

A PROFILE OF THE AZOREAN

in Issues in Bilingual Education
Cambridge, Mass: National Assessment
Dissemination Center, 1980

INTRODUCTION

It is both presumptuous and ludicrous to analyze a creature that does not, in fact, exist. This paradox strikes hard at the present task, since there is truthfully no such thing as «The Azorean», any more than there is some quintessential «American».

Despite a theoretical willingness to acknowledge the truth of this statement, our society nevertheless relies heavily on stereotypes and clichés about social groups. And here I again face the task of portraying a group to which I belong and about which I can say progressively less the more I learn about it. For indeed, generalizations about human cultures steadily lose both objectivity and accuracy as they increasingly attempt to be definitive, detailed statements.

In addition to the usual difficulties inherent in the social sciences, (namely those arisen from the fact that the subjects doing the observing are inevitably part of the objects being observed), this paper's objectivity is perhaps further limited, at least potentially, by the fact that this author is himself an Azorean.

On the other hand, in areas of this country where Azorean immigrants are concentrated, there exists a real need for a greater degree of understanding of certain aspects of Azorean life and culture. That need both justifies and begs for some rough characterization of the Azorean people. Because hundreds of schoolteachers in this country work on a daily basis with Azorean immigrant children, and further, because many of these teachers have expressed having great difficulty in understanding those children's habits, values, and beliefs, it is fully appropriate to attempt a broad sketch of the Azorean. In order to minimize the limitations inherent in such a generalized treatment, the discussion will consider the various major sub-groups of Azoreans separately. (1)

The following descriptions of the Azoreans and their character will draw heavily on the observations of Vitorino Nemésio (2), Arruda Furtado (3) and

Luís Ribeiro, (4) whose intuitions and perspicacity concerning the Azores and her people far surpass that of most writers on the subject. The fact that all three are Azoreans may lend support to current criticisms of the application of natural sciences methodologies to the social sciences. (5)

This analysis will also refer to the work of Raúl Brandão, (6) and Joseph and Henry Bullar, (7) three outsiders whose accounts of the islands are outstanding among the extensive travel literature about the Azores.

The present paper is divided into two main parts: The first is a largely descriptive attempt to characterize the Azoreans. This will be followed by attempts to explain or better yet, to understand, *why* the Azoreans are what they are. (8) The reader is cautioned throughout to bear in mind the inevitable limitations, briefly mentioned above, of an enterprise of this nature.

I – CHARACTERIZATION OF THE AZOREAN TYPES

According to Vitorino Nemésio, there are three major and distinct character types in the Azores. The first is the *Micaelense* (from the island of São Miguel), (9) and the other two belong to the *ilhas de baixo*. (10) These latter groups are the *Terceirense* (from Terceira), and the *Picaroto* (from Pico). Each of these is best considered as an ideal type, since in actuality none is entirely homogeneous. In particular, as noted by Nemésio, the latter two groups intermingle «to a point of much confusion.» (11)

The *terceirense* ethnologist Luís Ribeiro, in his insightful *Subsídios para um Ensaio sobre a Açorianidade*, agrees with Nemésio's groupings. Ribeiro succinctly characterizes the three types:

«the *Micaelense* is the hardest worker of the archipelago and is also the most different from the mainlander – rough, industrious, sturdy, and tenacious; while the Azorean from the Central and Western Islands is affable, somewhat cunning, fond of festivities, indolent; and finally, the *Picaroto*, dividing his time between land and sea, is vigorous, wholesome, sometimes heroic, and always takes life seriously.» (12)

Ribeiro to some extent summarizes the analyses of Nemésio, Furtado, and others before him. The following is Nemésio's description of the first type, the *Micaelense*:

One might conceivably describe the «typical» Azorean as having an affinity for hard work, and possessing an outer gentleness which conceals a rough core. In actual fact, however, this one prototypical Azorean does not exist. There are, rather, two or three predominant types among the islanders, each distinct from the others.

The *Micaelense* (with the *Mariense*, from Santa Maria, as a related subgroup) is unique in several respects. Of all the islanders, he is without doubt the most different from the continental Portuguese. His entire being, from his speech to his rough features, is pervaded by an extreme insularity, an insularity so strong that it sets him rigidly apart from other men.

Perhaps he was shortchanged during Nature's parceling out of life's goods, and perhaps those goods were showered preferentially on the other islanders; for whatever reason, it is the *Micaelense* that raises the hoe highest in the digging, that carves the deepest furrow in the land, and that sows the waiting soil most vigorously.

Furthermore, the *Micaelenses* have traditionally been most successful in business matters. They industrialized their agriculture remarkably well, making a smooth transition from routine production of bread, wine and vegetables to export crops such as pineapple, tea and sugarbeets. Not content with the role of mere producer, however, the *Micaelense* soon became heavily involved in transportation and communications between the islands and the mainland eventually monopolizing both arenas. Thus, *Micaelense* pineapples were shipped in large numbers, by *Micaelenses*, to the ports of England and Germany.

A stranger to Ponta Delgada gets the impression that he is visiting a convent of merchants. The streets are all narrow, and the houses are monotone in color, with low, dark roofs. Between the houses lie neatly partitioned, carefully fenced-in gardens. The people seem very shy, and the men all speak with an irritating resonance. They have an unusual aptitude for all kinds of hard work, and

are remarkably resistant to the hardships heaped constantly upon them. In the end, the *Micaelenses* somehow manage to remove or overcome those hardships. (13)

Arruda Furtado's characterization of the *Micaelense* is often harshly worded, yet incisive. Being himself a *Micaelense*, Furtado perhaps felt that he could use such language without running the risk of *bairrismo* (regional bias and pride). On the other hand, it may simply be that Furtado's style is that of a surgeon turned social scientist (or vice versa), whereas Nemésio's is that of a creative writer and, above all, of a poet.

According to Furtado,

The *Micaelenses* are much more easily characterized than the other Azoreans. They are robust, slow yet persistent in their work, and active in the sowing and harvesting of crops. They stick with the routines of their work, sometimes with such precision that they seem almost obsessive. They have successfully adapted their farming methods to the peculiarities of the island soil, and they till their land with extreme care. In all of São Miguel, not one parcel of land lies wasted. (14)

Furtado then elaborates on what he considers to be the key characteristic differentiating the *Micaelense* from the other Azoreans:

In identifying the general trait which most accurately distinguishes people of São Miguel from the rest of the Azorean people, (and noting that the *Micaelenses* quickly reveal their strong retention of very intense feelings), we would single out the strong showing of physical force, and a rough frankness in manners . . . (15)

Furtado sees the behavior of the *Micaelense* as thoroughly pervaded by this male roughness, which has thereby made him «an essentially prosaic people».

As Furtado points out,

In jokes between men and women, in the recounting of old loves, in satire — in short, in everything, our peasants show a roughness of manners, a great rudeness of feeling. It is worth stressing this point, not because we would expect peasants to show a politeness that rarely exists in the upper classes, but because this rudeness distinguishes them at least from all other islanders, if not from continental Portuguese of the same social class. It stands in sharp contrast to the rest of the Azoreans, whose speech is, in the words of Teófilo de Braga, « *quase contabile* ». That speech seems to us to be ridiculous and artificial, but it is actually consistent with a truly different way of being, which lends itself thoroughly to that soft melody of speech and delicacy of manners . . . Our peasants, nonetheless, are persistent in a way that makes them stubborn. Furthermore, they generally possess great courage and energy . . . (16)

Along the same lines, Furtado continues:

The poetry of our people reveals a complete absence of romantic love . . . Of all Azorean literature, the popular poetry of S. Miguel is least elaborate and least varied . . . (17)

This matter of the *Micaelense's* artistic sensibility and creativity has been controversial. Furtado seems to be both accurate and fair when he writes:

«The *Cantar ao desafio* (18) is a favorite diversion . . . It is the only activity that reveals some constructive imagination; improvisations are rapid and off the cuff, sometimes proud and almost always extremely satirical. The *viola* (small Portuguese guitar) is the only instrument of the people of São Miguel. Whatever lack of natural inclination towards music may seem to exist, it is a fact that a strong musical affinity quickly blossoms under the right conditions . . . The number of musical groups on the is-

land is remarkable, the courage with which peasants lay down their hoe for their instrument after a full day of work is truly admirable . . .

In addition to their excellent ear for music, our poetry is marked by an extraordinary power of description. The poetry of our people swiftly and skillfully puts our every intimate experience into verse, yet without imaginative imagery or metaphors. This poetry is a purely descriptive art form . . . (19)

While Furtado lays special stress on the lack of creativity, he recognizes some general good taste within the ecological environment:

Our carpenters can build a piece of furniture well when given an accurate model to work from . . . The architecture of the public buildings testifies to the absolute lack of taste among the former ruling classes . . . This is not at all the case with our gardens, whose opulent growth and precisely arranged flowers are admired by the most sophisticated foreigners . . .

People throughout the island have a passionate love of gardening and of working amidst the strong fragrance of their favorite plants, among the lively colors and perfume of the flowers. (20)

The Bullar's diary also includes several perceptive insights concerning the *Micaelense*:

These people are of great constitutional sensibility . . . Their virtues and vices depend considerably on this constitutional sensibility . . . They are eminently good-tempered, willing to oblige, and fearful to offend; merry, inquisitive, and excitable, having the simple tastes, capabilities of being pleased with little things, orderly manners, and strong attachments to the places in which they are born, which belong to a state of society fast passing away.

The poor are industrious when they can procure employment, and willing to work hard for a very trifling remuneration. Their laziness is more apparent than real; for when unemployed they spend all their idle time out of doors in the sun. They make good boatmen, fishermen, and mechanics excelling particularly in those arts which require imitation rather than invention. (21)

Here the Bullars seem to agree with Furtado's assessment of Azorean creativity. To this day, Furtado is still chastised for his opinion in this regard.(22) However, his critics do not provide any counter-evidence. They merely insist on the «great sensibility» of the Azorean and thereby confuse two distinct qualities. Although there is some relation between sensibility and creativity, they obviously are not synonymous.

