

The Day of Portugal and Portuguese Heritage, Social Exclusion, and Imagined Mobilities: Legacies of Racialized Migrant Industrial Labor in Contemporary New England

ABSTRACT: Commemorations and monument dedications have been part of Portuguese-speaking migrant place-making and as responses to social exclusion in New England since these arrivals settled in and built industrial and agricultural worker communities beginning in the late nineteenth century. The racialization of migrant laborer identities imposed by discourse and law and supported by scientific studies relying upon genetic data, assisted politicians and elites during the second Industrial Revolution to limit the civic and labor organization rights of workers. This study examines the complex history of Portuguese worker strategies to confront their civic, social, and racial assimilability through civic associations that organized migrant participation in U.S. national celebrations (Fourth of July, Pilgrim ceremonies, war veterans' memorials) and migrant community commemorations (including Portuguese heritage days and monument dedications like Dighton Rock). Contemporary Day of Portugal celebrations and other heritage dedications that shape social participation in multi-cultural democracy are examined in light of the legacies of white nationalist strategies advocating for Portuguese social mobility. The study examines how some of the ritual elements of today's celebrations yet promote discourses of racialized laborer hierarchies.

KEYWORDS: monuments and commemorations, "black" and "white" Portuguese, associations and associativism

RESUMO: Comemorações e dedicatórias de monumentos têm feito parte da construção de "place making" de migrantes lusófonas e como respostas à exclusão social na Nova Inglaterra desde que estes migrantes se estabeleceram em comunidades de trabalhadores industriais e agrícolas a partir do final do século XIX. Durante a segunda Revolução Industrial, a racialização das identidades dos trabalhadores migrantes foi imposta por discursos e leis que foram apoiadas por estudos científicos que se baseavam em dados

genéticos. Estes processos de poder racializados ajudaram os políticos e as elites a limitar os direitos cívicos e de organização laboral dos trabalhadores. Este estudo examina a complexa história das estratégias dos trabalhadores portugueses para enfrentar a sua assimilabilidade cívica, social e racial através de associações cívicas que organizaram a participação dos migrantes nas celebrações nacionais dos EUA (4 de Julho, cerimónias dos “Pilgrims”, memoriais dos veteranos de guerra) e comemorações da comunidade migrante (incluindo dias do património português e dedicatórias de monumentos como a pedra “Dighton Rock”). As celebrações actuais do Dia de Portugal e outras dedicatórias do património, que moldam a participação social na democracia multicultural, são examinadas à luz do legado histórico das estratégias nacionalistas brancas utilizadas para promover a mobilidade social dos migrantes de Portugal. O estudo examina como alguns dos elementos rituais das celebrações de hoje ainda promovem discursos de hierarquias de trabalhadores racializados.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: monumentos e comemorações, “black” e “white” Portuguese, associações e associativismo

In New England, annual celebrations of Portugal and Portuguese migrant communities known as the Day of Portugal are an important place making ritual, and form part of longitudinal responses to the racialization of migrant labor and attempts among these settler communities to achieve socioeconomic mobility, earn civic rights, and secure safe and fair work conditions.¹ National day and heritage celebrations in Portugal date back to the nineteenth-century industrial era, with a forerunner of today’s commemorations taking place in Rhode Island during the debates around and passage of the 1958 Azorean Refugee Act, which presaged the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act (also known as the Hart-Celler Immigration Act). The legislation dramatically transformed political and racial classifications of migrants, creating space for multicultural, ethnic group as interest group democratic participation. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island, a key political bloc has emerged among communities of Portuguese-speaking migrants with origins and mobilities across continental Portugal, Macaronesia, Portuguese colonial and ex-colonial Africa, and Brazil. Beginning in the early 1980s, during Portugal’s post-dictatorship transition to democracy, Portuguese heritage commemorations became popular annual events in southeastern New England, and they are key public place making

rituals for migrant communities to participate in local power discourses, and municipal and state electoral politics.

Transoceanic mobile migrant labor from Portugal settled in New England, first arriving from the Azores, Madeira, continental Portugal, and Cabo Verde in the late nineteenth century, following whaling, shipping and trade routes. Although popular historical narratives tend to highlight whaling as an impetus for migration, this obscures the fact that around 90 percent of the migrants from insular and continental Portugal living in the United States between 1820 and 1930 arrived after 1870,² coinciding with the recruitment of industrial workers in manufacturing and textile mills, on farms, and as domestic labor. Early twentieth-century industrial interests controlled these migrant workers through an aggregated system of racialized exclusion³ that empowered white nationalist political coalitions at the federal, state, and local level. To maintain these hierarchies,⁴ social degradation and violence against these migrant workers were normalized and codified through discourse⁵ and the law and naturalized their status as unassimilable⁶—that is, as culturally, mentally, and genetically inferior and thus inadequately conditioned for and deserving of citizenship, civic participation, and constitutional protections.⁷

This model of labor-class exploitation was also embodied in arguments against women's rights (including suffrage), justifying legal prohibitions on civic participation by likewise naturalizing female identities to negate their presumed genetic assimilability. The identities of industrial migrant laborers from Portugal were racialized and naturalized as unassimilable through a process in "which the material disparities generated by imperialism were read in a different idiom, as expressions of essential difference."⁸ These differences were articulated through a political program that legitimized migrant workers' exploitation and thwarted their efforts to redress the terms of their poorly remunerated, dangerous, and arduous position in labor-hierarchies. How these workers negotiated the terms of this difference and their assimilability has been a key structuring feature of migrant mobility efforts to the present.

Industrial mill and farm owners and white nativist skilled labor unions in manufacturing promoted policies and laws to deny civic rights to migrant workers at the bottom of labor and economic hierarchies.⁹ These interest groups relied upon scientific writing¹⁰ to support public debates and the passage of legislation that racialized migrant workers' identities to justify violence, incarceration, civic exclusion, punishment, and disregard for workers' bodily well-being.

By naturalizing migrant workers' low status in mill hierarchies, these interests exerted control over efforts to raise wages and improve dangerous work conditions.¹¹ This included issues of work and personal safety, as well as how labor law can effect access to healthcare and its effectiveness and quality.

Early in the twentieth century, discourses helping to codify migrant industrial workers' assimilability were reflected in the recommendations of the Dillingham Commission and led to the passage of laws such as the 1917 Burnett Act, which presumed that literacy was linked to inherent intelligence. A group of social scientists, intellectual elites,¹² and politicians would confront these tactics by promoting an alternative explanation of the presumed genetic inferiority of migrant laborers. Organizations such as the National American Civic League (NACL) and city-based immigration protection and civic associations were founded nationally, working with partner civic associations in local migrant labor communities. In New England, this included extensive collaboration with the Portuguese Fraternity, a beneficial insurance society with chapters in over 30 industrial mill and agricultural community worker settlements in the first decades of the 1900s. In partnership with state governmental commissions, these migrant associations formed the organizational and intellectual core of the Americanization movement.¹³ Proponents promoted upward mobility for industrial migrant workers from conditions of poverty, critically poor health, and residential blight, through access to literacy programs, English language education, and training in civics as a preparation for political participation. The question of migrant "assimilability" was answered not by arguments over their presumed genetic disposition to do certain kinds of work, as was the countervailing position; the cause of their deficiencies was perceived not as inherent, but as due to their lack of cultural knowledge, a shortcoming that could be solved through proper education, a pathway to civic access.¹⁴ Yet, assimilation as evaluated through political participation and economic improvement alone does not consider how the racialization of migrant labor also depended upon the discourses and actions of migrant workers themselves in efforts to transform their position in social mobility hierarchies. While there was a progressive intent in arguments favoring an educational program to counter anti-immigrant narratives based on presumed genetic or natural deficiencies, the Americanization model nonetheless required participation in an Anglo-conformity¹⁵ system. Structured by white nationalist categories of exclusion, the material improvements of migrant low-level workers—including gaining civic rights and political

legitimacy—were influenced by their own resistance and negotiations over their position in racialized labor hierarchies.

Studies of U.S. labor organization have produced histories, monographs, and biographies that chronicle politically and culturally relevant voices that drove migration debates and labor activism; however, low-level racialized migrant laborers' voices and organizational agency have been less frequently examined.¹⁶ The direct participation of the many chapters of the Portuguese Fraternity in the Americanization initiatives of national civic leagues is one historical example, but communities settled by these industrial mobile migrant workers from Portugal continue to rely on formal socio-religious, cultural, and economic associations¹⁷ as vehicles for political activism and to promote narratives of civic belonging.¹⁸

“O Dia de Portugal”: Conjuring a National Holiday¹⁹

The Day of Portugal, held each year on June 10, is an amalgam of loosely connected commemorations of Portugal and expressions of Portuguese nationalism. Celebrated by Portugal's post-dictatorship socialist democracy as the “*Dia de Portugal, Dia de Camões, e Dia das Comunidades Portuguesas*” (The Day of Portugal, Camões, and the Portuguese Communities), the new official post-dictatorship title emphasized a purposeful break with the nationalist propaganda promoted by the Estado Novo regime. The cumbersome name also reflects the composite nature of diverse national commemorations that evolved in dialogue with, but separately from the regime, that are now incorporated into the federal holiday. The day celebrates culture, language, and history; and by explicit reference to Portuguese migrant communities, it also underlines the legal citizenship rights of those living outside national territory. Celebrations in these communities convey nationalist sentiments as “ethnic” identities frequently publicly expressed through symbols of the nation and attachment to one's place of origin, or even to previous migrant generations. The celebrations held in communities outside of Portugal—including those in southeastern New England—support these de-territorialized and transnational notions of citizenship and in-group belonging. The Day of Portugal may celebrate migrant origins, but in New England the celebrations are just as much a public place making ritual of belonging and civic access in America.

In Portugal, the evolution of Portuguese national day celebrations was slow and circuitous, with multiple organizers and proponents. It has been celebrated in different historical contexts under different economic and political systems, by monarchists and republicans and under dictatorship and democracy. The event

also gained prominence as a Lisbon municipal celebration that was outside of religious festivals and the control of the Church, even as national commemorations gained public popularity when the day was syncretized with the tradition of popular saints feasts.²⁰ Portugal's Dom Luis I decreed June 10, 1880, as a "dia de festa nacional" in honor of Camões, the author of the *Lusíadas*, the Portuguese-language epic seafaring poem about Vasco da Gama's arrival in India.²¹ The choice of this day memorialized the date that historians had fixed for Camões's death in Lisbon in 1580 (despite not much evidence for their assertion).²² As a celebration undertaken by multiple and sometimes antagonistic shareholders, public ceremonies around Camões were also used to contest Dom Luis, through "three days of public holiday, [through which]...the commemorative movement grew, transforming the 40,000-strong 'civic' processions into protests against the liberal monarchy, and forming the basis for the republican movement."²³

In part, the Camões fetes of the late nineteenth century were elements of an ongoing cycle of nostalgia for the tropes and glories of the Portuguese maritime empire within colonial national identity narratives.²⁴ The *Lusíadas* themes reflected the aspirational ends of political and economic elites, and linked their geo-political endeavors in the creation of a national hero. Promoted by the state, the development of this national celebration has as a counterpart a similar nineteenth-century phenomenon in the UK, which repurposed seafaring chronicles from the early modern period²⁵ promoting nationalism in the context of overseas colonial labor and resource exploitation. Reprints of original editions, excavations of unpublished narratives, and renewed attention to the glories of English ocean voyages in the sixteenth century promoted white nationalist colonial endeavors in the later 1800s, as the narratives glorified national greatness and justified ongoing state actions that exploited transoceanic colonial labor. Public, state-sanctioned rituals using the tropes of Portuguese navigators and the "voyages of discovery" are still a part of nationalist iconographic representation and shape political and economic action in Portugal.²⁶ K. David Jackson writes that these tropes illustrated narratives in which "the mariner is husband and lord, awaited savior, a quasi-mythical entity emanating from the sea, whose purpose is teleological, national and existential."²⁷

After 1910, the First Portuguese Republic dismantled symbols of the monarchy's rule, changing both the flag and the national anthem as part of a propaganda program that "had at its heart the 'cultural construction of the nation.'"²⁸ The national day celebrations of June 10, however, continued to thrive in Lisbon

during the First Republic, and in ensuing decades would be nationalized under the organization of the Estado Novo. The dictatorship co-opted and controlled popular cultural practices and social rituals, while also restoring older symbols of power.²⁹ In 1952, the dictatorship adopted June 10 as a state-sanctioned holiday, *Dia de Portugal*, with public commemorations touting the nation, the military, the sovereign, and the *povo* (the people) under the common symbolism of the flag. This iteration of the national day continued to appropriate Camões-related tropes, and the censored press acclaimed the poet as a “symbol of civic virtue.” As a swashbuckling figure celebrated both for his own adventures and for his tales of Portuguese conquest, Camões was a useful figure for Estado Novo propaganda purposes. By glorifying Portuguese expansion and exploration as part of a longitudinal grand historical narrative, the Estado Novo was able to obscure the militarized exploitation of labor and resources under which the authoritarian colonial regime operated.³⁰

The dictatorship sponsored multiple national commemorations on June 10, including military parades and troop assemblies as part of a *Dia da Bandeira* (Flag Day) and as an official holiday in honor of the Portuguese armed forces. From 1933 until the end of the dictatorship in 1974, the Estado Novo officially referred to the June 10 celebrations as the *Dia da Raça* (Race Day). The press and state also referred to the day as the *Festa da Raça* (Race Festival)³¹ as well as the *Dia de Camões, e Portugal, e a Raça*. In this context “*Raça*” is a presumed social category expressing biology, nationalism, and family. The dictatorship promoted the *raça portuguesa* as a Portuguese language version of *Blut und Boden*, romanticizing national identity as an expression of the popular will in the service of colonial aims and maintenance of their control over transoceanic power and labor hierarchies.³² Estado Novo authoritarian ruler António de Oliveira Salazar’s adoption of the multiracial premise embedded in his reading of Gilberto Freyre’s luso-tropicalism³³ propagandized the “Portuguese race” within colonial discourses of political repression and economic exclusion.³⁴ As the Estado Novo military fought an overseas war of colonial subjugation, commemorations of the *Dia da Raça* were part of racializing discourses through which the regime, the army, and the oligarchy rallied the public in efforts to maintain their control and exploitation of colonial labor.

After the 1974 revolution, as the post-dictatorship government stabilized, Estado Novo symbols of power were transformed. The *Ponte Salazar* (Lisbon’s signature bridge) was renamed the *Ponte 25 de Abril*, the popular cognomen for the revolution. Reconfiguring symbols of the dictatorship, the new democratic

government also embraced state affiliation with the June 10 celebrations. The synthesis of ritual days that encompasses the current iteration of the national holiday reflects a liberalizing spirit and recognizes the geo-strategic importance of migrant settler communities, and other configurations of Portuguese identities among those living outside the national territory of Portugal.

