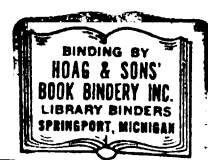
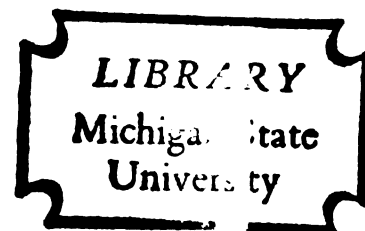


A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF COMPADRIO
IN TWO PORTUGUESE VILLAGES

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
CHARLES LUKE BOUGHTER
1970

THESIS

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BAPTISM
IN TWO PORTUGUESE VILLAGES

Charles E. Rosenberg

The Medieval Catholic Church required baptism, confirmation, and marriage involve a ritual act of spiritual sponsors who not only become god-parents of the initiate, but also became involved in the social structure as co-parents. Considerable research has been done on the ritual co-parenthood system in Latin America and it is known that this compadrio system was an integral part of the culture the Portuguese took to Brazil in the 16th century. However, little is known about the historical and functional importance of the god-parent system in Portugal today.

In order to understand more about compadrio in contemporary Portugal a comparative study was made of the two villages, Vila Nova de Milfontes and Cuba. These two communities are similar in their historical relation to the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and in their degree of isolation from the effects of industrialization. Also, both villages are semi-stratified with a large

ABSTRACT

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF COMPADRIO
IN TWO PORTUGUESE VILLAGES

By

Charles Luke Boughter

The Medieval Catholic ritual of baptism, confirmation, and marriage involved a social network of spiritual sponsors who not only became god-parents of the initiates, but also became involved in the social structure as co-parents. Considerable research has been done on the ritual co-parenthood system in Latin America so that it is known that this compadrio system was an integral part of the culture the Portuguese took to Brazil in the 16th century. However, little is known about the survival and functional importance of the god-parent system in Portugal today.

In order to understand more about compadrio in contemporary Portugal a comparative study was made of the two villages, Vila Nova de Milfontes and Cuba. These two communities are similar in their historical relation to the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and in their degree of isolation from the effects of industrialization. Also, both villages are semi-stratified with a large

section of the population classified as homogeneous. However, they differed in their environmental setting. Vila Nova is a small fishing village along the southwest coast where relatively good land has been available for small plot farming, thus providing the potential for socio-economic mobility. Cuba, in contrast, is a large village located in-land in a dry climate where poor land composes the latifundia so typical of this southern Alentejo province. Here the large percentage of the population work on the large farm estates as they have for more than five centuries with little interest in economic mobility.

The author lived in each village to obtain data by means of structured interviews, observation, and census information. Literature on the god-parent system in Latin America and Europe was consulted as well as historical studies on the development of compadrio in Spain and Portugal. Each village was analyzed on the basis of economic mobility in order to determine the function of the god-parent system and the provenance of god-parents.

Contrary to much of the literature on the god-parent system in Latin America, it was found that conformity to compadrio and the selection of non-relatives as god-parents vary directly with the degree of socio-economic mobility. In both villages a higher degree of conformity to compadrio was noted in the upper classes.

Today, in function, the emphasis of the god-parent system has shifted from the original Catholic teaching of a god-parent/god-child relationship to a ritual co-parent-hood. This gives to the villager, who is becoming mobile, the needed mediators for resolving his economic and cultural problems as he faces the unknowns resulting from the process of industrialization. Through compadrio the villager stands to gain both in the network of new relationships and through conformity to the powerful Church. As the peasant moves away from dependency to greater economic independency and mobility, he becomes increasingly affected by the cultural values of the Church-sanctioned god-parent system. It becomes the status symbol of his desired new world and a requisite for structuring needed mediators to help him on the road to social mobility.

Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Anthropology

1970

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF COMPADRIO IN TWO PORTUGUESE VILLAGES

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
	By	
	The Problem.	1
	Charles Luke Boughter	1
	Statement of the problem.	1
	Definition of compadrio	1
	Questions Raised by Other Studies	3
	Latin-American and Middle American studies.	4
	Contemporary Mediterranean studies	6
	A question of process	7
	The need for ethnological studies in	
	Portugal	8
	Research Design	9
	Organization of Reminders of Thesis.	10
II.	METHOD OF RESEARCH	12
	Submitted to	
	Michigan State University	
	in partial fulfillment of the requirements	
	for the degree of	
	Field Methods	12
	Research technique	16
	Organization of Field Work.	21
III.	DESCRIPTION OF VILLAGES DE MILFONTES	22
	MASTER OF ARTS	
	History of the Village	23
	Department of Anthropology	
	Continuing influence of the Catholic Church	27
	The Republican Period	28

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
The Problem.	1
Statement of the problem.	1
Definition of compadrio	1
Questions Raised by Other Studies	3
Latin-American and Middle American studies.	4
Contemporary Mediterranean studies	6
A question of process.	7
The need for ethnological studies in Portugal	8
Research Design	9
Organization of Remainder of Thesis.	10
II. METHOD OF RESEARCH	12
Field Methods Employed in Vila Nova.	12
Research Techniques Employed in Cuba	16
Organization of Field Work.	21
III. DESCRIPTION OF VILA NOVA DE MILFONTES.	22
History of the Village	23
Continuing Influence of the Catholic Church	27
The Republican Period.	28

CHAPTER

PAGE

The New State Period	29
Recent developments	30
Folk religion today	32
The Ecology and Land Tenure	35
Conditions favoring minifundia.	35
Resources of the sea	36
Aforar system and land tenure	38
Life in the Village Today	41
Domestic organization.	44
Agricultural organization	47
Life at sea	50
Diversion.	53
Political organization	56
Educational system.	57
Social Organization	58
Childhood.	58
Courtship.	61
Marriage and kinship	63
IV. A DESCRIPTION OF CUBA	78
History of the Village	78
Influence of the Catholic Church.	79
The Ecology.	81
Latifúndio, the big estate farm	82

CHAPTER

PAGE

The Village Today	84
Political organization.	88
The educational system.	89
The agricultural system	91
Fall plowing and planting.	91
Olive harvest.	92
A monda.	95
The harvest	98
Cork harvest	100
The village market	102
Social Organization	105
Baptism.	107
Courtship	109
Marriage	111
Associations	115
Status and social change	118
V. ANALYSIS OF COMPADRIO IN VILA NOVA	124
Discussion of the Hypothesis	124
The working hypothesis.	127
A Description of Compadrio	130
Non-mobile dependent farm laborers.	131
Quasi-mobile fishermen, farmers.	132
Mobile farmer and boat owner.	135

CHAPTER	PAGE
Independent merchant, artisan, functionary .	140
Independent landowners, industrialists . .	143
Summary of Chapter.	144
VI. ANALYSIS OF COMPADRIO IN CUBA.	147
Description of Compadrio by Class in Cuba . .	149
The criteria of class categories in Cuba. .	149
Dependent Latifundium worker.	150
Quasi-mobile farm laborer, renter, factor worker	152
Mobile merchants, artisan, skilled factory workers	155
Independent government employees and small farm owners.	157
Independent Latifundium owner	161
VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.	162
Summary	162
The influence of the Catholic Church . . .	163
The effect of the environment	164
Compadrio	165
Conclusions	167
Cousin marriage and availability of land . .	171
Questions for Further Study.	172
BIBIOGRAPHY.	175
APPENDIX.	183

TABLE

PAGE

XII. Frequency of Sponsors in Four Households of

Class (4) in LIST OF TABLES

140

TABLE		PAGE
I.	Origin of Spouses in Forty-One Households	66
II.	Origin of Household Units According to Type	70
	and Composition	70
III.	Ecological Contrast Between Two Villages	82
IV.	Distribution of Male Population Ages Twenty	
	to Sixty-Five in 1965 in Cuba	106
V.	Distribution of Total Population in the	
	District of Beja in 1967	106
VI.	Thirty-Seven Household Units According to	
	Type and Composition	113
VII.	Comparison of Daily Wages (Escudos)	121
VIII.	Classification of Economic Mobility in Vila	
	Nova.	130
IX.	Frequency of Sponsors in Vila Nova in Class	
	(1)	131
X.	Frequency of Sponsors in Five Households of	
	Class (2) in Vila Nova.	133
XI.	Frequency of Sponsors in Fourteen Households	
	of Class (3) in Vila Nova.	135

TABLE	PAGE
XII. Frequency of Sponsors in Four Households of Class (4) in Vila Nova	140
XIII. Classification of Economic Mobility in Cuba.	148
XIV. Frequency of Sponsors in Nine Households of Class (1) in Cuba.	150
XV. Frequency of Sponsors in Three Households of Class (2) in Cuba.	154
XVI. Frequency of Sponsors in Five Households of Class (3) in Cuba.	156
XVII. Frequency of Sponsors in Three Households of Class (4) in Cuba.	159
XVIII. Educational Achievements of Ninety-Three Men in Cuba, Average Age Thirty-Eight	184
XIX. A Comparison of Establishments	185
20. Map of Vila Nova	187
21. Map of Cuba.	188
22. Map of Alentejo	189

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		PAGE
1.	"Primo Irmãos" Families A and B	67
2.	"Primo Irmãos" Families J, K, L	68
3.	Kinship Terms of Reference.	72
	Key to Figure III.	71
4.	Example of Bilateral Origin of Surname.	74
5.	Conformity to Compadrio According to Mobility in Vila Nova and Cuba Compared.	169
6.	Selection of Friends or Relatives as God-parents According to Mobility in Vila Nova and Cuba Compared	170
7.	Map of Portugal	186
8.	Map of Vila Nova	187
9.	Map of Cuba.	188
10.	Map of Alentejo	189

Definition of compadrio. The European spiritual
co-parent system had its origin within the Roman Catholic

The Portuguese spelling is used for this term.
See Appendix, pages 130-141 for glossary of all underlined
Portuguese words used in this thesis.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Anthropological research in Latin America has demonstrated the importance of the ritual co-parenthood system (compadrio)¹ in understanding social structure and culture change. Little is known, however, about the system in Portugal today even though there is abundant evidence of the Roman Catholic compadrio being an integral part of the culture the Portuguese took to Brazil in the sixteenth century (Freyre, 1946).

I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. The purpose of a controlled comparison of two Portuguese villages was to find the relative importance of compadrio in the social structure today and to determine the conditions under which the system can be expected to change.

Definition of compadrio. The European spiritual co-parent system had its origin within the Roman Catholic

¹The Portuguese spelling is used for this term. See Appendix, pages 190-192 for glossary of all underlined Portuguese words used in this thesis.

Church previous to the fourth century A.D. as a sequence to the earlier custom of the biological parents being the spiritual sponsors for a child at baptism. Later, sponsors included those who were not the parents who soon were known as "god-parents." The earliest reference to these spiritual sponsors at baptism is found in Tertullian around 220 A.D. in his treatise on Baptism.

In Baptism the sponsors likewise should be thrust into danger who both themselves by reason of mortality may fail to fulfill their promises and may be disappointed by the development of an evil disposition in those for whom they stood (Tertullian, 1951:678).

It is not known how early the practice began of choosing sponsors for marriage, but it is likely to have been even previous to the system for baptism. Kurtz points out that Roman Law required two witnesses for civil marriage so that it was to be expected that the Christians would have transferred the requirement to the practice of using spiritual sponsors for the marriage couple (Kurtz, 1889:389).

The Council of Munich in 813 prohibited parents from acting as sponsors and later, sponsors were also chosen for the rite of confirmation (Mintz and Wolf, 1950: 344).

The Council of Metz, 888 A.D., defined incest for both biological and ritual relations to seven degrees, while the number of sponsors grew for each rite.

By the end of the ninth century the institution of godfather was universal and founded a spiritual relationship within which marriage was prohibited not only between the godparents themselves, but also between those and the baptized and their children (Kurtz, 1889:367).

Since the sponsor had material and spiritual responsibility for his new "child," he was chosen both vertically from a higher class as well as horizontally from those of the same neighborhood. Social relations thus developed were strengthened and reciprocal relations multiplied not only between the god-parents and their child, but even more important, between the parent of the child and the god-parent. Even further, relationships were constructed between the god-parents of this and other rites within the same family. In this way the kinship and social structure were enlarged to include not only the biological family, but the ritual kin as well, placing increasing emphasis on the ritual co-parenthood (Ravicz, 1967:239).

II. QUESTIONS RAISED BY OTHER STUDIES

The absence of recognizable groups for purposes of cooperation, beyond the nuclear or simple extended family, has been reported as the characteristic of the peasant villages in Latin America and Mediterranean Europe (Foster, 1948:287). The resulting individualism was

thought to have been mitigated by the network of social relations established by compadrio, forming a kind of social insurance, giving greater support and strength to the individual than he would get from his family. Thus, following an equilibrium model, security and unity were thought to have been brought about by the ritual kinship system.

Latin American and Middle American studies. This equilibrium model was the general theme of Gillin's study of the Moche, Foster's of Tzintzuntzan, and Spicer's of Pascua. Spicer writes:

The village feeling of all being compadres is an all pervasive network of relationships which takes into its web every person in the village. The network is in reality an organized system which defines a common body of understanding on which the unity of the village depends. The padrinho group is as clearly an organized structure as is the nuclear family (Spicer, 1940:115).

In these studies the ritual kinship relationships are conceptualized to be functioning as a unity or group, but in fact, except for the rare occasions of the ritual ceremonies themselves when the compadres are brought together, no such group or organized activity actually exists in the village as a result of the god-parent system. Spicer does admit this apparent contradiction: "the circle of people in the relation of compadres to one another never functions completely as such" (1940:113).

In describing the compadrio system in Moche, Gillin also seems to be conceptualizing a unifying system without being able to define an actual existing group. He writes:

. . . compadres . . . is not an organized group; no leadership, no group activity, no rights or obligations pertaining to the group as a whole and no internal organization. There is no word in use in Moche referring to this sort of group as a discrete, functioning entity occupying a place in the social organization (Gillin, 1947:109, 110).

After describing the social security and unifying aspects of the god-parent system in Tzintzuntzan, Foster presents a contradiction when he concludes:

. . . one is struck not with collectivistic, but rather strong tradition of individualistic attitudes. There is no social mechanism whereby the poor are helped and little pity for those who experience personal or financial catastrophies. Cooperation in the field work is unknown (Foster, 1948:287).

In addition to this unclearness concerning the structural meaning of these ego-centric relations, which Friedl refers to as spokes on a rimless wheel (1962:74), both the social security and the unifying concepts of compadrio are now being questioned.

In his later analysis of the Mexican peasant village (1961), the god-parent system in Spain (1963), and his re-thinking Tzintzuntzan in terms of the "Image of Limited Good" (1967), Foster also questions the value of the co-parenthood model for describing the structure of

peasant communities or in giving an adequate explanation of the basic cultural orientation. Furthermore, Spielberg's study of San Miguel Milpas Altas shows that the maintenance of the individualistic character of the interpersonal relations in a small homogeneous village to be of greater importance than the unifying aspect of the god-parent system (1968:209). Sayres (1956) also makes a similar observation as well as van den Berghe who writes:

. . . system-maintaining approach of functionalists appears inadequate and too simple . . . (as) the god-parent system plays, to be sure, an important role, but one that is far more complex and diversified than much of the literature suggests (1966:1242).

Contemporary Mediterranean studies. In the midst of these questions concerning how the ritual kinship institution serves to regulate behavior and to structure relationships, there arises another question. That is whether or not the god-parent system is still in existence in the area of the Iberian Peninsula where it functioned so intensely more than five centuries ago.

In tracing the development of the god-parent system in Europe, Foster (1951, 1953, 1960) sees the system being replaced by the Cofradia, the religious sodality which honors a patron saint. The reason for his change is said to be due to the failure of compadrio to organize community activity and provide adequate social security.

With the coming of industrialization, solidarity was crucial so that the system of cofradia became a visual symbol of association and unity (Foster, 1953:17). However, in spite of these questions as to how compadrio could have survived, Jullian Pitt-Rivers (1958) finds and analyzes ritual kinship in Andalusia and Mintz and Wolf (1950:352, 364) also refer to it in Spain. Willems (1963:75-78) makes some references to the residual effects of compadrio in Portugal and recent studies in Brazil such as Kottak's (1967) showing the ramifications there of the sixteenth century Portuguese co-parenthood system would make a study of Portugal of value in verifying the existence and function of compadrio today.

A question of process. The tension generated by the position of Foster, who predicts the continuation of the co-parenthood system in small homogeneous villages not affected by industrialization (1953:25), in contrast to Spielberg (1968), raises a question of process. Spielberg believes that the larger heterogeneous community has greater possibility of maintaining both social distance and the implicit intrusion of one's individualistic domain by way of the reciprocal obligations of the ritual kinship system. Does, therefore, industrialization lead to replacement of compadrio with other institutions?

How pronounced is this change and what are the other effects on the social structure?

Mintz and Wolf stated:

Under conditions of advanced industrialization mechanisms of social control based on biological or ritual kin affiliation tend to give way before more impersonal modes of organization. Compadrazgo survives most actively in present day Europe within areas of lesser industrial development (1950:364).

Paul also sees the later breakdown of the cofradia with the development of the progressive Catholic lay movement which primarily was a reaction to the Reformation (Paul, 1963). It is therefore needed to determine what are the conditions which favor the ritual kinship system and what direction the change in the system might be expected to take as determining conditions are altered.

The need for ethnological studies in Portugal.
Since the compadrio system had its beginning in Europe, it would be appropriate that some of these questions be pursued in areas of the Mediterranean where conditions obtain for comparative community studies. Julian Pitt-Rivers clarifies the challenge:

(We need) to consider the persistence of certain social features and the failure of others to impose themselves; diffusion and resistance to diffusion can here (Mediterranea) be studied in terms of the functional necessities of the environment, with a wealth of historical sources to be found nowhere else in the world (1963:10).

Some recent anthropological literature on Europe refers to the importance of compadrio in Spain (Pitt-Rivers, 1958, 1963), Portugal (Willems, 1963), Greece (Friedl, 1962), Italy (Silverman, 1965), Serbia (Balikci, 1965) and (Halpern, 1958), but there remains a need to analyze the function of compadrio in Portugal in relation to the questions raised. Recent anthropological literature in Portugal is limited to the community studies by Dias: Vilarinho da Furna in 1948 and Rio de Onor in 1953, and some brief papers by visiting anthropologists, including Willem's two month study of Canhestros in 1954. The large collection of ethnological data in five volumes by Vasconcellos contains very little on social organization and makes no attempt to analyze compadrio in Portugal.

III. RESEARCH DESIGN

It was decided to study two rural Portuguese villages which had differing ecological and economic conditions as well as a variation in the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. The purpose was to study under what conditions compadrio functions and to find the causes for disparities in the institution within and between these two different villages. Further investigation would be made to determine how compadrio has adjusted to the changing social structure and what patterns can be

anticipated for selecting god-parents in a community becoming more affected by industrialization. The range of the institution would be observed in the village noting also the degree of conformity in relation to economic level or mobility. General comparisons would then be made with the Latin-American model where compadrio is seen primarily as a dyadic relationship, varying inversely with industrialization.

After several meetings with my Faculty Guidance Committee, Dr. Hughes, Dr. Spielberg, and Dr. Kraft, two villages were selected in Portugal: Vila Nova de Milfontes, a coastal fishing village with intensive agriculture, and Cuba, in the same province, but located in the interior. This second village was in a dry climate and surrounded by large estates which practiced extensive agriculture dependent on the villagers' seasonal labor.

IV. ORGANIZATION OF THE REMAINDER OF THE THESIS

In Chapter II, methodology is explained in relation to the preliminary research, how data was obtained and the information summarized. In the following two chapters a description is given of the two villages presenting the history and the social organization. Chapters V and VI analyze the structure and the function of compadrio in

the two villages. Chapter VII summarizes the data and after discussing the implications, presents the conclusions and formulates some suggestions for further study.

Beginning in January 1957 a survey of anthropological literature was made, a bibliography compiled and a study schedule worked out over a three year period on campesinos in European and Latin American community studies. Involvement full-time in other professional activities in Portugal made it necessary to organize the field work over this extended period. Early in the academic two months were set aside for residence in each of the two villages studied.

1. FIELD METHODS EMPLOYED IN VILA NOVA

In this village the Author had his first contact visiting friends in 1957. Later, in 1958 when colleagues purchased a pine woods to serve as a summer camp about one-half kilometer north of the village, a period of intensive contact began by helping with the construction of buildings on the new property. During the following ten summers of camp activity this contact with various members of the village continued.

CHAPTER II

METHOD OF RESEARCH

Beginning in January 1965, a survey of anthropological literature was made, a reading list compiled and a study schedule worked out over a three year period on compadrio in European and Latin American community studies. Involvement full-time in other professional activities in Portugal made it necessary to organize the field work over this extended period. Early in the schedule two months were set aside for residence in each of the two villages studied.

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In this village the author had his first contact visiting friends in 1957. Later, in 1958 when colleagues purchased a pine woods to serve as a summer camp about one-half kilometer north of the village, a period of intensive contact began by helping with the construction of buildings on the new property. During the following ten summers of camp activity this contact with various members of the village continued.

Due to being thus identified it was possible to be functionally related to the village. However, in order to fulfill the new role of gathering information through interviews, it was found that an explanation had to be given to account for the sudden intensification of interest in the life of customs of the village. It was decided to tell those who asked that we were studying the history of the village, its customs and language variations. The idea of increasing knowledge of local history and our own language proficiency was perhaps better understood than the thought that customs were not universal. Most of the informants in Vila Nova cooperated in an open and friendly way.

During the month of October 1965 it was possible to live in the village, taking meals in the home of Sr^a D^a Margarida who runs a small boarding house in the summer for tourists. During this time of winter, besides the family, there were businessmen and government agents taking meals at the house. It had been previously arranged with Sr. Alfredo, a friend who lives 500 meters north of the village, to contact a larger family for us. It was thought that the task of developing wider contacts would be facilitated. Sr. Alfredo had inquired of several families, but failed to make arrangements. All had given him the same reasons: insufficient food. Since normally their meals

were very simple, they said they believed they would have to eat more formally with a foreign guest. The anticipated increase of cost to them and the accompanying inconvenience made the idea unacceptable. A further complication was that the men would be working away from the house part of the day and some even overnight on their fishing boats so that Sr. Alfredo thought my residence in any of these homes would have been impossible. Thus, the compromise arrangement was worked out.

Interviews were made with anyone who had the time and interest and on this basis more than forty were recorded. Some led to additional contacts: others became rather terminal, but not without yielding some information.

The most fruitful series of contacts was developed from the Raemundo family, a husband and wife who lived with their unmarried son and four married sons and daughters and their children as an extended family. The Raemundos, unlike so many of the other villagers, enjoyed good relations with many other households and provided profitable additional interviews.

The focus of these interviews was the geneology, which was usually able to generate interest. Interspersed with the chart it was possible to record appropriate census information and inquiry about the selection of padrinhos, the kin and compadre relationships and the real

and ideal responsibilities to them. Information of related subjects was recorded on cards and then sorted out for patterns under topics.

Since some informants were occupied with daily work, it was necessary to participate with them in order not to interrupt their activity. Often the author walked hours with informants beside the burro and simple wooden plow, plodding through uncounted rows of white sandy soil under a scorching sun. Several days were spent with fishermen, helping them bait the lines and kill the fish. This latter task was accomplished by either biting the head between the eyes or laying the head of the fish on a sharp rock and giving it a quick blow on the eye with the clenched fist. Days were spent in the carpenter shops, with the shoemakers, seated on their uncomfortably low-low stools. Many hours were passed in the market and taverns, trying to look as much like all of the other clients as possible. Occasionally we were able to be helpful. One afternoon I was given an apron as I sat on a low stool in a farm yard with two elderly women. We were picking peanuts off the dried bushes piled high on the threshing floor. These activities were appreciated by the villagers who sometimes were able to get their chores accomplished more rapidly in this way. Evening were used for typing up the interviews by kerosene lamps, blocking out geneologies,

and planning the questions for the interviews of the following day.

After this month of field work in 1965, there were six brief visits in 1966, about the same in 1967 and twice in the spring of 1968 for checking conflicting or inadequate information. A final period of study and initial writing of the thesis was done in June 1968. The period of study in Vila Nova covers a span of three years.

II. RESEARCH TECHNIQUES EMPLOYED IN CUBA

Although we lived for ten months during 1954 in Ferreira do Alentejo, a village thirty kilometers southwest of Cuba, it was thought best to study less-known Cuba due to its more isolated location. The first time we had opportunity to visit the village of Cuba was in March 1951, followed by a brief visit in 1953. The next contact was for the period of residence for field work during the month of December 1965. Our information was gathered by interviews based on an interview guide,¹ by participant observation, informants' testimony, census materials, and the ethnographic records of J. Leite Vasconcellos.

During the first days of field work it was realized how much the village life had changed since our

¹See Appendix, page 193.

initial contact in 1951 and at first it was feared there would not be adequate control to provide the basis for a comparison with Vila Nova. Previous to 1951 emigration from the Alentejo province had been sporadic and Cuba was known for its resistance to this phenomenon. Now, this had been reversed dramatically within the past decade, with Cuba claiming the loss of more than a thousand men who had left for the urban centers to the north. The extremely cold and rainy weather in December 1965 did not provide any encouragement either. However, there were factors which indicated the wisdom of continuing with the original plan. One of these was our friendly contact in the village with Sr. José Roberto, an elder in the local protestant church. Sr. José offered his time to help as an informant and to introduce us to other people in the village. He made all of the arrangements for us to live with Sr. Fernandes' family. José, one of eight children in his household, also provided us with one of the more complete genealogies compiled in Cuba. José's father, João, a widower, still travelled daily to their small farm four kilometers north of Cuba where another son, Emídio, brother of José, lived with his wife and son. José sold vegetables and oranges daily in the village market, often assisted by his father, who brought the produce in from the farm each morning at 5 AM in the family mule cart. Following José

was easier, as compared to other informants, for he was paralyzed below the waist from childhood and could only walk with crutches or ride his motor tricycle cart.

Besides the mealtime conversations with Ilídio and Anitka, his wife and some conversations which Ilídio Fernandes arranged among his office staff at the government farm cooperative center, most of the interviews were the result of patient waiting. Unlike Vila Nova, the Cubans were not interested in talking about themselves. Cuba had much less contact with people outside the village than Vila Nova.

