

Narrative Override: German Migration and Colonial Structures in Southern Brazil

Foreword

Editors

This book is an archive of German immigration to southern Brazil between 1820 and 1950. It brings together essays, letters, newspaper articles, official documents, and audiovisual sources from diverse historical and geographical perspectives.

German migration to Brazil was shaped both by political and economic conditions in Europe and by colonial structures on the ground. For many migrants, it represented hope, social mobility, and the promise of a new beginning. At the same time, this process was accompanied by the displacement, dispossession, and systematic oppression of Indigenous populations, whose voices were long ignored, marginalized, or erased.

Some of the materials collected in this book contain descriptions or accounts of violence, oppression, and exploitation. They address, among other themes, colonial power relations, enslavement, National Socialist ideologies, and the ongoing marginalization of Indigenous communities. These contents are not reproduced in order to legitimize them, but to make historical power structures visible and to critically reflect on their persistence and consequences.

Project note
Editors

This project was developed within the framework of an interdisciplinary course on automated books and web-to-print processes at Hochschule Mainz (HS Mainz) during the winter semester 2025/26. The course was taught by Johannes Bergerhausen and Alexander Roidl. The book, titled "Narrative Override: German Migration and Colonial Structures in Southern Brazil", was edited by Lucas Terburg and Lily Heinritz.

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200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien / Katalog im IAI-Publikationsprogramm

Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut

Vor rund 200 Jahren beginnt die Auswanderung deutschsprachiger Menschen nach Brasilien. Die Ausstellung in der Brasilianischen Botschaft, in Kooperation mit dem IAI und der Deutsch-Brasilianischen Gesellschaft, gibt einen historischen Überblick. Der 65-seitige Katalog beleuchtet verschiedene Aspekte der

aufzubrechen und dort ein neues Leben zu beginnen? Was haben Sie mitgebracht? Welche Herausforderungen galt es zu überwinden? Welche Rolle spielten Frauen? Die tragischen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Eingewanderten und Indigenen werden kritisch betrachtet. Analysiert werden außerdem die brasilianische

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IAI gemeinsam mit Kooperationspartnern zurück- und vorausgeschaut. Eine weitere Brücke vom 19. bis ins 21. Jahrhundert schlug das IAI gemeinsam mit der Brasilianischen Botschaft in Berlin und der Universität zu Köln: Die Tagung >Transatlantische Begegnungen zwischen Brasilien und Deutschland: Dialoge aus 200 Jahren Aus- und Einwanderung< (2.–

kulturelle Praktiken und historische Entwicklungen. Grundlage der Forschungsbeiträge bilden Quellen unterschiedlicher medialer Formate wie Briefe, Oral-History-Aufzeichnungen, Musik, Presse, Literatur, Film und Bild. Ein Sammelband mit den Ergebnissen ist für 2025 geplant. Eines der vielfältigen Zeugnisse der

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Dietzes (1838–1906).

Dietze zog als Junger Mann aus dem heutigen Sachsen-Anhalt nach Brasilien und wurde mit seinem dort gegründeten Fotostudio zu einem Chronisten des Lebens der Einwandernden, ihres Alltags und ihrer neuen Umgebung.

Im IAI ist außerdem der Nachlass des brasilianischen Politikers Guilherme Gaelzer-Netto (1874–1957) aus Rio Grande do Sul einsehbar. Er war von 1902 bis 1916 Präfekt von São Leopoldo, leitete ab Anfang der 1920er Jahre das Büro ‚Brasil Propaganda‘ in Berlin und warb deutsche Auswanderer für Brasilien an. In



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der Bibliothek des IAI befinden sich ca. 250.000 Bücher und Zeitschriften aus und über Brasilien. Im Rahmen seines Publikations- und Veranstaltungsprogramms setzt sich das IAI regelmäßig mit Brasilien und den deutsch-brasilianischen Beziehungen auseinander. Das IAI ist Partner im BMBF-geförderten

(Mecila) mit Sitz in São Paulo (<https://www.mecila.net>).



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German Immigrants (Brazil)

By [Frederik Schulze](#)

Summary

German-speaking elites in Brazil were traditionally in contact with German colonial actors, and during World War I, many middle-class immigrants sympathized with Germany. This led to a conflict within Brazilian society, where people predominantly sided with the Allies. After the Brazilian declaration of war, riots against Germans occurred and a nationalization campaign banned the use of German in public.

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Overview

[Brazil](#) was the main immigration country for German-speaking immigrants to [Latin America](#). From the 1820s to the 1930s, around 200,000 of them arrived in Brazilian ports. In Southern Brazil, German-speaking peasants settled as farmers and came to constitute a large population over time. Middle-class merchants and industrialists formed another important group in the cities and founded German-speaking societies and newspapers there. German pastors, teachers and diplomats were sent by German societies and authorities to Southern Brazil in order to work for the preservation of *Deutschtum* (Germanness) and strengthen German economical and political influence in the region. They founded [schools](#) and [churches](#), and tried to preserve the German language.

The German Peril

These activities provoked skepticism among certain Brazilian politicians and [intellectuals](#) who criticized the slow assimilation of the immigrants and the attempts to preserve *Deutschtum*. Around 1900, Brazilian newspapers even issued a warning against the alleged "German peril"



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(*perigo alemão*). Following U.S. American and French [propaganda](#), they expressed the fear that Germany could annex Southern Brazil. The most influential text was "The Allemanism in the South of Brazil" by [Sílvio Romero \(1851-1914\)](#) from 1906. Romero and others cited colonialist texts from Germany in order to prove their argument. In turn, the German-speaking elites in Brazil accused the Brazilians of being nativist.

On 26 November 1905, the so-called "Panther-incident" aggravated the situation: Crew members of the German gunboat "Panther" which was visiting the Brazilian coast were searching for a deserted mariner in Itajaí, Santa Catarina state and arrested him under dubious circumstances. The Brazilian [press](#) condemned the incident as a violation of Brazilian sovereignty. Germany denied these reproaches but had to apologize officially to the Brazilian government.

German Immigrants and the War

The entanglements between Germany and the German-speaking elites in Brazil re-asserted themselves when World War I broke out. Many German and Austrian nationals were called up immediately and had to return to Europe. The majority of the German-speaking press declared their solidarity with the German Empire, reported extensively about the war and published propaganda against the British and French, using German press agencies like *Transocean*.

The events in Europe led to an enforced identification with *Deutschtum*. German-speaking Brazilians organized meetings, rogation services and collection campaigns for the German [Red Cross](#). Various local societies and newspapers advertised German and Austrian-Hungarian war bonds which were purchased frequently. Also the *Kriegsnotspende* (urgent war donation) was promoted, and teachers at German-speaking schools even collected funds in classroom.

Of course, this did not mean that every immigrant or descendant of immigrants was a German nationalist and supported the war. On the contrary: When the Helvetian pastor and envoy of the German Red Cross Gottlieb Zimmerli tried to unite all immigrants from Central and Northern Europe in the *Germanischer Bund für Südamerika* (Germanic Union for South America) in 1916 in order to support the Central Powers, the most important German-speaking societies in Southern Brazil refused to participate. A sharp conflict occurred between the influential Federation of German Societies in Porto Alegre and the *Bund*, since the German-speaking elites were not interested in being instrumentalized for political aspirations. They saw themselves as Brazilians and tried to avoid every action that could provoke nativist reactions.

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Conflicts and Riots

Their hesitance was with good reason: Prior to and during World War I, various [propaganda](#) publications, written by famous writer [Graça Aranha \(1868-1931\)](#) among others, renewed the idea of the German peril and connected it with the war. These texts suggested that the German immigrants could be a threat for national security because they showed German national symbols in public and were organized in shooting associations.

Germanophile politicians constituted only a minority, among them Foreign Minister [Lauro Müller \(1863-1926\)](#) who had German-speaking ancestors, and [João Dunshee de Abranches \(1867-1941\)](#) who published pro-German propaganda texts that denounced the German peril as an U.S. American myth. Another Germanophile was diplomat [Manoel de Oliveira Lima \(1867-1928\)](#), whose diplomatic post in London was refused by the Brazilian senate due to his political stance.

Everyday life, too, was influenced more and more by tensions, due to the sympathy which the majority of the Brazilian society had with and for the Allies. In 1915, the *Liga Brasileira pelos Aliados* (Brazilian League for the Allies) was founded and organized demonstrations and propaganda against the Central Powers. Prominent members were the writer [José Veríssimo \(1857-1916\)](#) and the politician [Rui Barbosa \(1849-1923\)](#) who also joined the *Liga da Defesa Nacional* (League for National Defense) which was founded the following year and tried to strengthen Brazilian patriotism and demanded the armament of Brazil.

When the Brazilian ship *Paraná* was torpedoed by German [submarines](#) on 5 April 1917, Brazil broke off diplomatic relations with the German Empire on 11 April and confiscated all German ships that anchored in Brazilian ports. Anti-German protests occurred in the big cities, and in Porto Alegre, the capital of the southern-most state Rio Grande do Sul where the most German-speaking immigrants lived, a mob destroyed around 300 German and German-Brazilian houses and businesses between 14 and 16 April. Among them were the "Germania," the most prestigious German clubhouse, and the editorial offices of the newspaper *Deutsche Zeitung*. Riots also occurred in other regions of Rio Grande do Sul.

Declaration of War and Nationalization Measures

After German submarines had sunk another three Brazilian ships, Brazil declared war against Germany on 26 October 1917. Again, demonstrations and riots against Germany and German-speaking Brazilians took place, this time in the cities of Curitiba and Pelotas. That same year, many companies with German names renamed themselves in order to continue their businesses.

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The Brazilian government issued several laws that banned German-speaking activities in the country. German-speaking schools, church services and newspapers were prohibited and German-speaking societies were shut down. While this nationalization policy was not implemented everywhere, it still led to a rupture of German-speaking cultural life and German efforts to preserve *Deutschtum* in Brazil until 1919 when the bans were lifted.

Aftermath

After the war, the German-speaking Brazilian elites continued to stand solidly behind Germany. They sent aid packages to Germany and participated in the *Ruhrspende* (Ruhr donation) when France [occupied the Ruhr region](#) in 1923. The German-speaking press condemned the [Treaty of Versailles](#) and discussed the fate of the Germans abroad (*Auslandsdeutsche*). In Porto Alegre, former German soldiers founded a German [Veterans' Association](#) (*Deutscher Kriegerverein*) and erected a monument commemorating the killed German soldiers.

Frederik Schulze, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster

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German Immigrants (Brazil).

Frederik Schulze

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Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land
200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung
nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa



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Karen Macknow Lisboa

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Grußwort

In der Bibliothek des Ibero-Amerikanischen Instituts (IAI) der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin befinden sich ca. 250.000 Bücher und Zeitschriften aus und über Brasilien. Ein nicht unerheblicher Teil davon betrifft das Thema Migration. Auch in den Sondersammlungen des Instituts werden wichtige Zeugnisse zu Brasilien und zu den deutsch-brasilianischen Beziehungen bewahrt. Dazu gehört beispielsweise der Nachlass des brasilianischen Politikers Guilherme Gaelzer-Netto (1874–1957) aus Rio Grande do Sul. Er war von 1902 bis 1916 Präfekt von São Leopoldo, leitete ab Anfang der 1920er Jahre das Büro Brasil Propaganda in Berlin und warb deutsche Auswanderer für Brasilien an. Auch von Karl von Koseritz (1832–1890), der als Mitherausgeber der *Deutschen Zeitung* fungierte, Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff (1774–1852), der im 19. Jahrhundert an einer deutsch-russischen Expedition nach Brasilien und Südamerika teilnahm, sowie Wilhelm von Steinen (1859–1934), der seinen Vetter Karl von den Steinen 1884 auf einer Expedition zum Mündungsbereich des Xingu-Flusses begleitete, beherbergen die Sondersammlungen des IAI

zahlreiche Publikationen. Im internationalen Publikationsprogramm des IAI wird Brasilien ebenfalls thematisiert. Beispielsweise seien hier nur die Bücher „Brasilien heute. Geographie, Wirtschaft, Kultur“, „Deutsch-brasilianische Kulturbeziehungen. Ein Überblick“, „Brasilien. Perspektiven“, „Uma ilha brasileira no campo da circulação literária pela editora Suhrkamp e a recepção da obra de Guimarães Rosa (1970–1990)“ und „Glauber Rocha e as culturas na América Latina“ genannt. Die Vertiefung der Auseinandersetzung mit Brasilien und den deutsch-brasilianischen Beziehungen ist ein wichtiges Anliegen, auch im Rahmen seines Veranstaltungsprogramms. Aus diesem Grund waren wir von Anfang an gerne dazu bereit, die von Karen Lisboa in Zusammenarbeit mit der Brasilianischen Botschaft in Berlin konzipierte Ausstellung zu 200 Jahren deutscher Auswanderung nach Brasilien mit Objekten aus den Sammlungen des IAI zu unterstützen. Und das Ergebnis war derart gelungen, dass wir sofort den Vorschlag gemacht haben, die Ausstellung in Form eines zweisprachigen Kataloges zu dokumentieren.

Ich freue mich sehr, dass es in Zusammenarbeit mit WERNERWERKE Kommunikationsdesign gelungen ist, diese Idee in überzeugender Art und Weise umzusetzen. Die Bilder und Texte des Kataloges laden zu einer Entdeckungsreise ein, die uns das Schicksal vieler nach Brasilien Ausgewanderter näherbringen. Mit viel Empathie und gleichzeitig einem kritischen Blick gelingt es Karen Lisboa, uns zahlreiche Facetten der Auswanderung und Einwanderung näher zu bringen. Wenn Brasilien und Deutschland heute in politischer, wirtschaftlicher und kultureller Hinsicht wichtige Partner füreinander sind, dann ist dies auch ein Verdienst der nach Brasilien Ausgewanderten und – dies ist nicht Thema dieses Kataloges, sollte aber nicht vergessen werden – der aus Brasilien nach Deutschland Eingewanderten und Einwandernden.

Peter Birle
Wissenschaftlicher Direktor des IAI

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Vorwort

Die Brasilianische Botschaft in Berlin hatte das Vergnügen, vom 30. August 2024 bis zum 29. Januar 2025 die von der Historikerin Karen Lisboa kuratierte Ausstellung *Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land – eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Auswanderung nach Brasilien* zu präsentieren.

Die Zweihundertjahrfeier ist ein bedeutender Meilenstein für die bilateralen Beziehungen zwischen Brasilien und Deutschland, da sie den Beginn der tatsächlichen, menschlichen Verflechtung der beiden Gesellschaften darstellt. Diese Begegnung der Völker durch die Einwanderung kann als solide und bis heute wirksame Grundlage für die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen Brasilien und dem späteren Deutschland im Jahr 1871 angesehen werden.

Seit 1824 ließen sich hunderttausende deutschsprachige Frauen, Männer und Kinder in Brasilien nieder. Die Zahl ihrer Nachkommen geht in die zig Millionen. Tatsache ist, dass die deutschsprachigen Einwanderer und ihre Nachkommen an der Entwicklung Brasiliens und an der Herausbildung unserer ethnisch-kulturellen Vielfalt beteiligt waren. Sie brachten ihr kulturelles Erbe, ihre Arbeitsmoral und ihren Unternehmergeist mit und trugen so zum Aufbau unserer Nation bei.

Diese Beiträge sind in allen Bereichen der heutigen brasilianischen Gesellschaft zu finden: in Bildung und Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technologie, Landwirtschaft, Kochkunst und Architektur, in der Rechtsordnung, den Streitkräften und sogar in Sport und Mode. Darüber hinaus hat die Einwanderung ein Erbe der Zusammenarbeit und Freundschaft zwischen den Völkern hinterlassen, das weiterhin gedeiht und nun durch die wachsende brasilianische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland gestärkt wird.

Der 200. Jahrestag der deutschen Einwanderung nach Brasilien fällt mit einem Moment großer Annäherung und Intensivierung der bilateralen Beziehungen zusammen, was auch an den zahlreichen hochrangigen Besuchen aus Deutschland seit Anfang 2023 zu erkennen ist. Vor demselben Hintergrund besuchte auch Staatspräsident Luís Inácio Lula da Silva im Dezember 2023 Berlin aus Anlass der zweiten deutsch-brasilianischen Regierungskonsultationen, bei denen er und Bundeskanzler Olaf Scholz die Partnerschaft für eine ökologisch und sozial gerechte Transformation begründet haben.

Schließlich ist dieser 200. Jahrestag auch eine Gelegenheit, über die Vorteile nachzudenken, die sich aus der Begegnung der Völker, der ethnisch-kulturellen Vielfalt, der Zusammenarbeit und der Solidarität ergeben. Angesichts der derzeitigen Zunahme von Spannungen und politischer Polarisierung auf der internationalen Bühne und auch innerhalb der Länder, die durch große Herausforderungen wie den Klimawandel und soziale Ungleichheiten noch verschärft werden, ist es dringend notwendig, Kanäle für den Dialog und die Zusammenarbeit zu stärken, die unterschiedliche Sichtweisen auf die Welt berücksichtigen. In diesem Zusammenhang können und müssen Brasilien und Deutschland Synergien schaffen, um eine Zukunft des Friedens, der Demokratie, der Menschenrechte, der sozialen Gerechtigkeit und des ökologischen Gleichgewichts für die kommenden Generationen zu ermöglichen.

Roberto Jaguaribe
Botschafter von Brasilien in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Einführung

Der 200. Jahrestag der deutschsprachigen Einwanderung nach Brasilien war 2024 Anlass für zahlreiche Feiern und Veranstaltungen in Deutschland und vor allem in Brasilien. Was genau wird gefeiert? Der 25. Juli 1824 ist ein denkwürdiges Datum: Eine kleine Gruppe von etwa 40 Deutschen, gerade in Brasilien angekommen, lässt sich notdürftig im Gebäude einer alten Leinen- und Hanffabrik (Real Feitoria de Linho e Cânhamo) in der Nähe von Porto Alegre nieder. Erschöpft von der monatelangen, beschwerlichen Transatlantikreise erholen sich die Menschen hier und warten sehnsüchtig auf das, was ihnen die brasilianische Regierung in der alten Heimat versprochen hat: ein Stück Land, Saatgut und Geld.

Es sind nicht die ersten deutschsprachigen Einwandererinnen und Einwanderer, die ihr Glück in Brasilien suchen. Bereits 1818 hat sich im Süden Bahias, in der Kolonie Leopoldina, eine weitere Gruppe unter Leitung eines privaten Investors angesiedelt. Und im Mai 1824 wird eine kleinere Gruppe von Deutschen, einst als Söldner für die Regierungstruppen angeworben, per kaiserlichem Dekret Brasiliens beauftragt, sich in Nova Friburgo (heute im Bundesstaat Rio de Janeiro) niederzulassen, das 1818 vorwiegend von Schweizer Siedlern gegründet wurde. Warum also wird der 25. Juli 1824 und nicht ein Tag im Mai 1824 oder 1818 als Beginn der deutschsprachigen Einwanderung nach Brasilien angesehen?

Weil mit der Ankunft jener Einwandernden, die sich in der Real Feitoria de Linho e Cânhamo – dem späteren São Leopoldo – niederlassen, ein Prozess der kontinuierlichen Einwanderung beginnt. Dieser wird von der brasilianischen Regierung aktiv gefördert und folgt dem Modell der Familienkolonisation auf kleinen Parzellen. Das Hauptziel ist der Süden des Landes.

Es sind Aspekte dieser Geschichte, die dieser Ausstellungskatalog aufzeigen will. Zunächst wird versucht, die Gründe der Auswanderung zu verstehen. Wie kommt es, dass unzählige Menschen ihre Heimat verlassen, um auf der anderen Seite der Hemisphäre, mehr als 10.000 Kilometer von allem Vertrauten entfernt, ein neues Leben zu beginnen? Zudem wird untersucht, was die brasilianische Einwanderungspolitik kennzeichnet. Anschließend werden einige Facetten der Anwerbung und Abreise aus

der Heimat sowie der langen Überfahrt beleuchtet. Weiterhin geht es um die Anfänge der kolonialen Siedlungen aus wirtschaftlicher und soziokultureller Sicht sowie um ihre Entwicklung. Ein Kapitel ist den Frauen gewidmet, die bei der Auswanderung in jeder einzelnen Phase eine zentrale Rolle spielen. Auch Konflikte und Schwierigkeiten werden thematisiert, beispielsweise die traumatische Konfrontation zwischen Indigenen und Siedlern, ein Thema, das vielfach verschwiegen oder bewusst vergessen wird; dieses Kapitel handelt zugleich von den bedrohlichen Folgen der nationalistischen Politik von Getúlio Vargas in den 1930er und 1940er Jahren. Zuletzt werden ausgewählte Aspekte des Vermächtnisses der deutschen Migration für die brasilianische Gesellschaft beleuchtet: Deutschsprachige Einwanderung hat Brasilien in vielen Lebensbereichen geprägt und verändert.

Mit diesem Katalog haben Leserinnen und Leser nun die Möglichkeit, die Themen der Ausstellung nachzuvollziehen und unterschiedliche Perspektiven dieser faszinierenden Geschichte voller Herausforderungen, Konflikte, Überwindungen und Chancen kennenzulernen. Eine Geschichte, die auch von der Entstehung Brasiliens und seiner Multikulturalität in Verbindung mit den deutschsprachigen Bevölkerungsgruppen in Europa erzählt. Viele Brasilianerinnen und Brasilianer haben heute deutschsprachige Vorfahren: Jene Menschen, die einst ihre Heimat verlassen haben und nach Brasilien aufgebrochen sind, um dort eine neue Heimat zu finden.

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Brasilien: ein Einwanderungsland

Brasilien: ein Einwanderungsland

Unter Prinzregent João beginnt 1808 in Brasilien eine Politik der Besetzung von dünn besiedelten Regionen, die auch mit gewaltsamen Maßnahmen umgesetzt wird. Es handelt sich dabei um Gebiete, die überwiegend von Indigenen bewohnt sind, die damals als „Wilde“ oder „bugres“ gelten und gegen die sogar ein Krieg als „gerecht“ angesehen wird.

Nach der politischen Unabhängigkeit (1822) verfolgt die kaiserliche Regierung einen ähnlichen Kurs. Das Vorgehen besteht darin, die Binnengrenze zu erweitern, indem europäische Einwandernde nach einem Modell angesiedelt werden, das auf Kleingrundbesitz, familiären Wirtschaftsstrukturen und Polykultur basiert. So handelt es sich um ein Alternativmodell zu Großgrundbesitz, Monokultur und Sklavenarbeit, die damals in Brasilien vorherrschend sind. Zusätzlich sollen die konfliktreichen südlichen Landesgrenzen durch die Ansiedlung europäischer Einwanderinnen und Einwanderer geschützt werden. Das Konzept sieht vor, die Männer bei Bedarf auch zur Armee einzuziehen.

Die kaiserliche Regierung bevorzugt bei diesem Vorhaben deutschsprachige Europäer. Leopoldine, Erzherzogin von Österreich und Gemahlin Pedros I., hat Einfluss auf diese Entscheidung. Die Deutschen gelten als gute Arbeiter und Bauern. Daher werden sie die erste Gruppe nicht-iberischer Europäer, die für die landwirtschaftliche Kolonisierung und Besiedlung der als „leer“ geltenden Gebiete bestimmt sind. Diese Besonderheit wird bis etwa 1870 beibehalten, bis andere Nationalitäten – vor allem Italiener – einwandern.

Die Krise der Sklaverei in den 1870er und 1880er Jahren veranlasst regionale Regierungen, insbesondere jene von São Paulo, Einwanderung attraktiver zu gestalten. Die subventionierte Einwanderung mit mehr Vorteilen führt zu einem Massenzustrom von Europäerinnen und Europäern nach Brasilien. Vor diesem Hintergrund werden in São Paulo (Hospedaria dos Imigrantes) und Rio de Janeiro (Ilha das Flores) große Unterkünfte gebaut, um den Bedarf zu decken. In den 1890er Jahren kommen rund 1.200.000 Menschen aus Europa ins Land.

1808	Ankunft der königlichen Familie Portugals und Öffnung der brasilianischen Häfen
1815	Ende der Napoleonischen Kriege
1817	Ankunft der österreichischen Erzherzogin Leopoldine in Brasilien
1822	Politische Unabhängigkeit und Gründung des Kaiserreichs Brasilien unter Pedro I.
1850	Verbot des Handels versklavter Menschen zwischen Brasilien und Afrika
1871	Gründung des Deutschen Kaiserreichs
1888	Aufhebung der Sklaverei in Brasilien

Historische Ereignisse in Europa und Brasilien, 1808–1945

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land: Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Machnow-Lisboa

Die Einwanderungspolitik zielt nicht nur darauf ab, das Problem der Besiedlung des Landes und der Arbeitskräfte zu lösen, sondern sie steht auch im Zusammenhang mit der „Rassendebatte“, die in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. und in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts in Brasilien geführt wird. Angesichts einer Bevölkerung mit vielen Schwarzen und Mestizen sollen einwandernde weiße Menschen aus Europa die Bevölkerungsstruktur durch ethnische Vermischung „aufweißen“. So wollen es die politischen, wirtschaftlichen und intellektuellen Eliten Brasiliens, die überwiegend weiß und von rassistischen Vorurteilen geprägt sind.

In den 1930er Jahren, mit dem Estado Novo (Neuen Staat) unter Getúlio Vargas, stoppt Brasilien die großen Zuwanderungswellen durch die Einführung von Quoten und die Umsetzung einer restriktiven Politik. Dies hat schwerwiegende Konsequenzen für die vom Nationalsozialismus verfolgten Europäerinnen und Europäer, darunter viele Deutschsprachige.

Nach 1945 lockert Brasilien diese Beschränkungen schrittweise. Hauptargument dieser neuen Einwanderungspolitik ist, dass das Land verstärkt qualifizierte Arbeitskräfte für Landwirtschaft und Industrie benötigt. Die Zahlen zeigen jedoch, dass europäische Masseneinwanderung nach Brasilien ein Phänomen der Vergangenheit ist.

1889	Ausrufung der Republik in Brasilien
1914–1918	Erster Weltkrieg
1930	Machtergreifung von Getúlio Vargas in Brasilien
1933–1945	Nationalsozialismus und Zweiter Weltkrieg
1937–1945	Errichtung des Estado Novo unter Getúlio Vargas, Diktatur in Brasilien



Titel der Zeitschrift „O Imigrante“, 1908

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Einwanderung nach Brasilien, 1819 bis 1933

Einwanderung nach Brasilien, 1819 bis 1933



Erster Blick auf die Hafenstadt Santos, o.D.

Herkunftsland	1819-59	1860-69	1870-79	1880-89	1890-99	1900-09	1910-19	1920-29	1930-33	Gesamt
Portugal	64.524	65.618	67.609	104.690	219.353	195.586	318.481	301.915	46.086	1.381.862
Italien	209	4.916	47.100	277.124	690.365	221.394	138.168	106.835	11.242	1.497.353
Spanien	191	653	3.940	30.066	164.293	113.142	181.651	80.951	8.142	582.989
„Deutschland“/ Deutschland	22.798	16.514	14.627	18.901	17.084	13.848	25.902	75.801	11.254	216.729
Österreich		104	7.580	4.603	38.487	15.443	13.085	12.020	1.282	92.604
Frankreich	396	2.564	4.213	2.856	7.575	3.682	8.163	6.797	1.617	37.859
Schweiz	4.411	758	1.838	1.117	1.056	993	1.586	3.859	691	16.309
Russland			8.075	2.094	41.416	14.906	39.288	7.171	3.609	116.559
Polen					1.420			28.028	9.001	38.449
Japan						861	27.432	58.286	55.880	142.459
Levante					3.617	16.131	35.193	23.784	269	78.994
Sonstige	15.090	30.986	38.949	6.500	13.035	18.367	25.273	112.395	16.777	277.372
Gesamt	107.619	120.093	193.931	447.951	1.197.701	614.353	814.222	817.818	165.850	4.479.538

Nach Stefan Rinke, Georg Fischer und Frederik Schulze, 2009

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Zahlen und Herkunft

Die „Deutschen“, die nach Brasilien einwandern, kommen aus verschiedenen Regionen wie dem Hunsrück, Westfalen und Württemberg. Sie sprechen unterschiedliche Dialekte. Eine „deutsche“ Nationalität wird erst 1871 mit der Gründung des Deutschen Reichs eingeführt. Bis dahin verstehen sich diese Einwandernden beispielweise als Preußen oder Sachsen.

Es ist unmöglich, die genaue Zahl der Einwandernden aus deutschsprachigen Regionen in Brasilien zu ermitteln, da es mindestens bis 1872 keine systematischen Aufzeichnungen der brasilianischen Behörden gibt. Die Angaben für den Zeitraum von 1824 bis 1940 schwanken zwischen 220.000 und 280.000 Einwandernden. Werden die Österreicher

hinzugerechnet, könnte die Gesamtzahl zwischen 310.000 und 370.000 liegen. Es ist nicht bekannt, wie viele von ihnen in ihr Herkunftsland zurückkehren oder ihre neue Heimat anderswo suchen.

Im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert wird die deutsche Einwanderung nach Brasilien zahlenmäßig von Einwandernden italienischer, spanischer und portugiesischer Herkunft übertroffen. Die „Deutschen“ sind bis 1870 nach den Portugiesen die zweitgrößte Einwanderergruppe.

Von 1945 bis 1969 sind die Portugiesen (861.009) weiterhin die größte Gruppe, gefolgt von Spaniern (341.916), Italienern (119.657) und Japanern (58.697). An fünfter Stelle stehen die Deutschen mit fast 27.500 Einwandererinnen und Einwanderern.

Erste Siedlungen von deutschsprachigen Einwandernden

Espírito Santo

Santa Isabel (1847)	Herkunft: Pfalz, Hessen
Santa Leopoldina (1857)	Herkunft: Pommern

Rio de Janeiro

Nova Friburgo (1818)	Herkunft: Schweiz, Mecklenburg, Hessen
Petrópolis (1845)	Herkunft: Pfalz, Westfalen, Nassau, Rheinland

Minas Gerais

Teófilo Ottoni (1847)	Herkunft: Potsdam, Baden, Pommern, Sachsen
Juiz de Fora (1852)	Herkunft: Hessen, Schleswig-Holstein, Bayern, Nassau, Braunschweig, Sachsen

São Paulo

Santo Amaro (1827/1828)	Herkunft: Pfalz, Hessen
Colônia (1827/1828)	Herkunft: Pfalz, Hessen
Itapetereira da Serra (1827/1828)	Herkunft: Mecklenburg, Pfalz, Hessen
Rio Claro (1827/28)	Herkunft: Pfalz, Rheinland
Rio Negro (1828)	Herkunft: Mecklenburg, Pfalz, Hessen
Limeira (1846)	Herkunft: Schleswig-Holstein, Pommern, Schweiz

Paraná

Diverse Siedlungen um Ponta Grossa entstehen 1877 bis 1879 infolge der Einwanderung von Wolgadeutschen aus der Ukraine.

