

**"LITTLE MADEIRA" - THE PORTUGUESE IN WOODSTOCK
C.1940-C.1980**

Pedro Machado

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C.1940-C.1980**

Pedro Machado

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of
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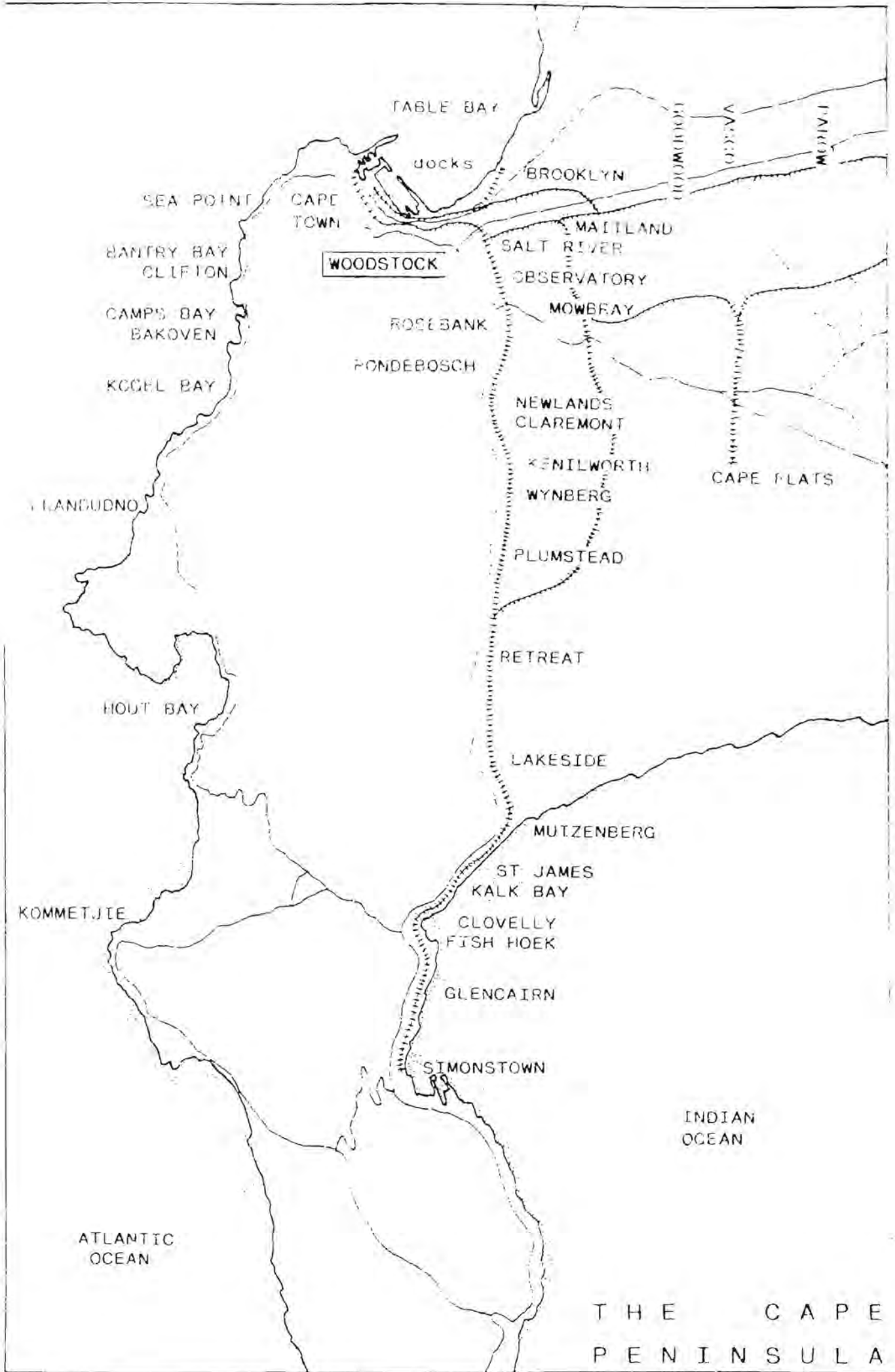


TABLE BAY

Docks

BROOKLYN

SEA POINT

CAPE TOWN

BANTRY BAY
CLIFTON

WOODSTOCK

MAITLAND

SALT RIVER

OBSERVATORY

CAMPS BAY
BAKOVEN

ROSEBANK

MOWBRAY

KOGEL BAY

PONDEBOSCH

NEWLANDS

CLAREMONT

CAPE FLATS

KENILWORTH

WYNBERG

VLANDUDNO

PLUMSTEAD

HOUT BAY

RETREAT

LAKESIDE

MUTZENBERG

ST JAMES

KALK BAY

KOMMETJIE

CLOVELLY

FISH HOEK

GLENCAIRN

SIMONSTOWN

INDIAN OCEAN

ATLANTIC OCEAN

THE CAPE
PENINSULA

INTRODUCTION

"Homens, que trabalhais na minha aldeia,
 Como as arvores, vos sois a Natureza.
 E se vos falta, um dia, o caldo para a ceia
 E tendes de emigrar,
 Troncos desarraigados pelo vento,
 Levais terra pegada ao coracao
 E partis a chorar.
 Que sofrimento
 O Patria, ver crescer a tua solidao "

[Men, who work in my village,
 Like the trees, you are one with Nature.
 And if, one day, you do not have broth for
 lunch
 And have to emigrate,
 Trees uprooted by the wind,
 Earth clinging to your heart
 And you depart crying.
 What suffering
 O Homeland, to see your solitude grow.]

T. Pascoais¹

This dissertation seeks to trace the forty-year evolution of the Portuguese or Madeiran immigrant community of Woodstock between the 1940s and 1980s. As the majority of Portuguese in Woodstock came from Madeira the terms, Portuguese and Madeiran, will be used interchangeably when referring to the immigrants. Throughout this period, Woodstock began to attract significant numbers of Portuguese immigrants, earning it the name 'Little Madeira'. It became, in fact, the first suburb in Cape Town in which a distinct, Portuguese ethnic community developed.

The dissertation is an attempt, however tentative, at the reconstruction of the history of the Portuguese community whilst at the same time endeavouring to stress the importance of the contribution of sustained immigrant study to parochial and national histories.

¹ Quoted in J. Arroiteia- *A Emigracao Portuguesa: Suas origens e distribuicao* (Lisbon, 1983), p. 71

However, it is first important briefly to review the literature on immigrants internationally, nationally and locally so as to locate the dissertation firmly in the broader context of immigrant historiography.

South and East European migrants in Western Europe and overseas have played prominent, though often undervalued, roles in shaping or helping to shape other countries' social, economic and political development.² The migration of communities has been, if not a constant then at least a growing, focus of study for social historians, confronted with the presence of diverse groups of peoples in different societies. A further point to stress is that by tracing the history of an immigrant community, historians are able to locate that community within the broader context of the host society.

In the USA, where the most sustained research concerning immigrants has been undertaken, from the 1920s to the 1960s the "lack of scholarly attention to ethnic populations..... reflected the prevailing ideology that the melting pot had worked: ethnicity had no explanatory power in the analysis of the post-migration era".³ However, ethnicity was rediscovered in the social sciences in the 1960s, stimulated by the discovery of ethnic poverty and the emergence of ethnic militancy.⁴

Glazer and Moynihan's Beyond the Melting Pot, published in 1963, was the classic study signalling the direction that the new body of work on ethnicity would take. It argued that "'cultural pluralism' [was] as unlikely as the hope of a 'melting

² See, for example, S M Tomasi & M H Engel (eds)- The Italian Experience in the United States (New York, 1977); J Zucchi- Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity 1875-1935 (Montreal, 1988); K Lunn (ed)- Hosts, Immigrants, and Minorities: Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society 1870-1914 (Kent, 1980); C Holmes (ed)- Immigrants and Minorities in British Society (London, 1978); J A Garrard- The English and Immigration 1880-1910 (London, 1971); C Cronin- The Sting of Change: Sicilians in Sicily and Australia (Chicago, 1970).

³ S Encel (ed)- The Ethnic Dimension: Papers on Ethnicity and Pluralism by Jean Martin (Sydney, 1981), p. 141.

⁴ *ibid*

pot⁵.⁵ This renewed interest in immigrant communities was manifest in the literature that emerged throughout the 1960s and early 1970s.⁶ Subsequently, the ethnic diversity of immigrant communities in the USA has meant that the scholarly study of, amongst others, the Greeks, East European Jews, Italians, and Irish has resulted in a rich immigrant historiography.

Scholarly South African 'white' immigrant historiography has, until the late 1960s and 1970s, tended to focus very much on 18th and 19th century English, German, French and Dutch settlement, with a limited amount of academic study on Scottish and Irish immigrants. The emphasis was placed on these immigrant groups due mainly to their influence in shaping the 'white' history of South Africa.

Afrikaner historiography laid special stress upon the role of Germans and Dutch in the development of Afrikaner history and culture. Accordingly, the academic interest in Afrikaner history, in step with Afrikaner nationalist ideology, evolved primarily out of pride in its place as a particular South African culture, as well as amid threats to its preservation from the black majority and the culturally and economically dominant English-speaking community.

From the 1970s and 1980s, however, the emphasis has shifted from the study of immigrant communities per se to the study of ethnicity as an analytical concept. The creation of ethnic identities in South Africa⁷ and Southern Africa⁸ has received scholarly attention as historians have been confronted with the persistence of political ethnic loyalties amongst diverse peoples. In addition to the focus on the study of the

⁵ N G Glazer & D P Moynihan- *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1963), pp.13, 16.

⁶ See, for example, S Lieberman- *Ethnic Patterns in American Cities* (New York, 1963); M M Gordon- *Assimilation in American Life* (New York, 1964); R Dahl- *Pluralist Democracy in the United States* (Chicago, 1967); S J Makielski- *Beleagured Minorities* (San Francisco, 1973); H Abramson- *Ethnic Diversity in Catholic America* (New York, 1973); J Martin- *Migrants: Equality and Ideology* (Bundoora, Victoria, 1972); J R Kramer- *The American Minority Community* (New York, 1970).

⁷ See S Marks & S Trapido(eds)- *The Politics of Race, Class & Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa* (Essex, 1987)

⁸ See L Vail(ed)- *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (London, 1989).

survival of ethnicity in African societies in the face of the African nationalist movements of the 1960s, the construction of Coloured⁹, Indian¹⁰ and Afrikaner¹¹ ethnic identities has also been subject to historical examination, but not to the same degree.

As a result, the impetus for the sustained study of other late 19th and early 20th century European immigrant communities has been largely absent, effectively marginalising this historical field. The relatively small numbers involved has partially contributed to this neglect. There have, nonetheless, been a few attempts by historians and sociologists to document the evolution of small European immigrant communities in South Africa.¹² However, these have, by and large, been undertaken in isolation from the mainstream of South African historiography, primarily as a result of the blossoming of revisionist historiography since the 1970s, incorporating the new marxist and social historians, which tended to interpret 'immigration studies' as contributing in the main to white (conservative) history, and therefore, out of step with its principal historiographical thrust.

Only the Jewish community¹³ has been able to collect historical material systematically and on a considerable scale which has allowed for the emergence of a rich source- base. Therefore, it has been able to recreate its own past to some extent so

⁹ See I Goldin in Marks & Trapido, *op.cit.*, p.156 and Vail, *op.cit.*, p.241.

¹⁰ See M Swan in Marks & Trapido, *op.cit.*, p.182.

¹¹ See I Hofmeyer in Marks & Trapido, *op.cit.*, p.95. See also H Giliomee and J Butler in Vail, *op.cit.*, pp. 21 and 55 respectively.

¹² See, for example, E Mantzaris- "Class and Ethnicity: The Politics and Ideologies of the Greek Community in South Africa circa 1890-1924" (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, UCT, 1982); A G Bini- *Italiani in Sud Africa* (Cape Town, 1957); T A Mursalo- *In Search of a Better Life: A History of Croatian Settlers in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1981); M Kaplan- *Jewish Roots in the South African Economy* (Cape Town, 1987); A H Winquist- *Scandinavians and South Africans* (Cape Town, 1978); G B Dickason- *Cornish Immigrants to South Africa* (Cape Town, 1978) and *Irish Settlers to the Cape: A History of the Clanwilliam 1820 Settlers from Cork Harbour* (Cape Town, 1973).

¹³ See, for example, Kaplan, *op.cit.*; G Saron & L Hotz- *The Jews in South Africa: A History* (Cape Town, 1955); M Gitlin- *The Vision Amazing: The Story of South African Zionism* (Johannesburg, 1950); L Herrman- *A History of the Jews in South Africa from the earliest times to 1895* (London, 1930); G Shimoni- *Jews and Zionism: The South African Experience 1910-1967* (Cape Town, 1980). The University of Cape Town's Kaplan Centre has a rich archival collection of local and national Jewish history.

that its experiences and contribution to the broader South African context can be assessed.

Apart from the Western Cape's Jewish community¹⁴, other local immigrant ethnic minorities have been almost entirely neglected. Although the Greek, Italian and Muslim communities¹⁵ have received attention, the research has again been in isolation from local historiography. Furthermore, that immigrant studies have been marginalised is in no small part related to the fragmented nature of the role that they have played in Western Cape history. Their contribution to the socio-economic and political development of Cape Town has been almost overlooked, resulting in a lacuna in local historiography. This study of the Portuguese in Woodstock seeks, therefore, to contribute to the underdeveloped nature of Western Cape immigrant historiography.

Between 1940 and 1981, 108 175 Portuguese immigrants entered South Africa, of which 13 955 or 13% of the total were Madeiran.¹⁶ Although this is a relatively small

¹⁴ See, for example, M Shain- *Jewry and Cape Society: The Origins and Activities of the Jewish Board of Deputies for the Cape Colony* (Cape Town, 1983); L Mirvish- "Cape Town Jewry in 1910: South African Jewish Life in Miniature", in *Jewish Affairs*, May 1960; M E Katz- "Jewish Education at the Cape: 1841 to the Present Day- A Survey and Appraisal in the Light of Historical and Philosophical Perspectives" (Unpublished MEd, UCT, 1973); I Abrahams- *The Birth of a Community: A History of Western Province Jewry from Earliest Times to the end of the South African War, 1902* (Cape Town, 1955).

¹⁵ See, for example, E Mantzaris, *op.cit.*; P Corgatelli- "Tapes and Testimony: Making the local history of Italians in the Western Cape in the first half of the 20th century" (Unpublished MA thesis, UCT, 1989); F R Bradlow & M Cairns- *The early Cape Muslims: A study of their mosques, genealogy and origins* (Cape Town, 1978); R A Hill- "The impact of race legislation on kinship and identity amongst Indian Muslims in Cape Town" (Unpublished MA thesis, UCT, 1980); Goldin, *op.cit.*

¹⁶ This figure was calculated from Republic of South Africa, Bureau of Immigrants and Emigrants: *Special Report no. 286* (Special Report Series, South African Statistics, The Government Printer, Pretoria, 1965); Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics: *Report no. 19-01-01: Migration Statistics: Immigrants and Emigrants 1966-1969* (The Government Printer, Pretoria, 1972); Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics: *Report no. 19-01-02: Migration Statistics: Tourists, Immigrants and Emigrants 1970 and 1971* (The Government Printer, Pretoria, 1974); Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics: *Report no. 19-01-03: Tourism and Migration 1972-1975* (The Government Printer, Pretoria, 1977); Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics: *Report no. 19-01-04: Tourism and Migration 1976* (The Government Printer, Pretoria, 1977); Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics: *Report no. 19-01-05: Tourism and Migration 1977* (The Government Printer, Pretoria, 1979); Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics: *Report no. 19-01-06: Tourism and Migration 1978* (The Government Printer, Pretoria, 1979); Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics: *Report no. 19-01-07: Tourism and Migration 1979* (The Government Printer, Pretoria, 1980); Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics: *Report no. 19-01-08: Tourism and Migration 1980* (The Government Printer, Pretoria, 1981); Republic of South Africa, Central Statistical Services: *Report no. 19-01-09: Tourism and Migration 1981* (The Government Printer, Pretoria, 1983).

figure in relation to other immigrant groups, it does point to growing Portuguese immigration into South Africa in these years. The Portuguese population of Cape Town blossomed from approximately 228 in 1936 to 1649 in 1970¹⁷, of whom some 675 Madeirans settled in Woodstock in the four decades from 1940 to 1980.¹⁸ This resulted in the growth of Woodstock as an area of significant Portuguese residence.

Unlike some immigrant histories, this dissertation has consciously avoided dealing with the 'achievements', and subsequent glorification, of the Portuguese community of Woodstock because this would lean towards a 'great man' view of the past, marginalising the experiences of the majority of the immigrants. Furthermore, the racial attitudes of the Portuguese have only been alluded to briefly because, like perceptions of the Portuguese by other Capetonians, they warrant further examination in a separate, more in-depth, study of the community.

Chapter One traces the immigration of the Madeirans to South Africa and Cape Town, outlining the reasons for their departure from the homeland or Old World. It is argued that conditions in Madeira made emigration a desirable alternative to continued economic hardship.

Chapter Two examines the settlement patterns of the immigrants in Woodstock, arguing that occupational factors shaped residential choices. The fragmented nature of settlement in Woodstock resulted in the emergence of 'clusters' of Portuguese-dominated streets, rather than the entire area becoming an ethnic suburb.

1980 (The Government Printer, Pretoria, 1981); Republic of South Africa, Central Statistical Services: *Report no.19-01-09: Tourism and Migration 1981* (The Government Printer, Pretoria, 1983).

¹⁷ Accurate figures for Cape Town are extremely difficult to establish due to censuses not being consistent in their enumeration. For example, the 1946, 1960 and 1980 censuses do not have 'appropriate' categories for the Portuguese population of Cape Town, making it virtually impossible to gauge the total number of immigrants in Cape Town accurately. These figures are from the 1936 census (UG 24-1942); 1951 census (UG 34-1954); 1970 census (Report no.02-05-13).

