

HOW IS THE PAST PRESERVED IN A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY?
A CASE STUDY OF THE PORTUGUESE IN EAST SAN JOSÉ AS A MODEL FOR
INTERPRETING IMMIGRANT LANDSCAPES

A Project Report

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Master of Arts

by

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The Undersigned Graduate Committee Approves the Project Report Titled

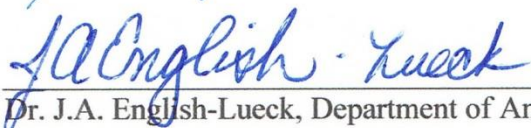
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ABSTRACT

This project addresses the problem of how to synthesize multiple ethnic histories into a holistic narrative without losing emic meaning. Through a mixed-method approach it analyzes the influence of Portuguese heritage on the development of a multi-ethnic neighborhood to explain the self-pejorative term “invisible minority.” Rather than suggesting cultural assimilation, interviewees express a strong sense of Portuguese community that is part of a much wider socio-cultural network, promoting group solidarity throughout California, and maintaining fluid cultural ties to their homeland. Their presence on the local landscape is also reflected in the appearance of Portuguese neighborhoods, whereby home-grown produce and their skill as gardeners appears to be a cultural adaptation from a traditional way of life in which families valued land because they were largely sustained by what they were able to produce. From an emic perspective, one way to counter the claim that the Portuguese are an “invisible minority” is to complement landscape archaeology with ethnographic research to elicit the social meaning behind neighborhood landscape change. From an etic perspective, the apparent ease with which they blended into mainstream society means that others may not recognize the Portuguese roots of familiar streets and buildings. This links the challenges of interpretation and analysis in historic archaeology to the changing demographics of immigrant neighborhoods, whereby interviewing descendant communities is a good tool for accessing cultural knowledge transmitted across generations.

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In memory of my parents, I am so thankful that they taught me the importance of getting a good education. Despite having to fit around my schedule of classes and papers, my daughters inspired me to finish this report by, as casually as possible, enquiring how it was coming along on the way home from school. Last, but not least, I am grateful to the interviewees who shared their family histories with *San José Stories*, *Neighborhood Lives*, and who thus made the whole enterprise possible. This project is dedicated to them.

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Introduction

This project seeks to address the problem of how to preserve the past in a modern and pluralistic society. Our collective history is interwoven with themes of immigration and multi-cultural identity that are fixed in neither time nor space, so that public memory is socially constructed by people who are living in the present. Both the dynamic nature of culture and shifting patterns of immigration add to the problem of subjective bias in what is felt important enough to record, leading to potentially contested history about the meaning of past objects, places and events.

One solution has been to record ethnic histories, but like ethnic enclaves themselves, this makes them seem idiosyncratic and insular, to the detriment of heritage that is both exclusive and divisive if pride can only be celebrated by some. By documenting separate micro-histories, rather than synthesizing their contributions to California's past, whereby multiple ethnic groups overlap in time and place, presentation of history cannot be greater than the sum of its parts. Thus, under the mandate of public archaeology, cultural stewards have the dual problem of how to interpret heritage that makes sense to descendant communities, yet how to generate wider public interest in knowing about their past because it is considered to be part of national patrimony. If heritage is perceived as exotic, rather than a reflection of the common human experience, then the public will soon lose interest, because they recognize nothing of themselves in the historical narrative.

My interest in Portuguese history and culture began when I participated in a living history project that appealed to my theoretical stance on postmodern anthropology

because it recognized plurality of voice when speaking about the past. Yet my assumption that the Portuguese of East San José had an untold story, because I only heard it by chance, was soon challenged through its clear articulation in their very own words, either by talking to them, or reading their collaborative research in books published by a Portuguese heritage company. That they were written in English did not seem surprising, because I assumed they were targeted towards a general audience. However, I came to realize that both the generation gap and their socio-economic success meant that fewer offspring spoke fluent Portuguese, or were interested in joining their community organizations. As the Portuguese community has grayed into a tight-knit community that is no longer invigorated by immigration from the Azores, or because Portuguese descendants have moved out of the neighborhood, an emergent problem is one of generational loss, so that their cultural knowledge is at risk of appealing only to a small audience, whether it is themselves or academics.

As a case study, this project seeks to make Portuguese heritage more visible to others, so that the story of this part of San José is recognized for its contributions toward the economic development of Silicon Valley and its cultural diversity. It interprets descendant communities as related to the past by what others left behind, some of whom remain ethnically, but all of whom are incorporated into a diachronic perspective on multi-cultural history, and to build community heritage by acknowledging that no-one in the past leaves their mark on history by acting in a cultural vacuum.

Goals

The goal of this project is to document and analyze the influence of Portuguese heritage on the development of a neighborhood in East San José. The area known as Little Portugal developed on both sides of Alum Rock Avenue, from King Road in the east down to approximately 25th Avenue, initially from the building of Five Wounds Church in the early 20th century, but mainly as a result of Azorean immigration following the 1957 eruption of the Capelinhos volcano. It includes established residential streets in Little Portugal North, a cluster of Portuguese speaking businesses on both sides of Highway 101 along East Santa Clara Street and Alum Rock Avenue, and the Five Wounds Portuguese National Church (see fig. 1). As part of The Strong Neighborhoods Initiative, this community is a component of the larger Five Wounds/Brookwood Terrace (FWBT) neighborhood, making it part of a cultural mosaic in which multiple ethnic groups have influenced and diversified the physical and social landscapes of their collective heritage.

Although my main goal is to show how people from the Azores influenced neighborhood development through adaptation of their traditionally rural values, recognition of FWBT's ethnic diversity results in a cultural dynamic that makes local heritage potentially contested history, according to the different meanings associated with its cultural landmarks. For example, several informants of Portuguese heritage have indicated that Five Wounds Church is their most important cultural symbol. Yet changes in its schedule to introduce a Latin mass have led to controversy over use of the building, suggesting not only ethnic diversification of the congregation, but also that it may have a

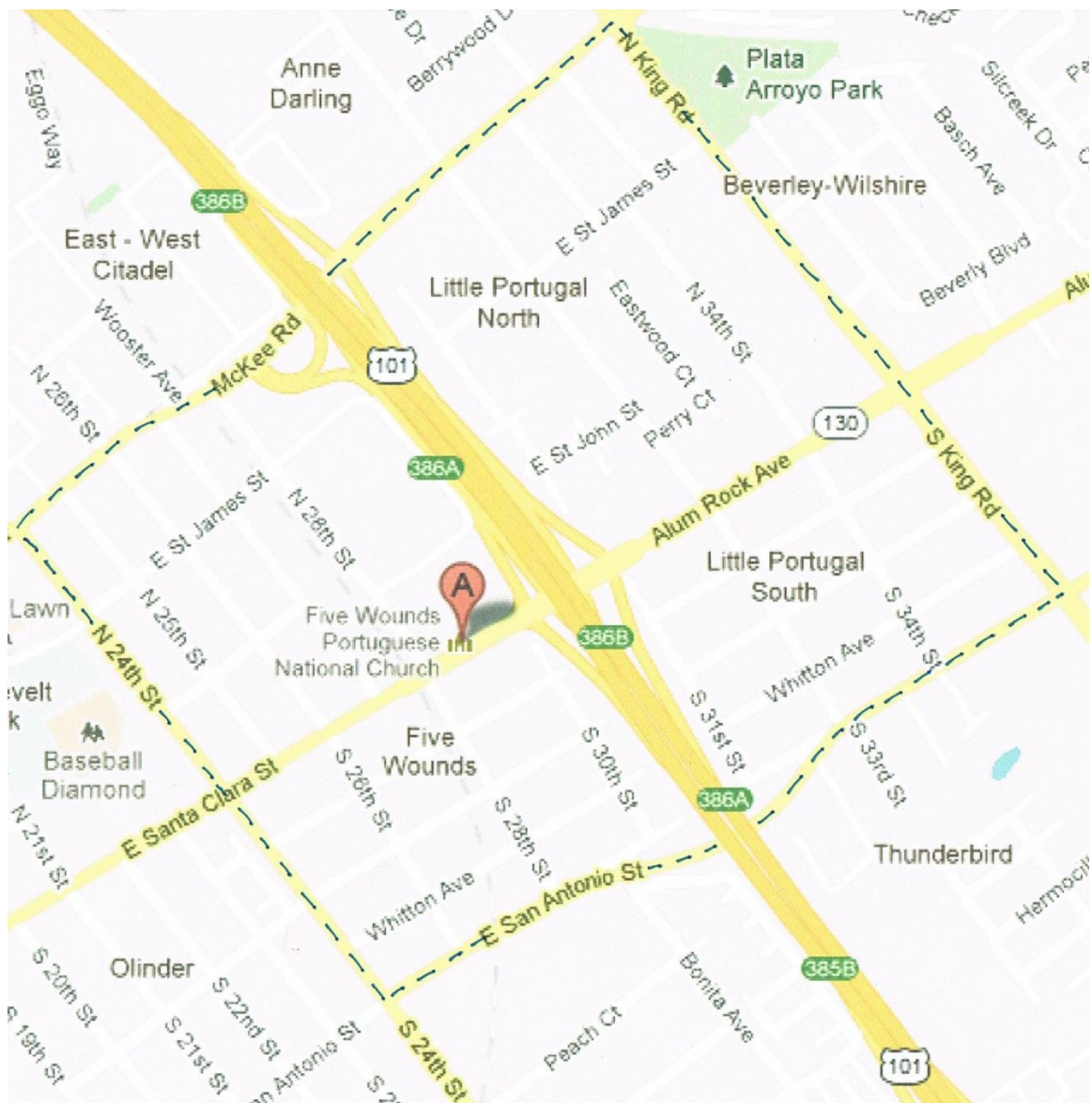


Figure 1. Map of the Study Area

broader community role in the future in response to demographic shifts. This suggests a twofold challenge of not only identifying how aspects of Azorean culture have been transmitted and adapted to American society, but also how this process is contested by other ethnic groups and the concept of national identity. As a result of technological innovations in transportation and information exchange, the display of Azorean identity

in FWBT may also be negotiated transnationally, through the sustained ties to homeland of the diaspora as well as through its historical presence in the neighborhood.

The project rationale is to demonstrate how landscape archaeology, as an analysis of change over time, is complemented by ethnohistorical research into the social meaning of landscape, and thereby leads to a better understanding of social processes behind the symbolic meanings of material culture. Through interviews already conducted with key informants of the Azorean community in East San José, as part of my participation in an earlier collaborative living history project entitled *San José Stories, Neighborhood Lives*, the project analyzes landscape features as reminders of immigration stories to validate both archival data and survey findings. A pedestrian survey of Little Portugal documents not only buildings, but also the display of identity through landscape change linked to their economic and social support systems. For archaeologists usually hindered by the fact that the people who made things are no longer alive to observe using their material culture, the project is a form of ethnoarchaeology based on the rationale that interviewing descendant communities is a good cross-check for gaining an emic perspective.

The goal of the pedestrian survey was to conduct a reconnaissance of the study area. This not only contributed to an understanding of how cultural resources within the neighborhood were related, but also contributed to the development of a survey methodology as the basis for any future field work in two main ways. First, an initial literature search identified sources of archival data to begin planning a walk through the neighborhood that was more likely to identify cultural resources because it was informed by local knowledge from key informants. Second, a reconnaissance of the study area was

combined with more detailed research on the historical context to produce a preliminary inventory of data elements. The assumption was that it might prove useful for survey planners in preparing a field form for an in-depth survey by selecting representative or unique structures for evaluating cultural resources (Tompkins 2003:19-28). However, another approach to validate archival data and survey findings in a more nuanced way was to document not only buildings linked to Azorean economic and social life, but also more informal displays of identity that might transmit values about a traditional way of life. Whether consciously or not, recent immigrants could transmute their landscape through subjective choices about what cultural features they considered important enough to keep.

For example, life in the old country was a precarious existence dependent on successful agriculture. With not enough land to support a growing population, land thus became a prized commodity for ensuring adequate food supplies. Whaling was the only global industry to reach Azorean shores until tourism, yet it provided an economic alternative to population stress through immigration. While large families provided enough labor to support their life on the land, they inevitably strained its resources, because even skilled farmers could only produce so much. Nevertheless nostalgic reminiscences about the verdant landscape offered comfort to immigrants thousands of miles away in California, many of whom became farmers. Yet cultivation on an urban homestead likewise became an opportunity to re-create a familiar landscape, through a tangible connection with soil that promoted both thrift and visual solidarity with their Azorean neighbors.

Project Background

The interviews came from an oral history project, *San José Stories, Neighborhood Lives* (SJSNL), which had the institutional involvement of *CommUniverCity*. This was a collaborative effort between the City of San José, San José State University, and diverse communities within the Five Wounds/Brookwood Terrace neighborhoods, including ethnic groups of Portuguese, Vietnamese, and Mexican. Since one of its goals was to build community, participants were invited to record their life histories, so that individual experiences would become part of a collective story about how local people were connected to the development of East San José.

As a public archive of neighborhood stories, the transcribed interviews use real names of people, organizations, and places and, therefore, they are not confidential. Although this is unusual in anthropological research, it is appropriate for documenting living history, since it is intended for publication that will reinforce community identity through public media, such as websites and pamphlets. Voluntary participation was sought through informed consent, whereby subjects indicated their agreement to participate in the study by signing two consent forms: one for recording and transcribing the interview, and another for taking photographs of participants, their family photographs, and personal memorabilia. While these artifacts are still in use, they link qualitative with quantitative research by how they form meaningful patterns about the social significance of material culture. In combination with primary data sources from archival research, the interviews can be used to explore how themes of immigration and

adaptation to life in a new country are expressed through the physical and socio-cultural landscape of a multi-ethnic neighborhood.

The interviews for SJSNL typically lasted two hours, and were conducted either at the interviewee's household, place of work, or a neighborhood community center. Those selected for the purposes of this study typically lasted longer (approximately three hours) and included a tour of either the interviewee's home or their work environs, where the latter represented entrepreneurial small businesses. Biographies of the key informants, whose interviews represent the primary data for researching the contributions of Azorean immigrants to the history of the Five Wounds neighborhood, are included at the end of this report in Appendix 1. Based on reputational case selection, these demonstrate not only their familial ties to the islands of the Azores, but also their deep involvement in the Portuguese speaking community of San José. They also illustrate the fluid cultural ties, both past and present, between the old country and emerging ethnic landscapes, making their personal histories part of a much larger story about the contributions of Portuguese heritage to the history of California.

Each interview began with a preamble about the purpose of SJSNL, an outline of what topics the interview would cover—family, education, work, and communities—and a request that interviewees share family photographs and artifacts to demonstrate the significance of what they talked about. The interview protocol encouraged reflection on the past, present, and future of their individual lives, and as ethnography it employed open-ended interviewing techniques. The job of the interviewer was chiefly to listen, probing to encourage amplification when an interviewee alluded to something pertinent

to the research goals, and employing the interview protocol as a narrative tool by which informants could tell their own stories. Thematically the interview was divided into four sections:

- Place and community (to explore connections to the neighborhood and Silicon Valley)
- Family history (for stories about immigration and family identity)
- Personal history (in connection with education, work, and personal relationships)
- Evaluation of change (related to their neighborhood and greater San José)

Interviews were recorded with digital devices for subsequent modified transcription that omitted redundancies and non-verbal utterances. As visual aids for helping interviewees explain their stories, I also took along a map of the neighborhood and a blank sheet of paper to record a timeline of key events. The interview concluded with a tour of the interviewee's home or place of work, including photographs or memorabilia that were a reminder of the interviewee's past or present accomplishments. Whichever the setting, this part of the protocol was the most revealing for recording an attachment to place, as work-place settings just like homes were a translation of Azorean life onto a mainstream landscape, through souvenirs from the old country plus memorabilia from Portuguese friends and acquaintances.

