

IMMIGRANT CITY ARCHIVES
Lawrence, Massachusetts

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Interviewer: Joan Kelley
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SIDE 1.

- I. This is an oral history for the Lawrence History Center, Immigrant City Archives and Museum. The interviewer is Joan Kelley. The narrator is Estelle Saab. We're doing this interview December 11, 2004 and we're at Estelle's home in Lawrence. Estelle, would you introduce yourself please?
- N. Yes, I'm Estelle Saab and I live here at 40 Norris Street and I've always been a Lawrence resident.
- I. Okay, Estelle what is your maiden name?
- N. Cardoza.
- I. And you're Portuguese both sides of...?
- N. Yes, my mother's name was Santos and my father's was Cardoza, Portuguese both...
- I. Your mother's name was Santos, S-A-N...?
- N. T-O-S.
- I. T-O-S and your father's?
- N. Cardoza.
- I. C-A-R-D-O-Z-A.

N. Yes.

I. All right and we're going to concentrate this morning on the Portuguese church and the Portuguese community. Let's back track to your parents. Were your parents both immigrants?

N. Yes.

I. Okay, can you tell me a little bit about them?

N. Yes, my mother came here about two years old and when she got to America, mother died. So she was put in an orphanage and brought up in an orphanage for 11 years in St. Mary's Orphanage on Maple Street. And my father came over - he was about 26 - as a merchant sailor to New Bedford and then decided to stay in America.

I. So he came from New Bedford to Lawrence?

N. Yes he did.

I. Now when he got to Lawrence what did he do?

N. He was a mason. He worked for Keegan Bros., the contractors.

I. So you were in St. Mary's Orphanage for 11 years and after the 11 years what happened?

N. My mother was put to work. She got a stepmother. Father remarried and he took the children - he had five children in that orphanage, in St. Mary's Orphanage. And he took them out and he put them all to work because in those days - the stepmother did rather, I guess - and in those days they would put them in at 12 years old because they were all big people, you know and they would take them to work, sure.

I. They went into mills to work?

N. Yes, yes.

I. Now of the five of you, where are you in line?

N. The last [laughter] I'm the baby.

I. You're the baby of the family.

N. Yes.

- I. Okay because I know we have a tape with your oldest – is it your oldest sister?
- N. Yes, that's my oldest.
- I. And her name is?
- N. Ezilda – that's what her name was when she did the tape – Ezilda Murphy was her name. She was married a second time to an Irishman because she was married twice.
- I. Now you have been telling me that you always went to Saint Peter and Paul's Church. Now, when did it close?
- N. It just closed now in...
- I. Was it the end of – I'm guessing – the end....
- N. Yes, about that: the end of October.
- I. The end of October? So it's been closed approximately six weeks?
- N. That's about all.
- I. Yes, so wounds are still very fresh?
- N. Yes.
- I. With all the church closings. Now I know there was a ceremony... before we get to that, let's establish where the church was, is, the building itself is still standing.
- N. Yes it is – on Chestnut Street. It's been there ever since I was a child.
- I. Between Lawrence and is it – it's before Short Street?
- N. Yes, it is, yes. We're caught in between there. Across from that playground, that big playground across the street – that Lawrence playground, that newly built one.
- I. Now what did you do for a closing ceremony?
- N. Well they had a parade where they marched with all the saints. They took them to the Holy Rosary that they were going to keep and that was the extent of it. We just all went – I didn't go in the procession but those that wanted to carry the statues that they wanted to put into Holy Rosary carried it down and they made a procession to the church.