¹⁸ *Cape Times Street Directories, 1940-1980*. This figure was calculated from a count of Portuguese surnames in the various Woodstock streets over the forty-year period. However, it is not a precise figure for the total Portuguese population of Woodstock because the directories record only family surnames and not numbers.

Chapter Three looks at the occupations of the immigrants, stressing their contribution to the fishing industries of Luderitz and Cape Town. Whilst Old World occupational traditions were transplanted to the host country, there was also a partial movement away from fishing to small-business ownership.

Chapter Four documents the manner in which the immigrants constructed a Portuguese identity. Former Madeiran village identities were transcended and replaced by a broader-based Cape Town Portuguese identity.

Although this dissertation does not completely escape the isolation of previous immigrant studies from mainstream historiography, this examination of the Portuguese in Woodstock seeks principally to contribute not only to the reconstruction of the community's history itself, but also to the broader urban history of Woodstock and Cape Town.

CHAPTER ONE

"A NOSSA PATRIA"- THE OLD WORLD

Between 1940 and 1970 thousands of emigrants left Madeira in the hope of improving their economic conditions. In fact, over this thirty-year period, close to 316 000 islanders joined a Portuguese exodus in excess of two million emigrants to various destinations, of which the USA, Canada, Brazil and Venezuela were the most important¹ because of the agricultural opportunities that they represented; the Portuguese colonies attracted a further 150 000 emigrants.² South Africa, on the other hand, attracted only 3,55% of the total Madeiran emigrant population in these years, making it a relatively less-favoured destination than the USA which attracted 32,79% of Madeiran immigrants.³

That emigration became a not uncommon experience for most villages is clear from the fact that between 1940 and 1980 the Madeiran population rose by just 2844, from 250 000⁴ to 252 844.⁵ This created an acceptance of emigration, effectively internalising it into their way of life. The reasons for emigrating were various, but the most important was the desire to escape from the harsh economic realities of life on the island in the period stretching from the mid-1920s to the mid-1970s. This chapter examines the underlying factors that caused people to leave Madeira in search of improved economic conditions that South Africa, and subsequently Woodstock, could offer.

Undoubtedly, as already stated, the principal reason that governed the emigrants' decision to leave Madeira was economic. The island relied primarily on agriculture and

¹ J C Arroteia- *A Emigracao Portuguesa: suas origens e distribuicao* (Lisbon, 1983), p.104.

² R Robinson- *Contemporary Portugal: A History* (London, 1979), p.155. This total is interpreted as including Madeiran emigration.

³ Arroteia, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁴ *Grande Enciclopedia Portuguesa e Brasileira* (Lisboa/Rio de Janeiro, 1935-1958), vol. XV, p.829.

⁵ *Governo Regional da Madeira (Vice-Preidencia e Coordenacao Economica)- Quinze Anos de Autonomia e Desenvolvimento* (Madeira, 1992), p. 26.

fishing for its economic survival, but they did not generate sufficient revenue to support extensive primary and secondary industry. Consequently, the contribution of Madeira's rural economy to the Portuguese economy in the years preceding the 1960s and 1970s was minimal, largely as a result of 'reforms' instituted by the Salazar government that favoured the industrial sector. Villages like Ribeira Brava, Porto Moniz, Faja da Ovelha and Ponta do Pargo which were amongst the earliest 'sending' regions to South Africa had subsistence economies based on peasants' smallholdings that were either owned or rented from landlords. Fishing villages like Camara de Lobos, Machico, Paul do Mar and Calheta relied on the meagre profits that small catches provided to guarantee 'Madeirenses'⁶ with a livelihood. The fish was sold directly to islanders on the quay, but the absence of storage facilities meant that much of the catch that was not sold had to be dumped. The local economy never experienced growth substantial enough to keep the Madeirenses from emigrating in large numbers.

Although each village had a particular cause for its 'diaspora', like rising population levels, lack of industry, scarcity of resources and high taxes, they were often summed up by Madeirenses in one word, 'miseria'.⁷ The lands were occasionally plagued by poor harvests, but bananas, sugar cane, onions and wheat were cultivated, and even exported, although not on a scale large enough to generate considerable revenue for Madeira.⁸

Though Madeira was declared an autonomous district by the 'Estatuto das Ilhas Adjacentes' (Statute of the Adjacent Islands) in 1940⁹, it was effectively still subordinate to the Portuguese government. Consequently, taxation and changes to the economy of Portugal impacted on Madeira and exacerbated the poor condition of the

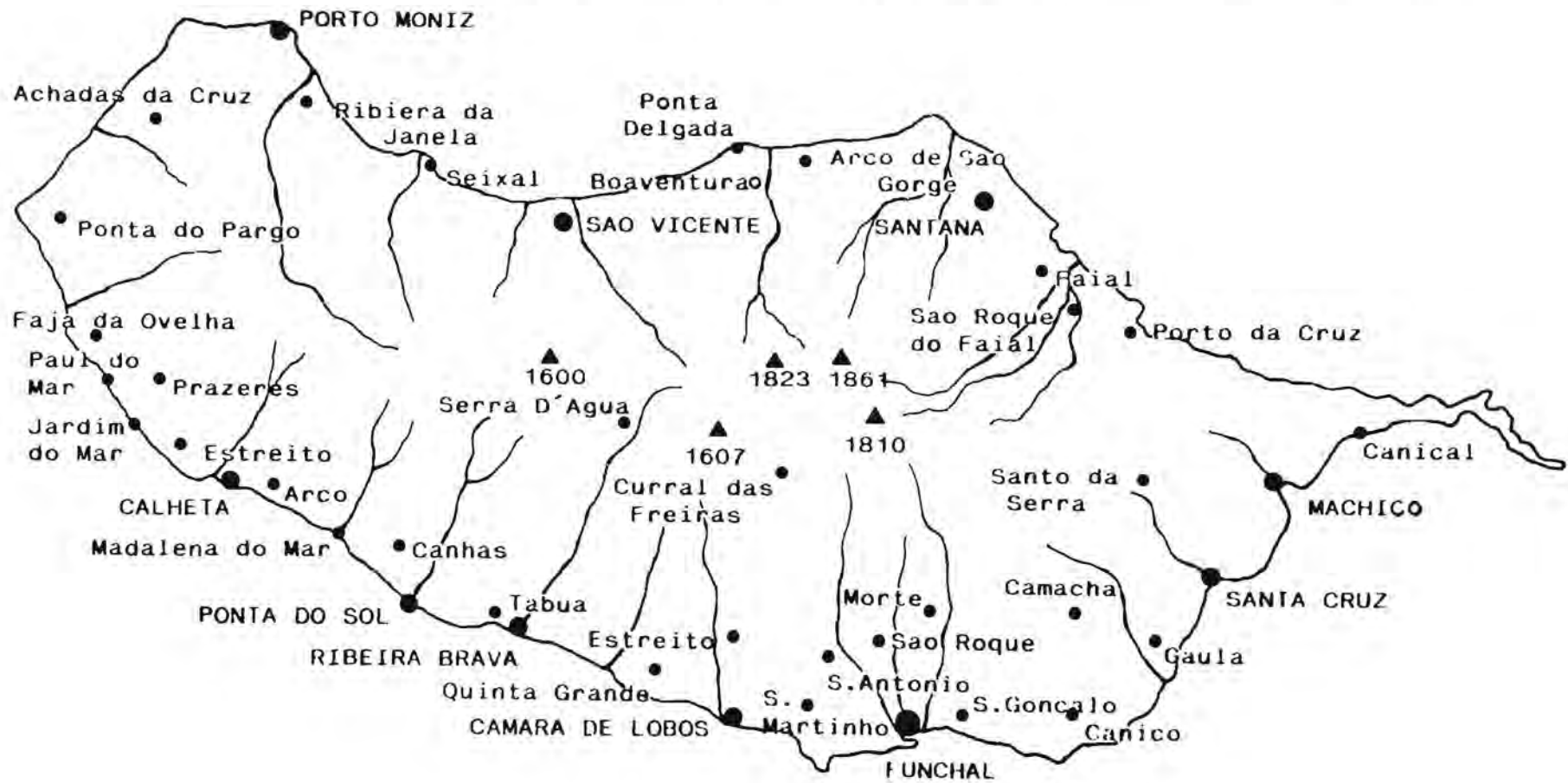
⁶ This is the Portuguese equivalent of 'Madeiran'.

⁷ Interviews with Mr P da Mata, 13 September 1992; Mrs C Goncalves, 15 September 1992; Mr A Pecego, 27 August 1992; Mrs I Nobrega, 31 August 1992; Mrs N Lopes, 17 July 1992; Mr A Martins, 31 August 1992; Mr A Gouveia, 6 July 1992; Mrs R Fernandes, 5 September 1992; Mr A Nobrega, 31 August 1992.

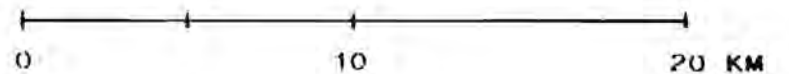
⁸ *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, Vol. XV, p. 832.

⁹ *ibid*, p. 826.

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islanders who were desperate to survive. A brief examination of the Portuguese government's economic policies in the 1930s and 1940s will highlight the plight of the Madeirenses and will make clear the motivation behind the majority of the emigrants' decisions to leave the island.

Portugal's political instability was borne out by the fact that it experienced numerous coup attempts between the formation of the First Republic in 1910 and the creation of the 'Estado Novo' (New State) in 1926.¹⁰ The rise to power of Salazar in the 1930s was initially promising because Salazar's solution to Portugal's precarious economic position was to think in terms of slow but sure long-term economic development within a nationalist framework which began with the creation of an economic infrastructure. International indebtedness was to be curbed and Portugal was to be made less dependent on the outside world.¹¹

The National Labour Statute promulgated in 1933¹² gave the state greater control over social and economic affairs and tended towards creating a self-regulating corporative economy, with the state the stimulant to the creation of such a corporative order. The increasing centralisation of control and authority by the state, coupled with Salazar's disdain for modernising trends that would have undermined the authoritarian nature of the Portuguese government, meant that the working classes were to remain a disadvantaged group because of the potential threat that Salazar believed they posed to his regime.¹³ The Portuguese rural labour force suffered great economic difficulty as they were forced to pay increased taxes that really only the elites could afford.

The state's hollow promises of improving the lot of the workers further alienated the working-class in the urban areas, but had a particularly heavy impact on the rural

¹⁰ T Gallacher- *Portugal: A twentieth century interpretation* (Manchester, 1983), pp. 27-62. See also R Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-40.

¹¹ Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

¹² H Kay- *Salazar and Modern Portugal* (London, 1971), p. 49.

¹³ Gallacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-77.

areas whose semi-proleterianised workers were the hardest hit. The government made attempts to suppress class struggle, together with strikes and lock-outs, effectively trying to sever any access to power the workers might have otherwise had.¹⁴ The suppression of human rights and liberties served to further alienate an impoverished Portuguese, and more importantly, Madeiran people.¹⁵ Emigration provided an escape from the 'miseria' of an island under the authority of an oppressive state. A Madeiran emigrant recalled his experiences thus:

"Things got to be so bad in the 1940s and especially in the 1950s that we just barely survived. Our crops were not always good so we had virtually nothing to sell. My father fished but that did not bring in much money at all. It was a battle to make ends meet."¹⁶

Furthermore, Madeira's geographical position vis-a-vis the mainland (Portugal) made it vulnerable to Portugal's exploitation of its resources. Nor did it offer its inhabitants many educational opportunities because the furtherance of an individual's schooling past the 'quarta classe' (the equivalent to 'standard 4' in South Africa) was extremely difficult since the capital, Funchal, was the only centre until the late 1960s to offer secondary/tertiary education. Schools were few and far between in the villages and most Madeirans found it too expensive to send their children to Funchal for further schooling. Children were also discouraged from furthering their studies as their assistance was needed by parents on the smallholdings or on fishing boats. Funchal did offer limited opportunities to those who were wealthy enough to travel and live there, but the positions available required skills possessed by few villagers.¹⁷

¹⁴ Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹⁵ For further information on Portugal under Salazar see Gallacher, *op. cit.*; Robinson, *op. cit.*; Kay, *op. cit.* See also M Soares-Portugal's *struggle for liberty* (London, 1975).

¹⁶ Interview with Mr A Rodrigues, 7 September 1992.

¹⁷ Interviews with Mrs I Nobrega, 31 August 1992; Mr A Pecego, 27 August 1992; Mr J de Abreu, 28 August 1992; Mrs D F Rodrigues, 4 September 1992; Mr A Rodrigues, 7 September 1992; Mrs M Caboz, 7 September 1992; Mrs M Rodrigues, 8 September 1992; Mrs R Silva, 25 July 1992; Mrs J Virissimo, 28 July 1992; Mrs N Lopes, 17 July 1992; Mr J Franco, 3 July 1992; Mr M Telo, 15 September 1992; Mrs A Teixeira, 28 July 1992; Mr J Goncalves, 4 July 1992; Mrs R Fernandes, 5 September 1992; Mr P da Mata, 13 September 1992; Mrs C Goncalves, 15 September 1992.

Illiteracy levels in Madeira remained extremely high, an indication of the practical effect of Salazar's elitist statement in 1942 that he "consider[ed] more urgent the creation of elites than the necessity to teach people how to read".¹⁸ That emigration was seen to offer the Madeirenses educational opportunities, if not for the older emigrants then certainly for their children, is evinced by the following testimony:

"My mother and father knew that in Madeira I had very little chance of making a good life for myself. They did not want me to struggle like they had so they sent me to Cape Town where a cousin of mine could look after me and I could go to a school where I could get a better education."¹⁹

Overpopulation also played a role in forcing Madeirenses to emigrate- the 1940 census, as already noted, enumerated the population at a quarter of a million inhabitants, which, for an island that is only 728 square kilometres, produced a high population density.²⁰ Furthermore, the terrain surrounding most of the villages was mountainous, limiting the construction of roads and housing, thus effectively limiting the building space for the accommodation of the burgeoning population.²¹

Emigration was not only linked to Madeira's grave economic position because there were islanders who emigrated as a result of the existence of informal 'labour agencies' whereby Portuguese skippers employed in Cape Town and/or Luderitz who had family in Madeira 'recruited' potential fishermen for fishing companies.²² The wives of some of the skippers who still lived in Madeira and were waiting to be 'sent for' by their husbands 'scouted' for local men, with promises of a better life in South Africa provided a small fee was paid.²³ In return, the men were assured a work

¹⁸ Quoted in Gallacher, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

¹⁹ Interview with Mr J Goncalves, 4 July 1992.

²⁰ *Grande Enciclopedia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, vol. XV, p. 824.

²¹ Interviews with Mrs D F Rodrigues, 4 September 1992; Mr M Telo, 15 September 1992; Mr J de Abreu, 28 August 1992; Mrs I Nobrega, 31 August 1992; Mr A Pecego, 27 August 1992; Mrs N Lopes, 17 July 1992; Mrs r Silva, 25 July 1992.

²² Interviews with Mr M Francisco, 8 September 1992; Mr A Martins, 31 August 1992; Mr L Faria, 2 September 1992; Mr A Rodrigues, 7 September 1992; Mr M Telo, 15 September 1992; Mrs N Lopes, 17 July 1992.

²³ *ibid.*

contract once they reached South Africa. This sort of recruitment presented them with a viable alternative to remaining in Madeira where work opportunities were scarce.

For women, the opportunities were even more restricted because of their traditional roles that limited their social and economic position to the domestic sphere. Though there did exist some opportunity to make money doing embroidery work, the pay was not good²⁴, as Mrs M Nunes recalled:

"When my father died in the late 1950s, my mother decided that we should leave Madeira because there were no prospects for me as a woman. I could do embroidery work but it was not going to support us."²⁵

There was, of course, the possibility of emigration to Portugal's African colonies and Madeirenses were aware of this as a means of entering South Africa and of filtering into Cape Town as well as to other cities. That the colonies were not more attractive to the Madeirans was related to the fact that neither Angola nor Mozambique had an infrastructure capable of supporting a fishing industry comparable to the industry in South West Africa or South Africa. Furthermore, it was possible that informal contacts established by Madeirans between family members and/or friends, which effectively helped to reduce the anxiety attached to emigration, made South Africa a more 'attractive' destination than the colonies. However, the awareness that Mozambique and Angola were an alternative destination increased the viability of emigration to South Africa as an option.

Chain migration²⁶ was a phenomenon instrumental in promoting emigration amongst the islanders of Madeira. This process involved the dissemination of

²⁴ Interviews with Mrs I Nobrega, 31 August 1992; Mrs D F Rodrigues, 4 September 1992; Mrs C Goncalves, 15 September 1992; Mrs R Fernandes, 5 September 1992; Mrs A Teixeira, 28 July 1992; Mrs R Silva, 25 July 1992; Mrs M Cuboz, 7 September 1992; Mrs N Lopes, 17 July 1992; Mrs J Virissimo, 28 July 1992.

²⁵ Interview with Mrs M Nunes, 16 July 1992.

