Fadista singers in Portugal’. In A Man..., right before the Portuguese adventuress Aurora-Celeste da Costa seduced the protagonist, she put on a record and declared: ‘It’s fado. If you like fado, you like me.’ This music genre was thus explicitly associated with a romantic environment in which the two characters flirted and eventually kissed, even if the music itself quickly shifted after the opening chords of ‘Barco Negro’. Less prominently, a fado performance took place in the background of a nightclub in One Night in Lisbon. Moreover, Portuguese guitars were the first sound the audience heard of Lisbon in I Deal in Danger, as two characters had a spy-related discussion while passing by a fadista and two guitarists playing on a street corner.

To a much lesser extent, vira had its own screen presence. This folkloric song and dance was less internationally known than fado and, with its bouncy rhythm and rural connotation, a less obvious fit for Hollywood’s stories of urban intrigue. Nevertheless, in Storm over Lisbon, three street musicians repeatedly played a version of the popular vira song ‘Meninas vamos ao vira’, giving it a melancholic tinge by significantly slowing down the pace. Miracle..., which was set in the countryside, featured not only the same song, but also a lively dance scene during a sequence on St.
Thus both films incorporated yet another typical Portuguese sound, even if disregarding the fact that vira was traditionally played in the far north of Portugal, not in the midland region of Lisbon and Fatima.

Portuguese-themed film scores helped popularize the exotic appeal of the country – particularly the capital – in ways that reached beyond the silver screen. *Lisbon* was scored by American composer Nelson Riddle, whose ballad ‘Lisbon Antiqua’ (adapted from the fado ‘Lisboa Antiga’) had been a big hit in early 1956 – it had reached the top of the US charts and it became a gold single record. Riddle used the song as the film’s opening theme and echoed its melody throughout the movie. The English lyrics, written by Harry Dupree with no connection to the original fado, spoke of falling in love during a night in ‘old Lisbon’. For the Portuguese sequence in *36 Hours*, Russian-American composer Dimitri Tiomkin supplied ‘Lisbon Cha-Cha’, a vibrant instrumental piece made up of recognizably Latin dance rhythms. Tiomkin’s full soundtrack, which also included the ominous ‘Ticket to Lisbon/Lady in Black’ (also instrumental), was released in LP format at the time of the film’s theatrical release. Yet no production invested as much in the Portuguese brand of its score as *A Man*.... The score was assigned to German composer Bert Kaempfert, who was highly familiar with the country’s traditional music, having devoted his entire 1958 debut album to adaptations of Portuguese songs. Realizing that the script included a fado scene, the Portuguese liaison with the film’s production company, Universal Pictures, initially lobbied for the inclusion of Amália Rodrigues in the movie. Yet Universal instead chose to open a contest for Portuguese composers in which the winning song (‘original or based on a happy song of the old Portuguese folklore’) would win a prize of 10,000 escudos and be interpreted by Greek singer (and actress in the film) Melina Mercouri. The producers no doubt hoped to replicate the success of Mercouri’s popular recording of the song.
‘Never on Sunday’ for the 1960 movie of the same name. However, the breakout hit turned out to be Kaempfert’s ‘Beddy Bye’, retitled ‘Strangers in the Night’ and made famous in 1966 with a version sung by Frank Sinatra, which secured the longevity of _A Man…_’s soundtrack album. Thus, through films and records, these productions frequently promoted Portugal’s musical identity. In doing so, they seemed essentially driven by aesthetic and commercial motivations, in contrast to Hollywood’s endorsement of Fatima, discussed below, where there was a much more pronounced ideological slant.

