

INTRODUCTION

Tracing Black Lisbon



Encountering Black Internationalism

In mid-March 1931, as the ‘National Dictatorship’ born out of the military coup of 28 May 1926 tightened its grip, the Príncipe-born journalist Mário Domingues wrote about a curious encounter he experienced when working for the labour movement daily *A Batalha* (The Struggle) in the early 1920s. Employed now as editor-in-chief for the weekly illustrated gazette *Reporter X*, he recalled how an individual had presented himself at the offices of the workers’ newspaper and asked for him by name.¹ Domingues’ visitor, who sported a ‘short black beard’ and an ‘energetic expression’, possessed ‘the confident aplomb of Americans’, thereby cutting an arresting figure for those present.² On the assumption that the sole black journalist at the periodical’s headquarters was indeed Domingues, the man introduced himself as James Wilson and proceeded to converse in English. Wilson informed Domingues, much to the latter’s surprise, that some of his articles on the colonial question had been translated and published in a prominent, although unnamed, race-oriented publication in the United States. Domingues – as well as writing on black art, culture and social movements – was also renowned for his fictional output and even though some have questioned whether this account of the meeting with Wilson was completely accurate or not,³ it offers several insights into the history of black organisation in Lisbon in the first three decades of the twentieth century.

During the conversation between visitor and reporter, Wilson asked Domingues if he had come across the name of the black Jamaican activist

Marcus Garvey, the founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA-ACL, set up in 1914). Wilson then purportedly announced that Garvey was currently in Portugal, perhaps intimating that Domingues' articles had been published in Garvey's combative weekly *The Negro World*.⁴ Domingues, recalling the meeting from afar in an article ironically entitled 'A invasão negra na Europa' ('A black invasion of Europe'), surmised that Wilson was in fact none other than Garvey himself. Judging from a portrait picture he had seen in an American magazine, the two appeared identical, with 'the same broad forehead, the same shrewd penetrating gaze'.⁵

Literary licence aside – Garvey never set foot in Europe – the meeting at the offices of *A Batalha* occurred at a significant juncture not only for Domingues but also for the black African movement in Portugal. At the beginning of the 1920s, in addition to numerous writings on the politics of race and the conditions of Indigenous populations under colonial rule, Mário Domingues had published a series of some thirty articles in *A Batalha* placing a spotlight on the workings of the Portuguese empire.⁶ The series, under the general rubric 'For the History of Portuguese Colonialism', ran from 30 June to 25 July 1922, and had a considerable impact, constituting 'the first words in imperial Portugal to make an argument in favour of independence for Africa, in a coherent, public form, in a large-circulation publication'.⁷ The meeting between Domingues and Wilson was also suggestive of the transnational connections that the Lisbon anticolonial movement was immersed in at the time. An important congress, Domingues observed in the same article from 1931, was about to take place in the capital. It was designed to bring together 'black delegates from all communities existing across the world'.⁸ While Domingues was probably referring to the International Congress of the Black Race proposed by the Movimento Nacionalista Africano (African Nationalist Movement, MNA), an event that would never take place, a congress organised around the time of Wilson's visit would certainly have had a considerable impact on black lives in Lisbon.⁹

On 1–2 December 1923, a small second session of the Third Pan-African Congress (PAC), following an earlier much larger meeting in Paris, would assemble in the rooms of the Lisbon-based Liga Africana (African League), one of the organisations that represented black Africans in Portugal during this period. It would be W.E.B. Du Bois, the great figurehead behind the Pan-African Congress and leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP, established in 1908), the organisation rivalled by Garvey's UNIA, who would speak to members of the assembled audience in the Liga's small hall, a 'gem' with 'beautiful frescoes' and 'brass-studded leather chairs'.¹⁰ The Portuguese, 'feeling themselves a bit

out of the world', according to Du Bois, compensated with an 'eager sense of hospitality' towards their visitors. The audience was diverse and was made up of 'black physicians, lawyers, engineers, merchants', but mainly students, who were 'well dressed and courteous in manner'. Participants, according to Du Bois' account, reflected the de facto pan-African nature of the colonised peoples of the Portuguese empire, hailing as they did from different localities around the world including Angola, Mozambique, São Tomé, Guinea, Nigeria, Ajudá (the tiny enclave of São João Baptista de Ajudá in what is now Benin), all the way to Cape Verde and Goa.¹¹

While the success or otherwise of the Third Pan-African Congress and the significance of its Lisbon session remain contested in the history of anticolonial movements,¹² the mere presence of Du Bois in Lisbon will have acted as a rallying point for black Africans based in the country and, for Du Bois at least, the event revealed nothing less than the presence of 'Pan-Africa in Portugal'.¹³ The American's report on the meeting recorded that the Liga Africana's president, José de Magalhães, chaired the event, which, in a show of the connections fostered by the Liga and the official channels of communication that it enjoyed, included the Minister of the Colonies, António Vicente Ferreira, and the former minister Manuel Ferreira da Rocha together with the Jewish scholar and painter Prof. Adolfo Benarus. The first session of the Lisbon meeting was devoted, according to Du Bois, to the 'most independent and progressive of Portuguese African colonies', São Tomé, and the second to the situation in the United States and the development of Pan-Africanism worldwide.¹⁴

Although the true identity of Domingues' Wilson remains a mystery, the most likely scenario, if indeed the account had any basis in reality, is that Wilson was a member of another delegation that was passing through Lisbon just after Du Bois' visit to the Portuguese capital. This was the UNIA delegation sent by Marcus Garvey, which was on its way to Liberia to try to secure a home for African Americans.¹⁵ The UNIA delegation, arriving shortly after the Du Boisian encounter, met up with members of the Liga Africana in late December 1923 or early 1924 according to a report by the Liga's leader, José de Magalhães, in the organisation's newspaper, the *Correio de Africa*.¹⁶ Despite Domingues' reference to the Garvey lookalike, it is also possible that Wilson was in fact a member of Du Bois' entourage – perhaps Rayford Logan, the second secretary of the International Pan-African Association (IPAA), who, as Magalhães remarked, was resident in Paris, had travelled to Lisbon ahead of the Congress and was charged with helping its organisation in 1923; there is no reason, however, why Logan would hide his true identity.¹⁷ Whichever the case, Domingues' memories had been prompted by the arrival, a 'few days ago', of a postcard from Wilson saying that he was in Portugal on his way to Germany. Wilson wrote that he remembered his

visit and conversation with Domingues with fondness, but the two men were never to meet again.¹⁸

Domingues' assumptions and the veracity of his recollections aside, the mere possibility of Garvey's presence in Lisbon, the fact of the meeting of the Third Pan-African Congress at the premises of the Liga Africana at the central Rua Antero de Quental in the presence of the Minister of the Colonies, and the visit of the UNIA delegation confirm the potency and connections of black political agendas and discussions of 'race' at the time. Varying interpretations exist to describe this political movement, ranging from Pan-Africanism to black internationalism through to different expressions of anticolonialism. What was the relationship between these three phenomena and how does interrogating their differences enable new understandings of black activism, questions of 'race' and the operations of colonialism in the Portuguese empire?