²⁶ This concept was well established in Sociology by the 1960s; it was first coined in 1964 by J S MacDonald and L D MacDonald in "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighbourhood Formation and Social Networks", in *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 42, 1964, pp.82-97.

knowledge about the country of destination, the journey and the prospects of employment amongst the villagers in order that the tensions involved in the emigration experience were considerably reduced.²⁷ Emigrants who returned on a visit from South Africa brought with them knowledge that was passed on to family and fellow-villagers, effectively providing prospective emigrants with vital insights into the country of destination. Those who did not return to Madeira wrote of their experiences to kin and friends so that a certain image was constructed of the South African destination. An immigrant stated that:

"Most of our village, Ribeira Brava, believed that the streets of Cape Town were paved in gold because of letters we received, like other people who also had family overseas, from husband or brothers that were making more money than we could ever make in Madeira."²⁸

This sort of casual propagation of information was a powerful factor in developing what could be termed an acceptance of emigration as an economically desirable alternative to be considered by most, like Mr A Rodrigues who recalled that:

"There was so little work in those days[1940s and 1950s] that when my mother and father heard from a friend in our village that her son had left to find good work fishing in Luderitz, we thought about it, really thought about it and decided that I should leave to make money that I could send back home."²⁹

These were practical reasons that governed a Madeirenses's decision to emigrate, but they(the islanders) were not simply idealists blindly seeking freedom from economic oppression. They were aware of the real economic advantages of working on a Luderitz fishing boat or in a cafe\small-business owned by a family member who was already established in Cape Town. They emigrated rather than continue to eke out a living on the family small-holding or local fishing boats for work that rarely earned them sufficient money to support a family with ease. Villagers had developed their own

²⁷ D Baines- *Emigration from Europe 1815-1930* (Hong Kong, 1991), p.32.

²⁸ Interview with Mrs R Fernandes, 5 September 1992.

²⁹ Interview with Mr A Rodrigues, 7 September 1992.

particular rationale for emigrating, including reasons as varied as the avoidance of military conscription for a son or to rid a family of a troublesome family member.³⁰

Notwithstanding the idealised image of Cape Town, the departing villager had a fair idea about the opportunities in and the limitations of South Africa as a destination capable of fulfilling financial dreams. Many of the emigrants were attracted earlier to the farms and gold-fields of the Transvaal, whilst a substantial number came to Cape Town as a destination offering a brighter economic future than Madeira could ever offer in the period from the 1940s to the 1970s.³¹

Though emigration was a traumatic experience for the earlier migrants, especially the psychological effects of breaking with a traditional way of life³², the effects were lessened by the knowledge which the emigrant carried with him, knowledge that was provided by chain migration or informal 'labour agents' who operated in the Old World. Madeira was conducive to the emigration experience which was evinced by the exodus from the island in the period 1940-1970.

As previously alluded to, the 'pioneers' that settled in Woodstock in the late 1930s and early 1940s were also responsible for attracting emigrants to Woodstock as they provided the newcomers with additional information about work opportunities as well as helping to provide accommodation for them. As a result, the emigrant was relatively well-prepared when he left Madeira to deal with the problems that a foreign environment posed.

³⁰ Interviews with Mr J Goncalves, 4 July 1992; Mrs M Rodrigues, 8 September 1992; Mr J Franco, 3 July 1992; Mrs N Lopes, 17 July 1992; Mrs J Virissimo, 28 July 1992.

³¹ Madeira has experienced marked development in the 1980s as political and economic stability in Portugal encouraged the investment of foreign capital in the island; consequently, it has become a flourishing tourist attraction.

³² J Zucchi- *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity 1875-1935* (Montreal, 1988), p. 29 makes this point, taken from D Cinesi- "The Seasonal Emigration of Italians in the Nineteenth Century: From Internal to International Destinations", in *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 10, no.1 (1982): 43-68.

CHAPTER TWO

"LITTLE MADEIRA"- PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENT IN WOODSTOCK

The Portuguese who migrated to Cape Town and settled in Woodstock left Madeira with strong ties to their particular villages, though they carried with them some sense of a national consciousness, a theme to be discussed in chapter four. However, once they had arrived, the immigrants looked primarily to their fellow Madeirans for information and aid in settling into Woodstock. The 'chain migration' discussed in chapter one meant that a chain had been developed that afforded immigrants initial employment and accommodation opportunities, but also rapidly enabled them to constitute a part of the socio-economic and cultural network of the developing Woodstock Portuguese community.¹ This in turn allowed them to gain a clearer idea of how the community identified with other Portuguese living in greater Cape Town.

This chapter will explore more closely the immigrants' settlement patterns in Woodstock, attempting at the same time to advance reasons for their movement within the area once they had been resident there for some time. By so doing, a clearer understanding will emerge of why certain streets were more heavily populated by Portuguese immigrants than others and of how improvement in economic status promoted movement to other parts of Woodstock.

The process of immigrant settlement in Woodstock was heavily dependent upon the 'pioneers' who had migrated there in the 1930s. These fishermen had settled in an area that was convenient in relation to the harbour and affordable to them; as increasing numbers of immigrants arrived in the city from the late 1930s, they also settled in the

¹ For the Italian experience of chain migration see S Tomasi and M Engel (eds)- The Italian Experience in the United States (New York, 1977), especially pp. 43-102; J Zucchi- Italians in Toronto (Montreal, 1988), pp. 34-36. The Ugandan refugee experience offers useful insights into a recent migration and settlement pattern. See V Marett- Immigrants settling in the city (Leicester, 1989), pp. 13-30.

area populated by the pioneers. The link between ethnic identification and neighbourhood concentration was a sign that Madeiran immigrants were clustering together for the maintenance of an ethnic identity, as well as to facilitate the process of acculturation and assimilation. As in the USA, "...ethnicity was a fundamental influence upon residential choice. Immigrant neighbourhoods were regarded as natural areas that first emerged when newly arrived immigrants clustered for cultural and economic reasons....."²

Initially, as will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, the migration to Cape Town was temporary because of the lure of the South West African fishing industry. Portuguese men who had arrived in Cape Town remained only long enough to have their documentation approved by the South African Government. Thereafter, they travelled to Luderitz for the fishing season which usually lasted 6 months. Once the season was over, though, they had the choice of returning to Cape Town and settling in Woodstock or of remaining in Luderitz. The majority of the men opted to return to Cape Town for two reasons: Luderitz was principally an industrial/fishing town whose absence of schooling for immigrant children detracted from its potential as a permanent destination and many of the men already had family resident in Woodstock which facilitated settlement there.³

As previously stated, those who settled in Woodstock, did so because of the proximity of the area to the harbour, its Portuguese community and its affordable property prices⁴, something that Mr M Francisco confirmed thus:

² K Conzen- " Immigrants, Immigrant neighbourhoods and Ethnic Identity: Historical issues ", in *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 66, No.3 (December 1979), p.603. The article's discussion of the nuanced problems behind the relationship between ethnicity and immigrant neighbourhoods is extremely valuable. Some of the ideas here are taken from this article.

³ Interviews with Mr M Francisco, 8 September 1992; Mr G Fernandes, 25 September 1992; Mr J Goncalves, 4 July 1992; Mr M Telo, 15 September 1992; Mr A Rodrigues, 7 September 1992; Mr J Franco, 3 July 1992.

⁴ The 25 interviewees cited these as the most important reasons for their movement into Woodstock.

"Sometimes when it was hot, I used to walk to the docks from my house. There were buses, but I didn't drive and the walk was only 20 to 25 minutes long. This made it easy to get to work."⁵

Portuguese migrants in Woodstock, in a process similar to migrants to the USA, followed in the paths established by earlier immigrants in what Roseman has referred to as 'channelised migration flows'.⁶ This process resulted in settlement in localised destinations by migrants from localised source areas. These channelised migration flows were, however, shaped by social and economic networks established by the arrival of earlier immigrants.

Furthermore, kinship and friendship ties were also important in shaping the migrants' decisions to move from South West Africa to Woodstock. When they did move to Woodstock in the closed fishing season and lived with a kin member or friend, they were in a position, legally, to send for their wives and/or family to settle with them in Woodstock. The steadily growing Portuguese community in Woodstock meant that it was a more attractive area in which to settle family than South West Africa. They thus became migrant workers who left their families behind in Woodstock when they returned to Luderitz for the new fishing season.

Supplementing these factors, as was the case in the 'Little Italy' below Somerset Road in Green Point at the-turn-of-the-century, was the presence in Woodstock of an infrastructure that contained a Catholic Church and Catholic school in Dublin Street. The presence of these institutions was certainly a factor for later immigrants in their decisions to remain in Woodstock, but were outweighed for these earlier migrants by the employment patterns that dictated where they would live. This was made apparent by Mr M Telo's comments:

"Living far from the docks would have meant travelling long distances to work. When I arrived in 1956 and lived in Woodstock in the Luderitz closed-season it was

⁵ Interview with Mr M Francisco, 8 September 1992.

⁶ As quoted in W McReady (ed)- *Culture, Ethnicity and Identity: Current Issues in Research* (New York, 1983), p.345

still important to be close to the docks because I sometimes went out on a boat to catch fish."⁷

It has to be noted, however, that before the 1960s Portuguese settlement in Woodstock was fragmented, largely as a result of the relatively small numbers of Portuguese resident in Woodstock. In fact, only 3868 Madeirans entered South Africa between 1940 and 1959⁸ and these limited numbers did not, therefore, facilitate the development of an ethnic socio-economic network that could aid immigration and settlement in Woodstock in considerable numbers. Once the ethnic network was augmented, though, movement into the area was 'informally' promoted by the Portuguese already resident there.

Another potential element adding to Woodstock's attraction, in the decades preceding the 1960s at least, was its cosmopolitan nature, comprising Irish, English, Greek, East-European Jewish and Italian immigrants⁹, but none of these immigrant groups came to dominate Woodstock in the manner that the Portuguese did by the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s as their rate of settlement increased markedly.

For 'second wave' emigrants (those who followed the pioneers and the Luderitz migrant workers) chain migration was important in their settling in Woodstock because, like the migrant workers, it was the first area that many of the immigrants resided in as they moved in with a kin member, friend or fellow villager. This was the case at least until they married or sent for their family, something that Mr A Rodrigues experienced in the mid-1950s:

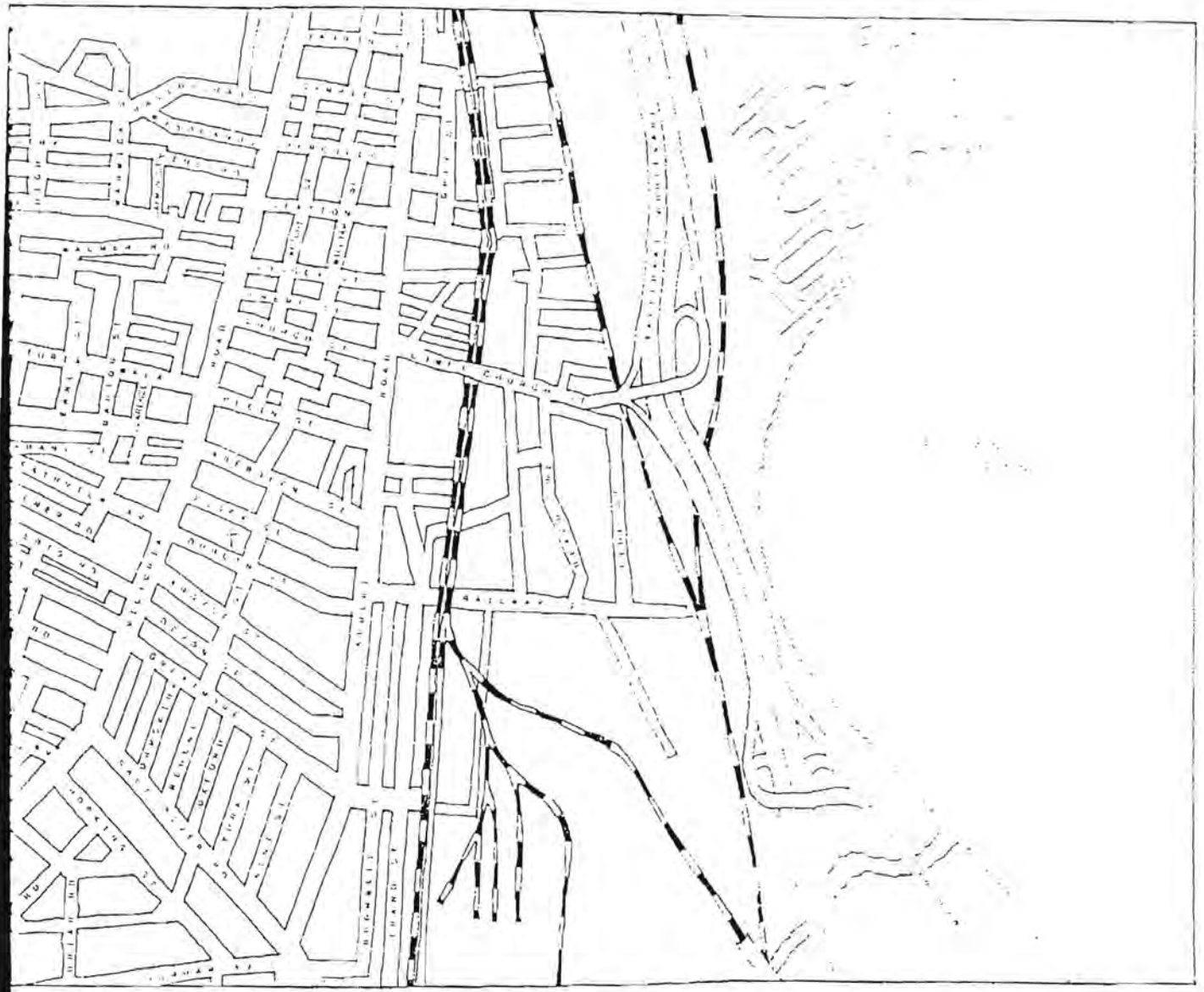
"When I settled in Cape Town in 1955, I lived with my uncle who had lived in Woodstock for 7 years already in Plein Street [Woodstock]. I was there for about 8 years, by which time I had saved enough to open a little cafe in Victoria Road. When I

⁷ Interview with Mr M Telo, 15 September 1992.

⁸ This figure is taken from Republic of South Africa, Bureau of Immigrants and Emigrants: *Special Report number 286* (Special Report Series, South African Statistics, The Government Printer, Pretoria, 1965).

⁹ J Garside- *Open Areas in Cape Town: The Struggle for their Identity* (South African Institute of Race Relations, Cape Western Region, Regional Topic Paper 87/8, October 1987), p. 4.

CK SETTLEMENT 1940



SOURCE CARP TIMES STREET DIRECTORY 1941

married I decided to buy a house in Woodstock because it was close to my business and everything else, but also because it was near family of mine."¹⁰

They then moved out of this family boarding and into their own accommodation if they could afford to, illustrated in the following recollection of Mrs J Virissimo:
 "My parents stayed with a nephew of my father's in Eden Road for some time when they arrived in Cape Town in the early 1960s. They then rented a place just below in Chester Road because they had gotten used to Woodstock but also because they knew other Portuguese living in the area. It was easy to walk to nearby Portuguese houses to spend some time together talking."¹¹

Immigrants used these kin members to establish themselves in the city, subsequently developing attachments to Woodstock that were not always easily severed, a sentiment expressed by the following testimony:

"My father came out in 1935. I came with my mother and brother later in 1944 by which time he was renting a house in Ebenezer Road. I grew up in Woodstock and to move out would mean breaking ties with friends that I went to school with at St Agnes and Queens Park High [Woodstock schools] as well as family who moved to Woodstock after us."¹²

Consequently, a strong sense of community was encouraged by immigrants living in streets that were not great distances from one another, for many Portuguese did not own motorcars, or could not drive, and public transport was an expense that was avoidable.¹³

This striving for the maintenance of what can be termed a community ethic is illustrated by the fact that there existed groupings of streets like Caesar, Barton, Nerina and Victoria Walk which housed small numbers of Portuguese immigrant households- furthermore, within the streets there was a tendency for them to live close together in a particular section of the street. The following extract from the 1980 Cape Times Street Directory illustrates this point:

¹⁰ Interview with Mr A Rodrigues, 7 September 1992.

¹¹ Interview with Mrs J Virissimo, 28 July 1992.

¹² Interview with Mr J Goncalves, 4 July 1992.

¹³ Interviews with Mr A Rodrigues, 7 September 1992; Mr J Franco, 3 July 1992; Mr J Goncalves, 4 July 1992; Mrs C Goncalves, 15 September 1992; Mrs D F Rodrigues, 4 September 1992; Mrs I Nobrega, 31 August 1992; Mr J de Abreu; 28 August 1992.

Caesar Street- 1 J Alves
 8 M Gomes
 9 J Teixeira
 10 A Freitas da
 Gouveia
 11 J Hilario
Barton Street- 2 O de Jesus
 13 D Teixeira
 17 J M Correia
 20 L Alves
 22 J Correia
 36 Moreira

This emphasises the attempts made by the Portuguese to group together in streets where many of the residents were in fact either Southern European immigrants like themselves or 'coloured' residents. Their 'isolation' from these groups indicates attempts at separation from them, but they shared a commonality as marginal groups that allowed for, or made possible, a degree of reliance on each other. This close grouping eased their adaptation to the surrounding, foreign environment, borne out by the response of a Madeiran immigrant:

"If ever you needed something like the name of a reliable doctor if somebody was sick or a lift to Cape Town with a Portuguese who had a car it was easy to go and ask a Portuguese neighbour about these things. If they couldn't help you there was always somebody else [Portuguese] further down the road or somewhere else in Woodstock who could help you."¹⁴

There was an area below Victoria and Albert Roads, often referred to as 'lower' Woodstock, which by the early 1900s was comprised of scattered factories as it had developed into a predominantly industrial area due mainly to the advent of the Salt River Works of the Cape Government Railways in the 1860s.¹⁵ The surrounding houses were built to accommodate the labour force or were bought by factories for this purpose.¹⁶ To this lower part of Woodstock, therefore, the Portuguese immigrant was little attracted because he did not enter the industrial sector.

¹⁴ Interview with Mrs D F Rodrigues, 4 September 1992.

¹⁵ Cape Argus, 16 June 1973.

¹⁶ *ibid.* See also Cape Argus, 27 February 1975.

