Out of Sight, Close to the Heart:
Regionalist Voluntary Associations in the Portuguese Empire*

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Abstract

This article focuses on regionalist voluntary associations in the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique during the twentieth century, relating them to the issues of social capital and plurality of identity, and linking them to the context of the Portuguese Diaspora. It studies the contribution made by associations based on regional ties in an imperial and ultranationalist space, and analyzes how that same contribution not only strengthened the social capital in their communities, but also upheld identities, which were less closed and more plural, despite the prevailing action of colonialism. Furthermore, the work of these popular institutions made it possible to enlarge the geographic and social contexts of regionalism, a Western phenomenon that has been re-assessed by scholars over the last few decades.

Keywords

Voluntary associations; Regionalism; Nationalism; Portuguese Empire; Cultural identity.

Resumo

Este artigo propõe um olhar cruzado sobre o associativismo regionalista nas ex-colónias de Angola e Moçambique, relacionando-o com as problemáticas do capital social e das identidades plurais e articulando-o com o contexto diaspórico.
Analisa o contributo das associações que assumiram um vínculo regional num espaço imperial de sobrecarga nacionalista e o modo como esse mesmo contributo permitiu não só o reforço do capital social nas suas comunidades como a afirmação de identidades menos fechadas e mais plurais, apesar do colonialismo actuante.
Além disso, o labor destas organizações populares tornou possível o alargamento dos contextos geográficos e sociais do regionalismo, um fenómeno do mundo ocidental que teve, nas últimas décadas, uma redobrada atenção por parte da academia.

Palavras-chave

Associações voluntárias; Regionalismo; Nacionalismo; Império Português; Identidade cultural.

This study sets out to compare regionalist voluntary associations in the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, relating them to the issues of social capital and plurality of identity[1], and linking them to the context of the Portuguese Diaspora.

My aim is to study the contribution made by associations based on regional ties in an imperial space with a heavily nationalistic bias, and to analyze how that same contribution not only strengthened the social capital in their communities but also upheld identities, which were less closed and more plural, despite the prevailing action of colonialism.

The subject of regionalism has recently been given special attention by historians from all over the world and is now studied as a relevant international phenomenon of the contemporary Western world.[2]

Regionalism in Portugal really took off after the founding of the First Republic, although it could be traced back to nineteenth-century European regionalism, particularly in France.[3] The consolidation of Portuguese regionalism occurred at the same time as republicanism triumphed (including the Military Dictatorship of 1926-1933), and it was at this time that most of the provincial associations came into being in the capital of the empire (Alentejo, Beiras, Minho, Azores and Algarve: see Table 1). The movement was greatly encouraged by enthusiastic republican oratory in favor of political and administrative decentralization (see Melo, 2005 and 2006). This accompanied the international context, as Storm (2003: 255) synthesizes: "Around 1900, regionalism became a mainstream movement. Every region had its own "soul", and as an organic part of the nation its particular character should be studied and reinforced. The interwar period in particular became the golden age of regionalist popular culture".

TABLE 1: REGIONALIST ASSOCIATIONS IN THE MOTHER COUNTRY, ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE (1905-1974/5)

Regions (and subdivisions)	Mother country (Lisbon)	Angola (Luanda, by default)	Mozambique (Lourenço Marques, by default)
Trás-os-Montes (northeast)	**1905-:** *Club Trasmontano/ Grémio de Trás-os-Montes/ Casa de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro*	**1912:** *Clube Trasmontano de Angola* **1929:** *Associação dos Trasmontanos* (Lobito; Catumbela, Benguela, Interior)	**1912:** *Club Transmontano de Lourenço Marques;* **c. 1971-1974:** *Clube de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro;* **1974:** *Casa de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro de Nampula*
Madeira (island)	**1907-:** *Casa da Madeira*		**1937-1969:** *Casa da Madeira em Lourenço Marques*
Beiras (center)	**1915/1916-:** *Grémio Beira-Vouga/ Grémio Beirão/ Casa das Beiras*	**1929:** *Grémio Beirão/ Casa das Beiras;* **1960:** *Casa das Beiras* (Lobito); **c. 1963:** *Casa das Beiras* (Sá da Bandeira); **1966:** *Casa das Beiras* (Nova Lisboa)	**1938-1968:** *Casa das Beiras;* **1956-1965:** *Solar dos Beirões;* **1969-1973:** *Casa das Beiras de Nampula*
Alentejo (south)	**1914/1923-:** *Liga Alentejana/ Grémio Alentejano/ Casa do*	**1959/67:** *Casa do Alentejo;* **1966:** *Associação Alentejana* (Nova Lisboa);	**1954-1965:** *Casa do Alentejo;* **1959:** *Associação Regional Monte Alentejano* (Beira)

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[1] There is a general consensus among academics that identity is a plural, dynamic and procedural discursive element of human activity – see Kastersztein (1990: 28); Woodward (1997: 301-18); Rajchman (1995: esp. 11, 107, 155, 175/6 and 188); Cabral (2003). For a succinct definition see Brown (1985: 771/2).

[2] For an overview of recent works concerning regionalism, see Applegate (1999: 1157-83); and Storm (2003: 251-65). For the United States, see also Dorman (1993).

[3] See Amaro (1996: 71/2). For the origin of regionalism, see Thiesse (1997), Storm, (2003), and Núñez (2001).