Both Brent Hayes Edwards and Gary Wilder have employed 'black internationalism' as a signifier, a rallying point and mobilising force for the period.¹⁹ Others, such as Hakim Adi, while acknowledging that black internationalism is useful to describe a range of connections with other 'internationalist' currents, notably international communism,²⁰ have questioned the historical usefulness of the term. Adi argues that few employed the term at the time and that what historians refer to as black internationalism is undistinguishable from Pan-Africanism.²¹ Some nuance is lost here, however, and the danger is the subsuming of all expressions of the movement into either Du Boisian or Garveyite tendencies while the reality was much more complicated and diverse.

George Shepperson argued over fifty years ago that it is important to acknowledge the differences but also the overlaps between Du Bois' Pan-Africanism and other expressions of what he termed 'pan-Africanism'.²² Lara Putnam's more relational approach views black *internationalism*, in part, as a response to the racially defined *nationalisms* of the interwar period.²³ This broader, more inclusive terminology allows for an understanding of the overlaps and the differences between the varieties of black activist movements of the period. It also permits us to understand how these movements became enrolled in the attempt to internationalise politics, especially those focused on 'race'. Bearing in mind this debate, this book adopts the term 'black internationalism' as a heuristic tool to interrogate the affinities and dissidences of black movements in Portugal and its colonies with respect to wider movements of black affirmation. While doing so, the book does not assume that all those who subscribed to an international politics of racial emancipation necessarily thought of their actions as part of 'black internationalism'. At the risk of employing the term anachronistically, it is used here to denote the self-conscious awareness of an oppressed group subject to discrimination

along the lines of 'race' and a colonised condition locally, nationally and internationally.

What is also beyond doubt is that Domingues' musings over Garvey's presence in Lisbon demonstrate the power of the imaginary, not to mention the hopes, generated by such international figures and the movements they represented. As it was, Domingues' article in *Reporter X* came at a particular moment for black internationalism in Portugal – 1931 – when, despite the attempt to organise an international conference on 'race', the movement was on the defensive and was becoming increasingly constrained by the dictatorship despite efforts of individuals like Domingues to sustain it.²⁴ The evocation of such a past, as a 'memory' or reminiscence and as a possibility in the present, was a powerful tool that spoke to the revitalisation of a movement under duress. In this respect, the way in which Domingues communicated his story about Garvey is different from the falsification or invention of traditions – a strategy, as Edward Said has noted, which was 'used by authorities as an instrument of rule'.²⁵ Instead, such a practice corresponds more closely to what Saidiya Hartman has termed 'critical fabulation', positioned somewhere between fact and fiction, whereby Domingues' account confirms the function of the imaginary as a political device that permits intellectual or even physical survival.²⁶

Awareness of Garvey's radicalism and the physical presence of Du Bois in Lisbon further suggest that Portugal, and the Portuguese African colonies, were not quite as 'out of the world' as Du Bois may have surmised in the early 1920s. Instead, those colonised under Portuguese rule were demonstrably at the heart of debates on racial emancipation and at the centre (or at least one of the centres) of critiques of colonialism as a global phenomenon. By the time Du Bois visited Lisbon, numerous organisations accompanied by a vibrant publishing culture had created a political, associative and contestatory space for black (and some white and 'mixed-race' or *mestiço* [mestizo]) Africans in the heart of the metropole and had been doing so since at least 1910. The politics, mobilisations and memories afforded by Du Bois' NAACP, the series of Pan-African Congresses, and the presence of Garvey's UNIA helped to shape the mentalities and aspirations, as well as the racial self-identification, of many black activists across the Lusophone diaspora.

Intersections between Coloniality, 'Race' and Nationhood

This book, *Black Lisbon: The Making of Anticolonial Internationalism in Portugal, 1910–1935*, is guided by two principal, interrelated sets of objectives. The first aims to trace the local and transnational intersections between peoples across the Portuguese African empire with a view to identifying and

interrogating the nature and development of movements based in Lisbon that resisted or sought to reconfigure colonialism in diverse ways. The second set of objectives sets out to analyse how ‘race’ and nation were conceptualised, mobilised and lived by colonised black Africans in Lisbon across time. Integral to both sets of objectives is the pinpointing of the emergence of, and the local and international connections forged by, the individuals, organisations and publications within other racialised or imperial spaces including the United States and France, which coalesced to make up the diversity of visions that drove early twentieth-century contestations of colonialism in Portugal.

Running through both sets of objectives are two productive tensions encapsulated by the work’s subtitle: first, the degree to which these movements embraced anticolonial sentiments *explicitly* or whether they were even, in a strict sense, ‘anticolonial’. Rather than presupposing that these movements were declaredly ‘anticolonial’ in any straightforward manner, this book will chart the range of interim positions articulated by these organisations and their complex interplay with the structures and operations of the Portuguese empire. Some voices sought a ‘more just’ political and economic configuration between colony and the metropole and others, particularly from the early 1920s onwards, argued for a radical break between African territories and Portugal or for the former’s complete independence. Within the first set of organisations was the Junta de Defesa dos Direitos de África (Junta or Council for the Defence of African Rights, JDDA, henceforth, Junta), established in 1912. The Junta opened its membership to white Portuguese as well as the black African population as a tactic designed to foster greater political leverage within the metropole. It also wished to send a clear message to whites as potential allies in overcoming racial discrimination. Others, such as the Partido Nacional Africano (African National Party, PNA), established in 1921, sought to reconfigure colonial relations in a radical way by redrawing the lines of the nation through initiatives such as the establishment of an African federation, which would be governed by its own legislative bodies while remaining part of a reconfigured ‘Greater Portugal’. To a greater degree than the JDDA, the PNA evoked blackness as a unifying category and as a political mechanism to advance its anticolonial cause.