However, there were some streets in lower Woodstock like Regent, Oxford and Ormskirk Streets that housed small numbers of the pioneer and migrant worker Portuguese immigrants in the 1940s and 1950s¹⁷ because they had provided them with cheaper housing than that above Victoria Road. Moreover, Group Areas legislation was not enforced in lower Woodstock until at least the early 1970s¹⁸ resulting in its status as a 'mixed' area.¹⁹ Therefore, the possible threat of 'white' forced removals from Woodstock (and to a lesser extent 'non-white' removals) was considerably reduced. This was of particular importance as relocation could have caused the disruption of Portuguese settlement in Woodstock. Therefore, the absence of severe Group Areas legislation added to Woodstock's 'attraction' as an area for Portuguese settlement/residence.²⁰ That there were still some Portuguese residing in these 'lower class' streets by 1980 accentuates the fact that not all the immigrants were socially and/or economically mobile.²¹

Between the late 1960s and early 1980s there existed an area in Woodstock consisting of 5 streets that ran parallel to one another to which significant numbers of Portuguese were attracted, namely Salisbury, Chamberlain, Balfour and Selbourne Streets, and Palmerston Road. The appeal of these streets lay possibly not only in the fact that they were so closely linked together- it was common knowledge amongst members of the community that these streets were particularly popular, thus informally

¹⁷ *Cape Times Street Directories, 1940-1980*. This source material has to be used critically because incorrect information is at times recorded in the directories. Furthermore, only the surnames of families were recorded, which gives no indication of family size, thus making accurate accumulation of data a difficult endeavour. The criteria for all the figures and totals pertaining to Portuguese residence are based on a subjective analysis of Portuguese surnames listed in the directories.

¹⁸ *Cape Times*, 20 July 1968. For an examination of Group Areas legislation see J Western- *Outcast Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1981).

¹⁹ In fact, Woodstock was only officially declared an 'open' area in 1988 under the Free Settlement Areas Bill. See also *Cape Argus*, 29 July 1988.

²⁰ It is not incorrect to assume that mixed-race marriages did take place in the Portuguese community of Woodstock, thus making the area a suitable place to live in light of the Group Areas legislation. Generally, however, those interviewed did not allude to mixed-race marriages amongst the Portuguese community of Woodstock. Perhaps they feared damaging the present-day image of the 'pure' Portuguese community.

²¹ As examples among others, Church and Plein Streets housed 6 closely-grouped Portuguese families in 1980.

promoting further Portuguese settlement in them. Mrs D F Rodrigues acknowledged this:

"By about 1969 or 1970 those streets, Balfour, Devonshire, Salisbury and Chamberlain, especially Chamberlain and Balfour were nearly all Portuguese people."²²

They all contained a few Portuguese households in 1940, but the Portuguese population densities²³ were as low as 2%. However, by the 1970s, 22% of the households living in these streets were Portuguese, whilst in the 1980s this increased to 30% or more.²⁴ Although the percentages were not high in relation to the experience of immigrant groups in North America²⁵, they do indicate that a Portuguese community was evolving in Woodstock and offer valuable information as to which streets experienced the greatest settlement. Furthermore, these percentages reveal the clustering of the community to maintain some of its Old World cultural homogeneity which, as already stated, also abetted the adjustment to the foreign, English-speaking environment, an experience recalled by Mr J Goncalves:

"By having Madeirans living around them my parents had friends and relatives who were sharing in the same experiences of living in Woodstock. They often told me at supper about that this one or that one who had come out earlier or later than them and how they were struggling like we did in the beginning."²⁶

Within Woodstock there were immigrants who moved from 'lower' to 'upper' Woodstock which was also indicative of an improved financial position allowing for 'upward' mobility. This was reiterated by Mrs M Rodrigues:

²² Interview with Mrs D F Rodrigues, 4 September 1992.

²³ Population densities are the proportion of Portuguese households living in a street in relation to the rest of the households in that street.

²⁴ These statistics are based solely on the information contained in the Street Directories, dating from 1940-1980. Therefore, they are susceptible to a margin of error, but are useful, nonetheless, in determining the streets occupied by Portuguese immigrants, as well as approximately locating where in these streets they lived.

²⁵ See, for example, Tomasi and Engel (eds), *op.cit.*; Lees, *op.cit.*; Zucchi, *op.cit.*; Marrett, *op.cit.*; Thernstrom and Sennett (eds), *op.cit.*; Holmes (ed), *op.cit.*; Knights, *op.cit.*

²⁶ Interview with Mr J Goncalves, 4 July 1992.

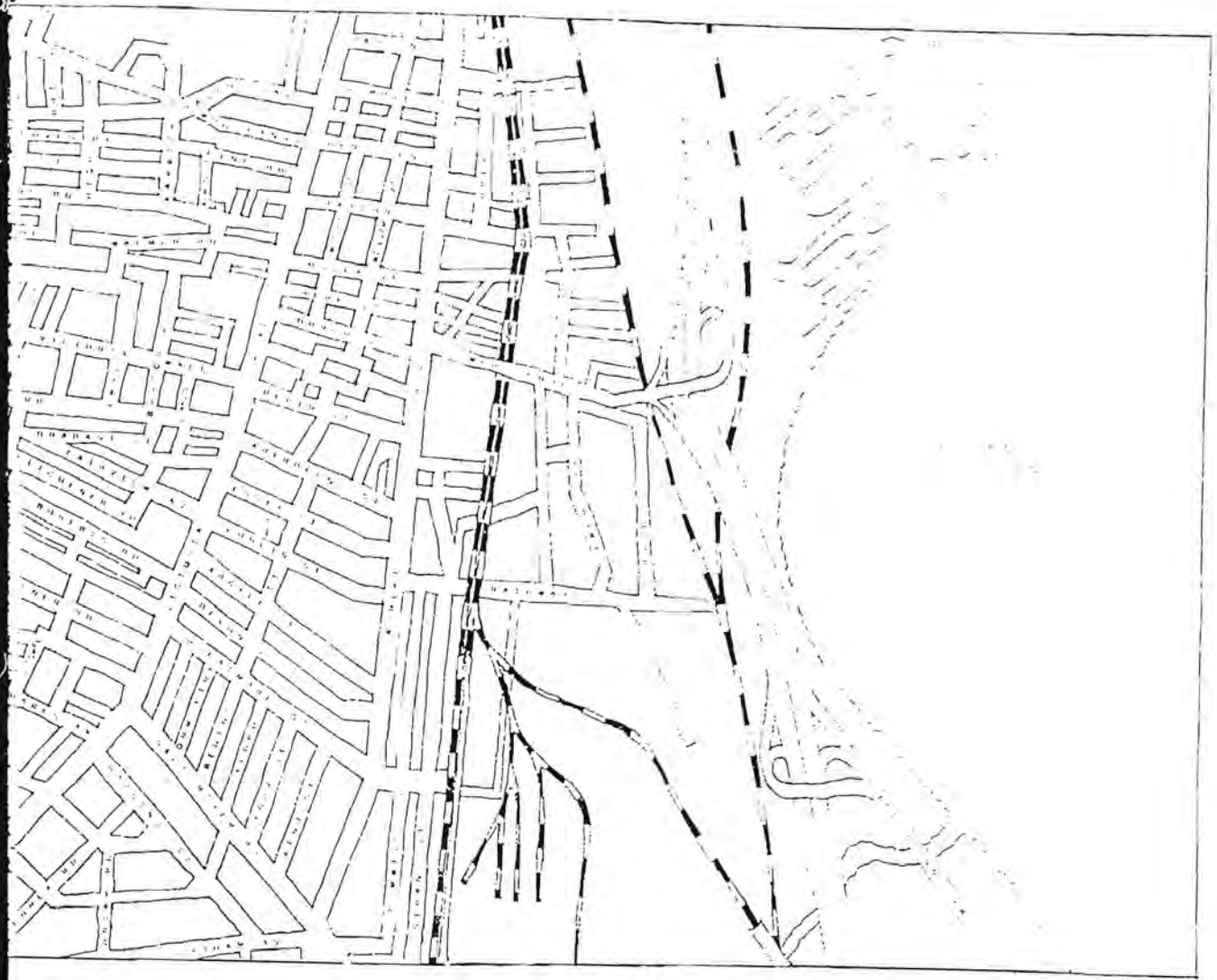
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WOODSTOCK SETTLEMENT



PORTUGUESE
HOUSEHOLDS 0 5 20 40

STOCK SETTLEMENT 1960



SWITZERLAND AND TOWN OF ...
CARTOGRAPHIC ...

"At first we lived with a cousin above his shop in Waterkant Street for a couple of years in the late 1940s. When I married we moved to Barton Street for about 3 years, then we moved to Chamberlain Street for 5 years, and then moved into a house in Roodebloem Road for about 20 years. It was a house that we bought, not rented like the others."²⁷

The fact that Mrs Rodrigues's husband left the fishing industry and purchased a 'negocio' (business) prior to the purchase of their house is suggestive. It points to the manifestation of the fact that Portuguese were beginning to become better off financially, which in turn afforded them opportunities of moving into 'better' areas of Woodstock, or, indeed, of moving out of Woodstock and into surrounding suburbs.²⁸ That some Portuguese did not move out of Woodstock into the surrounding suburbs was related to familial and 'friendship' attachments cultivated in the area.

The relative density of Portuguese in Ritchie Street in the 1970s and 1980s highlighted the emergence of a second area justifiably labelled 'Little Madeira', University Estate, though the term was applied to the whole of Woodstock by the 1960s.²⁹ University Estate's growth in terms of Portuguese settlement signalled the development of a 'colony' within the broader ethnic community and became, in fact, an area within Woodstock which absorbed the upward-mobility of the Portuguese because of its higher property prices in relation to greater Woodstock.

The following makes this explicit: in 1940, there were only 2 Portuguese households in Ritchie Street in University Estate, whilst Rhodes Avenue and Roodebloem Road were devoid of any Portuguese settlement. By 1970, however, Ritchie Street contained 13 Portuguese households; Rhodes Avenue had 6 and

²⁷ Interview with Mrs M Rodrigues, 8 September 1992.

²⁸ For a comparative perspective on the mobility of Cape Town's Jewish immigrants, see L Brenner- "Moving Up": Adaptation and change amongst the Cape Town Jewish community 1920-1939" (Unpublished Honours dissertation, UCT, 1990); B Feldman- "Social Life of Cape Town Jewry, 1904-1914, with special reference to the Eastern European Immigrant Community" (Unpublished Honours dissertation, UCT, 1984)

²⁹ Interviews with Mr A Pecego, 28 August 1992; Mr L Faria, 2 September 1992; Mr M Francisco, 8 September 1992; Mr A Goncalves, 3 September 1992; Mr A Rodrigues, 7 September 1992; Mrs N Lopes, 17 July 1992; Mrs J Virissimo, 28 July 1992; Mrs R Rodrigues, 8 September 1992; Mrs M Nunes, 16 July 1992; Mrs C Franco, 16 September 1992; Mr J Goncalves, 4 July 1992.

Roodebloem Road 4. Although in 1980 the Portuguese population of Ritchie Street had swelled to 18 households, whilst Roodebloem Road had increased its to 9, Rhodes Avenue's total was only increased by one Portuguese household.³⁰ The following extracts from the 1940, 1960 and 1980 Cape Times Street Directories show graphically

Ritchie Street's growth: 1940- F Jardine
F Galante

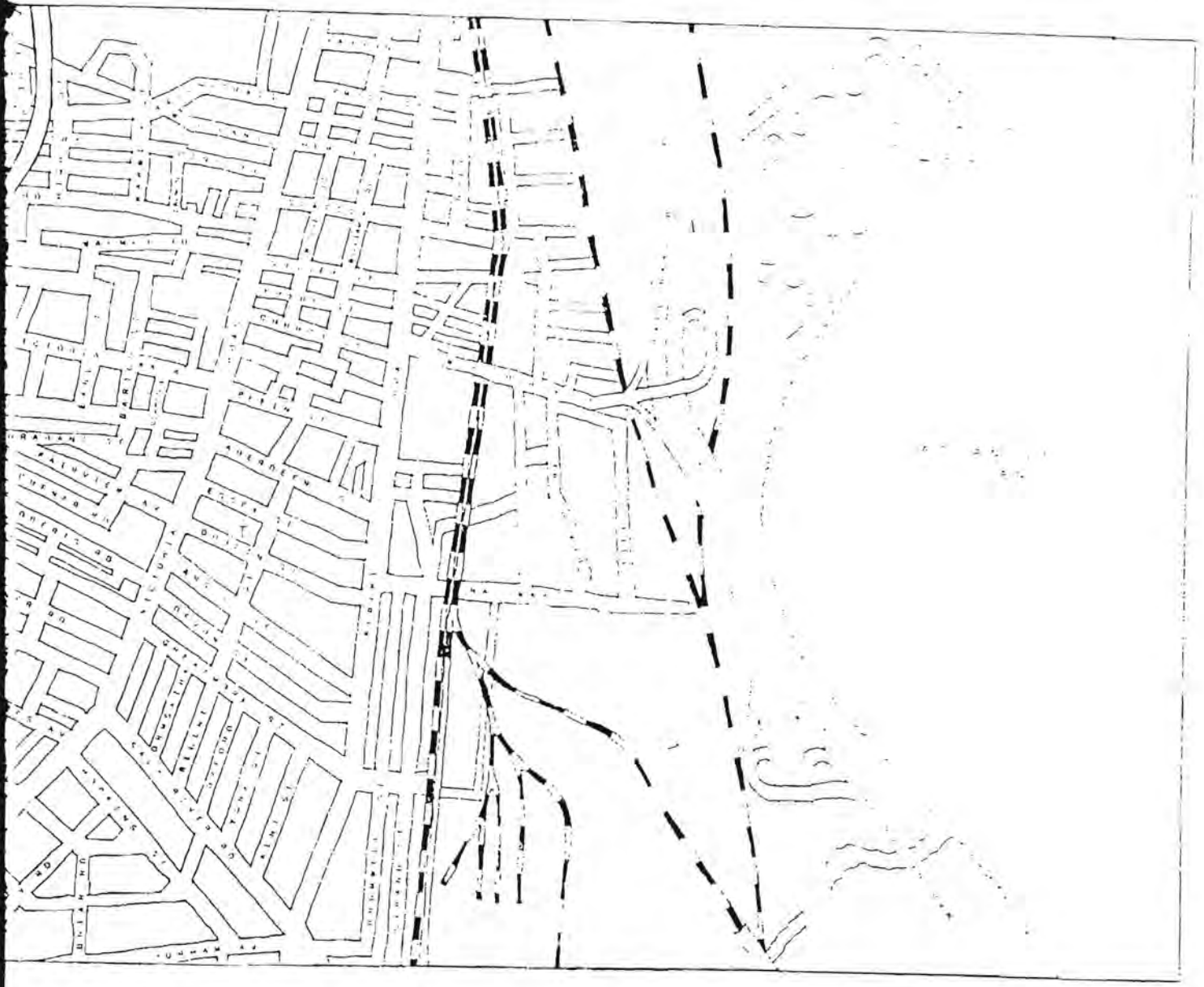
1960- 30 J Fernandes
37 C M de Gouveia
38 F Galante
41 T Rodrigues
52 L Asaro
57 de Nascimento
58 N Fernandes
75 J F Francisco

1980- 30 Fernandes
32 Nunes
33 N Moreira
37 Mrs I F de Gouveia
38 F Galante
41 T Rodrigues
45 A de Abreu
52 L N Asaro
53 M Rebelo
55 A Goncalves
56 A dos Santos Telo
58 N Fernandes
67 B Rodrigues
68 A de Sousa
72 J Rodrigues
78 M Telo
81 J I Caldeira
85 A de Freitas

Reasons for the differential growth patterns of the streets are difficult to ascertain with any certainty, but could be linked to the Portuguese movement out of the area or their settlement in clusters of streets elsewhere in Woodstock. There is also the possibility that it was the earlier process repeating itself at a higher socio-economic level.

³⁰ Cape Times Street Directories, 1940-1980.

CK SETTLEMENT 1980



PROPOSED MAP OF THE
SETTLEMENT

In Woodstock, Chester, Eden and Beresford Roads, as well as Coronation Street, comprised yet another area in which significant numbers of Portuguese households resided. The streets had merely 2 Portuguese households in them in 1960, but between 1970 and 1980 their totals were considerably increased: Beresford Road's increased to 15, Eden and Chester Road's to 16 and 17 respectively. The Portuguese households in Coronation Street blossomed to 13 in total.³¹

The above trend was significant because it highlighted an emergence within Woodstock's Portuguese community of clusters of closely-linked streets that attracted significantly large numbers of immigrants. These clusters were representative of the fragmented nature of Portuguese settlement within Woodstock, but highlighted the need in the community to group itself together so that its identity was maintained, whilst at the same time it was inextricably changed by exposure to the foreign environment.

'Isolated' streets did exist which did not form part of a cluster, such as Roberts Road that experienced an increase of 10 Portuguese households between 1960 and 1980. However, streets were never completely isolated in any area of Woodstock due to their topographical layout which links them together, creating an area of interconnected streets and avenues. Mr A Rodrigues recalled how:

"It was easy to go and visit a nephew or uncle of yours because they were in walking distance from where you lived. In 10 minutes from leaving your house you were knocking on that person's door."³²

The Portuguese who did move out of Woodstock were those who had left the fishing industry and entered other areas of employment that necessitated a proximity to their businesses that were not based in the Woodstock or Cape Town area.³³

³¹ *ibid.*

³² *Interview with Mr A Rodrigues, 7 September 1992.*

³³ *Interviews with Mr A Pecego, 27 August 1992; Mrs A Teixeira, 28 July 1992; Mr A Rodrigues, 7 September 1992.*

Unlike immigrant groups in the USA whose residence in the initial phase of settlement generally affected the emergent work pattern³⁴, the Portuguese immigrant experience was the antithesis of this. The reason for this was that the Madeirans entered South Africa already under the employ of fishing, or other, companies. Therefore, the necessity of seeking work once they arrived was largely absent. As a result, employment patterns placed constraints on where the Portuguese lived, largely dictating their urban movement. Once immigrants moved from the fishing industry to other employment sectors, discussed at length in chapter three, and improved their economic situation, they were less circumscribed in their residential choice.