		1974: Casa do Alentejo do Quanza-Sul (Novo Redondo)	
	Alentejo		
Minho (northwest)	**1923-:** *Grémio do Minho/ Casa do Minho*	**1932:** Casa do Minho	**1956-1959:** *Casa do Minho*; **1961:** *Lar Minhoto de Manica e Sofala* (Beira)
Azores (island)	**1927-:** *Grémio dos Açores/ Casa dos Açores*		
Algarve (south)	**1930/1931-:** *Casa do Algarve*		**1953-1961:** *Casa do Algarve*; **1954-1956:** *Casa do Algarve de Manica e Sofala* (Beira)
Ribatejo (center)	**1942/1943-:** *Casa do Ribatejo*	**c. 1962:** *Casa do Ribatejo do Lobito*	
***Lisbon [Estremadura]** (center)		**1937/1973***: Casa de Lisboa/ Casa de Lisboa em Luanda*	**1935-1973**: *Grémio dos Lisboetas/ Clube dos Lisboetas*; **1956-1961:** *Casa de Lisboa* (Beira)
***District of Coimbra [Beiras]**	**1937-:** *Casa do Distrito de Coimbra*		
***District of Porto [Douro Litoral]** (northwest)	**1943-:** *Casa do Distrito do Porto*	**c. 1959:** *Casa do Distrito do Porto em Luanda*	**1947-1962:** *Casa do Porto*; **1954-1955:** *Casa Regional do Porto*; **1959-1962:** *Casa Regional do Porto* (Nampula)
***Póvoa de Varzim [Douro Litoral]**			**1953-1958:** *Casa dos Poveiros da Província de Moçambique*
***Lamego [Trás-os-Montes]**			**1974:** *Casa da Região de Lamego*

Sources: *Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique* (Maputo); *Torre do Tombo* (Lisbon); the statutes of the various associations; the journals *Revista Alentejana, Suplemento da Revista Ribatejana, Trás-os-Montes*, journals printed overseas, cited in the article and Google. Note: where an end date is missing this is because I do not know the exact date when the association closed (possibly after the Revolution of 1974).

The Portuguese "overseas provinces" became part of this movement after a delay of some 15 to 30 years, with associations beginning to appear in the late 1920s, as local communities of colonists became established, following the late nineteenth-century settlement of these areas.[4] Yet only after the late 1940s can we observe a relevant migratory flow towards Angola and Mozambique.[5] This trend was followed by the new associative boom running from the late 1940s to the 1960s (see Table 1).

The same delay was found in Brazil (although here emigration from Portugal was an older tradition and had taken place in greater numbers): regionalist/provincial associations based in Rio only began to appear in the 1920s.

Two significant exceptions are worth mentioning: *Transmontano* provincial associations in Angola and Mozambique were both founded in 1912. Not only were these two associations founded a few years after their "mother association" in the home country (1905), but they were also ahead of the Portuguese Diaspora in Brazil (in Rio, the *Casa de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro* was only founded in 1923).[6] Before the boom of the 1930s, two other overseas associations were founded: the *Transmontano* headquarters in Lobito, and the *Grémio Beirão*, both in 1929 (see Table 1).

In any event, the movement to found regionalist voluntary associations in Portugal's overseas possessions was a powerful one, and this is an aspect of the Portuguese colonial experience that has hitherto been ignored in the academic literature on the subject. The very fact of this presence enables us to state that there was a structural need for regionalist associations in the twentieth century, and they formed to meet this need wherever emigration from Portugal was to be

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[4] For the nineteenth-century Portuguese settlement of Africa, see Alexandre (2000: 231-44).

[5] Castelo (2005: 192-244).

[6] See Lobo (2001: 94); Muller (2002: 322); Trindade and Caeiro (2000: 81) (n.b.: referred to here as a Center).

found. In addition, they only emerged in the main urban centers and after the immigrant communities had become settled. Overseas, the headquarters of these associations were first set up in the colony's capital city and only later spread to smaller towns and cities (with the exception of the *Casa do Ribatejo* in Angola), as had been the case in the mother country and in parts of the Diaspora.

Another pattern is observable in that the formation of regionalist voluntary associations overseas followed the same sequence there as it had in metropolitan Portugal, despite the time lapse. Just as the Trás-os-Montes- Madeira- and Beira-identified associations were the first to appear in Lisbon, this was also the case in the colonies. They were followed by Alentejo-, Minho- and Algarve-identified associations (it was only the Azores that was not represented overseas, probably due to the fact that the flow of emigration from there was to the American continent).

It was in Mozambique that the associative movement was strongest (see Tables 2 and 3), despite the greater number of colonists that immigrated to Angola (Castelo, 2005: 199-208). The explanation for this may lie in the greater influence of a certain urban cosmopolitanism (Castelo, 2005: 260/1 and 459), in the sense that the different communities felt a greater need for outward symbolic representation, and in the fact that they emulated the traditions and movements not only of the British associations, but also of the Muslim, Hindu and Chinese communities (Zamparoni, 2000: 210/1, 215 and 217). Two specialists in third sector studies confirm the idea underlying this reasoning: "the greater the degree of heterogeneity (religious, ethnic, cultural, etc.) among the population, the larger (and more diverse) the associational universe" (Maloney and Roßteutscher, 2007: 26). Zamparoni (2000: 210) states that voluntary association of non-European minorities took place for two reasons: unity against colonial and intra-ethnic "aggression" of a religious nature, and to provide "social intercourse" that would reinforce "cultural ties". Social intercourse related to cultural identity also extended to Europeans involved in movements to establish regionalist associations. In addition, they had no need for protection from colonial "aggression" since they also benefited from it, though they did need protection from an adverse environment in which the sizes of their communities were relatively reduced.