A second tension in the book, echoing the above debate on Pan-Africanism, centres on the uses and meanings of ‘internationalism’ as the above discussion of the term ‘black internationalism’ suggests. By evoking concepts of internationalism, the book seeks to trace the supra-national sentiments and global organisational crossings engendered by Black Lisbon. In doing so, it warns against conceptualising these movements as already formed expressions of a specifically nationalist programme that held decolonisation and the establishment of independent states as their final aim. Rather than classifying

these movements as ‘proto-nationalist’, as Mário Pinto de Andrade did in his pioneering yet unfinished study,²⁷ or placing them somewhere along a three dimensional scale between the ‘core nationalism’ of European nations, ‘nation statism’ or ‘political nationalism’ and ‘secessionist’ nationalism within already established states,²⁸ it will be argued that these movements displayed elements of what Gary Wilder has termed ‘forms of *nonnational* colonial emancipation’.²⁹

Often inchoate and ambivalent, despite promoting the interests of their homeland constituencies, African Portuguese associations were in fact often intensely nationalist but of a particular kind. Their expression of nationalism often did not evoke independence for the colonies; rather, they saw the colonies as inseparable parts of a reconfigured Portuguese nation-state and wished them to remain as such. A patriotic approach towards Portugal often entailed support for the integrity of ‘Portuguese’ possessions and borders, and opposition not only to ‘nativist’ movements within the colonies but also to foreign threats to the stability of the Portuguese empire. In this sense, the Junta coincided with the tenor of the early Pan-African Congresses and with most French organisations that would ‘plea[d] for a more just form of colonisation rather than for the dismantling of the Empire’.³⁰ What were the affective affiliations thus engendered – towards blackness, racial identity, the ways in which whiteness was viewed and being Portuguese and/or being African?

In tracing the range of sentiments expressed by ‘African Portuguese’ organisations – an understandably problematic term given the consequences of attachments between the two national, cultural and racial components – *Black Lisbon* also evaluates the existence of continuities between movements dating from the 1910s and 1920s and later explicitly anticolonial currents that emerged in the 1940s and 1950s. In this way, despite questioning Pinto de Andrade’s ‘proto-nationalist’ label for all these movements, the book coincides with that author’s argument about a fundamental break between the early movements and those that came in the 1940s and 1950s.³¹ Other authors have reinforced this disassociation between the pre- and post-1940s period. Pedro Aires Oliveira urged against making the assumption of a direct link between the two. Individuals within these initial movements ‘have sometimes been identified either as the forerunners of local nationalisms or as “proto-nationalists”, but some caution is in order when one tries to assess the link between their grievances and aspirations and the nationalist protest of the second half of the twentieth century’.³²

Rather than being straightforwardly nationalist, African organisations during this early period were characterised by ambivalence with respect to both African and Portuguese nationhood and nationalism. This position arose not only from their interpretation of the relationship between the metropole and the colonies, and their perception of what was desirable and

attainable during the republican period, but also from the social composition of those that made up the leadership of black organisations in Lisbon and in Africa. Influential members often came from the assimilated, *mestiço* or colonised elites of their respective countries.³³ As well as inhabiting an interstitial economic and political position, the ambiguities of republican imperial politics and the continuing racial distinctions that operated under its purview served to sharpen the in-between nature of these elites and the organisations they led.

The problematic relationship between African organisations and nationhood fostered a commensurate degree of ambivalence with respect to questions of ‘race’. Against the backdrop of changing, discriminatory and piecemeal legislation on colonised peoples under the imperial state, known collectively as the ‘Indigenato’,³⁴ Pinto de Andrade in his *Origens do Nacionalismo Africano* charts a shift in self-perception among Africans and the ways in which this was externalised in black-led publications. From their initial ‘enunciation of identity’ as ‘men of African race’, they began to use terms such as ‘Africans’ and ‘Portuguese Africans’ – denominations that became more habitual as time passed.³⁵ Occasionally, Pinto de Andrade notes, the terms ‘Black Portuguese’ and even ‘Afro-Portuguese’ were employed. Although Pinto de Andrade is too schematic and overly linear in his analysis – there was no overall clear progression from one term to another – his work asks questions about what these categories meant for Africans in Lisbon during this period. Following his lead, this book aims to unearth how such self-perceptions and self-representations were generated not simply as expressions of a given and stable reality, which was produced out of an already formed colonised status, but also as a relational process whereby subordinate identities were negotiated in tandem with powerful discourses of coloniality, constructions of nationhood and imperial state power. What did it mean to assert oneself as African and/or black in Lisbon in the early twentieth century? How did being African intersect with changing understandings of the nation for both the colonised and coloniser? Was blackness the principal ‘racial’ marker or did African identity provide an alternative reference point for protagonists to construct their personal and political narratives?

Lisbon: An Anticolonial Hub

Recent work on imperial cities has highlighted the liminal yet productive space that conurbations offer for a wide array of contestatory phenomena, including working-class mobilisation and the subversion of gender norms, as well as being a meeting point for colonised subjects. Raymond Williams argued more than three decades ago that in the early years of the twentieth

century Paris made up a special sort of vibrant, cosmopolitan space for interactions of different kinds, constituting a kind of locale that simply did not exist either in the United States or in the colonies.³⁶ Coinciding largely with Williams' identification of the significance of the French capital, Brent Hayes Edwards has asserted, 'Paris is crucial because it allowed boundary crossing, conversations, and collaborations that were available nowhere else to the same degree'.³⁷ Michael Goebel has further argued that Paris constituted a centre of anticolonial and rebellious interconnectedness, corroborating its status as an 'anti-imperial metropolis'.³⁸ The uniqueness of Paris as this historic meeting place, however, has been challenged somewhat by studies of other cities – not least in provincial France, as well as in other European countries.³⁹ Jonathan Schnerer's work on imperial Britain and Marc Matera's *Black London* show how that capital city facilitated conversations of a similar order.⁴⁰ Recent work by Fredrik Petersson has posited Berlin as the 'hub' of anti-imperialism in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and authors including Winston James have pointed to the unrecognised importance of the geographical, political, logistical and linguistic factors making the Caribbean a node of exchange for pan-African movements and for the contested phenomenon of 'black internationalism' worldwide.⁴¹ Other studies have advanced a more spatial and discursive comparative approach to apprehend anti/colonial histories of New York, Paris, London, Algiers and Dakar.⁴²