**Promoting Fatima and Portugal’s religious identity**

Roman Catholic imagery was another recurrent motif, gradually highlighting Portugal’s link with Catholicism. _With a Song in My Heart_ showed Jane Froman waking up, after her airplane crash, in a Lisbon hospital where many nurses were nuns, a priest could be seen blessing a patient, and backgrounds were decorated with a crucifix and a statue of the Virgin Mary. In _The Last Run_, Harry Garmes (son of a Portuguese mother) went to confession and was assured by a local prostitute that she would pray for him. The comedy _A Man…_ featured a lengthy Catholic funeral mass, with Aurora-Celeste, dressed in black mourning attire, pretending to cry at her lover’s burial (only to then turn to the movie’s protagonist and smilingly wink at him). Catholic rites, however, were not practiced exclusively by Portuguese characters, but also by foreigners in Portugal. In _Lisbon_, the French Maria Maddalena Masanet reminisced about her confirmation, burned a candle for St. Jude, and explained to the movie’s hero that ‘there are only two dresses in her life that are really important to a woman. Both white. Her confirmation gown and her… and her bridal gown.’
While by itself the mere intertextual repetition of Catholic practices and symbols suggested the religion’s prominence in Portuguese society, Warner Bros. also placed this idea at the very center of one of its major productions. *Miracle...* enacted accounts according to which the Virgin Mary had repeatedly appeared before three Portuguese child shepherds (Lúcia, Francisco, and Jacinta) in a field near Fatima, between 13 May and 13 October 1917. Besides the three children, the plot revolved around the fictional peasant Hugo da Silva, a lapsed Catholic who regained his faith upon witnessing the Miracle of the Sun. The movie placed particular emphasis on the intolerant reaction of Portugal’s regime at the time, known as the First Republic (1910-26). Unlike the anti-religious authorities, however, most of the population was shown to be pious, with even a prison guard discretely blessing himself after making sure that nobody was watching.\textsuperscript{85}

This film fits the cannon of the historical epic, a genre which reached its apogee in Hollywood throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. One of the first productions shot in WarnerColor, the movie featured grandiose crowd scenes and overwrought acting. The opening credits were written in a portentous font, with a torn scroll in the background. A pedagogical, patriarchal narration contextualized the historical setting in the prologue and epilogue. Max Steiner’s symphonic soundtrack, which underscored significant moments, included an ominous choir and ancient church music.\textsuperscript{86} In particular, *Miracle...* belongs to the subgenre of religious historical drama, with the narrative device of Christians persecuted by despots becoming a common motif at the time, most notably in the Roman sagas *Quo Vadis* (1951) and *The Robe* (1953).\textsuperscript{87} In the press booklet, studio president Jack L. Warner highlighted the religious angle: ‘If those who see “The Miracle Of Our Lady Of Fatima” come away from it with a stronger sense of belief in the power of prayer, the effort which went into this production will have been amply justified.’\textsuperscript{88}
Warner was the son of Jewish immigrants and the director, John Brahm, ‘a well-grounded Lutheran’, leading *Variety* to remark that Jimmy O’Hanlon, who was called in to polish the screenplay, was the nearest to anyone involved ‘to whom Fatima was a matter of faith, not a picture property’. However, *Miracle...* was shaped by a number of prominent Catholics, starting with its producer, Bryan Foy. Although the power of the Catholic lobby had declined by the early 1950s, it remained influential in Hollywood. The PCA’s Catholic staff devoted a great deal of time and discussion to the project. They expressed concerns, not with the story itself, but with its technical ‘accuracy’ and ‘authenticity’, advising Warner Bros. to ‘adhere scrupulously to the many chronicles available on the subject’. In January 1952, the PCA warned the studio that it could not approve the latest script version because the Virgin Mary’s dialogue strayed too far from the ‘better-known and accepted histories’, which ‘would grievously offend the religious sensibilities of many millions of people to whom the story of Fatima is intimately known’.

Yet *Miracle...* can be best understood as a product of Hollywood’s anti-communist cycle, consisting of around 40 distinctly anti-communist films released between 1948 and 1954. These films were not only a reflection of official US rhetoric concerning the outbreak of the Cold War – and, in particular, the Korean War – but also a direct response to the Second Red Scare surrounding espionage-related scandals and Senator Joseph McCarthy’s accusations of widespread communist infiltration. More direct forms of pressure included the investigations of the House Un-American Activities Committee into communist influence in the motion picture industry, charges pushed by the American Legion, and the blacklist denying employment to entertainment professionals based on suspected leftist leanings. In this context, Warner Bros. came under scrutiny due to its strong commitment to the New Deal and anti-fascism in the
1930s – and particularly due to the pro-Soviet film Mission to Moscow (1943), released during the wartime Grand Alliance. Miracle... then became part of the studio’s effort to establish its anti-communist credentials. This production, officially based on the description of events from the 1950 book The Meaning of Fatima, by C.C. Martindale, capitalized on the post-war revival of interest in the Fatima sightings. According to the Catholic Church’s gradually revised account, in her third apparition the Virgin Mary had prophesized that God would punish the world with war unless Russia was consecrated, such conversion being the only path to world peace. Drawing on the synergy between this prophecy and the Cold War mind-set, Warner Bros. assigned the project to producer Bryan Foy and writer Crane Wilbur as soon as they had completed work on another anti-communist drama, I Was a Communist for the FBI (1951).

