

Racial and Social Prejudice in the Colonial Empire

Issues Raised by Miscegenation in Portugal (Late Nineteenth to Mid-Twentieth Centuries)

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ABSTRACT

This article analyses the issue of miscegenation in Portugal, which is directly associated with the context of its colonial empire, from late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries. The analysis considers sources from both literary and scientific fields. Subsequently, aspects such as interracial marriage, degeneration and segregation, as well as the changes brought about by the end of World War II and the social revolutions of the 1960s are considered. The 1980s brought several changes in the attitude towards Portuguese identity and nationality, which had meanwhile cut loose from its colonial context. Crossbreeding was never actually praised in the Portuguese colonial context, and despite still having strong repercussions in the present day, lusotropicalism was based on a fallacious rhetoric of politically motivated propaganda.

KEYWORDS

literature, miscegenation, politics, Portuguese colonial empire, race, science

Introduction

After Portugal became an independent kingdom in 1139, its first king, Afonso Henriques (1109/11–1185), continued the southward reconquest of territory from the Arabs, setting up new settlements. When he reached Lisbon in 1147, he encouraged peaceful conviviality between the Christians, Jews and Muslims who were living in the city. From the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Portuguese maritime expansion strengthened contacts between the Portuguese and communities on other continents. It was from this point on that a colonialist philosophy began to emerge. However, the issue of crossbreeding, discussed by scientists and politicians, only became a fundamentally important focus when the Portuguese colonial presence in Africa was strengthened at the end of the nineteenth century and up to the 1930s and 1940s, when it reached a peak.



The topic of racial relationships in the context of the Portuguese colonial empire, particularly up to the early nineteenth century, was studied in detail by Charles Boxer (1963). This issue has also been one of the most significant in the discussion of Brazilian nationality (Skidmore 1974). Although the native element – the Indian – is still somewhat invisible in the history of Brazil, the country has frequently been described as a ‘three-race’ country. This can be found in works discussing its formation and development (Couto 1995), its miscegenation (Maio and Santos 1998; Schwarcz 1999) or the relationships between different ethnic groups (Andrews 1991; Sansone 2003).

In the period highlighted in this analysis, miscegenation was sometimes seen as a threat, and some Brazilian authors even advocated for a ‘whitening’ solution for Brazil (Vianna 1933). However, the presence of the African element in Brazil and the cultural influences brought along with it were also studied by Brazilian researchers (Ramos 1934; Rodrigues 1977). The contributions of the African element in Brazil were also praised, albeit rarely, by some Portuguese authors (Oliveira 1934a). Brazil is still commonly considered a country of racial democracy, but this has also been widely deconstructed and criticised as a myth.

Following its independence (1822), Brazil was considered the greatest former Portuguese colony and a good example of colonisation to be followed in existing overseas territories, mainly in Africa (Alexandre 1993). This occurred particularly during the period of the Portuguese *Estado Novo* (1933–1974), a corporatist and authoritarian regime idealised by António de Oliveira Salazar, its leader, who was characterised by Catholic values and a traditionalist and antiliberal philosophy. Up until the independence of Brazil, the Portuguese had mainly made contact with people living near the coast, and relationships were mainly commercial. This was the most common scenario until the late nineteenth century. The race among European powers to occupy Africa and competition for its territories intensified after 1880. Africa was divided among European powers at the Berlin Conference (1884–1885) and at the Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference (1890), which resulted in political programmes aimed at the occupation of land. At the start of World War I, about 90 per cent of Africa was already under European control, but African wars of ‘pacification’ had been lengthy in some regions, lasting up to the early twentieth century (Pélissier 1986).

During this period, Portugal saw a rise in more systematic organisation of forms of knowledge, including racial classifications, as well as

the emergence and institutionalisation of various branches of science (Catroga 1996). The development of studies of colonised peoples was encouraged, and a need was felt to motivate the population of the metropole to emigrate to the colonies. As early as 1919, Mendes Correia (1888–1960), an anthropologist and archaeologist with a medical background, had quoted from reports drawn up by several Portuguese consuls, responding to a survey organised by the Lisbon Geographic Society in 1917. Despite mentioning a ‘lack of culture’, they were generally complimentary about the Portuguese; he lamented, however, that ‘the Portuguese emigrate to countries strange to them and whose value they will enhance, rather than emigrating to the colonies or enhancing the value of their own motherland’ (Correia 1919: 160–161). Nevertheless, this emigration could cause problems, as it would lead to contacts between very different people. At that time, a number of nationalist theories arose, with some authors questioning the national identity and seeking a racial matrix to explain the decadence of the late nineteenth century (Sobral 2004) because they considered Portugal to be poor and isolated from Europe. After a period of apogee with maritime expansion and the conquest of territories in Asia, South America and Africa, from the fifteenth century, Portugal loses Brazil. The colonial investment was then turned to Africa from the mid-nineteenth century. But at the end of the nineteenth century, several European countries rebelled against Portugal’s claims to African territories, the most humiliating being the British Ultimatum (1890).