Through recording their life histories, all of the informants clearly articulated their Portuguese heritage, and the strength of their cultural ties to the Five Wounds neighborhood. Given that one of the informants is a founding member of Portuguese Heritage Publications of California, Inc., and that all of the informants are cultural

experts who express pride in their history, it would be misleading to suggest that the Portuguese in East San José have an untold story. Yet the opportunity to share their life histories with a broader audience seemed to promote access to a tight-knit community, since it made their culture more visible to others who also inhabit East San José. Considering how demographic changes to the Eastside already mean that many ethnic Portuguese no longer live or work in Five Wounds, presenting the story of its Azorean roots to a wider public audience promotes local pride in its history by making it appear more transparent. Ethnohistory is thus a useful tool for connecting individual histories to familiar streets and buildings that many people may not realize represent an Azorean cultural network, and one that continues to negotiate its presence within mainstream society.

There is also a more pressing rationale for connecting these life histories to the ongoing development of East San José, since immigration patterns within the neighborhood have changed, along with economic changes on the Azores islands themselves. Azoreans no longer emigrate in the numbers that they used to, and the immigrant families who settled here are increasingly distanced from the people of their past. As António Goulart poignantly states, “These fascinating stories, these people were made of stone, with character and principles, just everything that you can think of. We cannot replicate them in our times.” Yet we can interpret their history from an emic perspective, which through public outreach acknowledges the contributions of an Azorean perspective to the eclectic culture and future of East San José.

The Historical Narrative

To begin a discussion of how Portuguese heritage found expression through the development of East San José, the narrative begins with some background on the City of San José, to suggest that East San José developed its own historic identity alongside that of down town's commercial and retail district. El Pueblo de San José de Guadalupe was established in 1777 by José Joaquín Moraga along the Guadalupe River, initially next to Mission Santa Clara, but relocated in 1791 due to persistent flooding, to a site contemporarily known as Plaza de César Chavez (Page & Turnbull 2007:5). Under the Spanish Crown it was a civilian pueblo, whose economy supported the presidios of San Francisco and Monterey, but under both Spanish and Mexican governance it also became a small trading center for the scattered inland communities, mainly in cattle hides and tallow. Despite its potential for growing crops, with fertile soil and clement weather, agricultural diversification did not occur until post Mexican independence (1821) and the arrival of early American settlers. This is attributed to both secularization of mission lands and ease of immigration, so that San José developed into a cluster of residential and commercial buildings, and farmers diversified into growing wheat and wine grapes. However, the Gold Rush of 1849 was the landmark date for both California's annexation and San José's expansion, as prospectors travelling overland quickly established San José as their main supply center (Page & Turnbull 2007:5). Ironically, and with relevance for Portuguese immigrants, many later returned to San José, to seek more down to earth riches as farmers of its rich agricultural soil. Yet an excerpt from a "bird's eye view" map of the City of San José, from an elevation of 500 feet facing north, illustrates how

residents of its north eastern corner still inhabited an open and rural landscape, some 25 years later (see fig. 2).

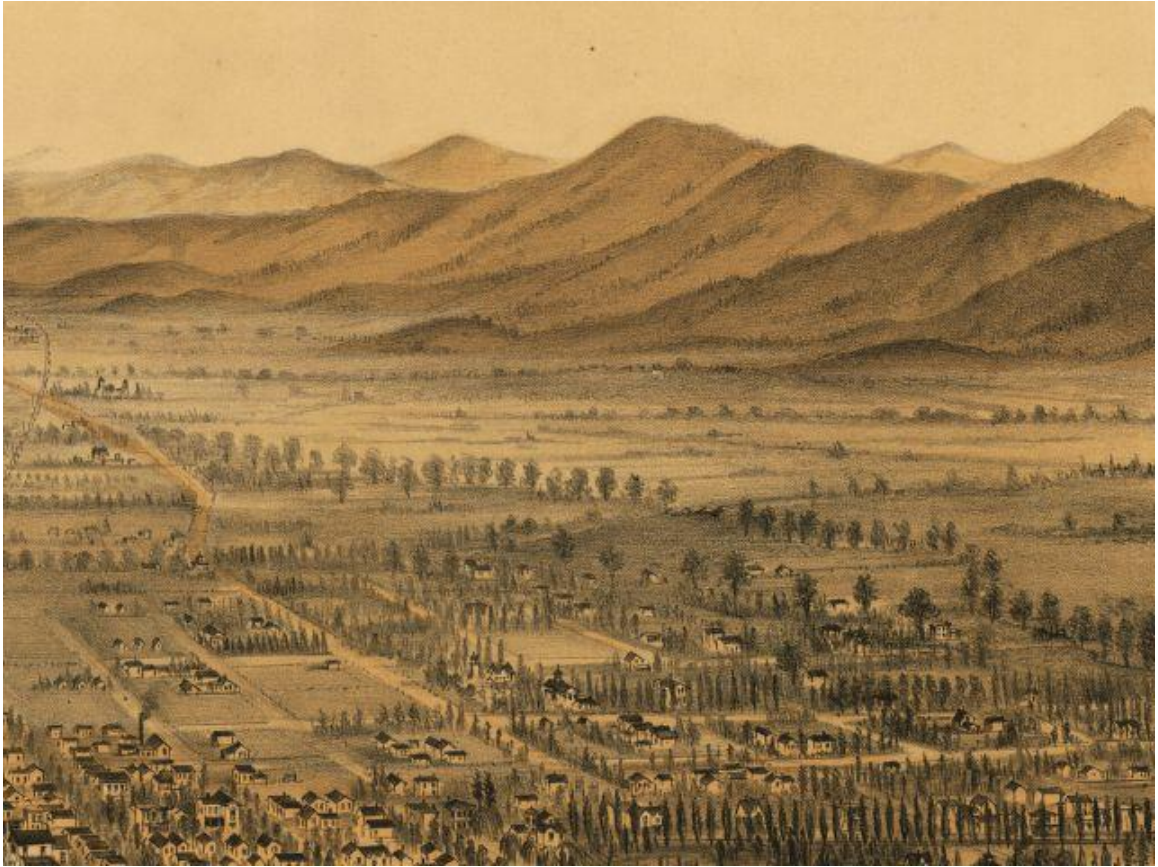


Figure 2. An Excerpt from City of San José, 1875, by Charles B. Gifford

Like many small towns on the outskirts of San José, the Eastside is now a collection of neighborhoods subsumed by the city, but before it was annexed in 1911 it existed briefly for five years as an incorporated city (Douglas 1993:61). Early records for development on the east side of Coyote Creek include a survey by A.T. Herrmann in 1869 of the East San José Homestead Association, and a note of 250 residents by 1876 in Thompson and West's *Historical Atlas Map of Santa Clara County*. Its rural charm made it a wholesome environment for a Garden City Sanitarium, but less attractive to its

founding fathers with prohibitionist sentiments were the numerous saloons populating Alum Rock Avenue. Along with regulation of the liquor trade, another impetus for incorporation was to repair damage following the San Francisco earthquake of 1906, and East San José appeared progressive by raising tax bonds for public infrastructure. Civic improvements reflected on the landscape included a town sewer, street repairs, ordinances for landscaping, and several public buildings: the fire department, East San José School, the jail, and a public library. The latter was built between 1907 and 1908 with a grant from Andrew Carnegie, and still stands at the corner of 23rd and Santa Clara Streets as part of the San Jose Public Library system (Douglas 1993:61-63).

To make representation of community heritage more inclusive also requires acknowledging intra-cultural diversity. A search of the 1880 U.S. Federal Census indicates that for Santa Clara County, 82 Portuguese speaking immigrants listed their place of birth as the Azores, compared with 213 respondents from mainland Portugal (<http://0-www.heritagequestonline.com>). Out of these 82 individuals, over half ($n = 55$) resided within San Jose Township. Table 1 below represents the latter as a list of households, in which heads of families, or in some cases single males, have been alphabetically assigned a location number. Other members of their households who were also born in the Azores are grouped beneath their primary surnames. Although this does not include children born to these immigrants outside of the Azores, such as in California, it provides a demographic snapshot of a small, rural community who were predominantly involved in farming. All women of marriageable age were “Keeping House” (apart from

one listed as “At Home” who may have been socio-economically better-off) and additional males within extended families helped by working the land.

Table 1. An Excerpt from U.S. Federal Census, 1880

#	Surname	Given Name	Age	Occupation	Notes
1	Andrick	Manwell	43	Farmer	Head of the family
	Andrick	Geterie	35	Keeping House	Wife
2	Anton	John	50	Cook	For Irish family
3	Benard	Manuel	34	Farmer	Head of the family
	Benard	Maria	31	Keeping House	Wife
	Silvas	Joseph	23	Farm Laborer	Brother in law
4	Bittencourt	Antonio	56	Dealer in fruit & vegetables	Single
5	Brown	Frank	30	Farmer	Portuguese spouse
6	Duarte	Manuel	57	Farmer	Head of the family
	Duarte	Manuel	19	Farm Laborer	Son
	Duarte	John	16	Farm Laborer	Son
	Duarte	Mary	13	At Home	Daughter
	Duarte	Joseph	10	At School	Son
	Duarte	Rosa	8	At School	Daughter
	Erie	Rita	60	Keeping House	Aunt
	Erie	Annie	63	None	Mother in law
7	Dutra	Frank F.	40	Orchardist	Head of the family
	Dutra	Isabel	21	Keeping House	Wife
	Martin	John	30	Laborer	Single
	Rodriguez	José	25	Laborer	Single
8	Fary	King	26	Farm Laborer	For Irish couple
9	Fernandez	Mariana	45	Keeping House	Portuguese spouse
10	Machado	John	49	Saloon Keeper	Head of the family
	Machado	Vincentia	33	Keeping House	Wife
	Doseo	Maria	16	At Home	Cousin
11	Penaro	Manuel	30	Farm Laborer	For NH family
12	Perry	Manual	48	Laborer	Head of the family
	Perry	Francesca	48	Keeping House	Wife
13	Peter	John	36	Farmer	Head of the family
	Peter	Anna	30	Keeping House	Wife
14	Prera	Anton	39	Farmer	Head of the family
	Prera	Maria	30	Keeping House	Wife

Table 1 continued

#	Surname	Given Name	Age	Occupation	Notes
15	Prera	Manuel	40	Farmer	Head of the family
	Prera	Leonora	18	Keeping House	Wife
	Soiza	Manuel	61	Farm Laborer	Father in law
	Rogers	Anton	23	Farm Laborer	Laborer
16	Rose	Antonio	45	Laborer	Servant
17	Silva	Anton	53	Laborer	Head of the family
	Silva	Maria	40	Keeping House	Wife
	Silva	Anton	16	Laborer	Son
18	Silva	Charles	37	Farm-hand	Single
19	Silva	Frank	25	Farmer	Single
	Silva	Manwell	34	Farmer	Single
20	Silva	Manuel P.	33	Farmer	Head of the family
	Silva	Isobel	37	Keeping House	Wife
21	Silva	John A.	40	Saloon Keeper	Head of the family
	Silva	Mary	26	At Home	Wife
22	Silva	Jose	35	Laborer	Single
23	Vargas	Frank	23	Farmer	Single
	Vargas	Joseph	30	Farmer	Single brother
24	Veary	Manuel	29	Laborer	Head of the family
	Veary	Maria	18	Keeping House	Wife
	Silva	John A.	56	None	Father in law
	Silva	Antonia M.	53	None	Mother in law
	Silva	Rosa	14	At School	Sister in law

Even by 1910, the number of immigrants from the Azores and Portuguese mainland combined was relatively small for the entire Santa Clara County (n = 478 plus n = 666 respectively) (<http://0-www.heritagequestonline.com>). Although the Azores consists of nine main islands, those pioneers who came to East San José originated mostly from Pico, São Jorge, Faial, and Terceira, which form an islet cluster in the center of the Archipelago. They worked the land by owning dairies, farms, and fruit orchards, with some intra-cultural diversity expressed by immigrants from São Jorge, who focused

on dairying, and those from Pico and Faial, who preferred farming (da Cunha Carty 2003:244).

Like other immigrant groups, ethnic Portuguese became involved in local industries that dominated the economic landscape at different times during the history of East San José, and that contributed to the development of Silicon Valley. However, as another example of intra-cultural diversity, a study by Alvin Graves of the Portuguese in California notes the significance for agriculture due to their preference for rural destinations compared to the urban settlement pattern of their fellow immigrants on the East Coast (Graves 2004:4). Graves sees their role of agriculturists in the state as a logical projection of their traditional way of life in the Azores, a method of subsistence that nevertheless had created a peasant class through a land tenure system of tenant farmers. The abject poverty of the majority of the population and its social stratification were leading factors in the immigration wave of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Graves 2004:10-12). Related to intra-cultural diversity Graves makes an interesting point about the geographic isolation of the individual islands, where 94 percent of individuals at the beginning of the 20th century lived in their place of birth. This resulted in a strong identification not only with a particular island, but also with their home village which reinforced the traditional lifestyle along with regional differences (Graves 2004:13).

For Azorean immigrants who preferred East San José, da Cunha Carty notes how its climate, with insufficient water during summer months, limited the choice of growing crops to corn, peas, and fruit, supplemented by raising heifers for sale at neighboring

dairies (da Cunha Carty 2003:244-245). The dairies prospered along McKee Road on the east side of North King Road (see fig. 1) notably attributed to Portuguese dairymen Joe Enes and Joe Ferreira. While this is just outside the boundary of my study area, their influence on the Portuguese speaking community was a reflection of how their skill as dairymen enabled Azoreans to shape the local landscape, plus translate the value of cattle in the Azores into economic stability for newly arrived immigrant families. Like the Portuguese sounding family names, the Da Silveira farm that used to be at 509 Portuguese Lane, an address that remains only in the mind, is a poignant reminder of their association with dairies and farming. Similarly the fruit orchards that dominated the appearance of the foothills (see fig. 3) during San José's early history were an economic reflection that most people who inhabited the area from Mission San Jose in the north, down to Evergreen and Almaden in the south attributed their roots to Portuguese ancestry (da Cunha Carty 2003:244).

This picture of the Eastside as predominantly farmland, where Portuguese immigrant families were major landholders, continued until the 1960s, but precipitated by the end of World War II, when suburban development replaced the farms and dairies with housing developments. Consequently many Portuguese chose to sell up, and move either south or further inland, to Gilroy or San Joaquin Valley respectively (da Cunha Carty 2003:245). Longtime resident, Ann Pinheiro, recalls both a family connection to a local ranch and the consequence of urban sprawl: "My grandmother's sister had the ranch down at 24th and McLaughlin, all the way where the creek went right by it, and when they split for 101 most of it was her side, but there was still the hill on the other side."

Cristina Pinheiro (no relation) whose father moved to East San José in the 1970s, when the dairymen had relocated, notes his self-identification with dairy farming: “My dad was the dairy. Cows, my dad loves cows...He always wanted to go back to the islands and work with his land and cows.”



