

Madeiran Portuguese Migration to Guyana, St. Vincent, Antigua and Trinidad: A Comparative Overview

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THIS PAPER REPRESENTS a preliminary exploration of Madeiran migration to the Anglophone Caribbean.¹ It seeks to consider the phenomenon of Madeiran migration in the context of the wider Anglophone Caribbean by comparing and contrasting the waves of Madeiran migration across the region, including the extent and rate of cultural assimilation in each new home of Madeiran migrants. Apart from the primary sources available for the Portuguese community of Trinidad, mainly secondary sources have been used and assessed for the other territories as an initial basis for comparison. This is done particularly where the experiences of migrants have been reportedly similar.²

During the 140 years of Madeiran Portuguese migration to the Anglophone Caribbean, a period lasting from 1835 to 1975,³ Portuguese and Luso-West Indians have remained a minority group within the wider host

¹ The author's main research, in the areas of oral history and language history, has so far concentrated on the Portuguese of Trinidad, particularly the phenomenon of twentieth century migration to that territory, depending mainly on local sources of information via the Portuguese Consulate.

² For Guyana, see Mary Noel Menezes, *The Portuguese of Guyana: A Study in Culture and Conflict* (London: M. N. Menezes, 1994); and Mary Noel Menezes, *Scenes from the History of the Portuguese in Guyana* (London: M. N. Menezes, 1986), *inter alia*. For St. Vincent, see Robert Ciski, "The Vincentian Portuguese: A Study in Ethnic Group Adaptation" (Ph.D. diss., University of Massachusetts, 1979). For Trinidad, see Jo-Anne S. Ferreira, *The Portuguese of Trinidad & Tobago: Portrait of an Ethnic Minority* (St. Augustine: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1994); and Jo-Anne S. Ferreira, "The Portuguese Language in Trinidad & Tobago: A Study of Language Shift and Language Death" (Ph.D. diss., University of the West Indies at St. Augustine, 1999).

³ The last recorded Portuguese immigrant went to Trinidad in 1975. Livros de Matrícula (*certificados de inscrição*), vol. 1: 9-308 (1919 até 1920), vol. 2: 313-709 (10 de Abril de 1924 até 15 de Julho de 1936), vol. 3: 1-300 (28 de Julho de 1936 até 25 de Agosto de 1947), and vol. 4: 301-99 (8 de Outubro de 1947 até 3 de Dezembro de 1975), Consulado de Portugal, Port-of-Spain.

societies. Within the local Euro-Creole communities, the Portuguese were in most cases a minority within a minority, and in a few cases a majority within a minority. In the history of the Caribbean, Madeirans constituted the only significant post-emancipation European group across the Anglo-phone territories, significant both in relative size and in their socio-economic contributions to the development of the region, although their numbers remained generally lower than for other ethnolinguistic groups of European and non-European origin, the latter including Africans, Indians, Chinese and Arabs.

Before the arrival of the Madeirans, however, the first known Portuguese nationals went to Spanish Trinidad in as early as 1630, over two centuries before the arrival of the Madeirans.⁴ Nothing is known of their origin, nor of their purpose and length of stay.⁵ Hyamson notes that a number of Sephardic Jews settled in Trinidad in the eighteenth century, but the exact origin and fate of these Sephardim are unknown.⁶ Whether the Sephardim who went to Trinidad went directly from the Iberian peninsula or from other Mediterranean areas such as Italy, or whether they were descendants of immigrants to South America or Jamaica is yet unknown. Others of Sephardic descent, such as descendants of *marranos* may also have emigrated with the nineteenth century arrivals.⁷

In 1834, the year of the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, the first Portuguese laborers went to the Caribbean from the Azores. A group of 161 Azorean migrant laborers found their way from Fayal to Trinidad in July of that year.⁸ That wave of migration had not been officially commissioned

⁴ The 1891 census notes that the Portuguese were some of the first immigrants to go to Trinidad after the British capture of the island in 1797. This is not surprising in view of the centuries-old relationship and 1386 Treaty of Windsor between Britain and Portugal, which set the stage and opened the way for the unhindered exchange and traffic of goods, military support and people.

⁵ Eric Williams, *The History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago* (Port-of-Spain: P.N.M. Publishing Co. Ltd., 1962), 20.

⁶ Albert M. Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England: A History of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Community, 1492-1951* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1951), 154.

⁷ Cf. Donna Farah, "The Jewish Community in Trinidad, 1930s-70s," Caribbean Studies Project, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, 1991.

⁸ The Regional Archives of Madeira have in their holdings a record of an 1834 contract drawn up between Madeirans and planters in Trinidad. Whether any Madeirans actually migrated to Trinidad in that year remains unknown up to this point. Source: Livro #2324, *Registos Notariais*, fols. 54-55^v. The Madeiran Archives also possess passport registers for over 100 persons applying to come to Trinidad between 1851 and 1879. The Arquivo Regional recently published an index of passport registers. There are 142

by the British crown, as were other migrations in later years, mainly from Madeira, and the Azoreans were taken to Trinidad privately on three to five year contracts.⁹

Following the abolition of slavery, post-abolition migration became a matter of economic survival for many plantation owners, because of the impending labor problems. There was an increasing interest in and desire for European labor, so the Portuguese, among others, were imported throughout the West Indies to increase the European population *vis-à-vis* the African population. Laurence notes that “1,500 people had been brought to Trinidad from the Azores, Madeira, Britain, Germany, France and Malta; but only a few successful European immigrants were to be found—in Jamaica”.¹⁰ By and large, Portuguese were welcomed wherever they went in the West Indies, mostly because they provided cheap labor, and also because their presence was supposed to act as a buffer between the Africans and Europeans, at least from a socio-economic perspective.¹¹

The first Madeiran laborers in the Caribbean arrived in Guyana (then British Guiana) in 1835, the year after the abolition of slavery which was the same year in which the Azoreans first went to Trinidad. That year was the beginning of both official and unofficial migration of thousands of Madeirans to the region, with over 12,000 Madeirans going to Guyana from 1835 and 1846, the first decade of Portuguese migration to that territory. Only a few hundred contract laborers left Madeira for Guyana “before the Portuguese authorities prohibited the operation in 1836”.¹² The thousands who migrated from Madeira after that time went for personal reasons, mostly in search of their fortunes. Even though the Portuguese authorities had prohibited contract labor of Madeirans in 1836, Madeiran migration to the other territories only began later in 1845 and 1846. In terms of socio-economic benefits to the British government, planters and laborers, the Guyanese experiment proved to be relatively successful, despite

applications, representing at least 135 *requerentes*, as well as other applications for 46 *acompanhantes* made by 22 of the *requerentes*. These do not include 51 other applications described as *inexistentes*. See Arquivo Histórico da Madeira, *Índices dos Passaportes*, 1872-1900 (Funchal: Arquivo Regional da Madeira, 2000).