Public Identities and Racialized Labor-Class Exclusion

The Day of Portugal is celebrated within a context of migrant community political mobility since elected politicians in Massachusetts and Rhode Island are primary organizers of the commemoration. In New England, U.S. and Portuguese government officials collaborate to stage the events with migrant sociocultural “associations” (state chartered *associações* or fraternal societies). Formalized Portuguese associations have organized migrant community festivals since the 1800s. They have also been a conduit through which migrants have joined public commemorations of American civic holidays in the U.S. Formal Portuguese involvement in such events and the migrant workers’ beneficial societies that organized their participation were described in a book about James Garfield’s 1881 funeral cortege and begin appearing in reports from the *Lowell Sun* about the annual municipal Fourth of July Parade as early as 1896. In Portugal, the associations have been a central institution of local community and civic participation and were re-created by migrants upon their arrival in the U.S. The associations support migrant communities’ social, economic, and intellectual welfare³⁵ and were vehicles of migrant agency to challenge racialized labor exploitation. In New England, the first associations were founded in the later third of the nineteenth century. The Lusitanian Benevolent Association in New Orleans, however, is likely the earliest recorded incorporation of an association by migrants from Portugal in the U.S. Founded in 1848, the workers’ insurance and health benefit scheme was incorporated in 1851. Another Portuguese organization in the city, the New Lusitanos Benevolent Association, was first convened in 1858.³⁶ Some associations founded in New England in the nineteenth century are still in existence. For instance, the Luso-American Financial and Fraternal Branches in RI (which names 1868 as its founding date) participated in the 2018 Providence Day of Portugal parade and multiple Espírito Santo associations have been in continuous operation for over 100 years.³⁷ By the turn of the century, these kinds of organizations, including socio-religious and mutual benefit insurance schemes, were widely established by migrants from Portugal working as industrial and

agricultural laborers. The state-incorporated social organizations provided migrants with a statutory vehicle to collectively participate in local politics, pursue economic ends, and engage in the broader civic life of their communities.

The racialization of migrant labor through the early nineteenth-century industrial period constituted “Portuguese” identity as non-white or as contested-white defining these workers as unassimilable and as un-American. Portuguese racial identity was a topic in mid-eighteenth century ethnological writings and became a popular subject of scientific study during the industrial period among progressivist scientists, who increasingly analyzed the Portuguese case. These scientists based their arguments on assumptions that certain genetic data could be used to determine migrant racial classification. These arguments were then repeated in public statements by local, state, and national officials. Debates about the non-white racialized identities of Portuguese migrant workers were part of public discourses in print as well, including local community newspapers. Portuguese themselves participated in these exchanges to contest belonging to and the definition of “white” and “black” Portuguese categories as well as broader Portuguese non-white identities.³⁸ Communist and socialist organizations, whose activities were often coordinated with migrant fraternal and cultural organizations, offered a viable alternative for industrial laborers to collectively mobilize. However, anti-communist laws supported the positions of mill owners and skilled tradesmen’s unions, facilitating efforts to curb and criminalize industrial migrant labor organization.³⁹ Portuguese migrant workers who joined or took leadership roles in the labor movement were thus vilified by politicians, mill owners, and tradespeople for endangering the “American” way of life.⁴⁰ The costs of confronting their position in labor hierarchies and gaining a voice in labor negotiations could be extortionate. Portuguese who joined the socialist- and communist-organized migrant unions lost their jobs, were barred from future employment, were imprisoned, and were targeted by police.⁴¹ Migrant labor organizers were arrested and deported.⁴² Migrant workers’ political and civic exclusion was advanced through laws that legitimized authoritarian measures ostensibly against “communists,” but used ultimately to thwart labor movement organization.⁴³ These discourses around labor and communism controlled the workers’ civic participation, collapsing notions of labor class into presumptions about the political unsuitability of categories of racialized migrant workers. By representing the political activity of a racialized labor class as dangerous and un-American, they reinforced constraints on migrants’

civic participation and fed arguments against their presumed genetic, cultural, and political predisposition against assimilability.

Migrant industrial workers' associations participated in the Americanization goals and events of national organizations, such as the NACL.⁴⁴ Between 1909 and 1959, in the state of Rhode Island alone, migrants from Portugal incorporated some 150 associations that were dedicated (primarily or in part) to providing members with access to civic participation through classes in citizenship and naturalization, English language proficiency, and political mobilization.⁴⁵ Portuguese migrant associations sought to "better understand our civic and political duties as American Citizens in order to better serve our city, state and nation," which they hoped would "elevate the standing of Portuguese-American Citizens," especially "Portuguese American youth striving for better education, better civic and social interests, better recognition, to which full citizenship entitles [them]."⁴⁶ One association promoted the assimilability of the "Portuguese-American Race" by celebrating Portuguese culture and history while also instilling "American" civic ideals.⁴⁷

Through the associations, migrant industrial workers participated in patriotic American national celebration days, including the Fourth of July, commemorations of the Pilgrims' arrival in Massachusetts, and civic events, such as fundraisers for World War I bond drives.⁴⁸ The public citywide municipal events were pageants for recursive expressions of presumed patriotism, civic virtue, and hardworking industriousness⁴⁹—characteristics written up in the press in positive commentaries about the migrants and their participation in celebrations of America. Through these demonstrations the associations were able to shape public narratives of belonging that could rebut the anti-immigrant and white-nationalist political arguments about the migrants' presumed lack of assimilability.⁵⁰

Assimilability and the social mobility (social well-being and civic participation)⁵¹ program of the Americanization movement were embedded in discourses and laws codifying racialized hierarchies, with success, in part, predicated on the ability of the program to transform the racial identities of low-level migrant laborers. Historical efforts to pass more inclusive and overturn restrictive legislation and activities that shaped public debates have challenged structural inequalities, as has migrant participation in the industrial labor and social justice movement. Throughout the century, however, other efforts undertaken by many associations and individuals to improve migrant social mobility have taken a more conciliatory approach to the existence of racialized mobility hierarchies.⁵²

The “black” and “white” Portuguese categories that appeared in census⁵³ and immigration data were considered relevant as units of scientific analysis⁵⁴ and were terms used in public debate, shaping social relations and limiting civic rights to control migrant labor. These categories, however, were also used by migrants who were themselves from Portugal in second-order⁵⁵ adoption of exclusionary discourses that marginalized and racialized other low-wage industrial workers, creating a binary opposition with the black Portuguese category to support their own mobility in the white category.⁵⁶ As a result, analyses of labor racialization are incomplete without understanding the role of migrant workers from diverse Portuguese geographies who were themselves responsible for promoting and participating in white nationalist discourses in negotiations for their own assimilability and racial mobility.⁵⁷

In *The Old World in the New* (1914), the sociologist Edward Ross relies on the “black” and “white” Portuguese categories to argue that among migrant laborers, low “social rank” “somewhat corresponds within the grades of natural ability existing within a people.” He contrasts the Portuguese with the superior “race traits...defining the American people.”⁵⁸ Denigration of the “natural abilities” of “multitudes of ‘black Portuguese’” from the Cabo Verdean Islands⁵⁹ was consistent with his descriptions of the failed morals and physical and cultural shortcomings of the “‘white Portuguese’”⁶⁰ category. Although presented as separate but interconnected groups, Ross’s hairsplitting of racialized difference placed both white and black Portuguese at the bottom of assimilability hierarchies.

Portuguese themselves used the existence of a “white Portuguese” category as part of strategies of mobility through the broader Americanization movement. In their responses, some sought to reject marginalization not by challenging underlying racialized structures of worker exploitation, but by exploiting them to promulgate their own civic inclusion and social mobility.⁶¹ In the decades after the 1920s, constructions of the “white Portuguese” category facilitated such negotiations over assimilability. Many associations changed their original Portuguese names (including some of the oldest in New England) to English names in state filings, often rewriting charters and bylaws as they did so. Some of these associations sought to codify white Portuguese identities into their re-incorporation. For instance, in 1952, when two of the oldest Portuguese migrant associations in Newport, Rhode Island, merged, previous Portuguese names were anglicized to create the Vasco Da Gama Holy Ghost Society. The new organization’s bylaws were rewritten to limit membership to Portuguese of the

“white race.”⁶² Americanization mobilities were facilitated by adopting these oppressive, racialized categories of difference to reconstruct industrial migrant Portuguese identities as white, American, assimilable, and deserving of civic participation. These discourses and public arguments over assimilability were also repeated among older migrant generations to marginalize post-1960s cohorts with similar racialized discourses favoring their own assimilable identities at the expense of the more recent group.⁶³

New England Celebrations of Portugal and Longitudinal Civic Advocacy

During the first forty years of its post-revolution existence, the Day of Portugal, Camões, and the Communities was always held in Portuguese national territory, in cities and towns on the continent and in the islands. Despite the celebration’s stated purpose, no host cities had been named outside the country until 2016. In that year, state ceremonies convened in Lisbon and Paris. In 2017, the president of Portugal selected Porto, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo. In 2019, the host communities were Porto Alegre, Brazil, and Cabo Verde. Prior to cancellation from public health measures against the SARS-CoV-2 Corona virus pandemic, the host cities for the 2020 celebration were to be in Madeira and South Africa.

In 2018, the Azores and the Portuguese communities in New England were chosen by Portugal’s president, Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, to hold the celebrations, selecting host cities Ponta Delgada (São Miguel), Providence (Rhode Island), and Boston (Massachusetts), along with a side visit to New Bedford (Massachusetts). After attending the New England festivities, Portugal’s prime minister, António Costa, traveled to Azorean-Portuguese communities in California. Returning to Portugal after the commemorations, the president flew to Washington DC some weeks later to attend bilateral meetings with the U.S. president. As was the case in the geopolitically important cities of Rio and Paris, the Portuguese delegation used the local migrant celebrations in New England as an opportunity for state-level diplomacy; meetings with local, regional, and federal officials; and the signing of educational exchange protocols. Throughout his public appearances, Portugal’s president advocated a pro-migration, pro-environment, pro-European Union/NATO platform, weaving the story of the “Portuguese Communities” in North America into political speeches about the “special relationship” between Portugal and the United States. Couching his criticisms in language favoring multicultural diversity, he rebuked the Trump administration for its rhetoric against NATO and its revitalization of white nationalist identity politics.

Underlining the selection of the Azores and New England, the president appointed Onésimo T. Almeida as the event's grand marshal and *presidente* of the *comissão* (national organizing committee). Almeida, a long-time chair and professor of Brown University's Portuguese and Brazilian Studies Department, was born in the Azores but has lived in New England most of his life. He is a celebrated international public scholar who has had a critical political impact among local Portuguese migrant communities. The delegation also included the chief of the General Staff of Portugal's armed forces, Portugal's ambassador to the United States, and various members of parliament. Presidents of Portuguese universities also attended some official events with their counterparts from several U.S. universities. Congressional, state, and local policy makers rubbed elbows with VIPs, educators, transnational business executives, well-connected Americans in Portugal, prominent Portuguese in America, ambassadors, governmental and consular diplomats, and steady streams of Portuguese migrants and their families coming together for the festivities.

Although the president certainly amplified the excitement around the 2018 edition of the Day of Portugal, annual celebrations in Massachusetts and Rhode Island date back to the 1980s, shortly after the Portuguese 1974 Revolution, and "Portuguese Heritage Day" events had been organized by state officials even earlier. Events are also coordinated by the Consulate of Portugal, which supports Day of Portugal celebrations financially, through advertising, and with assistance arranging logistics. The organizational rubric of the celebrations still runs through local Portuguese migrant associations in cooperation with Portuguese migrant elites in business, politics, and education, who take on responsibilities for planning content.⁶⁴

Like other Portuguese *festas*, Day of Portugal events in New England have a carnivalesque and communal atmosphere. Material culture displays draw on longitudinal representations of Portuguese public identities and practices and provide a space for more recent and creative forms⁶⁵ of public collective representation. In Providence, for example, throngs of paradegoers watched the 2018 Day of Portugal *parada* (from "parade," as the *cortejo etnográfico* is locally called) while dressed in national-team *futebol* jerseys and draped in Portuguese flags. The parade featured wild and highly entertaining thematic floats, including a cardboard sculpture of the *Padrão dos Descobrimentos*; a live-action, eyepatch-clad, *gorgeira* (ruff) collared *Camões*; a wooden replica of a Graciosa windmill; and a crudely mechanized larger-than-life panorama of Mozambique-born Portuguese

national team soccer God Eusébio, depicted scoring a goal for Lisbon's Benfica. Sports clubs and Portuguese language schools marched, and *ranchos folclóricos*, *filarmónica* bands, and *fado* singers performed in the parade and at separate public events. A comparison with social media videos from Day of Portugal parades in New England, California, and Canada reveals the widespread participation of Portuguese associations with similar celebrations and ritual elements.

Through staged public events the day mobilizes the instruments and ornaments of Portuguese migrant community material culture to evoke ethnic/national/in-group identity—signifying the distinctness of the group while also signaling its suitability to participate in local power hierarchies necessary to access social, economic, and political rights. Among contemporary associations, interest group politics expressed in multicultural democratic practices are one legacy of the racialization of migrant labor. Migrant groups themselves have constructed social, racial, and class categories through which they negotiate political power and advocate for social mobility.

Politicians, Flag Day, and Recursive Expressions of Identity

During the 2018 celebration, the governors of Massachusetts and Rhode Island met the presidential delegation, and the event displayed the heightened pomp one would expect during a foreign head-of-state visit. State politicians have participated in (and helped to organize) New England's Portuguese heritage celebrations in collaborative efforts that have assisted the Portuguese government to connect to constituents in local Portuguese migrant communities and have helped the state to advance its own diplomatic and geo-strategic aims. The Day of Portugal pageants in New England unfold with remarkable continuity, despite their organization by separate (but sometimes overlapping) associations and individuals. They include parades, homages, elegies, and exhibitions of Portuguese material culture; scholarships are awarded, and dinners are held in collaboration with Portuguese associations in ceremonies attended by local elected officials. Along with parades and public events, such as *arraiais* (large festive gatherings) or communal dinners, a key ritual element is the deliverance of prepared and impromptu speeches by policy makers, association officers, and special guests. Typical speeches discuss Portuguese place making and group building efforts, invoke migrant community origin mythologies, and extoll the virtues of the hardworking and industrious communities of patriotic immigrant Americans.