Although ostensibly referring to both sexes, these characteristics of the Azorean tend to apply largely to the behavior of the male. Aware of this limitation, Furtado has taken care to include some specific observations about the women of São Miguel:

The married woman is active and earnest in her work . . . Clothes are always clean and perfumed . . . the floor is always swept . . . She works far more diligently than the island husbands. (23)

Based solely on his own experience and intuition, and thus lacking any hard empirical evidence, Furtado claims that the women «often seem more intelligent (than the men), and are at least more frank and uninhibited.»(24) Furtado goes on to generalize that they are tasteless and apathetic in their expressions. (25)

We should now move on to the other major Azorean sub-groups. Here again, Vitorino Nemésio's observations are useful:

The other two types of Azorean come from the *ilhas de baixo* (the seven Western islands). Both types frequently intermingle to a point of much confusion. The first, the *Terceirense*, includes not only the inhabitants of Terceira

but those of Graciosa as well. The second, in many respects the cream of the islanders, is the native of Pico.

Whereas the *Micaelense* is marked by a certain roughness, the *terceirense* is noted for his almost suave politeness, some cunning, and most notably, a kind of chivalry. That chivalry is both testimony and legacy to a half century's occupation of Terceira by the Castillians. (26) The *Terceirense* is the most convivial and party-going of the islanders, putting by far the most energy into celebrating the yearly feasts and festivals. Most of his time is devoted to agriculture and animal husbandry. His work in the fields and pastures is so intimately connected with his favorite diversions, that the work itself is almost a kind of celebration. This is so in part because the bull provides one of his chief pleasures. Each year, during the season of the feasts of the island's twenty-seven patron saints, work is continued only until midday. At noon, all the workers take off. The roads quickly fill with crowds, bulls are let loose, and bullfights spring up in various locations . . . But the *Terceirense's* most typical feasts are those of the Holy Ghost. These have truly become a social institution. They are celebrated in each town with tremendous energy and dedication, very much as home town events.

The man of Pico (also called the *Picoense*, or, most expressively, the *Picaroto*) has quite a different character and ethic. I referred to him above as the cream of the islanders. He surpasses all other Azoreans in the seriousness of his life view, yet this seriousness is tempered, all the while, by an ingenuity that makes him triumphant in almost all of his endeavors. He is physically the most handsome, frequently overshooting the highest mark on the standard military scales. Furthermore, he is almost always a great rifleman. But most importantly the true *Picaroto's* traditional vocation is the sea. He may work perfectly well in vineyards and gardens and will prune an orchard with ease; he is equally adept at carrying grain to a mill.

But at any moment he is ready to drop his tools and jump into a boat in the never-ending saga of the whale. This is his destiny in the world, his beginning and his end. Thus we see him repeatedly throughout history in ocean-bound campaigns going from port to port briefly moving onto one of the central islands, and eventually returning with the objects of his pursuit: the oil of the sperm and the sperm and the precious amber of the whale. (27)

There is general agreement that the *Terceirense* is «the most fun of the Azoreans» (28) and also that the people of Pico are generally more lively, agile and joyful. (29) This latter trait is usually attributed to the fact that Pico's climate is dryer, sunnier and more healthful than on the other islands. In other words, Pico's is the «least Azorean» of the island climates. (30)

So much for the differences between the various subgroups. It must be remembered that while considerable inter-group distinctions do exist, all of these groups are first and foremost, Azoreans. In general, the similarities between all Azoreans outweigh differences between individual subgroups. In this vein, Ribeiro stresses that Nemésio's typings do not define absolutely differentiated groups, and argues that differences between them are primarily differences in degree of certain traits rather than fundamental differences in basic qualities. (31) Probably the only major exception involves the *Micaelense*; there does seem to be a general consensus concerning his particularly outstanding nature. It was for this reason that the preceding discussion devoted so much attention to that group. (32)

Most writers on the subject agree that a number of broad, typically Azorean characteristics are shared by all the islanders. For instance, there is widespread agreement concerning the dominant tones of lethargy and quietism which pervade the Azorean lifestyle. Nemésio's observations reflect this view:

The Azorean's domestic movements are sluggish, and his energy seems to have been dampened by the humidity. He appears indolent. He fails to react sufficiently, perhaps, in politics, religion, and in all of the categories that require a kind of dispassionate effort while at the same time demanding commitment to the battle of feelings and ideas. He is truly weak in these realms. He gives an impression of being spineless and unwilling to take risks in a de-

cisive manner. (33)

The Azoreans are seen as possessing a character that is deeply religious, good natured, submissive, indolent, sensitive, pacific, orderly, family oriented, industrious, nostalgic and somewhat sad. (34) That character is deeply endowed with a strong sense of family responsibility, one which transmits to children a worldview calling for adherence to a hard-work ethic (35) and to well-disciplined obedience. Because most of these characteristics are shared with societies throughout Southern Europe, (36) particularly with traditionally conservative, (37) rural (38) and Catholic populations, (39) they need not be greatly elaborated on here. (40)

Of all the aforementioned traits, the Azorean's deep religious sentiment should be stressed. It can be said that above all in the Azores there is religion, but a religion which does not necessarily entail a commitment to church activities. That religion is expressed in part through the cult of Santo Cristo on São Miguel, the Espírito Santo (Holy Spirit) and the Virgin Mary, throughout all the islands. Those are all as much a part of life in all the islands as air and bread. (41)

This religiosity carries with it an especially strong sexual ethic. It fails, however, to generate a strong sense of community or collective responsibility in the arena of world affairs. Although the Azorean is very altruistic on sentimental occasions, particularly when that altruism is dictated by religious ethics, he is strongly individualistic in most matters.

The dearth of collective spirit has been crudely stressed by José Enes. Although this situation changed somewhat after the 1974 Portuguese revolution, it still applies fundamentally today:

The mass of workers and employees, who serve the island's aggregate of large (only a few), middle-sized and small capitalists show no class spirit. Despite the *de jure* existence of labor unions, the workers are not united.

And what about the agricultural masses, which comprise 70% of the Azorean population? Most Azorean agricultural workers are likewise dominated by a profound individualism and distrust in their relationships within their own social group. In some cases they also reflect a certain sourness towards the superior social classes.

A small percentage of the fishermen can be included,

in terms of general spirit, in the class of agricultural workers. (42)

The fragmentation of social and political life is strongly manifested through the phenomenon of *bairrismo*, or island rivalry. Each island acquires a special meaning for its inhabitants, and great inter-island antagonisms exist which often polarize any given pair of islands. This is especially true for any two islands that face one another geographically, or that have close ongoing administrative or economic ties. (43)

A recent study notes that the Azorean people appear to be characterized by behavioral patterns which generally oppose associative cooperation. On the other hand, it stresses that a number of factors do indeed favor some cooperative spirit. These include:

The widespread practice of mutual and reciprocal help among people, social pressures (and the absence of specific humanitarian motives behind those pressures) the adhesive effect of neighborhood pride and rivalry, a sense of community belonging in recreational pursuits and the persistence of certain cooperative structures within various activities. (44)

Reinforcing each of these characteristics is the fatalistic worldview which, rooted both in religion and in the environment, dominates the islands.

It should be pointed out that, relative to other nationalities, the Azoreans do not differ tremendously from the mainland Portuguese. As Ribeiro points out, the culture which the Portuguese brought to these islands underwent changes that were more quantitative than qualitative. By this he means that fundamental traits common to both the Portuguese and the Azoreans became either exaggerated or toned down in the latter. Such changes in degree generally outweighed the introduction of entirely new basic characteristics. As examples of the quantitative changes, Ribeiro cites

the exaggerated *saudosismo*, the intensification and transformation of the religious spirit, the attraction of the sea which made emigration almost an instinctive necessity, the maintenance of ideas, beliefs, superstitions, and customs which have disappeared.

The qualitative changes, although less important, include the acquisition by the Azoreans of

. . . apathy and a sense of moderation, a certain degree of subservience and the substitution of lyricism for satire. (45)

The *saudade* (nostalgia) and *provincianismo* (46) characteristic of the mainland Portuguese worldview are particularly acute in the Azores. Similarly crucial are the lyricism and tenderness that pervade Azorean attitudes towards everything. These qualities are widely reflected in the language, through the constant use of the diminutive forms *inho* and *inha* (little this, little that). (47)

The above mentioned characteristics all lead to conformity with the *status quo*. The Azorean is generally apathetic and indifferent towards participation in any community affairs other than religious activities. Hundreds of years of collective frustration and continuous disillusionment under various ruling systems have robbed him of all faith in government as a means of solving his problems. He has been left with faith in no one but himself. Historically, emigration has been considered by many to be the only real means of betterment. This attitude has reinforced the alienation of those still in the islands from their socio-political struggles, driving them all the more quickly to escape as the only viable, but painful choice.

II – a) THE ECOLOGICAL INFLUENCES

So much for a characterization of the Azorean people. In order to progress beyond a merely impressionistic description of their behavior and worldview, it is useful to attempt to understand the circumstances, constraints, and historical processes that have helped to shape the Azorean character.

Indeed, the constant volcanic threat hovering over the islands, the presence of the sea, the relentless insularity of island life, (both the individual isolation of each of the nine islands as well as the overall isolation of the entire archipelago from the rest of the world), and the constant humidity under heavily clouded skies; served to strongly condition a culture whose underlying heritage came from mainland Portugal. (48) That culture was then maintained and enforced in the islands for five centuries by a socio-political structure which prohibited change.

The spirit of both islands and islanders has been beautifully captured by several Azorean poets. Almeida Firmino, who lived in Pico and who recently put an end to his life, wrote this *quadra* entitled *A ilha*:

Eternally the same horizon
 ——sea, mist, the island in view
 On their return, the seagulls say
 that never more will it be different. (49)

Ruy Galvão de Carvalho, in his *Poema Açoriano*, says:

This tarnished sky, this damp,
 the long, steady monotony of the sea,
 the loneliness that grinds in the pain . . .
 This sun behind the clouds, the mist
 that jars my nerves and enters my bones,
 All this is island, my love. (50)

A similar view is conveyed by still another stark verse, *Ilha*, by Pedro da Silveira:

«Island»:
 Closed sky, hovering heron. Open sea!
 A distant boat's hungering prow
 eyeing forever those bountiful Californias. (51)

Nearly all written work on the Azores stresses a particular kind of osmosis that occurs between the natural environment and the people. The humidity, the sea, the volcanic activity and the clouds are most often the forces that generate what the Bullars termed «the Azorean torpor.» These psycho-telluric interactions, so to speak, are illustrated in a number of writings. Several of these will now be briefly examined.