⁹ Keith O. Laurence, *Immigration into the West Indies in the 19th Century* (St. Lawrence, Barbados: Caribbean Univ. Press, 1971), 9.

¹⁰ Laurence, *Immigration into the West Indies*, 12.

¹¹ Bridget Brereton, *History of Modern Trinidad, 1783-1962* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981), 96.

¹² Laurence, *Immigration into the West Indies*, 10.

an initially high mortality rate. On a much reduced scale, Trinidad, St. Vincent and Antigua, *inter alia*, attempted to repeat Guyana's 11-year old and continuing economic success story. No doubt the Madeirans who migrated to territories other than Guyana had heard about the prosperity of their compatriots in Demerara, one of the main regions of Guyana which became synonymous with Guyana itself, although Portuguese and other migrants went to the regions of Essequibo and Berbice as well.¹³

Although other Portuguese found their way to the Caribbean, including Sephardic Jews in the eighteenth century, and also persons from mainland Portugal and Portuguese territories such as the Azores and Cape Verde, by far the largest number of Portuguese hailed from the Madeira Islands, and comprised both Catholic immigrants and Presbyterian refugees fleeing religious persecution.

For Madeirans migrating in the nineteenth century, the push factors included socio-economic and political issues, and the pull factors included the promise of economic self-betterment and the promise of supposedly high(er) wages. Socio-economic factors, as well as so-called overpopulation, had reduced the standard of living to the extent that migration became a matter of survival for many. In the nineteenth century, Madeira experienced a series of social and economic crises, especially as a result of the civil war of 1828-34 and following 1847, known as "o ano de fome" or the year of hunger (also called "a crise de fome", the hunger crisis), which affected Madeira and Porto Santo. This crisis was a result of a disease attacking potato crops, which by that time had become a staple.¹⁴ Later, the decline in the wine market during the 1840s, and the vine diseases in 1852 and 1870 resulted in widespread unemployment among agricultural workers. These workers constituted the main group that tended to migrate to the West Indies. Generally speaking, Harney's point about the type of

¹³ Menezes, *Portuguese of Guyana*, 74.

¹⁴ See Fernando Augusto da Silva, *Elucidário Madeirense* (Funchal: Tipografia Esperance, 1921): "Morreu uma boa parte da população madeirense os horrores da fome durante os últimos três meses de 1846 e os primeiros meses de 1847, por haver faltado a semilha, então o principal alimento das classes pobres, destruída por uma moléstia, antes disso perfeitamente desconhecida na ilha. Se a população dos campos dispusesse dos meios precisos para adquirir outras subsistências e estas abundassem na ilha seria menos terrível a crise que a afligiu, mas desgraçadamente veio juntar se á molestia das sementes um decrescimento notavel no preço dos vinhos, o que trouxe como consequencia a miséria entre os agricultores e os pequenos proprietários rurais, cujos recursos pecuniários provinham quasi exclusivamente da venda dos mostos aos negociantes" <<http://www.ceha-madeira.net/elucidario/f/fomi.htm>>.

Portuguese migrant of the nineteenth century is valid for the Caribbean setting as well: “immigrants are rarely statistically or culturally representative of the country they leave behind ... [the] vast majority of Portuguese migrants were island people, peasants, fishermen, sailors with limited educational backgrounds”.¹⁵

In 1835, Madeira, an Atlantic archipelago of 120,000 inhabitants, was often described as overpopulated.¹⁶ According to Nepomuceno, figures for legal migration average 716 persons a year from the 1840s to the 1860s. By the end of the nineteenth century, legal/official migration accounted for 14% of Madeira’s population,¹⁷ excluding the not uncommon clandestine emigrants, such as those fleeing military service. The *aliciadores*, that is, those paid to scour the countryside for potential migrants, were crucial in this migratory movement.¹⁸ After the 1840s, family and village chain migration became more and more commonplace, with whole families and neighborhoods migrating, as opposed to individuals alone migrating in search of a better life.

For other migrants, the push factors also included the religious strife between Catholics and Protestants of 1844-6, as a result of Dr. Robert Reid Kalley’s sojourn in Madeira. The pull factors consequently included the promise of religious freedom, particularly in Trinidad, where religious liberty had been proclaimed. In Madeira, social conflict arising from changing religious patterns in a formerly constant setting occurred almost simultaneously with that island’s economic difficulties, causing a mass exodus of a few thousand Madeirans. What began as the evangelical teaching of the Bible in small schools and the distribution of free medicines and medical care dramatically concluded in a volatile clash of religious denominations.

Dr. Kalley, a Scottish Protestant medical missionary, had gone to Madeira in 1838, originally seeking a healthy climate for his sick wife. The couple chose to stay in Madeira, and for several years Dr. Kalley conducted

¹⁵ Robert F. Harney, “Portygees and Other Caucasians: Portuguese Migrants and the Raci(al)ism of the English-Speaking World,” in David Higgs, ed., *Portuguese Migration in Global Perspective* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1990), 125.

¹⁶ Menezes, *Portuguese of Guyana*, 13; cf. Frederic L. Hoffman, “The Portuguese Population in the United States,” *Publications of the American Statistical Association* 6.47 (Sept. 1899), 328.

¹⁷ Rui Nepomuceno, *As crises de subsistência na história da Madeira: Ensaio histórico* (Lisbon: Editorial Caminho, 1994), 100.

¹⁸ João Adriano Ribeiro, *A emigração de madeirenses para as Ilhas de São Vicente nas Antilhas* (Funchal: Editorial Calcamar, 2006), 59.

his medical practice and missionary endeavors undisturbed, even tacitly encouraged. His charitable works, particularly those in the sphere of education, were later officially commended, that is, until some of his students became "Bible-readers" and elected to become members of the Church of Scotland.¹⁹ Thus arose a furor among members of the Roman Catholic Church's hierarchy in Funchal and Lisbon, who threatened any Madeiran found to be a follower of Protestant doctrine with immediate excommunication and/or ultimate deportation from his/her homeland.

Hundreds of Madeirans converted to Protestantism. These Protestant converts, led by Dr. Robert Reid Kalley, encountered a great deal of hostility and intolerance in Roman Catholic Madeira and were eventually forced to seek asylum abroad. Hundreds of these new Presbyterian Protestants, also known as "Kalleyistas", went to Trinidad in the wake of the "outrages" of the 1840s.²⁰ According to one writer, these religious refugees or exiles chose the West Indies in general, "that region of liberty",²¹ and Trinidad in particular because "they had heard that in the island of Trinidad they might enjoy liberty of conscience, and freedom to worship God. This made that island the place of greatest attraction to them".²²

In the early years of Madeiran migration to Trinidad, the Portuguese population there was almost evenly divided between Catholics and Protestants. Several also went to other West Indian islands and a few to Guyana, but by far the largest number went to Trinidad. However, over seven hundred Madeiran Presbyterians, representing the majority of the early refugees, later moved on from Trinidad to Jacksonville, Springfield and

¹⁹ Cf. George Rawlings Poage, "The Coming of the Portuguese," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 18.1 (Apr. 1925): 103, 113.

