
The Social Mobility of Portuguese Immigrants in the United States at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century

Author(s): Maria Ioannis Benis Baganha

Source: *The International Migration Review*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Summer, 1991), pp. 277-302

Published by: Sage Publications, Inc. on behalf of the Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc.

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2546289>

Accessed: 22-12-2019 13:55 UTC

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

Sage Publications, Inc., Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc. are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The International Migration Review*

The Social Mobility of Portuguese Immigrants in the United States at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century

Maria Ioannis Benis Baganha
Instituto Superior de Línguas e Administração

The social mobility of immigrants in the United States, may be described by a U-shape curve. The initial tendency for downward mobility is attributed to immigrants' imported cultural values. The turning point in the curve is predicted to occur at a given level of integration, beyond which immigrants overcome the initial disadvantages and move upwardly. Both proponents and challengers seem to take for granted that cultural heritages are the main determinants of immigrants' patterns of social mobility in the United States. This article addresses immigrants' social mobility from a different view. The departing question is what are the main factors affecting the social mobility of immigrants drawn from the same sociocultural background? To answer this question, the social mobility of first generation Portuguese immigrants to the United States at the turn of the nineteenth century is analyzed. What makes this migrant group particularly interesting is that they were one of the most culturally homogeneous groups entering the United States at that point, yet they presented quite different patterns of social mobility after settlement. The analysis was based on a sample of first generation Portuguese immigrants settled in Massachusetts, California and Hawaii collected from the 1910 manuscript census of the United States. It reveals that, for the Portuguese case, the main determinants of social mobility were the way they entered the United States, the strength of the migrant group network, and the job and land opportunities in the region of settlement.

It is a classic hypothesis in migration studies that the social mobility of immigrants in the United States may be described by a U-shape curve. For the proponents of this hypothesis (*see*, Warner and Strole, 1945; Handlin, 1951; Gordon 1964; Vecoli, 1977; Sowell, 1981; Stevens, 1985; Neidert and Farley, 1985) the initial tendency for downward mobility is attributed to immigrants' imported cultural values. The turning point in the curve is

predicted to occur at a given level of integration, beyond which immigrants overcome the initial disadvantages and move upwardly.

This view did not go unchallenged (*see*, Miller, 1981; Swierenga, 1982; Michalowski, 1987), but both proponents and challengers seem to take for granted that cultural heritages are main determinants of immigrants' patterns of social mobility in the United States. Imported cultural values have proven to have great explicative power when the object of study is two culturally distinct social groups, previously identified for subsequent evaluation of the "appropriateness" of one group's background versus the other, in their respective processes of upward mobility—*e.g.*, foreign born versus native born; English-speaking versus non-English-speaking; first-generation versus second-generation immigrants. This approach, however, seems to disregard the possibility that an immigrant group may have, in one generation, a diversity of patterns of social mobility as large and as relevant, because attributable to entirely different reasons, as the diversity found in the mobility processes of culturally distinct social groups.

This article addresses immigrants' social mobility from a different start. The departing question is: what are the main factors affecting the social mobility of immigrants drawn from the same sociocultural background? To answer this question, the social mobility of first-generation Portuguese immigrants in the United States at the turn of the nineteenth century is analyzed. What makes this migrant group particularly interesting is that they were one of the most culturally homogeneous groups entering the United States at that point, yet they presented quite different patterns of social mobility after settlement.

The analysis is based on a sample of first-generation Portuguese households in Massachusetts, California and Hawaii collected from the 1910 manuscript census of the United States. It reveals that, for the Portuguese case, the main determinants of social mobility were: the way they entered the United States; *i.e.*, as free migrants or as contract laborers; the strength of the migrant group network; and the job and land opportunities in the region of settlement.

LITERACY, OCCUPATION AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES

Until 1910, the Portuguese migratory flow to the United States was overwhelmingly composed of young unskilled adults drawn from the rural islands of Azores and Madeira. At the moment of their arrival, Portuguese migrants had fewer financial resources, lower literacy rates and greater concentration at the bottom of the occupational scale than almost any other migrant group.

Between 1899 and 1910, more than 8 million aliens over fourteen years of age were admitted into the United States. Overall, 27 percent were illiterate. In comparison, the proportion illiterate among Portuguese aliens admitted was 68 percent, the highest registered for any European immigrant group. The next most disadvantageous alien group were the Turks who registered 60 percent of illiterate.¹

During the same period, 7 million immigrants declared their occupations. The Greek migratory flow was overwhelmingly comprised of laborers and farm laborers (86%), and the southern Italian flow also had a very high proportion of these groups (77%). The corresponding percentage for the Portuguese between 1897 and 1917 was 70 percent. Because females composed a much higher proportion of the Portuguese migratory flow than was the case for the Southern Italians and the Greeks, servants must be added when analyzing the Portuguese occupational structure.² Servants, laborers and farm laborers accounted for 88 percent of all these with stated occupations among Portuguese aliens. This situation had improved slightly by the 1920s, but three quarters of the Portuguese who reported an occupation were still either servants or laborers (*see*, Table A2).

Two types of information given in the annual reports after 1893 have been generally used to rank emigrants' financial resources at arrival in the country: the minimum sum of money that they were required to carry and the total amount of money shown at entry. This latter information has been used by several researchers (*e.g.*, Bannick, 1917:42; Taylor, 1971:97) for comparison among emigrant groups. Such inferences are, however, of arguable value. As the General Commissioner of Immigration (Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, p.4) stated in 1897:

The amount of money brought into the country can not be accurately given, . . . our statistics do not pretend to ascertain it. By the Act of March 1893, it was determined that if an immigrant could exhibit \$30

¹ The data for the period of 1899–1910 is given in *Reports of the Immigration Commission, 1910*. Vol. I, 1911:97–104. Although 41% of the Portuguese immigrants were female, illiteracy rates are not raised by their presence. Portuguese census takers registered the anomalous fact that in the islands (Azores and Madeira) illiteracy was higher among males than among females (*Censo de 1911*, Vol. I:xxiii). The data on Portuguese immigrants in the *Annual Report on Immigration for 1910* confirms this previous statement. In fact, of the 4,092 Portuguese males over fourteen years of age registered in the *Annual Report*, 69% were illiterate while of the 2,039 Portuguese females in the same conditions, only 66% were illiterate. More detailed data for literacy, occupation and financial resources at entry is given in the Appendix.