The final product was at least as committed to its political message as to the religious one. The changes that caused so much concern at the PCA involved moving the reference to Russia from the third apparition to the final one, making it the climax of the movie. This version of the script suggested that the Miracle of the Sun had occurred at the ‘exact time and day’ that ‘Lenin entered Moscow’ and a line of dialogue was added to the Virgin Mary’s dialogue stating that there was in Russia ‘an evil scheme to destroy the peace on earth’. After the PCA’s reaction, the reference returned to the third visitation, yet the line of dialogue was kept, with the rest of the Virgin Mary’s words adhering relatively close to the accepted text:

If the people do not cease to offend [God], another and worse war will break out and you’ll see a night with a strange light in the sky. You will know it is a sign that the world is about to be punished for its crimes. In Russia, there is an evil scheme to destroy the peace of the Earth. To prevent this, I ask that she be consecrated to the Virgin Mary. If this is done, she will be converted; if not, she
will cause wars and persecutions, good people will be martyred, many nations will be destroyed.\textsuperscript{96}

Besides the literal connection to current events, the film also operated on an allegorical level. The notion of the Cold War as a conflict between Christianity (embodied by the West) and atheism (embodied by the Soviet Union) was behind many attempts to link religion with anti-communism in motion pictures from the 1950s. For example, biblical epics regularly depicted Roman and Egyptian tyrants as metaphors for Soviet authoritarianism.\textsuperscript{97} Similarly, in \textit{Miracle…}, Portugal’s First Republic served as a thinly veiled ersatz-Soviet Union. This strategy was clear from the very first scene, in which a Portuguese revolutionary speaker who resembled Lenin addressed a bloodthirsty mob holding red flags and proclaimed ‘the birth of the People’s Socialist Republic’. The initial voice-over made the parallel explicit:

In the Portugal of 1910 there was a swift and sudden uprising, planned and executed by a Socialist minority; its purpose was to overthrow the government and establish a police state. Here was an early pattern of what was to happen time and time again in many countries of Europe.\textsuperscript{98}

To reinforce the point, the revolutionary speaker vowed to destroy the power of the Church in Portugal ‘and march on to the liberation of the masses and rule of the proletariat’, before the voice-over asked: ‘How often have we heard those same words since then?’ The film showed what the narrator called ‘a savage persecution of all religious orders’ in the form of priests being ‘photographed and numbered like common criminals’. It then informed the audience that ‘the Portuguese clung to their faith and, after seven years of political upheaval, churches in remote districts were permitted to
reopen’, including ‘in the mountain village of Fatima, where a simple people payed tribute to the god of their fathers’. This opening sequence thus established the movie’s central conflict between godless rulers and a devout population. In line with their villainous status, the former arrested and threatened to torture the three children for claiming to have witnessed a miracle. The trailer referred to the government authorities as ‘forces of darkness’ and claimed that ‘they called [reporting the miracle] a crime so they could conceal their own crimes, they called it a lie so they could sell their lies’.

For all the stress on religious accuracy, the PCA showed little concern for the production’s substantial historical revisionism. Rather than a communist-inspired uprising, the 1910 Revolution had been sparked by a coup d’état led by the Portuguese Republican Party and sustained by Lisbon’s small and medium bourgeoisie. Although the ensuing liberal, parliamentary regime, with a strong Masonic influence, had indeed been markedly anti-clerical, the policies enacted in the film’s opening sequence were a Hollywood fabrication. Besides associating the First Republic with oppression, *Miracle...* ultimately linked the Estado Novo with openness: shot on location on 13 October 1951, the epilogue captured a million real-life pilgrims gathered around the ‘magnificent basilica’ of the Sanctuary of Fatima, thus contrasting the current regime’s celebratory attitude towards faith with the previous one’s hostility. While the narrator did not explicitly mention the regime change, the images included a row of young men holding flags of the Estado Novo’s youth organization, Mocidade Portuguesa.