For all their crucial analysis of the interconnectivities of empire, anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism, nearly all these accounts underestimate the significance of the Portuguese-speaking world in general and the role of Lisbon in particular as points of convergence between the different peoples of colonised territories. Indeed, exceptionally, it is Robert Hill in his exhaustive thirteen-volume history of Marcus Garvey's UNIA who concedes this city's importance for anticolonialism and black politics in the 1920s. Hill notes succinctly that besides London, Brussels and Paris, 'the other important European center of African politics was Lisbon'.⁴³

This lack of attention to Lisbon has been addressed only recently in a detailed manner as part of international or global history by scholars working on the dynamics of the black movement in Portugal. Authors such as José Luís Garcia, Cristina Roldão, José Pereira and Pedro Varela have focused on individuals and particular organisations within the black movement but somewhat less on the transnational aspects of their protest or on the changing role of 'race' as a signifier.⁴⁴ Older work, including that of authors such as Eduardo dos Santos, whose *Pan-africanismo de ontem e de hoje* considered the Portuguese case as part of the history of Pan-Africanism, was important in its assessment of the development of organisations, their publications and connections, but does not contextualise fully these movements' development. In the same year, René Pélissier's *La Colonie de Minotaure: Nationalismes*

et révoltes en Angola (1926–1961) addressed anticolonial movements in Lisbon as part of the development of specific nationalisms, and this book found its echo in a short discussion by Malyn Newitt in the early 1980s.⁴⁵ Mário Pinto de Andrade's *Origens do Nacionalismo Africano*, as already noted, brought to the fore the principal publications and actors of the period.⁴⁶ Studies on the historic presence of black people in Portugal from the end of the nineteenth century have provided a broad historical backdrop,⁴⁷ while studies on the colonial question, empire and issues of 'race' constitute a much greater focus, alongside historicist interpretations of 'Luso-tropicalism'.⁴⁸ Luso-tropicalism, the supposed propensity of the Portuguese to mix racially on equal terms with those they colonised, was not only used in the past by the dictatorship to justify its 'proper treatment' of the Indigenous populations and to fend off international questions over slavery in the colonies but has also acted as a resource to deny racism in Portugal today and historically.⁴⁹ As we will see, despite the imbrications of Luso-tropicalist theory with the operations of colonial power, the trope of the 'harmonisation' of the races within the empire was one that was picked up and mobilised by African organisations in Lisbon in the early twentieth century. A kind of Luso-tropicalism *avant la lettre*, such a move helped to justify Africans' demands for an end to racism and for fairer treatment under the colonial regime.

What much of this work confirms is that Lisbon, like other imperial metropolises, was a paradoxical but generative place offering possibilities for, and limitations on, African activism. While the city represented an opportunity for black Africans to study, work and involve themselves in political movements and to forge a 'common anti-imperialist language',⁵⁰ we must not forget that Lisbon constituted a site of Portuguese colonial power that ruled, often brutally, different populations across geographically separated territories. Lisbon acted as a location for the deployment of the imperial language, making the 'Lusophone' space a deeply hierarchical and racialised 'contact zone' between colonised and coloniser.⁵¹ Although the colonial state instrumentalised this linguistic medium for the exercise of imperial power via its official pronouncements, laws and military incursions, one perverse effect of a partially shared language and culture was that the city also afforded space for the construction of egalitarian and contestatory connections across space and time. Despite the diversity of socio-economic backgrounds, whether as members of the African 'assimilated' elites or from more humble backgrounds, this common language permitted what Gillian Beer identified, in a different context, as a 'lateral encounter, between groups and individuals alive in the same time but in different initial conditions'.⁵² Crossovers of this nature allow, Beer observes, 'fresh perspectives to thrive' and provide the basis for resistance against oppressive realities.⁵³

The Function of the ‘Translocal’ in Colonial Space as ‘Grounded Transnationalism’

In tune with some of the concerns signalled by historians working on the insights and pitfalls of global history, in its focus on Lisbon this book seeks to produce what can be called a transnational study of a local place or, more accurately, a ‘translocal’ account of the dynamics of anticolonialism within Lisbon across the continents.⁵⁴ In adopting this focus, which draws on an ‘agency oriented’ approach to transnational experiences beyond social networks and economic exchanges and which seeks to avoid a disembodied understanding of transnationalism,⁵⁵ the book will endeavour to produce both a synchronic and diachronic study as well as a micro and global history of Lusophone black internationalism against the backdrop of change over time.⁵⁶ This ‘aspirational history’, to use the phrase employed by de Vries,⁵⁷ aims to unearth the networks established between diverse practices and cultures and resists overarching connections fostered by a Eurocentric view in order to study temporally and spatially extended phenomena.⁵⁸ In accordance with Nuno Domingos’ and Elsa Peralta’s assertion that ‘[i]t is in the city that the spatial order of imperial projects and imaginations become real’, the book recognises that Lisbon as the capital city was the privileged locus for these interactions, although reference will also be made to other localities in Portugal.⁵⁹ In debates on the colonial question, Lisbon, above all other cities, acted as a ‘structuring paradigm of the transnational’ between 1910 and 1940.⁶⁰

While *Black Lisbon* centres on the specific locality of Lisbon, recognising that it was here, rather than in Luanda or in Lourenço Marques (now Maputo), where organisations questioning colonialism reached their greatest transnational influence, it does not neglect other geographies outside of Portugal as sites of resistance against imperial power.⁶¹ In doing so, the book actively seeks to avoid reproducing the metropolitan and colonial hierarchies supposed by designations of ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’. Although largely drawn from readings of the Lisbon press, a focus that shifts back and forth between the imperial capital and the geographies of colonialism in Africa allows the reader to see how events in the colonies often shaped not only local realities but also their reception in the metropolitan milieu. Events in São Tomé, for example, may have had resounding ramifications in Lisbon, serving to expose the evils of colonialism in ways unexpected even by their protagonists. In tune with Dipesh Chakrabarty’s aim to ‘provincialise Europe’,⁶² the ‘first in Europe, then elsewhere’ structure of global historical time is rejected here for the impoverishing effects it has on the ability to explain the impact of occurrences and their consequences. The lack of interconnectedness of discourses across geographies or ‘the denial of coevalness’, as Johannes Fabian

has termed it, literally only tells one side of the story.⁶³ Instead, a view from the perspective of what Michal Osterweil terms ‘place-based globalism’ allows us to assess the significance of movements in and beyond Lisbon in respect of their role within Lusophone anticolonialism.⁶⁴ Such an approach takes us beyond the confines of the ‘national’ in order to appreciate how debates were always already subject to a ‘transboundary’ process in colonial times.⁶⁵