² The sex ratio for Portuguese emigrants to the United States differed from that for the so-called "new" immigrants. For example, between 1899 and 1910, the Greek and Italian migratory streams had a female share of only 5% and 21% respectively, while the Portuguese had 41%. The sex composition of the Portuguese migratory current is, in fact, more similar to that of the "old" immigration.

in money it would be sufficient for practical purposes, and if he possessed more he should not be required to disclose it. An immigrant is, therefore, only asked to exhibit \$30 or less.

This study will thus rely only on the information on the minimal amount of money shown at entry. Taking again the same period (1899–1910), we find that 18 percent of all aliens had at least thirty dollars when entering the country between 1899 and 1903, and 14 percent had at least fifty dollars between 1904 and 1910. Fewer Portuguese had such in-pocket resources (*see*, Table A3). Some alien groups, such as the southern Italians, carried even less money, but the Portuguese were certainly toward the bottom of the scale.

The Portuguese arriving in the United States at the turn of the nineteenth century were a culturally homogeneous group. The same rural and island roots, the same religious beliefs, the same literacy rates and the same overwhelming lack of skills and financial resources characterized the members of this migrant group. Such a common background would invite us to predict, at least for the first generation, similar paths of social mobility. Such a prediction would be quite wrong, because one of the most remarkable aspects of the Portuguese immigrant communities studied is their considerable diversity in economic and social achievements.

JOB OPPORTUNITIES AND LAND AVAILABILITY

Between 1860 and 1930, the main areas of Portuguese settlement in the United States were Massachusetts, California, and Hawaii.

Table 1 indicates that for most of the period between 1860 and 1930 two areas in the continental United States were the main regions of attraction for Portuguese migrants. Outside the continental United States only Hawaii had a sizeable Portuguese community. Table 2 gives the number of Portu-

TABLE 1
MAIN PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS IN THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES
1850–1930 (PERCENTAGE)

States	1860	1870	1880	1890
Massachusetts	25.9	29.8	22.9	31.2
Rhode Island	2.0	2.5	2.5	5.4
New York	8.2	3.9	2.8	3.0
California	28.8	38.4	51.5	48.4
N =	3560	6704	12470	22630
Total in U.S.	5477	8973	15650	25705

TABLE 1
(Continued)

States	1900	1910	1920	1930
Massachusetts	44.2	50.6	50.3	41.2
Rhode Island	7.1	9.3	11.3	10.8
New York	2.0	1.8	2.3	5.4
California	38.5	32.8	29.4	32.9
N=	37156	73308	106652	98895
Total in U.S.	40431	77634	114321	109453

Source: U.S. censuses at give year.

guese residents in the main areas of Portuguese settlement in the United States.

Table 2 shows that there was great temporal diversity in the size and the relative importance of the Portuguese settlements in the United States. The size of the Portuguese settlement in Hawaii remained at around 8,000 people until 1910 and then dropped markedly. Migration to Hawaii was marked from the start by a great number of departures to the continental United States. As soon as Portuguese immigrants fulfilled their initial contracts, many left for California. These departures are estimated to have been around half of the arrivals (Freitas, 1930:151). After 1913, when the Hawaiian government and sugar planters decided to substitute Japanese labor for Portuguese labor, the number of Portuguese residents in Hawaii fell, reaching less than 4,000 by 1930.

TABLE 2
YEARLY GROWTH RATES OF THE MAJOR PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS
IN THE UNITED STATES, 1860-1930

Year	Massachusetts		California		Rhode Island		Hawaii	
	Portuguese/Yearly GR Rate	Portuguese/Yearly GR Rate	Portuguese/Yearly GR Rate	Portuguese/Yearly GR Rate	Portuguese/Yearly GR Rate	Portuguese/Yearly GR Rate	Portuguese/Yearly GR Rate	
1860	1421	-	1580	-	110	-	-	-
1870	2678	6.54	3450	8.12	110	-	-	-
1880	3582	2.95	8061	8.86	395	5.70	-	-
1890	8024	8.40	12446	4.44	1380	13.33	8602	-
1900	17885	8.35	15583	2.27	2865	7.58	7668	-1.14
1910	39253	8.18	25437	5.02	7217	9.68	8498	1.03
1920	57485	3.89	33566	2.81	12949	6.02	5982	-
1930	45053	2.41	36029	0.71	11850	-0.88	3713	-

Source: U.S. censuses at given year for Hawaii for 1890: Estep, 1941; and for 1900-1930: U.S. censuses at given year.

The three preferential areas of Portuguese settlement (Massachusetts, California and Hawaii) offered quite different economic opportunities to newcomers. New England was, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the core area of the American textile industry. Irish and French Canadians at mid-nineteenth century and Poles, Italians, Greeks and other Eastern European immigrants after the 1880s, all came to New England industrial cities (*e.g.*, Lowell and Taunton) in search of the unskilled industrial jobs that industrialization had opened up in this region. Textile manufacturers had at their disposal a changing but reliable and cheap pool of labor to choose from, and migrants had job opportunities that did not demand skill or special knowledge of the native language.

The Portuguese came initially to Massachusetts as crew members for the whaling and merchant fleets in the early nineteenth century. By the 1880s, the Portuguese were profiting, like the other “new” immigrant groups, from the opening of low-skill job opportunities in the textile mills of the region.

The Portuguese went to California in the mid-nineteenth century to be gold miners, but they soon became farmers. As early as 1860, the census indicated that the majority of the Portuguese settled in that state were engaged in whaling and fishing and in farming. Twenty years later, whaling had lost its importance in the California economy; although the Portuguese still dominated that activity, they were now centered in farming (Brown, 1944:58, 59). The available land, even at low prices, was not immediately affordable for the majority of Portuguese immigrants. Still, through a process of renting followed by buying, the Portuguese succeeded in establishing a niche for themselves in two branches of agriculture—market gardening and dairy production. The fictional description of this process by Jack London in *The Valley of the Moon* (1913) is well grounded historically:

Forty years ago old Silva come from the Azores. Went sheep-herdin' in the mountains for a couple of years, then blew into San Leandro. These five acres was the first land he leased. That was the beginnin'. Then he began leasin' by the hundreds of acres, an' by the hundred-an-sixties. An' his sisters an' his uncles an' his aunts begun pouring' in from the Azores—they're all related there, you know; an' pretty soon San Leandro was a regular Porchugeeze settlement.

The Portuguese stream to the last main area of settlement analyzed here, Hawaii, was stable from 1878 to 1913. It was based on a contract labor system reflecting both the needs of the sugar economy and the desire of the Hawaiian political elite to stop the growth of the oriental element in the islands (Freitas, 1930:148; Estep, 1941:6). From the beginning, this Portuguese migratory flow differed substantially from the migratory streams to

the continental United States. The movement to Hawaii was subsidized by sugar planters and the government, and usually the contract involved the entire family unit (Ministério dos Negócios Externos, 1885; Felix and Senecal, 1978). Job opportunities in Hawaii were also substantially different from those in the other areas. As in California, most of the available jobs were connected with agriculture. But unlike California, where uncultivated land was available for purchase, in Hawaii established sugar plantations had taken up the best land by the time the Portuguese arrived.