TABLE 2: RECREATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS IN MOZAMBIQUE (1930-1965)

TOTALS & FOR DISTRICTS	ASSOCS. Total number of units	SETTLERS Total number of Portuguese settlers (estimate)	MEMBERSHIP ACCORDING TO «RACES»/«NATIONALITIES»											
			Total number of members in all	European Portuguese	European English	Other Europeans	Mixed Portuguese	Mixed English	Mixed Others	African Portuguese	African English	Other Africans	Other Portuguese	Other English	Other Others
Total 1930 (31/XII)	**20**		**2190**	**948**	**175**	**33**	**74**	**-**		**82**	**19**	**1**	**767**	**91**	
L. Marques	11		1475	671	173	21	6	-		13	19	1	565	6	
Inhambane	4		404	71	1	4	-	-		52	-	-	192	84	
Quelimane	1		43	36	1	3	3	-		-	-	-	-	-	
Moçambique	4		268	170	-	5	65	-		17	-	-	10	10	
Total 1945 (31/XII)	**27**	18936	**5630**	**4028**	**123**	**414**	**225**	**28**	**1**	**76**	**0**	**0**	**300**	**35**	**400**
Total 1950 (31/XII)	**28**	32153	**6189**	**3022**	**107**	**97**	**401**	**0**	**6**	**827**	**0**	**10**	**498**	**16**	**1205**
L. Marques	7		2960	1574	58	52				422		10	357		487
Inhambane	5		370	97	1		159			52			55	6	
Beira	9		2190	885	38	23	125			325			70	10	714
Tete	2		119	61			3			27			4		1
Quelimane	4		398	259	4	19	94		6	1			12		3
Nampula	1		152	146	6										
Total 1955 (31/XII)	**53**	44240	**13734**	**10613**	**187**	**193**	**801**	**4**	**47**	**254**	**0**	**3**	**382**	**0**	**1250**
L. Marques	23		8055	6987	169	146	9			101			273		370
Inhambane	4		268	3			130		16	87			26		6
Manica and Sofala	14		3694	2392	17	8	351	4		8			83		831

		White People	White People	Asian People	Indian People	Black People	Mixed People						
Tete	3		266	97		12	66		30	41				20
Zambézia	6		793	507	1	11	240		1	17				16
Moçambique	3		658	627		16	5				3			7
Total 1960 (31/XII)	41	97245	16344	12565	889	614	271	2005						
L. Marques	23		9999	7678	388	463	96	1374						
Inhambane	11		124			39	30	55						
Manica and Sofala	2		5343	4231	501	86	145	380						
Tete	2		138	3		26		109						
Zambézia	0		740	653				87						
Total 1965 (31/XII)	48		15005	11648	1266	706	497	888						
L. Marques	22		9503	7508	735	450	290	520						
Gaza	1		76	35		12	11	18						
Inhambane	3		163	21	5	28	32	77						
Manica and Sofala	15		4296	3390	523	139	84	160						
Tete	2		198	64		35	48	51						
Zambézia	3		335	271		16	13	35						
Moçambique	1		232	201		12	10	9						
Niassa	1		202	158	3	14	9	18						

Sources: República Portuguesa - Repartição de Estatística, *Anuário Estatístico da Colónia de Moçambique: ano de 1930*, III ano, Lourenço Marques, Imprensa Nacional (1931, p. 213); Colónia de Moçambique, *Anuário Estatístico* (1945/1965); Castelo (2005: 261) (for the estimates of Portuguese settlers).

As we can see in Table 2, membership in recreational voluntary associations (a good indicator of both the third sector and the regionalist movement) was significant between 1930 and 1965, especially if we consider only Portuguese settlers[7]. Furthermore, these data show a gradual increase in membership (in absolute terms), which was stronger in the mid-1950s (when it more than doubled), despite the low number of associations[8]. The two larger towns of Lourenço Marques and Beira were responsible for most of the members and units, and recorded no losses during this period, so far as we can extrapolate (n.b. official data are commissioned by districts and not by cities). In Table 3, we can follow the evolution of the number of members in a single regionalist association, the *Grémio dos Lisboetas/Clube dos Lisboetas* (from Lourenço Marques), between the thirties and the fifties. The increase was significant, with membership rising from 619 (in 1937) to 1,974 persons (in 1950, the highest score)[9].

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[7] The only official data available relates to 3 series: recreational associations; professional associations; and sports associations.

[8] In relative terms, the trend was more unstable: in 1945, 29.73% of the total number of settlers were members of a recreational association; by 1950, this membership was down to 19.25%, but in 1955 it reached the highest score in the series (31.04%), decreasing again to 16.81% in 1960 (probably due to changes in the methods used for the collection of statistics, or a boom in the number of settlers that was not accompanied by a similar performance in this sub-sector).

[9] This significant representation is also visible in the data available for other associations; for instance, the *Casa das Beiras* (Lourenço Marques) had the following evolution (based on its official reports): 1938 = 1,230 members; 1939 = 1,262; 1940 = 1,570; and 1967 = more than 2,000. And the *transmontano* organization for the same city had about 1,000 members in 1939, on the eve of Carmona's presidential visit (according to estimates from the board of the institution: see *Ofício 28* I/B-10, confidential, 30/1/1939, from the general governor to the Overseas Minister, *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, Lisbon, Sala 6, Maço 557, Processo 6/VP).

