

THE PORTUGUESE



IN CANADA

David Higgs

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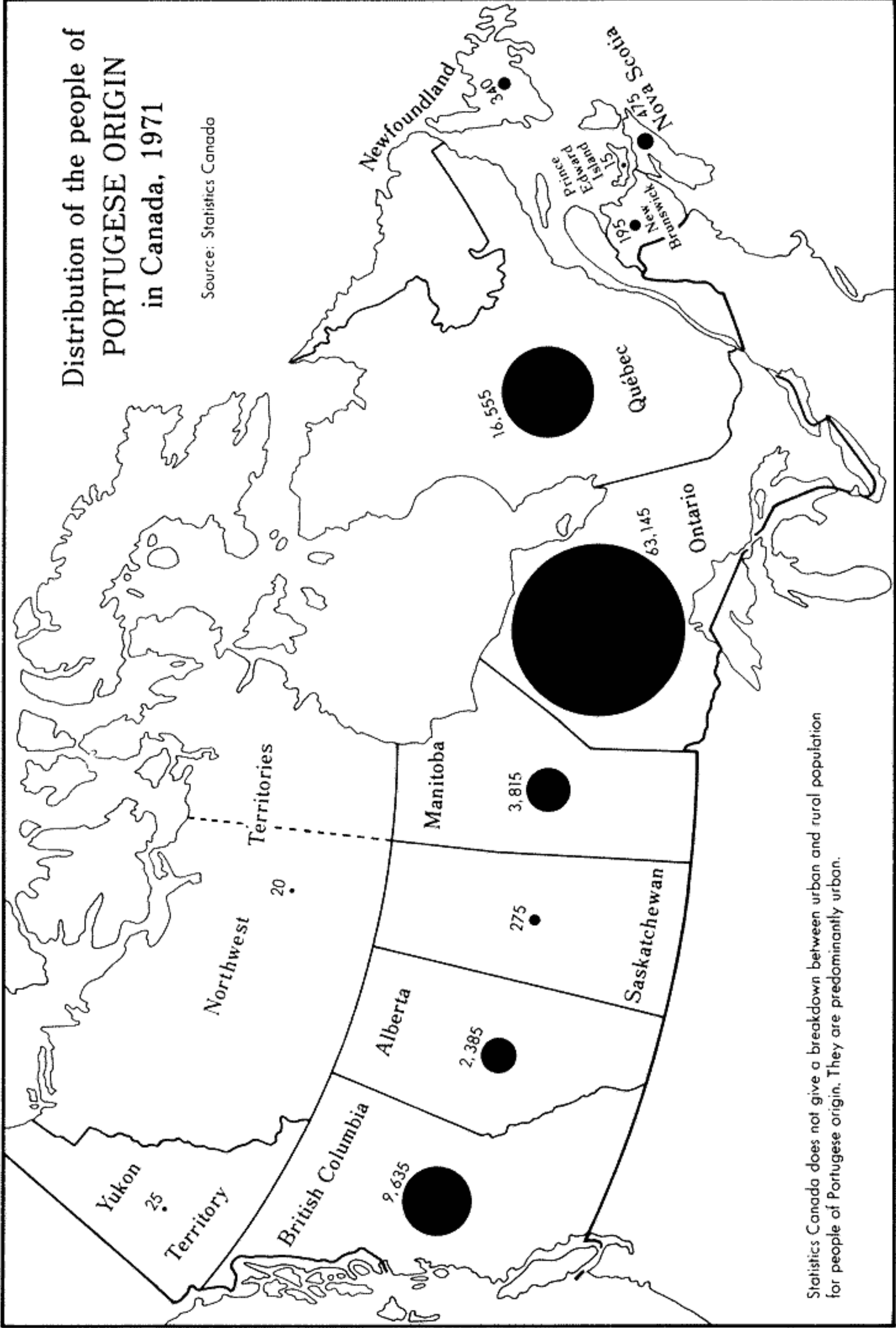
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DAVID HIGGS
Department of History
University of Toronto

Distribution of the people of PORTUGUESE ORIGIN in Canada, 1971

Source: Statistics Canada



Statistics Canada does not give a breakdown between urban and rural population for people of Portuguese origin. They are predominantly urban.

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I — The Portuguese Background

Like other countries of the European Atlantic coast, Portugal has exported many migrants overseas during the last three centuries. Indeed, only the British Isles had a comparable proportion of the population which steadily quit the Motherland over the years. Portuguese migration was not a result of any particular government's policy or economic hardship during a specific period, but an intrinsic part of the Portuguese past, linked at first with peopling an Empire in Brazil and parts of Africa (a flow which continued after independence), and in a second stage with sending workers to economies which offered greater rewards than those to be earned at home. In the eighteenth century Portuguese sometimes crossed into neighbouring Spain to work, by the nineteenth labourers from Portugal were to be found from the Caribbean to Hawaii, and in the twentieth there were substantial movements to South Africa, Venezuela, USA, Canada, Holland, Germany and France. After World War II Portugal remained less developed than its western European neighbours and the historic flow of emigrants has continued the search for a better life abroad.