- I. Now who picked and chose what statues would be kept?
- N. The people who were on the committees and you know the elderly. I shouldn't say elderly – I'm elderly but – you know, older people and they're the ones that walked and carried them like the Blessed Mother of Fatima is a beautiful statue and they did take it with them to the Holy Rosary. And they took Sts. Peter and Paul and they have it up on the altar.
- I. At Holy Rosary?
- N. Holy Rosary.
- I. And Fatima, of course, is in Portugal?
- N. Yes. That's very...
- I. So they took three statues?
- N. Yes, as far as I know that's all that was in the parade. The rest of them I don't know if they're still at the church, or somebody else got them.
- I. Now where is Our Lady of Fatima in Holy Rosary right now?
- N. As soon as you come in from the ramp on the side of – there's a ramp on Common Street: the ramp there goes up. Yes, Common Street there is a ramp and it's right at the – as soon as you get up to the top of the ramp it's to your left-hand side.
- I. Now going back to all your years at Sts. Peter and Paul's Church, did you have Masses in Portuguese?
- N. They had the – well years when I was very, very young – seven, maybe nine the most – they had Portuguese priests and they would say one Mass in Portuguese and they would always say one in English even if he had to struggle with the English language, they got it out. We always had one and one. The early Mass in English and the late – the big 11:00 Mass was in Portuguese for the Portuguese-speaking people there.
- I. Do you remember which one was the busier Mass?
- N. Well, it was pretty even. We had the Irish priests that came to say Masses from St. Mary's. We had Fr. Lamond for years and years. See I was brought up with Fr. Lamond more than any other priest. Because for a while they couldn't get Portuguese priests, then they got Fr. Lima come from the Old Country. And they had him – that's the one I remember the most quite a few years until he died.

- I. And where did he come from?
- N. He came from the Azores, from where I don't know.
- I. Do you remember what order he was or where he was stationed?
- N. He was what they call secular.
- I. Oh, all right, okay. So he didn't belong to a Portuguese order?
- N. No, no, no, he just came to this country and he was secular and they took him. They hired him because they needed a Portuguese priest. They always had Portuguese priests more or less over the years but I just don't remember them all because like I said I always attended the English-speaking Mass which we were really run by St. Mary's Parish that they would send over. So I would say I was more of a parishioner during Fr. Lamond's, John Lamond. He married me too.
- I. I was just – you're ahead me. I was going to ask you who married you. So you probably got to know him very well?
- N. Oh, yes.
- I. I can still picture him.
- N. Fr. Lamond, God bless him.
- I. Now did you have any special feast days, holidays associated with the Portuguese community in the church, with the church?
- N. Yes, the Holy Ghost Societies. That's the crown and – I don't know if you've ever seen it on parade in silver. It's all made of silver and a little gold and they always celebrated the Holy Ghost since I was a child and had parades. And we had the Feast Sundays – Trinity? Holy Trinity Sunday? What was the other one? There's another one too.
- I. Do you remember the dates on the calendar for any of these?
- N. I don't know. No. But Holy Trinity Sunday was one of them because that was the small crown and they had a big crown. Different islands in Portugal represented the big Holy Ghost crown and some represented small crowns depending where you came from in Portugal.
- I. Where did your parade go from?
- N. You'd go from the Portuguese club headquarters across from the Playstead...

I. On Saratoga Street?

N. Yes, Saratoga Street, yes. And they would go to the church and that's where you'd organize the parade and then that's where you'd go back later after the parade for banquets. They'd have a banquet on that Holy Trinity Sunday.

I. And the banquet would be at the?

N. Club.

I. At the club.

N. Yes.

I. And the club is still alive and well and functioning?

N. Oh yes. That's the only thing that's really still functioning because they closed the church so there's no place – they gather there, everybody gathers back – I've been a member of the Ladies Council since I was 16 years old and I'm 80 today, so that's a long time. We used to have dances, school dances, you know, when you were school age and everything there.

I. Everything there. Okay, I'm – I think I need a little clarification. I'm getting the feeling that the church and the club are pretty much united? Is that right?

N. Yes.

I. Okay did the church own the club or was it a private?

N. No, it was separately.

I. Was it private?

N. We were Portuguese-American Civic League. We belonged to a league of the State of Massachusetts. In fact in the State House we had a – what was his name, now I don't remember his name – Mr. Andrews. His name was Andrews. His last name was Andrews and he was a statesman and that's how we had the State – we used to really have a State club. That club, PACA, that's a State-run club. It's run by Taunton and all those different cities that have a lot of Portuguese-speaking people – they're all united into one club.

