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Anarchism, colonialism and the question of “race” in Portugal (c.1890-1930)

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ABSTRACT

This article explores, through a close reading of newspapers and publications connected to the Portuguese libertarian movement, anarchist discourses and practices around understandings of “race” in Portugal in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A contribution is made both to studies of Lusophone anarchism as well as broader labour movement history where analyses of the interconnections between race and colonialism have been sparse. Portuguese anarchist understandings of race are placed within the context of broader ideas on internationalism within the anarchist movement, contemporary theories of the inheritance of racial characteristics and contestations against notions of nationhood and nationalism. The specific context of Portuguese colonialism and the development of anthropology in the country form the backdrop against which anarchist ideas are analysed. The article argues that while anarchism disrupted certain tropes within racial and colonialist discourse, it also reinforced some cultural categories and rigidified understandings of race, culture and social development.

KEYWORDS

Anarchism; race; Portugal; colonialism

Introduction

In early January 1922 a contributor wrote indignantly in *O Emancipador*, the Lourenço Marques-based workers’ newspaper, complaining about negative attitudes towards those who shook hands with or drank in the company of people of a different race. The correspondent argued that anyone who was against borders, who believed that the world was one, should espouse no “race hatred” (Atlover 1922). The primary obligation of the workers’ movement, the writer reminded readers, was to combat the bourgeoisie. In all races, the author continued, there existed people who were exploited just as there were those who were exploiters, thereby arguing that it was class and not race that should be the overriding factor driving social struggles. While not unanimous, most labour movements, at least in their public dealings, aspired to such values.

From its foundation in 1919 up to the mid-1920s, when it turned to a more nationalistic position coupled with a reformist socialist outlook, the Mozambican paper *O Emancipador* moved steadily towards a libertarian stance. As part of this rapprochement, on 14 November 1921 the organizing committee of the Lourenço Marques General Union,

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the union supported by *O Emancipador*, recommended affiliation to the predominantly anarcho-syndicalist organization, the Confederação Geral do Trabalho (General Confederation of Labour or CGT), based in Portugal. This motion was discussed at an assembly of the General Union a day later (A Comissão Administrativa 1921). Here, it was agreed that the union should move towards seeking affiliation with the Portuguese CGT (Anon 1921). The workers present at the meeting retained the prerogative, however, not to endorse necessarily the tactics of revolutionary syndicalism or anarchism and wished to maintain the ability to tailor their approach to the demands of the specific local situation. By mid-January 1922, as a result of this decision, *O Emancipador* appeared with the CGT's logo emblazoned on its masthead (Anon 1922b).¹ The discussion of racial politics in *O Emancipador* with which this article opens and the affiliation of the Lourenço Marques General Union to an anarcho-syndicalist organization in Portugal are factors that invite questions about the issue of race and its ramifications within the international and, specifically, Portuguese-speaking anarchist and anarchist-oriented labour movement.² What were the imbrications between the radical politics and tactics of anarchism and syndicalism in Lusophone contexts and the reception of ideas about "race" and racial inequality?³ How did the existence of the Portuguese overseas colonies inform debates on the question of "race" within anarchism and within sectors of the workers' press that were sympathetic to anarchism? What did these discussions signify for the contested meanings of "race" in Portugal at the time and what insights can be gained from the analysis of "race" within labour movements for broader understandings of the phenomenon? This article, by focusing primarily on the libertarian press based in Portugal between 1890 and 1930 seeks to answer these questions. In doing so, it makes a new contribution to studies on the Portuguese anarchist movement and, more broadly, to the reception of racial politics within the global left. Although not its principal objective, it also explores the connections between anarchist organization and opposition to colonialism while remaining centred on discourse around race as its main emphasis.

As a more global approach to labour movements becomes consolidated, with emphasis on transnational phenomena such as anti-fascism and understandings of practices of solidarity (Featherstone 2012; Braskén, Copsey, and Featherstone 2021), current historiography has nevertheless been slow to interrogate the question of "race" within the organized left. In histories of anarchism where such questions have come to the fore, attention has been largely focused on anarchist responses to colonial relations and the ways in which, either in the metropole, or within territories colonized by Europeans, anarchists addressed the issue of how to organize different sectors of workers or how they tackled racial divides in labour movements as an impediment to effective organization (Evren 2014; Hirsch and van der Walt 2010). There is, in the words of one author, therefore, still much to be done in order to "decolonize" studies of anarchism (Ramnath 2011; cf. Ferretti 2017). Some recent studies, for example on anarchist influences in the workers' movement in Egypt (Gorman 2010), have borne fruit. In addition to their analysis of the workings of capitalism, class and the state, there were two intersecting scenarios that pushed anarchists into considering such questions. One was the aforementioned practice of colonialism, in which emigrant, deported or exiled workers from the metropole found themselves in an unequitable economic environment characterised by colonial relations and racial division. This situation provides a further illustration of how colonial relations were foundational for making connections and changes in perception between

race, bodies, gender and sexuality, not only within colonized spaces but also within the metropole (Stoler 1995). Indeed, practices involving questions of “race” in colonized spaces often formed the substrate of ideas on racial difference in the colonial “centre.”⁴ Within this context, the struggle to unite workers and to counter the prevailing dynamics of colonialism constituted often, although not always, a driving force behind anarchist interventions. In some cases, however, the privileges of white workers were adamantly defended.⁵

The other factor was the permeation of a set of ideas largely from nineteenth-century theorists on understandings of the biology of human races and cultural difference, often presented as “racial differences.” These ideas became prominent as “scientific” studies of races emerged, often on the back of colonial perceptions and dynamics, and when physical anthropology reached the beginning of its period of maximum influence in the years between the end of the nineteenth century and first quarter of the twentieth century. They reflected an understanding of human development and progress and the threats to both. The threats, in turn, were seen to respond to two interrelated phenomena. These were, on the one hand, an inquiry into the mechanisms of inheritance and species change driving animal and plant evolution. On the other hand, and at the heart of the evolutionary debate, was an assessment of the role of the environment and biological factors in configuring human traits and, therefore, racial characteristics (Kohn 1995; Turda and Quine 2018). The reception of such ideas within anarchism during this period took place, furthermore, within the context of a general willingness on the part of its advocates to engage with the emerging disciplines of sociology, the arts and different branches of science (Levy and Newman 2019). These expressions of knowledge were often viewed as potentially transformative of society and as emancipatory forces to be arraigned against the “anti-rational” concepts harboured by religions and, especially in the Portuguese context, the Catholic Church. Knowledge, however, was often reified and taken as objective and neutral, and seen by anarchists as a straightforwardly positive force against ignorance. Discussions of such ideas were often selective and served to reinforce anarchist positions on inequality, exploitation and hierarchical relations. While anarchists weighed into debates on evolution and the mechanisms of heredity, they were careful to point out what they saw as the complicity of certain theories with the status quo.⁶ One set of thoughts, however, which anarchists opposed vehemently included readings of evolution that endorsed the status quo or which attempted to prove “scientifically” that society was a reflection of a layered biological order. This interpretation would place those most privileged at the top and the working classes at the bottom of the socio-economic order. Such theories, drawing on Darwin’s own formulation, the “struggle for existence,” which was famously reinterpreted by Huxley and which eventually became labelled as “Social Darwinist,” argued that the poor and disadvantaged were in such position because of their own moral or biological failings. The idea that the “less fit,” often located within the working classes, would be eliminated as part of society’s on-going process of selection, caused maximum repudiation on the part of anarchists and led to the development of counter-theories of evolution in tune with the doctrine of mutual aid first espoused in anarchist form by Piotr Kropotkin.