Figure 3. Orchard in Bloom, Santa Clara Valley, courtesy of History San José

Suburban development also obscures the former physical appearance of the Eastside landscape as interspersed with marshland, although proponents of East San José’s incorporation in 1906 recognized that maintenance of the Santa Clara Street Bridge was a potential stumbling block for gaining enough votes. However, this problem

was minimized by the proponents' spokesperson claiming that San José had vested interest in having a bridge with the City of East San José, even as the latter's inhabitants would not lack resources to contribute their fair share (Douglas 1993:62). Jack Douglas was a San José historian who revived many of its forgotten stories, including *The Great Bridge Disaster of 1917*. He reminds us that San José is crossed by three waterways that were once significant barriers for people to traverse: the Guadalupe River, Los Gatos Creek, and Coyote Creek. This was mainly due to winter flooding that washed away the bridges, but the Santa Clara Street Bridge (or Coyote Bridge), built in the 1870s was impressive for its iron construction. It was heavily used to reach services on the Eastside, including farms, lumber yards, and factories, with Alum Rock Park as a popular leisure destination via East San José and the Alum Rock Trolley line. When it suddenly collapsed in 1917, with the tragic death of a fourteen year old boy, who had been helping his father at nearby American Dairy, there was public dismay about the use of freight cars on the trolley rails, in this case overloaded with prunes and sugar beet (Douglas 1993:129-130).

Coyote Bridge on Santa Clara and 17th Streets still feels like a transition from downtown San José to an ethnically mixed, immigrant neighborhood, like a cultural continuum along a business district to a neglected neighborhood, with ambivalence about its memory. A few blocks along this continuum, another bridge now spans the transection of Little Portugal within East San José by Highway 101, with an overpass for traffic to merge onto Alum Rock Avenue from East Santa Clara Street. Similarly the bridge feels like a transition into a pocket of Portuguese culture, with a "Welcome to

Little Portugal” greeting signaling entry into the business district of Portuguese merchandise (see fig.4). Yet the westbound side of this pedestrian impasse is the site of Five Wounds Portuguese National Church, both an important cultural icon expressed on the landscape of East San José, and a reminder of Silicon Valley’s transition from a rural to a metropolitan landscape, since its original location on a dirt road is hard to imagine when compared to its contemporary context near a busy traffic intersection (see fig. 5).



Figure 4. Sign of Little Portugal



Figure 5. Five Wounds Church mid-1920s, courtesy of Ann Pinheiro

Five Wounds Church, which will celebrate its centennial in 2014, represents the ambitious goal of an Azorean immigrant from Faial to East San José, Msgr. Henrique Augusto Ribeiro, to build the most impressive Portuguese national church in the state of California. Having enlisted the support of 318 Portuguese families, from East San José and surrounding areas, to petition the archbishop of San Francisco, he also personally petitioned Rome to build his enterprise. According to local legend, the founding fathers journeyed to San Francisco in ox carts, following the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915, to collect wood donated by the Portuguese government from their display to construct the church, stopping to rest at Portuguese ranches dotted along El Camino as they returned home. Likewise land on which to build the church came from a community benefactor, Manuel T. Freitas, which according to property deeds was sold for \$10 in gold coin to the archbishop of San Francisco (da Cunha Carty 2003:245-249).

Manuel Freitas was an Azorean immigrant from São Jorge who, after a successful career in business, became first president of the Portuguese-American Bank of San Francisco, and later founded the Bank of San Rafael. He was also a former California consul of Portugal. Notwithstanding community support and benefactors, local Portuguese historian António Goulart notes how the Monsignor faced considerable challenges in achieving his dream: “I have read his diary until 1928, and it clearly shows an obsession with raising money for the construction, while making very slow progress, and just barely to make ends meet to pay the carpenter or the painter.” With respect to the church’s location, Goulart adds, “In his diary he mentions that he suggested to Portuguese people to buy property around Five Wounds Church, because it was a good investment opportunity, and because he wanted to build a community. But that area was not a community, it was a swamp!”

Construction of the church took over four years and cost \$85,000, with enough seats for 1,000 people. Its ornate architecture reflects a baroque style, based on the church of Braga, Portugal. It ran up a heavy debt for the parish by the time it was completed, not least because World War I had doubled construction costs, during which time mass was celebrated in a small chapel dedicated to the Holy Ghost. Every member of the local Portuguese community is credited with contributing something towards its realization, from prominent individuals who gave large sums of money for its interior, to volunteers who gave their time or materials. As Five Wounds Portuguese National Church, the congregation’s gaze is drawn to a powerful message above the altar, *Cinco Chagas* (the Five Wounds of Christ) as a traditional Portuguese national insignia (Vaz

1965:206-208). Despite its appeal to ethnic pride, two of my interviewees for this project portrayed the early congregation members as rural farmers, with financial implications for fundraising and upkeep of the church. Empathizing with Msgr. Ribeiro, António Goulart comments, “He struggled all his life, because this community was mainly a farming and fruit-orchard worker type.” Ann Pinheiro, whose mother was a cousin of the Monsignor, and whose family became deeply involved in church life, recalls his tireless fundraising efforts, “When he went horse and buggy to collect money for church.”

Silicon Valley historian Glenna Matthews notes a diachronic pattern of occupational niches for recent immigrants to Santa Clara Valley, which during the mid-20th century included 100,000 acres of orchards, supported by numerous canneries and dried fruit-packing companies (Glenna Matthews 2004:231-232). Thus Portuguese immigrants joined Italians and Latinos with similar rural backgrounds by seeking work in an industry that once dominated the local economic landscape (see fig. 6). As a successful local Portuguese entrepreneur, António Goulart recalls his first job in the United States, picking apricots on a fruit farm off Machado Lane on the Eastside: “In the summer I went to pick apricots, in the same farm that my father and my brothers had picked [apricots] the first day they arrived in the United States.” This family connection to a local orchard goes even further back, to his great grand uncle, “Who came to the United States on a whaler, and ended up in Nevada, in Carson City, prospecting for gold.” When prospecting for gold turned out to be unsuccessful, the relative came to live in East San José, on South Cragmont Avenue, “Where he bought a little apricot farm...So

my grand aunt also worked in the ten-acre apricot farm that they took care of, and in the summer they made their business by selling apricots and drying them.”



Figure 6. Picking Fruit in Santa Clara Valley, circa 1935, courtesy of History San José

For integration into mainstream culture, Vaz envisaged the priest as an intermediary between recent Portuguese immigrants and their adjustment towards Americanization, someone with a portal to the past through traditional symbols of consolation and native speech, but who could also act as their spokesperson. Even the former mission churches promoted Portuguese enclaves through their legacy of Catholicism, in this project’s case Mission San Jose from the mid-1800s onwards (Vaz

1965:185-187). Five Wounds Church is a Portuguese example of a national church built within a non-territorial parish, a solution of the Catholic Church to an age-old problem of how to keep in touch with their displaced flock (Rogers 1974:26). While Five Wounds Church was built towards the end of this trend for nationally-based churches, in 1952 and 1969 respectively the Vatican issued two ecclesiastical documents that addressed this topic: *Exsul Familia* and *Pastoralis Migratorum*. As a supplement, the “Instruction on the Pastoral Care of People Who Migrate” was published soon after the latter, by the Sacred Congregation for Bishops, and whether this had implications, or not, for mass immigration from the Azores around this time, it was an era of relaxed immigration quotas in the United States. Even though national churches are finding it difficult in contemporary times to maintain their upkeep with dwindling congregations, one of my interviewees summed up the evocative power of Five Wounds Church over its locale. Cristina Pinheiro, a local Portuguese café owner commented, “It’s an icon of our Portuguese community, we’re very proud of it.”

During the course of my research, I have often encountered comments from non-Portuguese claiming no knowledge of a Portuguese historical presence in this area, yet who are vaguely aware of an important Portuguese festivity involving a society, a parade, the Church, and a meeting hall. In San José the society to which they refer is the *Irmandade do Espírito Santo do East San José* (IES), a Portuguese social institution throughout California, indeed, wherever there is a Portuguese community, based on devotion to the Holy Ghost. In East San José it has an unusual historical relationship

with Five Wounds Church, being both its forerunner and a closely associated, yet independent secular brotherhood.

The society's history in East San José began when Msgr. Ribeiro sought to coalesce his fellow Azoreans by building an *império* (chapel) for a new Holy Ghost society, a brotherhood of men informally known as the Group of 81. Once land for church property had been secured through Manuel T. Freitas, construction began on the chapel and parishioners hall, so that by 1914 the chapel was ready not only for the first *feita*, but also became the interim parish church for the next three years, when Msgr. Ribeiro conducted the first Mass as Pastor of Five Wounds in November of that year. Membership of the IES grew steadily from 150 brothers in 1919, expanding with the first generation of American born Portuguese, but greatly increased by the wave of Azorean immigrants during the 1960s, when it was home to both the Portuguese Athletic Club and the Portuguese Band of East San José (da Cunha Carty 2003:245-252). Ann Pinheiro recalls two bandstands that used to be on either side of the chapel (see fig. 5) where concerts were held, with food and drinks sold underneath, and folding ladders for the players to reach their seats: "This was where the band would play, and they would serve food under there when they had the *festas*. They would serve *linguiça*, beer, sodas, and *tremoceira*, which are the lupini beans."

As a quintessential cultural event for Azorean people, the Holy Ghost *Festa* is both a religious and secular festival that takes place all over California throughout the summer months. They require considerable effort on the part of families who sponsor the event, as they accompany their daughters who act as festival queen in honor of Queen St.

Isabel, as well as family members who play in the marching bands that accompany the parade. The many different Holy Spirit Associations also support each other's efforts by traveling and taking part in the *festas* (Machado and Machado 2008:153).

The history behind this event is interesting because it shows how the geographic isolation of the Azores contributed towards a unique identity for the islanders within Portuguese culture. As a medieval folk religious tradition based on belief in the Holy Spirit which permeated Europe, it was controversial and ultimately banned by the Catholic Church because its organization by lay brotherhoods challenged the authority of its clergy (Da Silva 2003:29). However, the celebration was very popular in the Azores from the late 15th century onwards, partly for its religious comfort in times of stress due to natural disasters that were a constant threat on the volcanic islands. Key elements of the *feira* also promoted group solidarity through gifts to the poor, the sharing of a meal, and community festivities. Even though the Church criticized the introduction of new features by the brotherhoods for being heretical excess, over time a compromise was reached that acknowledged the autonomy of secular brotherhoods despite Azoreans deeply held Catholic beliefs (Da Silva 2003:37-42).

On a local level in June of 1915, a *San Jose Mercury Herald* article reported on a large celebration of the annual fiesta for the Portuguese of East San José as “one of the most successful affairs of the kind ever held in the state.” A timely fundraiser for their new church, the writer observed state-wide community support, “so successful that it is understood that ground for the new church will be broken shortly.” Many donations were given for auction, including 93 cows, one of which sold for \$95, plus “chickens, rabbits,

geese, etc., were given by the dozens, as well as many cakes and other articles of value.” The article went on to describe an attractive parade that “escorted the queen and her maids of honor to a beautifully arranged altar” and was followed by “an eloquent sermon in Portuguese” by Msgr. Ribeiro. Finally numerous marching bands and members of the local Portuguese Dramatic Club, the latter dressed as Portuguese soldiers with drawn swords, accompanied the procession to the nearby IES chapel for a barbecue, band concert, and dancing the traditional *chamirita* (Annual Fiesta Celebration of Portuguese of East San Jose).

This article highlights several key symbols of the Holy Ghost *Festa* as a cultural celebration of religious ephemeral art that honors the Holy Spirit through an aesthetically beautiful expression of community time and money. From a social perspective, its sponsors gain community prestige by transmuting their material resources into Azorean values of reciprocity, fraternity, and religious faith through an approved public display (Salvador 2003:45-46). Flowers and food are examples of transitory offerings that magnify and sharpen their ritual significance by the amount of time and trouble put into their preparation, despite their limited shelf life. Acting as sensory stimuli for the conversion of everyday experience into rarified religious time and space, these temporary artifacts communicate deeper meanings about economic and social relationships. Cows, decorated for the parade, thus symbolize sustainable wealth on the familiar Azorean rural landscape. Preparing and sharing a meal becomes more than an act of survival and kinship, but a time for extraordinary consumption instead of Azorean thrifty restraint, with enriched ingredients and embellished designs (Salvador 2003:45-47).

However, I suggest that the distinction between transitory and heirloom artifacts can be blurry for archaeologists to categorize. As material culture, an artifact embodies human purposeful action by its intended use, pragmatic or symbolic, and other revealing attributes for constructing a story about the past, such as cultural traits, material sources, and trade routes. Archaeology is about things that people made and how this shaped social behavior as well as social institutions, a story about social exchange that tells us something important about both the giver and the receiver. Things also have symbolic power by how people perceive them as economic, status or cultural symbols. Thus things exist in a social as much as a material realm. If it was not for the fact that much of what past people made resulted in midden deposits, archaeologists would have little data with which to try and generate universal theories about culture. Yet this sampling bias is compounded by what survives within the archaeological record, a conservation problem, and recognition of an artifact's cultural significance, an interpretation problem.

For this project, the conceptual link between anthropological archaeology and ethnography is that if things have social lives, then it is easier to interpret their social meanings when things are still in use. Some examples from the Holy Ghost *Festa* are indeed robust artifacts, the silver crown and scepter, symbolizing the Holy Ghost by insignia of a cross and a dove, conserved and maintaining their provenance by remaining within the brotherhood for future *festas*. Yet sponsoring a *festa* is also an opportunity to fulfill a *promessa*, an appeal for Divine help by doing something extra for God, as an act of faith.

Whether a *promessa* is an artifact, or not, is provocative because it is a creation of the human mind, mediated by an ephemeral festival, celebrating the relationship of mankind with the Holy Spirit by manufacturing exquisitely permanent symbols. Batista Vieira, a prominent East San José entrepreneur from São Jorge, reports doing many *promessas*, with a large one planned for 2010 as a family event: “We are all going to go back next year and have a *promessa*, a fiesta I have to make on the Azores.” Yet in the context of California, a *promessa* appears far more elaborate than a village affair of yesteryear, when the Holy Ghost crown was more likely accompanied by young girls wearing simple clothes and garlands. Describing the ornately embroidered velvet capes of the contemporary *festa* queen an informant commented, “All of this is hand embroidery and then, you know, the girls have gotten bigger and bigger tiaras.”

From the perspective of European medieval history, Da Silva’s research is a reminder that Queen Isabel of Portugal, later canonized, and Dom Dinis the King, are credited with popularizing devotion to the Holy Spirit amongst their subjects. Tradition holds that Queen St. Isabel donated the first ceremonial crown, and a beautiful stained glass window at Five Wounds Church depicts her ministering to the poor and needy. Significantly its Portuguese founders alluded to the reign of the Holy Spirit on earth, anticipated at that time as a sort of Divine utopia, by choosing a common or poor person to be crowned as the Holy Ghost’s “Emperor-representative” (Da Silva 2003:31-35). Not until 1894, and a Church edict, were young ladies allowed to be crowned, by which time the Holy Ghost *Festa* in America blended with the maypole parade. After crowning, this resulted in a procession that followed the queen and her maids to High Mass, and then the

communal meal of *sopa* and *carne* (an Azorean soup of roast beef, bread, and gravy)
(Rogers 2007:64-65).

Historical Perspective

When I began researching this project, I assumed that Five Wounds Church was built to meet the spiritual needs of a growing Portuguese community, already residing in the Catholic Diocese of San José. This seemed logical because on a map the Five Wounds neighborhood and Little Portugal are within its catchment area, and because it would seem illogical to build a church of cathedral-like proportions without any obviously large congregation. In fact the history of the Diocese of San José is quite recent, beginning in 1981 when dioceses became divided along county lines, so that it was no longer subsumed by the Archdiocese of San Francisco (<http://www.dsj.org>). Even allowing for its conception as a national church, my now more informed understanding was prompted by António Goulart: “San Jose basically did not exist for the Portuguese...The center of the community was in the North and East Bays.” This necessitates a brief discussion of their connection with the history of both whaling and agriculture, to explain why such a large number of Azorean immigrants chose Central California as their new home, and how a community formed in the South Bay.