²⁰ J. Roddam Tate, *Madeira, or the Spirit of Antichrist in a Series of Outrages Perpetrated in August Last (1846) on British Subjects and Portuguese Protestant Christians* (London, 1847). Cf. Robert Reid Kalley, *A short statement of Dr. Kalley's case: His expulsion from Madeira by outrage, etc.* (London: James Nisbet, 1847).

²¹ *Port of Spain Gazette*, Tues., 3 Nov. 1846, p. 3.

²² Herman Norton, *Record of Facts Concerning the Persecutions at Madeira in 1843 and 1846: The Flight of a Thousand Converts to the West India Islands; and also the Sufferings of Those Who Arrived in the United States* (New York: The American and Foreign Christian Union, 1849), 101-2. When Spain capitulated in 1801-2, all Catholics in British Trinidad were to be allowed freedom of worship. According to article XI of the Articles of Capitulation, "the free exercise of their religion is allowed to the inhabitants" (Carl C. Campbell, *Cedulants and Capitulants: The Politics of the Coloured Opposition in the Slave Society of Trinidad 1783-1838* (Port-of-Spain: Paria Publishing Co. Ltd., 1992), 336.) Cf. Hugh Eliot Cameron, "A Living Monument: A Historical Note," *Church of Scotland Newsletter* [July-Aug. 1985]: (Port-of-Spain: Greyfriars Church of Scotland), 4.

Waveney in Illinois in the United States, because of an offer of both land and work, and in order to “found their own villages, have their own pastors ...”²³ Others still by-passed Trinidad altogether, going straight to Illinois, with some continuing on to Hawaii. Some Madeiran Presbyterians stayed in Madeira, and many of those who stayed went underground in order to survive ongoing persecution. Today their descendants are to be found mainly in Funchal and Machico.

Vieira considers the fact that emigration was not due only to socio-economic factors: “a closer analysis of Madeiran emigration goes beyond particular times of economic stress and shows departures continuing in periods of economic stability”.²⁴ Some other reasons for emigration, apart from immediate economic difficulties, included desire to flee military service and to reunite with family members abroad, especially during the twentieth century. By that time, business possibilities loomed large in Guyana, Trinidad and elsewhere. One summary of the emigration history of the

²³ Charles William Day, *Five Years' Residence in the West Indies* (London: Colburn and Co., 1852), 59. Contemporary accounts include William Maxwell Blackburn, *The Exiles of Madeira* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, c.1860); Della Dimitt, *A Story of Madeira* (Cincinnati, 1896); Herman Norton, *Record of Facts Concerning the Persecutions at Madeira in 1843 and 1846: The Flight of a Thousand Converts to the West India Islands; and also the Sufferings of Those Who Arrived in the United States* (New York: The American and Foreign Christian Union, 1849); and W. Carus Wilson, *The Madeira Persecutions* (London, 1856). Modern analyses include Caroline Brettell, “Little-Known Portuguese Immigrant Community in Illinois,” *Portuguese Studies Newsletter* 17 (1987): 14-5; Douglas Nassif Cardoso, *Robert Reid Kalley: médico, missionário e profeta* (São Bernardo do Campo, São Paulo: D.N. Cardoso, 2001); Joyce B. Winifred Every-Clayton, “The Legacy of Robert Reid Kalley,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 26 (3) (July 2002): 122-7; José Ferreira Fernandes, *Madeirenses errantes* (Lisbon: Oficina do Livro, 2004); William B. Forsyth, *The Wolf from Scotland: The Story of Robert Reid Kalley: Pioneer Missionary* (Darlington: Evangelical Press, 1988); Manoel da Silveira Porto Filho, *Congregacionalismo brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Departamento da Educação Religiosa e Publicações, 1997); François Guichard, “La place de madère dans l'histoire du protestantisme lusophone (XIXe-XXe siècles),” in *Actas: III Colóquio Internacional de História da Madeira* (Funchal: Centro de Estudos de História do Atlântico, 1993), 585-95; Eduardo Moreira, *Vidas convergentes: História breve dos movimentos de reforma cristã em Portugal a partir do século XVIII* (Lisbon: Junta Presbiteriana de Cooperação em Portugal, 1958); Poage, “The Coming of the Portuguese,” 101-35; and Michael Presbyter Testa, *O apóstolo da Madeira* (Dr. Robert Reid Kalley), trans. Manuel de Sousa Campos (Lisbon: Igreja Evangélica Presbiteriana de Portugal, 1974). See also Jo-Anne S. Ferreira, “Preliminary Bibliography on the Madeiran Presbyterians: From Madeira to Trinidad and to the U.S.” (2003) <<http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~madeira/jobiblio.htm>>.

²⁴ Alberto Vieira, “Emigration from the Portuguese Islands in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Madeira,” in Higgs, *Portuguese Migration in Global Perspective*, 46.

Madeirans in Trinidad is as follows: “In course of time both emigrants and refugees were able to branch out on their own in small businesses. It was no longer the pursuit of agriculture that induced the emigrants to come here at a later period. By then, too, the flow of refugees had ceased.”²⁵

While other territories officially received just 2,500 emigrants or fewer in the first three decades of Madeiran migration, Guyana received tens of thousands of Madeirans. During the mid-nineteenth century, Guyana alone accounted for 70 percent of all Madeiran migration to the former British Caribbean, official and unofficial.²⁶ At that time, Madeirans were heading to other destinations, such as Brazil and the United States (until 1910),²⁷ including Hawaii.²⁸ By 1861, there were 21,811 Portuguese citizens in Guyana,²⁹ which ultimately welcomed some 40,000 emigrants.³⁰ Migrants to Guyana maintained close ties with Madeira in the early years of migration, and there was eventually some return migration, a phenomenon which occurred less frequently in other territories.

Given the sheer numbers of migrants to Guyana, it would be impossible to list ship arrivals for that territory. St. Vincent was described by the Port of Spain Gazette as “the first to import the Portuguese and that too at a time when their success was problematical—For this purpose great sacrifices were made and large sums expended (upwards of £5,000 sterling) for their introduction”.³¹ As far as is known, St. Vincent received over 2,000 migrants in sixteen ships in three years, between November 1845 and January 1848.³² About the Portuguese in St. Vincent, in 1852 Day summarized their situation as follows:

²⁵ Charles Reis, *Associação Portuguesa Primeiro de Dezembro* (Port-of-Spain: Yuille’s Printery, 1945), 129.