Taking inspiration from recent studies on the development of different transnational movements, from anticolonialism through to early twentieth-century labour movements, this study relies on three principal sets of sources to sustain its arguments. The first, overwhelmingly the most voluminous, is the extensive press created by black individuals and organisations in Portugal, particularly in Lisbon. Second, to a much lesser degree, are its counterparts in the colonies, such as *O Brado Africano* in Mozambique; the publications of the United States-based NAACP (*The Crisis*) and the UNIA (*The Negro World*); and the publications of organisations where the working-class struggle and black emancipation coincided, such as the Portuguese syndicalist *A Batalha* and *The Negro Worker* of the Comintern-run Red International of Labor Unions (RILU). Although recent research has suggested some connections between Afro-Portuguese and Brazilian presses and organisations,⁶⁶ nonetheless, the language-specific connections between, for example, Garveyism and the Lusophone anticolonial movement are still largely to be traced.⁶⁷

Studies of the press as a rallying point and as a vital means of political campaigning, even – or especially – in societies characterised by high rates of illiteracy, have illustrated how important daily, weekly and monthly publications were in the articulation not only of the national project⁶⁸ but also the imperial project and the connections between both.⁶⁹ Research has shown how the press was also vital to contestatory movements within empires,⁷⁰ to providing accounts of the role of women in the movement,⁷¹ to producing alternative narratives that try to fill the space between recorded reality and grounded speculation as a historical tool⁷² and to labour movements in general and those sections of them that were sensitive to anticolonial politics.⁷³ Despite these objectives, while one of the aspirations of this book is to de-centre Lisbon, it has not been possible to treat the dialogue engendered by the black press within Portugal and the African colonies with equal measure within the space of one volume. Further research on the development of black internationalism and a localised, contestatory press – and greater precision about the influence of figures such as Du Bois and Garvey seen, for example, directly from the perspective of colonised societies – are therefore necessary.

For its third set of resources, this book draws on a variety of cultural and informational artefacts ranging from novels to official state documents in ministerial archives; pamphlets and, from a perspective inspired by cultural

geography and critical space studies,⁷⁴ the physical locality of the presence of black internationalism in Lisbon from office addresses through to newspaper distribution points in the city;⁷⁵ places of leisure and interactions between black and white populations in the city;⁷⁶ and patterns of consumption and sociability – as well as the cross-oceanic movements of the protagonists of the Lisbon-based black African movement from São Tomé to Lisbon and vice versa, and, across land, from Lisbon to the meetings of the Pan-African Congress in northern European countries.

Structure of the Book

The volume's core period of analysis is marked, on the one hand, by the proclamation of the Portuguese Republic in October 1910 and, on the other, by the consolidation of the *Estado Novo* (New State) under António Salazar in 1933. The remnants of the movement that survived beyond the establishment of the New State into the mid- and late 1930s, against all odds, are discussed in the conclusion to the book. Throughout, the context in respect of discourses on coloniality, 'race' and blackness – as well as developments on the ground in the colonies themselves, and the changing political and social dynamics of republican Portugal – is heeded to in order to understand fully the development of these organisations and their pronouncements. The generative climate engendered by black emancipatory movements across the world, especially in North America but also in the Caribbean and Africa itself, also forms the backdrop against which the words and actions of Lisbon's African organisations are analysed. While certain aspects of the associational life of these organisations continued for some years once the dictatorship had been established, by 1935 nearly all African publishing based in Lisbon had ceased. Although the role of these organisations and their legacy for later developments in the anticolonial struggle in the 1950s and 1960s is briefly explored, the chapters resist the temptation to cast their structures, debates and modus operandi in the 1920s and 1930s as 'leading to' or 'prefacing' later contestations against the imperial power; the two periods, it is argued here, were divided by a chasm: a loss of connection in organisational terms and in respect of protagonists, contexts and ideas. In order to explore the discourses at the book's centre, a largely chronological approach has been adopted. In this way, clarity is provided on the changing developments of colonialism and notions of 'race', lost to some degree by other studies that have adopted a more thematic approach.

Chapter 1 focuses entirely on the three issues of the journal *O Negro* (1911), published by a group constituted mainly by students from São Tomé. The chapter shows how the short-lived paper can be understood not only as a

response to the inequities of colonialism and its operations in the Portuguese colonies from the last years of the monarchy onwards but also as a product of the greater freedoms of press and organisation permitted by the Republic. The utopian and often leftist characteristics of *O Negro* are interpreted through the lens of developing solidarities in Europe and the increasing influence that social movements and labour organisations were beginning to exert. The importance of *O Negro* is highlighted as a first attempt to organise black students, workers and individuals in Lisbon from a perspective that centred 'race' and blackness as contestatory anticolonial vehicles, and the continuities beyond its lifespan into the 1920s are plotted.

Chapter 2, after a brief discussion of some contextual aspects of the Portuguese colonial empire and some remarks on the current historiography on anticolonialism within European urban environments, analyses the workings of the first African organisation to be established in Portugal for the representation of Africans, the Junta de Defesa dos Direitos de África, established in 1912. The Junta was largely 'bourgeois' in its identity and politics, and possessed a mercantile focus with trade between Portugal and the colonies a central concern.⁷⁷ Equality and fair treatment regardless of 'race' were, nevertheless, at the organisation's heart – as was a dynamic communicational approach that harboured strong interconnective aspirations between Africans and the wider world. The Junta, like some later organisations, in order to convey its message of racial justice also evoked a form of patriotism that sat uncomfortably with developed notions of anticolonialism as a site of rupture with the imperial power. It was important in articulating a set of political demands that, however timorous or accommodationist with the colonial status quo, provided the basis for more energetic and radical claims in the future.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the Liga Africana, established in 1919, and the Partido Nacional Africano (PNA), set up in 1921. The African League was a split from the Junta led by the São Tomé deputy (from 1921) in Lisbon, José de Magalhães, and Nicolau dos Santos Pinto. It envisaged a more radical approach that refused to accept some aspects of the hierarchical colonial-subject relationship. Fundamentally, the Liga, like the Junta, united under its umbrella representatives from various African Lusophone organisations – facilitating cultural; economic; and, to some degree, political exchange. It also, significantly in respect of providing a new space for questions related to 'race', accepted *mestiço* members, including individuals and organisations from Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe, the Angolan League and the Gremio Africano (African Guild) in Lourenço Marques.⁷⁸ The Liga and its aims were supported by the Portuguese Socialist Party.⁷⁹