Unsurprisingly, the dictatorship did not challenge the movie’s loose account of history. After all, not only did *Miracle...* validate the Estado Novo’s self-legitimizing portrayal as redeemer of a quasi-Bolshevik First Republic, the film celebrated the Fatima sightings, whose cult had been integrated into the dictatorship’s propaganda, including through Portuguese cinema. While ecclesiastic leaders as well as the
heavily censored press did point out Hollywood’s erroneous depiction of Portuguese physiognomy, language, costumes, and architecture, they nevertheless embraced Miracle..., asking the audience to disregard such inaccuracies in the name of appreciating the film’s deeper values.\textsuperscript{105} The SNI offered theatre tickets to Mocidade Portuguesa\textsuperscript{106} and it authorized the publication of the movie’s novelization.\textsuperscript{107} However, despite Hollywood’s popularity in the country,\textsuperscript{108} it is unclear how enthusiastic Portuguese audiences actually were. In seeking to explain the unremarkable attendance at the screenings, a local journalist speculated that the public was weary after the poor quality of previous attempts to address the events of Fatima on screen.\textsuperscript{109}

If the film’s impact in Portugal was modest, the same cannot be said for its international projection. Recognizing the story’s exploitation potential, US exhibitors effected tie-ins with schools and churches while encouraging word-of-mouth through a series of pre-screenings for clergymen, religious educators, media representatives, and prominent laymen. They distributed thirty thousand special student tickets in parochial schools and purchased radio spot announcements following all church service programs regardless of denomination.\textsuperscript{110} As a result, Miracle... was one of Hollywood’s top grossing films of the year, grossing $4.2 million worldwide.\textsuperscript{111}

\textbf{Conclusion}

Portugal’s image in US film fiction was largely a product of World War II, whose specific context encouraged a sanitized depiction of the Estado Novo regime while linking the country (especially Lisbon) with an aura of romantic intrigue. Filmmakers continued to revisit this atmosphere, incorporating it into the Cold War in line with the common practice of reproducing successful formulas and relying on well-established connotations to act as narrative shorthand. The result was a series of films which
perpetuated the lenient portrayal of local living conditions while disregarding Salazar’s authoritarian rule and ideology, an approach that lasted until the regime’s downfall in 1974.

Naturally, despite common patterns, these productions, by multiple creators operating in different genres and spread across decades, did not present a fully cohesive vision of Portugal. Through the various layers of cinema (the way movies were written, shot, acted, edited, etc), Hollywood produced a variety of discourses about Portugal, both favorable and adverse to the dictatorship’s agenda. Of the many possible avenues of interpretation, this article has focused specifically on the films’ engagement with two cornerstones of the Estado Novo’s cultural strategy, namely music and religion, with particular emphasis on the icons of fado and Fatima. As shown in each of the main sections, North American productions serviced the dictatorship’s propaganda through the images on screen as well as through promotional initiatives and commercial tie-ins.

The Estado Novo’s push to disseminate these two cultural icons may have contributed to their acknowledgement by US cinema, but the latter’s celebration of Portuguese musical tradition and piety was remarkably less a product of direct lobbying than of a craving for exotic allure and of shared anti-communist postures. While the dictatorship recognized Hollywood’s potential in terms of propaganda – as well as a source of direct income in the case of movies shot in Portugal – its suspicious mind-set and poor technical conditions prevented a stable working relationship with US filmmakers at least until the mid-1960s. By then, American studios had already independently realized how fado and Fatima could serve their narrative purposes. Fado songs, with their distinct melancholic mood and ritualized performance, helped create an original and romantic ambiance. In turn, the 1917 Fatima sightings provided a Cold War parable, with a major production emphasizing religious persecution during
Portugal’s First Republic while misleadingly suggesting that regime’s affinity with the regimes of the Soviet Bloc. This approach coincidentally validated both the Estado Novo’s own historical discourse, which demonized the First Republic, and its endorsement of Marian devotion, with the epilogue implicitly presenting a Portuguese sanctuary as an anti-communist frontline.