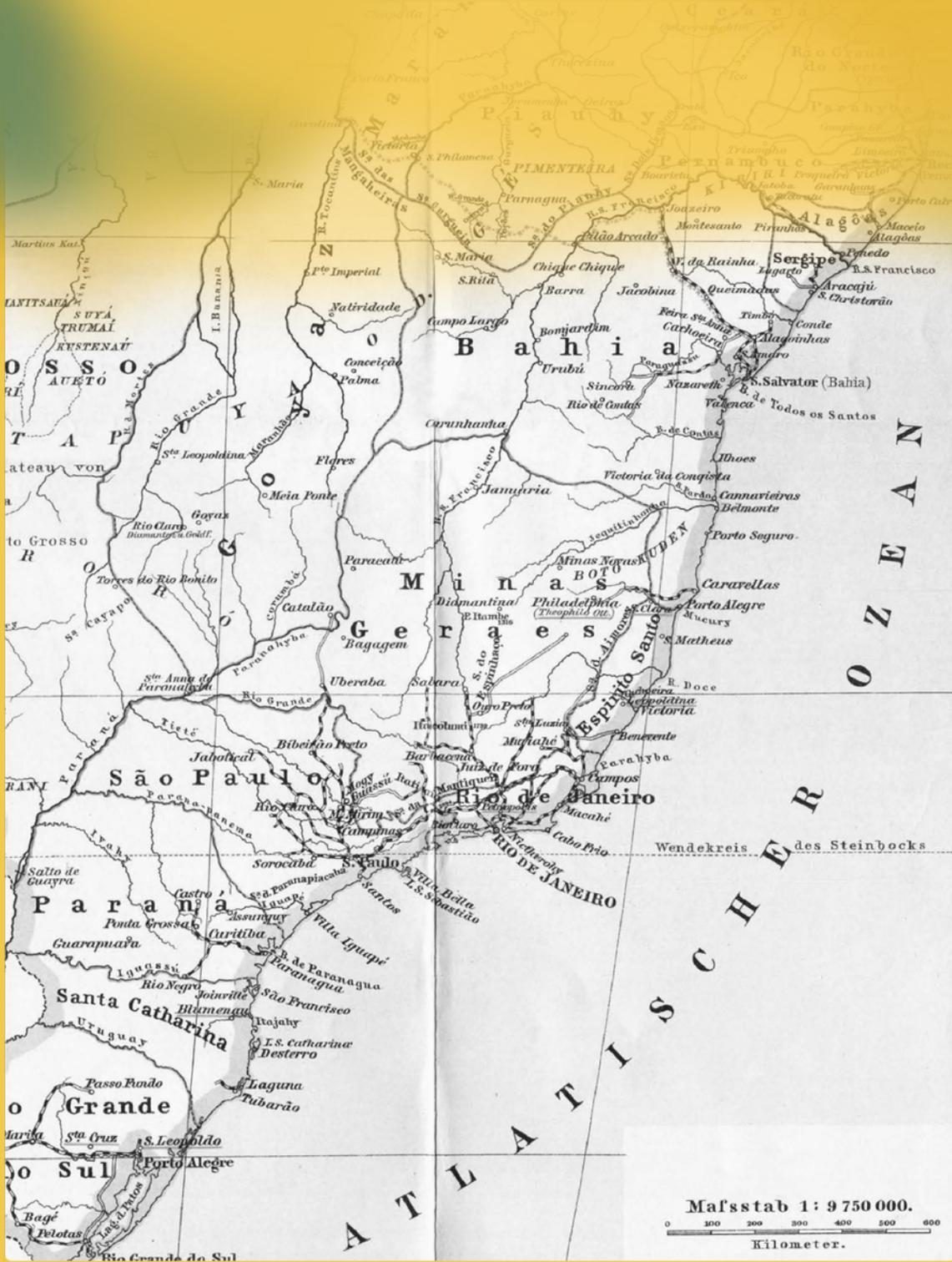
Santa Catarina

Blumenau (1850)	Herkunft: Pommern, Holstein, Hannover, Braunschweig, Sachsen
Joinville (1851)	Herkunft: Preußen, Oldenburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Hannover, Schweiz
Brusque (1860)	Herkunft: Baden, Oldenburg, Rheinland, Pommern, Schleswig-Holstein, Braunschweig

Rio Grande do Sul

São Leopoldo (1824)	Herkunft: Hamburg, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Pfalz, Hessen, Sachsen-Coburg, Württemberg
Santa Cruz do Sul (1849)	Herkunft: Rheinland, Pommern, Schlesien
Santo Ângelo (Agudo) (1857)	Herkunft: Rheinland, Sachsen, Pommern
São Lourenço do Sul (1857)	Herkunft: Rheinland, Pommern
Nova Petrópolis (1858)	Herkunft: Pommern, Sachsen, Böhmen
Teutônia (1868)	Herkunft: Westfalen

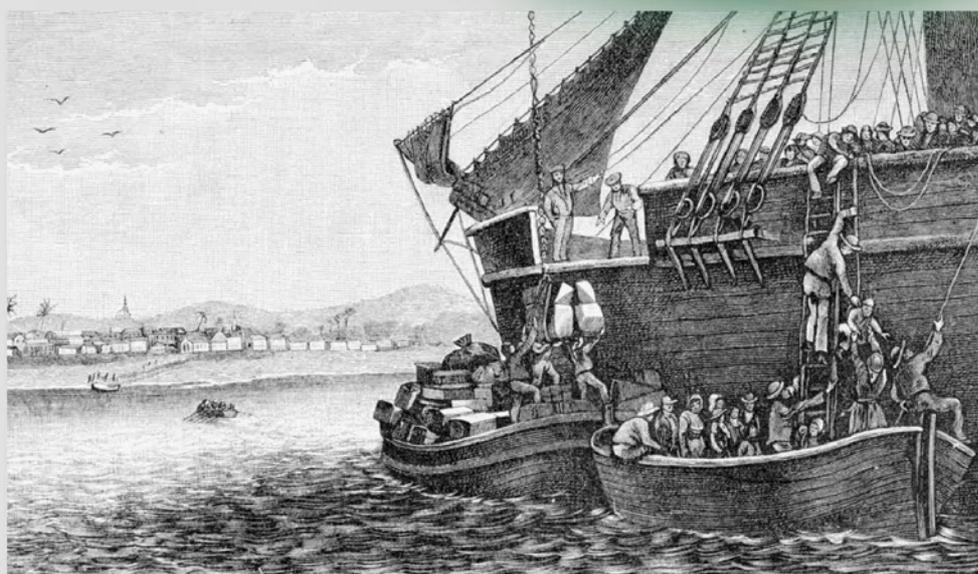
Tabelle: nach Martin Dreher, 2013 | Karte Brasiliens (Ausschnitt), 1899



Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land
Über 200
Jahre deutschsprachige
Immigrationen.
Karen Macknow Lisboa



Reise ins Ungewisse



„Ausschiffung deutscher Auswanderer am Itajahy grande“, Zeichnung von F. Hofmeister, 1885/86

Auswanderungsgründe

Noch heute gibt es politische, wirtschaftliche, religiöse, soziale oder ökologische Gründe für Migration und Flucht. Das 19. Jahrhundert ist von einer noch nicht gekannten massenhaften Fernmigration geprägt. Zwischen 1815 und 1914 verlassen mindestens 82 Millionen Menschen ihr Heimatland.

In Europa ist die Auswanderung in großen Zahlen Folge von Kriegen und Hungersnöten sowie von tiefgreifenden Veränderungen, die industrieller Kapitalismus und Modernisierung der Landwirtschaft mit sich bringen. Für viele gibt es keine Arbeit und kein Ackerland. Fortschritte in der Medizin tragen zum Bevölkerungswachstum bei. Um 1800 umfasst die Bevölkerung Europas ca. 187 Millionen Menschen. Bis Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts wächst sie auf etwa 266 Millionen Einwohnerinnen und Einwohner an. Und im Jahr 1913 sind es bereits rund 468 Millionen.

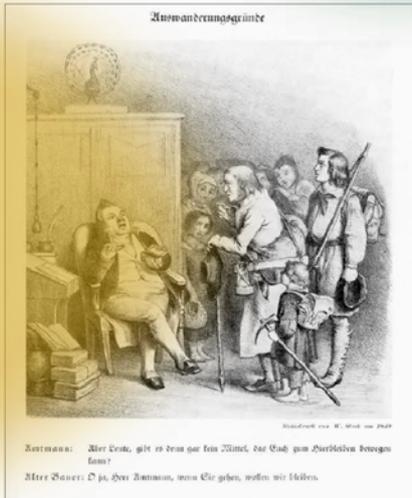
„ Kurz, die Deutschen wandern,
nicht nach einem Lande,
nach vielen verschiedenen
Ländern; dort hoffen sie,
das zu finden, was sie hier ihrer
Meinung nach schmerzlich
entbehren.“

Allgemeine Auswanderungszeitung, 1846

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über die ersten 100 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Reise ins Ungewisse



„Auswanderungsgründe“ in Kladderadatsch, 1861
 Amtmann: „Aber Leute, gibt es denn gar kein Mittel, das Euch zum Hierbleiben bewegen kann?“
 Alter Bauer: „O ja, Herr Amtmann, wenn Sie gehen, wollen wir bleiben.“



Amtmann: „Aber Kinder, ihr habt es hier so gut, Gesetze und Beamte die Fülle, und da wollt ihr in ein gesetzloses Land gehen, wo es nicht einmal Polizei gibt? Glaubt ihr denn, daß Euch dort die gebratenen Tauben ins Maul fliegen?“
 Bauer: „Ne, Herr Amtmann! Aber wenn eene geflogene kömmt, dann ess'n wir sie auch selber!“

Viele Regionen sind nicht mehr in der Lage, dieses Bevölkerungswachstum zu bewältigen. Elende Lebensbedingungen und Verarmung bedrohen Abermillionen Menschenleben. Die Auswanderung scheint ein Ausweg aus dieser misslichen Lage. Die meisten deutschsprachigen Auswanderinnen und Auswanderer zieht es in die USA. Zwischen 1820 und 1912 suchen dort rund 5,5 Millionen Menschen eine neue Heimat. Etwa 220.000 suchen ihr Glück in Brasilien.

In den 1920er Jahren gibt es den größten Zustrom deutschsprachiger Einwandernder nach Brasilien aufgrund der Wirtschaftskrise nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Im Zuge der Machtergreifung Hitlers im Jahr 1933 erfolgt die Migration hauptsächlich aus politischen Gründen und vor dem Hintergrund rassistischer Verfolgung und Vernichtung.

Die überwiegende Mehrheit sind verarmte Bauern, Handwerker und Arbeiter, die über Agenten oder auf eigene Faust nach Brasilien kommen. Aber auch Freiberufler, Akademiker und Geistliche machen sich auf den Weg nach Übersee, getrieben vom Traum von einem besseren Leben.

Ein Traum, den einige mit harter Arbeit und Opfern verwirklichen können. Im Gepäck haben sie nicht nur die Sehnsucht nach der Heimat und die Hoffnung, etwas Besseres zu finden, sondern auch Kultur, Sprache und Brauchtum, die in der Fremde Wurzeln schlagen und neue Triebe bilden.

„ Von all dem Abschiedsweh und Leid will ich nicht sprechen; mich hatte das Heimweh schon erfasst, ehe ich die Heimat verlassen hatte. (...) Man gleicht einem Kinde, das zum erstenmal in die weite Welt hinausschaut, man fühlt schon jetzt, man ist heimatlos geworden.“

Emilie Heinrichs, *Die Frau des Auswanderers*, 1921

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land 19. Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung Karen Macknow Lisboa

Auswanderungsagenten



Beim Auswanderungsagenten

Auswanderungsagenten

Der Beruf des Auswanderungsagenten wird im 19. Jahrhundert immer wichtiger. Der Agent fungiert als Bindeglied zwischen den privaten Auswanderungsgesellschaften, Reisebüros, Konsulaten und Regierungen. Er ist sowohl für die Zusammenführung künftiger Auswandererinnen und Auswanderer als auch für deren Begleitung bei allen Schritten der Reise zuständig.

Zu seinen Aufgaben gehört auch die Lösung bürokratischer Fragen, die für die Ausreise unerlässlich sind. Dazu zählen beispielsweise Pässe, Visa oder Ticketverträge sowie die Festlegung der Land- und Seewege zum jeweiligen Zielort. Viele Auswanderungsagenten sind Betrüger, weshalb sie vielfach als „Menschenjäger“ oder „Seelenverkäufer“ bezeichnet werden.

*Wir treten jetzt die Reise
Zum Land Brasilien an.
Sei bei uns Herr und weise,
Ja mache selbst die Bahn.*

(...)

*Durch Gott sind wir berufen,
Sonst käm's uns nie in Sinn.
So glauben wir und wandern
Auf sein Geheiß dahin.*

(...)

*Gott schütz Brasiliens Kaiser,
In seinem Lebenslauf.
Und kröne ihn mit Seegen,
Er nimmt uns willig auf.*

(...)

*Bald läuft das Schiff in Hafen,
Bald treten wir auf's Land.*

(...)

Brasilienlied, aufgezeichnet von Peter Molitor, 1825
Gesungen mit Drehorgelspieler als Abschiedslied in den Dörfern des Hunsrucks und der Pfalz.

Das Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Reise im Ungewisse

Anton Schaeffer

Die kleine Gruppe, die 1824 im künftigen São Leopoldo eintrifft, wird von Anton Schaeffer, Arzt und später Major der kaiserlichen Armee Brasiliens, angeworben. Die Regierung von Kaiser Pedro I. beauftragt Schaeffer, deutsche Auswandernde für landwirtschaftliche Kolonien in Brasilien sowie als Söldner für die brasilianische Armee anzuwerben.

Da es in den Ländern des Deutschen Bundes nach den Napoleonischen Kriegen strafbar ist, für ausländische Militärdienste zu rekrutieren, greift Schaeffer

auch zu illegalen Mitteln und Tricks, um seine Ziele zu erreichen. Er baut ein Netz von Agenten in ganz Deutschland auf. Diese gehen bis in die kleinsten Dörfer und werben mit Broschüren, Plakaten, Drehorgelmusik, Gedichten und Liedern. Ein Vers dieser Lieder macht schnell die Runde: „Brasilien ist nicht weit von hier.“



Georg Anton Schaeffer, vor 1836



Gedenk- und Werbemarke „Feitoria Velha“, 1934



„Zur Essenszeit im Zwischendeck“
Nach einer englischen Skizze, 1882

„ Wir treten jetzt die Reise nach Brasilien an; sei bei uns, Herr, und weise, ja, mache selbst die Bahn (...)“

Lied von Peter Molitor, 1825

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

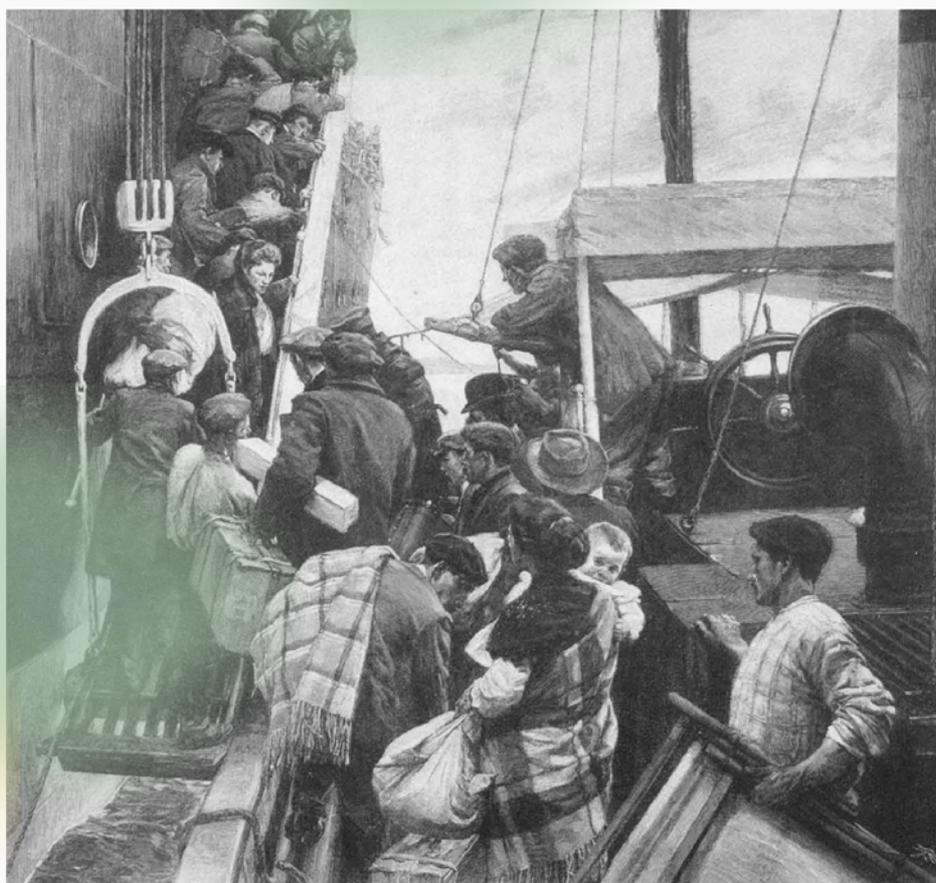
Die Überfahrt

Die Überfahrt

Bis Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts werden Waren und Passagiere zwischen Europa und Brasilien auf Segelschiffen transportiert. Um den Gewinn aus der Beförderung zu maximieren, werden die Schiffe so weit wie möglich ausgelastet.

Außerst schlechte hygienische Bedingungen und mangelhafte Ernährung begünstigen die Ausbreitung von Krankheiten. Zahlreiche Tote sind die Folge,

vor allem Kinder und Schwache. Die Überfahrt nach Rio de Janeiro dauert zwischen 9 und 12 Wochen. Dabei drohen nicht selten die Vorräte an Lebensmitteln und Trinkwasser auszugehen. Nach der Ankunft in Rio de Janeiro oder Santos beginnt die letzte und oft ebenso langwierige Etappe der Reise, insbesondere, wenn das Ziel im Süden des Landes liegt.

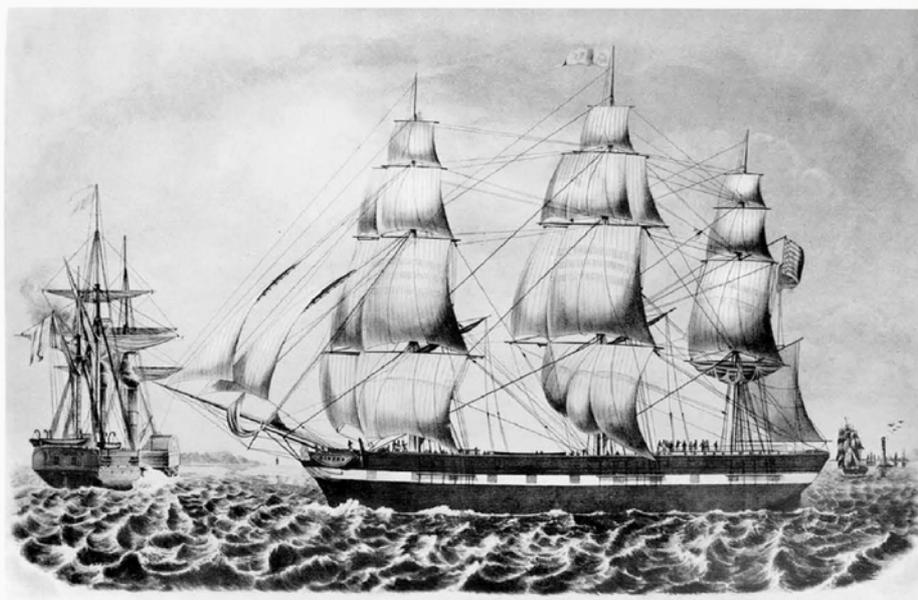


„Ins Ungewisse“
Nach einem Gemälde von V. Alvarez Sala, 1908

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Reise ins Ungewisse



Das Auswanderer-Segelschiff „Olbers“, o.D.

„Die ‚Olbers‘ war so groß, dass einem das Genick steif wurde, wenn man hinaufschaute“, berichtet ein damaliger Augenzeuge. Das Schiff ist 41,50 m lang, 9,70 m breit und im Zwischendeck 2,05 m hoch. 800 Auswanderer aus der Mosel-, Nahe- und Saarregion reisen 1828 auf der ‚Olbers‘ nach Rio de Janeiro.

1832 schreibt Mathias Franzen seinem Schwager in Pünderich an der Mosel einen ausführlichen Brief über seine Erlebnisse als Auswanderer nach São Leopoldo: Er und seine Familie ziehen zunächst vier Wochen über Land bis nach Bremen. Dort müssen sie 13 Wochen warten, bevor sie das große Schiff „Olbers“ in Bremerhaven besteigen, das nach weiteren vierzehn Tagen am 26. September 1828 endlich in See stechen kann. Franzen schildert die Fahrt als „beschwerlich, aber nicht gefährlich.“

Von 800 Passagieren sterben 47. Nach fast 85 Tagen erreicht Familie Franzen im Dezember 1828 Rio de Janeiro. Von dort aus geht es nach einem siebenwöchigen Zwischenaufenthalt weiter in Richtung Süden nach Rio Grande do Sul. Am 10. März 1829, nach fast sechs Monaten auf Reisen, trifft die Familie endlich in São Leopoldo ein.

*Willkommen spricht der Kaiser
Willkommen seid ihr mir.
Ihr sollt Antheil bekommen
An meines Landsrevier.
(...)*

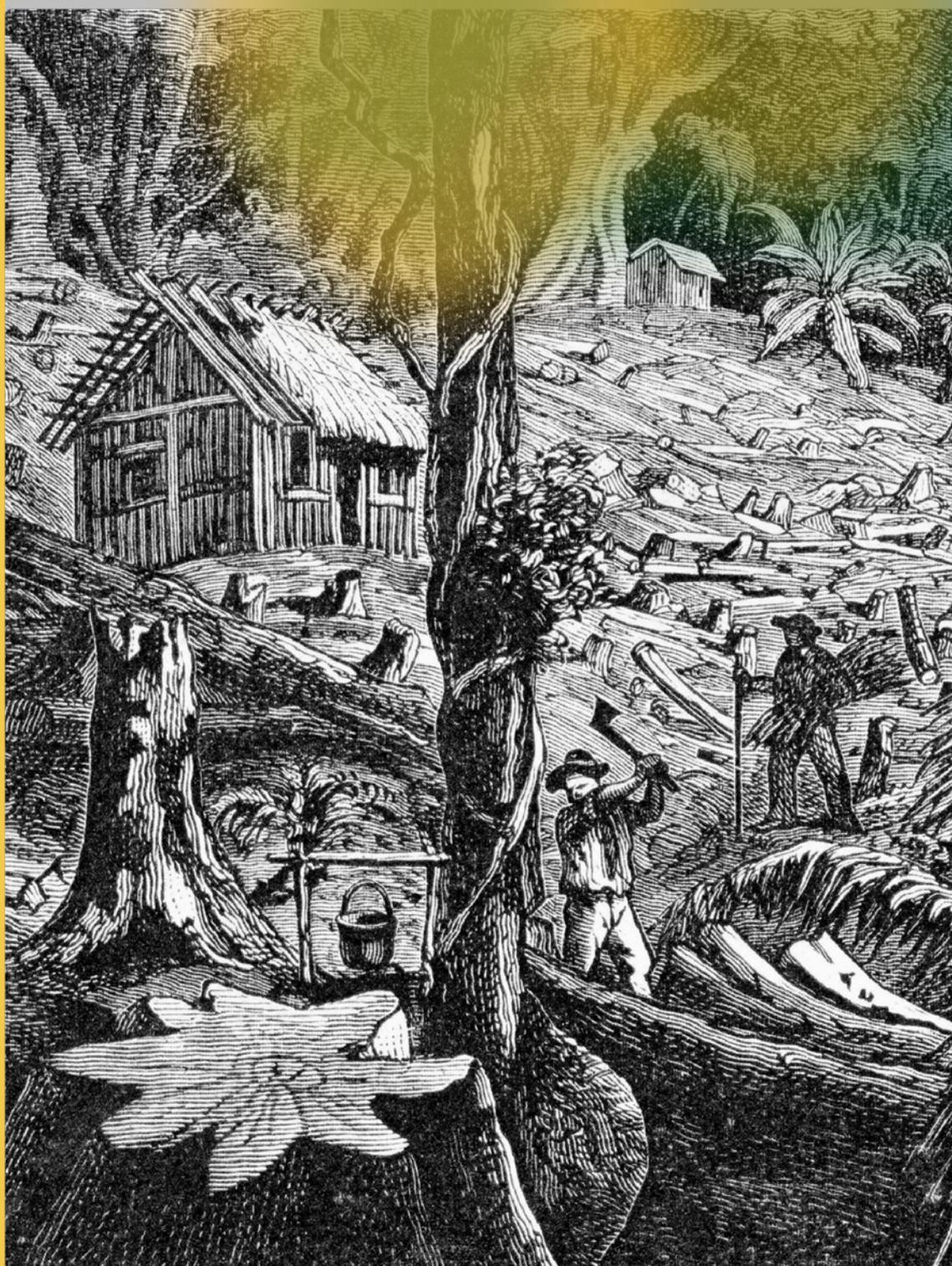
*Nimm unsere Seufzer auf,
Was wir allhier geloben,
Gott drück das Siegel drauf.*

*So sind wir nun verbunden,
In das Brasilienland.
Ach Vater bleibe bei uns
Mit deiner Vaterhand.
Versorge uns mit Nahrung
Sey bei uns in der Noth,
Verlaß uns nicht in Leiden,
Verlaß uns nicht im Tod.*

Brasilienlied, aufgezeichnet von Peter Molitor, 1825

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa



Anfänge der Besiedlung



„Roçaschlagen – Ausroden des Urwalds“, Zeichnung von F. Hofmeister, 1885/86

„ Die Begründung einer Colonie im Urwalde beginnt bekanntlich damit, dass durch denselben ein Aushau, eine Picada, etwa 15 Fuß Breite geschlagen wird, in grader Richtung, welche nur durch die ärgsten Terrainschwierigkeiten modificiert wird. Diese Picaden dienen als Fahrwege und sollen deshalb von Baumwuchs freigehalten werden. An ihnen wird zu beiden Seiten die Front der einzelnen Landlose abgemessen und an den Bäumen markirt.“

Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde, 1859

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Anfänge der Besiedlung

Die deutsche Einwanderung ist im Brasilien des 19. Jahrhunderts eng mit der Besiedlung des Landes verbunden. Zwar bleiben einige Einwanderinnen und Einwanderer in den Städten, wo sie verschiedensten Berufen nachgehen, doch die Mehrheit lässt sich in ländlichen Gebieten nieder.

Bis in die 1850er Jahre werden die meisten Kolonien von der brasilianischen Regierung verwaltet. Diese sichert den Siedlerinnen und Siedlern ein Landstück von etwa 70 Hektar, Saatgut und finanzielle Unterstützung zu.

„Der Kolonist steht auf eigenen Füßen mit der Axt in der Hand und vor dem jungfräulichen Urwald. Nun beginnt die schwerste, entbehrungsreichste Zeit, zwei bis drei Jahre harte Arbeit. Je mehr halberwachsene Kinder da sind, desto besser und schneller geht alles von statten, denn sie können mithelfen. Für einen einzelnen ist diese Periode niederdrückend, er muss Handreichungen vernissen, die in Europa ganz selbstverständlich waren; eigenhändig muss er jetzt kochen, waschen, nähen; dabei ist er so entsetzlich allein im fernen Lande, und glücklich ist er noch zu nennen, wenn er nur gesund dabei bleibt.“

F. Hofmeister, „Aus den deutschen Kolonien in Brasilien“, *Über Land und Meer*, 1885/86



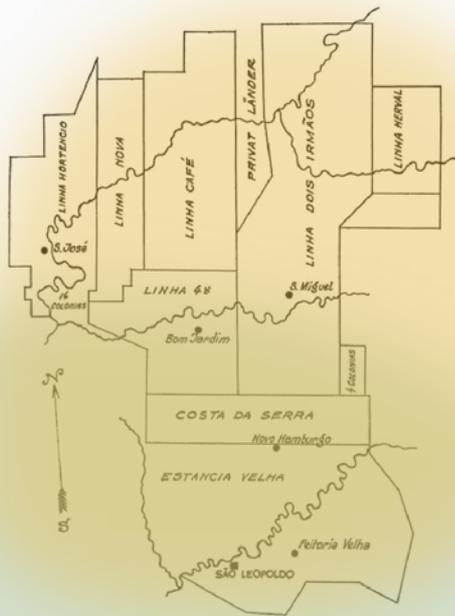
„Santa Catarina“, 1900

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Die Picada und ihre Parzellen

Die Picada und ihre Parzellen



Karte der ehemaligen Kolonie von São Leopoldo, o.D.
Die 1824 in São Leopoldo gegründete Kolonie wird zu einer Art wirtschaftlichem und sozialem Vorbild, das von anderen Regionen in Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Paraná, São Paulo und Espírito Santo sowie von Einwandernden anderer Herkunft übernommen wird.

Die links abgebildete Karte zeigt das Netz der Pikaden, die im rechten Winkel verlaufen. Dieses Prinzip der Landaufteilung, das auch in anderen Siedlungen angewendet wird, ist den deutschen Siedlern fremd. Rund um die picada – in der deutschen Anpassung Pikade oder auch Schneise – bildet sich das Leben in der Siedlung. Je nach Region wird die Pikade auch lajeado, linha oder travessão genannt. Ein weiterer Begriff ist tifa, eine Abwandlung des deutschen Begriffs Tiefe.

„Nichts als Wald, Wald, Urwald war hier zu sehen. (...) Der Wald konnte uns nicht aufnehmen, kein Schritt ließ sich dorthinein tun, er war dicht wie eine Mauer.“

Emilie Heinrichs, *Die Frau des Auswanderers*, 1921



„Paraná“, o.D.



„Paraná“, o.D.

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Anfänge der Besiedlung



„Kolonisten beim Bauholzschneiden im Urwald“, 1935



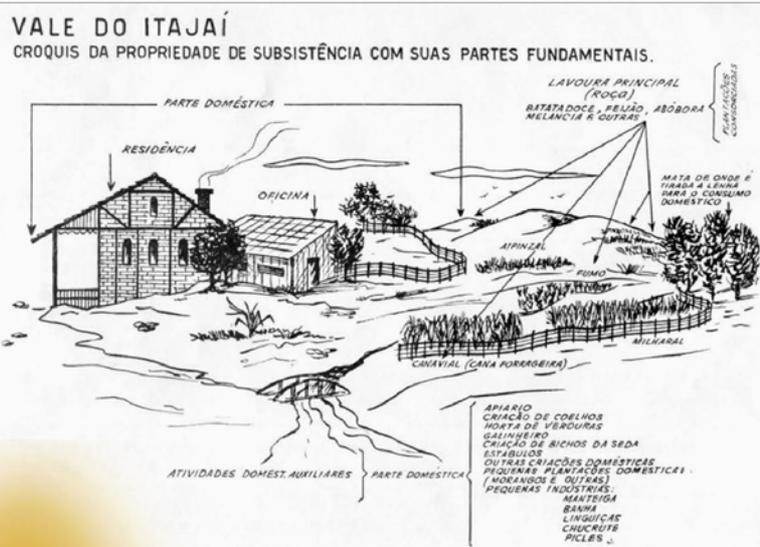
„Neue Kolonisten in der Hansa“, 1909

Die Unterkunft ist zunächst eine improvisierte einfache Baracke.

Bei der Aufteilung, Abgrenzung und Verteilung der Landstücke kommt es häufig zu Fehlern, was nicht selten zu Konflikten zwischen den Siedlern führt.

Je nach Größe der Parzelle, Bodenqualität und Nähe zu Wohngebieten muss der Siedler zwei oder drei Jahre durchhalten, bevor er anfängliche Schwierigkeiten überwinden kann. Die subtropische Umgebung birgt neben der Herausforderung, das Land zu kultivieren, weitere Schwierigkeiten. Dazu zählen beispielsweise Klima, Flora und Fauna sowie zahlreiche Gesundheitsrisiken für die Siedlerinnen und Siedler.

Im Allgemeinen beruht die Produktivität der kolonialen Parzelle auf der Polykultur zahlreicher Agrarprodukte und Zucht von Geflügel, Schweinen oder Milchvieh. Alle Familienmitglieder arbeiten nach Möglichkeit mit an der Herstellung von handwerklichen Erzeugnissen wie Schmalz, Butter, Käse, Zigarren oder Marmelade. Trotz Selbstversorgung ist die Kolonie auf die Vermarktung ihrer Produkte und den Zugang zu Verbrauchermärkten angewiesen, was häufig durch unsichere Straßen und Transportmittel erschwert wird.



Omer Mont' Alegre, 1950
Skizze des landwirtschaftlichen Grundstücks mit seinen wesentlichen Bestandteilen zur Selbstversorgung

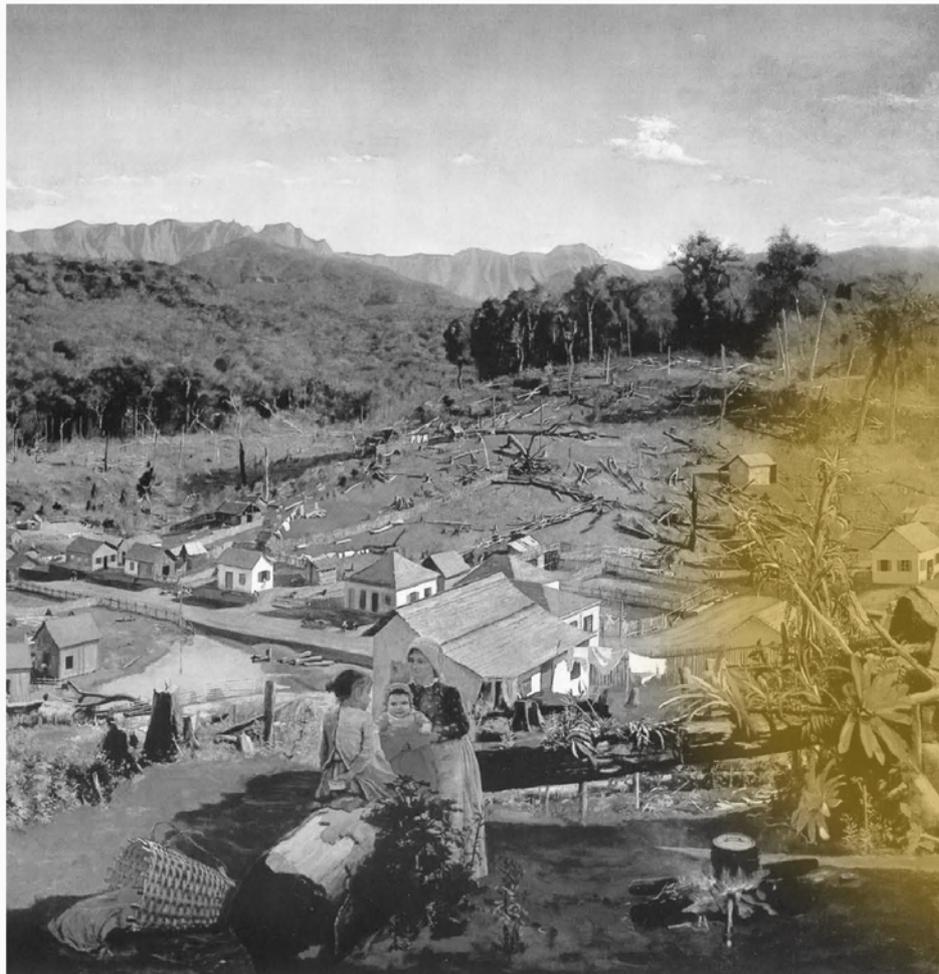
Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Die Picada und ihre Parzellen

Die natürlichen Gegebenheiten vor Ort verlangen von den Landwirten, die in Brasilien üblichen Anbaumethoden wie Rodung und Feuerlegung zu übernehmen. Zugleich bemühen sie sich auch, ihre eigenen, in der Heimat erworbenen Kenntnisse einzubringen und anzupassen. Ein solcher Beitrag deut-

scher Einwandernder ist beispielsweise die Verwendung von Pflug und Egge, sofern der Boden das zulässt. Darüber hinaus tragen viele Einwandernde dazu bei, typische europäische Agrarprodukte an den brasilianischen Boden anzupassen.