The Liga, which maintained direct contact with the imperial authorities, faced a new rival from March 1921 in the form of the Partido Nacional

Africano, which grew out of the ashes of the old Junta. The PNA was launched with a combative orientation and revised its statutes in accordance with the tenets of Garveyism.⁸⁰ It published a single-issue paper, *O Protesto Indígena*, in late 1921 and was led by Dr João de Castro and Dr Martinho Nobre de Melo.⁸¹ Magalhães' League, by contrast, opted largely for the more reformist line of Du Bois, and this allowed the League, and some Lusophone Africans, to be represented at the Second Pan-African Congress at its session in Brussels in 1921, where its members famously denied the existence of slavery in the Portuguese colonies. Such an admission served to create clear water between the League and the PNA in the context of rival international reference points for black organising. Key events within this context were the organisation of a session of the Third Pan-African Congress and the presence of Du Bois in Lisbon in late 1923, and a subsequent visit of a UNIA delegation to the African League – both of which confirmed Portugal as a major anti-imperial and black internationalist hub. By 1930, the PNA was arguing for a decentralised and federative Portugal that all African peoples could join in accordance with their ethnic and political characteristics as part of a 'Greater Portugal'.⁸² All these organisations and developments are situated within the political repertoires of the time, and the chapter traces their accommodation with, or dissent from, discourses on nation, notions of 'race' and practices of colonialism.

Chapter 5 acknowledges the dearth of African publications from 1924 onwards, when the League's *Correio de Africa* ceased publication. However, the astonishing dynamism and relative maturity of African organisations, spurred on by a small network of highly dedicated although often antipathetic individuals, was not to be silenced despite the unfavourable climate created by the May 1926 military coup. The 'National Dictatorship' that followed made it very difficult for black African organisations to operate in the colonies, and most of them were closed down. In Lisbon, however, the chameleon-like movement managed to form new configurations, and a range of unaffiliated organisations – such as the Movimento Nacionalista Africano (African Nationalist Movement, MNA); the Mocidade Africana, or African Youth; women's organisations linked to the still-existing PNA, which had joined the unitary MNA; remnants of the Junta; and cultural associations such as the Ké-Afikana – sprouted forth and projected their voices via new publications such as the PNA's *Voz d'Africa* (1927–30). The project for social justice and anti-racism continued under far-from-easy conditions and turned pragmatically to pressuring international bodies such as the League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation (ILO/OIT – Organização Internacional do Trabalho in Portuguese) to guarantee Africans' rights.

The Conclusion evaluates the contributions made by, and the discussions held in, Lisbon's African organisations over the long view from 1910 and

foregrounds their primarily in-between position with respect to black internationalism and the integrity of a Portuguese national colonial model. In addition, by tracing the final remnants of colonial-questioning black voices, the Conclusion confirms how the exaltation of the Portuguese *patria* as the locus of demands and eventual emancipation of black Africans became the strategy adopted by these movements up to the mid-1930s. Coupled to this strategy was the expectation that international bodies such as the OIT would help push imperial Portugal towards the concession of greater justice for colonised populations. Occasionally, radical alternatives to this model were voiced – but the more culturalist and pragmatic drift of organisations and reviews, combined with the restrictions of authoritarian rule, put paid to independent black voices in Lisbon and the colonies by the end of the decade.

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A contribution to the recovery of black voices is at the heart of what this book aims to achieve. It is the writer's intention that the archives and periodicals employed to construct the book's argument are thereby opened up for public scrutiny and made more available to a wider audience. To increase the circulation of material that, it is hoped, will fulfil the criteria of a more public history, English translations of primary and secondary materials are provided in the main text and the original Portuguese of primary sources is given in the endnotes.

Before the reader proceeds further, as a matter of course, it is necessary to reflect on the subject positionality occupied by the author of this volume. From the perspective of what aspires to be allyship, although the book speaks from a position of professional and linguistic complicity in many ways, it aims to bring to the centre of analysis those voices hitherto lost to memory, silenced and often marginalised by academia. Taking its lead from authors already cited in this Introduction, this volume seeks to help to amplify the work already undertaken as part of the recuperation of black history.⁸³ In this book – following several historians, social scientists and journalists within the Lusophone space – I hope to identify a range of 'counter-memories' whose mission it has been to disrupt what has too often been a comfortable 'national' history of the nature of the Portuguese empire, thereby seeking to problematise the current historical amnesia on 'race', racism and the colonial legacy.⁸⁴ As will be apparent, in this volume I have not capitalised 'black' as a racial identifier, adjective or descriptor. Despite this, I underline the importance of signalling the category as a site of both historic oppression and affirmation – and this book is my contribution to what I hope will be the latter.

The book thereby seeks to offer a critical yet positive historical analysis during a time of increasing daily racism combined with a refusal to reconsider

the ills of colonial pasts. In doing so, it shines a light on what Joana Gorjão Henriques has argued operates in Portugal as a ‘pact of silence on the conditions of inequality of some and the advantages enjoyed by others since birth because of their “colour” or phenotype’.⁸⁵ In tune with such words, it is necessary to lay to rest the current and historical notion that Portugal is a country where ‘racism does not exist’, a quality that supposedly arises from a ‘mild’ and inclusive form of colonialism and the complete acceptance of inter-racial relations in the past.⁸⁶