TABLE 3: MEMBERS OF THE GRÉMIO DOS LISBOETAS/CLUBE DOS LISBOETAS (1935-1957)

YEAR	MEN	*M (%)*	WOMEN	TOTAL
1935	*9			*9
1936				619
1937	613	*74.94*	205	818
1938	828	*72.5*	314	1142
1939	913	*70.94*	374	1287
1941	997	*68.33*	462	1459
1942	1036	*68.11*	485	1521
1947	1199	*67.86*	568	1767
1948	1254	*68.49*	577	1831
1949	1303	*68.4*	602	1905
1950	1349	*68.34*	625	1974
1952	629	*67.49*	303	932
1953	705	*66.7*	352	1057
1954	735	*66.64*	368	1103
1955	770	*66.9*	381	1151
1957	903	*67.84*	428	1331

Source: in-house journals

In terms of gender, male membership was predominant throughout the sequence, but showed a tendency to diminish (from about 3/4 in the mid-thirties to 2/3 in the following decades). This trend reinforces the asymmetric gender composition of the settler community (Castelo, 2005: 225). The fall in membership after 1950 can be explained by different forms of validation of the membership data (a more restricted criterion being used as to who was considered a regular member of the organization, linked to paid fees, attendance at headquarters, etc.). Membership in this category of voluntary associations (and in many other cases: Melo, 2001) could be very fluid, with periods when many people joined and others when people showed a tendency to return. For instance, in 1966, the *Casa das Beiras* (Lourenço Marques) launched a strong membership drive, with about 300 activists recruiting new members in an astonishing fashion: about 3,000 people were recruited within weeks for an organization that had been almost paralyzed the year before (Lemos, 1966a and 1966b). And this was not an isolated case.

For Angola, I have not been able to find any specific documentation, except for the following information: in 1946, the *Clube Trasmontano de Angola* reinforced its membership, with the admission of 125 new members, and the circulation of its newspapers and journals reached a thousand copies - see, respectively, "Duas palavras" (1946), and the cover of the same publication. Twenty years later, the same organization undertook a massive survey in the form of a regional census of those in the settler population in Angola born in the province of Trás-os-Montes. In an estimated universe of about 20,000 people from the same province, almost 7.5% (1,485 people) responded to this survey, thus demonstrating their interest in this matter raised by the *Clube Trasmontano de Angola* and implicitly in the association itself (Pinto, 1966). It is even plausible that a significant percentage of them were members of this organization.

It may seem paradoxical to posit the existence of a fertile interaction between cosmopolitism and regionalism, because the latter is sometimes associated with retrograde fundamentalist and clientelistic relationships. Nonetheless, such an interaction helped members to maintain plural identities in contexts where an exaggerated nationalism and colonial imperialism prevailed, thereby contributing to an interchangeable, aggregative, and non-one-dimensional

worldview. In other words, the allegedly negative essence of regionalism was virtuous in its practical application, given the historical context in which it emerged. It also made it possible for certain individuals to be part of wider communities, thus blurring the borders of more restrictive localisms.

This approach is also valid if we adopt the main features of the concept of the "imagined community" (i.e. belief in the image of the social and cultural communion between people who will never know each other, and excluding the bonds they derive from statehood) at several levels - in other words, including not just the national element, but also the regional and the supranational elements.[10] It is also valid if we extrapolate to the regionalist context the concept of the "ethnic community" put forward by Anthony D. Smith, in which there are six main characteristics: "1. a collective proper name[;] 2. a myth of common ancestry[;] 3. shared historical memories[;] 4. one or more differentiating elements of common culture[;] 5. an association with a specific 'homeland'[;] 6. a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population" (Smith, 1991: 21).

Returning to the movement to establish regional associations overseas, in overall terms the provinces which are historically best represented are Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro and the Beiras, which curiously are the only ones to be represented in both Angola and Mozambique, besides Alentejo and Estremadura (which here only refers to Lisbon).

Another interesting phenomenon is that certain cities – Lisbon, Porto, Póvoa de Varzim, Coimbra and Lamego – had independent associations that gave a false sense of localism, because they were open and cosmopolitan (with the possible exception of Póvoa) and sought to represent self-attracting opposites. Of these, only Lisbon and Porto were present in Angola and Mozambique: this can be explained by the fact that there were large numbers of emigrants from those two metropolitan cities. The others were to be found only in Mozambique, with the exception of the Coimbra association. In connection with Lisbon, there was an Estremadura Center in Rio from 1924 onwards (Trindade and Caeiro, 2000: 81). For Póvoa de Varzim, there was the *Casa dos Poveiros*, in the state of Rio de Janeiro (founded in 1930) and the *Grupo Pró-Póvoa*, in Manaus-Amazonas (which lasted until 1931; *ibid.*: 82).

The Coimbra association was a special case, in the sense that it represented a district. However, it is feasible to speculate that it also evoked an imaginary world of the Coimbra *Fado* and guitar playing, with tours throughout the empire, demonstrating and seeking to popularize regional cultural manifestations around the world. The Lisbon case is also of interest, as we do not know of any specific corresponding regional organizations in the mother country (at the district or local council level): this may be due to the fact of emigration from Lisbon only having taken place outside Portugal. Estremadura was represented from 1938 onwards by the *Casa do Distrito de Leiria*.[11]

Another significant trend is that a great many of these organizations lasted for a long time, which shows that they operated as both community and inter-generational reference points. It was only the interruption caused by the 1974 Revolution and the independence of the colonies that led to their disappearance.