„Nova vida (Nova Veneza)“, Gemälde von Pedro Weingärtner, 1893
Das Gemälde zeigt eine Kolonie italienischer Einwandererinnen und Einwanderer. Diese folgt dem Muster deutscher Siedlungen: Eröffnung der Picada, Abholzung des Waldes, Brandsetzung und Errichtung einfacher Bauten entlang der Picada.

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa



Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Leben in der „Kolonie“



„Stadtplatz der Kolonie Blumenau“, Zeichnung von F. Hofmeister, 1873

Angesichts der geografischen Isolation und des Fehlens staatlicher Einrichtungen bauen die Siedlerinnen und Siedler auf eigene Art und Weise ihre gemeinschaftliche Infrastruktur auf. Entlang der Píkade errichten sie Kirche, Schule, Veranstaltungssaal und die *venda*, den Krämerladen. Typisch „deutsche“ soziale und kulturelle Praktiken werden beibehalten, mit regionalen Eigenheiten. In diesem Sinn, also aus einer soziologischen Perspektive, steht der Begriff „Kolonie“ für eine gemeinschaftliche Organisation von Eingewanderten und ihrer Nachkommen, die auf einer ethnischen Zugehörigkeit basiert. Der Begriff „Deutschtum“, der sich im 19. Jahrhundert sowie in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts immer stärker durchsetzt, ist mit der Vorstellung einer gemeinsamen Abstammung und Sprache sowie kollektiven Bräuchen verbunden.

Die deutschsprachigen Eingewanderten sind nicht nur Pioniere auf dem Gebiet der Kleinlandbewirtschaftung, sondern auch Gründer von Dörfern und künftigen Städten, die durch ihre Kultur und ethnische Zugehörigkeit spezifische Merkmale aufweisen. Ab 1870, mit der Ankunft anderer Nationalitäten, insbesondere Italiener, beginnt sich diese ethnisch-kulturelle Identität vielerorts zu verändern.

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Machnow Lisboa

Leben in der „Kolonie“

„ Unter den Ländern, die für die Deutsche Einwanderung in Betracht kommen könnten, steht an erster Stelle Südbrasilien und besonders der Staat Rio Grande do Sul und zwar aus folgenden Gründen: (...) im Lande befinden sich bereits 400.000 deutsche Abkömmlinge, die zum größten Teil in geschlossenen Kolonien zusammenwohnen und durch Kirche, Vereinstätigkeit und Presse ihre (...) Eigenart sich bewahrt haben.“

Auskünfte für Auswanderer nach Brasilien. Die Einwanderungskommission, 1920



Kirchgang in Sta. Maria, Espírito Santo, 1939



Evangelische Kirche in Campinho, um 1900

In Campinho in Espírito Santo, dem heutigen Domingos Martins, lassen sich zahlreiche Hunsrücker und Pommeren nieder. Die Kirche des Ortes ist das erste lutherische Gotteshaus, das 1887 trotz Verbot mit einem Turm erbaut wird. Bis zur Ausrufung der Republik 1889 ist die Ausübung nichtkatholischer Religionen in privatem Raum toleriert. Öffentliche Bekundungen in Form von Türmen oder in anderer Art sind verboten.

„ Ich und mein Nachbar Scheid halten Sonntags wenn uns nichts erhebliches im Wege steht unsere Privatbetstunde, und zu diesem Behuf möchte ich ein schönes und zweckmäßiges Buch haben und auch ein schönes Gebetbuch, welches zum häuslichen Gottesdienst zweckmäßig ist.“

Peter Tatsch aus Raversbeuren im Hunsrück stammend an seinen Sohn, 1834

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Kirche

Kirche

In den ersten fünfzig Jahren der Kolonisation gibt es keine zentrale religiöse Organisation für die Protestanten, zu denen mehr als die Hälfte der Einwanderer zählen. Die offizielle Kirche in Brasilien ist die katholische. So kommt in vielen Kolonien der religiöse Beistand von den Siedlern selbst, in Form von Laienpfarrern. Erst in den 1880er Jahren werden Synoden und Vereinigungen gegründet, um die zahlreichen Gemeinden zu integrieren. Das trägt zur Institutionalisierung der evangelischen Religion in Brasilien bei. 1922 gibt es 375 Kirchengemeinden des lutherischen Glaubens in Brasilien. Die meisten befinden sich im Süden und Südosten des Landes.

„ (...) wir halten und lesen noch alle Sonntage und Feiertage die Predigt und singen in unserer Sprache unsern Gesang so gut als wir können. Hieraus besteht beständig unsere Erbauung zu unserm Himmlischen Vater und Seinem Heiligen Göttlichen Wort! “

Johann Peter Görhardt aus Irmenach stammend an seinen Bruder, 1836



„Kerb“, Gemälde von Pedro Weingärtner, 1892

Ein wichtiges Fest ist die Kerb, deren Name sich vom Hunsrückler „Kerwe“ ableitet, das heißt Kirchweihfest. Die erste Kerb wird 1829 in Baumschneis, dem heutigen Dois Irmãos, in Rio Grande do Sul gefeiert. Im Verlauf der Zeit verliert die Feier ihren religiösen Charakter und entwickelt sich immer mehr zu einem Dorffest, auf dem Protestanten und Katholiken zusammen feiern.

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Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

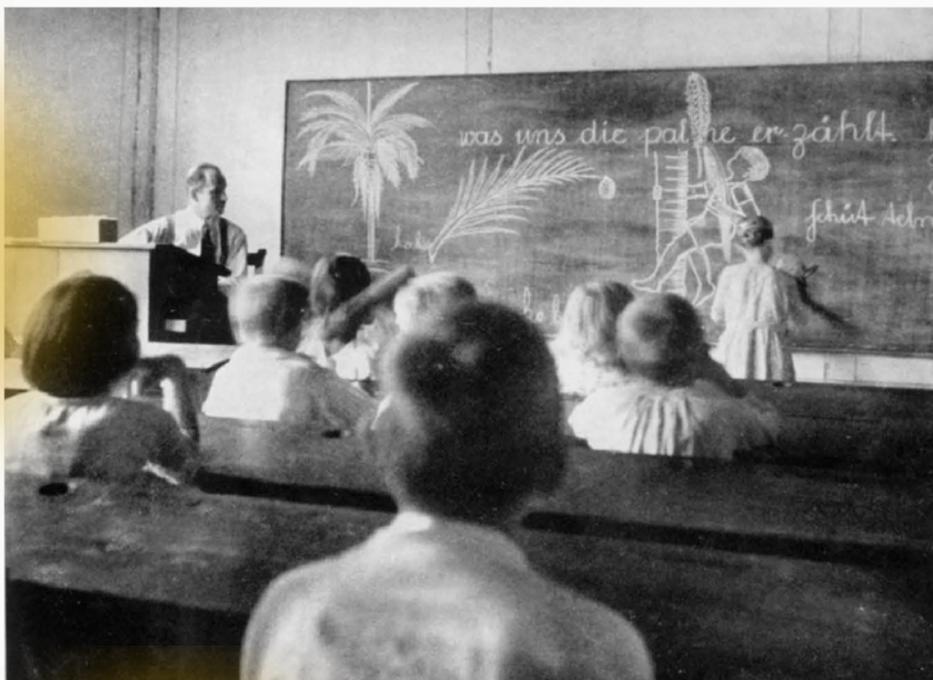
Karen Macknow Lisboa

Leben in der „Kolonie“

Schulwesen

Ein Großteil der Eingewanderten stammt aus deutschen Regionen, in denen die Schulbildung vom Staat gewährleistet wurde. Da es jedoch in den Siedlungsgebieten in Brasilien an staatlichen Schulen fehlt, sind die Siedler gezwungen, eigene Schulen zu gründen und entsprechende Räumlichkeiten zu errichten, sofern der Unterricht nicht wie üblicherweise in der örtlichen Kirche stattfinden kann. Der Lehrer wird unter den Siedlern ausgewählt und erhält eine bescheidene Bezahlung. In der Regel besitzt dieser keine spezielle Ausbildung, die Qualität des Unterrichts ist entsprechend vielfach mangelhaft.

Im Verlauf des 19. Jahrhunderts nimmt die Zahl der Gemeindeschulen beträchtlich zu. Sie werden von Vereinen der Eingewanderten sowie von der katholischen und protestantischen Kirche unterhalten. Beide Kirchen sind zunehmend darum bemüht, den deutsch-brasilianischen Unterricht zu organisieren. Schließlich bilden die Schulen eine wichtige Säule für den Erhalt des „Deutschtums“ in Brasilien sowie für die Bewahrung der deutschen Sprache über Generationen hinweg. Zahlreiche Schulen erhalten vor diesem Hintergrund Förderung von der deutschen Regierung.



Schulunterricht in Laranja da Terra, Espírito Santo, vor 1939

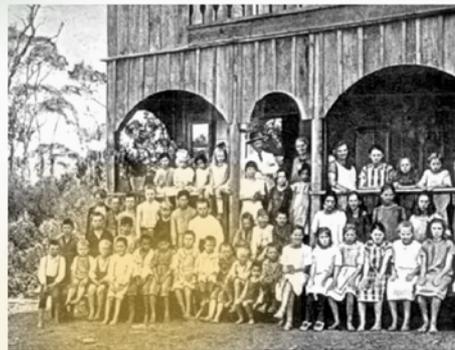
Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Schulwesen



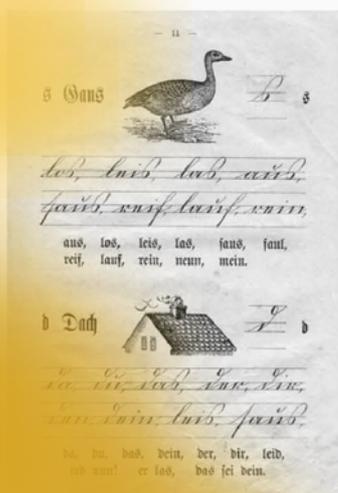
Neue Deutsche Schule in Blumenau, 1899



Schülerinnen und Schüler der Deutschen Kolonieschule, o.D.

„ (...) es wird zwar Schul gehalten in allen Bigaden [Pikaden], aber sehr unterbrochen [;] einmal hat der Lehrer keine Zeit, das andere Mal das Kind nicht, kaum hat die Schul ihren Anfang genommen, dann kommt die Pflanzzeit, so hört sie wieder auf und was die Kinder in einem Monat lernen, vergessen sie im andern wieder.“

Peter Tatsch aus Raversbeuren im Hunsrück stammend an seinen Sohn, 1834



Deutsches Lesebuch für Brasilien, 1910

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Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Leben in der „Kolonie“

Krämerläden

Die Krämerläden oder *vendas* – zu Venden eingedeutscht – in den Siedlungen und nahe gelegenen Städten sind oft die einzigen Orte, an denen die Siedlerinnen und Siedler ihre landwirtschaftlichen Erzeugnisse verkaufen oder tauschen können. Hier besorgen sie auch das, was sie nicht selbst produzieren

können, beispielsweise Salz. Das hat zur Folge, dass die Ladenbesitzer vielfach den Verkauf der Produkte kontrollieren und beherrschen – nicht immer in Übereinstimmung mit den Interessen der Siedlerinnen und Siedler.



Gruppe Deutscher Siedler vor der Vende, Espírito Santo,
Fotografie von Albert R. Dietze, um 1875

47 Darstellung über Eingewanderte nach Brasilien

Vereine

Die Vereine sind ein wichtiger Kultur- und Traditionspol für die Nachkommen von Eingewanderten gegründet. Kultur-, Freizeit- und Sportvereine, die teilweise bis heute bestehen. Sie erleichtern den Eingewanderten die Anpassung an das zunächst fremde Land. Den Schützen-, Turn- und Gesangsvereinen kommt dabei die größte Bedeutung zu. Die Vereine organisieren Feste, um Geld für ihre Arbeit einzusammeln. Im Rahmen ihrer Möglichkeiten fördern sie Theateraufführungen, Bälle, Konzerte und andere kulturelle Aktivitäten. Zudem werden Hilfsvereine und Vereine für medizinische Versorgung gegründet.

„Deutsche Schützen-, Turn- und Gesangsvereine gibt es in allen Städten, wo Deutsche wohnen, in allen Pikaden, wo der deutsche Bauer die Hacke schwingt.“

Martin Fischer, *Deutsches Leben in Süd-Brasilien*, o.D.



Menschenpyramide der Turner des Wohlfahrtsvereins Deutscher Handwerker, Curitiba (Paraná), 1929

Der Wohlfahrtsverein Deutscher Handwerker wird 1884 mit 69 Mitgliedern gegründet und hat das Ziel, seine Mitglieder bei Krankheits- oder Todesfällen zu unterstützen. Ab 1895 können auch Frauen Mitglied werden. Zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts weiten sich die Aktivitäten aus: Eine Bibliothek wird eingerichtet, es bilden sich Gesangs- und Theatergruppen. Des Weiteren werden Vorträge angeboten, es wird gekegelt und Gymnastik betrieben.



Germania

Nicht nur in den Kolonien haben die Siedlerinnen und Siedler ihre Institutionen, sondern auch in den Städten. In Rio de Janeiro wird 1821 die erste Gesellschaft „Germania“ gegründet. Sie bringt unter ihrem Dach Geschäftsleute, Unternehmer, Wissenschaftler, Künstler und Geistliche zusammen. Der „Germania“ von Rio folgen ab Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts Gesellschaften in Porto Alegre, Santos, São Paulo, Salvador, Florianópolis und Blumenau. Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg werden sie in São Paulo, Porto Alegre und Rio de Janeiro unter anderen Namen neu gegründet.



Mitglieder eines Schützenvereins, o.D.

Die ältesten Schützenvereine entstehen Ende der 1850er Jahre in Joinville und Blumenau. Die Schützenvereine dürfen ihre Schießübungen nur an abgesicherten Orten durchführen. Für die Aufnahme ihrer Aktivitäten brauchen sie eine polizeiliche Genehmigung. Oft müssen Polizei und Armee auf die Unterstützung dieser Vereine zurückgreifen, in Folge des Mangels an Männern in ihren eigenen Einheiten.

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200
Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa



Entwicklung der Besiedlungen



„Santa Catarina“, 1900

In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts kommt es zu einer neuen Auswanderungswelle nach Brasilien. Mit dem Landgesetz von 1850 kann Land nicht mehr verschenkt werden. Da Land nun handelbare Ware ist, wächst die Zahl privater Kolonisationsgesellschaften und -vereine. Sie erwerben Land, indem sie es von Großgrundbesitzern kaufen oder es in Kommission nehmen. In einigen Fällen gewährt ihnen die Regierung unter bestimmten Voraussetzungen Land. Die Parzellengröße, die zuvor rund 70 Hektar betrug, wird auf 25 Hektar verkleinert.

In Deutschland gründen sich verschiedene zivile und religiöse Vereine und Gesellschaften, die sich mit Fragen der Auswanderung befassen. Sie machen potenzielle Auswandernde auf die Schwierigkeiten

der Übersiedlung aufmerksam, helfen Interessierten bei der Suche nach günstigeren Auswanderungsgebieten und unterstützen jene, die das Land bereits verlassen haben. Diese Organisationen versuchen, den Gedanken zu verbreiten, dass Auswandern nach Übersee für Deutschland kein Verlust, sondern ein wirtschaftlicher Vorteil ist. Dabei argumentieren sie im Sinne einer Erweiterung von Exportmärkten für deutsche Produkte sowie einer erleichterten Einfuhr von Rohstoffen aus Übersee. Der erste in diesem Bereich tätige Verein ist der *Hamburger Kolonisationsverein*, der 1849 die Kolonie Dona Francisca – heute Joinville – und im gleichen Jahr São Bento do Sul in Santa Catarina gründet.

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Entwicklung der Besiedlungen

São Leopoldo

Die Siedlung São Leopoldo entwickelt sich schnell zu einer wichtigen Ortschaft für die Einwanderinnen und Einwanderer. 1824 leben dort 126 deutsche Siedlerinnen und Siedler. 1830 sind es 4.856, von de-

nen die Mehrzahl aus dem Hunsrück stammt. Mitte der 1850er Jahre sind es bereits 12.000 Deutsche. Heute leben in der Stadt rund 240.000 Menschen mit unterschiedlichem Migrationshintergrund.



São Leopoldo am Rio dos Sinos, 1877



São Leopoldo, um 1900



São Leopoldo, 1971

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Joinville

„Der Ort S. Leopoldo selbst bildet den Stapelplatz für alle Produkte, welche in den verschiedenen Picaden angebaut werden. Mit der Zeit haben sich auch eine Menge von Handwerkern und Gewerbetreibenden in dem kleinen Orte angesiedelt. (...) Es wohnen zwar in dem Städtchen auch einige Brasilianer, die aber den Deutschen gegenüber völlig verschwinden und dem Einflusse der Mehrheit sich nicht entziehen können.“

Oscar Canstatt, *Brasilien, Land und Leute*, 1877

Joinville

Zwischen 1850 und 1888 lassen sich in Joinville rund 17.000 deutsche Siedlerinnen und Siedler nieder. Einige sind verarmte Bauern und Handwerker, die angewiesen sind auf Kredite und Arbeitsplätze, die von der Gesellschaft angeboten werden. Ab 1880 entstehen die ersten Textil- und Eisenfabriken.

Mateteer wird zum Hauptexportartikel. Durch den Zustrom von Brasilianerinnen und Brasilianern sowie Eingewanderten verschiedener Nationalitäten verändert sich die Bevölkerungsstruktur der Stadt. Heute leben rund 616.600 Menschen in Joinville.



Ansicht der Kolonie Dona Francisca, heute Joinville, Fotografie von J.O.L Niemeyer, 1866



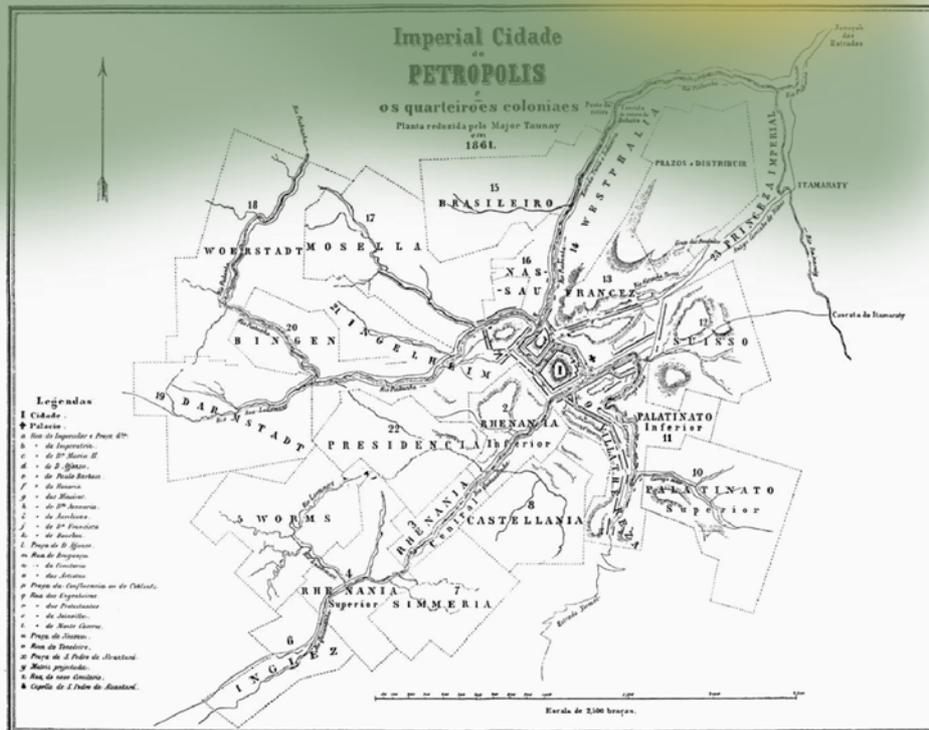
Straße in Joinville, 1909

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Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Entwicklung der Besiedlungen



Stadtplan von Petrópolis und die „kolonialen Viertel“, 1861

Petrópolis

Die Regierungskolonie Petrópolis wird 1846 in der Gebirgsregion bei Rio de Janeiro gegründet. Über 2.000 Personen aus dem Hunsrück und dem Rheinland werden von Friedrich Koeler angeworben und vom Handelshaus Delrúe & Comp. aus Dünkirchen nach Brasilien gebracht. Als Koloniedirektor entwirft Koeler einen Stadtplan nach dem Vorbild seiner rheinischen Heimat. Heute leben rund 279.000 Menschen in Petrópolis.



Petrópolis, 1927

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

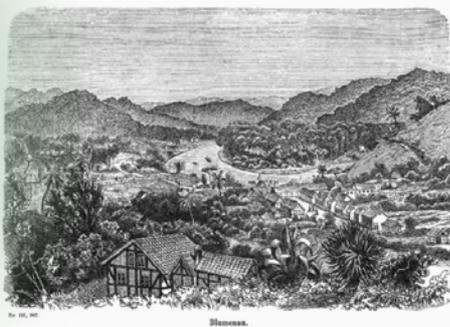
Karen Macknow Lisboa

Blumenau

Blumenau

Blumenau, 1850 gegründet, ist das Ergebnis einer Privatkolonie, die unter Leitung des Braunschweiger Apothekers Hermann Blumenau errichtet wird. Nach anfänglichen Schwierigkeiten wird die Kolonie Blumenau in Santa Catarina 1860 von der brasilianischen Regierung übernommen und erhält so staatliche Förderung.

Als Direktor widmet sich Hermann Blumenau über 20 Jahre hinweg dem Ausbau seines Besiedlungsprojekts. 1884 zählt die Kolonie, einst mit 16 deutschen Eingewanderten gestartet, 18.000 Einwohnerinnen und Einwohner. Heute leben rund 362.000 Menschen in Blumenau, das inzwischen ein wichtiges Industrie- und Wirtschaftszentrum ist.



Blumenau, 1867



Hauptstraße von Blumenau, um 1910

São Paulo

Die deutsche Siedlung in São Paulo wird 1827 gegründet. 1890 leben in der Stadt mit insgesamt 50.000 Einwohnerinnen und Einwohnern rund 2.500 Deutsche. Sie betreiben 18% des Handwerks, 19% der Industrie und 7% des Handels. In den 1920er Jahren lassen sich zahlreiche deutsche Einwandernde, die neu ins Land kommen, in Städten nieder, darunter auch São Paulo.

„Hier in São Paulo sind ziemlich viele Deutsche, (...) und ich verkehre eigentlich nur im Hause des deutschen Apothekers.“

Ina von Binzer, Brief vom 20. März 1882, São Paulo



Gebäude der Filiale der Brasilianischen Bank für Deutschland zu São Paulo, 1905

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Entwicklung der Besiedlungen

Industrielle Spezialisierung

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die Herstellung von Lebensmittelkonserven, Milch- und Weizenprodukten sowie für das Brauereiwesen. Die Textilindustrie und die Porzellan- und Eisenindustrie in Rio Grande do Sul und Santa Catarina erfahren durch die deutsche Einwanderung einen Aufschwung. In einem seit dem 19. Jahrhundert andauernden Prozess können sich zahlreiche regionale Unternehmen nach und nach auf dem nationalen und internationalen Markt etablieren.



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„Als ich die Rua Direita hinauffuhr, hatte ich die Casa Allemã, dieses große deutsche Warenhaus ersten Ranges, den Wertheim von São Paulo, gesehen.“

— Maria Luiza de Castro, Brasilien im 20. Jahrhundert, 1927

Casa Allemã in São Paulo, 1927
Gegründet von einem Braunschweiger Einwanderer im 19. Jahrhunderts, bezieht das Warenhaus das alte Gebäude in São Paulo und wird zum Kaufhaus. Es folgen in Rio de Janeiro und vier weiteren Städten.

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wie Porto Alegre oder Curitiba veröffentlicht werden, weisen auf intensiven Handel und wirtschaftlichen Wettbewerb hin.

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa



Memoiren von Auswandererfrauen



„Bananenernte“, Zeichnung von F. Hofmeister, 1885/86

„Für einen wirklichen Ansiedler oder Ackerbauer ist eine wackere, thätige und sparsame Frau, welche die Hauswirtschaft in der That und in einer solchen zukommenden Weise führen kann und will, das (...) nöthige und unentbehrlichste (...).“

Herrmann Blumenau, *Deutsche Kolonie Blumenau*, 1856

Diese Worte von Herrmann Blumenau aus seinem „praktischen Ratschlag“ unterstreichen die Bedeutung von Frauen für das Auswanderungsprojekt. Ein alleinstehender Siedler, auf sich gestellt in Brasilien ankommend, stößt ohne familiäre Unterstützung auf viele Schwierigkeiten, da es kompliziert und teuer ist, Arbeitskräfte anzuwerben.

Trotz dieses Stellenwerts wird Frauen in der Geschichtsschreibung lange Zeit sehr wenig Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. In den letzten Jahrzehnten gibt es jedoch mehr Forschung über die Rolle der Frauen im Kontext von Migration. Diese zeigt, wie wichtig der weibliche Beitrag in den Bereichen Wirtschaft, Arbeit, Nachwuchs und Familienleben ist.

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Memoiren von Auswandererfrauen

„Die Tätigkeit der Kolonistenfrau, namentlich in den jüngeren oder kleinen Ansiedlungen schliesst sich eng an die Bedürfnisse von Haus und Hof an. Übrigens ist das Kolonistenleben in Brasilien namentlich für die Frau oft genug sehr einsam und mühevoll.“

Leonore Niessen-Deiters, *Die deutsche Frau im Ausland und in den Schutzgebieten*, 1913



Schälen des Manioks, 1939



Kolonistenfrau am Herd, Espírito Santo, 1939



Wohnraum in einem Kolonistenhaus, Espírito Santo, 1939

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land – Die Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Machnow-Lisboa

Die Frau des Auswanderers

Die Frau des Auswanderers

Emilie Heinrichs Memoiren sind Zeugnis einer Frau, die Einschränkungen ihrer Autonomie und Entscheidungsfreiheit hinnehmen muss. Diese sind das Ergebnis einer patriarchalischen Gesellschaft, deren Regeln die Geschlechterbeziehungen sowohl in Deutschland als auch in Brasilien bis mindestens Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts bestimmen.

In ihrem Buch schildert die Autorin detailliert, dass sie nicht einmal gefragt wird, als ihr Mann beschließt auszuwandern. Als Ehefrau hat sie die Entscheidungen ihres Mannes zu akzeptieren. Im Jahr 1901 kommt das Ehepaar in Rio Grande do Sul an und kauft ein Landstück von rund 50 Hektar, das mit subtropischem Wald bedeckt ist. Nur zu zweit und auf sich allein gestellt müssen die beiden es urbar machen. Nach vier Jahren brechen sie das Projekt ab und kehren nach Deutschland zurück.

Das Buch geht ausführlich auf die Schwierigkeiten des täglichen Lebens in einer Pionierkolonie ein. Es argumentiert gegen die Vorteile der Auswanderung, insbesondere für Frauen und Mütter aus Städten zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts. Emilie Heinrichs beschreibt nicht nur die psychischen und physischen Belastungen der harten Haus- und Landarbeit, sondern auch die tragischen Folgen fehlender medizinischer und geburtshilflicher Versorgung. Ihr Buch versteht sich als Appell an andere Frauen, sich nicht wie sie zu unterwerfen und nicht in Pionierregionen auszuwandern.



„Tempora Mutantur“ (Ausschnitt)
Gemälde von Pedro Weingärtner, 1889



Ausschnitt des Buchtitels „Die Frau des Auswanderers“ von Emilie Heinrichs, 1921

„Ich fragte in Pelotas einen alten Urwäldler, was er davon hielte, wenn ich Kolonistin würde. Als Antwort zeigte er mir seine schwieligen, arbeitsharten Hände und meinte, die Hände seiner Frau wären gerade so. Konnte einer, und wenn er mir einen stundenlangen Vortrag gehalten hätte, mir mehr sagen als dieser Kolonist?“

Emilie Heinrich, *Die Frau des Auswanderers*, 1921

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Memoiren von Auswandererfrauen

Therese Stutzer

Therese Stutzer lässt sich von 1885 bis 1887 mit Mann und Kindern als Ehefrau eines Pfarrers, der auch Bauer war, in der Kolonie Blumenau nieder. Im Gegensatz zu vielen anderen Frauen muss sie keine Hacke in die Hand nehmen. Aus ihren Briefen geht hervor, dass das Ehepaar über finanzielle Mittel verfügt, die es ihnen ermöglichen, Angestellte einzustellen und ein gesichertes, aber arbeitsintensives Leben zu führen. Sie beschreibt den Alltag und die Arbeit einer deutschen Hausfrau. Dabei hebt sie die

Besonderheiten des Lebens in einer deutschen Einwandererkolonie hervor. Stutzer widmet sich auch der fiktionalen Literatur. Sie veröffentlicht ein Buch mit Kurzgeschichten, die von ihren Erfahrungen in Blumenau inspiriert sind. 1887 kehrt Familie Stutzer nach Deutschland zurück. 1891 wandert sie erneut nach Brasilien aus – nach Ribeirão Pires in São Paulo. 20 Jahre später führt ihr Weg endgültig zurück in die alte Heimat.



Therese Stutzer (1841–1916), o.D.

„ (...) es wäre wohl schön hier, wenn das Heimweh nicht wäre! Aber so (...) alte Bäume verpflanzen sich schwer, und die abgeschnittenen Wurzeln hören nicht auf zu bluten.“

Therese Stutzer, „In Blumenau“, 1886



Titel des Buchs „Am Rande des brasilianischen Urwaldes“ (1889), 1924



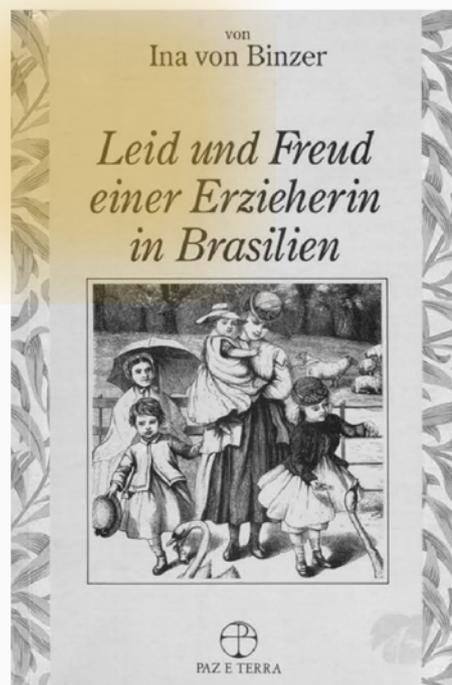
Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Ina von Binzer

Ina von Binzer

Die Erzieherin Ina von Binzer steht für einen anderen Typus von Migrantinnen: Junge, deutsche Frauen, die als Erzieherinnen in den Häusern brasilianischer Familien der Mittel- und Oberschicht angestellt sind – in der Stadt oder auf dem Land. In ihrem Buch erzählt die Autorin von ihren Abenteuern als junge Lehrerin, die in den 1880er Jahren in Rio de Janeiro und São Paulo tätig ist. In ihrer humorvollen Erzählung offenbart sie Schwierigkeiten im Umgang mit kulturellen Unterschieden sowie Herausforderungen, die Arbeit und Leben einer alleinstehenden Frau im Brasilien des ausgehenden Kaiserreichs mit sich bringen.



Titel der bilingualen Ausgabe des Buchs „Leid und Freud einer Erzieherin in Brasilien“ von Ina von Binzer (1887), 1994

„ Ich sehe wohl ein – wenn hier eine Pädagogik eingeführt werden soll, dann muss sie brasilianisch sein und nicht deutsch. Brasilianisch in Bezug auf die ganze Auffassung und alle Voraussetzungen, sie muss dem Charakter des Volkes, den häuslichen Lebensverhältnissen dieser Leute angepasst sein. Brasilianische Kinder sollten überhaupt nicht von Deutschen erzogen werden, es ist völlig verlorene Mühe (...). “

Ina von Binzer, (1887), 1994.

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land – Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Machnow-Lichtenberg



Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

Herausforderungen



„Tempora Mutantur“ (Zeiten ändern sich), Gemälde von Pedro Weingartner, 1889

Die Auswandernden müssen auf ihrer Reise ins Unge-
wisse viele Herausforderungen bewältigen: Zunächst
die Entscheidung zur Auswanderung, die beschwer-
liche Überfahrt, die Ankunft in einem fremden Land;
viele unerfüllte Träume und Sehnsucht nach der
Heimat; unbekannte wilde Natur, Tropenkrankheiten,
mangelnde medizinische Versorgung, physische und
psychische Erschöpfung, schlechte Ernten, schlechte
Geschäfte, fehlende Bildung ... Die Liste lässt sich
fortsetzen. Zusätzlich zu diesen und weiteren Schwie-
rigkeiten haben sie mit Konflikten, Missbräuchen,
Einschränkungen und Verboten zu kämpfen.