Current Day of Portugal celebrations reflect the arrival of a newer (post-1958) wave of mobile labor migration. Estado Novo diplomacy was undertaken in collaborations with community associations that used Portuguese maritime iconography, monument dedications, and commemorations as a means to influence U.S. support for Portugal's colonial endeavors. Post-dictatorship democratic Portugal still relies on a transnational nation building project in which de-territorialized migrant communities help to promote the state's diplomatic goals. Earlier, Estado Novo-era precedents of the Day of Portugal in New England include Portuguese heritage events, as well as other forms of memorialization that have taken place since at least the late 1920s. In June 1958, a Portuguese heritage commemoration was proclaimed by Dennis Roberts, Rhode Island's governor, that honored the Portuguese voyages of exploration by hosting two of the Estado Novo's war frigates in the port of Providence. The event was supported by the Estado Novo consular office. Organization and celebration of the 1958 holiday took place during the debate and passage of Rhode Island senator John O. Pastore's proposed Azorean Refugee Act, designed to assist the recent victims of a volcanic eruption on the islands. Passage of the act required superseding 1920s immigration laws, which had restricted migration from Portugal and other nations that had provided early twentieth-century migrant labor for U.S. industry and were part of broader white nationalist codification of racialized labor hierarchies. The importance of Portugal-U.S. geopolitical relations, dominated by the U.S. military's use of Lajes Air Force Base on the Azores in the post-World War II period, was one part of the argument for passage, and public speechmaking worked to justify the vote by emphasizing Azoreans' (American) patriotism and industriousness. The Azorean Refugee Act presaged changes to the 1965 Hart-Celler Act⁶⁶ (a political companion to the 1964 Civil Rights Act), which opened migration but required re-engagement with the assimilability question as it challenged the basis of exclusion of racialized categories of mobile labor communities. It also presaged other Estado Novo efforts to promote positive images of Portugal as part of cultural diplomacy to help influence U.S. support for Portuguese colonial wars in the 1960s and 1970s—a period that coincided with dramatic transformations in how racialized hierarchies (including those implicating migrants) in the U.S. would be structured under the law.

Multicultural political organizations in the U.S. emerged through migrant agencies in longitudinal negotiations over their racialized identities. Alongside the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the new migration laws empowered those from the

“unassimilable” industrial labor categories to gain a legal status of equality, a necessary step to advocate for effective civic equality. U.S. political parties would re-align after the passage of this legislation. Over the subsequent decades Southern Democrats gradually left the party to join the Republican Party, as newer political blocs of racialized industrial migrant workers and union members were integrated into the Democratic coalition. Local association drives for civic involvement activated the constituencies that supported the politicians who changed the laws. The polemics linked to the legislation’s passage brought migrant assimilability and efforts to shape their own racialized identities to the fore, and they would presage debates around post-1960s power configurations, including debates around Portuguese minority status.⁶⁷

Migrants from Portugal who arrived in New England after these legal changes continued as domestic, manual, and industrial factory labor;⁶⁸ and their socio-economic mobility and political participation have been an ongoing challenge.⁶⁹ Similarities in objectives between the Day of Portugal and earlier Americanization-movement efforts to remake assimilable identities have made these celebrations key public rituals in the construction of the “Portuguese” political category within contemporary multicultural power-sharing arrangements. In the legislative districts of former mill cities, constituency bases of electoral power depend on support from ethnic-group-as-interest-group coalitions. The ambiguity and fluidity of racial identities of communities of migrant mobile laborers from Portugal are evident in the celebration. Ritual elements promote the group as a unique migrant culture linked to other migrant minority groups, while simultaneously using twentieth-century heritage narratives, that, intentionally or not, continue to negotiate Portuguese white racial identity.⁷⁰

Speechmakers at Day of Portugal celebrations in New England speak frequently about Portuguese communities in highly affirmative if not hagiographic platitudes that rarely mention the social or economic challenges faced by the group. They describe “the Portuguese” as hardworking⁷¹ immigrants⁷² who were embraced warmly by American institutions, never complained or protested, and became (through their work ethic, religiosity, and so forth) contributors to their states and communities. When hardships are mentioned, they are used to illustrate an obstacle that has since been successfully overcome—an act that itself confers a special status upon the “successfully integrated” Portuguese (in this sense, *integrated* serves as a gloss for *assimilable*). Conflicts and issues that stem from unequal power access, historical discrimination, poverty, and the racialized marginalization of

migrant labor hierarchies are not a part of the rhetoric or symbolic representation of the Day of Portugal and other Portuguese heritage commemorations.

Speeches and public events during these celebrations also incorporate Portuguese Flag Day tributes that take place in various public political spaces, association halls, Veterans of Foreign Wars halls, town and city halls, and in the legislative chambers and ceremonial spaces of the Massachusetts and Rhode Island state houses, which have all hosted Day of Portugal related ceremonies attended by local, state, and national politicians. In 2018, the president and prime minister of Portugal presided at a Portuguese flag-raising ceremony at Boston's city hall in their first public event in the United States. As much as Day of Portugal celebrations in New England have been used by local politicians to connect with key electoral blocs, the emergence and staying power of the commemorations are also linked to the Portuguese migrant and Portuguese-descended state and municipal officials who are increasingly elected to represent districts among Portuguese migrant communities or appointed to other state positions. Dozens of these state senators, representatives, mayors, and town selectmen serve on the organizing committees for various Day of Portugal events, and the legislators in Massachusetts and Rhode Island belong to Portuguese American caucus delegations—advocating for and voting collectively on issues affecting the communities of their many Portuguese American constituents.

In New England, these issues mostly coalesce around working-class Democratic Party politics. The necessity of Portuguese community constituent support, however, makes such caucuses and the Day of Portugal equally important to Republican elected officials in those districts.⁷³ For Portuguese migrant politicians of either party, celebrations provide opportunities for them to speak Portuguese in the state house chambers and broadcast or stream such speeches across the state. Aside from the many policymakers who have close connections to Portugal, the events also bring out public officials who may have distant familial connections to the country, but who do not otherwise participate in contemporary migrant community activities. For them, the Day of Portugal is a chance to signify, to creatively pronounce Portuguese words while staking the right to claim the day as a celebration of “us.” It is a chance for self-described Hispanic and Italian American officials to pay homage and talk about the similarities between the experiences of their own families and communities and those of the “hardworking Portuguese.”

The migrant place making experience is portrayed through Portuguese exemplars of success, through mythic imaginings of Camões and other heroes. For

speechmakers, the Day of Portugal and Portuguese heritage celebrations are not an opportunity to reflect critically about Portuguese migrants' place in contemporary and historical local labor hierarchies, nor about how they fit into broader anti-migrant discourses and laws, nor about how they continue to confront the structural challenges necessary to overcome the economically troubled urban areas that they inherited and where they still live, long after the decline of the textile industry. Policy makers may recognize and work to address these challenges through legislation, collaboration with community organizations, and sponsored programs; but on the Day of Portugal their rhetoric sticks to platitudes of aspirational optimism and uses the event as an occasion to invoke the shibboleths of national and ethnic communalism. Among the most frequently evoked narratives during Day of Portugal festivities are references to mythic maritime icons and tangential connections to U.S. history. Migrant community origins in the U.S. are linked to the so-called "voyages of exploration and discovery," through readings of history that place the Portuguese in America before the Pilgrims and obscure the communities industrial labor mobility roots.

Dighton Rock and Other Arguments about Portuguese Racial Identities

The rhetorical flourishes of political speechmaking reflect longitudinal counter-narratives against racialized political discourses and exist in the context of legislation and statutes that have shaped Portuguese public identities. In 2018, even the Portuguese president Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa used a key symbol of negotiations over migrant racialized identities in North America when he mentioned Dighton Rock during a speech at the Massachusetts State House.⁷⁴ Dighton Rock is a three-meter-long boulder—originally found partially submerged under water on the bank of the Taunton River. The face of the boulder is etched with a palimpsest of petroglyphs, many of them weathered beyond recognition and altered or obscured by more recent renderings. Since the rock art was first depicted in 1680⁷⁵ it has been a popular object of curiosity and scientific study. Historical writing on the petroglyphs' origins have yielded divergent interpretations that can reveal more about the biases of an author than about the rock itself. Despite manifest evidence of an indigenous origin, the rock art has been attributed by some of these writers to Vikings and other Europeans.

Brown University psychology professor Edmund Burke Delabarre (1863-1945) analyzed many of the studies about the origins of Dighton Rock. In an uncritically connected synthesis of historical evidence, he conjectured that

the rock had been etched by the Portuguese North Atlantic seafaring expedition captain and cartographer Miguel Corte-Real in 1511.⁷⁶ Delabarre concluded that Miguel Corte-Real (who had disappeared in 1502 after sailing from Portugal to Newfoundland) was not actually lost, but rather had sailed south to Narragansett Bay and then up the Taunton River where he encountered a group of indigenous inhabitants. Delabarre asserted that Corte-Real, through a combination of conciliation and force, was able to supplant the Sachem as leader of the Wampanoag inhabitants.⁷⁷ The historical analysis treated Corte-Real as a civilized “white savior” archetype, who Delabarre names the “first European dweller in New England.”⁷⁸

The speculative account relied on Delabarre’s creative discernment of a Portuguese heraldic symbol and lines of Latin text including the etching “V. DEI hIC DVX IND” (an alleged abbreviation of “Voluntate Dei hic Dux Indorum”).⁷⁹ Delabarre extrapolates the entire inscription to read “Miguel Cortereal. 1511. By the will of God, leader of the natives of India in this place.”⁸⁰ Delabarre’s writing and other historical scientific studies since the mid-nineteenth century about the origins of Dighton Rock are discussed by Hunter in the context of racist American eugenics and migrant community place making that have resulted in the erasure of indigenous authorship. Dighton Rock, Hunter writes, is a pareidolia upon which “theorists turned Indigenous peoples in whom they detected intellectual and cultural capabilities into whites, or [were people] improved in the past by the superior cultures, technologies, and blood of Europeans.”⁸¹

Rejected by scholars in Portugal, the Corte-Real myth was first linked to assimilability narratives of Portuguese whiteness in the 1920s by a group of educated, well-off, and politically connected elites, who were supported over subsequent decades by Estado Novo consular officials to promote the rock’s Portuguese provenance. Since the 1960s, no individual did more to promote the myth (and argue for Portuguese whiteness) than Dr. Luciano da Silva. Da Silva was a Portuguese-trained medical doctor who had migrated to Rhode Island as a teenager. Controversial among academics and others for his analysis,⁸² the abundantly confident da Silva was a popular figure among the local communities and at association events. He delivered throughout his life over 500 public presentations (primarily at migrant association events) and wrote articles and two books promoting the notion of the Portuguese “discovery” of North America, which occurred, by his estimation, more than 100 years before the Pilgrims had landed in New England. Da Silva’s version of indigenous erasure and promotion of the

Corte-Real origin story provided a public narrative reconfiguring non-white racialized Portuguese identities as white.

In Portuguese communities, promotion of the Corte-Real myth and legends of early sixteenth-century Portuguese settlement in New England began shortly after Delabarre's first publication on the topic. In 1926, the New Bedford daily Portuguese-language newspaper *A Alvorado* met with Delabarre to visit Dighton Rock and published articles and translations promoting his theory as a serious scientific study. Delabarre himself noted that "his Portuguese friends" had taken a keen interest in promoting and preserving the rock as early as 1927.⁸³ Early efforts were undertaken by the Portuguese American Civic League and Abílio de Oliveira Águas, the Portuguese Consul in New Bedford, who translated Delabarre's 1923 article for a Portuguese scientific publication.⁸⁴ Joseph Damaso Fragoso, a language professor at New York University, added to Delabarre's theories,⁸⁵ promoted the myth, and raised money for preservation efforts through the Miguel Corte-Real Memorial Society (MCRMS), a Portuguese association he chartered in New York in 1951.⁸⁶

The Corte-Real narrative celebrating a white Portuguese leader of natives creates an inversion trope that reimagines the reasons for New England's Portuguese settlement. Migrant origins in the myth are linked to the great maritime explorers of the "Descobrimentos" period, a quite different narrative from the reality of the community's position as a non-white and politically marginalized group of migrant mill and farm laborers. Da Silva would recall in public lectures that he had heard about Dighton Rock as a teenager in Portugal; and while studying for an undergraduate degree in biology at New York University, he joined the MCRMS and served as the organization's secretary.⁸⁷ In 1959, the *Fall River Herald* published a photograph of Dighton Rock in which da Silva had traced his interpretation of what he perceived as Corte-Real's engravings. The photo was widely circulated in newspapers and shown at public lectures throughout the Portuguese communities.

Da Silva also self-published the book *Portuguese Pilgrims and Dighton Rock: The First Chapter in American History* (1971),⁸⁸ in which he argued that the Portuguese were the first Europeans to settle in what is now the United States and attempted to racialize Portuguese migrant identities as white. Da Silva's text provides a bookend of sorts to the bibliographical genealogy of twentieth-century scientific writing and elite discourse promoting white and non-white racialized Portuguese identities. *Portuguese Pilgrims and Dighton Rock* was published in the

context of congressional debates over Portuguese minority status taking place at the time and of growing anti-Estado Novo and anti-colonial activism among U.S. migrants. Proposals over minority status split the communities, with much of the pushback coming from elites who feared the classification would codify their non-white identity and as a result hinder their social mobility.

The Corte-Real reading was not taken seriously by historians and scholars of Portugal or New England. Nonetheless, da Silva's tireless public lecturing on the theory⁸⁹ and work on preserving Dighton Rock ensured that the myth has remained popular among some in the region's Portuguese migrant communities and it was used as part of broader Diaspora nation building discourses by the President of the Portuguese Republic during his Day of Portugal visit. Da Silva's book, lectures, and activities are examples of efforts by some elites working through Portuguese civic and cultural associations to seek social mobility through racial hierarchy mobility by transforming Portuguese non-white identities. In the chapter "White American Indians" da Silva constructs a narrative about "the genetics" of the "Wampanoag Tribe" complete with charts of eugenic data.⁹⁰ The book is filled with specious explanations, over-generalizations, and suspect evidence. Couched in a hagiography of Portugal's glorious early modern seafaring conquests—the "first modern nation to have an empire in which the sun never set"⁹¹—Da Silva gives examples of "promiscuity" and "interbreeding" that mixed the "pure white" and "white genes" of the Portuguese with non-white races around the world.⁹² Like Salazar, Da Silva drew on Gilberto Freyre's theories of luso-tropicalism to argue that native populations in areas of Portuguese mercantile trade contact in the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans had been improved by "genetic and cultural intercourse with [Portuguese] white men."⁹³ Da Silva applies the argument to North America and effectively credits Portuguese luso-tropicalism as a pivotal variable in the English settlement of New England and the U.S. Beginning his argument with the claim that Wampanoag means "white men" rather than "easterners," "people of the dawn," or "early light," as it is defined in Wampanoag usage, da Silva then cites a few selective quotes from historical writing (including the Pilgrims). These "descriptions of 'white and friendly (Wampanoag) Indians,'" in da Silva's estimation, "constitute enough anthropological evidence" to conclude that the narratives of friendly and cooperative relations between the English and the Wampanoag were the result of luso-tropicalist "genetic" improvement. The "friendly" Wampanoag were only that way, in da Silva's rendering, through "interbreeding" with the

“genes” of Corte-Real’s “pure white” men, which imbued the barbaric inhabitants with the “Portuguese manner of civilization.”⁹⁴ Tellingly, da Silva did not use luso-tropicalism to say that the Wampanoag were Portuguese, but rather that they—an otherwise implicitly inferior group—were improved by the genes of Portuguese white men.