²⁶ Vieira, “Emigration from the Portuguese Islands,” 47.

²⁷ See Maria Ioannis Benis Baganha, “The Social Mobility of Portuguese Immigrants in the United States at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century,” *International Migration Review* 25 (2) (Summer 1991): 279.

²⁸ See Hoffman, “The Portuguese Population in the United States,” 328. See also Arquivo Histórico da Madeira, *Índices dos Passaportes*.

²⁹ Donald Wood, *Trinidad in Transition* (London: Oxford University Press, for the Institute of Race Relations, 1968), 102. Compared to Wood’s figures of 21,811 in 1861, Hoffman gives much lower figures for 30 years later: 12,166 in 1891. Hoffman, “The Portuguese Population in the United States,” 332.

³⁰ Nepomuceno, *As crises de subsistência na história da Madeira*, 100.

³¹ *Port of Spain Gazette*, Tues., 20 July 1847, p. 3.

³² Arnold Thomas, “Portuguese and Indian Immigration to St. Vincent (1845-1890),” *Journal of Caribbean Studies* 14 (1-2) (Fall 1999 and Spring 2000): 41-59.

It being for several reasons desirable that a peasant population superior to that of the negro should be introduced into the West Indies, immigrants from Madeira have been obtained, since negroes, however useful as mere slaves, are not at all to be advocated as a free labouring population. To supply this deficiency, the Madeirian [*sic*] immigrant is a most desirable importation; almost acclimated, he suffers next to nothing from the heat, whilst he is a quiet, steady, and much more amiable being than the negro. There are already in St. Vincent about eight hundred Madeirian [*sic*] immigrants, and all, save the blacks, are pleased with them. They have their passage paid for them, and as a return, are only required to serve for the first twelvemonth certain, when they receive a lot of ground for cultivation, and two bits, or eightpence cash a day for the whole time, with provisions served out to them, without cost, for the first six months, or until the ground allotted to them is capable of producing. After the expiration of this period, they daily receive the same sum for their labour, but the provisions are withdrawn, the ground allotted them supplying the greater part of their wants. The work they do is more neatly done than that of the negro; but as yet they do not do quite so much. Their superior steadiness, however, and higher caste in the scale of humanity, is considered a compensation. Generally speaking, the "Portugee" is well satisfied with the change. They are extremely civil, and in appearance exceedingly like the Irish peasant, particularly the women. There is a Catholic church with two priests, in Kingston [Kingstown], so that there is no danger of the Portuguese falling off from their orthodoxy.³³

As elsewhere, the migrants were welcomed, but as we shall see, underlying tensions later give rise to full-scale anti-Portuguese riots.

Trinidad attempted to replicate Guyana's success by experimenting with Madeiran labor, and also with other European laborers from France, Germany and Britain. It was also suggested that Canary Islanders, many of whom had begun to migrate to Venezuela and later Cuba, be sought after as indentured laborers. They did not go to Trinidad and Madeirans instead were drafted for local estate labor. Thus the first Madeirans destined for Trinidad arrived in May 1846, following those who went to Guyana and St. Vincent. The Portuguese in Trinidad were in fact never indentured as the Indians were. Indenture proper, that is, contracts enforceable by criminal law, was introduced in Trinidad in 1848, after the arrival of the first Portuguese. This first indenture contract was only a one year contract (longer contracts were introduced in 1850 and in 1862) and applied to Indians and

³³ Charles William Day, *Five Years' Residence in the West Indies* (London: Colburn and Co., 1852), 78-9.

others on the indenture scheme. Before 1848, the contracts of immigrants were enforceable only under the normal law of contract.³⁴ While they may have worked on sugar, cocoa and coffee estates in the first two years of migration, their contracts were not those defined as indentureship contracts. Many of the Madeirans in Trinidad quickly forsook field labor in favor of other less strenuous occupations, and some were attracted by the higher wages earned as gardeners and servants.³⁵

Although Trinidad was the first British Caribbean territory to receive Portuguese migrants from the Azores in 1834 as noted earlier, officially speaking, of all the territories, Trinidad received the lowest numbers of migrant workers without fixed contracts. Wood cites a figure of 1,298 migrants in seven shiploads arriving in Trinidad between May 1846 and November 1847, a period of only two years.³⁶

The following table (Table 1) summarizes the early years of Madeiran migration to the Anglophone Caribbean. Reliable statistics are not available for St. Kitts,³⁷ Nevis, Bermuda, Grenada, Jamaica,³⁸ and the British Virgin Islands.³⁹

³⁴ Laurence, *Immigration into the West Indies*. Damages to an aggrieved employer from his employee were allowed.

³⁵ Keith O. Laurence, "Immigration into Trinidad and British Guiana, 1834-1871," (Ph. D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1958), 1: 89.

³⁶ Wood, *Trinidad in Transition*, 106.

³⁷ A report in the *Port of Spain Gazette*, Tues., 20 July 1847, p. 3, concerned itself with the problem of Portuguese laborers from St. Vincent being "enticed" to Trinidad, just as others were drawn away from St. Kitts: "There is now in harbour the sloop *Princess Alice* of Nevis owned by a notorious fellow of the name of Braser who has nearly depopulated Nevis and St. Kitts by the same vessel in carrying away their laborers to Trinidad; and such is the agent assisted by a renegade Portuguese, employed to entice away the Portuguese laborers from this island [St. Vincent]."

³⁸ Laurence notes that "Jamaica received about 3,000 British, Portuguese and German immigrants by 1835" (Laurence, *Immigration into the West Indies*, 10).

³⁹ It is worth noting that a few Madeirans also migrated to the French territories of Guadeloupe and Martinique. See Gérard A. Lafleur, *Saint-Claude: Histoire d'une commune de Guadeloupe* (Paris: Karthala Editions, 1993), 13, and see Laurence Brown, "The Three Faces of Post-Emancipation Migration in Martinique 1848-1865," seminar delivered at the Department of History, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine (9 May 2002). In 1849, there were 45 Madeirans in Martinique and 186 in Guadeloupe. Later, in the mid-twentieth century, Madeirans started migrating to Venezuela in their thousands, with several also going to Curaçao, many of whom stopped in Trinidad en route to Curaçao. For the latter, see Registos de Passaportes, vol. 1: 1A-212 (1 de Agosto de 1931 até 14 de Fevereiro de 1940), vol. 2: 213-347, 1-64 (13 de Março de 1940 até 16 de Setembro de 1949) and vol. 3: 305-E5246 (20 de Setembro de 1949 até 18 de Abril de 1963), Consulado de Portugal, Port-of-Spain.