In sum, there were three main concentrations of Portuguese communities in the United States between 1850 and 1930: Massachusetts, California and Hawaii. The Portuguese immigrants living in these communities had, from the start, quite different economic opportunities due to the different job markets in these regions.

The contrasting social structures of Massachusetts, California and Hawaii offered different opportunities for integration to new arrivals. In Massachusetts the social niche available to the Portuguese was as part of the "inferior new immigration" (Taft, 1967). The social placement of the Portuguese in Hawaii was also well determined from the start. Viewed as ethnically superior to the Oriental element and inferior to the Caucasian (*haole*) element, the Portuguese immigrants belonged to neither, but were set apart as a distinct racial group labeled the "Portuguese." As late as 1940, a third-generation Portuguese still would refer to this special treatment as follows:

It is a shame that just because our ancestors came here as laborers, with low economic status, that their children, for generations, have been made to feel keenly inferior through prejudicial practices in the Islands. (Estep, 1941:12)

In economic terms, the Portuguese in Hawaii were like the Oriental imported labor, even if they remained socially distinct. California, on the other hand, was a "frontier" region when the Portuguese began flocking to the area. The social structure of that region was much less well-defined, and the Portuguese created from the start socioeconomic niches to which no special social stigma was attached.

The contrasts in the socioeconomic characteristics of the Portuguese residing in Massachusetts, Hawaii or California are sufficiently great to support the hypothesis that migratory streams drawn from the same pool can be differently shaped by the socioeconomic conditions of the receiving areas. Migration studies have tended to center on a single preferential area of settlement of the migrant group under analysis and to extrapolate from there to the general characteristics of the group. It would be hard to

generalize about the Portuguese immigrants in the United States based solely on an analysis of just those residing in California, or in Massachusetts, or in Hawaii.

To capture the diversity of Portuguese immigrant communities in different regions, this study compares the socioeconomic characteristics of Portuguese households in the three main areas of settlement. Previous scholarship has addressed both the socioeconomic placement and the assimilation of the Portuguese element in these three regions, but to this author's knowledge no one has focused on the influence of available economic opportunities on residence patterns. Specifically, this study focuses on living arrangements in Milpitas (Santa Clara county, California), Hilo (Hawaii county, Hawaii) and Taunton (Bristol county, Massachusetts), using a random sample of the first-generation Portuguese households in these areas collected from the manuscript census of 1910.³

In 1910, Taunton was a typical New England textile city with 34,000 inhabitants. Like the Irish and the French Canadians before them, the Portuguese came to Taunton because the textile mills of the city constantly opened up new job opportunities for unskilled labor. The occupations and the economic sectors of activity of the Portuguese male household heads in this city were quite restricted and clearly determined by the labor market of the receiving community. The occupations of Portuguese male household heads in Taunton in 1910 are given in Table 3. The overwhelming majority of the Portuguese male heads in Taunton were wage earners. Of these workers, the majority were unskilled laborers in manufacturing.

The situation was quite different in Milpitas, in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay area, where 55 percent of all the Portuguese immigrants in California lived. This was a rural region dedicated to general farming (Graves, 1977:86). The Portuguese in Milpitas were connected with market gardening; as in the case of Taunton, the market economy of the receiving region determined their occupational structure.

Table 4, which shows the occupational structure of Portuguese male household heads in Milpitas, needs some explanation because it can be misleading and is not readily comparable with the figures for Taunton in Table 3. Three quarters of the Portuguese in Milpitas were farmers and as such are classified as unskilled, but they were not unskilled agricultural laborers. The overwhelming majority of those in agriculture (87%) were either employers or self-employed. If level of skill is used for comparison, the Portuguese in Taunton appear to be better placed economically than the

³ A Portuguese household is a household headed by a first generation Portuguese who, if married, was married either to a first or a second generation Portuguese. From this pool, a 10% random sample for Taunton and a 50% sample for Hilo was utilized. The whole population for Milpitas was studied.

Portuguese in Milpitas. But opportunities for self-employment in agriculture actually produced greater success for the Milpitas group.

Hilo, the last community analyzed, was the second largest city of the island of Hawaii. The majority of the city's inhabitants was still connected to sugar plantation work. The Portuguese were no exception to this rule, more than half of the Portuguese household heads in the city were, as Table 5 indicates, connected to sugar plantation work.

TABLE 3
TYPES OF OCCUPATIONS AND ECONOMIC SECTORS OF ACTIVITY OF THE
PORTUGUESE MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN TAUNTON, IN 1910

Sectors	Unskilled	Semiskilled	Skilled
Agriculture	6	1	—
Manufacturing	18	4	4
Transportation	3	—	—
Construction	2	—	—
Trade	2	1	2
Services	4	—	2
No Information	7	—	—
Total	42	6	8
Percentage	75.0	10.7	14.3
N in Sample = 61	—	—	—
N in Census = 605	—	—	—

Source: U.S. manuscript census of 1910.

TABLE 4
TYPES OF OCCUPATIONS AND ECONOMIC SECTORS OF ACTIVITY OF THE
PORTUGUESE MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN MILPITAS, IN 1910

Sectors	Unskilled	Semiskilled	Skilled
Agriculture	76	2	—
Manufacturing	—	—	—
Transportation	2	2	—
Construction	—	—	—
Trade	—	—	—
Services	—	—	—
Total	78	4	—
Percentage	95.2	4.8	—
N in Sample = 94	—	—	—
N in Census = 94	—	—	—

Source: U.S. manuscript census of 1910.

TABLE 5
 TYPES OF OCCUPATIONS AND ECONOMIC SECTORS OF ACTIVITY OF THE
 PORTUGUESE MALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN HILO, IN 1910

Sectors	Unskilled	Semiskilled	Skilled
Agriculture	20	1	1
Quarry	1	—	1
Manufacturing	—	—	—
Transportation	2	—	1
Construction	—	—	—
Trade	—	6	—
Services	2	1	1
No Information	1	—	—
Total	25	9	4
Percentage	67.6	24.3	10.8
N in Sample = 50	—	—	—
N in Census = 125	—	—	—

Source: U.S. manuscript census of 1910.

