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The Disorganization of Certain Portuguese Families in American Society

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THE DISORGANIZATION OF CERTAIN
PORTUGUESE FAMILIES

IN
AMERICAN SOCIETY

BY

MANUEL M. CABRAL

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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ABSTRACT

In this thesis there is presented a study of the disorganization of Portuguese immigrant families, which results from the interaction of their rather restrictive culture with the freer, American way of life. The study is developed through the analysis of the cases of ten Portuguese families which became disorganized in the United States.

The restrictive culture of the Portuguese Islands of the Azores which made their families so vulnerable in America is described in some detail. The lower economic status of the Portuguese, Azorean peasant is given some emphasis. Then there is a treatment of the oppressive factors of the Portuguese political structure. The Portuguese family with its patriarchal dominance and lack of individual identity is presented.

A careful search for helpful literature in the study of the disintegration of the Portuguese families in the United States was not too fruitful. There were some workers who gave aid in the presentation of the background of the Portuguese people and in their earlier attempts at orientation to the ways of the United States. However, the major part of the study was carried on through a personal investigation of the cases of disorganized Portuguese families in the United

States by the study of records of social agencies and by personal interviews.

From a large number of cases available for study ten were selected as the core of this thesis. These cases were selected in accord with the following criteria:

1. The completeness of the data available.
2. The seriousness of the disorganization.
3. The position of respect formerly held by the family in the Portuguese community of which it was a part.

The first major group of cases emphasizes a release from a restricted and repressive religious pattern. The transition from the confines of a culture of one religion to a culture of many religions imparted a great strain upon the family structure of many of the Portuguese immigrants. The second group of cases involves the marriage of Portuguese persons with persons of other cultures. Portuguese culture demanded that the family select the mate. The American culture which surrounded the family upheld the right of the person to select his own mate. The selection of the mate was the symbol of the son's or daughter's revolt against family domination, a repudiation of the old restrictive culture, and an embracing of the new freedom. The third and last group of cases involves Portuguese persons who entered into illicit sexual relationships. In the encircling limitations of the Azorean culture the individual found little chance to stand

forth as an independent personality. In the more liberal environment of the American culture some of them seized the chance to express themselves as persons and to seek satisfaction outside the family circle. This breaking of the bonds of the culture helped to bring about disorganization.

In an analysis of conclusions from these case studies, the individual personalities stand out as deviations from a transplanted cultural pattern. The variant conduct of the individual reveals itself as a product of conflict between widely different cultures. One of these, an old world culture; the other, a dominant and all embracing new world culture saying in effect, "adapt or die." In this titanic struggle some of the families involved are bound to be injured unless planned procedures are set up to help the people of the older culture to adapt to the new.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of the Problem

This is a study of the disorganization which has occurred in Portuguese families because of the interaction between the American way of life and the older Portuguese culture. Many Portuguese families coming to the United States became victims of cultural conflict which resulted from the meeting of the two opposing ways of life.¹ The Portuguese family was in a position of cultural lag during this conflict. Its traditional elements were no longer a useful means of adaptation. The structure of the Portuguese family as a specific institution was not suited to the expression of the new ideas which challenged its old mores in the American way of life.

B. Analysis of Portuguese Culture

A characteristic of the social process is the desire to have institutions maintain their status quo.² Some of the best of the Portuguese people became factors in the disorganization of the Portuguese family because they opposed the inevitable changes resulting from the interaction of the Portuguese culture with the American way of life. Changes

¹L. Guy Brown, Social Pathology, New York: F. S. Crofts, Co., 1946, pp. 412-413.

²Ibid., p. 413.

in the family could not be avoided in an immigrant society which was making a transition to the ways of a new world. The transition in the Portuguese family was left largely to chance, so that a great deal of disorganization resulted.

This study will be carried on through an analysis of the cases of ten Portuguese families which became disorganized in this country. The emphasis will be upon the family as "the first unit of social study."¹ However, since the family gains its identity through social, religious, and other institutions, the disorganization of the Portuguese family will be explained with some reference to these institutions.

Among these institutions perhaps the one most resistant to change was the Roman Catholic Church.² The restriction of this religious organization permeated the personal and social life of the Azorean immigrant. The Azorean family was accustomed to its domination in the home land so it is little wonder that the immigrant brought that domination with him to this country. The inflexibility of the Catholic

¹Brown, Social Pathology, p. 424.

²J. P. Oliveria Martins, Historia de Portugal, Lisboa: Parceria Antonio Maria Pereira, 1908, pp. 102-105.

Church with regard to its own dogma is as well known as its inhospitality to new ways of living. Certainly, the arrival of the Portuguese immigrant in this country brought much violence to his close union with the Roman Church. Without doubt, this was an area of conflict in the interaction of the Portuguese with American ways of life which contributed to the disorganization of some families, as described in this thesis.

With regard to the political institutions in the backgrounds of these immigrants it may be said that most of them came from the constitutional monarchy of Portugal. Under this monarchy there was a written constitution guaranteeing to the individual the rights of freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom of the press. These rights were written into the constitution but in reality they were not practiced.¹

Factionalism, political intrigues, and the conflict between clergy and laymen bore heavily upon the peasant.² He bore more than his share of the pressure of direct taxation. He was further burdened by the rising prices due to

¹Michael Derrick, Portugal of Salazar, New York; Campion Books, Ltd., 1939, pp. 21-30.

²Aubrey F. G. Bell, Portugal of the Portuguese, New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1915, pp. 164-182.

very high tariffs in Europe and to an inconvertible currency.¹ There was an absence of capital for land developments and there was no industry in which the peasant might take refuge.

From the early nineteenth century to the present day Portuguese people, in general, have been restricted in the "four freedoms" due to the fact that the ecclesiastical authority of the Roman Church is actually the "vested interest" and controlling factor in the Portuguese way of life.²

The forces behind the emigration of the Portuguese from the Azores (Portugal) to the United States were primarily economic: status of the Portuguese peasant in the Azores had been very low, but it was not so low that he could look upon three years of military service at eight cents a day less the price of his uniform as an attractive prospect. Therefore, he sought to evade the law and to escape military service by emigration.³ Life in the Azores was a continuing oppression. The peasants grasped at any means to get out from

¹Donald R. Taft, Two Portuguese Communities in New England, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1923, p. 91.

²Martins, Historia de Portugal, pp. 120, 121.

³Taft, Two Portuguese Communities in New England, p. 94.

under the burden and bondage of this existence. By much sacrificing, scraping, and saving they gathered enough to move along to another land of opportunity--the United States of America.

The Portuguese of the Azores lived in comparative serfdom.¹ They were practically slaves on the estates of the large landowners. Since the more favored persons of the society of the Azores were the large landowners, the Portuguese peasant came to look on the ownership of real estate as the pinnacle of success.² This would account for the passionate ambition of the Portuguese immigrant to acquire land and property in this country. The opportunity to acquire wealth in the form of land was an overwhelming experience for the Portuguese peasant family. This alone would do enough violence to his way of life without the added pressure of his exposure to strange concepts of family life, of religion, and of morality.

The American culture is continuing to modify or limit Portuguese traditions and customs in the United States; however, the Azoreans are still more Portuguese than American.

¹Taft, Two Portuguese Communities in New England, p. 262.

²Ibid., pp. 257-258.

The Portuguese society is based on a patriarchal and paternalistic family organization. The father is without question the head of the family and breadwinner.¹ It is to him that all the members of the family unit must look for financial support and guidance through life. In those phases of the family life dealing with finance and general family guidance, the role of the Portuguese mother is secondary; her responsibility lies in the rearing of children, the care of the home, and the preparation of food. In general the father does not help the mother with household chores regardless of any possibility that the latter might be or is to be gainfully employed outside. It is not considered proper for the father to lose his status or high esteem as head of the family in the eyes of his friends and members of his family.

The younger Portuguese woman learns to consider her virginity as the pith of self-respect. Portuguese society vehemently disapproves of any shifting from one young man to another. Generally speaking when a love affair is once started it usually culminates in marriage, but in the upper classes of Portuguese people such courtships more generally

¹Taft, Two Portuguese Communities in New England, p. 63.

are restricted to homes and social affairs.¹

The younger woman in the upper strata of Portuguese society is protected from any improper contact with men through chaperonage, usually by a sister, cousin, or mother. Courtship among the lower classes of Portuguese is more often found to exist out of doors and usually with less chaperoning. Women are placed on a very high pedestal. When and if a woman marries, she must be found chaste and not "found wanting" unless widowed. There is no acceptance of a divorcee. The Church and Portuguese society openly and publicly denounce divorces or legal separations unless serious causes are found in the area of infidelity. If, upon marriage, the woman is found to be unchaste, the husband sends her back to her parents--disgraced. Among some of the poorer classes of Portuguese women, it is found that the virginity is the price she must pay for a man having better or higher economic means that will provide the means to an end--the attainment of better living.² Once virginity is lost, she does not usually expect to marry another man. Parents who find that their daughters

¹Rodney Gallop, Portugal a Book of Folk-Ways, Cambridge: The University Press, 1936, pp. 88, 89.