Luis Ribeiro described those relationships as follows:

The humidity of the temperate climate, determining the peculiar indolence of the Azorean, coupled with a sadness caused by the landscape, helped to establish a servile and humble attitude which was generally and easily adopted. (52)

In a separate passage Ribeiro turns specifically to the influence of the sea:

The contemplation of the sea makes men dreamers, saddens and depresses them with its monotony. The green of the land, the blue of the sea, sometimes dreadfully dark, sometimes whitened by the clouds, seen in the subdued and diffuse light filtered through the clouds, increase the sadness of the environment and spread sadness in the soul already downtrodden by the effect of the temperature. The sea is thus one more factor of the indolence of the *saudosismo* (nostalgia) of everything that makes the Azorean somnolent and apathetic . . . The rhythmic cadence of the waves and of the tides regulates his slow steps and wooden gestures, gives a tone to his drawl and song-like intonation, wrinkles his face and sharpens his sight. (53)

Raúl Brandão, a Portuguese writer, visited the islands during the 1920's. He saw them through the eyes of an artist concerned primarily with light and colors, and the resultant descriptions are both subjective and highly intuitive. Through them he has created a painting, in words, of the Azorean soul, a painting that is at times somewhat expressionistic. The symbiosis that exists, in his eyes, between the environment and the people occasionally make it difficult for the reader to distinguish the two in his writings. The following are some of his lines:

Immutable sky, fog that settles as a blight, discreet light in which all things lose their importance and forms their depth . . . Within this stagnant air, sound itself dies . . . The day is an eternal day of death . . . (54)

Dull, sad white . . . Things stand out very little . . . Abstraction and dreams. Because in this perpetual dawning man dreams more than he sees. He daydreams.(55)

Silence . . . a color that never becomes a color, that is resignation and longing and forces us to speak in a muted hush . . . (56) Even beings and things must grow mold within themselves. (57)

Phantasmagorical weather. The landscape is tranquility personified, with a touch of sadness . . . It is a chaste landscape . . . (58)

Gray is predominant throughout . . . (59) the green, muted and humid . . . Within this very sadness exists I don't know what kind of innocence.(59) This green, eternally green, falling into a damp sleep, is by nature docile and serene. (60)

All is so white and still, that time seems to have forever halted its march. (61)

These gray days of wedded sun and fog belong to the Azores alone. (62)

Further insights into the relationship between weather and spirit are found in the work of Joseph and Henry Bullar. The brothers' journals frequently refer to the island climates. The following passage is particularly curious:

Although the climate of this town is nearly unexceptionable, I am not sorry that the English climate is unlike it; for, with the same warmth at home, instead of Englishmen being what they are, they would have grown up a race of lazy, donkey-riding paupers. It is impossible to live here and not to feel the influence of that spirit of laziness which seems to have settled over the island. If you go into the street, the people you see are sauntering, or sitting in the sun, or riding on asses; taking life as easy as if the curse of eating their bread by the sweat of their brow had never fallen upon them. Yet they appear no less happy, and perhaps, are more contented than richer and more restless Englishmen. They have fewer hardships to contend with than paupers who live among frost and snow. They appear to be constitutionally good-natured; and the common people of this town are said to be willing workmen, whenever they can get work to do. (63)

Arruda Furtado notes that there is no liveliness in the behavior of the *Micaelense*, and wonders to what extent this may be caused by the climate. As he points out:

The climate and living conditions are entirely opposed to

the nourishment of this quality . . . *Micaelenses*, if ever active before, are not so today: they work, standing up to the toughest stresses, yet every action, even in the midst of the most difficult labor, is measured in slowness. In the face of the greatest demands, their sluggishness exceeds that of other peoples. (64)

To further support his notion that the climate is the underlying cause, he adds that

everyone who visits the continent says that they seem to undergo a transformation within their very being. The change occurs immediately, merely upon entering the dry air and seeing the sky, which is far cleaner and of immensely greater depth. They seem to have become agile, indeed, to have been entirely remade. (65)

The effects of both the humidity and the gray, heavy skies upon peoples' behavior are stressed in almost all writings about the islands. Santos Barros wrote a volume of poems whose title is in fact *Humidity*. (66) One of the poems marvelously portrays the feelings of a human being during a typical gray, humid island day:

Here the air is heavy
which, for being heavy sticks to us
and hangs on the shroud
from mast to island

here the air is heavy
and the nightmare of its feel
even to the inside and so slowly

here on board, o would that
one could soften the harsh bite
of the night, the rain and her sound

but we float as one light,
weighted within by the
nausea of heavy air. (67)

The suffering herein brought on by leaden skies is not the consequence of any social or philosophical revolt peculiar to the twentieth century. Roberto de Mesquita, who was born and lived in Flores during the nineteenth century, filled his poems with references to the weather. The following lines are from a poem originally entitled in English, «Spleen»:

December, rain-laden day. From
this matted sky comes a mortal spleen,
drowning souls like men
engulfed in an ocean of sludge.

Looking about me, everything
has an air of disgust without hope . . .
The hours creep on, morose like slugs
slithering across our boredom.

.....

Dense and gray, the sky reaches out,
tarnishing all within its spread,
shrouding and choking what life remains in men's souls . . .
Out of this leaden morning grows a mortal spleen. (68)

Ribeiro reiterates this message in his mundane but forceful style, amplifying somewhat on the nature and extent of the phenomenon:

All energies are crushed by that monotonous atmosphere, and that monotony is the source of the Azorean's indolence. This varies somewhat from island to island, being least stifling in São Miguel and Pico and perhaps most dulled in Terceira and São Jorge. The most lively people are those from Pico which, by some geological virtue, is the driest of the islands.

The heavy humidity in turn creates great cloudiness. The sky is rarely free of clouds, and often appears as an infinite blanket of gray. The sorrow and haze of the land produce a dismal tone within the soul, dismal to the spir-

it like indolence to the body. All this is perhaps reinforced by the monotonous lapping of the ocean swell, and the endless horizon of the sea. (69)

The archipelago lies profoundly cut off from the external world. Even today they remain two hours by plane from Lisbon, and four and one half hours from Boston. Isolation from the outside aggravates isolation between individual islands; both exert a tremendous effect on peoples' lives. The impact of isolation upon social and political structures shall be discussed shortly. At this point, it is useful to consider the psychological effects on the individual. Isolation is felt to varying degrees, depending in part on the size and character of a given island. Certain groups of people on several of the larger islands enjoy relatively greater physical mobility and varied social exposure than do most Azoreans.

Raúl Brandão was almost frightened by the sense of isolation he encountered on several islands. His experience on Flores left him with the following:

The strongest feeling with which I left these volcanic lands, these lands whose mountains hang suspended behind the towns as if threatening to bury them, like a wave of rock that froze suddenly, — the overpowering feeling was a deep fear of isolation. The people are condemned to feeling lost, sentenced forever to the single unchanging view before them. An entire life faced by this, with nowhere to run other than death . . .

Every village that sits on the edge of the sea, facing the water, waits for ships, for news, and for immigrants. (70)

Still capturing the feeling of Flores, Brandão continues:

. . . glued to the windows beneath glass panes, sad faces of old people wait for longer than one can remember for someone to pass by, and no one passes by. It is here that habit lays down her roots . . . (71)

This has all been put in two lines by Pedro da Silveira:

Outside of us
nothing happens. (72)

Much of the literature of the islands reflects similar sentiments. Roberto da Mesquita titled his single book of poems *Almas Cativas* (Captive Souls). Gaspar Frutuoso (1522-1591), one of the first Azorean «sages», appropriately captured the island syndrome in the title of his six-volume work, *Saudades da Terra*, which crudely translates as «Nostalgia of the land». The word *saudades* seems to refer to a pervasive longing for the motherland which dominated the feelings of the islands' first settlers.

This island syndrome affects the individual Azorean in countless ways. His worldview is shrunken considerably simply because his world itself is so small. (73) Being stuck in the middle of the ocean creates a feeling of abandonment which erodes hope, instead producing fatalism. The islander feels wholly engulfed by the elements, and beyond mere engulfment, he feels imprisoned. Furthermore, this feeling is unconscious among these people who have never had much exposure to the outside world.

Vitorino Nemésio again has a useful contribution here:

A kind of drunkenness of isolation impregnates the soul and actions of every islander. It structures men's spirits and searches gropingly for an almost religious conviviality, in short, for that which we lacked the fortune to receive at birth. The essential nature of life in the Azores was not created by the first human colonization of the islands. It was blueprinted in an earthly past which geologists may reduce to a precise number of years, if they wish . . . We are welded historically to this land from which we have come; our roots are by nature within these mountains of lava. Some substance, oozing out from volcanic guts, has penetrated our souls. Geography inviolably means as much to us as history, and it is no idle coincidence that at least fifty percent of our written records are accounts of floods and earthquakes. Like the mermaids' ours is a double nature: we are built of flesh and stone. Our eyes submerge themselves in the sea . . . The sea is our pathway not merely to earthly realization, but spiritual realization as well. (74)

But as is widely admitted in anthropology, «isolation, of itself, can explain very little». (75) This inquiry should therefore move on to other, possibly stronger, influences.

Volcanic activity on the islands has played an especially strong role in shaping both the life and worldview of the Azorean people. Volcanic activity has been and is a constant menace, making its presence felt with unflinching regularity and often terrifying force. Azorean history is strewn with residue and horror of both earthquakes and eruptions. (76)

The influence of volcanism on people is devastating, as noted by Ribeiro:

Within man, and even within animals, an earthquake provokes a strong feeling of uncertainty and doubt, a constant dread, that leaves deep impression on his way of being.

During a volcanic eruption or an earthquake, man feels both his own weakness and the power of the unfathomable natural forces around him, with unusual violence. Surprised, terrorized, he seeks desperately for the shelter of divine protection, because the forces unleashed about him vastly exceed his every possibility of defence. He turns, therefore, to God in order that He may save his life, or at least bless him with an easy death. Under the threat of seeing everything about him that had seemed to defy eternity destroyed, he understands the fragility of all that is material and earthly. His horror at the hands of destruction and annihilation give him a sense, far greater than ever before, of that which is truly eternal and omnipotent. (77)

Raúl Brandão has also interpreted the volcanic nature of the islands and its effect on the people. He writes:

There is an agony here which only exists in Naples. I am oppressed by these mountains. I am crushed by this black solitude. The sea alone offers any release. (78)

Many of the religious cults that originated in the Azores arose through

efforts to placate God's wrath, as expressed by eruptions and earthquakes. All of the islands' major religious celebrations have some underlying connection to natural disasters. These relationships are clearly evidenced in a number of religious events. The tradition of the *Romeiros* (79) for instance, was begun in direct response to several volcanic disasters. Similarly, the cult of Santo Cristo owes much of its development to geological tragedies.