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Social capital (i.e. collective wealth deriving from comradeship, mutual help and social relationships[12]) was not limited to the mere act of sharing a cup of coffee or charity work together,

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[10] See Anderson (1993: 6). A similar extrapolation was first suggested by Pereira (2002: 111).

[11] See *Casa do Distrito de Leiria* (1939: 15).

[12] See Putnam (2001: 18-25). In his own words: "social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called 'civic virtue'. The difference is that 'social capital' calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a dense network of reciprocal social

even though it did include these things. Social intercourse based on a shared identity, a common feeling of homesickness as expressed in shared feelings and emotions, and in joint memories of belonging, was very important for colonial communities, especially in the first generation. There were good reasons for this attitude: the early settlers were understandably more sensitive to the isolation and foreign nature of an environment they experienced as unfriendly (not to say hostile); they found the climate inhospitable and fierce; there was a threat of serious illness (exacerbated by the bad health and sanitation conditions); there was a lack of social contacts and entertainment, and they lived as a minority among foreign ethnic communities, with whom they had only recently been in violent conflict.[13]

Portuguese colonists saw Africa as a distant land, which led to an even stronger attachment to the land from where they came. The pioneering colonist José Hipólito Raposo wrote: "The soul of our people here has suffered so much that on many a sad day in Luanda we feel the slumbers of a nostalgic longing for home" (Raposo, 1926: 35). That was why colonists had to imitate features of their native villages, in order to lessen the contrast and to make the scenery more familiar (*ibid.*: 35/6).[14]

At the same time, and given that there was no state-provided social security, welfare emerged as a priority area for regionalist associations. Hence the commitment of these associations to providing medical care and medicines, in the form of financial aid to those in need, e.g. widows and soldiers, gifts of tobacco and food to those who were ill, etc.

Quite often these forms of welfare included an element of altruistic feeling, as evinced in visits to the most needy, words of comfort or condolence, birthday wishes, the organization of wedding parties, etc. These feelings were expressed in speeches and articles in the press, summarily reflected in words that were currently used at that time, such as "aid" and "solidarity". In the words of their mentors: "A friendly word, a simple memory, or a friendly embrace, soothe the longings of those of us who are far away from our native land. They are all impregnated with the light and the breezes that smiled on the haunts of our childhood. Then our soul feels able to face up to new challenges, our hopes and dreams start to become real, and for a moment all the difficulties and harshness of our daily grind are set aside".[15]

Regionalist voluntary associations are a relatively hybrid example of the main aspects of social capital, since they combined different forms of social capital: formal and informal, thick and thin, inward- and outward-looking, bridging and bonding social capital (Putnam, 2002: 9-11). They encouraged "formal capital" (in the form of recognized leaders, membership requirements, regular meetings, etc.), even though they also provided more casual environments typical of "informal capital" (such as meeting in a bar or restaurant); they offered both "thick" and "thin" sociability, in that they enabled regular daily social intercourse which provided social mobilization and collective protection, as well as sporadic contacts with friends and acquaintances, as well as material advantages (for example, from 1938 onwards, the *Casa das Beiras* in Lourenço Marques provided its members with major benefits such as discounts at various shops, bureaucratic support for those who lived outside the provincial capital, free medical consultations and visits, etc.[16]); their "inward-looking" character could be seen in their sub-ethnic nature, but altruism was not neglected,

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relations. A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital" (*Ibid.*: 19).

[13] For Angola, see Ervedosa (1990: 20-4); for Mozambique, see Rita-Ferreira (1988: 121-69); for British Southern Africa, see Kennedy (1987: 179/180).

[14] *Ibid.*: 35/6.

[15] See "Marcha luminosa" (1939: 7).

[16] See "Da vida da nossa Casa…" (1939: 43 and 45).

as evidenced by a Children's Holiday Camp (set up by the Lourenço Marques *Grémio dos Lisboetas*[17]), gifts of tobacco and fruit to hospital patients (also offered by the *Grémio dos Lisboetas*[18]), help for the victims of cyclone Claude (from the Lourenço Marques *Casa das Beiras*[19]), etc.; they also represented "bonding" social capital, given the importance of sub-ethnic affinities, even though membership might include African family members and others who were "honorary" or "pro bono" members.

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Apart from the social capital deriving from shared feelings, social intercourse and moral and material welfare, there were other aspects to these associations that more properly fell into the cultural sphere, namely: incentives to share elements of common identity and the provision of cultural, sporting and recreational activities, operating in a constant social/cultural, internal/external dialectic. These two aspects were often connected, especially in the content of the regionalist press and in some cultural activities. These connections extended to other types and periods of voluntary association.[20]

In the specific examples of the journals and papers that I have consulted (those of the *Clube Trasmontano de Angola*, and in Lourenço Marques, of the *Casa das Beiras*, the *Grémio/Clube dos Lisboetas* and the *Casa do Porto*), many of the articles praising the idea of regional belonging derived their legitimacy from turning their local culture into a heritage. In other words, regionalism increased in value the more it overlapped with facts, events and important people having cultural associations.[21]

The journals and newspapers published by the *Clube Trasmontano de Angola* represent a valuable repository of articles on regional folklore and "illustrious men" such as Camilo Castelo Branco, Miguel Torga, Abade de Baçal, etc.[22]

In the *Casa das Beiras* bulletin, there were articles on traditional festivities (the *Festa do Pau*, the *Janeiras,* the frontier bullfight), and on regional folklore, in addition to the "Illustrious Men of the *Beiras* Gallery".[23]

For the *Clube dos Lisboetas*, the highlights were local folklore, the *chora* public transport system, the masquerades, and old-fashioned courtship, etc.[24]

In its first two issues, the *Tripeiro em Mozambique* had articles on Júlio Dinis, Antônio Nobre and Almeida Garrett, *caldo verde* and *broa*, grilled sardines and tripe Porto-style, roast kid and green wine, all as parts of the cultural heritage.