In Hilo, as in Milpitas, the Portuguese were centered in agricultural activities. However, the Portuguese in Hilo were, unlike in Milpitas, predominantly wage earners, rather than independent farmers or agricultural employers. In the next section, the work status of the Portuguese male household heads and the living arrangements promoted by this same status are further analyzed.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLDS, 1910

The distribution of household types and the mean size of Portuguese immigrant households in Milpitas, Taunton and Hilo are given in Table 6.

Table 6 shows substantial differences in the distribution of household types and in household mean size for Portuguese immigrant households according to place of settlement. In Taunton two household types dominated—nuclear families (61%) and households with boarders (26%)—and other types of living arrangements were of relatively small importance. In Hilo nuclear family households represented 72 percent of all households, but extended family households (10%) and households with boarders (8%) were also not uncommon. In Milpitas, nuclear family households represented a much smaller proportion of all households (51%), and both extended family households (11%) and households with employees (16%) had considerable weight.

The mean size of Portuguese immigrant households was also different in the three areas. The difference was greatest between Hilo (mean household

TABLE 6
 PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANT HOUSEHOLD TYPES AND HOUSEHOLD MEAN SIZE IN
 MILPITAS, TAUNTON AND HILO, IN 1910

Milpitas		
Household Type ^a	Percentage	Mean Size
Solitary	9.2	1
No Family	3.2	2.7
Nuclear Family	51.1	6.1
Extended Family	10.6	7
Multiple Family	4.3	6.8
With Boarder(s)	5.3	8.6
With Employee(s)	16.0	5.8
Total	100	5.69
N = 94		—
N in Census = 94		—
Taunton		
Household Type ^a	Percentage	Mean Size
Solitary	4.9	1
No Family	0	—
Nuclear Family	60.7	4.92
Extended Family	3.3	5
Multiple Family	4.9	8.67
With Boarder(s)	26.2	6.44
With Employee(s)	0	—
Total	100	5.31
N = 61		—
N in Census = 605		—
Hilo		
Household Type ^a	Percentage	Mean Size
Solitary	8.0	1
No Family	0	—
Nuclear Family	72.0	5.2
Extended Family	10.0	6.2
Multiple Family	2.0	9
With Boarder(s)	8.0	6.5
With Employee(s)	0	—
Total	100	5.16
N = 50		—
N in census = 125		—

Source: U.S. manuscript census of 1910.

Note: ^a Solitary—one person households; No family households—co-residents amongst whom no conjugal family unit can be discerned; Nuclear family households—conjugal family units only. Extended family households.

size of 5.1 members) and Milpitas (mean of 5.7 members), with Taunton in an intermediate position (mean of 5.3 members). The differences were particularly marked in some household types. Nuclear family household, for example, had on average 4.9 members in Taunton and 6.1 members in Milpitas.

In sum, when compared to those in Taunton and Hilo, the Portuguese immigrant households in Milpitas were larger and less dominated by nuclear families. The high proportion of households with employees and of extended family households suggests that the Portuguese immigrant households in Milpitas relied on both extended family members and wage earners to satisfy their labor demands. The fact that all the employees in Portuguese households (20 cases) were themselves Portuguese and that a substantial number of the extended family members were males who had arrived after the household head indicates that Portuguese employers in Milpitas relied on kinship and informal migrant networks active at both ends of the trajectory (in this case, the Azores and California) to supply their labor demands (*see*, Baganha, 1988). As one of the Immigration Commissioners of 1908 remarked referring to another Portuguese settlement in this area (San Leandro):

There is one noteworthy difference between these Portuguese and the American farmers, which may be indicated at this point. It lies in the fact that the former employ their countrymen practically to the exclusion of other races, whether as regular or as temporary hands. These they pay from \$20 to \$25 per month if regularly employed, or from \$1 to \$1.25 per day if temporarily employed during the harvest season, always with board and lodging. These wages are about \$5 per month and from 25 to 30 cents per day less than laborers are paid by native farmers in other neighboring localities. (*Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Doc. #33, 1911:490,491)

In Taunton, the high proportion of households with boarders suggests that a significant share of Portuguese immigrant households in that city took in lodgers to supplement their incomes. Referring to the "new" immigration and particularly to the Portuguese operatives in the cotton mills of New England, Lauck remarked in 1912:

The households of the southern and eastern European operatives are marked by low standards of living. The preponderance of males, together with low wages and the general desire to live on the basis of minimum cheapness and to save as much as possible, has led to boarding-groups instead of independent family-living arrangements. . . . Owing to the comparatively small number of children among the

recent immigrants, they depend mainly upon the payment of boarders or lodgers for family income supplementary to the earnings of the husband. (P. 712)

Boarders (28 cases) in the Taunton sample were all first-generation Portuguese, indicating that the strategy to complement household earnings with boarders could be achieved within the Portuguese migrant network active in the region.

In Hilo, unlike Milpitas, extended family households were only extended upwards or downwards rather than laterally. Unlike in Taunton, where boarders were Portuguese, in Hilo households that needed to supplement the family wages with boarders could not rely on Portuguese immigrants for their supply. The majority of the boarders of the Portuguese households in the sample for Hawaii were Japanese. Together, these two facts suggest that there was no active migrant network in Hilo connected to areas in Portugal.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN 1910

Table 7 summarizes the general characteristics of the Portuguese household heads in Taunton, Milpitas and Hilo.

The individual and familial characteristics of the Portuguese household heads differed significantly in Taunton, Milpitas and Hilo. The most striking contrasts are in the mean age of male household heads (there was a ten-year difference between Milpitas and Taunton and a five-year difference between Milpitas and Hilo), in wives' mean age (a two-year difference between Milpitas and Hilo and a five-year difference between Milpitas and Taunton), and in the proportion of children who were under sixteen years of age (larger in Taunton than in Milpitas or Hilo). These differences can be attributed to a multitude of factors, in the present case date of arrival being the most obvious of all.

Date of arrival of the Portuguese household heads, their immigration status and their work status are given in Table 8.

Table 8 indicates that the majority of Portuguese heads of households in Milpitas had arrived prior to 1891 (58.5%), but there was a much more uniform distribution in Milpitas by date of arrival than in any other area. In Taunton, household heads by date of arrival were concentrated in the period between 1891 and 1910, and in Hilo in the period between 1881 and 1901.

