

Migration Systems in Southern Portugal: Regional and Transatlantic Circuits of Labor Migration in the Algarve (Eighteenth–Twentieth Centuries)*

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SUMMARY: This article applies a systems approach to the analysis of multiple circuits of labor migration that emerged in the Algarve, southern Portugal, from the late eighteenth century to the mid 1900s, and their connections. Over time Algarvian migrants participated in three main systems of migration: internal migration and migration to southern Spain and Gibraltar, transatlantic migration to the Americas and Africa – especially to Argentina – and migration to northern Europe. Rather than an abrupt break with a sedentary past, the article shows how the beginnings of transatlantic migration at the turn of the century were the result of modification and adaptation of existing strategies of labor migration.

INTRODUCTION

The last decade has witnessed important changes in the historical study of European migrations. Influenced by the modernization paradigm, previous studies had linked the beginning of labor migration in Europe to the processes of industrialization, urbanization, and crisis of the rural economy. According to this view, a largely sedentary Europe was radically transformed by the emergence of circuits of rural–urban migration created in certain areas by the Industrial Revolution, and, especially, by the beginning of the massive transatlantic flows to the Americas of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. More recently, however, scholars have begun to question this image of a sedentary preindustrial Europe and the traditional emphasis on the disruptive nature of modern migrations, showing instead a society characterized by a high level of internal and international mobility.

* Preliminary versions of this article were presented in conferences and seminars in Amsterdam, Lisbon, and San Diego, California. I wish to thank the participants for their comments and suggestions. I am grateful to Jan Lucassen, Jesús Cruz, David Commins, John Osborne, the Editor, and anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments, and to João Sabóia for his help and support. Research for this article was possible with the generous support of the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, the Portuguese National Library, the Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, and Dickinson College.



Figure 1. Portugal.

A new paradigm is emerging that approaches European migrations during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries not as an exceptional phenomenon but as a historical process which took place within a larger context of existing patterns of migration. This paradigm also calls for a consideration of European migrations within the context of and in relation to human mobility worldwide.¹

The systems approach provides a useful analytical framework to study European migrations from a global perspective, taking into account their historical dimension, the variations throughout time and across space, as well as the connections among local, regional, national, and international movements. This article applies a migration systems approach to the regional study of labor migration in the south of the Iberian peninsula. By focusing on the migratory patterns that emerged in the Algarve, Portugal's southernmost region, from the late eighteenth century to the mid-1900s, it explores the dynamics of internal, international, and transatlantic migrations as well as the connections that existed among them, and their linkages to broader migratory movements.

Originally applied by social geographers and other social scientists to the study of rural–urban migration, the systems approach is now widely used to analyze contemporary international migrations. This perspective views human migrations as part of global flows of goods, services, and information. According to this view, migration takes place within a set of circuits which form distinct geographical migration systems.² In his 1987 study of migration within the North Sea region, Jan Lucassen showed the possibilities of a systems approach for the history of migrations in Europe. Since then, other scholars have begun to incorporate this concept to the historical study of migrations in northern Europe, the North Atlantic, and, to a lesser

1. For reviews of old and new paradigms as well as analysis using the emerging approach, see Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650* (Bloomington, IN, 1992); Dirk Hoerder, "Changing Paradigms in Migration History: From 'To America' to World-Wide Systems", *Canadian Review of American Studies*, 24 (1994), pp. 105–126; Dirk Hoerder and Leslie Page Moch (eds), *European Migrants: Global and Local Perspectives* (Boston, MA, 1996); Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (eds), *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* (Bern [etc.], 1997); Virginia Yans McLaughlin (ed.), *Immigration Reconsidered: History, Sociology, and Politics* (New York, 1990); Rudolph Vecoli and Suzanne Sinke (eds), *A Century of European Migrations, 1830–1930* (Urbana, IL, 1991).

2. Akin Mabogunje, "Systems Approach to a Theory of Rural–Urban Migration", *Geographical Analysis*, 1 (1970), pp. 1–18; Aristide Zolberg, "The Next Waves: Migration Theory for a Changing World", *International Migration Review*, 23 (1989), pp. 403–430; John Salt, "A Comparative Overview of International Trends and Types", *ibid.*, pp. 431–456; Alejandro Portes and József Böröcz, "Contemporary Immigration: Theoretical Perspectives on its Determinants and Modes of Incorporation", *ibid.*, pp. 606–630; James Fawcett, "Networks, Linkages and Migration Systems", *ibid.*, pp. 671–680; Mary Kritz, Lin Lean Lim, and Haniz Zlotnik (eds), *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach* (Oxford, 1992).

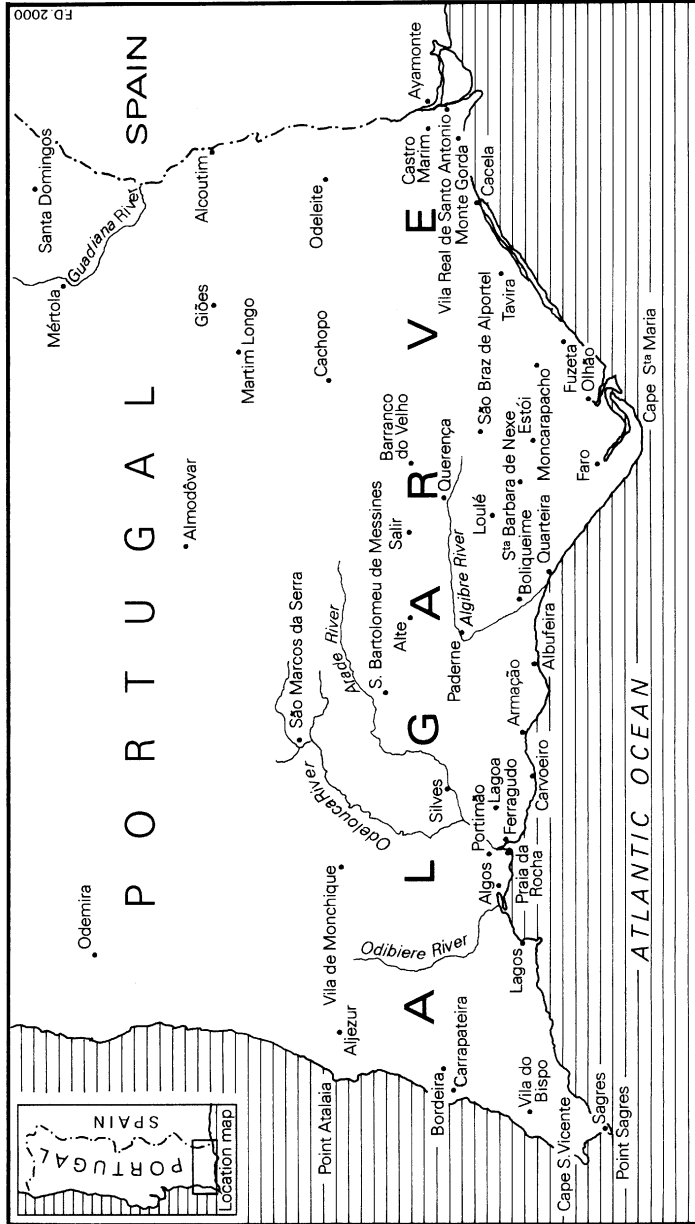


Figure 2. Algarve.

extent, in other areas.³ Historical inquiry within this framework is, however, only in its beginnings. Important topics such as Europe's regional variations and its multiple connections beyond the space of the North Atlantic, remain still largely unexplored by the literature, especially in the cases of southern Europe and South America.

What is a migration system? Jan Lucassen defines it as a "composite" of "push" and "pull" areas"; Dirk Hoerder describes it as "empirically observable interconnected migrations that continue over time".⁴ We can characterize migration systems as identifiable flows of migration that link particular regions or countries to multiple specific destinations over time. These flows rest on networks of interaction which originate at the local level. Social networks provide the vehicles of information, assistance, and cooperation that link the migrants to the system. Systems connect contrasting economic and demographic structures at both ends of the migratory circuits, which produce differential demands for labor. One-time migratory flows do not create a system; a recurrent pattern of migration does. A system implies the existence of circular movements based on seasonal or temporary migration. With time, permanent migration also develops along with a continuation of temporary movements. Thus, migration flows include emigration, return migration, re-emigration, and permanent migration. Systems are adaptable and responsive to internal and external conditions. Therefore, migration systems emerge, change, and might disappear according to changing social, demographic, economic, and political circumstances. One system might dominate in a certain period and region, but systems are not necessarily exclusive and they can overlap.

The concept of migration systems offers a way to consider the migration experience of particular geographical areas within global patterns of migration. It also provides a way to approach the study of migration as a multifaceted historical process, including the different types of migratory movements which developed in a particular space over time. By bringing

3. Jan Lucassen, *Migrant Labour in Europe, 1600–1900: The Drift to the North Sea* (London, 1987); Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives", in Lucassen and Lucassen, *Migration, Migration History, History*, pp. 9–38; Moch, *Moving Europeans*; Leslie Page Moch, "The European Perspective: Changing Conditions and Multiple Migrations, 1750–1914", in Hoerder and Moch, *European Migrants*, pp. 115–140; Leslie Page Moch, "Dividing Time: An Analytical Framework for Migration History Periodization", in Lucassen and Lucassen, *Migration, Migration History, History*, pp. 41–56; James Jackson, Jr and Leslie Page Moch, "Migration and the Social History of Modern Europe", in Hoerder and Moch, *European Migrants*, pp. 52–69 [orig. 1989]; Hoerder, "Changing Paradigms"; Dirk Hoerder, "Migration in the Atlantic Economies: Regional European Origins and Worldwide Expansion" in Hoerder and Moch, *European Migrants*, pp. 21–51; Dirk Hoerder, "Segmented Macrosystems and Networking Individuals: The Balancing Functions of Migration Processes", in Lucassen and Lucassen, *Migration, Migration History, History*, pp. 73–84.

4. Hoerder, "Migration in the Atlantic Economies", p. 21; Lucassen, *Migrant Labour*, pp. 4, 100–101.

together the local and the global, it helps to identify and analyze the peculiarities of national and regional responses to international economic, social, and political structures. It constitutes what Dirk Hoerder calls a “meso-level” of analysis, bridging the macro-level world systems approach and the micro-level circumstances (regional, local, and individual variations).⁵ As Leslie Page Moch states, “although macroeconomic structures molded migration in a general way, specific migration systems operated within meso-level social networks and local ideologies”.⁶

A SYSTEMS APPROACH TO ALGARVIAN MIGRATIONS

Several migration systems were in place in the Iberian peninsula, at least since the eighteenth century. Following the pioneering work of Antonio Meijide Pardo, recent studies have revealed more evidence of the existence of various circuits of internal and medium-distance migration connecting different regions of emigration and immigration. In Spain, Andalusia, Castile, and Catalonia attracted laborers from other regions of the country as well as from neighboring France and Portugal. Andalusia became the dominant “pull” area for the Portuguese, and the Algarvians were one of the most important groups among them. In Portugal, the Douro region, the cities of Oporto and Lisbon, and especially the southern region of the Alentejo, were important destinations for migrants from other Portuguese regions as well as for laborers from Spanish Galicia. These and other Iberian regions also participated in the transatlantic migration system.⁷ Little is known, however, about the dynamics of this web of Iberian migratory systems and, particularly, about the connections among them and with other systems of international and transoceanic migrations.