Daily we chatted with José in the market where he was seated behind his table of vegetables from 5 until 10 AM, and from here several profitable interviews with friends of José were begun. Others were initiated by chatting with men leaning against buildings during the few days there was sun, or sitting around taverns in front of the enormous spherical pottery wine vats, two meters high and almost as wide. These cubozes, according to tradition, gave the village its name when it consisted of just a few taverns on the road to Lisbon. Also profitable, to some degree, was being able to join groups of men in stores, warehouses, granaries, barns, factories, or gathered around the mules in a blacksmith's shop. Occasionally we also were able to venture out to the cold muddy fields

with the latifundia workers in the large mule-drawn carts.

In order to overcome the extreme unfriendliness of the men, it was early mentioned that the author was a friend of old Uncle John, as José' father is known in the village, i.e., Tio João. I also pointed out in my interviews that I was staying with Sr. Ilídio Fernandes. The fact that Sr. Fernandes was not only very well known and liked, but also had a political job of potential influence and usefulness to the poor villagers made this relationship valuable to me. The combination of being a friend of Tio João and the hospede of Sr. Fernandes usually opened up the most reserved, allowing the interviews to proceed informally. Although the shop owners and government employees in this district, an administrative center, wore shirt, tie, and suit coat, I chose to dress informally like the masses of unemployed men who stood around, rhythmically stamping their cold booted feet.

Some of the men had spent several months during the past ten years doing migratory farm work in other parts of the district and some as far away as France. Others had seen foreigners in this area working on the German Air Force base at Beringel-São Matias, so my presence did not cause alarm. There was, however, a general mood of caution which could have been interpreted

as unfriendliness. Possibly the residence of a few of the villagers for some months in France working on the beet farms had added to rather than reduced the overall distrust of foreigners.

In spite of the contacts some of the men had with people outside of the village, this cautious spirit remained. Compared to the present flow of tourists into Vila Nova, Cuba is far more isolated and unaffected by the changes going on outside.

Information was assembled, geneologies drawn up, and reactions to various situations were compiled from the interview guides used to follow through different hypotheses. Field notes were typed up and interview guides memorized each night in what was the coldest December that many could remember. Meals were always welcome, not only for the new leads in the animated conversation with the Fernandes, but for the dry heat from the open charcoal fire in a brass pan under the table. During one week several days were spent in the large old court house, going over historical records and census information which was placed at my use by the employees who were friends of Sr. Fernandes. In all, more than forty interviews were recorded, some of considerable length and many installments. Follow-up of one family led one week-end to Vale

do Vargo in an adjoining district near Spain, and another to a new shack town near Baixa da Banheira.

III. ORGANIZATION OF FIELD WORK

After the initial period of field work and the several follow-up visits, the relevance of much of the data in relation to the focus of the study became clear.

Additional time was spent during the academic year, 1968-1969, studying at the University of Lisbon where the University Teacher's Diploma was earned in Portuguese Philology, Language, Literature, and History. Our return to Michigan State University in the fall of 1969 allowed for meetings with the new Faculty Guidance Committee consisting of Dr. Iwao Ishino, Dr. Charles Hughes, and Dr. Scott Cook. We were also able to do reading in recent studies on social organization in Latin America and Europe and to write the thesis. Dr. Scott Cook and Dr. David Smith gave considerable time to reading the manuscript and aiding with helpful criticism.

CHAPTER III

A DESCRIPTION OF VILA NOVA

DE MILFONTES

In order to determine how the compadrio system is adapting to the social structure, and to understand what cultural changes are taking place in Portugal, it was decided to employ the method of "controlled comparison" in this study which Eggan has described as follows:

... for the utilization of the comparative method . . . it has seemed natural to utilize regions of relatively homogeneous culture . . . and to further control the ecology and the historical factors so far as it is possible to do so (Eggan, 1954:747).

In this way a comparison of the compadrio system could be made in the two villages, noting the adaptation of the godparent co-parent system to the differing conditions and needs of the villages' social structure. Thus two villages were chosen which had similar historical background and religious influence, but differing in their physical environment and ecological resources. Furthermore the two villages were similar in their degree of isolation from the influences of industrialization, and in both being partially stratified homogeneous communities.

In this chapter a brief review will be given of the early history of the village, showing the background of compadrio. A description will be given of the physical conditions showing how the ecology of the region was a major factor influencing the land tenure, the culture, and the social structure of the village.

I. HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE

In the southern Alentejo province along the Atlantic coast, seventy kilometers south of the Sado river, lies a fertile plain extending seven kilometers north of the river Mira and its connected swamp land, and eight kilometers inland to the foot of the Cercal mountains. On the northern bank of the river Mira, near the sea, is the only community (aldeia) in this fifty square kilometer area, Vila Nova de Milfontes.

The origins of the village are probably pre-Roman, but little is known of this beyond the name of the village itself. Vila, from the Latin, villa, referred to a rural property in the Roman period in which the Latin dominus, or owner of a property, had several houses for the use of his slaves (tributários) who cultivated his lands. Portugal was dominated by the Roman civilization from 218 B.C. until the coming of the Suevos in the fifth century A.D. South of the Tagus river, the area called by the

Romans, Lusitânia, was under the Christian diocese of Eméríta, a Roman city now known as Mérida in southwestern Spain. After dominating the Christian Suevos on the Peninsula, Racaredo, king of the Visigoths, became a Christian and made this the official religion of Lusitânia in 589 (Livermore, 1966:29).

When the Mohammedans from North Africa invaded the Peninsula in 711, the leaders of the Christian monarchy withdrew to the north where they formed a continuing resistance in the area of Galécia, also known then as "Cale." The excellent harbor-town of Porto gave its name to this newly forming kingdom: "Porto Calle," later, Portugal (Afonso, 1966:63). Here Count D. Henrique began in 1095 the Reconquest of the former Christian area to the south. With the help of the Roman Catholic Crusaders who stopped at Porto for supplies on their way to the Holy Land, the Christian kings of Portugal were able to drive the Arabs south, capturing Lisboa in 1147 and the whole of southern Portugal by 1249 (Vasconcellos, 1936: 217-255).

Three religious-military orders participated in the colonizing of the re-conquered territory: Order of the Hospital, Order of the Temple, and the Order of St. James. The latter colonized the southwest coast where our two-villages study was made. These orders were given

vast territory to conquer and colonize with people from the north. Large areas of land were, in turn, given to the men who fought in the military-religious order under the patron Saint James (São Tiago). Grants from the King, or forais, established a civil-religious law which governed the newly established communities. In 1540 these included 47 vilas and 150 comendas or large plantations. These religious orders mentioned, along with the later Monastic orders, continued until 1834 when all were abolished by the liberal government of D. Pedro (Vasconcellos, 1936:520-526).

The designation, Vila "Nova," quite likely indicates that the military-religious order of São Tiago established this vila on the site of a previous Roman-Visigoth vila which had been later occupied by the Arabs (Vasconcellos, 1942:617). Strategically located at the mouth of the Mira river which was navigable for nearly fifty kilometers inland, the new village became known as Milfontes, probably because of the many springs in the area. Repeated attacks from Moorish pirates caused the new Portuguese nation to build the castle-fort overlooking the river harbor. Even today, boats entering the river estuary are guided by the towers of the old castle.

Several periods can be isolated in this part of the history of Vila Nova which are significant in a study of the god-parent system today.

1. During the first four centuries of the Christian era Mérida's religious influence promoted the ritual sponsoring of children at baptism and of marriage pairs at weddings.

2. Later, under the Visigoths, this Christian tradition was continued and intensified as a means of safeguarding the faith of the newer generations (Kurtz, 1888: 367).

3. After the invasion of the Saracens in the eighth century, Christian traditions were tolerated within the communities of Moçárabes, the Christian groups living along with the Mohammedans in Portugal (Lopes, 1911:203). The four centuries of domination by the Arabs greatly attenuated the god-parent system, even though the Moçárabes were permitted freedom of worship up to the end of the eighth century (Levi-Provencal, 1950:48). Later, however, in the tenth century, when the power of the Muslims was absolute on the Peninsula, the communities of Moçárabes were persecuted, their Christian temples destroyed, and populations forced to conform to Arabic customs (Vasconcellos, 1958: 265-266). At this point many Moçárabes fled to the north of the Douro river where the Christian resistance was building up in Galícia, establishing for the north of the country a reputation of fervent Catholicism in contrast to the south.

4. The last period in the pre-national history of Portugal is the "Reconquest" beginning in the eleventh century under the leadership of the Christians of Galícia. The religious war, characterizing the Reconquest, resulted in the establishment in all of Portugal of formal Catholicism which demanded outward conformity as evidence of faith. Thus, the practices common in other parts of Christian feudal Europe were imposed on southern Portugal by the order of São Tiago. In this way the Christian compadrio system was revived and reinforced in this part of the Alentejo province after the twelfth century. The Latin dialect of Galícia, Galaico-Português, different from the variations of Latin Vulgar spoken in other parts of Hispânia, became, after the twelfth century, the language of Portugal, slightly modified in the south due to the Arabic influence (Afonso, 1966:114).

II. CONTINUING INFLUENCE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

After the Alentejo province was colonized by the King in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, the influence of the Church increased. In 1492-1496 the Holy Inquisition defined the Christian faith and life even more clearly, going to the extreme of specifying in the courts of inquisition the various degrees of punishment for disobedience. With the expulsion of the slaves and Jews at this

time, many peasants began to leave the Alentejo province due to a general crisis in agriculture. Immediately following, in the sixteenth century, plagues, crop failures, and famine caused more Alentejo peasants to migrate to India, Africa, and Brazil (Afonso, 1966:207-211). It is likely that new colonizing efforts of the government during the late seventeenth century to repopulate the Alentejo brought Catholic populations from the north, thus further intensifying the god-parent system. Without this continued stimulus from without it is likely that compadrio would have fallen into disuse due to the tendency in the south of the poor peasants to choose their fictive kin from among their own family simply to reenforce biological kinship ties (Descamps, 1935:192-193, Basconcellos, 1942: 524-525).

The Republican Period. When the Monarchy was overthrown in 1910 many laws were passed favoring the landless peasants. There were also popular movements and reactions by the villagers. One of these was the suppression of the Catholic Church (Livermore, 1966:319). During the roiled period in the second decade of this century, priests were driven out of the southern part of the country, church buildings were taken over by the Army, monasteries were made into barracks, and churches into stables and taverns.

In some smaller towns the churches were only locked and a folk religion continued primarily involving the women. In Vila Nova, weddings ceased to be church-oriented, the regedor's office becoming the focal point of the ceremony. Funerals were also taken over by the local junta (elected town council) which would unlock the church, ring the bell, and care for the burial. When desired, former laymen of the church would read the liturgy. The orderliness of the transfer of these social institutions in the provinces is often overlooked with the disorder of the cities. However, after sixteen years, the confusion in the cities brought back into power the old Roman Catholic families under a new constitution.

The New State Period. By 1926 the number of priests functioning publicly had decreased due to the opposition of the anti-clerical fury that had its roots in the French liberal influences beginning in the early nineteenth century. In Vila Nova the Church-sanctioned institutions were altered and some discontinued. Common-law marriages became the common practice and compadrio was relaxed. Community festas, always the responsibility of the local priests and the wealthy landowners, became the cooperative effort of the common people. Dances were organized, "pegan" festas revived, and all worked together.

Many also remember how during this time families helped each other in house construction, boat building, and farm work. Then, after 1928, a priest was sent to the village from Cercal on a weekly basis to reconstruct the social hierarchy of the pre-republican period. In 1950, a priest was sent from Beja, the district capital, to reside in the village. Soon, ambitious plans were revealed for building a large summer resort for the poor children of the province. A girl's school was also planned to function on the property during the winter. Into this large complex for accommodating 400 was to be built a new chapel. It was also planned to abandon the old village church which was crumbling in disrepair.

Recent developments. The new priest received little cooperation from the villagers; in fact, many informants traced their present non-cooperative attitude to that time when men from the outside came in to regulate community institutions.

When the new colônia (church resort) buildings were completed the images of the saints were taken out of the old church and placed in the new chapel. The priest, with the help of some of the village women, held a procession of the images with some government officials from Beja present. The new chapel was located at the entrance

of the village: the old church was in the center of the old village square.

With the old sanctuary abandoned and locked, the priest prohibited the villagers from ringing the bells for funerals as had been the custom for nearly forty years. He demanded that only those baptized and married by the Church could have Church-sanctioned funerals at which he alone would officiate in the new chapel--without bells. Previously, all villagers were honored at death with the ringing of the bells of the old church and given a folk-funeral with lay-directed liturgy.

Later, when some officials from Beja visited the village, the men made use of the occasion to protest the way their village religion had been disrupted without their consent. They pointed out the unsacred design of the new chapel which combined a secular theater in the same room where the village saints were on display. The officials had been impressed, apparently, as repairs on the old church were begun soon afterward and some of the images and religious furnishings returned to the old church. In this way a compromise was worked out with the understanding that only "Catholic" funerals could be held in the old village church. Non-Catholic funerals could be conducted by the village men, but without ringing the bells. This was the responsibility of only the priest.

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Folk religion today. Presently, most of the men do not attend mass at the Catholic church and only three or four occasionally attend meetings in the Protestant hall. An average of twenty-five women were present on Sunday morning at mass in the chapel of the colônia at 9 AM and at the village church at 11 AM. Men cooperate on the church committees for planning the programs of the special days of festas, even though they become the object of their friends' jokes afterward.

Life next to the sea has given the villagers a fatalistic orientation and a distrust for innovation. Probably the values derived from the Moorish concept of the "all powerful god" has contributed to these underlying ideas. Initiative is discouraged by positive and negative sanctions from the community. Events are interpreted with great patience as representing God's will, no matter how severe the experience. In fact, many believe that they can influence God through their appeasement of the saints with some form of personal suffering.

There is interest in folk medicine even though many ultimately have to depend on the low-cost service provided by the government through the farmer's cooperative, Casa do Povo, or the fishermen's cooperative, Casa dos Pescadores. Still, many consult healers who depend on occult power for diagnosis and treatment.

For persisting aches, or even broken bones, many have great confidence in the "bonesetters." During various periods the village has been without a medical doctor or a pharmacist so that folk medicine is the alternative to waiting for the weekly visit of the government medical services.

Childhood diseases are very severe and typhoid fever often occurs in the village in the spring. Usually, the doctor of the Casa do Povo designates a spring-fed well in the village as the cause and orders it to be closed and cleaned. Among older people the common ailments are liver infection and tooth decay. Teeth are not drilled and filled, but only pulled when too rotten or painful to remain.

When a child becomes ill in a nuclear family usually several members of his father's and mother's family are consulted, including aunts, uncles, and older cousins. In this way a group decision is made as to how to treat the illness. After folk remedies have not brought results, the parents take the sick child to the Casa do Povo on the day of the weekly visit of the doctor. Several hours of waiting later, medical advice is received along with free medicine. Then at home the family once again consults members of the family and frequently ends up resorting to another "home remedy." During this time

of illness great care is taken to avoid any current of air within a partially closed room. It is believed that such currents can do great harm, complicating the illness or even causing another.

Health is measured in terms of fatness or robustness so that a thin person, or one who eats little, is pitied and considered destined to an early death. Illness is related to God's dealing with men and comes as a result of the working out of the destiny of each person. Many commented that those who try to change God's will are often given castigo, punishment, by being stricken ill. Not all illnesses are believed to have this origin. Since some illness might be castigo, there is a hesitency to change this will of God by seeking a cure. The result is a general apathetic attitude of accepting illness and early death as a part of life.

There are, however, others who believe they should seek miraculous cures. A fountain in Cercal is supposed to have healing power at certain times. Called the Holy Fountain (Fonte Santa), it contains the foot print of the Virgin in the rock base. It is believed that the Virgin created the fountain in answer to the prayers of a local shepherd girl.

Various legends about the sea are related to spirits that can be heard at times and occasionally seen

through the fog. Names painted on the bows of the fishing boats usually have a religious connotation: "A Senhora da Conceição nos protege," "A Senhora da Boa Viagem," "A Esperança," "Deus nos Guie," etc. When a man is lost at sea many speak of "his time" and the unavoidable nature of the accident. Others remind themselves that their own time is coming--unless something interferes.

III. THE ECOLOGY AND THE LAND TENURE

No other factor has affected the social structure and, in turn, the adaptation of the god-parent system as much as the ecology of this area. In the next chapter, after looking at the contrasting conditions in Cuba, a comparison can be made of the results of these differing conditions.

Conditions favoring minifundia. In considering the ecology of the Baixo Alentejo it is immediately seen that the area of Vila Nova is unique. Whereas all of the rest of the district of Beja is extremely dry and suitable only for extensive agriculture typical of the latifundia, this coastal region around the Mira River and east to the Cercal Mountains contains an abundant source of water close to the surface. Arabic type wells are used for extracting the water with buckets lifted by mule-driven

wooden gear devices. Even more common are the weighted dipping poles balanced on a wooden fulcrum and operated by hand.

Besides having springs close to the surface, there is also a higher rate of precipitation in this zone along the coast. This is due to the adiabatic cooling of the warm moist air brought inland by the prevailing west wind, causing a low cloud cover for as much as ten to fifteen kilometers east of the coast line. Beyond this limit the entire Baixo Alentejo province is without significant rainfall from March until October (Stanislowski, 1959:34). As a result of all of this potential, intensive agriculture becomes a possibility as well as raising a variety of crops during all seasons. These are the ideal conditions which makes independent family subsistence farming possible in the Mediterranean area (Wolf, 1966:32).

Resources of the sea. In addition to the high production from small farm plots, the independent farmers of this area have the added benefit of a more adequate diet as well as increased cash income from the resources of small boat fishing. In fact, this area of the Atlantic is known for its excellent fishing grounds (Azevedo, 1908), but the very rocky coast line has limited the fisherman's base of operation to Vila Nova's Mira harbor. A second

artificial boat harbor has been constructed two kilometers north of the river on the open coast. Here, free of the shifting sand bar at the river's mouth, the village fishing fleet of small boats is anchored during the summer and docked during the winter. Fishing from the rocks around this "canal" supplements the diet in the winter when the boats cannot venture out into the roiled sea.

Previous to 1910, the river harbor port was of great importance to Vila Nova. Ships brought in supplies which were then transported overland to the political center at Odemira. Iron ore was shipped out from the Cercal mines as it had been since the time of the Romans. Through the centuries this activity led to the construction of access roads through the Cercal Mountains linking the inner province to the Mira River port. After 1910, with the railroads substituting the role of the ships, the river fell into disuse. Today, only small fishing or pleasure craft enter the harbor. It wasn't until 1960 that the old ox cart roads leading to the village were paved for automobiles to use.

These favorable ecological conditions of the Vila Nova area compared to the rest of this arid province are similar to the "Wet Spain" of the Basque country compared to the southern Spanish plains or "Dry Spain" (Kaspan, 1965). In his study of Spain, Kaspan points out six

features as typical of the wet area: intensive agriculture, polyculture, subsistence farming, small holdings, long term tenure, family and reciprocal communal labor (Kaspan, 1965:349). In Chapter V we will examine the similar conditions in Vila Nova in comparison with the "dry" Cuba to see the effects these conditions have had on the social structure and the function of the god-parent system.

Aforar system and land tenure. It is uncertain when the Monarchy made the land in this area available for peasants to rent small plots. Several of the village leaders trace the present tradition of land tenure to the period of liberation from Spain in 1640 when loyal soldiers were rewarded with the right to farm land for shares. Later, the owner leased his land to a renter for an indefinite period. Rights and privileges, recognized by law, pertain to both the one who leases as well as the renter (aforador). Both the land and the payment are called aforo. Today, the leasing system (aforar) requires the renter to pay the owner in the equivalent of 16 alqueires (320 liters) of wheat for a one acre plot. Such an area would produce annually about forty alqueires or um carro, an ox cart full. In other parts of the province there are various rules of payment for the small plot renter who

does not rent the land on a permanent basis, but is only permitted to grow crops on designated portions of the owner's land during certain times of the year. In these cases there is the rule of meias where the renter (or user) gives the owner half of the crop. This custom is characteristic of the area around Cercal. The proportion paid to the owner can vary with the quality of the land. In some areas nearer Beja the payment is by tercas, one-third to the owner and two-thirds for the user. But few make the effort to use lands that are made available under this agreement, due to the shortage of water and very small yield to the lands of the large estates (Vasconsellos, 1967:531).

In the aforo system of Vila Nova the plot of land is assigned to a renter who has permanent rights to the use of that land with due registration of the agreement being made in the land office in Odemira. The plots, measured by hectares (10,000 square meters) are usually about an acre in size. The renter has the right to build a house on his aforo, though the annual payment for the land is then increased. Aforos can also be purchased by the renter and then resold or leased out to others. As cash is acquired which allows the renters to purchase the lands they have been using, there seems to be no tendency at present to lease the land out again to others on the

binding aforo basis, but rather to rent it on a non-aforo short term contract. Especially with the construction of houses in the village, which has taken place within the past twenty years, there seems to be interest in purchasing lands without aforo agreements binding them.

Naturally, everyone would like to purchase their aforo-leased lands, but income from crops, the sale of animals, and fishing is insufficient without saving over a number of years. The sale of several smaller animals or a cow, which can be worth up to fifteen thousand Escudos (\$600 dollars), is often the deciding factor. The cost of the aforo property includes the purchase price of the land plus twenty year's rent. Legally, twenty year's rent is supposed to be the purchase price, but the owner claims additional for improvements he has made on the property in wells, walls, and buildings. At present, all of the land on which the villager's buildings are located was previously aforo plots which have passed to the ownership of the former renters. The income of many of these now depends on renting rooms to tourists in the summer rather than on farming.

Portuguese law since 1834 divides property with clear titles equally among the children after the death of their parents. Aforos are usually not subdivided among the heirs at the death of the renter, but aforo rights are

sold and the income divided among the heirs. In many of the households studied, the aforo right was passed on to the oldest son before the death of his parents with the son paying for the cost of transfer.

IV. LIFE IN THE VILLAGE TODAY

Two main streets run through the village, one passing through the praça where the village church is located, terminating at the old castle. The other, passes through the market-place, turns north and runs into the path which leads through the fields north of the village to the artificial boat harbor (canal). The newer part of the village is to the east and at a higher elevation than the old. In the new section, streets are marked out at regular intervals and at right angles. In the old section, streets are very irregular. In all, there are about 180 white-washed houses, constructed of mud and stone in the village and about 300 more beyond, in the plain. About a third of the houses in the village have been constructed since 1950 and are built of brick and cement and modern materials, but have the same general outward appearance as the older houses. Houses within the village occupy a plot about 8 by 30 meters or larger, surrounded by a 2 meter-high stone or mud wall with sharp rocks or broken glass on top. The older houses and those outside the

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village use a mud wall with cactus planted on top. Outside of the village houses are constructed on larger plots (cercas) and bounded by a sand wall which forms a drainage ditch (valado) around the property. The sand wall is stabilized with cane and cactus planted along the top. These canes (cana) which grow well in Vila Nova due to the adequate water near the surface, are used as wind-breaks for gardens, insulation in roofs and walls of the houses, as fishing poles, and wired together to make animal corrals. Cows and oxen graze on the green cane leaves. The growing of sugar cane is prohibited due to laws governing the sugar industries in Madeira, São Tomé, and Angola.

In the village the residence lot is used for gardening and maintaining small animals and chickens. Barns, constructed of canes and connected to the back wall, house dairy cows, oxen, and burros used for plowing the small farm plots rented outside of the village.

The only road out of the village runs to Cercal, population 800, thirteen kilometers east. This road was used mainly by ox and mules carts and was almost impassable for automobiles until 1960 when it was re-surfaced. Now the bus comes to the village on this road from Cercal four times a day and on one of these trips makes connections with the main line to Beja and to Lisbon. Until 1965

mail service depended on an old mule cart which made the daily trip to Cercal. Now the mail is transported on the bus. Electricity was installed in the village in 1966. The repair of the road and electrical service brought about a period of change. Tourists from inland, as far away as Lisbon, came to discover the beautiful isolated beaches. This increase in the population each summer and the renting of rooms has not only stimulated the economy, but has brought the village into contact with agents of change.

There are about 150 households which remain in the village during the whole year. About two-thirds of these live in the concentrated residence units near the center of the village. The others live in scattered residence plots to the north and east of the village within a kilometer of the central praça. Within this 30 by 80 meter area known as "the market" (o mercado) is installed the fish and vegetable market which functions on an "open air" basis, the post office (Correio), the Casa do Povo, three taverns, a butcher shop and a Farmácia (both now abandoned). Adjoining is another small praça of the village church, and then, at the edge of the village overlooking the harbor, the praça of the castle containing a small park and café. About 100 meters east of the

central praça, on the Cercal road, is another small praça about forty meters square with a public fountain in the center. This praça also serves as the "open air" bus terminal. The new section of the village, at a higher elevation, continues along the Cercal road to the east for another 200 meters. It is in this newer area where the primary school is located, to the north of the road, and the Catholic colônia, to the south of the road.

Domestic organization. The connected white-washed houses along the cobble stone streets are constructed of stone and mud and roofed with red clay tiles. Most houses have two windows and a door facing the street and usually a gate wide enough for a mule cart, giving entrance to the walled-in back yard. The houses are on one level with a central corridor running from the front door to the back of the house where an open pátio leads to the yard.

Inside of the house, the back rooms are used for storing dried fish, smoked meat, fish nets and fish hook frames, as well as for storage of potatoes, onions, corn, nuts, and firewood for the kitchen. Since the houses are joined together in the village, they have only windows in the front and back rooms. The middle two rooms are lighted with small glass tiles on the roof. These rooms are used for food and grain storage when not needed

as bedrooms. One front room is used as the main bedroom of the household and contains the best furniture. The husband and wife sleep in this room and their children, or other relatives in the middle or back storage rooms. The other front room is a formal dining room used only on special occasions. It is about seven or eight feet square and contains a chest of drawers with a glassed-in cupboard on top, a three foot square table and four or six chairs all made locally out of eucalyptus or pine wood. Family and religious pictures hang on the walls. The floor of these front two rooms is usually hard packed dirt, flat stones, or cement.