It should be stressed that the in-house journals were very concerned with demonstrating that they were busy dealing with the present and not just with the illustrious past of a region that

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[17] See Louro (1947: 3).

[18] See "O Grémio dos Lisboetas" (1938: 37/8).

[19] See Conceição (1966a).

[20] See Dias (1994: 449/50, 458 and 466).

[21] For Mozambique, I consulted the following regionalist periodicals (all of them from Lourenço Marques): *Boletim Mensal da Casa das Beiras* (1966-68); *Casa das Beiras: boletim mensal* (1939-41); *Clube dos Lisboetas* (1939-72); *Grémio dos Lisboetas* (1937-38); *O Tripeiro em Moçambique* (1959). For Angola, I consulted *Clube Trasmontano de Angola*, Luanda, (1942-66).

[22] For folklore, see e.g. Tavares (1942) and Baçal (1945). For these authors, see, respectively, T. (1945); M. (1948); "Camilo o maior escritor.." (1948); Sá (1966).

[23] For traditional festivities see, respectively, "A Festa do Pau" (1940: 12); Gil (1966: 17; *Ibid*: 17 and 22). For regional folklore see Lemos (1966c: 9 and 14). For the "regional" gallery see the several issues of *Casa das Beiras: boletim mensal* (printed in 1939-40).

[24] See, respectively, Macedo (1938: 19/20); Carvalho (1941: 34/5); Carvalho (1942: 25/6); Santos (1942: 30-2).

was now far-removed geographically. Continuing to adopt Anderson's approach, the journalistic work involved in producing these publications shows the importance of the journal for building the group's identity, which in this case was sub-ethnic.[25]

In addition to the journals and newspapers, I should also mention that libraries were established at the headquarters of regionalist organizations. Their stocks mainly consisted of members' donations and were thus somewhat random. Even so, looking at the library of the *Casa das Beiras* in Lourenço Marques in 1939-40 and in 1966, it can be seen that in the beginning there was more fiction, with some history and biography. Towards the end there was a greater emphasis on useful information (law, applied science, general reading, etc.) and on regionally identified material (mainly by way of the local/regional press).[26] In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, the regionally identified material was well represented in the *Clube Trasmontano de Angola*, after fiction and history.[27] All regional associations' printed journals mention collections of various regional and local newspapers, which derive mainly from gifts made of those newspapers by their owners or publishers. It was also common for them to hold books (or to publish articles) such as this one: *Gil Vicente, beirão, nasceu em Guimarães de Tavares* – Gil Vicente, a native of the *Beiras*, was born in Guimarães de Tavares ("A nossa Biblioteca", 1966: 22).

Culture, sports and recreation were very significant aspects of regional associations, perhaps more in qualitative than in quantitative terms. Their hybrid but contemporary nature allowed individuals within their orbit (as well as society in general) to build a more plural identity, which was open and sensitive to innovation and creativity. It was a more urban identity, in the sense that it displayed confidence in others and in certain principles of a healthy social life together. This trend is in line with Kennedy, who suggests that colonists in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Kenya had a more open and informal attitude, which also reflected "a deliberate rejection of European social values" (Kennedy, 1987: 184). This was often the result of dissatisfaction with their personal situation in the society of the mother country.

In this regard, the vast majority of activities undertaken for members and for the community in general were "modern" in nature, in any of the areas covered, i.e. they brought together suggestions and needs that derived from the Industrial Revolution and changes in the use of leisure time (Corbin, 1995: 9-16 and 413-4). Even those activities containing elements of tradition or country life were hybrid in nature, apart from the fact that they were necessarily "invented traditions" (Ranger, 1994: 211-62). Here we are far removed from that late nineteenth-century European regionalism that advocated a return to the land, as a reaction to modernity made in light of the atomistic effects of industrial capitalism (Thiesse, 1999: 262). These trends in the overseas regionalist movement may differentiate it to a certain extent from the metropolitan context, where there was a greater commitment to the revival of traditions and to a ruralization of regional culture, history and identity.

Proof of the above is to be found in the intimate coexistence of both rural and urban, and traditional and modern elements, in events such as the holding of the *marchas* (popular parades or "marches"), which originated in Lisbon; it should be noted, however, that nineteenth-century regionalism, which had its roots in the city, seems always to have drawn its mixture of rural and urban origins from the lifestyle of the current emigrant community (Trindade, 1986: 329).

The Lisbon *marchas* were exported to various places in Portuguese Africa at various times: Lourenço Marques (1939, 1946, 1958, 1966-1967) for Mozambique; and Moçâmedes (1957),

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[25] Anderson (1993: 24/5, 32, 36 and *passim*). For the context of the mother country, see the examples of the Azores and Beiras in Cordeiro (1995) and Santos (1999), respectively.

[26] See *Casa das Beiras: boletim mensal* (1939-40), and *Boletim Mensal da Casa das Beiras* (1966).

[27] See "Beneméritos do nosso clube" (1946).

Nova Lisboa (1962, 1969), Lobito (1963-1971), and Sá da Bandeira (1964, 1971) for Angola. Let us look at these in greater detail.