At the Versailles peace conference in 1919, the Portuguese government was criticised for not being able to properly manage its colonies and for still maintaining a form of slavery or forced labour (which were also political-economic institutions behind the formation of race and miscegenation). It was thought that one way to avoid sanctions might be to force the opening of the Portuguese colonial markets to international trade. The government then offered relative autonomy to Angola and Mozambique and promised to improve the colonial administration and to promote the economic, social and cultural advancement of native populations (Pimenta 2010: 45–46). Settlement colonialism with families from the metropole was encouraged, with the government financing boat tickets to Africa. However, in the context of the ‘pacification’ efforts of the first two decades of the twentieth century, limited military forces, particularly in Angola (Roque 2003), increased the vulnerability of settlement colonialism, which required the presence of families and, specifically, women. In fact, the presence of European women was considered necessary for domesticating the

empire because it would contribute to greater control of men's sexuality – preventing miscegenation with locals – and to the affirmation of the colonisers in terms of their morals and identity.

Settlement colonialism was developed in Angola (from the late nineteenth century) and in Mozambique (twentieth century), and these territories, economically speaking, were the central core of the 'empire'; migration to these territories reached over 90 per cent of overall migration to overseas territories (Castelo 2007: 15). The emigration policy focused on the selection and growth of the white population in Africa, and the choice of settlers was important, as they were supposed to set good examples to the 'natives'. While Norton de Matos (1867–1955) – minister of the colonies and war (1915), governor (1912–1915) and, later, high commissioner for Angola (1921–1923) – defended the immigration of all those white families who wished to do so, Armindo Monteiro – minister of the colonies from 1931 to 1935 – who had supported restrictions on immigration to Africa at the Conference of Colonial Governors (1934), defended that potential settlers should only travel with a 'letter of invitation' in order not to encourage the idea that the unemployed or fugitives inhabited the colonies.

It was only in 1930 that the guiding principles of Portuguese colonial policy were expressed through the Colonial Act (which defined the Portuguese colonial empire, identified the territories it included and described its inhabitants), and they were subsequently incorporated into the new Constitution approved by the *Estado Novo* in 1933. However, the populations who inhabited that empire were idealised based on a racial and sometimes racist viewpoint. The law itself made distinctions between some of these inhabitants. '*Indígenas*'¹ (natives) in particular were not considered Portuguese citizens; that is, although they were considered Portuguese, they could not exercise their citizenship rights.

Colonial propaganda was another means used to promote the notion of a vast empire, from the 'Minho to Timor' (a northern province of Portugal), and to convey ideas on how relationships between the individuals should be established. It was necessary to spread the idea that the Portuguese were competent colonisers. This was also a reaction to a report by the American sociologist Edward Ross, presented in 1925 at the League of Nations (more specifically to the Temporary Slavery Commission of the Society of Nations). After an investigation in Angola and Mozambique, this report denounced the presence of forced labour in the Portuguese colonies. Although forced

labour had been abolished by the Labour Code for Natives in 1938, a system of mandatory crops was enforced. They were only abolished in 1961, after war had broken out in Angola.

Movement to the colonies did not occur only during the *Estado Novo* period, as it had already been observed during the First Republic (1910–1926) and also the Military Dictatorship (1926–1933), but it was indeed strengthened during this period. Through exhibitions, films and colonial literature, ideas about the empire gained new momentum (Matos 2013a). The promotion of the idea that the overseas territories were part of the ‘Portuguese world’ and that they presented features identified with the metropole led to the belief that assimilation as a settler would be within the reach of any person.