The beds are constructed locally of pine with pine slats to support the mattress which is a cotton bag filled with wheat or rice straw. The rooms have no closets. Excess clothes are hung on chairs or kept in large wooden chests (arcas) in the storage or bedrooms. The house has no bathroom, but usually a portable wash bowl on a metal stand. This is filled from a pitcher of water and drained into a bucket kept under the stand. A small pot is used in the bedroom and emptied near the pig pens in the backyard where fertilizer is collected. Fresh water is drawn from the stone-lined well in the back yard using a bucket on a rope. In 1957 the village built a water

stem so that today many of the houses have one faucet
the back of the house near the kitchen.

Meals are prepared and eaten in the kitchen which
one of the two back rooms with a large open fireplace.
Food is cooked in glazed pottery in a wood fire. Often
the summer this is done in a second fireplace outside
the house or in a small building in the back yard.
the cold months of November to March, the family gath-
ers in the kitchen around the fireplace where fish and
usage are smoked and clothes hung up to dry. The chairs
the kitchen are very low, thirty to thirty-six cm from
the ground, so that the kitchen table is used for preparing
the food, but not for eating it. Each member of the house-
hold secures his dish or bowl on his lap.

Although bread has been available in the village
since 1951, it is still baked weekly in most households
the beehive-shaped oven in the back yard. This large
round heavy loaf made of dark wheat and corn flour is
eaten at all meals for the rest of the week. At break-
fast it is eaten with a jam made of marmelos and orange
slices and a cup of coffee made of milk and chicory. A
noon meal is begun with a salty soup of potatoes, mashed
vegetables, olive oil, and slices of salt pork. Fried
usage or fish is often eaten with boiled potatoes or
rice covered with olive oil. The evening meal, taken

after dark (7 PM in the winter and 9 PM in the summer) is similar to the noon meal. Red wine is used at all meals and rarely water. Dark bread is eaten with goat or sheep milk cheese. Most of the households reported using a half liter of wine per person per day. White wine is used in cooking and on special occasions, though it costs about the same as red wine. Many households still make their own wine although many purchase it daily in the village now that extra cash is available.

Light is provided usually only in the room where the family is gathered and is a kerosene-fed burner.

Agricultural organization. Work in the fields is done by the husband and sons, plowing in October after the first rains and then sowing winter wheat, potatoes, and beans. Cereals are again planted in the spring, broadcast style. The initial plowing is done with a pair of oxen or a burro pulling a steel tipped wooden plow. When fishing is poor, those who have oxen or mules will hire them out for plowing others' fields. Some who have only one burro will borrow one from a cousin or uncle to make a team for plowing. Payment for the use of the animal is made by plowing a portion of the relative's fields.

Vegetable gardens are planted in the spring for household consumption and for the animals. Peanuts are

raised to sell to an oil manufacturer in Lisbon. Wheat is exchanged for flour through the farmers' cooperative, grémio.

The whole household is involved in the agricultural cycle and all show concern about the outcome of each crop. Children are very much aware of the condition of each crop as they hear their parents discussing these things each day. A general feeling of despair is apparent before the human inability to control the outcome of the crop.

Wives will care for chores around the house, feeding the animals and helping their husbands in the fields with weeding, but their greatest involvement is at harvest time, especially helping with the beans, corn, peanuts and grapes. Corn is allowed to dry on the stalks and is hand picked and piled near the threshing floor along with the dried bean plants. During August the women will strip the leaves from the corn and pile the ears on the threshing floor. Within the village, this floor is located near the house. The houses outside the village have the threshing floor within 100 feet of the house. The floor is a twenty foot diameter circle of stones plastered over with smooth cement. The men beat the corn with the malho, a hand made instrument of three pieces: (1) two meter eucalyptus pole, .03m in diameter, (2) second eucalyptus piece about a meter in length and .05m thick,

and tapered. These are connected (3) by a leather thong, attached through small holes drilled in the ends of the wooden pieces. By holding the longer pole, the shorter section is whipped overhead and then down, beating the corn and bean plants on the threshing floor until the kernels have been knocked free. The chaff is swept away and the kernels sorted and collected in baskets by the women and children. If fishing weather is good, some of the threshing may be done by the women also.

Potatoes, grains, and squash are stored in the inner rooms of the house as well as in the back room and kitchen where they are used as needed. Later in October when the sea is too rough for fishing the whole household will gather to pick peanuts from the dried vines piled up outside the back of the house near the threshing floor. The peanuts were raised on the household's plots outside the village. Wheat is no longer threshed by hand, but is now taken in a cart to a field where a mobile threshing machine has been set up to care for all of the village's wheat. The machine comes from Cercal and travels to the various communities in the area during July, August, and September.

During the days of São Martinho, in late November, a time is set to slaughter pigs for winter meat. Each household determines the proper day by the phase of the

moon and the weight of the pig. Relatives, compadres, and neighbors are invited, but only those specifically invited can come. The slaughter begins at sunrise and continues into the next day with feasting and work. Sausages and smoked meats are prepared which will last for many months, but a large proportion of fresh pork is consumed during the three or four days after the slaughter.

Life at sea. The small low-yielding plots around the village do not produce sufficient for the average household to have a large surplus. Most reported having an average of four hectares usually under cultivation. But yields varied according to proximity to the sea. The higher, better irrigated land east and northeast of the village was capable of better production than the land north and directly south of the river. However, even on good land, the sale of one crop would only produce enough to purchase seed or feed and rarely a surplus. Only the large estates can do this. Thus, the villager is turned to the sea to augment his income.

There are two types of professional fishing out of the Vila Nova harbor-canal. First, those using the large 30-foot motor boats, fishing with large nets thirty or forty kilometers out with a crew of five or six men. These boats often sell their fish at Sines or as far away

as Setubal. Sines is a fishing village with the only good harbor between Vila Nova and Setubal. These boats are owned by the crew who share in the risks and profits. Overhead is high, but annual profit is 30 to 40 per cent greater than that from the smaller boat fishing. Fishing is more specialized and complicated machinery and regulations hinder many from joining these big boat cooperatives. Often, too, they may be away a week or more at a time. These men have the least time for farming and have the highest income from the fishing occupation.

There are also small 12-foot motor boats for two men or three at the most. These are only out at night or a half day at a time and sell their catch at auction on the Vila Nova dock. They use nets and lines of hooks, single lines, and also tend lobster pots within two or three miles off shore. The type and time of fishing is dependent on the weather, season, and the fish. Most of these motor lanchas also use sail as do the smaller hand-rowed boats used for tending the lobster feeding stations.

Few men go to sea alone, so either some of the crew are hired or they contract at one-third the value of the fish caught, the boat owner getting one-third. If the owner is one of the crew, which is usually the case, he gets two-thirds. When both are partners they split the earnings. Most of the men in partnership are saving to

be able to own their own boat. With the help of the government's low-interest loans through the Casa do Pescador, this is now very possible. However, to meet the demand for constant payments commits the man to a very active schedule at sea. During good fishing weather, partners have been known to make up to two thousand Escudos a night. But then there are weeks with no income from the sea.

As the boats return at early morning the guarda fiscal is at the dock to supervise the auction of the fish and collect the tax. Buyers are on hand with trucks to take the fish to nearby towns where they can make a lucrative mark-up. The fishermen are paid in cash and allowed to keep any fish for their own consumption without tax. Much time is spent daily cleaning the boats, untangling the lines of hooks, rebaiting the hooks, and mending the nets. A small tavern on the dock provides some break to the monotony and accounts for some of their cash spending. The walk from the boat dock to the village takes about thirty minutes and is not always time enough for the effects of the agua ardente to be dispelled. This along with other stress in the life leads to conflict in the household and then the men make visits to the taverns in the village. Wife beating was frequently reported by the informants.

Boat owners who go to sea must pass an examination showing basic knowledge of rules of navigation which eliminates all those without primary school.

Diversion. Beside the short period of inactivity in the winter, the work on the small farm and the intense hard work at sea produces an endless cycle of duties which makes the various festas of the village very welcome. The largest of the year is the feast of A Nossa Senhora in mid-August when two days of a cattle and general fair bring many mobile merchants to the village. A sandy plateau extending west of the castle and about fifty feet directly above the beach is the site of the fair where more than thirty concessions are set up with tents, temporary counters, outdoor restaurants and noisy side shows. Clothing, farm and fishing equipment, household supplies and provincial food is sold to the crowds gathered around each tent listening to the deafening PA systems proclaim give-away bargains. Medicine men with their latest packaged cures, pottery displays, metal work, leather goods and shoes are displayed in this dusty sixty foot-wide plateau, 800 feet long.

Most of the people at the fair are not from the village, but neighbors from the east who have come with their cattle and animals. Those from south of the river

leave their cattle on the south bank, pressing the three or four row boats used for ferry service into frantic activity. Cattle purchased on the other side are later transported to the north bank in these same row boats. This cattle sale is of much importance to those who have been fattening up their animals for the occasion. Money saved for months and received through the sale of cattle is spent during the fair on clothing, shoes, and tools as well as on diversion. The first day of the fair is begun by a procession led by a dance band. The band plays each night of the fair for the dance in the park in front of the castle. The closing night of the fair brings most of the villagers out to see the fireworks display at midnight.

All attending the fair come dressed in their best clothes because it is the only time of the year they will see many friends and relatives in this area. Men wear black woolen suits with a white shirt and usually no tie. The women wear colorful dresses and aprons, very gay compared with the rest of the year. Unmarried girls move in groups of three to ten or more, exchanging greetings with young men with whom they will be dancing later at night.

Except for a little diversion at carnaval, during processions at Easter, and on the popular saint's days in May and June, the annual fair is the time most people

exchange work for diversion. Three taverns in the village have television at night, a sports club has a film twice a month and soccer games on Sunday afternoon in a sandy field on the northeast side of the village. Inside of the taverns there are games and game tables for dominoes and cards, but all of this is only for the men. Women and girls stay in the house at night crocheting, knitting, or sewing for the family. As the weather gets colder the household moves closer to the kitchen where the fireplace provides the only heat in the house.

Besides the pig slaughter, no other occasion gathers so many of the family as the marriage feast. The next most important gathering of the family is during Easter week. A special meal is prepared and eaten on Easter, followed by a walk to visit other relatives. The cold weather at Christmas and the Day of the Kings, January 5, makes these family gatherings of less importance. A large meal, usually of cod fish, is prepared on Christmas eve in the home of the oldest surviving parents; married children, with their children, going to the home of the husband.

On November 1, some of the household will take flowers to the cemetery to place on the grave of a recently deceased member of the family. Special mass is held in the village church, bringing together many of the women of the village. The men who go to the cemetery this day with

their wives usually remain in the praca or in the taverns, swapping stories.

Political organization. Every four years the literate voters of the village elect the Junta with a president and a secretary who care for the administrative affairs of the village. They act for the village before the municipal authorities in Odemira and the district administration in Beja under the Governador Civil who is appointed by the central government in Lisbon.

The Junta is usually composed of local businessmen or the large farm owners. The men of the village take a disinterested view of politics and are unable to clearly explain voting procedure nor administration, affirming that "they" will have the men "they" want on the Junta and that "they" will do what the government wants.

Considerable concern is expressed for the high cost, in men and money, of the war in Portuguese Africa. Many expressed the belief that the war was only to benefit a few of "them" in Lisbon who owned and controlled the African colonies. These opinions were daily reinforced by the news programs from Radio Moscow and Radio Free Portugal which were heard on transistor radios.

Within the village was a six man unit of the Guarda Fiscal who supervise the general movement of ships

along the coast, checking on contraband or politically suspicious activities. They also tax the fishermen daily at the dock as the fish are auctioned off. Frequently, they help with policing duty of the Guarda Nacional of Cercal who make only weekly trips to the village.

Educational system. The primary school in the village, operated by the government, maintains crowded separate classes for girls and boys, reaching only a small percentage of the children in the area. Of forty-seven households with children surveyed, only 40 per cent of the children between the ages of six and ten were attending primary school. In these same households, fewer than 8 per cent of the women and 22 per cent of the men could read and write. Of these men, only two were currently reading anything. There were many in the village among men who had made efforts to learn and could recognize their name and most numbers, but were unable to read.

Many of the children had far to walk to school and were needed for work at home. Several told of being discouraged by the teacher to continue because their work in school during the first two years was unsatisfactory.

The Catholic Church maintains a boarding school within the village as part of the large colônia where both sexes are taught in primary school and girls in the

liceu level. These resident students are from families as far as sixty kilometers away who are able to pay the high fees. Some girls from the village attend this school on a non-resident basis; others from outside the village are living with friends or relatives in the village and also attend the colónia school as external students. In this way they can avoid the high cost of the boarding school.

V. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Childhood. The married couple expecting a child faces an uncertain future. On the one hand they realize the need for more help with the farming chores while the husband is absent at sea, and at the same time they face the increasing financial responsibility of another child. The government's emphasis on education during the past decade as well as the practical information from those who have moved out of the village to work in the industrialized areas, clarifies the need to educate the children for future jobs in the cities. In the past, the inability to properly care for more children has led many in Vila Nova to practice abortion. Although this is illegal in Portugal, information and services available from some of the midwives in the village make the alternative common. The difference between the number of children in households outside the village as compared with the number inside has

been explained by the consciousness of the problem and the practice of abortion (Oliveira and Pereira, 1966:23-56).

After the child is born with the help of a mid-wife, sisters of the mother or father, as well as other relatives, come daily to the house during the first days. Some of the many beliefs at this stage of life which have been collected by Vasconcellos in his five volume study have been observed in Vila Nova. The fear of witches, the effects of the moon's light on the infant, and the mal olhar of gypsies, all have their counteracting magical ritual. It is believed to be azar (bad luck) to give a child a name before he is born; this decision concerning the name is made by the parents, family, and padrinhos during the month after birth. Portuguese law requires registration with two witnesses within thirty days after birth.

Arrangements are made with the priest so that baptism can be cared for the same day as registration. The father, accompanied by the padrinhos and some members of the family, takes the child to the simple church ceremony. Afterward, the father and the padrinhos go to the registro civil. Relatives take the child home while the father and witnesses are registering the birth. Afterward there is a festa in the house for the family, padrinhos,

and neighbors. All who stop in contribute some food and wine.

During early childhood there is a high rate of mortality due to the poor health conditions and inadequate information about hygiene. In 1963, 40 per cent of the deaths in this district were without a medical certificate (Guerra and Tomé, 1964:631-632). This indicates how many are without adequate medical knowledge and assistance in time of severe illness. However, the diet of these villagers seems to be superior to that of the people in the interior of the Alentejo and other provincial areas (Pereira, 1964:130).

Each household makes the clothing for their own children for use in the field work and for school. Shoes, underwear and dress clothes are purchased at the shops in the village or at the annual fair. Sewing is one of the few occupations that gives opportunity for the wife to sit for she rarely sits down in her constant effort to help her husband and sons. She keeps her head covered at all times with a scarf, tied under her chin. If there has been a death in the family of an uncle or aunt she will wear a black scarf and apron or dress for six months. When the mother or father dies, she will wear black clothes for several years. If she becomes a widow she will always wear black unless she re-marries. For similar reasons

men wear a black strip of cloth on their lapel. Since most of the men in the village usually wear black clothes and tie for special occasions, feast days, etc., this strip of cloth is the only clear indication of a death within the family and as distant as two generations.

When boys are five years old they begin to accompany their fathers to the rocks by the canal to fish and about the same age girls begin to crochet and embroider in the house. More serious work in the house and fields begins at school age of six. Children have few toys nor are they directed in their play. Games are worked out spontaneously among them using such things as stones or string. Boys build traps for birds and practice kicking a ball on the way to and from school, imitating the nationally famous soccer players. Today all children wear shoes to school, but boys rarely wear them around the house, working in the fields, or while fishing. Most of the men wear rubber boots while fishing and working in the fields, but wear leather boots in the village. Those employed in stores or offices wear leather boots in the winter and shoes or sandals in the summer.

Courtship. Courting begins at the low level of a "speaking" arrangement when boys and girls are about fifteen years old. Up to this time there probably were

many occasions to become acquainted within the village's everyday activities, at dances, during festas, or at the beach in the summer. However, it isn't until the boy formally asks the girl for permission to "speak" to her that the period of namoro begins. And even after this, permission is needed from the girl's parents for the boy to speak to the girl through the front window of the house at designated times. They can take walks together if they are accompanied by another girlfriend or relative. Visiting at the house of the namorada (girlfriend) remains on a formal basis with the boyfriend speaking from the street to the girlfriend inside the open window.

This arrangement may go on for two or three years. Due to the interruption of military service at the age of twenty-one, the namoro might continue for four or five years until the boyfriend finally gets permission from the girl's parents for marriage. When this happens, the couple is then considered noivos and can be seen together with or without being accompanied during the period of noivado which is from a month to four months or so until the wedding takes place. Once the speaking arrangement has begun it is considered wrong by the villagers for the boy to "speak" to any other girl or to terminate this relationship with his namorada. If this were to happen, people express great pity for the girl whose chances of

getting another "speaking arrangement" have been greatly diminished.

Now that the new road is bringing week-end tourists from the inland cities to the Vila Nova beach in the summer, courting customs are changing. Some of the children of the village have been sent to school outside and these have brought back new ideas also about courting. It is increasingly common to see boys gathering in the park in the evenings or on Sunday afternoons flirting with girls walking through the village in small groups. Many of the older villages call attention to these changes and express their dislike for them.

Marriage and kinship. When a date has been set for the marriage, padrinhos are chosen by the couple to help complete the plans. Specific details of how these are chosen are presented in Chapter V. Both sets of parents give advice to the noivos about their wedding plans. Three or four days before the wedding, the couple and the padrinhos go to the registro civil to be officially married. In the religious ceremony, usually held on Saturday or Sunday, only invited relatives and friends attend. All of the wedding party wait outside of the church until the noivos and padrinhos have entered and then all of the family and guests rush in, crowding near the front.

After the ceremony the wedding party goes to the house of the padrinhos or to one of the two cafés in the village which were rented for the occasion. Roast chicken or lamb, small cakes, bread and wine are on the table for all to help themselves. More were invited to the wedding than are invited to the festa afterward.

The couple furnishes a house during the months preceding the wedding and gifts are placed there before the wedding. After the festa the new residence of the noivos is shown to the wedding guests. Some new furniture has been purchased by the groom, usually with the help of his padrinho and possibly the parents of the bride. The bride's madrinha helps with the expenses of the bride's gown, often making it herself. The padrinho and the groom care for the expenses of the wedding feast. Usually the groom is left with a small debt.

Some of the older informants reported being married only by the civil registration and others of still living in common-law marriage arrangement. Of forty-three households where we have information, twenty-nine reported civil registration and religious ceremony. Six had only civil registration, and eight couples were living together without either.

In the taverns at night while playing dominoes or cards over a small cup of coffee and several glasses of agua ardente, the men swap stories about unfaithful wives, though each man demands absolute obedience and faithfulness from his own wife. If wives have to go out at night they are always accompanied so as to avoid accusations by the neighbors. In two of the households we studied there were cases of run-away wives. After having been repeatedly caught with other men they had left the village, going to live as a mistress in another town. In the tavern the men referred to the original husbands of these run-away wives as having horns--like an ox. This may be similar to the reference to cabrón in Alcalá, Spain (Pitt-River, 1954:116). Adultery seemed to be arrested with the threat of wife-beating. Many male informants expressed the problem of the unfaithful wife, but at the same time, accepted as a normal fact of life the inability of the man to control himself when carried away by sexual desire. It was the same kind of destino that was described in explaining why some men do not come back from the sea.

Although several cases were reported of people coming in to marry a village resident and establishing a household there, many expressed the opinion that it was desirable to marry a resident of the village as this was

"best for the village." The summary of the result of forty-one households surveyed is shown in Table 1.

TABLE I
ORIGIN OF SPOUSES IN FORTY-ONE HOUSEHOLDS

	Spouses From Sines-Cercal Area	Spouses From Vila Nova Area
Wives	9	32
Husbands	4	37

In this survey there were only two couples where both husband and wife were from outside of Vila Nova. In thirty cases, both husband and wife were from the village area.

Incest prohibition is not extended beyond the nuclear family within the same generation, though recently, due to the expansion of compadrio, seems to now include compadres outside of the family kinship. The result has been a general relaxation of the Catholic Church's prohibition of cousin marriage. Willems calls this tendency to ingroup consanguine marriage, "particularized homogamous mating" (Willems, 1963:67). Actually, many cases of first and second cousin marriages are known in the Vila Nova area, but no case of cousins marrying, whose parents were

alternate siblings. This is designated by the Portuguese as "primo irmão" or "primo duas vezes." That is, when the siblings of family A are married to the siblings of family B, the resulting cousins of these two marriages are "primo irmãos." See diagram in Figure 1.

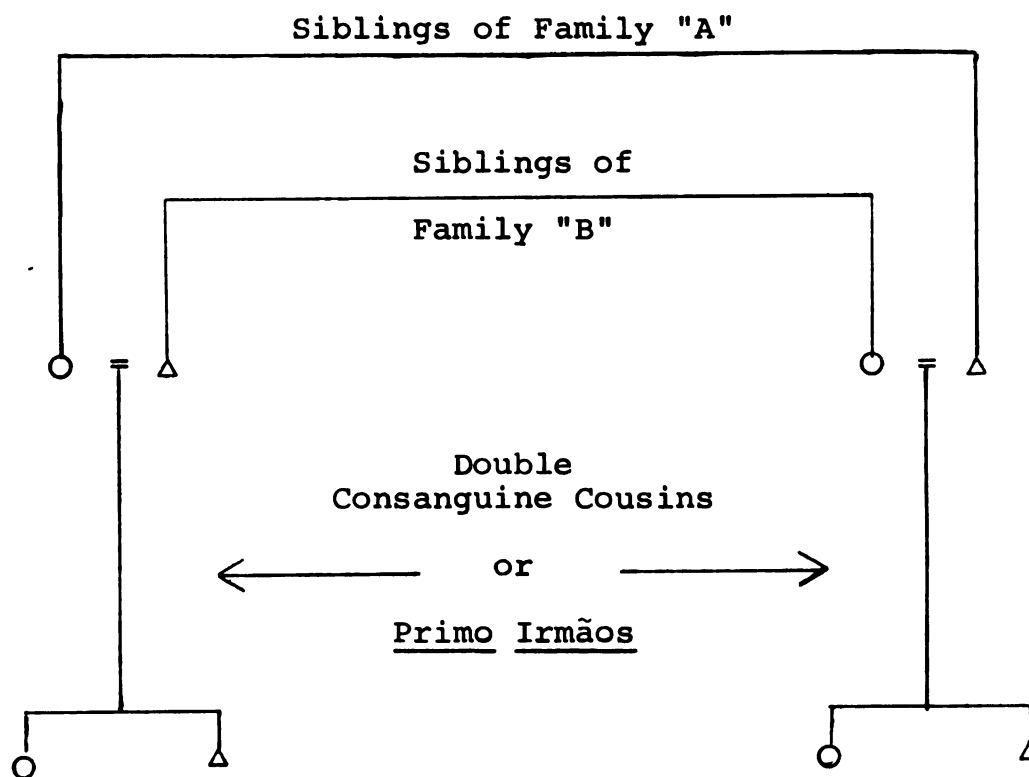


FIGURE 1
"PRIMO IRMÃOS" FAMILIES A AND B

Besides the marriage prohibitions being clearly expressed and practiced in this case of double consanguine cousins, there was another relationship which received equal designation and sanctions. This is when the siblings of two married couples were married. The resulting cousins were also considered primo irmãos by the villagers.

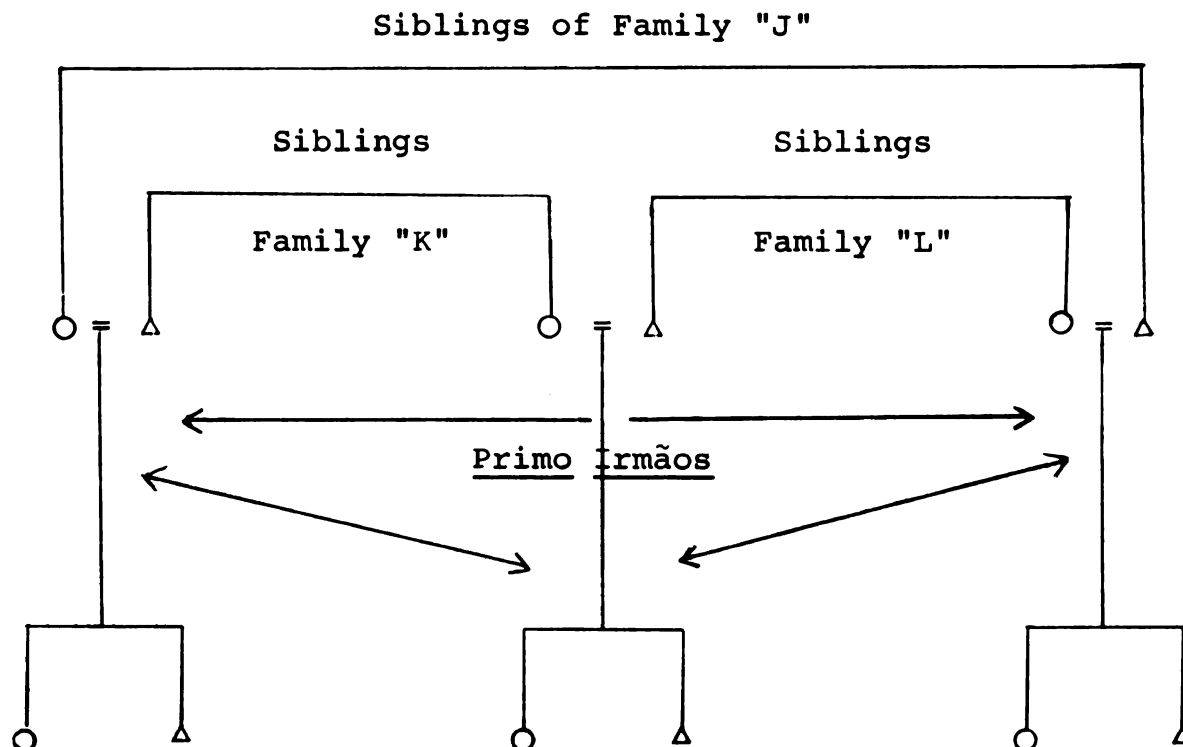


FIGURE 2

"PRIMO IRMÃOS" FAMILIES J, K, L

In the case illustrated in Figure 2, prohibitions were just as strongly felt as in the case of consanguine cousins in Figure 1. In Alcalá, it was pointed out that cousin marriage not only (1) strengthens the ties within a family in isolated areas, but (2) secures the continuity of family property (Pitt-Rivers, 1954:104-105). Both of these explanations are valid for Vila Nova.