Given that the nature and extent of natural upheavals varied somewhat from island to island, it is not surprising that the religious spirit of the people exhibits some regional differences. Ribeiro points out that:

The people of São Miguel are the most religious of all the islanders. Their religion is sincere, rather than fanatical, but it is built upon fear, and sometimes even of a kind of misty terror. This aspect of the religious spirit is reflected in the widespread belief in divine *punishment*. Punishment not only takes the form of devastating catastrophes, but may also come in the form of smaller mishaps, such as the death of a housepet, a poor harvest, or an illness. (80)

A tremendous number of religious events, primarily processions of penance, have their origins in some promise or vow to God, the Virgin Mary, the Holy Spirit, (81) or the Saints. Promises made by local people were frequently institutionalized and made into town or regional law. Some of the vows that are still faithfully being kept today have been enumerated and described by Júlio da Rosa. These include:

The procession of *Cinzeiro* and the *Romarias* during Lent in S. Miguel; the penance processions during August in Raminho (Terceira), Feteira and Flamengos (Faial), Madalena, Bandeiras, and Sta. Luzia (on the border of Pico); Our Lady of the Miracles, in Cachorro; the *Império dos Nobres* and the Vow to *Sto. Cristo* on February 1 by the county of Horta; the *bodos de vésperas*, on September 21, in São Mateus of Pico; the Holy Ghost in Praia do Norte (Faial); and the Vows to St. Sebastian by the counties of Angra do Heroísmo, Ponta Delgada and Horta. (82)

As mentioned earlier, the nature and manifestations of religion vary somewhat between the different islands. Ribeiro addresses this point in his analysis:

Secular celebrations on Terceira are more lively and exuberant, yet vary widely in how well they are integrated into the actual religious ceremonies. Religious spirit is generally healthier and less timid on São Jorge and Pico, and is certainly no less respectful and sincere. Despite these minor regional differences, however, there is a deep-rooted fear of divine punishment within the souls of all Azoreans. Throughout the islands, the image of God as vengeful and terrible is far stronger than His image as Merciful or Loving. (83)

In summary, religion helps to shape the worldview of the Azoreans and generates an ethos which is pervaded and consolidated by a fear of punishment. (84)

b) THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FORCES

The preceding discussion has attempted to portray the causal relationships between the ecological environment of the Azores on the one hand, and the predominant values, beliefs, and behavior patterns of the islanders on the other. In short, it has sought to identify a fundamental link between environment and culture. Throughout history, even as far back as Aristotle, ecology has often been regarded as a strong determinant of culture. However, excessive oversimplification in this matter must be avoided. As David Kaplan and Robert Manners have pointed out,

all contemporary cultural ecologists would reject any such mechanical use of environmental factors to account for variations in cultural arrangements . . .

Reacting against this simplistic environment determinism, many cultural ecologists came to espouse a position which has been called environmental possibilism. In this view, the features of the natural habitat are seen as playing, not a determinative role, but a permissive or limiting

role, offering opportunities in certain directions and inhibiting them in others. (85)

In their attempts to «explain» the Azorean culture, many of the writers quoted here have assigned such a preponderant role to ecological causes alone that they are indeed party to an over-simple deterministic view of island life. Such explanations lose sight of the fact that a culture is also shaped by the interactions of people themselves. In this realm, social, political, and economic forces all play major roles.

Ribeiro touches slightly on socio-political factors, yet even in so doing he falls back on an ultimately ecological point of view:

With their energies dissipated, with no recourse to reaction, with no means of fighting face to face with the rich and privileged classes, the lower classes instinctively and in self-defense sublimate their impotence into cunningness, looking for a way of getting by those difficulties they could not overcome. Tenacious, rarely abandoning an idea or a project, but submissive by necessity and therefore fearful and apathetic in their long-range endeavors, they became withdrawn and cunning.

In these islands where the bulk of the land remains in the hands of a few individuals, certain vital moral transformations have yet to take place. (86)

Furtado attempts to pinpoint one of the non-ecological causes:

As powerful groups on the continent increasingly dominated and controlled key regions throughout both the Old and New Worlds, the miniscule fragment that was the Azores lay profoundly isolated, buried in the torpor of her climate trapped beneath the terror of the volcanoes and of the control and justice of the powerful *capitães donatários*. (87)

The Bullar brothers hit more sharply on the social issue:

The manners of the highest and of the lowest classes are

equally good; easy self-possession is as common to the poorest as to the best born; owing no doubt to their having lived for so many ages under a strict aristocracy of birth where the position of all is defined by such impassable boundaries, that there is neither on the one side the endeavor to rise, nor on the other the determination to prevent it. (88)

As has been accurately observed, insularity is in fact used as an excuse («*a insularidade é um pretexto*»). (89) If not entirely an excuse, the islands' isolation has at least been carefully rationalized and integrated into a well-structured ideological justification of the socio-economic and political *status quo*.

While reading literature on «the social question» in the Azores, it must be kept in mind that the Portuguese political dictatorship maintained rigid censorship from 1926 until 1974. Whenever the socio-political establishment has been criticized, any hidden insinuations by the author can be perceived only by reading between the lines. By way of example, consider the following paragraphs by Cunha de Oliveira:

Nature has given us our fatalism. She shakes and roasts us. She scours our sweat and blood with the raging of the winds, the recklessness of the rains and the voraciousness of the sea. It is because of her that even the most rational among us say: «What has to be must be.»

But in compensation we have this blue and green all our own. And with this, we have the immediate and never-ending presence of the sea. By their sheer predominance, these have forged within us the peculiar Azorean calmness and sweetness which most do not comprehend and others abuse.

And why do they abuse it? Because very often the sky is tinged with gray, the sea becomes ashen and pale, and the fields are darkened with the same gray color. And then our expression of calmness losing its pleasantness, takes on a painful tone, like someone who was born for oppression, someone who is in no hurry to throw off his

yoke. And all because he could never uncloud the sky.
 But this makes us no less men, nor no less sensitive. Quite
 the contrary. What we become is patient. Perfect stuff for
 tyrants. (90)

A recent brief but interesting political document (91) has attempted to explain the islands' present stage of development. Under the sub-heading «Keys to an Understanding of Azorean Backwardness», the document points to the policies of the Lisbon government and the behavior of the local dominant classes in the Azores, stressing the two *leitmotifs* of stultification and abandonment. The document holds that the political powers in Lisbon directly promoted and sustained the archipelago's socio-economic isolation and lack of growth, and that those powers acted largely through the remnants of the old Azorean aristocracy and their associates.

The document pinpoints the following three reasons for the region's underdevelopment: 1) the development policies of the *Estado Novo* (the Salazar-Caetano regime); 2) the local (Azorean) land-holding system; and 3) the local socio-cultural microsystem. Each of these merits some consideration.

The core policy of the Salazar-Caetano dictatorship was one of strict centralization in all things. This directive dominated all subsidiary policies, and sharply curtailed any possibility of regional development. It must be understood, however, that in failing to develop the periphery of the empire, of which the Azores were part, the *Estado Novo* merely followed an old Portuguese tradition. (92) The lack of development of the islands, and in fact of almost the entire Portuguese empire outside of the capital city, had been perpetuated for centuries. The old Portuguese saying, «Portugal is Lisbon and the rest is scenery» has some truth.

In order to meaningfully understand the longstanding underdevelopment of most of the empire, it is necessary to review much of Portuguese history. Careful analysis of the works of several key historians and social commentators, among them Antero de Quental, (93) Alexandre Herculano, (94) Oliveira Martins, (95) and António Sergio, (96) is indispensable to comprehending the complex roots of that underdevelopment. This task is beyond the scope and intent of the present discussion. It is enough here merely to stress that the destiny of the Azores differed little from a distant province such as Trás-os-Montes or from any of the overseas colonies prior to the anticolonial rebellions. It is true that Lisbon began to develop certain colonies in the nineteen-

sixties. However, that move came only in response to the growth of local liberation movements and their guerilla warfare against Portuguese domination. This phenomenon did not affect the Azores for two reasons: first, there was no liberation front on the islands; and second, the local rulers in the Azores formed a tight alliance with Lisbon which protected the interests of both groups and forcefully sustained the socio-economic *status quo*.

In considering the influence of local landholding structures upon development, the document stresses the archipelago's heavily agrarian economy. It notes that there is a difference between São Miguel and the other islands: whereas agriculture on S. Miguel is highly commercialized and market-oriented, a more traditional, subsistence-oriented agricultural economy predominates on the others. Furthermore, the distribution of property on the smaller islands is substantially more egalitarian than on S. Miguel. Our attention is drawn to the latter:

On this island, where so much tremendous work is performed and where the intensity of the culture surpasses all other regions of Portugal, a landowning bourgeoisie lives at the throat of the land and its people. Roughly forty landowners control over 25% of the land in São Miguel! The large landowners rarely cultivate their own fields, but instead live by renting out their properties. They rent out tiny, often miniscule patches, as small as one-seventh of a hectare. Rents are uniformly and excruciatingly high.

The poverty of São Miguel's tenant farmers, who are more accurately termed semi-proletarians, stands in agonizing contrast to the prosperity of Ponta Delgada. It conflicts sharply with the lack of want of the urban classes, the landed gentry, and the smaller middle classes. Clearly, the source of this city's prosperity is not urban, given that there is very limited industry. That prosperity is created by agriculture (and admittedly in part by the return of some money to the island from emigrants).

Because they live very profitably on rental income, the large landowners have no interest in increasing the productivity of their land. They therefore fail to reinvest any significant unused surplus in either industry or agriculture.

They fail to do so despite the fact that such reinvestment might well bring about a general increase in overall productivity through the improvement of the means of production. (97)

The central features common to both São Miguel and the remaining islands must be recognized, however. Both lacked any balanced exchange of goods or capital with the outside world, and instead both suffered similarly from a draining of resources.

The document points to the islands' socio-cultural microsystem as the third reason for their underdevelopment. That system has both contributed to and been shaped by the various forces and situations discussed above. It is undeniable that a number of ecological and social forces have acted to preserve the *status quo*. Yet here the role played by dominant groups within the socio-economic and political system must be properly emphasized. Intentional or not and whether surreptitiously hidden or naively open, the efforts of those dominant groups strongly reinforced existing socio-economic structures and conditions. These people set the pace of the islands' development and had the last and often the only word on their social, economic and political destiny. They were a highly cooperative few, who had little difficulty keeping things under control. Circumstances were so favorable for these dominant groups that their own interests soon became internalized as values by the majority of the population. A very conservative church and an extremely poor educational system figured strongly in this process.