On the occasion of President Carmona's first tour of the empire, a number of celebrations were held in his honor in the Mozambican capital, including a nighttime procession (12 August, 1939), organized by four regional associations (*Casa das Beiras, Clube dos Lisboetas, Casa da Madeira, Clube de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro*) and by the Indo-Portuguese and Native Colonists' associations.[28] Over 20,000 people took part in this procession, many of them holding torches or balloons. Groups of folk dancers are also said to have taken part; it is at least certain that such groups existed, and that they were closely linked to the regional associations: a few days earlier (18 July), there had been a similar festival, in which Portugal demonstrated its "wealth of music and folklore" by way of the '*corridinho*' from the Algarve and the '*vira*' of the Upper Minho, in songs and dances "steeped in the symbolism of tradition".[29]

In Lourenço Marques, the *marchas* that bore the closest resemblance to the Lisbon model were those organized by the *Rádio Clube de Mozambique*, by the local daily paper *Notícias* and by a number of associations, and were held from 23 to 27 February 1946.[30] These were also widely publicized in the press, starting months beforehand, at the end of 1945. The high level of publicity was also due to the fact that they had been preceded by a song contest for the *marchas populares*, in which the public could vote. It was recorded on a "new machine received from America" and broadcast by the *Rádio Clube* to various groups in Lourenço Marques, including some regional associations.[31] In addition, each singer who won represented a neighborhood, and would sing in that capacity in the procession that took place at the *Clube Ferroviário* stadium. Preparations for it had begun on 5 January, with the gradual formation of groups of marchers (one group for each neighborhood), and the fabrication of torches and balloons for the "*Grande Festa Popular*".[32] One innovation was the fact that it took place in a stadium and that tickets had to be purchased for the event.[33] There were also other differences, only two of which were significant, namely the fact that winners were chosen jointly by the audience and by a panel, and that there was an identical uniform for everyone.[34] On the one hand, the choice was more open, though on the other, there was a greater uniformity of image, although this was not total (the rings, balloons and choreography were all different). The secretary of the *Casa das Beiras* organized the Polana march ("Marchas da Polana" 1946). Its enormous success led to aa demand for another one, as occurred in Lisbon in 1932 (see Melo, 2001: 281). Appropriately, the processions preceded Carnival and took place when it was summertime locally; they even made sense in terms of matching the local calendar. In addition, they enabled participants in the *marchas* to go solo on occasion – for example, in the Polana march at the *Casa das Beiras*, and in the case of the singer in the Maxaquene march at the *Clube dos Lisboetas*.[35] The hybrid nature of the latter stands out: "The whole audience was very happy to be present at this very interesting variety program offered around midnight by the management. The Horácio Silva amateur dramatic group took part: in a Minho costume, in 'drag', the 'kid' Francisco Castro sang two *fados* in an amusing manner; the show provided the audience with a nice *fado* and the much-loved artistes of the Café Penguin" ("O Carnaval", 1946b).

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[28] See "Marcha luminosa" (1939); Conceição (1966b).

[29] See "O nosso rancho" (1939: 9).

[30] See "A festa dos bairros.." (1946: 1 and 3/4).

[31] See "Marchas populares" (1946a).

[32] See "Marchas populares" (1946b).

[33] See "Marchas populares" (1946c).

[34] See "Marchas Populares" (1946d); "A grande festa nocturna.." (1946).

[35] See "O Carnaval" (1946a); "O Carnaval" (1946b).

At the beginning of September 1954, the newspaper *Notícias* tried to revive the Lourenço Marques marches, but this effort failed, probably due to a lack of interest on the part of the community.

The Lourenço Marques *Clube dos Lisboetas* organized and put on its *marchas* three times: in 1958, in 1966 and in 1967.[36] They were all organized and rehearsed by the same man (Agostinho Silva) and are said to have been well received by the people and the press. The most significant march took place in 1967: it had been given the uniform of the Lisbon *marchas* of 1965, and this enabled the organizers to "embellish and smartly recreate the typical costumes of each neighborhood". The local city council made the event part of its City Festival Program, giving the *marchas* "a hallmark of folkloric distinction", with a reception and exhibition attended by the mayor on 12 June. The grandiose initial plan was for "almost every" Lisbon neighborhood to be represented (this did not even happen at home), "but this did not happen, on account of the problems we had in getting purely *Lisboetas*". There was no shortage of native colonial labor, but what was missing was an attachment to the same aesthetic or cultural ideal: "It is not because [the genuine *Lisboetas*] don't exist in sufficient quantity in this city, but because they have long since withdrawn from their environment, they have shut themselves off in the deepest apathy and convenience. There were others who, having given up the taste of their native Lisbon for imported foreign flavors, did not take part. [*para.*] There were yet others; the defeatists and the silent critics, who would be very happy if the whole thing were a failure". The hybrid nature of these events was demonstrated by the 1958 version, where there were rings with references to Lisbon and marchers wearing fishermen's and Beira countrywomen's costumes ("Divertimentos", 1959: 20/1).

In 1966, there was a large procession in Lourenço Marques (on 11 June), as part of the celebrations of the feasts of the popular saints (concluding on 3 July), which was organized by the local regionalist movement (*Clube dos Poveiros* and the regional associations of Minho, Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro, Beiras and Algarve). The *Casa das Beiras* procession was made up of its (adult) folk dance group, who came out on the streets again on Sunday, July 19th. The same *Casa das Beiras* also had a decorated tent at the open-air festival linked to the procession, with typical Beira food and drink on offer.[37]

In Moçâmedes, the *marchas* took place at the *Comandante Fragoso de Matos* Stadium on 16 and 26 September 1957, followed by a nighttime, open air festival. These were organized by the *Sul* and *O Namibe* newspapers. Local sports clubs took part ("Programa das festas", 1957). The rules were the same as for the Lisbon *marchas*, with the significant exception of the clothes, which could be freely chosen from "traditional popular costumes or fancy dress" ("Festas de 26 de Novembro", 1957).