Residence after marriage is patrilocal if a house cannot be rented or built immediately. There were some exceptions as the case where a girl married a poor man from outside of the village. He came to reside temporarily

with his new wife's household. The ideal expressed and practiced by the villagers was to have a house not far away from both families. A breakdown of forty-nine households studied is shown in Table II.

Emigration has affected residence patterns as the younger generation tend to move out towards the industrialized areas (Oliveira, 1967:29, Rocha, 1965:48). The aged and feeble remain with relatives or tend to move into a house with one of their married children. In two of the cases listed as "Nuclear" on Table II, a married child and spouse had his parents living with him.

In the case of the single persons living alone and the wife without a resident husband, four were widows and eight were abandoned by their husbands. Of these twelve, three had been or are mistresses to men outside of the village who visited the women and helped them maintain the house. One of these, a recent widow, was now considered a woman of má fama by the villagers, principally because of the variety of men who visited her.

Descent is reckoned through the father's and mother's line equally so that kinship terms of reference and relationships are symmetrical. A typical example is given in Figure 3.

The surname is also bilateral, placing the mother's family name before the father's family name in the

TABLE II
ORIGIN OF HOUSEHOLD UNITS ACCORDING TO
TYPE AND COMPOSITION^a

Type		No. of House- hold Units	No. of Individ- uals in Residence
I.	1. A=b- (X...)	6	2
NUCLEAR	2. A=b- (...)	3	3
A.	A=b- (...)	6	6
<u>Simple</u>	3. (A=b*)- (...)	3	5
	(A*=b)- (...)	8	4
	(A*=b)- (...)	2	5,7
	4. (A*=b*)- (...)	2	1
B.			
<u>Complex</u>	5. (A=b)/ (...)	9	3
	(A=b)/ (...)	2	4
	(A=b)/ (...)	1	5
	6. (A=b*)- (...)/ (...)	1	3
	(A*=b)- (...)/ (...)	3	3
II.			
EXTENDED			
A. Patri-	1. (A=b)- (C o D o e)/ (D=i)- (...)/ (J*=e)	1	9
	2. (A=b)- (c*o d o e o F)/ (J=e)- (...)/ (D=i)- (f.)/ (F=1)- (...)	1	13
B. Joint	3. (A*=b*)- (C o d)/ (C=i)- (...)/ (R=d)- (...)	1	8

^aComposition code of A. Kimball Romney. See Appendix.

KEY TO FIGURE 3

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Avó (da parte do meu pai) | 31. Prima |
| 2. Avó (ou a minha Avó) | 32. Sobrinho (O meu sobrinho) |
| 3. Avó (da parte da minha mãe) | 33. Sobrinha |
| 4. Avó " | 34. Sobrinho |
| 5. Tio (ou O Meu Tio) | 35. Sobrinha |
| 6. Tia (ou A minha Tia) | 36. Sobrinha |
| 7. Tio | 37. Primo |
| 8. Tia | 38. Prima |
| 9. Tio | 39. Prima |
| 10. O meu pai | 40. Primo |
| 11. A minha mãe | 41. Prima |
| 12. Tio | 42. Primo |
| 13. Tia | 43. |
| 14. Tio | 44. |
| 15. Tia | 45. Filha do meu sobrinho |
| 16. Tia | 46. Filho do meu sobrinho |
| 17. Primo (ou o meu primo) | 47. Primos meus |
| 18. Prima | 48. Primos meus |
| 17 and 18. Os meus primos | 49. Primos meus |
| 19. Primo | 50. Primos meus |
| 20. Prima | 51. Bisavô (Avô do meu pai) |
| 21. Irmão (ou o meu irmão) | 52. Bisavó " |
| 22. Cunhada | 53. Bisavó " |
| 23. Irmã | 54. Bisavó " |
| 24. Primo irmão | 55. Bisavó (Avô da minha Mãe) |
| 25. Prima | 56. Bisavó " |
| 26. Primo | 57. Bisavó " |
| 27. Prima irmã* | 58. Bisavó " |
| 28. Primo irmão | 59. Tia do meu pai |
| 29. Primo | 60. Tia da minha mãe |
| 30. Primo | |

Wife of Ego: Esposa (formal), Minha Mulher (popular)

Parents of wife: Sogros (Sogro and Sogra)

Grandparents of wife: Os avós da minha mulher

Children of Ego: Filho, Filha

Grandchildren of Ego's children: Netos, neto, neta

Greatgrandchildren of Ego: Netos or filhos dos meus netos

*Cousin marriage prohibition exist for Ego with 27; and between 23 and 24, 28, and for 21, prohibitions exist with 27.

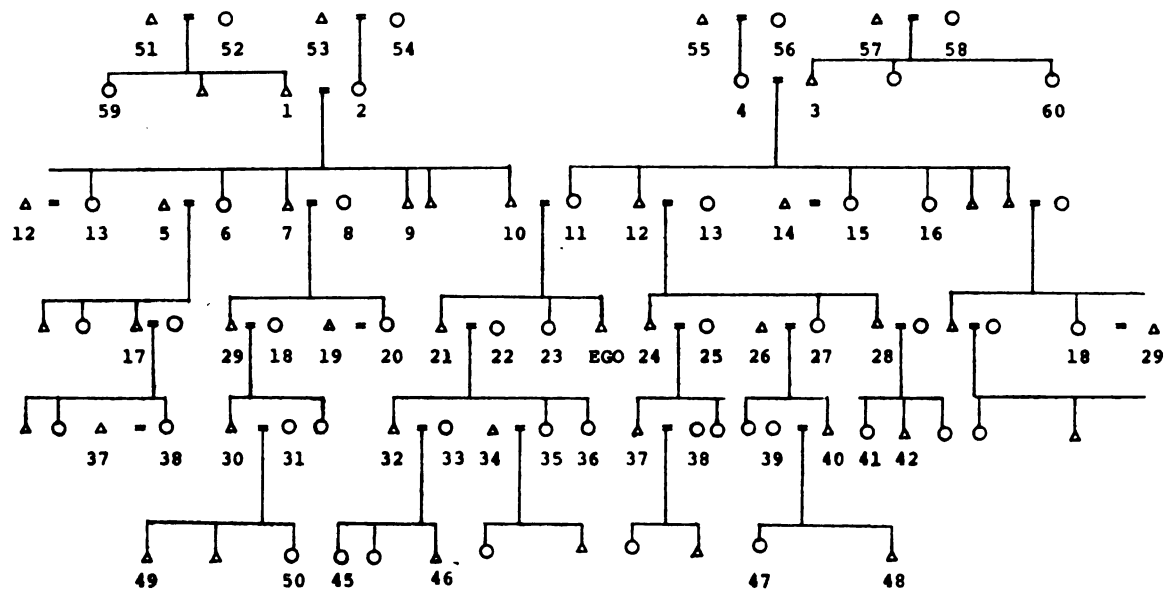


FIGURE 3
KINSHIP TERMS OF REFERENCE

surname of the child. Since the father's name is used last and is the name used for official registration of a child, it could be said that the name tends to be patrilineal in comparison to Spain where the opposite is the case. However, it is common for children to be popularly known by their mother's surname, even in preference to their given name, as is illustrated in the example given in Figure 4. In all cases the legal name and the one used for proper address, is the father's family name. Thus, in Figure 4, the child, José Coelho would use the complete form for legal purposes, José Rocha Coelho. Frequently, if the child's mother's surname, in this case, "Rocha," has a connotation it will be used as a nickname for derisive purposes. This is rarely the case of the last surname or father's family name.

In Vila Nova there is no pattern observed of using the given name of a grandfather for boys and the name of the grandmother for girls as in Andalusia (Pitt-Rivers, 1958:426). Quite frequently the name of a child's great aunt is used, but not according to a pattern.

Within the household there is a patriarchal authority, as the husband's word is final and the woman is kept on an inferior status. Female siblings also recognize a responsibility to a brother, even if he is younger, to see that his needs are met first, giving him deference in

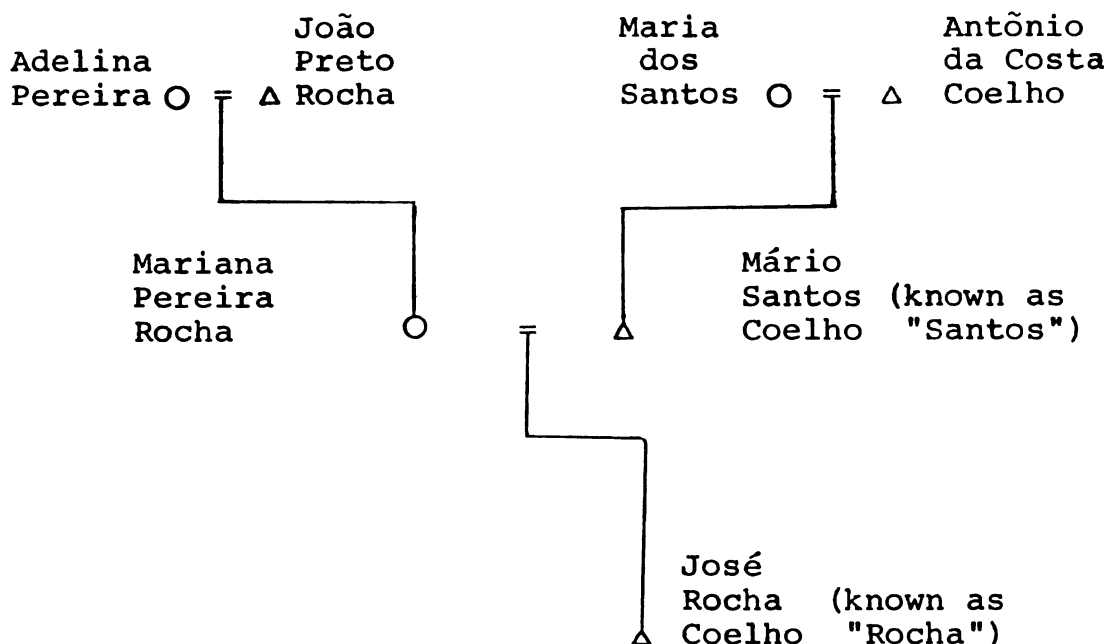


FIGURE 4

EXAMPLE OF BILATERAL ORIGIN OF SURNAME

social occasions. Thus, a wife will stand while the husband sits at a table to eat. The sister, likewise, will stand and wait on a brother who sits to eat. When man and wife are traveling from the fields with a burro, the husband rides and the wife walks. However, it is the wife who manages the finances for the household and it is usually her questions about these details which leads to violent discussions and wife-beating. Frequently such occasions are accompanied by heavy drinking by the husband. The irregular schedule of the men who go to sea to fish makes many demands on the women who have to prepare extra meals, bail, and adjust the household to the schedule

of sleeping by day while fishing by night. This added stress also contributes to the conflicts.

As has already been pointed out, two factors would seem to provide the framework for cooperating relationships between families: first, the high percentage of marriage partners which come from within the village, rather than from outside. Secondly, the large number of cousin marriages and practice of siblings of one family marrying siblings of another, thus inter-relating many households in the village. Although many of these links were observed resulting in cooperative and reciprocal efforts between families, there also were many "cut relationships" due to quarrels, making any kind of cooperation complicated. Each family maintained relações cortadas with a large percentage of the villagers. Nuclear families and those related by cousin marriage represented the most potential cooperative units. In these cases sons would share tools and work animals with father's household, or an uncle's household, or with a cousin's. Such cooperation was frequently observed at the dock in helping beach the boats, sharing tools, and helping with the unloading chores. Cooperation was particularly effective among cousins, for generally, a primo was trusted and respected until some occasion arose which caused the "relações cortadas." When this incident occurred it was considered a desgraca,

not the normal, as apparently is the case in Spain, (Pitt-Rivers, 1954:105-6) where a primo is a byword for "lack of confidence." Beyond the immediate family, many households maintain relações cortadas with a large percentage of the village. Exceptions were seen during the crisis of a fire, a lost boat or a drowning, but as soon as the emergency passed the limitation to friendship and cooperative work was reinforced.

Less is made of these long-standing feelings by the women who are more active in the church and in the Protestant meetings than the men. Until these feuds are settled the men cannot cooperate in any community activity which implies friendship with enemies. A guarda fiscal who is married to a woman of the village related that, "here there are no quarrels or fights, only beyond the bridge in the valley and in the mountains where just last week there was a knifing within a family. Here, we are all as one family and never have disorder." It is perhaps an orderly disagreement which produces relações cortadas.

The possibility of income from fishing, as well as the availability of small plots for subsistence farming has, until recent years, kept the village on a egalitarian level of social relations. Even though differences of wealth exist between the few large landowners and the masses of villagers, there are no obvious status

indicators among most of the people. Within the past ten years the attractions of higher wages in the industrialized areas and work on the large fishing and merchant ships based in Lisbon has had a stratifying effect on the village's social structure.

Many are no longer content to continue the easy life of the past, but are, in Erich Fromm's description, "escaping from freedom" (Fromm, 1941). By acquiring those income-producing items that will enable them to achieve an increasing higher level, many are moving from a stable independent status to become economically mobile. A fuller description of the categories of socio-economic strata along with the implications of these changes in relation to the god-parent system will be discussed in Chapter V.

CHAPTER IV

A DESCRIPTION OF CUBA

The second Portuguese village studied in this comparative analysis of compadrio presents some significant contrasts to Vila Nova, even though both villages are within the same political district of the province and share a common cultural tradition. In this chapter we will relate these differences to the social organization as a background for the analysis of the adaptation and function of compadrio in Chapter VI.

I. HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE

Approximately 100 kilometers beyond the Cercal Mountains, to the east and in the center of the Alentejo province, is the area of the second village studied. Here on the dry plains rises the circular city of Beja on the only hill, making the old city visible for miles in all directions. Named "Pace Júlia" by Ceasar, it was first the headquarters of the Roman Legion and later a Roman colony. After 715 A.D., it became a Mohammedan cultural center. The Arab domination lasted until the twelfth century, during which time the name of the city, "Pace"

became "Beja" on the Arabic tongue. Fifteen kilometers to the north is Cuba, the old feudal estate of Dom Francisco, Duque of Beja (Dom João IV), son of Dom Pedro II and Maria Sófia Isabel de Neoberg. The first houses in the village were used for the vassals and were built along the road to Montigo-Lisbon which became the main street of the village. The first church (Espírito Santo) was constructed in 1530, followed by one on the Rua de Evora, ordered by King Sabestião in 1569, in memory of the 80,000 who died in the plague of Lisbon that summer. By 1675, the population of the village had grown to 1,600, approximately what it is expected to be in the 1970 census (Oliveira, 1742: 28, Oliveira and Pereira, 1967).

II. INFLUENCE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

In Cuba the Church has made an obvious recovery from the turmoil of anti-religious feelings which boiled up during the century of liberal ideas, culminating in the revolutions of 1910-1926 (Livermore, 1966:268-326). Even so, only five Catholic churches have been put back into use in the village and of these only one, the "Sé" is used daily. The village had two resident priests in 1965, but neither enjoyed much popular support. Many conformed to the traditions of the church while viewing the program of the Church as being more political

than religious. Among the poor there was neither interest nor outward conformity. This conforms to Willems' observations in Canhestros, a village twenty-five kilometers west of Cuba (Willems, 1963:75). It was common to see religious pictures on the wall of the front rooms or bedrooms of the houses and many wore lucky charms around their neck to ward off the effects of the mal olhar of gypsies. Belief is prevalent that some women in the village, who claimed to have spiritual power, were able to cure disease and illness caused by the evil eye. Mainly women sought out these curandeiras. Likewise, it was women who took part in the processions of the Catholic Church. Men who participate in the activities of the Church are from the upper economic class. As Vasconcellos writes:

. . . a pesar dos esforços que fax o clero para manter a pureza da fé, direi que, segundo informações que tenho colhido, ás vezes até de eclesiásticos, e o que eu próprio a cada passo observo, o Alentejo é d'entre as nossas províncias a que de presente menos pratica a religião (Vasconcellos, 1942:524). (According to my own observations, and those of the priests themselves, the Alentejo [Cuba] practices Catholicism the least of all our provinces, in spite of the efforts of the clergy to maintain the purity of the faith.)

In contrast, the small landed upper class takes active participation in all religious activities of the Church, fulfilling the requirements of the organization by holding church office, giving financial support, and internalizing the value system. The various degrees of

conformity will be examined in Chapter VI in relation to the compadrio system.

III. THE ECOLOGY

Thus, it can be seen, in relation to Vila Nova, the influence of the Church has remained quite constant. The element which has not, however, remained so, as mentioned in Chapter III, is the ecology. Whereas Vila Nova enjoys the advantages of coastal weather, resources of the sea as well as a relatively good supply of ground water, the area around Cuba corresponds more to the climate and conditions of "dry" Spain. A contrast between Vila Nova (wet) and Cuba (dry) is indicated in Table III on the basis of ecological conditions.

Some of the social consequences of these conditions will be seen in the description of the large estates and the village life which depends on them.

Although crop rotation, use of fertilizer, and irrigation have brought some changes to the big farms in the Cuba area, as an overall description Table III indicates the basic conditions which the villagers must confront. Later, we will also contrast the resulting social structures corresponding to these two differing ecological conditions as Kasdan (1965) has done with the Basque and central areas of Spain.

TABLE III
ECOLOGICAL CONTRAST BETWEEN TWO VILLAGES

Vila Nova	Feature	Cuba
Adequate	Water	No springs or irrigation
During 12 months	Rainfall	Only October to March
Good	Soil	Poor
Pleasant weather	Living	Extremes, monotonous
Pine woods	Forests	None
Sea, beach, work	Diversion	None, but seasonal
Varied	Crops	Limited
Balanced with fish	Diet	Inadequate
Fish and surplus	Income	No surplus

Latifúndio, the big estate farm. The Portuguese word for the big farm comes from the Latin word, Latifundium, meaning a large property. In most cases, the large estate was inherited by the noble families from the early dynasties. As the military-religious orders conquered land from the Arabs in the twelfth century, the Portuguese kings made donations of land to these orders. They also gave land to those individuals who distinguished themselves in battle. The purpose of these donations, called "forais," was to encourage, through colonization, the development of the newly conquered areas (Vasconcellos, 1942:585).

When the religious orders were abolished by the Portuguese liberal government in 1834, all of the lands belonging to these orders was sold at public auction. Although it was intended that in this way the big farms would be broken up and distributed to the poor, the result was quite the opposite. Many of the wealthy families, who already owned large estates, purchased more. Corporations formed of such families, municipal governments, and even religious organizations with secular names, bought up these large estates. Thus, instead of benefiting the small farmer, the sale of these large estates resulted in creating even larger and more powerful latifúndios. Some large estates, which were actually divided into small lots when sold at auction were later resold to wealthy families who recomposed even larger estates. The smallest latifúndios in the province are about seventy hectare herdades. The average size is about 1,000 hectares and some have even more than 25,000 hectares. A hectare is about 2.47 acres so this would be about 150 square miles for the larger latifúndios. It is only in the south of Portugal, in this Alentejo province, where today many of these large estates remain unchanged.

On these farm-estates, the owner maintains a large house (solar), extravagantly furnished and used only rarely when the owner visits his estate. The absent owner leaves

the running of the farm to a qualified manager (feitor) who, in turn, hires full-time and part-time workers. Adequate housing is provided on the estate for these workers and additional houses are owned in the nearby villages for the seasonal workers and full-time workers of the estate. In the villages surrounding the latifúndia the owners built flour mills, grain storage facilities, wine and olive presses, processing factories, iron works, blacksmith shops, and carpenter shops, making use of the cheap excess labor. In fact, all of the large industry of the villages in the latifúndium area was a monopoly of the owners of the large estates. Only small craftsmen and their shops functioned independently (Vasconcellos, 1942:584-587).

IV. THE VILLAGE TODAY

The exterior appearance of the village has changed little in the past century. There are actually three praças in the village, each with a sixteenth century grid-iron pattern of streets surrounding them. In one is the main church, Sé, an eighteenth century baroque style building with impressive residences of the wealthy land owners lining the perimeter of the large square. In another, in the center of the village, is the municipal court house and jail, and the third contains the nineteenth

century public market and the headquarters of the National Guard. The original main street of the village, which ran from Beja via Beringel to Montijo (Lisbon) via Evora, still passes by all three pracas. The village is built on a small hill, completely encircled by a road on which are located the barns and small inns where horses and carriages are quartered and guests find austere overnight lodging. Also along this perimeter road are located blacksmith and carriage shops which make wagons, plows, and tools, and shoe mules. On the north side of the village is a large open field where monthly cattle fairs are held. Here, traveling salesmen set up tents alongside of their carts or trucks for displaying cloth, ready-made clothing, shoes, boots, tools, dishes, and jewelry.

The largest building in the village is the flour mill operated by a steam engine. This also produces the electrical power for this and some other factories. In 1955, electricity was provided from Beja for the whole village. Today about a third of the village's houses have electricity and water from the village's system. Most of the houses which have water use one faucet, usually in the back of the house or just inside the front door. Water is also available at several public fountains where animals are watered and villagers fill large pottery jugs.

Most of the streets are about four meters wide and paved with cobblestones. Others are narrower and surfaced with a mixture of sand and clay. The constant movement of horses, mules, cattle, sheep and goats passing from the houses to the fields and back again makes the daily sweeping of the streets by the municipal government employees a necessity. There are approximately 800 houses in the village, each occupying a lot approximately ten by thirty meters. These houses for the latifúndio workers are about six meters wide with an additional two or three meters along the street for a gate leading into the back yard. The lot is surrounded with a two meter-high stone wall in the back, next to the adjoining house. The space behind the house contains a well, some small barns for mules, goats, sheep, chickens, and grain storage. About one half of the area is cultivated for providing food for some of the small animals.

From the street these houses appear all the same. The front door opens to a corridor which divides the house, running from the front to the rear patio. On either side of the corridor are two front rooms with one window in each facing the street. Two dark middle rooms are lighted with small glass tiles set into the tile roof. The front of the house is whitewashed with a dark trim of red, blue, green or yellow painted around the two windows

and the front door. Whitewashing, an annual task in summer or fall, is done by the wife of the household.

The mud walls of these houses are made using two 2-meter long wooden frames placed in front and behind the wall under construction. Mud mixed with clay and rocks is tamped in between the wooden frame. Eucalyptus is used for the wall frames and roof rafters. As in Vila Nova, the front two rooms are dining room and bedroom. The middle two rooms are bedrooms or used for storage. The back two rooms on each side of the corridor are the kitchen and another storage room. The central walls, on each side of the corridor, rarely extend to the roof so there is no ceiling above the corridor, but an open space up to the roof tiles. In the cold damp winter the household stays in the large kitchen which has a large chimney-fireplace. Here as many as six people sit on low chairs inside of the fireplace to keep warm along-side the fire.

The diet has little variety, especially in the winter, when cod fish, pork sausage, potatoes, chickpeas, rice, beans, cheese and olive oil are the staples available. Dark whole wheat bread, cheese and sausage (choriço) is the standard meal along with cabbage and olive oil soup thickened with salt-pork and potatoes. Hot soup is eaten at noon and evening and also at mid-morning when working in the fields. Breakfast coffee (chicory) is made with

hot milk and wine is used at all other meals, or, at times, water. The baker's ovens, located throughout the village, are available for a small fee (or portion of food) to the households for preparing bread or baked dishes. The baker, usually a widow, picks up the food to be baked and returns it when finished.

Political organization. The district of Beja, to which Cuba belongs, is divided into administrative parts called conselhos. These, in turn, are divided into smaller parts called freguesias with an elected local junta. The conselho, basic cell of Portuguese administrative structure, is made up of the junta from the smaller freguesias, elected eldersmen, and a president appointed by the national government. All of the conselhos in the district are headed by the governador civil who is appointed by the national government to oversee general administration within the country. Beja is one of eighteen districts in Portugal and within the district of Beja there are fourteen conselhos. Cuba is the capital of the conselho of Cuba and houses the seat (sêde) in the Câmara Municipal building, presided over by the president of the Câmara Municipal. Cuba also has a court of justice with jurisdiction over nearly half of the district of Beja. A judge presides over the court of Cuba. He is appointed by the

the national government and has a residence provided for him in Cuba. All of these administrative and judiciary offices in Cuba involve many government functionaries and office workers who live and work in Cuba, but have little social relation to the village. Many of them have family in Beja or visit friends in other cities on week-ends. Since only the literate are permitted to vote, many of the men of the village do not understand political responsibility. The elected members of the conselho are usually wealthy land owners. During the period of our study the president of the conselho or Câmara Municipal was one of the wealthiest latifúndio owners who also owned and controlled most of the industry in the area. The poor farm workers do understand the function of the Câmara in collecting taxes and regulating agriculture.

The educational system. The village primary school which is divided into the male and female sections, has about 140 students and four teachers for the four year program. The nearest secondary school is in Beja where some students from Cuba attend, traveling daily on the train. The expense and long hours involved in travel to obtain education beyond the fourth year is the main reason less than 10 per cent of those who finish the fourth year go on to secondary school. Although statistics were not

available at the school, a survey of twenty-eight households with children revealed that less than 20 per cent completed the four years of primary school. In these same households the literacy rate was less than 7 per cent. In 1950 only 10 per cent of the men were registered as literate. In 1964 the literacy rate for the whole district of Beja was 42 per cent (Gomes, 1964:658).

In the whole country in 1965, only 50 per cent of the fourth grade of primary school took the exam for secondary school, and of these, only 34 per cent actually entered secondary school. In other words, in 1965, 66 per cent of those who finished the fourth year of primary school, did not continue in school (Machete, 1968:242). In the whole country, an average of 30.4 per thousand strive to go on to secondary schools. In the district of Beja, with a total population of 269,000 only 15.4 per thousand try to go on to secondary schools. In 1968 only 25.8 per cent of the fourth grade students in primary schools in the district of Beja (including Cuba) were accepted in secondary schools making the educational discontinuity rate of 75 per cent the highest of the whole country (Gomes, 1964:658, Machete, 1968:242).