In speaking of the religious spirit of the islanders, Raúl Brandão wrote that:

The Catholic rules and laws are what create this uniformity and monotony of peoples' souls. Subordinate oneself, obey, do not question . . . In spite of the beauty of self-sacrifice, something is not right here. (98)

In the internalization of the dominant ideology, then, what is good for the rulers is perceived by the mass of the people either as natural law or as moral value established by religious doctrine. It should be noted that this process is particularly acute and well-established in São Miguel. (99)

Arruda Furtado has referred to the tradition of «monumental ignorance in all social classes». (100) This may have played a role in the islands' under-

development during the 1800's, but this was no longer the case by the turn of the century. By that point the ascending elite had in fact become quite well-educated. The education of the elite, however, had almost no effect on the already crystallized social structures which left most countryside towns in the dominant hands of plenipotentiary priests and all-knowing teachers. Rather, the dominant classes' acquisition of education merely refined the existing social system, sharpening the hiatus between rulers and ruled. The *Estado Novo* did all it could to help preserve the *status quo*, receiving full cooperation from the local establishment in that effort. Towards this end, education for the majority of the population was strongly deemphasized. Until the late sixties, the Azores had only four years of compulsory education. Given that mass of the people were never taught the value of education, and were in fact discouraged from seeking it, one can better understand why schooling is not a high priority among many Azoreans today. (101)

Furtado was aware of the tremendous deleterious impact that such limited education and social stagnation has on the mental capabilities of a population. He described the particular effects of vocabulary impoverishment upon Azoreans:

To all this add the total loss of important notions of both natural and social realities. The poverty of island fauna and flora, has been thoroughly reflected in the island vocabulary. Peoples' extreme lack of contact with certain plants and animals inevitably led them to forget those objects, and with them all corresponding ideas . . . (102)

Limited experience with the world breeds limited knowledge. For men whose knowledge of certain states of affairs has been thus stunted, it follows that they will have no need to name or label those states of affairs. Not being named or labeled in turn soon leads to not being thought of, and is the initial step towards being wiped out of the mind. (103)

Through such minimally reinforcing relationships, the world of the individual becomes increasingly confined to the small world in which he lives, and increasingly he lets himself be shaped by that world. Peoples' minds are eventually reduced *en masse* to the small scale of their immediate environment. As they come to identify their lives with that one small world they begin to take it as the one and only.

Fortunately this circle is broken here and there both by outside forces, coupled with a very deep human longing for something else. The *saudades da terra* never cease to act upon the islanders, and whenever life in the islands has become close to impossible, people leave. Overpopulation, acute economic crises, and periodic lack of outside involvement in the archipelago, (104) have all provoked emigration. The largest migratory waves have been to Brazil in the 18th and 19th centuries, to the United States towards the latter part of the 19th century, and today increasingly to the U. S. and Canada; in truth, virtually to every single place on the surface of the earth. (105)

A poem by Borges Martins says it all:

In the archipelago the ships have
no urgency, people wait . . .
the island is a docked packboat, the dock
is the only hope of men with no goodbye. (106)

Or perhaps these lines by Santos Barros:

It is from here
that men become men in motion,
to remain is to embrace
neither life
nor death. (107)

CONCLUSION

The foregoing perspective on the Azorean is, needless to say, one perspective. If objectivity is unattainable even at the microscopic level within a single social science, then clearly a broad interdisciplinary analysis such as this one, (an analysis which is intentionally holistic and which employs both diachronic and synchronic approaches almost simultaneously), will inevitably be highly subjective. Given the subjectivity inherent in this approach, I have purposely avoided hiding behind any so-called and illusive «demands of methodological rigour». (108) My point of view has been left clear, and the values underlying my analysis made quite visible. In this I chose to follow Gunnar Myrdal's advice, (109) for an object is always perceived by a subject from *some* point of view. There is no point in concealing or obscuring which side one is on.

Given that data collection itself constitutes a selection process, then clearly the evaluation of that data will necessarily involve premises built on personal beliefs, values, and preconceived assumptions of the evaluator. I note this to point out that the reader of this paper will arrive at his or her own conclusions, and that those conclusions will vary between readers, even where none of those readers have access to any additional information about Azoreans other than that presented here. For instance, a folklorist committed to the preservation of old customs merely for the sake of preservation will lament the rapid Americanization of Azorean immigrants, and may even lament any changes that occur within the islands. Someone else might applaud the arrival of television to the islands as a means of breaking the thick isolation between the archipelago and the outside world. A more traditional moralist might be infuriated by the same event because it will jeopardize the survival of ancient mores. As a final example of possible contradictory value preferences, consider people in an American factory which employs a good number of Azoreans. Management may praise the hard-working virtues and good-natured obedience of those immigrants who oppose strikes and rarely complain about working conditions. American workers raised within a tradition of unions and of rights-consciousness, however, may become enraged with the subservient attitude of Azoreans who want not to offend their bosses and who argue that they should be thankful to the owners for ever having received a job.

The preceding examples illustrate but a few conceivable scenarios wherein the Azorean people may be judged as «beautiful» by some, and as quite the opposite by others. This paper does not intend to prevent this sort of inevitable interpretive variation. Such differences in perceived worth are an unavoidable part of the value conflicts we all face daily. Rather, this paper has attempted merely to address two broad questions. The first of these comes from people who do not know the Azoreans well, and that is: «What are the Azoreans like?» The second comes from those who know the islanders, but who may be perplexed and have either mixed or non-sympathetic feelings towards them: «Why are Azoreans like that?»

These questions, raised by Americans about the immigrants in their midst, are often raised from an idiosyncratic and rather ethnocentric point of view. This is true, for instance, of such questions as: «Why do the Azoreans drop out of school?», «Why don't they value efficiency?», or «Why aren't they more active in local politics?» Inquiries such as these are all equally common, and it was with precisely this type of question in mind that the preceding pages were written.

To combat any Manichaeian tendencies on the part of the reader, he/she is reminded that the Azorean people are as «good» *and/or* as «bad» as any other human group. Like any other people, the Azoreans have been strongly affected by the ecological and social infra- and supra-structures which pervaded their lives throughout centuries. Whether we like it or not, cultures do not change instantaneously. The effects of profound and prolonged influences upon a culture remain in force, to varying degrees, for long periods. But then as ecological and/or socio-political conditions change, cultures are also bound to change, however slowly. This is the inevitable outcome of any historical processes: so cultures continue as they are, change, or die.

PERSONAL NOTE

I wish to make one final statement to my fellow Azoreans. This essay was not written for a touristic brochure, and thus I did not refer to «the beauty of the islands and the polichromy of the landscapes», nor did I insist much on the hospitality of the people. This analysis was not a hymn to the land nor a eulogy to the populace. The *açorianidade* (Azoreaneity) which I share and which will always be an integral part of my world should not prevent me, or any compatriot, from taking a close look at our roots in order to understand them. If understanding is to be meaningful, we cannot avoid being critical in the genuine sense of the word. Following Socrates' advice, «know thyself», is both helpful and difficult. But pursuit of that goal reveals ourselves to us as we are, rather than in illusions of what we would like others to think we are. That is at least a worthwhile beginning.

Notes

I would like to thank Paul Jones for his tremendous assistance in the painful tasks of editing the English and translating the many long quotations. Those were especially difficult when they happened to be poems.

Due to the nature of this essay, geographical and historical information on the Azores has been kept to a minimum. Here are a few pertinent facts: The archipelago consists of nine islands divided into three separate groups: the Central group (Terceira, Graciosa, São Jorge, Pico and Faial), the Western group (Flores and Corvo), and a third group (Eastern) consisting of São Miguel and Santa Maria. The islands have a combined surface area of about 2,330 square kilometers, or 900 square miles. São Miguel is the largest island, accounting for almost one-third of the total land area.

The Azores lie about one-third of the distance from Lisbon to Boston. Reaching them by air takes two hours from Lisbon, and four and one-half hours from Boston.

The islands had no human inhabitants at the time of their discovery, which probably occurred in 1427. Soon thereafter (1439) they began to be populated, primarily by mainland Portuguese.

In 1960 the population of the archipelago was 320,000, with roughly 170,000 of these on São Miguel. Since that time a steady wave of emigration has greatly reduced those numbers, bringing the total to 290,000 in 1970 and to 260,000 in 1975. By that point emigration had returned the population size back to exactly what it had been one century earlier, in 1875.

Vitorino Nemésio, *O Açoriano e os Açores* (Lisboa: Edição da Renascença Portuguesa, 1929).

Arruda Furtado, *Materiais para o Estudo Antropológico dos Povos Açorianos. Observações sobre o Povo Micaelense*. (Ponta Delgada, Açores: Tipografia Popular, 1884).

Luís Ribeiro, *Subsídios para um Ensaio sobre a Açorianidade*. Informação preambular, Notas e Bibliografia por João Afonso. (Angra do Heroísmo, Açores: Instituto Açoriano de Cultura, 1964).

In the social sciences there is a view, begun by Dilthey and later developed by Max Weber and Karl Mannheim, which assumes that there is a fundamental difference between the natural and the social sciences, and further, that the latter requires a specific method. While the natural sciences are exclusively concerned with measur-

able external phenomena, the social sciences should be concerned with the motives and values of men and with the meaning of their acts. *Explanation* of the facts is sufficient for the natural sciences, but it is not adequate for the social sciences; that process alone would miss the inner dimensions of human acts. Rather, this view holds that more than the mere explanation is necessary to meaningfully study a given social situation or culture. What is required is an *understanding* (the German expression *Verstehen* is often used). An adequate understanding (in this sense) of human acts requires some exploration of the purpose, motives, and values of the actors involved. In order to achieve this, a «sympathetic intuition» is definitely required.

- (6) Raúl Brandão, *As Ilhas Desconhecidas. Notas e Paisagens*. 3^a edição (Lisboa: Livraria Francisco Alves, 1926).
- (7) Joseph and Henry Bullar, *A Winter in the Azores; a Summer at the Baths of the Furnas*, 2 vols. (London: John Van Voorst, Paternoster Row, 1841).

It should be noted that except for Luís Ribeiro's work, the sources mentioned above were written during the last century and the first three decades of this century. Without doubt, many things have changed since that time. The core of these observations, however, remain both accurate and valid. This in turn speaks for their value.

