

FESTAS DO ESPÍRITO SANTO

Irmandade do Divino Espírito Santo da Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosário “Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit of our Lady of the Rosary”,
Providence, Rhode Island

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The interviewee	<p>Frank Fernandes father, Virgilio was one of the founders of the Irmandade in 1971. Migrating to Fox Point from São Miguel in 1954, he lived in the neighborhood until he passed away in TK. Both Virgilio Fernandes and his son Frank were supporters and participants in the feast since even before its beginning, with the young Frank serving as <i>Mordomo</i> for the first of four times at the 1980 feast when he was 26. Fernandes had been going to <i>Domingas</i> since before the Irmandade’s founding. Virgilio Fernandes passed away leading up to the feast for which his son was selected as <i>Mordomo</i>, which also coincided with the 40th Anniversary celebration of the Irmandade. That Virgilio Fernandes son was serving as <i>Mordomo</i> for the anniversary <i>Festa</i> was frequently referenced during the weekend of the final <i>Dominga</i>, including during the unveiling of a plaque made to hang in the hall commemorating the anniversary of the Irmandade and memorializing his father’s death. TK Other sons of the Irmandade’s different founding families have also served as <i>Mordomo</i> in previous years. No one has ever served as <i>Mordomo</i> however, who was not either an original founder, or the son of one. (Although four years earlier Fernandes’ wife was the first female “<i>Mordoma</i>”.)</p> <p>Despite having been born after his family had migrated to America and settled in Fox Point, Fernandes conducted the interview entirely in Portuguese, ignoring the native Portuguese interviewer’s offer to switch to English. All of his insights and remarks were rendered in that range of Portuguese accent familiar to Southeastern New Englanders born to Micaelense immigrants. Fernandes only spoke English twice in his interview. Once to use the word “peasants” to describe the beneficiaries of Santa Isabel’s largesse and again when referring to the Association’s fiscal accounting of the feast, calling it “The Financial Report” throughout the interview. The Financial Report is presented at a special dinner put on by the <i>Comissão</i> of the just concluded <i>Festa</i>, and includes ceremonies transferring</p>
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the *Mordomia* from one member to the next. It also includes elections for the *Vice-Presidente*, who first serves for a year on the *Comissão* before eventually succeeding the *Mordomo* for the following feast.

Demographic changes to the Fox Point and the nearby area have resulted in fewer Portuguese migrants living in the neighborhood. An interstate highway constructed through the middle of the community precipitated an exodus in the 1960s when causing many Fox Pointers to lose their homes in what were old Portuguese residential neighborhoods.

The phenomenon occurred in Fall River as well, as the interstate was built through denser urban centers and a combination of physical, political and economic considerations led to the construction of elevated highways through poorer Portuguese migrant communities.

Interestingly, before recent renovations pushed the highway out of the neighborhood and across the bay in the last 10 years, the original 1960s elevated roadway was routed around the Nossa Senhora do Rosário Church. Fox Pointers talk about the Nossa Senhora do Rosário as the metaphysical and spiritual boundary to their neighborhood, but like any boundary it is also a wall.

The decline of Fox Point as a Portuguese residential neighborhood began when residents were forced out of their homes during the works project, and many settled in adjacent towns. Others changes were hastened by the residential requirements of students brought on by the expansion of Brown University in the 1980s and 1990s. In the ensuing economic transition, homes lived in by multiple-generations of families were sold or subdivided to earn the higher rents possible when one charged many students rather than one family. As a result, many of Fox Point's residents took what they considered the smart money to move out to nearby communities and the suburbs, including across the river to East Providence where some already had families. Most sold their homes or converted them as children moved away, renting out floors or whole buildings. Socio-economic pressures may have created a structural situation that facilitated the children of Fox Pointers moving out, it's not the only reason they might have wanted to move to the suburbs. The money after all, helped to build East Providence.

A persistent and defining feature of Fox Point over this time period indeed has been how former residents have

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always returned to the community to organize and participate in events held there. “A Fox Pointer for life” is what it was called by one older resident who had grown up in the neighborhood who had since moved away.

The number of Portuguese families who actually reside in Fox Point has diminished, but the neighborhood remains a focal point for community events, organized largely around traditional Portuguese migrant associations, including the *Festas do Espírito Santo* which form part of Nossa Senhora do Rosário’s yearly cycle of Church events including another for the *feira* of the Igreja/Santo Cristo and special dinners. Other community associations and institutions in which former current and former Fox Pointers participate include the Nossa Senhora do Rosário *filármonica* band and formal Portuguese Sports clubs and association clubhouses/bars.