Most anarchists, within this intellectual context, in respect of questions of “race,” argued that the “human race” was a single entity, united in its humanity. Although differences were acknowledged between human types and different “races” were

frequently referred to, these were generally not viewed through a hierarchical lens whereby one race was deemed superior to another, but instead such a notion approximated current understandings of different “ethnicities.” Such a comprehensive view did not, however, impede the circulation of ideas on the supposed “primitive” aspects of some cultures or races or, as we will see, the supposed degenerative or corrupted qualities of some, especially Jewish people. Notions of primitiveness were in turn viewed through a dual lens. On the one hand, some anarchists believed that many races had remained undeveloped, but this was seen more as a result of a developmental process subject to environmental or contextual dynamics rather than anything inherently biological. On the other hand, like many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European philosophers and anthropologists, some anarchists believed that primitive peoples were somehow more in tune with nature, were less artificial and truer to the original human type than those that inhabited the industrialized, “over-civilized” West. They were therefore awarded some kind of “natural” superiority, whether biological or cultural, with respect to the “decadent” peoples of European civilization. Indeed, understandings of theories of decline and degeneration within European culture and within anarchism permitted an interpretation whereby industrialized nations were understood to be slipping back to previous incarnations of humanity caught in brutish, impoverished and violent relationships. While “bourgeois” commentators believed that such a reversal was a result of the loss of traditions, hierarchies and decaying structures of administration, anarchists argued that it was capitalism and hierarchical relations that brutalised humanity and returned it to an atavistic past.

The scientific reception of theories of evolution and inheritance in Portuguese anarchism

In his recent book on Peter Kropotkin’s theories of evolution and inheritance, Richard Morgan has shown how not only were these a set of ideas embedded in nineteenth-century thought, but also that they are relevant to today’s world of genomics and continued discussions on the relative importance of heredity versus environment (Morgan 2020). A focus on the national and international dissemination of Kropotkin’s ideas, especially his core notion of mutual aid as a factor in evolution, helps to illustrate anarchist understandings of race and racial difference too. For many anarchists, Kropotkin’s and others’ ideas on human development formed part of a broader exploration of the status of evolution as a scientific theory, often presented as a “rational” doctrine in contrast to the “superstitions” of religion.

For those broaching questions of evolution and heredity in the Portuguese anarchist movement, it was the thought of authors such as Kropotkin, Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, Jacques Novicow and Herbert Spencer who predominated in the interrelated discussions of inheritance and the role of the environment in social and biological change. As in the scientific cultures of many southern European countries and those of Latin America, Darwin’s presence in Portugal was secondary, at least for a while, to authors such as these (Pereira 2001). Most anarchists accepted the general theory of evolution whereby humans comprised a unity or single species as part of the animal kingdom, but whose characteristics altered in accordance with a changing relationship between heredity and environment. This meant that discussions current in anthropology and evolutionary

science on the origins of humanity in respect of a single origin point (so-called monogenism) or multiple origins (polygenism) never became an issue for Portuguese anarchism (Gould 1997; Turda and Quine 2018, 39–40). From the first moment, therefore, when anarchists addressed the need to combat “race hatred” there was no controversy as to whether all types of human beings in reality formed part of the same species or whether humanity was made up of several different races (Anon 1887).⁷ Without dismissing the notion that there existed different racial groups or peoples with different traits, Portuguese anarchists understood that these differences arose from a long evolutionary process driven by external and internal factors and their influence on humanity’s development.

If anarchists believed that differences between racial groups or types of humans were produced principally by the environment in which people lived and developed, it was logical that they would concede that there was an interaction between inherited biological characteristics and the influence of the environment to alter individuals of a species during their lives, and, the species as a whole in future generations. Such ideas drew on notions of the pliability and perfectibility of humankind, but in anarchist thought these accounts of human and animal development also highlighted tensions precisely between what formed the bedrock of life and what could be altered in respect of human nature (Morland 1997; Cleminson 2019a). What could be inherited and what was not became a focus of an on-going and largely unresolved debate both in the sciences in general as well as in anarchism. It must be recalled that the exact mechanisms of inheritance were far from being clear during this period. It was only when August Weismann posited his “germ plasm” theory of inheritance that a verifiable process was identified. For many scientists, Weismann’s work confirmed that the mechanism of heredity was located in the gonads (the testes and ovaries) rather than in somatic cells, thus discounting the bodily inheritance of traits through Lamarckian accretive or environmental processes. Weismann’s theory of the germ plasm, nevertheless, was only finalised in 1892 and, as with many other theories, it took time to percolate intellectual domains and gain acceptance in the international scientific community. In fact, in many quarters, including Portugal, older theories such as Lamarckism remained strong and there was long-standing adherence to understandings of environmental transmission of traits that continued to dominate or, in what may now appear as a somewhat unlikely combination, managed to co-exist with theories of germ cell inheritance. Even Weismann himself acknowledged that some environmental transmission was possible (Winther 2001). This led to a variety of discussions within anarchism as to the possibility of inheriting damage resulting from syphilis infection or alcoholism in the parents through to the positive effects of a “natural” diet and the absorption of the sun’s rays for future offspring.

In the Portuguese case, a cluster of writers involved in some way with anarchism at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century began to explore the workings of heredity, often through the lens of notions of acquired inheritance, whether their intellectual originator was referred to explicitly or not, and within the framework of concepts of degeneration, a phenomenon, as Daniel Pick has argued, which permeated social thought during the period (Pick 1989). Four individuals who addressed these debates are highlighted for their influence in the movement and the extensiveness of their writings on these subjects. The first is the Portuguese anarchist, Silva Mendes. In his *Socialismo libertario ou Anarchismo*, first published in 1896, Mendes argued that the

environment was the principal factor in shaping human beings (Mendes 1896). Mendes drew explicitly not on the work of his fellow Russian Peter Kropotkin or the French zoologist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck to argue such a point, and least of all Darwin, but on the work of Jean Guyau, Elisée Reclus and Herbert Spencer in addition to the theories of the French-Russian, Jacques Novicow. Novicow, in the words of Harry Elmer Barnes, writing in the *Journal of International Relations* in 1921, “was the first avowed sociologist to devote his life and system of sociology to a refutation of the doctrine that an unmitigated physical struggle for existence” constituted “the chief factor in the social process and the mainspring of human progress” (Barnes 1921, 238). Novicow argued that social justice, collaboration between nations and intellectual rather than physical struggle between peoples were the motors driving civilization. In his first book, *Les Luttres entre sociétés humaines et leurs phases successives*, first published in 1893, Novicow conceded that struggles and alliances had characterized human history and were necessary, but they constituted a “progressive series in which the intellectual struggles are the highest type” and it was these that were becoming increasingly predominant (Barnes 1921, 240). Such thought coincided with some aspects of Spencer’s cyclical and progressive theory whereby the good would come to the fore and the deleterious would be slowly eliminated. Following on from such ideas, and no doubt coupled to Novicow’s conception of a minimal role for the state, to be confined to the prevention of violence (Barnes 1921, 258–259),⁸ Silva Mendes remarked that the “best” human types were those that most successfully adapted to a changing environment (Mendes 1896, 204). In turn, the best environment was to be provided by “libertarian socialism.”