Da Silva, like many other mid-twentieth-century Portuguese migrants, sought to improve migrant social standing in racialized hierarchies by embracing shibboleths of American patriotism and attempting to interweave the story of the Portuguese with that of the United States. His arguments also attempted to challenge the Pilgrims elevated position in regional and national culture and supplant them with the Portuguese. Plymouth Plantation (located ~20 miles from Dighton Rock) was the first permanent English settlement in New England. The anniversary of their arrival has been celebrated with monuments and parades,⁹⁵ and it has been annually memorialized during the U.S. national socio-religious holiday of Thanksgiving. For Da Silva and others who believed the myth, the real Pilgrims were not English, but Portuguese.

Touting the legend of early sixteenth-century Portuguese settlement in New England as part of place making activities⁹⁶ can be compared to efforts among Italian Americans to nationalize the celebration of Columbus Day in response to their own position in racialized industrial labor hierarchies. Declared a national holiday in 1934 by President Roosevelt, Columbus Day was made a federal holiday in 1971, the same year that *Portuguese Pilgrims and Dighton Rock* was published. Da Silva argued not only that the Portuguese were the true Pilgrims, but also that Corte-Real had “discovered America”—not Christopher Columbus. Federal recognition of Columbus had helped narratives of Italian-American assimilability in white supremacist and white nationalist power configurations. Unable to gain much of an audience for his theories outside of the Portuguese migrant enclaves of New England, national acceptance of the Corte-Real legend was never realized. As his efforts to promote Corte-Real as the “discoverer” of America gained little traction, Da Silva tried another tack, and attempted to appropriate Columbus for his cause, self-publishing a co-authored book titled *Christopher Columbus was Portuguese!*⁹⁷ In his two books, Da Silva claimed for the Portuguese ownership of Thanksgiving and Columbus Day⁹⁸—or two of the four U.S. federal holidays commemorating the nation’s founding.

The collaboration of Portuguese civic and cultural associations was fundamental to the promotion of the legend. The associations sponsored lectures,

fundraised, and provided organizational leadership to conserve Dighton Rock and purchase land to build a museum in which they could tell their version of its origins.⁹⁹ The Portuguese American Civic League was among the first associations to begin work on a museum. The civic association had collaborated with national Americanization movement organizations, which promised social and racial mobility. Efforts to preserve the rock and build a museum began in the 1920s, shortly after Delabarre's publication of his theories. Portuguese migrant associations would take a leading role. The rock was removed from the bank of the Taunton River in 1963 and a design from the 1950s proposed that the museum be constructed in the Manueline architectural style.¹⁰⁰ Although current descriptive signage in the museum building housing the rock relates multiple origin theories (including "American Indian"), the curation overtly suggests the Corte-Real myth. The only other large physical objects aside from the rock on display are a replica of a Portuguese *padrão* (stone pillars left by Portuguese seafaring expeditions expressing territorial possession) and two scale models of Portuguese caravels. The ship models are exhibited so that they sail at the entrance of the display and are aligned in a triangle with the *padrão*, centered in the back of the room and immediately to the right of the entrance to the rock.

Among communities of migrants from Portugal in New England there existed both support for and criticism of Salazar. Those opposed to the dictatorship included migrants of diverse political persuasions. Political factions in Portugal were reflected in the transnational politics of the migrant communities, but reactions to the fascist dictatorship in New England were also part of local political and civic participation discourses. Expression of anti- and pro-Salazarism in the migrant communities can be analyzed against assimilability tensions and mobility strategy choices over different historical periods. The post-1958 wave of migrants arriving from the Azores, Madeira, Portugal, and Cabo Verde came in the midst of debates on and passage of federal immigration and civil rights reform laws. They also arrived during (and as a result of) Portugal's colonial wars. Tensions emerged between older generations with their reliance on Americanization movement and "Anglo-conformity" models and the newer arrivals, who would embrace burgeoning multiculturalism models. Interestingly, among anti-Salazarists, some spoke out as leftist labor organizers and anti-colonialists, while others, as in Da Silva's case, challenged Salazar through twentieth-century anti-fascist expressions of American patriotism.¹⁰¹ Yet, as the museum curation demonstrates, Da Silva (who served as volunteer

director) and other migrants, continued to celebrate maritime tropes of Estado Novo propaganda that glorify Portuguese seafaring prowess while erasing the exploitation and abuse of an underclasses of laborers in the service of elite trade, historical mercantile capitalist expansion, and colonial exploitation. In the process, they also erase the difficult history of the mobile migrant laborers who did settle New England.

In a testament to the power that the Corte-Real myth continues to have among migrant Portuguese communities, the Azorean Regional Government (working with Portuguese associations, Luciano da Silva, and the museum) sponsored a 2011 commemoration at Dighton Rock State Park celebrating “500 years of Azorean presence in North America,” as the headlines were written in articles published by the *Herald News* (Fall River) and the *Portuguese American Journal*.¹⁰² That the event was a celebration of the “Azorean presence” rather than a Portuguese one is due to the fact that the Azores are the point of origin for the majority of Portuguese-speaking migrants in New England. It also suggests more contemporary twists in the narrative among the post-Azorean Refugee Act wave of mobile labor migration. These migrants celebrate the Corte-Real myth by emphasizing his links to the islands. For instance, his father, João Vaz Corte-Real, was named Capitão of S. Jorge and after expeditions to Newfoundland in 1474 he was named Capitão of Angra by the king. The Azorean cooption of the Corte-Real myth also suggests that more recent migrant arrivals from the Azores continue to position themselves in racialized assimilability hierarchies.¹⁰³ In this context, Luciano da Silva’s continental identity and status as a medical professional set him apart from the low-level mobile laborers from the Azores who arrived after passage of the Azorean Refugee act in 1958.¹⁰⁴ The myth persists as a ritual of assimilability among multiple mobile migrant laborer cohorts and shows how these migrants have adapted common iconography to accomplish goals over several historic periods.

Memorialization and monument dedications also point to the collaboration between associations and governments in place-making and public cultural and political programs. The padrão and the model replicas of caravels, for example, were likewise funded with contributions from the Azorean Regional Government. Associations have led efforts to raise funds and erect other monuments to seafaring explorers¹⁰⁵ in place making efforts promoting the visibility of the Portuguese. Some of these efforts, intentionally or not, circulate narratives of Portuguese social and racial assimilability consistent with the Dighton Rock

polemics. One of these memorialization efforts is the Portuguese Discovery Monument in Newport, which was initiated by two Portuguese migrant associations and paid for with funds from the state of Rhode Island and the Portuguese government. The monument was built in 1988 and, after falling into disrepair, was redesigned and rededicated in 2014. It is a paean to Sagres, a town in the Atlantic corner of Portugal and the cliff-top site of Dom Infante Henrique (Prince Henry the Navigator)'s so-called "nautical school" and a point of embarkation for expeditions patronized by the Prince. The location of the monument in Newport, the same town as the U.S. Naval War College, underlines U.S.-Portugal naval and military cooperation through NATO and bilateral agreements.

Situated on a rolling palisade overlooking the ocean, the Portuguese Discovery Monument evokes in miniature form Sagres' dramatic cliffs. There are several explicit references to Sagres and Portuguese maritime navigation, including a semicircle of sixteen bollards suggesting a compass rose, a representation of an *esfera armilar* (the navigation instrument on the Portuguese flag), and a twenty-foot sandstone obelisk dedicated with a stone plaque engraved with the names of famous Portuguese maritime explorers (including Miguel Corte-Real).¹⁰⁶ Dedicated "In memory of the Navigators Mapmakers, Explorers, Fleet Commanders and those others who enabled the discoveries of sea routes by the Portuguese of two-thirds of the world," the monument is another representation of the voyages of exploration that reimagine and memorialize Portuguese industrial worker settlement communities through the mythologies of maritime empire. Although the Portuguese Discovery Monument in Newport and Dighton Rock museum were created using Estado Novo era propaganda iconography, both were supported with governmental funds during Portugal's post-dictatorship period.

The Portuguese "explorers" and "navigators" making glorious "discoveries" on these expeditions were military merchants who also "enabled" the abduction and purchase of captured humans and transported these individuals under the threat of violence and death on "sea-routes," forcing them to labor across "two thirds of the world." Although racialized coerced laborers are certainly included among the "others" etched into the monument's dedication, it is unlikely that memorializing their contributions was the intention. In fact, these brutal realities are absent and erased from the mariners' representation as icons of celebration and veneration. Da Silva, for example, denied Corte-Real's role in the transatlantic slave trade, and celebrations touting Portuguese maritime prowess

erase the centrality of slave and other coerced laborers in Portugal's transoceanic expansion efforts, both as a commodity to be sold and as a forced and violently brutalized labor force that made military mercantilism and resource extraction (also known as "exploration" and "the discoveries") possible.

The twentieth-century Corte-Real legend combines narratives featuring the Portuguese "Heróis do Mar" (heroes of the sea) from a decidedly local perspective. Portuguese heritage celebrations (such as Day of Portugal) in New England likewise incorporate narratives connecting Portugal and Portuguese migrants to historical events in the United States founding myths as well. One of these narratives celebrates Peter Francisco, who served under George Washington, as a Portuguese hero of the American Revolution.¹⁰⁷ Francisco was the ward of a wealthy and politically well-connected magistrate in Virginia, but what his alleged Portuguese origins might have meant during his life¹⁰⁸ is separate from how his figure has been appropriated for contemporary purposes. In this scenario, a once homeless Portuguese immigrant turned hero had an important role in the foundational history of America. He is linked to today's Portuguese migrant settlers, whose own patriotic values are publicly expressed via references to him. The same can be said of the frequent invocations during the Day of Portugal to other American origin-myth moments, such as narratives in which the founding fathers used Madeira wine¹⁰⁹ to toast important events in early U.S. history.

Many of these imaginings—Dighton Rock etchings, museum displays, monuments, statues, plaques, confluences among nationality, blood, first claims to land, and belonging—are based on squishy archaeology or rely on speculative reconstructions. But that is largely beside the point. They are all used to narrate a Portuguese migrant community origin myth¹¹⁰ unbound by racialized labor-class power inequalities. History is used not as social critique but as a means through which to idealize an aspirational relationship between Portugal and America forged at foundational moments of the United States' creation. Expressed in a language of heroism and common purpose, the narratives support origin myth discourses of Portuguese whiteness and assimilable identities. In truth, of course, the racialization processes of Portuguese migrant communities in New England have less to do with Portugal's celebrity appearances in the footnotes of U.S. history than they do with the far more relevant chapter about physical, economic, and political labor-class exploitation.¹¹¹

The 2018 Rhode Island Day of Portugal Lusophone Calendar Art Contest also served to help re-imagine these identities. Youth artists submitted illustrations,

which judges evaluated to create a bilingual calendar of Portuguese holidays that serves as a pedagogic tool for Portuguese-language students studying in area schools. The calendar codified representations of Portuguese identity based on a broader language group, expressed visually through drawings of national flags and material-culture items from places in the world where Portuguese is spoken. The contest attracted 450 entries, and the winning artists and their illustrations were featured during the Portuguese heritage celebrations at the Rhode Island State House. Children ages five through seven were asked to illustrate a popular Portuguese children's story (*Galinha Ruíva*), and those ages eight through ten were asked to depict food from the lusophone world. The three winning drawings in this second category all depicted classic food items representing Portugal: *vinho de porto*, *caldo verde* soup, Sagres beer, and the more recently ubiquitous *pastel de nata*. Students ages eleven through thirteen were asked to illustrate the islands of the lusophone world; these winners depicted an alligator against the backdrop of the Angolan flag, the iconic *Portas da Cidade* of São Miguel (and its replica in Fall River), and a map of Madeira.

The oldest group of illustrators (ages fourteen to eighteen) were assigned to portray aspects of the "Age of Exploration." All three winning images depicted a vignette of a Portuguese caravel, but one entry stood out as an example of how Estado Novo colonial discourses repeat in contemporary representations of Portuguese cultural identity in New England, where mythologies around the "discoveries" are embedded in racialized migrant identity constructions. The illustration is drawn from the perspective of a Portuguese captain who is standing behind his pilot at the wheel. The viewer looks down from the deck of the caravel as it approaches the shore, gazing through the rigging of the ship and its prow down onto a beach with grass huts and several nondescript, darkly pigmented, loincloth-clad figures. The title of the entry, "Portuguese Exploration Ship Discovers Tribe," clarifies the artist's intention. (With a few tweaks, the entry might well have illustrated Delabarre's and Da Silva's vision of Miguel Corte-Real landing at Dighton Rock.)

Here again, the economic and political history of racialized Portuguese migrant workers in industrial New England has been transformed through association with images of the "discoveries," casting the Portuguese in opposition to the encountered and racialized other—including those who were forcibly transported and violently coerced to work in a slave labor system. Like the previous examples, it points out that one's position of power in situations of

assimilability—as viewed from the beach or the deck of the ship—is ultimately relative. The fact that the image was declared a winner in the contest and appeared on thousands of calendars given to local students and the public speaks to how these identities are reproduced and how racialized colonial discourses about the Portuguese and idealized narratives celebrating 500 year-old transoceanic exploits continue to structure contemporary migrant mobility contexts.

Awards and Honorifics

Day of Portugal celebrations in New England often include the public awarding of scholarships to college-bound Portuguese heritage students. Indeed, galas and annual dinners of the region's Portuguese associations are held as fundraisers and award ceremonies for student scholarships. Eligibility is based on candidates' identification as "Portuguese" (which is construed differently in different sponsoring organizations) and their academic record. Having family members who are active in the sponsoring association also helps. These largely American-born scholarship recipients are publicly recognized at key moments, and they often take on a prominent ceremonial role in the heritage celebrations, such as raising the Portuguese flag.