Notes

1. Domingues, ‘A invasão negra na Europa’.
2. Ibid., 6. Domingues remarked that the visit had occurred some eight or nine years previously, placing it in either 1922 or 1923. For reasons outlined below, it is likely that the visit referred to was from late 1923. The original Portuguese was: ‘curta barba negra’, ‘rôsto enérgico’ and ‘o aprumo largo dos americanos’.
3. The incident, real or imagined, is discussed briefly in Roldão, Pereira and Varela, *Tribuna Negra*, 183 and 186.
4. This would appear not to have been the case, at least by the time of the conversation. In *The Negro World*, there was coverage, however, of the iniquities of Portuguese colonialism and reference was made to several articles in *A Batalha*, but the dates of publication were later than Wilson’s Lisbon visit. See, for example, Anon., ‘Black Men Starved to Death’, which cited one anonymous article in *A Batalha* supposedly from 10 November 1925 on Angola and another from 13 May 1925 by Correia de Sousa. Neither of the dates given was correct. A final piece referred to by the same article in *The Negro World* was taken from *A Batalha* from 18 November 1925 on the *roceiros*, or plantation owners, of São Tomé. This reference was, in fact, accurate (Anon., ‘A escravatura’). It is quite possible, bearing in mind the style and subject of the original article, that this piece was indeed written by Domingues.
5. Domingues, ‘A invasão negra na Europa’, 6 (‘a mesma fronte ampla, o mesmo olhar penetrante e arguto’).
6. Cleminson, ‘Anarchism and Anticolonialism’.
7. Garcia, ‘The First Stirrings’, 126. See also Castro and Garcia, “A Batalha” e a questão colonial’.
8. Domingues, ‘A invasão negra na Europa’, 14 (‘negros delegados de tôdos os aglomerados de pretos existentes por êsse mundo’).
9. ‘Congresso Internacional da Raça Negra’; Roldão, Pereira and Varela, *Tribuna Negra*, 109–11.
10. Du Bois, ‘Pan-Africa in Portugal’. According to Santos, *Pan-africanismo*, 100, the Liga’s offices by that time were situated in Rua Antero do Quental, Lisbon.
11. The full list of the over thirty participants from the Liga Africana is available in the WEB Du Bois papers and is reproduced in Roldão, Pereira and Varela, *Tribuna Negra*, 75.
12. The events leading up to and during the Lisbon session are discussed in dos Santos, *Pan-africanismo*, 98–103 and Pinto de Andrade, *Origens do Nacionalismo Africano*, 173–75.

- There is also a brief mention of the Lisbon session in Martin, *Race First*, 301 and in Fryer, *Staying Power*, 324.
13. Du Bois, 'Pan-Africa in Portugal'.
 14. Ibid. Minister Manuel Ferreira da Rocha was reported by Du Bois as 'Vieria da Rocha'.
 15. Pinto de Andrade, *Origens do Nacionalismo Africano*, 176–77; Hill, *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, vol. V, 571, note 8. Pinto de Andrade states that the delegation carried a letter addressed to the Liga Africana clarifying the objectives of the UNIA and affirming its distance from Bolshevism.
 16. Magalhães, 'O movimento pan-africano'. The head of this delegation was Robert Lincoln Poston. Poston died in March 1924 on the voyage home from Liberia. Domingues' visitor may also have been one of the other UNIA delegation members, either Sir J.J. Adam or Milton Van Lowe. Had Domingues misheard Wilson for Milton? A photograph of the UNIA delegation and Liga Africana members was published in *The Negro World* 16(19) (1924).
 17. Logan was editor for a time of *The Journal of Negro History*. No articles by Domingues were reproduced in this journal between 1919 and 1923. Logan mentions the Lisbon congress in passing in Logan, 'The Historical Aspects of Pan-Africanism', 97.
 18. Domingues, 'A invasão negra na Europa', 14. The postcard could, of course, have been another literary device.
 19. Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*. Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State*, 171 notes that the young Martinican Jane Nardal wrote about 'L'internationalisme noir' in the Parisian monthly *La Dépêche Africaine*, February 1928, 5, and was probably the first to view black organising in these terms.
 20. Adi, *Pan-Africanism and Communism*.
 21. Adi, *Pan-Africanism: A History*, 4–5.
 22. Shepperson, 'Pan-Africanism'.
 23. Putnam, 'Nothing Matters but Color'.
 24. As will be seen, the role of Domingues in sustaining Africa-themed publications in Lisbon in the early 1930s was pivotal. He was central to the paper *A Mocidade Africana* (1930–32), *Tribuna d'Africa* (1931–32) and *Africa Magazine* (1932).
 25. Said, 'Invention, Memory, and Place', 179; cf. Hobsbawm and Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*.
 26. Hartman, 'Venus in Two Acts', 11. Domingues' account, employing other forms of evidence rather than the written word, could also be considered through the lens provided by Gallagher and Greenblatt, 'Counterhistory and the anecdote'.
 27. Pinto de Andrade, *Origens do Nacionalismo Africano*, 184.
 28. Go and Watson, 'Anticolonial Nationalism', 34–35.
 29. Wilder, 'Untimely Vision', 103 (emphasis in original). See also the review article by Brückenhaus, 'Challenging Imperialism', for a recent evaluation of the state of the debate.
 30. Ndiaye, 'Présence africaine', 70.
 31. On the formulation of these movements and the role of the Casa dos Estudantes do Império (The Residence for Students of the Empire) in Lisbon in their creation, see Castelo and Bandeira Jerónimo (eds), *Casa dos Estudantes do Império*. Pinto de Andrade, *Origens do Nacionalismo Africano*, 184.
 32. Aires Oliveira, 'Portugal's Empire in the Wake of WWI', 140.
 33. Rodrigues, *A Geração Silenciada*, 9–11; Nascimento, *Entre o mundo e as ilhas*, 66.
 34. Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, 383–84; Penvenne, *African workers*, 1–9; Cahen, 'Indigenato Before Race?'; Ferraz de Matos, *The Colours of the Empire*, 47–54.