This chapter has looked at specific areas in Woodstock that were the most heavily populated by Portuguese immigrants in order to establish where immigrants lived, as well as to establish the reasons behind their settlement patterns. 1940 signalled the beginning of an increase in Portuguese residence in Woodstock that was marked by the 1970s and 1980s. The 1980s have, however, witnessed some relocation to outlying suburbs like Parow and Goodwood as improved economic status has afforded Portuguese this mobility and new occupational trends\patterns have demanded this movement. The residential patterns that this chapter has highlighted shaped the emergence of this ethnic community, as well as helping to redefine the maintenance of an ethnic identity that the following chapters highlight.

³⁴ W McCready (ed), *op. cit.*, p.355.

CHAPTER THREE

"ALL IN A DAY'S WORK"- OCCUPATIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS

This chapter examines occupations of Woodstock's Portuguese community to show patterns of employment among this immigrant group. It also aims to show the resilience of Madeira's, or the Old World's, occupational traditions in terms of assessing the mobility of Portuguese in the various occupational groups that will be identified here. The departure from Old World occupational traditions was indicative of an immigrant's move into areas of employment that were not common to his village occupational experience and constituted the development of distinctive Portuguese-Woodstock work traditions. This will elucidate the immigrants' attachment to his/her place of birth, as well as demonstrating the development of new work traditions.

In the Woodstock and Cape Town of the 1940s few if any Portuguese immigrants worked in secondary industry, let alone those from Madeira who constituted the majority of the immigrant population of Woodstock. Madereinses worked primarily in the fishing industry of South West Africa(Luderitz and to a limited extent Walvis Bay) and later of Cape Town, whilst also occupying positions as general dealers in their capacities as small-business owners. Some worked in skilled occupations, but the occurrence of this was uncommon amongst the Woodstock community.¹ Others worked for or with relatives or fellow townsmen, cultural traditions forging a special bond between employer and employee to the extent that they participated wholeheartedly in the enterprise to the benefit of its development.²

¹ Of 25 interviewees only 3 men were in fact employed in this capacity as an electrician, a welder and a fitter-mechanic.

² This idea is taken from J. Zucchi- Italians in Toronto: Development of a national identity 1875-1935 (Montreal 1988), p.69.

When an immigrant arrived he/she identified with his/her ethnic³ group in the sense that they would use this identification to provide a 'base' for their adaptation to the foreign environment in which they found themselves. Zucchi's study of Italian immigrants in Toronto deals with this facet of immigrant life, but relates it directly to specific towns and townspeople, arguing that, unlike Madeiran villages, Italian towns provided 'differentiated' labour to Canada. His comments are, nevertheless, important in this regard: ".....[W]hen an immigrant arrived from his hometown, he identified with his townspeople. This was not only a sentimental tie because the townsgroup was also a functional socio-economic unit. It provided lodgings for the newcomers, and.....it also provided employment, training, and at times even a market for new entrepreneurs."⁴ It will be argued that a similar socio-economic network was operating amongst the Portuguese immigrants of Woodstock through the forty-year period of this study, and that it became increasingly strengthened as more Madeirenses settled in the area.

Moreover, there was not any inter-village rivalry in the sense that, for example, some villages were primarily responsible for the 'cultivation' of fishermen whilst others artisans. They sought solidarity as an immigrant group because any differences or schisms within the group would have meant the fragmentation of a unity vital to their social survival. This identification of the immigrants with each other as 'Portuguese', as opposed to a villager from Machico, Paul do Mar or Camara dos Lobos, meant that the network was applicable to any immigrant irrespective of his/her place of birth.

The fishing industry of South West Africa and South Africa was the single largest area of employment for the immigrants. By the late 1920s and 1930s there were a

³ *Ethnicity is here used in the same sense as N Kirk in K Lunn(ed)- Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities in British Society 1870-1914 (Kent 1980), p.67: "Ethnicity is used to refer to collectivities of people who share a common origin, ancestry, and cultural heritage, and who express their common interests in ideas, value systems and institutions."*

⁴ Zucchi, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

handful of Portuguese fishermen in South West African waters⁵, though it is difficult to ascertain how these first fishermen came to be employed by the local companies. As Woodstock's Portuguese community was predominantly composed of fishermen, it is necessary that this development be traced by examining the industry in South West Africa and South Africa so as to establish the impact of the Madeirans upon it, as well as highlighting the link between this industry and Woodstock. It will be posited that had it not been for the development of the local fishing industry, the Portuguese community of Woodstock would not have grown in the manner that it did.

The South West African industry, especially in the industrial town of Luderitz where crayfishing was to become the centre of its seasonal fishing activity, had begun developing in 1922.⁶ Therefore, there was a growing demand for skilled fishing labour emerging in Luderitz to which Portuguese fishermen could flock, especially as by the 1950s competition from non-white labour was minimised, if not obliterated, by the ".....informal colour bar discriminating against 'coloured' skilled labour at sea"⁷ This created a labour shortage that could be filled by foreign, that is Portuguese, labour supposedly as ".....it was found that the local labour resources were inadequate to meet the demands of the growing lobster fishing industry".⁸ Also, by utilising this foreign labour the Luderitz-based companies could potentially exploit a fragmented labour force that was at the mercy of fishing capital. As the fishing industry developed in Luderitz and Cape Town⁹, increasing numbers of immigrants entered the country as

⁵ Interviews with Mr A. Rodrigues, 7 September 1992; Mr G. Fernandes, 25 September 1992; Mr J. Goncalves, 4 July 1992; Mr M. Francisco, 8 September 1992.

⁶ G Dreosti: *Minimal Legal Size Limit for Rock Lobster for SWA*, Fishing Industry Research Institute [FIRI], Progress Report no. 94, 1965, p. 7. See also R Moorsom- *Exploiting the Sea* (London, 1984), p. 17; R Lees- *Fishing for Fortunes: The Story of the Fishing Industry in Southern Africa- and the Men who Made it* (Cape Town, 1969), p. 69.

⁷ L van Sittert- "Labour, capital and the state in the St. Helena Bay fisheries c. 1856-c. 1956" (Unpublished Phd thesis, UCT 1992), p. 378.

⁸ *South African Fishing Industry Associations' General Manager's Report*, 31 December 1969, p. 6.

⁹ On the development of the Cape Town fishing industry see Van Sittert- "Gebrei in die Ambag': Farmers, Fish and Fishermen in the Hout Bay Valley 1880-1956" (Unpublished Honours dissertation, UCT, 1985); S C Townell- "The Crayfish Industry of the Cape West Coast 1874-1947" (Unpublished Honours dissertation, UCT, 1977); A Kirkaldy- "The Sea is in Our Blood': Community and Craft in Kalk Bay 1880-1939" (Unpublished MA thesis, UCT, 1988).

wage labour. With reference to Luderitz, especially in the crayfishing season, it became a centre for a Portuguese labour force that occupied skilled positions in the production process, receiving men who had gone there via Cape Town as their first port of call on the journey from Madeira; this was significant, as chapter two made clear, because it influenced the immigrants' choice of a home for his family, and later himself.

In the 1940s, single men would leave Madeira once a family member or 'friend' already in South Africa or South West Africa had managed to organise a work contract for him with either one of the two Luderitz-based companies, namely Luno's Canning Factory or South West Africa Fishing Industries Limited.¹⁰ A discussion of the manner in which so many Portuguese came to be 'recruited' to Luderitz will highlight the establishment and operation of the socio-economic network among the immigrants that effectively led to the growth of the Woodstock community.

In the 1940s, and later in the 1950s and 1960s, a well-established shipchandler who lived in Green Point named Carlos Mendonca¹¹ who had come to South Africa in the mid-1920s, became interested in the fishermen that were arriving in Cape Town on their way to Luderitz. He had links with Madeira's capital, Funchal, and because he charged immigrants a fee to 'organise' their work contracts which transpired into potential economic gain for him, received or requested information concerning men who were primarily 'sojourners'¹² or migrant workers. Mendonca acted as a 'middleman' of sorts, organising also the men's residence papers in order that they could eventually send for family and relatives; in later years he alerted companies to

¹⁰ The fact that the interviewees that had been involved in the Luderitz fishing industry all worked for either of these two companies is significant in that it points to the emergence of 'ethnic' companies that attracted specifically Portuguese labour as numbers of fishermen increased the labour pool

¹¹ Interviews with Mr G Fernandes, 25 September 1992; Mrs I Nobrega, 31 August 1992; Mr A Martins, 31 August 1992; Mr M Francisco, 8 September 1992; Mrs M Rodrigues, 8 September 1992; Mr and Mrs N Lopes, 17 July 1992; Mr Telo, 15 September 1992.

¹² This concept is taken from E Bonacich- "A theory of middleman minorities", in *American Sociological Review*, vol. 38, October 1974, p. 584.

the availability of additional Portuguese labour. This was a self-perpetuating process that contributed to the survival of the socio-economic network.

The men did not encounter many problems in terms of entering the country provided, of course, that a work contract with a company was assured. Moreover, the South African government's post-war immigration policy was reflective of Prime Minister Smuts's concern that white natural increase was inadequate to safeguard the white position and had to be buttressed by a 'bold and positive' immigration policy.¹³ In 1947 Smuts made this preference for white immigration clear, implying decreased restrictions on entrance into the country. He declared: "I say, let us once more open our doors. We want to see a European influx into South Africa that will recreate our country.....Set on a 'black' continent we want good Europeans."¹⁴

Once the men had their documentation in order, they would leave for Luderitz, though if any additional 'paperwork' remained to be done, Mendonca would, for a nominal fee, settle it after the men had left Cape Town. It was possible that some Portuguese fishermen were already living in Woodstock in the 1940s and early 1950s, and fishing in Cape Town's waters, but the numbers would have been minimal.¹⁵

In Luderitz, a Portuguese fisherman would work for the duration of the crayfish season which lasted approximately 6 months, after which time he would either remain in Luderitz, return to Madeira or relocate himself to Cape Town where a friend or extended family member would usually provide him with accommodation.¹⁶ It was

¹³ For a detailed examination of Union immigration policies see E Bradlow- "Immigration into the Union 1910-1948: Policies and Attitudes " (Unpublished Phd thesis, UCT, 1978). For the immigration policy under Smuts see pp. 603-651.

¹⁴ Quoted in R Lewis- *Shall I emigrate? A practical guide* (London, 1948), p. 209. See also T R H Davenport- *South Africa- A modern history* (London, 1978), p. 320.

¹⁵ See Figure 1 for the relevant figures. However, this does not necessarily mean that the men were fishing in Cape Town as they may have been there solely to be married- *Cape Times Street Directories, 1940-1980* confirm this.

¹⁶ Interviews with Mr A Martins, 31 August 1992; Mr M Francisco, 8 September 1992; Mr L Faria, 2 September 1992; Mr A Rodrigues, 7 September 1992; Mr J Goncalves, 4 July 1992.

during the closed Luderitz fishing season spent in Cape Town that many fishermen began diversifying into other branches of fishing like snoek, hake and tuna that required new catching techniques, demanding adaptation to these unfamiliar species.¹⁷ As discussed in chapter two, and in a vein similar to the Irish migrants in Victorian London, the Portuguese immigrants' "work influenced not only the area where they would live but the way they would live and the people with whom they would associate."¹⁸ However, permanent settlement in Woodstock would only evolve in any great capacity once the sojourners were granted permanent residence in South Africa, and could send for family to settle in Woodstock.

In 1951 South African Sea Products, a company established in 1946 which came to hold shares in South West Africa Fishing Industries Limited¹⁹, 'imported' 24 Madeiran fishermen to Cape Town, though the possibility existed for them to be sent to Luderitz since its Managing Director at the time, Jack Stubbs, was coincidentally a director of both Lurie's Canning Factory Ltd and South West Africa Fishing Industries Ltd.²⁰ The labour shortage experienced in the Cape Town fishing industry by the movement of local fishermen to the pilchard waters of Walvis and St. Helena Bay had necessitated this recruitment. The reasons for the recruitment were cited as being that ".....the Portuguese fishermen are highly skilled and were specifically selected by an official of the company.....", and "[O]nce they have mastered English they will be able to help greatly in the training of South Africans."²¹

Woodstock's proximity in relation to the Cape Town docks made it the ideal area of settlement, especially as property prices were within many of the fishermen's means(see chapter two). Though an area did exist in Green Point, in Somerset Road.

¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁸ L Lees- *Exiles of Erin: Irish Migrants in Victorian London* (Manchester 1979), p. 88.

¹⁹ R Lees, *op. cit.*, pp. 133 and 141.

²⁰ *South African Fishing Industry Handbook and Buyers' Guide*, June 1951.

²¹ *Cape Times*, 19 July 1951. See also 7 July 1951.

that was affordable to immigrants, it was populated by an Italian fishing community resident in Cape Town since the 1890s.²²

To reiterate a point, the arrangement of a work contract was always central to an emigrant settling in Cape Town. Mrs N Lopes recalled how in 1950 Jack Stubbs arranged a contract of work for her husband:

"Mr Stubbs became an acquaintance of my mother as she had a little shop opposite the barber where he came to have his hair cut, and into which he came to buy some things. My mother just asked him to get a contract of work for my husband and he gave it willingly with no problem."²³

Those in Luderitz, and to a lesser extent in Cape Town, sent a percentage of their money to Madeira to help support family there, managing to bring them to Cape Town once their permanent residence had been governmentally sanctioned.²⁴ It was only once the fishermen were permanent residents that they had the freedom to leave the company that had assured them work contracts, first as sojourners and later as permanent immigrants or settlers. The time it took to receive authorization of residential status from the South African government varied, but usually the men were permanent residents no more than 2 years after their arrival in South Africa.²⁵

That the aforementioned socio-economic network had developed considerably, and was particularly strong, is evinced by the fact that ".....by the middle fifties, the majority of the Luderitz fishermen were Portuguese."²⁶ Mendonca's involvement in the fishing industry in the capacity as a shiphandler afforded him considerable insight into the 'ins' and 'outs' of the local and South West African fishing industries, resulting in

²² D Grant- "Bokkoms, Boycott & the Bo Kaap: The Decline of the Rogge Bay Fishing Industry between 1890 and 1920" (Unpublished Honours dissertation, UCT, 1986/87), p.55. For an examination of the Italian community in Cape Town see P Corgatelli- "Tapes and Testimony: Making the local history of Italians in the Western Cape in the first half of the 20th century (Unpublished MA thesis, UCT, 1989).

²³ Interview with Mrs N Lopes, 17 July 1992.

²⁴ Interviews with Mr L Faria, 2 September 1992; Mr M Francisco, 8 September 1992; Mr M Telo, 15 September 1992; Mr M Rodrigues, 8 September 1992; Mr A Rodrigues, 7 September 1992; Mr G Fernandes, 25 September 1992; Mrs N Lopes, 17 July 1992; Mrs I Nobrega; 31 August 1992.

²⁵ *ibid.*

²⁶ R Lees, *op.cit.*, p.181

occasional recruitment, discussed in the preceding paragraphs, for the Luderitz companies, both of which had head-offices in Cape Town.²⁷

From the early 1960s, a man named Jose de Nobrega, whose parents had immigrated to the Transvaal mines in the 1880s and who had settled in Cape Town in the 1920s, became increasingly involved with the Portuguese community in Woodstock, but more in the capacity of a paternal figure who used his 'contacts' in Cape Town to aid fishermen and any other Portuguese immigrants. Matters pertaining to translation and administrative work involving the immigrants' documents would be taken care of by De Nobrega; unlike Mendonca, though, he was not involved in the casual recruitment of fishermen, due possibly to the fact that he was not directly involved in the Cape Town fishing industry. The efforts of Mendonca, and to a lesser degree De Nobrega, effectively created an informal labour agency that helped to sustain the socio-economic network among the Portuguese, facilitating the entrance of fishermen, as well as other Portuguese, into South Africa.

The 1960s witnessed a renewed boom period²⁸ in the fishing industry which translated into increased labour opportunities for Portuguese immigrants. In the case of Luderitz, this was achieved at the expense of the crayfish resources which had begun to decline in the early 1960s, leading to the abolition of the minimum legal size limit of crayfish in 1968.²⁹ This decade witnessed a major influx of fishermen to Luderitz, as well as to Cape Town in the latter half of the decade, due primarily to the establishment in 1966 of Lusitania Sea Products Ltd, the first Portuguese fishing company of its kind in Cape Town.³⁰ It developed chiefly as a result of the boom, though it took advantage of it to supply local restaurants, eventually growing into a

²⁷ Interviews with Mr M Francisco, 8 September 1992; Mr G Fernandes, 25 September 1992; Mr A Martins, 31 August 1992. See also *South African Fishing Industry Handbook and Buyers' Guide*, June 1951.

²⁸ Van Sittert, *op. cit.*, p. xxxviii.

²⁹ Moorsom, *op. cit.*, p. 18. See also Dreosti, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

³⁰ Interview with Managing Director and founder, Mr G Fernandes, 25 September 1992.

nation-wide concern with international markets. The following section of the chapter will deal with the 1960s and 1970s as Portuguese fishermen moved from Luderitz to Cape Town, and diversified into other areas of fishing.