²Elizabeth Coleman, Portugal, Wharf of Europe, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915, p. 43.

have been "debauched" will do all in their power to demand immediate marriage with the guilty party so that the honor of the girl or woman is preserved. Certainly this culture would be subject to some modification in the United States.

Here in the new society, the closely-knit Portuguese families began to break up. In the course of the years this disintegration became very, very noticeable; it was apparent to the writer even before such problems became a subject of his studies in higher education.

As he saw families breaking up, the writer became possessed with an ardent desire to study their circumstances in order to find out what were the major factors contributing to the disintegration of these Portuguese families.

When the study of the literature on Portuguese families in the United States was begun, some helpful material was found but not very much. It would seem that the Portuguese people have not been the subject of extensive studies, either in this country or elsewhere. Since there was no literature, especially on the Portuguese, it was necessary to secure data from the lives of the Portuguese people in this country. The major settlements of Portuguese families have been made in the eastern United States and mainly in

southern Massachusetts and Rhode Island.¹ The Portuguese in these areas have found employment in the large textile mills of which there are so many in the areas mentioned. The employment of these people brought them almost to a state of wealth as compared to the former economic level in the Azores. Their level of living had been so low in the Azores that they could live very frugally in this country, meanwhile putting money away in banks and investing it in real estate. Soon, for the most part, these Portuguese families were quite well-off, economically speaking.² Prior to the disintegration of the Portuguese families, they had seemed to have adequate financial resources available for the support of the family group, so lack of money could not be considered a major factor in disintegration of the Portuguese families.

Another area of investigation which took the interest of the writer was the social situations of these Portuguese families as regards acceptance into community groups. The Portuguese families kept to themselves in specific areas of towns and cities. Here they formed their own social clubs which,

¹ Coleman, Portugal, Wharf of Europe, p. 30.

² U. S. Immigration Commission Report, 61st Cong., 3rd Sess., Wash., U. S. Gov't Printing Office, 1911, Vol. I, pp. 367, 412, 414, and 472.

together with the churches, became the center of their community life.¹

The Portuguese families did not seem to need or desire acceptance by the rest of the local community. However, here and there a person began to look outside the national group for some satisfaction and this provided a fruitful area of investigation.

At first the Portuguese people did not play an important part in the political life of the towns and cities in which they lived.² However, as the time went on they were led into naturalization to be used as tools by the political bosses. They were influenced so that they would cast their votes en masse for those persons or causes chosen by the political bosses who had shown some attention to securing favors for the Portuguese.

Later, however, there was a change in the political complexion of the towns and cities of southern Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The old "Yankee" mill owners began to lose their grip on town and city politics and the power began to

¹Taft, Two Portuguese Communities In New England, p. 337.

²Ibid., p. 336.

fall into the hands of the Irish and other foreign elements. As a part of this new power, the Portuguese began to make themselves felt as individuals. This had the effect of taking their interest outside their own community and, as it will be shown later, this offered a further area of investigation with regard to the disorganization of the Portuguese families.

As the writer looked over the field of Portuguese development in this country, certain major areas of disintegration began to appear. These areas are as follows:

1. The area of religious conflict.
2. The area of inter-marriage with persons of other cultures.
3. The area of extra-marital relations.

It is true that these problem areas occurred among other immigrant groups in the United States as well as the Portuguese. However, these problems were more serious among the Portuguese immigrants because the stereotypes of their culture lacked the comparative flexibility found in the mores of other immigrant groups.

*Most of the Portuguese immigrants coming to this country came not from the mainland of Portugal but from the Island of the Azores. They came from the narrowest of cultures, an insular one. The isolation of the island mores of these people allowed very little room for experience with change and adaptation to new ways.

Another reason why difficulties in the specified problem areas took a heavier toll of Portuguese families was the structure of the Azorean society closely organized around the Roman Church. The practices of the Church in guarding so closely the thoughts, words, and actions of these people gave to their culture an inflexibility which made the basic family unit so brittle as to shatter under the least shock of exposure to freer mores in a new world.

Even though these Portuguese immigrants had been so closely drawn into dependency upon the Roman Church while in the Azores, they were unable to seek aid from this church when they came to this country. One reason for this was that the Roman Church did not enjoy a preferred position in American culture. These island Portuguese were confused upon their arrival to find that membership in the Roman Church was not socially expected as it had been at home. Not having yet achieved the position of prominence which it now holds in this country, the Roman Church had not been able to set up those manifold social agencies which it has now organized. Consequently, these immigrant families did not have within their own culture opportunities for social and economic aid. In most instances the assistance that was forthcoming, though most meagre, came from the Salvation Army.

The close dependence upon the Roman Church in an atmosphere of medieval domination made it extremely difficult for

the Azorean peasant and his family to solve the new problems of adaptation confronting them in America. It was so unusual for the immigrant family to be without the feudal restrictions of the Church to keep the group within older stereotypes of conduct.

This problem was chosen for study because the writer is a Portuguese-American whose life has been effected by the family disorganization emphasized in this thesis. Experiencing this disorganization, he has sought to find the results of it in other families as well as methods for its removal.

CHAPTER II

CRITICAL REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Not much has been written specifically about the Portuguese people and their orientation to the American way of life. Some treatises have helped in giving an orientation for this study.

The most definitive work on the Portuguese people is Historia de Portugal by Martins.¹ The old cultural patterns which play such a large role in the life of American-Portuguese are carefully analyzed and documented. Coleman,² while giving further information about the customs of Portugal, states clearly the reasons for the Portuguese departure from the Azores. This is an important background against which to study the immigrant in the New World. The specific relationships between social customs and an oppressive economic system as related to family mores are well set forth by Brown³ and Bell.⁴

¹J. F. Oliveira Martins, Historia de Portugal, Lisboa: Parceria Antonio Maria Pereira, 1908.

²Elizabeth Coleman, Portugal, Wharf of Europe, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944.

³Samler Brown, Brown's Madeira, Canary Islands and Azores, London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., Ltd., 1903.

⁴Aubrey F. G. Bell, Portugal of the Portuguese, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.

With regard to the structure of the Portuguese family, the work of Street¹, was most helpful. The author brought out the rigidity of the family structure which allows for very little adaptation to the mores found in the American society.

Helpful material on attempts of the Portuguese to adapt to American life was presented by Cabral² in an unpublished report. This was an investigation of the part played by the Portuguese in the development of the town of East Providence, Rhode Island. Taft³, studying Portuguese families in Portsmouth, Rhode Island and Fall River, Massachusetts, depicts the early attempts of these immigrants to live in an alien culture while still trying desperately to maintain their own culture. He gives a complete treatment of social, political, and economic aspects of Portuguese life.

In determining the major areas in which disintegration found a foothold in the immigrant Portuguese families, Jaworski⁴ contributed much background material on the hardships of the immigrant in adjusting to life in this country.

¹Eugene E. Street, Portuguese Life in Town and Country, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902.

²Manuel Medirous Cabral, "The Town of East Providence with Emphasis on the Portuguese People as an Ethnic Group." (Unpublished Graduate Report, Sociology Dept., Univ. Of R. I., 1950).

³Donald R. Taft, Two Portuguese Communities in New England, New York: Columbia University, 1923.

⁴Irene D. Jaworski, Becoming American, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950.

Tensions between the first and second generation members of immigrant families as the older people attempt to maintain the pressures of the foreign culture were illustrated.

In evaluating the cases for this thesis, the works of L. Guy Brown^{1,2} were particularly helpful. His chapters on social heritage and family constellation were of great value in the selection and organization of case data. The techniques employed in this study follow those suggested and defined by Brown.

One of the most helpful works in showing the relationship of the individual toward pressure of family mores is that by Plant.³ The conclusions of Handley⁴ were helpful in evaluating the clash of cultures involved in the orientation of the children of immigrant families to the American

¹L. Guy Brown, Social Psychology, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1934.

²L. Guy Brown, Social Pathology, New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1946.

³James S. Plant, M.D., Personality and the Cultural Pattern, New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1937.

⁴Katharine Newkirk Handley, "Social Casework and Intercultural Problems," Journal of Social Casework, Vol. XXVIII, February, 1947.

way of life. Sandi¹ emphasized the disintegrating effect upon the individual and his family relationships of a clashing cultural environment by which he is victimized.

The bulletin of the National Council of the Social Studies² was most useful in setting forth recommendations for aiding immigrant families. The publication of the American Council on Education³ presents a broad treatment of procedures used in educating families outside the scope of the public school.