The Algarve provides a privileged area for the study of the dynamics of migration systems. This region presents a long tradition of migration. In a rural society characterized by extreme division of property, limited resources, and partible inheritance, emigration constituted one of the regular strategies used by Algarvian farmers and rural workers to complement the production

5. Hoerder, “Segmented Macrosystems”, pp. 74, 78–81.

6. Moch, “Dividing Time”, p. 44.

7. Antonio Meijide Pardo, *La emigración gallega intrapeninsular en el siglo XVIII* (Madrid, 1960); Antonio Eiras Roel, “Migraciones internas y medium-distance en España en la edad moderna”, in Antonio Eiras Roel and Ofelia Rey Castelao (eds), *Les migrations internes et à moyenne distance en Europe, 1500–1900* (Santiago de Compostela, 1994), 2, pp. 37–83; António de Oliveira, “Migrações internas e de média distância em Portugal de 1500 a 1900”, in Eiras Roel and Rey Castelao, *Les migrations internes*, 2, pp. 1–36. See also Lucassen, *Migrant Labour*; Moch, *Moving Europeans*; and Hoerder, “Migration in the Atlantic Economies”. For a general overview of Portuguese emigration, see Joel Serrão, *A emigração portuguesa. Sondagem histórica* (Lisbon, 1972); Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, “L’émigration portugaise (XVe–XXe siècles): une constante structurelle et les réponses aux changements du monde”, *Revista de História Económica e Social*, 1 (1978), pp. 5–32; Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva et al. (eds), *Emigração/Imigração em Portugal* (Lisbon, 1993).

on their own or rented lands, to acquire cash income, and to buy land. Thus Algarvian peasant-workers incorporated seasonal migration into the regular activities of the agricultural year.⁸ With similar objectives, and to take advantage of different fisheries, Algarvian fishermen also migrated regularly on a seasonal basis. Therefore, Algarvians have participated in a variety of migratory movements over time, including medium-distance, long-distance, and overseas emigration, on a seasonal, temporary, and permanent basis. These migratory movements were part of broader systems of migration that linked Algarvian migrants with other regions of Portugal, other European countries, as well as destinations in Africa and the Americas.

Algarvians participated in three main systems of migration. The first one connected the region to the neighboring Portuguese region of the Alentejo and, outside Portugal, to southern Spain and Gibraltar. This system extended also beyond the Strait of Gibraltar to Morocco. The timing and characteristics of the flows within this system varied. While the flows to the Alentejo, southern Spain, and Gibraltar were dominant until the turn of the nineteenth century, emigration to Morocco became more important during the first decades of the twentieth century. This system included mainly temporary labor migration for harvesting, mining, and fishing, in the case of the Alentejo, southern Spain, and Gibraltar; and fishing and employment in urban crafts and construction work, in the case of Morocco. Another flow within this system took the form of rural–urban internal migration, connecting Algarvian migrants with regional urban centers and with Lisbon and its industrial environs to the south of the Tagus river.

The second system of migration in the Algarve was that of the transatlantic migration that involved much of Europe after the mid-nineteenth century. Algarvians began to participate in this Atlantic migration system later than migrants from northern Portugal – during the second half of the nineteenth century and especially during the early twentieth century – and with distinctive characteristics of their own. From the end of the nineteenth century to the 1950s, while the rest of their countrymen migrated mainly to Brazil, and to the United States in the case of the Azoreans, the majority of the Algarvians chose Argentina instead. Brazil, the United States, and the Portuguese colonies in Africa also attracted emigrants from the Algarve. Finally, in the third migration system, during the 1960s and 1970s, Algarvian emigrants joined the rest of the Portuguese and the majority of the

8. Two occupations predominated in the Algarvian countryside: *proprietários* – proprietors, and *trabalhadores* – workers. However, in a society characterized by widespread access to land and the combination of small farming and wage labor by the same individuals, these categories were not exclusive and usually overlapped. Thus most rural Algarvians were “peasant-workers”. For this concept, see Douglas Holmes, *Cultural Disenchantments: Worker Peasantries in Northeast Italy* (Princeton, NJ, 1989). For an analysis of Algarvian emigration in the context of regional and household economy, see Marcelo Borges, “Portuguese in Two Worlds: A Historical Study of Migration from Algarve to Argentina” (Ph.D., Rutgers University, 1997), chs 1 and 3.

emigrants from southern Europe in a European migration system that took them to the northern industrial countries, especially to France. All three systems included both temporary and permanent migration. The latter, however, was more important in the second and third systems, in which a period dominated by temporary labor migration eventually led to permanent family migration.

There was a historical progression from the first to the third system. The first system was dominant from the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century; the second one attracted the majority of the migrants during the first half of the twentieth century; and finally the third one became important during the period 1950s–1970s. However, migration within these three systems was not exclusive and there was overlapping among them. Since little is known about the first two systems, the following pages analyze their origins and characteristics, with particular attention to the connection of the Algarve with the first migration system – the least well-known of the three.⁹

Social networks that emerged at the local level were instrumental in creating and maintaining the migratory flows of the different migration systems. They integrated the migratory strategies of individuals and families into the larger systems. Space limitations, however, preclude an in-depth analysis of this “meso-level” connection in this article.

THE ALGARVE AND THE SOUTHERN IBERIAN MIGRATION SYSTEM

Since at least the eighteenth century, Algarvian migrants participated in a regional, supranational system of labor migration which connected them to the labor markets of Gibraltar, southern Spain, and the fields and mines of the neighboring Portuguese region of the Alentejo, as well as some urban centers in Portugal and Morocco. Emigration to Spain and Gibraltar dominated Algarvian migratory movements until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Temporary labor migration to Spain and the Alentejo continued as an important movement well into the twentieth century. Finally, migration to Morocco acquired more importance during the 1930s and 1940s (see Table 1). Population movements within this space were by no means exclusive to the Algarve, but involved other Portuguese regions as well. These movements are underrepresented in official statistics because of remoteness from central authorities, the existence of a strong tradition of

9. Unless otherwise noticed, the analysis that follows is based on the information contained in the original passport requests' books for the District of Faro (Algarve), from the beginning of the series in 1834 until 1946. I have used a sample which includes the totality of the passports requested between 1834 and 1870 and complete years every five years after that (except for 1919). *Livros de Registo de Passaportes, 1834–1946*, Arquivo Distrital de Faro [hereafter, ADF], Governo Civil, 27 vols. The analysis of the third migratory system is beyond the scope of this article.

Table 1. *Emigration from the Algarve by destinations according to published data, 1880–1950 (percentages)**

Period	Africa		Americas		Europe	Others	
1880–1890	10.5		32.7		56.8	0.0	
Period	Africa	Portuguese Africa	Argentina	Brazil	Europe	USA	Others
1891–1899	0.1	35.6	9.1	43.0	5.0	7.1	0.1
1900–1909	0.1	22.5 ^a	23.9	43.3	3.1	7.0	0.1
1910–1919	3.9	—	52.4	17.6	9.0	17.1	0.0
1920–1929 ^b	5.8	—	59.7	13.3	12.7	7.4	1.1
1930–1935	26.0	—	36.3	6.0	25.9	3.3	2.5
1944–1950	—	—	71.0	17.2	—	1.6	10.1 ^c

* Before 1899 the only discrimination is by continents. Before 1914, I have considered “other South American countries” as Argentina and “North America” as the United States.

^a Only until 1907.

^b There is no available information for 1922.

^c During this period this category includes Africa and Europe.

Sources: *Anuario Estatístico* (Lisbon, 1884–1886, 1892, 1900, 1921, 1923–1924, 1925–1950); *Movimento da População* (Lisbon, 1887, 1889–1896, 1909–1921); *Emigração Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1901–1912).

clandestine migration, the permeability of the frontier between Portugal and Spain, and changing policies regarding passports and migration documentation.

These migratory movements emerged in the context of long tradition of migration and contacts within the southern Iberian space and reaching across the Gibraltar Strait to Africa. The Algarve was part of a larger area of commerce and circulation that involved southern Spain and northern Africa and that developed during many centuries of contact across what Joaquim Romero Magalhães calls the “Portuguese–Hispanic–Moroccan gulf”.¹⁰ A varied group of people circulated within this area during the Middle Ages and early modern era, including merchants, peddlers, smugglers, artisans, sailors, fishermen, captives, soldiers, bureaucrats and colonists for the Portuguese possessions in northern Africa. Based on these early contacts, this space continued dominating Algarvian emigration until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. According to the passport requests of the

10. Joaquim Romero Magalhães, *O Algarve económico, 1600–1773* (Lisbon, 1988), p. 11.

Algarve, Spain, North Africa, Morocco, and Gibraltar attracted more than 97 per cent of the emigration from the Algarve from 1834 to 1870, and represented 98.8 per cent in 1875, 72.5 per cent in 1880, and 92 per cent in 1885.

GIBRALTAR

Gibraltar became a dynamic labor and commercial market within the Portuguese–Hispanic–Moroccan space.¹¹ Conquered by the British in the eighteenth century and declared a free port, Gibraltar attracted a great number of foreign traders and workers.¹² According to Sir Frederick Sayer, Civil Magistrate at Gibraltar, in the 1860s the bulk of the working population was composed of foreigners, who formed a diverse community of Genoese, Spaniards, Jews, North Africans, British, Minorcans, Italians, Portuguese, and others.¹³ Among the Portuguese, the British garrison was an important point of attraction for Algarvian merchants and migrants.¹⁴ Commerce and contraband attracted many Algarvians, who could benefit from their proximity to the Rock. Thus in the 1840s, Gibraltar and Cádiz were the main foreign destinations for Algarvian exports. The Algarvian ports of Olhão and Tavira were at the forefront of the commercial activities with Gibraltar.¹⁵ It is no surprise that people from these two ports, along with Faro, represented more than 62 per cent of the Algarvian emigration to Gibraltar in the period 1834–1870. Immigrants were also attracted by the many opportunities the port-garrison created for labor. Thus not only merchants, but also fishermen, laborers, and artisans from the Algarve headed for Gibraltar.

11. For the characteristics and evolution of Gibraltar's population, as well as its political, military, economic, and social history, see Frederick Sayer, *The History of Gibraltar and of Its Political Relation to Events in Europe* (London, 1865); John D. Stewart, *Gibraltar: The Keystone* (Boston, MA, 1967); Sir William G.F. Jackson, *The Rock of the Gibraltarians: A History of Gibraltar* (London [etc.], 1987).

12. The commercial antagonism between British and Spanish authorities created opportunities for trade and contraband. These possibilities increased during certain periods – for example, after 1841, when strong antismuggling measures were taken by the Spanish authorities. The port was several times under siege, a situation that also created opportunities for a lucrative supply commerce. See Jackson, *The Rock*, pp. 233–238.

13. Sayer, *History of Gibraltar*, pp. 460–461. Sayer explained the importance of foreign labor in Gibraltar as follows: "The fixed population of Gibraltar is of such peculiar character that it is absolutely necessary to admit into this confined and crowded town a considerable number of foreigners. The natives are for the most part idle, dissolute, and phlegmatic; there are but few skilled artisans among them, and their demands for wages are exorbitant. Domestic service is almost entirely supplied by foreigners, the natives being quite unfitted for such duties. It would be difficult to instance a single possession under the British Crown where the material for general and domestic labour is worse than in Gibraltar" (p. 460).

14. Magalhães, *O Algarve económico*, pp. 301–308.

15. João Baptista da Silva Lopes, *Corografia ou memória económica, estatística e topográfica do Reino do Algarve* (Lisbon, 1841; repr. Faro, 1988), pp. 33–34, 341, 343, 362–363, 366.