If we assume that there were no striking differences in the mortality rates for Portuguese immigrants in these three communities, then we may infer that the migratory flow to Milpitas was well-established from the 1870s and

TABLE 7
GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PORTUGUESE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN
TAUNTON, MILPITAS AND HILO, IN 1910

Individual Characteristics	Taunton	Milpitas	Hilo
Household Heads	61	94	50
Male	58	89	42
Female	3	5	8
Marital Status			
Married Female	0	1	3
Widow Female	1	4	5
Single Female	2	0	0
Married Male	54	74	36
Widower Male	2	8	2
Single Male	2	7	4
Female Mean Age	52.3	46.8	54.4
Male Mean Age	36.5	46.6	41.6
Percentage Illiterate	66	63	56
Family Characteristics			
Wives' Mean Age	32.9	37.6	35.6
Children Under 16	163	126	150
N in Census =	605	94	125

Source: U.S. census manuscript of 1910.

TABLE 8
DATE OF ARRIVAL, IMMIGRANT STATUS AND WORK STATUS OF THE PORTUGUESE
HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN MILPITAS, TAUNTON AND HILO, IN 1910 (PERCENTAGE)

	Milpitas Household Heads	Taunton Household Heads	Hilo Household Heads
Date of Arrival			
Through 1880	30.9	8.2	8.0
1881-1890	27.6	14.8	62.0
1891-1900	16.0	27.9	18.0
1901-1910	21.3	49.2	12.0
Unknown	4.3	-	-
Total	100	100	100
N =	94	61	50
Immigrant Status			
Alien	54.3	80.3	70.0
Naturalized	34.0	8.2	12.0
Papers	4.3	3.3	6.0
Unknown	7.5	8.2	12.0
Total	100	100	100
N =	94	61	50

TABLE 8
(Continued)

	Milpitas Household Heads	Taunton Household Heads	Hilo Household Heads
Work Status			
Worker	15.7	90.2	68.0
Own Account	23.6	1.6	4.0
Employer	52.8	3.3	2.0
Unknown	7.8	4.9	26.0
Total	100	100	100
N=	94	61	50
N in Census =	94	605	125

Source: U.S. census manuscript of 1910.

was continually replenished by the inflow of new arrivals. The Portuguese settlement in Taunton was the newest of the three, and Portuguese immigrants flocked to that city in unprecedented numbers after 1901. After a major inflow between 1881 and 1890, the settlement in Hilo lost vitality, and arrivals were insufficient or departed too rapidly to renew the community.

The differences in the date of arrival of the Portuguese immigrants in the three communities are in accordance with the age differences noted above. As a comparatively new area of settlement for the Portuguese, Taunton had a younger population with a higher proportion of small children in the household than both Hilo and Milpitas.

The information on immigrant status confirms once more the existence of striking differences in the three communities. In Milpitas, 38 percent of the Portuguese male household heads were either naturalized or were in the process of becoming so. The corresponding figure was 12 percent for Taunton and 18 percent for Hilo. One possible explanation for the great predominance of aliens in Taunton is the higher proportion (49%) of new arrivals (immigrants resident in the United States for less than ten years). The hypothesis loses power, however, when we look at the low percentage (18%) of those already naturalized or becoming naturalized in Hawaii, where 70 percent of the Portuguese household heads had arrived prior to 1891. For Hawaii the low percentage of naturalizations could be connected to the social stigmas against Portuguese that scholars (*e.g.*, Estep, 1941) have identified in this region. However, Table 7 presents another factor—work status—that may be related to the decision to become American in all three areas.

In Taunton and Hilo, regardless of their date of arrival, the overwhelming majority of Portuguese household heads were alien wage earners; in Milpitas, where a sizeable proportion was naturalized, the majority of the immigrant household heads were either self-employed or employers. It is reasonable to presume that with economic achievement came the desire to adopt the nationality of the receiving society, particularly if upward mobility was connected to fixed property (as was the case in California). Literary evidence also suggests that the economic niches the Portuguese were able to occupy in California were highly profitable. The dairy industry, for example, to which the Portuguese appear successfully connected after 1880 was a quite lucrative business.

Thus, there were obvious motivations for the Portuguese to remain attached to California. These motivations were at their lowest in Hawaii, where we know a great number of immigrants abandoned the islands as soon as they finished their contracts, and are difficult to judge in Taunton, where the reduced number of immigrants arrived prior to 1900, and may be attributed either to a young migratory flow, to a transient immigrant population or to both.

Table 9 gives the proportion of Portuguese household heads who owned (either free or mortgaged) some kind of property (farm or house), by date of arrival. The percentage of the Portuguese household heads who owned some kind of fixed property was similar (25%) in Hilo, Taunton and Milpitas. The pattern of ownership was, however, quite different in these three communities.

In Milpitas, the percentage of owners decreased smoothly as the date of arrival became more recent; in Hilo, property owners had nearly all arrived

TABLE 9
PORTUGUESE HOUSEHOLD HEADS WHO OWNED FIXED PROPERTY, BY DATE OF
ARRIVAL, IN MILPITAS, TAUNTON AND HILO, IN 1910 (PERCENTAGE)

Date of Arrival	Milpitas	Taunton	Hilo
Prior to 1881	54.5	25.0	14.3
1881-1890	31.8	18.8	85.7
1891-1900	13.6	25.0	-
1901-1910	-	31.3	-
Total	100	100	100
N =	22	16	14
N in sample =	94	61	50
N in Census =	94	605	125

Source: U.S. manuscript census of 1910.

Note: N equals number of cases for which both variables (property and date of arrival) are known.

in one decade (1881–1890); in Taunton, the percentage of property owners showed little variance from period to period. In other words, the temporal pattern of ownership suggests that in Milpitas newcomers would in time attain some kind of property as the majority of their predecessors had done. In Hilo, only the household heads who arrived between 1881 and 1890 seem to have enjoyed that opportunity; in Taunton, regardless of their date of arrival, only one fourth of the immigrants could expect to become property owners. This pattern is quite similar to the one found for naturalization, suggesting that property (here used as a proxy for economic achievement) was more important in the decision-making about naturalization than were temporal or social considerations.

CONCLUSION

The Portuguese emigrants who came to America at the turn of the century seem irrational decision-makers. Judging from their socioeconomic achievements in Taunton, Milpitas and Hawaii, they should all have gone to California. In fact, the Portuguese emigrants did not make the “rational” decision; they made the “possible” decision.

The majority of the Portuguese emigrants did not have the readily available cash to make the trip on their own. They relied on kin members in the United States, family savings or indebtedness in Portugal to pay the initial cost of their move. Still, when the last method was used, they needed the support of the Portuguese migrant network in the United States to find a job to support themselves. They arrived in total ignorance of the English language and with just the necessary minimum to get to their place of destination. Connections in the United States were thus absolutely necessary for the move to take place, and they determined the destination of the Portuguese immigrants. Dependence upon the migrant network increases in proportion to ignorance of the English language and the lack of economic resources of the immigrant. In consequence, the Portuguese probably entered America with greater dependence on their migrant network than other southern and eastern Europeans (*see*, Baganha, 1988).