Although during the twenty years from the 1940s to the 1960s the crayfish industry in Luderitz had provided employment to approximately 350 Portuguese fishermen annually³¹, by the early 1970s the crayfish resources were largely depleted, exacerbated by the lure of the Walvis Bay pilchard industry which had developed from the late 1940s.³² However, the establishment of Lusitania in 1966 provided an opportunity to move permanently to Cape Town's fishing waters and settle in Woodstock. The founder, Gastao Fernandes, was acquainted with many of the fishermen in Luderitz through his involvement with them there when he travelled to South West Africa with Mr A du Preez, a well-established fishing entrepreneur, to take ownership of a third company, Angra Pequena.³³ Furthermore, he lived in Woodstock among many of the 'seasonal' fishermen and had sporting and cultural ties with them through the Portuguese Association of the Cape of Good Hope (see chapter four), which effectively meant that a veritable labour pool was at his disposal. More importantly, his ethnic identification with the fishermen proved to be an additional attraction to them to join Lusitania:

"I looked specifically for Portuguese fishermen and skippers because I wanted my company to get a name as a Portuguese company. From my days in Luderitz I knew many of the men and so got some to come and join me at Lusitania. As a 'Portuguese', I felt the company could be run better with Portuguese labour because we could communicate in our language and relate to each other better."³⁴

The vested interest that Fernandes had in fashioning Lusitania into what could, in essence, be interpreted as an ethnic venture, meant that the recruitment of fishermen and labourers continued unabated, even though the South African government by the

³¹ *General Manager's Report, op. cit.*, p. 6.

³² *R Lees, op. cit.*, pp. 181-182. See also *R Moorsom, op. cit.*, pp. 20-26.

³³ *Interview with Mr G Fernandes, 25 September 1992. See also R Lees, op. cit.*, p. 260.

³⁴ *Interview with Mr G Fernandes, 25 September 1992.*

mid-1950s "had made it considerably harder for immigrants to acquire citizenship....."³⁵ Informal ties with the Department of Immigration in Pretoria by virtue of a former partner of Du Preez' at Angra Pequena, Dr Hennie Oosthuizen³⁶, facilitated the continuing entry of Portuguese fishermen to Cape Town. As a result of the increasing numbers of fishermen leaving the failing Luderitz industry and Lusitania's establishment, many settled in Woodstock with their families for the first time as 'permanent' labour in Cape Town. Obviously, some fishermen remained with the South West African companies, though they were in the minority.

Portuguese fishermen who were previously involved in the Luderitz industry, and who had managed to purchase boats by the 1960s and 1970s, grouped together in 1968 to form Konsortium Kreefbelange³⁷ (as the name suggests, presumably with Afrikaner investment) under Gastao Fernandes, requiring additional labour and thus attracting yet more Portuguese fishermen. This was ostensibly a crayfish\lobster fishing company based in Cape Town, but as in its sister company, Lusitania, Portuguese fishermen were able to diversify into other areas of fishing such as longline and pelagic fishing, the training being offered under the auspices of the company. Those fishermen that settled in Woodstock but did not join Lusitania were always assured of finding a 'site'(work) on private boats owned by Portuguese fishermen or on those belonging to Cape Town companies, but skippered by Portuguese men.

There was a progression away from fishing and into small-business ownership in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the most common form of this ownership manifesting itself in cafes. Partnerships very often provided the initial basis and financial stability which facilitated the potential sole ownership of one's business. Those who had managed to hoard sufficient money to move away from fishing, or who had kin already

³⁵ T.R.H Davenport, *op. cit.*, p.327.

³⁶ Interview with Mr G Fernandes, 25 September 1992.

³⁷ Interviews with Mr G Fernandes, 25 September 1992; Mr M Telo, 15 September 1992.

involved in the small-business sector, looked to the economic prospects of substantial capital gain as reason enough to leave former areas of employment.

The establishment of a cafe or mini-supermarket, or some other small-business, required labour that could be secured by employing people from one's own ethnic group because they were regarded as being more trustworthy and harder working, reducing the risk involved in hiring 'outside' labour. They could eventually take over the business, thus perpetuating the ethnic ownership. In fact, of those interviewed, 29% made the transition in the late 1950s and 1960s from fishing to small-business ownership, whilst only 25% remained in fishing all their lives; a further 21% left 'other' areas of employment for the small-business sector. It is significant that half of the Portuguese interviewees made the progression to small-business ownership in a conscious attempt to stabilise and improve their economic positions.³⁸ Specific reasons for this shift varied, though all were in agreement that, like other immigrant groups³⁹, absence of professional skills, limited education and a limited knowledge of English directed their decisions to enter the small-business sector.

Those immigrants living in Woodstock who were not involved in the fishing industry but had come to Cape Town primarily as artisans, had also managed to secure work contracts through friends or kin already settled there. Some filtered down from Angola and Mozambique, which, as Portuguese colonies, had provided work opportunities as well as facilitated entry into South Africa and subsequently Cape Town and Woodstock.⁴⁰ Clandestine immigration to South Africa via the colonies certainly

³⁸ See Figure 2. 'Other' here refers to a basketmaker, farmer, tram-driver, artisan and welder.

³⁹ See, for example, J Zucchi- *Italians in Toronto*; C Holmes(ed)- *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society*; K Lunn(ed)- *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities*

⁴⁰ Interview with Mr J Franco, 3 July 1992; Mrs C Franco, 16 September 1992; Mrs E Mota, 25 July 1992; Mr A Zecego, 27 August 1992.

occurred, which points to the economic pressure faced by the immigrants to secure employment.⁴¹

In dealing with Portuguese immigrant women, it is evident that, economically, the women were isolated by their dual role as wives and mothers in the realm of the domestic sphere. Whereas in Madeira some economic contribution to the family economy was possible through a 'putting-out' system of embroidery for cash, in Woostock such employment opportunities were unavailable as there was little or no market for these items of clothing, effectively destroying access to an individual income. Their isolation in home-life meant that additional strain was placed on the husband as the only economically active member of the family, at least until any children were old enough to earn money through part-time and eventually post-school full-time employment.⁴²

Out of economic necessity some of the women embroidered and/or crocheted at home to 'sell' to family friends or acquaintances, but this was never done commercially. The selling was infrequent and prices for items of work were always low.⁴³ Those women whose husbands had made the progression into the small-business sector were afforded the opportunity of leaving the domestic and of moving into the semi-public work realm. This employment work in the 'negocio' (business), though menial, was an opportunity at regaining the role of supplementing the family income once enjoyed in Madeira, especially as husbands paid their wives 'token' wages.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Interviews with Mr A Martins, 31 August 1992; Mr A Rodrigues, 7 September 1992; Mr L Faria, 2 September 1992; Mr M Francisco, 8 September 1992; Mr J da Sousa, 17 September 1992; Mrs M Nunes, 16 July 1992.

⁴² Interviews with Mrs I Nobrega, 3 August 1992; Mrs D F Rodrigues, 4 September 1992; Mrs R Silva, 25 July 1992; Mrs R Fernandes, 15 September 1992; Mrs J Virissimo, 28 July 1992; Mrs M Nunes, 16 July 1992.

⁴³ *ibid.*

⁴⁴ Interviews with Mrs S de Abreu, 28 August 1992; Mrs M Rodrigues, 8 September 1992; Mrs M Caboz, 7 September 1992; Mrs R Rodrigues, 7 September 1992; Mrs J Virissimo, 28 July 1992; Mrs N Lopes, 17 July 1992.

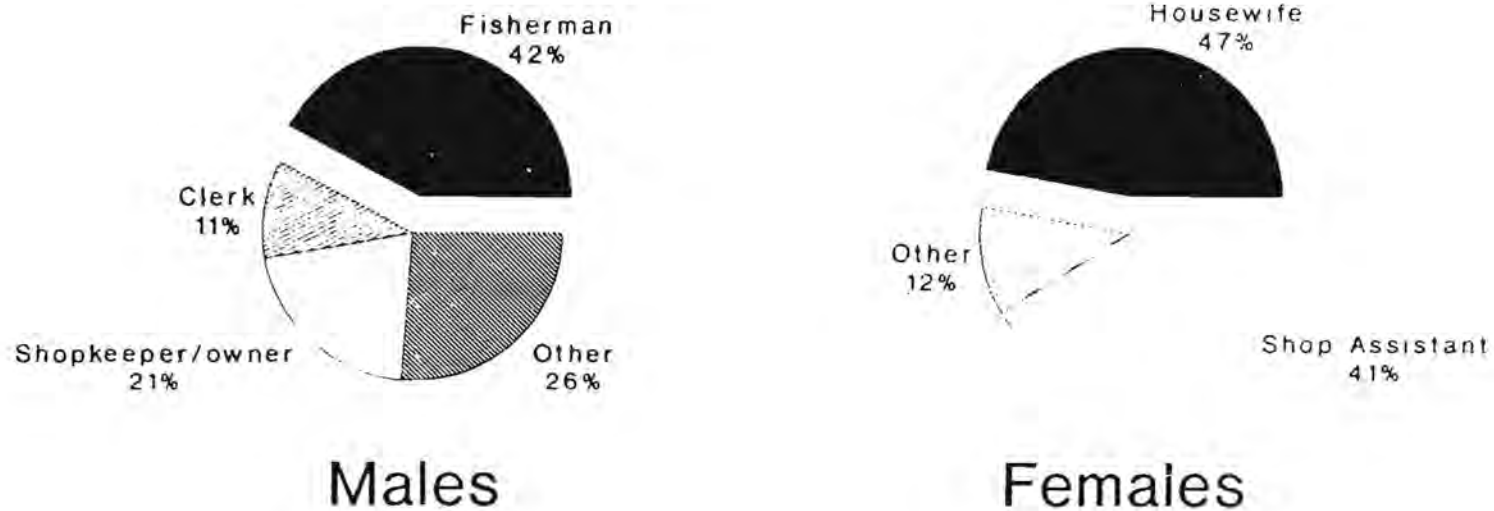
Figures 1 and 3 highlight the involvement of women in the small-business sector, but more importantly point to the high proportion of women in the domestic realm as housewives. Only 3 of the 24 women interviewees held clerical positions away from the family business, of which 2 were single and 1 left her position at work once she married.⁴⁵ The Portuguese women of Woodstock have had to sacrifice their former economic role of contributors to the family income in Madeira for total dependence on husbands' income. However, second and even third generation women in the 1970s and 1980s are increasingly afforded opportunities of pursuing careers as traditional perceptions of women's work amongst the Portuguese are revised, and educational opportunities are available to them that were absent for their mothers and grandmothers.

The Portuguese immigrants who arrived in South Africa and settled in Woodstock in the 1940s and 1950s were able to transfer their Old World work traditions to the host country because they immigrated under contract to fishing companies in South West Africa and later South Africa. This wage employment ensured the immigrant when he first arrived that the anxieties associated with finding work in a foreign country were considerably lessened. Furthermore, the existence amongst the Portuguese of a socio-economic network provided the immigrants with information concerning possible employment.

There was departure from fishing to small-business ownership from the late 1960s to 1980s for those Portuguese whose improved financial positions afforded them the possibility of purchasing a 'negocio'. Former Old World work traditions were, as a result, replaced by new Portuguese-based urban occupations to which the Portuguese were perceived by South Africans as being 'naturally' drawn.

⁴⁵ Interviews with Mrs J Virissimo, 28 July 1992; Mrs M Nunes, 16 July 1992; Mrs A Teixeira, 28 July 1992. Mrs A Teixeira had occasion to leave her position and join her father's business.

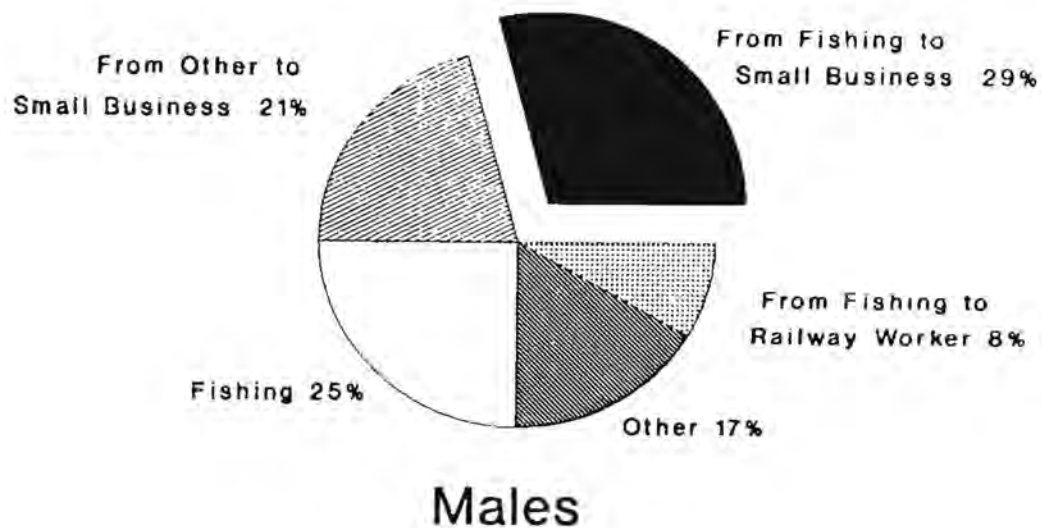
Figure 1 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS BY GENDER
MARRIAGE COUPLES, 1940-1955



Occupation	Males (n=20)	Occupation	Females (n=17)
Fisherman	8	Housewife	8
Clerk	2	Shop Assistant	7
Shopkeeper/Owner	4	Other	2
Other	6		

Source: Marriage Registers, St. Agnes Parish, Woodstock, 1940-1955

**Figure 2 DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS
MALE INTERVIEWEES, 1940-1980**

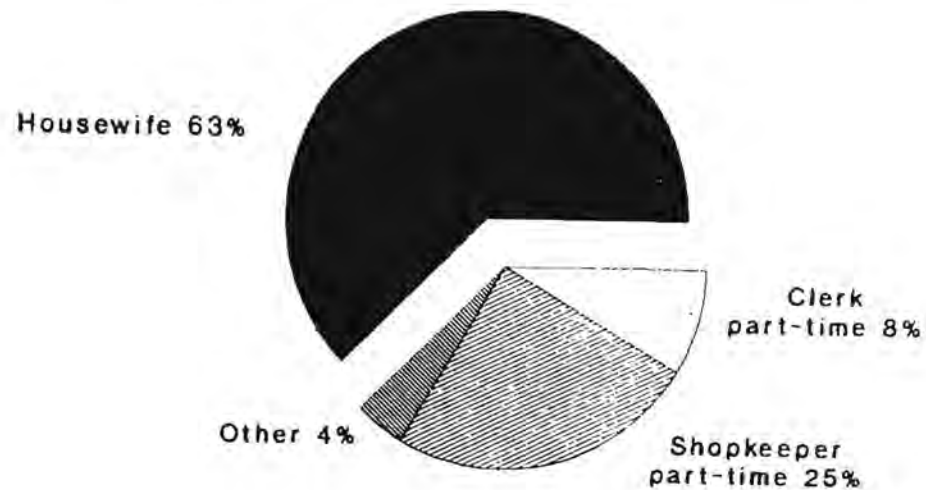


Occupation	Males (n=24)
From Fishing to Small Business	7
From Other to Small Business	5
From Fishing to Railway Worker	2
Fishing	6
Other	4

Source: Interviews conducted 1992.

Figure 3

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS FEMALE INTERVIEWEES, 1940-1980



Females

Occupation	Females (n=24)
Housewife	15
Clerk part-time	2
Shopkeeper part-time	6
Other	1

Source: Interviews conducted 1992.

The women of the community were the ones who broke most definitively with Old World work traditions as the possibility of continuing former economic pursuits were removed as soon as they arrived in South Africa because of the absence of a market for their embroidered goods. Portuguese women did, nevertheless, enter the casual employment of the small-business, but this was only possible if their husbands or family were involved in this commercial sector.

CHAPTER FOUR

"WE ARE PORTUGUESE "- THE MAINTENANCE OF AN ETHNIC IDENTITY AMONGST THE IMMIGRANTS

The Portuguese immigrants who settled in Woodstock arrived with some sense of a Portuguese nationality and identity. If nothing else, taxation and rule by a Portuguese government that was often oppressive would have made them aware that they were not just from a village but from a 'broader' Portuguese nation.¹ This was especially true of the Madeiran immigrants who constituted the vast majority of those settling in Woodstock because their status as both villagers and islanders heightened their awareness of their economic dependence on Portugal. Nevertheless, their identity as Madeirans was never totally undermined and completely replaced by a Portuguese nationality.

The immigrants became even more conscious of their distinctive nationality once they had moved to Woodstock, especially as families from different villages lived on the same street or worshipped or worked side by side.² Furthermore, they were recognised by South Africans as Portuguese. Immigrants arriving in Cape Town and settling in Woodstock had a need for the reinforcement of their common ethnic bond with immigrants from other villages of Madeira, and later on, of Portugal. Group cohesion provided immigrants with not only a sense of identity but eased the adaptation to a foreign environment.

This chapter will examine 'institutions' in the Portuguese community of Woodstock that facilitated group existence, as a manifestation of a shared ethnic background. The construction of a Portuguese identity was of paramount importance to

¹ For the Italian experience of nationality see, for example, J. Zucchi- *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity 1875-1935* (Montreal, 1988), p.141.

² These ideas are taken from Zucchi, *op cit*, and S. Tomasi and M. Engel (eds.)- *The Italian experience in the United States* (New York, 1977), especially pages 77 to 102.

the immigrants, delaying assimilation (it will be argued that many of the immigrants before the 1970s were not fully assimilated into the foreign culture) and only allowing for limited acculturation to take place. The constant attachment to the 'patria' (homeland) regulated the lives of many immigrants to the extent that ethnic bonds superseded class divisions.