In the *Festas do Espírito Santo* this trans-generational return to Fox Point is reflected in the *Irmandade*, and includes key figures on the organizing *Comissão*, many of whom no longer actually reside in Fox Point. As with many of Nossa Senhora do Rosário’s parishioners who have moved away but still belong to the church, the *Festas do Espírito Santo* of Nossa Senhora do Rosário is an important Fox Point institution linking the neighborhood with its former residents.

Frank Fernandes’ story fits the pattern. Born in Fox Point in 1956, Fernandes was raised in the neighborhood, moving away to nearby Seekonk in 1994. Since moving away, he has always maintained a connection to the neighborhood, through visits to family, as well as through the Nossa Senhora do Rosário church, where he, along with many other former residents, remains a parishioner. For the past ten years he has also worked as an electrician at Rhode Island parishioner. For the past ten years he has also worked as an electrician at Rhode Island Hospital (located adjacent to Fox Point).

Nossa Senhora do Rosário is not the only Feast in the area, as a dense matrix of feasts are held in the towns and neighborhoods of the urban and suburban spaces about Providence. Nossa Senhora do Rosário is also the host church for another Fox Point’s *Festas do Espírito Santo*, put on by the Portuguese Sporting Club. Other long-time Portuguese community associations bring older residents to the neighborhood and have long been a part of Fox Point

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	<p>community life. One interesting feature is how these neighborhood institutions have continued to thrive as a focal points in the social lives of those who no longer live in Fox Point.</p>
Fox Point	<p>Demographic changes to the Fox Point and the nearby area have resulted in fewer Portuguese migrants living in the neighborhood. An interstate highway constructed through the middle of the community precipitated an exodus in the 1960s when causing many Fox Pointers to lose their homes in what were old Portuguese residential neighborhoods. The phenomenon occurred in Fall River as well, as the interstate was built through denser urban centers and a combination of physical, political and economic considerations led to the construction of elevated highways through poorer Portuguese migrant communities. Interestingly, before recent renovations pushed the highway out of the neighborhood and across the bay in the last 10 years, the original 1960s elevated roadway was routed around the Nossa Senhora do Rosário Church. Fox Pointers talk about the Nossa Senhora do Rosário as the metaphysical and spiritual boundary to their neighborhood, but like any boundary it is also a wall.</p> <p>The decline of Fox Point as a Portuguese residential neighborhood began when residents were forced out of their homes during the works project, and many settled in adjacent towns. Others changes were hastened by the residential requirements of students brought on by the expansion of Brown University in the 1980s and 1990s. In the ensuing economic transition, homes lived in by multiple-generations of families were sold or subdivided to earn the higher rents possible when one charged many students rather than one family. As a result, many of Fox Point's residents took what they considered the smart money to move out to nearby communities and the suburbs, including across the river to East Providence where some already had families. Most sold their homes or converted them as children moved away, renting out floors or whole buildings. Socio-economic pressures may have created a structural situation that facilitated the children of Fox Pointers moving out, it's not the only reason they might have wanted to move to the suburbs. The money after all, helped to build East Providence.</p> <p>A persistent and defining feature of Fox Point over this</p>

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time period indeed has been how former residents have always returned to the community to organize and participate in events held there. “A Fox Pointer for life” is what was called by one older resident who had grown up in the neighborhood who had since moved away.

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BROTHERHOOD

Brotherhood	<p>The Irmandade is a church Irmandade. The Irmandade grew out of another association of parishioners at Nossa Senhora do Rosário, that predated it, <i>The Holy Name Society</i>. <i>The Holy Name Society</i> was composed of members of the Irmandade's founders, among them: Frank Fernandes father, Virgilio Fernandes, João Lima, Lourenço Andrade, Ray Mendes, José Medeiros, Manuel Soares.</p> <p>These founders along with their families, wives, sisters, etc., raised <i>pensões</i> to put on the first feast.</p> <p>The Irmandade is conceived as an association separate from the <i>Paróquia</i> even as it is embedded into the life of the church.</p>
Year founded	1971. Since 1966/7 the church held the Festa of Nossa Senhora do Rosário/Santo Cristo, and since that time there was interest in starting a <i>Festa do Espírito Santo</i> .
Current number of members	<p>There are around 65 members of the Irmandade. All members are required to be parishioners of Nossa Senhora do Rosário.</p> <p>The Feast membership started to dip some with a nadir hit in the early 1990s, when it went down to about 40 members, but has made a come-back since then.</p> <p>There may have been more members of the Irmandade before the dip, but they definitely sell more <i>pensões</i> than they once did.</p> <p>Participation in mass and at the church's activities is mandatory for members, and is open to men or women. The members each pay \$10 to belong and must pay an additional \$10 to have one's name added to the "<i>sorte</i>" (the term used at the Feast) to host a <i>Dominga</i>.</p> <p>The church has about 1200 parishioners officially on the books, but far fewer actually participate in the weekly religious aspects of the church. Most of this number only come for weddings, funerals and special occasions, such as the <i>Festas do Espírito Santo</i> and the <i>Festa da Igreja/Santo</i></p>