Since Gibraltar was primarily a strategic military garrison, British authorities established strict regulations for the entrance and settlement of foreigners. Consequently, the majority of immigrant labor was temporary. Foreigners were granted a permit, generally for a maximum period of one to two months. Many Portuguese, as well as other migrants who worked in Gibraltar temporarily or permanently, lived in the nearby Spanish town of La Línea de la Concepción (Cádiz). This town grew during the nineteenth century in the shadow of the economic activities of the British garrison. Portuguese workers became an important group in La Línea. Many of them gathered in what became known as the “Portuguese neighborhood” in the fishing zone of the town.¹⁶

Despite restrictions on foreigners, the Portuguese presence in Gibraltar became significant during the first decades of the nineteenth century. The number of Portuguese grew from 25 in 1753 to 650 in 1814; that is, from 2 per cent to 20 per cent of the total population. By 1860, the Portuguese population amounted to 525 persons, representing 14.4 per cent of the foreigners and 3.31 per cent of the total population. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Portuguese colony settled in Gibraltar declined. In the 1891 census, 123 Portuguese were registered, 5 per cent of the then Spanish-dominated foreign population (almost 80 per cent of the foreigners were then Spaniards, the majority of whom were women).¹⁷ These numbers refer, of course, to the more stable Portuguese presence without taking into account the temporary migrants. We do not have details regarding the regional origins of the Portuguese population of Gibraltar during this period. But given the historical ties that linked the Rock with the Algarve, and the figures of Algarvian emigration, it is safe to assume that Portuguese emigration to Gibraltar was dominated by Algarvians.¹⁸

Two periods emerge clearly from the distribution of Algarvian emigration to Gibraltar by occupations. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, emigration to Gibraltar was dominated by people engaged in maritime activities and by merchants. During the 1860s and 1870s, while the number of merchants and peddlers who went to Gibraltar remained stable and the number of maritime workers grew, the overall significance of both groups of emigrants dropped as a consequence of a growing presence of farmers and rural workers as well as an important group of masons and other

16. José de la Vega Rodríguez, *La Línea de la Concepción (Cádiz). Cien años de historia, 1870–1970* (Jerez, n.d.), p. 92.

17. Jackson, *The Rock*, pp. 248–249.

18. There are some scattered references to emigration from other Portuguese regions. Rodrigues refers to some emigrants from Viana do Castelo going to Gibraltar in the 1840s. And for the beginning of the nineteenth century, Jackson argues that “the close links between the British naval bases at Lisbon and Gibraltar [...] led to Portuguese tradesmen being drawn to Gibraltar to work in the dockyard and on the fortifications.” See Henrique Rodrigues, “Emigração, conjunturas políticas e económicas”, in Silva *et al.*, *Emigração/Imigração*, p. 65, and Jackson, *The Rock*, p. 225.

artisans.¹⁹ This shift shows the emergence of a new type of labor migration during the last quarter of the nineteenth century that used the traditional paths of emigration built by their fellow countrymen since the eighteenth century.

The second half of the nineteenth century also witnessed a growing presence of women and children among the Portuguese emigrants to Gibraltar. The large number of emigrant women constitutes one of the most interesting features of this migratory flow, which gives it a rather unusual character in the context of Portuguese emigration during the nineteenth century. Women represented 23 per cent of the emigration from the Algarve in the period 1834–1850, and 42 per cent during the years 1851–1870. The emigration of women was particularly high from 1860 to 1870, when they made up the majority of emigrants. More than 76 per cent of Algarvian emigrant women went to Gibraltar until the middle of the nineteenth century, and that proportion rose to 94.4 per cent for the period 1851–1870. Taking the period from 1834 to 1870 as a whole, more women than men emigrated from the Algarve to Gibraltar (50.4 per cent and 49.6 per cent, respectively, with a higher difference for the second half of the period).²⁰

The reasons for such an important emigration of women are rather elusive. Nineteenth-century observers pointed out that Gibraltar depended on immigrants for many activities, particularly domestic service.²¹ It is possible that some of the Algarvian women would have found work in that activity. However, the large number of women who migrated with children and a variety of family members (more than 30 per cent of the total number of women and more than 57 per cent of those twenty years old or older), casts

19. According to the passport requests' books, maritime workers represented 30.7 per cent of the male emigrants over 14 years in 1834–1850, 18.8 per cent in 1851–1870, and 7.1 per cent in 1875; *trabalhadores* and day laborers increased from 2.6 per cent in 1834–1850 to 28.1 per cent in 1851–1870, to 69 per cent in 1875; merchants represented 22.8 per cent in 1834–1850 and 4 per cent in 1851–1870. A shift in the geographical origins of the migrants within the Algarve, from the coast to the interior, also helps to explain these changes in the occupational background of the emigrants.

20. We can observe the contrast of the Algarvian emigration in the general Portuguese context by comparing these figures with those presented by Oporto, the main port of emigration during the nineteenth century. Emigration in this area was almost exclusively dominated by Brazil. According to Alves, women represented 2 per cent of the emigrants in 1836 and 5.8 per cent in 1860. Their presence grew by the end of the century, representing 22 per cent in 1899. This difference might also be related to the gender composition of short- and medium-distance migration vis-a-vis overseas migration. As Ravestein noted in his famous "laws", women tend to migrate more than men in shorter distances, but men tend to predominate in long-distance migrations. See Jorge Fernandes Alves, "Emigração portuguesa: o exemplo do Porto nos meados do século XIX", *Revista de História*, Centro de História da Universidade do Porto, 9 (1989), pp. 267–289, and "Lógicas migratorias no Porto oitocentista", in Silva *et al.*, *Emigração/Imigração*, pp. 78–97; E.G. Ravestein, *The Laws of Migration*. [Paper # 1 and # 2] (New York, 1976; original published in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, in 1885 and 1889), pp. 196–199.

21. Sayer, *History of Gibraltar*, p. 460.

serious doubts about that possibility. Migrant women were called by their husbands already in Gibraltar or emigrated in the company of their husbands and children. The importance of migration for family reunification suggests that emigration to Gibraltar was a long established migratory circuit that reached its maturity during the second half of the nineteenth century.

However, family migration did not mean permanent settlement abroad in all cases. The case of Algarvian migration to Gibraltar shows that family reunification did not necessarily mean permanent migration. Temporary family migration was a strategy used by Algarvian migrants in Gibraltar to maximize their resources and income through family labor and the possibility of savings in living expenses. For example, one of the main occupations for Algarvian emigrants in Gibraltar and environs was fishing, an activity that, according to contemporary accounts, usually benefitted from the help of the whole family.²² The possibility of maximizing maintenance costs was also important. The latter was the main reason given by the Civil Governor of Faro to explain this unusual pattern of labor migration in a report to the Parliamentary Commission on Portuguese Emigration in 1873: “From the *concelhos* [counties] of Faro, Olhão, and Tavira, entire families migrate temporarily to Gibraltar. This is more economical for them because, in this way, they avoid reducing the gains they seek to obtain there.”²³

Algarvian emigration to Gibraltar declined at the end of the nineteenth century. At the same time, temporary migration to Spain grew considerably and new overseas destinations began to attract large numbers of people. However, the movement to Gibraltar did not disappear overnight. Also, some migrants settled in the area permanently. According to the Portuguese consul, in 1911, 364 Portuguese were registered in the Portuguese Consulate in Gibraltar, almost all of them from the Algarve. The majority lived in La Línea de la Concepción and commuted daily to Gibraltar to work in maritime tasks, fishing, and other manual activities. The fact that they were firmly established in La Línea becomes apparent with the existence of a Portuguese mutual aid society. The consul also noted the existence of a “fluctuating” population which traveled aboard twelve Algarvian ketches engaged in small-scale commerce between the Algarve, Gibraltar, and Morocco, making approximately fifty voyages during a year. In the same year,

22. Tuna fishing was the main activity. This was a task that required the cooperation of many and diverse people. In the Algarve, women participated in cutting, salting, and storing the fish; and children worked along with their parents. As Lopes pointed in the 1840s, tuna fishing “occupies many hands, not only men, but also women and young men [...]” (This and all other translations in the article are my own.) See Lopes, *Corografia*, p. 97; also pp. 34, 82–83. Frei João de São José described tuna fishing in the Algarve during the sixteenth century as a lively family enterprise; see his “Corografia do Reino do Algarve (1577)”, in Manuel Viegas Guerreiro and Joaquim Romero Magalhães (eds), *Dois descrições do Algarve no século XVI*, Cadernos da Revista de História Económica e Social 3 (Lisbon, 1983), pp. 121–122.

23. Report of the Civil Governor of Faro, 27 October 1873, Processos da Comissão Parlamentar sobre a Emigração Portuguesa, 1872–1875, ADF, Governo Civil, *caixa 20, maço 3*.

consular information reported about 900 Portuguese people living in La Línea (approximately 600 men and 300 women). “For a small community like this one” – noted the Consul General – “this [number] is important”.²⁴

SOUTHERN SPAIN AND ALENTEJO

Spain was the other main foreign destination for Algarvian migrants within the southern Iberian migration system. From the eighteenth century to the 1930s this migratory flow was dominated by temporary migration for fishing, harvesting, and mining. During the same period, Algarvian laborers also participated in a flow of internal migration to the neighboring region of the Alentejo for harvesting and mining. Algarvian emigration to Spain developed in the context of a long migratory tradition. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Portuguese migrants were attracted by labor opportunities in Spain. Political circumstances and wars at times imposed limits to the free movement of people between the two Iberian nations, whereas periods of political stability encouraged migration. Thus Portuguese emigration to Spain during the period of the union of the crowns of Castile and Portugal, from 1580 to 1640, “was a true torrent”.²⁵ The end of this political union with the independence of Portugal, however, did not mean the end of Portuguese emigration to Spain. In 1655, Manuel Severim de Faria noted that many Portuguese went to Castile, Extremadura, and Andalusia, because of their proximity and because of the lack of work they faced in Portugal.²⁶

Andalusia became one of the main areas of attraction for Portuguese migrants. The commercial traffic with the Spanish colonies in the Americas provided for commercial opportunities which, in the Portuguese case, combined with the role some Andalusian ports played in commerce with and transportation to and from the Portuguese enclaves in North Africa. Several local studies in Andalusia show the existence of colonies of Portuguese migrants. Their presence was important in towns closer to the border and around the lower Guadalquivir, but also in towns of middle and oriental Andalusia, such as Córdoba and Málaga. Portuguese presence in the latter

24. Report from Consul N. Nunes Tavares (27 December 1911), and information from the Portuguese Vice-Consulate in La Línea de la Concepción, in Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, *Colônias portuguesas em países estrangeiros* (Lisbon, 1915), pp. 11–12, 62–63.

25. The expression belongs to historian Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, cited by Magalhães, *O Algarve económico*, p. 24. Caroline Brettell mentions a letter written by Philip II “dealing with recommendations to halt this migration flow from Portugal to Spain”. See Caroline Brettell, *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish* (Princeton, NJ, 1986), p. 287, n. 2.

26. Manuel Severim de Faria, “Remédios para a falta de gente”, in Joel Serrão (ed.), *Testemunhos sobre a emigração portuguesa. Antologia* (Lisbon, 1976), pp. 73–75.

two areas, however, appears to have declined after the seventeenth century.²⁷

There are references to the emigration of Algarvians to Spain since at least the sixteenth century. In 1577, for example, Frei João de São José mentioned the emigration of merchants from the city of Tavira to Seville and other Spanish ports.²⁸ Evidence from the town of Ayamonte (Huelva) – located facing the Algarve across the Guadiana river – shows that early Algarvian emigration to Spain was diverse, including merchants, artisans, laborers, and fishermen.²⁹ A study of the Portuguese colony of Jerez (Cádiz), shows that the early eighteenth century witnessed a growing presence of Algarvians among Portuguese migrants along with a shift from permanent settlement to temporary labor migration.³⁰ Thus, beginning in the eighteenth century, and based on a long migratory tradition, temporary labor migration became dominant in the migratory flow from the Algarve to Spain.