„ Du wirst Dich vielleicht ver-
wundern, daß ich Dir Brasilien
ganz anders vorstelle, als wie
es im Jahre 1827 zur Zeit
unserer Abreise geschildert
wurde. Das ist nun gewiß, daß
es an Land nicht fehlt, pflanzen
kann man soviel, aber was für
ein Leben es ist, das könnt Ihr
Euch [nicht] vorstellen. (...)“

Brief von Nikolaus Tatsch an seinen Bruder, 1835

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

18.09.2024 13:50d

Herausforderungen



„Cafezal da Fazenda Ibicaba“, Gemälde von Henrique Manzo, 1850

„ Die mit Vorschuss ausgewanderten Kolonisten sind also schon Anfangs gleich einer Handlungsware Eigentum des Hauses Vergueiro [Eigentümer der Fazenda Ibicaba], und bei dem, zum mindesten gesagt, wucherischen Sinne, welcher viele Sklavenhalter beseelt, so wie auch bei der ziemlich gewöhnlichen Rechtslosigkeit der Kolonisten in der Provinz St. Paulo, müssen sie sich auch in Bezug auf manchen wichtigen Punkt fast eben so willenlos behandeln lassen, wie gewöhnliche Kaufmannsware, oder wie Sklaven.“

Thomas Davatz, 1858

This source exceeds fifty pages — for the complete text, continue via the entry listed in the bibliography.

International Migration and the History of Education in the Brazilian Countryside: Interview and Book Review

Flavia Renata da Silva Varolo; Luiz Mateus da Silva Ferreira; Bruno
Gabriel Witzel de Souza

No. 5 (2022)

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Global Migration Studies
at the University of Göttingen

Flavia Renata da Silva Varolo
Luiz Mateus da Silva Ferreira
Bruno Gabriel Witzel de Souza

International Migration and the History of Education in the Brazilian Countryside

Interview and Book Review

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Flavia Renata da Silva Varolo; Luiz Mateus da Silva Ferreira; Bruno Gabriel Witzel

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International Migration and the History of Education in the Brazilian Countryside: Interview and Book Review

Flavia Renata da Silva Varolo; Luiz Mateus da Silva Ferreira; Bruno Gabriel Witzel de Souza

da Silva Varolo, da Silva Ferreira, Witzel de Souza: International Migration

Abstract

Abstract: During the Age of Mass Migration, circa 250 thousand German-speakers immigrated to Brazil. Even if numerically limited, these immigrants played a central role in the consolidation of the Brazilian culture, society, and economy. The German-speaking immigration to Brazil also influenced the country's settlement policies in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and had a feedback effect on global labor markets during the first age of globalization. In this compilation for the *Global Migration Studies*, Flavia da Silva Varolo discusses in an interview her research on German settlements in the Riograndense Colony, a project for land selling to foreigners in the western portion of the state of São Paulo. She debates the persistence of cultural habits among descendants of immigrants and the negative effects of violently imposed assimilation, such as that perpetrated by the Brazilian State in the 1930s-1940s. As a linguist and education historian, Ms. Varolo highlights the importance of interdisciplinarity for studying immigration history. In the sequence, Luiz Mateus da Silva Ferreira revises Varolo's book. His review puts the case study at hand into the general framework of the Age of Mass Migration and presents economic aspects related to education history. The review also points to the need of critically assessing the attempts of influence exercised by the NSDAP over regions that had received German-speaking immigrants in Latin America since the nineteenth century.

Keywords: settlement policies, settlement colonies, landownership, education history, Latin America, Brazil, Riograndense Colony

Global Migration Studies No. 5 (2022)



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International Migration and the History of Education in the Brazilian Countryside: Interview and Book Review

Flavia Renata da Silva Varolo; Luiz Mateus da Silva Ferreira; Bruno Gabriel Witzel de Souza

International Migration and the History of Education in the Brazilian Countryside

Interview and Book Review

Flavia Renata da Silva Varolo
Luiz Mateus da Silva Ferreira
Bruno Gabriel Witzel de Souza

Introduction

BRUNO GABRIEL WITZEL DE SOUZA

On July 25, 2024, the Federative Republic of Brazil and the Federal Republic of Germany will have reason and occasion for commemorating the history of their long bilateral exchanges, as the date marks the bicentenary of German immigration to Brazil.

Certainly, the mobility of people and the interrelated exchange of ideas, capital, and goods between Central Europe, the Iberian Peninsula, and the Portuguese colony in the Americas predates the nineteenth century. The historiography has extensively surveyed the direct links between the histories of these regions since the very first day of the Portuguese conquest of



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the Brazilian territory, as well as the role that German-speakers played in Brazilian colonial history, even if the Portuguese Empire attempted to enforce very restrictive immigration rules over its transatlantic possessions (Fouquet 1974, pp. 19–26; Oberacker Jr. 1968; Bolle and Kupfer 2013).

Notwithstanding, the arrival of the first German settlers in the *São Leopoldo Colony* on July 25, 1824, does constitute an inflexion point in the Brazilian history¹. This so-called “colony” was an initiative of the Brazilian central government to promote European immigration via settlement in rural communities. The most important motivations in pursuing such settlement and immigration policies included the promotion of demographic growth in the recently independent Brazilian Empire, the settling of sparsely populated border regions, the fostering of economic growth with the introduction of new technologies by immigrants, and, to some extent, the racist goal of the Brazilian political elite to whiten the population (Oberacker Jr. 1968, 2004; Campos 1969; Seyferth 1988, pp. 3–9; Dreher 2013; Kupfer 2021). To which extent these various goals have been successfully reached and how they have influenced the formation and evolution of various aspects of the Brazilian ethnicity, culture, society, and economy are themes recurrently debated by various social sciences². However, what is certain is that, even if numerically limited, the pioneering experience of São Leopoldo changed the paths of the history of immigration and settlement in Brazil and thus influenced the global labor markets during the first globalization age.

¹ Previous attempts to establish rural settlements in the captaincies/provinces of Bahia, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo were mostly short-lived.

² Readers interested in the ethnolinguistic identity of German-speaking immigrants in Brazil will find good references in English in Volume 33 (3) of *German History*, which is a special issue on “Germans and Brazilians”. Classical ethnographic studies are Willems ([1940] 1981) and Seyferth (2016). Important historiographical revisions and new problematizations related to the identity of German-speaking communities in Brazil are frequent objects of the journals *Práxis* and *História UNISINOS*.

International Migration and the History of Education in the Brazilian Countryside: Interview and Book Review

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During the first half of the nineteenth century, a number of settlements founded by the central or provincial governments in Brazil acted as the spearheads for the advancement of new colonies based on private land selling in the southern provinces of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, as well as in the province of Espírito Santo (Oberacker Jr. 1968; 2004; Ferreira da Silva 2019). Concomitantly, new plantation owners of southwestern Brazil who did not have a consolidated stock of enslaved Afro-Brazilians, particularly in the province of São Paulo, started demanding the public subsidization to promote the immigration of agricultural laborers, instead of rural settlers (Buarque de Holanda 1941; Siriani 2015; Witzel de Souza 2019a). After a long process of political maturation and economic experimentation, this proposal finally allowed for the mass immigration of Italians, Portuguese, and Spaniards as of the late 1880s, in a historical period characterized by the threat of the abolition of slavery, which took place in Brazil only in 1888 (Levy 1974; Holloway 1978; Klein 1995; Petrone 2004).

Finally, in the first decades of the twentieth century, the rapid expansion of agricultural frontiers in the states of São Paulo and Paraná led to the predominance of the selling of rural plots by land incorporators and private companies. Combined with the position of Germany in its emigration life cycle and the economic and political crises of the 1920s, this led to a renewed inflow of German-speakers to Brazil (Rinke 2008; Schulze 2015). Interestingly, those new immigrants now came to be in direct contact with a stock of descendants of immigrants that had arrived in the country for over a hundred years.

This later period of the history of German immigration to Brazil is the main theme of the interview with Flavia Renata da Silva Varolo and the book review by Luiz Mateus da Silva Ferreira.



International Migration and the History of Education in the Brazilian Countryside: Interview and Book Review

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Flavia Renata da Silva Varolo is a linguist and education historian. Her research has focused on the immigration history and educational practices in the *Riograndense Colony*, a private incorporation initiative that settled foreigners, particularly Germans, on the Valley of the Paranapanema River, in the southwest of the state of São Paulo. Besides providing a historical overview of the region and contextualizing it within the history of immigration to Brazil, the interview deals with the survival and persistence of cultural habits among descendants of immigrants and with the negative effects of violently imposed assimilation, such as that perpetrated by the Brazilian State with its nationalization laws under the dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas (1930–1945). Flavia da Silva Varolo also highlights the importance of interdisciplinarity for studying immigration history and discusses how her own multidisciplinary education helped her in developing methods that combine oral history with documental research.

Luiz Mateus da Silva Ferreira then revises Flavia da Silva Varolo's co-authored book, "*Trajetória educacional dos imigrantes alemães no interior do estado de São Paulo. Uma escola alemã na colônia Riograndense: 1922–1938 (Maracá/Cruzália- SP)*". Luiz Mateus da Silva Ferreira is assistant professor of economic history at the Federal University of Ouro Preto, Brazil. His research has focused on German settlements in southern Brazil. In the book review, he invites us to see the case study of Ms. Varolo in the general context of the *Age of Mass Migration*. Prof. Ferreira points out to the relevance of studying communication channels between immigrants for the consolidation of historical chain migration; he also discusses in depth economic aspects related to educational history. Finally, the review also points to the need of critically studying the attempts, failed or not, of influence of the NSDAP over regions that had received influxes of German-speaking immigrants in Latin America since the nineteenth century (Bisan Alves 2006; Dietrich 2008; Curi et al. 2019).

International Migration and the History of Education in the Brazilian Amazon: Interview and Book Review

Flávia Regina de Souza Varolo; Luiz Mateus da Silva Ferreira; Bruno Gabriel Witzel
de Souza

da Silva Varolo, da Silva Ferreira, Witzel de Souza: International Migration

Besides the immediate goal of presenting an interesting case study of historical migration, the joint compilation of this interview and book review for the Paper Series *Global Migration Studies* aims at stimulating the debate on how historical international migration might enlighten our understanding of current migratory episodes. We invite readers to reflect on how historical migration since the 1820s influenced migratory policies and settlement strategies in the 1920s and how decisions made back then still affect various facets of the Brazilian culture, society, and economy in the 2020s. Two themes are striking in demonstrating this persistence of historical decisions. First, the preservation of linguistic heritage for more than a century, the revival of cultural traditions among the descendants of immigrants, and the increasing demand for the command of Portuguese-German bilingualism all point to the traumatic failure of violently imposing cultural assimilation over foreign populations, as attempted by the Brazilian government in the 1930s-1940s. Albeit specific in time and space, historical events as these provide empirical material for social scientists and practitioners interested in the consequences of policies for sociocultural integration. Second, although the following pages present strong evidence that immigrants have significant agency in moulding receiving societies – demonstrated *e.g.* by their cooperatives and by the very foundation of foreign schools –, the impacts of international migration are still to a large degree limited by prevailing domestic institutions. The fact that an old settlement based on family farming in the 1920s underwent a process of land concentration until the 2020s is certainly telling about the economic and political conditions that have permeated Brazilian history.

To conclude, this compilation for the Paper Series *Global Migration Studies* also aims to serve as an early input for the commemorations of the bicentenary of German immigration to Brazil. As Ms. Varolo's interview demonstrates, many facets of these important episodes of the *Age of Mass Migration* remain unknown. New empirical findings and archival discov-

International Migration and the History of Education in the Brazilian Southside: Interview and Book Review

Flávia Regina da Silva Varolo; Luiz Mateus da Silva Ferreira; Bruno Gabriel Witzel
de Souza

da Silva Varolo, da Silva Ferreira, Witzel de Souza: International Migration

eries, innovative projects on cultural heritage preservation, and reinterpretations of well-known episodes from new critical angles will all help to put together a mosaic of the influence of German-speakers in Latin America and to appreciate the role that they played, together with the Brazilian population, in shaping the dynamics of global mobility, past and now.

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Interview with Flávia Renata da Silva Varolo

BRUNO GABRIEL WITZEL DE SOUZA



Flávia Renata da Silva Varolo

Your research focuses on the German immigration to the Brazilian State of São Paulo in the twentieth century, particularly to the municipality of Cruzália. Could you please tell us about the presence of German immigrants in the region and how you got interested in this research line?

Cruzália is a county in the southwestern portion of the Brazilian state of São Paulo. This region received a relatively large contingent of German-speaking immigrants throughout its history, particularly for settlement in the so-called *Riograndense Colony*.

Founded in 1922, this colony is a rural district where the German settlement started; nonetheless, as we will discuss later, there were other, smaller, immigrant settlements spread around the rural districts of Cruzália, including those named Caçador and Castelo.

Being myself from Cruzália and having indigenous, Portuguese and Spanish ancestors, I have always observed with interest and curiosity the intermixing of my own family with the Germans, be it by marriage and kinship ties, work relations, friendship, or social networks. In particular, my aunt was a dressmaker who had many German customers. It was therefore commonplace to have at home a number of fashion magazines imported from Germany in the 1980s. Having become a teacher, I look fondly back to the days when I used to play school with those magazines and crop letters from them for schoolwork during my alphabetization.

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In 1997, I started my undergraduate studies in Literature and Linguistics at the State University of São Paulo, in the campus of Assis, *ca.* 50 km away from Cruzália. Having the option to specialize in two foreign languages, I realized that that was the opportunity to learn the language in which the magazines of my infancy were written, as well as the language spoken by the German women when they wanted some secrecy from the Brazilians during birthday parties or the Church's bazaars³. In short, German was a language that was part of my life, even though I did not speak it.

Near the completion of my B.A., I went to Germany for six months as *Au pair* to improve my language skills and get to know the culture closer. When I returned to Brazil, many German-descendants in Cruzália started asking for language courses, for translating documents, personal letters etc. The great majority of the German-descendants in Cruzália still use German to communicate orally, but have lost command of the written form.

This cultural feature and the existing demand for German as a written language fascinated me. Once I started my specialization in "Teaching of Foreign Languages" at the State University of São Paulo, I decided to conduct research on the education history of German immigrants in the *Riograndense Colony*. Prof. Dr. José Luis Felix, my advisor, had held a lecture on "Language, Culture and Immigration" in which he presented historical evidence for the existence of a school in the colony during the German colonization. However, many questions remained open and I was especially interested in themes related to educational practices and to the use of foreign languages before the Brazilian nationalization laws of 1938⁴. This motivation by Prof. Felix sparked my interest in writing my first scien-

³ Free translation to "quermesse", a celebratory bazaar related to the June festivals in honor of Saint Anthony, Saint John, the Baptist, and Saint Peter.

⁴ These are nationalization laws enacted by the Brazilian government since 1938 during the dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas (1930–1945). Among other effects, these laws



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tific work: “*The German school of Riograndense Colony*”⁵. In 2008 I joined the M.A. program in “Education and Pedagogy” at the State University of São Paulo, campus of Presidente Prudente. One of my goals was precisely to continue that research on German immigration and their educational practices.

After completing the program, my advisor, Prof. Dr. Arilda Inês Miranda Ribeiro, and I invited Prof. Felix for the project of a co-authored book extending my research. This led to the publication, in 2015, of “*The educational path of German immigrants in the countryside of the state of São Paulo in light of a German school in the Riograndense Colony, 1922–1938 (Maracá/Cruzália-SP)*”⁶.

The *Riograndense Colony* and neighbouring towns, particularly the counties of Cruzália, Maracá, and Tarumã, gained visibility after that publication. By promoting the book at the cultural festivals of *Brooklinfest*, in 2015, and the *Maifest*, in 2016, Prof. Felix and I were invited to start a new research project about the German immigration to the county of Tarumã. Starting in 2017, that new project built up on an academic cooperation between the State University of São Paulo and a consortium of municipalities from the region known as the *Parapanema Valley*, the CIVAP⁷. The project was completed in 2020 with the publication of the book “*Narratives of German immigrants and their descendants*”⁸, edited and organized by Prof. Dr. José Luis Félix.

nationalized foreign organizations, especially those of German, Italian, and Japanese immigrants.

⁵ Free translation to “*A escola alemã da Colônia Riograndense*”.

⁶ Free translation to “*Trajetória educacional dos imigrantes alemães no interior do estado de São Paulo: uma escola alemã na Colônia Riograndense: 1922–1938 (Maracá/Cruzália-SP)*”.

⁷ Acronym for “*Consórcio intermunicipal do Vale do Parapanema*”.

⁸ Free translation to “*Narrativas de imigrantes e descendentes de alemães*”.

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You have pursued a very interdisciplinary career, combining Linguistics, Pedagogy, and History. How do you evaluate the importance of the multiple lenses offered by these disciplines to your study of international migration?

My first interest in studying Literature and Linguistics came from my fascination with foreign languages and literature, so I focused my undergraduate studies precisely on their theoretical aspects. In the meantime, two sociocultural observations I made in the region where I came from intrigued me intellectually. The first was the dichotomy between the oral and written expressions of the German colonists and their descendants that I mentioned before. The second was that many of the German descendants had completely lost the contact with the German language, while those who still used it tended to do so only within the limits of their households, with a feeling for speaking publicly.

These observations encouraged me to debate the topic with Prof. Dr. José Luis Félix, specialist in the field of foreign language and international migration. Besides attending his lectures, I was fortunate to join the research group on German immigration that Prof. Felix had founded at the State University of São Paulo. This training gave me the tools to conduct research on regional history, particularly by talking to German immigrants who were still alive and, afterwards, recording interviews using methods of oral history.

In this research project, I observed in loco the long-termed consequences of historical events. The fact that most descendants do not speak German is a direct consequence of World War II and the nationalization laws that took place during the dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas in Brazil (1930–1945).

I was also fortunate in receiving an enormous affection from the immigrants as the research moved forward. Their confidence built up over time and they started showing other historical sources to me, including books,

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photographs, and personal documents; in short, the interviewees gladly shared with me all material that could add up to my research. This abundance of collected material and primary sources – interviews, documents, photographs, notarial deeds, certificates, etc., most of them in German – motivated me to continue that research at the graduate level, as I wished to analyze thoroughly all the empirical material that I was not able to use in my specialization thesis.

Because the postgraduate specialization in the campus of Assis was more related to literature, I decided to change to the campus of Presidente Prudente, which had a research focus on Education History. As such, I formally moved away from the field of Literature and Linguistics into that of Education History. This allowed me to study education history jointly with the theme of immigration history, combining them into studies of the German educational history across various Brazilian regions.

During my postgraduate studies, I worked concomitantly as teacher in a public school, was the mother of one child, and espouse. These circumstances gradually made me leave aside the study of German as a language: a painful process for people who love languages. Nonetheless, I was fascinated with the idea of diving into the past to understand historical events and the cultural, sociological, and political aspects that have influenced (and actually keep influencing) the teaching of foreign languages in Brazil.

I discovered back then a passion for learning, questioning, and researching – things that bring me real joy. With the research project on the history of immigration to Tarumã already going on, I felt again an urge to continue my studies. In 2017, I joined the research group on “Literature and Primary Sources” at the State University of São Paulo, campus of Assis, under coordination of Prof. Dr. Carlos Eduardo Mendes de Morais. I then started, in 2018, a PhD in literature, with focus on primary sources. In a full circle, I came back to the field of Literature. My ongoing stud-



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ies deal with classical literature and primary sources and I currently work with manuscripts from the seventeenth century.

I see this interchanging of specialization fields as a learning process, as an opportunity to bring together all those areas. I am many Flávias, transiting between Linguistics, Cultural Studies, History, and Literature – be it modern or classical. All of that is in me and make me who I am. I wonder at times if I should have specialized in one single field, but in fact I enjoy diversity in learning; and I enjoy the paths and professional opportunities that that knowledge has brought to me.

You mentioned being a descendant of Iberian immigrants and indigenous peoples. Could you elaborate on that, telling us more about the interconnections between various immigrant groups and ethnicities in the *Riograndense Colony*?

I can give you only an incomplete answer to this question, because I am still researching the history of my own family. In fact, the research on German immigration sparked my interest and even a certain urge to learn more about my own family.

My mother's grandfather – family Alves Dias – descended from a Portuguese who arrived in Brazil at the age of 16, hidden from his family, which stayed in Portugal. He settled in the county of Altinópolis, circa 350km from the city of São Paulo. There, he is said to have “caught an Indian girl by the lasso”⁹ for his marriage, a very sad happening that nonetheless occurred frequently in the first decades of the twentieth century. My grandfather thus descends from this indigenous woman and a Portuguese immigrant. My grandmother's family, the Teodoro de

⁹ The original in Portuguese, “pegar índia a laço”, is reminiscent of the violence and abuse against indigenous peoples, in particular of sexual violence against indigenous women.

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Souza¹⁰, descended from Portuguese who had first settled in the province of Minas Gerais, although she was already born in the county of Santa Cruz do Rio Pardo, in the state of São Paulo. It is important to notice that these grandparents met and married already in the county of Cruzália, located 480km away from the city of São Paulo. That couple had seven children.

My grandfather from my father's side has indigenous and Afro-Brazilian ancestors – family Silva –, while my grandmother descends from Spanish immigrants – family Rodrigues Garcia. Both grandparents were born in the region of Assis, but also moved to Cruzália, showing the attractiveness of that region, where they had 11 children.

My indigenous ascendants are, therefore, not related to the indigenous tribes that lived in the region of Cruzália. Nonetheless, the elderly population of Cruzália maintains the oral tradition that many indigenous groups lived in the region at the beginning of the colonization process, even if there are no written sources confirming that fact, unfortunately.

Building up on the biographies of your grandparents, who moved to the west of the state of São Paulo, could you please give us a panorama of the history of the counties of Cruzália, Maracaí, and Tarumã? Moreover, what does explain the immigration of German-speakers to these localities in the first half of the twentieth century?

The settling of the region known as the Paranapanema Valley, where these municipalities are located, is part of a historical process that the Brazilian historiography has named as *March to the West*. This expression summa-

¹⁰ The evidence suggests that this family descends from Mr. José Teodoro de Souza. Born in the Brazilian State of Minas Gerais, Mr. Teodoro de Souza achieved historical fame as one of the first persons – perhaps even the very first – to start official settlements in the Paranapanema Valley. Ms. Varolo recommends the research by Célia Penço to the interested readers.

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rizes the occupation and economic exploration of vast portions of land in the west of the state of São Paulo since the end of the nineteenth century, leading to new possessions and the setting of legal titles over land that had remained officially unclaimed until then.

The first official settlements in the municipality of Maracaí occurred in 1905. After receiving the legal status of “District”, that settlement had its name changed to Maracaí. The name derives from the indigenous Tupi word “MARA-AÇÃ-Y”, which means “River of the Maraca”. “Maraca”, in turn, is a type of rattle. The name makes reference to the fact that the bank of the Capivari River is abundant in tumbled pebbles; when water runs through them, the sound reminds that of a rattle.

The settlement of the lands of Cruzália, in turn, started in the early 1920s, when the region was still officially part of the county of Maracaí. That locality enjoyed the reputation of having very fertile soils and thus attracted the population of neighbouring counties. The first families to settle were occupied mainly with subsistence agriculture, particularly in the cultivation of maize and pig farming. Over time, the first maize fields gave way to coffee production and, afterwards, to cotton and wheat; currently, the region's economy is based mostly on the production of soya, maize, and sugarcane.

The population influx led to a boom in local commercial activities. New commercial houses were installed, especially good stores and bars. The new trade networks were very relevant to countervail the serious supply bottlenecks that had prevailed for a long time, as transportation was precarious in the region and larger municipalities with access to railroad, such as Assis and Cardoso de Almeida, were relatively far away from Cruzália.

Because Cruzália belonged officially to Maracaí and given that the original area of German colonization was actually nearby, various German fam-



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ilies were also attracted to Cruzália and to other localities neighbouring the Paranapanema River.

It is in this context that the *Riograndense Colony* was founded in Maracaí, becoming the locality with the highest concentration of immigrants. Although this is the best-known colony of the region, it is not the only one: other smaller settlements formed in Caçador and Castelo, *i.e.* in districts that belong to the county of Cruzália. Besides Germans, the municipality received from the onset Italian and, to a smaller scale, Japanese immigrants.

The Germans started to settle in the region in 1922, primordially in the rural area, forming two nuclei of colonization. The Lutherans were mostly in the *Riograndense Colony*, which was a rural settlement. The Catholics went to São José das Laranjeiras, a settlement in the format of a village that had its commercial houses, workshops, and public facilities, such as a hospital, police station, and jail. Upon arrival, these German immigrants built up, in complement to the public facilities, their own churches and schools, with teachers and teaching material coming directly from Germany.

The region settled by the immigrants had its economy initially based on pig farming and, later, on the cultivation of alfalfa. In 1939, the *Riograndense Cooperative* was founded. It would become the largest Brazilian producer of alfalfa, which was absorbed almost in its totality by the Brazilian Government's Cavalry. While the German immigrants were mainly concentrated in the production of alfalfa, other rural proprietors produced coffee and cotton.

Now, the history of Tarumã starts at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1890, Dr. Mathias Lex (1826–1907), a German medical doctor, bought the so-called Dourados farm. Dr. Lex visited the region only four years later, envisaging the plan to found a municipality in there. With his passing away in 1907, the plan was temporarily abandoned. His son, the pharma-

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cist Gilberto Lex (1880–1961), commenced to take ownership of the lands in 1913, thereafter continuing the plan of his father¹¹. Mr. Gilberto Lex set aside a portion of the farm that would constitute an urban nucleus – the Vila Lex –, while the remaining lands were allotted in rural smallholdings.

I will leave below a quote from Prof. Felix that summarizes this process:

The plan was to build up a city in one of such plots of land, at the right side of the Tarumã River; [Gilberto Lex] named that place “Mathias Lex Settlement” in tribute to his father and mentor of the farm. The rural and urban plots were sold to immigrants, predominantly German and Italians, thus starting the “Vila Lex”, later Tarumã. From its beginning to the current days, the economy of Tarumã has always been tied to the planting of sugar cane (Felix, 2020: 21; free translation).

Turning to the German settlement, could you please describe to us the historical foundation of the *Riograndense Colony*?

According to my sources, the settlements founded in the counties of Cruzália and Maracaí received no public subsidies or other governmental incentives. Rather, these so-called “colonies” were real estate sold to immigrants by private enterprises.

This was precisely the case with the *Riograndense Colony*. Mr. Alfredo Antunes de Oliveira, proprietor of the *Capivara farm*, where the colony was installed, started an allotment project in its 4.840 hectares¹² to avoid squatters. The firm *Isernhagen & Malves* was the real estate incorporator. In fact, recent findings in Felix (2020) suggest that the settlement in Tarumã preceded the foundation of the *Riograndense Colony*. If this is correct, then the following hypothesis might be true, namely that the success of

¹¹ In Portuguese there is a distinction between farms and “sítios”, which in this case occurred by dismembering the lands of a farm into smaller proprietries, the “sítios”.

¹² Converted from the original 2.000 “alqueires”, as measured in the state of São Paulo.

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the project in Tarumã could have motivated the hiring of a German firm as the real estate incorporator of the *Capivara farm*.

Prof. Carlos Oberacker Jr. (1965) has shown that brothers Isernhagen had a clear division of labor in the project: while Mr. Gustav Isernhagen was responsible for the topographical services, Mr. Otto Isernhagen took care of the commercial activities. The latter covered an ample geographic area in his business activities and promoted the selling of plots for German immigrants spread across the Brazilian states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Espírito Santo, and Paraná. Actually, the very name “Rio-grandense” comes from the fact that the first settlers who arrived in the *Capivara farm* were German-speakers who had originally immigrated to the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul; among them was Mr. Michael Lamb, who became a distinguished entrepreneur, as I will discuss later. Mr. Isernhagen had connections also in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, and probably in other European countries, as well. He also acted in other regions of the state of São Paulo and he sold plots of land event to immigrants recently arrived at the “Hospedaria dos Imigrantes”, the lodging house maintained by the state of São Paulo to promote immigration to country, particularly of rural laborers for the coffee plantations.

The classical studies by Friedrich Sommer have found that the number of German-speaking families living in the *Riograndense Colony* varied between 60 and 80 in 1925–1930, increasing to 155 in 1937 if the settlement of Laranjeiras is considered. That author (1945, p. 661) has found that 90 families were born in the Germany, 45 were Brazilian families with German ancestors, and 20 were German-Russians.

The spread of other German colonies in the region relates to changes in the original plans envisaged for the *Capivara farm*, including the dissolution of *Isernhagen & Malves*.



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According to some registries, that real estate developer did not pass on the money obtained from the immigrants to the farm's proprietor. Consequently, some settlers did not receive their corresponding legal land titles. The escalating conflicts even led to the return migration of some families to Germany.

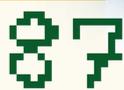
After these major problems, Mr. Michael Lamb organized his own firm of real estate incorporation and settlement. Mr. Lamb bought the farm of Mr. Elizio Galvão, located in the Estiva District, nearby Cruzália. That farm had excellent agro-ecological and topographical conditions, with flat and non-stony plots, in a region covered with forest rich in hardwood¹³.

Mr. Lamb thus started a new real estate enterprise with promising prospects for the cultivation of the most profitable crop of the region: alfalfa. That was the so-called *New Riograndense Colony*.

Besides the *New Riograndense Colony* established in the old farm Galvão, Mr. Lamb promoted other real estate projects in neighbouring areas, being active in the foundation of colonies *Caçador*, *Castelo Branco*, and *Nova Wolhynia*.

Regarding their geographic limits, the old core of those settlements were located in the *Capivara farm* along the Capivara River, which separated the Catholics in São José das Laranjeiras from the Lutherans in the Barra Mansa District. For clarity, in the beginning only the settlements in the *Capivara farm* were considered part of the *Riograndense Colony*. Over time, however, this denomination was attributed to the settlements in the old farm Galvão and in surrounding areas, as well. Even previously independent projects, such as *Colônia Wolhynia*, *Castelo Branco*, and *Lex*, were later named as part of the *Riograndense Colony* by public authorities and researchers.

¹³ "Madeira de lei" refers to timber of high-quality for human purposes, such as for carpentry.



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The distinction between Catholics and Lutherans seems to have played an important role even for the geographic distribution of the German-speaking immigrants. Is that correct?

I will use the work of Dr. Lídia Braun, a specialist in the religiosity of German immigrants in the region, to give an answer here. Dr. Braun has shown that the very first settlement in the *Riograndense Colony* in 1922 took place in the localities known as *Água do Macaco*, *Água dos Porcos*, and *Água da Barra Mansa*. These localities are considered the original core of the colony and a privileged place due to their physical amenities. The cooperative was built in there and the other colonization initiatives irradiated from it.

This early settlement received immigrants from various nationalities, including Germans, Swiss, Polish, and Austrians, as well as German-capixabas, *i.e.* older German immigrants originally settled in the Brazilian state of Espírito Santo, and German-gaúchos, *i.e.* older German immigrants from the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Notwithstanding this variety of origins, the majority in that locality was of evangelical Lutherans.

Another irradiation point of colonization emerged from the surroundings of São José das Laranjeiras as of 1924. The predominant religion here was Catholicism and the settlers had come from various German regions, including East Prussia, as well as from the Brazilian state of Espírito Santo. This region nowadays concentrates the largest number of large properties.

Finally, another settlement was formed in the region known as *Água da Estiva*, with most settlers coming from Rio Grande do Sul. This predominance of “gaúchos” is related to the advertisement made by Mr. Michael Lamb in that Brazilian state for the colonization of farm Galvão since 1929, as discussed above.



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You have recurrently mentioned the terms “colony” and “settlement”, sometimes interchangeably. Both concepts have a meaning in Brazilian history related to government-sponsored projects to create smallholdings in public lands. However, what happened in the region was the creation of a number of private initiatives for the selling of agricultural land. Could you please elaborate on the definition of the term “colony” as applied to the western portion of the state of São Paulo?

The settling of the *Riograndense Colony* was a private business. It was a real estate incorporation conducted by a firm, the *Isernhagen & Malves*, in an allotted private plantation.

The nomenclature we use to refer to that settlement – “Colony” or “Settlement Colony”¹⁴ – is due to the presence of foreign settlers, of immigrants. That nomenclature used to be and still is applied in a somewhat loose manner. In this particular case, the “colony” was not a settlement founded by public authorities; rather, the “colony” refers to a large farm that was dismembered in smaller units, the so-called *sítios*, destined to a specific group of immigrants, in this case, Germans and their descendants.

In its early days, the colony was constituted of small properties. However, as some families had the means to buy more than one plot of land, while others, unable to acclimatize, sold their properties and returned to Germany, a process of land concentration took place. Some smallholdings still subsist to this day; however, the large properties are now predominant.

There were many reasons for the inadaptability of some families, including health issues, complaints about the climatic conditions, and even fraud committed by the colonizing firm, as I have mentioned. A large number of immigrants had been attracted by the promises of fertile, flat,

¹⁴ “Colônia” ou “núcleo colonial”, in the original in Portuguese.