For the Salazar dictatorship, propaganda played a crucial role not only in terms of domestic mobilization and pacification, but also in the international arena. The Estado Novo struggled to secure a benign image abroad as it became a survivor of the fascist era in the post-World War II order and, later, the last European power to violently resist the winds of decolonization. It also relied on the increasing economic weight of tourism, advertising fado houses and the Sanctuary of Fatima as key attractions. The Salazar regime thus fought on various fronts to propagate its vision of Portuguese culture, society, and history, with different levels of success. Against this background, its propaganda found in US film fiction, if not a conscious extension, at least a powerful ally in promoting the visibility of two of the Estado Novo’s main symbols.

2 For an examination of the regime’s political and cultural identity, see Luís Reis Torgal, *Estados Novos, Estado Novo: ensaios de história política e cultural, vols.1-2* (Coimbra 2009).

3 This article will leave aside depictions of the Portuguese colonies, which deserve an entirely different frame of analysis, as demonstrated in Rui Lopes, ‘‘A fabulous speck on the Earth’s surface’: Depictions of colonial Macao in 1950s’ Hollywood’, *Portuguese Studies*, 32:1 (2016), 72-87.

4 The only relevant cases of Hollywood venturing into Portuguese territory were the Lost Generation drama *The Last Flight* (William Dieterle, First National Pictures; US, 1931), set in 1919, in which four American veterans travelled to Lisbon, and the romantic melodrama *Love Affair* (Leo McCarey, RKO; US, 1939), in which lovers Terry McKay and Michel Marnet grew closer as they visited Michel’s grandmother in Madeira. (The latter’s remake, *An Affair to Remember* (Leo McCarey, 20th Century-Fox; US, 1957), replaced Madeira with Villefranche-sur-Mer.) It is also worth noting that in the early talkie era, when it had been common to shoot multiple-language versions of films in order to appeal to international markets, Paramount’s French studios had produced Portuguese-spoken versions of their catalogue, with Portuguese casts, including *A Canção do Berço* (Alberto Cavalcanti, Paramount Pictures; US, 1930); *A Dama Que Ri* (Jorge Infante, Paramount Pictures; US, 1931); *A Minha Noite de Núpcias* (E.W. Emo, Paramount Pictures; US, 1931). See João Bénard da Costa, *Histórias do Cinema* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 1991), 47-8.

5 One Night in Lisbon (Edward H. Griffith, Paramount Pictures; US, 1941); *The House on 92nd Street* (Henry Hathaway, 20th Century-Fox; US, 1945).

6 *Casablanca* (Michael Curtiz, Warner Bros; US, 1942); *The Lady Has Plans* (Sidney Lanfield, Paramount Pictures; US, 1942); *Storm Over Lisbon* (George Sherman, Republic Pictures; US, 1944); *The Conspirators* (Jean Negulesco, Warner Brothers; US, 1944). Besides serving as a crucial yet barely seen plot device in *Journey for Margaret* (W.S. Van Dyke, MGM; US, 1942) and *The Fallen Sparrow* (Richard Wallace, RKO; US, 1943), Lisbon was featured in key sequences of *Forbidden Passage* (Fred Zinnemann, MGM; US, 1941), *Affectionately Yours* (Lloyd Bacon, Warner Bros; US, 1941), *International Lady* (Tim Whelan, United Artists; US, 1941), *Three Hearts for Julia* (Richard Thorpe, MGM; US, 1942), *The Hairy Ape* (Alfred Santell, United Artists; US, 1944), and *Voice in the Wind* (Arthur Ripley, United Artists; US, 1944).

7 Rui Lopes, ‘‘An Oasis in Europe: Hollywood Depictions of Portugal during World War II’’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 52:2 (2017), 375-98. The OWI’s lobbying was especially active in the case of *Storm Over Lisbon*. After reviewing the original script, the office worried about the depiction of Portugal as a place where a criminal spy was ‘‘able to hold his victims prisoner with no interference from the Portuguese police’’, warning the studio that in ‘‘view of the strategic importance of the delicate balance maintained by Portugal, an unfavorable portrayal which would in any way offend the Portuguese is apt to have international ramifications’’. The film underwent extensive revisions in line with the OWI’s suggestions, thus presenting the Portuguese ‘‘in a better light’’ (US National Archives and Records Administration [NARA], College Park,
MD, Records of the OWI, Record Group 208, NC148567-4742245, Box 3526, *Storm Over Lisbon*, Letter from William S. Cunningham, March 31, 1944). The OWI also took a critical stance regarding the possibility that *The Conspirators* might present the Portuguese authorities in a negative way (NARA, College Park, MD, Records of the OWI, Record Group 208, NC148567-4741004, Box 3514, *The Conspirators*, Dispatch from the OWI’s L.A. Overseas Bureau, Motion Picture Division, October 7, 1944).