Speeches against crossbreeding appeared to intensify, especially in Angola and Mozambique but also in relation to other territories. Colonial governors, such as Norton de Matos and Vicente Ferreira (minister of finance [1912–1913, 1921] and minister for the colonies [1923]) did not favour crossbreeding, although they defended the ‘social elevation of blacks and mulattos’, safeguarding, however, that these were ‘carefully separated groups’ (Ribeiro 1981: 155). As Ann Stoler (1995) has pointed out, sexuality in the colonies was influenced by racial factors and social class considerations. The contamination of the rich by the poor, of city folks by rural folks, of healthy people by the sick, the alleged disturbance of established orders were in tune with anxieties related to racial miscegenation. In Portugal, the issues raised by miscegenation were analysed in both literary and scientific fields and were influenced by the political context, as I shall exemplify below.

Literature

In representations in literature, the lack of Portuguese women in the colonies was commonly held responsible for miscegenation – understood as pathological and disturbing for single men in Africa. Maria Lamas (1893–1983) wrote two novels (1923, 1927) depicting *bourgeois* women involved in the effort to colonise Africa, unlike Brazil or the United States. Lamas, who lived in Angola from 1911 to 1913 and was married to a member of the republican military, portrayed morally strong and religious female characters as necessary for the Portuguese to maintain strictly endogamous social and sexual relationships both in the New World and in African territories (Ferreira 2012: 104).

Ana de Castro Osório (1872–1935) defended endogamy in *Mundo Novo* (1927), in which she described the Portuguese ‘colony’ *Nova Esperança* in São Paulo (Brazil). Another author was Maria Archer (1899–1982), who worked with the periodical *Cadernos Coloniais*. Her writings, which reflected her educational references and the fact that she had lived in three different African colonies in her youth, suggested that ‘races’ as well as classes should remain separated and differentiated. In some of her works, Archer criticised racism and colonialism, but she also criticised women from the metropole for having failed, alongside their husbands, with regard to colonisation and the transmission of a humanitarian mission, often considered a civilizing mission (Ferreira 2012: 112–114). Theoretically, it included not only the prevention of miscegenation but also the discouragement of forced labour, a scandal that Henrique Galvão (1895–1970) publicly denounced in the National Assembly in 1947 (from that moment on, he began to oppose the dictatorship of Oliveira Salazar). Archer supported this prominent literary and political figure and took risks when denouncing the regime. She was forced into exile to Brazil in 1955, where she joined Galvão and the antifascist opposition (Martins 2002).

Gastão de Sousa Dias (1887–1955) noted the absence of white women in the history of colonial Angola, suggesting that only their presence could prevent miscegenation and raise the level of ‘civilisation’ (1947). However, we do not know how this feminine presence would have managed to inspect and control all the interracial interactions that allegedly constituted a threat to the Portuguese empire in Africa.

Literature was also a platform for favourable opinions on cross-breeding, as in the case of José de Osório Oliveira (1934b), who seems to have agreed with the lusotropicalism of Gilberto Freyre (1900–1987), according to which the Portuguese had no difficulty in mixing with native populations from the tropics. He praised this concept as early as the 1930s and the early 1940s, at a time when the political regime had not yet assimilated the idea of unproblematic crossbreeding by the Portuguese (Cahen and Matos 2018).

Science

Mendes Correia, a key figure in the first half of the twentieth century, can help us understand how miscegenation was discussed. In 1934, on the First National Congress on Colonial Anthropology held

in Porto, he presented a text based on a survey he had carried out at the Institute of Anthropology of the University of Porto. His aim had been to determine the 'racial efficiency coefficient' (1934), as the number of *mestiços* was growing in the colonies. Nevertheless, research on crossbreeding with black people in Cape Verde and with Chinese in Macao demonstrated that physically they were closer to 'blacks' and 'yellow men' than to the Portuguese. From this survey on crossbreeding and the 'biological, psychological, moral and social conditions of the *mestiços* as compared with the original races', carried out with 'people well acquainted with the colonies', he concluded that the method adopted, as designed by Porteus and Babcock (authors of a 1925 study of racial differences in Hawaii), revealed 'difficulties and flaws' but that 'in view of the supreme interests of the nation and of humanity', a majority of the respondents opposed the encouragement of crossbreeding (Correia 1934: 331, 347). When Correia visited Brazil in 1934, he observed selective miscegenation, which he judged to be 'racial selection', in which individuals from the same 'races' are mutually attracted (i.e., each individual would choose phenotypically similar partners) with a purpose that he called 'anthropological affinity' (1935). He further considered that, besides crossbreeding being seen as something to be naturally rejected, its results – the *mestiços* – did not hold significant roles in Brazilian society.