Other Day of Portugal ceremonies recognize figures who have made "contributions" to the "Portuguese community." For instance, in one 2018 event held on the Portuguese navy's tall ship *Sagres* (anchored in Boston during the celebration), the Portuguese president presided over an award ceremony attended by the organizing commission and political and educational elites, which conferred membership in the chivalric Order of Dom Infante Henrique on five recipients from Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The award, according to the presidential website, recognizes "distinguished contributions to Portugal both in the country and abroad," including "the development of Portuguese culture; and knowledge of Portugal, its history, and its values."¹² *Values* is a term frequently invoked by politicians in national contexts, although defining the specifics of a national value and how it is shared by a nation's citizens remains elusive. In this case, however, the honorees were recognized more for their actions than their values. Two were Portuguese-American philanthropists who had donated money to two Portuguese studies centers at universities and to a university library's Portuguese migrant studies archive. A third was a former Rhode Island state representative and chair of the House finance committee. He was praised by the Portuguese president for having spearheaded funding efforts to refurbish the

Portuguese Discovery Monument of Newport¹¹³. In an earlier ceremony at the Massachusetts State House, the Portuguese-American Legislative Caucus conferred the Portuguese Heritage Award, recognizing the prominent contributions to “their community” by individuals who “excelled in their lives and who serve as role models for others to emulate.” On behalf of the caucus, the Portuguese president handed out fifteen awards, split evenly among Portuguese migrants and the children and grandchildren of migrants. Recipients included elected officials, bank officers, businesspeople, association officers, and a chief of police. All were lauded for their “strong” “Portuguese-American work ethic.”

The story told through these awards depicts a community that has risen to the height of political, economic, and public success. Emphasizing the continued importance of Americanization movement discourses, one recipient was nominated for assisting “hundreds of Portuguese immigrants in obtaining their U. S. Naturalization” and for teaching English language and civics classes. One could have easily swapped the recipients at the shipboard and state house ceremonies; their biographies were similar. Indeed, several of the honorees had already received the other award. As upwardly mobile professional categories, the work of politicians, businesspeople, philanthropists, artists, and those dedicated to Portuguese culture, history, language, and the arts contrasts with the low-level labor hierarchies of historical and contemporary classes of Portuguese migrant workers. In the Day of Portugal pageant, these presidents, prime ministers, honorees, and cultural and political elites are joined to mythic historical figures, national heroes, God, the nation, flags, “the communities,” and symbolic trappings of the celebrations. In 2018, the ceremonies took yet another meta-turn when the Portuguese president conferred the Prince Henry the Navigator Order of Merit on the organizer of both the Boston and Provincetown Portuguese heritage days.

Like other aspects of the Day of Portugal pageant, the glories of the communities’ most “successful” and important members—including scholarship recipients—are used to represent the character of all Portuguese migrants, providing an inversion narrative that, instead of amplifying the bad actions of a few to condemn a group, amplifies the positive contributions of a few as emblematic of the whole. To be certain, the individuals recognized in the ceremonies contributed to the material and civic improvement of their communities. Recognition at the ceremony for individual achievements that promoted public welfare, social justice, equality and civic participation were deserved. Further, the awards recognize the hard work that is required to achieve these goals. In practical terms,

providing immigrant services, advocating for civic rights, and supporting education (including scholarships) and other charitable activities are important ways to promote social equality. The awards also publicly recognize that those living in Portuguese migrant communities take a far more active role in civic activism than is generally indicated solely by data from surveys about economic mobility and electoral participation.

As part of a public ceremony, however, acknowledgement does more than highlight the recipients' important contributions to the well-being of their communities. In a public and publicized event, these professionally accomplished honorees are presented as exemplars of the migrant community. There is a similar logic to associations awarding scholarships to college-bound students, whose educational goals are aided while their achievements as Portuguese honorees reflect upon the community as a whole. These representations are perhaps nowhere more prevalent than at memorial dedications to Portuguese migrant and Portuguese American war dead. Day of Portugal commemorations and other dedications will solemnly intone Portuguese who died to protect and defend the values of America. The memorial allows a broader community to argue for assimilability and inclusion through the reflected achievements of some of its members, who, in the case of the war dead, are apotheosized through their sacred sacrifice for America, proving incontrovertibly that they (and theirs) belong.

Multicultural Power Sharing, Mobility, and Assimilability

Despite ongoing participation in Americanization movement goals, the social organizations have remained hubs for the production of material culture, Portuguese language learning, community economic assistance and development, and Portuguese migrant worker political and civic engagement. These activities have directly assisted migrant agencies to gain social and economic mobility. Migrant associations in operation since the late nineteenth century were reinvigorated by the post-1958 generation, who founded new organizations and brought new energy, cultural knowledge, and organizational expertise to older associations with dwindling membership lists. The diverse activities of these members critique characterizations of the Portuguese as a so-called "invisible minority,"¹¹⁴ a description that delegitimizes the social and political role that migrant community centered institutions play in organizing social welfare and public civic engagement activities. Portuguese cultural events sponsored by the organizations structured migrant personal support networks and served as an organizing

fulcrum of collective representation. Rather than diminishing practices supporting Portuguese material culture, the associations' collaborative participation in Americanization activities allowed them to continue Portuguese cultural programming without having the practices politicized as disqualifying. Americanization is in this regard less about making the "Portuguese" into "Americans" than about mediating the boundaries of social exclusion and civic inclusion. Stated another way, social mobility is examined not as an outcome of generational, cultural, or economic "assimilation," but rather as a collective negotiation for power that is rooted in ongoing arguments over Portuguese assimilability.

The Day of Portugal in New England is a key ritual in Portuguese ethnic-group-as-interest-group politics, assisting migrant communities to participate in contemporary multicultural power configurations. As is the case in Massachusetts, contemporary interest groups and political factionalism in Rhode Island reflect legacies of migrant communities settled by industrial workers from Ireland, then French-Canada, and later in the nineteenth century Italy, Syria, Armenia, Poland, and Portugal. (Providence already had an Irish mayor in the first decade of the 1900s as the Portuguese were arriving.) Concessions have been won since the darker periods of industrial manufacturing's exploitation of migrant workers. Nonetheless, industrial labor practices and labor laws still favor the capital class in its negotiation for low-wage workers whose bodies are subjected to the most punishing and debilitating tasks. Labor representation and securing the right to organize are ongoing political issues.

Historical narratives of twentieth-century socioeconomic mobilities suggest that the Portuguese were the last large-scale industrial migrant group to work in mill cities in Massachusetts and Rhode Island and that there were not significant migrants from other groups to replace them in these lower-level jobs after labor movement gains and the decline of the industry sent textile manufacturing to the south (as they themselves had previously supplanted French-Canadian workers in some urban mill contexts).¹⁵ As migration from the original southern European labor cohorts arriving to work in industrial mills at the turn of the century was restricted after the 1920s, the renewal of Portuguese migration in the 1960s (which increased by 80 percent in the twenty years after the Capelinhos volcano eruption) meant that there was indeed a group replacing Portuguese migrant industrial workers in New England; however, it was composed of a newer group of migrant labor from Portugal. Those migrating to work in these settlements confronted the legacy of more than a half-century of

migrant labor-class racialization of earlier cohorts and their descendants as they struggled themselves to gain civic and political access.

Avenues to political inclusion, however, were recast in the post-1960s civil and civic rights era as electoral coalitions formed in New England democratic power-sharing arrangements among multicultural, ethnic-interest-groups. In this political environment, earlier arrived migrant labor groups from Portugal working in factories, manufacturing, agriculture, and the service economy have been joined by more recently arrived migrant laborers from Mexico, the Caribbean, Central America, and Southeast Asia. Local mayors, state representatives, and state executive branch officers from migrant communities, including the Portuguese, have won office on the strength of electoral blocs expanded from the contemporary in-group identities of former industrial worker communities. Elections also reflect the multicultural power-sharing configurations of newer migrants, who serve in state and municipal elected positions including recent Providence mayors whose parents were from the Dominican Republic and Guatemala.

Public displays of in-group identities are a part of negotiations for civic legitimacy and electoral power among groups in multicultural power-sharing configurations. The tension between older industrial workers' racial mobilities, civic inclusion, and white national politics with newer configurations of multicultural identities is reflected in the Day of Portugal pageant, which highlights the uniqueness of the Portuguese among multiple ethnic-groups-as-interest-groups. In Rhode Island, for example, the 2018 Portuguese commemorations were just one part of a much larger citywide festival, the fourth annual PVD Fest,¹¹⁶ a public block party in Providence held on the closed-off downtown streets around Kennedy Plaza and Waterplace Park. Sponsored by the city's Department of Art, Culture, and Tourism jointly with FirstWorks (a cultural and arts association), the PVD Fest features multicultural music, arts, and food.

In 2018 there were lectures and art exhibits, as well as Pakistani food trucks, Latin dance performances, Australian acrobats, a bachata Guinness World Record attempt, a Laotian youth group, and the Portuguese custard sweets *pastéis de nata*. The format of the festival draws on other previous celebrations in the city including the Providence Pride festival which has roots in the 1970s and annual parades since the 1980s. Day of Portugal Rhode Island and the PVD fest also coincide with the broadly celebrated Pride Month in Providence. In effect, the PVD fest promotes public visibility and society-wide celebration of diverse and less visible migrants comprising Providence's civic community. In 2018,

the Day of Portugal Rhode Island parade, Presidential speech and other public events were part of the PVD fest program and were also the featured theme of the June 10 staging of Providence's renowned public arts exhibit, WaterFire, commenced by the Portuguese president and attended by the *comité*, Rhode Island's governor and congressional delegation, and the Mayor of Providence. Both on its own and as part of the broader festival and public activities, the Day of Portugal's parade and performances—*fado* and *filarmónicas*, mythic heroes from literature and sports, dramatic ballgowns and folk costumes—gave the Portuguese the material-cultural wherewithal with which to claim their corner of the festival as they literally paraded around the block and through the heart of the city. Yet, despite the prominence of public events taking place under temporarily hanging Portuguese flags, the celebration was merely one part of a larger showcase for the multicultural city and an ongoing part of negotiations over state codification and narratives defining belonging and civic access in New England.

Contemporary narratives of Portuguese and other migrant communities' socioeconomic mobilities—bolstered by well-designed research and collected data sets—often seek to examine levels of integration, adaptation, and assimilation as measured through a rubric of socioeconomic or educational success and political participation. The discourses, laws, and social actions that arbitrate and conciliate power inequalities and civic participation of a racialized labor class, however, are a related factor in these determinations, as subsequent migrant generations and descendants have continued to resist (and promote) labor-class inequalities through discourses of racialized assimilability. This includes ongoing racialization processes around whiteness and blackness for diverse groups of migrants from Portugal and its former colonies. Migrants from these geographies have been aware of their position in racial hierarchies and have contributed to activities that have both resisted and maintained racial inequality. Along with racialized industrial workers from various origins, the Portuguese share similar structural trajectories confronting power inequalities and navigate white nationalist discourses of inclusion and exclusion by negotiating racial identity as a precondition of civic participation.

In the case under study, the existence of legally and scientifically codified white and black Portuguese categories, including various competing definitions of how people from different geographies fit into the groups, points to a fluidity in Portuguese identities and demonstrates how discourses of assimilability and racial mobility are embedded in Portuguese-speaking migrant communities'

social mobility efforts. Scholarship from the 1990s examining structures and mechanisms of racialized inequality rightly concludes that constructions of upwardly mobile white identities are a key variable supporting the maintenance of racial hierarchies.¹⁷ In this regard, one of the interesting characteristics of Portuguese migrant laborer racialization is how, despite the “white” and “black” categories, Portuguese racial identity remains unsettled. This fact is underlined by racial mobilities that not only move toward whiteness, but also in certain contexts depend on maintaining their ambiguity.

Discourses promoting multiculturalism as a model of Portuguese civic participation have further complicated older assimilability narratives. Efforts to gain civic rights and social mobility have come through conscious and willful engagement with racialized marginalization over a century and have not been monolithic. Labor movement organization and other civic engagement activities (including their support for candidates for public office), indicate that the migrant associations were a highly active and essential form of social organization structuring Portuguese efforts to gain civic inclusion in multiple historical periods of North American settlement. These organizations provide a key unit of analysis to understand longitudinal settlement and place making strategies as a response to the exploitation of transoceanic mobile labor. Migrant associations, as we have seen, were important to the Estado Novo and to post-dictatorship democratic governments, which have advanced diplomatic goals by collaborating with the civic organizations, mounting public heritage projects that use Portuguese maritime and cultural iconography. Migrant workers negotiate with local power hierarchies mediated by global capitalist economies, but categories of racialized marginalization have also been influenced by related transatlantic geostrategic maneuvering and nation building projects.

Many of the representations of Portuguese cultural patrimony at Day of Portugal and other Portuguese heritage celebrations are still drawn from Estado Novo symbols of maritime glory. For contemporary organizers and participants, these symbols are part of place making efforts coalescing around in-group identities and are not used by most to promote white nationalist discourses of belonging, unconsciously or overtly, but rather, as a celebration of a unique ethnic group. Nonetheless, elevating the icons of a glorious transoceanic empire while erasing the humans who were brutalized to make that empire possible perpetuates narratives of racial and social marginalization. Finding solutions to structural power inequalities requires honesty to recognize how these categories

of exclusion are created and maintained. A constant feature of the Day of Camões and iterations of the Day of Portugal in nearly 150 years of annual celebrations, is that the commemoration has been used to promulgate multiple and polysemous representations of identities used to express often contradictory political principles. The ritual in New England is no different in this regard.

The challenges of migrant place making have not yet been overcome; they are not a remnant of history but an ongoing challenge. Portuguese migrant communities have collectively created a political voice through civic participation in multicultural democracy. Democracy is strengthened for all by re-thinking Portuguese identity narratives that would perpetuate racialized inequalities. This is a conclusion about migrants in a social-justice-oriented, multi-cultural North America that was suggested by the President of Portugal in his speeches in Providence and the Massachusetts State House. In his official June 10 Day of Portugal, Camões and the Communities speech, the president admonished: “Nobody lives alone in the world.... I cannot understand how one can have their own people migrating and not accept other people migrating.” Heritage events that represent the lived histories of this community, that discuss challenges honestly, and that link the story of Portuguese migrants in New England to the struggles of other migrant communities can shape these celebrations to more directly support contemporary social and racial justice movements and help all migrant laborer communities to navigate toward social equity and civic inclusion.