9 *With a Song in My Heart* (Walter Lang, 20th Century-Fox; US, 1952).

10 Reuben Library at British Film Institute [BFI], ITM-5378, ‘Now It Can Be Told’ Information Booklet, 2-3.


12 Lisbon became such a shorthand for World War II espionage that in *Diplomatic Courier* (Henry Hathaway, 20th Century-Fox; US, 1952) a character used it to quickly describe the abundance of agents and counter-agents now operating in Cold War Trieste: ‘It’s quite a ball. What Lisbon and Istanbul were to the last war, Trieste is to this.’ (31:07-29)

13 *36 Hours* (George Seaton, MGM; US, 1965); *I Deal in Danger* (Walter Graumam, 20th Century-Fox; US, 1966). The latter was a theatrically-released edited compilation of the first four episodes of the television series *Blue Light*.

14 *Pursuit to Algiers* (Roy William Neill, Universal Pictures; US, 1945); *Tangier* (George Waggner, Universal Pictures; US, 1946); *The Mutineers* (Jean Yarbrough, Columbia Pictures; US, 1949).

15 *A Bullet for Joey* (Lewis Allen, United Artists; US, 1955); *Lisbon* (Ray Milland, Republic Pictures; US, 1956). In a more generic thriller, *Flight to Hong Kong* (Joseph M. Newman, United Artists; US, 1956), mobster Tony Dumont met with his partner in Lisbon in order to plan an operation without the crime syndicate’s involvement.


17 The notion of Lisbon as a place of ubiquitous intrigue was effectively set in the film’s opening scene, where a man disguised as an ice cream salesman tried to place a bomb under a car, only to discover that there was already a bomb there, placed by a woman disguised as a florist. With a similar parodic spirit, *Don't Raise the Bridge, Lower the River* (Jerry Paris, Columbia Pictures; US, 1968) featured a con man who sent valuable blueprints to Lisbon in order to sell them to an Arab nation, smuggling them in the teeth of an unsuspecting airline steward, only to find himself double-crossed by a dentist, his secretary, and a local driver.

19 Crash Landing (Fred F. Sears, Columbia Pictures; US, 1958).


21 The Last Run (Richard Fleisher, MGM; US, 1971). Moreover, the main character of Disney’s family comedy The Million Dollar Collar (Vincent McEveety, Walt Disney Productions; US, 1967) was a sailor’s dog separated from his owner during a stopover in the Portuguese capital. This theatrically-released film compiled two episodes of the television series Walt Disney’s Wonderful World of Color, originally aired in 1964 with the title ‘The Ballad of Hector the Stowaway Dog’. See https://d23.com/a-to-z/ballad-of-hector-the-stowaway-dog-the-television/ (accessed 01.11.2015).

22 David Eldridge, “‘Dear Owen”: The CIA, Luigi Luraschi and Hollywood, 1953’, Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television, 20:2 (2000), 149-96. The CIA took an interest in Lisbon early on. In 1953, an executive of Paramount Studios told his contact at the agency that the project ‘could be messy if mishandled, but so far we have them thinking along the right track and this could be very useful to us’ (Ibid, 165). According to Neill Lochery, the CIA followed the film’s shooting on location through agents based on the US Embassy in Lisbon (Neill Lochery, Lisboa: A Cidade Vista de Fora, 1933-1974 (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 2013), 152). The best example of concern with the depiction of Portugal, however, involved the production Macao (Josef von Sternberg, RKO Pictures; US, 1952), set in the titular colony. The PCA complained that the original script did not ‘fairly represent’ the Portuguese ‘institutions, prominent people and citizenry’, ushering several changes (Margaret Herrick Library at Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Sciences (AMPAS), MPAA, PCA records, Macao, Letter from Joseph Breen, July 11, 1950; Lopes, ‘A fabulous speck’, 79-81).


24 Portuguese National Archives at Torre do Tombo [TT], AOS, Cx.662, PC-12E, Plano de uma campanha de lusitanidade em toda a América, em especial no Brasil, 14.