As in the emigration to Gibraltar, it is also possible to distinguish two periods in the Algarvian emigration to Spain based on the occupational profile of the migrants. During the first half of the nineteenth century, merchants and muleteers made up the majority of emigrants to Spain (17.7 per cent and 16.1 per cent, respectively), and a similar proportion (14.5 per cent) was composed of farmers. After that and until 1870, merchants and farmers still accounted for about one third of Algarvian emigration to Spain, and small farmers and rural workers represented 15.5 per cent. By the middle of the 1870s and particularly during the 1880s, fishermen dominated emigration to Spain. As an official report of the District of Faro stated in 1874: “The [migratory] movement with Gibraltar is made up of persons who go there looking for work, and with the same purpose many maritime workers go to Spain to engage in temporary fishing.”³¹

Economic difficulties and tax pressures contributed to the decline of the fishing companies of Portuguese and Spanish capital established during the

27. José L. Sánchez Lora, “La inmigración portuguesa en Ayamonte: 1600–1860”, in *Huelva en su historia. Miscelánea histórica* (Huelva, 1986), 1, pp. 317–331; Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, “La inmigración de corto y medio radio en la Andalucía moderna: modalidades y comportamientos”, Isabel Rodríguez Alemán, “La emigración hacia Málaga en el siglo XVII (1651–1700)”, Juan Diego Pérez Cebada, “La emigración portuguesa a Jerez (ss. XVI–XVIII)”, all in Roel and Castela, *Les migrations internes*, 2, pp. 357–379, 859–871, and 887–910, respectively.

28. São José, “Corografia”, p. 51. See also Godinho, “L’émigration portugaise”, p. 20; and Magalhães, *O Algarve económico*, p. 122. Magalhães argues that this migration of Algarvian merchants deepened the commercial depression that, along with a process of ruralization, affected the Algarve during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

29. Sánchez Lora, “La inmigración portuguesa en Ayamonte”.

30. Pérez Cebada, “La emigración portuguesa a Jerez”.

31. *Relatório apresentado à Junta Geral do Districto de Faro na sessão ordinaria de 1875 pelo Conselheiro Governador Civil José de Beires com documentos e mappas illustrativos. Resoluções e consultas da Junta Geral* (Coimbra, 1875), p. 298.

eighteenth century on the eastern coast of the Algarve. Some of the Spanish fishing entrepreneurs relocated across the Guadiana river in Spain, but they continued recruiting Portuguese fishermen on a seasonal basis, especially in the towns of the eastern coast. Salary differences in Spain were advantageous for Algarvian fishermen.³² From July to January between 3,000 and 5,000 fishermen participated in this activity. Sardine and tuna were the most lucrative catches.³³ From the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the border town of Ayamonte and the nearby port of Higueirita (later called Isla Cristina) attracted a steady seasonal flow of Algarvian fishermen. German naturalist Heinrich Link, who visited this area at the end of the eighteenth century, estimated that no less than 800 Portuguese fishermen emigrated to Ayamonte in 1783, and that 2,500 of them were present at Ayamonte and San Lucar de Barrameda (Cádiz) in 1790.³⁴ Isla Cristina became an important fishing and processing center and, in Link's words, was "flourishing by the emigrations of the Portuguese".³⁵ Fish packing and processing also attracted Algarvian migrants to southern Spain. Women were an important component of this migratory flow, resulting in family migration. The Algarvian border city of Vila Real de Santo António, with a working population trained in fish processing, was the dominant place of origin of this migration.³⁶ Both movements of seasonal migration attracted thousands of Algarvians throughout the nineteenth century and until the middle of the twentieth century.³⁷

32. Carminda Cavaco, "Migrações internacionais de trabalhadores do Sotavento Algarvio", *Fimistera. Revista Portuguesa de Geografia*, 6, 11 (1971), pp. 45–48, 55, 58. Cavaco refers to a pattern of geographical origin according to which the fishermen from the Algarvian western coast (Lagos) migrated temporarily to the fishing areas south of Lisbon; those from the center-west (Portimão, Armação de Pera, Albufeira, Quarteira) to the previous area and to the eastern Algarve; and those from the eastern Algarve (Faro, Olhão, Tavira, Vila Real de Santo António) to southern Spain (p. 50). Algarvian fishermen also worked temporarily in Africa and the Americas.

33. Because of their geographical location, the fishermen of the eastern Algarve and the adjacent area of Andalusia had privileged access to the tuna's annual migration. Tuna migrate eastward from the Atlantic toward the Mediterranean to spawn during May and June, and westward, back to the Atlantic, during July and August. For a description of Algarvian fishing areas and techniques, see Dan Stanislawski, *Portugal's Other Kingdom: The Algarve* (Austin, TX, 1963), ch. 3.

34. Henry Frederick Link, *Travels in Portugal and Through France and Spain* (London, 1801), p. 462. Link relies, for some of these figures, on Constantino Botelho de Lacerda Lobo, "Sobre o estado das pescarias da costa do Algarve no ano de 1790", *Memórias Económicas da Academia das Ciências*, vol. 5. See also Sánchez Lora, "La inmigración portuguesa en Ayamonte".

35. Link, *Travels in Portugal*, p. 457.

36. Cavaco, "Migrações internacionais", pp. 59–62.

37. Faro's passport request books began to register the temporary emigration of fishermen to Spain in April, 1874. This movement is the reason for the important increase in the number of passports issued during the second half of the 1870s: from eighty-four in 1873 to 304 in 1876. But this flow of temporary migration disappeared from the passport records after 1878, only to appear again for one year in 1885 (thus explaining the great increase in the number of passports for that year and the dominance of fishermen in the occupational profile of the migrants). For local examples of temporary migration for fishing and processing in Spain, see Cavaco, "Migrações internacionais", pp. 47, 52–53, 56–58, 61.

The combination of differential economic opportunities, commercial contacts, labor recruiting networks, and the easy crossing of the frontier between the Algarve and Andalusia facilitated this migratory movement.³⁸ Its significance was recognized by the Portuguese government, when it issued a directive in May 1878, allowing Algarvian workers to emigrate to Spain with transit permits rather than passports. This official measure was reinforced in 1882, then by the Portuguese–Spanish Treaty of July 1894, and it finally received full sanction and national application by the 1896 Emigration Law.³⁹ Recruiting networks for this labor migration became well-established and adaptable even during periods of restrictions in Spain, when Portuguese fishermen were hired clandestinely.⁴⁰

While the people from the coastal towns of the Algarve emigrated temporarily for fishing, Algarvians from the inland areas also emigrated every year to Spain to work in the harvests of the vast Andalusian estates as well as in the region's mining centers. Temporary migration for harvesting and mining also took hundreds of Algarvians in a northward movement to the Portuguese region of the Alentejo. A report on emigration published by the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies in 1873, presented the regular flow of Algarvian harvesters to the Alentejo as a good example of the existence of an internal labor market in the country.⁴¹ Both movements of labor migration were of central importance for Algarvian farmers and rural workers. In his 1891 agronomic study of the Algarve, Francisco Weinholtz stressed the central role of this temporary migration to the Alentejo and Spain for the rural population of the Algarve. He stated: "If it were not for this periodical emigration – clear example of the misery that prevails in the province – which improves the situation of those who stay, how could our rural population be sustained?"⁴²

It is interesting to note that Portuguese Alentejo and Spanish Andalusia shared a similar socioeconomic base, characterized by large landed estates, mining production, concentration of property, and a sizable population of landless workers. The socioeconomic base of rural Algarve, where dispersion of property into small plots was the rule, along with a majority of small

38. In 1799 Link noted that it was easy to get a passport with the *Juiz de fora* in Vila Real de Santo António to go from the Algarve to Ayamonte. He further noted that Spaniards were not very strict in patrolling the crossing of the frontier. Link, *Travels in Portugal*, p. 457.

39. Fernando Emygdio da Silva, *Emigração portuguesa* (Coimbra, 1917), pp. 206–208; F.G. Cassola Ribeiro, *Emigração portuguesa. Regulamentação emigratória: do Liberalismo ao fim da Segunda Guerra Mundial. Contribuição para o seu estudo* (Lisbon, 1987); and Maria I. B. Baganha, *Portuguese Emigration in the United States, 1820–1930* (New York [etc.], 1990), pp. 94–127.

40. Cavaco, "Migrações internacionais", pp. 55–56, 58.

41. *Primeiro Inquerito Parlamentar sobre a emigração portuguesa pela comissão da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados* (Lisbon, 1873), p. 17.

42. Francisco D'Almeida de Bivar Weinholtz, *Memória sobre a economia rural na 9ª região agronómica apresentada ao Concelho do Instituto de Agronomia e Veterinária pelo alumno agrônomo* (Tavira, 1891), p. 59.

proprietors (worker-peasants), contrasted and to some extent complemented the labor markets of its neighbors to the east and to the north.

Temporary emigration for the harvests in the Alentejo and Spain was a seasonally-based movement which took place during the summer months. The movement of *ceifeiros* (male harvesters) was so important that it was reported every year in the local and regional newspapers. Local correspondents from diverse parishes remarked on the large number of men of all ages who left every year during the harvest season. As a consequence of the large number of men who left the villages, the rural economy rested in the hands of women during the period. There was nothing unusual about such a situation, since women always played a central role in the agricultural activities of the Algarve. Farming was a family-based activity in which male and female labor complemented each other.⁴³ The difference between the harvest season and the rest of the agricultural year was that during the harvests women had the entire responsibility of the agricultural work while their husbands, and in many cases their older sons, were away. This complementarity made seasonal male migration possible and a profitable strategy for Algarvian farmers. While the men did the harvesting in far away fields of the Alentejo and Spain, the women harvested at home. At the end of May 1912, the correspondent of the newspaper *O Algarve* in the interior parish of Salir, in the north of the *concelho* of Loulé, reported that, as every year, large number of *ceifeiros* had left the parish for Alentejo and Spain, “where salaries were more advantageous”. He further noted that harvesting was also under way in the countryside of Salir, where one could hear the singing of the *ceifeiras* (women harvesters) at work.⁴⁴ The same situation was described by Geraldino Brites in 1910 for the *concelho* of Loulé at large:

We can assert without any doubt that women in the *concelho* work in agriculture as much as men do. In the households where the husband is a farmer, so is his wife. She also works in the fields and there are times during the year, when the exodus of workers take place, in which she even works alone.⁴⁵

By the early nineteenth century, migration for harvesting in Spain was a well-established strategy among rural Algarvians. In 1835, for example, the authorities of the village of Alcoutim, in northeast Algarve, solicited the authorization of the central government to give passports to the numerous

43. For the organization of rural family production in the Algarve, see Lopes, *Corografia*, p. 34; Weinholtz, *Memória*, pp. 27, 49, 55–56, 59–60; Geraldino Brites, *Febres infecciosas: notas sobre o concelho de Loulé* (Lisbon, 1914), pp. 136, 183–188; M.F. do Estanco Louro, *O Livro de Alportel. Monografia de uma freguesia rural-concelho* (Lisbon, 1928–1929; repr., São Brás de Alportel, 1986), pp. 132, 142, 169, 418–427; Léon Poinard, “Le Portugal incunnu”, *La Science sociale*, 2, fasc. 67–68 (March–April 1910), pp. 131–142; Paul Descamps, *Le Portugal. La vie sociale actuelle* (Paris, 1935), pp. 167–179.

44. *O Algarve* (Faro), 19 May 1912, p. 3; see also *O Algarve*, 29 June 1913, p. 3, for a report on the return of harvesters from the Alentejo.