- (8) Without wishing to enter into the intricacies of current philosophical discussions concerning distinctions between the two concepts, the following analyses of G. H. von Wright may help in clarifying the approach used in the present text:

«Before explanation can begin, its object – the *explanandum* (whatever is to be explained) – must be described. Any description may be said to tell us what something «is» . . . But understanding what something is in the sense of *is like* should not be confused with understanding what something is in the sense of *means* or *signifies*. The first is a characteristic preliminary of causal, the second of teleological explanation. It is therefore misleading to say that understanding *versus* explanation marks the difference between two types of understanding and of explanation.»

Explanation and Understanding. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1971).

- (9) Furtado writes:

« . . . os micalenses estão ainda longe de constituirem um grupo verdadeiramente homogêneo, tão mista foi a composição originária do povo português.»

O. c., p. 55.

This designation refers to the islands of the Central and Western groups. It therefore includes all of the islands except for São Miguel and Santa Maria.

1) O. c., p. 12.

2) O. c., p. 17.

3) O. c., pp. 11-12.

4) O. c., pp. 13-14.

5) Id., p. 25.

5) Id., pp. 26-27.

7) Ibidem.

3) *Cantar ao desafio* translates as «Challenge through singing». This is a very popular tradition wherein two people, accompanied by the traditional small guitar, improvise *quadras* (quatrains) in turn. They can elaborate on a serious subject or they may argue and/or joke about one another.

1) O. c., p. 28.

1) Ibid., p. 29. This sensibility and good taste in their relationship with nature was stressed by the Bullars. The brothers were particularly touched by a woman who brought them a basket decorated with flowers. As an additional example they mention a woman who folded her clothes with aromatic flowers in between the layers of cloth.

1) O. c., Vol. II. pp. 212-214. The Bullars saw a sort of epitomization of Cervantes' Sancho in the *Micaelense* peasant. This observation deserves to be quoted in its entirety:

The people here are very familiar but it is in a graceful, inoffensive way. Just in the same manner as Sancho converses with Don

Quixote, do the servants and the ass-drivers talk with their masters, and the poor to their superiors in rank. Sancho's observations on his master, and his freedom of manner, would have been unnatural in the mouth of an English groom; but the servants of one of the squires of St. Michael's will laugh and joke with his master, with as much familiarity and real civility as Sancho, when he strung proverbs at Don Quixote's expense. There is a good deal of resemblance, too, between the character of Sancho, taking him as a type of his class, and that of the Azorean poor with whom we have come in contact. They are extremely curious, have great cunning and finesse, lie with as much coolness as Sancho, when he explained to the Don, in the sable mountain, his interview with the Lady Dulcinea, are clever at repartee, and fond of proverbs and short sayings. (Vol. 1, pp. 74-75).

- (22) See Carreiro da Costa, *Esboço Histórico dos Açores*. (Ponta Delgada: Instituto Universitário dos Açores, 1978), pp. 287-288.
- (23) O. c., p. 20-21.
- (24) Id., p. 43.
- (25) Id., p. 49. At the time Furtado wrote his book, women did far more work in the fields than they do today. Furtado believed that this practice might have been responsible for what he called the increased «virility of their physical features».
- (26) The Castillians invaded and occupied Terceira for almost sixty years, between 1583 and 1640.
- (27) O. c., pp. 13-15.
- (28) Pe. Jerónimo Emiliano de Andrade, *Notícia do Arquipélago dos Açores*, p. 119. Quoted in Ribeiro, O. c., p. 32.
- (29) See Ribeiro, Ibidem. The idiosyncrasy of the *Picaroto* is masterfully shown in the short stories of Nunes da Rosa, *Gente das Ilhas*, 2nd. edition (Angra do Heroísmo: Instituto Açoriano de Cultura, 1978), and the three novels by Dias de Melo, which constitute the so-called *Ciclo da baleia* (whale cycle): *Mar Rubro* (Lisboa: Orion, 1958); *Pedras Negras* (Lisboa: Portugália, 1965); and *Mar Pela Proa* (Lisbon: Prelo, 1976).

- 0) In spite of this, one of the Bullars made a pertinent observation that applies to the Azorean in general, as follows:

In judging them by their amusements, I apprehend they should be described rather as gay than as cheerful people. The dances and the crowded balls which are constantly recurring; the religious processions in the streets, and the exciting church services which the policy of the Church of Rome has accommodated to their tastes, indicate a necessity for stimulus which a cheerful people seldom need; but which is necessary to produce gaiety.

O. c., Vol. II, p. 215.

- 31) O. c., p. 17.
- 32) Another reason for the special consideration given here to the *Micaelense* is that he makes up two-thirds of the Azorean population. *Micaelenses* also comprise the vast majority of Azorean immigrants to the U. S.
- 33) O. c., pp. 15-16.
- 34) The popular songs and feasts are revealing on this point. Both are sad and solemn. The rhythm of most songs is very slow, and most are in minor keys. The Gregorian chants sung in church convey a strong sense of sadness, resignation, fatality and even tragedy which can be most disturbing to an outsider. One of the most common of these chants is *Tantum Ergo*.
- 35) The *Micaelense* hard-work ethic must be distinguished from the Protestant work ethic. For the *Micaelense*, it involves a kind of forced working simply because those who are born poor have no alternative.
- 36) See, for instance, J. G. Peristiany, *Honor and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*. (London, 1965).
- 37) On conservative thought, see Karl Mannheim, *From Karly Mannheim*, Edited and with an introduction by Kurt H. Wolff (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).
- 38) On the peasant cognitive system, see George Gurvitch, *The Social Frameworks of Knowledge*. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1971).
- 39) As described in contraposition to the Protestant by Max Weber in *The Protestant*

Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958).

- (40) Leite de Vasconcelos wrote: «No que todos os observadores concordam é nisto: que o povo é muito religioso, bastante supersticioso, morigerado e mantenedor de costumes patriarcais», *Mês de Sonho. Conspecto de Etnografia Açórica*. (Lisboa, 1926).

In a paper read at Week II of the Azorean Studies Conference, José Agostinho listed what he called the «favorable» dominant traits of the Azorean character. By «favorable» he meant «good and worth preserving». They are as follows:

The islanders' adherence to their religious beliefs; a profound abhorrence of all that comes from outside; a very strong family institution; widespread feelings of being good neighbors; the privileged nature of the woman's position in society; a generally peaceful and orderly spirit; submission and even subjugation to the law; respect for authority; love of one's own island and also of her people («the islander is a good friend, but a bad enemy»).

Among the so-called «unfavorable» dominant characteristics, he lists:

A certain general laziness; the disadvantaged social position of children; a very high infant mortality rate; the excessive amount of work given to children; the fact that too much time at work is demanded of the laborer; insufficient wages; a common lack of forethought or foresight; generalized lack of assistance between individuals; and finally, profound neighborhood pride and rivalry often fed largely by blind passion.»

(J. Agostinho's analysis refers to Azoreans up to the year 1910, although he would maintain that any differences today would be only in degree and not in substance.) From «Dominantes Histórico-Sociais do Povo Açoriano», in *Livro da II Semana de Estudos dos Açores* (Angra do Heroísmo: Instituto Açoriano de Cultura/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1963), pp. 162-3.

- (41) After this paper was written, an analysis of the influence of religion on island life appeared in Caetano Valadão Serpa, *A Gente dos Açores. Identificação, Emigração e Religiosidade. Séculos XVI-XX*. (Lisboa: Prelo, 1978).
- (42) «A Integração do Açoriano no Mundo Actual», in *Livro da III Semana de Estudos dos Açores*. (Horta: Instituto Açoriano de Cultura/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1964) p. 332.

- 43) Examples of these paired rivalries are: Santa Maria-S. Miguel, Terceira-S. Miguel (the most intensive of all), Graciosa-Terceira, S. Jorge-Terceira, Graciosa-S. Jorge, S. Jorge-Pico, Pico-Faial, Corvo-Flores.
- 44) José Enes e Onésimo T. Almeida, *Estruturas Mentais do Povo Açoriano* (Unpublished Manuscript: Lisbon, 1971), pp. 18-19.
- 45) O. c., p. 59-60.
- 46) Fernando Pessoa, the best known modern Portuguese poet, criticized the *provincianismo* of his fellow citizens. By *provincianismo*, he meant more than the term usually denotes. He explains in the following way:

«O provincianismo consiste em pertencer a uma civilização sem tomar parte no desenvolvimento superior dela, em segui-la pois mimeticamente, com uma subordinação inconsciente e feliz. O síndrome provinciano compreende, pelo menos, três sintomas flagrantes: O entusiasmo e admiração pelas grandes cidades; o entusiasmo e admiração pelo progresso e pela modernidade; e, na esfera mental, a incapacidade de ironia».

«O Provincianismo Português», in *Páginas de Doutrina Estética*, Seleção, Prefácio e Notas de Jorge de Sena, 2nd. ed. (Lisboa: Inquérito).

- 47) Fernando Pessoa again:

«A *ternura lusitana* ou a Alma da Raça. O costume de definir o português como essencialmente lírico, ou essencialmente amoroso /é/ absurdo, porque não há povo quase nenhum que não seja estas duas coisas. Ao mesmo tempo vê-se que, ainda que essa expressão falhe, há qualquer coisa de verdade, que não chega a descobrir-se nestas frases.

O que há de quase indefinivelmente português de portuguesamente comum, excepto a língua, a Bernardim Ribeiro, Camões, Garrett, Antero de Quental, António Nobre, Junqueiro, Correia de Oliveira, Pascoais, Mário Beirão?

Em primeiro lugar é uma *ternura*. Mas o que é essa ternura? Ternura vaga (. . .) em Bernardim Ribeiro, ternura que rompe a casa de estrangeirismo de Camões, no seu auge ternura heróica, ternura metafísica em Antero . . . ternura por si próprio e pela sua terra — esquivada (. . .) espontânea e com o lado «tristeza»

acentuado em António Nobre, ternura pela paisagem em Fialho, ternura que chega a assomar as janelas da alma de Eça de Queiroz.

Chamar ao sol «solzinho de Deus» é um fenómeno especial de ternura. Nessas frases do povo está o germe de todo o pátrio.

Páginas de Estética e Teoria e Crítica Literárias, Textos estabelecidos e prefaciados por George R. Lind e Jacinto do Prado Coelho (Lisboa: Ática 1973), pp. 329-330.