As an island people whose way of life in the Azores was conducted in close proximity to the ocean, it is tempting to attribute their association with the whaling industry as a sign that fishing was their main contribution to the Californian economy. However, a review of the literature demonstrates that whaling was more of a means to reach America rather than a continued way of economic life as immigrants settled in the state. By the early 19th century the Industrial Revolution had created a strong market for whale oil as a lubricant in addition to its use in domestic lighting. The over hunting of

coastal whales meant that increasingly longer voyages were necessary to find new whale stocks, at the same time as ship owners in the industry's New England base were finding it harder to recruit crew members (Bertao 2006:4-7).

The waters around the Azores Islands were a good hunting ground for whales in summer and fall, and also a convenient port of call for ship repairs and low cost supplies. This provided an opportunity for Azorean young men to seek work in America by first working as seamen on the whaling vessels, and a chance to improve their economic outlook compared to back home, which was constrained by a large population and not enough land (Bertao 2006:11). Their numbers became so great that the Portuguese government banned the hiring practice to ensure they would still have enough recruits for the military, only to create an illegal market for smuggling Azoreans onto ships known as “stealing Portuguese” (Bertao 2006:11).

Warrin notes 1848 as a turning point for the American whaling industry as much as for California, when the Gold Rush precipitated an exodus of men on vessels chartered or purchased from their home ports around New Bedford, keen to reach San Francisco and the goldfields sooner rather than later. Likewise crew members became eager gold seekers, so that San Francisco Bay attained the appearance of a ships' graveyard, with many beached vessels as all hands deserted (Warrin 2010:139-140). Another reason for a declining market in whale oil was the emergent petroleum industry, although sperm oil was still regarded as a high quality lubricant. Yet a new market in whalebone for a multitude of products, from corsets to umbrellas, led to the growth of San Francisco as a new whaling port, with vessels now bound for the western Arctic in search of right

whales and bowheads (Warrin 2010:182). The limitations of sailing vessels for western Arctic whaling ultimately lead to San Francisco becoming the industry's base from the 1880s onwards, especially when it began building steam whalers in competition with the East Coast, by establishing the Pacific Steam Whaling Company of San Francisco plus the Arctic Oil Works (Warrin 2010:222).

Both whalers and gold miners swelled the number of Portuguese immigrants to California during the years 1850 to 1880, with the majority settling on the Central Coast as agriculturalists. At first the immigrants were predominantly young men in search of gold, some of whom jumped ship in San Francisco, but most of whom came much later in the 1850s. However, shore whaling in California that lasted for about three decades, beginning in Monterey during the 1850s, was another industry dominated by Azoreans based on their traditional way of life (Graves 2004:19-21). Graves' perceptive analysis of the rural settlement pattern preferred by California's Portuguese presents a convincing argument for the attraction of shore whaling, despite the obvious dangers of harpooning a leviathan animal from a small boat with primitive technology. It was an economic fallback for disappointed gold seekers, as well as for whalers temporarily out of work, especially during the Pacific whale migration, but it also enabled shore whalers to remain with their families by combining fishing with agriculture. With the Central Coast as the regional focus, most of whom were employed in agriculture, by 1880 the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area was home to over 60 percent of the Portuguese population in California (Graves 2004:21-32).

By 1892, present day West Oakland was considered the unofficial capital of the Portuguese in California, with the national church of St. Joseph's being the community's nucleus, and their splendid festivals an exemplar to other Portuguese societies (Vaz 1965:63). For the nascent Portuguese community of Five Wounds, António Goulart portrays Msgr. Ribeiro as both a visionary and "a very shrewd man who worked tirelessly to build that church." Being the Monsignor's dream of congregating all Portuguese people from around the South Bay, Goulart notes how "this charismatic man captured the energy of this community" even if he "was somewhat envious of the other communities that were much further along financially." However, a much bigger damper on congregation numbers occurred when the Immigration Act of 1924 drastically curtailed new arrivals, with a discriminatory system of quotas against those groups deemed less desirable, including southern Europeans. Yet an era of liberal reform some three decades later, which happened to coincide with a tectonic event in the Azores, both reversed such restrictive immigration and revitalized Portuguese communities in America, most visibly in East San José with the fluorescence of Little Portugal.

In 1957 the eruption of the Capelinhos volcano on an uninhabited island off the coast of Faial became the precipitating factor for another wave of immigration to the United States that ultimately included far more than the victims of its destruction. The havoc wrecked by burning ash on the homes of nearby residents lead to international pressure for disaster relief in the form of relaxed immigration quotas. The Pastore-Kennedy-Walters Azores Relief Act of 1958 reflected the collaborative efforts of Senators John Pastore and John Kennedy as a result of lobbying by the governor of the

island and Portuguese Americans (Lobao 2008:46). By the 1960s a review of immigration law had abolished the old quota system, which led to the mass emigration from the Azores to the United States of approximately 80,000 people between 1966 and 1980 (Mendonca and Avila 2008:23). They are credited with revitalizing Portuguese culture in America which was disappearing in the earlier immigration wave that peaked between 1910 and 1920. As they moved into existing Portuguese neighborhoods they sparked community events and displays of cultural identity through clubs, festivals, and the Portuguese language (Almeida 2008:133-134).

Since Azoreans no longer emigrate in the numbers that they used to, and there is an emergent problem of generational loss, this prompts an important question for connecting their story with a sense of place: if Portuguese neighborhoods are largely sustained by recent immigrants, then how should their past be presented to a more affluent diaspora now living in America, who choose to leave these enclaves? Likewise, how should their past be presented to the cultural mosaic now inhabiting East San José, who perpetuate the pattern of multiple ethnic groups overlapping in time and place, and who represent a diachronic perspective on multi-cultural history? The next chapter will examine the evolving cultural identity of Portuguese immigrants living in America, to synthesize their emic and etic perspectives for presenting a collective history, to suggest where there are discrepancies, and to conclude this section on Portuguese cultural context and their historical trajectory.

An Invisible Minority or a Hidden Population?

When I first heard an informant allude to self-identification by the Portuguese community as an “invisible minority” I was somewhat taken aback. Within the cultural milieu of contemporary America that celebrates diversity and ethnic pride, I had only come across the term “hidden population” for an ethnographic sample difficult to reach, usually because the research topic was sensitive, and which did not seem to apply to a Portuguese community so proud of its heritage. While to some extent the comment reflects their relatively small numbers, in the past and now, compared to the total United States population, I suggest it also reflects an etic and emic desire to project the Portuguese identity onto the socio-cultural landscape as a positive addition to America’s immigrant trajectory: hardworking and inoffensive, non-threatening to the status quo, and a positive addition to mainstream society.

Archival sources provide some insight into mainstream recognition that the incipient communities demonstrated a conscious tactic to create “socio-economic niches to which no special social stigma was attached” (Graves 2004:46). In 1878, a *San Francisco Chronicle* article on the Portuguese in California estimated their numbers at 12,000, including a “floating element” of between 1,000 and 1,500 in San Francisco, presumably a reference to whalers between voyages. Noting their principal occupations as “agriculture, dairying, stock-raising and gardening” the article opined on cultural traits: “In whatever trade, occupation or business they are engaged, industry and sobriety are marked characteristics” (Our Portuguese Population).

From a social perspective, the article was proactive while observing some cultural similarity with other Latins: “In social life the Portuguese are polite and hospitable. Their language has a decided affinity with the Spanish...But, although the languages are so similar, the differences in both peoples in other respects are very marked” (Our Portuguese Population). The latter comment unwittingly hints at a methodological problem for tracing their presence once in this country, because Portuguese were often recorded under the category of Spanish speakers, compounded by incomplete immigration records prior to the 1920s (Vaz 1965:52). A related methodological problem was anglicizing names to avoid prejudice, so that *João* became John, and *Francisco* became Frank. However, the *San Francisco Chronicle* noted a Portuguese ambition that was echoed by my own research: “Large numbers of them own their small farms and ranches, which they take delight in cultivating. To make homes for themselves and families is the great ambition” (Our Portuguese Population).

Davide Vieira provides an Azorean perspective on why land ownership is an enduring cultural trait across time and national boundaries: “In the Azores property was king...if you’re on an island there’s only so much land...So land was valuable in the Azores not for building things on, but for grazing your cows on, and for growing corn and potatoes to eat...So land is something that all the Azoreans buy. I mean the entrepreneurs here, they buy property.” Although this translates the value of land into real estate for entrepreneurs, historically the Portuguese were renowned farmers, and it was even said that for potatoes to grow well they must be spoken to in Portuguese (Rogers 1974:27). A monograph written for the 1939 Golden Gate International

Exposition held in San Francisco concluded with an impressive statistic for their influence on the California economy: Portuguese controlled 75 percent of the cattle, with about 450,000 cows, and produced almost \$24,000,000 worth of milk per annum (Soares 1970:64). Whether by the standards of local hearsay or economic output, the Portuguese in California were hardly an invisible minority.

However, minority status as applied to Portuguese from the second immigration wave meant fitting them into one of four officially accepted minority groups during the early 1970s: Amerindians, Blacks, East Asian Americans, and Spanish-surnamed Americans (Rogers 1974:51). Since immigrants from Cape Verde, a former Portuguese colony, were classified as nonwhite, this exposed a generational divide within the Portuguese American community by being labeled non-European. Although P.L. 92-318, enacted in 1972, appears to be the only written reference to Portuguese as a minority group, such designation implied retrospective inclusion of all socio-economic levels of Portuguese immigrants as disadvantaged persons, a label that older members found derogatory even as younger ones found it progressive. The more moderate mood of Portuguese Americans instead promoted Luso-American organizations that focused on cultural exchange, entertainment, welfare, and education, and shied away from politicizing their cultural identity (Rogers 1974:52-55). This provides a more nuanced perspective on the self-identification of Portuguese as an “invisible minority” by suggesting immigrant pride in their rapid socio-economic success, as demonstrated by their lack of minority-group classification, and despite their relatively small numbers.

Most of the written sources in English I have used for researching my project have been written by Portuguese Americans, and primary sources were quite hard to find. The Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Library in San José has a small Portuguese Heritage Collection, supported by an endowment fund in collaboration with the Portuguese American community, that I noticed publicized by a booth at the *Dia de Portugal* 2012 festival in San José. However, both outreaches target a specialist audience by celebrating Portuguese ethnic heritage, with many books in Portuguese, and are perhaps a reflection that Portuguese history is under-represented in both academic journals and public archives.

From an academic standpoint I suggest this problem is twofold: either articles are written in Portuguese by national scholars, or Portuguese immigration history is relegated to minority status within destination countries. If ethnic histories are only recorded for disparate audiences there is no opportunity for their integration into mainstream culture, to the detriment of an increasingly diverse society in which the immigrant experience is more the norm than the exception. Instead they become rarified rather than relevant to how descendant communities negotiate cultural change in a host society that remains oblivious to the dignity, rather than the denigration, of immigrant status. From a community standpoint I suggest this problem is addressed through collaborative efforts to record history from the bottom up, but this kind of peer review may not qualify the end product for academic publication.

Indeed the earliest article written by an anthropologist that I could find for my literature review provided a profile of Portuguese immigrants living on the East Coast to

explain their self-pejorative term of “invisible minority.” Not coincidentally the author was half-Portuguese, as her work seemed an early ethnographic study of Portuguese cultural cohesiveness in which recent immigrants nevertheless strategically blended into mainstream society. Smith described the Portuguese American community as a “relatively unknown people” who, apart from marrying out, only really interacted with non-Portuguese during economic pursuits (Smith 1974:3). Unlike other immigrant groups, such as the Irish and Italians, the Portuguese kept a low political profile to avoid discrimination in the workplace. Thus by not appearing to challenge the political or economic establishment they internalized their etic perception as stubborn traditionalists, an ethnocentric label that decreased their social visibility because it implied both lack of ambition and Americanization (Smith 1974:10).

However, I have never seen the concept of “invisible minority” translated into Portuguese, although there are other Portuguese words that conceptualize their identity, which for presenting their history to a wider audience hint at an inevitable tension between wanting to emigrate and a wistful yearning for their past. *Açorianidade* describes the tendency towards fatalism of Island Portuguese, coined by an Azorean writer to express the precarious nature of life under adverse conditions on the islands, not least because of their volcanic eruptions (Rogers 1974:19). Yet social conditions were as much a factor prompting the waves of immigration to America, along with proximity to the ocean that presented a daily vista of opportunities overseas for the youth of the islands.

Saudade is a cultural construction for unifying Portuguese identity across time and space that began with the voyages of discovery in the 15th century and continued with labor migration beginning in the 19th century (Feldman-Bianco 1992:145). While *saudade* projects a transnational identity onto the legacy of Portugal's colonial past by imagining a deterritorialized political community, the more recent trend towards cultural pluralism within the United States resolves the tension between former "melting pot" ideology during the twenties and thirties and Portuguese colonial pride. The latter created a negative Portuguese immigrant identity both at home and abroad, to which the Portuguese post-colonial government ultimately responded by permitting dual citizenship and redefining immigrants as the "Portuguese spread around the world." On a local level, History San José hosts the annual *Dia de Portugal* on behalf of the Portuguese Historical Museum, one example of the Portuguese celebration of immigrant communities around the world that evolved from an emphasis on its romanticized colonial past (Feldman-Bianco 1992:146-148).

As the first to charter much of the California coastline, while claiming Alta California for the Spanish Crown, Cabrilho was a Portuguese sojourner from whom descendant communities may seek inspiration as both an intrepid voyager and a protagonist for their future integration within American society (Vaz 1965:34). However, attempts during the 19th century to erect a monument in honor of Cabrilho, as a great Portuguese explorer and the discoverer of California, were not well received during an era of Social Darwinism (Vaz 1965:151-152). That a statue of Cabrilho, donated by the Portuguese Government from the 1939 New York World's Fair, was

finally erected at San Diego is testament to the strength of Portuguese societies within California who campaigned for greater recognition of their immigrant heritage (Vaz 1965:167-170).

It is also an example of how public memory is a social construction of contemporary society, which through the collective action of individual societies may raise its profile from “invisible minority” to proud stakeholder within national patrimony. Yet a more inclusive perspective on American heritage, and a less idiosyncratic one, is that Cabrilho was the first European to explore the California Coast, who is nonetheless acknowledged by the State naming their numerous streets and buildings in his memory. This permeation of Portuguese heritage throughout California’s built environment also demonstrates the problem of conceptualizing Portuguese immigrants as a collection of geographically bounded communities within America. Strong ties to the homeland are promoted by the Portuguese and Azorean governments, as well as by immigrant families who maintain vacation homes, greatly enabled by the connectivity of the Internet and modern aviation travel (Machado and Machado 2008:157). Whether the Portuguese of East San José are an “invisible minority” or a hidden population is perhaps a question of semantics. However, it becomes relevant for the next section on methodology and results, because a community boundary is tenuous if it is really a node within a broader socio-cultural network, both real and virtual on the local landscape: obvious to its members but transparent to those who are not.

To expand on this permeability of boundary in East San José, the Portuguese community exists unobtrusively within a multi-ethnic neighborhood, and for those who

know it personally there are independent businesses and old-timer residents visibly clustered on the local landscape. Even though Little Portugal is fading and ethnic Portuguese are moving out, nevertheless there are cultural landmarks that symbolize a continued attachment to place for many Portuguese, who come back to attend services at Five Wounds Church, buy Portuguese products, or to enjoy a meal imbued with an authentic Portuguese atmosphere. The Holy Ghost *festas* are one way of maintaining a broader socio-cultural network, but in an age of social networking and rapid transit, the Portuguese diaspora reinforces its cultural bonds through digital media much faster than a visit back home. So a boundary for the Portuguese community in East San José is somewhat arbitrary when operationally defined by Portuguese owned buildings.