I. Now did the church itself have its own hall or any?

N. A basement hall, the basement of the church we'd have a hall.

I. And what was that one used for?

- N. Well, Sunday School plus it was for little social things like Penny Socials or those types of gatherings. Otherwise we used to go for dances and stuff at the club.
- I. Yes, it's a big hall.
- N. Yes, it's a big hall.
- I. Okay, now does – looking ahead – does the big hall shall we call it – does it look as though it's stable and will be around for a while?
- N. Oh yes, it's all renovated. These people that come from Portugal now are very, very ambitious – you know old timers. They like to work. They fixed it up beautiful up there and they rent it out too to people that want it. Downstairs they run a bar during the week all week long from Sunday to Sunday and that's where they make their...
- I. Their money.
- N. Money.
- I. Well back to the church and you say the Sunday School was down below the church. Who ran the Sunday School?
- N. Well, at the end, now, we had Roche that they sent from – not Fr. Roche – like a worker – what do you call those workers now? Because I worked at the Sunday Schools for 15 years.
- I. A lay person?
- N. Yes, but he wasn't a lay person. They send them from the – the priests, you know, they had priests there. Like, what do you call – you don't call them lay persons?
- I. It was...?
- N. It was a person but he was trained to be a helper. He used to help at the Masses plus he used to...
- I. A Deacon?
- N. Yes, a Deacon. Thank you. I'm 80 years old and it's showing.
- I. And I'm searching.

- N. I'm searching my brain, yes, that's what he was: very, very nice fellow. He was there. Just left now because we moved to the Holy Rosary and he didn't come with the – the archdiocese didn't appoint him to be there because at the Holy Rosary they've got a salary woman that works as the head of religious.
- I. Oh, now did he run the classes with helpers or?
- N. Yes, we were all helpers. I worked there, like I said, almost 14, 15 years I think.
- I. Now in the last few years – have you been working there right up until recently?
- N. Yes.
- I. How many children were going through the program?
- N. Oh, I'd say about 100.
- I. From grades?
- N. We used to have kindergarten and then we'd go all the way up until they confirmed themselves. If they wanted to come back, they could still. There was always an after-Confirmation Sunday School but they'd always go right to the end until they got confirmed.
- I. And how old were they when they were confirmed?
- N. I think they left our church at 13, 14 years old.
- I. And the Confirmations were in the church?
- N. No, in St. Mary's. We'd go – we'd be confirmed because it was a small church so they didn't come. We'd go wherever the – I would say who was confirming them at that time. If they were coming to St. Mary's you would join in with the St. Mary's.
- I. Join in with them.
- N. We always sort of – when I was younger and I was – we always sort of worked into together with St. Mary's because remember all your funds and all your money for years from Sts. Peter and Paul's went to St. Mary's Parish.
- I. And funneled that through?
- N. Yes, I don't know how they funneled it but wherever the...
- I. What did they call them, Mission Churches?

- N. Yes, that's right. We were part of St. Mary's really that way on the finance.
- I. But eventually it became an independent church?
- N. Yes, yes, well it started as one and then we had to go join in with them, I guess, as money became tight. Some priests ran away with – that story I heard when I was a child so it's too much to even grasp – but some priests took the money and went away with it and then we became part of St. Mary's. All the years that I was at Sts. Peter and Paul's growing up it was St. Mary's – the nuns and priests there.
- I. And what was the function of the nuns at Sts. Peter and Paul's?
- N. They'd come to teach Sunday School. They'd take over Sunday School. In those days it was nuns that had to teach it. We had about three or four nuns that would come every Sunday from St. Mary's. I was taught by the nuns that came to our church for Sunday School.
- I. From St. Mary's?
- N. Yes, from St. Mary's.
- I. Now you started to say something about the new people coming in. Is there an influx of Portuguese people coming into this area?
- N. There is right now and they do feel separate from us and maybe I – there isn't many of me left – I mean people of my age category and – that have been in the church that long but they kind of push – pull away from you. They wanted a little different, you know, they want that Portuguese-speaking thing. If you don't have that Portuguese – see we didn't – for years we didn't care we had American priests and it didn't bother us the Portuguese that were here already. You know what I'm trying to say – and the ones that are coming now, it has bothered them and they've been bringing – trying very hard to get that Portuguese influx or whatever you want to call it – strong again, you know? They don't like it not to be – they wanted it to be known that way. Like last night we had a Christmas party at the Windsor there and it was supposed to be Portuguese-American Civic League party but it was really more Portuguese-speaking people than there was – there was only about three of my people from my time there. That's how bad it has gotten. It's really very strongly Portuguese, the ones in our group.
- I. Now when was the last time that they had a Portuguese-speaking priest at Sts. Peter and Paul's?
- N. Well, we had this Fr. Sylvia just left. But he got transferred to Peabody because of this changeover with the...