NOTES

1. This paper was submitted as a Research Fellow of the ERC Advanced Grant Project Colour of Labour: the racialized lives of migrants-PI Cristiana Bastos (Universidade de Lisboa, ICS) [ERC-2015-AdG-695573, 2016-2021]; <http://colour.ics.ulisboa.pt>. Framed and supported by the Colour project, the research included broad archival work on the civic engagement and political and economic marginalization of migrant labor in New England, examining racialization processes among Portuguese industrial and agricultural workers. Participant-observation research at the 2018 Day of Portugal celebrations in New England was also part of the project mission. I have attended and conducted research on Day of Portugal celebrations for decades in Providence, Boston, Falmouth, Fall River, New Bedford, Ponta Delgada, Angra, and Lisbon as well as other heritage celebrations in Portugal and Portuguese migrant contexts. Longitudinal participant observation in New England on Portuguese migrant racialization and marginalization includes a paper presented at the *Race, Culture, Nation* conference (April 6-8, 2001. University of Massachusetts Dartmouth & Brown University) that was developed for publication

through the FCT Post-Doc grant, *A Critical Interrogation of the Nation and the Power of the State to Define Belonging* [SFRH/BPD/20473/2004]. Field and archival research on the formation and role of migrant associations in racialization processes was also supported through the FCT project *Ritual, Etnicidade, Transnacionalismo*-PI João Leal, CRIA-Universidade Nova de Lisboa [PTDC/CS-ANT/100037/2008], an in-depth field research project studying New England socio-religious associations (FES). I am grateful for the financial and intellectual support of the Portuguese studies units at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth: the Center for Portuguese Studies and Culture, Ferreira-Mendes Portuguese American Archives, and Tagus Press; at UMass Lowell: the Saab Center for Portuguese Studies and the Lowell Center for History; as well as Lowell's Boott Cotton Mills Museum (U.S. National Park Service); Meg Costello at the Falmouth Historical Society Archive; Portuguese and Brazilian Studies, Brown University; and the Luso-American Foundation (FLAD). I would like to acknowledge Daniel Georgianna (UMass Dartmouth), Prof. Robert Farrant (UMass Lowell), and Prof. Philip T. Silvia (Bridgewater State) for their influential research and personal insights assembling the story of migrant industrial labor in New England to which this paper is indebted. I am especially grateful to Onésimo T. Almeida, who made research for this paper possible as a result of a generous invitation to accompany him in his role as Grand Marshall of the Day of Portugal and to participate in events with the Portuguese President and the official delegation.

2. Extrapolating from Jerry Williams, *And Yet They Come. Portuguese Immigration from the Azores to the United States* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1982). Examining how history is told in New Bedford and its implications for local migrant communities in the city, Kingston Heath argues that the histories of the industrial workers are underrepresented in favor of the whaling period. Kingston W. Heath, "From Whalers to Weavers: New Bedford's Urban Transformation and Contested Identities," *IA: Journal of the Society for Industrial Archaeology* 40, 1/2 (2014): 7-32. Romanticized narratives of Portuguese whaler origins also typically mask the difficult lives faced by racialized workers on whale boats as well as merchant ships.

3. Carter, Green, and Halpern provide a historical synthesis of the construction of labor class racial identities examining power hierarchies in the 1900-1925 U.S. industrial period. They examine governmental actions and the passage of laws constructing the racial status of labor classes, with the "racialization of migrant labor" working "to naturalize differences and normalize exclusions." Bob Carter, Marcie Green and Rick Halpern, "Immigration Policy and the Racialization of Migrant Labour: The Construction of National Identities in the USA and Britain," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 19, 1 (January 1996): 135-157.

4. Shimazu discusses the assimilability question regarding civic rights and arguments over whiteness in the racialization of Japanese migrant workers in the U.S. during

the period. Naoko Shimazu, *Japan, Race and Equality: The Racial Equality Proposal of 1919* (New York: Routledge, Nissan Institute Japanese Studies Series, 1998), 77-78.

5. Analytically separate from laws, and other state-codified categories (that both drive discourses and that discourses participate in constructing), discourse is used here in two senses: 1. migrant agencies and activism through issue organization and control of public displays of material culture, and 2. challenges to migrant civic participation and the racialization of migrant labor in popular, scientific, and political debates.

6. These exclusions are embedded in the “policing and refurbishment” of racialized labor classes that limit mobility by controlling “assimilability...[T]he reconstitution of national identities...articulated through concepts of ‘race’ in which, amongst other things, colour, country of origin and religion, came to operate as key signifiers of difference. Through immigration and nationality laws, governments and administrations ranked human populations into hierarchies of assimilability.” Carter, Green and Halpern, “Immigration Policy and the Racialization of Migrant Labour,” 136. See also Robert Miles, *Racism and Migrant Labour* (London: Routledge, 1982); *Capitalism and Unfree Labour* (London: Tavistock, 1987); *Racism after ‘Race Relations’* (London: Routledge, 1993).

7. The notion that laborers were genetically inferior and unequipped for citizenship also structured power hierarchies in slave labor systems. See, for example, the ethnologist arguments featured in E. N. Elliot, ed., *Cotton is King, and Pro-Slavery Arguments: Comprising the Writings of Hammond, Harper, Christy, Stringfellow, Hodge, Bledsoe, and Cartwright, on this Important Subject* (Augusta GA: Pritchard, Abbott & Loomis, 1860). Caroline Karcher discusses the ethnologists’ presumptions about the racialization of forced laborers, low-share whale ship sailors, and other wage earners in her reading of Melville’s “The ‘Gees’.” Carolyn L. Karcher, “Melville’s ‘The ‘Gees’: A Forgotten Satire on Scientific Racism,” *American Quarterly* 27, 4 (Oct 1975): 421-442; Herman Melville, “The ‘Gees,” *Harpers New Monthly*, (March 1856): 507-09. Stanley 1998 examines how contract and wage labor were used to structure social relations based in the slave system, Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998). See also Carter, Green and Halpern, “Immigration Policy and the Racialization of Migrant Labour,” 135-157; and Ariela Julie Gross. *What Blood won’t Tell: a History of Race on Trial in America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008). The *Reports of the Immigration Commission [Dillingham Commission Reports]* (U.S. Congress, 1911), especially vols. 5, 10, 21, and 41, which provide various examples. Benton-Cohen examines the nebulous formation of racial categories of migrants. Katherine Benton-Cohen, *Inventing the Immigration Problem: The Dillingham Commission and Its Legacy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018).

8. Carter, Green and Halpern, “Immigration Policy and the Racialization of Migrant Labour,” 143. In this study, as a result of industrial capitalism.

9. Beckert discusses how merchants gained control over labor and wages. Sven Beckert, "Building War Capitalism," 29-55, *Empire of Cotton: a Global History* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 2014).

10. See, for example, sections on Portuguese industrial laborers in Bushee (1903) and Ross (1914) where they discuss the migrants' capacities for civic participation and socio-economic advancement in reference to racial classifications of low-hierarchy workers. Frederick A. Bushee, *Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston* (New York: The Macmillan Company for the American Economic Association, 1903). Reprint by American Immigration Experience Series. (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1970); Edward A. Ross, *The Old World in the New: The Significance of Past and Present Immigration to the American People* (New York: The Century Co., 1914).

11. Portuguese laborers organized unions, participated in strikes, and faced criminal conviction and deportation as a result of political affiliations and protest activities. See oral history interviews with communist labor organizer Eula Mendes, New Bedford Textile Worker's Strike of 1928 Oral History Interviews and Research Collection, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, Archives and Special Collections: Interview by Daniel Georgianna, 1985, MC9 Box 8, Tape 56, 57, 58; Interview by Penn Reeve, MC9 Box 1, 16. Oral history interview with Joseph Figueredo, Tamiment Library & Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, <https://wp.nyu.edu/tamimentcpusa/joe-figueredo/>, 2017. Implicit intersections of racial categories and political organization are referenced in Philip T. Silvia, Jr., "The Position of 'New' Immigrants in the Fall River Textile Industry," *The International Migration Review* (Summer 1976) 10, 2: 221-232; Daniel Georgianna with Roberta Hazen Aaronson, *The Strike of 1928* (New Bedford, Massachusetts: Spinner Publications, Inc., 1993); and Penn Reeve, "Portuguese Labor Activism in Southeastern Massachusetts," in *Community, Culture and the Makings of Identity*, ed. Andrea Klimt and Kim Holton (North Dartmouth, Massachusetts: Tagus Press, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, 2009), 337-56. An implicit examination of these processes is found in Marcia Walker-McWilliams, *Reverend Addie Wyatt Faith and the Fight for Labor, Gender and Racial Equality* (University of Illinois Press, 2016). See also John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994); Alexander Keyssar, "Unemployment and the Labor Movement in Massachusetts, 1870-1916," 233-250, in *The New England Working Class and the New Labor History*, ed. Herbert G. Gutman and Donald H Bell (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Nancy Zaroulis, "Daughters of Freeman: The Female Operatives and the Beginning of the Labor Movement," 141-158, in *Cotton was King: a History of Lowell, Massachusetts*, ed. Arthur L. Eno, Jr. (New Hampshire Publishing Co, 1976).

12. In notes and public talks from 1916-1924, Brown University President William Faunce lectured throughout the industrial northeast about core tenets of Americanization

principles as a remedy to social problems in industrial worker neighborhoods. (Special Collections, John Hay Library, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.)

13. Edward George Hartmann, *The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant* (New York: AMS Press Inc, 1967 [1948]). See also Sara Errington, "The Language Question: Nativism, Politics, and Ethnicity in Rhode Island, 1919-1925," in *New England Disharmony: the Consequences of the Industrial Revolution*, ed. Douglas Reynolds and Katheryn Viens (Kingston: Rhode Island Labor History Society and the Labor Research Center, URI, 1993), 92-111.

14. Franz Boas made a complementary argument against genetic disposition theories in volume 38 of the *Dillingham Commission Reports*, challenging the fixed categories of Folkmar and Folkmar's *Dictionary of Races or Peoples* (vol. 5) whose collected genetic data was used to define inherent abilities and genetic constraints on assimilability.

15. "The Anglo-conformity theory demanded complete renunciation of... ancestral culture in favor of the behavior and values of the Anglo-Saxon core;... the melting-pot idea envisaged a biological merger... and blending of respective cultures into a new indigenous type; and cultural pluralism postulated the preservation of...significant portions of culture... within the context of American citizenship and political and economic integration into American society." Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: the Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 85. See also Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot. The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1963). George L. Hicks, *Experimental Americans: Celo and Utopian Community in the Twentieth Century* (Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001.)

16. Labor conditions of migrants from Portugal working in industrial mills in New England are described by Silvia, Jr., "The Position of 'New' Immigrants," 221-232; Georgianna, *The Strike of 1928*; Reeve, "Portuguese Labor Activism," 337-56; Daniel Georgianna, Penn Reeve, and others who collected the *Strike of 1928 oral history archives* (Claire T. Carney Library, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth). See also Jett W. Lauck, *Cotton Goods Manufacturing in the North Atlantic States; Woolen and Worsted Goods Manufacturing. Vol. 10 Reports of the Immigration Commission [Dillingham Commission Reports]* U.S. Congress, 1911; Jett W. Lauck, "The Cotton Mill Operatives of New England," *Atlantic Monthly*, 109 (May 1912): 706-13; George, Kenngott, *The Record of a City: a Social Survey of Lowell, Massachusetts* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1912). Other oral history and community archives including the UMass Lowell Center for History, Falmouth Historical Society, the Woods Hole Historical Museum, and the Cape Cod Cape Verdean Museum also have historical documents related to the racialization of Portuguese migrant labor.

17. Henry Radecki, *Ethnic Organizational Dynamics: The Polish Group in Canada* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1979); João Sardinha, *Immigrant Associations, Integration and Identity: Angolan, Brazilian and Eastern European Communities in Portugal* (Amsterdam:

University Press, 2009); Daniel Melo and Eduardo Caetano da Silva, eds., *Construção da Nação e Associativismo na Emigração Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2009); Joseph Bradley, *Voluntary Associations in Tsarist Russia* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009); João Leal, *Azorean Identity in Brazil and the United States: Arguments about History, Culture and Transnational Connections* (North Dartmouth Massachusetts: Tagus Press, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, 2011); João Leal, "Festivals, Group Making, Remaking and Unmaking," *Ethnos* 81 4 (2016): 584-599. Leal also examines how the associations have used the rituals in adaptive and creative migrant cosmopolitan contexts. João Leal, "Migrant Cosmopolitanism: Ritual and Cultural Innovation among Azorean Immigrants in the USA," in *Cosmopolitanism in the Portuguese-Speaking World (European Expansion and Indigenous Response, 27)* ed. Francisco Bethencourt (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004353435>, 2017), 233-249.

18. Hartmann, *The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant*.

19. Isabel provides an historical bibliography and analysis on the origins and evolution of the Day of Portugal: Maria Isabel João, "The Invention of the Dia de Portugal," 66, *Portuguese Studies*, 31, 1 (2015): 64-84. See also Fernando Catroga, "Ritualizações da História," in *História da História em Portugal Secs. XIX-XX*, ed. Luís Reis Torgal, José Amado Mendes and Fernando Catroga (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1996), 551-55.

20. João, *The Invention of the Dia de Portugal*, 66.

21. The Camões link also serves contemporary Day of Portugal and other heritage celebrations as a tie-in to help promote Portuguese language and culture, including several prominent events in New England that receive support from universities and the Consulate of Portugal.

22. See João, *The Invention of the Dia de Portugal*, 64-65; citing Jordão de Freitas, "Morte e Enterramento de Camões," 4º Centenário do Nascimento de Camões, 1524—1924, ed. Pedro de Moura e Sá (Lisboa: Comissão das Festas Camonianas, 1924), 14.

23. Nuno Monteiro and Antonio Costa Pinto, "Cultural Myths and Portuguese National Identity," in *Contemporary Portugal. Politics, Society, Culture*, ed. Antonio Costa Pinto (New York: SSM Columbia University Press, 2011), 62; citing Alexandre Cabral, *Notas Oitocentistas II. Luís de Camões, Poeta do Povo e da Pátria* (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1980.)

24. Monteiro and Costa Pinto, "Cultural Myths and Portuguese National Identity," 62. See also David Corkill and José Carlos Pina Almeida, "Commemoration and Propaganda in Salazar's Portugal: The 'Mundo Português' Exposition of 1940," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (July 2009): 381-399. Camões was himself on a nostalgia trip, not finishing the poem until toward the end of his life; and Camões may have written about Vasco da Gama, but the publication date of the *Lusíadas* in 1572 was about as close on the timeline to the birth of the Marques de Pombal (1699) as it was the birth of the first Portuguese seafaring captain to reach India (1469).

25. For example, reprints of English texts, including Edward Arber, *The Last Flight of the Revenge at Sea* (London: English Reprints, 1871) and Edmund Goldsmid's annotated republication of Richard Hakluyt's: *Principall Navigations* (Edinburgh: 1884 [1589;1598-1600]).