35. Pinto de Andrade, *Origens do Nacionalismo Africano*, 137 ('homens de raça africana'; 'africanos'; 'africanos portugueses').
36. Williams, *The Politics of Modernism*, 45.
37. Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora*, 4.
38. Goebel, *Anti-Imperial Metropolis*. See also Dewitte, *Les Mouvements Nègres en France*; Stoval, *Paris Noir*; Jules-Rosette, *Black Paris*.
39. The city of Marseilles, with its international seaport and waterfront, is a case in point. For a well-known depiction, see McKay, *Banjo*. Brent Hayes Edwards has argued, in 'Vagabond Internationalism', that Claude McKay's life constituted an example of cross-border interconnectedness. See also Holcomb, *Claude McKay*.
40. Schnee, *London 1900*; Matera, *Black London*.
41. Petersson, 'Hub of the Anti-Imperialist Movement'; James, 'The Caribbean Diaspora and Black Internationalism'. See also Stephens, *Black Empire*.
42. Dunstan, 'The Capital of Race Capitals'.
43. Hill, 'Introduction', in Hill (ed.), *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association papers*, vol. X, xc.
44. Garcia, *Mário Domingues*; Roldão, Pereira and Varela, *Tribuna Negra*, 73–116 discuss elements of transnationalism, but the uses of terms such as 'black internationalism' and 'Pan-Africanism' are not problematised in the ways identified by Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora* and Adi, *Pan-Africanism: A History*, discussed above. For important earlier discussions of the black movement, see Varela and Pereira, 'As origens do movimento negro'; Varela, 'Direito à memória e antirracismo'; Varela and Pereira, 'As origens do movimento negro em Portugal (1911–1933)'. A further book on the contribution of Mário Domingues to black politics is Baião (ed.), *Mário Domingues*.
45. Péliissier, *La Colonie de Minotaure*; Newitt, *Portugal in Africa*, 145–46.
46. The author passed away before the book's completion. See Wheeler, 'As raízes do nacionalismo angolano', 74–75.
47. Ramos Tinhorão, *Os Negros em Portugal*; Castro Henriques, *A Herança Africana em Portugal*.
48. Representative of a critical turn towards the nature of the empire and the specificities of race are Ferraz de Matos, *The Colours of the Empire*; Castelo, 'O modo português de estar no mundo'.
49. Anderson, Roque and Ventura Santos (eds), *Luso-Tropicalism and Its Discontents*.
50. Goebel has argued this in the case of Paris for French-speaking and other colonised black and Asian individuals, in *Anti-Imperial Metropolis*, 1–6.
51. On the limitations of *lusofonia* as a shared medium, see Morier-Genoud and Cahen, 'Introduction', in Morier-Genoud and Cahen (eds), *Imperial Migrations*, 1–28.
52. Beer, *Open Fields*, 5. As the subtitle of Beer's book (*Science in Cultural Encounter*) suggests, the focus was on the flow of scientific ideas between individuals and countries.
53. *Ibid.*
54. Ghobrial, 'Introduction'; Weinstein, 'History Without a Cause?'; Brickell and Datta (eds), *Translocal Geographies*; Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 'Translocality'.
55. Brickell and Datta, 'Introduction', in Brickell and Datta (eds), *Translocal Geographies*, 3. The two authors refer to translocality as 'grounded transnationalism'.
56. De Vries, 'Playing with Scales', 32.
57. *Ibid.*
58. Levi, 'Frail Frontiers', 38–39.
59. Domingos and Peralta, 'A Cidade e o Colonial', X.

60. The phrase is drawn from Bergin, 'African American Internationalism', 255. Cathy Bergin argues that African Americans' commitment to historical anti-fascism in different places across the world constituted an example of this kind of relationship.
61. This approach was successfully adopted in work by Augusto Nascimento – for example, in *Entre o mundo e as ilhas*.
62. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*.
63. Ibid., 8. See Fabian, *Time and the Other*.
64. Osterweil, 'Place-Based Globalism'. Osterweil contrasts the intersection of the global and the local in the 'new social movements' with a 'universalizing globalist' perspective that is insensitive to local dynamics and unable to assess the relevance of these movements in terms of the scale of their effects.
65. Go and Lawson, *Global Historical Sociology*, 1–34.
66. Varela and Pereira, 'As origens do movimento negro em Portugal (1911–1933)', 13; see also some discussion of the resonances of Portuguese Pan-Africanism and the divisions in the movement in the Brazilian journal *Getulino* in Roldão, Pereira and Varela, *Tribuna Negra*, 165 – specifically 'Correio de Portugal', *Getulino*, 28, 1924, 2.
67. The article by Flavio Thales Ribeiro Francisco, 'A redenção da raça Negra' is indicative of the importance of the press in constructing the movement as well as the insights such an approach can provide.
68. Anderson, *Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*; Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments* has noted that Benedict Anderson is right when referring to print-capitalism as the institutional space for the development of the modern national language, but tempers his suggestions that all nationalisms must choose from already established (Western) modular forms. It would appear, Partha Chatterjee fears, that 'Even our imaginations must remain forever colonised' (5). The language employed in a particular movement and locality must be adequate for the space (7) – a productive tension that, as we will see, ran through much of the discourse in black African publications in Lisbon.
69. Vega, *Imperios de papel*.
70. José Luís Garcia et al. (eds), *Media and the Portuguese Empire*; Vieira Machado et al. (eds), *Creating and Opposing Empire*.
71. Umoren, *Race Women Internationalists*; Roldão, Pereira and Varela, *Tribuna Negra*, 117–38.
72. Hartman, *Wayward Lives*.
73. On the richness of the Portuguese anarchist press, the participation of many national literary figures and the high quality of its articles, see Alves, 'Raul Brandão', and for a transnational account of the contribution of the anarchist journalist António Pinto Quartin to anticolonialism, see Guimarães, 'António Pinto Quartin'.
74. See, for example, Gunn, 'The Spatial Turn'.
75. Roldão, Pereira and Varela, *Tribuna Negra*, 239–51 shows the attractiveness of such an approach by plotting 'Black Lisbon' on a map of the city.
76. Ribeiro Sanches, 'Lisboa, capital do império' identifies places of leisure and interaction in the Lisbon of the 1940s–1960s, and this work takes inspiration from that essay. Also informative is França, *Lisboetas no século XX*; in the latter, the jazz and bar culture of Lisbon is mentioned on 666–67.
77. Dos Santos, *Pan-africanismo*, 119–21; Péliissier, *La Colonie de Minotaure*, 224.
78. Dos Santos, *Pan-africanismo*, 121–23; Péliissier, *La Colonie de Minotaure*, 227; Newitt, *Portugal in Africa*, 145.
79. Santos, *Pan-africanismo*, 123.

80. Ibid., 124.
81. Péliissier, *La Colonie de Minotaure*, 228.
82. Santos, *Pan-africanismo*, 124.
83. In thinking this through, I have found Jacobs, 'Preface', x–xi, and Gani and Khan, 'Positionality Statements' useful reflections.
84. For a discussion of the importance of the history and memory of marginalised groups as 'subterranean' recuperations in contrast to a nation-centred history, see Pollak, 'Memória, Esquecimento, Silêncio', 4.
85. Gorjão Henriques, *Racismo no país dos brancos costumes*, 11. Such a situation was also recently laid bare by a rare English-language account in Pitts, *Afropean*, 339–72.
86. As explored recently by Peralta, 'Insurgent Memory'.