While no single treatise has considered directly the disintegration of the Portuguese family in America, each has contributed concepts which have formed the background for this study.

The individual family records from which data for the case studies in this thesis have been taken are in the files of various social agencies. Professional ethics will not permit divulging these sources. The opportunity to use this information has made this study possible.

¹Peter L. Sandi, "The Psychocultural Approach in Social Casework," Journal of Social Casework, December, 1947.

²Howard H. Cummings, ed., Improving Human Relations, Washington, D. C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1949.

³Joseph K. Folsom, Youth, Family, and Education, Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941.

CHAPTER III

INVESTIGATION

A. Procedure

As can readily be seen from the foregoing review of literature, there is very little information available on the Portuguese people in the United States or anywhere else. In order to secure specific data which might be organized in such a way as to present some definite conclusions, the writer was forced to seek out some source of detailed case histories of Portuguese families which have become disorganized in the United States. The problem was to study these cases in order to determine what specific factors have played a major part in the disorganization of the Portuguese families.

The writer had a general knowledge of several Portuguese families which had suffered disruption in the American environment. He also had formed a general hypothesis that the seeking of new experiences outside the immediate Portuguese community had something to do with the break up of the families.¹ However, the writer did not have the specific knowledge of family circumstances which would be necessary for a better analysis.

¹L. Guy Brown, Social Pathology, p. 401.

After extensive conversations with members of disrupted Portuguese families, it was found that a number of these families had received attention from public and private social agencies. It was apparent that these agencies provided a reservoir of just the data needed for this study.

Contact with social agencies¹ opened the records of Portuguese families which had suffered from acute social problems. Records from the local, state, and federal courts; police bureaus, reformatories and prisons; private and state-controlled hospitals and institutions; state, county, and municipal departments; both private and public school departments; and all social agencies, both private and public became available.

It was necessary to make some of the supplementary case studies by interviewing members of the disorganized Portuguese families. To accomplish this, much travel in southern New England was necessary. Interview by interview small bits of information were assembled.

From the available sources of information, a number of case histories were compiled. In these compilations, there appeared to be about thirty cases which pertained in one way or another to this study. As the writer began to amass and

¹It would be a violation of the law and a violation of professional ethics to reveal the names of the social agencies involved.

organize this information, it became more and more apparent that these cases would have to be delimited by some means and a smaller number of the more complete cases be selected for careful study.

After some deliberation, it was decided that the smaller number of cases would be selected according to the following criteria:

1. The completeness of the data available.
2. The seriousness of the disorganization.
3. The position of respect formerly held by the family in the Portuguese community of which it was a part.

As regards the data available on some of the cases, the information was fragmentary, and it lacked sufficient continuity for proper study.

In some of the cases the disorganization was not complete enough to present a pattern from which conclusions might be drawn. Such cases did not fall within the scope of this study which is concerned mainly with instances of serious and far-reaching familial disruption.

Then there were cases of Portuguese families that were not well thought of in their own communities. They were the cases of such families as might be expected to undergo disorganization under any circumstances. This study is concerned more with the cases of families which formerly stood high in regard in their communities. These were the families which

would not ordinarily be expected to break up. Finally on the basis of these criteria ten major cases were selected for study.

In order to delimit the study further, an attempt was made to place the information recorded for each case in categories which pertained directly to the disorganization of the families. After some study of the total number of cases the following categories of information appeared to be the important ones:

The Composition of the Original Immigrant Family

The family unit of the Azorean immigrants was usually comprised of the father and mother, and included, upon occasion, other relations, such as grandparent, uncle, aunt, or cousin. The Azorean background of these people will be treated herein.

Children

In the study of the immigrants' American-born sons and daughters are included such aspects as conflicts with parental authority, sibling rivalry, filial contempt for both the parental lack of education, and the parental adherence to non-American tradition.

Setting of the Home

Coverage of the home setting will include such factors as type of furniture, number of rooms, and modern conveniences in the home. Related topics such as children's attitude toward entertaining American friends in these homes of non-American setting and customs will be discussed.

Family Life

The family life is multi-phased. Economic phases--fields or areas of employment, economic levels of the household, etc.--will be discussed. The standing or status of the family in the Portuguese community, social aspirations of the family, the introduction of other cultures into the family circle through friendship or marriage, the seat of authority in the home--all of these sociological implications will be treated. For full coverage of the Azorean family life, the important factors of religious tendencies, political affiliation, and educational status are included.

Problem

The major factors involved in bringing about the disorganization of the home as well as a full description of the problem situations themselves will be contained herein.

B. Case Studies

1. THE CASE OF MR. A.

The Composition of the Original Immigrant Family

Mr. A.'s maternal grandfather came to this country in 1900 with four daughters. The oldest daughter who became Mr. A.'s mother was married two years later at the age of eighteen. The maternal grandfather was a butcher by trade, and he earned a weekly salary of about nine dollars. The four daughters found employment in a screw factory. The maternal grandfather remained the patriarch of the family even after all his daughters were married. His word was law. He continued to work at his trade with full vigor until he died of pneumonia, at the age of seventy-three.

Mr. A.'s mother was eighteen and Mr. A.'s father was twenty when they were married. The character of the father was weak; hence, he made very little impression upon the life of his family. Mr. A.'s father died at the age of thirty-three of tuberculosis brought on by excessive drinking. At this time Mr. A.'s mother was thirty-one years old and the mother of seven children. For about two years the children were taken care of during the day by a day-nursery.

Children

After two years of the daily care in the day-nursery, the two oldest children, aged eleven and nine respectively, were given the care of the five other children in the home. Great resentment over their "bossiness" was built up among the five younger children. This, without doubt, laid a foundation for the later disorganization of the family. As the years went on Mr. A. showed himself to be of higher intelligence than the other children. They seemed to resent this deeply. They made Mr. A. perform all sorts of menial tasks and frequently hit him and pushed him around.

This evidence of rivalry had the effect of making Mr. A. more determined to excel the others. He showed a desire for more and more education--beyond that of his brother and sisters, most of whom left school at the eighth grade.

Setting of the Home

Mr. A.'s parental family lived in a home of the poorest furnishings and lacking all modern conveniences. There were many times when even food was scarce. The absence of Mr. A.'s mother from the household left the home without any uniting force.

Family Life

At the age of fifteen Mr. A. was compelled by the pressure of his jealous brothers and sisters to leave the junior

high school. He had just completed the first half of the eighth grade. Mr. A. remained in a continued state of rebellion against his siblings for their having interrupted his avid pursuit of education.

The above occurred during the depression period of the early 1930's when jobs were almost non-existent. Mr. A. was unable to secure employment; hence, he was provided ample time to brood over his condition.

Problem

Up to this time Mr. A. had had a half-formed desire to enter the priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church, but he began to lose this inclination. He began to identify the narrowness and domination of his family with the repression of the Roman Catholic Church, to which his family gave strict allegiance.

Mr. A. sought an outlet for his own self-expression, outside of the confines of that repressive framework. At the age of 18, in 1934, Mr. A. overheard a Negro woman discussing the Gospel with a group of young Portuguese in the local variety store--the store which this Negress frequented after taking her child to school. Mr. A. never heard the scriptures expounded to him by laymen before--a fact ascribed to his ethnocentric training in the Portuguese Roman Catholic faith. Mr. A.'s inquisitiveness led to his clandestine meetings with the Negress

at her home, to discuss the Gospel. The mental comparisons on the part of Mr. A. between the Roman Catholic Church and the "true Church" described by the Negress, caused doubt and conflict in the mind of this intelligent 18 year old. The church, whose priesthood he had planned to enter, did not have the workings of the Holy Spirit as described in the Negress' Scriptures. The visions, audible speakings, and other spiritual manifestations promised in the Holy Word and possessed by the sect of the Negress--the "true church"--were flagrantly lacking in Mr. A.'s Roman Catholic Church. The head of this sect--a "prophetess" whom Mr. A. later met--was a white woman, deeply religious and possessing the qualities of his mother whom he loved so dearly. This "prophetess" claimed that the lives of all true Christians should be directed by her as the personification of the will of God. She brought out the fact that all true Christians should forsake friends, homes, family ties, and give up their worldly possessions for the sake of the Gospel as expounded and interpreted by her.

She continually exhorted her followers to assign all their moneys and worldly possessions to her. She said that she was holding these personal and real properties in trust for the church; but in reality, all the properties were solely in her name. She said it was the will of God that she assign young people to their mates, even against parental objections. For those who refused to obey, she promised the fires of hell.