Methodology and Data

One of the most challenging aspects of this project was how to keep the boundaries of my research manageable, because doing archival research can feel like Alice in Wonderland falling down a rabbit hole, with endless leads on forgotten tidbits compared with elusive ones on a body of data for investigating marginal history. My research on Portuguese history also felt akin to peeling an onion, with layer upon layer of meaning to contextualize their presence in East San José, as a consequence of national histories that nevertheless promoted Azorean immigration from one locale to another. However, I consider my position as an outsider to Portuguese culture an etic strength, as I had few pre-conceptions on what it looked like before my interviewees began describing their socio-cultural landscape.

Conversely, to relegate my ethnographic data as background studies for planning an archaeological style survey would not do justice to the rich data that I obtained, although an emic perspective is often sought, along with historical records, before archaeologists conduct fieldwork (Sutton and Yohe II 2008:118). Pragmatically such extremes of positional bias are blurred by the physical limitations of human cognition—it is much easier to recognize a Portuguese presence on the local landscape when knowing what to look for—but pragmatically also most archaeological surveys are constrained by time and money to sample the study area most effectively for answering the research question. While acknowledging the overlap between humanism and social science within anthropology, I also acknowledge that some of my research was the result of serendipity as I visited libraries and worked on other projects. One example is the cognitive map

Silva Sausage

22nd

P0350

IES

Santa Ana

Home

Waffles

(other)

L+F

Fish

emblem

Rose's

Trade Pile + Baccalão Grill

K54Q

bank

Cafe do Canto

Wal-Mart's

manipulating

Social's Rest

Popular Bakery

Group's Cult

AT

Exp

Bo

G

(b)

Jan

bakery

33

101

California Cheese

(walked to work)

Goatman

+ 2000

Rose → Mayolo → ? → Lourenço

Now

Figure 7. Cognitive Map of Little Portugal

What I find most helpful about this insider's perspective is that she presents a diachronic picture of what is significant about the neighborhood for her Portuguese community. For example, she notes the history of ownership for Bacalhau Grill & Trade Rite Market from Rose's (its colloquial name) to a Latino, and ultimately back to a Portuguese, while commenting that it has been a mainstay of the Portuguese community for over 60 years. She also notes California Cheese as an erstwhile non-Portuguese owned company that nevertheless employed many local Portuguese, because they were able to walk to work, and numerous small businesses that catered for a Portuguese speaking clientele, including: bakeries, fish markets, gift shops, a clothing store, travel and financial services.

Keeping in mind that my goal was to document and analyze the influence of Portuguese heritage on the development of East San José's socio-cultural landscape, both formal institutions and informal displays of neighborhood identity, I combined data from the above map with my ethnographic data to propose a pedestrian survey of my study area based on emic knowledge. First, as a visual check on whether its boundaries reflected key cultural landmarks that emerged from my analysis of the ethnographic data, I displayed these as place markers on a custom map using Google Maps (see fig. 8 below). Not surprisingly, most buildings cluster along the main thoroughfare of East Santa Clara Street and Alum Rock Avenue, but they stretch across most of the quadrangle, with the proviso that residential areas likely would provide more informal displays of a Portuguese presence, based on their housing patterns and use of personal landscapes.

However, I acknowledge that the demographic character of contemporary East San José is predominantly Hispanic or Latino. For example, Anne Darling Elementary School off McKee Road, in its School Accountability Report Card section on student enrollment by subgroup for the school year 2010-2011, states 83.2% Hispanic or Latino students out of their total enrollment (<http://www.sjUSD.org>). Yet for conducting a pedestrian survey of Little Portugal in East San José, along with its associated residential side streets, the boundary of my study area appears sufficiently inclusive of both well-known cultural landmarks, as well as some less obvious ones, that emerge from analysis of my interview themes and quotes.

Second, I present my ethnographic research to support their selection as nodes in a network of local Portuguese culture by their cross-referencing in my thematic analysis of the interview data. The boundary of my study area is based on their self-identification of Little Portugal, corroborated by my review of the literature and archival research that identified the same Portuguese social institutions and cultural insignia. I initially read through the interviews for key words and phrases that would help me to recognize a Portuguese presence on the local landscape, but several key themes emerged from my informal system of coding that suggested a more cohesive narrative in their own words that I present below. Since visual data is a powerful tool for conveying the significance of written meaning, I also include some images I took at *Dia de Portugal* Festival 2011 and 2012, as evidence of my participant observation of an event hosted annually by the Portuguese Historical Museum in San Jose. Additional images come from the *San José Stories, Neighborhood Lives* project (SJSNL), where permission to use images was

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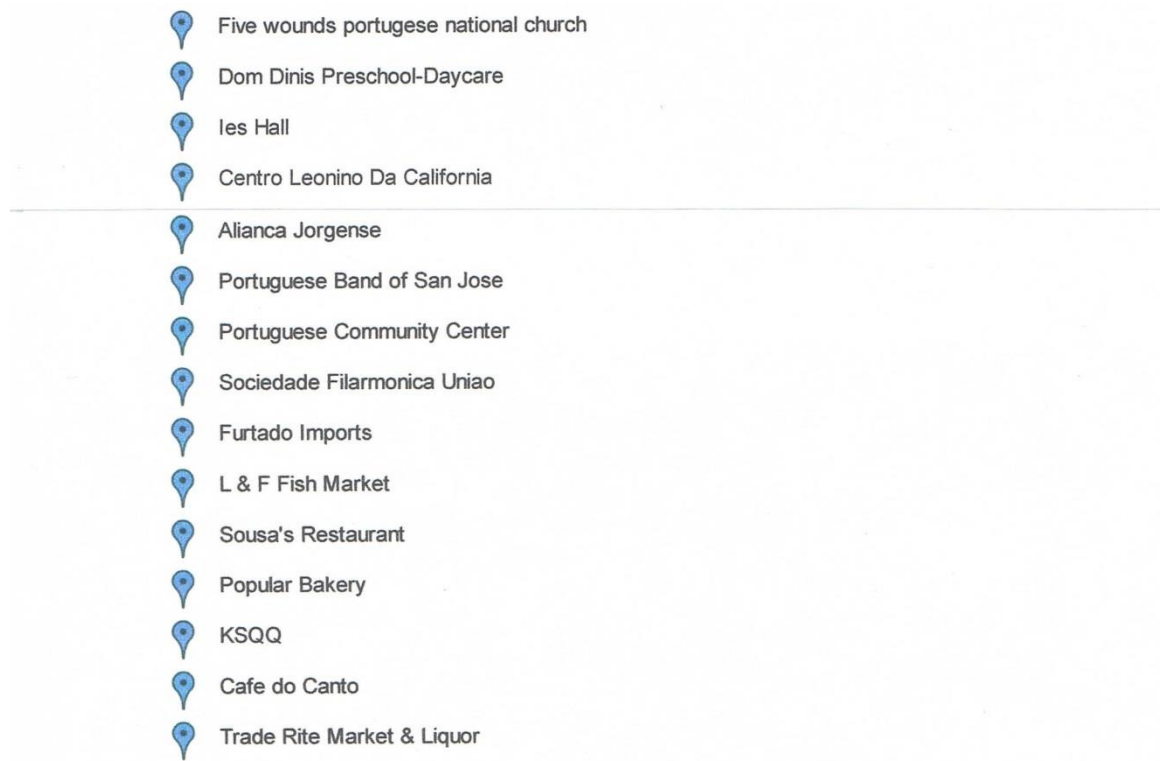


Figure 8 continued

Results of Pedestrian Survey

Since the study area was quite large to attempt walking every street on my own, I began by dividing it into four quadrants, with the area along East Santa Clara Street/Alum Rock Avenue representing a fifth day of walking around the entire neighborhood. Pragmatically the study area divided itself into two halves anyway, since Highway 101 is a significant pedestrian barrier with adjacent streets being dead ends. Likewise heavy traffic along East Santa Clara Street/Alum Rock Avenue promoted geographic sub-areas lying north and south. Finally the fact that most buildings reflecting Portuguese economic and social life clustered along the main thoroughfare suggested a cultural corridor linking the individual neighborhoods, so that it made sense

to walk along it, albeit interrupted, as a single stretch. Fig. 9 below illustrates with dashed lines how I perceived the perimeters of each quadrant, and is also a reminder of how Highway 101 transects those street names that run east to west.

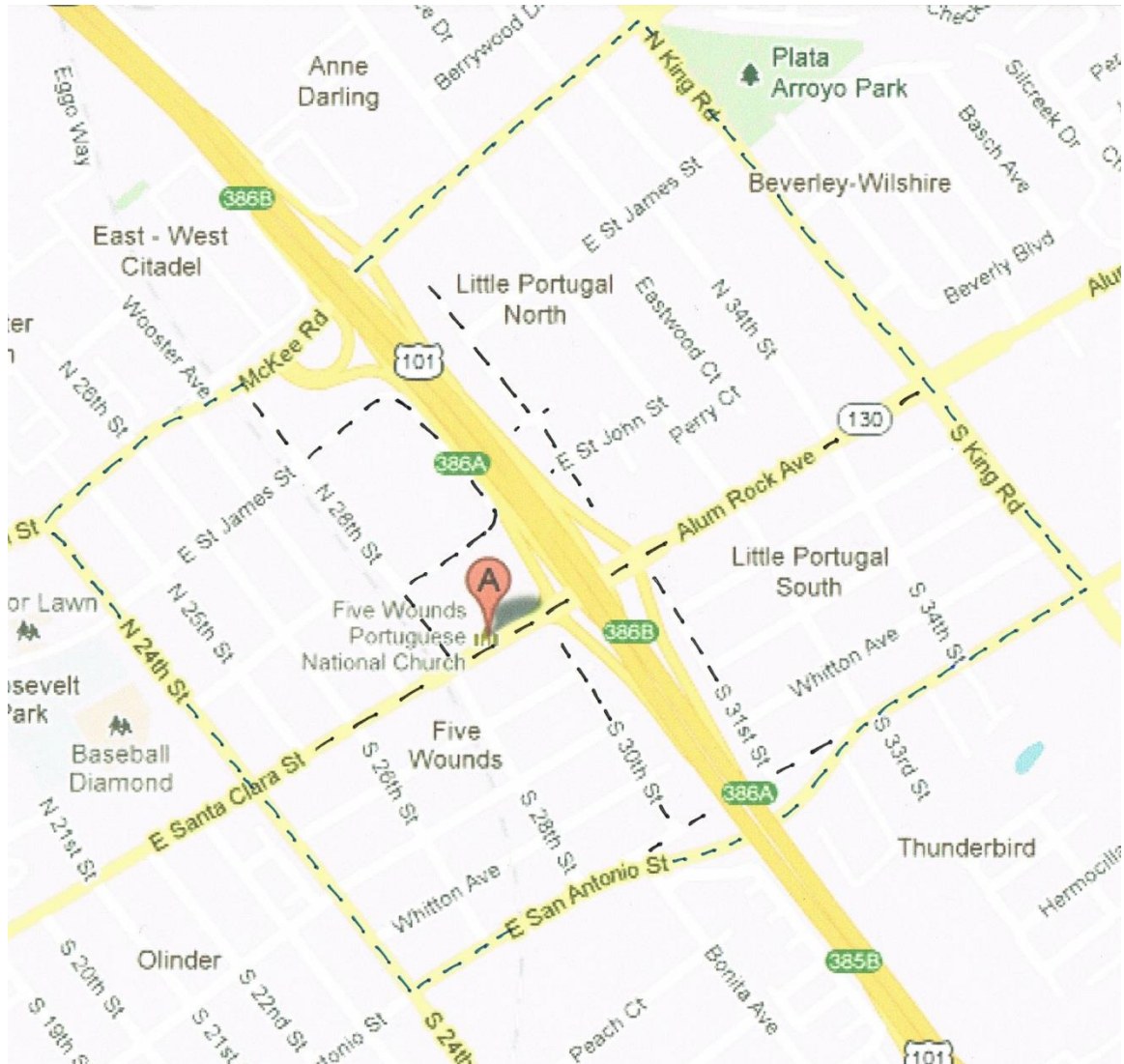


Figure 9. Map of the Study Area to Illustrate the Pedestrian Survey Quadrants

However, it was not until I began walking around the neighborhoods that I realized how much I had under-estimated the constraints of undertaking a pedestrian survey on my own. Not only was it physically tiring several days in a row—it also

became an issue about personal safety as I became increasingly aware of gang tags.

Although I was only verbally hassled a couple of times in one quadrant, I experienced a translation of the dangers typically inherent in any archaeological field survey (snakes, spiders, ticks, poisonous plants, treacherous terrain) onto a canvas of urban decay, where I was clearly an outsider who did not know how to walk up and down streets without looking suspicious. I always felt watched, whether it was by gang look-outs, neighborhood safety proponents, or just wary strangers.

Most notes I made mentally, writing them down when I got back to my vehicle, but I was also trying to keep a tally of loquat trees, religious iconography, and front yard vegetables, all of which bespoke a Portuguese presence based on my current research, but that necessitated a walking pace. A “windshield” survey was both dangerous and fleeting: either the sun in my eyes, divided attention between cross-traffic and front yards, or a sense of frustration about what I had just missed. Ultimately walking yielded the only useful impression of a neighborhood, although I got the impression that few residents walked dogs around their neighborhoods, with dogs being yet another hazard to dodge. Being chased by a boxer dog left me in no doubt that I was the proverbial lone ethnographer, and when dogs were not announcing my presence, they were dogging my exit. One home had no less than three Alsatians and one Chihuahua barking out front.

Most dogs were left to run around their front yards behind wire fences, but the two invoked a competing metaphor with mine for Portuguese culture by accompanying many entry ways. This made seeking permission to take any images impossible, and even if I were to argue that front yards are publically visible, and thus public property at

least in the mind's eye, from an ethical standpoint I considered it intrusive to take pictures of someone's home without asking them first. From a personal safety standpoint, I considered that I might have been jumped by someone had I done so, thus the safest way to store data was in my head: walking briskly, and most importantly, trying not to walk in any particular direction more than once. I never carried more than my cell 'phone, my car key, a little cash, a pen, and a scrap of paper. I never felt safe as a pedestrian even on streets where I had previously parked to visit an interviewee, yet a pedestrian survey was the only way to ground truth their comments, by seeing the neighborhood for myself.

Since my interview data already indicated that residential areas likely would provide more informal displays of a Portuguese presence, I approached my survey of the quadrants with several criteria in mind for identifying Portuguese homes. First was general upkeep of the house and yard, for as Batista Vieira explained: "If you see a lot of flowers it's a Portuguese place, because most of the Portuguese people keep their place pretty clean. They might have an old house, an old neighborhood, but you can tell the difference." Rather than implying that other people do not take care of their properties, Batista indicated that in general a neglected house and yard were unlikely to belong to a Portuguese family. Davide Vieira added, "And their house has been remodeled at least once, if not more than once." Since so many Portuguese entrepreneurs in the Bay Area began in construction businesses, as painting or dry wall contractors, remodeling property is both an economic and social relationship between community members who trust referrals to their fellow Portuguese. Although I did not keep a tally of every house in the

neighborhood based on this criterion, I did note whether tidiness was a positive match based on my other criteria.

The second criterion I used was a display of statues in the front yard, either of religious figures or a pastoral scene. While it is not uncommon for households in general to have one element, such as a bird bath or stone garden sculpture, or several pink plastic flamingos, even a casual glance around the neighborhood suggested that statues and figurines were popular, and I was curious how they might reflect cultural values about identity and landscape. Davide Vieira offered further insight: “Yes, even tiles, like tiles of a saint...In many ways you’ll see a lot more tradition in this country than you will in the Azores, to tell you the truth. These people miss what they had.”