Without the necessary cash, family emigration could only be done in stages. The most easily available alternative, and one that a considerable number chose (over 11,000 between 1878 and 1889), was to come as a contract laborer since this contract usually included the whole family unit. That alternative was, however, open only to Hawaii.

Although drawn from the same pool, Portuguese immigrants had very unequal opportunities for upward mobility in the United States. If a migrant chose (or rather his network directed him to) Massachusetts, his chances for economic betterment were considerably worse than if he went to California.

His chances to move upward were seriously compromised if he had signed a contract and went to Hawaii.

In other words, opportunities were greatly a function of the destination, or more specifically they were a function of the job vacancies and land availability of the receiving area. Clearly, in the three cases observed, the socioeconomic structure of the region determined the employment structure of the Portuguese. This last structure was remarkably simple, because the majority of the Portuguese male heads were, in the three communities, concentrated in a single economic activity: as unskilled workers in manufacture in Taunton; as unskilled laborers in sugar plantations in Hilo; and as farmers in Milpitas. It was not the level of skill that obviously distinguished the members of these Portuguese settlements, but their work status. In fact, while in Milpitas 83 percent of the Portuguese household heads (males and females) with a stated occupation were either employers or self-employed, in Taunton and in Hilo their percentage dropped drastically to 5 and 8 percent respectively.

The work status attained by the Portuguese immigrants in the structure of the Californian labor market was directly linked to the land availability and more generally to the available socioeconomic niches (particularly in market gardening, general farming and dairy production) existent in the region. The Portuguese, however, were able to profit fully from these opportunities because an active network at both ends of the trajectory allowed them to fulfill their labor demands within their own ethnic network at lower cost than the prevailing rates in the area, while insuring, in due time, an upward process of socioeconomic mobility to a sizeable part of the group.

The living arrangements of the Portuguese households in Milpitas, particularly when compared to those in Taunton and Hilo, reflect the mechanisms just noted. In fact, we have seen that first generation Portuguese lodgers in Portuguese households were, in Milpitas, employees of the household head. In Taunton, they were boarders and in Hilo they did not exist. Obviously, the presence of first generation Portuguese, without family ties to the household head, in Milpitas and Taunton, corresponds to the different needs of the Portuguese household in these two regions. In the Californian case, their presence was an answer to the labor demands of the household, while in the Massachusetts case their presence was a way to supplement the income needs of the household. The percentage of households extended laterally, larger in Milpitas than in Taunton and again nonexistent in Hilo, reinforces this same idea—that in California, Portuguese households relied heavily on their own network to supply their labor demands. No similar process was open to those that went to Massachusetts

or Hawaii, because in none of these regions did the Portuguese control a socioeconomic niche that they could reinforce based on their own ethnic network.

The migrant network was active in both Massachusetts and California, but no evidence was found of its functioning in Hawaii. The functions performed by the migrant network varied from place to place, but in all cases it functioned partly because it was economically advantageous to those involved. In California, where there was clear evidence of upward mobility over time, newcomers were employed by the already established elements of the Portuguese community, albeit at lower wages than the current rates. In return, newcomers received board, information and the certitude of a job as soon as they arrived in California. In Massachusetts, where the Portuguese immigrants did not control any economic niche, the established Portuguese could still rely on the newcomers to supplement their incomes by offering them board, and the newcomers could more easily adapt to their new setting by lodging in a Portuguese household.

In sum, the Portuguese emigrant to the United States at the turn of the nineteenth century was an unskilled laborer who became an industrial worker in Massachusetts or a farmer in California. The Portuguese that went to Hawaii largely entered sugar plantation work. Economically the Portuguese show greatest upward mobility in California and lowest in Hawaii. There, only the second generation made it out of the plantations.

REFERENCES

Baganha, M. B.

1988 "International Labor Movements: Portuguese Emigration to the United States 1820-1930." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Bannick, C. J.

1917 *Portuguese Immigration to the United States: Its Distribution and Status*. A. B. Stanford University, 1916, Thesis, University of California.

Benis, M. I.

1979 "A Emigração Vista de Viana do Castelo," *Revista de História Económica e Social*, 3:85-100.

Bodnar, J.

1987 *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Brettell, C.

1979 Annotated Bibliography, Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Portuguese Emigration. *Portuguese Studies News Letter*. 3:7-16. Fall-Winter.

1978 Já Chorei Muitas Lágrimas. Lisboa, Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

Brettell, C. and C. Callier-Boisvert

1977 "Portuguese Immigrants in France—Familial and Social Networks and the Structuring of a Community," *Studi Emigrazione*, 46:149–203.

Briggs, J. W.

1978 *An Italian Passage: Immigrants to Three American Cities, 1890–1930*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Brown, W. J.

1944 "Portuguese in California." Unpublished Thesis. University of Southern California.

Caswell, L. E.

1873 "The Portuguese in Boston," *The North-End Mission Magazine*, 2(3):57–87.

Cumbler, J.

1979 *Working Class Community in Industrial America—Work, Leisure and Struggle in Two Industrial Cities, 1880–1930*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Cunha, M. R. *et al.*

1985 *The Portuguese in Rhode Island a History*. Providence: The Rhode Island Heritage Commission and The Rhode Island Publications Society.

Dias, E. M., ed.

1982 *Açorianos na Califórnia*. Angra do Heroísmo: S.R.E.C., D.R.A.C., S.R.A.S., and D.S.E.

Estep, G.

1941 "Social Placement of the Portuguese in Hawaii as Indicted by Factors in Assimilation." Unpublished Thesis. University of Southern California.

Felix, J. H. *et al.*

1980 *The Ukulele: A Portuguese Gift to Hawaii*. Hawaii: Nunes.

Felix, J. H. and P. F. Senecal

1978 *The Portuguese in Hawaii*. Honolulu: Authors' publication.

Ferst, S. T.

1972 "The Immigration and Settlement of the Portuguese in Providence: 1890–1924." Unpublished Thesis. Brown University.

Freitas, J. J.

1930 *Portuguese-Hawaiian Memories*. Honolulu: The Printshop Company.

Graves, A. R.

1977 "Immigrants in Agriculture: The Portuguese Californians, 1850–1970's." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Graves, N. and T. Graves

1974 "Adaptive Strategies in Urban Migration," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 3:117–151.

Gordon, M. M.

1964 *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hanson, C. A.

1975 *Dissertations on Iberian and Latin American History*. Troy, NY: Whitston Publishing Company.

Handlin, O.