A similar stance was taken by our second figure, the medical doctor Ângelo Vaz who wrote his university dissertation on the doctrine of population control and neo-Malthusianism, published in Porto in 1902 (Vaz 1902). Here, as well as rejecting Malthus’ formula on population as an interpretation that resulted from unequal social arrangements rather than from nature (Pereira 2001, 453), like Novicow, he staunchly opposed the Darwinian motif of the struggle for existence between individuals and races (Pereira 2001, 436).⁹ Thirdly, we mention the journalist and anti-clerical agitator, Heliodoro Salgado, an anarchist who espoused a more gradualist and reformist position within the Portuguese context, and who can be identified as the exception that confirms the rule.¹⁰ At the turn of the century, when the precise relationship between anarchism and evolutionism was being set and when the debate informed practically all sectors of the movement, Salgado, as part of a “Curso Livre de Philosophia Social” imparted in 1902, defended the idea that “a origem poligenista do homem parece [...] comprovada” (the polygenic origin of man [...] appears to be proven) (Salgado 1902c). In order to reinforce his thesis, he argued in the journal *A Obra* that the Pygmies were a “raça degenerada física e moralmente, entre o orangotango e o homem” (physically and morally degenerate race, between the orangutan and man) (Salgado 1902a) and he cited Schopenhauer who attributed “ao chimpanzé a paternidade da raça preta e ao orangotango a da raça amarela” (the paternity of the black race to the chimpanzee and that of the yellow race to the orangutan) (Salgado 1902b). The position adopted by Salgado, however, found little resonance among Portuguese libertarians. Within the movement’s more revolutionary sectors, the evolutionary ideas of Salgado were repudiated as an “ilusão” (illusion) and as reformist on the basis that they were incompatible with the principles of evolution and natural selection.¹¹ Even among those who shared Salgado’s more reformist ideological

perspective, as was the case of the worker José de Jesus Gabriel, a common racial heritage was accepted as a fact and any notion of racial “purity” or innate racial qualities was rejected. Indeed, not only was the idea of racial incompatibility rejected on the “caminho da perfectibilidade [das raças]” (road towards the perfectibility [of the races]), Gabriel recognised that such perfection would arise precisely as a result of the crossing of “races” within the framework of social evolution (Gabriel 1905).

As Ana Leonor Pereira has argued, however, among the most significant early interventions in respect of debates on the mechanisms of inheritance came some years later in the form of the 1910 book by our fourth figure, the anarchist Campos Lima (Pereira 2001, 436–476; Lima 1910).¹² The first part of his work, an analysis of the thought of Malthus and Darwin and criminological theories, was followed by an overview of the state of the workers’ movement in Portugal. A strong environmentalist thesis on the criminogenic and unhealthy nature of capitalist society was advanced in both sections. Explanations based on biologically rooted behaviours were rejected as the causes of degeneration, which were identified as poor education, bad nutrition and the poor quality of intellectual and moral life. These factors all contributed to the deviation of the natural evolution of the organism, resulting in its weakening (Lima 1910, 18). Lima wrote in a paean to the positive influence of the environment: “Transforme-se esse meio, deem-se a todos as condições indispensaveis de existencia e não haja receio de que a lei biologica falhe: a degenerescencia attenuar-se-ha e, subsistindo ainda algum tempo pelos residuos que a hereditariedade transmitta, acabará por desaparecer” (Let the environment be transformed, let all be given the necessary means of existence and, fear not, the biological law will falter: degeneration will be limited and, even though it will subsist some time afterwards because of the residues that heredity transmits, it will eventually disappear) (Lima 1910, 19).

National decadence, racial mixing and the colonial question

The above-mentioned thesis articulated by Gabriel also touched on another issue that fired the imagination of some literary and intellectual figures at the end of the nineteenth century: the causes of national decline. In this debate, Portugal’s supposed glorious past, marked by the historic maritime explorations of the Atlantic and seas beyond, which facilitated the “discovery” of new worlds, sat uncomfortably with a geopolitical present characterised by economic, political and social instability. The British Ultimatum of 1890, which demanded the withdrawal of the Portuguese presence from those territories between the colonies of Angola and Mozambique, was received as a national humiliation that placed in jeopardy the continuation of the “Portuguese Empire.” Criticism of the monarchy emerged as part of a movement in favour of a nationalist revival with the republicans at the forefront. In this context, the nature and composition of the “Portuguese race” came to occupy an important place in discourses that sought to explain the reasons behind national decadence, both in terms of the administration of the country and also in respect of the future of the colonial possessions.

The idea of *national* decadence did not receive a favourable reception among Portuguese anarchists for the obvious reason of their explicit anti-nationalism. This position was seen, for example, in their rejection of any celebration of the so-called “Festa da Raça” promoted by the republican regime. Turning the tables, on this occasion,

on nationalistic or conservative understandings of degeneration, *A Batalha* qualified such a festival as nothing less than a degenerative spectacle and argued that the designation of “race” in the Portuguese case was “um nome pomposo que serve para designar um bando de ladrões e um grupo de tarados” (a pompous title that only serves to identify a bunch of thieves and a set of tainted individuals) (Anon 1924b). This anonymous piece of June 1924 identified those in power as degenerates, in tune with interpretations voiced by other anarchists including Kropotkin, discussed above, but went on to posit the process behind the overseas discoveries as the origin of racial degeneration. The implications of this statement are not entirely clear, but it would appear that, contrary to writers such as Campos Lima and others cited above, the writer disapproved of the racial mixing of the past brought about by the “discoveries.” What was required in order to redeem the situation was a “sangria purificadora duma Grande Revolução!” (purifying blood-letting of a Great Revolution!). This double-edged or at least ambivalent interpretation was present also in the *A Batalha* literary supplement. The same month, a similar but rather more elaborate argument was advanced on the “Festa da Raça.” In this anonymous piece, the reality of a Portuguese race with an identifiable temperament was rejected, a position that would seem to endorse a progressive or at least anti-essentialist understanding. Such an approach did not, however, impede mention of other supposed qualities brought by the various races that made up contemporary Portugal. The following passage would appear to confirm opposition to the racial mixing of the past as a fount of moral and perhaps biological decadence:

Todos os vícios próprios destes tipos [que passaram pela Península Ibérica] se encontram aqui, fermentando e vicejando. É por isso que vemos pujarem simultaneamente o vício celta da embriaguês e o semita da prostituição, a pederastia dos gregos e a chatinagem dos judeus, a corrupção administrativa dos romanos e os ciúmes bestiais dos moiros, o sanguinario autoritarismo dos godos e a subserviência vilíssima dos escravos negros (All the vices present in these types [of people who passed through the Iberian Peninsula] are to be found here, fermenting and becoming ever more vicious. It is for this reason that we see the Celtic vice of drunkenness, the Semitic vice of prostitution, the pederasty of the Greeks and the money dealing of the Jews, the administrative corruption of the Romans, the bestial jealousies of the Moors, the bloody authoritarianism of the Goths and the vile subservience of enslaved Blacks raise their heads) (Anon 1924a).

While on the one hand the author rejected notions of a unified Portuguese race associated with an “aglomerado populacional, considerado no tempo e no espaço” (populational grouping, set in time and space),¹³ where “race” was understood as an “palavra descabida no seu sentido generico, por as diferenciações etnicas gerarem tipos, sucessiva e constantemente alterados por cruzamentos e mudanças de ‘habitat’” (inapplicable term in its generic sense, as ethnic differences generate types that are successively and constantly altered by different crossings and changes in habitat) (Anon 1924a, 1), on the other hand this very plasticity permitted an interpretation that was highly judgemental in respect of certain particular supposed “racial” qualities and the consequences of “racial mixing.” The mechanisms whereby these characteristics would be altered and incorporated into a population operated principally at the level of the environment and culture, in tune with the libertarian adherence to models of acquired inheritance, but the mixtures performed in Iberia had given rise to “degenerescencias e decadentes hibridismos” (degeneration and decadent hybridism) (Anon 1924a, 1). This anti-Semitic and anti-

Arab trope was combined with deeply conservative views on the moral “decadence” of the Romans and Greeks,¹⁴ the influences of whom were the subject of lively debate in some nationalist discourse and some anthropological and historical accounts about the origins of Portugal and the Portuguese people and culture, such as the narratives developed by Oliveira Martins, Teófilo Braga and A.A. Mendes Corrêa. From a scientific anthropological perspective, Corrêa praised the Romans for their administrative skills (Corrêa 1919, 118), although he declared that the science to determine whether Ancient Greek blood was present in Ílhavo (Aveiro) had not yet been undertaken (Corrêa 1919, 133). Corrêa also declared the presence of “Gypsies” in small cattle farming, circuses and metal work; they also had a propensity to steal in the author’s view (Corrêa 1919, 136). The migration of Africans, Asians and Indians, on the other hand, was deemed to be negligible, having left “no important traces” (Corrêa 1919, 136) due their dilution in “the total mass of native blood” (Corrêa 1919, 136). Other thinkers, such as the republican philologist and historian Teófilo Braga, viewed “Semitic” influences, meaning Jewish and Arab populations, as the source of political equality, tolerance and industrial activity (Sobral 2004, 259–262). The historian Oliveira Martins placed more emphasis on the role of Euro-Indian “Aryans” and Celts on the formation of the Portuguese, although the “Semitic” races contributed to the overall racial Iberian “genius” (Sobral 2004, 258).

While these examples show that, in *A Batalha* at least, discourse on race was ambiguous, a more coherent position was achieved when discussing nationalism and nationalistic interpretations of important events. On the occasion of the trans-Atlantic air crossing by the aviators Gago Coutinho and Sacadura Cabral, for example, any appropriation of the achievement by nationalist sentiment was dismissed as “egoística e mesquinha” (egotistical and miserly) and as an attempt to turn the act into a “feito patriótico” (patriotic stunt) (Anon 1922a). Coutinho and Cabral were celebrated instead as “cidadãos do mundo” (citizens of the world) and not as “cidadãos portugueses” (Portuguese citizens). Their heroic journey confirmed the science behind their gesture as “cosmopolita, mundial, universal” (cosmopolitan, universal and of the whole world) (Correia 1922) in its contribution to the progress of humanity, to the “união dos povos” (unity of peoples) and even to the “abolição das fronteiras” (abolition of borders) (Anon 1922c). One writer, Cristiano Lima, railed against any patriotic interpretation that sought to appropriate the feat for a nationalist cause and affirmed that “os anarquistas têm o mundo por pátria e condenam as pátrias que reduzem o mundo a ruínas e dividem os homens semeando entre eles o ódio” (the anarchists’ country is the world and they condemn those countries that reduce the world to ruin and divide men by sowing hatred among them) (Lima 1922). He would not, therefore, be attending the “manifestações de regozijo por nelas se ter imiscuído o sentimento patriótico” (celebrations of joy for in them the patriotic sentiment has taken hold) (Lima 1922).

Race and regeneration

The above ideas on inheritance, degeneration and the transmissibility of human traits had a profound effect on understandings of “race” and racial difference, both outside and within anarchist circles. Although most anarchists, following influential thinkers such as Campos Lima, accepted that the term “race” was synonymous with the species or humanity, when the “purification” or “regeneration” of the race was discussed, this led

to certain concessions on the biological worth of individuals within society. Views were not split along a divide between supposed different races, but fractures within society and among different kinds of individuals that made up the “race.” In this way, individuals that provided evidence through their biological or moral “degeneracy” of their atavism or hereditary pathology in many respects found their place in divisions made between superior and inferior races across the world. As the Spanish anarchist medical doctor, Isaac Puente observed, a sick, weakened, impoverished “race of the poor” could be contrasted to a population that was optimal, strong and healthy (Puente 1929).

Within these qualitative judgements, nevertheless, as we have seen, it was the influence of the environment that usually trumped the power of hereditarian explanations for human traits. Furthermore, poor heredity was only seen as an issue if it was perceived somehow as an impediment in the process of adaptation to the environment,¹⁵ however purified this would be after a libertarian revolution. In this sense, the “regeneration of the race” meant, above all, the desire to counter the process of gradual decadence that the social and cultural conditions of the past and present reinforced. Individual and collective existence, in accordance with notions of balance, equilibrium and the “laws of nature,” could be tailored to the creation of the “new man” as part of the anarchist project. While other programmes of racial hygiene, for example, especially at state level, also sought to divide humans into different levels of “quality,” the anarchist case corresponded to a reversal of such logics and opposition to state racism, which aimed for the purification of society through the elimination of its inferior others and those that disrupted its authoritarian medical and social vision. On the one hand, it was recognised that because of the living and working conditions of the working classes there was a tendency towards degeneration. On the other hand, there was the capacity, guided by libertarian politics, to reverse that degenerative process and to transform individual and collective experience. The elites were considered to be the principal source for the reproduction of insalubrious behaviours, habits and the very inequalities that characterized capitalist society and contributed to moral and physical degeneration. As figures such as Kropotkin argued at the Eugenics Congress in London, it would be the destiny of the elites to be eliminated as unproductive and degenerate, making way for healthy workers and peasants on the road to full emancipation (Kropotkin 1912). Such a desire for racial regeneration or human perfectibility, however, did not contain the aspiration for global supremacy but rather the “integral” emancipation of humanity. The regenerative project was therefore deeply imbued with the acknowledgement of the class struggle and sought the abolition of hierarchies and the conditions that upheld them. In accordance with the evolutionary theories proposed by libertarians such as Campos Lima, in favour of the transformation of environmental conditions, it was “biological law” that would undertake the labour of eliminating the undesirable traits without the need of coercion; instances of degeneration would eventually fade away naturally. When “os resíduos que a hereditariedade transmite” (the residues that inheritance transmits) were eliminated, degeneration would disappear entirely.