- I. And how long ago was that?
- N. It's about – it's a year now or better.
- I. Now how – would Fr. Sylvia say all the Masses on Sunday?
- N. He would try. He went to Portugal and learned but he was an American-born boy but he went to Portugal too and took a year over there learning the Portuguese language and everything and then came back and became – in fact, he's stationed now in Peabody which is a very Portuguese-speaking town, you know, lots of Portuguese people there. And that's where he is. They took him from us and they gave him to Peabody. Everybody was all angry. What could you do? You have to go along with it. You have to go along with whatever they tell us, you know.
- I. I guess that's true. Now you say there's this new group of people who want to keep the Portuguese language and probably not unlike two generations ago and where have they gone with the consolidation of the churches in Lawrence?
- N. Where have they gone?
- I. Yes. Are they going to Holy Rosary?
- N. Yes, supposedly that's going to be our church, Corpus Christi they call it now.
- I. What is it?
- N. Corpus or Corpus?
- I. Corpus Christi Parish.
- N. Yes.
- I. Which combines what: Holy Rosary, Holy Trinity and Sts. Peter and Paul's - Holy Trinity being the Polish church and Holy Rosary being the Italian church?
- N. Yes. And the Holy Trinity they tell us, they were very angry when they didn't want to leave the Portuguese open and they kept – They were very friendly people. I love the Holy Trinity people, in fact. But they were angry with them because they said they would be able to have a Mass but actually it turned out that that Mass is only supposedly for your school.
- I. What is it a youth Mass on Sunday night?
- N. Yes, yes.
- I. I suppose anybody can go to it?

- N. Oh, yes, they wouldn't put you out of there but that's the idea of it.
- I. But it probably would have guitar music and that kind.
- N. I don't know. I have Father – I have very good friends there. He's here now from Lawrence. He is a Lawrence boy. He was there as a priest right now the last time I went there. His mother and his sister go to the hairdresser I go, Barbara. She works with me. You know my memory is not that good. You probably know them, too. The priest is here.
- I. Was this the Pastor?
- N. Yes, he's here right now.
- I. Salach?
- N. Yes, yes. His mom and sister go with – they used to live right down here in Prospect Hill – the mother and sister for years. And that's where I met him through the mother and sister. But he goes there yet. I don't know if they're going to change him. Somebody said that he's got to move. I don't know. I don't know. And they've got two old priests, the retired priests that live there all the time.
- I. But they have had their school, the Holy Trinity School.
- N. The Holy Trinity, right.
- I. And Sts. Peter's has never had a...?
- N. Never.
- I. Never had a parochial school?
- N. No, no. This is a poor parish, I would say, as the years – all the years that I was in it, it was not a big prosperous parish. It was just a parish but not like you had your school at Holy Trinity and all things that – we never had that. We always more or less, my schooling that I got in religion was from St. Mary's nuns.
- I. Coming over to...?
- N. Coming over.
- I. Yes.