- (48) Even today, not much is known about the early settlements in the Azores. In the most recent historical account of the islands, Carreiro da Costa writes:

«In the end, the fact is that the question of the settlement of the Azores is yet to be sufficiently understood . . .»

Esboço Histórico dos Açores, O. c., p. 58.

There is no doubt, however, that «the great majority of settlers consisted of mainland Portuguese, and further that almost every province of Portugal was represented.» Luís Ribeiro, «Formação Histórica do Povo dos Açores, *Açoriana*, Vol. II, (1941), p. 195.

Non-Portuguese played a relatively minor role, though they did contribute. First among these were the Flemish. Later on, and in much smaller numbers, came small groups of settlers from other Central and Southern European nations. Several references maintain that some Moors and black slaves were brought to the islands by the Portuguese colonizers. See Carreiro da Costa, *O. c.*, p. 60.

- (49) In the original:

Sempre o mesmo horizonte
— mar, névoa, a ilha em frente
Dizem os garajaus ao voltar
Que não mais será diferente.

Almeida Firmino, *Em Memória de Mim* (Angra do Heroísmo, Açores: Author's Edition, 1971), p. 27.

- (50) In the original:

Este céu baço, esta humidade, o ritmo
monótono do mar, a solidão
que faz moer a dor . . .

Este sol entre as nuvens, a neblina
 que me enerva e penetra os meus ossos,
 tudo isto é ilha, Amor.

Entre o Sonho e a Realidade (Angra do Heroísmo: Cadernos do Pensamento, 1957), p. 39.

) Translated by George Monteiro. In the original:

Ilha
 Só isto:
 O céu fechado, uma ganhoa
 pairando. Mar. E um barco na distância:
 olhos de fome a adivinhar-lhe a proa,
 Califórnia perdidas de abundância.

A Ilha e o Mundo, (Lisboa: Centro Bibliográfico, 1953), p. 17.

) O. c., pp. 44-45.

) Ibid., p. 59.

) O. c., p. 21.

Ibid., pp. 22-23.

Ibid., p. 28.

Ibid., p. 32.

Ibid., pp. 70-72.

Ibid., pp. 99-100.

Ibid., p. 108.

Ibid., p. 128.

Ibid., p. 210.

Joseph and Henry Bullar, O. c., Vol. I, pp. 131-133.

- (64) O. c., p. 26.
- (65) Ibidem.
- (66) Santos Barros opens his book with two quotations about humidity. The first is from Virginia Woolf. The other is by the Azorean poet Roberto de Mesquita:

«Que mágoa anónima satura / este ar de inverno, este ar doente?
 (What anonymous grief saturates / this winter air, this air of illness?) *A Humidade* (Lisboa: Cooperativa Semente, 1979), p. 5.

- (67) Ibid., p. 23.
- (68) *Almas cativas e Poemas Dispersos*, Edited by Pedro da Silveira, (Lisboa: Edições Ática, 1973), p. 70.
- (69) O. c., p. 354. To this Ribeiro adds:

«According to the testimony of Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcelos, that atmosphere saddened and drowsed the soul of Antero de Quental» (p. 34).

Antero de Quental was a social thinker and poet who was intensely concerned with socio-political problems in Portugal, but who was also deeply committed to and enveloped by metaphysical and spiritual questions. He committed suicide while in São Miguel, during one of his depressed periods.

Quental's depressions have been associated with the ecological environment by Rebelo de Bettencourt, another Azorean poet. Although this association involves some degree of poetic freedom, it is insightful. The poem is partially quoted here:

Sob a chuva do tédio

Dia aziago. Chove . . . O céu é de ameaça.
 Uma bruma cinzenta estrangula a paisagem
 Oiço na voz da chuva uma estranha linguagem
 E adivinho não sei que sombra de desgraça!

.....

A tristeza é irmã desta chuva a tombar . . .

– Foi numa tarde assim que Antero de Quental.
Desiludido e só, se resolveu matar.

Um tédio enorme deixa a paisagem doente:
– É o mesmo, talvez, que anda, por nosso mal,
Nos *Sonetos* de Antero e na alma da gente!

(*Vozes do Mar e do Vento. Antologia Poética*. Lisboa, 1953, pp. 37-8.)

- 0) O. c., pp. 90-91.
- 1) Ibidem, p. 80.
- 2) *Sinais do Oeste*, (Coimbra: Textos Vértice, 1962), p. 25.
- 3) Raúl Brandão was deeply impressed by the effects that isolation had on a shepherd on São Jorge:

«Reparo com pasmo que este pastor me fala da vida com indiferença plantado diante de mim como um tronco. É um bruto, mas foram os outros que o reduziram à condição de bruto. As coisas mais duras di-las com a mesma cara de estanho. O isolamento comunicou-lhe a mudez. (O. c., p. 184) Nunca vi diante de mim figura tão inexpressiva. Não foi o isolamento que o criou. Mais que o abandono, criou-o o desprezo pela criatura humana . . . Ninguém se aproxima deste escravo na solidão do mar e da pastagem . . . Lá fica no abandono do bicho . . . imóvel como se fosse de pedra — onde a dor não entra e, se entra, em pedra se converte. (p. 186)

A similar metaphor was used by Brandão to describe an old man he saw sitting at the plaza of Corvo: «Os homens são estátuas por concluir» (p. 42) («men are unfinished statues»).

Carlos Faria, a mainland Portuguese poet, who often travels through the islands, has a kind of fascination with São Jorge as the epitome of an island. He frequently tells the story of someone running in São Jorge and being told by an islander, in a low and dull voice: «Eih, where are you going in such haste? The island ends there already!»

This in fact seems more likely to be the invention of a poet, the product of an attempt to capture the feeling of «islandness» as perceived through mainland eyes. True islanders who have never left the Azores are not conscious of the small-

ness of their world. That smallness may be reflected in their views, but they are not aware of it. Dimensions are relative, and to them their own world is in fact «large». The following true story does not pretend to be the norm, but it does illustrate this point. During the summer of 1976 my wife and I visited Fajã do Ouidor, a small seaside town on the northern coast of San Jorge. A young girl, probably eight or nine years of age, struck up a conversation with Mary:

«Where are you from?» the girl asked.

Mary avoided an exact answer, convinced that the girl would not know about her country. «I am from a land very far away from here.»

«But which one is it?» the girl insisted.

«I'm from Greece», replied Mary. «It is very far.»

The little girl continued, «Is it farther than Calheta?»

Calheta is a town right across the island, on the opposite shore, some ten kilometers away.

- (74) Quoted in Ruy Galvão de Carvalho, «Possibilidades duma Literatura de Significação Açoriana», *Insulana* XII (1956), 218-219. Vol. XII (1956) no. 2, p. 218-219. There has been some dispute on this alleged influence of the sea. In a commentary on Ribeiro's study, João Afonso refers to Nemésio's insistence on the influence of the sea («Sou quase do próprio mar») and also to Ribeiro's

«O Açoriano tem sempre diante dos olhos o mar e o horizonte marítimo sem fim, a contrastar com o acanhado horizonte terrestre. De toda a parte, pois raros são os lugares de onde ele se não avista, ora o vê sereno e calmo como um lago, ora agitado pelos fortes vendavais do pleno Atlântico Norte parecendo querer engulir a terra»

O. c., p. 54.

Afonso writes:

«sem dúvida a presença constante do mar, desde o nascimento até à morte, na vida do açoriano em sua ilha . . . levou o Dr. Luís Ribeiro a inteligenciar até que ponto o mar constitui um dos factores primaciais na determinação da açorianidade.

Efectivamente, o mar é uma constante nos Açores . . . Mas o estudo da influência do mar nos povos . . . parece continuar a propôr-se como assunto árduo . . .

É sintomática a verificação de L. Ribeiro quanto ao contraste entre os poetas açorianos cultos — seu número e qualidade —

que, de qualquer forma, e mais ou menos acentuadamente, se encontram com o mar (o mar-tema, o mar-paisagem, em todo o caso) e os poetas que não inteligenciam o mar (p. 117).

He then refers to Emanuel Félix's study *O meio escolar açoriano – Aspecto Geográfico*, wherein the sea is considered solely as an element in the landscape.

In this search for influence, it is necessary to distinguish between being aware of x 's influence (x in fact being an influence), and not being aware of x 's influence (while x is still of equal influence). Specifically, Ribeiro's observation that the sea is present only in the more sophisticated literature and is almost absent in most folk literary expression implies that many Azoreans are not highly aware of the ocean's presence.

Regarding this notion, it should be noted that much of Azorean folk literature originated in the mainland, possibly in the interior where the sea has no influence, and also that it has mainly been transmitted orally. The folk literature that actually originated in the islands speaks little of the sea, because the sea is an intrinsic part of life for only about 3% of the population. Beginning with the earliest settlements, the bulk of the Azorean people have been most closely tied to the interior of the islands. This may be partly because the colonizers came from the Portuguese interior, but probably more because they came to the islands with the specific purpose of cultivating land to supply ships en route from Africa. Because the history of the first island settlements was never recorded in any detail, these thoughts are inevitably speculative.

Nonetheless, the people may in fact not realize how much the sea affects them, while it still does have an influence. Similarly, the folk literature contains no reference to either the humidity of the «Azorean torpor», yet these do affect their lives. All of these environmental elements are a structural part of the native's world. They know no other which might provide some contrast.

Finally, it is at least certain that the sea does have the following impact on the lives of the islanders: it is the sea, by definition, that makes the islands «islands», and therein it isolates them greatly from each other and from the rest of the world. That feeling of isolation can be seen in the many aspects of Azorean life, including the predominant *saudade*, the fatalism, the religion, and the major social structures, to name a few.

Melville J. Herskovitz, *Cultural Dynamics*. Abridged from *Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Alfred Knopf, Inc., 1964) p. 149.

Among the island's first recorded volcanic disasters was the Sete Cidades eruption of 1433, which occurred shortly after the first settlers had come to the islands. It was accompanied by one solid year of consecutive earthquakes. No one had any

possibility of escape.

In 1552 Vila Franca do Campo, the capital of São Miguel, was destroyed by quakes. The second half of the century witnessed six additional major cataclysms. In 1614 the town of Praia da Vitória, on Terceira, was shaken to ruins, and at least twelve major tragedies hit the islands during the 17th and 18th centuries combined. Having only recently struggled to its feet, Praia da Vitória was again destroyed in 1841. In 1926 the city of Horta was demolished, one of several traumas to strike during this century. In addition to standard quakes, submarine eruptions (Capelinhos) have also been prevalent throughout Azorean history. The last of these occurred in Faial in 1957-58.