Although careful about airing his views at his home, Mr. A.'s change in attitude was obvious to his mother, brothers and sisters. Continual prying on the part of his family followed. Mr. A. presented more and more of his subversive views. Arguments at the dinner table ensued, for Mr. A.'s mother would have no insubordination towards the only church--the Roman Church--and the siblings were jealous of their intelligent, "radical" brother. As a result, Mr. A. was seldom found at home; he limited his activities to visits to the cult of the "prophetess."

Mr. A. was a complete dupe of this woman until, one day in 1938, she tried to force him to marry a girl she had selected for him. The "prophetess" further opposed Mr. A.'s desire to return to school and to get through college. She even went so far as to write defamatory letters excoriating Mr. A. to the officials of several schools to which he had made application for entrance. By this time, Mr. A. began to suspect that the whole sect was a farce. Further, he had read in the writings of St. Paul that a woman should not be a religious leader. All of these factors led Mr. A. to leave the peculiar sect of which he had been a member. Mr. A. later identified himself with, and soon became a leader of, a Protestant denomination which held to his ideals as he saw them in the Scriptures. This made him much more contented in his way of life and nothing that his mother, brothers, sisters, and relatives could say or

do in any manner would persuade him to change his religious views. At the behest of other members of the Portuguese community and relatives as well, his mother took measures to have him receive a psychiatric examination by two prominent men of the profession who were, by the way, members of the Roman Church. Their findings revealed that Mr. A. was a perfectly normal individual.

By this time, however, the damage was done in the Portuguese family life of Mr. A. This continued strife precipitated numerous quarrels among the members of the family. Some of them were not so firm in their allegiance to the church as they purported to be. Recriminations and accusations were cast about freely. Some of the hidden misdeeds of other members of the family began to be revealed. It was brought out that their allegiance to the Roman Church was only on the surface and not in reality. The mother was horrified at her disrupted home. She cast out Mr. A.--the instigator of the religious dissension. Then, upholding her matriarchal position, she demanded from the remainder of the family, both a cessation to all arguments and a return to the strict beliefs and moral precepts of the Roman Catholic faith. The chaotic family rebelled against the mother. Enraged beyond her endurance, she drove them all from her home and they went their several ways. In this way was the family hierarchy completely demolished. To this date, no reconciliation, by any members of the family, has been attained.

2. THE CASE OF MRS. B.

The Composition of the Original Immigrant Family

Miss B.'s parents were educators and civic leaders in the Azores. She was the oldest of eight children. At the age of fifteen she was a church organist in the Azores. She came to the United States with her parents and other siblings in 1910 at the age of twenty. They settled in the town of East Providence, Rhode Island.

Children

Miss B. and her brothers and sisters were very kind and affectionate toward each other. Their parents had instilled a deep filial love within these young people. The parents had also brought the children up to be deeply religious.

All of the children graduated from high school. Later Miss B. and two of her sisters entered convents, and the youngest of her four brothers entered the seminary to prepare for the priesthood.

Setting of the Home

The family lived in its own single-frame dwelling of seven rooms in the better Portuguese section of East Providence. They had a well furnished home provided with all the modern conveniences. The family also had a valuable collection of antiques from the Moorish Empire of Portugal. An

outdoor shrine to Our Lady of Fatima was made by the father and two of the sons. Here daily morning devotions were held before the shrine by all the members of the family.

Family Life

At the age of twenty-one Miss B. entered a teaching order of Catholic Nuns. One year later she had to resign from the order, as she had contracted tuberculosis. She remained a patient at a private sanatorium for three years at which time her case was considered arrested. Miss B., now twenty-four years of age, became the organist of a large Portuguese Catholic Church. She held this position as a church leader and maintained her spinsterhood, living at home with her parents until she reached the age of forty-two. At this time she married a prominent, Portuguese undertaker, Mr. B., who was high in fraternal organizations and Portuguese civic clubs throughout the state. No children resulted from this marriage.

Mrs. B. opened a studio for the teaching of piano and organ in a large industrial city. Her students came from many different walks of life and from many different religions. She gave piano and organ recitals in the homes of her wealthy students. Mrs. B. was very highly esteemed by the parents of her many Protestant students.

On many occasions both Mr. and Mrs. B. were invited to various social and political functions by these wealthy patrons who seemed to like them very much. Most of these patrons were Protestants. During some of these social engagements with her Protestant patrons Mrs. B. was often asked why she considered the Catholic Church to be the true church.

The Problem

No arguments ensued from this questioning until one of the Protestant ladies, a Deaconess in a large Protestant church, confronted Mrs. B. with some challenging questions regarding the infallibility of the Pope in faith and morals and the failure of the Roman Church to return to the Bible as the only true source of light, guidance, and spiritual truth of God's heritage, God's expressed and implied will, and only true word. The Deaconess further stated that the several mysteries of the Roman Church as expounded in their catechism revealed precisely that she, the church, was not God's true church due to the fact that the true church of God holds no mysteries.

These questions left Mrs. B. confused and emotionally disturbed. She repeated these questions to her husband who flatly refused to listen. As time went on and more social occasions took place, more and more religious discussions

were arranged. Finally, Mr. B. noticed over a period of two years that Mrs. B. was avoiding religious observances of her own church. She was gradually turning her work as church organist over to an assistant.

When he confronted Mrs. B. with the accusation that she was becoming lax in her church duties, she replied that she was seriously looking into the matter of religious truth. She contended that peace of mind would not be hers until she proved to her own satisfaction that the Roman Church was or was not the true church.

On various occasions the minister of the church, to which the afore mentioned Deaconess belonged, requested that Mrs. B. play some church music of a Catholic nature at some social function of his church. Mrs. B. accepted these invitations on condition that her name be omitted from any announcements or programs of the functions. However, Protestant friends of Mr. B. soon informed him that his wife was playing at these functions and that she would soon be a "good Protestant."

When he brought these rumors to his wife's notice, she confessed that she was being indoctrinated for acceptance into the Protestant church. She said that she was breaking away from the Roman Church in piecemeal fashion so that it would be easier for her parents who were now quite old. Mr. B. protested to the Deaconess and to the minister for influ-

encing his wife, but he got nowhere. He felt that his business would be ruined now that his wife had become a "turncoat." Indeed, the pressure of the Portuguese community was intense; its society ostracized Mrs. B. at every turn.

Her sisters who were nuns, and her brother who was a priest pleaded with her in vain. She refused to return to the Roman Church. Because of the bickering she had aroused, Mrs. B. persuaded her husband to move to another community. He acceded to her request and went with her in the hope that he could persuade her to return to the Roman Church.

When he saw that there was no hope of her return to the Roman Church, he left her for good and returned to his business in the former community. All of Mrs. B.'s family and friends repudiated her. No reconciliation was ever effected.

3. THE CASE OF MR. C.

The Composition of the Original Immigrant Family

Mr. C. was the youngest son of a Portuguese wholesale fish dealer in Gloucester, Massachusetts. Mr. C.'s father and mother came over from the Azores in their younger years of married life, and Mr. C.'s father had worked up through the fish business to his present well-to-do state.

Children

There were three boys in the family, of which Mr. C. was the youngest. About the time of Mr. C.'s entrance into college the two other brothers left for California in order to establish a subsidiary wholesale fishery there.

Setting of the Home

They lived in a beautiful home with the best of furnishings and modern conveniences.

Family Life

The family was well to do and was highly respected in the Portuguese community of Gloucester, Massachusetts. The family unit of five had always lived together harmoniously.

Problem

At the outset of the problem Mr. C., a Portuguese Catholic, was attending Providence College, a Roman Catholic institution where he was concentrating in the field of Catholic philosophy, in preparation for a lay-teaching career.

Against the wishes of his family he was seeing a great deal of a Portuguese Protestant girl whom he had met while attending Gloucester High School. This Portuguese girl had been pursuing him ever since their high school days with telephone calls and requests for dates. When he left to attend Providence College, she still pursued him. She kept telephoning him, and even drove down to the college to visit him on many occasions.

She had an ardent desire to marry Mr. C., but she knew that she could not get him as long as he remained a member of the Catholic Church. In an attempt to break down his membership in that church she began by inviting him to what purported to be a social occasion but was really a part of an official religious convention of the Portuguese Protestant group. She arranged for intelligent members of that Protestant group to raise questions about his religious beliefs. Mr. C. could not find satisfactory answers and doubts began

to rise in his mind.

When Mr. C. announced his doubts, and the fact that he was withdrawing from his college studies in Catholic philosophy, in order to embrace the Protestant faith, his father disowned him. Mr. C.'s mother, while deeply affectionate toward her son, still accepted the law as laid down by the paternal head of the family. The mother's emotions were thus subordinated to the paternal authority in the family.

The son embraced Protestantism and married the girl. He made numerous attempts to ingratiate himself in the eyes of his parents by writing letters and making many telephone calls. However, his parents refused to have anything to do with him unless he recanted. His father was adamant. Nevertheless, Mr. C., remained firm in his religious convictions.