- N. They would come after the Mass, they would be there. And then we had – when we had to be confirmed and communion, we had to go to St. Mary’s school after school hours like two to three days a week or so and we would have the nuns there in the classrooms there. That’s how we survived. I mean it was a poor – I would say a poor parish as far as money-wise but religiously they were...
- I. Now you were telling me a little story about going to St. Mary’s. Would you like to repeat it for the tape?
- N. You mean the one about being thrown out?
- I. Sure.
- N. I don’t know. Well, it was true. It’s not a lie.
- I. It’s history.
- N. Yes. Eileen was shocked. Okay, well one day we all lived at the corner of Bradford and Concord Street and we decided – it was a Lebanese girl, myself – Portuguese and an Irish girl. And she went in first to the confessional and he confessed her all right. Then when he got to the little Lebanese girl in there, Margaret _____ and Margaret _____ and he said to her, “Where’d you come from?” You know how they open their little slot and they kind of see you a little better so. “Where’d you come from?” And she said to him, “My mother goes to St. Joseph’s Church down the street.” He said, “Well, you turn around and go right back out.” He said, “That’s where you belong for confession.” So when I went in I said, “Let’s see if he says the same thing to me.” He did the same thing to me. But, of course, you know you don’t look Irish that’s for sure. So he said, “You! Where did you come from? St. Joseph’s too?” I said, “No Father, I come from Sts. Peter’s and Paul’s’ and they don’t have confession on Saturday afternoon.” “They don’t?” he said. “Well, I’ll confess you but you’re the second one in here today. When you go out there, you tell them no more.” That’s exactly what he said to me. Exact words.
- I. You must have felt terrible?
- N. I was puzzled by the whole thing because we had gone there to confession other times but just luckily we didn’t get fussy priests, you know.
- I. Where were you supposed to go?
- N. I was supposed to walk all the way up Lawrence Street to Sts. Peter and Paul’s. I don’t even remember if they had confession in the afternoon because there weren’t that many activities there. But that’s where I should have gone but I didn’t go. It was right there. St. Mary’s is here, right? And I lived at the corner of Concord. Bradford Street was right there. It looks like a little road right there.

The Donahues – I don't know if you ever remember them – all of them lived in there. And O'Connor – Jerry O'Connor the police officer: there were a lot of Irish people along there, too.

I. Right.

N. Jim Caffreys – we lived right around all those people. We had no trouble getting along but when it came to things like that – churches and...

I. I think you just hit a bad...

N. A bad type of priest.

I. Crabby. All right, going back to the people who went to Sts. Peter and Paul's, at a Sunday Mass over the years, was it primarily Portuguese people who went there?

N. No, that whole you know that's - Chestnut street had big, big blocks there – blocks of houses, a whole strip of them. There was the D'Agostinos, Matt D'Agostino, his brother, Richard. Oh, all kinds of – all that family more or less – that were all related to each other. They lived in those blocks. And they all came to church there every Sunday just like we did – as faithful as Portuguese they were.

I. So you had a large contingent of Italian (multiple conversations).

N. They used to join us because – it made sense. I mean they just crossed over there to go to church.

I. Just crossed the street, right.

N. So it was Catholic. We did blend in with them a long time. In fact, Gigi just stopped singing at our church about two or three years ago but she moved. She's related to....

I. I know who you mean.

N. Yes, Matt. She related – they're all related to each other that group, yes and Gigi.

I. I can't think of her last name but she had been my neighbor. Now when urban renewal took many of the houses around the church, did it have any impact on the numbers of people who went there?

N. I believe so, yes. It did drop quite a bit. Then there were a few blocks – like there was – right next to the church – I call them blocks but they're tenements actually. Well they always remained Portuguese for years and years and I think they still

have Portuguese people in there. It's right next to the church, that block is still up. They were not taken down. The only ones they really took down were across the street and that's where that playground was built.

I. Okay.

N. Yes, that's why we lost a lot of parishioners then. But, still, Matt and his brother, the D'Agostinos and them – they did have them when we had the church open – they used to have their masses for their dead, you know, their family. Always there, they always came there at some time or other all the time.

I. Now when the church was at full force shall we say, at its peak, was it ever packed?

N. Yes, during – when I was there, I would say during the time of Fr. Lamond, he'd get a very good turnout.

I. Now are we talking the '40's, the '50's, the '60's?

N. I graduated from Lawrence High in '42. It must have been the late '30's and '40's and I would say the '40's. The '40's and '50's I would say.

I. Because at a certain point, Fr. Lamond got involved with the Hispanic people who were coming into...

N. Yes, he tried to do it in the lot over there, yes he did. But after him, we had – you know we had one – Fr. Conroy, we had him. And Fr. McCusker was my – the years that I was bringing up Joyce and Nancy up in Ferris Wood Street, Fr. McCusker was the parish priest. He was a very, very nice man. He didn't distinguish – Fr. Lamond kind of always distinguished the Irish from the Portuguese factor, you know what I mean? He always put that distinguish to it but that – not cruelly but always there was that distinction.