“Race” in relation to the Portuguese colonies

The example cited at the beginning of this article taken from the newspaper based in Lourenço Marques, *O Emancipador*, shows opposition to racial prejudice, but also

suggests how widespread racial discrimination was in the Portuguese colonies. Recent research has showed how issues of race and colonialism were raised by sectors of the organized syndicalist workforce in Portugal in the 1920s, particularly in the daily *A Batalha*, and this final section of this article explores this dynamic further by drawing on this journal and some other printed sources.

The reception of ideas on race depended in part on the particular context in which they arose. In the Portuguese colonies situated in India (Goa, Damão and Diu), opposition to colonialism was most prominent in elite intellectual circles, comprising individuals who had been educated in the metropole or even in England and had become influenced by independence movements in British India. In these cases, the historic nature of colonized Indian cultures served to relativize the argument about the “civilizational” role of the Portuguese and the alleged inferiority of colonized peoples. Furthermore, Indian nationalists or those in favour of independence, were often the first to posit essentialized racialized or ethno-psychological traits within the local population in order to bolster their justification for independence. When faced with comments such as those uttered by the Portuguese writer Jaime Cortesão, who argued that in Portuguese India there was “nada que se pareça com o problema inglês” (nothing that was akin to the English problem) or even any “barreira intransponível de raça entre a Índia e a Metrópole” (insurmountable racial barrier between India and the metropole) (Costa 1926b), the Goan-born Fernando da Costa made known his contempt for such words in the supplement of *A Batalha* and pointed to the discrimination suffered by Indians in the metropole.¹⁶ Rather than affirming equality between the “dois povos” (two peoples), however, he emphasized differences as a means of reinforcing the claim for the independence of Portuguese India:

Somos povos antropológicamente diferentes [...]. Enquanto os portugueses deixam-se guiar pelo sentimento, sendo a sua qualidade característica a audácia, os índios [sic], em todas as manifestações são dominados pela fria e penetrante lógica, e são essencialmente prudentes (We are two peoples that are anthropologically different [...] While the Portuguese allow themselves to be led by sentiment and their characteristic qualities include audacity, Indians, in all their forms, are dominated by cold unswerving logic, and are essentially prudent) (Costa 1926b).

For Fernando da Costa, as for other proponents of self-determination of the Indian colonies, India was the “berço da mais antiga e da mais notável civilização” (cradle of the oldest and most notable civilization) (Costa 1926a), a notion that cast the colonial powers as destroyers rather than the upholders of civilization and civilizations. It would seem that anarchists recognized this civilizational status for India, and it was perhaps for this reason that some anarchists viewed Indian nationalism with a degree of sympathy and as a legitimate response in the struggle for self-determination. Eduardo Frias, for example, in an article about the Indian humanist and nationalist Rabindranath Tagore, recognized the singularity of Indian culture and understood the patriotism of the Indian revolutionary as “a expressão justa de uma afirmação de personalidade, baseado numa afinidade ideológica e nunca demarcado pelos interesses materiais. É o conceito anarquista da cooperação de todo o mundo com base na formação dos grupos” (the just expression of the affirmation of personality, based on ideological affinity and never shot through with material interest. It consists of the anarchist concept of cooperation between all on the basis of the formation of groups) (Frias 1926). Tagore harboured

a range of different ideas but tended to favour the dissolution of nationhood in favour of cosmopolitan mutual aid between peoples, another factor that would have tended to dispose him positively to anarchism (Tagore [1917] 2010).

It should be pointed out, nevertheless, that such an expression of sympathy did not find a home when it came to a consideration of the African colonies. The broader reception of ideas about Indian independence permitted greater support for the Indian cause and for the lack of critique – surprising in anarchism – of the nationalism and the statism of some nationalist Indian sectors. In part, such support arose in contradistinction to views on African peoples where a more ambivalent view persisted. Here, explicitly or implicitly, it was recognized that these peoples needed to be “civilized” as they occupied a lower place on the evolutionary and cultural scale. In other words, the underdevelopment in which Africans lived, in part due to the effects of Portuguese colonialism, meant that they needed to be guided along the difficult road of education to bring them to the equivalent standards of twentieth-century European expectations.

Intellectual concerns, however, were one dimension of this debate, but the lived experience of many anarchists in colonial settings, especially in the African colonies, provided a different vision. Mário Castelhana, the CGT leader and iconic figure of the Portuguese libertarian movement, was among the many anarchists deported to Angola by the military dictatorship that preceded *Estado Novo*. Unlike many, he left an account of this experience under the title *Quatro Anos de Deportação*, a book that was published posthumously in 1975 (Castelhana 1975).¹⁷ Written originally as a manuscript in 1931, approximately half of this account is dedicated to what Castelhana himself termed the “análise directa à vida da raça negra” (direct analysis of the life of the black race) (Castelhana 1975, 37).¹⁸ In this section of the book, he examined in detail the customs and the moral and material conditions of the African population in Angola and the consequences of the colonial condition that prevailed there. This document is unique in respect of the detailed perspective offered by a leader of the CGT and Portuguese anarchist movement on questions of race and colonialism. The perspective offered by Castelhana, taking into account the above large variety of texts published on colonialism and “race” discussed above, may be considered the most representative position within the Portuguese libertarian movement in contrast to, for example, the explicit anticolonialism of contemporaneous figures such as Mário Domingues (Cleminson 2019b). Although the general principles of the anarchist doctrine appear clear in Castelhana’s writing, *Quatro Anos de Deportação* also casts light on certain ambiguities which result from the dialogue between knowledge and beliefs that made up the anarchist worldview at the time, notably those arising from an engagement with anthropology and the sciences of evolution.