Table 1
An Overview of the Early Years of Portuguese Migration
to the Anglophone Caribbean

<i>Territory</i>	<i>The Official Years of Portuguese Migration</i>	<i>Numbers</i>
Guyana (formerly British Guiana)	1835-1846	12,000 ⁱ
St. Vincent	1845-1848	2,000 ⁱⁱ
Antigua	1846-1870	2,500 ⁱⁱⁱ
Trinidad (now part of Trinidad & Tobago)	1846-1847	1,298 ^{iv}

i. Wood, *Trinidad in Transition*.

ii. Thomas, "Portuguese and Indian Immigration," 41-59.

iii. Susan Lowes, "The Peculiar Class: The Formation, Collapse, and Reformation of the Middle Class in Antigua, West Indies, 1834-1940" (Ph. D. diss., Columbia University, 1994); and Brian Dyde, *A History of Antigua: The Unsuspected Isle* (London: Macmillan, 2000). See also Susan Lowes, "Rum and Coca-Cola: The Arrival of the Americans and the Restructuring of Social Relations in Antigua in the 1940s" (University of the West Indies, Cave Hill, 2004) <<http://www.cavehill.uwi.edu/bnccde/antigua/conference/papers/lowes.html>>.

iv. Wood, *Trinidad in Transition*.

Labor Relations, Power Relations and Race Relations

Labor relations, power relations and race relations were all related in the Caribbean context. The racial status of the Portuguese in the West Indies was defined, not on the basis of their ethnic heritage, but on the basis of their socio-economic standing (or lack thereof). As Brereton put it, they were not considered "socio-economically 'white'".⁴⁰ This was the view of the other Europeans and their descendants, and one ultimately adopted by African descendants in these societies. This meant that since they shared the socio-economic status of non-Europeans, and were economically powerless (that is, compared to other European groups), they were therefore not in the same category as planters and landowners and were not considered "white".

⁴⁰ Brereton, *History of Modern Trinidad*, 96.

On both a positive and a negative note, respectively, the Portuguese were generally viewed as hard-working and hoarders of money to the extent that a Governor in Trinidad made the following comment:

The Portuguese are numerically not unimportant but are neither wealthy nor influential being chiefly small shopkeepers and gardeners. Entirely destitute of all political views or objects, they would cheerfully submit to any changes which did not interfere with their making and hoarding money, but they would never take a single step to carry such changes into effect.⁴¹

While it may be said that Madeirans were generally welcomed in the Caribbean because of political and economic factors, and because of their potential and actual economic contributions to their host societies, their presence was not always welcomed by members of the working classes, in the main descendants of Africans who had been enslaved on Caribbean estates. In fact, in both Guyana and St. Vincent, there were several uprisings against the Portuguese in the nineteenth century. By the twentieth century, any existing anti-Portuguese sentiments took non-violent, non-physical forms, but hostile undercurrents were nevertheless present in some territories.

During the early post-emancipation era and up to the end of the nineteenth century, there were several anti-Portuguese attacks from 1846 to 1891 in then British Guiana.⁴² These attacks took the form of mild looting to serious rioting and were carried out by descendants of Africans said to be angry at and envious of the apparently “overnight” financial success of the Portuguese. Four attacks took place in 1846, 1847, 1848 and in 1865. There was also serious anti-Portuguese rioting, in the form of the “Angel Gabriel Riots” of 1856 and others in 1889 and 1891. Finally, in the twentieth century, ethnocultural clubs were disallowed in Guyana, despite the existence of Portuguese social and cultural clubs for several years in that territory. Based on government policy aimed at ending all socially entrenched forms of discrimination, all ethnic clubs had to change their names to ones that did not reflect an ethnic base or bias; the Portuguese club therefore became Non Pareil Park, the Chinese club became Cosmos, and the Indian sports club became Everest.

In both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there was massive re-migration of many Guyanese Portuguese and others to North America and

⁴¹ Gov. A. H. Gordon to Secretary of State Lord Granville, 24 May 1869 (secret), CO 295/247, PRO, London.

⁴² Menezes, *Portuguese of Guyana*, 31, 177.

Great Britain, and also to Trinidad to some extent. Today, the Guyanese Portuguese community has diminished to the extent that it is no longer a distinct and separate community as it was up to the mid-twentieth century, the majority of Guyanese Portuguese constituting a growing diaspora in North America and the U.K.

In St. Vincent, the first Portuguese were seen as transient migrants by the planters. Because of the types of employment they engaged in, issues of social class and respectability constantly arose. Like Guyana, the Portuguese of St. Vincent formed a significant new middleman minority, but it took some time before they assimilated into the wider society. Unlike the Portuguese in other territories, those in St. Vincent had a geographical base. Those in other territories were scattered all over their respective territories, with a tendency to become increasingly urbanized. In St. Vincent, however, they settled primarily in rural areas, including at least two main villages in the Windward Valley, namely, Colonarie (pronounced "Con-narie") and Park Hill and others.⁴³ St. Vincent also had a sizeable community of "poor whites", not found in Guyana and Trinidad, for example. The Portuguese and the "poor whites" of mainly Scottish origin⁴⁴ never integrated with each other, possibly because of religious differences. Unlike the "poor whites", many Portuguese descendants were able to leave the lower classes, mostly because of their involvement in business and eventually education. The ability of the Portuguese to climb up the socio-economic ladder was more due to business acumen than to their color (essentially the same as that of the "poor whites") which they could still use to their social advantage, once they had the economic standing to back it up.

In St. Vincent, anti-Portuguese riots similar to those in Guyana occurred in the early post-emancipation era, although on a smaller scale. During the "Vox Populi" riots of St. Vincent in 1862,⁴⁵ there was heavy racial ten

⁴³ Virginia Heyer Young, *Becoming West Indian: Culture, Self, and Nation in St. Vincent* (Washington/London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 89.

⁴⁴ Interestingly, the Protestant Portuguese community of Trinidad was welcomed by a well-established Church of Scotland, and those descendants of Portuguese who remained Protestant were absorbed into the local Scottish community. (Those who chose ethnicity over religion were re-absorbed into the Catholic Portuguese community.) It was through ties to the Scottish Church and community that many Portuguese Protestants were able to achieve business success, ahead of their Catholic compatriots.