As in Vila Nova, the poor farm workers in Cuba reported difficulties children experienced in primary school: (1) lack of encouragement by the teachers who

only singled out good students to finish and take the exams, (2) the need for the children to help with farm work at home interfered with time for study. Exceptions were found in those households where the child's father had been outside of the village doing migrant work near Lisbon, or in France, and placed higher values on education.

The agricultural system. The poor farm workers in Cuba are very dependent on the seasonal work offered by the large estates. It is in this way that most of the villagers secure their income of cash and foodstuffs. Although some workers are permanently employed by the estate, most of the workers are hired seasonally in the village praça.

Fall plowing and planting. During the month of October hiring is done at the north side of the village near the market praça, and on the south side of the village in front of the railroad station and taverns. Before 6 AM, the feitor of the large farms sends a tractor pulling a flatbed trailer to these hiring places. The tractor is driven by one of the permanent employees of the large farm. When agreement is reached as to the daily wage, the trailer is loaded and chugs off into the cold grey mist of early dawn. Hiring done in this way helps

the laborer to decide his wage and the farm he will work on that day. More private arrangements are made by the owners of the smaller farms in contracting workers during the fall. The few villagers who own their own small plots attempt to do their work without hired labor. Some of these households could be seen at an early hour in their mule-drawn carts on their way to the small one to three acre farms close to the village.

Olive harvest. In late November the managers of the latifúndios begin to recruit women and men for the olive harvest. Leaving the village after 6 AM, many trailers loaded with olive harvest workers drive out to the large farms. Managers of farms close to the village send a messenger calling for workers and stating the hourly or kilo rate of pay. Workers responding to this opportunity walk to the nearby olive groves. Since 1960 the payment for olive harvesters is by the kilo picked rather than by the hour of work or daily wage. The women employed in the harvest dress properly for this cold season of the year, using many skirts and aprons, woolen socks, leather boots, a scarf around the head topped with a black broad brimmed hat. Since it often is raining during olive harvest, the women wrap themselves in clear plastic sacks from fertilizer bags to help protect their clothing from the rain.

As the chattering women walk to the fields in the morning, the crackling noise of the improvised plastic aprons can be heard a great distance. Some latifúndia too far from Cuba have the harvesters stay on the estate during the week of work with meals provided.

During the harvest the hired manager directs the work of the men who knock the olives from the trees with long poles while the women pick the fallen olives from the cloths laid on the ground under the tree. The olives are collected in small baskets and then dumped into a large one on the mule cart which, in turn, is emptied into a large tank on the tractor-drawn trailer.

During this season the women sing verses about the work, harmonizing in several voices. At about 9 AM work is interrupted for lunch. Everyone brings a basket or sack of food. Several small fires are started around noon when work is again stopped and soup heated in small pottery dishes. Another break is taken around 3 PM and then the work continues until sundown when all of the workers return to the village. On the return journey as the women continue to sing verses, the men chat with each other. Familiar language is used among the women, speaking to each other in the second person. There is little conversation between the sexes among the older workers, but quite a lot among the young girls and boys.

Some of the better quality of olives are kept for eating, but most of the crop is taken to the press in the village. Here the olives are weighed and after the quality is judged, payment made to the owner. The olives are put into circular sacks made of heavy rope and squeezed in a hydrolic press. The oil is then filtered with steam and the residue, in the bag, emptied into a mill where it is ground and pressed a second time. The remaining pulp is used for pig feed.

The oil is stored in fifty liter metal cans. The work in the commercial press in the village is done by three men and ten boys all under fourteen years of age. Olives that are kept for eating are transported to the barns on the estate where they are washed and placed in ten liter pottery jugs in a solution of salt water. This brine is changed daily for ten days and then a small bitter fruit, zambujo, is added along with spices. The women harvesters are allowed to take home small bags of olives to prepare in their houses this way.

When the olives have been harvested the workers dress in their most colorful clothes and go to the residence of the estate (solar) for a festa. The men bring some musical instruments, accordian, tamborine, flute, to accompany the girls singing the verses they composed during harvest. Dancing is followed by a special meal prepared

by the owners of the farm and usually including spiced cakes and wine.

Those with small plots or hortas harvest their olives without outside help as the fixed price of olive oil (twenty-eight Escudos a liter) is not enough to pay pickers who receive as much as two and a half Escudos a kilo. Even on some of the larger estates the olives were not harvested during the winter of 1965 due to the high cost of labor.

Usually from late December until early February most of the farm workers in the village are unemployed. To help during this period many of the households store up food and funds and the merchants in the village sell on a credit basis. During some winters the government has planned work projects on roads in the area to provide employment for the farm workers. It was unfavorable weather and the corresponding poor crops which caused the crisis of unemployment in this district from 1952-1960. During this period more than 45,000 men left the district of Beja to find work in the industrialized area of Lisbon or in France. It is estimated that during this time 1,400 left the village of Cuba (Alarcão, 1964:518-520).

A monda. The period of weeding the wheat fields (monda) begins in mid-February and continues through March

and April providing adequate work for the villagers when the weather is favorable. During the weeding season the employees of the farm estates come to the praças in Cuba to hire weeders. Both men and women are hired to work and are paid on the basis of a day's labor. Trucks and trailers are filled with workers before sunrise and transport them to the fields. Some groups of women contract to be away several weeks, staying in a dormitory provided for them on the large estate.

The girls, mostly unmarried, are dressed with several layers of skirts and blouses, knee-length black woolen stockings and wooden-soled shoes. They wear a scarf of many colors on their heads, topped with a large black broadbrimmed hat. In the praças around 6 AM there is much excitement with the girls talking and singing as the trucks and trailers are loaded. Each worker carries a basket with food for the day and a tool (sachinho) for weeding. The baskets of food are stacked under a tree at the edge of the field to be weeded. In the field the women tuck their black skirt into their black stockings making it appear as if they were wearing a black one-piece uniform.

Starting at one end of the field, where the wheat is by now six to eight inches high, the women take positions along the rows, one in each furrow. With one man

directing and about thirty women working, they proceed slowly across the field, moving about 100 meters an hour. The handle of the sachinho is not more than fifty cm. long making it necessary for the weederers to bend low as they work. Those who fall behind are urged on by the feitor. Songs and verses are sung and conversation flows at a fickle pace.

At nine there is a pause for lunch (almoço) and then an hour at noon for ceia. Another rest time is taken at 4 PM for merenda and then work for the day is finished at sundown.

The songs are in three voices with the contralto being very high pitched and shrill similar to the music of Morocco. First a question is sung by one of the groups of girls; and the answer is given by another further along the rows of wheat.

Casada? Não sou casada, nem sei se me casarei.
Tenho a palavra dada, não sei se a comprarei.
Eu bem sei q'ando na monda, eu bem sei q'ando a mondar,
Na monda é que eu arranjei dinheiro para me casar
(Vasconcellos, 1967:584).

The women working in the fields within three or five kilometers of the village often walk to and from the daily weeding, singing along the way. When the weeding season is nearly finished there is opportunity for the girls to talk with the boys at the dances in the praças during the days of carnaval.

The harvest. The harvesting of beans and chick-peas comes just before the wheat harvest in May. Men and women are hired in the early morning for cutting the wheat with hand sickle. On their left hand the women wear segments of a cane which have been cut in half-inch lengths to wear like rings on their fingers. On each finger of the left hand a segment is placed in each joint of the finger. Each segment of cane is tied to the next with a thin strand of rawhide, making a glove of hard canewood to protect the hand as the worker gathers in the standing wheat. The right hand wields the sickle and wraps a few straws around each bundle of cut wheat. The workers move through the rows of wheat in a straight line, dropping the bundles of cut wheat as they go. Men following along behind arrange the fallen bundles into larger piles with pitchforks. Later a mule cart is used to collect the piles of wheat and take them to a central area in the farm for threshing. As the girls move slowly through the fields cutting the wheat they sing verses about life's joys and sorrows.

The large farms use a threshing machine which is pulled by a tractor to the field where wheat is piled in huge mounds, awaiting threshing. In this operation only men are employed. The smaller plot farmers do their own threshing using the malho as in Vila Nova. Others take

their wheat in a mule cart to the threshing site on the big farm where it is done for them in exchange for some bags of wheat.

The wheat harvest gives employment until late August when some of the big farms begin to hire workers for the grape harvest (vindime). Especially northeast of Cuba many are hired daily for the vindime. Both men and women pick the grapes and place them in small baskets which are dumped into larger round baskets. These are carried by the men and dumped into a wooden barrel on a mule or ox cart. From there the grapes are taken to the wine press on the farm property. This is a large stone tank about two meters square and a meter deep. As the grapes are dumped into the stone tank they are tramped by men in bare feet. The press itself is a large screw arrangement above the tank which places pressure on a wooden frame placed on top of the grapes. After "dancing" on the grapes and pressing them the liquid is drained off and placed in large pottery vessels, cubozes, two meters high and a meter and a half in diameter in the middle. Here the wine ferments within a month or so. The residue is cooked and distilled in a copper pot to make the alcoholic drink, agua ardente.

The small farm owners bring the grapes to the small barn behind their house in the village where they

make wine and agua ardente. The period of new wine coincides with the plowing and sowing season, marking the end of the year.

The latifúndios have permanent employees to care for the herds of cattle, pigs, sheep, and goats. Pigs, like sheep, are herded by a shepherd to the hills where there are scattered cork oak trees. Here the pigs feed on the acorns and wild roots. The shepherds are usually under eighteen, or old men.

Cork harvest. Special personnel are employed by the large properties to trim the cork oak trees and annually strip off the bark of the trees. This is done on a rotating basis so that each tree is only stripped every eight to ten years. The cork bark is carried on mule carts to the processing factory in the village where it is cooked, cut, and shipped to Setubal or Lisbon. The men employed in harvesting the cork, cortadores, trim olive trees and prepare the trimmed oak branches for firewood. They consider themselves specialists and do no other kind of work. Usually they are unemployed several months of the year.

Land of the large estates near the village is made available to the workers living in the village on a meia basis. That is, the planter gets half of the crop

and the landowner gets half. Some of the more productive land was made available for tercas: one-third to the owner and two-thirds to the planter. However, these lands are only available during the year when they are fallow. The year the big farm plants the field it is not available for shares. Some land belonging to small farmers is rented for cash, most small plot owners need the crops they can raise on their land for their own household and for feeding their animals. The small plot farmer plows with a pair of mules kept in the barn behind his house. He uses a steel-tipped wooden plow and sows by hand, broadcast style. Corn is raised for the animals and wheat to make flour for bread.

In December 1965 there was much work available on the surrounding farms and a shortage of workers, but many were listed as unemployed. The problem was that they refused to work for the old low wages. There was a hesitancy of the farm managers to employ new farming methods or fertilizers. When fertilizers were used they were often improperly applied with a resulting decrease in output. The director of the local farm cooperative blamed these failures on the managers who were unwilling to adjust to change and not literate enough to read the government farm bulletins.

The village market. Farm products from the surrounding area were brought into the village market daily. Most of the stands in the market were operated by local farmers who owned small plots near the village. Opening at 6 AM the market continued until noon when all of the stands and tables of vegetables were covered with sheets. Both men and women tend the stands at the market although most of the customers were men. Only after 11 AM did some maids appear buying for the wealthy families in the village. Men from the poorer households did the daily buying, in the market to augment the supply of food from their small gardens. In Vila Nova, quite to the contrary, it was the women who did the purchasing in the market.

During December 1965, eighteen stands in the market sold potatoes, turnips, cabbage, onions, beans, sweet-potatoes, large radishes, squash, dried beans, dried corn, apples, three varieties of oranges, lemons, chestnuts, walnuts, almonds, pork sausage, blood sausage, smoked shoulder of beef and hams of pork, fresh goat meat, as well as sheep, pig, and calf meat, dried fish, and two varieties of dried cod fish, hard cakes, cookies, sweet bread, and religious articles, such as pictures, images, beads, etc. Occasionally a pottery maker from Beringel set up a display of earthen cookware, pottery dishes, and water jugs. Later in the month of December a traveling

merchant set up a stand of hand painted pottery figures for a Christmas manger scene (presépio). For the few days this vendor was in the market considerably more women came to purchase these small painted figures.

Once each month the village has a cattle fair set up on the north side of town. Hundreds of cattle are driven in from distant farms and tied to stakes in the middle of the muddy field along with sheep, goats, pigs, turkeys, and burros. Raising burros seems to be the exclusive profession of the gypsies in this area. Since there is so little field work, the December fair is well attended by men of the village who come wearing sheepskin chaps, sheepskin coats, leather boots and broad-brimmed hats. Black woolen shirts are worn without a tie. Stands are set up selling clothing, blankets, boots, pottery, tools, farm equipment and household items such as dishes, water jugs, and pans. In the morning only men are present and concerned with the animal sales. Each one who brings animals to sell stands near his livestock. Buyers, usually from the big packing houses in Setubal and Lison, approach the sellers individually, asking the price and bargaining. Mules and mule carts line the street in front of the field. Cash received from the sale of these animals is used by the small farmer for family needs during the winter. Many items of clothing are purchased at the fair after the

morning cattle sales. Besides the small farmers who brought their animals to the fair there are also large numbers of cattle from the big estates. The functionary in charge of the gate tax at the fair estimated that more than 70 per cent of the cattle sold that day were from the latifúndios. Some of the small farmers questioned if they had made any profit from the sale of their animals that day due to the high cost of feed and large loss of animals due to illness.

Those in the village not involved in agriculture showed no interest in the fair. One of my informants, a skilled carpenter making carved eighteenth century French furniture, said he rarely visited the fair as it was too noisy and had nothing for sale that he needed. An identical opinion was expressed by the shop owners, office workers, tin smith, jeweler, and pharmacist. Some even expressed a feeling of shame that I would be going to such places. Later in the afternoon, however, women and girls began to appear at the fair. Their interest was in shoes, clothing, and the blankets being sold by a man with a microphone-PA system. He was standing on top of his small truck with his PA volume at an ear-splitting level. Below him he had two attractive women displaying the blankets. Using an auction method of selling he would throw the

large blanket to the highest bidder, often to the buyer's surprise.

V. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

As we have seen in the description of the village, Cuba being located in the midst of the large wheat farms has served as the source of farm labor for more than four centuries. Most of the whitewashed stone houses in the village were constructed by the owners of the large estates to provide housing for their farm labor. In 1965 Cuba had a population of approximately 2,400 distributed in 440 household units or fogos. According to Table IV, more than 66 per cent of the males employed in the village were in agricultural work. Two hundred fifty men were employed in non-agricultural work ranging from servants in taverns to technical administrators in the factories. Included in this figure also were employees in the shops and offices, but not the members of the national guard. In agricultural work 120 men were permanently employed on estates in jobs ranging from servants to technicians operating farm equipment. Four hundred men were employed in seasonal jobs on the surrounding farms. Forty were classified as farm owners, ranging from the owners of small plots to the large estates. Thirty men were classified as permanently unemployed.

TABLE IV
DISTRIBUTION OF MALE POPULATION AGES
TWENTY TO SIXTY-FIVE IN 1965
IN CUBA

Non-agricultural work	30.2%
Permanent agricultural employment	14.2%
Seasonal agricultural employment	47.6%
Farm owners	4.5%
Unemployed	3.5%

TABLE V
DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL POPULATION IN
THE DISTRICT OF BEJA IN 1967

Agriculture	71.5%
Non-farm work	9.4%
Skilled industry	7.4%
Clothing and shoes	2.9%
Other and unemployed	9.0%

Source: Carvalho, 1967:478.

In Cuba, unlike Vila Nova, the rich are clearly distinguished from the poor, although to one passing through the village the only appearance is of poverty. The wealthy land owners remain out of sight in their large houses. The shop owners, store clerks, office and factory workers and

craftsmen dress differently from the poor farm workers. The small middle class in this stratified village are not often seen on the streets, except at night when it is the custom to walk after supper to one of the two cafés to play billiards, cards, or dominoes. Whereas, in Vila Nova, the availability of land for most of the villagers and the ecologically determined potential of a good return tended to equalize social relations among all of the people regardless of economic position, in Cuba the opposite occurred. Following the unequal distribution of land (with low yield and suitable only to large area cultivation) Cuba began its existence as a socially stratified village and continues today divided into classes according to the economic potential of the villagers.

Baptism. The findings of this study concerning the choosing of padrinhos in relation to economic position is presented in Chapter VI. As in Vila Nova, the parents of an expected child in the poorer class choose padrinhos from among their relatives, usually a sister of the wife and her husband or a brother of the husband and his wife. Among the more economically mobile classes the god-parents are chosen from among friends of equal or better economic level. Among the poor farm workers in Cuba the parents frequently choose the child's name and expect nothing more

from the god-parents than the mere appearance at the church baptismal ritual and assistance in registering the child's birth. It is among the more mobile classes that god-parents are expected to fulfill the obligations placed upon them by the Church. New social roles and structured relationships begin to appear among those related by ritual kinship in direct proportion to economic mobility.

The father usually accompanies the padrinhos, or witnesses, to the church for the baptismal rite. Afterward they return to the home of the child for a brief feita. The new padrinhos usually provide the bôlo and the vinho. Later, the father of the child goes with the padrinhos to the office of the registro civil where the padrinhos serve as the legal witnesses in the record of the birth of the child.

Annually, the padrinhos are invited to the child's birthday celebration, usually in the late afternoon. In the households of the poor farm workers, a small cake and Port wine are served. The padrinhos bring a small gift; a toy for infants and clothing for the older children. Among the more mobile class the padrinhos purchase more expensive clothing or shoes for their afilhado on his birthday. In most of the poor homes the child's birthday celebration is a time for exchanging, with relatives and Padrinhos, stories of unemployment, illness, and the

inability to better care for the child. In the home of the small farm owners, office workers, craftsmen, etc., concrete plans are worked out on this dia dos anos for the education of the child. The first obstacle is primary school and then, to arrange a home in Beja where the child can stay while attending secondary school.

Courtship. Although schools are segregated according to sexes, there are opportunities for boys and girls of the poor class to meet in the work on the farms, at the monthly fairs, and at dances and festas. Boys ask girls for a speaking arrangement after the age of fourteen or fifteen and often speak with several girls before asking the parents of a girl for permission to namorar (publicly "speak" with a girl). After this, "speaking" is only done on a very formal basis with the boy on the street and the girl inside of the open window of her house. When attending fairs or dances they would always be accompanied. Girls do not enter the cafés in the village even when accompanied. Men of the poorer class gather in the taverns at night drinking red wine and singing in close harmony. The music, typical only of the Alentejo is considered by some to be the most original in Portugal today (Gallop, 1961:190-265). One will make up the verse telling of misery, frustration in love, and destiny, while the rest

of the group join in on the chorus, repeating the theme in a minor key. Throughout the long winter nights the serious melody of the taverns can be heard in the deserted streets; deserted, except for the occasional men, hidden in the shadows, "speaking" to their girlfriends inside the open windows.

Men of the more mobile classes gather in the cafés at night to play billards, dominoes, and cards accompanying the games with small cups of black coffee mixed with an ounce of agua ardente. Occasionally the sports club will have a sessão de cinema, projecting an old French movie, but even this is attended only by men.

Military duty did not have any significant influence on the courtship patterns of the village probably because so few men have been called from the village. Only since 1962 have twenty-one year old men been called into the army in large numbers from Cuba. When these men return from duty many changes can be expected due to the educational program the army is now making available to illiterate men. Girls now engaged to men expecting to go into military service are planning to wait until the men return before being married. Some girls in the village were married to their namorados by proxy, a practice encouraged by the government among the military men in Portuguese Africa.

Marriage. In contrast to Vila Nova where we found among the households studied more than 10 per cent common-law marriages (pages 65-66), in Cuba, there were no common-law marriage arrangements reported among the households we studied. There were, among the thirty-six households studied, seven unions which reported to have had civil registration only, without a church wedding, but in all seven cases the couples were over fifty-eight years of age. Among the couples fifty-five years old or younger, all reported having been married by the Church. One couple had been married in the Protestant Church in the village. As in the north of the country where the Church has enforced their marriage rules within the past three decades, so here in Cuba there has apparently been considerable influence by the Church so that the practice of common-law marriages has been attenuated (DeCamps, 1935:213).

Unlike Vila Nova where it was found that both husbands and wives had moved into the village from surrounding area and towns, (page 66) in Cuba, among the thirty-seven households studied, none of the men were from outside of the village. However, more than a third of the wives were from the area and villages as far as twenty kilometers away from Cuba. Only twenty-two of the wives in the thirty-seven households were from the village of Cuba. Although some informants expressed the desire of

having wives from Cuba, the feelings about this preference were not as strong as in Vila Nova.

Now that more houses are available and rents are reasonable, the pattern of residence among the poor farm laborers is neolocal. During engagement the noivos rent a house and prepare it before marriage. The exception, which can be seen in Table VI, is when the newly married child remains at home to care for an aged parent. The apparent reason for the number of matrilocal extended families in Cuba is due to the absence of men who have temporarily gone to Lisbon or France, leaving their wives with her parents.

In Cuba we found no variation from the kinship terms of reference as indicated in Figure 3 on page 71 and 72 for Vila Nova. The Cuban reckons relationship with kin symmetrically through both parents. However, in relation to cousin marriage, Cuba did seem to differ from Vila Nova. In the thirty-seven households studied there were no cousin marriages. All informants, however, reported that they knew of some in the village and told how authorization had to be obtained from the Bishop. However, we were unable to find examples of cousin marriage here as we did in Vila Nova (page 67). However, we did find in Cuba, in three of the thirty-seven households studied, both types of reciprocal marriages described on pages 66 and 67.

TABLE VI
THIRTY-SEVEN HOUSEHOLD UNITS ACCORDING TO
TYPE AND COMPOSITION^a

Type	Composition	Number of Household Units	Number of Individuals in Residence
I. NUCLEAR	1. A=b	1	2
A. Simple	2. A=b-(...)	14	4-8
	3. A=b*-(...)	0	0
	4. A*=b-(...)	2	3
	5. A*=b*-(...)	2	1-2
B. Complex	6. A=b-(...)/(...)	6	3-4
II. EXTENDED			
A. Patri- local	1. (A=b)-(C...)/(C=d) -(...)	3	5-9
	2. (A=b*)-(C o d)/ (C=j)-(...)	1	6
	3. (A*=b)-(C...)	1	2
B. Matri- local	4. (A=b)-(C o d)/ (J=d)-(...)	1	6
	5. (A=b)-(c...)/ (X=c)-(...)	6	5-8

^aComposition code of A. Kimball Romney. See Appendix, page 183.

The resulting primo irmão or double cousin in relation to ego comes under very strong marriage prohibition classification. Many male informants insisted, "the prima irmã is just like a sister."

As in Vila Nova, inheritance, according to law, divides property equally among the children on the death of both parents. Frequently the remaining spouse tries to settle the disbursement of property so as to avoid the complications the law brings after his death. Some informants believed the old law of the Morgadios was still being observed by many families by giving property to the eldest son before the death of the father. The law, previous to 1832, gave all of the property to the eldest son at the death of the father, thus perpetuating the old estates and their political power (Afonso, 1966:351). Records were not available to us at the time of the study, so we were not able to check this out in Cuba.

The child's family name or surname, comes from the father's family as in Vila Nova and indicated on page 74. We found in Cuba no pattern of giving names to a child from the grandparents or great uncles, except occasionally, in the case of the first daughter who received her given name from her mother's mother's sister, who, if she were still living, was the madrinha de baptismo. In the thirty-seven households studied, four such cases were found, but

all in previous generations. There were also three cases of first daughters being named after their father's mother, but no incident of sons being named for grandfathers or great uncles on either the mother's or father's side.

Patriarchal authority within the nuclear household is absolute and, as in Vila Nova, among the siblings, the sister serves her brother regardless of his age. The wife is expected to be faithful and obedient, but unlike those in Vila Nova, does not manage the finances. This is exclusively the husbands' responsibility to care for the precarious balancing of accounts, purchasing of animals, feed, clothing, and food for the household. The wife and daughter prepare the meals, care for the house and garden. If the daughter goes to work in the monda or searas, she must obtain permission from her father and contribute her earnings to him.

Although there were cases of drunkenness during the period of our field work in Cuba, no resulting conflict within the households was reported. The Guarda Nacional spoke of several arguments in taverns resulting in fights among the men during this same period.

Associations. Unlike Vila Nova where emphasis was placed upon the individual nuclear family units, living and working independently, in Cuba, one is struck with

the way much of the village activities are done in groups, following traditional patterns. This is not to say that the nuclear family is losing importance, but rather that there is evidence of social relationships going beyond the network of the household unit. In Vila Nova, the nuclear household farmed their own plots, alone, or occasionally with the help of a relative, but rarely a neighbor or friend. Likewise, fishing in Vila Nova emphasized the solitary and often competitive nature of social relations. In Cuba, nearly 67 per cent worked on the few large farms surrounding the village. They often worked in groups of forty to sixty, in the same field, joking and singing together. Together they faced the same needs, shared the same level of income as well as the periods of unemployment. In Cuba there was a greater tendency to think in terms of the stability of the whole community and to sense the relationship of being dependent on the traditional way of life. Together, the villagers in this poor class waited for solutions to their economic needs, rather than taking an individualistic approach to find a solution. The result was a general lack of concern for economic mobility among the poor farm workers. Those who left the village in search of other solutions, in Lisbon or France, were not highly esteemed, but rather, considered to be no longer a part of the village. The attitude which was

praised was that of patient waiting and trusting in the resources of the stable on-going tradition of the whole community.

What are these groups and how are they formed? There are groups of men in the plowing work, in sowing, weeding and harvest. There are groups of women weeding, harvesting, and olive picking. How are these associations formed? We found no consistent pattern of relationship. Some neighbors or cousins would work together in a task, but often would not be in the same work group a week later. The random way hiring was done tended to mix people, even those from the same neighborhoods would be separated. Some who had been working in the fields for twenty-five to thirty years reported that they never knew until daylight came who would actually be working in their group. Sometimes the trailer came half-loaded with people from a nearby village who were mostly strangers to them. Much switching around was done to find easier work and higher pay and in thus moving about to different latifúndia and seeking out different managers, new groupings of workers resulted. Girls said three or four of them would plan to go together for a season only to find that some had been hired to work in another farm. The result was informal groups in which relationships were developed on a day-to-day basis. These free associations probably reinforced

the cohesion of the community of poor farm workers and their dependency on the latifúndia system.