As a Portuguese art form, *azulejos* panels are decorative wall tiles imaginatively put together to present a religious or mythological scene, commemorate history, or even extend a room through an imaginary landscape (Sabo and Falcato 1998:10). These compositions (on exterior and interior walls) demonstrate both a long Portuguese ceramic tradition, plus an historical connection with sixteenth century Spain. *Azulejo* is a Spanish-Moorish term for a shiny glazed tile that Portuguese craftsmen readily adopted to decorate large surfaces in palaces and churches. As a contemporary art form it is called *azulejaria*, a vibrant combination of color, decorative patterns, and narrative designs (Sabo and Falcato 1998:14). Pictorial *azulejos* on exterior walls became my third criterion for identifying Portuguese homes, with panels of religious figures by the front door often accompanying the statues described previously.

My fourth criterion was based on my ethnographic research that home-grown produce appeared strongly correlated with the appearance of a Portuguese yard, including fruits and vegetables grown out front (see below). While ornamental cabbages are now a hybridized novelty in some fall gardens, I was intrigued by the translation of a Portuguese vegetable garden onto an American suburban landscape, where curb appeal was stereotypically represented by lawns and flowers. Since I was also informed that loquat was a type of fruit tree favored by Portuguese growers, I kept a tally of both loquat trees and vegetable plots visible from the street.

Another name for loquat is Japanese plum, as this native to southeastern China naturalized in Japan centuries before it spread to California around 1870. As an ornamental tree that produces fruit with a short shelf life, it is difficult to harvest on a commercial scale, so produce is limited to local specialty stores and Farmer's Markets (<http://www.crfg.org>). Loquats are best propagated by grafting, but fruiting varieties are hard to find in nurseries, so within the Portuguese community they are commonly spread by gardeners donating shoots to their friends. Thus it would be an unusual California fruit tree to find growing in large numbers in any neighborhood without both popular demand and human intervention. It also would be an easy tree to spot on a pedestrian survey, with its large and deeply-veined evergreen leaves, flowers in early winter, and clusters of orange fruit by early spring. Table 2 below provides a summary of my tallies for identifying informal displays of a Portuguese presence within the quadrants of my study area.

Table 2. Tallies of Criteria for Identifying Portuguese Homes in the Study Area

Criterion	Southwest Quadrant	Northwest Quadrant	Southeast Quadrant	Northeast Quadrant	Total
Statues	4	3	3	11	21
Azulejos	11	2	2	8	23
Vegetable Gardens	0	0	0	12	12
Loquat Trees	12	10	4	28	54

The appearance of the neighborhood represented by the northeast quadrant (Little Portugal North) was the most visibly influenced by Portuguese statements of identity compared to all others. However, in all quadrants these criteria clustered along particular streets, as well as with each other. These streets appeared better maintained and were more pleasant to walk along, with cultivated front yards that often corresponded with collections of statutes and an *azulejo* (sometimes two panels) greeting visitors by the front door. The latter depicted either Christ or a saint, whereas themes for displays of statues were religious, pastoral, or sometimes both.

By a pastoral theme I noted romanticized animals and idealized human figures, as nostalgic reminiscences of life on the land, symbols of nature, or even of mankind's harnessing of nature, such as a plough to till the land. By a religious theme I noted figures of Christ, saints, and cherubs. Like the *azulejos*, large religious statues were

located by entry ways, perhaps for spiritual protection as much as to make statements about the religious beliefs of their owners. Collections of smaller statues were either lined up along a cultivated border, or else depicted a scene of life on the land by incorporating plants. Examples included a planter crowned with a black and white cow, a circular flower bed with pastoral elements surrounding an *imperio*, and a complex blend of nature versus nurture, including old cartwheels, a diminutive plough, a wishing well, a bridge for contemplation, and several wild birds and animals.

Evidence of loquat trees was also greatest in the northeast quadrant, but nevertheless suggested deliberate propagation of an unusual fruit tree by Portuguese neighbors more widely dispersed in the study area. The fact that evidence to support front yard vegetables was only found in the northeast quadrant suggested greater cohesiveness of a Portuguese neighborhood, since these examples were both tightly clustered and grown on older-looking plots (likely early seventies). The latter included plenty of room along the side, apparently dedicated to a single crop, such as kale, cabbages, or beans. However, one rose bed by a sidewalk, presumably more for the benefit of passersby than residents, since its view was not visible from the house, was crammed full with cabbages located between the bushes. Likewise space on street corners might be filled with a crop of legumes, or a few more cabbages, protected by a domestic boundary.

Results of Ethnographic Research by Thematic Analysis

Portuguese Identity This is an overarching theme that paradoxically promotes community solidarity by seeking to blend traditional values with contemporary measures of socio-economic success. The ability to speak both fluent Portuguese and English self-identifies the informants as members of an immigrant community, whether they are first or second generation. Yet from an outsider's perspective they have a choice about when to blend with mainstream society, and when to sound culturally distinct. Although bilingual education is currently not promoted in California, a study of Portuguese bilingualism from the early 1980s noted lack of recognition for contributions made by Portuguese immigrants to the state's economy associated with problems maintaining the Portuguese language. The study's focus on Azoreans in California reflected the fact that most Portuguese immigrants in both California and nationally came from the Azores, with maintenance of the language being dependent on revitalization from recent immigrants. Cultural assimilation was associated with loss of the native language, but conversely the study found that more educated Portuguese immigrants were more likely to preserve their heritage through speaking Portuguese. The study took it "as expected" that highly educated Portuguese rarely lived in a Portuguese neighborhood (Williams 1980:724-729). However, I suggest that choosing when and where to speak Portuguese is an act of cultural resistance. Portuguese immigrants hide their bilingualism in a multi-ethnic neighborhood because it suggests assimilation due to their socio-economic success. Perhaps bilingualism provokes the idea within mainstream society that immigrants have divided loyalties, and so it becomes a luxury item for a minority group

who, two or three generations later, can afford to preserve it because they have assured their social standing. In the meantime sharing things in the vernacular is always a way to maintain street credibility, and I further suggest that whether living inside or outside of a Portuguese community, bilingualism is an important tool for both cultural self-recognition and cultural self-preservation.

Ann Pinheiro, who has been a member of the Portuguese community in East San José for 87 years, explained: “I learned Portuguese from my parents, and English at school, here at Hawthorne [formerly an elementary school].” Cristina Pinheiro explained how *Café do Canto*, located in the Little Portugal area of San José, changed from being a fish market, selling Portuguese products, to a Portuguese coffee shop: “People used to come here and hang out and talk Portuguese. Then he [the proprietor] started serving coffee, free coffee...everybody started coming over here to hang out and watch soccer and talk politics, mostly soccer though.” Like drinking coffee and being a soccer fan, speaking Portuguese is culturally significant because of when and where it happens, and what is considered important to talk about. As a current proprietor of this traditional coffee shop, she also links family business with family life: “We’re very traditional at home. We speak Portuguese and I cook, I’m not going to say that I cook exclusively Portuguese food, but Portuguese based with what we’re used to.”

Religion Another important social institution that mediates identity through native speech is the Five Wounds Portuguese National Church. As a longtime member of the congregation, Ann Pinheiro commented, “But you know how you start with all the English, and you forget the Portuguese, and that’s why I still go to Portuguese Mass,

because I want to speak Portuguese.” For people who are unable to attend, KSQQ, the local Portuguese radio station, also broadcasts Mass from Five Wounds Church on Sunday, plus the Rosary every night.

Yet these neighborhood landmarks are experiencing demographic changes in their patronage, as ethnic Portuguese have begun to move away or, as António Goulart stated, “The majority of the Portuguese community has blended in with the community at large.” For him, choosing to speak English appears a pragmatic choice for faster social integration: “When my kids were born, I wanted to learn the native expressions with them, and so we never spoke Portuguese at home.” As a local historian, he also noted how culture is embodied in the language of its people, and further stated, “When my generation disappears the language is going to disappear.” Likewise the coffee shop has a graying Portuguese clientele, so that it now markets to other cultures by including non-Portuguese products. However, this also a pragmatic choice, rather than a challenge to her cultural identity, since Cristina Pinehiro stated: “I was raised so Portuguese that I don’t think anything could ever take that away from me, and I’m proud of it, I’m proud of it.”

Significantly, the Five Wounds neighborhood takes its name from the Portuguese National Church that was dedicated to the community in 1914. Its congregation embodies both the deeply held Catholic beliefs of many Portuguese, plus a uniquely Azorean identity, since its founding members also began a Holy Ghost society by bringing with them a popular Azorean tradition. As Davide Vieira explained, “The [Holy Ghost] *festas* are local. There are large ones and there are small ones, and every weekend

there is something. Portuguese are very religious, Catholic, and the Holy Ghost celebration is one that they brought with them from the Azores.” Even though Cristina Pinheiro no longer attends Mass regularly, she still noted that, “The Portuguese do go to church a lot. It’s a Sunday thing, it’s just being Catholic.” Whether in a large city or a small town, Portuguese churches are both the architectural and community foci as the local place of worship (da Silva 2008:75). Churches thus inspire Azoreans with a strong identification with their home villages, and Figure 10 below is a model of the church from Batista Vieira’s own village that was on display in his office.



Figure 10. Model of a Village Church from São Jorge, courtesy of SJSNL

Monsignor Ribeiro, who was the new parish's first pastor, was a cousin of Ann Pinheiro's mother, and Ann remembers being active in the church from a very young age: "My sister and I were 10 and 11 when we were confirmed, so we became Sunday school teachers. We taught the little ones, with the church and the nuns from Holy Family Convent." When asked if religion has been a big part of her life, she recalled that, "It was a big part of my life, yes, and it used to be the community life." Often the church would put on plays in which the Pinheiro family took part in different ways: acting, prompting, singing in the choir, and musical accompaniment. A picture of "The Last Supper" hangs on Ann Pinheiro's dining room wall, and Davide Vieira also observed that, "The Portuguese usually do have "The Last Supper" somewhere in their home, in the living room or kitchen."

As a public display of religious conviction, the graying Portuguese congregation at Five Wounds Church may not be enough to maintain it as an ethnic institution. As António Goulart reflected, "It is difficult because Five Wounds is not a territorial parish, but an emotional, ethnic one." However, as a display of cultural solidarity, the church is a powerful reminder of how nearly one hundred years ago a small group of Portuguese immigrants came to East San José as founders of the new parish. António Goulart reminisced, "It's just an emotional attachment that we have to that church, and the fact that it's just a marvelous piece of art." Cristina Pinheiro echoed this sentiment with, "So it's really part of our culture that church. We don't want that church to go away...It's an icon of our Portuguese community, and that church, we're very proud of it."

Despite its architectural splendor, Five Wounds Church has always been humbly situated, from its beginnings beside a dirt road, to its present environ near the busy intersection of East Santa Clara Street and Highway 101. Considering the challenges faced by Msgr. Ribeiro in raising money from the local community to build such an imposing structure, local historian António Goulart commented, “This community was mainly a farming and fruit orchard worker-type. There were no rich Portuguese here.” Even today, Batista Vieira perceived the congregation as similar in socio-economic status: “[It is] not a rich church, because it’s a poor church really. The people who go there are not rich.”

Portuguese Food If indeed the saying “you are what you eat” is true, then “food” is another important theme that emerges from the data about Portuguese culture. This is not just because all cultures can be said to exhibit dietary preferences, but because it appears closely related to two other dominant themes concerning the landscape and home-grown produce. Cristina Pinheiro from *Café do Canto* described the coffee drinking habits of many Portuguese: “And us being from Portugal, we’d drink coffee all the time, not lattes, espresso. And in the morning, middle of the morning, at lunch time, after dinner, it’s just an ongoing thing.” The following comments are offered as evidence of typical Portuguese dishes and delicacies:

- “A lot of sea food, a lot of codfish, I personally like a lot of marinated pork. Marinated pork loin is one of my favorites. Sea food is definitely number one.”
(Cristina Pinheiro)

- “Shrimp and fish, and even the beef done the Portuguese way with the fried egg on top, I mean, it’s traditional.” (Davide Vieira)
- And actually, the Portuguese eat limpets, and eat them live, because once they are dead they can be bad for you.” (Davide Vieira)
- Another remembered Portuguese collecting limpets at Morro Bay, “But so many of them would go to the beach and do it.” (Ann Pinheiro)
- “Pork in vinegar and wine and different spices, and so you let it soak over a week, sometimes two, three weeks, and you keep turning it.” [*Lombo de Porco Assado*] (Ann Pinheiro)
- “Salted pork, and we used to do that, cure pork and cut it thin. We’d store it in the old fashioned lard, and as we needed it, we’d go down to the basement, because it was always cold down there, and dig it out, even the *linguiça*.” [also linked to *Matança do Porco*, or “The Killing of the Pig”] (Ann Pinheiro)
- “We use a lot of Portuguese cheese. We try to keep it Portuguese based.” (Cristina Pinheiro)
- “They just don’t make enough cheese, because back East they [the Portuguese] eat a lot of cheese, too, and there is just not enough cheese [to meet consumer demand].” When asked where it could be purchased in Little Portugal Batista Vieira replied, “You can buy them in the little Portuguese store next door. You can buy them at the fish market across from the church [Five Wounds]. You can buy them at a lot of these stores.” (Batista Vieira)

- “And there were a lot of homemade soups, from kale and potatoes that were grown out there [in the yard].” (Ann Pinheiro)

Apart from shopping in the neighborhood at Portuguese stores, home-grown produce appears strongly correlated with the physical appearance of a Portuguese neighborhood. This suggests a cultural adaptation from a traditional way of life in the Azores, whereby families valued land, since they were largely sustained by what they were able to produce. When asked whether Azorean immigrants also grew their own food in East San José, Batista Vieira responded, “They raised potatoes, they raised some corn, some tomatoes, vegetables, even today...fruit trees, a lot of fruit.” When thinking about his own backyard, he offered the following insight: “Even in my backyard I’ve got peaches, I have grapes, I have oranges. You know, it’s an old thing for Portuguese people still to raise a lot of food in their backyards.” Davide Vieira, his son, added that Portuguese may grow vegetables in their front yards, particularly kale for making soup, with the rationale that, “Earth is used for food.” He identified one particular citrus tree (kumquat) as especially popular with Portuguese gardeners, and stated that his father had often supplied kumquat tree shoots to friends within the Portuguese community. Ann Pinheiro added loquat as a type of fruit tree also favored by Portuguese growers.

Growing one’s own food also included keeping animals, such as cows, goats, pigs, chickens, and squabs, which all of the informants recalled from their childhoods, whether they were living in the Azores or East San José. For example, Batista Vieira commented, “I liked chickens, because we used to have a lot of chickens in the old country. We raised a lot of eggs. At that time they ate a lot of eggs in the old country

because it was an easy food to raise. And I've had chickens since then, it's been 25 years." This might seem illogical behavior, considering the convenience of buying such produce at relatively low cost from local grocery stores. However, as Cristina Pinheiro explained, "We have no need to raise potatoes. We could go to the store and buy a bag for three bucks, but my dad likes to have his homegrown potatoes, tomatoes, he likes to tend." As further insight, she perceived this as a cultural trait that was undergoing change: "I think almost all the Portuguese homes—older folks—not the younger generation, all have a little vegetable garden in the back. Or in the front, sometimes in the front, too." Whether talking about animals or vegetables, it is noticeable how informants use the verb "to raise," almost like raising a family, that is nurtured through an investment of both personal time and effort.