- 1951 *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People*. Boston: Little Brown.

Immigration Commission

- 1911 *Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission*. 61st Congress, 3d Session, Senate Documents (Doc. No. 747), 2 vols., Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

1897–
1908 *Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30*, Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

1920–
1932 *Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30*, Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Immigration Service

- 1895 *Report of the Immigration Investigating Commission to the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Kettenring, N. E.

- 1984 "A Bibliography of Theses and Dissertations on Portuguese Topics Completed in the United States and Canada 1861–1983." Essay No. 4. New Hampshire: International Conference Group on Modern Portugal.

Lang, H. P.

- 1892 "The Portuguese Element in New England," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 5:9–17.

Laslett, P.

- 1983 "Family and Household as Work Group and Kin Group: Areas of Traditional Europe Compared." In *Family Forms in Historical Europe*. Edited by R. Wall. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 513–562.

Lauck, J. W.

- 1912 "The Cotton-Mill Operatives of New England," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Boston/New York, 109:706–713.

Livros de Registo de Passaportes.

- 1889– District of Angra do Heroísmo, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo de Angra do Heroísmo.

1891 District of Horta, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo de Horta.

1899– District of Angra do Heroísmo, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo de Angra do Heroísmo.

1901 District of Horta, Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo de Horta.

London, J.

- 1913 *The Valley of the Moon*. Reprint Santa Barbara, CA: Peregrine Smith, 1975.

Leder, H. H.

- 1968 *Cultural Persistence in a Portuguese-American Community*. Reprint. New York: Arno Press, 1980.

Macdonald, J. and L. Macdonald

- 1964 "Chain Migration Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 42(1):82–97.

Michalowski, M.

- 1987 "Adjustment of Immigrants in Canada: Methodological Possibilities and its Implications," *International Migration*. 25(1):21–39.

Miller, R. K., Jr.

1981 "Initial Postmigration Employment among European Immigrants: 1900–1935" *International Migration Review*, 15(3):529–542.

Minga, T. A. R.

1985 *La Famille dans l'Immigration. Étude de la Problématique dans le Domaine de l'Immigration Portugaise en Suisse*. Porto: S.E.E.

Ministério dos Negócios Externos

1885 *Documentos Apresentados ds Cortes*. Sessão Legislativa de 1885—Emigração Portuguesa para as Ilhas Hawaiianas. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional.

Monteiro, P.

1987 *Luso-Americanos no Connecticut: Questões de Etnicidade e de Comunidade*. Lisboa: Universidade Católica.

Monteiro, T. P.

1985 *Portugueses no Bahia na Segunda Metade do Séc. XIX*. Porto: S.E.E.

Namias, J.

1978 *First Generation in the Words of Twentieth-Century American Immigrants*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Neidert, L. and R. Farley

1985 "Assimilation in the U.S.: An Analysis of Ethnic and Generation Differences in Status and Achievement," *American Sociological Review*, 50(6):840–850.

Pap, L.

1976 *The Portuguese in the United States: A Bibliography*. New York: Center for Migration Studies.

Passengers' Manifests

1890– Passengers arrived at Boston from January 1890 to December 1891; at New York from
1901 June 1890 to December 1891; at Boston and San Francisco from January to December
1901. Philadelphia: Balch Institute and Washington, D.C.: National Archives.

Peck, E. F.

1904 "An Immigrant Farming Community," *New England Magazine*, 31:207–210.

Ratti, A. M.

1931 "Italian Migration Movements, 1876 to 1926," *International Migration*, Vol. II. Edited by Willcox. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc.

Santos, M. A.

1977 *O Comércio Português na Bahia, 1870–1930*. Salvador: Irmão Paulo.

Soares, C.

1939 *California and the Portuguese*. Lisbon: SPN Books.

Sowell, T.

1981 *Ethnic America: A History*. New York: Basic Books.

Stevens, G.

1985 "Nativity, Inter-marriage, and Mother-Tongue Shift," *American Sociological Review*, 50(1):74–83.

Swierenga, R. P.

1982 "Dutch International Migration and Occupational Change: A Structural Analysis of

Multinational Linked Files." Paper presented to the Social Sciences History Association Conference, Bloomington, IN.

Taft, D.

1967 *Two Portuguese Communities in New England*. New York: AMS Press.

Taylor, P.

1971 *The Distant Magnet. European Emigration to the U.S.A.* New York: Harper & Row.

Tilly, C. and C. H. Brown

1967 "On Uprooting, Kinship and the Auspices of Migration," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 8(2):139-164. Sept.

United States Census of 1910

1910 Microfilm of the manuscript. Population Studies, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Vecoli, R.

1977 "The Italian Americans." Edited by L. Dimmerstein and F. L. Jaher. In *Uncertain Americans*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Viera, D. *et al.*

1989 "Portuguese in the United States. Bibliography." Essay No. 6. New Hampshire: International Conference Group on Portugal.

Warner, W. L. and L. Strole,

1945 *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Williams, J.

1982 *And Yet They Come. Portuguese Immigration from the Azores to the United States*. New York: Center for Migration Studies.

TABLE A:1
 PORTUGUESE ILLITERATE EMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES, 1897-1930

Year	Emigrants	Illiterate	Rate (Percentage)	Exempted
1897	1874	800 ^a	57.35	
1898	1717	788	60.57	
1899	2096	1062 ^b	65.60	
1900	4241	1881	59.98	
1901	4176	2007	63.80	
1902	5309	2770	71.58	
1903	8433	4657	73.21	
1904	6338	3318	67.55	
1905	4855	2546	66.65	
1906	8729	4682	67.78	
1907	9648	5528	76.60	
1908	6809	3315	64.85	
1909	4606	2409	65.14	
1910	7657	4165 ^c	67.93	
1911	7469	3736	59.96	
1912	9403	4234	56.15	
1913	13566	6972	61.89	
1914	9647	4790	57.65	
1915	4376	2036	54.47	
1916	12208	6228	58.51	
1917	10194	4580	57.09	
1920	15174	865	6.36	857 ^d
1921	18856	708	4.24	689
1922	1867	131	8.64	131
1923	2802	173	7.01	173
1924	3892	203	6.03	203
1925	720	35 ^e	5.92	35
1926	793	55	8.14	55
1927	843	26	3.39	26
1928	844	24	3.70	24
1929	853	49	7.39	49
1930	780	65	11.28	65

Source: *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration* for the given years for 1911-1919; Taft, 1967: 101.

Notes: Year Ending June 30.

^a Age Groups: Under 15; 15 to 39; 40 and Over.

^b Age Groups Are Now: Under 14; 14 to 45; 45 and Over.