Portugal is a diverse country composed of the south-western sixth of the Iberian peninsula, the Azorean archipelago of nine islands lying 1223 km west of Lisbon in the Atlantic, and the Madeiran archipelago located 1086 km to the south of Lisbon off the Moroccan coast. Approximately 9.2 million people live on the 89,000 km² of the mainland, 350,000 on the 2304 km² of the Azores and 280,000 on the 795 km² of the Madeiras in the 1970s. Although the mainland (which the Portuguese refer to as the "continent") and the islands are linked by a common history dating back to the Middle Ages, they have different climates, economic conditions and popular cultures. Each region has had a favourite destination for its emigrants, preferences which become stronger over time because of individual and family ties. Continentals most often go to other parts of Europe within reach by road or train, Madeirans leave mainly for South Africa, Venezuela and Brazil while Azoreans journey across the north Atlantic to the United States and Canada. Yet differences can be encountered within a single region. By and large the truly poor never travel far from home because they cannot command the credit to buy expensive tickets. Those from a place which few have left cannot solicit so much help and assistance abroad for those who wish to follow. On Madeira, known as the "Pearl of the Atlantic" because of its staggering natural beauty, few emigrants left for Canada from the northern shore and interior valleys compared to the city of Funchal in the south and the villages which surround it. The islands of the Azores also exhibit differences in emigration to Canada. The district of the capital city of São Miguel, Ponta Delgada, with more than half the total population of the archipelago, sent almost 80 per cent of the total Azorean emigration to Canada from 1960-75. By contrast the district of Angra do Heroísmo, with 29 per cent of the archipelago's population sent only 14 per cent and Horta with 15 per cent of the population sent only 8 per cent. Similarly the largest contingent from continental Portugal has come from the district of Lisbon and the north of the

country, especially Aveiro, followed closely by Minho and other areas. In the quarter century since mass emigration to Canada began the largest numbers of emigrants were from São Miguel, and they predominate in the Toronto Portuguese community. By contrast immigrants from continental districts constitute the majority in Montreal. Both the Portuguese regions which dispatch emigrants abroad and the destinations in Canada to which they come reveal the links of a strong chain of migration.

When large-scale migration to Canada began in the 1950s Portugal was largely an agricultural country. The economy of the volcanic islands of the Azores was based on the fishing and dairy industry and the Madeiras on the production of tropical fruits, fortified wines and handicrafts. The islands were divided into small-holdings although some large estates existed on São Miguel in the Azores. Commerce was conducted on a small-scale and there was no significant industrial sector on either archipelago. On the mainland the population was denser in the fertile, small-holding north than in the southern province of the Alentejo with its large estates, low agricultural yields and dispersed population. But like the islands the mainland had not undergone the wholesale urbanisation which is usually considered the hall-mark of a modern economy. The capital, Lisbon, and its surrounding suburbs had for centuries contained a hugely disproportionate percentage of the national population — more than 20 per cent in modern times — and counted over a million inhabitants in the 1970s.

Table I: Portuguese Emigration to Canada

Years	No. of immigrants
1940-1951	325*
1951-1960	21,914
1961-1970	64,474
1971-1980	76,602
Total	163,514

*Estimate

Table II: People of Portuguese Origin in Canada

Years	Number	% of Canadian Population
1951	600*	(-)
1961	21,734	.001
1971	96,880	.004
1981	225,000*	(?)

*Estimate

TABLE III
 DISTRIBUTION OF PEOPLE OF PORTUGUESE ORIGIN IN CANADA
 Total No. (and %)

Year	Atlantic Provinces.		Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	British Columbia		Other
	100*	150*				200*	50*	
1951	100*	150*	200*	50*	100*	—	—	—
1961	659 (.03)	4,495 (.20)	12,079 (.55)	1,566 (.07)	2,910 (.13)	25 (-)	25 (-)	25 (-)
1971	1,025 (.01)	16,555 (.17)	63,145 (.65)	6,475 (.06)	9,635 (.09)	45 (-)	45 (-)	45 (-)

* Estimate

Oporto in northern Portugal had a population of 600,000 and Funchal on Madeira more than 100,000. The remainder of Portugal's population lived in towns of modest size, often less than 30,000, and villages. Significant industrial progress had been made in a band running along both banks of the Tagus river, the estuary of which is the gateway to modern Portugal. Yet even there the number of industries employing more than 500 workers was tiny. In 1980 less than 1.5 per cent of Portuguese enterprises were that large; the majority were family owned and employed 50 workers or less. Although the pace of development quickened all over Portugal in the 1960s when the authoritarian government headed by Dr. Antonio Salazar admitted increasing amounts of foreign development capital, the expenses of military efforts to halt independence movements in the African colonies of Guiné-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique and the Cape Verde Islands limited progress in communications, education and the development of the economic infrastructure. The adjacent islands and north-eastern Portugal, from which two-thirds of immigrants to Canada were drawn, remained barely touched by that effort at modernisation.