I. Did any of the Irish ever go to your church?

N. No, only his parents. Oh, well excuse me –

I. Only whose parents?

N. Fr. Lamond's mother and his sister.

I. Used to come to see – because he was there?

N. Yes, because he was there. But who was the other priest, I was just going to say – Fr. – there was Fr. Lamond but the other priest too that was not Portuguese but he was very active. Well Fr. McCusker came there too. He had a lot of following of

Portuguese people. We had – for years we had to keep that church going. We had to have Irish from St. Mary's. They had to send the pastor. We didn't have a pastor until we got Fr. Lima. They sent for him.

I. When did he come?

N. He came and moved up to St. Monica's. I'd say he was in the – Joyce was already married when he approached. In the '50's – I'd say the late '40's right through the '50's. He was a very nice man. He died up in Merrimack College there.

I. Oh, with the retired priests' home up there?

N. Yes.

I. Was there anything special about your Mass that had a little Portuguese flavor to it other than saying it in the Portuguese language or?

N. Not really, no. Not that I recall. I didn't attend any that were strictly Portuguese-speaking. I always went to the...

I. You went to the English-speaking...?

N. They always had one American priest - call it your American Mass fellow I always went to that one.

I. Okay did you have a social after church on Sunday – in your church basement?

N. No, they didn't no. Once in a great while if it was some special saints or something we might go down and have a lunch or something but not regularly, no. Because that was where Sunday School used to be. See, you'd go down there to have your Sunday School.

I. Okay and Sunday School was held on Sunday.

N. Yes, so everybody...

I. Not after school when we had it.

N. Oh, I had to, too. No, that's – I taught Sunday School there right up to last – until this year but they closed down. I like to be with children. I'm a first grade school teacher, I think. That's maybe why my two girls...

I. Well, it sounds as though you've worked in schools, you have a daughter who is a teacher so I guess you know what you're doing. What grade did you teach for Sunday School?

N. In Sunday School? I taught fourth grade.

END OF SIDE 1.

BEGINNING OF SIDE 2.

N. Americanized Portuguese less now in the parish that I go to anyhow. It's all coming in from different countries – from Azores Islands more or less. That's where they're coming from, not the mainland and that's – they all come to our church somehow or other. They gravitate to that church even though they don't live in Lawrence, you know, Massachusetts. They live out in New Hampshire now, the majority. They've all got homes. It's a different type of people that come than used to come years ago. Years ago they came without funds or money to buy homes and stuff. Now they come prosperous already. They don't really come here to seek, you know, dwell like years ago.

I. So they're coming and just – they're going out into the suburbs and they're buying?

N. Buying. They're all in like New Hampshire, more or less, Methuen some but that's where they are.

I. Okay, now have any of them chosen to go to the Portuguese church in Lowell since the church has closed?

N. Some have they tell me, yes, some have. There is some missing from our group that still go to Corpus Christi Holy Rosary. They still –

I. Yes, because I guess there's still an active church in Lowell?

N. Lowell and Peabody, too. That's where they took Fr. Al to Peabody.

I. Because Peabody is a bit of a hike.

N. Yes, that's where he went to but there's a lot there. I had aunts there, a lot. All those streets was like being in Portugal even when I was a kid. It was all Portuguese people. Still. Lot of Portuguese still is religious. They sell religious items. Lawrence was always the one with the less of the Portuguese people. They came – some that lived in Methuen and stuff but there wasn't that many Methuen people. There was – New Hampshire some. Now they come here but then they no sooner here a while they go and live out in Methuen, New

Hampshire. They buy homes, you know? They're more prosperous, I think, the ones at this time in life, I don't know.