^c Age Groups Are Now: Under 16; 16 to 44; 45 and Over.

^d After 1917 exemption from the literacy test was given mainly to join relatives.

^e A new category Nonimmigrants begins this year.

TABLE A:2
STATED OCCUPATIONS OF PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS AT ARRIVAL 1897-1930

Occupations	1897- 1917	1920- 1930	Occupations	1897- 1917	1920- 1930
Actors	5	14	Plumbers	11	4
Architects	3	3	Printers	18	22
Clergy	70	57	Saddlers-Harness	8	0
Editors	13	2	Seamstresses-Dressmakers	318	68
Electricians	25	22	Shipwrights	3	5
Engineers	98	60	Shoemakers	237	259
Lawyers	15	16	Stokers	424	55
Literary-Scientific	16	25	Stonecutters	68	9
Musicians	13	16	Tailors	99	276
Officials (Gov.)	54	111	Tanners-Curriers	10	2
Physicians	30	41	Textile Workers	61	4
Sculptors-Artists	17	12	Tinners	17	5
Teachers	31	53	Tobacco Workers	8	0
All Others N. SP.	42	31	Upholsterers	1	0
Total Professional	441	463	Watch-Clock Makers	8	8
Percent of Total	0.34	0.98	Weavers-Spinners	104	50
Bakers	155	217	Wheelwrights	3	1
Barbers-Hairdressers	141	107	All Others N. SP.	100	87
Blacksmiths	97	74	Total Skilled	5891	5111
Bookbinders	4	1	Percent of Total	4.56	10.78
Brewers	0	0	Agents' Factors	51	45
Butchers	23	25	Bankers	4	5
Cabinetmakers	15	9	Cooks	3	0
Carpenters-Joiners	707	773	Draymen-Teamsters	20	18
Clerks-Accounts	643	1122	Farmers	1097	1325
Coopers	3	0	Fishermen	1478	222
Dressmakers	83	51	Grocers	1	0
Eng. Stationery-Fire	74	30	Hotel Keepers	18	11
Engravers	4	0	Laborers-F. Laborers	53002	21576
Furriers-Fur Workers	2	3	Manufacturers	3	8
Gardeners	37	17	Merchant Dealers	665	699
Had-Cap Makers	4	6	Servants	23547	4342
Ironworkers	15	31	Shepherds	0	0
Jewelers	4	14	All Others N. SP.	540	555
Locksmiths	18	79	Total Miscellaneous	80489	28807
Machinists	49	68	Percent of Total	62	61
Mariners	1883	1161	Total Occupations	86874	34381
Masons	216	257	Laborers-Servants	76549	25918
Mechanics N. SP.	26	94	Percent of Total	88	75
Metal Worker	9	11	No Occup. (Women-Ch.)	42454	13043
Millers	19	18	Percent of Grand Total	33	28
Milliners	3	1	Grand Total	129328	47424
Miners	54	28			
Painters-Glaziers	91	49			
Pattern Makers	0	1			
Photographers	5	2			
Plasterers	8	7			

Source: *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration* for the given years.

TABLE A.3
BY WHOM THE PASSAGE WAS PAID AND MONEY SHOWN BY PORTUGUESE EMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES, 1897-1930

Years	By Whom Passage Was Paid			Money Shown ^a		Total	Self	Relative	Other	Percentage Distribution		
	Self	Relative	Other	\$50 or More	Less than \$50					Self	Relative	Other
1897	-	-	-	246	750	996	-	-	-	-	24.7	75.3
1898	-	-	-	193	737	930	-	-	-	-	20.8	79.2
1899	-	-	-	159	1131	1290	-	-	-	-	12.3	87.7
1900	-	-	-	269	2052	2321	-	-	-	-	11.6	88.4
1901	-	-	-	310	2274	2584	-	-	-	-	12.0	88.0
1902	-	-	-	365	2555	2920	-	-	-	-	12.5	87.5
1903	-	-	-	695	5625	6320	-	-	-	-	11.0	89.0
1904	-	-	-	473	3827	4300	-	-	-	-	11.0	89.0
1905	-	-	-	537	2789	3326	-	-	-	-	16.1	83.9
1906	-	-	-	598	4897	5495	-	-	-	-	10.9	89.1
1907	-	-	-	721	5678	6399	-	-	-	-	11.3	88.7
1908	3436	2232	1141	451	4350	4801	50.5	32.8	16.8	-	9.4	90.6
1909	2804	1770	32	395	2761	3156	60.9	38.4	0.7	-	12.5	87.5
1910	4551	2228	878	539	4512	5051	59.4	29.1	11.5	-	10.7	89.3
1911	4508	2381	580	934	4216	5150	60.4	31.9	7.8	-	18.1	81.9
1912	5118	3148	1137	814	5179	5993	54.4	33.5	12.1	-	13.6	86.4
1913	7260	6046	260	953	8549	9502	53.5	44.6	1.9	-	10.0	90.0
1914	4330	5297	20	771	6671	7442	44.9	54.9	0.2	-	10.4	89.6
1915	2182	2178	16	457	2859	3316	49.9	49.8	0.4	-	13.8	86.2
1916	6881	5287	40	662	8895	9557	56.4	43.3	0.3	-	6.9	93.1
1917	3829	6323	42	864	6479	7343	37.6	62.0	0.4	-	11.8	88.2
1920	10350	4734	90	2654	8211	10865	68.2	31.2	0.6	-	24.4	75.6
1921	14818	3926	112	18856	11321	13444	78.6	20.8	0.6	-	15.8	84.2
1922	998	821	48	1867	459	1267	53.5	44.0	2.6	-	36.2	63.8
1923	1857	900	45	558	1654	2212	66.3	32.1	1.6	-	25.2	74.8
1924	2658	1176	58	870	2191	3061	68.3	30.2	1.5	-	28.4	71.6
1925	406	298	16	720	328	537	56.4	41.4	2.2	-	38.9	61.1
1926	474	303	16	793	328	580	59.8	38.2	2.0	-	43.4	56.6
1927	625	199	19	278	445	723	74.1	23.6	2.3	-	38.5	61.5
1928	494	338	12	844	308	609	58.5	40.0	1.4	-	49.4	50.6
1929	452	386	15	286	352	638	53.0	45.3	1.8	-	44.8	55.2
1930	266	503	11	237	301	538	34.1	64.5	1.4	-	44.1	55.9

Source: For 1907-1916: Bannick, 1917:41, 43. All the other years: *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Immigration* for the given year.

Note: a "Persons over 20 years of age bringing money" from 1897-1903, minimum \$30.