The analysis offered by Castelhana is characterized by a critical perspective on the history of Portuguese colonialism, which he argues resulted in the “estado de atraso” (state of backwardness) in which “sistematicamente [se tem] mantido [...] a raça negra” (the black race [...] has been systematically maintained). He describes this history as comprised “de lutas, de conquistas, de suborno e de submissão” (struggles, conquests, economic pressures and submission) (Castelhana 1975, 91) and he declares the much vaunted Portuguese “missão civilizadora” (civilizing mission) as a “fingimento” (deceit) (Castelhana 1975, 104), as a means to ensure exploitation and dehumanization, the principal objective of which is “colocá-los [os africanos] numa situação de nítida

inferioridade” (to place [Africans] in a situation of marked inferiority) (Castelhano 1975, 120). In harmony with the libertarian principles that guided him, the clear motivation behind Castelhano’s work was to “contrariar todos os desejos de predomínio, partam eles donde partir [sic] e atinjam quem atingir [sic]” (undermine all aspirations towards dominance, wherever they come from and whomsoever they affect) (Castelhano 1975, 90). Such an objective was elaborated upon in a longer explanation that read as follows:

Nós, os avançados, analisamos a questão sob aspectos diversos e não queremos nem a dependência da raça preta, nem que uma educação atrofiada seja inoculada, de maneira a amanhã se verificar os mesmos princípios de egoísmo nacionalista que caracteriza a mentalidade burguesa – oligárquica de cada nação – mas sim que as raças se irmanem no mesmo desejo de aperfeiçoamento e bem-estar a que têm igual direito, abolindo o ódio que entre si se estabeleceu e todos os princípios que tendem à desagregação dos povos, cada vez com mais necessidade de conjugarem energias e comungarem numa solidariedade que só uma fraternal amizade poderá vincar [...]. (We, the advanced peoples, analyse the issue from different perspectives and we want neither the dependency of the black race, nor that the lack of education remain unaddressed, in case tomorrow the same kind of nationalistic egotism that characterizes the bourgeoisie, or each nation’s oligarchy, emerges again. What we want is that all races unite as brothers in the same desire for perfection and well-being to which they have an equal right. Hatred that has arisen between them would then be cast out alongside all those principles that divide peoples, and, there would grow a greater need for combining energies and producing solidarity that only fraternal friendship can create [...]) (Castelhano 1975, 90).

For Castelhano, the “scientific” theses that argued in favour of the inferiority of the black race were completely without merit as was proven, on the one hand, by the example of “milhares de pretos num estado de cultura insofismável” (thousands of black people in a patently [lamentable] state of culture), that is, these people were maintained in a state of ignorance by colonial interests. As culture improved, “à medida que um cérebro se vai desenvolvendo, as feições vão modificando-se” (as the brain develops, facial features alter), thereby “dando ao semblante uma expressão diferente da primitiva” (giving one’s appearance an expression different from the primitive). Furthermore, this was possible “em qualquer povo ou raça” (in any people or race) (Castelhano 1975, 102).

In this statement it is possible to detect a certain explicit affinity with the thesis of biological determinism common in the field of physical anthropology and certain bureaucratic sciences, notably bodily measurement and statistics, at the end of the nineteenth century (Madureira 2006). The peculiarity of Castelhano’s thought, however, lies in the residual influence conceded to hereditary factors and, in fact, a certain distance from exclusive biological determinism as cultural factors were deemed equally or more important in the evolutionary process. For him, the development of human types and alterations in their physiognomy could take place as an almost immediate accretion in light of changed environmental and educational contexts. As he added straight afterwards:

dê-se-lhes mais ilustração, proporcione-se-lhe a aquisição de conhecimentos mais vastos que movimentem o seu cérebro e faça-se-lhe depois o confronto à sua configuração anterior e verificar-se-á uma grande diferença, não apenas de maneiras, como no seu aspecto fisiológico cerebral e na parte do corpo especialmente onde os seus sentidos actuam ou estão instalados. O olhar, as contracções, a redução das saliências extraordinariamente pronunciadas na face quando em estado bruto, distinguem perfeitamente o preto de verdade civilizado, do preto semi-selvagem ou em absoluto estado de ignorância (give

them greater insights, provide them with the acquisition of broader thoughts that circulate in their heads, and bring them up against their former configuration and a big difference will be spotted, not only in their manners, but also in their cerebral physiology and in the part of the body where senses arise or where they emanate from in particular. The gaze, the gestures, the reduction of the salience of characteristics in the face in the primitive state, distinguish the black man who is truly civilized from he that is in a semi-savage state or in an absolute state of ignorance) (Castelhana 1975, 102–103).

Any differences, therefore, between races arose from the determining effect of the environment on the individual, in the same way that the effects of anarchist ideas on the individual would also change behaviours, and this natural environment was comprised of given and cultural elements, which in turn produced biological and moral consequences for humanity.¹⁹

As may be expected, for Castelhana, in order to transform this social environment “o principal ponto a atender é o da educação moral” (the principal aspect to attend to is that of moral education) (Castelhana 1975, 121) and it would be through this transformation that the colonial system itself would be revealed as false and its attempts to “civilize” unveiled. The trajectory of colonialism laid bare “um esforço que não é verdadeiro, sob o ponto de vista civilizador” (an undertaking that is not truthful, from the civilizing point of view) (Castelhana 1975, 104). His remedy for this was indeed a civilizational process, but a “true” one: “Civilizar! Mas civilizar de verdade” (To civilize, yes! But to civilize truly) (Castelhana 1975, 107). Through this process, bread and education would be provided for the indigenous population rather than the continuing “error” of punishments and castigation (Castelhana 1975, 119). Colonization and civilization would constitute, therefore, distinct endeavours, but in Castelhana’s view, European superiority (its greater “adiantamento,” in the writer’s words) would, however, remain uncontested. This ethnocentrism is evident in Castelhana’s use of the gradations between “civilizado” (civilized) and “semi-selvagem” (semi-savage) to describe peoples, and also in one of his proposals (in evident contradiction to the anti-coercive spirit of the anarchists), to introduce a programme which “pegasse na criança, a retirasse do convívio deletério da *libata*” (takes the child and removes him from the harmful environment of the *libata*), a space where the effects of the *batuques* “aviva[m] o estado semi-selvagem” (reinforce the semi-savage state” of the child (Castelhana 1975, 106–107),²⁰ and where the links between the indigenous and their families were to be limited in order to reduce the influence of the environment on the individual and place him or her “em contacto com a civilização dos meios mais desenvolvidos” (in contact with civilizations that possess greater means) (Castelhana 1975, 121).

In spite of the criticism levelled at colonialism and the “ódio entre raças” (racial hatred), Castelhana revealed himself as incapable of breaking with colonial mentality. The denial of agency on the part of Africans and the linearity with which he understood historical time and progress placed Africans in a state of underdevelopment and needing external intervention in order to “domesticate” their customs and align them with the historical course of civilization as understood by European culture. The respect with which libertarians viewed individuality and local cultures, to be lived by people in their own contexts and immune from universal political formulae, appeared only to apply to Europeans and not to African peoples.