⁴⁵ Woodville Marshall, "Vox Populi: The St. Vincent Riots and Disturbances of 1862," in B.W. Higman, ed., *Trade, Government and Society in Caribbean History*,

sion.⁴⁶ The prime targets were the planters, but immigrants, including both Portuguese and Indians, were another target. As elsewhere, the Portuguese in St. Vincent succeeded as small traders and entrepreneurs relatively quickly. In 1862, less than two decades after the arrival of the Portuguese, there was a build-up of anti-Portuguese sentiment, with the result that four shops kept by Portuguese immigrants in the village of Mesopotamia and the estate shop in the village of Evesham Vale were raided and plundered.⁴⁷ The Chief Justice at the time noted that there seemed to have been some frustration and “morbid jealousy” on the part of many laborers.⁴⁸ Resentment also built up because of Portuguese profit-making. The Portuguese had also worked on the estates, but having moved away from the estates and into small-scale entrepreneurship, quickly succeeded in ways and proportions that the Africans did not. Many of the latter, some of whom had also become small scale entrepreneurs, but had been supplanted by the Portuguese, came to perceive the recent immigrants as a threat to their success and to their potential bargaining power on the estates. Several Portuguese left for Kingstown during this “race war”,⁴⁹ although many more stayed on in the rural areas. The Portuguese in St. Vincent today are both rural and urban, unlike in Guyana and Trinidad, where they are predominantly urban-based.

In Antigua, the Portuguese were classified as “white” for official purposes, although there were not always perceived as “white” by the wider society. In the 1891 Antigua census, almost all Madeirans fell into this

1700-1920: *Essays Presented to Douglas Hall* (Kingston: Heinemann Educational Books (Caribbean) Ltd., 1983), 90, 100, 111.

⁴⁶ According to Day, there was tension from the start of Portuguese immigration to St. Vincent: “The negroes are by no means pleased with the white immigrants, and it is a rather droll scene to witness the poor bewildered Portuguese on their first landing from the ship, clustering around the police office to be registered, surrounded by negroes male and female, making their comments on the new arrivals. The white peasantry, with their short sturdy figures, dark grey trowsers striped with black, russet shoes, coats slung over their shoulders, and straw hats or peaked worsted caps, regard these chocolate inquisitors with no friendly looks, the negro being exceedingly critical in his way, and having a most amazing idea of his own superiority over “de Portugee”, whom he affects to commiserate. The immigrants for the most part are not quite pleased to be considered “Portuguese”, and say “We are not Portuguese but from Madeira.” (Charles William Day, *Five Years’ Residence in the West Indies* (London: Colburn and Co. Publishers, 1852), 1:79-80).

⁴⁷ Marshall, “Vox Populi,” 91, fn. 47.

⁴⁸ Marshall, “Vox Populi,” 100, fn. 90.

⁴⁹ Marshall, “Vox Populi,” 109.

category, except for three called “colored” and four called “black”.⁵⁰ Over the years, race relations among Antiguan Portuguese and others were similar to those elsewhere, especially in the way they were perceived and defined by both “whites” and “non-whites”, a definition which remained highly ambivalent.

After the early indenture contracts expired, many Portuguese in Antigua left the plantations, but stayed near the plantations. These became small traders and assimilated racially and culturally into the rural population. A few Portuguese left for the towns, and moved into rum-selling and baking. Some of these became wealthy enough to own their own estates. Increasing wealth, however, did not automatically mean commensurate social status. While some doors opened to the Portuguese because of their color, other doors remained closed: they were Catholics in a predominantly Protestant (Methodist) territory, they were involved in socially less than desirable occupations, and some were perceived as clannish. When the Portuguese attempted to leave their “ethnic occupations” and compete with other Euro-descendants, in the civil service, for example, they became “colored”. They were excluded from certain social clubs of non-Portuguese whites, and of members of the non-white middle class. In the first 75 years of a Portuguese presence in Antigua, marriages to other “whites” were rare.

Of the four territories, in question, only Guyana was considered a real socio-economic success in terms of Portuguese migration. However, after Guyana, Trinidad became the single most important destination for Madeiran migrants. There the Portuguese were accorded a place in the national census until 1960 as an ethnic group large and distinct enough to be seen as separate from other Europeans. This happened even though only approximately 4,000 Portuguese migrants went to Trinidad altogether, including almost a thousand more between 1900 and 1950, and an unsteady trickle of a few dozen individuals up to as late as 1975.⁵¹ The outpouring of refugees had come to a complete halt by the late nineteenth century, and the number of emigrants had started to wane as well. The portion of the population that defined itself as Portuguese grew because

⁵⁰ Susan Lowes, “Rum and Coca-Cola: The Arrival of the Americans and the Restructuring of Social Relations in Antigua in the 1940s” (The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill, 2004, <<http://www.cavehill.uwi.edu/bnccde/antigua/conference/papers/lowes.html>>.)

⁵¹ Jo-Anne S. Ferreira, “The Portuguese Language in Trinidad & Tobago: A Study of Language Shift and Language Death” (Ph. D Diss., The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, 1999), 109-10.

Trinidad became a centre for out-migration of Portuguese descendants from other territories,⁵² as well as through growth from endogamous unions and numerous offspring. Because of fresh migrations from Madeira in the twentieth century (especially from São Roque, Santo António and Monte in Funchal), and an increase in the number of Portuguese descendants, the Portuguese community in Trinidad, particularly in Port-of-Spain, experienced a renewal.

Trinidad was different from Guyana, St. Vincent and Antigua in several ways. Unlike Guyana and St. Vincent, Trinidad, although British from 1797, was also the only predominately Catholic territory, having been in Spanish hands for 300 years until British takeover, and under French influence for almost 100 years by the end of the nineteenth century. By 1783, after 285 years of Spanish rule, Trinidad remained relatively underpopulated, to the dissatisfaction of the Spanish crown. In that year, Roume de St. Laurent, a French planter based in Grenada, succeeded in obtaining a Cédula de Población (Real Cédula para la Población y Comercio de la Isla de Trinidad de Barlovento) from King Carlos III, designed to make the Spanish colony more prosperous by attracting planters and settlers. The Cédula granted favorable conditions of settlement to any Roman Catholic foreign settler willing to swear allegiance to the Spanish king. Such conditions included grants of land and exemption from taxes. In the years following this Cédula, a period of social and political unrest in France and her colonies because of the Napoleonic Wars, French Catholic planters and their slaves went to Spanish Trinidad by the hundreds.⁵³ By 1797, the year of British capture, "Trinidad at that time seemed like a French colony which Spain had recently acquired".⁵⁴ Spanish remained the language of government, of archival records and of the law courts, but French was the language of commerce and society for over a century.⁵⁵

Unlike Guyana and St. Vincent, Trinidad did not experience the racial tension recurring in those two territories. Further, Trinidad's Portuguese were both Catholic and Protestant. The community showed tendencies to become more and more urbanized, unlike St. Vincent, and to some extent, Guyana, which had a wider distribution of Portuguese. Finally, the

⁵² This area needs far more study.

⁵³ This was the second Cédula, the first having been enacted in 1776.

