CHAPTER 3

Latitudes of Indenture: Portuguese Islanders in Post-Abolition Guiana Plantations and in Hawai'i

CRISTIANA BASTOS

MADEIRANS IN MOTION: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

In this article, I bring together two different societies in which Madeiran islanders became a distinct local group after migrating there as contract labourers: British Guiana and Hawai'i. Both societies rested on a labour-devouring sugar economy that, at different moments, made use of contingents of Portuguese islanders from Madeira and, to a lesser degree, from the Azores. In the Guianas, the Portuguese were recruited from the mid-1830s, after the abolition of slavery in the British Empire and before the large-scale arrival of indentured South Asian labourers. In Hawai'i, the Portuguese were contracted from the late 1870s, under the sponsorship of the Hawaiian Board of Emigration and with the support of the Planters Association, in a context in which political debates were raging about which groups should provide both the labour force for the new plantation economy and a replacement population to counter the effects of the collapse of the indigenous population.[1]

[1] From an estimated number of at least 300,000 native Hawaiians in 1778 (Takaki 1983, 22), or up to nearly 700,000 according to new research (Swanson 2016), the population had gone down to 130,000 in 1834, down to 71,000 in 1853 (Takaki 1983, 22) and down to 57,000 in 1872 according to official censuses. The arrival of many thousands of labour migrants in the following

According to oral tradition maintained by the descendants of the Madeiran labourers who went to the Caribbean and Hawaiian plantations, their recruitment was based on their familiarity with sugarcane fields and mills and their expected endurance regarding plantation life and work. Indeed, there had been sugar production in Madeira in the past. However, in the nineteenth century, when Madeirans were recruited to work in the Caribbean and Hawaiian cane fields, few of them had been directly engaged in the sugar plantation economy. The production of sugar was already residual and small-scale in Madeira at that time (Vieira 2004). They might have shared the collective memory of the plantation—one that could account for a familiarity with its rhythms and rationale, work schedules, hierarchies, tensions and resistances—combined with the tradition of being sharecroppers and small farmers or other occupations (Branco 1987).

In other words, Madeirans who moved from their island to colonial Guiana or Hawai'i were not going from sugarcane to sugarcane in a literal way, but they were somehow familiar with plantation life and its harshness. In Madeira, sugar had been replaced by another important commodity: wine (Branco 1987, Câmara 2006, Vieira 1993). Wine, not sugar, was Madeira's main product by the time Madeirans went to the Guianas and Hawai'i. *Madeira* is recognized around the world as a wine, even though few associate it with a specific place and even fewer can identify that place as an archipelago in the Atlantic that had been home to many of those who joined the labour force of tropical plantations. Madeira wine, just like Port wine in the region of Douro and city of Porto in northern mainland Portugal, was mostly run by British

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decades reversed the demographic decline. In 1900, the population of Hawai'i had nearly tripled to 154,000 (Forstall 1996, 3). Among the newcomers and their offspring, there were 18,272 Portuguese individuals, almost 12 per cent of the total population. Other groups included the Chinese (17 per cent), Japanese (40 per cent), Hawaiians proper (19 per cent) and part-Hawaiians, whether European-Hawaiian (5 per cent) or Asian-Hawaiian (2 per cent), and a varied group of non-Portuguese Europeans and North Americans (6 per cent in total) (see Forstall 1996, 3).

merchants. The wine trade kept Madeira tied to the world economy, to London, to British networks and to maritime routes across the world. It is my argument that those factors, particularly Madeira's position in British networks of commerce and sailing, are likely to have influenced the recruitment of Madeirans more than their supposed expertise in cane fields.

For Madeirans, Demerara and Hawai'i became viable destinations for escaping the harsh life on the islands. Plantations were on their horizon, regardless of the fact that they might, and most often did, run into harsher conditions than the ones they left behind on Madeira, where they could at least hold on to family networks and community support. Madeirans, like Azoreans, were themselves the descendants of settlers who started arriving on the previously uninhabited archipelagos from the 1400s. Most settlers came from mainland Portugal (Matos 2005, 144-6). In the very early years of settlement, however, enslaved workers were recruited in the Canaries and coastal North Africa and were joined later by West Africans in the sugar plantations (Vieira 1991). The impact of the different groups on Madeiran demography has been a matter of debate among historians. There is consensus among Madeiran historians that non-Portuguese groups brought in the early period of settlement had a reduced impact on the island's demographics when compared to the impact of the steady waves of mainlanders who came throughout the centuries to labour the land or rule over it; in other words, the Madeiran population is mostly of European descent, Iberian variety, rather than of African descent.[2] The feudal model of settlement adopted by the Portuguese