As time went on, dissension arose between the two parents; each accused the other of their son's "fall". Arguments persisted, culminating in the mother's leaving the home. She permanently left the community and established residence in New Bedford. All attempts at reuniting the family to this date have failed. Thus another Portuguese family became disorganized.

4. THE CASE OF MRS. D.

The Composition of the Original Immigrant Family

Miss D. was the oldest of five children--two boys and three girls. She was brought up by her parents in the Azores for a period of sixteen years, at which time she came to the United States with her aunt, her uncle, and one cousin, a young lady of the same age as Miss D. After a period of three years, Miss D. had sufficient funds to send for her parents and four sisters. They arrived in the latter part of 1912, settling in Plymouth, Massachusetts. All of these persons lived in one dwelling.

Children

There were five children in this family, but within the space of three years there were two other sons born to Miss D.'s parents. Before the problem situation arose, there was harmonious living in this rather poor Portuguese family of Azorean peasantry background.

Family Life

Miss D. was employed as a cordage worker, earning \$9 to \$11 per week. She was well esteemed by all the members of her household because of her earning capacity. The

family was considered to be very religious and was respected by all the townspeople.

Setting in the Home

A six-room flat in a three-family dwelling constituted their home. The furniture was poor in quality. There were no modern conveniences.

Problem

During the summer months when many visitors came to Plymouth, Miss D. met a young man from the state of Connecticut, of English descent, while she was having a soda in a drug store. This man shall be called Mr. D. Miss D. was a very attractive young lady. Although she was limited in the use of the English language, she managed to answer his several questions pertaining to possible work at the cordage mill.

He finally became employed as a cordage worker in the same department as Miss D. After several meetings during their lunch hour, Miss D. was asked to "go steady" by Mr. D. She flatly refused on the grounds that her parents would never accept a "Yankee" into the family, even though the "Yankee" was willing to accept her religious beliefs. The young man remained employed for one and a half years when he, during lunch hour, asked if she would marry him. This time she accepted. It was suggested that he first obtain permission from her parents.

The parents refused to give their consent despite all pleading. He was politely told to leave the home and to stay away from Miss D. and the Portuguese, non-"Yankee" community. This he refused to do. Mr. D. then continued his usual talks with Miss D. during lunch time and very frequently after work when he walked her up to two blocks from her home. Mr. D. told Miss D. that unless she consented to marry him at once, he was returning to Connecticut where there was a better position open to him. He also told her that he had received a legacy from his father which included several acres of tilled land and a homestead with many cows and chickens. She finally, after days of thinking it over, consented to marry him on condition that he become a Catholic and promise to raise any children born of their marriage in the Roman faith. This he consented to do. Over her parents' objection and violent quarrels and bickerings, she was married in the rectory of the local parish and went to live with Mr. D. in Connecticut.

Mrs. D. made many attempts to become reconciled to her family but met with no success. The family itself had many violent quarrels as to whether they should become reconciled with Mrs. D. Finally Mrs. D.'s family broke up and scattered to various places in the United States.

5. THE CASE OF MR. E.

The Composition of the Original Immigrant Family

Mr. E. was born of very low-class peasant stock in the Azores. He was the youngest son of a family of three boys and three girls. By dint of hard work, enough money was saved to send the three boys to the United States in 1893 when Mr. E. was ten years old. He came here with his two older brothers who established a home in the poorer section of the Portuguese district of Fall River, Massachusetts. After about five years, the two older brothers had secured enough money to bring their three sisters to the United States. The parents did not come to this country.

Children

The six children formed a family group in this country under the leadership of the oldest brother. All lived very harmoniously together with an equitable division of labor inside and outside the home. None of these people received any education.

Setting of the Home

This family group lived in the lowest type of housing accommodations without conveniences. They had only the barest

necessities in furniture.

Family Life

The three brothers and two of the sisters worked at unskilled jobs in the local textile mill. One of the sisters remained at home to keep house. The small amount of money which they were getting seemed like wealth in comparison with their former abject poverty.

The youngest brother, our subject Mr. E., expressed a desire to move to Pawtucket, Rhode Island, where he thought there was a chance to make more money. The oldest brother, who was the head of the household, opposed Mr. E. Mr. E. challenged his brother's right to dominate the family, and he moved to Pawtucket.

After moving to Pawtucket, Mr. E., married a Portuguese girl by whom he had, in the course of the years, one daughter and three sons. Apparently he led a very happy family life and in time was elevated to the status of foreman in a jewelry plant.

Problem

After Mr. E. had been married some time, he became a bit tired of his hard-working commonplace wife and looked around for something a little more "flashy" and entertaining.

He felt that he could hereby gain more sexual recreation and satisfaction--things which were denied him in the more-religiously orthodox sexual relationships of his marriage, in which the woman was not supposed to express any enjoyment of "carnal activities."

For this reason he entered into a clandestine relationship with a French woman who worked in his plant. As the years went by he had an illegitimate daughter by this woman.

When his children heard of his illicit relationship, they told Mr. E. that they would leave home unless he ceased his activities with this woman. Mr. E. agreed to stop seeing the woman but did not uphold the agreement. The family, completely deceived, continued to live with him.

When, after having been married for twenty-three years, Mr. E.'s wife died, he immediately told his children that he was going to marry the French woman. They opposed his marriage violently as did the tight ethnocentric Portuguese society, but Mr. E. married the woman anyway. With Mr. E.'s departure from the home, the children went their several ways and the family was broken-up.

Mr. E. was broken-hearted at the loss of his children, and he grieved so much that he finally gave up his French

wife in the hope of being reconciled to his children. However, they utterly refused to have anything to do with him. Thus another Portuguese family became disorganized.

6. THE CASE OF MR. F.

The Composition of the Original Immigrant Family

Mr. F. was the third of five sons born to a Portuguese gentleman-farmer and well-to-do wine exporter in the Azores. When Mr. F. was sixteen years old, his father died. Mr. F., together with his widowed mother, his aunt and his uncle came to the United States in 1905 to open a Portuguese restaurant in a large mill city in southeastern Massachusetts.

Children

Mr. F.'s four brothers remained in the Azores. He was the only one of the siblings to come to the United States.

Setting of the Home

This family group which came to the United States was very wealthy before arriving here and amassed more wealth after they came here. The family lived on an estate of 180 acres outside a large mill city in southeastern Massachusetts. Their home of eighteen rooms was immaculately kept. They had the finest furniture and appointments in the home. No luxury was spared.

Family Life

The family was well-to-do and almost, but not quite, opulent.

This family was completely matriarchal. Mr. F.'s mother was a dominating personality not only in her own family, but also in the religious and social organizations of her community. She was a financial patron of all the religious festivals and celebrations which mean so much to the Portuguese people. Everyone admired her for her many philanthropies. She had been highly educated by private tutors in the Azores.

Mr. F. received his education in a Catholic College near Boston, where he majored in economics. His stay at the college represented the first long period of time in which he had been away from the domination of his mother.

Problem

It was during his junior year at this college that Mr. F. met a young Polish girl who was of his own faith, the Roman Church. Before he had met this girl, Mr. F. had been accustomed to return home about three times a week to visit his mother. His trips home became more irregular, and this disturbed his mother greatly. The mother questioned her son regarding his failure to return home as frequently as before. Mr. F. said that his studies were getting the best of him and that he needed more time for study if he expected to graduate.

Mr. F.'s mother believed this excuse until she received a long distance phone call from the mother of the Polish girl. The Polish mother revealed that Mr. F. and her daughter

had been going together for some time and that they planned to marry as soon as Mr. F. graduated from the college. The Polish woman begged the mother of Mr. F. to keep Mr. F. away from the Polish girl, as this girl was already engaged to a Polish lawyer.

Mrs. F. immediately called her son at the college, and summoned him home. She did not tell him what she wanted, but merely commanded his presence. As was customary in Portuguese families, he obeyed her command without a question. He suspected that his mother knew about his courtship. Upon his arrival at home, his mother went into a tirade against the Polish girl (whom she did not even know), characterizing the girl as a "low down Polack." Mr. F. protested that the girl and her parents were respectable Polish people well thought of by their community and by their parish priest.

After much pleading by his mother, Mr. F. agreed to give up the Polish girl. However, the girl would not consent to let Mr. F. go. She continued to contract dates with him and to arrange meetings with him in night clubs. Finally, she became pregnant by him, and he married her secretly before a justice of the peace. Six months later a daughter was born to the couple, and this also was kept secret. The commands of the endogamous-minded Portuguese mother did not break down the bond between these two young lovers.

About a year after his marriage, he revealed the whole matter to his mother. The mother became hysterical and became ill for a period of several weeks. In a vain attempt to become reconciled with his mother, Mr. F. remarried the girl before a priest; this and all other efforts failed. The mother remained firm. She repudiated her son, severed all ties in the United States, and returned to the Azores.