Because most Portuguese had a lower standard of living than their European neighbours, in parts of the countryside there was a particularly acute sense of limited opportunities for economic self-improvement and a general pessimism about the future. The long-standing aspiration for brighter horizons which had existed for centuries in Portugal became more intense in the thirty years following World War II. The yarns told by returned successful emigrants were heightened by the spectacle of the affluent tourists who began to flood into Portugal in the 1960s. The lower strata of Portuguese society — those with no more than the obligatory four years of primary education, or those most conscious of the few openings available to those outside the small and tightly linked elite of their country — were often touched by the desire to improve their situation. Women, thinking of their families' future, played a prominent role in encouraging these aspirations. Although Portugal became a true democracy after the military coup d'état of 25 April 1974 ("the Revolution of the Carnations"), the economic disruptions caused by the independence of former colonies and the return from Africa of large numbers of settlers, as well as an economic recession in newly nationalised industries, meant that emigration was still envisaged as the road to a better life.

During this period of heavy migration to Canada rural life in Portugal still displayed the characteristics of a traditional peasant society with its emphasis on the highly local and family-oriented economy. While the better educated migrants who came from Lisbon or the other big cities were likely to behave as "economic man", putting individual interests and those of immediate relatives over those which bound them to their kin, the Portuguese immigration into Canada has been a product of family links, especially among immigrants with no more than primary education who predominated in the first generation. Individuals sponsored large numbers of relatives. One Madeiran brought as many as 200 relatives and neighbours to Canada over a 25 year period, an extreme case which illustrates the sense of family and neighbourhood loyalties stretching into the new world. Newly arrived relatives were generally punctilious in fulfilling their financial obligations and in assisting newcomers. Individual applicants to the Canadian immigration services, without prior

contacts within Canada, constituted less than 5 per cent of the total of new arrivals during the 1960s. The strong family and community ties of rural and small-town Portugal were transferred to Canada. Loyalties of family, home, village or town had much to do with where one lived, what shops were patronised, and what jobs were sought.

II — The Early Years of Sustained Immigration

The presence in Canada of sufficient numbers of Portuguese to constitute an ethnic group in any real sense dates from the 1950s. Portuguese take great pride in the story of the discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the exploration of Africa, Asia and Brazil. During that period Portuguese explorers appeared in Canadian waters, like the Corte Real whose statue stands in St. John's, Newfoundland. In fact Labrador is named for a *lavrador* (worker). Although the existence of a colony of settlers in the 1530s has not been substantiated, Portuguese vessels fished for cod off the Grand Banks during the sixteenth century and there were Azoreans among those who heard Sir Humphrey Gilbert proclaim the suzerainty of Elisabeth I of England over Newfoundland in 1583. But only a handful of Portuguese settled in Canada over the centuries and they found themselves in different parts of Canada living in isolation from their fellow-countrymen. Since they had little or no opportunity in a completely different environment to transmit a sense of their Portugueseness ("Portuguesismo"), they were part of the pre-history of the Portuguese ethnic group. The first substantial groups of Portuguese immigrants were brought to Canada in 1953 as a result of a government-inspired search for agricultural and manual labourers to work on the land, in the forests and on railway gangs. Discussions with the Portuguese government led to the recruitment of men from the Azores, Madeiras and the Continent and the first large contingents arrived in May-June 1953 on the S.S. *Saturnia* and *Hellas*. Although their arrival and housing were organized by the Department of Labour, the men paid for their own passage to Canada. After landing, they dispersed to employers across the country found for them by the Department of Labour. This was the beginning of the immigration which would make the Portuguese-Canadian ethnic group the seventh largest language group in Canada — almost a quarter of a million souls in 1980.

The very first Portuguese settlers were mostly married men without personal contacts in Canada. Drawn from a working-class background, few of them had more than the most rudimentary grasp of a few words of English or French, scant knowledge of Canadian agricultural techniques or working conditions, and no experience of a climate which contrasted with the temperate to tropical conditions of their homeland. No great effort of historical imagination is necessary to understand the sense of isolation and unfamiliarity which engulfed them, coming as they did from the tightly-knit, warm emotional climate of small-town and village life in Portugal to commercial agriculture and the cool, impersonal bustle of large cities in Canada. Their intentions were precise: to earn sufficient money to enable them to bring their wives and children to Canada and to discharge obligations contracted in paying for their passage. Although most of the migrants hoped to own their own house and to prosper, many assumed that they would ultimately retire to Portugal, wealthy and respected. Interviews indicate that their loyalty to Canada was tenuous. The primary allegiance of the

first generation immigrants was to their families. This allegiance was reinforced by nostalgia (*saudade*), with its loyalty less to the nation of Portugal than to the place of origin (*minha terra*), ranging from a village on Madeira, to a district of Lisbon, or a hamlet nestled in the arid hills of Trás-os-Montes.

The first group of immigrants was highly volatile with no fixed settlement pattern across Canada. Once they had taken up the positions arranged for them by the Department of Labour and had received their first salaries, they quickly moved away. Frequently they left their first jobs impulsively when they heard of better opportunities for work elsewhere. Cars, buses, trains and airplanes made possible sudden relocation. A letter from British Columbia might tell an immigrant in Quebec of high-paying jobs; a chance encounter in the street might send a man on a thousand mile journey. Without wives or children to hinder a decision and with no more worldly goods than a suitcase or two, the first Portuguese immigrants showed an astonishing mobility. Yet in these rapid migrations between jobs, held often for less than six months, one feature became increasingly evident: the lure of the larger cities where more fellow-countrymen were likely to be found than elsewhere. Within three years of the initial wave, little islands of Portuguese began to emerge in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver. Although they came from a rural environment, many of those who came to Canada to work in agriculture had never actually worked the land in Portugal and they turned to more urban forms of employment. As these enclaves emerged, other newcomers sought employment nearby as an answer to the sense of loneliness which besets a people surrounded by those who did not speak their language, or understand their ways and sensitivities.