[2] Differently than for Madeira and the Azores, whose population was mostly Euro-descendent, the population of Cape Verde resulted from multiple combinations of Africans and Europeans. None of those archipelagos had indigenous populations, except for the Canary Islands, where Guanches had lived much before the Sapnish arrived. Further research would be needed to assess how many of non-Madeiran islanders might have been lumped with Madeirans in some of the periods of sponsored migration to British Guyana, as there was a category for counting passengers that covered those to four north Atlantic archipelagos together.

crown and its beneficiaries was based on a rigid and pyramidal social structure with a disenfranchised labouring class at the bottom. Given Madeira's geographical position in the North-South Atlantic routes, it comes as no surprise that the vulnerable population at the bottom of the social hierarchy was ready to jump on passing ships, whether as stowaways that just wanted to leave, part of organized migrations, or a combination of both. And many did depart, both as part of sponsored contingents and as individuals who took their chances on the passage. Some of those who were not in the most vulnerable positions also embarked in the hope of improving their lives.

Other routes were also on the Madeirans' horizon, particularly Brazil—a magnet that attracted people from everywhere before and after it gained independence in 1822. Its southern borders—the subject of dispute between Spanish and Portuguese rulers—had been fixed in the eighteenth century with the settlement of about 1,000 Portuguese families from the islands. In the years to come, before and after Brazilian independence in 1822, many Portuguese mainlanders would join the islanders in south, north, inland, coastal, rural and urban Brazil. Only a few of them owned plantations or held higher positions in the government bureaucracies; most went there as rural settlers, urban dwellers, craftsmen or shopowners. In the large and vibrant city of Rio de Janeiro, once the capital of the empire and later of the republic (until it was transferred to Brasília in 1960), the label 'Portuguese' was more often associated with the urban migrant who owned or worked in a bakery or other small business than with the former colonial power. Indeed, the Portuguese accounted for over 30 per cent of the free workers in Rio in 1834, and one-fifth of its total population in 1906 (Ribeiro 2006, 165). In the four decades between 1891 and 1930 over one million moved from Portugal to Brazil.[3]

[3] According to specialist Gladys Sabina Ribeiro, Portuguese migration to Brazil increased massively towards the end of the monarchy, with 202,429 arrivals between 1891 and 1900; 218,193 between 1901 and 1910; 321,507 between 1911 and 1920; and 286,772 between 1921 and 1930 (Ribeiro 2006, 165).

Besides Brazil, a number of other agricultural and non-agricultural destinations overseas attracted the Portuguese islanders: the shores of New England, with their cotton mills, fisheries and whaling (Sylvia 1976, Pap 1981, Baganha 1990, Barcelos 2007, Williams 2007, Warrin 2010, Holton and Klimt 2009, Bastos 2018a), California, first with the gold rush and later with the dairy economy in which many Portuguese achieved steady success (Pap 1981, Baganha 1990, Graves 2004), Trinidad, on occasion of a religious exile, part of them having later moved on to Illinois (Ferreira 2006), St Vincent and Venezuela; and South Africa. For a period, Angola was also a viable destination, as the Portuguese government attempted to both fix the colonial borders and re-route migrants who kept departing for competing empires by offering sponsorship (Bastos 2008).

THE CONTEXT OF THIS RESEARCH

I address Madeirans in British Guiana and Hawai'i in the context of a project on labour and racializations. Other case studies in the project include Mauritian plantations and the multiple layers of labour regimes in the Indian Ocean region (Le Petitcorps 2020, Kantu 2018), contemporary southern Italy's tomato production and the radical precarity of the labour that supports it (Peano 2020), São Tomé's cacao and coffee production in the networks of labour, technology and commerce across empires in the nineteenth century (Macedo 2019, 2021) and their links to projects of plantation in Angola; the nineteenth and early twentieth century cotton mills of New England, their labour migrants and their racialized representations (Bastos 2018a, Moniz 2018). One also discusses Madeiran labour flows in the context of Portuguese colonial settlements (Bastos 2008, 2019).