⁵⁴ Pierre-Gustave-Louis Borde, *The History of the Island of Trinidad under the Spanish Government*, 2 vols. (Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie, 1876, 1883), trans. James Alva Bain (vol. 1) and A.S. Mavrogordato (vol. 2) (Port-of-Spain: Paria Publishing Co. Ltd., 1982), 2:301.

⁵⁵ Borde, *History of the Island of Trinidad*, trans. A. S. Mavrogordato, 2: 302.

Portuguese of Trinidad formed a minority within a Euro-Creole minority, while the Portuguese of Guyana formed a majority within a minority, and the Portuguese of St. Vincent formed a substantial minority within a minority. Below is a summary table of the 1960 Population Census for Trinidad & Tobago. Together Portuguese and other Euro-Creoles made up a little over 2 per cent of the population in that year. All censuses of Trinidad & Tobago subsequent to 1960 incorporated the Portuguese among the other Euro-Creoles, thereby making it impossible to arrive at accurate figures. For the other territories, information is equally difficult to come by, since their censuses also do not include the Portuguese under a separate category.

Table 2
Population of Trinidad & Tobago in 1960

<i>Ethnic Group</i>	<i>Number of Persons in Group</i>	<i>Percentage of Group to Population</i>
African	358,590	43.31%
Amerindian/Carib.	301	.04%
Caucasian	15,718	1.90%
Chinese	8,361	1.01%
Indian	301,945	36.47%
Mixed	134,750	16.27%
Portuguese	2,416	.29%
Syrian/Lebanese	1,591	.19%
Other	3,985	.48%
Not Stated	300	.04%
<i>TOTAL</i>	827,957	100.00%

Source: Government of Trinidad & Tobago Population Census for 1960

In nineteenth-century Trinidad, race relations with others outside the Portuguese community/communities seem to have been relatively peaceful. However, in later years, the Portuguese Club (1927-2001), one of two Portuguese cultural societies in Trinidad, “seemed evidence to the coloured population of an attempt to establish a wedge high up in the social scale through the development of an ethnic exclusiveness and consequent separation from the coloured section of the population”.⁵⁶ Albert Gomes,

⁵⁶ Lloyd Brathwaite, “Social Stratification in Trinidad: A Preliminary Analysis,” *Social and Economic Studies* (Kingston: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University

Trinidad & Tobago's Chief Minister, who was politically poised to become the country's first Prime Minister before 1962, fell victim to anti-European racism among the Africans and Indians of Trinidad. This happened in spite of the fact that Gomes genuinely championed the cause of the political, social, economic, cultural and religious underdog, mainly among the Africans.⁵⁷ Despite his earlier popularity, especially among the underprivileged, he was ultimately ousted by a political party perceived as predominantly African, whose leader was actually of mixed racial heritage. No Luso-descendant has ever held the highest political office in Trinidad or Guyana, while in St. Vincent, Ralph Gonsalves became the first Caribbean premier of Portuguese origin.

Within the Portuguese community of Trinidad itself, there were marked socio-religious differences, initially provoking a separation of the Catholic and Protestant Portuguese. With the flight of most of the Protestant Portuguese to the United States and their diminishing numbers, the Protestants were ultimately re-absorbed into the Catholic Portuguese community through intermarriage and in some cases, reconversion to Catholicism.

As noted earlier, the first nineteenth-century ship-loads of Portuguese were mainly immigrants and refugees who later deserted field labor in favor of jobs as shop-keepers, clerks, mechanics, seamstresses, and divers types of self-employment. Several Portuguese were also employed as gardeners and housekeepers and the community gained a reputation for being industrious and enterprising. With regard to the immigrants' occupations in the twentieth century in Trinidad, many became involved in commerce, and the majority owned rum shops and groceries, creating cohesion and interdependence among community members. Established Portuguese shop owners readily hired newly arrived Madeirans, who could speak no English and therefore could not easily secure jobs elsewhere, as shop clerks, and joint Portuguese ownership of rum shops was not uncommon.

The following table shows the occupations declared by 897 immigrants in Trinidad during from 1875 to 1975, the vast majority (almost 600) having arrived between 1910 and 1930.⁵⁸ These data were drawn from Consulate

of the West Indies, 1975), 78.

⁵⁷ Michael V. Angrosino, "The Use of Autobiography as 'Life History': The Case of Albert Gomes," *Ethos* 4 (2) (Summer 1976): 133-54; and Jeremy Taylor, "Missing in Action," *Caribbean Beat* 68 (July/Aug. 2004): 70-76 <<http://www.meppublishers.com/online/caribbean-beat/archive/index.php?id=cb68-1-70>>.

⁵⁸ The total figure of 897 registrants analysed here does not include those family members registered under one person's name; it refers only to the actual number of

immigration records, of which there are two extant types, namely, registration certificates of immigration for those born in Portugal, and applications for passports for Portuguese citizens, including locally born spouses and children who were also entitled to Portuguese citizenship. The twentieth century registers show that more than half the number of 766 Portuguese men were involved in some aspect of the commercial sector, whether as businessmen or store clerks.

Table 3
Professions of Portuguese Immigrants in Trinidad (1875-1975)

<i>Profession</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Clerk or employee	247		27.5%
Owner of business	182		20.0%
Labourer	110		12.0%
Sailor	42		5.0%
Domestic worker		126	14.0%
Embroidery worker		5	0.5%
Other	45		5.0%
Unknown	140		16.0%

Source: Consulado de Portugal in Port-of-Spain

Many of the children of these Portuguese immigrants and nationals became increasingly middle class in its values, orientation and culture, with a minority belonging to the élite group. Today most Trinidadian Portuguese hold middle income jobs and have had a secondary education, often in the so-called “prestige” schools. Several have also gone on to tertiary education and entered various professions, such as law, medicine, dentistry, architecture, engineering, education, journalism, and radio broadcasting. This is also the case for the Portuguese throughout the English-speaking Caribbean, particularly Guyana and Antigua. St. Vincent’s Portuguese remained rural-based for a longer period than those in the other territories

chief applicants or registrants recorded by the Consulate. Those other individuals number approximately 246, bringing the total to 1,143. However, since there are only names and no analysable data on these persons (such as places, dates of birth and occupations), these 246 persons are not included in the discussion.

(although Guyana's Portuguese community was large enough to have both urban and rural groups).

Cultural Assimilation

Unlike their migrant ancestors who were "destitute of all political views or objects", Caribbean Luso-descendants were full participants in the societies that had hosted their ancestors, and they became active in politics and in various spheres of social life throughout the Anglophone Caribbean, especially in the twentieth century. Although the Portuguese and their descendants have contributed in varied ways to national life of their Caribbean homes, very little is left or known of their own cultural heritage at either an intra-group or extra-group level, as assimilationist tendencies were strong. Like many small immigrant groups, they have managed to quietly, privately and unobtrusively preserve a few cultural emblems largely for the sake of nostalgia, examples of which are garlic pork (*carne vinha d'albos*, called "pickled pork" in the U.S.A.), the *lapinha*, the Madeiran Christmas *crèche* or Nativity scene, and the Portuguese national anthem (for those who migrated in the twentieth century).