27 AMPAS, PCA records, Letter from Joseph Breen, November 8, 1946.


30 Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research, George Seaton Papers, Box 21, Folder 12.

31 AMPAS, General Collection, ‘Warner Bros. proudly bring to the screen The Miracle of Our Lady of Fatima’.

33 AMPAS, General Collection, ‘Milland’s Portugal Film Makes Him a “Pioneer”’, Los Angeles Times, April 1, 1956; BFI, ITM-5378, ‘Now It Can Be Told’ Information Booklet, 1, 20. The exteriors of A Man… were shot in loco, but the interiors were shot in Rome’s Cinecitta Studios (‘No ‘Welcome’ For U In Madrid; U.S. Pix All Over The Place’, Variety, May 4, 1965). In The Last Run, the Spanish village of Nerja stood for Albufeira, with translated street signs (AMPAS, General Collection, The Last Run production notes).

34 Lisbon was the first to feature a few such minor characters, most prominently the hero’s accomplice, played by Humberto Madeira. The only supporting role with actual weight in the plot given to a Portuguese actor, however, was that of Police Inspector Rodrigues in A Man…, played by Virgílio Teixeira, who had previously worked in both Portuguese and American films.

35 Lochery, Lisboa, 151-2.


37 For example, Milland mentioned that he had hired actual policemen to play police officers and that another one of the seven different police forces in Lisbon had arrested those officers because they had been wearing uniforms outside their district. A more worrisome incident for the production took place when Milland tried to ship out exposed film to New York because Portugal had no facilities for processing. Customs initially refused to let the cans of exposed film pass without first examining their contents, even though opening the cans would have damaged the film. – AMPAS, General Collection, ‘Milland’s Portugal Film…’.

38 Ibid.

39 TT, SNI, Cx.1789, Dispatch from the Portuguese Foreign Ministry, August 25, 1958.

40 Consequently, the magazine Plateia blamed the production’s misfortunes on the American crew’s propensity for heavy drinking and gambling. – CP, PP174, ‘O mentiroso e ingrato Sr. Ray Milland’, Plateia, June 15, 1956.

41 As argued by Neill Lochery in Lisboa, 152-3. Despite his complaints, Milland showed interest in shooting another film in Lisbon, even inquiring about the possibility of obtaining Portuguese funding (TT, SNI, Cx.1789, Letter from Ray Milland, November 13, 1958).

42 Neal M. Rosendorf, Franco Sells Spain to America (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 48-79.

44 “‘Yanks’ Unpopularity In Portugal Complicates Jack Miles’ Troubles’, *Variety*, January 31, 1962. Miles ultimately withdrew from the project, although director Thor L. Brooks and co-producer Charles W. Hall elected to stay in Lisbon and finish the film.


46 AMPAS, Gil Kurland Papers, 28, Letter from Pedro de Barcelos, April 15, 1965.

47 TT, SNI, Cx.1486, Dispatch from SNI, May 14, 1965.


49 *April in Portugal* (Euan Lloyd, Columbia Pictures; UK, 1956).


51 TT, SNI, Cx.1801, Dispatch from C.P. dos Santos, December 3, 1962.


55 TT, SNI, IGAC, 2ª Inc., Cx.1, ‘A casa da Rua 92’, and Cx.188, ‘Uma Bala para Joey’.

56 TT, SNI, IGAC, 2ª Inc., Cx.314, ‘A Dança dos Diamantes’.


61 AMPAS, Hal Wallis papers, 418, Conspirators, Revised final screenplay, 60.

62 Ibid.

63 This was inaccurate, although ‘Rua do Capelão’ was indeed a love song. The target-audience was clearly not expected to understand the Portuguese lyrics.


65 Ibid, 1:40:35-53. The soundtrack also subtly called back to the song, as an orchestral arrangement of ‘Rua do Capelão’ played in the background just before the film’s climax (1:21:48-24:00).