45. Brites, *Febres infecciosas*, p. 136.

laborers who usually went “to nearby places of the Kingdom of Spain to work in rural works [...] staying there until the time of the harvests”.⁴⁶ It is difficult to measure the total number of people involved in this seasonal migration. Since the 1860s there is evidence in Faro’s passport requests’ books of teams of men going to the Andalusian harvests. As mentioned before, changes in migration policies and the replacement of passports for safe-conducts granted by local authorities, make the movement difficult to trace, especially after 1878. The fortunate preservation of some of the safe-conduct register books for the *concelho* of Loulé allows us to present some of the characteristics of that movement at the local level. Loulé, a rural county located at the heart of the Algarve, was one of the main areas of origin of this labor migration.⁴⁷

The authorities of the *concelho* of Loulé granted passes to cross the Portuguese–Spanish frontier to an annual average of 652 people between 1906 and 1914, and 1,065 people between 1925 and 1928. During some years, the numbers of migrants surpassed 1,000, reaching almost 2,000 in 1928. These were also years of large transatlantic emigration. Thus during the periods of increasing overseas emigration from the Algarve as a whole, and Loulé in particular, the numbers of medium-distance migrants to Spain also increased. Likewise when overseas emigration decreased in 1914, so did the flow of labor migrants to Spain, showing the changing conditions in the international situation as a result of the beginning of World War I.

The evolution of the number of safe-conducts in Loulé shows that emigration to Spain during the first decades of the twentieth century was primarily a seasonal movement. The bulk of the safe-conducts to go to the harvests in the cereal fields of Andalusia were requested during the spring, and particularly during the month of May. According to the monthly distribution of passes, migrations in 1913, 1914, 1927, and 1928, presented exceptions to this pattern. While May had the largest number of applications for safe-conducts, a significant number was also requested during the autumn and winter months (September, October, January, and February). This distribution might have been related to an increased emigration of workers to the mines of the province of Huelva.

Although a small number of women – generally accompanying their husbands – also asked for safe-conducts, temporary emigration to Spain was a path taken mainly by the young men of the *concelho*. Their occupational profile shows that they were primarily young small farmers and rural workers, especially heads of households in their twenties, who sought a complement to their incomes in the high salaries paid in the harvests in

46. Letter from the Provisional Prefect of the Algarve, 24 February 1835, Arquivo do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (Lisbon), *caixa* 945.

47. *Registo de salvo-conductos*, 1906–1928, and *Certidões, guias de trânsito, termos de abonação, salvo-conductos*, 1909, 1910, 1919, 1921, Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Loulé [hereafter, AHML], Administração do Concelho.

Table 2. *Safe-conducts from the concelho of Loulé, 1906–1928 (percentages)*

Month	1906–1914	1925–1928
January	3.8	7.9
February	0.9	7.0
March	1.7	0.8
April	3.9	21.9
May	62.9	52.8
June	3.9	3.4
July	2.8	1.3
August	4.1	0.04
September	10.4	0.9
October	1.9	1.4
November	1.2	1.3
December	2.3	1.3
(Total)	(5,867)	(4,266)

Source: *Registo de salvo-conductos*, 1906–1928, Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Loulé, Administração do Concelho.

Andalusia.⁴⁸ Regarding their destination in Spain, these emigrants went to the cereal fields of the province of Huelva, Cádiz, and Seville, particularly to the countryside of Huelva, Trigueros, Gibraleón, and Cartaya (Huelva); Bornos, Jerez de la Frontera, Medina Sidonia, and Chiclana de la Frontera (Cádiz); and Seville, Utrera, and El Coronil (Seville).

The harvests took place during the months of June and July. Although the latifundist structure of the Andalusian provinces provided a large number of landless workers, they were not enough during the busy harvest months.⁴⁹ Algarvian workers took advantage of that opportunity for seasonal work at a higher pay.⁵⁰ Local workers sometimes complained of the massive presence of Portuguese harvesters, who deprived them of the only opportunity during the year to bargain for better salaries. But the need for har-

48. Taking the case of the safe-conducts holders from the parish of Boliqueime, in Loulé, 98.8 per cent of the safe-conduct holders were men; more than 74 per cent were between 15 and 34 years old, a large proportion of whom were in their twenties (43 per cent). The average age was 28.81 years. The majority of these men were married (56.2 per cent married, 42.7 per cent single, and 1 per cent widowers). Almost all of them are listed as *trabalhadores* (as explained before, this is a mixed category of small farmer and rural worker or peasant-worker).

49. The following paragraphs are based on Temma Kaplan, *Anarchists of Andalusia, 1868–1903* (Princeton, NJ, 1977), mainly chs 1 and 7; Michel Drain, *Les campagnes de la Province de Séville. Espace agricole et société rurale* (Lille [etc.], 1977), 2 vols, particularly vol. 2, pp. 640–667; and Jerome R. Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington, IN, 1994), pp. 17–19, 47–61, 147, 167.

50. It is interesting to note that workers from the Alentejo also went to the harvests in Andalusia. Given the fact that the Alentejo itself was in need of harvesters – as the migration of Algarvians shows – this dynamic is not easy to explain. Perhaps, the answer resides in wage differences, geographical proximity, and the harvesting cycles in both regions.

vesters largely surpassed the local offer of labor, and so local authorities encouraged their presence. About 10,000 workers were employed for the harvests in the countryside of Jerez de la Frontera at the end of the nineteenth century. Approximately half of them came from the area of Jerez and the rest from the hill towns, the province of Huelva, and Portugal. In 1883, the British consul in Jerez estimated at more than 2,000 the number of Portuguese workers present near the town.⁵¹ The fields of Seville employed between 5,500 and 7,000 agricultural workers from outside the province during the first decades of this century.⁵²

Harvest migration was not an individual activity but a collective endeavor. The migrant groups were composed of contract laborers organized under the direction of a foreman or *manajeiro*. The number of workers who emigrated with each *manajeiro* varied. For example, José Coelho Cinco Reis and Francisco da Ponte, two *manajeiros* from the parish of Boliqueime, were very active recruiting emigrants in the *concelho* of Loulé for the Spanish harvests in the 1910s and 1920s. Coelho emigrated with twenty-seven workers in 1914, thirty-seven in 1923, and twenty-eight in 1928. Pontes took forty-eight workers in 1914, thirty-nine in 1923, and twenty-four in 1925. Although the majority of these migrants were from the same parish of Boliqueime, workers from other nearby parishes were also part of the groups. Since the majority of the migrant workers were reservists subject to military duty, the *manajeiros* were also their warrantors, assuming responsibility before the local authorities that the workers would return to their villages after the expiration of the safe-conducts.⁵³

These teams of harvesters were hired to work *a destajo*, that is on piecework. As other European cases show, task wages seemed to have been preferred over time wages among seasonal laborers.⁵⁴ Jerome Mintz describes the characteristics of this labor arrangement among the harvesters in the Andalusian province of Cádiz:

A price was set by the owner [...] and then a team of workers reaped the wheat as fast as they were able. Working *a destajo*, a reaper could harvest a wheat field a fanega in size (1.6 acres) in 2½ days to 3 days, depending on the yield [...]. The faster the work was accomplished, the sooner the reaper earned his pay and could go on to the next job.⁵⁵

Thus during the harvest months team of harvesters moved from estate to estate, trying to harvest as much as their strength would allow, to earn more

51. Kaplan, *Anarchists of Andalusia*, p. 150.

52. Drain, *Les campagnes de la province de Séville*, p. 663.

53. *Registo de salvo-conductos*, 1906–1928, and *Termos de fiança e responsabilidade*, 1923–1925, AHML, Administração do concelho.

54. Jan Lucassen, “The Other Proletarians: Seasonal Laborers, Mercenaries and Miners”, *International Review of Social History*, 39 (1994, Supplement 2), pp. 171–194.

55. Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas*, pp. 50–51.

money. They worked together in the fields during the day and slept in the same fields at night. Food rations were provided by the landowners as part of their wages.

Harvest migration to the Alentejo was organized following similar arrangements. Seasonal work in the wheat fields of the Alentejo attracted groups of migrants from the Algarve, as well as from central and northern Portugal. They formed the so-called *ranchos migratorios* or *quadrilhas*, laboring gangs supervised by a *manajeiro*.⁵⁶ During the month of April, just before the harvest season, foremen visited the agricultural centers of the Alentejo to evaluate the state of the upcoming harvests and contract the services of their teams with the landowners. In the Algarve, they hired groups of men who left the villages around the middle of May. The harvesters walked their way up to the fields of the Alentejo and back. Their journey proceeded by steps, working in several estates on their way to the area around the city of Beja. It was a collective task. The men slept together in the fields, taking shelter in a hayloft when it rained, and shared their meals from a common pot, for which each of them had to take a spoon from home. Since much of the harvest was done on a piecework basis (*empreitada*), the team of harvesters worked with little rest day after day.

Southern Spain and the Alentejo also attracted emigrants from the Algarve to work in the mines. The people from the interior of the Algarve participated in this labor migration. Migrants combined temporary wage labor in the mines with their farming activity. For example, Geraldino Brites stressed the importance of the emigration to the mines of the Alentejo and Spain among the peasant-workers of the concelho of Loulé at the beginning of this century. Since mining was a regular part of the annual activities for many of these villagers, Brites considered that although they were farmers in their villages, they should also be considered miners.⁵⁷ This combination was not unique to the Algarve. In other regions of Europe, mining emerged as a complement to regular agricultural work.⁵⁸ Even though mining, unlike agriculture, was not a seasonal activity, it was common for Algarvians to emigrate seasonally to work in the mines, mainly during the winter. In the

56. Orlando Ribeiro, *Geografia de Portugal*, vol. 5 of Manuel de Terán (ed.), *Geografia de España y Portugal*, (Barcelona, 1955), pp. 232–240, and *idem*, “Deslocamentos da população em Portugal”, *Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa*, (1940–1941), pp. 318–325; Poinard, “Le Portugal inconnu”, pp. 171, 179–180; Descamps, *Le Portugal*, pp. 190–191, 197–199. Leite de Vasconcellos describes the organization of migratory *ranchos* of northerners in the Alentejo. See J. Leite de Vasconcellos, *Etnografia portuguesa. Tentamente de sistematização* (Lisbon, 1967), 5, pp. 657–664. See also, José da Silva Picão, *Através dos campos* (Lisbon, 1983; orig. 1903), pp. 225–245. A first-person account in M. Viegas Guerreiro, “Tradição oral e identidade cultural regional. Textos de camponeses de Querença”, in *O Algarve na perspectiva da Antropologia Ecológica* (Lisbon, 1989), pp. 301–304. A similar account is presented by Cristiana Bastos for the case of the northeastern Algarve in Bastos, *Os montes do nordeste algarvio* (Lisbon, 1993), pp. 89–93.

57. Brites, *Febres infecciosas*, pp. 135, 186.

58. Lucassen, “Other Proletarians”, especially pp. 186–190.

case of emigration to Spain, the slight increase during some years in the number of safe-conducts issued by the administration of the *concelho* of Loulé during the months of September, January, and February, was certainly related to this labor migration.⁵⁹

The main mining destination in Andalusia was Río Tinto, in the province of Huelva, bordering the Algarve.⁶⁰ The copper mines of the area of Río Tinto, known since ancient times, had been exploited with diverse success since the eighteenth century. But the definitive take-off in mining production took place after 1873, when the Spanish government sold the mines to a group of British entrepreneurs who formed the Río Tinto Company Limited. As a result of increased mining activity, Río Tinto became a center of growing labor demand. Portuguese migrants soon became an important part of the labor force of the mines. Although there was a small stream of migrants from northern Portugal, especially from the province of Trás-os-Montes, the majority of the Portuguese workers came from the south. The largest number – almost ninety per cent – was from the Algarve.⁶¹ Proximity played an important part in this migratory movement. As Gil Varón puts it: “men had only to cross the Guadiana through Ayamonte and walk 60 km to Huelva to take the train up to the mines, and so we find plenty of Portuguese from S. Brás, Loulé, Tavira, and other villages in the Algarve”.⁶² The *concelho* of Loulé was one of the most important areas of origin, accounting for more than fifty-seven per cent of the Algarvian workers in Río Tinto.⁶³

It is possible to identify two main periods of arrival of Portuguese migrants into the mines, which coincided with increased mining production. The first one was the decade of 1882–1892, when the mining installations were being constructed. And the second one was from 1905 to 1914,

59. According to the applications for reservist soldiers' guarantees to leave the country filed in the *concelho* of Loulé, in 1911, 1912, and 1919, several emigrants were going to Spain during the months of January, September, and December to work in the mines. See *Termos de fiança e responsabilidade*, 1911 and 1912, AHML, Administração do Concelho; Registo de termo de abonação, 1919, AHML, Câmara Municipal de Loulé.