Eusébio Tamagnini (1880–1972), an anthropologist with a medical education, defended the effort to instil in the Portuguese a desire to emigrate to the colonies and to permanently settle there but alerted to the dangers of crossbreeding because, as the German doctor and eugenicist Ernst Rodenwaldt (1878–1965) had noted, it was 'a risk to which all human societies were exposed' (Tamagnini 1934: 63). He sought to encourage less wealthy people, looking for better life conditions, to emigrate to Africa, where they could find a continuity of their homeland. There is a certain degree of resemblance between this formulation and the colonial policy of the First Republic, which sought to encourage large-scale settler colonialism by reaching out to more disadvantaged members of society. Tamagnini wondered whether the 'high capacity for colonisation of the Portuguese' was due to the 'limited degree of aversion that they express towards sexual approaches with elements from other ethnic origins'. According to Tamagnini, it was 'indispensable to radically change this attitude, there being doubts that it even exists as an ethnic characteristic of its own'; he therefore discouraged crossbreeding because, from a racial hierarchy perspective, in which the 'white race' appeared as superior, the *mestiço*

was considered to be in an 'unfortunate social position', being rejected by both the mother's and the father's side (1934: 62).

Germano Correia (1888–1967), a doctor in Goa, criticised the settlement of colonies with convicts, people considered unacceptable with regard to 'inter-ethnic eugenics' (1934: 329). However, Portugal would also be observed by foreigners. From 10 November to 8 December 1935, the Swiss writer and historian Gonzague de Reynold came to Portugal (accompanied in his journeys to and from the country by Narciso Freire de Andrade – member of the Portuguese delegation to the League of Nations, who acted as an intermediary between Salazar and Reynold) and wrote a book. According to Reynold (1936), the country's weaknesses were those of the Portuguese people themselves: lack of hygiene, illiteracy, lack of physical education and the weakness of the 'race'. This people, particularly south of Coimbra (city in central Portugal), were notably miscegenated with 'exotic races', and this mixture had harmed the nation. For this reason, the regime should take urgent measures in defence of the 'race'. The book, which referenced some of Mendes Correia's texts, was awarded the Camões Prize by the National Propaganda Secretariat in 1938.

In an article published in the journal *Ocidente* – in which the texts later collected in his book *Raízes de Portugal* were first published – Mendes Correia advanced the thesis that science 'does not systematically condemn crossbreeding'. However, recognizing that '*mestiços* are not identical, from a physical and psychological point of view, to the races they descend from', he recommended, 'despite extending them the best sentiments of fraternity and sympathy', that, '*in the case of an older nation such as Portugal*, the supreme direction of national fortune should not be handed over to them' (italics in the original). He recognised that 'the flaws of many *mestiços*' could be attributed to unfavourable social conditions, originating in the 'instability of the connections they result from' (1944a: 129, 130).

He therefore sought a justification in genetics, claiming that this was a serious field. He named articles that had been published in journals, such as the English journal *Nature* (no. 3698 from 1940), which declared that the 'race' issue was a scientific subject and published the conclusions of a report on mixed marriages in South Africa, prepared by a commission that had reached the conclusion that the undesirability of the product of crossbreeding was social, economic and political rather than biological (Correia 1944a: 133). He cited the *Immorality Act* (1927), passed by the South African Parliament, under which illicit sexual relations between Europeans and Africans were considered a crime, and he

mentioned that, according to the South African report, although these marriages were not approved by the public in general or by churches, they were not actually forbidden. In this case, the issue of crossbreeding was not biological but instead sociocultural, and the report suggested measures to improve social conditions in order to prevent these unions.

At the Colonial Congress, part of the Congresses of the Portuguese World, held in Lisbon in 1940, Correia rejected crossbreeding, as its spread would lead to ‘a confusing melting pot’; for Correia, it was important to prevent the ‘social and political interference of *mestiços* in Portuguese life’ and the defacing of the ‘Motherland’s traditional physiognomy’ (1940: 11–12, 21). At that same Colonial Congress, Gonçalo de Santa-Rita, a professor at the Escola Superior Colonial (Colonial School), also expressed views against the existence of *mestiços* in the colonies (1940: 20–21).

Re-examining a text he had published earlier (Correia 1940) at the Second Congress of the National Union (the only legal party under the *Estado Novo*) in 1944, Mendes Correia described crossbreeding as a threat, as it would lead to the dissolution of specific features of the Portuguese people (1944b). However, crossbreeding also appeared as a supplementary way to maintain and consolidate the empire. In other words, the author updated his ideas, mitigating the content of his previous speeches. He also considers the possibility of *mestiços* holding political and administration offices, a perspective that had been previously discouraged.