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and smooth plots. Although fertile, the topography was nonetheless rugged and some plots had steep inclinations. Moreover, the original vegetation – a dense forest – still covered the region at the beginning of the settlement.

Although the German presence seems to have been prominent in the region, exactly one century has passed by since the foundation of the first settlement. How do you evaluate the persistence and influence of those immigrants for the socio-cultural life of the region?

Among the various rural settlements mentioned in this interview, the *Riograndense Colony* is the only one to be remembered as an old “colony”. While other settlements in the region still join in for local festivities, religious celebrations etc., these cultural manifestations are mostly conducted under the umbrella of the *Riograndense Colony*.

Because it preserves some features of an old rural settlement, one can still observe in the *Riograndense Colony* the existence of smallholdings and festivities that retain themes brought by the German immigrants. However, it is the Lutheran Church that holds the most prominent position as the institution congregating people and maintaining cultural traditions related to religious practices, including the festivities of Advent and Christmas, the German choir, and the Women’s Group (OASE). For some commemorative days, the Lutheran service is still in German. The Catholic Church is more neutral in these cultural-linguistic aspects; however, hymns are still sung in German in some memorial days – I myself sang in German in the Christmas Eve mass in São José das Laranjeiras.

The elderly still command German as a language. Actually, the majority of the descendants who still live in the colony are among the oldest and include the children and grandchildren of the pioneering settlers. The younger are able to understand their grandparents and parents in German, but speaking German is rarer. Exceptions include students of Liter-

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ature and Linguistics, as well as those who attend language courses in the municipalities of Assis and Maracáí. Interestingly, the latter remains a relatively common practice for some families. The prospect of international exchanges with Germany has been a new motivation for the local youth, increasing the demand for German courses; the recent cases of two students, descendants of old settlers, who went to Germany with the support of the Lutheran Church has awoken a similar wish in others.

Various cultural traditions are maintained, especially culinary ones, such as receipts of Christmas biscuits, ricotta cheesecake, “Cuca”¹⁵, Strudel, Eisbein, and Sauerkraut, as well as the prevalence of beer as a drink. Dance groups perform in local festivities and some special dates, such as the immigration day to Brazil, are still commemorated with traditional culinary.

One also notices the longing of the descendants to revive older traditions and experiences. For instance, one of the old clubs that hosted local festivities and commemorations has been recently restored. Previously known as the “Lyric Club” (“Clube Lírico”), it had a sort of library and hosted a number of cultural performances, such as those of the music group “Edelweiss”, the male choir, theatre presentations, dance balls, and Christmas festivities. After the restoration, it received the name of “Cultural Center of Riograndense Colony, July 25” (“Centro Cultural 25 de Julho da Colônia Riograndense”)¹⁶. Besides sociocultural events, such as Christmas commemorations and rehearsals of the dance group, the center also hosts talks and seminars, such as the one that I had the opportunity to hold with Prof. Dr. José Luís Félix and Mr. Luiz Delfino

¹⁵ Corresponding to a phonetic adaptation of “Streuselkuchen”. See the work of Matthes, D. e Checucci, M. (2017). “Território, campesinato e tradição: a cuca (*Kuchen*) como elemento emblemático da alimentação no médio Vale do Itajaí e sua relação com o desenvolvimento local”, *Práxis*, A15, No. 1.

¹⁶ July 25 is the official commemoration date for the German immigration in Brazil, as mentioned in the introduction.

International Migration and the History of Education in the Brazilian Countryside: Interview and Book Review

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Cardia regarding our research for a group of the descendants of those immigrants about whom we had written.

We have briefly mentioned the Brazilian nationalization laws of the 1930s as a rupture juncture for the cultural and educational practices of Germans, Italians, and Japanese in Brazil. How did immigrants in the *Riograndense Colony* and surroundings deal with those measures?

Educational practices in the *Riograndense Colony* were maintained in their fullness until 1938, when the dictatorial government of President Getúlio Vargas enacted the nationalistic decree prohibiting the use of foreign languages in schools, churches, and other public segments of the Brazilian society.

This epoch is remembered bitterly by all, given that immigrants were not allowed to express themselves in their mother tongue. Once Brazil joined the Allies in 1942, police raids and search warrants for documents, books, and other materials that might have been related to the Nazi presence in the colony implied that family photos, letters, and personal diaries could be (and actually were) confiscated, even if they had no relation at all to the Nazis. Fearing retaliation from the police, even poetry books ended up being burned. Many of my interviewees recollect sad memories from this period, not really understanding what was going on.

Although the German-speaking community did develop strategies of resistance to maintain their culture, the educational practices, religious cults, and civic festivities suffered an acculturation process imposed and mandated from above, by the Brazilian State.

German cultural practices were allowed to be taken up again only after the end of World War II. Religious cults, festivities, and other sociocultural practices aligned with traditions of the older settlers were resumed in the *Riograndense Colony*. The German school, however, remained closed and was later substituted by a public rural school. Nonetheless, to a certain

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extent, the reappearance of cultural and linguistic habits in the post-War period did revive the educational project of the German immigrants in the form of non-institutionalized practices, while also allowing for the insertion of their offspring into the Brazilian society. Indeed, the socioeconomic conditions of the descendants of the pioneers are, in general, good. A large parcel had access to high quality education and hold good positions in the private sector, including in multinational companies, as well as in educational institutions, including universities. Many have left the colony and reside in larger municipalities; some even re-emigrated to Germany.

Did the Nazi regime exert any influence over the colony, considering that the NSDAP's largest cell in Brazil was based in the city of São Paulo?

The question of the political and ideological influence of Nazism over the colony is complex, as I have found one single document that makes explicit reference to the Nazi Party. This document is a report signed by the last teacher of the German school, Mr. João Troucurt; the document has been archived by the Martius-Staden Institute in São Paulo and can be found in the appendix of my master's thesis, translated into Portuguese by Prof. Dr. José Luís Félix.

Mr. Troucurt himself wrote the report, in German. This document from 1937 sketches a brief history of the colony, including of its foundation, of the creation of the school, of visits of public figures to the colony (such as that of the General Consul Dr. Speiser), of the number of students, and of cultural and educational practices.

The following excerpt do indicate at least an attempt by the Nazi party to gain influence over the colony: "The first event that we organized was the commemoration of May 1st; jointly with the support of the NSDAP. A simple, but impressive festivity" (Troucurt 1937; free translation by the editor). A final word on the Nazi influence requires further research. Among my

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interviewees, there were those who mentioned that Mr. Troucort taught songs from the Hitler Youth, while others stressed that the school had no association with the Nazi party or ideology.

In terms of oral tradition, there is also the legend that Josef Mengele would have hidden in one of the meeting clubs of the Germans in the region, namely in the “Club of the 30” (“Clube dos 30”), which belongs nowadays to the municipality of Cruzália. According to the legend, Mengele would have lived hidden in the attic of the building. Although some objects have been found in this club, which according to legend belonged to Mengele, I did not comment on this case in the book because there is no supporting evidence for what seems to be part of the community’s imagination and an extension to the fact that Josef Mengele did hide in the municipality of Assis in the 1970s, as shown by the work of Ms. Aline Mustafa Ferreira da Silva (2007).

A fascinating feature of your work is the combination of oral and documentary history, whose mastery, I suppose, is related to your interdisciplinary formation. Could you tell us how you combine them, particularly for the conduction of interviews?

The methodological choices for the interviews in my master’s thesis had to follow a clear thematic thread. They had to be focused on the educational aspect of the history of German immigration to the region covered. Therefore, I first surveyed the names of the oldest members of the colony still alive and contacted them to schedule various visits and meetings. I was particularly interested in those who had studied in the German school. From the networks thus slowly built up, I got acquainted with other people who had further oral information or primary sources, including photos and documents. Back then, I used a K7 tape recorder to record the interviews.

Migration and the History of Education in the Riograndense Colony: Interview and Book Review

by Ana Carolina Matuszewska Mateus da Silva Ferreira; Bruno Gabriel Witzel

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The research for the book on the history of Tarumã followed a different methodological approach. Our first task was to survey the families of German origin documented in primary sources available in the notary office, as well as in the birth and death registries of that municipality at the beginning of its settlement. Based on this information and counting with the support of the Municipal Hall, we surveyed those families that still resided in Tarumã, finally selecting at least one person representing a remaining family, preferentially among the elderly. Before conducting the interviews, the Municipal Hall of Tarumã facilitated a number of meetings for us to explain the goal of the interviews, the book project, and our previous experiences. The informal environment of various coffee breaks that we had together paved the way for the interviews. I had taken part in the elaboration of the questions, but I unfortunately could not attend the interviews. Nonetheless, all interviews were filmed with the goal of elaborating a documentary in the future. Finally, we combined the content of the interviews with documents from CEDAP¹⁷ as the empirical material to elaborate the narratives presented in the book.

Two institutional repositories preserve abundant material from and about the *Riograndense Colony*: the archives of the Martius-Staden Institute and CEDAP. Much is still scattered in private archives and in personal collections. Unfortunately, there is currently no archive with a unified collection of documents relating to immigration to the region of Cruzália, Maracá, and Tarumã. A group in the Lutheran Church showed interest in organizing such archive, but the project did not move forward. From the public initiative, the compilation of the book sparked the interest of the municipality of Tarumã in setting a documentation center about immigration; however, no concrete plan has been presented to date. Certainly, there is

¹⁷ Acronym for “*Centro de Documentação e Apoio à Pesquisa*” (“Documentation and Research Support Center”), an organization of the State University of São Paulo in its campus of Assis.

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Book Review

LUIZ MATEUS DA SILVA FERREIRA

DA SILVA VAROLO, Flávia Renata; RIBEIRO, Arilda Inês Miranda; FELIX, José Luis. *Trajatória educacional dos imigrantes alemães no interior do estado de São Paulo. Uma escola alemã na colônia Riograndense: 1922–1938 (Maracaí/Cruzália- SP)*. Jundiaí: Paco Editorial, 2015, 184 p.

This book aims at depicting the educational history of German immigrants and their descendants in the *Riograndense Colony*, a rural settlement founded in 1922 between the municipalities of Maracaí and Cruzália, in the countryside of the Brazilian state of São Paulo. Following an approach based on cultural history, Flávia Varolo and co-authors conducted a very interesting research with the primary sources. They used a variety of material, including photographs, diaries, and accounts written by the pioneers who lived in the *Riograndense Colony*, as well as a number of books and booklets, registries, and memoirs of the alumni of the German school that existed in that settlement between 1925 and 1938. With minor changes, the book follows closely parts of Ms. Flávia Renata da Silva Varolo's thesis defended in the M.A. program in Education-Pedagogy at the Faculty of Sciences and Technology – State University of São Paulo (UNESP).

The book starts with a short summary of the history of German immigration to Brazil. It first outlines the main reasons that motivated millions of Germans to take the transatlantic route from the 19th to the beginning of the twentieth century. The goals and political interests of the Brazilian government in promoting the immigration of German-speakers to the country are then presented, as well as the overall relevance of these immigrants and their descendants for the development and formation of the Brazilian society. In the sequence, the book describes, also briefly, the profound transformations, ruptures, and upheavals that characterized the po-

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litical history of Brazil in the first decades of the twentieth century – after a federalist Republic was proclaimed in 1889, putting an end to the centralized Empire. With this contextualization, Ms. Varolo and co-authors aim at sketching the political, military, and institutional framework that started to develop in Brazil since the military coup that began the Republican era and which, in 1938, would end up in a series of nationalistic policies leading to the final shutting down and nationalization of foreign schools in the country. The next part of the analysis focuses on the ideologies and conceptualizations about immigration held by an important parcel of the Brazilian intellectual and political elites in the nineteenth century. The prevailing view was that European immigrants constituted an instrument for “civilizing” the country; as such, promoting their immigration became a cornerstone for the Brazilian State and its public policies. From a historiographical perspective, this discussion is somewhat concise and restrict in the book, but it nonetheless provides the reader with a clear picture of prevailing contemporaneous views, in particular of the stereotyped preconception that distinguished European immigrants (defined as hardworking, creative/ingenious, and civilized) from the Brazilian *caboclos* (always qualified as lazy, indolent, and backward). It is important to notice that, at the period considered, the term *caboclo* was used in Brazil to indicate and mostly discriminate against the ordinary and usually poor Brazilian; frequently a man of colour or of mixed ethnicities, the *caboclo* was a category of social classification that allegedly indicated their socio-cultural and “ethno-racial” inferiority to European immigrants and their descendants.

In spite of important uncertainties regarding the accuracy of the data, estimates suggest that between 230 and 260 thousand German-speaking immigrants arrived in Brazil in the period 1824–1945. In their majority, those were immigrant households – much more frequent than individual immigrants –, composed mainly of agricultural laborers, small businessmen,

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merchants, and village craftsmen and artisans. Most of them left their regions of origin due to poverty (be it rural or urban), expectation of economic gains in Brazil, and, to a smaller scale, due to wars and political persecutions. The most frequent form of settlement was the formation of small rural nuclei founded by the central or provincial authorities or by private companies and land sellers, which were particularly important in the Brazilian provinces/states of Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, Espírito Santo, and São Paulo. More frequently than not, these immigrant households attempted to maintain their cultural heritage by preserving their language, lifestyle, and habits. Ms. Varolo and co-authors show that the *Riograndense Colony* was no exception in that regard.

In short, the official discourse of Brazilian authorities responsible for land settlements in the nineteenth century aimed at attracting European immigrants, preferably those from German-speaking regions. This was justified for those immigrants' alleged "innate" "aptitude to work in agriculture and industry; [due to] their practical and conservative spirit, their love for hard work, family, sobriety, resignation, respect to the authorities – virtues that distinguish them from colonists of other origins", as put in 1846 by the Brazilian diplomat Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida, the Viscount of Abrantes¹⁸. The eminent and prestigious Brazilian General Consul in the German Hanseatic States and Free Cities, Luís Peixoto de Lacerda Werneck, expressed a similar opinion. In 1865, he remarked: "the German is sober, economical, peaceful and hardworking. [...] To these virtues, he adds patience and moderation. His sources of enjoyment and amusement are moderate and methodical"¹⁹. Such conceptions predominated among and guided an influential parcel of the Brazilian political elite and intelligentsia in defending and promoting the German immigration to Brazil. Although such perceptions were marginally discussed in the

¹⁸ Free translation from the original in Portuguese.

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book, I believe that these points need to be further assessed and stressed. This is so not only because such views matter for our general understanding of the history of German immigration to Brazil, but also (and primarily) for comprehending the influence that such perceptions had on the emergence and consolidation of a feeling of double belonging in terms of nationality and ethnicity among German-speakers in Brazil, which is a theme of central importance for the book. Over time, this feeling of double belonging gave rise to the concept (politically abused, at times) of the *Deutsch-Brasilianer* (German-Brazilian).

The formulation and legitimization of an alleged “German-Brazilian ethnicity” was based on the concept of *Deutschtum* (“Germaness”), *i.e.* on the myth and belief in a common ethnical and cultural origin. The degree of intensity, use, and abuse of such concept in the political arena augmented in the course of the nineteenth century and became particularly important after the Unification of the German Empire in 1871. A number of community-based institutions in the German colonies in Brazil helped to spread and to strengthen this belief and the resulting feeling of belonging to one single German ethnicity among immigrants and their descendants. Prominent among these were the school, the church (mostly Lutheran), recreational and artistic associations, the press, and forms of public cultural-civic manifestations. The German school always played a central role in preserving the German language and in strengthening a common culture among immigrants by teaching German history and culture.

This “Germaness” of the German-speakers and their descendants, however, soon collided with the new nationalist ideals of the First Brazilian Republic (1889–1930), which demanded the assimilation of the German-Brazilians to a “Brazilian” culture. As this theme sets much of the stage for the case study at hand, the reader gets the impression that such debate could be improved in an eventual second edition of the book, both in his-

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toriological and in social-political discussions – including comparative analyses between the region being studied and other German communities in Brazil and in Latin America more broadly.

The book could also have provided a more in-depth analysis of the propaganda about Brazil that circulated in Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Concomitant to the goal of the Brazilian government to promote the immigration of German-speakers was an increased interest and the mass outflows of German-speakers from their regions of origin. These combined forces stimulated the publication of various books, booklets, leaflets, magazines, guides, and brochures about destination countries in various German-speaking regions of Central Europe. Moreover, a number of periodicals were exclusively dedicated to the theme of emigration, including, but not limited to, *Der Kolonist*, *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung*, and the *Deutsche Auswanderer-Zeitung*. For a long time, such periodicals served also the purpose of disseminating news and advertisements about Brazil in Europe. Ms. Varolo and co-authors correctly point out to the frequently biased (and at times misleading) propaganda contained in many of these publications, which announced Brazil as a promised land, where a family could harvest many times per year due to a pleasant climate and extraordinarily fertile soils. The authors show with primary sources that the *Riograndense Colony* was advertised in Europe in the 1920s as a “purely German” region, as a locality in “full blossoming”, located in the “most fertile of the [Brazilian] regions”, with “insurmountably fertile [and] plain [soils], [...] with no rocks” that offered the “best guarantees for a secure development and a tranquil future” for German immigrants and their descendants²⁰. In spite of these laudatory views, Ms. Varolo and co-authors remark the simple and important fact that nobody had yet checked the good (or bad) quality

²⁰ Free translation from the original in Portuguese.

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of the soil, as most of the region of the recently founded *Riograndense Colony* was still predominantly encircled by its native and virgin forest.

There is no doubt that such advertisements contained exaggerations that can be justified only for publicity purposes. It is also unquestionable that many immigrants were enticed, deluded, and deceived by fallacious propaganda and by some hiring agents in Europe. Nonetheless, one should recall that letters of friends and family members who had already settled abroad encouraged the decision and determined the destinies of many immigrants who followed. Some of these letters were published in German newspapers, where they allegedly provided irrefutable proof for news that had only been “heard of” before. It is therefore likely that advertisements about Brazil in Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century were less deceptive and misleading than they had been by the mid-nineteenth century. In this sense, it is noted that Ms. Varolo and co-authors do not present primary evidence to irrefutably prove that the pioneers of the *Riograndense Colony* had been deceived, although certain excerpts of the book’s historical narrative induce this interpretation.

Notwithstanding, this book by Ms. Varolo and co-authors holds the reader’s attention for telling the very relevant and interesting history of the *Riograndense Colony*. The book is an important case study within the broader context of the European immigration to Brazil. Historians and social scientists will certainly benefit from the detailed descriptions that the authors provide for the conceptualization of the colony and its actual settlement; the characteristics of the houses of the colonists; the difficulties faced initially by the pioneering settlers; the agro-ecological features of the soil; and the discussions about the most important religious, social, and economic features of the *Riograndense Colony*.

The book provides a detailed historical account of the foundation of the colony in 1919 by Mr. Alfredo Antunes de Oliveira and his nephew, Mr. Cu-

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pertino de Oliveira Castro. Together, they organized the firm *Cupertino de Castro e Cia* with the goal of surveying and selling plots of land in ca. 4.840 hectares of land from the *Capivara farm*, located in the municipality of Maracá, in the rural countryside of the state of São Paulo. This project of settlement and land selling was commissioned to the entrepreneurs Otto and Gustav Isernhagen; the latter was in charge of surveying and demarcating the plots, while the former would work in the commercialization plans. Otto Isernhagen promoted the selling of plots not only in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, but also in other regions of German settlement and colonization in Brazil. These included the states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Espírito Santo, and São Paulo – here, prominently in the so-called *Hospedaria dos Imigrantes*, which lodged and supervised the mass arrival of immigrants to the state since the late 1880s. It is important to remark that the *Riograndense Colony* was a private project for rural settlement, i.e. the colonization and settlement of the locality was neither organized nor financed by the Brazilian government, as it had been the case in other localities.

The book then goes on to study the historical figure of Mr. Michael Lamb, who arrived in the *Capivara farm* with his wife, their ten children, and two brothers (each with their own families) in 1922. Descendant of German colonists first settled in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, Mr. Lamb is considered the actual founder of *Riograndense Colony*, which was first circumscribed to the limits of the *Capivara farm*. The very name of the colony – *Riograndense* – alludes to the regional origins of Mr. Lamb, who supported the settling of a large number of German-Brazilian families from Rio Grande do Sul. The book discusses in a sober and clear manner how, after its foundation in 1922, the *Riograndense Colony* expanded by the initiative and leadership of Mr. Michael Lamb, to whom Ms. Varolo and co-authors give the main credits for the settlement and economic progress of the region. In this debate, the authors highlight the relevance of the

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*Joint Agricultural Cooperative of the Riograndense Colony*²¹ in promoting the economic development of the region. Founded in 1929 by the initiative of brothers Michael and Gustav Lamb, the *Riograndense Cooperative* catalysed and boosted the agricultural development of the region, in particular for the cultivation and commercialization of alfalfa.

The authors hypothesize that the power of cooperativism among rural colonists of German origin rapidly transformed the *Riograndense Colony* into the largest producer of alfalfa in Brazil, highlighting that “the cultivation of alfalfa brought wealth and economic wellbeing to the colony”²². However, that crop suffered severe price reductions in the 1950s. Consequently, local producers turned to other crops, particularly to soya and wheat. Ms. Varolo and co-authors argue that such change – together with other structural modifications in the Brazilian economy – significantly altered the agricultural landscape of the colony. Gradually, the previously predominant small-scale and family-based farms gave way to large-scale farming.

Considering the varied origins of the settlers in the *Riograndense Colony*, this book gives an important contribution to the historiography on immigration, as it provides a case study for a recognizably important phenomenon that has yet been little studied: the geographic mobility of foreigners already settled in Brazil and their contact with newcomers. The *Riograndense Colony* had German-speaking households coming from Rio Grande do Sul, from other Brazilian states, and from Austria, Germany, Poland, Prussia, and Switzerland. The authors notice that these colonists spontaneously organized in a slightly segregated manner right after the foundation of the colony: German-Brazilians from Rio Grande do Sul and Espírito Santo separated from German-speakers from Europe. Moreover, there was religious division between Catholics and Protestants, although

²¹ Free translation for “*Cooperativa Agrícola Mista da Colônia Riograndense*”.

²² Free translation from the original in Portuguese.

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the latter was predominant in numerical terms. Notwithstanding such differences, the German language, certain cultural traits, traditions, and common habits and customs united the settlers of the *Riograndense Colony*, which was inhabited by approximately 80 families in 1925, classified in the reports of the local church and school as families of German origin. Portuguese was barely spoken in the colony. In this regard, the authors highlight the importance of the triad German language-School-Church in creating and preserving the concept of “Germaness” in the *Riograndense Colony*. Similar to other regions settled by German immigrants, particularly after the Unification of the German Empire in 1871, the Church, in particular the Evangelical-Lutheran, meant more than a space for the exercise of religious services and spiritual relief. It was also an ambience for social interactions and exchanges that reinforced habits and traditions of the regions of origin of those colonists via practices that included common reflectance, singing, praying, and commemoration of religious-social festivities. Moreover, the links between religion and education were explicit in many cases. The clearest example is given by the fact that, for very long, the Lutheran Church served as the direct seat for the German school of the *Riograndense Colony*.

In this last regard, the book provides another interesting and new case study by turning to the educational aspects of the German immigrants and their descendants in the *Riograndense Colony*. One should point out here to the care of those immigrants with the primary education of their offspring, as well as to their capacity for social mobilization and organization to found and maintain a German school in the Brazilian rural countryside at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The book highlights the existence of 1,345 German schools in Brazil in 1931, with more than 56 thousand children enrolled in them. These impressive numbers deserve a deeper study in this review. The absolute majority of these schools (97%) and of the total number of students (90%)

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were in the states that had historically received the majority of German-speaking immigrants: Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Paraná and Espírito Santo. Even more interesting is the fact that these four states plus Rio de Janeiro (the Brazilian capital at the time) and São Paulo had the highest rates of enrolment in primary education among all Brazilian states in 1930. Other recent studies have shown the existence of a strong correlation between immigration, enrolment rates in primary schooling, and educational performance in Brazil (e.g. Carvalho Filho and Colistete 2010; Kang 2010; Colistete 2016; Witzel de Souza 2019b). In future editions, the book could consider dialoguing with some of these studies. Ms. Varolo and co-authors could even explore further the qualitative effects of the German educational practices on the sociocultural and economic livelihoods in the municipalities of Cruzália, Maracáí, and neighbouring regions.

Differently from the wealthier and more affluent urban German schools, the curricular structure of German schools in the countryside was more concise, focusing on subjects that were more immediately relevant for the daily lives of the colonists, such as elementary mathematics, reading and writing in German and Portuguese, and the teaching of values and culture associated with their German origins. At the same time, the German schools in this period already played a crucial role in the insertion of German immigrants and their descendants into the Brazilian socioeconomic life. The authors stress the centrality of the German school in providing education towards the Brazilian citizenship and serving as a space of interaction and exchange between Germans and their descendants, on the one hand, and Brazilians, on the other. In fact, Ms. Varolo and co-authors show that native German-speakers were not the only students in the German school of the *Riograndense Colony*. Although numerically predominant, Germans and their descendants studied together with Brazilian “caboclos”. Moreover, the authors de-

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scribe in detail the organization of the teaching concepts and materials: the teaching of Portuguese grammar and orthoepy was based primarily on textbooks, while the didactic material on biblical and cultural history, on elementary mathematics, and on Brazilian geography were edited in German. Similarly, teachers hired and maintained by the local community taught almost exclusively in German; festivities in which the school took part included typical German cultural displays; and singing classes were based on German folk songs and hymns.

It is in this context that the book discusses the figure of teacher João Troucort. According to some ex-students, that teacher was very patriotic and wished to spark and preserve the feeling of “Germaness” in the local community. It is also in this context that Ms. Varolo and co-authors mention the commemorations of May 1st in the *Riograndense Colony*, which received the support of the Nazi Party, as well as radio broadcasting in the colony of news from Germany, including the Olympic Games and discourses of Adolf Hitler.

Political ideology unquestionably influenced many German-Brazilian associations by amalgamating the concept of the “German people” as an ethnic community spread around the globe, but united by an allegedly common ancestry, language, and culture. Such idea had been supported at least since the unification of the German Empire in 1871 and was well spread in the interwar period. In 1925, for instance, the *National League of German-Brazilian Teachers* [*Landesverband deutsch-brasilianischer Lehrer*] was founded with official support from the German government and from the *Association for the Germaness Abroad* [*Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland – VDA*]. Its main goals were to organize teaching in the German schools and to advise German-Brazilian teachers in maintaining and promoting the idea of “Germaness” in Brazil. With its seizure of power, the Nazi Party reinforced the nationalist and racist ideology implicit in the concepts of “people’s community”

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(*Volksgemeinschaft*) and of a “people’s comradeship” (*Volksgenosse*), which aimed at standardizing in one single ethnic community the very diverse historical experiences of Germans and their descendants living abroad. Contemporaneous observers and recent academic studies stress, however, that the concept of “Germaness” in Brazil cannot be equated to its European counterpart; although a critical analysis is required, it would be incorrect to simply equate the activities of German-Brazilian associations with the international aspirations of the III. Reich. Taking into account the complexity and relevance of such theme for the period covered in the book, the influence (or lack thereof) of the Nazi Party on the *Riograndense Colony* certainly deserves further historical scrutiny.

Finally, cultivated among some descendants of German immigrants, the idea of being Brazilian, but simultaneously belonging to a German nation put two important national principles in a collision rout: nationality *vs.* citizenship. The principle of *nationality* and of national belonging was embedded in the concept of *jus sanguine*; it was an ethnical conception of nation, crystalized and idealized as a cultural and linguistic unity that could amalgamate different peoples sharing a common origin. The principle of *citizenship*, in turn, followed from a legal recognition of civil rights. In the Brazilian case, those rights had been recognized in the 1891 and 1936 Constitutions, which granted citizenship by the concept of *jus soli* (Seyferth 1982).

This conflict between nationality via *jus sanguine* and citizenship via *jus soli* was not a new phenomenon in the Brazilian history, characterized as it had been by various migratory waves. However, a growing nationalist movement in Brazil intensified such conflict at the beginning of the twentieth century. As discussed in the book, the government of São Paulo enacted a number of laws to nationalize elementary schools already in the early 1920s. Among others, these laws imposed the obligatory teaching of Portuguese in all schools, especially in the private ones, prohib-

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ited teaching in foreign languages for children younger than 10 years old, and imposed the condition that only Brazilian teachers should teach Portuguese, History, and Geography. This process of educational nationalization was intensified and expanded at the federal level by the *Estado Novo*, the nationalist and dictatorial regime under President Getúlio Vargas, who seized power in 1930 via a *coup d'état*. The so-called *Nationalization Campaign* started in 1938 led to shutdowns of foreign schools, including a large portion of the ca. 1.300 German schools that had cultivated aspects of the German language, values, and culture. With Brazil joining the Allies in 1942, the *Nationalization Campaign* became even stronger, leading to a recrudescence of Brazilian nationalism and to a feeling of opposition to discourses related to the German-Brazilian ethnicity. Ms. Varolo and co-authors evaluate the impact of the *Nationalization Campaign* in the *Riograndense Colony* based on interviews and memories of its elderly inhabitants. The authors point to the difficulties faced by German immigrants and their descendants during World War II, including police raids and the confiscation and incineration of belongings of colonists considered suspects by Brazilian authorities. The local German school, perceived as crucial for the preservation of the *Germaness*, was shut down in 1938. “Its closure implied irreparable losses to that colony”²³, as the authors put it. Considering the illegality of teaching in German, of using the German language in public, and of holding German cultural representations of any kind after Brazil entered World War II, the language, the culture, and older traditions of the immigrants were severely impaired.

To conclude, the book “*Trajetória educacional dos imigrantes alemães no interior do estado de São Paulo. Uma escola alemã na Colônia Riograndense: 1922–1938*” focuses on the primordial role of the German school in moulding the citizenship of German immigrants and their descendants in Brazil. By approaching the object of education history via

²³ Free translation from the original in Portuguese.

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the angle of cultural history, this book by Ms. Varolo and co-authors offers substantial contributions to the debates on the relationship between education and identity of immigrant groups. The book sheds light onto the cultural identity of immigrants; the organizations they established in the country of destination; their relations to public authorities; as well as their feelings of belonging. Albeit not being an explicit goal of the book, all these themes seem of great relevance to conceptualize also modern migratory policies.

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and the History of Education in the Interview and Book Review

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Einwanderung
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Sequence 01



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Steuererleichterung bis
1831 kamen 11000 deutschsprachige

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Immigranten nach Brasilien das Land an
die ehemals versklavten afrikanischen



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Ursprungs zu geben war für die Regierung
im 19 Jahrhundert mit ihren zutiefst

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Imigração alemã no Brasil

VALDIR GREGORY

INTRODUÇÃO

■ Abordar o assunto da imigração alemã no Brasil numa edição especial dos Cadernos Adenauer, no âmbito das “Relações Alemanha-Brasil” e no contexto do ano Alemanha-Brasil, possibilita trazer ao debate aspectos de longa duração a respeito das relações entre estas nações. Estas relações são antigas, pois o Brasil foi “visitado, explorado e estudado” por falantes da língua alemã desde o período da presença de europeus no continente americano.¹

A presença de alemães no Brasil implica em migrações. Alemães emigraram da Alemanha para o Brasil. Assumiram a característica de emigrantes de e de imigrantes em (no), ou seja, a de migrantes.

A migração *stricto sensu* pode ser concebida como a passagem física de um lugar para outro, uma experiência que abarca velhos e novos mundos e que continua por toda a vida do migrante e pelas gerações subsequentes. São processos em que migrantes se estabelecem em novas terras, podendo afetar estilos de vida que podem ser recriados e modificados.²

Vários aspectos podem ser considerados nesse ato de migrar. Neste texto, pretendo mostrar algumas motivações da saída da Alemanha e fatores de atração para o Brasil, fornecer um panorama desse fenômeno, bem como os fluxos

1 Ver <http://www.rodrigotrespach.com/2013/01/01/ano-da-alemanha-no-brasil-2013-2014/>, acessado em 17/04/2013.

2 THOMSON, Alistair. Histórias (co)comovedoras: história oral e estudos de migração. *Revista Brasileira de História*. SP, vol., 22, n. 44, (p. 341-363), 2002, p. 341.



e a quantidade de pessoas por períodos. Atentar para vivências individuais e de coletividades em terras brasileiras. Tratar de relações entre imigrantes alemães e população brasileira, entre alemães e imigrantes de outras nacionalidades. Debater aspectos culturais e negociações identitárias. Outros aspectos poderiam ser tratados.

Este texto, então, contempla alguns dados a respeito da imigração no Brasil, uma réplica útil e algumas opiniões do autor.