(77) O. c., p. 25. Ribeiro quotes William Humbolt:

«O que se apodera de nós é a perda da nossa confiança inata e na estabilidade do solo. Desde a nossa infância habituamo-nos ao contraste entre a mobilidade da água e a imobilidade da terra. Há um poder desconhecido até então que se revela de repente, a calma da natureza era apenas uma ilusão e sentimo-nos violentamente arremessados para o caos das forças destrutivas. Então cada ruído, cada sopro de vento, excita a nossa atenção; desconfiamos sobretudo do chão em que pomos os pés. (p. 25)

Ribeiro quotes also D'Avesac (without identifying his source):

«Tout cela pénètre l'homme du sentiment de la faiblesse et oblige, en dépit de lui-même, à reconnaître et adorer le pouvoir mystérieux, incompréhensible, pour lequel ces prodiges ne sont qu'un jeu» (p. 24).

On the important role that emotions play in beliefs and attitudes, see Darly J. Bem, *Beliefs, Attitudes, and Human Affairs* (Belmont, California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1970).

(78) O. c., p. 130.

(79) The *Romeiros* (pilgrims) are groups of men who leave their town and walk around the island of S. Miguel for eight days during Lent. Throughout their journey they stop at every church that has been dedicated to the Virgin Mary. They travel with covered heads, singing the rosary as they go. Even today, a spirit of tragedy pervades the melody of their *Ave Maria* (Hail Mary).

- 30) O. c., p. 26.
- 31) The *festas do Espírito Santo* (Feasts of the Holy Ghost) are intimately connected to past volcanic catastrophes. These feasts have taken hold with almost equal force throughout all the islands, unlike most other religious traditions. Traditionally, during the time of an eruption, the crown of the Holy Ghost was brought to the site of the tragedy, and vows were made *in loco*.
- 32) Pe. Júlio da Rosa, «A Consciência de Comunidade na Vida e História do Povo Açoriano», in *Livro da III Semana de Estudos dos Açores* (Horta: Instituto Açoriano de Cultura/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1964), p. 54.
- 33) O. c., p. 28.
- 34) To clarify meanings, it is worth quoting this passage by Clifford Geertz:
- «A people's ethos is the tone, character, and quality of their life, its moral and esthetic and mood; it is the underlying attitude toward themselves and their world that life reflects. Their worldview is their picture of the way things in sheer actuality are, their concept of nature, of self, of society. It contains their most comprehensive ideas of order. Religious belief and ritual confront and mutually confirm one another. The ethos is made intellectually reasonable by being shown to represent a way of life implied by an actual state of affairs of which such a way of life is an authentic expression. This demonstration of a meaningful relation between the values a people holds and the general order of existence within which it finds itself is an essential element in all religions, however those values or that order be conceived. Whatever else religion may be, it is in part an attempt (of our implicit and directly felt rather than explicit and consciously thought-about sort) to conserve the fund of general meanings in terms of which each individual interprets his experience and organizes his conduct.» *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1973), p. 127.
- 35) David Kaplan and Robert A. Manners, *Culture Theory*, (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), p. 77-78.
- 36) O. c., p. 45.

- (87) *O. c.*, p. 24. *Capitães donatários* were those who, by decree of the king, had full power to control the islands assigned to them.
- (88) *O. c.*, vol. II, p. 216.
- (89) *A Insularidade como desculpa* was the title of a booklet of cartoons published under the pseudonym of Van der Hagen during the dictatorship, and thus during a time of strict censorship. (Angra: Coleção Degrau, no. 6), 1973.
- (90) A. da Cunha Oliveira, «As Dominantes Actuais do Meio Açoriano, *Livro da II Semana de Estudos* (Angra do Heroísmo: Instituto Açoriano de Cultura/Fundação C. Gulbenkian, 1963), p. 178.
- (91) *Resposta Socialista ao Desafio Açoriano. Programa de Acção Económica para os Açores* (Lisboa: Edições Resposta Socialista, 1976).
- (92) A. Furtado had already written in 1884:
- «Há apenas meio século que se estabeleceram as nossas relações directas e frequentes com os países mais civilizados da Europa; todos sabem o profundo desterro que temos sofrido na máxima parte da nossa vida.» *O. c.*, p. 24.
- (93) Among many of his works, see for instance: «Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares», written in 1871 and published together with other of his works in *Prosas*, vol. II (Coimbra, 1926, p. 92-140).
- (94) See his *História de Portugal*. Many of his critical insights are collected in a series of volumes under the general title *Opúsculos* (Lisboa: Bertrand).
- (95) See particularly his *História da Civilização Ibérica*, *História de Portugal* and *História de Portugal Contemporâneo* (2 vol.) (Lisboa: Guimarães e Co. ia Editores).
- (96) See his *Ensaio* (Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa). The list of pertinent authors and works could continue almost indefinitely. A few more references, however, may be of interest. One of these is Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *A Estrutura na Antiga Sociedade Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Arcádia, 1971). For a general and balanced account of the history of Portugal, see António Sérgio, *Breve Interpretação da História de Portugal* (Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1972) or Flausino Torres, *Portugal, Uma Perspectiva da sua História* (Porto: Afrontamento, 1974.) The best available work on the subject in English is A. H. de Oliveira Marques' two volume *His-*

tory of Portugal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972). A much smaller work, but which offers a useful perspective, is: Charles E. Nowell, *Portugal* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973). A worthwhile account of the dictatorship may be found in António de Figueiredo, *Portugal – Fifty Years of Dictatorship* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1976).

Very recently a considerable number of books has appeared which attempt to penetrate the Portuguese *Weltanschauung*. Among those Eduardo Lourenço's *O Labirinto da Saudade. Psicanálise Mítica do Destino Português*. (Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1978) is especially powerful.

- 7) O. c., p. 20.
- 8) O. c., p. 48.
- 9) For a thorough yet broad analysis of the complexity of social causation and its role in shaping beliefs and values see, for example: Maria Ossowska, *Social Determinants of Moral Ideas* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970).
- 00) «... mal sabendo ler e escrever a maior parte dos nossos morgados e não sendo mesmo costume mandar ensinar isto aos filhos segundos em muitas famílias abastadas.» O. c., p. 31. This was in the last century, of course. But one cannot deny the influences of this old tradition.
- 01) I should explain that a semantic discrepancy exists between the meanings of the Portuguese word *educação* and the English «education». Although the two are etymological cognates, there is not a reciprocal correspondence between their meanings. Semantically speaking, they are false friends.

When we (in English) say that the Portuguese do not value *educação*, we mean that they do not value *instruction*, or classroom schooling. It would be a mistake to assume that they do not value what *they* mean by *educação*. They do indeed value *educação*, but to them this means being brought up properly according to their value system. The problem is that they often do not believe that schools provide *educação* in that sense, and for them, *educação* is far more important than «instruction» (classroom schooling). Thus with some indignation they will argue: «Sê-me uma pessoa bem educada!»

To add to the confusion, «instruction» cannot be translated as *ensino*, because the Portuguese definitely include «*o ser-se bem ensinado*» among their top priorities. This again, however, means «to be brought up and behave properly.»

These apparent word games should merely remind us of the precautions one must take to avoid *clichés*. These latter are inevitably the result of superficial and inaccurate judgments.

- (102) O. c., p. 25. Further down, Furtado writes:

«The low level of imagination of our people reveals itself at first sight in the muddled construction of their sentences, always full of *those's* and *that's*, which often substitute full sentences that don't come to their minds.» (p. 43).

He is mistaken when he attributes the lack of appropriate vocabulary to the lack of imagination. The vocabulary is lacking for the reasons Furtado himself has already pointed to. (p. 25) Naturally, the lack of reading, limited exposure to good speakers of the language, and the dearth of opportunities to use one's entire vocabulary all contribute to poor language performance.

- (103) «... the results obtained (especially from the study of deaf-mutes) reinforce the conviction that there is an organic unity of thinking and speech. Lack of language and speech dooms a child to the mental level of an imbecile, and limited development of language and speech limits the developmental possibilities of thinking. The development of conceptual thinking in the child is doubtless associated with the development of the function of speaking, although the mechanism of the association is far from understood.»

Adam Schaff, *Language and Cognition*. Edited by Tovert Cohen based on translation by Olgierd Wojtasiewicz. (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1973).

- (104) The Azores' major interactions with the outside world have been defined almost entirely by their role as a connecting point for travel and communications between Lisbon and some other place: In the 1500's, the other place was Africa; during the 1700's, Brazil; in the late 1900's it was America. During the second quarter of this current century the islands were a layover point for flights between Europe and North America. Each of these periods provided the archipelago with the needed stimuli of attention and money. The stagnant periods in between, however, were both depressed and depressing. During these latter declines, large numbers of people felt driven to leave almost as if the Azores had lost their purpose in the world.
- (105) Reliable statistics are lacking on this, but it is believed that the number of immigrant Portuguese and Americans of Portuguese descent reaches one million. These are located mostly in Massachusetts (400,000), California (300,000) and Rhode Island (100,000). A large percentage of Portuguese immigrants now in the U. S.

entered the country after 1965, following a revision in the immigration laws. Hence the fact that the Portuguese are becoming rather noticeable only recently. This is particularly true in Southeastern New England. Finally, most of these immigrants are from the Azores. See Sandra Wolforth, *The Portuguese in America*. (San Francisco, California: R and E Research Associates, 1978), p. 16-26 and 61.

(106) In the original:

No arquipélago os barcos nunca
são urgentes, as pessoas esperam . . .
a ilha é um paquete estacionado, o cais
é a unica esperança dos homens sem adeus!

J. H. Borges Martins, *Por Dentro das Viagens* (Angra do Heroísmo, 1973), p. 12.

(107) In the original:

. . . . daqui o povo é homem
em andamento que ficar não é
lugar de vida nem de morte.

A Humidade, O. c., p. 27.

(108) This in no way negates my constant attempts to render my descriptions and analyses as accurate as my methods permitted.

(109) «The only way in which we can strive for *objectivity* in theoretical analysis is to expose the valuation to full light, make them conscious, specific, and explicit, and permit them to determine the theoretical research. In the practical phases of a study, the stated value premises, together with the data (established by theoretical analysis with the use of the same value premises) should then form the premises for all policy conclusions.»

Gunnar Myrdal, *Objectivity in Social Research* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), p. 55-56.