7. THE CASE OF MRS. G.

The Composition of the Original Immigrant Family

Mrs. G. was born in this city of Portuguese parents. She was the fourth child in a family of five. Her father was a well-to-do businessman in the city of New Bedford. The children were very well brought up and educated through high school. Three sisters were born before her and one brother after. She was forced to wear hand-me-downs from her sisters. This caused her to be very bitter and jealous for most of her young life.

Setting of the Home

This family lived in a beautiful twelve-room home provided with the best of everything.

Family Life

Many outside persons including American friends were entertained by this family. The children were somewhat ashamed to introduce the mother to their friends because the mother could not speak English well. In general this family was held in very high esteem in the Portuguese community. It was a very religious family, and the girls were subject to the over-strict regulation characteristic of the Portuguese culture. The father was an important Democratic

politician in the city of New Bedford. He entertained his political friends frequently in the home. Contrary to the religion of most Portuguese, this family was Protestant, attending a local church.

It is customary for the Protestant Portuguese of New England to meet once a year at a certain city for a convention. At one of these conventions, Mrs. G. met her future husband, Mr. G., who was then studying for the ministry at Andover-Newton Theological Seminary. After a short courtship, she was married to him in his senior year. After graduation, he was assigned to a Negro mission in Providence. Here everything went well for two years, and they had an infant son during their two years of married life.

Problem

After the second year, the husband frequently came home from business trips to find his wife away and the baby home alone. This occurred mostly in the afternoons and never at night. She explained her absence by saying that she was running out to visit church people and that some of the neighbors had agreed to look in on the child from time to time. The husband began to notice that his wife was acquiring expensive clothing and jewelry. She accounted for this by saying that she had received gifts of money from church people and that she had been able to save a bit here and there from

offerings made to her husband for religious services rendered.

The real story behind it all was that she was continuing to carry on an illicit love affair with a Negro musician who played the organ at the mission from time to time. This Negro had plenty of money as he was regularly employed as a musician at a night club in Boston. He was giving her all the expensive clothing, jewelry, and material things which could not be provided by her husband's low income. Since this Negro worked nights in Boston, he slept mornings, and she visited his home in the afternoon for illicit relations. Except for some question as to her frequent absence and as to her clothing and jewelry, the minister did not learn of his wife's infidelity until it had been going on for five years. At this time, he told his wife that he had accepted a call to a pulpit in New York. He told his wife to prepare to move the family to New York. At this time, the wife declared her love for the Negro musician and refused to accompany her husband to New York. The wife thereupon divorced the minister, but relinquished custody of the son to him. Thus another Portuguese family was broken.

8. THE CASE OF MR. H.

The Composition of the Original Immigrant Family

Mr. H.'s father was a well-to-do landowner on the Isle of St. Michael in the Azores. He brought his family to the United States in 1910. At that time, Mr. H. was four years old. Twelve years later, the father took his family back to the Azores. Mr. H. remained in the Azores until sixteen. When Mr. H. was twenty years old, he came back to the United States alone. At the age of twenty-two he married Mrs. H. who was twenty-four at the time.

Children

Mr. and Mrs. H. had one child, a daughter, after eleven years of marriage. Both parents were deeply devoted to their only child.

Setting of the Home

At the time of the marriage, they lived with Mrs. H.'s mother in an excellent apartment in the Fox Point area of Providence. Here they remained until the break-up of their marriage.

Family Life

Until the onset of the problem the family life was very pleasant. The whole family was well regarded in the Portu-

guese community. The Portuguese group in which they lived consisted of Mr. and Mrs. H., Mrs. H.'s mother, and Mrs. H.'s brother. Mrs. H.'s brother was the semi-official head of the family. All went well for fifteen years, at which time Mr. H. secured extra employment beyond his regular job to supplement the family income. In this extra job, he was a food dispenser at a Providence drug store.

Problem

While working at the drug store, Mr. H. who was now thirty-seven, met an attractive Italian girl of twenty-eight years. She enticed him, and they formed an illicit relation which culminated in nine months in the birth of a boy. The pair kept the illicit relationship and the existence of the child a secret for one year.

Mrs. H. and her mother were informed by relatives and friends of Mr. H.'s illicit relationship. When confronted with the accusation, Mr. H. denied it vehemently. Finally, as time went on, the whole affair came out in the open when the paramour called Mrs. H. and angrily demanded that she divorce Mr. H. Mrs. H. lost no time in putting her husband out of the home. A short time later Mrs. H. died of a condition aggravated by her grief, and her mother was awarded full custody of the child after a lengthy, legal battle instituted by Mr. H.

9. THE CASE OF MR. I.

The Composition of the Original Immigrant Family

Mr. I. came over from the Azores in 1911 at the age of twenty-eight with a son, age nine. He left in the Azores to come over later, his wife and a daughter, age seven. He was not able to send for his wife for a period of three years after arrival here in the United States. Finally, in 1914 he had sufficient funds to bring his wife and daughter to this country.

He established a home for his wife and children in Fall River. Before the onset of the problem situation, three more children were born in this city.

Children

There were born to this couple, Mr. and Mrs. I., two sons and three daughters. All went well in this homely atmosphere where peace and harmonious living reigned in the usual, ordinary, normal home of the Portuguese family.

Setting of the Home

Mr. I. was a skilled tradesman, a carpenter; and because of his economic standing, he was able to provide for his wife and children a better type of home than that to which the majority of the Portuguese had been accustomed. He had a

single-frame dwelling of seven rooms in the Portuguese section of Fall River. His home had good furniture, central heating, and all modern conveniences of that period.

Family Life

Before the onset of the problem, the family life was most harmonious. The father was the head of the family, which stood very high in the estimation of the Portuguese people in the community.

Problem

When Mr. I. came over to this country from the restraints of the Azorean culture into the freedom of the American culture, he had gone to live with his wife's sister in New Bedford. Before the community, he claimed this woman as his wife and lived with her for the whole three years before he brought his legal wife to this city.

When Mrs. I. came to this city, he dropped the illicit relationship with his sister-in-law and moved to Fall River where he was not known in order to set up a new home for his family.

Mrs. I. had been in this city with her husband for a period of seven years when she discovered his infidelity. The couple now had five children by 1920.

An anonymous letter was delivered to Mrs. I., revealing

his previous infidelity. She ignored this particular letter until the space of several months saw the delivery of another anonymous letter which also revealed that the infidelity was continuing from time to time.

Mrs. I. confronted her husband with the accusation and he denied it. Mrs. I. then went to her sister who readily admitted the whole affair and boasted that it would continue. Mrs. I. went back to her husband and made every effort to effect a reconciliation. When all this failed she banished her husband from the home. He then had recourse to the courts in order to be restored to his home. Mrs. I. then took him back for a "probationary" period of three months; however, he lapsed into his old illicit romance, and his wife left him once again--this time for good. She went for a period of time to the Azores, taking her three daughters with her. She left the two boys with Mr. I. Mr. I, seldom at home, continued his immoral ways.

The boys lost all respect for their profligate father, and lost, as well, all semblance of sibling unity in the near-parentless home. Each brother shifted for himself when he became of age.

10. THE CASE OF MR. J.

The Composition of the Original Immigrant Family

Mr. J. was the oldest child of an Azorean family of seven children. He married his first wife at the age of twenty-one and moved away to start his own home. Seven months later his wife died. About one year later at the age of twenty-two, he married his second wife, a girl of sixteen whom he had been courting for a year. About two years later, the year, 1903, he came to the United States alone in order to make enough money to send for his wife. In 1904 he was able to pay the passage of his wife and infant child from the Azores.

Children

At the rise of Mr. J.'s problem situation, the oldest child was five years old and the youngest, an infant of three months. The children were well loved by both parents.

Setting of the Home

Mr. J. had a five-room flat in a six-apartment house in the Fox Point area of Providence. The furniture was very sparse and of the cheapest type. There was no central heat-

ing, and the only plumbing convenience was an iron sink in the kitchen and a water closet bowl.

Family Life

Mr. J. was employed as a loom tender in a textile mill, earning about eighteen dollars a week. He seemed to be a good family man and a good provider. The family seemed to be well respected in the Portuguese community of which it was a member except that there was some scandal as to the father's conduct at his place of employment. Outwardly, Mr. J. and his family were quite religious.

Problem

In 1902 Mr. J. had come to this city from the Azores alone. He was twenty-three years old; and for the first time in his life, he found himself in a new society with a wide freedom and a new culture which broke down the inhibitions and restraints which the more rigid culture of the Azores had enforced upon him. During his year of freedom in the United States, he became entangled with a French paramour whom he met at the mill.