There were also theories that, despite recognizing the existence of crossbreeding, considered that it had not destroyed or changed the Portuguese genetic legacy (Matos 2010). Although the idea of pure ‘races’ is a myth with quite remote origins (Poliakov 1971), some of these theories sought to prove that there was a certain racial purity among the Portuguese, their proponents including António Sardinha (1915), essayist and politician; Lopo Vaz de Sampaio e Mello (1936), professor at the Escola Superior Colonial; Eusébio Tamagnini (1939); and the doctors Joaquim Pires de Lima (1940) and Aires de Azevedo (who called for the urgent definition of a demographic policy in the country and an increase in the white population in the empire [1940: 62–63, 75]).

Interracial Marriage, Degeneration and Social Segregation

The issue of racial mixing was also debated in other countries, such as Mexico, Peru, Argentina and Venezuela. In the American South,

there was a fear of sexual contamination through rape or interracial marriage, and this led to efforts to prevent the conjugal union of whites with those with any known or discernible African ancestry. In the 1930s, it was Jews who were persecuted by the Nazis. With the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, interracial marriage or sexual relations between Jews and Gentiles were prohibited. Nazi propaganda debated the sexual threat that Jewish men might represent to German women and to the purity of German blood. However, racist ideology would become more murderous in Germany than in the American South. Although mobs hung or burned to death blacks, it was in Nazi Germany that a modern nation state, based on a racist ideology, made an attempt to exterminate an entire group that, until 1933, had the same rights like everybody else with German citizenship (Fredrickson 2015: 2).

In a study relating marriage and 'race' in the 1940s and 1950s, based on the statistical year books of the colonies, the historian Maria Eugénia Mata (2007) concluded that there was social prejudice with regard to interracial marriage and that racial homogamy was predominant in the Portuguese colonies. Regardless of whether it was motivated by social prejudice, there is no doubt that at times miscegenation was considered to be possibly responsible for degeneration. A crucial reference for this idea can be found in Gobineau (1816–1882), and it was discussed in the United States, in Central and South America as well as in Europe and, more specifically, in Portugal. José Andrade Saraiva (1929) defended that immigration in Europe should be blocked to prevent the adulteration of the 'white race'. According to him, the Portuguese were spreading all over the world, which was considered positive, but by doing so they also lost their original characteristics. However, Germano Correia, for example, stated that, in the case of the Indo-Portuguese populations, there was 'neither degeneration, nor racial diversification in people of Portuguese descent' (1940: 663).

Mendes Correia also addressed potential degeneration resulting from the union of different groups. He defended the 'purity of metropolitan Portuguese blood' as an 'essential condition for the historical and moral status of the Nation' not because the *mestiço* was necessarily inferior but because the mixing of heterogeneous elements could lead to unexpected and less successful outcomes (1940). However, what Correia eventually highlighted was the unpredictability of crossbreeding and its effect of dilution rather than its scientific substantiation.

Although they were rare, Portuguese laws also included some regulations on marriage. An example of this was §4 of Decree-Law 31:107

issued by the Ministry of War, published in *Diário do Governo*, the official gazette, on 18 January 1941. According to this law, army officials who requested authorisation to get married would need to prove that ‘the wife-to-be was of Portuguese origin, never having lost that nationality, a daughter of European parents, not divorced, and that both possessed sufficient means in accordance with their level in the family hierarchy’. However, in Portugal and its colonies, there were no racial segregation laws comparable to the Jim Crow laws (1876–1965) in the United States, which sought to keep ‘whites’ and ‘blacks’ separate and unequal, the Nuremberg laws (1935) in Nazi Germany or the apartheid laws in South Africa.

Furthermore, the position of authors who believed that crossbreeding was a destabilising factor, although influential, did not represent all discourses. Some authors took different positions, mainly later. An appreciation of miscegenation is present, for example, in Gilberto Freyre (1986), who, inspired by Franz Boas and other culturalist authors to value the contribution of African and Amerindian cultures in the formation of Brazil, claimed that its society was enhanced during the colonial period. Being considered a country free from racial prejudice, it could set an example to the rest of the world. Besides the country’s ‘racial democracy’, Freyre highlighted the predisposition of the Portuguese for fraternal contact with tropical populations due to their ethnic and cultural history as an ‘undefined’ people part way between Europe and Africa (Andrews 1991; Castelo 1998). Freyre also cites several of Correia’s works, which demonstrates the circulation of ideas between Portugal and Brazil and the scientific recognition already afforded to Correia since the 1910s.