Once married men began to bring their wives to Canada, they were necessarily less impulsive in moving from one centre to another. The first women arrived within two years, but others waited as long as ten years to rejoin their husbands. In general, the wives came when the men felt that they could provide for them, just as the bachelors might seek to contract a marriage when they had reached a certain level of security. The arrival of a fiancée or spouse marked a crucial stage in settling in Canada since it showed the immigrant's confidence in his ability to provide for his family, albeit with the aid of increased earnings from the efforts of the new arrival. In the external life of the Portuguese family the man traditionally held the predominant place. Interviewers have noticed that women rarely speak to strangers before, or in contradiction, of their husbands. Nonetheless, one must not underestimate the prominence of the wife and mother to the sense of purpose of the family. Women had often been the inspiration of the idea to emigrate in the first place, and undertook the initial enquiries and bureaucratic follow-up which led to departure from Portugal. By reminding the men of their hopes for the future of their children the women gave a continuing incentive to surmount the difficulties encountered in the new country. In Canada the women provided the small but vital encouragements to continue the struggle: familiar foods, sociability with other families, the reassurance of family life. Portuguese women are often the major carriers of the cultural identity which, among the working-class, consisted primarily of clinging to traditional ways.

Although the numbers of individual Portuguese, and then increasingly of Portuguese families in Canada, grew rapidly during the 1950s, there was no

clear awareness of their presence by the host society. To the Canadian observer there were no visible characteristics of the Portuguese which marked them off from other longer-established Celts and southern Europeans. For more than a century before the 1950s people with similar physical characteristics had been coming to Canada. In the larger cities the Portuguese were an invisible minority. If they were seen as alien it was as a result of language barriers or segregation in particular districts where the first immigrants could afford the housing. Portugal meant little to most Canadians, save perhaps as the home of port wine or more vaguely as the most ancient ally of Great Britain. Although unfavourable press comment became widespread with the outbreak of the independence wars in Portuguese Africa in the 1960s, the early days of Portuguese immigration were not marred either by systematic social rejection or by ideological hostility. The difficulties which the immigrants faced were those of adjusting to a benignly indifferent society radically different from that which they had left behind.

The primary need for most immigrants was to establish a satisfactory economic base in the new country. Despite the initial assumption of the immigration department, most Portuguese did not remain as agricultural, forest and railway workers. Quite quickly they began to concentrate in the big cities. Even when they went to work in remote northern sites on railway gangs, or in seasonal work in the forests, where wages were high, they returned as quickly as possible to the cities where the islands of Portuguese settlement were growing. More and more Portuguese began to look for year-round work which would not take them away from their wives and children in the cities. At the same time their limited command of English or French and their inability to match their work experience in Portugal with opportunities in Canada forced new specialisations to emerge. Friends and relatives recruited others to work in the same enterprise. Azoreans, especially women, began to turn massively to janitorial work, where their education was immaterial and dependability made them prized workers. Construction sites offered employment. So did work in hotels and restaurants, particularly as housekeepers and kitchen help.

A few enterprising individuals opened businesses which catered to the needs of the Portuguese, for they perceived the basis of lasting prosperity in the future growth of the community. A restaurant was the first Portuguese-owned business opened in Toronto followed by a grocery and a fish-shop. In Montreal a grocery came first. Soon there were barber shops, cafés and in time a newspaper shop. Frequently these initial ventures were the work of people without specialised knowledge of the business or professional training in Portugal, since only a tiny fraction of the first immigrants did not come from a working-class background.

Although a limited degree of economic integration took place in Canada as the number of small businesses and of members of the labour force grew, social integration was almost non-existent during the first decade of Portuguese immigration. One reason was linguistic. Nor did the immigrants easily fit into the larger social life of the host community. They had almost no interest in a political system often imperfectly understood and very different from that in authoritarian Portugal. The political universe of Canada, with congeries of municipal, provincial and federal bureaucracies, and the parallel tangle of staffs of the "helping professions", with their web of inter-connections, seemed

mysterious to the new immigrants. At the municipal level in the bigger cities, as the Portuguese sought out mundane authorisations for excavating a basement or permission to make a parking space, they often came in contact with aldermen seeking votes. By the 1970s some Portuguese ran for municipal office in immigrant districts, but provincial and federal politics still seemed remote, although there were Portuguese candidates in the 1979 federal election.