In Lobito, the marches occurred without interruption from 1963 to 1971, benefiting most notably from the regular and multifaceted participation of António Branco Pedreira, the conductor and accordion player of the folklore group of the local *Casa do Ribatejo*, who served as composer and choreographer for almost all of the city's residential quarters.[38]

In Nova Lisboa, there were special *marchas* in 1962 and 1969, the first one being incorporated into the town's fiftieth anniversary celebrations. A procession was held at the local Sporting team's ground on 18 August 1962, attended by eight thousand spectators and an additional marching group from Bailundo.[39]

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[36] See "As marchas bairristas." (1967).

[37] See "Festejos dos santos populares" (1966); Conceição (1966b).

[38] See http://membres.lycos.fr/lamire2004/maestro_p.htm.

[39] See *Boletim Cultural do Huambo*, No. 15 (Sep. 1962), p. 13 and 32. For 1969, see http://membres.lycos.fr/lamire2004/maestro_p.htm.

Until now, the first known reference I have discovered to the popular marches in Sá da Bandeira is a 1964 picture showing the marchers in rural folk-dancing costumes that are probably from Trás-os-Montes, holding rings with Minho figures, floral patterns, a map of Angola, etc. (Salvador, 2003). In 1971, there was also a special march.[40]

Imitations of the Lisbon *marchas populares* occurred in places that were very distant from their place of origin and, in the main, by people who came from provinces other than the capital. These developments were in line with what was happening in the mother country: here, specific groups and/or processions were organized in twelve different places between 1947 and 1970 (Melo, 2003: 56).

Certain rural cultural traditions were taken up overseas, such as bullfighting. The Lourenço Marques bullring was built by the local *Casa do Alentejo* in the 1950s and 60s (Azevedo, 1961: 29). But the impact of the urban element, of trade and services, was greater overseas than it was in the mother country.[41] This, of course, had consequences at the cultural level.
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The case study of the movement to form regionalist associations in the Portuguese Empire reinforces the importance of regionalism in the complex transformations of the contemporary period, by enlarging their geographic and socio-cultural contexts.

Undoubtedly, the achievements of regionalist voluntary associations did not stop colonialism and ethnic discrimination in Portugal's overseas possessions. Their activities were limited in scope. But, when linked to other factors, they rendered such anathemas less oppressive in certain contexts, in that they offered alternatives to the nationalist doctrine and practice which supported them, operating as "counterweights to power".[42] They opened up the possibility of building a multiethnic *topos*, particularly in their many events and activities, thus enlarging the short list of "multiracial spaces" detected by academics (see Neto, 1997: 351).

This particularism yearned for universality, hence the frequent references to fellow-countrymen scattered around the world and, paradoxically (whether apparently or not), the references to patriotism as one of the major concerns of the regionalist movement.[43] Furthermore, this ambition of a universal union compelled them to constantly seek recognition from the authorities, in order to obtain symbolic power and financial resources. The authorities tried to impose their official doctrine (both nationalist and colonialist), and because of that, there was some tension, conflict and negotiation with regionalist associations. These were not entirely prepared to give up their set of values and practices, thus being obliged to engage in constant compromise.

The movement to establish regionalist associations overseas provides us with evidence of the links between affective, emotional, social and cultural aspects. Affection was found not just in the sharing of a common feeling of belonging, but was also based on mutual help, on personal contacts and support, on memories of the other and of significant moments in their own lives (marriage, illness, poverty, death of loved ones, etc.). But affection was also to be found at parties, in bodily contact at dances, in sharing drunken and entertaining nights, in cultural events and picnics, in laughter and emotion, in dreams and brotherhood, in memories and reflections. Seen in this light, Chartier's theoretical formulation of the world as representation and of culture as the link between practices and representations takes on a new resonance. In certain contexts, symbolic belonging is

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[40] See http://membres.lycos.fr/lamire2004/maestro_p.htm.

[41] See census data; for Mozambique, see Lachartre (2000: 41).

[42] See the scope of this definition in Trindade (1994: 114).

[43] In Laclau's words: "different groups […] compete between themselves to temporarily give to their particularisms a function of universal representation. Society generates a whole vocabulary of empty signifiers whose temporary signifieds are the result of a political competition" – see Laclau (1995: 107).

particularly significant in encouraging relational ties, bringing individuals together, giving a new meaning to their lives and a new reality to their day-to-day existence (Chartier, 1989).

The cultural activities of overseas voluntary associations combined rural and urban elements in a relatively more hybrid and urban form than in the mother country. Far from pursuing isolationist and exclusivist agendas, regionalist associations sought to find themselves and their urban communities as a whole, hence the constant dances, parties and festivals, etc.

In sum, they sought to make their *polis*, and their own politics, in their own way. Breaches were opened in the edifice of exaggerated colonialist nationalism, and in those breaches plural identities flourished.

In an environment that was unfavorable both to colonized ethnic groups and to uprooted colonists, regionalism was one of the civil society's institutional alternatives to the autistic logic of a nationalist doctrine based on the exaltation of the Empire, i.e. of the center, of one single place. For those who lived at one periphery, remembering other peripheries was a way of denying the center its exclusivist nature and of making it less suffocating.

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