PANORAMA GERAL

■ As migrações de alemães para o Brasil ocorreram em ondas sucessivas, iniciando-se repentinamente a partir da expulsão dos alemães da Prússia em 1806, quando a Prússia perdeu a guerra para Napoleão. As áreas de origem foram diversas, abrangendo regiões bastante variadas que se estendem desde o norte da Alemanha, passando pelo XVI e XVII a Europa, a África do Sul, a América do Sul, a América Central e os Estados Unidos para tal área. Não se trata de um fenômeno homogêneo, mas de um processo complexo no qual houve a participação de diversos grupos, visando à ocupação de espaços e a formação de comunidades, inclusive com o nativo brasileiro. Tal processo alemão durou até o século XX, sendo que a temporariedade se deu devido ao crescimento constante da dinâmica populacional. Isso permitiu sucessivas migrações da população brasileira enquanto um processo de convergência de culturas, de trocas culturais, de influências, de resistências e de adaptações que resultaram nas migrações de descendentes. Proponho pensar a presença de alemães no Brasil da seguinte maneira:

REGISTROS DE ALEMÃES

■ 114 referências sobre a presença de alemães desde o século XVI na colônia de Portugal. Pedro Álvares Cabral teria sido acompanhado em sua festa por dois alemães, um holandês e um inglês. Outros 104 registros de que religiosos missionários estiveram no Brasil. Exploradores, viajantes, escritores, intelectuais, artistas, cientistas alemães atuaram em diversas áreas. Ulrich Schmiedel, Hans Staden, Johan Baptist von Spix, Karl Friedrich Philipp von Martius, Alexander von Humboldt (este teria sido impedido de permanecer no Brasil por suspeita de ser espião), Johan Moritz Rugendas, Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, Otto Grashoff, dentre outros, estão mencionados em vasta bibliografia, sendo-lhes atribuídas significativas contribuições à formação da nação

brasileira.³ Estas presenças de alemães neste período merecem esta rápida menção, podendo receber atenção maior em outros momentos, mesmo que tenham sido numericamente e relativamente pequenas diante dos indígenas, portugueses e africanos.

A IMIGRAÇÃO ALEMÃ NO BRASIL

■ A partir do século XIX, e principalmente com a emancipação política do Brasil na segunda década dos mil e oitocentos, a imigração entrou na pauta da (geo) política do Império brasileiro. Foi sendo adotada uma política de substituição do tráfico de escravos pela imigração de europeus com a finalidade de prover mão-de-obra para as lavouras de café, fornecer camponeses para núcleos coloniais que iam sendo criados e povoar os considerados “vazios demográficos” localizados em áreas fronteiriças. Organizações e estruturas estabelecidas em torno do tráfico negro, tais como empresas, embarcações, redes de contato e de negociações, foram (re)direcionadas para a viabilização de fluxos massivos de europeus para a América. São fenômenos de um mesmo sistema que passava por mudanças.

Por outro lado, somente uma pequena parcela da emigração europeia, entre ela a alemã, dirigiu-se para o Brasil, ou seja, em torno de 4500000 num universo de mais de 35000000 de emigrantes europeus. De acordo com Lúcio Kreutz⁴, “até 1929, entraram no Brasil 1485000 italianos, 1321000 portugueses, 583000 espanhóis, 223000 alemães (*certamente falantes da língua alemã* – grifo nosso), 86000 japoneses.” Os demais se deslocaram para os Estados Unidos, Uruguai, Argentina, Austrália e para outros destinos.

A emigração de alemães se insere no contexto de motivações gerais da emigração europeia, causadas por transformações políticas, econômicas, sociais e culturais. O crescimento do capitalismo industrial e a conseqüente decomposição dos liames feudais geraram um ambiente de repulsão populacional diante de uma fronteira aberta e diante do sonho da América. Acrescente-se, ainda, o desenvolvimento do transporte ferroviário e da navegação a vapor, a suspensão do tráfico de escravos negros.⁵ Problemas sociais ligados à dificuldade de acesso à terra e de

3 Ver As relações Alemanha-América Latina no passado e no presente. In: Perfil da Alemanha (Publicado pelo Departamento de Imprensa e Informação do Governo Federal, Redação: Dr. Arno Kepler (texto), 1997, p. 570 a 584.

4 KREUTZ, Lúcio. Magistério e Imigração Alemã: o professor católico teuto-brasileiro da Restauração. São Paulo, 1985. Tese (Doutorado em Educação) – Pontifícia Universidade Católica, p. 62.

5 Ver CROUZET, Maurice (org.) História Geral das Civilizações. São Paulo, DIFEL, 1969.

acesso restrito a ocupações satisfatórias no meio urbano disponibilizaram numerosos contingentes populacionais dispostos a migrarem. Houve a convergência de interesses de empresas navegadoras, de agentes de migrantes e da atuação de organizações políticas, sociais e religiosas que proporcionaram ambientes e condições favoráveis à emigração de alemães. Ressalte-se, no entanto, que, nesta dinâmica, houve questionamentos e posições contrárias às políticas favoráveis à emigração. No caso das migrações de alemães para o Brasil, os debates a partir de relatos, que davam conta de situações precárias vividas por alemães, influenciaram para que fossem criadas restrições a estes fluxos migratórios. Assim, milhões de pessoas emigraram sem estarem submetidas a um planejamento consistente em que pesavam o crescimento demográfico, decisões pessoais, a insatisfação e o impulso de se arriscarem em busca de uma vida melhor.

De acordo com Arno Keppler, a imigração alemã na América Latina após as independências ocorreu, na maioria “para o Brasil, opção mais favorável” em função de o reconhecimento ter sido “anterior ao reconhecimento das antigas colônias espanholas” por parte das potências europeias, inclusive pela Prússia. O mesmo autor menciona “uma política organizada de povoamento por imigrantes alemães”. Georg von Schöffler teria planejado “uma rede de pontos de apoio formada por pequenas propriedades agrícolas”, destinada a proteger as fronteiras e fornecer gêneros agrícolas.⁶ No caso do Brasil, estas migrações passaram a se dirigir, preferencialmente, para as regiões Sudeste e Sul do país, destacando-se, a partir de 1824, data da fundação da colônia alemã de São Leopoldo, no Rio Grande do Sul. No final desta década, sempre por iniciativa do governo imperial, também foram estabelecidos colonos alemães em São Pedro de Alcântara e Mafra (SC) e em Rio Negro (PR), no ano de 1829.

Além destes grupos de alemães situados na porção meridional do país, foram criados outros núcleos isolados em outras localidades do território brasileiro, como Nova Friburgo (RJ), em 1818, Santo Amaro (SP), em 1828, Santa Izabel e Santa Leopoldina (ES), fundadas respectivamente em 1847 e 1857; Nova Friburgo e Petrópolis (RJ), em 1819 e 1845; Teófilo Otoni e Juiz de Fora (MG), em 1847 e 1852; e São Jorge dos Ilhéus (BA), em 1818. Destas, fora as da região sul, as que mais marcaram a identidade germânica foram as do Espírito Santo.⁷ A maioria dos imigrantes alemães do Espírito Santo, deste momento inicial, era procedente da Pomerânia (Santa Maria e Domingos Martins) e da Renânia.

6 Ver *As relações Alemanha-América Latina*, op. Cit., p. 582 e 583.

7 MAGALHÃES, Marionilde Dias Brehol de. *Alemanha, mãe-pátria distante: utopia pangermanista no Sul do Brasil*. Campinas: 1993. Tese (Doutorado), UNICAMP, 1993, p. 12

A intensificação da imigração só aconteceu após 1850, quando a colonização passou a ser responsabilidade dos governos provinciais, sendo que a vinda de alemães, quase exclusiva no início e embora crescente, foi cedendo em volume a outras etnias, destacando-se portugueses, italianos, espanhóis. A iniciativa privada contribuiu na fundação de colônias em Santa Catarina destacando-se a Colônia Blumenau (Hermann Blumenau e Ferdinand Hackradt), em 1850, e a Colônia Dona Francisca, atual Joinville (Sociedade Hamburguesa), em 1851.

Com relação ao Paraná, houve a migração para Castro, em 1855, e, de 1877 a 1879, chegou número apreciável de alemães do Volga, os teuto-russos. A partir da imigração de teuto-russos foram criadas colônias nas proximidades de Curitiba, abrangendo partes dos Campos Gerais. Estevão Müller⁸ trata de imigrantes no Paraná de etnia alemã “de outras regiões da Europa, dominadas pela Rússia, além dos que habitavam as regiões do Volga”. Seriam os bucovinos da Bucovina, os suábios do Danúbio, outros vindos das regiões do Volga, da Sibéria, da Ucrânia e de outras regiões do vasto império soviético. Segundo o autor, em 1887/1888 teriam vindo a Rio Negro os bucovinos. Estes teriam migrado da Baviera para a Bucovina em 1840/1841. De Rio Negro foram para Lapa e Colônias vizinhas. Eram católicos. No município de Palmeira, foram fundados outros povoados com migrantes teuto-russos. Foram separados por religião, sendo os católicos encaminhados para os núcleos Pugas, Lago, Santa Quitéria e Alegrete e os protestantes para os lotes Papagaios Novos e Quero-Quero.

A maioria dos alemães chegou no início do século XX, estabelecendo-se em Curitiba, Ponta Grossa, Palmeira, Rio Negro, Ivaí, Irati, Cruz Machado. Mais tardes, no contexto de conflitos bélicos, Suábios da região do Danúbio migraram para Guarapuava, estabelecendo-se em Entre Rios e migrantes oriundos de Danzig dirigiram-se a Cambé e Rolândia.⁹

ORIGENS E DESTINOS DIVERSOS

■ Esta imigração obedecia a uma política de povoamento do governo imperial, objetivando a ocupação de espaços e “vazios demográficos”. Por parte das províncias também havia políticas de imigração para o povoamento, além de garantir mão-de-obra “livre” para as lavouras de café. Houve investimentos em propagan-

8 MÜLLER, Estevão. De Marienthal (Alemanha, Rússia) a Marienthal (Lapa, PR). Curitiba, Editora Champagnat, 2005, p. 19 e 38 a 40.

9 Ver STEIN, Marcos. In: VITEC, Harto. Imigração alemã no Paraná: 180 anos (1929-2009). Marechal Cândido Rondon, Editora Germânica, 2011.

das para atrair os imigrantes, envolvendo governos, companhias de colonização e agentes. O agenciamento, o transporte, a recepção, o cumprimento de compromissos, a aceitação de costumes, as práticas religiosas estiveram repletos de percalços, o que provocou reações e críticas, bem como tentativas de proibir e impedir as migrações de alemães para o Brasil.

Houve uma significativa variedade de regiões de procedência de grupos alemães que se dirigiram para o Brasil, durante o século XIX, atestando ampla heterogeneidade cultural. A tabela 02, baseada em Emílio Willems, proporciona uma visão panorâmica da procedência de alguns fluxos iniciais de imigrantes para algumas localidades no Brasil durante o século XIX.

Tabela 02. *Procedência de alguns grupos alemães para o Brasil*

Localidade	Fundação	Origem
São Leopoldo RS	1824	Hunsrück, Saxônia, Württemberg, Saxônia-Coburg
Santa Cruz RS	1849	Renânia, Pomerânia, Silésia
Santo Ângelo RS	1857	Renânia, Saxônia, Pomerânia
Nova Petrópolis RS	1859	Pomerânia, Saxônia, Boêmia
Teutônia RS	1868	Westfália
São Lourenço RS	1857	Pomerânia, Renânia
Blumenau SC	1850	Pomerânia, Holstein, Hannover, Braunschweig, Saxônia
Brusque SC	1860	Bade, Oldenburgo, Renânia, Pomerânia, Schleswig-Holstein, Braunschweig
Joinville SC	1851	Prússia, Oldenburgo, Schleswig-Holstein, Hannover, Suíça.
Curitiba PR	1878	Teutos do Volga
Santa Isabel ES	1847	Hunsrück, Pomerânia, Renânia, Prússia, Saxônia
Santa Leopoldina ES	1857	Pomerânia, Renânia, Prússia, Saxônia

Nota: Tabela organizada pelo autor, baseada em informações de Willems, 1980, p. 38-39.

A composição dos grupos de imigrantes e os seus destinos dependiam de agentes na Alemanha, que tinham a tarefa de convencer, organizar e encaminhar, e de receptores brasileiros, que os distribuíam, considerando habilidades, interesses (geo)políticos, econômicos. A entrada dos alemães no Brasil, durante o Primeiro Império, ocorria pelo Rio de Janeiro a partir do qual eram organizados e encaminhados aos seus locais de destino. Depois, foram utilizados outros portos, como o de Santos, de Itajaí, de Rio Grande. As colônias, depois de criadas, iam recebendo colonos de diferentes origens. Desta forma, as colônias poderiam ser formadas e compostas por falantes do alemão oriundos de diversas localidades da Europa. A região do Hunsrück forneceu um importante contingente de imigran-

tes camponeses para as colônias da Região Sul, os quais, majoritariamente, eram católicos e falavam o dialeto alemão hunsrück.

Em termos de heterogeneidade e pluralidade de nacionalidades, representadas no Brasil por fluxos quase que contínuos até 1940, o processo de imigração e colonização revela algumas características específicas nos estados do Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina e Paraná. Nestes estados, a presença de europeus não portugueses fez com que se formassem núcleos com grupos étnicos com (auto)identidades próprias e culturalmente distintos. Outra característica importante eram os objetivos e as formas de colonizar a porção meridional do Brasil, que buscava o povoamento com colonos, pequenos agricultores que produzissem alimentos em lotes de sua propriedade. Por outro lado, a finalidade da política imigratória adotada na província de São Paulo era solucionar a carência de mão-de-obra nas propriedades destinadas ao cultivo do café. No Sul, interessava povoar áreas de florestas próximas a vales de rios, destacando-se os do Jacuí e Itajaí, fazer do povoamento e da colonização mecanismos de conquista e de manutenção de domínios territoriais.

Além disso, e talvez o fato mais importante, é o de que a concentração de colonos de mesma origem étnica contribuiu na formação de grupos, nas colônias e dentro delas, relativamente homogêneos e isolados. Nestas, a inserção de imigrantes de outras origens étnicas e de brasileiros ocorreu, principalmente, depois do advento da República, em 1889. Neste contexto, os objetivos e orientações do poder público estiveram voltados para a formação de colônias mistas, contrariando interesses empresariais privados de colonização, tanto no Rio Grande do Sul como em Santa Catarina, que vislumbravam maiores facilidades de mercantilização de terras na formação de núcleos mais homogêneos. Os povoados formados dentro dos núcleos coloniais, denominados de linhas, tendiam a receber colonos de origens étnicas e religiosas semelhantes, favorecendo a formação de comunidades mais homogêneas.

Estas situações estão contextualizadas no debate da questão racial no país. De um lado, a ideologia do branqueamento via no abrasileiramento e na mestiçagem de alemães a melhoria da “raça brasileira”. De outro lado, aumentava a preocupação referente ao perigo da formação de “quistos étnicos” no Brasil. A resistência cultural e a busca de integração à nação brasileira geraram tensões, que variavam em intensidade e gravidade de acordo com situações (geo)políticas nacionais e internacionais. Cabe observar que estes núcleos coloniais abrangiam e influenciavam áreas bem mais amplas do que as áreas atuais dos respectivos mu-

nicípios, além da expansão das descendências em seus arredores e por áreas bem mais amplas em décadas e séculos posteriores.

ALGUNS DADOS E SEUS SIGNIFICADOS

■ Os registros e fontes sobre a presença de alemães nestas e outras localidades apontam para uma migração de alemães para o Brasil durante os séculos XIX e XX. Cabe observar que, por um lado, tais fontes foram produzidas por instituições e órgãos, os mais diversos, que apontam para o que ocorreu nestes tempos. São informações e dados a serem considerados. Por outro lado, as migrações se constituem em fenômenos complexos e de imprecisões em seus registros. As estatísticas sobre a imigração no país prescindem de fontes consistentes e, no caso da imigração de alemães, a complexidade merece ser considerada. Os esforços de captar a mobilidade de alemães para o Brasil e no Brasil e inseri-la em estatísticas, em narrativas e em outros suportes de registros, resultaram, pois, em acervos produzidos na Alemanha, no Brasil e em outras localidades. Neste texto, estou apenas apontando para uma teia complexa de informações e seus suportes que merece ser contextualizada, sendo a Gênese documental um aspecto.

Considero pertinente atentar para as temporalidades e para as espacialidades. Não tenho resposta precisa à pergunta: o que é ser migrante alemão no século XIX, ou em meados do século XX? As fronteiras em relação à Alemanha e seus limites territoriais apresentam flexibilidades durante os últimos séculos. Isto em função da época da unificação alemã (1870), da instabilidade das fronteiras nacionais na Europa, da presença dos falantes de variantes e dialetos do alemão além das fronteiras históricas da Alemanha, das migrações dentro da Europa e das destabilizações étnico-culturais em função de conflitos e de desterrados da Europa central. Volto a estas questões mais adiante.

No entanto, os dados de Mauch da tabela 01, referentes entre 1824 e 1969, servem de parâmetros para mostrar a dinâmica dos fluxos de migrantes alemães para o Brasil em diferentes épocas. Atentar para os períodos, os números totais e as médias anuais possibilita perceber que a migração foi mais intensa de 1872 a 1939. As décadas de 1910 a 1939 apresentam médias anuais mais expressivas.

Tabela 01. *Imigração Alemã no Brasil*

Período	Total	MÉDIAS Anuais
1824-47	8.176	355
1848-72	19.523	813
1872-79	14.325	2046
1880-89	18.901	2100
1890-99	17.084	1898
1900-09	13.848	1539
1910-19	25.902	2878
1920-29	75.801	8422
1930-39	27.497	3055
1940-49	6.807	756
1950-59	16.643	1849
1960-69	5.659	629

Fonte: Mauch et al., 1994, p. 165.

Grosso modo, de acordo com o IBGE, a população de origem alemã nas décadas de 1940 e 1950 girava em torno de 20% da população total nos estados de Santa Catarina e Rio Grande do Sul, 7% no Paraná e 2,5% em São Paulo. Estes números de centenas de milhares de imigrantes alemães no Brasil podem ter vários significados. Podem conter (como contém de fato) indivíduos e grupos diversificados no que se refere às condições econômicas e sociais, às habilidades e profissões, no que tange à religiosidade, a posições políticas, etc. Migraram camponeses sem acesso à terra, artesãos, trabalhadores livres, profissionais qualificados, empreendedores, perseguidos políticos, pessoas contratadas para trabalhos nas colônias, nos governos e em combates. Ou seja, estes migrantes eram portadores de experiências plurais.

Por outro lado, as suas vivências no Brasil também foram as mais variadas. Um número significativo de imigrantes alemães no Brasil dedicou-se às lidas do meio rural. Parte dos imigrantes alemães que vieram para o Brasil foram e tornaram-se proprietários de terras por ocasião da sua chegada e/ou posteriormente. Muitas outras atividades eram exercidas, tanto quanto artesãos, industriais, comerciantes e profissionais do meio urbano, bem como religiosos e professores. Outros permaneceram ou foram para as cidades, seja devido à falta de infraestrutura nas colônias, seja pela não adaptação às condições da vida rural e do trabalho agrícola no Brasil ou até mesmo por não terem tido a experiência das lidas do

campo. No seu conjunto, a descendência alemã no território brasileiro está distribuída de forma semelhante a outros grupos étnico/culturais oriundos da Europa. Participam da distribuição desigual no que se refere à renda e ao acesso à terra. Estão inseridos no tecido social brasileiro. Têm acesso a níveis médios mais elevados de renda e de formação escolar, se comparados a descendentes de escravos africanos, aos indígenas e aos caboclos.¹⁰

AS MIGRAÇÕES INTERNAS

■ Desta forma, os colonos migrantes (alemães, italianos, poloneses, ucranianos, dentre outros) foram portadores de valores, de culturas e de estilos de vida, a partir dos quais se adaptaram, construíram e constituíram um novo espaço social inserido num contexto mais amplo, que condicionou e condiciona modos de ser de migrantes e de seus descendentes.

Mesmo assim, os imigrantes que se fixaram, enquanto camponeses, nas colônias na região Sul do Brasil, não se destacaram numericamente no contexto da imigração brasileira. Mas, cabe considerar a época da fundação das colônias, principalmente as de alemães, que chegaram durante cinco décadas antes que os outros grupos étnicos. Começaram a colonizar as terras florestais desta região do país, e se se considerar o número de descendentes, o significado de sua presença se modifica consideravelmente. Os alemães iniciaram as migrações e a fundação de colônias no Brasil várias décadas antes do que outros grupos étnicos. Quando, no final do século XIX, imigrantes de outras nacionalidades iniciaram seus fluxos migratórios massivos para o Brasil, várias comunidades alemãs já estavam estruturadas. Já havia descendentes seus nascidos no Brasil. Magalhães¹¹ mostra, sem precisar a época, que a taxa de fecundidade dos alemães era de 8 a 9 filhos para as mulheres que casavam entre 15 e 19 anos e de 7 filhos para as mulheres que casavam entre 20 e 24 anos. Pode-se, assim, observar que tal crescimento, junto a condições socioeconômicas, foi responsável pelo aumento do número de colônias, bem como pelos deslocamentos para diversas localidades do Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina e Paraná e para outras regiões brasileiras. Cabe mencionar, ainda, as migrações para a Argentina, o Paraguai e a Bolívia de descendentes de alemães do Brasil.

10 Ver ROCHE, Jean. *A Colonização Alemã e o Rio Grande do Sul*. Porto Alegre, Globo, 1969. E WAIBEL, Léo. *Capítulos de Geografia Tropical e do Brasil*. 2. ed. Rio de Janeiro, IBGE, 1979.

11 MAGALHÃES, op. Cit., 1993, p. 12.

Tais deslocamentos para novos núcleos, iniciados no final do século XIX, assumiram intensidade e abrangência a partir da segunda década do século XX. Os descendentes de imigrantes europeus do Rio Grande do Sul e de Santa Catarina enfrentaram a carência de terras nas suas colônias e as elites sulinas buscavam restringir o povoamento com imigrantes e seus descendentes às áreas florestais da região. Os imigrantes alemães, italianos e poloneses que constituíram um espaço de colonização no Rio Grande do Sul, ampliado por um processo de *ensamblage*¹², ocuparam as terras florestais do Norte e Nordeste rio-grandense até o final de 1940. As áreas de campo, na porção central e do Sul mantiveram os latifúndios pecuaristas e não foram disponibilizadas para a formação de núcleos coloniais para absorver descendentes de imigrantes. Estes tiveram um espaço limitado para desenvolverem suas atividades agropecuárias voltadas à policultura, uma vez que as áreas destinadas à pecuária, antes da chegada dos imigrantes, mantiveram-se dominadas pela economia tradicional, obrigando, mais tarde, os mesmos a subdividirem as colônias com as novas gerações ou migrarem para o Oeste catarinense, para o Sudoeste e Oeste paranaense. Em Santa Catarina e no Paraná, reproduziram-se situações semelhantes às das áreas coloniais do Rio Grande do Sul, sendo que as suas áreas de campo e de latifúndio eram proporcionalmente mais reduzidas.

Nestas circunstâncias, a busca de novas terras configurou o Rio Grande do Sul como um estado expulsor de população e o Paraná como um estado receptor. Santa Catarina, por sua vez, expelia migrantes das áreas mais próximas do litoral e recebia migrantes mais a oeste do estado. O Paraná foi o estado receptor por excelência.¹³ Tal processo foi intensificado a partir de 1920, aumentando a migração para o estado do Paraná. Nas décadas de 60 e 70, quando surgiram novas frentes de colonização nas regiões Centro-Oeste e Norte do país, destacando-se os Estados do Mato Grosso e Rondônia, além das frentes de colonização no Paraguai, no norte da Argentina e na Bolívia, as correntes migratórias do Sul forneceram grandes contingentes de euro-brasileiros para a ocupação de frentes pioneiras. Tem-se, pois, um amplo espaço de presença de colonos descendentes de imigrantes alemães pelo território brasileiro, não mais em grupos tão homogêneos, mas com a manutenção, adaptação e a reconstrução de características de identidade germânica.

12 ROCHE, op. Cit.

13 GREGORY, Valdir. Os eurobrasileiros e o espaço colonial: migrações e identidades no Oeste do Paraná. Cascavel, Edunioeste, 2002, p. 68

Outro aspecto a se considerar é o fato de que imigraram alemães para os núcleos urbanos das colônias e para centros urbanos maiores das cidades brasileiras, atuando no comércio, na indústria e nos serviços. A partir do desenvolvimento de regiões coloniais e do crescimento demográfico, além das migrações para novas colônias e frentes de colonização, ocorreu continuamente o êxodo rural, que se intensificou a partir da modernização agrícola dos anos sessenta do século XX. Em algumas cidades coloniais, há o predomínio de população germânica, que mantém fortes marcas culturais da sua germanidade. Em diversas localidades, as marcas da presença de descendentes de imigrantes alemães são enaltecidas. São preservados e reforçados estilos arquitetônicos germânicos, adaptados e modificados nas casas e prédios privados e públicos. A língua continua sendo falada em ambientes familiares e de encontros comunitários e festivos. Festas populares tornaram-se manifestações étnico-turísticas da imigração alemã em algumas localidades.¹⁴

Alguns dados servem para a leitura do processo de expansão geográfica dos alemães pelo território brasileiro. Um aspecto a ser considerado é a presença de “igrejas étnicas” no território brasileiro. É o caso da Igreja Evangélica Luterana do Brasil (ICLB) e da Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil (IECLB) e da Igreja Evangélica Congregacional do Brasil (IECB). Em 1992, havia 375 paróquias da IECLB no Brasil, das quais 237 (63%) na Região Sul, 64 na Região Sudeste (31 no ES), 29 na Região Norte, 26 no Centro Oeste, 18 no Nordeste. A IECLB foi criando, nas últimas décadas, paróquias nas frentes de colonização nos seus distritos eclesiais do Centro-Oeste: Mato Grosso, Rondonmat (sudeste de Rondônia e noroeste de Mato Grosso), Alto Rio Madeira (norte de Rondônia e Acre) e Rio Machado (centro de Rondônia): Goiânia (1953), Brasília (1958), Taguatinga (1969), Mineiros (1982), Planaltina (1985), Barreiras (1986), Porto dos Gaúchos (1961), Cuiabá (1971, Sinop (1975), Jaciara (1978), Alta Floresta (1985), Canarana, Matupá, Primavera do Leste e Sorriso (pós-1986), Vilhena (1976), Colorado d’Oeste (1977), Juína e Juruena (pós-1986), Cacoal (quatro paróquias: 1974, 77, 78), Pimenta Bueno (1976), Rolim de Moura e Alta Floresta d’Oeste (1978), Espigão d’Oeste e Nova Brasilândia d’Oeste (pós-1986), Ji-Paraná (1976), Porto Velho (1983), Itapuá d’Oeste e Rio Branco (pós-1986).¹⁵

14 Ver STEIN e GREGORY. In: VITEC, Harto. Imigração alemã no Paraná: 180 anos (1929-2009). Marechal Cândido Rondon, Editora Germânica, 2011.

15 HAESBERT, Rogério. Des-territorialização e identidade: a rede gaúcha no Nordeste. Niterói, EDUFF, 1997.

É importante destacar que as migrações para áreas de colonização e de outras regiões do país para as novas fronteiras coloniais tiveram a participação de descendentes de diversas etnias das regiões coloniais e que muitos descendentes de alemães não são protestantes luteranos, podendo ser católicos, sem religião ou de outras profissões religiosas. No entanto, a formação de uma rede de igrejas luteranas nas frentes de colonização é um sintoma da presença de uma parcela e descendentes de alemães, mesmo católicos, pelo território brasileiro, caracterizando vasta influência germânica.

A NEGOCIAÇÃO DE IDENTIDADES

■ Os alemães se difundiram pelo território e entre a população brasileira, marcando fortemente determinadas áreas e influenciando outras. Esta difusão, no entanto, provocou a necessidade de integração e de convivência com brasileiros de outras origens étnico-culturais, exigindo a predominância de elementos culturais brasileiros. Aproximo estas observações, mesmo que seja em outro contexto, dos debates das fronteiras étnicas de Frederick Barth.¹⁶ Acrescente-se que os meios de comunicação de massa e a globalização estão a interferir fortemente sobre identidades de minorias.

Muitas vezes, os laços familiares, o desejo de permanecer próximos aos parentes e conhecidos, após a constituição de novas famílias, contribuiu para que grupos familiares adquirissem lotes coloniais nas novas frentes de colonização para, então, se deslocarem em grupos. Isto ocorreu, principalmente, nas colônias do Nordeste do Rio Grande do Sul, do Oeste de Santa Catarina e no Sudoeste do Paraná. O grupo familiar poderia, também, ser ampliado e/ou substituído pelos laços de vizinhança e da comunidade. Por outro lado, nas antigas colônias, os que ficavam se empenhavam em adquirir os lotes de terra dos colonos que partiam, com o objetivo de manter seus filhos e netos próximos.

Tanto os imigrantes como os descendentes de imigrantes, em geral, mantiveram alguma ligação com a cultura e a sociedade de origem, por maiores que fossem as pressões no sentido da assimilação. Giralda Seyferth¹⁷ afirma que “guardam sempre alguma forma de identificação étnica, por mais que os laços com seus países de origem estejam diluídos. Assim, os fenômenos chamados pelos especialistas de ‘absorção’, ‘assimilação’ e ‘aculturação’ não impedem a persistência

16 BARTH, Fredrick. Grupos étnicos e suas fronteiras. In POUTIGNAT, Philippe. Teorias de etnicidade. São Paulo UNESP, 1998.

17 SEYFERTH, op. Cit., p. 79.

do campo da construção da identidade social dos descendentes de imigrantes, por mais que estes estejam integrados à nova sociedade.”

Na maioria das vezes, o sentimento de pertencimento a uma identidade étnica é definido a partir de elementos como a língua falada no âmbito das relações familiares, os hábitos e outros costumes, os estereótipos associados à condição étnica, além de outros fatores. Neste sentido, Seiferth¹⁸ comenta que “a utilização da língua alemã no meio familiar, certos padrões alimentares, além de outras características, peculiares à ideologia étnica teuto-brasileira (como a concepção de que a eficiência e a capacidade de trabalho decorrem da germanidade, o ideário da *Wohnkultur* – hábito de morar bem, de viver bem), são os elementos que, na opinião dos colonos de origem alemã, os distinguem dos demais.”

Há “assimilação” e “aculturação” das culturas originais imigrantes. Portanto, alguns valores culturais e ideológicos desapareceram, outros permaneceram ou sofreram adaptações. Dentre os elementos culturais mais valorizados estão a língua e alguns costumes, tanto para os colonos como para os que moram em áreas urbanas. Já as diferenciações ocorrem no aspecto religioso, moral e familiar, seja entre imigrantes de etnias diferentes, seja em relação aos brasileiros, cujos convívios se caracterizam por tensões, preconceitos, interações mais intensos e/ou mais leves dependendo de situações internas ao Brasil e/ou de situações envolvendo crises geopolíticas no mundo ocidental. Ocorrem, pois, construções e negociações identitárias de acordo com oscilações nas disputas por hegemonias e ideologias discursivas no tecido social brasileiro. Refiro-me a discursos nas esferas políticas e acadêmicas. Introduzir novos valores ou valores estranhos na cultura de um grupo significa criar um momento de instabilidade, de mudança de atitudes. Emílio Willems¹⁹ comenta que as tentativas de conservar certos valores culturais originários tomam, por vezes, a feição de centros de resistência à assimilação, como por exemplo, na escola, na Igreja Evangélica alemã e na imprensa. Dessa forma, a defesa da identidade étnica e cultural de parcelas de populações de origem ou descendência alemã estabeleceu uma espécie de ideologia, o *Deutschtum* ou “germanismo”. Este conceito assumiu, nos textos produzidos sobre o assunto, o significado étnico-nacional, em alguns momentos, e o sentido cultural, em outras ocasiões.

18 SEIFERTH, op. Cit., p. 91.

19 WILLEMS, Emílio. A Aculturação dos Alemães no Brasil. Estudo antropológico dos imigrantes alemães e seus descendentes no Brasil. 2 ed. São Paulo : Ed. Nacional, 1980, p. 149.

Um dos exemplos mais significativos de resistência cultural foi a criação e a manutenção de escolas vinculadas a comunidades evangélicas e católicas nas colônias alemãs.

Tabela 03. *Estatística das Escolas Alemãs no Brasil – 1931*

Estado	Evangélica		Católica		Mista		TOTAL	
	Esc.	Alu.	Esc.	Alu.	Esc.	Alu.	Esc.	Alu.
RS	549	18.938	362	16.666	41	1474	952	37.078
SC	116	4.874	80	4.920	82	3.052	297	12.346
PR	10	309	7	1.142	17	731	34	2.182
SP	6	295	2	609	21	2.261	29	3.165
RJ	1	307	-	-	4	400?	5	430?
ES	21	705	-	-	1	12	22	717
MG	2	76	-	-	-	-	2	76
BA	-	-	-	-	2	67	2	67
PE	-	-	-	-	1	20?	1	20?
GO	-	-	-	-	1	15?	1	15?
TOTAL	705	25.227	451	23.337	169	8.032	1.345	56.596

Fonte: Mauch et al., 1994, p. 157.

Em torno da escola, como também da igreja e de associações, o cultivo e a preservação de elementos culturais se estendeu a diversas gerações, persistindo mais ou menos até os dias atuais. Pode-se afirmar que alguns dos elementos de preservação e difusão da língua e da cultura alemãs por parte dos imigrantes e descendentes alemães, referem-se à escola comunitária, à imprensa, à ênfase no associativismo, na organização das comunidades religiosas, entre outros. Tendo os imigrantes alemães e seus descendentes vivido relativamente isolados durante algumas décadas, as primeiras escolas e igrejas foram organizadas por eles mesmos. Os professores, a princípio, eram pessoas da colônia, mas com o desenvolvimento destas, vieram os religiosos, que, muitas vezes, se dedicavam, também, ao ensino. Da Alemanha vieram professores contratados pelos colonizadores, cujo papel tinha por meta ensinar a ler, a escrever, a contar e a transmitir valores comunitários e culturais, o que poderia significar manter e reforçar costumes e tradições.