He carried on an illicit love affair with this girl from soon after his arrival here in this city until the extra-

marital relationship was discovered by his wife in 1905. The family was getting along very well except that Mrs. J. noticed from time to time that Mr. J. didn't have the inclination to have any physical relation with her. Suddenly Mr. J. appeared drunk one morning at the mill; and as a result, he lost his job. He had stayed out all night having a party with his paramour and had not returned home.

Even then his wife did not suspect his infidelity. The paramour missing his presence at the mill began writing letters to his home asking for meetings with Mr. J. Completely by accident the wife discovered these letters. As she could not read herself, she took them to her relatives to read. They were only too willing to reveal the infidelity set forth in the letters. Since the husband had been out of a job, the family had appealed to a public welfare agency. The wife requested the case worker in charge of the situation to talk with her husband to try to get him to give up his paramour.

Over a period of four months, entailing a series of interviews, the case worker brought the husband and wife together to talk over the infidelity. The husband admitted that he had been unfaithful in the past but claimed that this had now been over for some time. When confronted by his wife's accusations, he told the case worker falsely that

his wife had had a nervous breakdown in the Azores and that she was now having hallucinations. The case worker arranged for a psychiatric examination of Mrs. J. She was found to be normal.

Mr. J. kept reverting to his paramour, and his wife sought a legal separation from him. His wife found employment, leaving the children in a day-nursery and taking them home at night. As a result of their being left in the day-nursery for so long a time, the children's ties with their mother were weakened. When they were of an age to make decisions, they left the mother and went their own ways.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

In Chapter One there was presented an analysis of the cultural factors in the old world which in their interaction constituted the formative background of the Portuguese immigrant to this country. It was emphasized that the majority of Portuguese immigrants to the United States came not from the mainland of Portugal but from the Islands of the Azores. It was shown also that the repressive culture of Portugal under the domination of the Roman Church was further limited by the isolation of the Island mores of the Azores.

There was further presented a discussion of the political, social, and economic institutions through which the Azorean family gained its identity. It was indicated that the political set-up was rife with oppression for the peasant. Further oppression permeated the structure of the family in which all the members were required to be subservient to the head of the family, seemingly without a will of their own. The pecuniary position of the peasant was portrayed as in an economic condition tantamount to serfdom.

The convergence of these data shows ample reason for the departure of the Portuguese immigrant from the oppression of the Azorean life to seek better things in the United States. There is also shown in the first chapter that the role of the

Portuguese woman was so confined in the Azorean society that she would tend to over-step the bounds of restraint in the freer atmosphere of the American culture.

The point was made that the interaction of the Azorean culture, as depicted, with the contradicting cultural factors of the United States resulted in conflict. As the interaction between the people of the two cultures became greater, the conflicts arising from random, trial and error attempts at adjustment also became greater.

It was shown that disorganization of Portuguese families began to occur as older and younger members of these families began to assert themselves as individual personalities seeking adjustment to new mores which opposed those of the family groups. The peculiar factors which complicated this problem situation and made it a special area of study were: the domination of the Roman Catholic Church, the narrowness of an island culture, in combination with the strict and limiting structure of the Portuguese family.

In an analysis of the cases it appears that the sudden release of the pressure of the culture upon the individual without the mitigating effect of some sort of safety valve or transitional device caused the familial system to disintegrate. The idea of seeking release from the repression of the

old culture as soon as the new culture offered an opportunity for escape, runs through the cases cited in this report.

The first major group of cases is the one which emphasizes release from a restrictive and repressive religious pattern. It is very easy to see how the family would be ruptured in a dispute over religion. "It is understood that religion is the support of the family. It is not so well understood, but nevertheless true that the family is the support of religion, and that the given family and its traditional religion are almost in symbiosis."¹

In the case of Mr. A, there is a picture of a young man who was born in the United States into the strict culture of a Portuguese immigrant family. He appears to be a reader and a thinker with a somewhat superior mentality, and is a deviant from the family of which he was supposed to be a part. The family tried to force him into its own mold, causing him to leave school and seek employment. The circumstance of the depression of the 1930's barred him from employment and gave him time to brood over his family oppressions and sibling rivalries. He accepted the urgings of the first person who gave him the opportunity to rebel against his religion as the symbol of his family pressures.

¹Margaret Mead, "What is Happening to the American Family?", Journal of Social Case Work, Vol. XXXVIII, November, 1947, p. 324.

In the case of Mrs. B, there is a cultural pattern which consisted almost entirely of a narrow regime of eating, sleeping, and religious observance, an almost cloistered religious existence amid the attractive turmoil of an American city. Here we have a young woman who endured the Portuguese equivalent of the Moslem Purdah until at the dangerous feminine age of forty-two she was released to free living and free thinking in the life of her husband, and she was able to start her own music studio in which she was further introduced to the ways of a free world. The freedom to live and think her own life caused her to revolt against that great symbol of her familial repression, the Roman Church.

In the case of Mr. C, there is revealed an example of another young man who was shown a way of expressing the implicit rebellion of an American-born person, a child of the new culture against the strict repression and limiting religious views of an old world family. It might be said, in many cases, that if the heads of these families had allowed the family mores to become more flexible, the family and its pattern would have gained a new identity as a developing part of an Americanized cultural pattern.

The next group of cases involves the marriage of Portuguese persons with persons of another culture. In the case of Mrs. D, there was an example of the contradiction of the two cultures. The Portuguese culture demanded that the

family select the mate. The American culture in which the family was living upheld the right of the girl to select her own mate. Further, the selection of the mate was the symbol of the girl's repudiation of the old restricted culture and the embracing of the new freedom.

In the case of Mr. E, there is a man who carried on his rebellion against the older culture in steps over a period of years. His first break with the old culture occurred when he left the home of his brothers and sisters. He did not make a complete break at this time because he married back into the old culture. His prolonged affair with the French woman whom he later married to the disgust of his children was just another example of his attempt to find a place for himself as an individual within the free culture of the new world.

In the case of Mr. F, we have a young man completely under the domination of an old world matriarch. In his rebellion against the cultural pattern which enclosed him, he simply exchanged the leadership of one woman for the leadership of another. His case was that of an American young man implicitly seeking release from the "velvet" bonds which held him from living the independent life expected of the American man.

The next group of cases involves Portuguese persons who entered into illicit, sexual relationships. In the case of Mrs. G, although she lived in a home of affluence, her sisters

were continually favored over her. Mrs. G's frustration occurred in practically the only area in which she might have expressed her individuality. Instead of having clothes of her own, she was compelled to wear hand-me-downs from her sisters. Over the course of the years, the accumulative effect of this repression of her only outlet for individuality must have been tremendous. Within the confines of an already restricted culture, the effect was overwhelming.

By contrast with the American culture which surrounded her, this situation must have been well-nigh intolerable. It is not to be wondered at that she sought the first avenue of escape which offered itself to her. She took her first opportunity at a religious convention to secure the first available and eligible male as a temporary escape from her frustrating family environment.

It was not long before she discovered that her new alliance did not offer the material satisfactions which her life had taught her were the important things. She secured these satisfactions from the negro musician and thus went with him.

In the case of Mr. H, the subject was born in this country, emigrated with his parents to the Azores, brought up there till he reached the age of twenty when he came back to this country. He was steeped in the Azorean culture and, in this country, meekly submitted to an arranged marriage which only placed him more firmly under the dominance of his own family

as he was married to a third cousin. To make matters worse, and to further enclose him within the repressive culture, he was compelled to live in a household strictly ruled by his wife's mother and brother. He avidly seized his chance to express himself as an individual and to seek satisfaction outside the family circle. His rebellion found expression in an illicit union with an Italian paramour.

In the case of Mr. I, we have a situation complicated by loneliness as Mr. I's own family did not accompany him to this country. Logically, he went to his wife's sister and in the unwonted freedom and anonymity so different from the restrictions of the narrow, Azorean culture, they began to comfort each other in an illicit relationship.

In the case of Mr. J, also we have the situation of loneliness and an unaccustomed freedom from a repressive old world culture. Mr. J lost no time in exercising his new-found freedom by seeking comfort in his loneliness with a French paramour. He clung to this symbol of his new-found freedom in this new world for many years after he brought his wife to this country.