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	<p>Cristo.</p> <p>Members are composed of generations of “<i>familias portuguesas</i>”, Cape Verdeans, as well as some Americans (often married to a Portuguese member).</p> <p>Frank Fernandes estimates membership of the Irmandade is composed of about 80% Portuguese-born and 20% born in America. I would not dispute this estimate based on observation.</p>
Azorean origin of the members	<p>Mostly from São Miguel, but there are members from Terceira, Faial, and Santa Maria.</p>
Year round activities	<p>There is a dinner held shortly after the Feast for all of the members at which the outgoing Commission presents “The Financial Report,” an accounting of expenses and profits for the year’s Feast. The Election of the <i>Vice-Presidente</i> of the <i>Comissão</i>—who will eventually succeed the current <i>Mordomo</i>—also takes place.</p> <p>A February Fundraising Dinner is put on by the <i>Comissão</i> and husbands/wives at the church <i>salão</i> for the Irmandade. The <i>Comissão</i> also holds meetings throughout the year to organize the Feast and February Dinner.</p> <p>Officially, the Irmandade’s public events other than the Feast are the Financial Report Dinner (after the Feast) the February Fundraising Dinner, and the <i>Domingas</i> and their Dinners leading up to the Feast.</p> <p>The members take part in all of the church’s fundraising activity, with all money from dinners and feasts, the <i>Festas do Espírito Santo</i>, the August Festa da Igreja/Santo Cristo going to the <i>paróquia</i>. Most of the same individuals will also work on and participate in all of these church events as well. For example, rattling off the Irmandade’s activities, Frank Fernandes had to be corrected when he said that the Irmandade put on the November São Martinho festa in the church, remembering that this was not actually an official event sponsored by the Irmandade, but rather the church, even as all the members were involved in the event anyway. In this way, it is difficult to separate activities related to the <i>Festas do Espírito Santo</i>, from other church activities in which the members also participate. As Frank Fernandes said, no matter who puts it on, at the end of the day all the money is for the <i>Paróquia</i>.</p>
Hall	<p>In the basement hall of the church. The basement <i>salão</i> of the <i>Nossa Senhora do Rosário</i> serves as the <i>Festas do Espírito Santo</i> Hall for Dinners, <i>Domingas</i>, <i>Sopas</i> and all other events related to the Irmandade except for distribution of the <i>pensões</i>.</p>

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THE FESTA: GENERAL INFORMATION

Year founded	1971. The founding members had been holding <i>Domingas</i> prior to the official founding of the Irmandade, but was given its official charter signed in 1971 with its first Feast held that year
Date	Pentecost.
Azorean origin of the members	São Miguel mostly, but it depends on the <i>Mordomo</i> 's origin, as there are members from Terceira, Fayal and also Santa Maria. The <i>Mordomo</i> , in addition to those hosting <i>Domingas</i> , will organize their <i>sopas</i> or mount an altar based on their own particular traditions. The diversity of island points of origin for the <i>Mordomo</i> families is subsequently reflected in the rituals themselves.

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Organization of the festa

The Feast is put on by the Irmandade in concert with the church. The members are all a part of the *Paróquia*, but the association is considered to exist apart from Nossa Senhora do Rosário. Similar to other feasts organized in close concert with the Churches they support, there is a closer relationship in the coordination and organization of the Feast between the Parish and the Irmandade of Nossa Senhora do Rosário, than for example between the church and the *Festas do Espírito Santo* of the Portuguese Sporting Club, which also has a mass at Nossa Senhora do Rosário, but holds their Feast off church grounds.

Aside from overseeing the delegated responsibilities of the *Comissão* the *Mordomo* is the final arbiter of all decisions and judgments that arise. *Mordomos* may go their own way with certain decisions but the ritual elements of the Feast depend largely on the institutional knowledge of those involved in its annual organization.

The only exception to the *Mordomo*'s authority is over "religious questions" having to do with the particulars of the ceremonies and crowning within the Catholic liturgy, in which the *Mordomo* defers to the priest. Nonetheless, the current Padre of Nossa Senhora do Rosário has also been a member for about five or six years, during which time he has participated in the *sorte*, eventually pulling the first *Dominga* of 2012 at the end of the 2011 Feast.