Apart from the work-place, perhaps the closest integration into Canadian life came in Roman Catholic religious life. Throughout Portuguese history a strong anti-clerical streak has existed, particularly in the south of the continent and among city dwellers. But the Azores, Madeira and northern Portugal, from which the majority of the Portuguese Canadians were drawn, have always been the most devout regions of Portugal. The Canadian hierarchy was sensitive to the desire of the Portuguese to express their faith in traditional forms. Mass was said in Portuguese in Toronto by 1956 and in Montreal by 1960. Lay confraternities ("irmandades"), which played an important part in Azorean social life, were established in Canada in places where Azoreans predominated in a Catholic congregation. Yet, despite the goodwill of the Canadian clergy, one cannot speak of early social integration through the Church since the initial demand was for pastoral care in Portuguese. The Church filled that need but Portuguese congregations had little contact with native-born lay Catholics. Similarly, fundamentalist groups, who proselytised among the Portuguese with limited success, achieved little in the way of social integration.

Ties with Portugal, maintained by letters to relatives at home, were important to the first group of immigrants, since the reply from the home village might give the new address of an old friend or a relative. In Portuguese working-class life the help given by a *cunha* (literally a "wedge") — someone with whom one stands in a relationship of reciprocal obligation and gratitude, such as god-parents — is a deep-seated concept. To be without nearby *cunhas* was to be without support in the face of adversity and among the immigrants to Canada this concept held a real meaning and established a chain of fellowship which led back to the motherland. Moreover, coming from an authoritarian political system, where the national bureaucracy was portrayed as paternalist and solicitous, the immigrants naturally turned to Portuguese consular officials when they had problems. Many Portuguese spoke no English or French; others used a kind of pidgin with a small vocabulary; still others had learned a basic grasp of conversational English or French in the tourist industry in Portugal or on the American base at Lajes on Terceira in the Azores. But few immigrants had any real command of 'formal' language. Tax forms and telephone bills, letters from City Hall or immigration officers were mysterious if not alarming manifestations of incomprehensible authority. The Portuguese consuls in St. John's, Montreal and Toronto, were deluged with requests from people who often did not grasp the limitations on Portuguese bureaucrats in a Canadian jurisdiction. These officials were seen as intercessionary figures, an official *cunha* so to speak, and when they were unable to resolve problems, the emigrants felt bitter and betrayed. Nonetheless, the intensity of the expectations projected on the consular staff reveal how dependent the immigrants were on Portuguese authority in the new land.

Another tie with Portugal was the commercial. Portuguese restaurants and

households needed familiar ingredients to prepare the traditional foods for which the immigrants were so often nostalgic. Olive oil, sardines, tomato paste, squid, pepper sauce, particular kinds of dried beans and many other ingredients had to be imported. Together with the goods which filled the shelves of the new Portuguese groceries and fish-shops was a demand for a less tangible product, the memory of the working-class amusements and concerns of the homeland. Beauty contests leading to the election of a "Miss" were held at the local level and across Canada, and the winning girl was dispatched to the finals held annually in Estoril, Portugal. Publicity given to arrangements for these celebrations of pulchritude among Portuguese emigrants in many countries besides Canada was assiduously encouraged by the Lisbon authorities, especially after 1974. The contests were at once apolitical, familial and popular with blue-collar emigrants, and underlined the sense of a world-wide diaspora of Portuguese. There was also a keen interest in Canada in the results of Portuguese sporting events, especially soccer and roller-skate hockey. The Lisbon sports newspaper, *A Bola*, with its accounts of the various soccer teams, was avidly read and passed from hand to hand; until 1980 it remained the most widely circulated Portuguese publication in Canada. Soccer teams proliferated in Canada. Novels which could be passed around the workers on a railway gang or among the patrons of a restaurant were also valued, and romances were enjoyed by women who found in them a momentary respite in a fantasy world set in a sunlit Portugal. Illiterates or semi-literates among the Portuguese were excluded from those amusements but conversely were all the more responsive to gramophone records or pictorial magazines, which helped to reinforce the ties with Portugal.

III — The Growth of Portuguese-Canadian Communities

By 1960, seven years after the start of massive Portuguese immigration to Canada, the majority of the immigrants, although they had come from a rural and small-town background, lived in large Canadian cities. A few bought farms in southern Ontario or purchased fruit orchards in the Okanagan Valley of B.C., but the overwhelming majority looked to the cities for employment. Toronto, with 40 per cent of all Portuguese in Canada, had a larger number of citizens of Azorean background than any town in those Atlantic islands. Montreal, with some 20 per cent of all Portuguese in Canada, had the second largest urban concentration, and was over half composed of families from the continent. Winnipeg, Calgary and Vancouver also had sizeable settlements of Portuguese but, by contrast, the Maritimes attracted only small numbers and people tended to migrate to the bigger cities when a job came to an end. Paradoxically urban residence explains the idealisation and the nostalgia for village ways often expressed in conversation. The hardships of adjusting to life in Canada encouraged day-dreaming about the pleasures of Portugal. Faced with snow, the immigrants talked of sun and beaches. They compared the human warmth and kindness of people at home with the seemingly aloof, indifferent Canadians, whose language they often did not understand. They contrasted what seemed licentious and immoral permissiveness in Canada with the demure conduct of women at home.