De uma forma geral, o governo imperial e os governos das províncias não tomaram iniciativas significativas com relação à educação nas colônias. Seyferth²⁰ lembra que “as escolas não surgiram apenas por motivos étnicos, mas, sobretudo,

20 SEYFERTH, op. Cit. p. 82. Ver também Kreutz, op. Cit.

porque o governo brasileiro não teria dado maior atenção à questão do ensino nas regiões povoadas com imigrantes. Para evitar o problema do analfabetismo, eles próprios tomaram a iniciativa de estabelecer escolas, inicialmente comunitárias e de caráter particular, que, com o tempo, se transformaram em ‘escolas étnicas’.”²¹ Com o tempo, milhares de descendentes de imigrantes foram instruídos na língua alemã, com precário conhecimento da língua oficial brasileira.

Este aspecto deste processo pode resumir-se no “teuto-brasileiro”, ou seja, pessoas que tem no horizonte seus direitos e suas obrigações perante a sociedade e, ao mesmo tempo, moldadas com entusiasmo à língua e às tradições culturais de origem. Aos poucos a língua alemã tornou-se uma espécie de símbolo. Além do ensino da língua alemã, em praticamente todas as colônias, tal fato, por consequência, acabou por estimular o crescimento de publicações de obras literárias e poéticas, de jornais, de revistas e de almanaques, num período que se estendeu até o Estado Novo (1937-1945), quando foi intensificada a campanha de nacionalização. Grande parte dos jornais, revistas e almanaques em língua alemã não se recuperou em relação à sua importância anterior, restringindo-se a alguns semanários, suplementos e publicações de caráter religioso, que continuam até hoje. Estes escritos eram divulgados, tanto para o interior dos núcleos coloniais como para outras províncias. Cabe observar que tais publicações eram sustentadas por estruturas de produção e de distribuição vinculadas a igrejas, associações, congregações religiosas, movimentos políticos e engajamentos culturais. Ou seja, vislumbra-se que havia leitores de língua alemã dispersos pelas áreas de presença de imigrantes e descendentes de alemães.

Assim como a escola, as capelas tiveram grande importância na vida dos imigrantes e descendentes, pois serviam ao mesmo tempo como um local de culto, escola e salão de festas. Esta organização em torno da capela remete a outro aspecto semelhante, desempenhado pelas associações assistenciais e recreativas. Segundo Seyferth²¹ “as associações tiveram duplo papel: assumiram um caráter de cunho recreativo e/ou assistencial e serviram à coesão dos grupos étnicos.” Exemplo disto são as sociedades recreativas e esportivas (clubes de caça e tiro, salões de baile, jogos de bolão). Eram atividades de lazer e ao mesmo tempo um lugar de cultivo e preservação de costumes e hábitos dos imigrantes que, aos poucos, foram sendo assimilados pelos brasileiros. No entanto, muitas outras associações que, por terem assumido a divulgação de ideologias étnicas específicas, foram rechaçadas a partir de 1939.

21 SEYFERTH, op. Cit., p. 53.

MARCAS DA GERMANIDADE

■ Características específicas, comunidades diferentes e homogêneas, língua e religião, Alemanha na geopolítica e nas relações internacionais são fatores que costumavam chamar a atenção de autoridades e estudiosos sobre o papel dos alemães no Brasil. Esta situação assumia conotações mais graves durante períodos de tensão, como durante as duas Guerras Mundiais. Exemplos disso foram várias ações desenvolvidas durante o Estado Novo, durante o qual ocorreram repressões e perseguições por motivos étnico-culturais, justificados por motivações políticas de caráter nacionalista.

Como resultado do processo de nacionalização, as expressões públicas de germanidade diminuíram. A língua alemã passou a ser falada menos em público. Diminuíram também as atividades das sociedades e clubes recreativos. A educação passou a ser feita na língua portuguesa. Em certos meios, ser alemão assumia uma conotação de inferioridade, de negação, de exclusão. No entanto, a memória, que não pode ser expressa publicamente, não deixou de se manifestar, até na clandestinidade, e continuou rememorada e transmitida de geração para geração.

De forma geral, a imigração e a colonização alemã no Brasil tiveram um importante papel no processo de diversificação da agricultura, urbanização das cidades, industrialização e cultura, ou seja, em grande parte, acabaram preenchendo e complementando espaços não-preenchidos na estrutura ocupacional brasileira tradicional. Na esfera da religião, muitos pastores, padres e religiosos são descendentes de alemães. Houve e há a presença de descendentes de alemães em posições nas hierarquias de várias instituições religiosas no Brasil. Várias igrejas luteranas foram implantadas com a chegada dos imigrantes e o próprio ritual católico adquiriu certas especificidades nas comunidades alemãs. A vida cultural dos imigrantes também influenciou, por meio de diversas formas a sociedade brasileira, podendo-se destacar certos hábitos alimentares, encenações teatrais, canções, corais de igrejas, bandas de música, programas radiofônicos e outras influências.

Ciro Damke²² fez um estudo sobre músicas populares alemãs no sul do Brasil cantadas até os dias atuais. Ele informa que o tema da saudade seria o mais recorrente nestas letras de músicas, ou seja, “saudade da *Heimat* (terra natal): *Liebe Heimatland, ade* (querida pátria, adeus); *Tirol, Tirol, Du bist mein Heimatland* (Tirol, Tirol, você é minha terra natal)”.

22 DAMKE, Ciro. *Volkslieder* (músicas populares alemãs) no sul do Brasil: aspectos linguísticos, socioculturais e identitários. São Carlos: Pedro & João Editores, 2013.

Exemplos característicos são as festas étnicas como a *Kerbfest* e a *Oktoberfest*. A *Oktoberfest* foi surgindo como uma forma de manifestação contra as atitudes tomadas pelo Estado Novo em proibir atividades culturais que identificassem a germanidade. Hoje, ela é uma festa que simboliza a alegria alemã, tendo incorporado, com adaptações, modificações e invenções, a gastronomia, a música, a língua alemãs.²³

CONSIDERAÇÕES GERAIS

■ A contribuição alemã na colonização e na formação da sociedade brasileira é marcante e característico em vários aspectos. Foi uma imigração organizada que iniciou primeiro e predominou até a década de 70 do século XIX. As questões que envolvem a língua (não-latina), a escola e a religião revelam forte resistência e marca da diferença, uma vez que o alemão continua sendo falado. Instituições religiosas marcadas por tradições germânicas atuam em grande parte do território brasileiro. A escola e a imprensa alemãs contribuíram nos índices de alfabetização e de difusão de hábitos de leitura. A formação de um campesinato típico, com forte herança da Europa Central e significativa contribuição na agricultura familiar no Brasil é responsável pela criação de determinados animais e pelo cultivo de produtos agrícolas, a exemplo da suinocultura e da triticultura, e pela estruturação de uma forte agroindústria cooperativa e privada. Intercâmbios científico-tecnológicos entre a Alemanha e o Brasil vem contribuindo em avanços na academia e em inovações científico-tecnológicas.

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23 Ver texto de GREGORY e STEIN. In: VITEC, Harto. *Imigração alemã no Paraná: 180 anos (1929-2009)*. Marechal Cândido Rondon, Editora Germânica, 2011, p. 360ss.

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Neue Heimat Brasilien – 200 Jahre deutsche
Einwanderung
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Sequence 01



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als die Sklaverei
1888 abgeschafft wurde schloss die weiße



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Elite die ehemals versklavten
systematisch aus es gab keine Strategie

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Sequence 01



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für eine Integration in die Gesellschaft
sie begannen ihr Leben in Freiheit als



Bürger zweiter Klasse in den
entstehenden Slams der Großstädte noch

Neue Heimat Brasilien – 200 Jahre deutsche
Einwanderung
DW Dokumentation

Sequence 01



Neue Heimat Brasilien – 200 Jahre deutsche
Einwanderung
DW Dokumentation

Sequence 01



Peter Paul Müller aus Ohlweiler beschreibt seine
Überfahrt und den Lebensalltag in Brasilien

Gilson Camargo and Dominga Menezes

(no text available)

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Abstract

In this text I analyze some of the conceptual and subjective meanings of the notion of immigration, observing how these are appropriated in the debates on foreign colonization that influenced immigration policy in Brazil during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. I also discuss everyday representations of immigration contained in writings by German immigrants sent to colonize areas of southern Brazil, exploring the liminal identity that emerges as a result of the difficulty experienced settling in still untamed areas of Brazil. The text examines understandings of immigration more directly associated with the colonization process promoted by the Brazilian state, still included in the 1945 Law of Foreigners, through which large areas of uncultivated lands in the south of the country were occupied by European immigrants (and their descendants) in the form of family smallholdings. Under these circumstances, German immigration preceded other flows of migrants, despite Brazilian nationalistic concerns over assimilation.

Keywords: immigration; foreign colonization; nationalism; identity.

Resumo

Neste trabalho pretendo discutir alguns significados mais gerais da fundamentação conceitual da imigração e as apropriações e substituições do termo que estão presentes nos debates sobre as políticas de colonização estrangeira no Brasil, objeto de polêmicas desde o século XIX. Em contrapartida, a análise contempla as representações de senso comum de

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imigrantes alemães acerca da imigração e da consequente identidade liminar produzida pela decisão de se estabelecer, em caráter definitivo, no Brasil. O trabalho aborda os entendimentos da imigração associados mais diretamente ao processo de colonização privilegiado pelo Estado brasileiro, inclusive na legislação correspondente, no longo percurso histórico que vai de 1818 até meados do século XX.

Palavras-chave: Imigração; colonização estrangeira; nacionalismo; Identidade.

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Introduction

The word immigration usually indicates a particular dimension of international migration that presupposes the settling of people and groups in a foreign country – the synthesis found in etymological dictionaries and encyclopaedias. This is a basic and apparently fixed definition, enunciated in theory and certainly present in nationalist discourses and the symbolism associated with the new identities that emerge in receiving countries. In this text I discuss some of the more general meanings of the conceptual basis of immigration and the appropriations and substitutions of the term that are present in the debates on foreign colonization policies in Brazil, a polemical subject since the nineteenth century. By contrast the analysis explores the everyday representations of German immigrants concerning immigration and the consequent liminal identity produced by the decision to settle definitively in Brazil. The article explores the understandings of immigration more directly associated with the process of colonization favoured by the Brazilian state, including the corresponding legislation, which occurred primarily in the three southern states during the lengthy historical period spanning from 1818 to the mid-twentieth century.

During this period there was greater government interest in sending European immigrants to new 'colonial nucleuses' based around family smallholdings, an idea expressed in the regulations on foreign entry into the country. Under the Brazilian Empire and Republic, the immigration laws successively promulgated until the mid-twentieth century were also colonization laws, with the official designation *colono* (colonist, settler) very often

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appearing as a synonym for immigrant. Following the end of slavery in 1888, the state of São Paulo became the biggest receiver of immigrants because of the need for a labour force on the large farm estates, in the expanding industrial sector and in urban services. On the other hand, even in the south, many foreigners preferred to settle in the cities. But this legal format persisted under the Law on Foreigners which came into force in 1945 at the end of the Second World War, despite that these new immigrants had little interest in moving to new rural colonies. After the First World War colonization was mainly undertaken by the descendants of immigrants. These factors explain the periodization adopted in this text.

The empirical grounding to the present text includes two sets of documents and publications examined over a long-term perspective. The analysis of the assertions on immigration/colonization contained in the discourses denoting formal concern with settlement of the national territory is based on the relevant legislation and on official publications (produced by individuals linked to the state apparatus) of an immigrationist or nationalist bent.

Another set of documents and publications provides empirical support to my observations on the understanding of immigration and the formulation of a related new identity by the immigrants themselves. In this case the texts are diverse in kind, narrating the individual experience of transnational movement: letters, memoirs, articles published in local newspapers, biographies, historical accounts and so on, held in public and private archives. Many of these documents were published on the initiative of descendants or scholars of colonization, or through the 'Original Documents' section of the journal *Blumenau em Cadernos*, published by the Blumenau Cultural Foundation. I have discussed the methodological importance of these sources in another text (Seyferth 2005: 13-51). Despite their subjective nature, these documents are useful so long as we look at them within the context in which they were produced (in this case, foreign colonization in the south in Brazil), remembering that they were written by individuals who talk about themselves but also about social processes without any concern with chronology: the time of the accounts is, above all, the time of memory.

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I

In the preface to the collection of texts by A. Sayad on Algerian immigration in France, Pierre Bourdieu defines the immigrant as someone out of place:

Like Socrates, as described by Plato, the immigrant is *atopos*, has no place, and is displaced and unclassifiable. The comparison is not simply intended to ennoble the immigrant by virtue of the reference. Neither citizen nor foreigner, not truly on the side of the Same nor really on the side of the Other, he exists within that ‘bastard’ place, of which Plato also speaks, on the frontier between being and social non-being. Displaced, in the sense of being incongruous and inopportune, he is a source of embarrassment. [...] Always in the wrong place, and now as out of place in his society of origin as he is in the host society, the immigrant obliges us to rethink completely the question of the legitimate foundations of citizenship and of relations between citizen and state, nation or nationality. (Bourdieu2004: xiv).

The comments underscore Sayad’s analytic perceptiveness, of course, but also have the virtue of highlighting the immigrant’s imprecise condition, a perturbing element of national identity. The discomfort caused by the liminality surrounding the immigrant’s condition is related to the development of nationalism over a period of approximately one century prior to the First World War, a time also marked by the mass immigration of Europeans provoked by the expansion of colonial empires and the formation of new States, especially in the Americas. As Hannah Arendt (1976) astutely observed, the nation state imagined by nationalism does not easily coexist with the more embarrassing ‘others’, given the former’s primordialist ideal of community that transforms the State into an instrument of the nation, which meant the subordination of citizenship to the principle of nationality. Among the ‘others’ (or ‘non-nationals’) were the undesired immigrants, the stateless, refugees, minorities and other categories organized in political and social fields after 1918, that is, in the post-war context marked by innumerable re-configurations of international borders and the attempts to consolidate the League of Nations.

The subject ‘embarrassing everywhere’ identified by Bourdieu shapes the very definition of immigration since the immigrant’s social and political condition practically ‘deterritorializes’ him or her, bearing in mind the general principle of national identity forged under modernity.

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I have no intention here of entering into the interminable debate on the concept of the nation,¹ suffice to recall that the modern meaning of the term gave a new dimension to the idea of the State, particularly in the nineteenth century (which for many scholars of nationalism only came to an end in 1914). The problem posed by the ideal of the nation state conceived by nationalism resides in the difficulty in defining what a nation is, or, as Hobsbawm (1990: 5) observed:

[...] the chief characteristic of this way of classifying groups of human beings is that, in spite of the claims of those who belong to it that it is in some ways primary and fundamental for the social existence, or even the individual identification, of its members, no satisfactory criterion can be discovered for deciding which of the many human collectivities should be labelled in this way.

The question of the criteria used to recognize national identity is clearly apparent in the political movements of collectivities as part of their demand for autonomy as nation states, while often remaining indefinitely in the condition of national minorities, sometimes in a situation of inequality. At the same time, human mobility over the course of modern history also disrupted the formation of the nation state idealized by nationalism, grounded in the (supposed) cultural, ethnic and linguistic unity of the 'national community,' without ignoring the political dimension. According to Gellner (1983), nationalism as a feeling or movement can be best defined via a political principle: it contains a theory of political legitimization. Yet for various reasons nationalism is intolerant of cultural diversity and adverse to legitimizing a pluralist political system. Nationalism engenders the nation through cultural artifices, arbitrary histories and invented traditions, but cannot be considered merely an ideology.

Weber (n.d., 1991) situated the concept of the nation in the sphere of values, emphasizing the importance of 'national feeling' and 'national solidarity,' the belief in the existence of a 'national communion' steeped in references to the community of language and culture. In an unfinished text written at the end of the First World War, Mauss (1969) also calls attention to the principle of nationality (forged in Romanticism) that symbolically expresses

1 The different ways of conceiving the nation as a political and cultural reality can be observed in the collections edited by Hutchinson & Smith (1994) and Balakrishnan (2000).

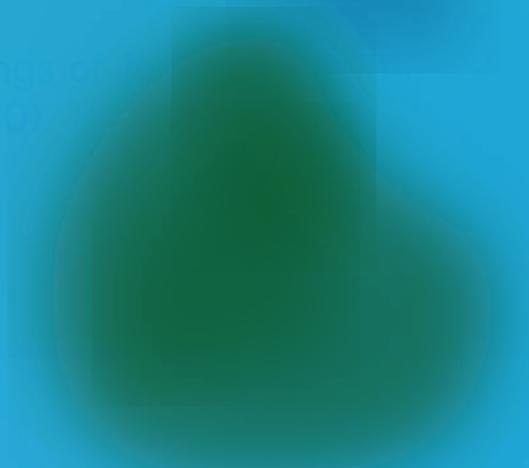
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the nation's existence. In everyday representations the nation merges with nationality, possessing a negative content – the revolt (or hatred) directed towards the foreigner and expressed in the disease of national consciousness. For Mauss, all the European wars since the Napoleonic era, including the First World War, were nationality wars.

These considerations indicate a series of conceptual problems, identified with a certain irritation by Max Weber (1991), given the symbolism of nationalism and the principle of nationality, which attribute greater importance to the cultural, linguistic and primordial dictates (or naturalized belonging) of the nation's formation than to political reason and citizenship.

The beginning of European emigration to Brazil coincided with the formulation of a kind of ethnic theory of nationality inherent to Romanticism and expressed in its purest form by Herder, who considered the nation a cultural whole associated with a people (*Volk*), and by Fichte, creator of the notion of *Volksgeist* (spirit of the people). The two philosophers were key figures in the initial phase of Romanticism and took as their empirical reference point the 'German nation' based on linguistic and cultural unity without any correspondence to a politically and territorially unified State (finally made concrete in 1871). Ethnic, cultural and linguistic manifestations, reinforced by the notion of folklore (and its links to 'popular culture'), persisted in the formulation of national identities and strengthened the feelings of belonging and xenophobia. Hobsbawm (1990: 131) writes that ethnic nationalism was exacerbated in the second half of the nineteenth century by the increase in geographic migration and racism (which precipitated the convergence of race and nation), as well as linguistic nativism (whose symbolic meaning prevailed over actual use of the language). Indeed the ideal of the nation state proclaimed by nationalism supposes a sovereign territorial and political entity and a univocal national community composed of a people, a culture and a language. The cultural, linguistic and other differences produced by immigration – even when the latter is considered necessary and encouraged – are generally perceived to be a danger: a threat to the unity of the State. This 'naturalized' conception of the nation extols particularism, opposing the foreigner (and strangers in general) to the national. In this liminal situation, the immigrant is a foreigner, or, to invoke the term's etymology, an individual who is not native to the country where he or she is found, pertaining to another nation and requiring naturalization (including to be considered a citizen),



a situation that does not necessarily guarantee the status of *naturalidade*, nativeness, includes the place of birth. This concept contains an ambiguity insofar as it suggests that citizenship is an identity linked to an historical and cultural heritage, rather than a primordialist language of common kinship. This language assures citizenship rights to the immigrant through the attribution of a birthplace that does not necessarily include the attribution of a common ancestry.

Understandings of the phenomenon of migration have varied, including in Brazil. Simplifying from the very beginning, migration indicates the relocation of individuals and groups, and the study of human migration, for its part, concerns the history of the movement of people since the sixteenth century, associated with the process of settlement in the context of the formation of new states in the Americas, and with the emigration of Europeans (and others), initially with significant freedom, but later increasingly controlled by more restrictive government policies.

As Ferenczi observes (1933), the intercontinental migrations of Europeans during the nineteenth century helped solve problems of unemployment and demographic growth in their home countries. Precisely for this reason, public regulation of emigration and immigration was more relaxed, reflecting the strength of the spontaneous waves of migration. Hence while the colonizing countries exported paupers and convicts to their overseas colonies (and here the reference is almost always to the occupation of Australia), the countries that did not possess colonies would, at moments of economic and political crisis, subsidize emigration, especially of the poor, vagrants, the unemployed, revolutionaries and other problematic social categories – a practice with various repercussions in the countries receiving these immigrants. The abolition of slavery also stimulated emigration, particularly in the period from 1830 to 1870. These observations are important for two reasons: first, they indicate the two complementary processes making up theories of international migration – detailed in encyclopaedia entries² – that refer to leaving a country of birth and entering a receiving country, and second, they emphasize the European historical juncture that favoured emigration, a matter of interest to the Brazilian government since 1824.

2 Migration theories were more intensely debated after the First World War and their importance can be observed in the diverse (and lengthy) articles contained in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, published in 1933 by Macmillan.

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The theoretical constructs surrounding migration show the difficulty in formulating a single theory to explain a heterogeneous set of social, economic, demographic and political phenomena that, in diverse ways, interest the different disciplines in the fields of Geography and the Human and Social Sciences. Hence the variety of conceptual expressions used, very often in the form of dyads (internal/international migration, temporary/permanent, colonization/labour migration, legal/illegal), or the adjectives employed to qualify migration, sometimes referring to different historical periods, such as primitive, modern, free, voluntary, forced, mass and so on (see Cohen 1996).

My interest here involves keeping the more general meaning of 'modern migration,' a concept related to multiple forms of mobility, including movements from rural to urban areas (linked to industrial development). However it also includes migrations across international borders, controlled in some form by government policies from the nineteenth century onwards when the nation state became consolidated just as the European diaspora increased to other continents. These policies covered emigration and immigration, both subject to public regulation and, as Ferenczi observed (1933), more relaxed control in the nineteenth century for two reasons: greater freedom to emigrate due to the support and sometimes subsidies granted by some governments for the departure of its unemployed and poor citizens; and the opening up to (European) emigration by some new States, in particular the United States, Argentina and Brazil. Slowly this relative freedom at the two poles of international migration drifted into more restrictive policies which changed how (im)migration was understood, introducing new categories of undesirables. In many ways, migration can be understood as a movement that was voluntary but controlled within the ambit of the nation state, since domestic policy prevailed, even after the creation of international organizations (the League of Nations, the United Nations) in the twentieth century.

According to its initial formulation in the theoretical field, immigration presupposed the entry of people into a foreign country with the intention of forming part of the life of this country and making it their more or less permanent place of residence. Such is the definition given by Ware (1933) in describing European mobility and its economic and cultural implications. This interpretation could be said to align with the nationalist discourse in those countries receiving European immigrants, perceived as a potential element in the formation of the people (and thus the nation), despite the asymmetry that

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accompanies this kind of premise, frequently connected to the idea of assimilation. It can also be perceived in the everyday discourse of European immigrants in the modern era, particularly in the period prior to the First World War, divested of the assimilationist ideal sometimes present in the receiving country, indicating the immigrants' liminal social condition and the rupture needed to construct their new identity. Both perceptions can be observed in the discourses and practices concerning European colonization in Brazil.

II

The official understanding of immigration and its potential role in national development varied considerably in Brazil, even taking into account the government's interest in attracting European settlers, a constant aim during the first half of the twentieth century, including within the New State's Immigration and Colonization Council (1937-1945). European colonization began before independence, soon after the promulgation of Ordinance 08/02/1817, which regulated the entry and expulsion of foreigners. In this case 'foreigner' was someone in a temporary situation, not definitively established as worker or trader, and the decree encouraged the expulsion of those without a passport or legitimation card.

In 1818 negotiations involving the Portuguese and Swiss governments cleared the way for the installation of a colony on the Morro Queimado Farmstead in the Cantagalo district of Rio de Janeiro state, later named Nova Friburgo. The official documentation regulating the localization of the Swiss immigrants contains the general principles that guided the colonization system after independence, based on poly-culture (to produce food supplies) on smallholdings employing a family workforce. It is not my intention to analyze the causes of this international migration (basically related to the agrarian crises that affected various European countries at the start of the nineteenth century) since my main focus is on how the migratory process has been perceived.

The word immigration was not part of the official lexicon, although it was presupposed in the principal categories used: *colono* and *civilização*. In Decree 06/05/1818, D. João VI ruled that the civilization of the Kingdom of Brazil should be promoted by augmenting the population with people skilled in various types of work (agricultural and industrial), bringing in Swiss settlers during this first phase. Here settler is synonymous with immigrant,

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while civilization evokes Europe. Settlers could be naturalized once established, acquiring the status of vassals of the king (in accordance with Decree 16/05/1818). The arrival of foreigners on a definitive basis, which constitutes the common sense definition of immigration, appears clearly in the legal texts, though these also speak of family-based colonization as part of a civilizing process. At the same time, the only reference to the biological characteristics of the immigrants appeared during the raising of a Swiss militia of 150 men aged between 18 and 40 to form battalions of *whites* alongside the Portuguese contingent.

The reference to skin colour also appears later in the context of a debate on the settling of German migrants in Rio Grande do Sul, in an official document issued on 31/03/1824 which asserted the “superior advantage of employing white and industrious people, both in the arts and in agriculture” (see Rocha 1918, v.1: 182). Colonization was resumed with the foundation of São Leopoldo in July 1824, this time in the southern region, considered demographically ‘empty’ and under threat from Argentina. In the legislation anticipating the immigration processes, including Law 30/10/1823 which instituted Brazil’s provincial governments, colonization was qualified as ‘foreign’ yet the terms immigration and immigrant were absent. The foreigners sent to these starter colonies were identified as *colonos*, settlers, followed by their nationality of origin. The presupposition of staying in the country permanently, for its part, appears clearly in the various naturalization laws promulgated from 1832 onwards that sought to regulate the residential status of the settlers, albeit with some restrictions since naturalization was not available to those who had lost their civil rights in their country of origin. It also involved a lengthy bureaucratic process.

The flow of settlers (in this case German) was interrupted in 1830 and, save for some private initiatives authorized by the province of Santa Catarina that proved unsuccessful, the imperial government only resumed foreign (European) colonization in the mid-1840s during a wide-ranging debate on the new land law and abolition of the African slave trade.³

In 1848 those provinces interested in promoting colonization (both domestic and foreign) received control of some of the unoccupied lands. The

³ The law abolishing the slave trade was promulgated the same year as the Land Law, 1850, a fact equally related to the project of occupying empty lands with immigrants. The existence of the slave trade was considered by the advocates of foreign colonization one of the obstacles to attracting European settlers.

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same proposal appears in the Land Law (Law 601, issued 18/09/1850), which among other things defined unoccupied lands and ruled that they could only be granted through sale to private companies and for the establishment of colonies. The law created space for colonization through private companies or associations formed for this purpose and approved by decree by the State Office of Imperial Affairs. Although colonies with Brazilian settlers did exist, colonization remained closely tied to immigration. In this case use of the term *colono*, settler, rather than immigrant is highly significant. The arguments made by the Empire's Ministers in favour of foreign colonization, both before and after the Land Law, included the use of propaganda to encourage emigration to Brazil, yet in the actual legislation the figure of the settler stands out. The expression "import European settlers" was also frequently used during the imperial period, principally when European emigration appeared in progressive discourse as the best way to 'replace' slave labour, recalling here that trading in slaves was sometimes referred to as 'importation.'

The colonization planned by the imperial government focused on the three southern provinces and Espírito Santo, specifically in areas where there were no expanding slave-based plantations. At the same time, though, the possibility of the eventual abolition of the slave trade stimulated the introduction of a partnership system with European settlers in the São Paulo coffee plantations in 1847 – a polemical topic in Europe since it suggested a model of substituting slaves with immigrants that hinted of servitude. In both cases immigration was designed to meet the interests of the Brazilian state in populating unoccupied lands, and in satisfying the demand for labour on the coffee estates (especially in São Paulo). The immigrant was subsumed under the common denominator of *colono*, settler, but with different meaning. In São Paulo the term *colono* indicated an immigrant working to contract (almost always on abusive terms) in coffee cultivation.⁴

The legislation regulating the entry of foreigners during much of the Empire seldom contained the word immigration (or immigrant). The term emerges more frequently from the mid-1860s in the legislative acts approving the statutes of companies wishing to recruit and dispatch settlers to the São

4 In the case of São Paulo, immigrants were subordinated to the interests of coffee growing. The unfavourable contractual conditions resulted in various settler revolts. According to Beiguelman (1978), the accumulation of funds by immigrants would often lead them search for better opportunities in farming (as smallholders) or in the cities.

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Paulo estates or to new colonization areas, or in the contracts signed between the imperial government and private agencies.

In summary, during the Empire settler and immigrant are classificatory terms used to designate either a generic European or, sometimes, a specific European nationality and an accompanying hierarchy of preferences in terms of which nationalities were chosen. While in some cases the reference is to 'European settlers,' in other cases apparently random nationalities (or regionalities) are specified, significantly associated with the work factor. Two examples shed light on this pattern: in Decree n. 5.663, issued on 17/06/1874, Joaquim Caetano Pinto Junior is contracted to import 100,000 German, Austrian, Swiss, northern Italian, Basque, Swedish, Danish and French immigrants, "healthy, hardworking and moralized farmers" (with up to 20% of them belonging to other professions); in Decree n. 5.699, issued 31/07/1874, Colonel José A. A. Pereira is contracted to introduce 4,000 immigrant in the province of Paraná, the nationalities varying slightly since now Germans, Belgians and Basques are joined by Lombards, Swedes and Slavs. Here we encounter a conception of directed immigration, congruent with the system of foreign colonization, while the 20% of immigrants from other professions was designed to meet the demand for skilled tradesmen in the cities.

The legislation does not detail the nationalities that were given priority. This appears to have been given to those with a vocation for agriculture and the arts/trades. The hierarchy of nationalities is clearly set out in a variety of publications from people linked to the State apparatus, such as the Marquis of Abrantes and the Counsel Menezes e Souza (from the Ministry of Agriculture, Trade and Public Works): in these publications, the Germans invariably appear in first place, a fact not reflecting alphabetic order. As Menezes e Souza specifies (1875: 403), the Germans had a taste and talent for immigration, persevered, loved work, and passed easily from the trade of craftsman to the profession of farmer – in sum, they were the 'settlers par excellence.'

This kind of evaluation of the settler immigrant was extended to other European nationalities since the initial German flow was numerically supplanted by immigrants from other areas of Europe, notably Italians. The ideal of Brazilian nationhood was shaped within the parameters of western civilization. The civilizing rhetoric, only suggested in some legal texts, appears emphatically in the majority of the writings by advocates of immigration, which contain categorical assertions such as, for example, a phrase

introducing Tavares Bastos's reflections on immigration in a text published in 1867, commissioned by the International Immigration Society:

Emigration ceased to be, like the exodus of the Hebrews, forced exile and became the most effective instrument for civilization on the planet. (Tavares Bastos 1976: 51)

At more or less the same time, the afore mentioned Counsel Menezes e Souza claimed that a 'fertilizing exodus' should leave the Teutonic countries (and other less favoured regions of continental Europe) for Brazil, a fairly unusual way of alluding to European emigration. Here I do not intend to discuss the idea of racial inequality present in this type of argument, which extols the civilizing quality of the European immigrant, emphasized more strongly at the end of the nineteenth century. However we can observe that immigration was linked in racial discourse to the idea of the formation of the people, a key element of assimilationist nationalism. This connection produced another premise that would mark in particular the more radical variants of race-based republican nationalism during the first half of the twentieth century. These in turn influenced the ways of defining which immigrants were desired, despite the almost monolithic acceptance of the civilizing qualities of European immigration. Here I refer to the dual aspect of the assimilation process advocated in the ideal of forming the nation. On one hand, there was the belief that the Brazilian population could be whitened through selective miscegenation with white immigrants. On the other hand, these same immigrants should desist from maintaining any cultural plurality, becoming properly integrated into the Luso-Brazilian organization of the nation.⁵

Assimilation cannot be considered a relevant theme in the discussions of foreign colonization policies during the Empire period, given the greater interest in populating the Brazil's territory as part of its progress. For this reason colonization was criticized by nationalist sectors from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, concerned above all with the multiplication of 'German colonies' in the south. The numerical preponderance of Germans in colonization areas until the start of the 1870s was used to define a certain type of undesirable immigrant, white and civilized but with the tendency to form 'enclaves' due to

⁵ On the importance of this nationalist racial ideal in the discussions on immigration policy, see Seyferth (1991 and 2002).

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their distance from Latin cultures. Germans – and later, under the Republic, the Japanese – headed the lists of the ‘unassimilable’ in the two senses cited above. The idea of an unequivocal ‘Latinness’ stands out in the assimilationist arguments made in favour of Italian, Portuguese and Spanish immigration – all nationalities imagined to have the potential to integrate, including racially, due to their linguistic, cultural and religious proximities. Seen in terms of integration, the continuance of German immigration was considered a risk for the principle of nationality and for the security of the territory – hence the fear of an ‘invasion’ of Protestant Germans which became prominent from the 1870s onwards in a discourse brimming with xenophobia from some of the more radical nationalists, and codified at the end of the nineteenth century in the expression ‘the German peril’ in response to Pan-Germanist propaganda.