60. The following discussion on Río Tinto and its immigrant population is based on David Avery, *Not on Queen Victoria's Birthday: The Story of the Río Tinto Mines* (London, 1974); Miguel González Vilchez, *El muelle de Riotinto* (Huelva, 1978); Luis Gil Varón, *Migration and Development: A Migration Model for Río Tinto (1877–1887)* (Córdoba, 1981), and *idem*, “Migración portuguesa a las minas de Río Tinto”, in *III Coloquio Ibérico de Geografía. Barcelona, 27 Septiembre–2 Octubre, 1983. Acta, ponencias y comunicaciones* (Barcelona, 1984), pp. 322–329; Rosario Marquez Macías and Pablo Tornero Tinajero, “Minería, población y sociedad en la Provincia de Huelva (1840–1900)”, in *Huelva en su historia. Miscelánea histórica* (Huelva, 1986), 1, pp. 379–413.

61. Luis Gil Varón, who has studied the migration population of Río Tinto, estimates that more than 86 per cent of the Portuguese migrants were from the Algarve, 7.9 per cent from the Alentejo, 3.9 per cent from Trás-os-Montes, 1.4 per cent from Minho and Douro, etc. See Gil Varón, *Migration and Development*, and “Migración portuguesa”.

62. Gil Varón, *Migration and Development*, p. 74.

63. Gil Varón, “Migración portuguesa”, p. 326.

extending from the beginnings of the largest open-pit exploitation in Spain to the reduction of the market as a consequence of the onset of World War I. Some years attracted sizable numbers of new Portuguese workers, especially 1909 (120), 1912 (240), 1913 (151), and 1920 (235). The large number of Portuguese workers who joined the labor force of the mines in 1920 did so in the middle of a six-month strike, one of the worst strikes in Río Tinto history.⁶⁴

For many Portuguese migrants work in the Río Tinto mines was temporary. About one-quarter of them stayed in the mines for a year (8.7 per cent) or less (15 per cent). This proportion was higher than in the case of the working population as a whole (14.9 per cent). In some cases, work in the mines was combined with seasonal work in the cereal harvests. According to Gil Varón, it was commonly thought in Río Tinto that the majority of the Portuguese workers arrived there after the harvests and worked in the mines during the winter to go back again to the fields during the next harvest season. The majority of the personnel files state that Portuguese workers came “from the countryside”.⁶⁵ A significant number, however, stayed at the mines for longer periods. More than a half of the Portuguese miners stayed in Río Tinto between two and fifteen years (22 per cent between two and five years; 21.5 per cent between six and fifteen years). As a result of a more prolonged migration, and unlike the seasonally-based harvest migration, emigration to the Río Tinto mines was not so overwhelmingly male-dominated. Although the majority of the migrants were men, there was also family migration. The mines also provided abundant work opportunities for women and children, so family members could be an additional source of income.⁶⁶

In the Alentejo, the main mining destinations for Algarvian migrants were Aljustrel and São Domingos (Beja). These copper mines were exploited from the second half of the nineteenth century by foreign companies – a Belgian company and a British company respectively. The mining activities employed numerous workers, giving rise to prosperous towns which attracted migrants from other regions, particularly from the Algarve. Some 1,300 miners were working in Aljustrel at the end of the nineteenth century.⁶⁷ The mines of Lousal (near Azinheira dos Barros, Grândola), also attracted migrant workers from the Algarve.⁶⁸

64. Gil Varón, *Migration and Development*, pp. 143–144, 163–164; and “Migración portuguesa”, p. 324.

65. Gil Varón, “Migración portuguesa”, pp. 328–329.

66. Gil Varón, *Migration and Development*, pp. 23–24, 54. In his study of the Algarvian parish of São Brás de Alportel, Estanco Louro noted that the *Sambrazenses* who emigrated to work in the mines of Andalusia stayed there for longer periods than those who went to the Alentejo, and some even settled there permanently. Louro, *O Livro de Alportel*, p. 130.

67. *Algarve e Alentejo* (Faro), 26 March 1898.

68. Evidence of migration to these mines in *Róis dos Confessados*, 1909, 1910, and 1912, Arquivo da Paróquia de São Sebastião de Boliqueime; Recenseamentos militares (aos 20 anos), Concelho de Faro, 1900–1909, 1911–1914, Arquivo Histórico Municipal de Faro; *Livros de recenseamento*

Algarvians also participated in other flows of seasonal migration. For example, the cutting of palm and esparto in southern Spain; the rice harvest in the basin of the Sado river, south of Lisbon; cork cutting in the Alentejo and in other regions of central and southern Portugal; etc. Of these flows, internal migration for cork extraction was the most important one. Two main aspects were associated to this movement. On the one hand, groups of temporary workers migrated every year to the regions of Alentejo, Beira Baixa, Santarém, and Castelo Branco to engage in cork extraction; on the other hand, Algarvian cork dealers and industrialists who had rights to exploit cork groves on leased lands of those regions, left every year to oversee work during the cutting season. The product was brought back to the Algarve for processing. Cork dealers and workers left their villages at the end of May or the beginning of June, and returned during August and September. A secondary movement of internal migration also grew out of cork production. Due to differential advantages in transportation and access to markets, industrialists and workers from cork-processing centers of the Algarve, such as Silves and São Brás de Alportel, migrated to the industrial area that emerged at the turn of the century around Barreiro, Montijo, Alhos Vedros, and other cities on the southern bank of the Tagus river, across from Lisbon.⁶⁹

There are references to the seasonal migration for cork extraction in the internal passport request books of the *concelho* of Loulé since the 1830s, but this movement was certainly older.⁷⁰ The regional newspapers reported every year the departure of large numbers of cork workers and dealers, as well as their return after the cork extraction season was over.⁷¹ Cork workers from some parishes of Loulé – mainly Almansil – and the neighboring parishes of Santa Bárbara de Nexe (Faro) and São Brás de Alportel, were very active in this seasonal migration. Along with cereal harvesting and mining, this was another path used by workers and small farmers during the summer months to complement their resources. It is hard to measure the total number of Algarvian farmers involved in these flows of labor migration but the proportion was certainly high. For example, in 1902 it was estimated that some 2,000 men from the parish of São Brás de Alportel (with a total population of approximately 11,100 people in 1900) were

militar aos 20 anos, 1917–1930, Arquivo Municipal de São Brás de Alportel. *Ecos do Sul*, 26 October 1912, and 12 July 1913. For information about these mines and mining activities in the Alentejo, see Poinard, “Le Portugal inconnu”, pp. 214–222; Descamps, *Le Portugal*, pp. 286–296; Paulo Guimarães, *Crónica da ordem pública, 1867–1932* (Aljustrel, 1984).

69. For a study of the process of industrialization and migration in this region, see Maria Alfreda Cruz, *A margem sul do estuário do Tejo. Factores e formas de organização do espaço* (Montijo, 1973).

70. *Livros de Registo de Passaportes*, 1810–1820, 1833–1835, 1845–1864, AHML, Câmara Municipal de Loulé.

71. See, for example, *O Algarvio* (Loulé), 27 March 1892; 5 June 1892; 28 August 1892; 25 September 1892. *Ecos do Sul* (São Brás de Alportel), 17 August 1912, p. 3; 31 May 1913, p. 3; 7 June 1913, p. 2. *O Herald* (Faro), 1 June 1912, p. 3; 7 June 1913, p. 3; 13 June 1914, p. 3.

working outside the parish in these three main types of temporary labor migration (harvesting, mining, and cork extraction).⁷²

From the eighteenth century, Algarvian fishermen, rural workers, farmers, and artisans developed strategies that allowed them to complement their resources at home with temporary and seasonal migrations to other Portuguese regions, Gibraltar, and southern Spain. In the case of labor migration to Spain, the beginning of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, and the resulting insecurity to mobility, brought this movement to a halt. The 1930s, however, witnessed the heyday of another flow of medium-distance labor migration which, since the late nineteenth century, linked the Algarve to Morocco. During the years 1930–1935, emigration to Africa amounted to twenty-six per cent of the passports granted in the Algarve; Morocco was the main destination. Two distinct flows of emigration from the Algarve to Morocco developed. One of them was composed mainly of masons, carpenters, and other qualified workers, as well as small farmers and rural workers; the other flow was composed of maritime workers and women who emigrated to work in the dynamic fish-canning industry which developed in Morocco after World War I, and for which labor was largely supplied by the Algarve. A great part of this medium-distance emigration was clandestine and, therefore unrepresented in the passport requests' books. The proximity between the Algarve and the coast of northern Africa, the accessibility of Morocco by sea and the long tradition of Algarvian fishing in this area permitted the use of small boats for the clandestine transportation of emigrants.⁷³

This long tradition of internal and international medium-distance labor migration made temporary migration a common strategy for household reproduction in the Algarve and provided Algarvian migrants with valuable experience that influenced their participation in the flows of transatlantic migration.

THE ALGARVE AND THE ATLANTIC MIGRATION SYSTEM

The last quarter of the nineteenth century should be considered as a time of transition, a period when old and new patterns of emigration coexisted in the Algarve. Until the 1880s, most Algarvian emigrants followed the familiar trails of the "Portuguese–Hispanic–Moroccan" world, as they had in past centuries, especially in the form of temporary migration to the Alentejo and southern Spain, which continued into the twentieth century. However,

72. *Algarve e Alentejo* (Faro), 8 June 1902.

73. Ministério do Interior, *Comissariado General dos Serviços de Emigração, Boletim de Emigração*, II, 1–4 (January–December 1930), pp. 19–20; *O Sul* (Faro), 1 August 1915; *O Algarve* (Faro), 4 April 1921; "A emigração algarvia para Marrocos", *Vida Algarvia* (Faro), 21 July 1929, p. 1; Cavaco, "Migrações internacionais", pp. 62, 64–78.

during the last quarter of the 1800s, new overseas destinations began to attract increasing numbers of Algarvians, with important emigration peaks in the years 1908–1913, and particularly during the 1920s. Additionally, the increasing numbers of Algarvians going to Morocco during the 1920s and 1930s and the beginning of emigration to France, show that old paths of medium-distance migration were rediscovered and gained new importance, and that new ones began to emerge.

During the late nineteenth century, Algarvian migrants began to participate in the Atlantic migration system which connected Europe and the Americas during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁷⁴ Algarvians joined the circuits of transatlantic migration with distinctive patterns regarding destinations. Brazil was the principal destination overseas for the emigrants from the rest of continental Portugal. The Atlantic islands developed migratory flows which connected the Azores with the United States, and Madeira with British Guiana, the Antilles, and later with South Africa and Venezuela. But Brazil was also a significant destination for the islanders as well. In the case of migrants from the Algarve, even though Portuguese Africa, Brazil, and the United States attracted migrants going overseas, Argentina emerged as the preferred destination, especially during the first half of the twentieth century (see Table 1).