In 1973 a fascinating novel was published in Portuguese which recounted the arrival in Canada of a Portuguese immigrant and the obstacles he faced in

establishing a home for his wife and son. The author, Laurenço Gonçalves, drew upon his own experiences in Manitoba and Ontario and emphasised the nostalgia and the shock of uprootedness felt by Portuguese immigrants during their first years in Canada. This nostalgia served as a psychological safety-valve for many emigrants faced with the intense strain of adjusting to a new society. By contrast with an earlier generation of immigrants, the Portuguese underwent the crucial first ten years of life in Canada, the decade in which the major adjustments are made, with the possibility of rapid return to Portugal, since air tickets to the homeland were not prohibitively expensive during the 1960s. Air travel led to abrupt juxtapositions of immigrant nostalgia and the social realities of their place of origin. Some Portuguese avoided making clear distinctions between the two. Homes were frequently sublet to tenants who could look after the house during the owner's absence. Azoreans might return to the lush Atlantic islands during the Canadian winter months and return to Toronto or Montreal or some other city when construction sites opened in the spring. Some immigrants went back to Portugal permanently with money earned from years in Canada and built a house there, returning to Canada during the summer months to stay with children or relatives and to work at a job found by family and friends. Flights from Montreal and New York to the Azores were packed with men and women who were part of a moving continuum, sometimes living in the islands and sometimes in Canada.

The media played a major role in making the Portuguese conscious of themselves as a group in Canada. Quite soon after the start of large-scale emigration, publications began to appear. They ranged from parish bulletins — usually a page or two run off on a ditto machine, with news of services, festivals, charter flights and real estate advertisements — to newspapers. The first Portuguese-language newspaper was *O Luso-Canadiano* (Portuguese-Canadian), established in Montreal in 1959 by Henrique Tavares Bello. This newspaper was increasingly critical of the domestic and foreign policy, especially the wars against the independence movements in Portuguese Africa, of the authoritarian government then in power in Lisbon. Tavares Bello, who had come to Canada in 1955, tried to provide information about Portuguese groups in other Canadian cities and he persistently called for a united approach to common interests which transcended the regional loyalties of clubs and individuals. Although he died in 1967 the newspaper continued publication until 1971. The longest established Portuguese-Canadian newspaper today is the *Correio Português* (The Portuguese Mail), founded in Toronto, in 1963 by António Ribeiro. Other newspapers like *O Mensageiro* (The Messenger) in Vancouver and *Voz de Portugal* (Voice of Portugal) in Montreal appeared and temporarily flourished. Since the body of such newspapers was often comprised of “paste-ups” from the press published in Portugal, many had scant Canadian content, although much can be learned about the Portuguese community from the advertisements for food and furniture shops, butchers, restaurants, lawyers, realtors, car salesmen, and so forth. Sometimes the papers included a brief section of announcements of local events. Two newspapers published in Toronto, *Novo Mundo* (New World), published from 1970-73 and edited by A.J. Pina Fernandes, and *Comunidade* (Community), published from 1975-79 by Domingos Marques, João Medeiros and others, did attempt to provide a Portuguese

perspective on life in Canada. They carried stories on the life-experiences of businessmen and workers, encouraged local writers to submit poetry and prose, and commented on matters of more concern to Portuguese Canadians than to Portuguese living abroad. Yet while they contain much of interest to the student of ethnic history, they relied excessively on the efforts of a few individuals, had a weak financial base and lacked either a reliable or a wide circulation.

More important in promoting a Portuguese-Canadian consciousness was the rise of ethnic broadcasting on radio and television in the cities and their vicinities where the community was sufficiently large to make this commercially viable. This transitory form of communication, only rarely taped for rebroadcasting, reached a far wider audience than the press. The hosts of Portuguese programs like Portugal Today, Portuguese Festival and A Portuguese Time introduced entertainers, promoted advertisers, read news bulletins and often editorialised on politics. After the coup of 25 April 1974, for three years most broadcasters showed themselves to be more conservative in their political views than those prevailing in Lisbon; their commentaries underlined the fact that the emigrants from the Azores and northern Portugal were more in sympathy with right wing parties than those of the left. The views of Azorean separatists were aired in 1975-76. These political views were of some importance to Portuguese politicians who came to visit communities in Canada, since Portuguese emigrants overseas were given the right to vote in national elections and their support was actively solicited. The broadcasts also fed *saudade* by playing records of singing accompanied by two guitars, called *fado* (fate), and popular music for special festivals. The announcers became local personalities whose foibles and concerns were familiar to their restricted audiences. Request programmes, phone-ins and competitions were another aspect of the way in which those programmes provided a Portuguese-Canadian frame of reference beyond the strongly regional nature of most social clubs in the larger cities.

By the time of the 25th anniversary of the arrival of the first large contingents of Portuguese, the initial group of immigrants had begun to feel more comfortable in Canada. A major step forward was the purchase of the first house. In the life-histories of the Portuguese family the purchase of a first house is an important date, since it differentiated the rootless family from one with a stake in Canada. The house became a base for travel, and provided accommodation for a new couple if a son or daughter married. Ownership of a house was usually a sign of economic integration, at least in the sense that an individual had already worked long and effectively in Canada in order to amass a down-payment. With wealth came a desire for more spacious and modern housing than that to be found in the immigrant reception districts of the centre of the cities and there was a flow to the suburbs favoured by the Portuguese, like that from Montreal to Longueuil and from Toronto to Mississauga.