Historically, some have defended mixed-marriage policies. Afonso de Albuquerque (1453–1515), a Governor of Portuguese India (1509–1515), encouraged his men to take wives of Aryan origin who had converted to Christianity, although he did not wish them to marry “‘black women” of Malabar’. Albuquerque was thus seeking to create a ‘mixed but legitimate Christian race through intermarriage with selected Indian women’ (Boxer 1963: 64–65). His political and military vision, from the perspective of an empire and as deployed in the sixteenth century, was considered inspiring and a precedent of the ideas some sought to put into practice in the colonial territories after the 1940s. Albuquerque’s strategy was evoked in a document published on the occasion of the First Portuguese Colonial Exposition, held in Porto in 1934, that mentioned the plan to take new blood to the population of Portuguese India (which territories – Goa, Daman

and Diu – were integrated into the Indian Union in 1961). According to this document, the wives, children and perhaps the families of Eastern women married to Portuguese men could be Christianised, and the Portuguese language, along with customs, institutions and religion, could be passed on (*Portugal através do tempo* . . . 1934).

However, Albuquerque's policy did not reach the African territories. In addition to prejudices against native African populations and the fact that many authors were convinced of their cultural inferiority, several speeches were made against crossbreeding, namely from a scientific perspective, and in some aspects this was considered a threat to the nation's integrity.

Post-World War II Period

As the war came to an end, colonial systems in general began to break down. In Asia and Africa, new nationalist movements arose, and existing movements were reinforced. After the foundation of the United Nations on 24 October 1945, through the Charter of the United Nations, Portugal was put under international pressure and was forced to rethink its attitude towards overseas territories. Changes were first observed in discourse and then at an official level. The image of the empire was transformed, as it had been in countries such as France, England and the Netherlands.

Against this background, Sarmento Rodrigues was appointed minister for overseas territories (1950–1955), and he undertook a review of applicable law. The expression 'colonisation' was gradually replaced by 'integration'. However, the 1950 census indicates that only a minimal percentage of the population of the colonies was given 'civilised' or 'assimilated' status (Pereira 1986: 214). The 1951 constitution created the regime of indigenes (*indigenato*) for the natives of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, considering that they had not yet achieved a 'European level of culture and social development', unlike the inhabitants of Cape Verde, Portuguese India and Macao (Santos 1955: 159).

However, the new international context required the validation of the Portuguese colonial project and a commitment to the legitimisation of what made it different from the (few) other existing empires. The idea of a pluricontinental nation was defended, comprising Portuguese of all 'races'. The discriminatory ideas of the Colonial Act began to be abandoned. To designate '*indigenas*', other more neutral terms were employed, although stereotypes were still used to identify them. The

claims defending Portugal's 'imperial vocation' begin to change: unlike other countries, Portugal was allegedly characterised by disinterested colonisation, based on the transmission of Christian ideals and an attempt to integrate colonised populations into Western civilisation.

Mendes Correia, as a deputy in the National Assembly, spoke against the status of '*indígena*' on 26 April 1951, claiming that all the inhabitants of the Portuguese empire – metropole and colonies – should be considered citizens. In that same year, he declared that the examples of racial mixing found in the colonies testified to an absence of racial prejudice among the Portuguese (Correia 1951), and this assertion also assumed that racism was absent in Brazil. He then considered crossbreeding to be 'one of the most powerful agents of Portuguese expansion' (Correia 1954: 258–259).

These reformulations were also a consequence of the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, calling for the abolition of racial prejudice. This was followed by a document launched by UNESCO on the concept of race, which considered that race mixture was not disadvantageous: because there was no evidence of negative effects, there was also no biological justification for preventing the marriage of people from different 'races' (Anonymous 1952: 15). In general, in the 1950s, the official doctrine of the *Estado Novo* adopted the lusotropicalist theory defended by Freyre (1986). By this time, some titles that supported this new vision began to appear, including *Muitas raças, uma só nação*, by the historian António de Andrade (1953).