Local Landscape The way in which horticulture identifies specific neighborhoods as ethnically Portuguese is helpful for understanding how the Azorean way of life has contributed to the physical appearance of East San José. Continuing the theme of land use, but this time from the perspective of landscape change, Davide Vieira described the purpose of a yard from a Portuguese viewpoint: "Portuguese, and immigrants, if they see a piece of dirt, you don't typically put flowers in it, because you can't eat flowers. So you usually plant something that you can eat. Whether it's a fruit tree, or whether it's vegetables." He added that this translated into a cultural antipathy towards maintaining lawns, even while prioritizing a well-kept yard that was nevertheless achieved in a Portuguese manner: "Across the street you will see that they have a lawn, but on the side of the house they have kale and a loquat tree. On the other corner you see

orange trees, and in the street tree strip you see orange trees. So, yeah, that's kind of how you tell, well-kept yards, and the potential for fruits and vegetables somewhere in that yard, either in the front, but certainly in the back.” He framed this behavior with the physical constraints of the Azorean islands to which these immigrant families were familiar. With its inherent tangible value, he also linked the inheritance value of land with its pragmatic value as a way of ensuring adequate food supplies for large families: “But land, you can touch it, you can feel it, you can dig a hole in it, and that's why I think Portuguese got into buying houses. They buy apartments, they buy land. They bought land in this country, because that's what you did in the old country. You've got cows, you've got to feed them somewhere.”

Species of plants that the Portuguese immigrants brought with them, either physically or through their skills as gardeners, illustrate their cultural presence on the local landscape. Ann Pinheiro, whose father purchased a house in the Five Wounds neighborhood around 1917, in which she was born and has since been a longtime resident, recalled her family planting a cutting from a palm tree that they brought with them as immigrants from the island of Faial. As a slow growing variety, it acts as “a witness tree” for the Portuguese neighborhood through its documentation in her personal photographs. Both her father and an uncle were gardeners at Santa Clara University for many years, but they also grew flowers at home that contributed to the family's involvement at Five Wounds Church and the IES: “And then a lot of flowers went to church, because here were the dahlias [indicating her yard].” She also described how her

family liked to arrange flowers for public display: “And my uncle Frank would do the decorations, the flowers, and then when I got older I did flowers with them.”

Batista Vieira described flowers as culturally significant for Portuguese households: “They grow flowers, a lot of flowers. Portuguese people like flowers.” For identifying a Portuguese neighborhood he added, “If you see a lot of flowers, it’s a Portuguese place.” Even though earlier quotes suggest that they might have had to compete for space with plants that were edible, flowers appear important for the cultural domain of ways to display Portuguese identity. Figure 11 below is an image taken from a Portuguese back yard that combines landscaping with religious motifs to convey Davide Vieira’s rather intriguing comment: “You have not seen Portuguese until you have seen their backyard.”

Hortensia is the national flower of the Azores, and informants described its visual impact on the Azorean landscape through its pragmatic use as a boundary marker for defining social space. Ann Pinheiro explained, “Well the hydrangeas grew wild. In fact, hydrangeas were used as fences, as property [dividers], and they were gorgeous.” Batista Vieira from Sao Jorge described how the traditional use of hortensia was adapted for urban environments: “In the old country we have miles and miles that way. I mean all the freeways over there, the main streets, they have them both sides. They’re the fences all through the pastures, where the cows are.” This was attributed to a shortage of wood on the islands, and the fact that hortensia was a native plant that grew into a tall, thick shrub. Batista Vieira also stated that he grew hortensia in his own backyard, and that, “They [the Portuguese] use a lot of it here, too.” Hortensia was observed as a popular

cultural motif in Portuguese homes, whether in paintings or crocheted gifts that traditionally became family heirlooms (see fig. 12).



Figure 11. Landscaping in a Portuguese Backyard, courtesy of SJSNL



Figure 12. Cultural Motifs in a Portuguese Home, courtesy of SJSNL

Like other immigrant groups, ethnic Portuguese became involved in local industries that dominated the economic landscape at different times during the history of East San José, and that contributed to the development of Silicon Valley. One such industry was to supply local canneries with fresh fruit, and I described earlier António Goulart's first job in the United States, picking apricots on a fruit farm, just like his father and brothers before him, and even his great grand uncle who originally came to the United States on a whaler. As artifacts that contextualize his story within the story of California that brought many different ethnic groups together in pursuit of a common economic goal, he described the following: "But I have two little souvenirs from that great grand uncle, a little broach that he engraved for his sister who came to join him in the early 1920s, and it's engraved with her initials. This broach depicts a pick and a shovel, and a gold dusting pan, with a little nugget of raw gold. The other one is a

medallion showing a miner dust-panning for gold.” When prospecting for gold turned out to be unsuccessful, the relative came to live in East San José, on South Cragmont Avenue, “Where he bought a little apricot farm...So my grand aunt also worked in the ten-acre apricot farm that they took care of, and in the summer they made their business by selling apricots and drying them.” Similarly, Ann Pinheiro recalled her family going to cut apricots where her uncle owned ten acres by McKee Road and Toyon Avenue.

An alternative industry that Portuguese, and especially Azorean, immigrants utilized for finding work when they first arrived in California was in the dairies. Another successful, local Portuguese entrepreneur, Batista Vieira began his story with, “We always wanted to come to America [he and his older brother from São Jorge]. Then I got here, and I milked cows for about four years [at the Nunes and Estrela Dairy].” Despite being only 15 years old, he overcame the challenge of finding his first job through family connections, since the owner of the dairy went to school with his grandfather before emigrating from the Azores. Ann Pinheiro also linked her family history to the traditional use of land by Portuguese families, who translated the value of cattle in the Azores into economic stability for newly arrived immigrant families. As a child, she recalled her family obtaining their milk from a relative’s ranch by 24th Street and McLaughlin Avenue, before the property was later split by the sale of some land for the construction of Highway 101. Many dairies existed along McKee Road, east of King Road, and their skill as dairymen enabled Azoreans to shape both the socio-cultural and physical landscape of East San José.

Cows held religious as well as secular value for traditional Azoreans, as demonstrated by their decoration for inclusion in the parade that was an integral part of the Holy Ghost *feira*. *Bodo de Leite* (the “Blessing of the Cows”) is another parade celebrated in some of the Azores islands, and that is also popular throughout many Portuguese communities established in California. The Holy Ghost *feiras* shaped the built environment of Portuguese communities, both in the Azores and East San José, since as Davide Vieira explained, “Most of the towns in the Azores have an *império*, which is like a little chapel to the Holy Ghost, the Holy Spirit.” In connection with Five Wounds neighborhood, he also observed, “[It became] the model for the Portuguese historical museum building, that original *império*, or chapel, that was in front of the IES Hall, in front of Five Wounds Church. In fact, the *império* was the predecessor of the church.” Yet he also commented that Five Wounds Church now appealed to a broader neighborhood audience: “The church is a major feature, and a welcome and a great feature to have in the neighborhood, from a lot of different perspectives.”

Nevertheless, the recognition of Little Portugal seems attributed to its fluorescence as a tightly-knit and geographically concentrated collection of Portuguese merchants, who met the demand for goods and services that were preferred by local Azoreans. When asked about the identity of Little Portugal, Cristina Pinheiro described the neighborhood retrospectively: “A lot of Portuguese immigrants settled here in this area. And it used to be called Little Portugal. Almost every business was Portuguese.”

António Goulart who emigrated less than two decades earlier, and who later founded the Portuguese Chamber of Commerce, also perceived the Portuguese

neighborhood as in decline, “I emigrated in 1974, and that was at the height of the second wave of immigration from the Azores to the United States. So there was a very energetic community in the Eastside of San José, I mean around Five Wounds Church. From 101 up to 33rd Street in 1979 there were 36 Portuguese-owned businesses. It was called Little Portugal at the time and still remains, I think it's still called that, but very few businesses remain from that time.” Batista Vieira recalled the establishment of a key store that for more than sixty years has catered to Portuguese clients: “Over the years though, this was known as Little Portugal because there were Portuguese stores. I mean it started with the grocery store which is still here, although now it’s more of a little restaurant [Bacalhau Grill & Trade Rite Market].” Yet the remaining Portuguese merchants and residents of Five Wounds are connected in more subtle ways, since many of the retail leases and neighborhood apartments are still owned by Portuguese. By shopping in the local neighborhood, and thereby supporting Portuguese commerce, Davide Vieira observed, “We are tied in a lot of different ways to the local businesses and services.” Cristina Pinheiro concluded that, “It’s just a very close community.”

Community and Sense of Place Linked to the themes of identity, language, and landscape, one of the ways that Portuguese families in Five Wounds have historically connected with each other is through their church. Not only is it a place where they can reinforce group solidarity through worshipping in Portuguese, but it is also an opportunity for community recognition by celebrating family sacraments, making public donations, and networking with friends and acquaintances. Although the IES Hall is a secular institution, it is nevertheless rooted in a medieval folk religious tradition based on

belief in the Holy Spirit that has been popular in the Azores since the late 15th century. As a tradition brought over from the Azores, it is also popular in Portuguese communities who are geographically clustered on the east and west coasts of the United States, so that Davide Vieira observed, “And most towns where you have a Portuguese presence you’ll have a Holy Ghost celebration.” Other Portuguese festivals further associate their ethnic identity with physical presence, including: Our Lady of Fatima, St. Anthony, and to honor the patron saints of the numerous marching bands.

The economic landscape of the Portuguese in East San José developed around the parish of Five Wounds. It is inextricably linked with the theme of immigration by connecting the Azores with East San José, and individual lives with global socio-economic processes. While in the early 20th century Portuguese families clustered in the north and east bays of California, as agriculturalists associated with the whaling industry, a second immigration wave that was the result of relaxed immigration quotas in the 1960s invigorated existing communities. As a founding member of the Portuguese Chamber of Commerce, António Goulart noted, “There were a lot of services geared for their fellow immigrants, who were arriving almost constantly. So that developed into a community cultural center, that whole area there [Little Portugal].” This included real estate businesses, travel agencies, other services, and places to find Portuguese products and share community news (see fig 13).



Figure 13. Café do Canto in Little Portugal, East San José, courtesy of SJSNL

Café do Canto is an example of how these small businesses reinforce the Portuguese community plus create networks with those living outside of it, as evidenced by Cristina Pinheiro’s following quotes:

- “They don’t all live around here, but they just all come to our coffee shop because it’s the only Portuguese coffee shop in the area.”
- “We welcome anybody, but the majority is Portuguese. They’ve been coming here for years.”
- “Everywhere I go in the Portuguese community, they know me. Even if I might not know their name or they might not know mine, we recognize each other either

from going to Portuguese gatherings, or church, or Portuguese restaurants, or just being in the neighborhood.”

Soccer is a popular topic of conversation not only at the coffee shop, but also at the Portuguese Athletic Club of San Jose, established in 1962 by soccer fans during the second wave of Azorean immigration. As a former president of the club, António Goulart explained, “They had a lot of youngsters, and they arrived here, and they didn’t know how to play baseball or football, or any other American sports, but they knew how to play soccer.” With its own clubhouse, António Goulart further stated that it became more of a cultural center associated with community prestige. With reference to soccer and the Portuguese community, Cristina Pinheiro commented, “It’s a big thing in our culture, the Portuguese community. If there’s a soccer game, this place is packed [*Café do Canto*].” Since *Dia de Portugal* 2012 happened to coincide with a crucial match between Germany and Portugal during the semi-final of the UEFA, there was a live television broadcast during the festival that was likewise packed with soccer fans of all ages (see fig. 14).



Figure 14. Portuguese Soccer Fans, Dia de Portugal 2012

Soccer news is broadcast every day on the local Portuguese radio station, the latter being another node in the Portuguese speaking network which members tune into for community news, including: *festas*, obituaries, personal advertisements, and employment opportunities. As a reciprocal act for their role as neighborhood institutions that offer education and social support, community organizations are provided with free advertising. Yet the local radio station broadcasts far beyond Five Wounds, since its transmitter is able to reach Portuguese speakers in the entire Bay Area. So as to keep its listeners up-to-date with events on the Portuguese mainland, the news is broadcast every hour, and there are regular programs that broadcast to and from the Azores. When

Portuguese newspapers, such as *Tribuna Portuguesa*, are also taken into account, the media is another example of how the Portuguese is a dynamic ethnic community (see fig. 15). The following quotes are offered as evidence of social networking as a conscious strategy to promote group solidarity:

- “So it’s a web of relationships.” (Batista Vieira)
- “Usually the newspaper, or word of mouth, or the Portuguese radio station.” [for finding out about Portuguese events] (Cristina Pinheiro)
- “Because the radio programs and the Portuguese newspapers were the glue that held this whole community together, especially the independent producers.”
(António Goulart)



Figure 15. Portuguese Newspapers for Sale, Dia de Portugal 2012

Product Proposal

As a case study, the purpose of this project is to make Portuguese heritage more visible to others so that their history is recognized for its contributions toward the economic development of San José and its cultural diversity. The problem addressed is twofold: how to interpret ethnic history within national patrimony, and how to present it to a broader audience that integrates descendant and local communities. Underlying this problem in East San José is a common trend in successive waves of immigrants to seek existing ethnic neighborhoods until prosperity provides more choice. Thus, overlapping groups in time and space create a dynamic multi-ethnic neighborhood in which to build community heritage.

Five Wounds Church remains a cultural anchor for many local Portuguese Americans, partly because of its architectural splendor that edifies the landscape, but also as a reminder of how a collaborative effort can build community through recognition of its resources. Even as a national church it became a local endeavor, dependent on donations and coalescing Azorean families scattered throughout the South Bay. Yet it was an opportunity to build a familiar community focus, as a local place of worship reminded immigrants of their strong identification with their home villages.

Ultimately, Five Wounds Church is a spiritual anchor for the Catholic faith—the world’s largest Christian church that makes it a common cultural denominator—and a reminder that former mission churches also promoted ethnic enclaves through their legacy of Catholicism. Likewise, many immigrant groups share a rural past, so that conceptually I could repeat my survey, this time looking for informal displays of a

Mexican or Vietnamese presence in East San José, again based on their housing patterns and use of personal landscapes. It is intriguing to speculate whether or not there would be more similarity than differences between the groups, concerning their subjective choices about what cultural features they considered important enough to keep. Yet evidence that immigrant landscapes do transmit cultural messages makes anthropology a pertinent lens for studying the overlap between cultural diversity and common human experience.

In a pluralistic society, cultural stewards are challenged by how to synthesize specific ethnic histories into a holistic narrative for an increasingly diverse audience without losing emic meaning. However, based on this project, I propose an exhibit at the East San José Carnegie Branch Library that I hope will provoke a positive discourse amongst its visitors: how is Portuguese identity portrayed locally, and how do its cultural values intersect with those of other community members?

Rather than competing with the Portuguese Historical Museum, whose motto is, “The Living Memory of a Community,” I hope to engage visitors at the public library in an impromptu perusal of some local history that will spark their curiosity. Although this implies that people who read books will also visit museums, it is public outreach to a diverse audience who may recognize more of themselves in a local narrative. People visit libraries for many sources of information, in multiple formats, from different socio-cultural backgrounds, and of all ages, because they are perceived as community organizations accessible to all. While I do not mean to suggest that heritage museums are not, they are an extra cognitive step from everyday routines that require a separate visit.