Castelhana, although distancing himself from some of the colonial structures imposed by the Portuguese state, reinscribed a strong degree of ethnocentrism in his account in

respect of the evolution of humanity and coincided with the prevailing positivist explanations of human progress that many libertarians, philosophers and anthropologists shared at the time. In the process, we see that tensions emerge in the ideas on race and colonialism that anarchism harboured. In Castelhana's *Quatro Anos de Deportação*, which of course should be considered as a collection of reflections penned in adverse conditions, severe hardship and without access to scholarly materials, there persists an uneasy balance between a general amorphous anticolonial spirit and a somewhat embryonic acceptance of the need of a "civilizing mission" that was in tune with anarchist undertakings in preparation for the creation of the "new man" and revolutionary transformation that the libertarian movement advocated.

Concluding remarks

This article has shown explicit engagement by sectors of anarchism in Portugal on questions related to racial politics at the end of the nineteenth century and first three decades of the 1900s. While such questions were one among many others addressed by the libertarian movement, we have detected evidence of a consistent reception across time and across a number of publications from the early periodical *A Obra* (1891–1906), through to the daily *A Batalha* (1919–1927) and its literary supplement, through to personal accounts of deportation and exile.

Anarchists considered "race" and, given the specific imperial circumstances prevailing in Portugal at the time, colonialism, through three principal lens or axes of interpretation. These were: contemporary theories of evolution, the role of the environment in social and biological transformation, and discourses of civilization. Building on a base that was provided by a number of university educated supporters of the anarchist creed, such as Ângelo Vaz and Campos Lima, and connecting with a broad ideological stance that opposed human exploitation and favoured individual and collective agency against hierarchical structures, the movement's publications became infused with theories of evolution or "transformation" of species, as they were often called, and this interest allowed anarchists to trace a pathway through the complex set of influences provided by biology and environment in the make-up of human beings and society. Ultimately, although not devoid of positivist and teleological interpretations as to the progress of humanity, the environment was accorded the primary role in shaping races and in configuring the culture of particular human groups.

This teleology was most marked in understandings of development and, as Castelhana pointed out, in the need for the development of the "darker races" who would be brought culture and civilization by Europeans. The ability of black Africans to take on these "higher" characteristics was not placed in doubt, but neither was the guiding role of European culture in facilitating this development. In this process, while such an idea permitted a critique of colonialism as unjust and as a set of relations designed to maintain colonized peoples in underdevelopment, it also reinforced notions of cultural superiority and did little to engender agency on the part of Africans. Anarchists rarely managed to move beyond such limitations, caught as they were between positivism and interpretations of time and development that placed Europeans at the highest point.

The critique of civilization and civilizing rhetoric, however, was not absent in libertarian milieus. European "civilization" was critiqued precisely for its avariciousness and for its

racial hierarchies; the white man could also degenerate in tropical economic climates. Given anarchism's explicit concern to "regenerate" humanity, other modes of civilization were posited, which would eliminate physical and cultural decline, which, importantly, were deleterious characteristics not seen to be the property of one race and one race alone. In such a discussion, some stereotypical assertions were made: black African populations needed elevating, while the unjustly repressed and learned Indian civilization was held up as a model to exalt.

Anarchists did not therefore negate the concept of racial difference or indeed of the existence of races. They did, however, explain those differences as a result of "mesological" and cultural influences, susceptible to change and transformation. This "culturalist" interpretation of race undermined the notions held dear by contemporary physical anthropology in Portugal and anarchists, by refusing to endorse either nationhood or empire, effectively breached the divide between anthropology as a nation-building as opposed to an empire-building phenomenon. Anarchists rejected both and while they did not rescind the category of "race" went a long way in the process of de-essentializing "racial" characteristics within an anti-imperial, purportedly egalitarian discursive undertaking.

Notes

1. On the history of the labour movement in Lourenço Marques, see Capela (2009).
2. The fact that Mozambique was, of course, a Portuguese colony complicates the use of the term "international" and even the "transnational." For the Portuguese state, Mozambique was part of Portugal. Despite the internationalism of many Portuguese workers, they still participated in a colonial relationship. The employment of the term "translocal" may be more appropriate to avoid the colonialist implications of a focus on the national space. See Goyens (2009).
3. The use of the terms "Portuguese-speaking" and "Lusophone" must be problematized, as well as "race," as language became a tool of colonialism (but also resistance) in territories where several African languages coexisted.
4. Such a relation speaks to the debate in the history of Portuguese anthropology regarding the supposed split between what George Stocking Jr. defined as "nation-building" and "empire-building" forms of anthropology linked to the construction of national identity (Stocking 1988). Both João Leal and Patrícia Ferraz de Matos argue that the two, at the beginning of the twentieth century were more or less separate in the case of Portugal and Leal argues that while physical anthropology was evidently vibrant at the start of the century, the "cultural anthropology" of the Portuguese colonies was absent till the 1950s. He argues further that this meant that anthropology responded, until this decade, to a "nation-building" approach in detriment to one dedicated to the construction of empire (Leal 2008; Matos 2012). For a recent questioning of both the division between "nation-building" and "empire-building" forms of anthropology and the periodization, see Roque (2010, 148–149), and, Cascais and Costa (2019, 105).
5. For the case of South Africa, see Van der Walt (2007). For the "ambivalent" approach of some Portuguese labour unions operating in Mozambique, see Penvenne (1995, 82).
6. The most detailed work has taken place in the Spanish case. See Girón Sierra (2005).
7. In a manifesto identified by João Freire as a foundational document in the history of anarchism in Portugal (Freire 2001, 9), the "Declaração de Princípios do Grupo Comunista-Anarchista em Lisboa," it was stated among its main principles the rejection of the "sentimento patriótico ou nacional, o egoísmo de raças, religiões e línguas" (national or patriotic