My work goes against the common sense tendency to essentialize the categories of 'Madeiran' or 'Portuguese' as reflecting race, nation or culture (see Bastos 2020b). Instead, I focus on the processes through which race-based categories are produced in plantation and plantation like systems, while analysing not one specific empire but the labour flows across competing empires

and nations. The study of Madeiran workers in colonial Guiana and in Hawai'i helps illustrate how a group's position in labour generates a racialized classification that lasts as a group identification, whether or not the group remains associated with that position in labour. By racialized classification, I mean here a collective identification that includes a reference to 'race' and biology, even when it is interchangeable with 'nation' or appears as 'ancestry'.

The experiences of the Portuguese islanders in the plantations of British Guiana and Hawai'i differ in many respects: place, time, ecology, legal framework, political environment, cultural elements. Bringing them together implies that there will be some degree of comparison, and that similarities may lead to generalizations about the dynamics of labour and race. Yet, my goal is to highlight the connections across imperial formations. To that end, I focus on Madeirans in different plantation contexts not because of a presumed set of essentialized cultural features but because they illustrate a connectedness of quite distinct flows across quite distinct political situations.

I also briefly refer to a third case connected to the cases of British Guiana and Hawai'i: the Portuguese government sponsored experiment that, in 1884-5, brought a few hundred Madeiran settlers to southern Angola, where sugar had failed and where African groups and other European settlers were competing for territorial influence. The analysis of this case has led me to argue that the Portuguese government was above all attempting to provide an alternative destination for those who kept migrating into competing empires and nations (see Bastos 2008).

MADEIRANS TO COLONIAL GUIANA

Historians and anthropologists of Guyanese society and colonial Guiana have addressed the local Portuguese ethnicity in a number of ways, from Mary Noel Menezes' comprehensive monographs (Menezes 1986, 1992), to Walter Rodney's analysis of the structural competition between Portuguese and Africans on matters of commerce as the root of the so-called Portuguese riots (Rodney

1981), to Brackette Williams's nuanced approach to the role of the Madeiran Portuguese, along with the other groups, in the complex dynamics of ethnicity in Guiana (Williams 1991). But why were the Portuguese in British Guiana to begin with?

Madeirans started on their journey to Demerara in 1835; Demerara was where most went, although a smaller number went to Essequibo and Berbice. Caribbean plantation owners resorted to the impoverished Portuguese islanders from Madeira as a source of labour shortly after the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833—itself prolonging the 1807 slave trade prohibition—and before the arrival of large numbers of indentured labourers from Asia (e.g. Laurence 1994, Lai 1993, Palmié and Scarano 2011, Bahadur 2013, Hassankhan, Roopnarine & Ramsoedh 2016).

From 1835 onwards, and particularly between 1846 and 1848, a large number of Madeiran islanders moved into the Guianas and Caribbean, sometimes while not fully aware of their precise destination (Menezes 1986, 1992, Ferreira 2006). The acting consul for Portugal in Georgetown, Henry Horatio Haynes, suggested they numbered 18,000 in 1851, he also mentioned that 14,000 of them worked in the sugarcane fields, and that the industry would not survive without them.[4] At that time, Portuguese sources refer to their condition as being very poor and the people in need of assistance.[5]

Why did they embark on such a daring venture, which ended with them working to the point of exhaustion in plantations that until recently had depended on forced, enslaved labour, and where many became sick and death? And why were they in particular, rather than other possible groups, recruited? Speculative arguments link the choice of a Portuguese labour force to the influence of an earlier wave of Portuguese settlers in the Caribbean and

[4] Arquivo Histórico Diplomático, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, Lisboa, Consulado Guiana Ingleza, caixa 700, ff 74.

[5] Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Conselho Ultramarino, India, Caixa 14, Doc. 453, 'Sobre o estado de miséria em que se acham os colonos portugueses em Demerara'; Caixa 2, Doc. 32, 'Emigração de madeirenses e açoreanos para a Guiana britânica (Demerara)', 1852.