Status and social change. Class differentiation in this stratified community is an ever present concept in the mind of the Cuban. The poor workers live in low-rent sub-standard houses (Pereira, 1966:202-204) and all in similar conditions. They all participate in similar work and dress uniformly (pages 92, 96, 102), different from the mobile factory and office workers who show the influence of the values of the city in their dress and manner of living. Those who work in the shops and offices have electricity in their houses and servants or maids to help with the house work. The men of this class wear business suits in the village, wearing shoes rather than boots. And among this group literacy is the highest as their employment demands at least the fourth grade certificate.¹ This mobile middle class makes frequent trips to Beja, is striving to own an automobile, and has friends among the farm owners, but rarely among the illiterate farm workers. Typical of a stratified community there is a keen sense of the wrongness in not conforming to the accepted values of the class. This is illustrated in Senhor Revês' search

¹See Appendix, page 183.

for a suitable house in Cuba. He had worked for about ten years in the village of Mêrtola, in a government office and was now transferring to Cuba. He had a partial university course as did his wife who was a primary school teacher, also trying to get transferred to the Cuba school. In looking for a house he explained the criteria. He had passed up dozens of available four and six room houses because they had the small barns in the back yard characteristic of the houses rented to the poor farm workers. He spent more than two weeks inquiring until he found a house which had been used by the retiring judge. Senhor Revês described the house as meeting his need in the following numbered order: (1) it had electricity, (2) a bathroom with a toilet and running water also in the kitchen, (3) the rent was \$17 a month, (500 Escudos) five times the average rent of the worker's houses, (4) it was located on a paved street near the main street of shops, stores, and offices, (5) no mules were kept by either of the households adjoining.

The severe agricultural crisis which the latifúndim area of the Alentejo suffered in the period 1951-1958 (Branganca, 1966:648) has had a lasting effect. Unfavorable weather and diseased crops came about the same time as the first massive introduction of tractors and mechanized farm equipment in 1950. By 1955 enough latifúndim

workers were idle to cause general concern within the country. Then something happened which was unique in Cuba. Several men ventured out to the newly industrialized region along the Tagus River near Lisbon and returned with a story of quick money, easy work, and good living. Within a year more than 1,000 men had left the village in search of work, some never to return again, having abandoned their wives and children. During this same period more than one million of the rural population,² out of a total population of 9,500,000, migrated to the urban areas, including 34 per cent of the farm managers, patrões, from the area of Cuba (Nunes, 1964:439). In Barreiro, Baixa da Banheira, and Seixal (all near Lisbon) they found work in the cork-processing factories, chemical plants, and steel mill. In these mushrooming towns they made living quarters with hastily constructed shacks in the bairros de lata. Later, a German airforce base was constructed between Cuba and Beringel providing additional opportunity for cash and emigration.

The burden of excessive work of yesterday became the problem of inadequate workers for today. As so many left Cuba for the higher wages of the north, Germany, and

²During the same period, 2,500,000 rural workers out of a total population of 17,433,530 migrated from southern Italy to the northern industrial areas and to other European countries (Lepreato, 1965:298).

France, laborers became scarcer in Cuba. The attraction from France was staggering. One estimate is that in 1963 the rural worker could earn twenty times more in France than in the Alentejo (Rocha, 1965:33). Table VII indicates the comparative wages during this period as well as the constant increase taking place.

TABLE VII
COMPARISON OF DAILY WAGES (ESCUDOS)^a

Year	DISTRICT OF BEJA		DISTRICT OF LISBON		FRANCE
	Agriculture	Non-Agriculture	Agriculture	Non-Agriculture	Construction
1953	18.30	25.00	26.70	35.00	. .
1954					
1958	20.40	27.00	30.10	46.03	. .
1959					
1963	31.10	45.00	50.60	65.60	160.00
1964					
1966	42.00	55.50	63.00	92.00	177.00 ^a
1967					

^aCompiled from Carvalho, 1967:482 and Pintado, 1967:70.

^bThis figure for France would be similar for agricultural work in France and Germany. Due to "overtime" it would be about 20 per cent higher for construction workers.

Those who returned to the village with money saved in France refused to work for less than several times the previous field wage. This was part of the cause of the dramatic increase in wages shown in Table VII for this period. The stalemate which followed left olives rotting on the trees and the fields unplanted. The pressure of these changes caused many poor farm workers who remained in Cuba to seek solutions within the village cultural tradition. Those who were the innovators and instruments of change left those who wanted to avoid the unknowns (Braganca, 1966:648). It is not likely that the present static condition will continue so that changes can be anticipated in the social structure. The better jobs which women can obtain in the city has raised the economic and educational level of women there. This also should have some influence on the role of the woman in the village. She will be facing the temptation to also leave the village in search for a better job or to alter her own way of life within the village. In the city the woman's role is the feminine operator of a sophisticated machine. She is neatly dressed in modern clothes and well paid. This stands in such contrast to the role of the illiterate village girl doing hard manual labor twelve hours a day with poor pay and subject to the men of the house.

In the following two chapters a comparison will be **made** of how the compadrio system has adapted itself to **the** varying needs in these two villages.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF COMPADRIO IN VILA NOVA

I. A DISCUSSION OF THE HYPOTHESIS

As has been shown in Chapter I, compadrio began as a means of protecting and educating the children of Catholic families and later became a complex ritual kinship system with social networks similar in many ways to the genealogical kinship system (Foster, 1969:261). It is therefore expected that in Europe where compadrio began, its function would vary with the influence of the Catholic religion today (Mintz and Wolf, 1950:352).

In this two-village study we found there was a correspondence between the function of the compadrio system and the strength of the Church. When the Church has been persecuted and the priests' visits discontinued, compadrio and conformity to other ritual of the Catholic Church has waned (Livermore, 1966:318-319). In Vila Nova as well as in Cuba under the New Republic (Novo Estado) the influence of the Church has been increasing since 1926. Correspondingly, there has been an increase in outward conformity to the rules of the Church governing

baptism, the choice of spiritual sponsors for the child, and marriage.

There were areas of the social system within these villages that did not seem to be reflecting this direct correspondence with the influence of the Catholic Church. One of these was the kind of sponsors chosen for baptism or witnesses for registering the child's birth. In this respect compadrio appears to differ fundamentally from genealogical kinship. In compadrio there is a particularistic kind of relationship and a flexibility of choice of fictive kin or the sponsors of the god-children. As the saying goes, "we didn't choose our relatives." In compadrio one does choose, and for a purpose (Pitt-Rivers, 1958:427).

Such choice is not boundless and solely open to haphazard whim and personal predisposition. It operates within limits imposed by the norms and traditions of the local setting, by the immediate contingencies and alternatives, and by the individuals' perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages involved in these latter (Deshon, 1963:575).

Some literature on the god-parent system has indicated that in a heterogeneous society the dependent lower class would choose compadres vertically, extending ties to increase security and mobility. In this way, peasants could reinforce their economic dependence on the upper class (Van den Berghe, 1966:1239-1240; Adams, 1960:1260). Contrarily, the independent mobile class would choose

compadres horizontally, thus intensifying pre-existing relationships.

However, Deshon has shown in commenting on other studies (Paul, 1942, Mintz and Wolf, 1950) that quite the opposite can be demonstrated.

. . . the relationships between compadres assumes various directions depending on the amount of socio-cultural and economic mobility available to the individual in any given instance. These relationships tend to be horizontal, linking members of the same group or class, in single-class societies and under relatively stable socioeconomic conditions. They become vertical, linking members of hierarchically-arranged groups of strata, in well established multi-class societies. They are multiplied through the selection of different sponsors for each child's baptism or for different rites . . . (Paul's principle of extension) under conditions of accelerated culture change (Deshon, 1963:576).

One more aspect of the study of spiritual godparenthood has raised a question and this is the concept of security. In Anthropological literature security seems to be defined from a heterogeneous orientation of a more industrialized society (Foster, 1961:1174-1175; 1963:1283-1286), rather than from the individual peasant's position in his own cultural world. The question is whether the non-mobile peasant who is so dependent on the big estate is really insecure. The dichotomy stability (security) and mobility (insecurity) have varied definitions. Gillin described security as:

. . . the state of affairs in which an individual or group may anticipate with confidence that wants will be satisfied, (. . . goals . . . achieved) according to expectations (Gillin, 1951:1).

The working hypothesis. For the purpose of this study in analyzing how choices of god-parents are made, we will assume that a dependent farm laborer, in a traditional culture whose economic level and source of income are not subject to drastic change, is in a condition of high stability (security) and low mobility. Contrarily, the more independent villager whose economic level and source of income is changing, is both economically mobile and subject to the unknowns and anxieties which accompany cultural change. In both of these conditions it is expected that differences will be reflected in the choice of god-parents in representing the alternatives most advantageous to the individual and his own needs.

Vila Nova and Cuba, though having large homogeneous segments within the community, are not classless so that it is possible for the lower class to strike vertical ties with the upper class in choosing compadres. We anticipated in this study that the dependent non-mobile lower class would choose compadres horizontally, intensifying already existing ties, believing that the villager's fixed position in the social system did not require structured vertical ties. Contrarily, the more mobile and independent

poor class would choose ritual kin vertically to extend their social network with the higher classes whom the villager needed for changing his position in the social structure.

Following this general orientation and the suggestion of Mintz and Wolf, five economic groups were separated.

It may be fruitful to examine cases of compadrazgo as examples of mechanisms crosscutting socio-cultural or class affiliations, or as taking place within the socio-cultural confines of a single class. The authors believe such patternings will prove to be determined, not haphazard in character, not determined solely along continuums of homogeneity-to-heterogeneity, or greater-to-lesser isolation. Rather they will depend on the amount of socio-cultural and economic mobility, real and apparent, available to an individual in a given situation. There is of course no clear-cut device for the measurement of such real or apparent mobility. Yet the utility of compadrazgo would be to assess whether the individual is seeking to strengthen his position in a homogeneous socio-cultural community with high stability and low mobility, or to strengthen certain crosscutting ties by alignment with persons of a higher socio-cultural stratum, via reciprocal-exploitative relationships manipulated through compadrazgo (Mintz and Wolf, 1950: 358).

The households studied in this five-fold analysis of compadrio were from those indicated on page 70, two extended patrilocal and the remaining being simple or complex nuclear where the head of the household was a male and in residence at the time of the study. This selection of twenty-seven households along with other observations form the basis for this chapter.

In the first three categories, the economic position was determined by the relation of the household to (1) the house, (2) the farmed land, (3) domestic animals, (4) the boat used for fishing. The latter two were critical determinants in the first two categories or classes.

The first group, "dependent", included only those households which did not raise domestic animals for sale (not too difficult to determine because of the veterinarian laws obligating the inspection and vaccination of domestic animals raised to be sold), nor operated a boat, and whose house and farm land was rented.

In the second class, "Quasi-mobile," the house, farmed land, and fishing boat were rented and domestic animals owned in part or totally.

The third class, "mobile," included those households where the house, the farmed land and at least a portion of the fishing boat were owned. Most of the households were in this category. There were some households that didn't fit any of these, such as the mobile farmer who did not like to fish, or the successful fisherman who didn't like to farm, or some who seemed to conform to the criteria, but who had other sources of income. We included in this analysis only those households that fit the categories indicated to provide a uniform basis

for the study. The fourth, "independent," and fifth, "independent," categories are explained in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII
CLASSIFICATION OF ECONOMIC MOBILITY
IN VILA NOVA

Economic Position	Description	Per Cent of Total Population	Number of House- holds
1. DEPENDENT	Non-mobile farmer shallow water fisherman	10%	4
2. QUASI-MOBILE	Potentially mobile farmer-fisherman, renter	21%	5
3. MOBILE	Mobile farmer boat fisherman owner	64%	12
4. INDEPENDENT	Tavern, store owner, artisan, government em- ployee	4 1/2%	4
5. INDEPENDENT	Land owner- industrialist	1/2%	2

II. A DESCRIPTION OF COMPADRIO

Following this five-fold division of the community according to these criteria of economic mobility the importance and function of the compadrio is analyzed in each class.

TABLE IX
FREQUENCY OF SPONSORS IN VILA NOVA
IN CLASS ONE^a

Relationship of Sponsor to Sponsored	Registra- tion Wit- ness Only	Baptismal Sponsors	Marriage Sponsors	Total
Father's Kin	18	3	2	23
Mother's Kin	7	1	0	8
Sibling	3	0	0	3
Children	0	0	0	0
Friend	2	0	2	4
Totals	30	4	4	

^aNumber of children: 17.

Summary: Proportion not baptized: 88.3%
Proportion of sponsors were relatives:
94%.

1. Non-mobile, dependent farm workers. Fulfillment of the demands of the Catholic Church in relation to the compadrio system was very low among this first class of villages. Of the four households analyzed in this class all were illiterate of the adults and three were living in common-law marriage arrangement with no immediate intention to "legalize their situation." The fourth had only a civil ceremony, but with sponsors. Many of these households expressed that they considered the religious

ceremony an imposition of the wealthy class. They did not consider civil witnesses for birth registration as compadres. One household was having their children baptized. The others chose relatives or friends as witnesses. For the first child the father's brother was frequently used as a witness, for later children brothers or sisters of the child were used as witnesses. The formal compadre address, você, was not used except in one household between a child and an uncle in a joking relationship.

There seems to be no ceremonial meaning of the legal registration of the birth of a child where within a household the same relative would serve for registering several children and in several cases two female witnesses were used to register a child's birth. The compadrio for this class was either greatly relaxed or non-functional.

2. Quasi-mobile fisherman, farmers. The members of these households earn only enough cash beyond basic needs for moderate consumption. There is little interest shown in the traditions of the Catholic Church. Nor was there any interest shown in risk-taking by purchasing shares in a fishing boat cooperative. These small farmers expressed no particular concern about future needs and apparently are unable to see the possibility of improving their status. Their concern is only for the present. In two

TABLE X
 FREQUENCY OF SPONSORS IN FIVE HOUSEHOLDS
 OF CLASS TWO IN VILA NOVA^a

Relationship of Sponsor to Sponsored	Registra- tion Wit- ness Only	Baptismal Sponsors	Marriage Sponsors	Total
Father's Kin	10	7	5	22
Mother's Kin	5	2	3	10
Sibling	1	2	2	5
Children	0	0	0	0
Midwife	2	1	0	3
Friends	2	2	2	6
Totals	20	14	12	

^aNumber of children: 17.

Summary: Proportion not baptized: 58%
 Proportion of sponsor-relatives: 81%

of the households of this group the husbands were literate, three couples were legally married and two living in a common-law situation. Three of the households chose as witnesses for birth registration relatives of the family as well as the midwife and neighbors. One household had their children baptized, choosing as padrinhos relatives of both mother and father of the child who thereafter received the formal address as padrinhos instead of the

kinship term. Frequently the madrinha of the first child, the sister of the mother or father, was indicated as the proper choice as madrinha for the marriage of the child. More importance seems to be attributed to the madrinha-aunt in this sample than to the padrinho-uncle.

By choosing relatives from the same economic level to be padrinhos, the kinship ties were intensified.

Joaquim, one small farmer, ventured:

We are all one family here in this village and you would offend your family if you chose a padrinho from outside of the (kinship). How could a padrinho from outside help you since we are all so poor here? They cannot help. Here padrinhos are not for this as in other villages where there are some rich people. Here we are almost all the same and the family is the one that takes care of itself so the padrinhos come from inside of the family.

The logic expressed in this simple observation shows something of the tension which exists. Perhaps the padrinhos are chosen from within the family so as to avoid unknown obligations that they might meet within the compadrio system. This would seem to conform to the findings in San Miguel, Guatamala where: "The San Migueleño seeks to minimize insecurity . . . by restricting the number and importance of these (compadrio) relationships" (Spielberg, 1968:209). Choosing relatives does tend to intensify existing relations within the family structure, reinforcing the stability which these family ties offer.

3. Mobile farmer and boat owner. Inheritance, hard work, willingness to accept long-term debt, these are part of the cost of being independent. And they represent the path that has been followed by most of the households in this most numerous class in Vila Nova. Twelve nuclear type families and two extended, patrilocal are the source of the analysis of compadrio in this class.

TABLE XI
FREQUENCY OF SPONSORS IN FOURTEEN HOUSEHOLDS
OF CLASS THREE IN VILA NOVA^a

Relationship of Sponsor to Sponsored	Registra- tion Wit- ness Only	Baptismal Sponsors	Marriage Sponsors	Total
Father's Kin	7	16	6	29
Mother's Kin	5	12	5	22
Sibling	2	0	2	4
Children	0	0	1	1
Friends	8	14	19	41
Totals	22	42	33	

^aNumber of children: 32.

Summary: Proportion baptized: 66%
Proportion of sponsor-relatives: 58%

Ambivalent attitudes obtain concerning the authority of the Catholic Church. On the one hand, this republican-oriented class has been traditionally opposed to the organized Church. The liberal movement has proclaimed the Church as being an instrument of the upper class (Beirão, 1960:137). In spite of this the households in this third class recognize the importance of diálogo with the Church-ruling class in order to increase their own small holdings and obtain the concessions necessary for their kind of private enterprise.

Recognition of the compadrio system was found in nine of the fourteen households, intensifying existing relationships horizontally, but also including god-parents from outside of the family kinship. There was a sensitivity noted concerning the importance of the ceremonial function of the marriage padrinhos, fulfilling the explicit obligations of annual festas and some public use of formal compadrio address.

By means of disciplined saving of cash from sale of fish and, in some cases, through incurring an obligation to the Casa dos Pescadores for a long term loan for purchase of a new boat, households in this class are able to improve their economic condition. The old traditions are exchanged for new economic risks. As indicated in Table XI there appeared to be a tendency to return to conformity

to the Church, even while remaining vocal in criticism of it. This was the case of one couple in this sample who after twenty-three years of living together and seven children decided to be married by the local registo civil in 1943. Later, with their economic status improved due to successful farming and fishing they sensed the growing power of the Church in the country and its influence within the village. In August 1965 they were married in the village church. As madrinha for the wedding they chose their eldest daughter who was a widow. One of the wealthiest land owners in the village who has had dyadic relationships with the family for a number of years served as the padrinho. Instead of choosing the usual four padrinhos for the wedding they had only these two. They explained that this wedding brought them into good relationship with the Church, assuring them a proper burial. It also added to the prestige of the landowner. At the same time the couple avoided possible criticism from the villagers, who could have considered a wedding forty-five years late a bit pretentious for such an un-religious family, by having a quiet ceremony without guests. After the wedding all of the household used the formal term of address with the landowner.

In another household, Joaquim told how he found it impossible to achieve the kind of life his father had

tried to provide for him in Cercal. There a small grocery store was the means of support for his family. His father had tried to send his children to primary school, but he died before this was possible and then the mother died in childbirth. Afterward, Joaquim tried to move to Vila Nova where he hoped to rent land and support himself farming. After a while he decided the best way to get better land was to marry someone who had it. The wedding was in the village church with his wife's father and brother as padrinhos, and his wife's aunt as madrinha. Later he purchased part interest in a boat and then was able to secure work in Lisbon. Joaquim said he wishes now he had padrinhos in Lisbon to help him there as they have no relatives in Lisbon. The kind of cooperation Joaquim needed, kinship alone could not provide, but through the compadrio system, vertically chosen ritual kin became a necessity.

These mobile farmers and independent fishermen representing the largest portion of the village haven't shown much concern about the god-parent system in the past, but according to this study they are now. Possibly fear of censure by their friends keeps them from entering more completely into the system. Seeking to structure relations so overtly and to accept the accompanying

reciprocal obligations of an unknown quality is another drawback, possibly.

This conservatism is also reflected in the traditional methods employed in fishing, the hesitancy to accept the use of modern fertilizers, hybrid seeds, or mechanical irrigation of the fields.

There appears to be increasing exceptions to the custom of choosing padrinhos from the family among those in this class. Alfredo has attended primary school and farms the land inherited from his wife's mother. They have two children and an elder relative in their household. By hard work on the farm and raising cattle, he acquired enough cash to purchase a small motor driven fishing boat. He comments:

Usually padrinhos for the children are chosen from the family, but if you think of the child's education you may choose a padrinho who could be of help sometime. Some padrinhos like to help because it makes them feel good to give away so much and it looks good. If I had a problem with my daughter I would first go to her padrinho.

In this way the households among the recently independent mobile class begin to protect themselves in the new world of growing responsibilities, making compadrio ties outside of their family among friends who can be of potential help.

TABLE XII
FREQUENCY OF SPONSORS IN FOUR HOUSEHOLDS
OF CLASS FOUR IN VILA NOVA^a

Relationship of Sponsor to Sponsored	Registra- tion Wit- ness Only	Baptismal Sponsors	Marriage Sponsors	Total
Father's Kin	1	7	8	16
Mother's Kin	2	3	4	9
Sibling	2	1	2	5
Children	0	0	0	0
Friends	6	6	8	20
Totals	11	17	30	

^aNumber of Children: 12.

Summary: Proportion baptized: 60%
Proportion of sponsor-relatives: 58%

4. Independent merchant, artisan, functionary. Data from four households in this class indicated even more ambivalence towards the Catholic Church than was noted in the third class. On the one hand there was an expression of strong opposition to the interference of the Church in village life and there was criticism of the local church leadership. At the same time there was a high degree of conformity to the church-sanctioned institutions. This class, caring for business in the village and on the level

of daily contact with the church, tended to accentuate these hostile feelings. The authority and values of the Church were implicit in these relations and by most of the households in this class were accepted.

There was a mixed response concerning the importance of compadrio and the manner in which sponsors were chosen. Many said they became padrinhos when asked, but never considered this a spiritual responsibility. They did however, participate in a low level of social relations with the families of their afilhados. In three households they said they would only ask their own family to serve as padrinhos. One of the merchants said that his padronhos de casamento were his sister's husband and his mother's sister:

. . . and why not? If it is for resources and help, the family is enough and if the family isn't, a man is helpless. No, Senhor, we choose our padrinhos from the family. (At this point he was addressing all of the men in his shop and in a brave voice pretending to speak for the whole village.) Where can you care for each other and trust each other if not in the family? And didn't I get help! Oh, look now, from my head to my feet I had all new clothes for the wedding. Of course the family takes care of their own.

There were, however, some who chose compadres from outside of the family and horizontally. That is, they were not choosing vertically from the upper classes, but horizontally from friends of their own class. In five cases out of eight the god-parents chosen were in somewhat

better financial conditions and generally better educated. It was also in this fourth group that it was found that weddings were in Lisbon or another city where the padrinhos lived. The couples returned to live in Vila Nova after the wedding. This did not occur in the first three classes.

It was also in this group where mobility was clearly admitted as a goal. The shoemaker said:

I look at this humble profession and I ask myself why I ever made the effort to learn so much for nothing. (He had completed the four year primary school course.) I ask, why wasn't I one of my two brothers that died. How much better off I would be. I think I can do better in Lisbon and I have a friend who could get me a job there in a shoe factory, but with these two children we could not live. Even though I would make much more, rents and prices are higher and I couldn't make it. Even so I am tempted to leave with the children and try, as there is no future for me here and certainly not for my children.

Another merchant who besides operating a small hardware store is a functionary in the fishermen's cooperative. He excused himself during one of my visits and turned on his transistor radio to check on the lottery ticket winner of the week. He turned it off again, disappointed. He had spent twenty-four Escudos on the lottery and about the same betting on football. A regular practice, he said. For three years he has hoped to win so as to buy land and a house. He gladly accepts the responsibility of padrinho when asked. Another merchant

explained about using god-parent relations to help friends improving their economic position.

She and I served as padrinhos at José's wedding recently. José is the only mailman in town and had until recently worked for me here in my shop, until he realized that this would never do. I helped him get the appointment at the Post Office. He hopes to save money so he can buy land and a house.

The small mobile artisan or merchant acknowledged his economic needs and oriented his relationships so as to secure a better position within the community. The immediate goal becomes the visible symbols of conformity to the god-parent system which offers the potential of economic aid and a network of relationships he feels he needs. This was also the finding in Mexico:

. . . prevailing choices conform to the needs of the village social structure. Non-relatives, sometimes of higher status . . . tend to be chosen . . . when the family faces on its own new economic and social pressures and individuals seek to extend their resources to meet these pressures (Foster, 1969:263, 276).

5. Independent landowners and industrialists. The person in this higher status chooses his god-parents horizontally and principally outside of the family kinship. In the two households studied, all children were baptized and out of a group of twenty-eight god-parents, eighteen were not relatives. Vertical responsibilities were accepted by the households in this class to their afilhados. In all interactions observed formal address

was used by those in this class when speaking with their compadres. One of the households in this class which is involved in the activities of the Church uses these formal terms and greetings when speaking to compadres. They embrace, kiss each other on the face, and the men kiss the ring or hand of the woman. When greeting friends who are not compadres they simply shake hands. In the other four classes there were no cases observed of men kissing each other nor of men kissing a compadre's hand or ring. This is a feature of the compadrio system of this class only.

The households which are in this class are frequently absent on business in other cities or visiting relatives and friends. Both families in this study had houses in Lisbon where a large part of the time was spent. Their children were married in Lisbon and live there now. Still they maintain networks of relationships with compadres in the village.

III. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

In Vila Nova there was found the condition, unusual for this part of the country, where villagers are able to rent or purchase land with springs of water. The ideal "wet" ecological conditions which favor small plot farming, the economic potential of fishing as well as the

availability of land has contributed to the changes noted in the social organization. Here an estimated 60 per cent of the households can be classed as independent-mobile compared to an almost equal figure corresponding to the non-mobile part of the population in the "dry" regions beyond Vila Nova.

An examination of a sample of households, arranged into classes for the purpose of this study, has revealed a corresponding difference in the importance and function of the god-parent system. Ranging from less than 22 per cent of children being baptized among the poorer first category, to nearly 100 per cent in the independent fifth class, the importance of compadrio was discernible. Likewise, an aspect of the function of compadrio, the choosing of sponsors, was noted to vary from about 94 per cent being relatives chosen in the first class to fewer than 36 per cent in the fifth class.