In this analysis of conclusions from these individual case studies, the individual personalities stand out as deviations from a transplanted cultural pattern. The deviated conduct of the individual reveals itself as a product of conflict

between widely different cultures. One of these, an old-world culture, struggling to survive without adaption; the other a dominant and all-embracing new-world culture saying in effect, "adapt or die." In this titanic struggle, some of the families involved are bound to be injured, unless planned procedures are set up to help the people of the older culture to adapt to the new.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing chapter the writer has presented an analysis of ten selected cases of Portuguese families which had become disorganized in the United States. It is readily apparent that the major factors involved in these cases of disorganization are matters of extra-marital relations, of religious difficulties, and of marriage with persons outside the Portuguese culture. It cannot be said that any one of these factors is alone responsible for the breakdown of the family. In many of the cases, although one of the factors played a major part, the others mentioned above contributed to the breakdown in a minor way. The paragraphs which follow present the proposed conclusions of this study as to what appeared to be the deeper interactive factors of the apparent disorganization of Portuguese families in the American culture:

1. The society from which these Portuguese families in America came was an older society of fixed status. The older conception of legal control by the few exercising unlimited power was the dominant one. The old master-servant relationship ruled in all fields of employment. Of major significance in this context is the idea that formerly the conduct of all interpersonal relationship was patterned and guided by

fixed rules of conduct according to the status of the individuals involved. There was a well-established set of rules by which individuals were always treated according to their membership in a class or group, and those who occupied the inferior position were expected to conform, to submit, to acquiesce, in being used, misused, dominated, and exploited by those who occupied the superior position. This was particularly so in the political, familial, religious, and economic areas of Azorean life.

2. These Portuguese families which came to America entered a new culture in which the older fixed status of strict political domination and strict economic domination was no longer the norm. In the repudiation of the sanctions that governed the older society, the Portuguese immigrants were faced with confusion, with insecurity, and with conflicts in almost every area of life. In the older society, the family had been everything, in most cases, even a self-sufficient, economic unit. The immigrants to this country were confronted with the new problem of how to conduct relationships as individuals with other individuals.

3. Two major insecurities arose in the new country. One was the insecurity and confusion of the dominant family and its leading person. The family and family leader were fundamentally disturbed because others would not accept, at face value, their prestige and supposed superiority. Also

there was much insecurity in the family leaders because they could not tolerate too close a contact with people who thought and acted in patterns different from their own. The family leaders would not condone the acceptance of the new culture by members of the family.

4. The formerly submissive members of the family felt insecure and were uncertain how to act in the new culture in which the prestige of the family had been reduced. They fluctuated between the two extremes of complete submission to the older customs and discipline of the family and a complete disregard for any restraining influence.

5. In the new world there was a complete contradiction between many of the values of the old world culture and many of those of the new world culture.¹ The older value of complete submission to the family and repression of the individual was in conflict with the new world value of individual initiative. The old world's superstitious submission to religious precepts was supplanted by the new world value of individual religious belief. The old world values implied in the arranged marriage were completely contradicted by the new world's allegiance to romantic love.

6. All of the factors in interaction formed a pattern in which the addition of the new anonymity of the individual

¹Hertha Kraus, "The Newcomer's Orientation to the American Community," Journal of Social Casework, Vol. XXIX, January, 1948, p. 10.

in the teeming, boiling cities of the United States made it easy for him to transgress the ways of his forefathers and to bring about the disorganization of his family.

7. All of the old ways of living constituted one culture and all of the new ways of living constituted a new culture, and the area of transition from the old to the new was one of confusion. With all the use of the term culture it is important to refer to a definition of this term. Here is the one which the writer considers quite meaningful.

"Culture is the accumulation of the group's experience, its way of solving the problems of life's demands and needs, the attitudes, folkways, mores, ways of behaving and feelings that have been invented, tested, approved, and perpetuated in a particular people's history. All these habits and ways of doing things become organized into complexes and patterns, institutions for meeting economic needs, organizing political relations, expressing religious worship, regulating marriage and family relations, and the sum total of these, we call culture of that people."¹

It is the transition from the repression of the old culture in combination with other factors which provided the setting for the breakup of many Portuguese families.

¹ Maurine Boie, "The Case Worker's Need for Orientation to the Culture of the Client," The Family, Vol. XVIII, October, 1937, p. 197.

CHAPTER VI

RECOMMENDATIONS

As a result of this study, one need becomes apparent. That is the need of the immigrant family for some helps in adapting itself to the new culture. "One of the difficulties which presented itself to the Portuguese families of this report was the emphasis on the need for conformity and on the complete acceptance of the American way of life immediately and in rather minute detail."¹ Now it is better understood that social change is made more gradually.

Recently there has been an increasing emphasis on the American interest in the variety of cultures and on the acceptance of the value to American society in an organization of many cultures. In this light it would seem logical to offer social service which would help these immigrant families to work out conflicts in cultural behavior and to help persons steeped in other cultures to bridge the gap between their past and their present.² This service would be more related to the very early needs of new immigrants.

¹Edith Abbott, Section III, "Early Problems of Assimilation," Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem, University of Chicago Press, Chicago: 1926, p. 457.

²Howard H. Cummings, Improving Human Relations, Washington, D. C.: The National Council for the Social Studies, N. E. A., November, 1949, Bulletin 25, p. 12.

Once the newcomers are accepted, there is a responsibility for seeing that they adapt to American ways of life.¹ It is known that the new family must adapt or die, and since that family now becomes a part of the American society, it becomes imperative that it must not be permitted to crumble.²

To the immigrant from the Azores, the commonplace institutions of the American community are completely formidable. The public library is considered a retreat for scholars rather than a source of information. The police officer is not the public's friend and counsellor but rather a tyrannical, public official. The gentle freedom of the United States with its personal responsibility for decent behavior is quite strange for them. They consider it an outrageous form of license.

It is possible that assistance in modifying the old world culture and adapting the ways of the family to the new culture can best be accomplished by social workers who share the same cultural background as the immigrant families in question. The Portuguese immigrant would better accept guid-

¹James S. Plant, Personality and the Cultural Pattern, New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1937, p. 337.

²Cummings, Improving Human Relations, p. 6.

ance from Americanized Portuguese workers. The writer himself, an Americanized Portuguese social worker, has found this to hold true in his own case work.

Perhaps one of the best avenues through which the Americanized Portuguese social worker could reach newly-arrived Portuguese immigrants would be the Portuguese social clubs. These organizations exist in every Portuguese community. Such organizations are dear to the hearts of the Portuguese people and their existence is well known to the Azoreans even before they make their plans to come here. Immigrants from the Azores enter the Portuguese community and gravitate toward these social clubs. They have confidence in these social clubs at least as a means for securing employment. Certainly, there is no reason why these clubs could not be of help in social and political education as well as in the economic phase of life.

The first thing that could be accomplished in these Portuguese clubs is to secure for these families the guidance of a trained social worker from its own group.¹ Then, the immigrant family would be placed under the sponsorship of an Americanized Portuguese family as nearly like its own in composition as possible.

¹Peter L. Sandi, "The Psychocultural Approach in Social Casework," Journal of Social Casework, Vol. XXVIII, December, 1947, p. 380.

The guiding persons and the trained social worker would not wait for problems to arise. They would embark on a positive program of helping the new family to adapt to the American culture. It is most important to introduce the new family without special invitation or request to the common resources of the community which they will need to use in order to understand this country better and to help themselves.¹

There are plenty of these common resources available, and they reflect the basic patterns of the American culture. These common resources of the American community which are implied here range from the policeman on the beat to all types of social agencies providing all kinds of special services.

The purpose of this careful introduction to the American culture would be to cushion the shock which would inevitably occur when two such divergent cultures as the Azorean culture and the American culture come into contact. With a careful introduction into the American culture, members of the newly-arrived Azorean family, would not be held under the pressure of repressive circumstances that they would burst forth into the new freedom so explosively as to disorganize their family structure.

¹Hertha Kraus, "The Newcomer's Orientation to the American Community," Journal of Social Casework, Vol. XXIX January, 1948, p. 11.

In organizing such a plan as set forth above, it would be necessary to determine rather carefully those needs of the immigrant Azorean family upon which such an organized program might be focused. One set of these needs would be in the area on how to keep house on a minimum income. This would include an education in how to buy food in the American markets and how to adapt menus to the new climate. Another set of needs would be in the area of locating a home community which would be desired for continued residence.¹ There is no reason why in a great country such as this, newly-arrived Azorean families should have to remain close to ports of entry.

Another set of needs lies in the area of occupational information and adjustment. There is much that is wasteful in allowing the newly-arrived Azorean immigrant to be vulnerable to industrial or commercial exploitation.

The blending of education and social recreation available through Portuguese social clubs should be the royal road which would help the new immigrant family to adjust itself to its own good and for that of American society. It would prevent the new family from being overwhelmed by what at first might seem to be an overdose of freedom or opulence.

¹ Hertha Kraus, "The Newcomer's Orientation to the American Community," Journal of Social Casework, Vol. XXIX, January, 1948, p. 12.

Urgent help can be given to the newcomer which will aid him to function on his highest level if an attempt is made to deal realistically with all factors of cultural distance and to shorten that distance by offering temporary support and clarified insight into the American cultural pattern through the Portuguese social clubs.

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