Minority ethnic migrant communities like the Jews, Greeks, Italians and Irish³ relied on the existence of social clubs, mutual benefit and fraternal societies and religious institutions for the preservation of their immigrant identity in foreign environments. Similarly, the Portuguese relied to a great extent on three institutions that facilitated their adaptation to Woodstock and provided for them, at one time or another⁴, a sense of belonging to a wider ethnic community; these institutions were the Catholic Church, the Portuguese Association and the traditional family.⁵

The Catholic Church

The Portuguese immigrants' national identity, much like the Italian peasants' identity in Toronto in the early 20th century, was "intertwined with his Roman Catholicism....".⁶ It can even be argued that the immigrants' Catholic identity did not form part of a separate, conscious border of identity, as the immigrants had been raised in a religiously homogenous village and saw themselves as both Catholic and Portuguese. This embedded religiosity was a feature of an individual's social makeup

³ For the Jewish experience see, for example, N Kokosalakis- *Ethnic Identity and Religion: Tradition and Change in Liverpool Jewry* (Washington, 1982), pp. 67-77 and 113-145. For the Italian and Irish experiences see, for example, Zucchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-165; S M Tomasi & M H Engel (eds), *op. cit.*, pp. 77-102 and 163-193 and L Lees- *Exiles of Erin* (Manchester, 1979), pp. 164-212 respectively. See also E Mantzaris- "Class and Ethnicity: The Politics and Ideologies of the Greek Community in South Africa circa 1890-1924" (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, UCT, 1982), pp. 150-202 for the South African Greek experience.

⁴ The subsequent discussion of the Catholic Church and the family will show how these immediately provided 'focal points' for the construction of an ethnic identity, whereas the Portuguese Association of Cape Town was only officially started in 1965. Therefore, it played a role in this regard only later.

⁵ Emphasis will be placed on women as mothers due to the important function they fulfilled in terms of abetting the construction and maintenance of a Portuguese identity within the traditional family.

⁶ Zucchi, *op. cit.*, p. 142

that would not be destroyed by the immigration experience. Religious values and beliefs were transported from the Old World to Woodstock, permitting the persistence and continuance of traditional cultural and religious mores in an experience common to Catholic and Jewish immigrants alike because " [R]eligion, whatever its content, is certainly a discourse transmitted by tradition and important as a guarantee of a cultural identity " ⁷

Religion, according to a thesis advanced by Herberg in the 1960s, "provides us with both self-identification and self-placement in a heterogenous society." ⁸ It gives people an extra dimension that enables them to recognise themselves as social entities. The process by which the immigrants experienced religion was through the traditional family and Roman Catholic Church, although it was within the private sphere of home-life that the socialization of the individual took place. Being Catholic in a Portuguese home meant that, as Chalfant argues, one came to "know and internalise the expected behaviours, patterns of interaction, attitudes, and values of those who are already believers and members of the group. Without such learning, smooth and efficient social interaction could not go on....." ⁹

Though the home provided the context in which many Portuguese first experienced Catholicism as children, when the first immigrants settled in Woodstock in the late 1940s, it was the Catholic Church itself that provided the immigrants with their sense of being Portuguese, which was in fact synonymous with being Catholic. The teaching of traditional Catholic mores had already taken place in Madeiran homes by Portuguese women whose husbands had emigrated to the fishing waters of South Africa, but a closer analysis of the construction of a Portuguese identity through the Catholic Church is first necessary.

⁷ T Todorov- *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (New York, 1984), p. 83

⁸ Quoted in H.P. Chalfant, R.E. Beckley and C.E. Palmer- *Religion in Contemporary Society* (California, 1981), p. 4

⁹ H.P. Chalfant, R.E. Beckley and C.E. Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 44

In the 1940s and early 1950s immigrants to Woodstock had the opportunity to celebrate holy mass at the local church, St. Agnes, built in 1895 for the local Woodstock community. The relative proximity of the church to many of the immigrants' homes meant that walking to mass was no trouble and influenced some of their decisions to settle in a particular part of Woodstock, as pointed out by a Madeiran immigrant:

"I would very often walk down Roodebloem Road to go to daily mass at St. Agnes. It was a custom, you could call it that, that I was used to from having gone to mass everyday in Madeira."¹⁰

Before English replaced Latin as the medium for the celebration of holy mass, the language barrier was not an overwhelming obstacle to participation in the service, though naturally the readings and homily would have been in English. However, it was in the confessional where the language difference was accentuated, as the following testimony makes clear:

"I would confess in Portuguese to the English priest knowing that the absolution that he gave me would be the same as that given in Portuguese. But if I wanted to speak to the priest after mass I couldn't because I didn't know English."¹¹

The Old World religious mores were, to a certain extent, transferred to Woodstock by the immigrants who, even though language usage by the Irish clergy at St. Agnes was somewhat alienating, continued to pursue an adherence to a religious order that stressed a devout belief in God and the power He exercised over the community.¹²

¹⁰ Interview with Mrs M Rodrigues, 8 September 1992.

¹¹ Interview with Mrs D.F. Rodrigues, 4 September 1992.

¹² Interviews with Mrs N Lopes, 17 July 1992; Mrs I Nobrega, 31 August 1992; Mrs D.F. Rodrigues, 4 September 1992; Father de Freitas, 29 August 1992.

From 1945 to 1954¹³ there was, however, also a priest resident at Holy Cross church in District Six, Father S. Nascimento, who, though he celebrated mass in English, heard the immigrants' confessions in Portuguese.¹⁴ His residence at this church effectively meant that recently arrived immigrants were afforded the opportunity to consult a priest with whom they identified and who eased their adaptation to Woodstock by 'counselling' them in Portuguese.

By 1956 the local Roman Catholic hierarchy had become aware of the growing Portuguese community in Cape Town, and in Woodstock in particular, necessitating the appointment of a priest with whom they would identify, both spiritually and culturally. Cardinal Owen McCann recalled this appointment of a Portuguese priest:

"We [the Catholic Church] were aware of the growing Portuguese community in Cape Town for which a priest was necessary. It was especially in Woodstock where a number of immigrants were living in the 1950s that the people needed a priest."¹⁵

Accordingly, a chaplain, Father A.A. Perreira of the Franciscan missionaries at Beira, was secured for Cape Town through the Portuguese Catholic clergy in Johannesburg in 1956, and he stayed on for a period of 10 years.¹⁶ His appointment included 'looking' after the Portuguese community of greater Cape Town, but with special reference to the St. Agnes congregation. However, due to the presence in Woodstock of two priests, Father Perreira had to reside at the Bellville Catholic Church, yet he celebrated mass daily at St. Agnes. This appointment was thus indicative of the growing number of immigrants settling in Woodstock that were in need of a spiritual leader who would, like ministers to the immigrant groups of America, "provide moral guidance and spiritual comfort to families.....dismayed by the

¹³ *Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Cape Town, Personal File of Father S Nascimento.*

¹⁴ *Interviews with Mrs M Rodrigues, 8 September 1992; Mrs M Caboz, 7 September 1992.*

¹⁵ *Interview with Owen Cardinal McCann, Archbishop Emeritus of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Cape Town, 12 October 1992.*

¹⁶ *Interviews with Owen Cardinal McCann, 12 October 1992; Mrs M Rodrigues, 8 September 1992. Also, see Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Cape Town, Personal File of Father A A Perreira.*

manifold adjustments to a commercial or industrial economy."¹⁷ The status that Catholic priests were accorded in Madeira elevated them to prestigious leadership positions in Woodstock as spiritual as well as 'material' advisers.¹⁸

With the departure of Father Perreira from St. Agnes in 1966, he was replaced by Father A. F. da Luz who had spent some years in Mozambique as a missionary¹⁹, and who became the first Portuguese priest to reside in Woodstock permanently. In 1975, he was replaced by a Father A. de Freitas who had joined the Benedictines in Angola before volunteering for Cape Town.²⁰ His presence from 1975 through to the late 1980s saw the community accord him such respect that he was made Director of the 'Escola Luis de Camoes', the language school established in 1969 for the teaching of Portuguese to children, because of his teaching qualifications and personal commitment to the community.²¹ This points to his importance for the socio-religious survival of the ethnic community, helping to shape the development of its identity and consciousness.

The leadership provided by the ethnic clergy fashioned the immigrants' religious consciousness as well as their Portuguese identity. The priest's role in addressing the congregation as an homogeneous ethnic group of Portuguese settlers diluted any parochial, Old World sentiments that might have surfaced among the immigrants of Woodstock, and consequently would have heightened their sense of belonging to a Woodstock Portuguese ethnic community. His use of Portuguese was important because it increased the immigrant's awareness of being not only Catholic, but a Portuguese-Catholic. Their focus on the Portuguese priest was not an archaic or backward-looking

¹⁷ T Smith- "Religion and Ethnicity in America", in *American Historical Review*, 83, no 5 (December 1978), p. 1167.

¹⁸ Interviews with Mrs M Rodrigues, 4 September 1992; Mrs E Mota, 25 July 1992; Mrs N Lopes, 17 July 1992; Mrs I Nobrega, 31 August 1992; Mrs M Nunes, 16 July 1992; Mrs D Rodrigues, 4 September 1992; Mrs M Caboz, 7 September 1992; Mrs R Silva, 25 July 1992; Mrs J Virissimo, 28 July 1992.

¹⁹ Interview with Owen Cardinal McCann, 12 October 1992.

²⁰ Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Cape Town, Personal File of Father A de Freitas.

²¹ Interview with Father A. de Freitas, 29 August 1992.

device aimed at arousing images of the Old World left behind, but was instead a mechanism whereby they could, in a similar fashion to ethnic groups in America, "...compete more advantageously with members of other groups."²²

That the presence of a Portuguese priest was instrumental in giving the community an advantage in terms of adapting to Woodstock and competing with 'other groups', is made explicit by the following recollection of a Madeiran immigrant:

"When I first arrived six years after my husband in 1967, he was still in Ludentz fishing. I couldn't speak English and only knew a few people, so the Portuguese priest was important for me because I could walk down to St Agnes to go and talk to him. If I had some problems he was there to help me."²³

The priest's status as an ethnic leader in the community effectively meant that he "performed a role in the mobilisation of cultural resources that married ethnicity to religion....."²⁴ Madeiran religious loyalties were transplanted to aid the immigrants in dealing with new challenges that a foreign environment inevitably produced, such as language difficulties and the pressures of finding accommodation once they had left the homes of family members or friends; more importantly, these religious traits were vital to their identification not only as Catholics but as Portuguese Catholics.²⁵

Though the need for an ethnic priest in Woodstock was clear by 1956, St. Agnes was never declared a 'national' parish by the Archdiocese of Cape Town.²⁶ This could have been related to the relatively late entry of Portuguese immigrants into Woodstock, by which time St. Agnes was already patronised by a congregation of English-speaking Catholics; the declaration of the church as a Portuguese-Catholic parish would have alienated the remainder of the Woodstock community.

²² Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 1168.

²³ Interview with Mrs C Goncalves, 15 September 1992.

²⁴ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 1167.

²⁵ For an excellent analysis of the relationship between ethnicity and religion see Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 1155-1185. Also see L. Lees, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-212.

²⁶ On the formation of national parishes see Tomasi and Engel(eds), *op. cit.*, pp. 163-209; Zucchi, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-140; Lees, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-212.

The impact of the Roman Catholic culture was not only important in shaping an ethnic consciousness, but was also ideologically central in fashioning a distinctively Portuguese religious culture. Immigrants retained their identities as *Portuguese* Catholics through priests consciously using Portuguese symbols, such as the veneration of Mary who represents the qualities Portuguese, especially the women, aspire to, to draw them into the religious culture. Ethnic priests emphasised religious days and festivals that were pertinent to the Portuguese community, like the 'Festa do Divino Espirito Santo' and popular saints such as 'Sao Pedro' and 'Sao Joao', marking the immigrants as a people who did not compromise their faith once they left Madeira.²⁷

However, it was the church's broader influence on the Woodstock immigrants in terms of identity that was of significance, bearing in mind that, had an ethnic priest been absent from St. Agnes parish, the traditional religious mores might well have disappeared and forced the Portuguese to adopt a 'foreign' religious culture.

The Catholic Church in Woodstock therefore played a central role in the communal life of the Portuguese because it not only reinforced their Old World religious beliefs and served as a catalyst to the adaptation to the urban, South African environment, but helped maintain and facilitate the creation of a Portuguese identity.

The Portuguese Association of the Cape of Good Hope

The formation in 1965 of a Portuguese national association, the 'Associação Portuguesa do Cabo da Boa Esperança' was a development of substantial importance in heightening the immigrants' sense of a national identity, as well as of belonging to a wider Cape Town Portuguese community. A contributing factor to the erection of the

²⁷ Since 1988, the annual Blessing of the Fishing fleet has become part of Portuguese social life, yet infused with strong religious overtones. It has abetted the redefinition of 'Portugueseness' for the immigrants.

Association building in Rugby was its proximity to Woodstock, indicating the presence and importance accorded to the Madeirans.²⁸ Prior to its establishment, an immigrant's identity revolved primarily around the Catholic Church and the informal interaction amongst the immigrants living near one another in Woodstock. However, the Association further broadened the immigrants' consciousness to help fashion an identity that was linked with Madeira, not just as an island, but as part of Portugal. It is significant that already before 1965 a Portuguese football team had been established, drawing its players primarily from the fishermen and small-business owners that were resident in Woodstock, although it was only in the late 1960s that it was 'officially' organised into an affiliated football club based at the Association's grounds.²⁹ Its formation in 1961 was an additional thrust to the formation of the broad-based Portuguese identity emerging at this time.

The Association had functioned informally prior to its establishment by holding meetings at various venues. Initially, attendance was small, but by word of mouth and the efforts of the community immigrants began joining in increasing numbers.³⁰ Membership was fragmented, though every opportunity was seized to gather socially in order to foster a stronger community sense among the immigrants; people even came together at the grounds of the Somerset West Italian Club in an effort to establish a community ethic.³¹

These early attempts at moulding the community into a homogeneous group were vital to the later 'official' establishment of the Association as they promoted an awareness of the broader Portuguese community. The knowledge of living not within an isolated Madeiran ethnic community, but within a wider 'Portuguese' community in greater Cape Town meant that these immigrants' adherence to an Old World village

²⁸ Interview with founder member Mr J da Sousa, 17 September 1992.

²⁹ Interview with Mr G Fernandes, 25 September 1992.

³⁰ Records of the Portuguese Association of the Cape of Good Hope, Rugby: Private Correspondence Papers.

³¹ Interview with Mr J da Sousa, 17 September 1992.

identity was further transformed into a national consciousness essential to a Portuguese identity.

The constitution of the Association was replete with patriotic incantations, reflecting its concern for the well-being of the immigrants and its commitment to present itself to Cape Town's largely anglophone society as the mouthpiece of the Portuguese community. The Association's charter included the following objectives:

"To unite the Portuguese residents in the Cape Province and to cultivate the ideal of love and assistance amongst them as a nationality.

To make available to members and their families, judicial assistance, medical and surgical assistance, hospitalization be it isolated or otherwise....

To defend and assist in all that will tend to improve the moral and material level of members.

To develop the cultural and physical level of all members by placing at their disposal a library and a sports club, a debating society, art, educational courses and the publication of periodicals, and other literature."³²

The moral and patriotic upliftment of its members was seen as being of ultimate importance due to the need to present the 'Portuguese' as respectable citizens to the non-Portuguese Cape Town community, arising out of a need by the immigrant community to be accepted by the host culture.

Its role as 'official' mouthpiece for the community provided the immigrants with a means to respond to any attacks made on the Portuguese as an ethnic group, such as that made by the Dutch Reformed Church. The Sunday Times of 29 June 1969 reported that:

"Catholic immigration has been criticised by the Cape Town ring of the N.G Church. It appointed a commission to study immigration, with particular instruction to examine the flow of Catholic immigrants, and the large numbers of Portuguese living around Woodstock- most of whom, it was stated, were Catholic....The general synod

³² *Records of the Portuguese Association of the Cape of Good Hope, Rugby: File containing the Constitution, undated.*

of the Hervormde Church in Pretoria has also criticised the Government's immigration policy because it was allegedly strengthening the Catholic Church."³³

Mr J. dos Santos Gomes responded in the official capacity of President of the Association, expressing the sentiments of the Portuguese:

"We [the Portuguese] are dismayed at the thought that the Deputy Minister for Immigration may be motivated by the views quoted. It would be of great service to South Africa if people occupying responsible positions could refrain from making rash statements which lead to the isolation of groups rather than the unity of the South African nation."³⁴

The 'Roomse gevaar' was inextricably linked to the Portuguese immigrants in South Africa in general, and in Woodstock in particular. However, this sort of slander would have only served to stir up nationalist feelings amongst the immigrants, thus helping to further shape the emergence of an ethnic consciousness and national identity. The unconscious link that the Dutch Reformed Church made between the Portuguese and Catholicism was also significant in that it abetted the correlation between ethnicity and religion amongst the immigrants themselves. The response that the above attack elicited from the Association illustrated how it strengthened the sense of group cohesion and hence consciousness, outlined too in the Gomes' statement:

".....the same Portuguese, whether from the Continent, Madeira, the Acores, Angola or Mozambique....are contributing to the economy and development of South Africa...."³⁵

The patriotic sentiments that were expressed influenced the continuing formation of an identity for the Portuguese 'colony' that called for nationhood and not a fragmented ethnic identity split between Madeirans and 'mainland' Portuguese.

³³ *Sunday Times*, 29 June 1969. These sort of attacks had begun to take place as early as 1965. See also *Cape Argus*, 2 September 1965, 16 December 1966 and *Sunday Times*, 5 January 1967.

³⁴ *Sunday Times*, 6 July 1969.

³⁵ *ibid.*

Madeirans were also targeted for racial attacks because they "do not represent the best of Portugal, and they cause South Africans to get the wrong impression of the Portuguese."³⁶ They were perceived as "a Coloured people"³⁷ to be ostracised by South Africa, casting doubt on their claims to being white and leaving the Portuguese a disdained group.³⁸ This served to further undermine the position of the Portuguese as an immigrant community and stressed their peripheral status within the wider South African society.