Guianas, mostly of Dutch influence, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: the Portuguese descent Jewish and *conversos* planters.[6] However, much research would be needed to document that elusive link. I find more productive to look at the fact that Madeira was on the route from Britain to the Caribbean. British captains, contractors, businessmen, pastors, physicians, wine producers and merchants were familiar with the place, and British owned businesses existed in the island. But above all the island's social structure was brutally unequal, the fertility rate was high, and many islanders lived in extreme poverty. The Madeirans were ready to leave and many embarked to unknown destinations as stowaways or crew. To embark for a contract to work on a sugar-cane plantation was a desirable horizon for many of them.

In the context of the current project, I attempted to retrace their experience using an ethnographic-historical perspective; in dialogue with the analytical and historiographic literature, this research gathers together a variety of primary sources, such as consular reports, letters, health assessments, naval logs and oral history. Preliminary analysis of the collected data indicates that the first batches of Madeirans often embarked from extreme conditions, and that their lives at arrival were most challenging.

The few navigation logs that could be found provide an eloquent window onto the near-desperate condition in which many Madeirans embarked. On board the *Borderer* on its trip from Funchal to Demerara in 1847, the author of the unsigned log did not hesitate to use the words 'skeletons' and 'skin and bone' to describe the bodies of his migrant passengers.[7] The *Borderer* left Liverpool on 17 May 1847 and arrived in Madeira after eleven days of sailing. On 8 June, it received a contingent of 250 islanders

[6] While the link between the early settlers and the later labour force is speculative, the role of Portuguese Jewish exiles with Amsterdam connections in the making of a plantation economy in the Guianas and Caribbean is solidly documented (Arbell 2002, Davis 2016, Schreuder 2019).

[7] Caird Library and Archives, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, UK.

destined for Demerara. The log refers to 'men, women, children, most of them in a state of apparent starvation' and reiterates that they were 'literally nothing but skin and bone'. By reading the remaining entries, one learns that some of the Madeirans actually died during the passage; many got sick with dysentery and motion sickness, some had fits and one even fell into the ocean. But there was life and even some enjoyment; there were dances and babies were born. Indeed, one of the babies was born right after its mother stepped aboard the *Borderer*: 'one women half an hour after she came on board has delivered a fine child'. During the first days of sailing, the crew was so busy tending to the migrants that there was hardly anyone left to trim the sails. They had to rescue a man who fell overboard after a fit and care for him; at some point, they even had to use a straitjacket. People got sick, some died and many suffered. But after a few days, people felt happier, the log says, with at least one episode in which migrants and sailors danced together. They arrived at Demerara after twenty-two days of sailing.

So far, I found no direct testimonies of the experience of arriving and settling in the sugarcane plantations, and must lean on the broad framework provided by Guyanese historian Mary Noel Menezes in her monograph *The Portuguese in Guiana* (1992). A brief incursion into the consular correspondence suggests that its study will allow one to achieve a finer grained perception of the migrants' experience of the harsh labour of the sugarcane fields and mills, and assess the extent to which it coincided and diverged from the experience of other plantation labourers—enslaved or free Africans, indentured or free Asians, etc.

After the end of their contracts, some of the Portuguese in the Guiana plantations moved back to Madeira, others moved onto other contracts, other islands or other occupations and social positions. Many of them worked in petty commerce and competed for customers with the freed Africans. This competition was behind the tensions that occasionally exploded in anti-Portuguese riots (Rodney 1981).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, more Madeiran Portuguese moved to British Guiana for a variety of reasons other

than economic pressure, including political motives and objections to the mandatory military service that had been introduced in the meantime. Some established themselves in commerce, benefiting from existing connections. Some built a comfortable livelihood and became part of Guiana's economic and cultural elite; although, for the British rulers, they were a distinct group, not 'white' like the British. In the end, the Portuguese became classified as one of the 'six peoples' or 'six races' of Guiana, along with White, Black, Indian, Amerindian and Chinese, to use a trope that remained intact in independent Guyana and is still used today.

In her landmark monograph on the politics of cultural struggle in Guiana, Brackette Williams provides a nuanced and complex account of the multiple tensions that shape and reshape Guyanese groups and identities and the stereotypes associated with each of them. According to her field interlocutors, the Portuguese (or *potogee*) occupy the stereotype of the greedy merchant who only thinks of making money. Unlike in Hawai'i, as one will see, the post-contract Portuguese in colonial Guiana did not establish themselves as farmers, landowners or city landlords; their business was commerce above all. According to Williams' Guyanese acquaintances, a Portuguese drop of blood in one's veins expanded one's chances of being successful in business, although those chances might be annihilated by the presence of the opposite tendencies brought by African heritage (Williams 1991).