Later on, after the Bandung Conference, held in Indonesia in April 1955, the need to guarantee the independence of colonial territories was reiterated. Asian people gained greater awareness of their own value and of the need for solidarity with African people. Although they continued to be rare, some speeches were made in Portugal defending greater tolerance towards Africans (Belchior 1951). Changes appeared in the policies of the *Estado Novo*, with laws amended to eliminate compulsory crops and forced labour, while '*indígena*' status was abolished in 1961, when war broke out in Angola and Adriano Moreira was the minister for overseas territories (1961–1962).

Recurrent Ideas

The notion that Portuguese colonisation was different from others can be found in the writings of several authors, including Ruth Benedict. Perhaps influenced by Freyre, Benedict wrote that there was a

difference in the attitudes of various nations: ‘the Spanish and Portuguese and Dutch did not share the horror of miscegenation the English had, nor did the French institute the ironclad caste distinctions the English did’ (1983: 106).

Nevertheless, as observed by Gerald Bender, in the early 1930s both Portugal and Brazil sought to ‘establish their grandeur’ through lusotropicalism, emphasising the positive nature of Portuguese ‘racial’ mixing in the tropics (1980: 31). However, even though both countries claimed that there had been a unique absence of racism among Portuguese settlers, there was a great difference in the way they viewed black people. The Brazilians highlighted the symbiotic nature of the racial contact between Portuguese and African civilisations and the fact that each group had benefited from the other’s culture. In Portugal, however, Africans were characterised as intrinsically inferior, and Portuguese self-adulation regarding its ‘civilizing mission’ depended on that inferiority. Despite the differences and similarities in both interpretations, the ideology’s core in both countries was the existence of a non-racist and completely *sui generis* Portuguese colonialism (1980: 31, 33).

However, as mentioned in an earlier study (Matos 2013a), interviews with individuals who lived in Angola, Mozambique and Timor between the 1930s and the 1970s show that colonial society had a structured hierarchy, demonstrating that many discourses (political, scientific and journalistic) did not reflect the practices. As a consequence, a deep gap remained between ‘whites’ and ‘blacks’, and in some cases crossbreeding was reduced (Ribeiro 1981). As already mentioned by several authors (Alexandre 2000; Bender 1980; Boxer 1963; Castelo 1998; Moutinho 1982), the lusotropicalism thesis was an ideology used by the state to legitimate Portuguese colonialism and keep its overseas provinces. There was no incentive for miscegenation as a principle; in fact, it was actually criticised in many quarters. Besides, despite its independence, Brazil was considered a Portuguese creation and, therefore, to a certain extent, cast in a subordinate role in relation to Portugal.

Post-1960s

The 1960s, during which racial segregation and discrimination were declared illegal in the United States, benefited from the discrediting of scientific racism after World War II. However, the South African regime survived the post–World War II and Cold War context, having

officially instituted apartheid in 1948. Laws were approved that prohibited marriage and sexual intercourse between different groups and demanded separate residential areas for blacks and *mestiços*. Although some of apartheid's advocates did not focus on biological racism, they in fact emphasised cultural segregation and the existence of 'separate development' (Fredrickson 2015: 3). In Portugal, there was no instituted segregational regime as there was in some other countries. But this does not mean that separation was not encouraged or suggested, even if nonofficially. In the case of the Portuguese colonies, segregation situations could be found in public spaces, such as promenades or movie theatres, although frequently this concept was not based on a legal provision. In addition, the award of a title of nobility to an individual from the metropole could also require certification that the person had had no ancestors of African origin.

When the first threats from the African national liberation movements arose, the country sought to reinforce the establishment of settlers in Africa, of the 'colonial life style' as well as its mission and development role. After 1974, the year of the military coup that brought down the Portuguese dictatorship on 25 April and once decolonisation had been decided upon, a process was followed in which both coloniser and colonised countries were mutually influenced and restructured, as were the relationships between their citizens. The postcolonial period was marked by several different stages: the nationality law (1981), which privileged blood ties; the entry of Portugal into the European Community (1986) and the creation and institutionalisation of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (1996).

Portugal then became a country of immigrants rather than emigrants, and several organisations and institutions were created in this national and international context (including SOS Racismo, Frente Anti-Racista and the Portuguese section of Amnesty International). In Portugal, a number of works have studied the existence, or lack thereof, of racism, some denouncing the 'subtle racism' of the Portuguese (Vala 1999; Vala, Brito and Lopes 1999). Also, the ACM (*Alto Comissariado para as Migrações*, Office of the High Commissioner for Migrations) has supported studies on the topic of relationships among different groups. The history of Portugal has revealed that its population is the result of a blend of several different groups, although this has not always been recognised, let alone praised.