The Irmandade made an important change in the early-to-mid 1980s altering the organization of the Feast's financing. From the beginning members had participated in an open *sorteio* to host a *Dominga*. Absent drawing a Sunday however, members were required to make *promessas* to bring bread, *massa* and/or wine to the next Feast. These items were then bid upon to raise money for the Irmandade. Frank Fernandes said that there were any number of problems with this system, primarily the fact that auctioning off all of those items was considered boring, making the Feast less fun for the participants.

Additionally, there was a lot of confusion with all of the different wines and breads brought to the Feast, different kinds of quality and quantity, and changing the system allowed the *Comissão* to streamline the organization of the weekend.

As noted above, the new and current system is greatly simplified, with the Irmandade charging an automatic 10

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dollar *cota* (membership fee) and an additional 10 dollars to anyone wanting to participate in the drawing to host a *Dominga*. Despite not being the principle vehicle used to finance the Feast, the auctions continue to be held over Saturday and Sunday, with wine, bread and other items donated by members, serving as an extra fundraiser for the Irmandade and the Church.

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Mordomo

The *Mordomo* is elected two years before the Feast at which he will preside, serving for a year as Vice-President before taking over as *Mordomo*.

Beginning his term at the post-Feast Financial Report dinner, the *Vice-Presidente* takes over from the outgoing *Mordomo* and as *Presidente* of the Irmandade. The new *Mordomo* will install the appointed members of the *Comissão* who are joined by the two members of the fiscal commission which are elected on the same evening. Sometimes he may select the same *Comissão* from the year before, or leave it largely intact, although often enough changes are made.

Although the election of the eventual *Mordomo* is open to any member, as of 2012, all of them had either been founders of the Feast or children of a founder.

The *Vice-Presidente* of the *Comissão* is also elected at the Financial Report meeting and dinner after the Feast. Elected through an open write-in ballot, the *Vice-Presidente* will succeed as *Mordomo* in the following year. The system insures yearly continuity and assists in the smooth running of a Feast should a *Vice Presidente/Mordomo* be inexperienced; and enables shared work among two seasoned veterans, who likely have all worked together on the *Comissão* several times before.

The election of the *Mordomo*'s successor, and his installation as part of the *Comissão* also provides a check to the *Mordomo*'s power of appointment given that both the Vice President and fiscal committee are elected positions. There are about 50 or so members who vote.

When the Feast is over, the *Vice-Presidente* immediately takes over as *Mordomo* (and *Presidente* of the Irmandade) and appoints the Secretary and the Treasurer, the head of the kitchen and assembles the organizing committee members which consist of around 10-20 people, numbers usually augmented by the participation of husbands and wives. Not an official part of the *Comissão*, these committee members nonetheless work at the Feast, doing jobs on the day of the *Festa* such as running the *rifa*, or working on the kitchen staff, and include many former *Mordomos* and former *Comissão* members who participate nearly every year.

The *Comissão* also puts on the February fundraising dinner, and also handles other responsibilities related to running the

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	<p>Feast over the year. The <i>Comissão</i> is also responsible for conducting the raffle at the <i>Festa da Igreja/Santo Cristo</i> as well.</p> <p><i>Malassadas</i> for the Feast are made by a particular <i>senhora</i> (name not mentioned) but as she has gotten older she brings an <i>ajudante</i> with her who is taking over increasingly more of the work load. Working at the 2011 Feast making <i>malassadas</i> were members of the Mendes, Lobo and Lopes-Camara families.</p> <p>Others, usually those with experience, handle organization of the <i>pensões</i> and the <i>folia</i>.</p> <p>The <i>Comissão</i> of the 2011 Feast was composed of: <i>Presidente</i> Frank Fernandes. <i>Vice-Presidente</i> Manuel Soares Junior. (He held his first meetings as the new <i>Mordomo</i> in October of 2011). Soares Junior is a son of one of the founders from São Miguel. <i>Secretary</i> Sandra Camara (from São Miguel). Sandra Camara is also a member of the Trinity Feast of East Providence, as well. <i>Treasurer</i> Raimundo “Ray” Mendes, himself a founding member. <i>Elected Fiscal council</i> Fernando Galvão and Lenny Adelino Branco Respectively from Nordeste and Feijão de Cima, (São Miguel)</p> <p>Positions on the <i>Comissão</i> rotate but the list has some consistency. Frank Fernandes for example has served 4 times as a <i>Mordomo</i>, was also VP four times, served as Secretary, and was on the <i>conselho fiscal</i>. Although position on the <i>Comissão</i> remain among the families of the founders, there are some newer people as well.</p> <p>A <i>Mordomo</i> cannot be divorced (a restriction also on all of those who hope to host a <i>Dominga</i>) and must be 21 years old.</p> <p>Men or women are eligible, with Frank Fernandes wife serving as the Irmandade’s first “<i>Mordoma</i>” four years earlier.</p>
Number of workers	10-20
Crowns	<p>There are 8 (eight) crowns.</p> <p>One of the crowns has been with the Irmandade since its beginning. Others were offered in the last 10-15 years for <i>promessas</i> and in <i>louvor</i> of the Espírito Santo.</p>