Stereotypes aside, many Portuguese indeed engaged in successful business ventures. Not all of them felt at ease, however, during the tensions and political upheaval experienced in late 1950s and 1960s, before and after Guyana became an independent republic. And while some remained, a good number moved to the UK, Canada and other destinations.[8]

[8] In two brief visits to Georgetown (2011 and 2018), this writer had the opportunity of meeting some Guyanese of Portuguese descent that had achieved remarkable success. It was also learned that a good number of them had migrated to Canada, and in 2018 one had the opportunity to meet a few of those whose families had, for different reasons, moved from Guiana/Guyana to Canada in the late 1950s, 60s and 70s.

MADEIRANS TO HAWAIʻI

Beyond the boundaries of the European empires in the late nineteenth century, the indigenous kingdom of Hawaiʻi also relied on sugar and needed external labour. The reasons why the Hawaiian Board of Immigration and the local planters sponsored Portuguese islanders over other populations from places nearer, whose travel costs were far less, deserve further analysis. A set of structural elements and conjuncture shaped the choice of this group as a source of labour for the Hawaiian plantations (Takaki 1983, Beechert 1985, Jung 2006, Miller 2019). The Hawaiian government was keen on the need to counter the effects of depopulation caused by demographic decline. Bringing migrants into the country was presented as the solution and there were endless discussions about what people would make the best migrants and according to which criteria. Surrounding those discussions was also a growing fear, laced through with the 'yellow peril' ideology (see Miller 2017), of being engulfed by neighbouring Asian nations (mainly China and Japan) that had furnished—or would furnish—contract labourers in large numbers. King David Kalâkaua, who ruled between 1874 and 1891 as a cosmopolitan monarch who engaged with Western modernity while keeping the traditional Hawaiian ways, was an active promoter of the project of bringing in other groups as a counterweight to the Chinese. The Portuguese also offered an alternative to the Japanese labourers; as much as planters cherished the Japanese, there was a subliminal fear that Hawaiʻi would become an extension of Japan through an over population of Japanese on the islands.

For a few years, the Portuguese were presented to the planters as worth their higher cost (of their travel and of their stipend) on the basis of a number of traits. They were considered hard working, family oriented, and, through a variety of euphemisms, of an appropriate race—not really white like the *haoles* (mostly used to refer to Anglo-Saxon foreigners and descendants), but still of European descent, a variation of the white but not quite concept that pervades in some English-speaking environments. The disputable whiteness of the Portuguese was manipulated by the authorities

and ideologues according to the occasion. It was used to bring them closer to white planters in disputes regarding annexation (Daws 1968) and to keep them at a social distance for purposes of managing labour. The Portuguese, arguably white—they were at least 'Caucasian' and 'speakers of a European language' (categories used to bring them closer to white)—but not really 'white', were conveniently used as an alternative both to Pacific islanders, whose numbers were small and to East Asians, who might be too many. Neither the Hawaiian rulers nor the missionary turned-planter *haoles* wanted to replicate the radical racialist divide of the Caribbean and Southern US plantations. They tried to attract different Asian and European nationalities at different moments, and contingents of other European groups smaller than that of the Portuguese made it to Hawaiian plantations: from Spain, Germany, Norway and Sweden.

King Kalâkaua of Hawai'i reportedly preferred the Portuguese islanders because they came with their families, rather than the Japanese or Chinese workers, who came as single men and were said to bring trouble (Williams 2007, Caldeira 2010). But the planters' preference for the Portuguese had a racialist and managerial component, as they both considered the Portuguese islanders to be of Caucasian descent and characterized them as less prone to engage in class-conflict than other groups (Jung 2006). Kalâkaua's counsellor Hildebrand explicitly promoted the Madeiran Portuguese as the ideal migrants after a visit to Madeira in the 1870s (Takaki 1983, Miller 2017), but some of the Portuguese whalers and sailors that had arrived and settled in Hawai'i in the previous decades also claim they had some influence on the decision to look to Madeira for labour (Caldeira 2010). Negotiations between Hawai'i and Portugal began in 1877 and led to an agreement for the mutual benefit of their peoples that had the practical effect of facilitating the recruitment of Portuguese labourers for plantation work in Hawai'i.