Smith has observed that, "unlike the ethnic community....the nation....possesses a dynamic character expressed in an institutional program, and a sense of ideological destiny."³⁹ The Portuguese experienced this 'ideological destiny' as an increasingly national community bound by common spiritual, cultural and social ties. However, like the Italians in turn-of-the-century Toronto,⁴⁰ the Portuguese in Woodstock formed a social and cultural fragment which they perceived to be Portuguese; yet their true identity was confused, for they wholly belonged neither in Madeira\Portugal nor in Woodstock\Cape Town. They had formed a 'new', distinctive immigrant culture specific to their situation, but nonetheless infused with Portuguese symbols and values transmitted, in part, by and through the Association.

Yet the Association's function within the community on a practical level, in terms of providing an environment for social interaction, meant that it sustained a structure within which members could express themselves culturally through traditional dance, language and music. The Association's organisational role in the wider Portuguese community was a means to bring people together as *Portuguese*, which downplayed any

³⁶ *ibid.*

³⁷ *Sunday Times*, 29 June 1969. This is taken from a Conservative Party letter labelling the Portuguese as non-white.

³⁸ J. Western- *Outcast Cape Town* (Cape Town, 1981), p. 249.

³⁹ From A. Smith- "War and Ethnicity: The role of warfare in the Formation, Self Images and Cohesion of Ethnic Communities", in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4, no 4 (October 1981):p. 380. Quoted in Zucchi, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

⁴⁰ Zucchi, *op. cit.* See also S. Encel- *The Ethnic Dimension: Papers on Ethnicity and Pluralism* by Jean Martin (Sydney, 1981); Tomasi and Engel(eds). *op. cit.*

regional tensions that could have divided the affinities of the immigrants. Madeiran and Portuguese cultural forms were granted equal status by the Association, in effect fusing the two to create a Portuguese culture and consciousness representative of the immigrants at large.

The opportunity to come together as a group would have been a liberating experience, enabling the immigrants to end their relative isolation in Woodstock. This interaction produced a coping mechanism whereby the members could discuss similar problems that they encountered, not just as immigrants, but as Portuguese immigrants in a host society that was not always accommodating.

Mothers as cultural transmitters within the Portuguese family

The private domain of the family was also important to the development of an ethnic consciousness amongst the immigrants of Woodstock, especially before the establishment of the Portuguese Association. Though the family was an informal social institution in the community, it nevertheless exerted considerable influence on the shaping and maintenance of individual identity.

The father's role was a prominent one in terms of patriarchal dominance, but this section's emphasis will be placed on the role of the women as mothers and cultural transmitters in shaping an ethnic consciousness. They were the ones who remained at home whilst their husbands were away in Luderitz as migrant workers or were working in other areas of employment (see chapter 2) because, as Reeves argues, "[T]he traditional model postulates that woman is primarily homemaker, wife, and mother; that her qualities are nurturing and passive;.....she is destined to inhabit the private as her exclusive sphere."⁴¹

⁴¹ N Reeves- *Woman Kind: Beyond the Stereotypes* (Chicago, 1971), p.155.

The sphere in which Portuguese, and other, women are traditionally perceived to belong to is that of motherhood and as a result will be dealt with here as a domain that is accorded special status in the community. Portuguese women's identification with Mary as the mother of God, and hence mother of the community, reinforced their own positions as mothers of the Portuguese 'nation'\ 'colony'\ community.⁴² Portuguese women's gender identity, it has to be stressed, was in fact, synonymous with motherhood.

Women's role in the shaping of an ethnic identity, though often overlooked, must be seen in terms of their role as homemakers. Whilst husbands were away at work, it was the mothers who were 'responsible' for the continuance of the Portuguese culture through another important marker of identity, language. As Kruger points out, "...it is ...in and through language that the individual is constituted as a subject."⁴³ Mothers were the ones who exposed their children to the Portuguese language as a cultural marker of a specific, or supposed, ethnic identity.⁴⁴ In a similar vein to the Afrikaner mothers of the 1920s and 1930s, Portuguese mothers were "...responsible for the transmission of..... culture in the private sphere of the household."⁴⁵

Conversely, they could also have been responsible for the maintenance of the frontier between the Portuguese culture\identity and the external, 'other' South African culture\identity. Furthermore, "woman's unique biological function"⁴⁶ translated into a responsibility for the reproduction of the Portuguese immigrant colony\'nation'. She

⁴² Interviews with Mrs J Virissimo, 17 July 1992; Mrs M Rodrigues, 8 September 1992; Mrs I Nobrega, 31 August 1992; Mrs C Franco, 16 September 1992; Mrs E Mota, 25 July 1992.

⁴³ L Kruger- "Gender, Community and Identity: Women and Afrikaner Nationalism in the Volksmoeder discourse of *Die Boerevrou* (1919-1931), (Unpublished MA thesis, UCT, 1991), p.39.

⁴⁴ Interviews with Mrs N Lopes, 17 July 1992; Mrs C Goncalves, 15 September 1992; Mrs R Fernandes, 5 September 1992; Mrs E Mota, 25 September 1992; Mrs C Franco, 16 September 1992; Mrs D F Rodrigues, 4 September 1992; Mrs M Caboz, 7 September 1992; Mrs I Nobrega, 31 August 1992; Mrs M Rodrigues, 8 September 1992.

⁴⁵ Kruger, *op. cit.*, p.308.

⁴⁶ V Fildes(ed)- *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England* (London, 1990), p. 3.

was the only member of the family that had the potential of increasing the size of her family, and subsequently the size of the Portuguese population in Woodstock.

This meant sacrificing any possibility of leaving the domestic sphere in the pursuit of work or a career.⁴⁷ However, the women themselves had transferred traditional images of women's position in the family structure by having internalised the role of motherhood in Madeira, in turn shaping them and their consciousness- they thought of themselves not only as mothers, but as Portuguese mothers which impacted on their offspring and their identity. Mrs D F Rodrigues's testimony to her role as a mother is representative of the women in the community:

"A mother is responsible for raising her children in the way that she was brought up which means that I raised my children as Portuguese. I taught them how to speak Portuguese and how to value what I was taught to value. A tradition is passed down from the mother to her children."⁴⁸

This chapter has attempted to show how a Portuguese identity was constructed in Woodstock primarily through three 'institutions' that operated within the community. To these might be added a branch of the Johannesburg Bank of Lisbon opened in Woodstock in 1972 whose significance lies not only in the fact that Woodstock is not a commercial centre demanding the presence of financial institutions, but that the bank's ethnic base explicitly contributes to the local community's sense of a national identity. Thus, some Old World traditions and mores had been transposed into the foreign environment to facilitate not only a strengthening of a Portuguese culture, but also to develop an immigrant culture that reshaped those old world customs into a new, Portuguese-based urban culture.

⁴⁷ Interviews with Mrs I Nobrega, 31 August 1992; Mrs D F Rodrigues, 4 September 1992; Mrs M Caboz, 7 September 1992; Mrs M Rodrigues, 8 September 1992; Mrs R Silva, 25 July 1992; Mrs J Virissimo, 28 July 1992; Mrs R Fernandes, 5 September 1992; Mrs C Goncalves, 15 September 1992; Mrs E Mota, 25 July 1992. However, for second and third generation women in the late 1970s and 1980s, the presence of older members of the extended family enabled mothers to leave children with them whilst they (the mothers) were 'freed' to enter the wage market.

⁴⁸ Interview with Mrs D F Rodrigues, 4 September 1992.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has shown how a distinctive Portuguese community evolved in the Cape Town suburb of Woodstock over a forty-year period, from circa 1940 to 1980, focussing not on the first Woodstock-born generation, but on the immigrants themselves.

Emphasis has been placed on the continuity that the Madeiran population of Woodstock enjoyed with the Old World, articulated primarily through cultural, religious, social and economic ties that were instrumental in facilitating the adaptation to Cape Town and Woodstock. In a similar fashion to, amongst others, Italian and Greek immigrants, a socio-economic network operated within the community, but in the Portuguese case on a strictly informal basis. Unlike the established Italian labour agencies in late 19th and early 20th century Toronto that composed an organised labour-recruiting infrastructure, the Portuguese did not organise similar formal ethnic agencies to recruit Portuguese labour to Cape Town and Woodstock because of the effectiveness of informal recruiting, either by fishing companies or Portuguese fishermen.

The particular settlement patterns of the Portuguese immigrants in Woodstock was important for the maintenance of an ethnic identity, but also eased their adaptation to the foreign environment as a sense of community became entrenched. Former parochial loyalties were transcended and replaced by a pan-Cape Town-Portuguese identity, serving further to strengthen the Madeirans' sense of being Portuguese. This was an experience commonly shared with other immigrant groups, especially the Sicilians in Canada as they developed a stronger sense of Italian identity.

Although the dissertation dealt with the Portuguese in the urban environment of Woodstock, it did not examine directly its influence on their distinctive urban experiences or vice-versa. However, a possible application of this study could be to

stress the manner in which the Portuguese have influenced not only the urban history of Woodstock, but also Cape Town.

Through their presence in Woodstock, the Portuguese have contributed demographically and culturally to the broader Cape Town social fabric. Furthermore, their immigration resulted in the physical and geographical expansion of University Estate, whilst at the same time increasing the Catholic population of the Woodstock Catholic Church. Another area where the Portuguese have been influential, albeit to a limited degree, is in the economic development of Cape Town through their dual participation in the fishing industry and small-business sector.

The family and household experiences of Portuguese migrant women were briefly examined, though not in any considerable detail. Nonetheless, this 'gendered' account hints at reasons for the differing, and particular, experiences of women when compared to men and is, therefore, even in its limitations, a contribution to Portuguese immigrant womens' history.

The Portuguese community of Woodstock has, however, continued to be a socio-economically isolated group vis-a-vis the broader Cape Town community. It could be argued that the maintenance of a Portuguese identity has restricted their assimilation to the host culture and, as a result, minimised their potential for economic prosperity. Yet, it should be remembered that, in comparison to other Cape Town immigrant communities from South and East Europe at the turn-of-the-century, and even Portuguese immigration to the Rand, Portuguese immigration and settlement in Woodstock occurred far later. This has meant ostensibly two things: firstly, by the 1940s and 1950s the wider economic opportunities in a less organised economy of early 20th century Cape Town and Woodstock were greatly reduced as industrialisation had ushered in the age of monopoly capitalism, effectively limiting access to 'big-business'

ownership; secondly, enough time for the creation of a new generation of acculturated Portuguese has not yet elapsed.

Furthermore, the South African and South West African fishing industries were primarily controlled by non-Portuguese capital which effectively meant that the possibility of any large-scale Portuguese ownership was severely restricted, consigning the Portuguese to their positions as fishing labour. This, along with other factors such as limited education, restricted the economic growth of the community and underlay their economically tenuous position in relation to 'white' Cape society.

However, the Portuguese community of Woodstock has remained, in general terms, a 'white' working-class group, although some of the immigrants who were able to purchase small-businesses effectively moved into petty-bourgeois positions. It is further possible that this class 'unity' served to strengthen their solidarity as a community.

Unlike the Portuguese communities of Angola and Mozambique, who were established under controlled economic conditions favouring the colonists, the Woodstock community arrived in South Africa as a minority near the bottom reaches of the 'white' social scale, an experience not dissimilar to that of 19th century immigrant groups such as the Italians in Toronto and Greeks and Jews in South Africa. However, their weak position socially and economically in Woodstock was exacerbated by the fact that they were a Catholic minority, potentially strengthening the Catholic population of a South Africa dominated by Protestantism, especially Calvinism. Coupled with this was the widely-held perception that the Madeirans were not quite white and, therefore, a less desirable group that should not be admitted to 'white' privileges.

However, in the 1970s and 1980s, second generation Woodstock Portuguese have increasingly been afforded educational opportunities which have enabled them, potentially, to move into the middle-class. Notwithstanding the 'passing down' of the Portuguese culture of parents to their children, their increasing assimilation to the host culture means that, at best, there will be only sentimental ties to a Portuguese identity and, at worst, this Portuguese culture will disappear. Unless there is sustained and perpetual manifestation of the immigrant culture within the Woodstock community, particularly within the family, it is possible, and indeed probable, that as the children of the immigrants settle in other suburbs of Cape Town like Rugby and Goodwood, 'Little Madeira' will disappear gradually in the next twenty to thirty years.

CRITICAL NOTE ON SOURCES

In studying an immigrant community which has an inadvertently 'hidden' history, numerous difficulties were encountered in the gathering of source material. These were principally related to the paucity of primary source material that dealt with the Portuguese in Woodstock. Unlike the Jewish community of Cape Town, which is actively reconstructing its history through various institutions, the Portuguese community has not collected material, making the gathering of information an onerous task.

Oral testimony was extensively used in an attempt to recover the history of the Portuguese community through interviews with ordinary people, although it was necessary to be aware of some of the shortcomings of oral history. Oral testimony, it was found, can be coloured by the informant's rose-coloured view of his/her past, a past that could be further shaped by the luxury of hindsight. The fallibility of personal memory has been perceived by many researchers as making oral testimony inferior to recorded sources or archival documentation.

However, when studying Southern European immigrant communities, a field which South African historiography has tended to ignore, oral evidence becomes an important source of information. That the majority of the interviews were conducted in Portuguese, highlights the invaluable nature of the Portuguese immigrants' testimony in recreating a history that was otherwise undocumented. An insight into their experiences was possible by comparing and contrasting the collected source material, the result of which was a rich source-base of shared socio-economic experiences. It was therefore possible to 'reconstruct' a hidden history that was otherwise in danger of being lost (to the historian and the community).

Street Directories were also used as they were important to an examination of Portuguese residential patterns in Woodstock, listing the residents by name who lived

in the streets of the suburb. Subsequently, an analysis of Portuguese surnames revealed the specific areas in which the highest concentration of immigrants was to be found. This was crucial to establish the role that social and economic ties played in determining residential preference. Yet, notwithstanding the usefulness of Street Directories, they too present the historian with certain problems. Often, they are inconsistent in their content, occasionally omitting surnames. Furthermore, directories did not indicate the number of people in a household because only the family surname was recorded, which made it extremely difficult to gauge the total Portuguese population of Woodstock. Nevertheless, Street Directories were a vital source to this study because they provided a strong indication of where the Portuguese lived, as well as locating their movement within Woodstock, enabling Portuguese residential patterns to be established.

Resort was made to numerous immigrant studies in order to provide a comparative framework for the study of the Portuguese. Of particular value was John Zucchi's Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity 1875-1935. Some of the concepts and ideas expounded by Zucchi were particularly pertinent to the present study. Zucchi's examination of Italian immigrants did not lose sight of the important link between history and immigration, displaying a sensitivity to the nuanced problems inherent in immigrant studies. Italians in Toronto helped to shape the focus of the present study, affording valuable insight into immigration history.

Although a newspaper was founded by the Johannesburg Portuguese community in 1963, named 'O Seculo de Joannesburgo', which contributed to the fostering and 'creation' of the community through its overt ethnic appeal, the Cape Town Portuguese did not establish a similar newspaper. This was directly related to the smaller number of Cape Town Portuguese whose lack of financial resources prevented such an undertaking.

Other source material was consulted, such as censuses and marriage registers, but the above material proved to be the most important in 'locating' the Portuguese in Woodstock. As a result, some sense of the community's history was achieved which would otherwise not have been possible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography is arranged under the following headings:

I: UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

- A.OFFICIAL -
 - a. Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Cape Town
 - b. Archives of the Portuguese Association of the Cape of Good Hope
- B.NON-OFFICIAL - Oral Evidence

II: PUBLISHED SOURCES

- A.OFFICIAL
- B.NON-OFFICIAL -
 - a. Newspapers and Periodicals
 - b. Books and Journal Articles
 - c. Reports

III: UNPUBLISHED THESES

I: UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

A. OFFICIAL

- a. Archives of the Roman Catholic
Archdiocese of Cape Town

Personal File of Father A.A. Perreira
Personal File of Father A.F. da Luz
Personal File of Father S. Nascimento
Personal File of Father A. de Freitas

- b. Archives of the Portuguese
Association of the Cape of Good Hope

Miscellaneous Correspondence and Letters

- c. St. Agnes Parish, Woodstock

Marriage Registers 1940-1980

B. NON-OFFICIAL

Oral Evidence

[transcripts of interviews in possession of author]

Interviews with:

Mrs M. Caboz	University Estate	7 September 1992
Mr P. da Mata	University Estate	13 September 1992
Mr J. da Sousa	Somerset West	17 September 1992
Mr J. de Abreu	Cape Town	28 August 1992
Fr A. de Freitas	Woodstock	29 August 1992
Ms C. de Freitas	Cape Town	7 September 1992
Mr L. Faria	Woodstock	2 September 1992
Mr G. Fernandes	Cape Town	25 September 1992
Mrs R. Fernandes	Woodstock	5 September 1992
Mr M. Francisco	Woodstock	8 September 1992
Mrs C. Franco	University Estate	16 September 1992
Mr J. Franco	University Estate	3 July 1992
Mr A. Goncalves	Vasco	3 September 1992
Mrs C. Goncalves	University Estate	15 September 1992
Mr J. Goncalves	University Estate	4 July 1992
Mr A. Gouveia	University Estate	6 July 1992
Mrs R. Guerreiro	Rondebosch	28 August 1992
Mrs N. Lopes	Woodstock	17 July 1992
Mr A. Martins	Woodstock	31 August 1992
Owen Cardinal McCann	Cape Town	12 October 1992
Mrs E. Mota	University Estate	25 July 1992
Mr A. Nobrega	Woodstock	31 August 1992
Mrs I. Nobrega	Woodstock	31 August 1992
Mrs M. Nunes	Woodstock	16 July 1992
Mr A. Pecego	University Estate	27 August 1992
Mr A. Rodrigues	University Estate	7 September 1992
Mrs D.F. Rodrigues	Woodstock	4 September 1992
Mrs M. Rodrigues	University Estate	8 September 1992
Mrs R. Silva	University Estate	25 July 1992
Mrs A. Teixeira	Woodstock	28 July 1992
Mr M. Telo	University Estate	15 September 1992
Mrs J. Virissimo	Woodstock	28 July 1992

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