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	<p>One crown was offered by Connie Silva and another crown was from a family, but it was old and in rough shape, so it was brought to an <i>ouriversaria</i> and cleaned up for the Irmandade.</p> <p>On the 2011 <i>Espírito Santo</i> Altar there were also around 8 additional small personal crowns that belong to members and are put on display on the altar during the Feast. Members also construct altars in their own homes.</p>
Queens	<p>There is one Queen as well as one teenager dressed as Nossa Senhora do Rosário.</p> <p><i>Capas</i> are owned by individual members.</p> <p>Queens are selected by the <i>Mordomo</i>, usually picking his daughter or a close relative.</p>
Crowning	<p>The priest will crown people of each <i>Mordomo</i>'s choosing. Usually children and family members are crowned, but not always, as it can be anyone the <i>Mordomo</i> decides. One <i>Mordomo</i> even chose to be <i>coroado</i> himself, but this was an exception.</p> <p>The <i>Mordomo</i> works with the priest over the particulars of the actual ceremony.</p>

THE FESTA: RITUAL COMPOSITION

Origin Mythology	<p>Fernandes elaborated on the origin myth of the Feast telling a story of Queen Isabel who saw the poor children who had nothing to eat and decided to bring food to the “peasants”. Caught by her King husband, she prayed, and roses fell instead of bread when she opened her robes at his demand. The origin myth was passed to him from his father and grandfather.</p> <p>A Micaelense native contributed during the recorded interview that this was also known from the “history of Portugal”, to which Fernandes concurred.</p> <p>The unnamed migrant also mentioned other origins for the <i>Espírito Santo Festas</i> including the Vila Franca eruption in the 19th century, saying that the Feast was practiced to make <i>promessas</i> as a result of the earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. He told a story about a woman in Ribeira Quente for example, who felt water in a spring start to boil from the erupting volcanoes.</p> <p>When Fernandes mentioned the 1958/59 Fayal eruption that caused many Azorean migrants to migrate to America, the <i>Micaelense</i> corrected him quickly informing “that was much later.”</p>
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	<p>The <i>Micaelense</i> interlocutor continued, saying people had more faith back then recalling the story of the tsunami that washed the statue of Santo Cristo up onto the shore of Vila Franca, São Miguel.</p>
Domingas	<p>Prior to the official founding of the Irmandade, members would hold <i>Domingas</i>. Of the 65 or so members, 25-30 members put their names into the <i>Dominga sorte</i>. Some opt to announce the <i>Dominga</i> in the church bulletin, others do not, so mostly members of the Irmandade and closer family will stop by the house. During the week, the <i>terço</i> will be recited by family members and others who wish to attend. Once per week during each of the <i>Domingas</i>, the priest will stop by to pray and recite the <i>terço</i> as well. There are usually light snacks available for those who come to pray, but more substantial food will usually accompany the night that the priest visits. Although the priest does not crown anyone at the house, he does crown at the <i>Dominga's</i> weekly mass.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">*</p> <p>In one of the more dramatic moments of the 2011 Feast, after trying for years, Padre Joe finally drew a <i>Dominga</i> for the first time. The membership and Comission celebrated when his name was called for the first <i>Dominga</i> of the 2012 <i>Festa</i>. Like the prohibition written into the bylaws against a <i>Mordomo</i> serving who has been divorced, there is also a prohibition on divorcées having responsibility for a <i>Dominga</i>. There is some structural flexibility to this rule, as the priest can offer a special dispensation, or the members will come up with some other solution. For example, after one member had already pulled a <i>Dominga</i>, it was pointed out that he was divorced, and so would not be eligible. The conflict was resolved when his father stepped in to host the <i>Dominga</i>. Families will usually put on a <i>Sopa</i> on the Saturday of their week, offered to family, friends and others which is normally held in the church <i>salão</i>. Sometimes the Saturday <i>sopas</i> are accompanied by a <i>leilão</i>. The <i>Domingas</i> are always accompanied by meat and <i>sopas</i>. Comida for the <i>sopas</i> is provided by family and the Irmandade, which may offer <i>chouriço</i> or other items for a particular <i>Domingo</i>. Some include desserts, some do not. Sometimes there is an auction on the <i>Domingas</i> with all</p>