It can be summarized that the dependent and non-mobile subsistence farmer had shown little need of compadrio and has chosen his kindred as informal witnesses for registration of births of his children.

The independent and mobile fisherman, small farm owner, and merchant whose households represent most of the village population, recognize the increasing strength of the Church and the usefulness to them of

its institutions. Likewise, those in this class recognize their own need for aid to improve their economic condition. From 58 per cent to 66 per cent of the children in this class were baptized in the Church indicating the increasing attention given to compadrio. God-parents are chosen horizontally with a tendency to choose more vertically among those changing their economic status to become more mobile. Almost half of these padrinhos were chosen from among friends, rather than relatives, extending the network of social relations beyond the existing kinship.

Although most of the households in the lower economic group were still choosing god-parents related to them through kinship, those in the more mobile category were choosing from among those friends outside of the family who were in positions either socially, geographically, or economically, or all of these, to be able to help satisfy their anticipated needs.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF COMPADRIO IN CUBA

A larger percentage of the village population fits into the lower non-mobile class than in the case of Vila Nova. However, the fact that Cuba is a political administrative center for this part of the district of Beja actually brings into the spectrum of the social class a number of government employees, office workers, and small merchants. These specialists are trained in Beja and other cities where there are commercial and industrial schools. They represent households that are not originally from Cuba.

There is a large homogeneous lower class within this stratified community. There also are within the vila extreme economic and cultural differences between the masses on the one hand, and the small upper class segment on the other.

Following the general orientation of the working hypothesis, stated on page 127, the village was divided into five economic groups for the purpose of making a comparison with the function and structure of the

god-parent system in the two villages. The assignment of the population proportions was made on the basis of information from the village conselho office and field notes.

TABLE XIII
CLASSIFICATION OF ECONOMIC MOBILITY IN CUBA

Economic Position	Description	Per Cent of Total Population	Number of Households in Sample
1. DEPENDENT	A. Latifundium worker	54.5%	5
	B. <u>Ibid.</u> and farms for shares Factory worker	14%	4
2. QUASI-MOBILE	Latifundium worker and rents a plot Factory worker	6%	4
3. MOBILE	A. Shop owner	7%	3
	B. Artisan, small farm owner Factory worker	12.5%	2
4. INDEPENDENT	Government functionary small land-owner	5.5%	3
5. INDEPENDENT	Latifundium owner	.5%	1

I. A DESCRIPTION OF COMPADRIO BY
CLASS IN CUBA

The criteria of class categories in Cuba. The divisions made for this study were self-evident within the village's stratified social organization. (1) The Latifundium laborers were divided into (A) those who worked on the big farms as permanent employees or as seasonal workers and (B) from among (A), those who also farmed a small plot for shares, and factory workers. The unemployed (3.5 per cent) were also included in this first class, but do not enter into the data.

The (2) second group farmed a plot on a regular rented basis, were more independent than the first class and needed for their farms draft animals, mule cart, tools, etc. In this group were also included part-time factory workers (operários).

In the (3) third category are (A) the shop owners and (B) artisans and skilled factory workers, some of whom had small farm plots on a regular rental basis, and small farm (horta) owners who sold produce in the village market.

The (4) fourth category are the government office workers, all of whom have at least the fourth year primary school certificate. In this group are also the better educated small farm owners, and property owners.

The (5) fifth group are the few wealthy families that own the latifundia in the conselho de Cuba.

1. DEPENDENT Latifundium worker. This group, representative of the larger percentage of the village, live in the houses provided by the owner (patrão) of the large estates. Since the absent owner is functionally unknown and the manager (Feitor) is frequently changing jobs, there are not possibilities for god-parents to be chosen from these patrons of the estate.

TABLE XIV
FREQUENCY OF SPONSORS IN NINE HOUSEHOLDS
OF CLASS (1) IN CUBA^a

Relationship of Sponsor to Sponsored	Registra- tion Wit- ness Only	Baptismal Sponsors	Marriage Sponsors	Total
Father's Kin	4	16	4	24
Mother's Kin	3	14	2	19
Sibling	3	3	0	6
Children	0	5	0	5
Friends	2	3	9	14
Totals	12	41	15	68

^aNumber of children: 27

Summary: Proportion baptized: 78%
Proportion of sponsor-relatives: 76%

The disparity between the illiterate laborer and the other classes is such that except for occasional purchases in the market or stores, there is little social contact. Table XIV indicates that this class choose their padrinhos from their own family, and usually grandparents of the child to be registered and baptized. Seven of the nine households in this sample reported a formal baptismal ceremony in the Church. In the other two households, the "witnesses" for registration were recognized as god-parents and proper compadrio address used with these relatives, even though there was no baptism. The choice of god-parents in this numerous class was horizontal and generally within the family kinship. Of the more than 76 per cent who had their children baptized in this class, many said they did not consider the ritual important nor did they expect the padrinhos to take any responsibility for their children. They were just relatives. Some indicated that to them the importance of the baptism was to get the child into primary school as they understood that only the baptized could pass the exams in school. A priest teaches some of the courses in the local school.

The desire of the Church for all children to be baptized and padrinhos to be chosen from outside the family kinship is acknowledged by these villagers, but compadrio is functioning differently from these declared ideals.

There may be a historical explanation to this or the reason for the choice of god-parents from among the kin may be to reinforce structural ties that exist. New ties with non-kinsmen are not apparently needed within the traditional life of these non-mobile households.

The selection of close kinsmen continues. This is due to the appealing familiarity of local tradition, to the face-to-face relationships existing in small communities, and to the similar kinds of stress these close relationships entail. By re-affirming or re-phrasing kin and in-group relations among the households, this type of selection and the subsequent compadre ties created provide integrative functions for the community (Deshon, 1963:580).

Although the sense of need was felt to educate children, it was believed that little could be done to help by structuring compadrio ties outside of the family. By choosing god-parents from the family made cousin marriage unlikely due to the incest rules applying to the compadrio kinship. In Cuba among this class of households we found no cases of cousin marriage.

2. QUASI-MOBILE farm laborer, renter, factor worker.

It was calculated that about 6 per cent of the village population is in this class, working seasonally on the latifundia, hiring out for special tasks such as during the olive picking season, and spending a large portion of time farming a small rented plot. Some unskilled factory workers are included in this group as well.

In this class there is no longer a carefree dependency on the large estate. This quasi-mobile small farmer has crossed that dividing line and now lives in a world of stress and cultural unknowns. He has risked the málingua of his friends to become an example of initiative and change he has probably heard about from friends who emigrated or from television. Consequently they feel an increasing need of help from family and friends. This is probably what is reflected in the attitudes towards the god-parent system as indicated in Table XV. The majority admit to baptizing their children although padrinhos are mainly chosen from the kinsmen. There was noted, however, among these households a greater use of the formal term of address for these padrinho-relatives. In the first class it was noted that primarily the men did the marketing while the women stayed close to the house. In this second class considered, the women were seen more frequently on the streets with children and in the stores. Another difference noted within this class was in attitudes concerning school. The household cooperated in making it possible for the children to attend primary school and often the secondary schools in Beja.

The household of João Machado in this second class has improved its economic condition more than most others in that João has spent a four month period each year in

TABLE XV
FREQUENCY OF SPONSORS IN THREE HOUSEHOLDS
OF CLASS (2) IN CUBA^a

Relationship of Sponsor to Sponsored	Registra- tion Wit- ness Only	Baptismal Sponsors	Marriage Sponsors	Total
Father's Kin	1	10	4	15
Mother's Kin	0	7	6	13
Sibling	1	2	0	3
Children	0	0	0	0
Friends	2	6	2	10
Totals	4	25	12	41

^aNumber of children: 14

Summary: Proportion baptized: 86%
Proportion of sponsor-relatives: 75%

France working on the beet harvest. In Cuba he specializes in cutting branches from cork oak and olive trees.

Although he had always chosen his uncles and aunts on his and his wife's side of the family as padrinhos for his children, they had recently asked a friend and his wife, who have a small olive oil business in Alvito, to be padrinhos for his daughter's wedding.

Another informant in this second category explained that when his daughter had married she had chosen as

padrinhos friends who were in about the same economic position. Since both families were poor they believed there was no obligation for the padrinhos who furnished the wine and the food for the wedding festa. Since the wedding the padrinhos have been able to help their new afilhado obtain a good employment in the filter factory through friends of the padrinhos' relatives.

The pattern of development of structured relationships of compadrio can be seen, though dimly, in this class of quasi-mobile or newly mobile small farm renters. Several of the sons of these households were planning on leaving the village to work in industry. With the increasingly mobile situation within this group it is anticipated that compadrio will increase in importance, being used to extend relationships with people in positions where they can be of help.

3. MOBILE merchants, artisans, skilled factory workers. In this category the information paralleled the data from Vila Nova. God-parents were chosen horizontally and outside of the family as much as from relatives. For most of the informants in the five households the religious ceremony had little significance, but 78 per cent still conformed to the Church's teaching on baptism. In comparison to the two lower classes in Cuba, this group

TABLE XVI
 FREQUENCY OF SPONSORS IN FIVE HOUSEHOLDS
 OF CLASS (3) IN CUBA^a

Relationship of Sponsor to Sponsored	Registra- tion Wit- ness Only	Baptismal Sponsors	Marriage Sponsors	Total
Father's Kin	2	4	4	10
Mother's Kin	1	5	6	12
Sibling	0	0	0	0
Children	0	0	1	1
Friends	3	13	9	25
Totals	6	22	20	48

^aNumber of children: 14

Summary: Proportion baptized: 78%
 Proportion of sponsor-non-kin: 52%

chose far more friends to be god-parents. There was also evidenced a greater interest in using formal address with the god-parents and inviting them to the house for their afilhados' birthday festas.

There were some exceptions too. One artisan with a small wrought iron shop, claimed to have no interest in religion, but consistently chose padrinhos for his children from outside the family and among friends of equal economic position. He said he would not choose a

god-parent from a better class as it would then appear that he were begging. Another merchant with a small shop said he believed padrinhos should not have any responsibility. Since he admitted to having several afilhados in the neighborhood he was probably expressing his own concern for the reciprocal responsibilities he was incurring.

The villagers in this class are faced with the tensions of two conflicting value systems so that they are drawn by the Church to accept ties vertically downward, and to strike ties upward. At the same time, however, the anti-clerical ideas around them would condemn such social networks. The overdrawn accounts of so many of the latifundium workers causes the merchant to hesitate in accepting any more offers of god-parent since there is little functional reciprocity between him and the lower class compadres. The households in this third class are living in a community where the Church's influence is increasing and they must face the reality of its hierarchical values, seeking to strike a balance with other demands placed upon them within their social system. The result, as seen in Table XVI, was to choose about half of their god-parents from among non-kinsmen.

4. INDEPENDENT government employees and small farm owners. The households studied in this fourth category

revealed the most concern about the compadrio relationships. In the upper part of this group the households are no longer radically altering their economic position as they already have secured a rather fixed position. In the lower part of the group mobility is still a goal among those still struggling with small farms or seeking better positions within the civil service. Generally, all of the households in this class were established in rather permanent residence and do not think in terms of moving away from the village. Many, however, showed concern that their children would probably move to the "city." The three households in this sample either owned a number of small irrigated small farms or a large property which, through irrigation, using deep wells and pumps, was producing new high profit market crops such as oranges, peaches, cotton, hops, or poultry.

The households in this fourth class chose their padrinhos of non-kin, both horizontally and vertically, extending ties with politicians, landowners, church officials, and even government cabinet members. Here also the four god-parents serve for the wedding. Only in one household were sponsors chosen from among the relatives, a practice another informant in this class said was pagan.

TABLE XVII
 FREQUENCY OF SPONSORS IN THREE HOUSEHOLDS
 OF CLASS (4) IN CUBA^a

Relationship of Sponsor to Sponsored	Registra- tion Wit- ness Only	Baptismal Sponsors	Marriage Sponsors	Total
Father's Kin	0	1	0	1
Mother's Kin	0	3	0	3
Sibling	0	0	0	0
Children	0	0	0	0
Friends	0	16	12	28
Totals	0	20	12	32

^aNumber of children: 10

Summary: Proportion baptized: 100%
 Proportion of sponsor-friends: 88%

Commenting on accepting responsibility of being padrinho to a very poor child, an informant in this fourth class related:

We would only be padrinhos for those who are close to us because we do not want to alter our present situation, unless we see the possibility of doing someone some good. For instance, one of my good friends was a shoe maker and a man I always pitied as I thought he could have done better and I told him so several times. But being illiterate, he was only to be pitied. One day he asked me to be padrinho for his son's registration and we taught him how to have his son properly baptized and my wife served as madrinha.

So I heard nothing from my afilhado for years. He had followed his father and became a shoemaker. Can you imagine a shoemaker in this village! But there he was in his father's shop until one day he came and asked me if I would help him get a better job. The boy had finished four years of primary school and was very intelligent. It just so happened that we had an opening in the government office so I arranged a job for him as a clerk-secretary. Can you imagine that! A shoemaker becoming a secretary! But he wanted to learn, so as his padrinho I helped him by getting a tutor and in one year he took three years of Liceu and placed highest in the group going to the exams from Cuba. Notice, a shoemaker going to second cycle Liceu. Then there was an opening in Lisbon and I was able to have him take the exam there and out of hundreds who were examined he placed sixth and got the job. Now he is serving military duty in Portuguese Africa as an officer. You see the compadrio is not just to give people shoes and cakes. It is to really help those who can be helped.

The idealism expressed in these opinions is typical of all of the households in this class and stands in contrast to feeling about the compadrio expressed by those in the other three classes. Inter-personal relations were observed in several households in this class and it was noted how most of the network of social relations were with compadres. Those of a lower class serving the compadres of the higher class and receiving in compensation favors as part of the constant reciprocal relations taking place. In this economically stable class the compadrio ties have a meaningful function in the social structure. Obligations and role expectations are developed through the reciprocal relations, reinforcing the traditional values of this class.

INDEPENDENT latifundium owner. It is among those of this class that we found the god-parent system functioning closest to the ideal indicated by the Catholic Church. All children are baptized in the Church and married in the Church. God-parents are chosen from outside of the family and responsibilities are accepted as padrinhos with villagers of a lower class, but in places of influence and responsibility in industry, business, government, or agriculture.

An analysis of compadrio in Cuba reveals a continuum from the lower dependent non-mobile class through the mobile class to the upper wealthy landowners. This continuum extends from a disrespect for the compadrio at the lower end to a sanctification of the institution, functioning as a paternalistic system at the upper end of the social scale.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The similarities between Vila Nova and Cuba, as well as the ecologically caused differences, provided the basis for making a controlled comparison of the god-parent institution of compadrio or ritual co-parenthood. From this comparison a working hypothesis was developed describing how the institution would function in the various social classes of the two villages.

One of the results of this study was that the compadrio, a medieval institution of the Roman Catholic Church, was found to be a significant feature of the social organization today of these two villages. It was further found that the compadrio system was functioning differently within the various economic levels of the villages, as well as, that there were variations in the social origin of the god-parents chosen.

I. SUMMARY

In analyzing these observations concerning the function of the compadrio system in the various class

division of the two villages, the following summary can be made.

The influence of the Catholic Church. The importance of religious tradition differs between the two villages due to historical developments, however, both in Vila Nova as well as in Cuba there seems to be little interest shown in the Church by the poor class. Likewise, there seems to be only incipient activity on the part of the Church to recuperate the sympathy and cooperation of the masses which was lost during the period previous to 1926. Sr. Silva, a Cuban merchant, who belonged to one of the Church laymen's organizations, reflected what his group thought of the poor farm laborers: "They are brutes, poor fellows. Illiterate brutes, too ignorant to know what is right. They offend without desiring to or even knowing that they have."

If this has been the general attitude of the Church in the south during the past century of liberalism, it is likely that little effort was made to encourage these lower class workers to conform to its institutions. As the local priest remarked about the poor farm laborers, "these people are pagans and have no interest in religion." However, the values inherent in the god-parent system have been

internalized by all of the people in the villages and appear in various forms and uses of the symbols of compadrio.

For the minifúndio villagers in Vila Nova, the Church represented the old monarchical hierarchy which many of their fathers had rejected in 1910. When the village was able to resolve the old religious conflicts there was again a degree of acceptance of the god-parent system of the Church. However, in both villages, apart from an overt acceptance or rejection of the institutions of the Church, per se, there has been a continuing integration of compadrio as a means of reinforcing the family kinship or of finding new relationships in times of social change.

The effect of the environment. In Vila Nova, favorable climate, good soil, intensive agriculture, and availability of land encouraged the development of equalitarian social relations. About 70 per cent of the villagers became independent through renting plots for farming and exploiting the opportunity for economic advance which fishing presented. Through these means the villagers found access to economic improvement and to experiment with change.

The rigid nature of the stratified social structure of Cuba was in part determined by the ecology which limited development of the arid prairie land to extensive agriculture, dependent on a mass labor pool. In Vila Nova the majority of the population are in the class of mobile independent farmers and fishermen, where in Cuba, the majority are very poor farm laborers, non-mobile and dependent on the latifundia.

Compadrio. The god-parent system has been found to differ between the two villages when a broad comparison is made. Vila Nova shows little conformity to the demands of the system and when it does function with due respect for the Church, god-parents are chosen outside of the family. In Cuba there is considerable respect for the Church in that most children are baptized there, but most of the god-parents are chosen from the kinsmen of the family.

In an effort to find the reason for these differences the god-parent system was examined more closely on the basis of economic mobility. Among those in the lower classes in both villages who recognize the obligations of compadrio, most of the god-parents are chosen from within the family and, horizontally, in cases outside of the family. Use of the formal address with compadres, as well

as patterning of reciprocal relationships with obligations and role expectations within the compadre ties, was found to vary proportionately with the degree of social mobility of the villager. Thus, in Cuba, where the large proportion of the village was classified as dependent and non-mobile, they chose padrinhos who were related to the villager through the family kinship. Furthermore, such functions of compadrio as terms of address, reciprocal relations, role behavior, etc., were very weak. Almost the opposite was found in Vila Nova. Here the large proportion of the village was independent and though poor, yet mobile. There was considerable interaction of compadres noted as well as the accompanying reciprocal relationships and participation in such social occasions as birthday festas, annual pig slaughter, and reunion of the family at the time of the village fair.

In both villages the most conformity to compadrio is primarily concentrated in the upper classes. Here the largest number of compadres are involved in the social networks of the wealthy households. Here too, the largest number of god-parents are selected for marriage, baptism, and confirmation, and greetings of kisses, embraces, and formal terms and titles are used.

In harmony with the findings of the god-parent system in Europe and Latin America, compadres in this two

village study did not function as a distinct group, but rather as a series of dyadic relationships.

II. CONCLUSIONS

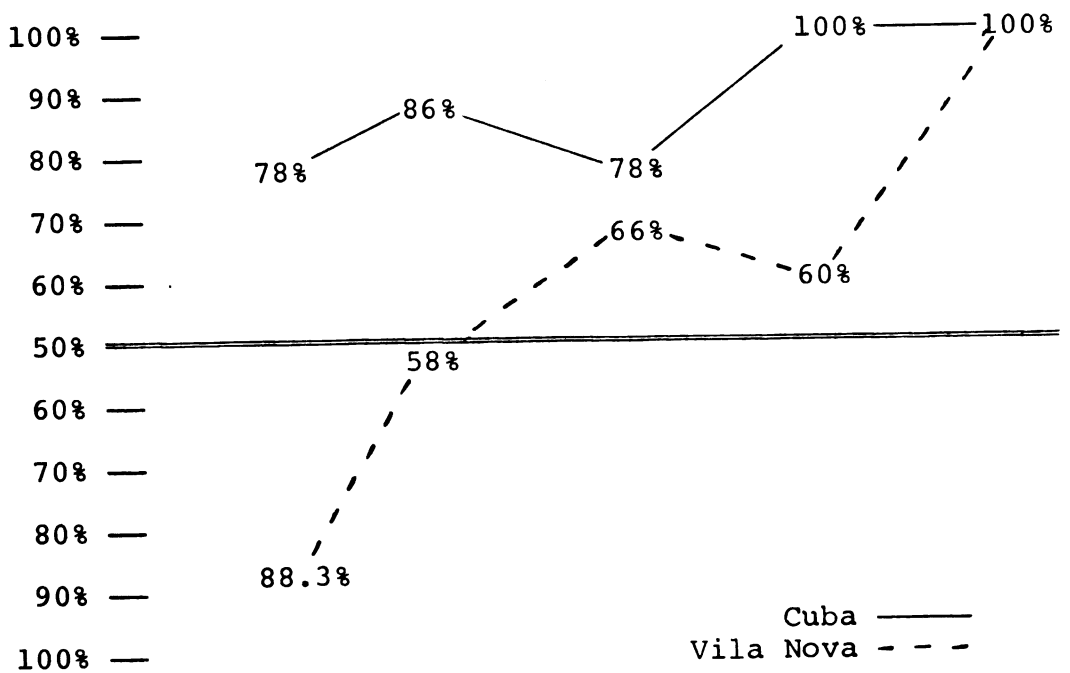
In Latin America, where the god-parent institution has been reported to have greater functional importance among the lower classes (Van den Berghe, 1966:1241 and Mintz and Wolf, 1950:364), we found the opposite to be true in Portugal. In this comparative study of two Portuguese villages there was a more pronounced function of the god-parent system among those social classes evidencing high mobility and of great importance among the very wealthy classes.

Today, in function, the emphasis of compadrio has shifted from the original Catholic teaching of god-parent and god-child relationship to a ritual co-parenthood. This gives the villager who is becoming mobile the needed mediators for resolving his economic and cultural problems as he faces the unknowns resulting from industrialization. Through compadrio the villager stands to gain both in the network of new relationships and in the powerful Church. The network of compadres could help satisfy his peasant-oriented need-disposition to conform to the values of this new social system in his future.

In the Figures 5 and 6 indicating the degree of conformity to compadrio according to class and the choice of sponsors according to the mobility, the percentages used were calculated directly from the tables on compadrio in Chapters V and VI. Figures below the 50 per cent line on Figure 5 show the percentage of villagers who only registered the birth of the child and did not have the child baptized. Those above the line show percentage of baptisms. In Figure 6, below the 50 per cent line indicates percentage of god-parents selected from friends and those above the line, percentage selected from those related to villager through kinship.

As the peasant moves away from dependency to greater economic independency and mobility he becomes increasingly affected by the cultural values of the Church-sanctioned god-parent system. It becomes the status symbol of his desired new world and a requisite for structuring needed mediators to help him on the road to social mobility. The result of our findings in this study is apparently different from some of the studies in Latin America where the ritual kinship appears to function more among the non-mobile than in areas of greater mobility.

"Within these same areas, however, kinship mechanisms have been retained most completely where peasants have not yet become farmers" (Mintz and Wolf, 1950:352).

Baptismal
Sponsors

Registra-
tion Wit-
nesses
Only

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

Dependent

Mobile

Independent

Economic Mobility

FIGURE 5

CONFORMITY TO COMPADRIO ACCORDING TO
MOBILITY IN VILA NOVA
AND CUBA COMPARED

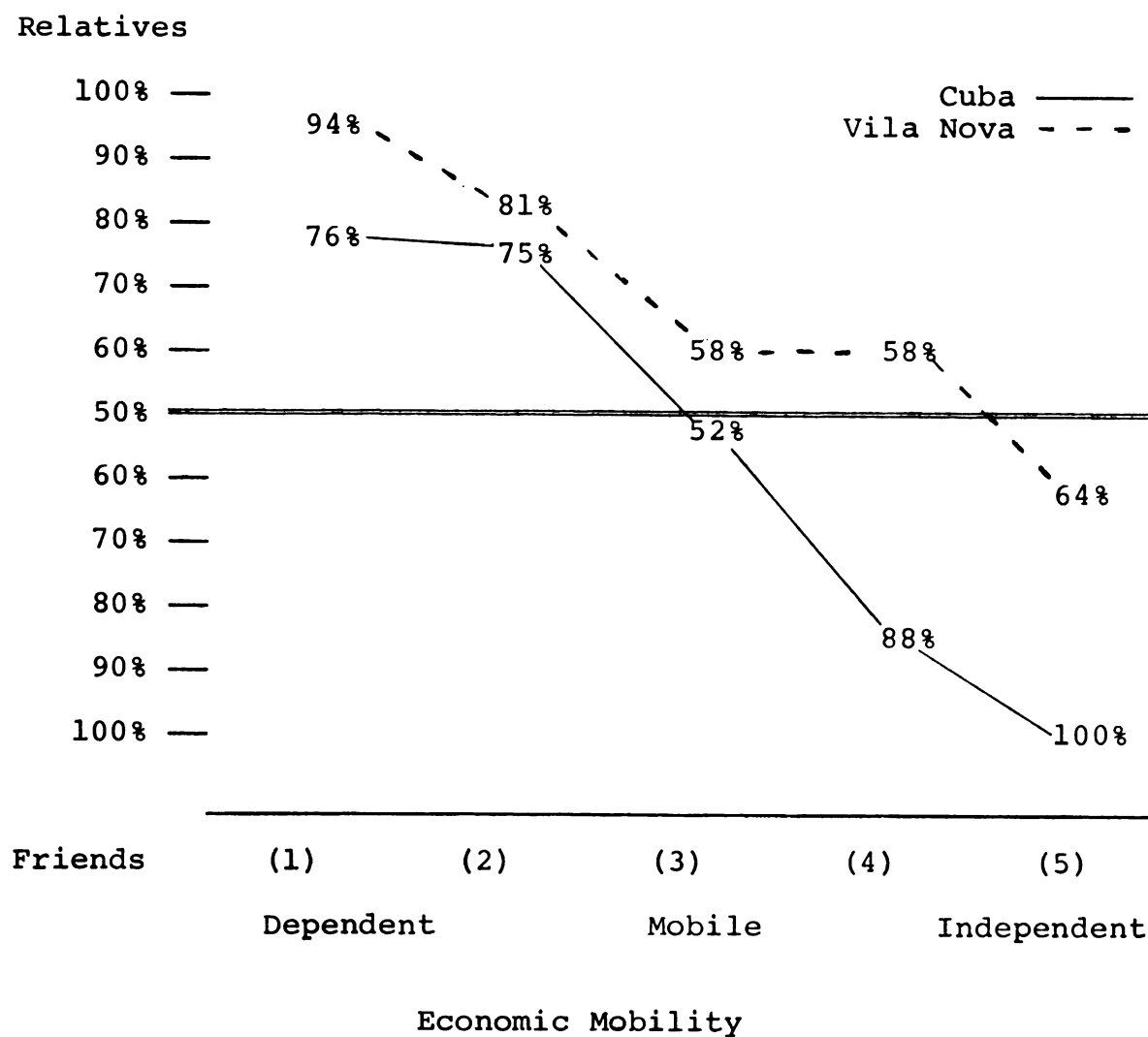


FIGURE 6

SELECTION OF FRIENDS OR RELATIVES AS GOD-PARENTS
ACCORDING TO MOBILITY IN VILA NOVA
AND CUBA COMPARED

One explanation for this discrepancy is possibly that secularization has outpaced the influence and development of the Church and its traditions in Latin America. Thus, the god-parent system is associated mainly with the smaller homogeneous villages, tending, "to give way before more impersonal modes of organization" (Mintz and Wolf, 1950:364).