If dominant, emigration to Argentina was not exclusive. There were also variations over time in the destinations of Algarvian emigrants. Brazil and the Portuguese colonies in Africa – especially Angola – were the main overseas destinations during the late nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, while Argentina occupied the third place, followed by the United States. Emigration from the Algarve to Brazil was rather stable from 1900 to 1930. But its overall significance dropped dramatically: from 43.3 per cent in 1900–1909 to 13.3 per cent in 1920–1929, and 6 per cent in 1930–1935. In the case of emigration to the United States, Algarvian emigration represented about 7 per cent during the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century. The importance of this destination grew during the 1910s, reaching 17.1 per cent of the emigrants. The restrictive migratory measures taken by the United States during the 1920s affected this movement and emigration decreased to 7.4 per cent in 1920–1929 and 3.3 per cent in 1930–1935.

By contrast, beginning in 1909, Argentina emerged as the principal destination for Algarvian overseas migration and its importance grew steadily during the following decades, going from 23.9 per cent in 1900–1909 to 59.7 per cent in 1920–1929. It was the dominant destination with the exception of the World War I years. During the 1930s, emigration to Argentina decreased – following the general decrease of overseas international

74. For an overview of the “Atlantic migration system” and its historical and geographical context, see Hoerder, “Migration in the Atlantic Economies”.

migrations during those years – but it still represented 36.3 per cent of Algarvian emigration for the period 1930–1935. For some particular years, the share of Argentina among the destinations of Algarvian emigrants was even higher. For example, it reached 75 per cent in 1910, and 63.4 per cent in 1925.⁷⁵

There were important variations in the distribution of the Algarvian emigrants by occupation over time and according to their destinations during the first half the twentieth century (see Table 3). The presence of maritime workers among the emigrants, which was so important during the second half of the nineteenth century, was still of importance during the first two decades of this century, but decreased after 1920. Other occupational groups grew considerably, such as the masons and stone masons. The most remarkable feature of Algarvian emigration during this period, however, was the growing emigration of farmers and rural workers that dominated long-distance and overseas emigration during the entire period. According to Faro's passport requests' books, Algarvian small farmers and rural workers were the dominant emigrant group during peak emigration years, such as 1925 or 1930.

The occupational profile of the Algarvian overseas emigrants also varied according to destination. For example, emigration from the Algarve to Brazil during this period was composed of one-third of maritime workers, a similar proportion of small farmers and rural workers, followed by artisans, commercial employees, and merchants. Maritime workers also formed the most important occupational group among the Algarvian emigrants going to Angola, Mozambique, and other Portuguese colonies in Africa, along with some merchants. Seamen were also very important among the Algarvian emigrants who went to the United States. The migration of maritime workers was for the most part temporary. Algarvian fishermen engaged in seasonal migrations lasting from six to nine months, in the United States, Angola, and Brazil.⁷⁶ On the other hand, maritime workers were almost absent among the Algarvian emigrants to Argentina. Farmers and rural workers dominated the latter, along with a significant number of masons, stone masons, and carpenters.

Differences in labor markets, immigrants' skills, and social networks combined to shape these diverse migratory flows. The influence of the latter becomes clear when one considers the spatial distribution of Algarvian emigration at the local level. Migratory networks rooted in primary social links at the local level connected specific towns and parishes with particular desti-

75. This analysis is based on the data provided by the passport requests' books for the Algarve, which for this period includes mostly overseas emigration. We should remember that the important migratory flow to Spain became exempt from passports after 1878 and, therefore, it is not considered in this distribution.

76. Cavaco, "Migrações internacionais", p. 51. They also participated in cod-fishing campaigns in Newfoundland, especially fishermen from the town of Fuzeta (Olhão).

nations abroad. For example, emigrants from Ferragudo and Estombar (Lagoa), on the western coast, went mainly to the cities of Manaus and Rio de Janeiro in Brazil; emigrants from Olhão, on the eastern coast, showed a preference for New York, Provincetown, and other ports on the Atlantic coast of the United States, and also for Angola and Brazil. In the inland parishes, the majority of the emigrants from São Brás de Alportel went to Buenos Aires and later to the Patagonian city of Comodoro Rivadavia, in Argentina, to San Francisco, in the United States, and to a lesser extent to Rio de Janeiro. Also in the interior, emigrants from Loulé went mainly to Buenos Aires, and to the Brazilian cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. These examples illustrate how social networks linked migrants to specific migratory flows.

Transatlantic labor migration emerged as an extension of previous migratory practices and used the experience as well as the knowledge and resources acquired with them. There were important continuities between the two migration systems. More than a drastic change of previous patterns, overseas emigration from the Algarve was a modification of existing patterns. Several scholars have noted the continuities between seasonal migration within Europe and transatlantic emigration.⁷⁷ As Leslie Page Moch has observed, in Europe “the proliferation of migration streams and choices of destination was not a difference in kind from past movement; it was rather a difference in distance traveled”.⁷⁸ Likewise, in the case of the Algarve, emigration overseas in general, and to Argentina in particular, appeared at the end of the nineteenth century as an alternative to and in the context of the long-established flows of internal and international medium-distance migration.

Thus rural Algarvians who traditionally had used migration to the Alentejo and southern Spain as a common strategy to complement their resources, at the turn of the century extended their circuits of labor migration overseas. Similarly, Algarvian fishermen who had worked in southern Spain, Morocco, and the coast of central Portugal, enlarged their seasonal destinations to include Angola, Brazil, and the east coast of the United States. Emigration overseas began as a temporary strategy for rural Algarvians as well. Given the distance and the resources involved, the main difference was that these labor migrants stayed abroad for longer periods of time. These connections were clear for contemporary observers. As an Algarvian newspaper observed in 1912, in an editorial opposing attempts to restrict the growing emigration from rural Algarve:

There is no real emigration in the Algarve. There are instead temporary absences,

77. Moch, *Moving Europeans*, “Dividing Time” and “The European Perspective”; Lucassen and Lucassen, “Migration, Migration History, History”; Hoerder, “Migration in the Atlantic Economies”; Dino Cinel, “The Seasonal Emigration of Italians in the Nineteenth Century”, *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 10 (1982), pp. 43–58.

78. Moch, “The European Perspective”, p. 132.

Table 3. *Emigration from the Algarve by occupations, 1834–1945 (percentages)*

(a) Men (14 years and older)

Years	Rural workers/ farmers	Artisans/ skilled workers	Seamen	Muleteers	Merchants	Professionals	Others	Unknown	(Number)
1834–1850	16.8	10.7	20.4	5.6	20.9	7.1	11.4	7.1	(196)
1851–1870	36.2	17.4	15.9	0.3	8.5	1.8	8.9	12.0	(667)
1875	11.9	2.8	80.2	—	2.9	—	1.4	0.8	(278)
1880	34.8	17.5	23.9	—	13.0	—	2.2	6.5	(45)
1885	4.8	1.2	89.5	—	1.2	—	0.4	2.9	(1044)
1890	48.3	13.5	19.1	—	12.4	—	3.4	1.1	(89)
1895	24.1	16.2	24.1	—	23.0	—	10.3	1.1	(87)
1900	15.8	27.7	33.3	—	15.1	1.6	6.3	—	(126)
1905	21.8	12.5	52.6	—	9.9	0.5	2.1	0.5	(192)
1910	61.3	26.4	5.2	—	3.0	0.2	2.5	1.2	(592)
1915	33.3	6.0	54.3	—	2.4	—	3.3	0.8	(245)
1919	50.1	12.6	11.9	—	17.0	2.4	5.7	0.3	(335)
1925	80.5	4.2	0.9	—	10.0	1.6	2.7	—	(689)
1930	74.1	16.8	1.7	—	4.3	—	3.1	—	(704)
1935	72.0	14.6	3.5	—	2.5	—	7.1	—	(197)
1940	78.5	17.4	0.6	—	0.6	—	2.9	—	(172)
1945	60.6	25.8	0.6	—	5.8	—	6.4	0.6	(155)

(b) Women (14 years and older)

Years	Houseworkers	Seamstresses	Servants	Teachers	Factory workers	Others	Unknown	(Number)
1834–1850	—	2.4	—	—	—	4.8	92.8	(42)
1851–1870	—	—	1.1	—	—	—	98.9	(611)
1875	—	—	1.7	—	—	—	98.3	(60)
1880	—	—	—	—	—	—	100.0	(76)
1885	—	—	0.9	—	—	—	99.1	(114)
1890	—	—	—	—	—	—	100.0	(23)
1895	—	—	—	—	—	—	100.0	(35)
1900	3.8	—	3.8	—	—	—	92.3	(26)
1905	15.8	5.3	—	—	—	—	78.9	(19)
1910	71.8	2.6	—	—	—	—	25.6	(39)
1915	84.1	—	—	—	—	2.3	13.6	(44)
1919	82.3	0.7	1.4	1.4	—	7.1	7.1	(141)
1925	97.6	—	1.6	—	—	0.8	—	(123)
1930	78.0	1.1	—	—	20.7	0.3	—	(363)
1935	90.6	—	—	0.8	1.6	7.0	—	(128)
1940	97.9	—	—	—	—	2.0	—	(49)
1945	98.1	—	—	—	—	—	1.9	(52)

Source: *Livros de Registo de Passaportes*, 1834–1945, Arquivo Distrital de Faro, Fundo Governo Civil.

ranging from four to six years, enough time for the *trabalhador* and small *proprietário* to acquire some money to put their lives in order [...]. Once that is obtained, they return to their homes to cultivate their lands working at the same time in the properties of the well-to-do for wages.⁷⁹

The remittances sent by migrants from abroad were a concrete benefit of this labor migration and, at the same time, acted as examples of the possibilities waiting beyond the Atlantic for potential emigrants. Money earned by labor migrants in Argentina and other European and transatlantic destinations became an important asset for the reproduction of rural households throughout the Algarve. In years of international crisis, such as during World War I, when emigration decreased, the irregularity of these remittances contributed to worsen the situation of many Algarvian households. “Money?” – lamented an Algarvian newspaper in 1915 – “[...] One cannot even rely on that [money] which used to come from Argentina, because those who are still there working without rest do not send it [...] because they do not have it either.”⁸⁰

The port of Gibraltar, traditional medium-distance destination for Algarvian migrants, also played a central role in the transition from the first to the second migration system. Before the completion of the railroad connection between the Algarve and Lisbon during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Gibraltar was the leading port of emigration for Algarvian migrants. Even though Lisbon soon surpassed it as the main port of departure, Gibraltar remained important for both legal and clandestine emigration from the Algarve. Small ships connected Gibraltar with Faro, Tavira, Olhão, Vila Real, and other Algarvian ports on a regular basis, providing an accessible route for illegal departures. In 1897, the newspaper *Algarve e Alentejo* noted the importance of this connection as a source of a clandestine flow of overseas migrants from the Algarve that escaped emigration statistics, adding: “The regular navigation from this coast to the first ports of the Mediterranean, mainly Gibraltar, has helped the increased departure of vigorous hands. This has been occurring for a long time as if it were a perfectly regular movement.”⁸¹ The port of Gibraltar was used by migrants from the coast and the rural interior alike. For example, at the turn of the century, it became the main point of clandestine departure used by Algarvian migrants to go for temporary fishing to the United States. As a result, the local authorities of the port of Olhão sought to control – and tax – this emigration by granting safe-conducts.⁸² Around the same time, Ferreira Neto, Algarvian representative in the Portuguese parliament, noted

79. *Ecos do Sul* (São Brás de Alportel), 26 October 1912, p. 1.

80. *O Sul* (Faro), 15 August 1915, p. 1.

81. *Algarve e Alentejo* (Faro), 4 April 1897, p. 1.