26. Monteiro and Costa Pinto, "Cultural Myths and Portuguese National Identity," 62.

27. K. David Jackson, *Adverse Genres in Fernando Pessoa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

28. Monteiro and Costa Pinto, "Cultural Myths and Portuguese National Identity," 1-54, citing Teófilo Braga, *Os Centenários como Síntese Afectiva nas Sociedades Modernas* (Oporto: A. J. da Silva Teixeira, 1884), 227. See essays examining uses of national symbols and state power in Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 2000) and David I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

29. The dictatorship instituted forms of social control on fado singers, ranchos folclóricos, and filarmónica bands through restrictions on repertoire, costumes, and venues of performance. Holton examines how communities, through the ranchos and cultural associations, contested Estado Novo authoritarian control. Her analysis of Salazar-era propaganda programs included negotiations over the freedom of association itself. Kimberly Holton, *Performing Folklore: Ranchos Folclóricos from Lisbon to Newark* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2005).

30. Corkill and Pina Almeida, "Commemoration and Propaganda," 381-399.

31. João, *The Invention of the Dia de Portugal*, 67;70.

32. This included assuming control of and restoring dilapidated architectural heritage from the medieval period and earlier, elevating controlled displays of popular culture in programs romanticizing national Portuguese identity, and entrenching a state patriarchy that was supported by an oppressive church and the state's national and colonial military regime.

33. Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-grande & Senzala: Formação da Família Brasileira sob o Regimen de Economia Patriarchal* (Rio de Janeiro, Maia & Schmidt, 1933).

34. Patricia Ferraz de Matos, *The Colours of the Empire: Racialized Representations during Portuguese Colonialism* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2013); Monteiro and Costa Pinto, "Cultural Myths and Portuguese National Identity," 1-54.

35. Leal, *Azorean Identity*; Leal "Festivals, 584-599;" Melo and da Silva, *Construção da Nação e Associativismo*.

36. According to an annotated chronology of Azorean history (with numerous documented historical inaccuracies, including the Corte-Real Dighton Rock myth, *op cit.*), the first of the two associations was founded by Azoreans recruited as field workers in Louisiana sugar cane plantations. Manoel da Silveira Cardozo, *The Portuguese in America 590 BC-1974* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana, 1976). If accurate, this would open a number of

interesting research questions. Did they arrive directly from the Azores, or perhaps, as is more likely, through a secondary migration from Caribbean sugar cane plantations? What kinds of work were the migrants doing and where were the laborers from Portugal situated on racial and assimilability hierarchies? How did these migrants fit into categories used to maintain white supremacist control of forced black labor in Louisiana cane fields? What was the relationship between the membership of the two organizations and the workers they represented? By 1881, the organizations had around 500 active members between them, but the original Portuguese founders had given way to lists of non-Portuguese executive officers. A description of the Lusitanian Benevolent Association, likely written by the organization itself, makes the following statement: “Formerly, none but Portuguese were admitted to membership; but that rule has of late years been changed; and now we find all nationalities represented among the members, the majority, of course, belonging to the Latin race.” The “of course” part of the description requires deeper analysis, but speaks to Portuguese assimilability, suggesting how the New Orleans organizations were a part of negotiations over racialized identity hierarchies among “Latins” as a presumed genetic category, as well as the “Little Races” discussed by Gross, “Citizenship of the ‘Little Races,’” 111-39. See brief descriptions of the organizations in Edward C. Wharton, *A History of the Proceedings in the City of New Orleans on the Occasion of the Funeral Ceremonies in Honor of James Garfield* (New Orleans: A.W. Hyatt, 1881).

37. See collective data of the multi researcher FCT grant project *Ritual, Etnicidade, Transnacionalismo: as Festas do Espírito Santo na América do Norte* (PI-João Leal, Center for Research in Anthropology, Universidade Nova, Lisboa); João Leal et al, *Festas do Espírito Santo, “Ritual, Etnicidade, Transnacionalismo: as Festas do Espírito Santo na América do Norte”* (PCDT/CS/-ANT/100037/2008). <http://festasdoespiritosanto.pt/>

38. Portuguese as a non-white or contested white group is an implicit and explicit topic of newspaper discourses in New England in references to Portuguese as early as 1894, in an article in which they are called “half-whites” (*Lowell Sun*, February 17, 1894). The use of “Portuguese” as a legal status that is neither white nor black is examined by Gross, *What Blood won’t Tell*, in the southern U.S. See also literature reviews and arguments that point out contestations or negotiations over Portuguese racial identities in Gerald Estep, “Portuguese Assimilation in Hawaii and California,” *Sociology and Social Research*, 26, 1 (September 1941): 61-69; Robert F. Harney, “Portygees and Other Caucasians’: Portuguese Migrants and the Racialism of the English Speaking World,” in *Portuguese Migration in Global Perspective*, ed. David Higgs (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1990): 113-35; Jean E. Barker, “Cape Verdean-Americans: A Historical Perspective of Ethnicity and Race,” *Trotter Review* 10: 1 (1996): 17-20; Miguel Moniz, “The Shadow Minority,” 409-30, in *Community, Culture and the Makings of Identity*, ed. Andrea Klimt and Kim Holton (North Dartmouth: Tagus Press, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth,

2009); Ana Yolanda Ramos-Zayas, "Stereotypes of the Tropics in 'Portuguese Newark: Brazilian Women, Urban Erotics and the Phantom of Blackness,'" 431-460, in *Community, Culture and the Makings of Identity*, ed. Andrea Klimt and Kim Holton (North Dartmouth: Tagus Press, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, 2009); Rui Vitorino Azevedo, "Not Quite White: The Ethno-Racial Identity of a Portagee," *Op. Cit.* 12 (2010): 19-34; Cristiana Bastos, "Migrants, Inequalities and Social Research in the 1920s: the story of 'Two Portuguese Communities in New England,'" *History and Anthropology* 29: 2 (2018): 163-183.

39. Racialized migrant laborers were barred from joining the (white) trade unions as the inclusion of migrants would diminish the power of the craftsmen's bargaining units.

40. See interviews with Eula Mendes 1985, 1987; and Joe Figueredo 2017.

41. *Falmouth Enterprise* (Massachusetts), Saturday, May 31, 1924, 3; New Bedford Strike of 1928, oral history file Claire T. Carney Library Special Collections, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth.

42. As was the case with labor organizer Eula Mendes and other Portuguese leaders during both the late 1920s and 1950s Red Scare authoritarian political movement.

43. Eula Mendes interviews (1985, 1987) and Joe Figueredo (2017).

44. Hartmann, *The Movement to Americanize*.

45. Rhode Island Secretary of State Archives, Charter Documents, (Non-Business Associations).

46. Charter documents of Portuguese American Political Club of Pawtucket and Portuguese American Civic League, Rhode Island Secretary of State Archives, Charter Documents, (Non-Business Associations).

47. Charter documents of União Portuguesa Beneficente (Cumberland), 1928 and The Gremial Daughters of Portugal (Bristol), 1937, Rhode Island Secretary of State Archives, Charter Documents, (Non-Business Associations).

48. Hartmann, *The Movement to Americanize*. This included the work of other beneficial, religious, and cultural associations. The economic, political, and civic engagement activities of the Portuguese Fraternity (especially related to World War I bond drives) were the subject of reports in English-language newspapers. Begun as an insurance scheme, there were more than 30 Portuguese Fraternity branches spread throughout industrial and rural Portuguese migrant communities, promoting citizenship and naturalization drives to create a voting bloc. Portuguese migrant association public participation in American civic celebrations pre-date the early twentieth-century Americanization movement. For example, Portuguese industrial migrant worker associations were lauded in the *Lowell Sun* for joining the city's Fourth of July Parades in 1896, 1898, and 1904, in contrast to other migrant associations, which did not. Interestingly, in *The Record of a City* (1912) Kenngott describes the Azoreans of Lowell as largely white, even as contemporaneous writing about them in Boston and Cape Cod characterize them as non-white.

49. Philip E. Leis, "Ethnicity and the Fourth of July Committee," in *Ethnic Encounters: Identities and Contexts* ed. George L. Hicks, Philip E. Leis (North Scituate, Massachusetts: Duxbury Press, 1977), 239-58.

50. As seen in *Dillingham Commission Reports* vols. 5, 10, 21 41 and in cited newspaper archives (op. cit.); for protest, unionization and public civic actions see Silvia, Jr., "The Position of 'New' Immigrants," 226; Pap, *The Portuguese-Americans* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981), 160; Harney, "'Portygees' and other Caucasians," 113-35; Georgianna 1993: 77; Moniz "The Shadow Minority," 409-30; Azevedo, "Not Quite White," 19-34; Bastos, "Migrants, Inequalities and Social Research," 163-183. Racialization processes among broader classes of industrial worker organization are examined by Wertheimer, *We Were There: the Story of Working Women in America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 199; Buhle, *Marxism in the USA: from 1870 to the Present Day* (London: Verso, 1987), 271; Theodore Kornweibel, *'Seeing Red.' Federal Campaigns against Black Militancy 1919-1925* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Regin Schmidt, *Red Scare, FBI and the Origins of Anti-Communism in the United States, 1919-1943* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanem Press, University of Copenhagen, 2000); Brauer, *Nellie Stone Johnson, The Life of an Activist* (St. Paul MN: Ruminator Books, 2001).

51. Faunce, "Papers," 1916-1924; Errington, "The Language Question."

52. Public displays and arguments over Portuguese racial categorizations were used to construct (and contest) white identities in various contexts: Pap, *The Portuguese Americans*, 161 describes different Portuguese associations banning members based on presumed racial identity. Harney, "'Portygees and Other Caucasians,'" 113-35, has collected various examples. Moniz, "The Shadow Minority," 409-430, examines racialization of the white category around minority status debates in the post-1960s civil rights period. Bastos, "Migrants, Inequalities and Social Research," 163-183, examination of Donald Taft, *Two Portuguese Communities in New England. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law* (New York: Longman's, Green & Co, 1923) provides an example of Portuguese migrant efforts to construct white identities through protests among Portuguese migrant industrial worker communities mobilized against Taft's descriptions.

53. Gina Sánchez Gibau, "Contested Identities: Narratives of Race and Ethnicity in the Cape Verdean Diaspora," *Identities* 12:3 (2005): 405-38.

54. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, 179.

55. To borrow a concept from Edward W. Said, "Orientalism Now," 160-258, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Keegan, 1978), 253.

56. Examples of the racialization of migrant Portuguese labor as well as Portuguese attempts to argue for their own whiteness and assimilability are encapsulated in one example from a community that saw a rapid expansion of seasonal fruit pickers from Portugal living and settling on Cape Cod, Massachusetts. Fred K. Swift, a member of one the largest regional cranberry bog families and employers of Portuguese seasonal

agricultural workers, used racialized categories to describe and disdain his employees as well as the new Portuguese residents. Writing in his journal he refers to his employees as “darkies” and used dehumanizing language in letters to the editor of a local newspaper, likening the Portuguese to dirty animals, and lamenting these “odiferous” “coloured people” who live near his house. The sentiment was seconded by Winfield S. Baker who called for Portuguese children to be placed into a segregated school. Several Portuguese residents wrote letters to the paper defending the community by pointing to tensions in the town over racial and socio-economic mobility at a time when many of them had left seasonal work as pickers in the bogs to purchase cheap land in the town and cultivate their own strawberry farms. In a clear example of racialization discourses negotiating “white” and “black” Portuguese categories, one letter from a Portuguese writer addressed the discrimination in these terms, making distinctions between white and non-white migrants from different Portuguese geographies. One of the first Portuguese commercial strawberry farmers in the town, however, had the last word on the debate in the paper. John Emerald (João Amaral) wrote an eloquent defense of all of the migrants from Portugal in the town, condemning local and U.S. national systems of racialized migrant-labor hierarchies in and of themselves: “Kansas draws the color line and Mr. Swift draws the line between the Yankee and the Portuguese,” which, he adds, “is a race issue fit for Mississippi.” See letters to the editor of the *Falmouth Enterprise* from the winter of 1905. In correspondence to the newspaper fifteen years later (1921), a Portuguese-community resident, Thomas Ferreira (who would become a Portuguese Fraternity officer), defends the migrant community by pointing to racial discrimination and socio-economic mobility efforts, indicating the persistence of this problem as the migrant settlement grew.

57. Williams, *And Yet They Come*, for example shows data on “white Portuguese” in the U.S. in 1930 separated from data on “Portuguese” in earlier decades.

58. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, 282.

59. Cape Verdeans also self-identified in the white Portuguese category. See published examples in Marilyn Halter, “Identity Matters,” 163-178, *Between Race and Ethnicity: Cape Verdean Immigrants 1860-1965*, (University of Illinois Press, 1993).

60. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, 179.

61. See David Theo Goldberg, *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning* (London and Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1993); David R. Roediger, *Towards the Abolition of Whiteness: Essays on Race Politics and Working Class History* (London, New York: Verso, 1994); David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness; How America's Immigrants Became White*, (London, New York: Basic Books, 2018 [2005]). Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race. Volume 1: Racial Oppression and Social Control and Volume 2 The Origin of Racial Oppression in Anglo-America* (London, New York: Verso, 1994); Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Carter, Green and Halpern, “Immigration Policy”; Pap,

The Portuguese-Americans, 161, describes different Portuguese associations banning members based on presumed racial identity. Halter, "Identity Matters," 163-178, points out that Cabo Verdean migrant workers were aware of the implications of racial mobilities and the power of inclusion in the white category. How Portuguese migrant communities reproduced racial hierarchies to argue for their own assimilability is evident in efforts for and against their status as a federal minority group in the EEOC debates of the 1970s in Moniz, "The Shadow Minority," 409-30; and in court cases defining racial identities and civic rights in Gross, *What Blood won't Tell*.

62. Bylaws, "Vasco da Gama Holy Ghost Society," 1952. University of Massachusetts Dartmouth Archives and Special Collections, Ferreira-Mendes Portuguese American Archives: MC 95/PAA.

63. See Almeida's discussion of responses to the violent rape of a woman at a New Bedford bar and the later criminal trial of her attackers around what were racialized media discourses that set older migrant generations against newer arrivals. Onésimo T. Almeida, "Media Made Events, Revisiting the Case of Big Dans," 247-262, in *Community, Culture and the Makings of Identity*, ed. Andrea Klimt and Kimberly Holton (North Dartmouth: Tagus Press, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth). One example is the use of the disparaging term "Greenhorn" by U.S.-born generations and other discourses that racialize the labor of newer generations of Portuguese workers.

64. Day of Portugal commemorations or Portuguese heritage celebrations take place throughout Southeastern New England in cities and towns including Providence, East Providence, Pawtucket, Cumberland and Bristol in Rhode Island; Boston, New Bedford, Fall River, Taunton, Cambridge, Lowell, Falmouth, and Provincetown in Massachusetts; and Hartford and Danbury in Connecticut. Day of Portugal Rhode Island depends on the collaboration of multiple associations and members spread throughout the state.

65. Leal, "Migrant Cosmopolitanism," 233-249; João Leal, "What's (not) in a Parade? Nationhood, Ethnicity and Regionalism in a Diasporic Context," *Nations and Nationalism* 20, 2 (2014): 200-217.