Having lost or given up their ancestral language and other identity markers, the Portuguese in Trinidad, for example, have turned to one favorite Christmas dish, Madeiran garlic pork, or *calvinadage* as the characteristic symbol of Portuguese ethnicity. This tradition is also known and appreciated by a large number of Guyanese, of both Portuguese origin and other, and by a small percentage of Luso-Vincentians, Luso-Antiguans, and others. It is therefore mainly at Christmas time that any vestige of Portuguese identity temporarily but enthusiastically resurfaces and manifests itself in the Caribbean. During the preparation and sharing of garlic pork, many Luso-Trinidadians reminisce about yesteryear, and often focus on this dish as the remaining relic of their ancestral culture. For many Luso-Trinidadians, part of being Portuguese means having a long continuity of an almost ritualistic preparation of this dish, a tradition spanning all generations. This is a fact that surprises many continental Portuguese, who may or may not be familiar with this Madeiran dish. Because of the full socio-linguistic and cultural adaptation of the group, little else is left that resembles Portuguese culture, both in Portugal and expatriate Portuguese communities world-wide.

This apparent neglect of Portuguese culture is partly explained by the fact that the groups were small, but more importantly by the fact that

members have been almost fully integrated into the wider society on all levels. Since socio-economic survival and betterment were at the heart of the short-term and long-term objectives of the nineteenth century immigrants and refugees in Trinidad, many Portuguese parents did not encourage their children to preserve those aspects of their ancestral culture that would have posed a barrier to assimilation, especially the language, a vital, visible and tangible part of their culture, of any group's culture. Like other immigrant languages in Trinidad and elsewhere, Portuguese was often viewed by both outsiders and insiders as one with little social value or educational merit. Many Portuguese West Indians appeared to ultimately abandon most, if not all of their ancestral culture, in favor of local culture, partly because they were exposed to the Portuguese language and culture in only a very limited way. First generation Portuguese often experienced a sort of double alienation: physical isolation and therefore cultural and linguistic alienation from their ancestral homeland, as well as the potential risk of social alienation from their own home society, and assimilatory pressures both from the outside as well as the inside. While language maintenance would have threatened effective integration, the preservation of private cultural elements, such as culinary symbols, did not interfere with social progress. The result is that today the language and culture of the local Portuguese community in the Caribbean are practically forgotten by descendants of nineteenth century immigrants, and are quickly being forgotten by those of twentieth century immigrants, except for surnames, local family and social networks, and for a few, ongoing ties with Madeira.

Among Luso-descendants, the Portuguese cultural legacy may seem to remain strangely limited to garlic pork, but the real impact of the Portuguese community has been its quiet contribution of its people to the development of national life in a variety of arenas. Guyana, of course, with tens of thousands of Madeirans and with strong ties to Madeira, was the territory on which the Portuguese made their greatest socio-cultural impact. The Portuguese were heavily involved in theatrical and musical groups, of which there were at least three orchestras from 1876 up to the 1930s. There were at least six Portuguese language newspapers produced in Guyana from 1872 up to the beginning of the twentieth century.⁵⁹ Guyana also had Portuguese socio-cultural clubs, benevolent societies and predominantly lusophone (Catholic) church, and a Portuguese school. Guyanese Portuguese

⁵⁹ Menezes, *Scenes from the History of the Portuguese in Guyana*.

have also received the greatest attention of scholars from a variety of disciplines.

Although historically the “least successful” of all the Anglophone territories for Portuguese migration in terms of official numbers of migrants, Trinidad has produced a number of prominent individuals of Portuguese descent, in politics, business and sports, entirely out of proportion to their numbers *vis-à-vis* the wider community, and even compared to other West Indian territories. Important Portuguese cultural contributions and institutions include the Protestant “Portuguese church” (1854), a Portuguese brass band (1899-1902), two Portuguese socio-cultural groups (1905 and 1927), and individual creative and academic productions, such as two novels about the Portuguese community,⁶⁰ an incomplete trilogy of films (starting with the first produced in 1999),⁶¹ and a variety of publications in the latter part of the twentieth century, including an internet presence via a genealogy website.⁶² The eyes of the wider community, both local and foreign, have also focused on this small community in recent times. Local historians, artists, and calypsonians have recorded the Portuguese presence in Trinidad in writing, on canvas (by 6 artists), and in song (including 4 calypsos).⁶³ Of interest is the fact that the Portuguese community of Trinidad & Tobago has recently awakened the interest of five writers from Funchal and Lisbon, including academics and journalists.

Some descendants of twentieth century immigrants appear to have preserved ties with Madeira, and also the Portuguese language to varying degrees, in spite of the factor of absorption, especially female exogamy, fluctuating and unsteady patterns of migration, and relatively limited numbers. It is true to say that any remainders and reminders of Portuguese culture in Trinidad may be traced directly to twentieth century migrants, and not the nineteenth century migrants, and there are a few families in Trinidad today with direct links to Madeira, either through a parent or grandparent.

⁶⁰ Alfred H. Mendes, *Pitch Lake: A Story from Trinidad* (London: Duckworth, 1934; reprint, London: New Beacon Books Ltd., 1980); and Albert Maria Gomes, *All Papa's Children* (Surrey: Cairi Publishing House, 1978).

⁶¹ The full-length movie, *Angel in a Cage*, is the first of a trilogy by Mary Jane Gomes and premiered in June 1999. It is the story of a Portuguese family in Trinidad and is set in 1929. The second and third parts of the trilogy (in the making) are set around the same time period, in Madeira (*The House of Cousins*) and Trinidad (*In the Land of the Hummingbirds*), respectively.

⁶² Jo-Anne S. Ferreira and Dean de Freitas, *The Portuguese of the West Indies* (a research site devoted to the history and genealogy of Luso-West Indians), Nov. 1999. <<http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~portwestind>>.

⁶³ Rawle Gibbons, *A Calypso Trilogy* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1999).

It is not known whether the other three territories experienced nineteenth century migration in the way that Trinidad did.

Today, interest in a hidden past is growing, and more and more research is being carried out. The Portuguese and their descendants have added few new and original dimensions to the cultural landscape of the Caribbean, but chose instead to support and enhance already existing cultural structures, especially calypso, the steelpan and Carnival in Trinidad, for example, and other areas of the arts. Far more work remains to be done on the history of each Portuguese community of the Anglophone Caribbean, into the networking among the Portuguese across the various island and mainland territories, and into the process and rate of acculturation and assimilation of each part of the Portuguese diaspora in the former British West Indies.