82. Copy of the letter from Fabre, Orey, Antunes e Cia. to the Minister of the Interior, sent to the Civil Governor of Faro, 24 October 1911, ADF, Governo Civil, *caixa* 20, *maço* 2.

the comparative economic advantages of clandestine emigration from the port of Gibraltar to Argentina, a movement dominated by rural workers and farmers from the inland parishes.⁸³

For the majority of Algarvian migrants the years of large overseas emigration meant emigration to Argentina – especially for those from rural Algarve. This movement was the result of modification and adaptation of existing patterns of labor migration. Several factors intervened in the formation and consolidation of this migratory flow: the attraction of the labor markets; the existence of differential economic opportunities, and the increased knowledge about them; changes in transatlantic transportation; open and welcoming migratory policies; as well as the development of migratory networks with its flows of people, information, and remittances, among others. Algarvians became the largest regional group among Portuguese emigrants to Argentina. They represented approximately one-third of the Portuguese flow from 1914 to 1955. In Argentina, Algarvian migrants successfully adapted to a variety of regional and local circumstances. In some localities, they created ethnic economic niches that provided opportunities for a continuous stream of labor migrants from the Algarve and, in turn, gave way to permanent settlements and the formation of ethnic communities. This was the case, for example, of the Algarvian migrants who engaged in commerce and transportation in the city of Buenos Aires, flower gardening in the province of Buenos Aires, and petroleum production in the oil fields of Chubut, in Patagonia.⁸⁴

Emigration to Argentina peaked during the 1910s and 1920s, which marked the heyday of Algarvian emigration overseas (see Table 4). The harvests of the Argentine Pampas offered opportunities for these migrants. Many of them stayed for a number of years, went back to Portugal, and in some cases traveled back and forth several times. Work in the countryside of Argentina was not the only activity of the Algarvian migrants. Agricultural work combined with a myriad of other activities in the countryside as well as in the urban centers, especially in Buenos Aires, in the rural and suburban centers around it, and in Patagonia. In the latter, Algarvian migrants became one of the most important foreign groups working in the oil fields around the city of Comodoro Rivadavia (Chubut). This mining and industrial area also became a center of temporary, multi-year, migration for hundreds of Algarvian farmers and rural workers. As it was common in the southern Iberian migration system, agriculture and mining were combined here, although in this case across the Atlantic and usually including longer absences.

83. *O Distrito de Faro* (Faro), 10 October 1908, p. 1. This movement was certainly well established by then. See examples of emigration from Estoi and Loulé departing from Gibraltar in *O Futuro* (Olhão), 28 March 1897, p. 1, and *Algarve e Alentejo* (Faro), 23 August 1896, p. 2.

84. The description of Portuguese and Algarvian immigration in Argentina is based on Borges, "Portuguese in Two Worlds", chs 4–7.

Table 4. *Emigration from the Algarve by decade according to published data, 1886–1959*

Period	Emigrants
1886–1889	654
1890–1899	1,757
1900–1909	2,422
1910–1919	6,325
1920–1929 ^a	10,681
1930–1939	5,221
1940–1949	2,506
1950–1959	7,720
Total	37,286

^a There is no available information for 1922.

Sources: *Anuario Estatístico* (Lisbon, 1884–1886, 1892, 1900, 1921, 1923–1924, 1925–1950); *Movimento da População* (Lisbon, 1887, 1889–1896, 1909–1921); *Emigração Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1901–1912); F.G. Cassola Ribeiro, *Emigração portuguesa. Algumas características dominantes dos movimentos no período de 1950 a 1984* (Oporto, 1986).

After some time, the movement diversified itself with the establishment of families, the migration of women and children, and the consequent creation of Algarvian immigrant communities. Thus, labor migration evolved into family and settlement migration. Taking Algarvian emigration overseas as a whole, one can observe that men predominated among the emigrants from the beginning of overseas migration in the late 1800s until the 1930s, when the presence of migrant women began to grow. The emigration of women and children to join their husbands and fathers already established abroad played a major part during those decades, thus explaining the changes in the sex composition.⁸⁵ As in the case of the occupational background of the emigrants, the sex composition changed not only over time but it also varied among the different flows of emigration to the different destinations. Generally, men predominated among the emigrants at the beginning of a particular flow of emigration, and women and children became more numerous as – and if – the early emigrants began to settle in their destinations. During periods of international crises, such as World War I, family reunification made up a great part of the decreased migratory movement, increasing the proportion of women among the emigrants (their proportion rose to 37.4 per cent in the period 1914–1918).

Male labor migration to Argentina, however, did not disappear with the

85. The evolution of female migrants as a percentage of total Algarvian emigration is as follows: 1886–1889, 29.6 per cent; 1900–1909, 18.5 per cent; 1910–1919, 21.6 per cent; 1920–1929, 15.5 per cent; 1930–1935, 40 per cent; 1943–1950, 45 per cent. Calculations are based on the following published statistics: *Anuario estatístico* (Lisbon, 1884–1886, 1892, 1900, 1921, 1923–1924, 1925–1950); *Movimento da população* (Lisbon, 1887, 1889–1896, 1909–1921); *Emigração portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1901–1912).

beginning of family migration. Both migratory flows coexisted. In many cases, they were two steps of a larger movement: first, the migration of the men of the family; after some time, and even, after several trips across the Atlantic, the emigration of the rest of the family, or the formation of a new family and the emigration of the migrant's wife. During the late 1940s, however, Argentina restricted the possibilities of sending remittances out of the country and, with it, contributed to the end of the strategy of male labor migration. This caused some labor migrants to call their families and settle in Argentina, while others decided to return. The 1950s witnessed a resurgence of Algarvian emigration to Argentina based mainly on family sponsorship and family reunification.

While economic instability in Argentina was growing, other destinations began to attract Algarvian and Portuguese emigrants in general. The booming petroleum economy of Venezuela appeared as a promising destination for a while. But the movement soon turned northward. As other migrants from southern Europe, Algarvian migrants began to participate in the post-war European migration system, centered in France and other countries of northern Europe.⁸⁶ Using both legal and clandestine circuits, this system dominated Algarvian and Portuguese emigration from the 1950s to the 1970s. Algarvian migrants were able to apply the experience of over two centuries of labor migration to new circumstances.

CONCLUSION

From the eighteenth century to the mid-1900s, Algarvians developed strategies of labor migration that linked them to specific labor markets in other regions and countries. The recurrence of these circuits of labor migration over time formed distinctive migration systems. Algarvian migrants participated in those systems along with other Portuguese and European migrants. A southern Iberian migration system, characterized by temporary and seasonal migration for fishing, harvesting, and mining, connected Algarvian migrants with Gibraltar, southern Spain, other Portuguese regions, and later with Morocco. This system attracted Algarvian migrants from the eighteenth century until the first decades of the twentieth century. It was dominant until the end of the nineteenth century, when Algarvian migrants

86. For an overview of Portuguese emigration to northern Europe, especially to France, see Serrão, *A emigração portuguesa*. See also Carlos Almeida and António Barreto, *Capitalismo e emigração em Portugal* (Lisbon, 1970); Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade, *Immigrés portugais. Observation psychosociologique d'un groupe de portugais dans la banlieue parisienne (Orsay)* (Lisbon, 1973), and *idem*, (ed.), *Estudos sobre a emigração portuguesa* (Lisbon, 1981); Caroline Brettell and Colette Callier-Boisvert, "Portuguese Immigrants in France: Familial and Social Networks and the Structuring of 'Community'", *Studi Emigrazione*, 14, 46 (June 1977), pp. 149–203; Thomas Bruneau, Victor M.P. Da Rosa, and Alex Macleod (eds), *Portugal in Development: Emigration, Industrialization, the European Community* (Ottawa, 1984).

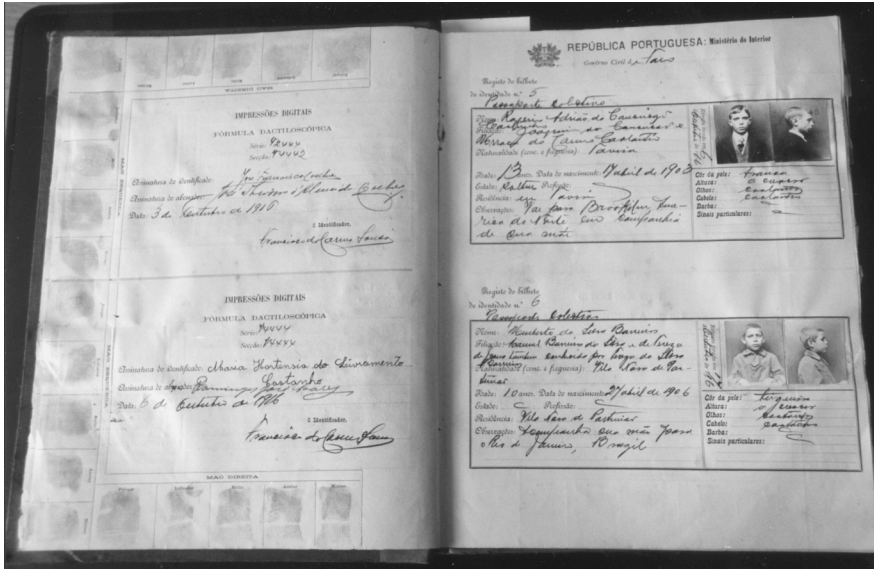


Figure 3. Collective passports, 1916. *Bilhetes de identidade/passaportes colectivos*, 1916–1921; examples showing children joining their fathers abroad. *Arquivo Distrital de Faro, Governo Civil* (call number: GC 144). Courtesy Dr João Sabóia, director of the *Arquivo Distrital de Faro*.

began to participate in a broader system of European transatlantic migration. The Portuguese colonies in Africa, Brazil, Argentina, and the United States, drew in different flows of Algarvian migrants based on the possibilities of the labor markets, differential migrants' skills, and the development of social networks. Considering the region as a whole, Argentina became the main overseas destination. The two systems coexisted but the transatlantic system eventually replaced the southern Iberian system as the dominant one and remained so until the mid-1900s. When the transatlantic migration system declined in the 1950s, Algarvian migrants joined other Portuguese and southern European migrants in an emerging migratory system which linked them to the labor markets of northern Europe.

By applying a systems approach to the historical study of migration in the Algarve, this article has examined how regional patterns of migration were part of broader patterns of supra-regional and international migration. Recurrent patterns formed identifiable migration systems which emerged, developed, and ended over time. Further, this regional study has provided us with a privileged vantage point to explore how historical migration systems overlapped and emerging systems were connected with existing ones. As the case of the Algarve shows, this connection is crucial to understand the development of transatlantic emigration from Europe during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the case of southern Europe, this long-term, systemic approach might also prove useful to examine the post-World-War-II transition from transatlantic emigration to emigration to northern Europe.

Migration does not occur in a vacuum, nor is it a spontaneous phenomenon. People build migration paths on previous traditions, using past experiences and the useful information gained from them. Thus Algarvian participation in the transatlantic migration system, which began during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, did not represent a complete break with earlier migratory movements. Algarvian overseas migrants were migrant workers for whom the labor markets of Argentina, Brazil, and the United States emerged as an option in the context of previous and existing strategies of labor migration. This transition was possible as a result of cheaper transportation, encouraging or tolerant migratory policies, labor demands, differential salaries, and primary contacts at both sides of the Atlantic which provided information and assistance. Transatlantic migratory flows also began as temporary movements, that is as an extension of existing migratory strategies. Due to the initial investment and the distance involved, however, Algarvian migrants stayed overseas for longer periods. Migrations back and forth between the Algarve and various destinations overseas were also common. With time, temporary labor migration gave way to permanent settlement and family migration. In short, Algarvian participation in the transatlantic migration system emerged in the context of, and was influ-

enced by, a long tradition of migration within the southern Iberian migration system.

This analysis emphasizes continuity and adaptability but it does not negate change. Disruption occurred and new patterns emerged, affecting the migrants, the communities of origin, and the immigrant communities (for example, from labor to family migration, or from temporary movements to permanent settlement). Change, however, was gradual rather than radical, and happened within a general background of continuity and adaptation.