However, despite having been scientifically discredited, the notion of lusotropicalism and the idea that Portuguese colonisation was

different because it permitted the tolerant coexistence of different cultures and religions, as described by Freyre (1954a, 1954b), have persisted after the independence of the former Portuguese colonies. According to some anthropologists (Almeida 2004; Bastos 1998), this formulation appears to be in line with some of the more persistent preconceived ideas about Portuguese nationalism, national identity and the adaptation of the Portuguese to different territories. In the 1950s, some authors even wrote about the special adaptability of Portuguese culture. This thesis was developed, for example, in the works of Jorge Dias (1990, 1971), in which the theory of the nation assumes an important role in explaining the relationships between miscegenation and national identity (Matos 2017; Sobral 2007). All these topics will continue to provide leads for research on the naturalisation of racial discrimination (Cabecinhas 2007) or popular culture (Cardão 2015). Structural and institutional racism in today's Portugal continued, in part, to be related with the heritage of colonial schemes, which tend to endure under new guises. Current debates in Portuguese society are addressing the issues of recognition and symbolic reparation for slavery, and they face the opposition of a hegemonic view that is fundamentally a continuation of lusotropicalist views.

Conclusion

As observed by Peter Wade (1993), distinctions based on phenotype are not natural but instead naturalised. Perceptions of skin colour are socially constructed and can be created and ascribed different meanings (Matos 2013a). When we reflect on miscegenation, these differences become more complex. In fact, crossbreeding is never simply biological; it can also be cultural – linguistic, religious (as in syncretism), or based on other factors. In the Portuguese case, condemnation of miscegenation was mainly related to a colonial context, in which power inequality and the preservation of hierarchies led to a racialised way of considering differences. As Fredrickson noted, racism does not require the full support of the state or laws nor an ideology centred on the concept of biological inequality (2015: 4) in order to be manifested.

The question of miscegenation was debated essentially at the time when the European colonial presence in Africa was being strengthened – after the Berlin Conference and up until the 1930s and 1940s, when it reached its peak. Generally speaking, the movement of

Europeans and more specifically Portuguese towards African territories was initially promoted (Matos 2013b), but not their miscegenation with local populations. Despite some discourses in the fields of science, literature and politics having praised Portuguese colonisation and the contribution of miscegenation, the work of Freyre (1986) was not particularly well received in Portugal at first. The idea of an ‘empire reborn’ was still impregnated with racist imagery, leaving no space for Freyre’s culturalist vision or for praise of the *mestiço* (Castelo 1998). Besides, a certain specificity of the Portuguese was still under discussion (in biological and in collective psychology terms), with no space for valuing external elements.

As we have seen, the question of crossbreeding was addressed in literature and science but suffered from political appropriation. It cannot be concluded that no politician took a position regarding miscegenation, based only on the fact that there were no laws that specifically prohibited it or because Salazar, as head of government, did not declare himself against it or wrote that the Portuguese defended the principles of racial equality (Salazar 1951: 283) or claimed that the Portuguese were skilled at creating a ‘fusion of races’ (Garnier 1952: 147). Besides, some of the people who discouraged miscegenation were not only from the world of science but also took political office and greatly influenced Portuguese society. This was the case, for example, of Mendes Correia (mayor of Porto [1936–1942] and deputy to the National Assembly [1945–1957]) or Eusébio Tamagnini (minister of public instruction [1934–1936]).

Praise of crossbreeding never effectively occurred in the Portuguese context, with regard to both its European territory and the overseas territories once under its administration. In addition, lusotropicalism was based on a fallacious rhetoric of politically motivated propaganda. Probably, to a certain extent, it was only accepted and easily spread for the following two reasons: first, because the debate on miscegenation was never sufficiently widespread, and second, because the international framework that put pressure on Portuguese politics from 1945 led to the appropriation of a theory that, although unwarranted, was very convenient.

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Notes

1. According to colonial ministerial decree 16473 of 6 February 1929, '*indígenas*' were 'individuals of the black race, or descended from it, or who by their ornament and custom, are indistinguishable from the common type of that race'; '*não indígenas*' were 'those of any race who did not meet those conditions'. There were differences in rights and duties between the assimilated (*assimilados*) and the *indígenas*. Those born in Cape Verde, Portuguese India and Macao had a special status. The 1954 '*indígena* status' of the Portuguese provinces of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique incorporated an integration policy, but continued to impose segregation. '*Indígena* status' was finally abolished in 1961.

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