- I. Okay, now you were talking about Portuguese stores. Let's start with you. Do you cook Portuguese food?
- N. No, very little, very little. I cook American, not much Lebanese because I haven't got the flavor for it. He hasn't too much either though. We eat more or less – the only thing I cook similar to Portuguese people would be a boiled dinner, you know. They use the smoked shoulder. I think the Irish even use that smoked shoulder and the corn beef.
- I. Sometimes, yes.
- N. Pig's feet and things like that. That's the only thing that I used to call Portuguese cooking. I never really – and soups, lot of soups.
- I. Do you do the soups?
- N. Yes, the kale soup and the one they call "Fouse." It looks like little hairs.
- I. Spell.
- N. I don't know what it would be in American. It's like a grass – I call it grass. When I was a kid I'd say, "Ma, you're going to make grass soup?"
- I. And do you make this now?
- N. No, I don't. No, I don't. He doesn't like it.
- I. Okay, now do you make kale soup?
- N. Sometimes, yes.
- I. And how do you make it?
- N. Well, it's like a cabbage soup only instead of the cabbage you use the kale. The recipe with the potatoes and the little beans like a little bean goes in it, a white bean – I don't know what you'd call the bean now. I know when I see the things I buy it but I don't really make it that much, he being Lebanese and I being another nationality. We don't because I don't eat Lebanese and he doesn't really. He likes it but not that much.
- I. But what do you flavor your kale soup with?
- N. Oh, use the – like a little clove thing, yes.

- I. Not garlic?
- N. Well, sometimes. Oh, Portuguese is just like Italian in that sense. They use a little garlic in everything.
- I. In everything.
- N. Like for Christmas we marinate pork in garlic. That's a Portuguese dish in all houses that you go and you bake that in the oven and serve it like little "butts" they call them. They are a little "butt" when they're cut into little bite size. You serve those Christmas Eve when they come back from church. Imagine we used to eat that. We'd be sick to our stomachs and wonder why. The next morning you'd come home from midnight Mass and you'd all sit down to that – well she'd make French fries with hers – my mother – because everybody liked French fries but that's what we had – that and the Portuguese bread which is similar to Italian bread.
- I. It's a little sweeter, isn't it sometimes?
- N. Yes, yes, a little.
- I. And do you do the pork now?
- N. Yes that I do. He likes that. I take it up to Joyce's. They eat it up there. All my other nieces and nephews: they all gather there because she's got a big, big Federal home. He had bought her a beautiful home before he died. She had all that stuff. They did good the two of them, God bless them, together but to lose him is worse than doing good, I think, you know. Financially they did. It's sad. Both my girls – I go with my niece to God because the country's been good to them and they both married well. Nancy too – the one that Paul was very friendly with – she married well, too, very well.
- I. Are there any other Portuguese foods that you eat for Christmas?
- N. No, that's that. No.
- I. No sweets or?
- N. Oh, yes, we eat sweet bread. We eat – "Massa's father" they call it – sweet bread. You wouldn't get that in the store. It's like a round boule. You get it even up at Christmas Tree Shop, you know and they can even, you can even toast it. They get some that look like a big, big muffin. I don't know if you've seen it in the stores. Well, you can buy that. They buy it. They buy it a lot at the Christmas Tree Shops.

- I. And it's just called "sweet bread?"
- N. Sweet bread. You put it right in the – like you would an the English muffin only it's big. I mean you eat one half of it and it's like having two little small ones. That's what I eat more of – that and, like I said, a boiled dinner. We'd always have boiled dinners. My mother was – see my mother coming here at two years old, it took her time to learn and then her mother dying.
- I. So she was more Americanized?
- N. Yes, she was brought up in the Irish orphanage on Maple Street there. So she really – she was very Americanized but yet she knew enough Portuguese that she used to help the ones that weren't Americanized. Go to courts with them and some of them have trouble with their husbands drinking and they'd take her to court and she'd talk with them and all foolish things like that.
- I. And you speak Portuguese but you don't...?
- N. I don't read or write it.
- I. You don't read or write it. And where did you learn to speak your Portuguese?
- N. At home more or less and by associating in the church and the clubs.
- I. Did you have lessons, formal lessons?
- N. No, I never did. That sister that reported with you people before did. She's the only one that was really – see when my mother had her she was almost nine years old before my mother had the other three and she was really all Portuguese. In fact, she just was – she was smarter than my mother in the Portuguese because she was interested in learning and she had married. Her first marriage he died but he was Portuguese just like her. In fact, he lived over in Portugal until he was nine years old. She was married to a man named Alfred Silva.
- I. Now we've been talking about the Portuguese people. Am I correct in assuming that virtually all the Lawrence Portuguese people, then and now, are from the Azores?
- N. The majority.
- I. Yes.
- N. The majority came from there.
- I. Is there any reason for that or?