- feelings, racial, religious and linguistic egotism). The document was published in the newspaper *A Revolução Social*, Número-programma (1887), p. 3.
8. It should be noted that Novicow argued that if there was no justice in society, this would result in a “fall into anarchy” (Barnes 1921, 259, n. 65). As was common, anarchists employed parts of theory that aligned most closely with their ideals, although in this case, Novicow’s assertion in a sense is not incompatible with anarchist ideas if we disassociate them from the commonly accepted understanding of anarchy as chaos.
 9. Instead, Vaz emphasized the “*acordo pela vida*, eis a fonte inesgotável de todo o progresso da espécie humana” (*accord in favour of life*, that is the never-ending fount of all human progress) (Vaz 1902, 74, original emphasis).
 10. Heliodoro Salgado (1869–1906), born in Trofa, was a journalist, writer and one of the principal figures in the so-called “anarquismo intervencionista” or “anarquismo reformista” tendency as he defended active collaboration with republican sectors. He was also renowned for his anticlericalism and as one of the organisers of the “Carbonária Lusitana,” the *carbonária* of the anarchists. On the collaboration between anarchists and republicans and the more reformist tendencies within the anarchist movement, see Ventura (2000). *A Obra*, where Salgado wrote, was first published in 1891 as a weekly paper representing carpenters. It was initially close to socialist tendencies but began to turn towards anarchism at the end of the century and finally became a predominantly libertarian publication. In November 1904 it replaced its heading as an “Órgão dos Carpinteiros Cívicos” and adopted the subtitle of “Semanário Livre.” It ceased publication in 1906.
 11. Bento Faria was also an enthusiastic contributor to discussions of the relations between anarchism and evolutionism and was vociferous in his critique of Salgado’s position. Against Salgado, Bento Faria defended the idea of evolution and natural selection as a horizontal and intellectual process and one which was incompatible with a statist or authoritarian expression. Following Novicow, he argued that ideas were not entirely constrained by the regimes in which they existed. Cf. Faria (1903).
 12. Lima’s *O Movimento Operário em Portugal* was the text of his 1904 dissertation at Coimbra University.
 13. There is perhaps a critique here of Ernest Renan’s understanding of the nation, which, notwithstanding this author’s attempt to separate race from nation, argued that nations were recent phenomena bonded by community, language and temporal circumstances. Renan also argued that there was no such thing as a “pure race.” See Renan (1896). There may also have been a critique of contemporary anthropological ideas on the “unity” of the Portuguese nation. See, for example, Corrêa (1919), where it was argued that the Portuguese nation was a unity or “united mass” (p. 118) despite invasions over time and possessed a historic moment for its formation.
 14. It should be pointed out that discussions of Jewishness and Judaism were ambivalent in anarchist milieus from the beginning of the century. For instance, in 1901, an article in *A Obra* praised a recent publication for uncovering “os erros que se tem espalhado contra o judaísmo” (the errors that have been disseminated against Judaism), thus repudiating the myth of rich Jews and demonstrating the poverty in which most lived. See Anon (1901). On the other hand, *A Batalha* published a front-page interview in 1925 with Mário de Sá, the author of the book *A Invasão dos Judeus*. The article, under the title “The Jewish Peril” (Anon 1925a), was replete with stereotypes and merited an energetic response from some readers and members of the Jewish community two issues later (Anon 1925b). Here, it was recorded that the attack on Jews was unwarranted and that “se amanhã se levantasse um movimento de acintosa perseguição a essa raça, nós seríamos o primeiro a levantar o nosso protesto” (if tomorrow a movement that advocated the vile persecution of this race, we would be the first to protest). The paper noted, however, that it had also received letters in support of the original interview. Later discussions argued that it was necessary to differentiate between the capitalist system and the true nature of the Jews and rejected the association between Jewishness and capitalist avarice. Julião Quintinha critiqued the book by Sá and noted that “o assalto à riqueza e ao Estado” (the assault on the wealth of the State) was a nefarious

consequence of capitalism and, therefore, was independent of whoever performed such an act (Quintinha 1925). Ferreira de Castro, in the *A Batalha* supplement, argued that the existing “preconceitos de raça” (racial prejudice) repeated the trope of the “avareza dos judeus” (Jewish avarice) but this was merely a contextual factor rather than a “característica da raça” (racial characteristic). Jews were a “raça proscrita” (proscribed race), formed by “emigrantes perseguidos, massacrados impiedosamente” (persecuted emigrants, massacred without mercy) (Castro 1925).

15. Bento Faria, for example, affirmed that “a evolução consiste no predomínio da adaptação sobre a hereditariedade” (evolution comprises the predominance of adaptation over inheritance) (Faria 1901a) and understood degeneration as the result of interactions where the weight of hereditary factors outstripped those linked to adaptation (Faria 1901b).
16. Fernando da Costa (1906-?) argued in favour of the independence of India, was born in Goa and was one of the founders of the Centro Nacionalista Indiano in Lisbon. He was trained in the metropole as a chemical engineer. In the supplement of *A Batalha*, Costa published nearly a dozen texts defending Indian (British and Portuguese) independence. On Goan nationalism, see Lobo (2009), Lobo (2013) and Freudenthal (2017).
17. During the last period of existence of the CGT, before its illegalization and dissolution, Mário Castelhana became one of the most influential anarchist figures and in January 1927 became the editor of *A Batalha* up to its disappearance as a daily paper in May of the same year. As a result of the attempted revolutionary uprising against the military dictatorship in February 1927, he was arrested in October and deported in November. He spent three of four years of his deportation in Angola. He was detained once more and deported in 1934 and became one of the first to be deported to the prison camp in 1936 at Tarrafal, Cape Verde, where he died in 1940.
18. Later in the book, he provides more detail on this point: “foi este um dos problemas que mais me interessou em África. Olhar para um preto, estudá-lo, procurando investigar até que ponto poderá ir a sua capacidade mental ao lado das restantes raças; aprofundar a psicologia que, de uma forma geral, caracteriza os diferentes povos que constituem a raça negra, auscultar-lhe os sentimentos, as dores, os egoísmos e as desgraças [...]” (it was this problem that most interested me in Africa. To look at a black man, to study him, to try to investigate the degree of his mental capacity in comparison to the other races; to investigate the psychology that, in general, characterizes the black races, to listen to his feelings, his pain, egoism and misfortunes ...) (Castelhana 1975, 101). Evidently, such an inquiry is complicit with certain colonialist and imperial anthropological concerns.
19. Environmental conditions were taken to affect whites and blacks alike. In this sense, white merchants in Africa “ultrapassam, em ambição [...], o seu colega da metrópole” (go beyond in terms of ambition [...], their metropolitan colleagues), a quality that Castelhana attributed to the “meio e [ao] clima, pois o excessivo calor, levá-los-á a uma excitação febril” (environment and the climate, as the excessive heat raises them to a febrile level) (Castelhana 1975, 67–68). On the characteristics of the black population, Castelhana affirmed that “o clima especial das regiões de onde são oriundos” (the particular climate of the regions from which they came) had an influence “nos seus temperamentos e nos estados do seu desenvolvimento, lento ou de constante progresso, não sendo a isto estranho a situação geográfica dos seus territórios, a sua primitiva comunicação com o exterior, o seu maior ou menor grau de ambição e de conquista” (on their temperament and on their stage of development, either slow or in constant motion, while the geographical situation of their land, their basic communication with the outside world and their greater or lesser ambition to conquer territories are not irrelevant) (p. 101). Environmental factors, often referred to as “mesological” influences, were also important in the creation of traits for certain populations in Portugal. For example, a report in *A Batalha* on the town of Marinha Grande, as well as drawing on the work of the historian Oliveira Martins, highlighted “a influência grandíssima em matéria mesológica na formação do carácter que torna os seus oriundos [da Marinha Grande] dignos duma apreciação, à sua condição psíquica” (the huge influence in mesological terms on character

formation, which makes the inhabitants of [Marinha Grande] worthy of examination in psychical terms) (1924).

20. For a study of the *batuques* in the Portuguese colonial context, particularly in Mozambique, as a point of tension that was incompatible with the designs of civilization and the organization of colonial space, see Pereira (2020, 17).

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