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	<p>money going to the <i>Paróquia</i>.</p> <p>Each <i>Dominga</i> has <i>coroações</i> with the person holding the <i>Dominga</i> selecting who they want to be crowned at mass.</p>
Circulation of the crowns	<p>1 crown goes with the <i>Mordomo</i></p> <p>1 crown goes from <i>Dominga</i> to <i>Dominga</i> (with the First <i>Dominga</i> responsible for it throughout the year).</p> <p>6 crowns with members of the <i>Comissão</i>.</p> <p>Whoever draws the first <i>Dominga</i> keeps the crown used for the <i>Domingas</i> during the year, before it is passed among the subsequent <i>Domingas</i> until the final week of the <i>Festa</i>.</p> <p>Crowns will stay at the homes for the week, beginning after Easter with parishioners invited to pray at home-built altars any time they want. Some opt to announce the <i>Dominga</i> in the church bulletin, others do not, so mostly members of the <i>Irmandade</i> and closer family will stop by the house.</p>
Pensões	<p>The founders along with their families, wives, sisters, etc., raised <i>pensões</i> to put on the first Feast.</p> <p><i>Pensões de criadores</i> - 110</p> <p><i>Pensões normais</i> - 654</p> <p><i>Pensões de criadores</i> - \$100</p> <p><i>Pensões normais</i> - \$30</p>
Composition of the pensões	<p>The <i>pensão de Criador</i> has <i>massa</i> as well as an <i>argola de massa</i>, a <i>garrafão</i> of five liters (instead of one liter in the normal <i>pensão</i>) as well as more meat.</p>
Distribution of the pensões	<p>About half of the <i>pensões</i> are distributed to the members with the other half picked up at the Holy Rosary Hall on Saturday morning.</p> <p>In addition, <i>a folia</i> accompanies the delivery of all <i>pensões de criador</i>, with performances at the patron's home on the day of the <i>entrega</i>.</p> <p>On Saturday, the rest of the <i>entrega</i> includes around 10-12 people, accompanied by a van, that makes deliveries to about half of the normal <i>pensões</i>.</p> <p>The <i>Irmandade</i> has a list of addresses of the members and two or three people are charged with arranging the deliveries under the ultimate responsibility of the association's Secretary, who organizes the distribution, including arranging names, ensuring payment, and organizing the group that will accompany the <i>pensões</i>. The whole thing is usually arranged and put in order two to three weeks ahead of the Saturday <i>entrega</i>.</p> <p>The crowns also accompany visits and many of the members have their own personal altars in their own homes.</p> <p>Specific delivery crews are organized into distinct</p>

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neighborhoods: Shipyard, Pawtucket and East Providence. A delivery strategy that suggests some of the Irmandade's categories about the areas into which their members live or have settled. The membership in general includes those who lived in Fox Point and moved away, those who have family there, and those who have married someone from the neighborhood.

The members from these areas in the Nossa Senhora do Rosário Irmandade, live geographically removed from Fox Point, and in neighborhoods and communities that are themselves prominent settlements of Portuguese migration with distinct institutions and associations, (including among them *Festas do Espírito Santo Irmandades*). The membership list and distribution for the Irmandade of Nossa Senhora do Rosário underlines the complex, overlapping participation of those participating in Portuguese community events—the broad network of family and friends that all contribute to one another's *Festas*.

The history of Portuguese migration to and from Fox Point makes it a kind of local homeland, the place where one's parents lived from, and where one was born or used to live before moving away. Some members may no longer be a part of the quotidian flow of life in Fox Point but the continued presence of those who have moved away who still participate in Nossa Senhora do Rosário's Fox Point Feast—along with other neighborhood events—contributes to an expanding definition of what it means to never have left in the first place. It doesn't matter that the "migration" was a few towns over and not across an ocean, the Feast continues to provide these members with a connection to Fox Point Portuguese community life. The public celebrations of Fox Point Portuguese community life, in fact depend on their presence. No specific delivery groups were named that distribute *pensões* to towns across the Massachusetts border so one doesn't know how far out the deliveries went, if they were too disperse to merit their own delivery crew or if there were fewer members in these areas. But the geographic parceling of concentrated groups of members delineates the reach of the Irmandade of Nossa Senhora do Rosário and point out how they extend beyond the neighborhood into the mini-megalopolis of the greater Providence Portuguese communities.