Although they lacked educational advantages a number of the first generation immigrants had made substantial fortunes in real estate, restaurants, driving schools, travel agencies, trucking, landscape gardening and shops. These achievements were the work of self-made men whose determination and shrewd sense of opportunities provided first a precarious foothold and then affluence. Most of these businesses made their profits from compatriots. The majority, although not all, of these entrepreneurs were continentals, and they accorded

each other sometimes grudging mutual esteem as those who had made out best in Canada. Most Portuguese immigrants, however, continue to be workers employed by someone else, although enjoying a better standard of living than their counterparts in the motherland. There is also a dark page in the story which cannot be told from the statistical record since immigrants who returned home wounded by failure are not systematically counted. Nevertheless, Portuguese sources lead one to suppose that the definitive return rate after ten years is much lower among Azoreans (under 5 per cent) than among all immigrants of the 1960s at large (25 per cent). This may result from the migration of entire family networks so that the propinquity of numerous relatives makes for more help in surmounting obstacles in Canada permanently and fewer reasons to return to the islands. The same thing is probably true among Madeirans and, to a slightly lesser degree, among Continentals. More than most immigrants to Canada the Portuguese have come to stay.

Yet while the Portuguese community has established lasting roots in Canada, there are deep divisions within it. One source of friction is the different attitudes of the second generation of Portuguese Canadians — those who were born or educated in Canada — and their parents. As a rough rule children who come to a new language before the age of twelve learn to speak it without an accent, while those who are older often have a residual inflexion from Portuguese. The second generation of children brought up in Canada have acculturated more quickly for they speak without an accent. Moreover, greater educational opportunities are available for the young in Canada, where a far higher proportion of national revenue is spent on education than in Portugal. Doctors, lawyers, engineers, architects and scholars of Portuguese origin have begun to graduate from Canadian universities, although still in comparatively small numbers. Many graduate from high school or receive technical training, and possess much more formal education than the average four years of primary instruction of the first immigrants of the 1950s. Formal education instilled urban tastes and aspirations in the children of rural and small-town immigrants and accelerated the acculturation of the second generation, particularly since there is a correlation between education level and income.

Another source of division in the Portuguese-Canadian community results from the impact of class differences derived from Portugal. Although Portugal had the lowest per capita income of western Europe in the 1960s and 1970s, the upper levels of society lived very comfortably. A far higher proportion of the Portuguese middle-class had live-in servants than their counterparts in Canada. While the overwhelming majority of immigrants were drawn from the Portuguese working-class, some members of the affluent middle-class came to Canada, particularly after the political changes in Portugal and in the former colonies in Africa since 1974. These middle-class immigrants have little in common with working-class emigrants who at home would have been their tradesmen or domestics. They stress their superior knowledge of several European languages as a result of a secondary and university education in Portugal. They find it difficult to associate in common purposes with men and women who may speak Portuguese with a strong regional accent or whose lives revolve around the traditional camaraderie of family, friends and *cunhas*. Middle-class Portuguese often live away from the clusters of Portuguese in the

big cities as though to underline their different life-style. On the other hand, men who have achieved economic success in Canada are generally unwilling to defer to those who formerly were their social "betters". Secure in the satisfaction of their Canadian achievements, they are less inclined to listen respectfully to the views of the "Senhor Doutor", as a Portuguese university graduate is addressed.

Divided by strong regional and local loyalties and fragmented by class prejudice, the Portuguese have found it impossible to produce a unitary national organisation to represent all Portuguese-Canadians. In 1969 an effort to found an umbrella Congress of special interest Portuguese clubs failed. The Portuguese have not faced the external prejudice which might have forced them to unite to express their common exigencies. The federal multicultural policy initiated in 1971 and its provincial counterparts have to some extent compensated for this weakness. Various consultants, at least two Portuguese citizenship judges, and a number of counsellors in police, parole and family advising services have been appointed. While the total number across Canada cannot be large, perhaps less than a thousand, these individuals are extraordinarily well placed to influence decisions which affect the Portuguese community.

IV — A Comparative Perspective

Immigrants from Portugal since 1953 encountered a Canada different from that faced before World War I by "the stalwart peasants in a sheepskin coat" sought out by officials of the Department of the Interior. Newcomers at the start of the century were expected to embrace the Dominion's Imperial ideals whereas by the 1950s those loyalties had been supplanted by a less intense but indigenous appreciation of Canadianism. Newcomers were not called upon to kiss the Union Jack as they had been in anti-foreign riots in the North End of Winnipeg in 1919. Coming to Canada in large numbers in the more cosmopolitan atmosphere of the prosperous 1950s, the Portuguese never encountered the overt prejudice visited upon Chinese, Japanese and Sikhs.