67 TT, SNI, Cx.2065, ‘Now It Can Be Told’ screenplay by Charles Martin (revised May 5, 1958), 33.

68 A Man..., 55:13-58:00.

69 One Night in Lisbon, 1:08:32-09:07.

70 I Deal in Danger, 09:54-10:27.


72 Miracle..., 25:15-43.


75 The album, titled Portugal – Fado, Wine and Sunshine, was later re-issued under the title April in Portugal.

76 TT, SNI, Cx.1801, Letter from C.P. dos Santos, November 17, 1962.

77 AMPAS, Gil Kurland Papers, 26, ‘Portuguese music contest for a Universal Company Production’.


80 With a Song in My Heart, 55:00-1:05:22.

A Man..., 05:21-07:11. The contrast between Aurora-Celeste’s alleged mourning and her highly sexualized demeanour became a running joke throughout the film.

Despite her French surname, it is possible that this character was meant to be Portuguese, given Hollywood’s typically imprecise use of nomenclature. However, an early insult and a brief mention of a French-sounding hometown further suggest French nationality.

Lisbon, 52:23-53:00; 54:00-55:05; 57:23-40. Moreover, a pivotal moment in Love Affair involved the leading couple quietly praying in a chapel in Madeira which belonged to the house of a French matriarch (21:33-23:05).

Miracle..., 1:23:09-34.


Quo Vadis (Mervyn LeRoy, MGM; US, 1951); The Robe (Henry Koster, 20th Century-Fox; US, 1953).

AMPAS, General Collection, ‘Warner Bros. proudly bring...’.

‘Scully’s Scrapbook’, Variety, October 29, 1952.


AMPAS, PCA records, Memo from E.G. Dougherty, January 23, 1952. Despite the studio’s efforts to accommodate the PCA’s instructions and seek technical advice, the film could not avoid minor mistakes and dramatic license. The date of the first sighting was given as 15 rather than 13 May. The final scene showed Hugo and a grown Lúcia talking face-to-face, even though the latter had become a Carmelite nun and therefore should have been speaking through a grid.


96 *Miracle…*, 1:03:55-04:54. Lúcia reinforced the message in the movie’s closing line: ‘If the people of the world would pray as Our Lady asked them to, God will send us peace.’ (1:41:16-32)


100 *Miracle…’s official trailer*, 00:46-1:00.

101 For the motivations and actions of the First Republic regarding the Church, see Luís Salgado de Matos, *A Separação do Estado e da Igreja* (Alfragide: Dom Quixote, 2011); Maria Lúcia de Brito Moura, *A “Guerra Religiosa” na I República* (Lisbon: Universidade Católica, 2010 [2nd edition]); Sérgio Ribeiro Pinto, *Separação Religiosa Como Modernidade* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa, 2011). Oddly, the movie attributed one of the anti-clerical proclamations to Minister of Justice João Sousa on 17 August 1910, i.e. before the Revolution, which took place on 5 October (02:32-44). Later, District Administrator Artur de Oliveira Santos, a real-life Freemason who sought to discredit the children’s visions because he believed the Church had faked the apparitions in order to stimulate a religious revival, was depicted as an apparatchik following orders of a fictionalized ‘Ministry of Police’, as pointed out in Eldridge, *Hollywood’s History Films*, 93.


105 Ibid, 86; CP, PP174, ‘Hollywood e os homens sem bigodes’, *Plateia*, November 15, 1952; PR7570, ‘Monumental apresenta…’; ‘O Milagre de Fátima’, *Diário Popular*, March 21, 1953. Only a Portuguese Associate Professor of History at the Catholic University of America, writing directly to the MPAA, added to the list of inaccuracies the fact that the First Republic ‘was not communist’ (AMPAS, PCA records, Letter from Manoel Cardozo [no date]).

106 TT, SNI, Cx.1789, Dispatch from Fernando Paiva, March 28, 1953.
107 CP, PP153, *Colecção Cinema*, 3-9 (1953). Film novelizations were quite common, although the only other Portugal-set US production to receive this treatment was *Lisbon* (CP, PP151/360, *Cine Romance*, January 22, 1957).


109 CP, ‘O Milagre de Fátima’, *Diário Popular*, March 21, 1953. The article was probably referring to the then-recent *La señora de Fátima* (Rafael Gil, Aspa Films; Spain, 1951). By contrast, a superficial piece in the magazine *O Século Ilustrado* claimed the film had been triumphantly received. – ‘Fátima no Cinema’, *O Século Ilustrado*, March 28, 1953.

110 AMPAS, General Collection, ‘Blue Ribbon Award for October to “The Miracle of Fatima”’, *Boxoffice*, November 15, 1952.