On the other hand, this study in Portugal would seem to indicate that the more heterogeneous the village, the greater the importance and function of the compadrio, provided the influence of the Church remains proportional. It could, therefore, be concluded that the more heterogeneous the village becomes in Portugal, the greater the functional importance of the god-parent system.

In Figure 5 the lack of conformity to the Church in Vila Nova as indicated by the low percentage of baptisms, less than 12 per cent, may be reflecting some affect of the period between 1910 and 1950 when there was no resident priest. This may also offer partial explanation for the high percentage of selection of relatives for sponsors in Figure 6, first class, as well as the higher percentage of common law marriages than in Cuba.

Cousin marriage and availability of land. Another possible contributing cause to the high percentage of

selection of relatives as god-parents in Vila Nova is the availability of land. That is, it is economically easier to transfer ownership of land in Vila Nova than in Cuba. By choosing relatives, that is, the child's father's siblings and mother's siblings as god-parents, cousin marriage would become impossible due to incest rules being extended to ritual kin. In this way, compadrio would be functioning to hinder the accumulation of land by cousin marriages. Since cousin marriages were more prevalent in Vila Nova than in Cuba a self adjustment may be taking place within the social structure to account for some of this difference.

III. QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Following through the interpretation of the data presented, it would be of value to compare these conclusions with a study made in a homogeneous village in the north of Portugal where the influence of the Catholic Church has been more continuous and intensive. Such a study would be helpful in more accurately predicting change in the Mediterranean context of the rural exodus.

It also would be profitable to study the god-parent system in a heterogeneous "new" village in the proximity of Lisbon, such as Almada or Amadora, making

further comparison as to the direction of change of compadrio.

It would be of value to do a follow-up study of several families who have migrated to the industrialized areas where many of the villagers described in this study of Cuba are now living in bairros of hastily constructed shacks. Such shack towns for a study of this nature are Baixa da Banheira or Mosqueira. Here it could be determined what is the immediate trend of the compadrio system and how it is meeting needs in the social system where families are scattered, and the influence of the Catholic Church would be greatly attenuated.

In still another context it would be useful to investigate a Portuguese community in the United States where the economic conditions are open and the value system would be subject to far different stresses.

Concerning such investigations, it has been suggested:

To an extent, compadrinazgo may provide an index of urbanization. Although simplification and breakup tend to occur in urban areas (Redfield, 1941:222-23, 225-26), the compadrinazgo operates effectively with some modifications within an integrated community of urban slum dwellers who have little outside contact (Lewis, 1959:14). The occurrence of ritual kinship in other Middle American urban social strata suggests that it may withstand the onslaught of modern market and secular conditions, its form signaling the absence of other systems to satisfy needs created by such conditions, as well as mirroring the nature of the needs (Ravicz, 1967:251).

If in such a Portuguese community in America or Canada the Catholic Church were not dominated by an upper class nor exerting economic and social sanctions on the community, it would be possible to look for the changes occurring in the residual structuring of compadrio. The function of the ritual kinship system could be examined in a situation where it was not being imposed by the economic conditions. In a community of urban slum dwellers, as Ravicz suggests, there would be the felt-need for additional mediators. A comparative study made of this process would advance general knowledge of the structural and functional importance of the Portuguese compadrio god-parent institution.

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APPENDIX

COMPOSITION CODE

From the paper by A. Kimball Romney

"The Processing of Genealogical Data"

= represents marriage bond

0 represents sibling link

- represents child link

Capital letter represents male

Lower case letter represents female

/ separates distinct expressions

() indicates that relatives within parenthesis are structurally equivalent to individuals outside parenthesis

"These basic symbols are combined to represent genealogical relations generally denoted in diagramatic form. For example: consider a man, A and his wife, b together with their two sons, C and D. The relation may be symbolized in the formula: $(A=b)-D \text{ o } C$, which may be read, A is married to b; the couple A and b have children C and D; C is the sibling of D."

X (x for female and X for male) represents a living person not present.

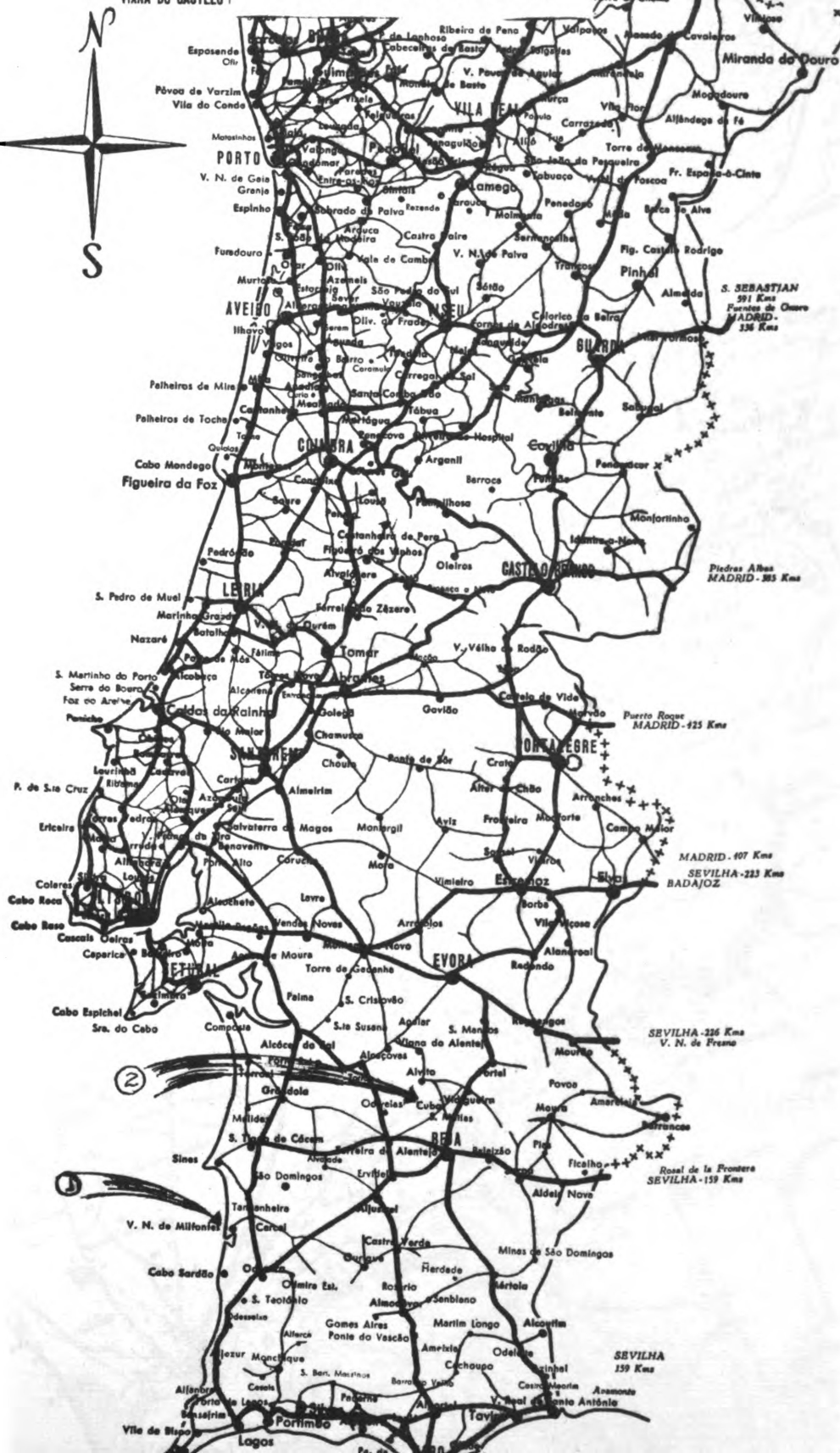
Y (y for a female and Y for a male) represents a dead person or the normal symbol for a person preceded by an asterisk (*).

TABLE XVIII
EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF NINETY-THREE
MEN IN CUBA, AVERAGE AGE THIRTY-EIGHT

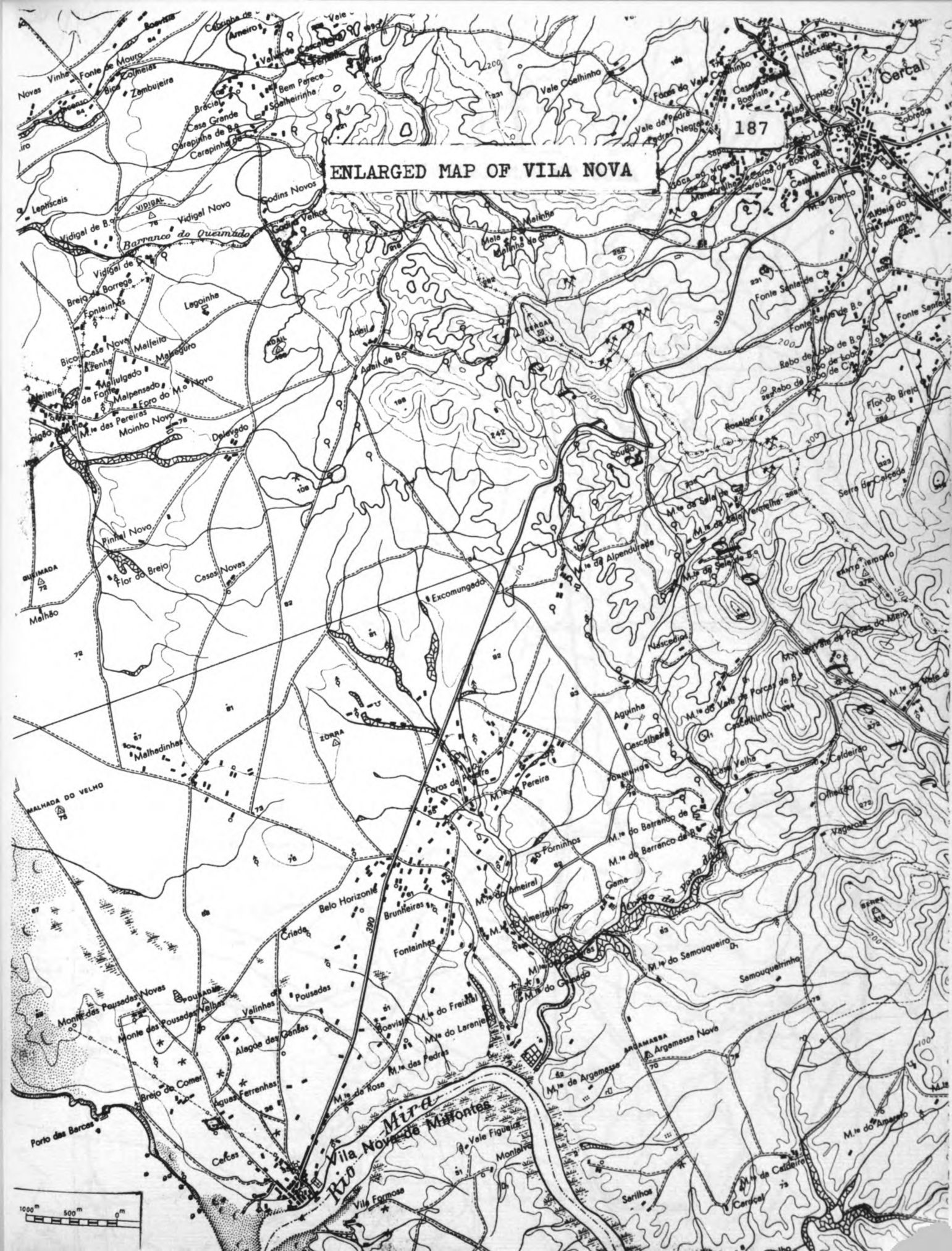
Education		Farm Laborers	Small Farm Owners	Office Workers, Shop Owners	Totals
	0-1	26	13		39
Primary	2-3	6	4	5	15
	4	0	8	13	21
Technical	1-2		2	10	12
or	3-5			3	3
Liceu	6-7			2	2
University	1-3			1	1
	4-5				
Totals		32	27	34	93

TABLE XIX
A COMPARISON OF ESTABLISHMENTS

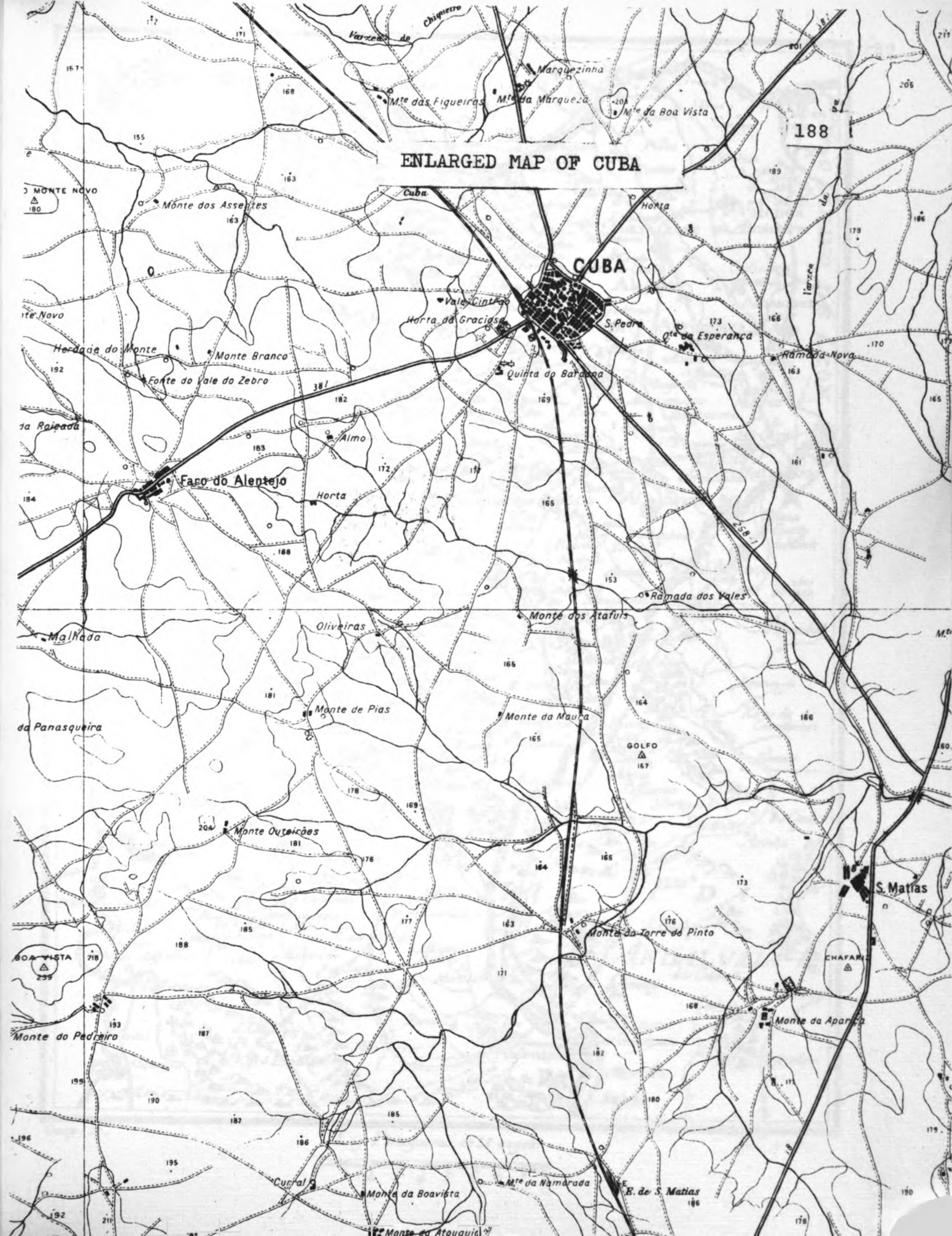
Description	Number in Vila Nova	Number in Cuba
Churches and Chapels	2	6
Factories	0	6
Barbers	3	9
Blacksmiths	1	5
Building supplies	5	3
Carpenter shop	3	8
Clothing store	5	5
Clubs and cinema	3	3
Pharmacy	0	1
Garage and gas station	1	3
Grocery and fruit stores	7	20
Jewelry store	0	3
Meat shops	1	8
Medical post-clinic	2	2
Doctors	1	2
Nurses	0	2
Midwives	2	8
Shoe repair shop	3	8
Taverns	12	31
Tailors and dressmakers	3	7

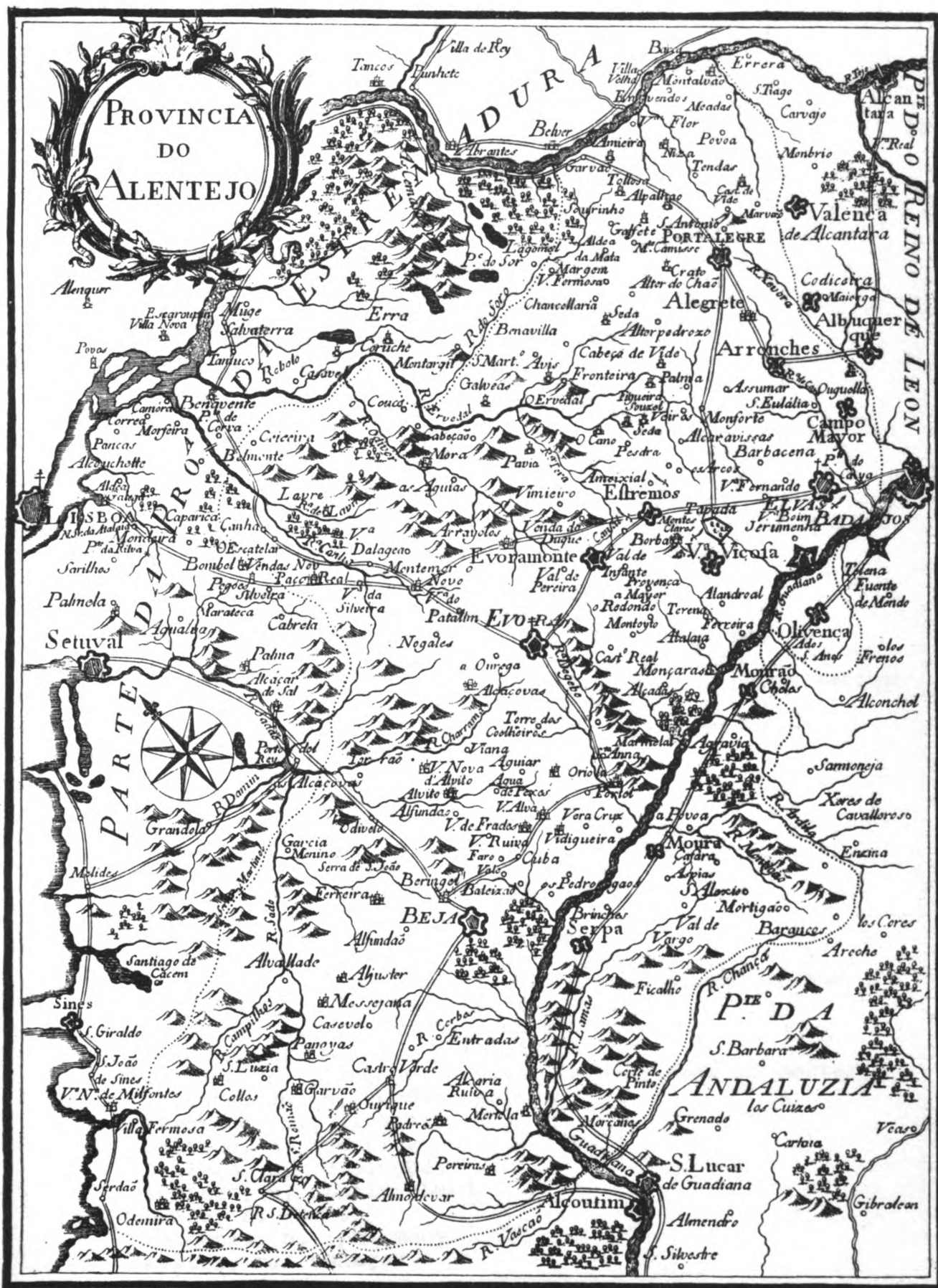
VIANA DO CASTELO¹

187



188





GLOSSARY

Aforador, n, renter
Aforo, n, rent, contract
Aforar, vb, to let by lease
Afilhados, n, god-sons
Aguaardente, n, Aguardente, n, brandy
Aldeia, n, small community
Almoco, n, lunch
Alqueires, n, 20 liter measurement
Ara, n, storage trunk
Azar, n, bad luck
Bairros, n, cluster of houses
Bairros de lata, n, shack town, favelas
Cabrón, n, spanish, goat
Café, n, coffee shop or tea room
Câmara, n, town hall
Câmara Municipal, n, Town Council
Cana, n, cane similar to sugar cane
Canal, n, artificial harbor, ship passage way
Carnaval, n, three day feasting before lent
Casa de Misericórdia, n, Catholic charity organization
Casa do Povo, n, farmer's cooperative
Casa dos pescadores, n, fishermen's cooperative
Casamento, n, marriage, wedding
Castigo, n, punishment
Ceia, n, supper
Cercas, n, fence or fenced property
Choriço, n, sausage
Cofradia, n, a laymen's organization
Colônia, n, colony or resort house
Comendas, n, grants
Compadrio, n, god-parent system
Compadrazgo, n, spanish for compadrio
Compadres, n, co-parents through god-parent system
Compadresco, n, Brazilian for compadrio
Conselho, n, advice, a council
Correio, n, mail or post office
Cubozes, n, large wine vats, usually made of pottery
Curandeiras, n, women healers
Desgraça, n, disgrace
Destino, n, destiny
Diálogo, n, dialogue
Dominus, n, Latin, Lord
Duque, n, Duke
Farmácia, n, pharmacy
Feitor, n, manager

Festa, n, party
Fogos, n, fires literally, households figuratively
Forais, n, grant of land, originally from the King
Foral, n, same as forais which is the plural form
Galaico-Português, n, original Portuguese language
Governador Civil, n, civil governor of a district
Grémio, n, government controlled cooperative
Guarda Fiscal, n, customs official
Guarda Nacional, n, national guard
Hectares, n, 10,000 square meters
Herdade, n, a large estate
Horta, n, a small farm, usually irrigated
Hospede, n, guest
Junta, n, council or committee
Kilo, n, kilogram
Lanchas, n, small motor boats
Latifúndio, n, large estate or farm
Madrinha, n, god-mother, o, god-father
má fama, n, bad renoun or wicked
Malho, n, a hand threshing device
Má lingua, n, vicious gossip
Marmelos, n, quince
Meias, n, system of share farming and receiving half crop
Mercado, n, market
Merenda, n, afternoon snack
Moçarabes, n, Lusitanian Christians under Arab rule
Monda, n, weeding
Mondar, vb, to weed
Morgadios, n, system of inheritance before 1834 where
oldest son became heir
Namorada, n, girlfriend
Namorar, vb, to court
Namoro, n, courtship
Noivado, n, engagement
Noivos, n, engaged couple or newly married
Novo Estado, n, present government which began in 1926
Operário, n, factory worker
Padrinho, n, god-father
Padrinhos de Casamento, n, ritual sponsors of wedding
Pátio, n, court yeard
Patrões, n, employer or boss
Primo, n, cousin
Primo duas vezes, n, double cousin
Primo irmão, n, double cousin or first cousin
Praça, n, a central square in a town, a market place
Presépio, n, nativity scene
Regador, n, parish administrator, town clerk
Registo Civil, n, civil registry, town clerk's office

Relações cortadas, n, broken personal relations
Sachinho, n, small hoe
São Tiago, n, Saint James
Sé, n, Cathedral or church of importance
Seara, n, ripe harvest or the act of harvesting
Solar, n, Elaborate home on an estate
Terças, n, system of share farming for one-third the crop
Tio João, n, Uncle John
Tributários, n, an old Roman custom of slavery
Um Carro, n, an ox or mule cart of wooden construction
often used as a measurement
Valado, n, Hedge or ditch
Vila, n, village, Villa is old Portuguese and Latin
Vindime, n, season of grape harvest, act of picking grapes
Vulgar, n, common; adj., course
Zambujo, n, herb used to cure olives; a wild olive

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Location of household
2. Physical description of residential unit and origins
3. Composition of household, names ages, places of origin
4. Sources of income of each member
5. Information on courtship, marriage, place, type
6. Marriage sponsors, origin, relation, responsibilities
7. Baptismal sponsors, origin, relationship, responsibilities
8. Illnesses, dates, treatment, deaths, burial
9. Education of household members
10. Property, origin, locations, use schedule, contracts
11. Description of boats, contracts, co-owners/workers
12. Political responsibilities defined
13. Military service dates and places
14. Function within cooperatives
15. Responsibilities on Church committees; activities
16. Inheritences, origin, procedures, next heirs, division
17. Diversion, festas, family gatherings
18. Relationship to Cercal, Odemira, Beja, Santiago, Alcacer, Sines, Setubal, Lisbon, and order of importance, visits, purpose
19. Foods, produced in household, purchased outside, where
20. Clothing, etc., produced and purchased

21. Livestock, what, when sold, where, past ten years
22. Who are the good leaders in village, why
23. What are disputes and with whom, how settled

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