66. The Azorean Refugee Act was used by policy makers in 1958 to argue for opening restrictions on former industrial labor migrant groups. Daniel Marcos, *The Capelinhos Eruption. Window of Opportunity for Azorean Emigration* (Providence: Gávea-Brown Press, 2008).

67. Choldin discusses the emergence of and changes to the Hispanic category over several censuses. Harvey M. Choldin, "Statistics and Politics: The 'Hispanic Issue' in the 1980 Census," *Demography* 23, 3 (August 1986): 403-418. How the census constructs and racializes identity categories is examined by David I. Kertzer and Dominique Arel, "Census, Identity Formation and the Struggle for Political Power," in *Census and Identity: the Politics of Race, Ethnicity and Language in National Censuses*, ed. David I. Kertzer and Dominique Arel, (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1-42; and Melissa Nobles, "Racial

Categorizations and Censuses,” in *Census and Identity: the Politics of Race, Ethnicity and Language in National Censuses*, ed. David I. Kertzer and Dominique Arel, (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 43-70. In reference to statutory codifications of the Portuguese legal minority category in New England see Moniz “The Shadow Minority,” 409-30; and in the U.S. south see Gross, *What Blood Won't Tell*.

68. American-born residents of communities founded by older migrant cohorts used language to racialize the identities of more recently arrived migrants, such as the ubiquitous term “greenhorns” or “Manny Labor” (the latter example a pun on the common Portuguese migrant name Manuel with the manual work of low hierarchy labor). The older generation used the (manual) labor of the newer migrants to mark difference, promoting their own mobilities at the expense of others by absorbing and re-articulating discourses of racialized assimilability hierarchies.

69. Clyde Barrow, *Portuguese-Americans and Contemporary Civic Culture in Massachusetts* (North Dartmouth: University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, Center for Portuguese Studies and Culture and the Center for Policy Analysis, 2002); Miguel Moniz, “Confronting the Migrant Challenge,” in *Capelinhos: a Volcano of Synergies*, Tony Goulart, ed. (San Jose, California: Portuguese Heritage Publications, 2008), 121-30.

70. Codification of the Portuguese category in Massachusetts and Rhode Island statutes continues to reflect this ambiguity. For example, current Massachusetts state regulations on the founding of non-profit organizations (the statute under which many current migrant cultural associations are chartered) require that “at least 51% of the organization’s Board of Directors and Voting Membership must be women and/or members of a minority group or of Portuguese descent.” After naming “Qualified minority groups” derived from federal law, the statute notes “that Portuguese is a separate group for the purpose of NPO certification, and includes persons having Portuguese origin.” In fact, for the purposes of the state law, the Portuguese are not a separate group at all since they fall under the same legal protections as historically underrepresented non-white groups. The fact that the statute’s language pointedly removes the Portuguese from this group makes clear the political implications of ongoing racial assimilability efforts that would promote the Portuguese as a minority, but without the group losing status as white.

71. These discourses around the “nature” of hard-working and accommodating Portuguese labor have resulted in continued exploitation of migrant labor.

72. Among the Portuguese communities the term most often used is “immigration,” rather than “migration.” The distinction is perhaps less about defining well-parsed descriptive categories and mechanisms of transnational labor mobility than it is about promoting assimilability distinctions between *immigration*, as a European (and white) mobility phenomenon and more recent *migration*, which can be used to describe non-white and less assimilable mobile labor groups.

73. Given longitudinal anti-migrant rhetoric in U.S. political discourse, it is ironic that genuine bipartisan political agreement would be fostered by a foreign national flag day.

74. The president's speeches were diverse in their tenor and content. His remarks at City Hall, shortly after his arrival in Boston, relied heavily upon transnational Diaspora-building metaphors of Portuguese commonality and jingoistic descriptions of global greatness. His remarks in Providence at Kennedy Plaza and at the Massachusetts State House were more reflective about the place and role of the Portuguese migrant communities in the U.S. and were presented against a backdrop of criticism in diplomacy engaging contentious areas of Portugal's transatlantic relations with the U.S. during the Trump administration.

75. Hunter, *The Place of Stone: Dighton Rock and the Erasure of America's Indigenous Past* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 20; 200; citing Garrick Mallery, "Pictographs of the North American Indians," *Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution*, ed. J. W. Powell (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1882-83).

76. First presented by Edmund Burke Delabarre, "Dighton Rock: the Earliest and most Puzzling of New England Antiquities," *Old Time New England* 14, 2 (October 1923): 51-72, the theory was expanded upon in a book: presented primarily in the chapter "A New Interpretation of the Records," 165-186, *Dighton Rock: a Study of the Written Rocks of New England* (New York: Walter Neale, 1928).

77. Delabarre, *Dighton Rock: a Study*, 177-180.

78. Delabarre, *Dighton Rock: a Study*, dedication page.

79. Delabarre, *Dighton Rock: a Study*, 173. The highly speculative nature of this assertion was parodied by 2018 Day of Portugal Grand Marshall Onésimo T. Almeida, in the 1978 satirical comedic play *Ah! Monim dum Corisco* (Porto: Salamandra, 1998) Almeida also points out that Corte-Real was unlikely to have known Latin: Onésimo T. Almeida, *O Peso do Hifen: Ensaíos Sobre a Experiencia Luso-Americana* (Lisboa: ICS. Imprensa de Ciencias Sociiais, 2010), 97-105. After the president's remarks mentioning the rock, Almeida cautioned Presidential speechwriters and administrative staff from repeating the fantastic as fact.

80. Delabarre, *Dighton Rock: a Study*, 181.

81. Hunter, "A Lost Portuguese Explorer's American Boulder," *The Place of Stone*, 10.

82. In the 1990s I spoke with Luciano Da Silva on occasion, and once followed him as a talk show guest on a cable television show on which he frequently discussed Dighton Rock, the southeastern New England cable access program: *The Portuguese Around Us* (Syndicated, Rhode Island Portuguese Channel, Bristol, RI). Teresa Labonte, interviewer, episode first broadcast, January 31, 1998, 30 minutes.

83. Hunter, relying on published and unpublished research from Gilberto Fernandes, provides a detailed history of efforts in the Portuguese communities over the twentieth

century to promote the Corte-Real myth. Hunter “American Place-Making: Dighton Rock as a Portuguese Relic,” *The Place of Stone*, 215-239; See Gilberto Fernandes, “Of Outcasts and Ambassadors: the Making of Portuguese Diaspora in the Postwar North” (PhD diss., York University, 2014); Gilberto Fernandes, “‘Oh Famous Race!’ Imperial Heritage and Diasporic Memory in the Portuguese American Narrative of North America,” *The Public Historian*, 38, 1 (February 2016): 18-47.

84. “A Rocha de Dighton e Miguel Côrte Real,” *Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias*, 3, 30 (December 1927): 44-58.

85. José Dâmasa Fragoso, “O Emblema da Ordem de Cristo Gravado na Pedra de Dighton,” *O Mundo Lusíada* 1, 9 (1951): 207-208.

86. José Dâmasa Fragoso, *A Historical Report of Twenty-Eight Years of Patriotic and Dramatic Efforts to Save Dighton Rock*, (New Bedford, Massachusetts: Miguel Corte-Real Memorial Society, 1954).

87. Hunter, “American Place Making,” *The Place of Stone*, 227-228.

88. Manuel Luciano da Silva, *Portuguese Pilgrims and Dighton Rock: the First Chapter in American History* (Bristol, RI: Manuel Luciano da Silva, 1971).

89. He continued to lecture on the topic up until weeks before his death in 2012.

90. Da Silva, *Portuguese Pilgrims and Dighton Rock*, 68.

91. Da Silva, *Portuguese Pilgrims and Dighton Rock*, 70.

92. Da Silva, *Portuguese Pilgrims and Dighton Rock*, 67-69.

93. Da Silva, *Portuguese Pilgrims and Dighton Rock*, 68.

94. Da Silva, *Portuguese Pilgrims and Dighton Rock*, 67.

95. The 1920 tricentenary featured a number of pilgrim commemorations (such as Provincetown on Cape Cod) in which Portuguese migrant associations participated, in part, through Americanization movement activities. For historical material on uses of pilgrim celebrations to promote white nationalist and anti-migrant labor class discourses, see Christine Arnold-Lourie, “Baby Pilgrims, Sturdy Forefathers, and One Hundred Percent Americanism: The Mayflower Tercentenary of 1920,” *Massachusetts Historical Review*, 17 (2015): 35-66.

96. See studies of migrant Portuguese place making in New England relative to public rituals and the groups that organize them in Leal, *Azorean Identity in Brazil and the United States*; and Leal, “Festivals, Group Making, Remaking and Unmaking,” 584-599.

97. Manuel Luciano da Silva and Sílvia Jorge da Silva, *Christopher Columbus was Portuguese!* (Authors edition: 2008).

98. This remains the name of the official federal holiday, even as many municipalities and some states have begun to change the commemoration from a celebration of Columbus to one that appropriately acknowledges the indigenous populations who were killed and enslaved as a result of seafaring expeditions and European settlement in the Americas.

99. See Gilberto Fernandes, "Oh Famous Race!" 18-47.

100. Hunter, "American Place Making," *The Place of Stone*, 227. He also provides a detailed discussion of the history of the museum, its curation and its founding.

101. Whatever the multiplicity of opinions about the dictatorship that existed during the twentieth century in New England, by the 1970s a vocal anti-Estado Novo and anti-colonial sentiment had emerged in communities of migrants from Portuguese speaking geographies in New England.

102. "500 Years of Azorean Presence in North America Celebration," *Portuguese American Journal*, September 18, 2011, <https://portuguese-american-journal.com/500-years-of-azorean-presence-in-north-america-celebration/>; "Celebrating Azorean history at Dighton Rock...500 years of Azorean presence in North America," Marc Larocque, *Herald News* (Fall River), September 23, 2011. <https://www.heraldnews.com/x387123367/Celebrating-Azorean-history-at-Dighton-Rock>.

103. Historical precedents include categories in Bushee, *Ethnic Factors*; Ross, *The Old World in the New*; Taft, *Two Portuguese Communities*; Pap, *The Portuguese-Americans*.

104. In Toronto, transnational nation building in "Portugal Day" celebrations is complicated because Azoreans do not participate in events as a result of tensions with continental Portuguese organizers. See João Leal, "What's (not) in a Parade?" 200-217.

105. Fernandes, "O Famous Race!" 18-47.

106. See "Portuguese Discovery Monument," Cultural Landscape Foundation, <https://tclf.org/landscapes/portuguese-discovery-monument>.

107. Despite the lack of conclusive proof about his actual birthplace: George Monteiro, "The Unhistorical Uses of Peter Francisco," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 27 (June 1963): 139-59; George Monteiro, "Peter Francisco, Revolutionary War Hero," *The Parade of Heroes: Legendary Figures in American Lore*, ed. Tristram Potter Coffin and Henning Cohen (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1978), 194-97.

108. Monteiro, "Peter Francisco," 194-197.

109. An initiative by the Portuguese Ambassador to the U.S. in conjunction with the Bristol Sports Club (Rhode Island), a Portuguese migrant association, promoted this narrative in a 2017 program centered on Madeira wine and the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Madeira wine (often shipped through the Azores) was a staple libation in colonial America, in part because it enjoyed favorable tax status in the English colonies. The point of the Madeira wine narrative, however, was not to discuss the early history of transatlantic commerce, but to conduct commercial diplomacy connecting a "typical" Portuguese product (which is a contemporary export commodity) in a clever, even kitschy, way to the migrant communities through the U.S. founding myth. See Nova Inglaterra TV, "Toast to America by the Portuguese Government in RI," uploaded July 3, 2017, video, 20: 24. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WHyvHsaHhKI>.

110. Almeida, *O Peso do Hifen*.

111. Aspirational mobility narratives at these events likewise promote racial and social mobility through romanticizing the otherwise arduous and exploited low-hierarchy labor of Azorean and Cape Verdean whale men, largely ignoring the industrial worker period, Heath, “From Whalers to Weavers,” 7-32. Harney, “‘Portygees’ and other Caucasians,” 113-35, makes note of the non-white categorization of Portuguese on whale ships; and Melville’s satire on racism and mid-1800s ethnologist science uses “Gee” (a derivation of Portagee) as an explanatory racial category. Melville, “The ‘Gees,’” 507-09. In the satire, the ‘Gees’ are used as a gloss collapsing various geographic origins including Cabo Verde and Portugal, and is itself a stand-in for broader forms of racialized slave and wage labor (Karcher, “Melville’s ‘The ‘Gees,’” 421-42). The text even addresses assimilability, as the non-white narrator (according to Karcher) wonders if the Gees, like Chinese or Native Americans, may also overcome their genetic shortcomings to study at Dartmouth or be “taken merely for an eccentric Georgia planter” on the docks.

112. “...distinguir os que houverem prestado serviços relevantes a Portugal no País e no estrangeiro [...] serviços na expansão da cultura portuguesa ou para conhecimento de Portugal, sua história e seus valores...” Presidente da República, “Historia da Ordem do Infante D. Henrique,” <http://www.ordens.presidencia.pt/?idc=128>

113. Interestingly, in 1968, Luciano da Silva was awarded membership in the order by the Estado Novo (his rank was then raised in 2012). Membership in another Portuguese chivalric order (St. James of the Sword) was conferred upon Edmund Burke Delabarre by the Estado Novo in 1933.

114. Estellie M. Smith, “Portuguese Enclaves: The Invisible Minority,” paper presented at the Southern Anthropological Society Meeting, Wrightsville Beach, North Carolina, March 1973.

115. Silvia, Jr., “The Position of ‘New’ Immigrants,” 221-232.

116. “About PVD Fest,” Providence, RI, PVD Fest website, © 2015-2019, <http://pvd-fest.com/about-us/>

117. Miles, *Racism after ‘Race Relations’*; Goldberg, *Racist Culture*; Roediger, *Towards the Abolition of Whiteness*; Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness*; Allen, *The Invention of the White Race. Volume 1 and 2*; Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*; Carter, Green and Halpern, “Immigration Policy;” and Gross, *What Blood won’t Tell*.

ARCHIVES

Boott Cotton Mill, U.S. National Park Service, Lowell, MA

Cape Cod Cape Verdean Museum

Claire T. Carney Library, New Bedford Strike of 1928 archive, Special Collections
archives University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth

Falmouth Enterprise, Falmouth Public Library Archive (Massachusetts)
Falmouth Historical Society Archives
Ferreira-Mendes Portuguese American Archives, University of Massachusetts,
Dartmouth
Hay Library, Special Collections, Brown University
Lowell History Center, University of Massachusetts, Lowell
Lowell Sun, Lowell Public Library Archive (Massachusetts)
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Woods Hole Historical Museum

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