Friday and Saturday before

Friday

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<p>the festa</p>	<p>The <i>Mordomo</i> is responsible for decorating the hall and altar, but usually has help from a <i>Senhora</i> that works with the <i>Comissão</i> or his wife, etc. Some <i>Mordomos</i> already have an altar from home that they use for the <i>Domingas</i>, and will use this altar in the <i>salão</i> of the church for the Feast. On Friday, all of the <i>pensões</i> are arranged on tables in the church <i>salão</i>, with the meat in the refrigerator ahead of the distribution.</p> <p>With the priest present, the <i>filarmónica</i> plays and members of the <i>folia</i> will sing a <i>cantaria</i> and some <i>foliões</i> accompanied by an <i>acordeão</i> and a <i>viola</i>.</p> <p>Once the priest has blessed the <i>pensão</i>, members begin taking their meat home. About half of the <i>pensões</i> are collected at the church, with the others distributed to homes on Saturday.</p> <p><u>Saturday</u></p> <p>The distribution of the remaining <i>pensões</i> is coordinated from the Church Hall and once this is finished, beginning around six o'clock a.m., members will gather at the Nossa Senhora do Rosário for a Feast eve party that lasts until around 11 at night.</p> <p><i>Chouriço, caçoila, favas, and malassadas</i> are sold, and a bar serves soft drinks and wine. There is an auction and the <i>Banda da Nossa Senhora do Rosário</i> plays a seated concert.</p>
<p>Musical accompaniment of the festas</p>	<p><u>Filarmónica</u></p> <p>The Nossa Senhora do Rosário Band, an <i>Associação Filarmonica</i> affiliated with the church was founded in 1993, and has its own Rehearsal Hall on the other side of Fox Point. It is an important Portuguese community institution in its own right.</p> <p>Nossa Senhora do Rosário Band's <i>Mestre</i> is Manny Correia, from São Miguel. 25 members of the band marched in the 2011 <i>cortejo</i> (including the four members of the Band's <i>Direção</i> who also marched without playing).</p> <p>The Band plays an important role at the Festas do Espírito Santo in Fox Point as its participation in the Feast consists of not only performances in the <i>cortejo</i> and outside the church, but also for every day of the final weekend. They play in the ceremony blessing the <i>pensões</i> and at two additional seated concerts in the <i>Salão</i> on Saturday and Sunday of the feast.</p> <p><u>Ranchos Folclóricos</u></p>

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In addition to the concerts by the *Filarmónica*, the 2011 feast featured the *Rancho Folclórico* of the Cranston Portuguese Club, and from Phillips Street Hall, *Nove Ilhas*. Each *Mordomo* is free to select the group that performs, but *ranchos folclóricos* from neighboring communities are always a part of the program.

Folia

As mentioned above, a *Folia* accompanies the distributions of *pensões de criadores*, singing and playing at each patron's home upon their *entrega*.

Members of the *folia* including the *Mestre* will also accompany the blessing of the *pensões* with a *viola*, an *acordeão* and singers offering a *cantaria* or some *foliões*. The *cantor* and *director* of the *folia* is José Custódio who organizes the event and rehearses with the singers and musicians.

Describing the current Feast in relation to other recent Feasts, Frank Fernandes said that the *folia* was more or less the same group of 18-20 performers, including 10 accordions accompanied by singers. Last year there was also a guitar, but he didn't play this year. Fernandes expressed that he liked the accordions better in any case. «I don't really sing», Frank Fernandes said, “but will make a little “*barulho*” here and there».

There are other principle musicians in the *Folia* in addition to *Mestre* José Custodio including Meio Agostino, Carlos Couto and Sebastião.

Mestre Custódio had previously also performed in Fall River, but now only plays for Nossa Senhora do Rosário.

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Parades and Processions

The *Cortejo* includes the Irmandade's banner, followed, in order, by national flags, a teenager as *Santa Isabel*, an attendant and younger children assisting with carrying the Irmandade's crown, then the families of the *Domingas*, the *Comissão*, another teenager dressed as Nossa Senhora do Rosário, members of the Irmandade, and then the *Banda* of Nossa Senhora do Rosário. The *cortejo* winds down from the Fox Point Elementary School all along Wickendon Street, and then makes a loop around the church, circling back again to enter into the front door.

The *filarmónica* will play the *hino* of the *Espírito Santo* and other repertory during the march, as well as at the door of the church and after the *missa* has let out.

Inside the church, the banks are reserved for the *Mordomo* and his family along with the families of the *Domingas* and the *Comissão*.