By mid-century the commercial civilisation of Canada had much stronger links to the United States than to Great Britain. Earlier immigrants had established economic networks across the American border, and there were clear ethnic specialisations in occupations. For example in management, the professions and tertiary occupations Jews and Asians were now over-represented by comparison to the incidence of those jobs in the labour force at large; in the food trades Dutch and Germans were over-represented; in skilled construction work and tailoring Italians; in farming Ukrainians, Scandinavians, Dutch, Germans and Hungarians; and so forth. New immigrants often followed similar pathways to their predecessors of the same origin because of help and encouragement from the latter. Portuguese immigrants frequently found their jobs through the network of friends and relatives already established in Canada, and among the first generation there was a tendency to find employment based more on effort than skill in janitorial jobs, trucking, landscape gardening, clothing factories, restaurants. Only exceptionally were rural skills transferred, like the Nazaré fishermen who sail out from Wheatley on Lake Erie or the fruit farmers of the Okanagan Valley of B.C.

The decline in Imperial loyalties and the cosmopolitanism of ethnic networks in the economy heightened the difficulties of immigrants seeking to comprehend

the national identity. The characteristically understated nationalism of post-World War II Canadians often puzzled immigrants from a country with centralised traditions of national pride forcefully taught to primary school children. The social life of the first generation was often confined to other Portuguese with whom they constantly multiplied references to the motherland. In the absence of a unitary, popular ideology easily assimilable by all, the Portuguese were uncertain of what to venerate in Canada. They perceived regional and ethnic diversity, but they did not discern a shared mythology of sufficient power to command emotional loyalty. The first generation sometimes complained that although Canada fulfilled their material dreams it did not satisfy their need for a heart-felt allegiance.

The Portuguese-Canadian second generation, with an education in Canada and speaking the vernacular more fluently than Portuguese, have a different appreciation of their country. Heroic echoes of Portuguese history recalled by their parents, and descriptions of life in places across the Atlantic ocean, are faint and irrelevant to Canada and its climate. Many children attend school in a Canadian immigrant district where it is not uncommon to have pupils from five or more linguistic groups with roots on five continents. They share in Canadian and teenage concerns which provide the common ground between adolescents of different ethnic backgrounds. Their experience contrasts with that of parents brought up in homogeneous villages or small towns in Portugal. These solvents act powerfully upon the rustic and traditional ways which soon dwindle to isolated scraps of popular tradition imperfectly understood by the young. A special cake is made for Easter, bonfires lit in summer, impromptu rhyming quatrains sung to a guitar at parties, or distinctive Christmas carols intoned. Some traditional festivities, like those associated with the pig-killing (*matança do porco*), may even become distasteful to the young. In short, the popular culture of the first generation, direct reminiscences of Portuguese rural or urban working-class diversions, is blurred into an amalgam with North American amusements. Given the high level of endogamy among the second generation this Portuguese-Canadian way of living is strong among the "urban villagers" of the cities. On the other hand the second generation also has access to the formal culture of Portuguese artistic achievement and literature taught in the private Saturday and evening schools funded by parents' contributions. Courses at levels of increasing sophistication are provided by some high-schools, colleges and universities, although those opportunities are naturally not available everywhere in the country. By the third generation the contrast may sharpen between those scattered across Canada who have only a residual sense of Portuguese roots and the urban clusters which maintain a sense of life lived with Portuguese flair.

Suggestions for Further Reading

The reader who wishes to know something of the history of Portugal should consult A.H. Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal* (New York, 1976). More detailed information about conditions in the Azores and Madeira can be found in Francis M. Rogers, *Atlantic Islanders of the Azores and Madeiras* (North Quincy, Mass., 1979). The first study of the growth of the Portuguese-Canadian ethnic group across Canada was Grace M. Anderson and David Higgs, *A future to inherit: the Portuguese communities of Canada* (Toronto, 1976), Professor Anderson earlier published the first academic monograph on Portuguese life in a large Canadian city with her brilliantly innovative study, *Networks of contact, the Portuguese and Toronto* (Waterloo, 1974). Domingos Marques and João Medeiros, *Portuguese Immigrants: 25 Years in Canada* (Toronto 1980), contains direct quotations from many interviews with immigrants and fresh information on clubs, political movements and commerce, primarily in Ontario and Quebec, and corrects and amplifies earlier works. J. António Alpalhão and Victor M.P. da Rosa, *A minority in a changing society* (Ottawa, 1980) is an indispensable source for the study of the Portuguese in Quebec. It is a distanced, general, academic account. All four books contain bibliographical references to specialised material on the Portuguese in journals and the proceedings of conferences. Further knowledge of the Portuguese can be gleaned from magazines and newspapers analysed in the Canadian Periodical Index and Canadian Newspaper Index.

Two other sources offer a sharp insight into Portuguese-Canadian life. One is a novel by "L. Rodrigues" (a pseudonym of Laurence Gonclaves), *Os bastardos das Patrias* (Covilhã, 1973), which is set in Toronto in the 1950s. The novel is a *roman à clef* about well-known personalities in the Portuguese enclave of those days, and portrays some of the humiliations and loneliness suffered by early immigrants. The second is a National Film Board movie called "Les Borges" (1978-60 minutes) directed by Marilú Mallet and available in French only. The cameras recorded in their homes interviews with a family from northern Portugal who live and work in Quebec and provided a picture of working class Portuguese immigrants in Montreal of the 1970s.



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