- N. Well just because they had people here and people sent for each other, you know. I don't know whether – well, the mills, too. A lot of work.
- I. Well, yes. But I'm just thinking as opposed to people from the mainland coming here. You don't hear about it as much.
- N. No, no. See my father was much more educated than my mother because he was educated in Lisbon and Lisbon was – his family more or less – that's where they worked and that's where he was born. And his mother was Spanish. She was not a Portuguese lady. She had come over from Madrid and was living in Lisbon as a young girl.
- I. Oh.
- N. And she was a Spanish lady.
- I. So you have a little Spanish there?
- N. Yes. [Laughter] slightly but she was. She did have Spanish.
- I. Now were there ever Portuguese stores in Lawrence for food that you can remember?
- N. Yes, my own brother had. He was across from the A&P. Charlie Cardoza's Market.
- I. Where was that?
- N. Right across from the A&P on Amesbury Street. There used to be a...
- I. Amesbury and Valley?
- N. Yes.
- I. Okay, I remember that.
- N. Across the street and there was a big, big block – a lot of houses and his store was under that block. And there was a lot of Portuguese. I forget how many tenements there: 14 or 15 of them. They were all Portuguese. It was like being in Portugal. You'd go out in the back porch.
- I. This was on Valley Street?
- N. Yes. The address was Valley Street, 40.
- I. And what were his specialties?

- N. What were their specialties? Well, of course, they liked boiled dinners but I don't know if that's Portuguese.
- I. But what did he sell?
- N. Oh him? My brother? Everything. He sold everything just like – what really put him out of business was the A&P when it came there because he was just a butcher. He was a butcher. When he came from the service that's when he became a butcher student on Lawrence Street. There was a lady they used to call "Mary" that had a store on Lawrence Street – a meat market – and he would just learn in her store.
- I. But he didn't sell Portuguese specialty foods?
- N. Just linguica – sausages, that's all. I never knew of anything else that was really...
- I. Did he make the sausages?
- N. He didn't make it but other places like Cabral's and Cambridge and different places.
- I. That's L-I-N-G-U-I-C? C?
- N. Yes there's a C. C-U, no. Linguica: I don't think there's a C there. It goes U-A. I'm not too sure.
- I. Okay but we're close?
- N. Yes, we're close. We've got a good four or five of them.
- I. Okay and they're hot sausages, aren't they?
- N. Yes, some are hot, some aren't. You can get the mild and the hot now. They have another one they call chourico and it's thicker and it's shorter. It's maybe like that and that's very spicy.
- I. Can you spell it?
- N. [Laughter] can I spell it?
- I. Is it C-H?
- N. C-H-O-U-R-I-A and it's very spicy. People use it for – if you like something that's a little peppery, you know and they do it a lot in their boiled dinners. I've

used it myself. When we used to use a lot of smoked shoulders in the old days. I don't know if now they use it as much. I don't use it no more but we used to boil our smoked shoulder, get the salt out of it and then afterwards you'd put a hunk of chourico in there and it would make it peppery.

I. Oh.

N. It was tasty. It was a boiled dinner with cabbage and carrots and potatoes and everything but that's how I used it. That's the only two sausages. Then they had one they called like a blood pudding they used to call it and it was sour. I hated it. When my mother bought that I used to hate it. It looked like a blood pudding. It was black.

I. Okay and was that Portuguese too?

N. Yes, yes, Portuguese. Actually that's the only thing that I would call real Portuguese was that kind of food or your pork butts. It was the way they marinated this stuff. They used the meats and stuff like everybody else but it was more or less their seasonings that they put into their food that made it different. The meats would have a different flavor but it was normally meats that everybody used. It wasn't, you know, so different. I think other nationalities have a lot more like the Lebanese people, very different. You know.

I. Very.

N. You have to get accustomed to their...

I. Completely different line of spices.

N. And to me that was – his mother didn't like me because of that. I could tell her face and get real angry with me. But that's the idea. That's something I can't say the Portuguese did too different outside of that sausage. That's all I remember, anyhow. My mother didn't – and the soups, the kale soup and the Fouse, it was like grass.

I. Do we know how to spell "Fouse?"

N. Fouse? No I don't.

I. You don't. Okay. Well, thank you very much for the Lawrence History Center. This has been very enlightening.

END OF SIDE 2.