After the *cortejo* has entered the church, ushers on the organizing committee immediately settle everyone into the churches pews with crowns, flags and banners stowed in the alcove altars honoring the church's two patron saints, Nossa Senhora do Rosário and Santo Cristo.

The Mass is conducted in Portuguese as Nossa Senhora do Rosário is a bilingual parish.

In addition to the Irmandade banner, the three flags that always accompany the *cortejo* are the American, Azorean, and Portuguese flags. If there is an extra person who is available to march with another flag then the *cortejo* will include the Rhode Island state flag, but this does not happen more than it does. Also on rare occasions someone will march with the flag of the Catholic Diocese to which Nossa Senhora do Rosário belongs. Politicians once marched in the parade for the *Festa da Igreja/Santo Cristo* feast, but not anymore. Politicians never marched in the *Festas do Espírito Santo cortejo*.

No other Irmandades march in an official capacity, but there is much overlap in membership of other area Irmandades, including those in East Providence.

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Holy Ghost soup

The *sopas* is open to anyone and serves about 450 people on Sunday.

The position of the head of the kitchen rotates as it is selected by the *Mordomo* and is usually someone close to the *Mordomo*'s family. The 2011 feast for example, featured Fernandes' wife (herself a former *Mordomo*) with help from her friend and Fernandes' Aunt. His *Tia* was one of the original *sopas*' chefs going back to the founding, but had recently taken ill, so others who had worked in her kitchen picked up the slack for her.

Those in the kitchen are usually all people from families who have been involved making *sopas* for decades, people from the *Comissão* and other Parishioners, who all work together. A collective effort among those who know how to make it.

Fernandes iterated the difficulty of cooking for 450 people, saying that making soup for that many people one really needs to know what she is doing.

The Irmandade pays for the *sopas*, although a *Mordomo* might help to buy the meat, for example, with other family members contributing money, goods, or assistance in a way that family members do when helping to put on the *Domingas*.

After the *missa* many of the workers on the organizing committee and *Comissão* change out of their *cortejo* attire and put on the *sopas*. A line forms downstairs as people leave the church and arrive from elsewhere.

In addition to soup, the *sopas* also included a side plate of roasted *chouriço*, beef and potatoes in a rich *vinha d'alho* sauce.

People at the *sopas* included parishioners and others from the neighborhood and included those who regularly attend the Feast even as they are not integrated into the Irmandade or much even to the church. Also in attendance were the usual mix of Portuguese patrons on the Holy Ghost circuit, often older people who may not have much of a familial connection to a particular Feast or the neighborhood, but nonetheless enjoy going to different Feasts every weekend for the feed and the conviviality. There are also some that come to the Feasts out of sheer economic necessity. For those living in difficult circumstances the Feasts provide free meals, and can be useful for others at risk, who may be living with mental illness or drug-dependencies. The Feast

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	<p>provides unique company and hearty food of a kind different than one would find at a normal shelter or soup kitchen.</p> <p>After working since the early hours of daylight as they made final preparations for the <i>cortejo</i> or the meal, and after they have served the <i>sopas</i> and taken away the plates, the organizing committee members, the <i>Comissão</i> and other workers and members are ready to sneak home for a quick shower before changing clothes and returning for the afternoon program. They are finally able to celebrate and relax a little bit, after a year of preparations.</p>
Arraial	<p>In the afternoon, more food is served, <i>massa</i> is offered, <i>malassadas</i> are sold. Some members bring dessert offered and other items to be distributed or sold off at auction. There is a <i>rifa</i> sold to draw the winners of a new television, a digital camera, and a trip to the Azores—all items donated by members or from funds of the Irmandade.</p> <p>There is a bazaar and <i>leilões</i>, with the auction that began on Saturday night spread to the day of the Feast and all money earned going to the Irmandade and the <i>Paróquia</i>.</p>
Number of people who participate in the distribution of sopas	450
Other	<p>At the end of the <i>sopa</i>, <i>massa</i>, dessert, wine, soda <i>carne cozida</i> or <i>assada</i> is distributed, depending on the <i>Mordomo</i>.</p>
Additional information	<p>Interestingly the name of the Irmandade in English is not the <i>Holy Ghost</i> Brotherhood but rather the Brotherhood of the <i>Holy Spirit</i>. This was something instituted in recent years after arguments by Nossa Senhora do Rosário's Padre Joe, an American-born priest with Portuguese migrant parents (who also conducts mass in Portuguese) whose preferred English translation was adopted by the Irmandade. The Irmandade's <i>cortejo</i> banner is written in Portuguese as "IRMANDADE DO DIVINO ESPIRITO SANTO DA IGREJA DE NOSSA SENHORA DO ROSÁRIO" (sic)</p>

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