Sailing from the North Atlantic islands of Madeira and Azores to the Pacific was a long trip of about six months, but not necessarily a tedious journey, judging by the only existing testimony the journal called *Destination: Sandwich Islands*. The journal

reports the 1887 sailing of the vessel *Thomas Bell* between Madeira and Hawai'i, and was written by the young travellers João Baptista d'Oliveira and Vicente d'Ornellas, assisted by the vessel's mate. The manuscript was given to a Portuguese pastor in Hawai'i, who kept it stowed away for years. It was probably forgotten until found by his daughter Lucille da Silva Canario. Canario realized the importance of the document, which, to borrow her words, is the only long testimony ever found of the twenty-four sailings that, over the years, brought Portuguese islanders to Hawai'i. She transcribed the journal, translated it into English, and had it published in the *Hawaiian Journal of History* (d'Oliveira, d'Ornellas & Canario 1970). Thanks to her efforts, we have access to a lively account of the experience of travelling from Madeira to Hawai'i with a group of 400 Portuguese passengers, most of whom were from Madeira, and some of whom had already lived in the plantations of Demerara (Guiana). We can sense the mix of endurance and joy, of love and grief, of parties and fights, of births and deaths. There were rituals, spontaneous festivities, parades, satires, religious festivals. There was food, enjoyment, seasickness. There was love, sex and betrayal and there was even a wedding, officiated by the mate. People died and babies were born on board.

Between 1878 and 1913, an estimated total of 20,000 Portuguese arrived as contract labourers and their families to be a part of Hawai'i's society via its sugar economy. Unlike the mid-1800s wave of Portuguese whalers and sailors, who were single men who jumped ship and married local women, the contract labourers came as families and settled in the plantations along with other ethnicized, racialized communities of workers.

The historian of Hawai'i's plantations Ronald Takaki (1983) argues that it was in the interests of plantation owners to keep the workforce segregated, even when that involved providing different housing, different wages and different functions. Indeed, plantation payroll records are most often organized by racialized groups: Chinese, Hawaiian, Japanese, Portuguese. Some Portuguese moved up to the position of *lunas* (plantation middleman). Others became *paniolos* (cowboys). Some also made it to the city and worked in urban jobs. Many moved out of plantation labour and established

businesses, bought land and made farms. Of those who left Hawai'i, most did not move back home, but moved instead to California, joining another flow of Portuguese islanders who created a successful economic niche in the dairy industry (Graves 2004, Williams 2007). Many, though, remained in Hawai'i, blending in without losing sight of their Portuguese heritage (Knowlton 1960, Felix & Senecal 1978, Freitas 1979, Correa & Knowlton 1982, Takaki 1983, Caldeira 2010).

How did the Portuguese fit into the complex, multi-ethnic and racialized plantation society of Hawai'i? Contrary to the stereotypes supported by the Lusotropicalist credo,[9] the Portuguese in the sugar plantations married mostly within the community, like other groups living the plantation life. And like the Japanese, Chinese and other groups, the Portuguese were counted in the census as a separate racial group under the category of 'other Caucasians' until 1940.

Sociologists Romanzo Adams (1937) and Andrew Lind (1938) explored the racializations in Hawai'i's plantations and post-plantation society, a society that included Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Okinawans, Koreans, Filipinos, local Hawaiians and the *haole* class of missionaries and planters. Although none of those groups corresponded to a precise 'race' in the terminology of the time, they were treated as racial categories for analytical purposes, with due distance maintained from the biological definitions of race (see Adams 1937, Bastos 2018b; 2019). More recently, sociologists Geschwender, Carroll-Seguin and Brill have suggested that the Portuguese in Hawai'i provide a case that demonstrates the universal dynamics of ethnicity. According to the authors, the Portuguese are a classificatory 'anomaly' in that they are of European extraction but considered local, not *haole* (white) because, unlike the *haole*, who came from the centre of the capitalist core, the Portuguese had come as labourers (Geschwender, Carroll-Seguin & Brill 1988). And, like other groups of labourers, they were ethnically stereotyped and racialized as '*portegee*', '*pocho*', '*poregee*', etc.