Goals of the Exhibit

- To tell a story through multiple voices
- To portray Portuguese culture as dynamic by connecting past events with contemporary life
- To create a space where the spokespeople set the agenda
- To engage visitors in a discourse about cultural meaning
- To stress human agency in the production of material culture
- To be people-centric by engaging visitors in the lived experiences of narrators
- To spark curiosity through a small, temporary exhibit

Organization of the Exhibit

- Overarching theme of Portuguese identity
- A cognitive path through the exhibit that links the components of my thematic analysis: language, religion, food, local landscape, community and sense of place
- Temporal flow through a single time frame that does not reify the past

Collaborative Design

- Interdisciplinary team to oversee the nuts and bolts of putting it together: design, curation, and education
- Ongoing review and testing by local cultural experts
- Community outreach to supplement material with images from private collections
- Collaboration with the Portuguese Historical Museum for exchanging material

Appearance

- Installation canvas suspended from an aluminum frame outlines the exhibit's path
- Baseline information about Portuguese immigration
- Subtext panels
- Text written in the first person with excerpts from interviews
- Embedded photographic images
- Captions for images that evoke a taste of Portuguese life
- Imagining informants stories through key phrases pasted onto a final panel

Conclusion

In writing this project, I hope to tell a poly vocal story about the Portuguese in East San José that others will want to hear. As a project concerned with the portrayal of more inclusive heritage, this presents a paradox of how to find common ground in a historical narrative by avoiding polar categories of “them” and “us,” yet create space for an emic voice on Portuguese identity that is singularly different. This hints at a human tendency to interpret the world through binary opposites, a social activity of compare and contrast through which an individual finds a comfortable niche. However, enduring stories resonate with a broader audience because perspectives of insider and outsider are blurred, where the gray interstices between cultures represent a contested dynamic between novel and universal, or at least an opportunity to “walk a mile in another person’s shoes.” In this respect, the mixed-method approach of data collection that began as a form of triangulation was most revealing for understanding the term “invisible minority,” because their signature was weak in both public archives and academic journals, but strong on the local landscape when I knew what to look for.

If heritage is defined as material culture greater than 50 years old, then I found little to support a Portuguese historic presence in East San José on visual inspection. While the Five Wounds Portuguese National Church is an imposing feature on both the local landscape and social memory, so that it appears idiosyncratic unless associated with other historic buildings, it should not be assumed that such a symbol of cultural permanence corresponds with an ethnic parish. Its goal was to coalesce the displaced flock of a Portuguese speaking Catholic community, and while this encouraged

Portuguese heads of families to buy property around the church, its founding fathers came from East San José plus surrounding areas. As recent immigrants who neither spoke nor read English, I suggest their petition to build Five Wounds Church was ostensibly for worship in Portuguese, but tacitly to re-create a familiar built environment with the church as the community's architectural focus, and thus inspire strong identification with their individual home villages. Then as now, the community was fluid through dispersed household membership, but more importantly for an immigrant group negotiating the terms of its ethnicity, Five Wounds Church aggregated the cultural diversity of its mainly Azorean congregation into a cohesive Portuguese cultural identity for others to see.

This treatment of landscape as artifact demonstrates cultural agency by a group of people who wanted to be noticed, certainly not invisible, on an emerging ethnic landscape. It also demonstrates intra-cultural diversity within the Portuguese speaking population of East San José, because on a global scale this includes Portuguese speakers in South America, Africa and Asia, but on a local level the focus is on individual Azorean islands. Throughout this project I have tended to use the terms Portuguese and Azorean interchangeably, but there was a noticeable shift in the census records when the homeland of Portuguese immigrants no longer differentiated between mainland culture, or literally a more insular way of life in the Azores.

This shift in the portrayal of identity seems more for the convenience of an etic perspective on national boundaries, matching an over-simplification of culture onto geopolitically controlled space. However, I observed ongoing self-identification with

specifically Azorean culture, and family ties to one of nine islands, with the Luso-American community conceptually a tenth island on which the Azorean cultural identity continues to evolve. Here I do not mean to imply that the Portuguese diaspora does not maintain strong ties to its cultural roots, rather that subsequent chapters in an ongoing history of immigration anchor their story to a new locale, most emphatically stated in East San José by the presence of the Five Wounds Portuguese National Church.

As a case study researching how Portuguese heritage influenced neighborhood development, it challenged the definition of a descendant community in two main ways. First, I recognized distinct waves of Portuguese immigrants, who influenced the neighborhood in different ways and at different times, but nevertheless who claimed continuity with the past. This explained why very few descendants remained in the neighborhood from early 19th century immigration, yet the florescence of Little Portugal in the mid-1960s, when the Portuguese speaking community was revitalized by an influx of recent immigrants. Azoreans were accustomed to immigration that changed over time, according to different economic circumstances of both their homeland and destination countries. Thus existing Portuguese neighborhoods in America, which were disappearing after the restrictive Immigration Act of 1924, became a social anchor for later arrivals to begin their adaptation to life in a new country. Second, I defined descendant communities to include ethnic lineage plus those who inherited the past by what others left behind. As an inclusive perspective on community heritage, this portrayed culture as both dynamic and synthetic, whereby new Portuguese American identities emerged within mainstream society alongside those of multiple ethnic groups.

APPENDIX 1

Biographies of Key Informants

António Goulart

Tony was born in the Azores on the island of Pico. The family name of Goulart has Flemish roots, and dates back to Medieval times when Portugal was invaded by France. Since most Portuguese Americans in California originally came from the Azores, Tony can speak for many about how the rugged environment on these isolated islands impacted family and community life. Although his great grand uncle came to the United States during the Gold Rush, Tony did not emigrate until 1974, when he joined the rest of his immediate family who had settled in San José a few years earlier. As a young man who had spent his teens studying in the seminary to become a priest, Tony was presented with a very different world and new life choices.

Quickly mastering English, Tony became a computer programmer and, like many of the new Portuguese residents, picked apricots in the orchards of what was to become Silicon Valley, and did odd jobs to supplement his income. Wondering how to match his years of education with the opportunities available, Tony made what turned out to be a very smart decision, and invested his entrepreneurial spirit in setting up a drywall company with one of his brothers in 1980. The business became so successful that Tony returned to school, graduating from the University of San Francisco in 1996 with a Master's degree in Human Resources and Organizational Development.

Yet Tony has always found time to be a very involved member of the Portuguese community, from being a founder member and past President of the Portuguese Chamber of Commerce, to forming an editing company that specializes in books on Portuguese heritage. By organizing bilingual conferences on Portuguese culture that bring together

participants from all over the world, plus presenting on book tours, he is both a local historian and a spokesperson abroad. For Tony a vacation is being busy with something else or taking on new roles, and in his own words what he values most is the opportunity to “engage with people” by being useful. That the stories of the immigration experiences and character of the Azorean people are being preserved for future generations is something far more than that, Tony is too humbly inclined to admit. However, he has been acknowledged by many community organizations for his contributions, including UPEC (Portuguese Union of the State of California), the Council Portuguese Award, and Luso-America, with the further distinction of being awarded a medal of honor and commendation of merit by the President of Portugal.

Ann Fialho Pinheiro

Like both her brother and sister, Ann was born at home in Five Wounds, San José in the same house that she lives in today. She attended Hawthorne School when Selma Olinder was its principal, moving on to St. Mary's School and Notre Dame High, and then finishing her education at Heald's Business College. Ann's first job was as a secretary and bookkeeper at Wholesale Plumbing House on Notre Dame Avenue, where she enjoyed its busy atmosphere and meeting the customers so much that she stayed on for 16 years. Besides working at several other local businesses for many more years, Ann has also enjoyed travelling around Europe, including visiting the Azores from where her family originally came.

Five Wounds Church has always been a big part of family life since its founder, Monsignor Ribeiro, was a cousin of Ann's mother, so at a young age both Ann and her sister, Mary, became Sunday school teachers. Often the church would put on plays in which the Pinheiro family took part in many ways: acting, prompting, singing in the choir, and musical accompaniment. Ann also met her husband through church, and she now has an extended family of 72 members, including great nephews and nieces, which make holiday celebrations quite an event that Ann looks forward to planning. She has been an active volunteer in the Portuguese community for many years, fundraising and helping to establish Five Wounds School, as well as serving on the executive board of POSSO.

Having lived all her life in this neighborhood, Ann has seen many changes, yet its enduring feature is its mixture of ethnicity. While many of the buildings and businesses

have changed, her earliest memories root her in its history. Then as now Ann attends Mass at Five Wounds Church to speak Portuguese, and even though the streetcars on the railroad tracks where she used to cross have gone, the neighborhood continues to reflect the lives of people from the Azores.

Cristina Pinheiro

Cristina was born in Turlock, California, but moved to East San José with her family at an early age, becoming a regular at both Five Wounds Church and the Portuguese coffee shop that she now owns. Her parents emigrated from the Azores, although from different islands, brought together in a roundabout way by the post Capelinhos exodus and a Portuguese dance hall. While in Turlock Cristina's father worked for a dairy, but by the 1970s the dairies no longer dominated the economic landscape of East San José, so that he found it hard to settle, and the family moved back to the Azores. From 11 years old Cristina attended school on Faial, learned to milk cows by hand on the family farm, and lived there for eight years until she returned to East San José as a newlywed, where little appeared to have changed.

Both her experience as a tour guide on the islands and being bilingual enabled Cristina to quickly find a job with a Portuguese travel agency, an enterprise that catered towards local immigrants who typically returned to the Azores for a month or two in the summer. However, her early childhood memories of the Portuguese coffee shop, plus the Portuguese propensity towards drinking espresso, meant that Cristina and her husband soon got to know the owner well, and in 2000 they bought the business to supplement Cristina's work as a travel agent. Decorated with pictures of the Azores and offering authentic fare, *Café do Canto* continues to attract a Portuguese clientele from a wide area, not least for its Old world charm as a place for locals to "hang out and talk Portuguese...and watch soccer."

Batista Sequeira Vieira

Batista was born in the Azores on the island of São Jorge in the late 1930s. He went to school locally, and in his spare time worked at his grandfather's grocery store and learned how to milk cows. When only fifteen and a half Batista, along with his older brother, fulfilled their grandfather's dream by emigrating to the United States, and Batista proudly recalls his first job milking cows at the Nunes and Estrela dairy on Trimble Road. A few years later Batista went into business as a painting contractor, which he still runs after 47 years. He also became interested in the radio station business, and 36 years later owns five radio stations, where Spanish One is top of its market. Although Batista describes himself as semi-retired, he continues to maintain his interest in property, which includes many of the remodeled buildings locally. Yet Batista is as much a community benefactor as successful entrepreneur. His local Portuguese radio station KSQQ reaches the entire Bay Area, broadcasting services from Five Wounds Church and providing free outreach for all community organizations with the goal of helping people. The radio station is also a way for Azoreans to keep up to date with news from mainland Portugal, plus provides programs that connect people with the islands of São Jorge and Terceira. Batista is an active community volunteer and founder of the Portuguese Band of San José.

When Batista came to the United States he remembers the challenges of becoming established without family nearby. He attributes his achievements and happiness to a close family and very supportive spouse, resulting in the Vieira family becoming deeply involved in the Portuguese community. He and his wife maintain strong ties with São

Jorge and Terceira by enjoying frequent visits back to the islands and donating to local community projects in the Azores. Batista has been honored by the State of California, President Reagan, and the President of Portugal, receiving the highest honor as a Portuguese emigrant. As a longtime local resident of the Five Wounds area, Batista feels grounded in its future as much as its past development, and speaks of San José as “a good town, it’s a town for the future.”

Davide Vieira

Davide is the eldest son of Batista Vieira, who grew up in his parents' house across the street from where he currently lives in the Five Wounds area. He attended Five Wounds Catholic School, Bellarmine College Preparatory in San José, and Santa Clara University, all leading to a long and successful career with IBM as a computer programmer. However, Davide neatly summed up his extensive community involvement with both the local Portuguese and the community at large by commenting: "Technically I work for a tech company, but my hobby is everything else."

A computer expert, Davide volunteers his time as webmaster for POSSO, the Portuguese Band of San José, and the Portuguese radio network owned by his father. His work on the production side for the latter is essential to its smooth broadcasting of Portuguese 24/7 locally. Davide was a founding board member of the Portuguese Chamber of Commerce plus the Portuguese Historical Museum, and was a former president of POSSO. Within the broader community of Five Wounds Brookwood Terrace, Davide is highly active in the Neighborhood Action Council and the collaborative efforts of CommUniverCity.

APPENDIX 2

Inventory of Buildings Reflecting Portuguese Economic and Social Life



Figure 16. Five Wounds Portuguese National Church

Address: 1375 East Santa Clara Street, San Jose, CA 95116 (established in 1914 it reflects both baroque style and the ambitious dream of Msgr. Ribeiro to build a Portuguese speaking community in the South Bay).



Figure 17. Preschool Daycare Dom Dinis

Address: 1395 East Santa Clara Street, San Jose, CA 95116 (This picture is taken from behind the current premises to show the entrance to Five Wounds Catholic School that was the site's former occupant. The latter closed in 2010 after 49 years of serving the Portuguese speaking community).



Figure 18. IES Hall (also meeting venue for the Portuguese Athletic Club

Address: 1401 East Santa Clara Street, San Jose, CA 5116 (rebuilt after the original structure was destroyed by fire in 1992).



Figure 19. Centro Leonino Da California

Address: 1304 East Julian Street, San Jose, CA 95116 (Portuguese recreational and social club).



Figure 20. Aliança Jorgense

Address: 198 North 27th Street, San Jose CA 95116 (a separate Holy Ghost society from the IES founded by immigrants from São Jorge).



Figure 21. Portuguese Band of San José

Address: 100 North 27th Street, San Jose, CA 95116 (the oldest existing Portuguese marching band in the state of California).



Figure 22. POSSO (Portuguese Organization for Social Services and Opportunities)

Address: 1115 East Santa Clara Street, San Jose, CA 95116 (a non-profit charity that for 37 years has promoted community well-being and civic involvement).



Figure 23. Sociedade Filarmonica União Popular

Address: 1220 East Santa Clara Street, San Jose CA 95116 (one of many Portuguese marching bands).



Figure 24. Furtado Imports

Address: 1412 East Santa Clara Street, San Jose CA 95116 (Furtado's sells gifts, jewelry, and religious artifacts, including statues both large and small, but also CD's, DVD's, and videos—a reminder that in 1962 Antonio da Rosa Furtado began International Pictures of San Jose as a distributor for Portuguese films and music. An immigrant from Faial, in 1957 Furtado produced a book and film about the Capelinhos volcanic eruption that helped lobby Congress for disaster relief. Located opposite Five Wounds Church, his store has been a mainstay of the Portuguese community by supplying its societies with emblems, as well as an array of gifts to commemorate religious sacraments (Rogers 2007:101).



Figure 25. L & F Fish Market

Address: 1448 East Santa Clara Street, San Jose CA 95116 (Old world Portuguese fish market).



Figure 26. Sousa's Restaurant

Address: 1614 Alum Rock Avenue, San Jose, CA 95116 (Run by owner and chef, Leonel Sousa and his wife, Aira, for the past 14 years, it offers an authentic Portuguese menu accompanied by gracious décor. Note the *azulejaria* decorating its façade).



Figure 27. Popular Bakery

Address: 1636 Alum Rock Avenue, San Jose, CA 95116 (This mainland Portuguese bakery offers far more than just sweet bread, but again note the Portuguese tiles decorating its façade).



Figure 28. KSQQ The Portuguese Radio Network, courtesy of SJSNL

Address: 1629-C Alum Rock Avenue, San Jose CA 95116 (A local radio station that reaches Portuguese speakers across the Bay Area, KSQQ is one of five owned by Batista Vieira, who began in the radio station business 36 years ago).



Figure 29. Café do Canto, courtesy of SJSNL

Address: 7 North 33rd Street, San Jose, CA 95116 (a coffee shop offering Old world charm, Portuguese fare, and soccer news).



Figure 30. Bacalhau Grill & Trade Rite Market

Address: 1555 Alum Rock Avenue, San Jose, CA 95116 (A grocery store founded in 1945 by Johnny Rosa that offers traditional Portuguese food—its name refers to dried and salted codfish).

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