[9] For recent discussions on this topic, see Anderson, Roque and Santos (2019).

More recently, Moon-Kie Jung has suggested that 'conceptualizing Portuguese, Japanese, Filipino and other migrants in racially disparate ways' was a way of keeping *haole* power and influence (Jung 2006, 61). The Portuguese in particular were left in 'analytical ambiguity' (Jung 2006, 69). And while not being classified as *haole* is a plus for many of the Portuguese descent Americans of today's Hawai'i, in that they are not the target of anti-colonial resentment, for some of the early Portuguese settlers, the ambiguity could be a source of distress, as depicted in Elvira Osorio Roll's novel *Hawaii's Koahala Breezes* (Roll 1964, Rogers 1978, Freitas 1979, Silva 2013, Bastos 2018b, 2019). Both as a young girl and an adult woman, the central character, Infelice, distances herself from the illiterate and backward *poregee* who work in the cane fields, signalling that she is descended from Portuguese aristocracy and that her father owns a business. Yet, she is stigmatized as *poregee* by the *haoles*, who disapprove of her romantic involvement and marriage to a *haole* boy.

The Portuguese who went to the Hawaiian plantations came from a variety of backgrounds. Many were familiar with agriculture and some were among the disenfranchised. But many others were urbanites who longed to work in a city street shop. Some were small-scale farmers who dreamt of acquiring land. Others were business-oriented and used the period of indenture/contract to amass funds or take advantage of opportunities to acquire land to pursue their dreams. Once the initial three-year term ended, some renewed their contract, and some moved up in the plantation hierarchies as *lunas.* Some bought land and farmed it, while others moved into the city. Some, particularly after annexation, moved to mainland America. Only a few went home.

By the mid-twentieth century, the Portuguese in Hawai'i were no longer seen as a separate race based group, but acknowledged for their heritage, culture and contribution to the making of modern Hawaiian society. Associated with them are iconic Hawaiian foods like malasadas or Portuguese sausage and the quintessential Hawaiian '*ukulele*, ingeniously developed by Nunes, Dias and Espírito Santo from their own small guitar, the *braguinha* (Tranquada & King 2012). On the 1978 centennial of the arrival of the *Priscilla*,

the bark that brought the first sponsored Madeiran islanders to Hawai'i, a local committee of distinguished Portuguese marked the event with a number of celebrations and the construction of a marble 'padrão' and a Portuguese-style cobble-stone pavement downtown (see Felix & Senecal 1978). A plaque on the monument pays homage to the Portuguese pioneers and notes their origin and the dynamics of their growth and upward mobility along with their full integration in the island community. To this day, the number of Portuguese family names in Hawai'i is impressive and, although hardly anyone knows the language, there are festivals and associations that celebrate Portuguese heritage and keep the flame of genealogy alive (Bastos 2020a).

PRELIMINARY CODA: MADEIRANS AND THE BIOPOLITICS OF EMPIRES

All through the nineteenth century, Madeiran islanders migrated to a variety of destinations across empires and nations, making the Portuguese government nervous about population loss. One can sense this anxiety in many consular documents and in the attempts to re-route the migrants of Demerara into Portuguese administered territories in Africa and elsewhere. After much discussion, the Portuguese government promoted a bio-political move that attempted to both reduce the outmigration of nationals into competing nations and empires and create white settlements in disputed lands in Africa. From 1884 on, hundreds of Madeirans—some of whom had already been to Hawai'i—moved to the plateau of Huila in southern Angola (Medeiros 1976, Bastos 2008), where previous attempts to develop a sugar economy had failed for both ecological and social reasons (Medeiros 1976). The Madeirans gathered in small, relatively egalitarian rural communities in the region, carving out a space as white settlers, only to be reclassified as second class whites—for having lived too long in Africa—by the settlers who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s from mainland Portugal (Medeiros 1976, Castelo 2006). After Angolan independence, many of the descendants of the original Madeiran settlers moved to new destinations, including Portugal, Brazil and South Africa.

By adding the Angola case to the double study of British colonial Guiana and of Hawai'i, one can further expand the universe of analysis that emphasizes connections rather than strict comparison in attempting to understand the ways in which the legacies of slavery and indentured labour—which stood upon global empires with political strategies affecting territories and peoples—are inscribed in social fabric, collective memory and racialized stereotypes.

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