The data presented, although limited, show different ways of understanding immigration and specifying the particularity of specific immigrants. The ‘enclaved’, ‘unassimilable’ were undesirable and contracted with the ‘Latin’ who were considered more compatible with the formation of the Brazilian nation. The nationalist view was not opposed to foreign colonization: yet, the ideal settler is easily assimilated, placed in contact with Brazilian nationals in mixed colonies.

The principle of nationality also had repercussions for naturalization. On this point, we can note the use of the term foreigner instead immigrant since the first law regulating the attribution of nativeness in 1832. In legal terms, the naturalization card was issued under the Empire to foreign applicants who met certain requirements (aged over 21, possessing civil rights in their country of origin, time of residence in Brazil, declaration of religious and patriotic principles, and so on). In practice naturalization involved a complicated bureaucratic process and many of the foreigners able to apply were settlers located in pioneer areas. Hence one of first measures of the provisional government of the Republic in relation to immigration was to consider as Brazilian citizens all those foreigners residing in Brazil on 15/11/1889, save for a declaration to the contrary in the municipality concerned.

The Republican government sought to regulate the situation of numerous immigrants who had been living in the country for decades without citizenship at a moment of considerable increase in the flows of immigration. But the question of assimilation persisted. It was felt that naturalization gave foreigners civil rights but did not transform them into actual Brazilians. This

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led to an interminable debate on ‘nationalization’ or ‘Brazilianization’. The significant increase in European immigration at the turn of the twentieth century, particularly of the desired ‘Latins,’ helped exacerbate the belief in whitening the population, another element considered essential to ensuring that Brazil could become included in western civilization, though as a nation state singularized by its Luso-Brazilianness. In spite of the (slow) discrediting of the theories that preached racial inequality and opposed (indiscriminate) miscegenation in the name of white superiority, these ideas concerning the formation of the Brazilian nation persisted until the mid-twentieth century. Even though divested of direct references to race, they were essential in planning the forced assimilation of immigrants and their descendants through the ‘nationalization campaign’ pursued by the New State (1937–1945).

The misplaced critique of the methods of foreign colonization in the Empire marked the discussion of immigration in the First Republic, but failed to have much practical repercussion. Legally immigration remained linked to colonization, falling under the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture, Trade and Public Works (and its General Inspectorate of Lands and Colonization), reflecting the primary interest of the federal government and some state governments in the entry of settlers (whether farmers or artisans). There was no specific restriction on immigrants trained in other professions, whether arriving with their families or not, who preferred to settle in urban areas. They needed to comply with the general qualifications demanded of ideal immigrants (including settlers) also in force during the Empire: healthy, educated and morally upstanding individuals with an aptitude for work, under the age of 60, and with no criminal past. However Decree 528, issued 29/06/1890, which regulated the introduction of immigrants, imposed virtually insurmountable difficulties to the entry of “natives from Asia or Africa”. This was later revoked for immigrants from Japan and China in 1902 due to the federal government’s desire to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with those two countries, and the interest of São Paulo’s coffee growers in hiring Japanese settlers, reputed to be ‘good agriculturists’. The racial question implied here generated fierce debates because of the nationalists’ rejection of the arrival of more people they imagined to be unassimilable (see Seyferth 2002). The essential fact, however, resides in the agricultural qualification of the preferred immigrant. The only assimilation-by-population – non-existent in the Empire’s legislation – can be found in

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Article 42 of the cited Decree: 25% of the total number of immigrant families admitted in the colonial nucleuses should be nationals, "hardworking, educated and apt for the agricultural service". The idea of a 'mixed colony' (including Brazilians citizens and immigrants of different nationalities) is implicit in this stipulation which, during the expansion of colonization, also met the demand for lands of the descendants of European immigrants.

The model of localizing immigrants in colonial nucleuses remained the same under the Republic, families being established on 'lines' with plots of approximately 25 hectares. On the other hand, it should be observed that during the Empire the entry of European settlers was requested (and even stimulated) without significant restrictions, except those related to age and criminality.⁶ On this point, the most evident change in the conception of immigration and the immigrant after 1889 can be seen in the restructuring of the ministry responsible and in the decrees creating and regulating the Settlement Service. Through Decree 1.066, issued on 19/12/1906, the federal government created the Ministry of Agricultural, Industrial and Commercial Affairs (MAIC) responsible for immigration and colonization and for catechizing and civilizing the indigenous population. Shortly after Decree 6.455, issued on 19/04/1907 laid out the framework for the National Land Settlement Service.⁷ In its second article, it defines the immigrant as follows:

Those accepted as immigrants shall be foreigners under the age of 60, without contagious disease, not exercising an illicit profession, nor recognized as criminals, troublemakers, beggars, vagrants, lunatics or invalids, arriving in national territory with third class tickets...

The same wording reappears in Decree 9.081, issued on 03/11/1911, which established a new framework for the Settlement Service, covering immigration and colonization with the addition that second and third class passengers could now be admitted as immigrants.⁸ Here immigrants are primarily

6 Criminology was a common topic in the discussions on immigration policy due to the absence of control over the practices of agencies hired by the government, very often accused of "emptying the European prisons."

7 The MAIC was only regulated in 1909-until then the Settlement Service was part of the Ministry of Industry, Roads and Public Works. In fact there was just a change in the name, emphasizing agriculture!

8 The continuation and privileging of colonization with immigrants is clearly evident in this decree. It comprises 26 chapters and 277 articles regulating in detail the localization of foreign settlers in the colonial nucleuses, as well as the introduction of immigrants.

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qualified by their ‘moral conditions’. However, we can note the clear association with poverty contained in the allusion to third class passengers. At the same time the legislation on immigration remained embedded within the legal regulation of colonization, now openly announced as settlement. To a certain extent the ideal immigrants for the federal government were those sent (by the State or by authorized companies) to a colonial nucleus and who were obviously *moralizados* and ‘apt’ for work, thereby replicating the Empire’s aims in relation to immigration. In that decree, the imperial model of colonization, criticized by republican nationalism, is very clearly evident in article 140, where the ‘colonial line’ is defined as “a carriage way bordered by measured and demarcated lots, adjacent or close to each other, allocated for settlement by immigrants as land owners.”

Immigration and colonization therefore continued to be coupled with legislation that focussed on populating the country, with families with an aptitude for work. It also instituted general guidelines for introducing and settling immigrants with precise rules on entrance into the country. The law was promulgated during the ‘great immigration,’ a historical period when the numbers of foreigners entering Brazil were at their highest, before falling significantly after 1914. Paradoxically, despite the continuation of the policy of establishing colonial nucleuses, most immigrants were sent to the state of São Paulo because of the demand there for labour on the coffee plantations and in the expanding industry, or sought to work on the urban job market, especially in the south, including in the towns and cities emerging in the old colonization areas. The large volume of entrants was probably one of the reasons for imposing more rigorous controls, especially given the eugenicist pronouncements in discussions of the ‘immigration problem,’ also debated by social thinkers analyzing the formation of the Brazilian nation (see Seyferth 2002). In this case, the representation of dangerous immigration includes the negative image of immigrants who were sick (the fear of contagious diseases), elderly (not ‘apt’ for work) or lacking morality: racial issues were dissimulated in the wider legislation, but formed part of the intense political and academic debate around ‘whitening,’ which presupposed the exclusion of non-white people, which appeared in its more radically racial form in the works of João B. de Lacerda and Oliveira Vianna, for example.⁹

9 See Lacerda (1911), Oliveira Vianna (1938). The first edition of Oliveira Vianna’s book, significantly

Other evidence of closer control of entry lies in the establishment of immigrant hostels from 1890 onwards. These were run by the Union or the States, and were designed to receive those foreigners who had been identified as immigrants. This identification suggests an understanding of immigration as the settlement of immigrants in the country. It was based on a distinction made in some legal texts between simple foreigners and the immigrant foreigners who were subject to more stringent restrictions. In the 1930s, these obstacles increased with the inclusion of political-ideological and ethnic criteria for evaluating immigrants. On this point, Decree 24.215, issued on 09/04/1934, is emblematic since as well as the cases specified previously, it also prohibited the entry of drug addicts, the illiterate, people with physical and/or mental disabilities, people with a history of conduct harmful to public order or national security, and Roma people.

The premise of living permanently in the country, which makes the immigrant a potential participant in the nation's formation, foregrounds the process of naturalization, especially the early legal form granted in 1889. The requirements, applicable to new immigrants only, were established in 1902: to obtain naturalization, the applicant had to present an identity document (passport), be over the legal age of majority, have resided in Brazil for a minimum of two years and prove to have a clean police record (attested by official documents). Later changes to the rules were relatively insignificant, such as an eventual increase in the required time of residence in the country. Under the New State, the omnipresent issue of national security prevailed, allowing naturalization to be refused to those immigrants deemed "harmful to the country's order, security and prosperity."

In the 1930s and especially under the New State, what were once laws regulating immigration and colonization became laws on foreigners. They maintained the regulations on the settlement of colonial nucleuses. There was a drastic reduction in European immigration, while Japanese immigration increased along with the demands from stateless people and refugees. The obstacles to foreigners then increased in general. A quota system for

entitled *Evolução do Povo Brasileiro* [Evolution of the Brazilian People], emerged in 1923 and related to the divulgation of the results of the 1920 census. Lacerda, as a representative of the Brazilian government, presented his version of the theory of whitening at the Universal Races Congress held in London, 1911. The discussion on the formation of the Brazilian people intensified during this period because of the beginning of Japanese immigration, in 1908, and of the statistical decline in European immigration after 1914.

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immigrants was introduced in 1934 and maintained in Law Decree 406 of 04/05/1938, and in Law Decree 7.967 of 18/09/1945. The formulae used to calculate these quotas¹⁰ favoured the immigrants desired by republican nationalism (Portuguese, Italian and Spanish), an important indicator of the weight given to the ideal of assimilation, the political base of forced nationalization elaborated by the Immigration and Colonization Council in collusion with sections of the military.

The first direct mention of assimilation in a legal text appears in the aforementioned Law Decree 406. Assimilation and its corollary, the 'melting pot' (or the *crisol de raças*, 'crucible of races,' in the Brazilian expression), formed part of the discussion of immigration policies and appeared as a regular theme in the pages of the *Revista de Imigração e Colonização*, an official publication that served as an outlet for texts by members of the Immigration and Colonization Council. At this point, Article 2 of the decree leaves no doubts about the immigrants that were sought:

The President of the Republic reserves the right to limit or suspend, for economic or social reasons, the entry of individuals of particular *races* or *origins*, after hearing from the Immigration and Colonization Council.

The proviso obviously appears after the usual list of undesirables. Assimilation is also in the title to Chapter VIII, which stipulates the formation of colonies with immigrants from at least three distinct nationalities, and more than 30% of Brazilians. The Council had the right to prohibit the settling of foreigners who compromised "the ethnic or social composition of the Brazilian people." The ideal of assimilation reappeared in Decree 3.010, of 20/08/1938, which ruled on the period of residence requires, the distribution and assimilation of foreigners with the aim of preserving the 'ethnic constitution' of Brazil. Here we can observe the continuation of immigration within the campaign for the nationalization of aliens, a classification that presumes the absence of a sense of Brazilianness, including among descendants and naturalized citizens who maintained some degree of cultural distinctiveness.

Immigration is seen, therefore, as a process of complete incorporation into the new nationality, whose traditional bedrock is the 'Iberian substratum'

10 The foreigners admitted as immigrants each year could not exceed 2% of the number of individuals of the same nationality who had entered in the period from 1884 to 1934. The largest flows of migrants during this period came from Italy, Portugal and Spain.

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(of language, culture and character). Ribeiro Couto (1941), who believed in the effectiveness of assimilation, argued for its inclusion in the Law of Foreigners. His use of the terms ethnic and ethnic group fails to conceal the racial nature of his understanding of assimilation (based on the notion of the melting pot) and reveals the belief in the whitening of the population. As Couto put it:

However great our goodwill, however deep our instinct for international cordiality, it falls to us to defend the morphological characteristics of the Brazilian people, preserve its possibilities of getting closer to the founding European types, keeping apart the Asiatic groups and preventing their development. Hence the Japanese problem is from the start an immigration policy problem. (Couto 1941: 22).

The comments reveal the kind of thinking prevailing in the New State's Immigration and Colonization Council concerning the formation of the Brazilian people. It is particularly significant that he made no reference to Africans since they were not even imagined as immigrants. Asians, however, especially the Japanese, were treated as high-risk immigrants, who should be subject to police control. Another defender of the 'ethnic' control of immigration, Artur Hehl Neiva, a prominent member of the Council, provides a good idea of the scale of the question, discussed in the 1934 Constitutional Assembly, where there were no lack of proposals for ensuring the entry of 'white people' only, excluding immigrants from the "black and yellow races," made by influential politicians like Miguel Couto, Xavier de Oliveira, Artur Neiva and so on. These claimed that "the problem has beset the conscience of the nation" (Neiva 1944: 516). Neiva suggested an immigration policy linked to the "categorical imperatives of national security" which would involve the selection of immigrants "from eugenic, ethnic and political aspects." From this viewpoint, the policy was consistent with the ideal of whitening, demanding the favouring of "white immigration and reducing or, preferably, excluding black and yellow immigration" (Neiva 1944: 578). Concluding his text, Neiva lends support to the 'wise' policy of placing restrictions on the stateless, a detail that calls attention to other problematic categories in the context of international migrations, present in the lexicon of exclusion since the 1920s, among them refugees and national minorities.

The two texts cited above, along with others of the same ilk published in the same journal by authors like Oliveira Vianna, A. Lima Câmara, Gavião

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Gonzaga, Lourival Câmara among others¹¹, influenced the drafting of the new Law of Foreigners promulgated at the end of the New State (the aforementioned Decree 7.967 of 1945) and which remained in force after the war. The law remained wedded to the dictates of national security, while the second article authorized the exclusion of immigrants that threaten to dilute the characteristics of European descent in the population's ethnic makeup. The connection between this desired immigration and progress is contemplated in the law, which shows continuity in the mid-twentieth century of the developmentalist and civilizing goals advocated in the Empire period.

This radically assimilationist nationalism reached its apogee during the Vargas era, and was manifest in xenophobic demonstrations. In this climate, the very definition of immigration as a definitive process of settling foreigners in the country demanded the renunciation of their previous nationality (through naturalization) and of their cultural past. The forced nationalization that interfered with symbolic and practical violence in the everyday life of groups of immigrants and their descendants from 1937 onwards (see Seyferth 1999: 285-330) was a precise indication that immigration and naturalization were imagined differently by the immigrants themselves.

III

The perception of the meaning of immigration for immigrants themselves can be observed in testimonies written by settlers from different social strata in their country of origin.¹² In these writings, immigration is almost always presented in the etymological sense of the word, emphasizing the fixing of residence in the receiving country, but at the same time describing the immigrant as someone out of place, in search of a new identity, and confronting the ambiguities of naturalization.

The Editorial of the launch issue of the newspaper *Kolonie Zeitung*, founded in 1862 on the initiative of Ottokar Dörffel in the D. Francisca colony (Joinville, Santa Catarina state), is a good example of the liminality inherent to this transition. It is particularly relevant here since it expresses the

11 The term *colono* was employed, including officially, to designate any individual established in a colonization area, including residents of the settlements dedicated to trade and craft, some having emigrated for political motives, others with university training involved in educational and cultural activities, and so on.

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opinion of an important local leader, with a revolutionary past, inaugurating the German language press in Santa Catarina.¹² Dörffel emigrated to the colony in question after being attracted by the propaganda of the 1849/Hamburg Colonization Society, a company promoting colonization in lands owned by the Prince of Joinville, received as a dowry on the occasion of his marriage to D. Francisca, sister of Emperor Pedro II.

Dörffel's biography is not that of a common settler, as becomes clear in the obituary published by the *Kolonie Zeitung* on 20/11/1906.¹³ Born in Waldenburg, Saxony, in 1818, the son of a public servant, he trained in Law in 1842, in Leipzig. He worked as a lawyer and, in 1847, became a court clerk in Glauchau: two years later he became the town's *Bürgermeister* (mayor). In this capacity he became involved in the revolutionary events of 1848, participating in the conflicts that occurred in the Kingdom of Saxony in 1849. After the failure of the revolution, he faced a criminal inquest for high treason: he was condemned and later pardoned by the king. He always denied requesting the pardon (the starting point for the process) and faced various trials in the Dresden Superior Court, receiving absolution in 1852. His connection with the 1848 revolution prevented him from returning to a normal life in Glauchau, leading to his decision to emigrate.¹⁴ As a result, he considered himself an exile, a status alluded to in the Editorial of the *Kolonie Zeitung* cited above. His importance in the cultural and political life of Joinville (the name given to the D. Francisca colony after

12 The *Kolonie Zeitung* – the first German-Brazilian newspaper in Santa Catarina – circulated almost without interruption until 1942. It was published in Portuguese between 1938 and 1942, meeting the New State's nationalist demands for 'Brazilianization.'

13 The biographic data are taken from Dörffel's obituary, translated by Elly Herkenhoff and included in a publication with a small print run, intended for the divulgation of historical documents – *Arquivo Histórico de Joinville*, Year 1, Number 1, October 1983.

14 A large number of participants from the movement emigrated, especially to the United States. The 1848 revolution in Germany mobilized different social groups, including the bourgeoisie and the liberal middle class, workers, peasants, communists (with the participation of Karl Marx and other 'revolutionary philosophies') in search of political and social reforms, taking as a background the ideal of unification of the diverse German states into a federation. Many armed conflicts took place, including in Berlin (see Carr 1979). Dörffel took part in one of these episodes, occurring in Dresden, leading two contingents of revolutionaries who left Glauchau. It is interesting to note that he settled as an immigrant on lands belonging to the Prince of Joinville who, out of financial necessity following the outcome of the 1848 revolution in France (which resulted in the fall of the King Louis Philippe), decided to found a colonization company. Dörffel's emigration to Brazil prompted some of his compatriots to do the same given his status as a local political leader: this was the case of Cristian Strobel, who wrote an account of his 'pioneering' trajectory, published in 1987, cited by Machado (1998) who studied the emigration of the Strobel family to Paraná.

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the settlement was given municipal status in the 1870s) is signalled in the local historiography. Indeed he distinguished himself as a journalist, co-founder and supporter of cultural and recreational associations, and author of books on local history and guides for emigrants wishing to settle in Brazil's south. He was elected a local councillor and, as president of the Municipal Chamber, held the post of mayor between 1873 and 1876.

The content of the Editorial reflects the trajectory of an opinion maker and community leader, and provides a clear picture of the immigrant as someone between two homelands. The first paragraph of the Editorial explains this liminal situation with some precision:

Fatherland (*Vaterland*)! What a sublime fascination this name holds, and on pronouncing it, how we stand tall, how our chest swells – but how many feelings, for us painful, are connected to it! The true fatherland (*Vaterland*), with its gentle recollections of our youth, and everything that became dear to us through education and everyday habit—we have left behind: distant, infinitely distant, it is found behind us, and probably we shall probably be separated from it forever! And the new land in which we have built our home and to which all our existence is connected? This new land has still not become a homeland (*heimisch*) for us. It still does not seem to want to accept us as its children and the deeper the affection with which we try to connect with it, the more we feel strangely repelled, not infrequently— and the more impetuously reignite the yearning for the old and unforgettable homeland (*Heimatland*) – the homeland that, in truth, has already lost sight of us and forgotten us. Really, what an embarrassing and disheartening situation we live in, when – made stateless (*Heimatlosen* [literally 'homeless']) – we do not know to whom we belong, so to speak!¹⁵

The use of the term *apátrida*, stateless/homeless, is significant since it highlights the immigrant's condition as someone lacking any real identity, an individual without national belonging, located in a spatial and temporal vacuum. The notion of *pátria*, homeland, is not unequivocal, however, since the author refers to belonging to a nation state,¹⁶ and to the more affective

15 First paragraph of the first page of the launch issue of the *Kolonie Zeitung* newspaper, translated by Elly Herkenhoff, divulged in the cited publication in note 13. The German language has two terms equivalent to the Portuguese *pátria*, homeland and fatherland, show in parentheses in the transcription.

16 At the time (1862) the process of unifying the German states was yet to be concluded, but Germany

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and cultural meaning associated with land and home. The double meaning appears in the alternating use of the words *Vaterland* and *Heimatland*: the first opens the text and has an ample signification (including political), referring to Germany, while the second establishes the belonging associated with a mother tongue and culture, which would later be *ethnicized*, including through German-language newspapers, eventually producing a German-Brazilian identity. Thus *Heimatland*, or simply *Heimat*, represents a form of territorialization in the ethnic sense, one which can occur outside the country of birth. Dörffel's discourse indicates that this has yet to happen, since immigration produced a rupture with the 'true *Vaterland*', leaving the immigrant without a homeland (*heimish*). Moreover the text expresses the difficulty of Brazilian society in accepting foreigners, indicating his awareness of the assimilationist – and at times xenophobic – discourse of nationalist sectors that had long seen German immigration as a threat to nationality, at least since the 1860s, due to the cultural, linguistic and religious differences between Latins and the Germans. This was an argument of little concern to the champions of foreign colonization, who indeed maintained a critical stance in relation to the more exaggerated rhetorical claims that immigration represented a form of invasion.¹⁷

It is important to note that, despite his use of the term stateless, immigration is conceived in Dörffel's account as a journey without return. This idea is implicit in his reference to his new home, that can combine both homelands, depending simply on the immigrants' perseverance. In this way hope replaces discouragement:

With a firm will and perseverance we can renew our relations with the old homeland [...] making them increasingly vivid and thus expanding[...]the old homeland until it reaches us –not in space, undoubtedly, but spiritually. Acting continuously and persistently, in accordance with our German character and spirit (*echtdeutschen Sinne und Geiste*), we can also gain the respect and affection of the new homeland, making our relationship with it happier. Thus we will have double of what we just had in single measure beforehand.

(*Deutschland*) was already a political reality for the nationalist movement.

¹⁷ A defence of immigration, in a response to nationalist xenophobia, can be observed in the work of Carvalho (1875).

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The argument contains a principle of German-Brazilianness, later widely proclaimed in the German-language press, which advocated belonging to the new homeland without losing the connections (mainly cultural and linguistic) with the *Urheimat* (or 'old homeland'). Indeed establishing a definitive home in the receiving country, assuming the identity of an immigrant of German character and spirit, signals a kind of thought contrary to the ideal of assimilation, which gradually moved from nationalist discourse to Brazilian legislation on foreigners as the twentieth century unfolded. The newspaper launched by Dörffel in the Dona Francisca colony in 1862 defended German-Brazilianness and the cultural plurality arising from immigration in general over the next 80 years, as well as the sentimental, affective and also economic connection to Germany, the homeland 'of origin.'

The perception of the immigration process as a rupture that is later resolved by ethnicity appears with other comments in memoirs and letters sent by immigrants to their family members. The written recollections of Pastor W. G. Lange, leader of a group of German migrants who had left so-called 'Russian Poland' (referring to the Polish territory under the control of the Czarist Empire) in 1886 to form a colonial nucleus in the area run by the 1849/ Hamburg Colonization Society, adhere to the same framework of ethnic nationalism. The feeling of rupture emerges in a section describing the voyage:

On the afternoon of the 18th the brothers, with their luggage, climbed on board [...] followed by myself on the 19th. At 3 o'clock the steam began to bellow out. Ah, how hard it is to turn one's back on one's homeland!

[...]

For how long? Or forever? Reader, you know the answer. Yes, it was forever.

[...]

The port of São Francisco was as beautiful as the city was poor. But of the latter we saw little, since early in the morning a small steamboat came from Joinville to pick us up [...] The 'Hamburg' sets off and the last column of smoke slowly disappears over the horizon. The last connection with the old homeland is broken. Were someone to have told me that it would be forever! But now it was essential not to look back, but to push on instead. After 2 hours travel we arrived on the afternoon of June 29th in the pleasant town of Joinville and finally we set foot on our new homeland.

(Lange 2003: 76, 78, 85).

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The image of the boat sailing away from the port and intensifying the liminality of the immigrant appears in other texts, almost with the same exact phrasing. It appears, for example, in the account of the experience of Clara Hermann, recently married,¹⁸ who emigrated to Santa Catarina in 1903:

The crossing lasted four weeks and my sea sickness the same. [...] We were still aboard at Christmas and that was the last time I saw a German Christmas tree, the one we had brought with us. Amid the tumult of the preparations for the journey I had given no thought to saying goodbye to the motherland, since it was still Germany on the boat. But when we were in the port in São Francisco, watching the ship sail into the distance, I suddenly felt with a heavy heart that I had left everything behind and that I was now in an unknown country.

[...]

In São Francisco I felt as though I were in a foreign country, but Joinville dissolved this impression, here you only hear German spoken and the town has the look of a little German village.¹⁹

In both cases the author emphasizes the feeling of bidding farewell to the homeland, symbolized by the ship returning to the ocean. The ‘unknown’ is the village of São Francisco do Sul, the port of arrival, a place of transition. The symbolic rupture with Germany, expressed as the will of God by Pastor Lange, or in her last view of a ‘German Christmas tree’ by Clara Hermann, gives a definitive meaning to immigration just as much as the immigrant’s resigned bewilderment as he or she enters a foreign country, an impression that soon faded before the cultural landscape produced by colonization. In this sense, Joinville is a familiar place with the distinctive marks introduced by German immigration (preponderant in the region) since 1851, including everyday use of the maternal language. According to their written memoirs, Lange and Hermann stayed overnight in São Francisco do Sul before setting off for Joinville, but for both the new homeland was there, in the colonial

18 Her marriage took place in Germany to a German immigrant who had already settled in the Itajaí Valley. He had returned to his ‘original homeland’ to visit his sister and find a wife.

19 Clara Hermann’s manuscript belongs to the José R. da Silva Historical Archive, Blumenau Cultural Foundation. It was published (in a bilingual edition) in the magazine *Blumenau em Cadernos* under the title “Vivências de Clara Hermann,” translated into Portuguese by Annemarie F. Schünke. See *Blumenau em Cadernos*, XLII (11-12): 15-17.

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region populated largely by people of German extraction. The final destination of the group led by Lange was a new colonial nucleus called Brüderthal, while Clara Hermann headed to the colonial lot belonging to her husband, in the HansaHumbolt colony.²⁰ Joinville, though, with its familiar Germanic air was an example of what Waibel (1958: 206) called ‘self-contained communities’ related to the socioeconomic and cultural characteristics of European colonization. After all, according to the cultural and spiritual configuration of the *Heimat* found in Romantic nationalism, the homeland could be territorialized in any country, obviously maintaining the language, habits, customs and other conventional elements of belonging, which also include other principles highlighted by Weber (1991) in his discussion of ‘ethnic communities’ (including those resulting from migration).

The discomfort generated by the vague nature of the immigrant, as someone wavering between two homelands, is a transitory feeling, therefore, given the perception of the definitiveness of the immigrant’s trajectory and the possibility of making a home in a Germanicized region where the two main urban nucleuses – Joinville and Blumenau – evoked ‘small German towns’ (something indeed emphasized in the propaganda used to attract immigrants, and in the more flattering literature on colonization). In principle this image contains a paradox since it defines the immigrant in relation to two incompatible nationalist reference points, although the keyword is *pátria*, homeland. But even the feeling of statelessness expressed by Dörffel evaporates with the possibility of reconciling the belonging to two homelands (one of them ‘spiritual’) by maintaining the idea of Germanness (*Deutschtum*) on Brazilian soil. The double belonging and cultural singularity contained in the idea of Germanness was widely backed in the German-Brazilian press including in the *Kolonie Zeitung* founded by Dörffel until its extinction in 1939. For Brazilian nationalism, immigrants only ceased to be awkward and disturbing foreigners when lawfully naturalized and assimilated.

Back in Germany, however, the emigrated citizen might no longer be included among the national population, an eventuality that becomes clear in a short remark made by Clara Hermann. Recounting the meeting

20 The two names have since changed: Bruderthal (Vale of the Brothers) – a religious community reference – is the present-day municipality of Guaramirim, while Hansa Humbolt gave rise to the municipality of Corupá. The change in the names occurred for nationalist reasons, a common event in areas of foreign colonization in the twentieth century.

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with her future husband, a German who had emigrated to Brazil but had returned temporarily to look for a wife in Germany, Hermann reveals that he was classified as a *Brasilianer* (Brazilian). This designation was probably unrelated to the formality of becoming naturalized in Brazil: rather it reveals the situation of the migrant who is no longer recognized as a national by his society of origin.²¹ Consequently Dörffel's aim of reconciliation contrasts with the social and political reality faced by the immigrant in search of a German wife. Brazilians 'drüben' (on the other side),²² Germans here! Indeed in the representation of the 'others' we encounter an individual suspended between two homelands, asserting his or her dual nationality. This duality or duplicity, widely discussed in the German-language press and fictional literature,²³ presumed a German-like everyday life in a homeland (*Heimat*) situated on Brazilian soil. In this sense, the immigrant is *völkisch*, a word widely used to distinguish the feeling of an *ethnicized* national belonging. Weber (1991: 269–271) signalled the importance of customs, *habitus* and linguistic community in shaping ethnic groups, including those produced by emigration. Immigrants can adapt well to a new environment, but also tend to maintain feelings of ethnic communion related to the country of birth in a context of a life shared in common. Weber alluded to the 'conscience of community' inherent in such situations.

The Germanic peculiarity of the colonial region of Santa Catarina state where the immigrants cited here lived is also stressed in writings by travellers, or even by migrants who returned. As an example, we can take the text entitled "Some days in Germany", included in a travel book by Willi Ule. The author visited various regions of Brazil and passed through the Itajaí Valley, which he refers to as 'Germany':

21 At the time becoming naturalized in another country meant losing one's nationality. A few years later, Germany promulgated the Delbrück Law, allowing immigrants and their descendants to retain their German nationality. However, the attribution of a Brazilian identity to the immigrant was an aspect of their social relational context, rather than a reflection of his or her legal position. The Delbrück Law caused a polemic in Brazil, where it was linked to Pan-Germanism and seen as a boost to the pretensions of a German-Brazilian dual identity.

22 A term used (even today) to refer to Germany, at the same time reinforcing the position of immigrant (or descendant).

23 The fictional literature (tales, novels and poetry) in the German language emphasized German-Brazilianness and community life in the colonization areas until 1939, when it was prohibited during the nationalization campaign. See Huber (1993) and Seyferth (2004).

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For some time I really lived only with some Germans, practically heard only German, saw only German faces and ate food made in the German style. The destination was the German colony of Blumenau, in the State of Santa Catarina.

[...]

And in Germany we complained that our compatriots from overseas had rapidly lost their Germanness. Here they maintained their culture for decades under adverse conditions and with much strife.²⁴

The visitor's account undoubtedly reflected the fine welcome he had received in Blumenau, and diverges little from the widespread everyday local perception, which had a negative impact in the nationalist sectors of Brazilian society worried about assimilation. From the nationalist viewpoint, Blumenau was a paradigm of 'ethnic enclaves' incompatible with the principle of Brazilianness.

The same 'Germany' in Brazil appears in the writings of Therese Stutzer, author of tales, short stories and letters that contain details of everyday life in the colonial region of Blumenau, where she lived with her husband, the Evangelical pastor Gustav Stutzer, in the 1880s. For her the region could be recognized by the Germanic cultural characteristics maintained by the settlers in an exuberant Brazilian landscape. The very title of Therese's best-known work is a good example of this combination: *Deutsches Leben am Rande des brasilianischen Urwaldes*: German life on the edge of the Brazilian jungle. It represents the perception of a frontier civilization described by a migrant returned to the homeland. In one of her letters she complains of the 'empire of untamed nature' and the sensation of being close to Germany provoked by the arrival and departure of ships in the port of Itajaí, through which the correspondence sent to her relatives and friends was sent.²⁵

The 'untamed nature' depicted in the writings of Therese Stutzer matches the Romantic vision of an untouched and exuberant natural landscape, transformed into an obstacle to the advance of colonization in the view of another woman who returned to Germany, and who wrote about the plight

24 From the text published in the magazine *Blumenau em Cadernos*, 49 (1): 9, 17. According to editorial information, Willi Ule was a specialist in Marine Sciences linked to the Berlin Geographic Society.

25 See Letter of Therese Stutzer, 08/07/1886, published in *Blumenau em Cadernos*, XXXIX (8), 1998, pp. 9–11. Also see Stutzer (1886). The publications on the Brazilian experience of Therese and Gustav Stutzer were very popular in Germany and many new editions were published until the 1920s. See Fouquet (1974).

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represented by her experience of immigration in the south of Brazil between 1907 and 1911. In the work of Emilie Heinrichs, entitled “The wife of the emigrant: the experience of a settler’s wife in the south of Brazil,”²⁶ a question of gender comes to the fore and drives the narrative: the subaltern position of women. The objective of the author’s account of her experience in a colony with ‘pioneer zone’ characteristics, located in a forest region of Rio Grande do Sul, was to alert her female compatriots to the dangers and difficulties encountered in her problematic experience of emigration. The text was published in Germany in 1921, ten years after the Heinrichs couple had returned and in the middle of the economic and political crisis of the Weimar Republic, a period marked by significant numbers of emigrants, including to Brazil.²⁷

The key fact prompting the publication of her experience as an emigrant was her husband’s decision to leave the homeland without taking into account her opinion. She was simply expected to accompany him. She emigrated against her will because “the woman has no decision.” Boarding the ship in Hamburg, ready to set sail for Brazil, with a strong feeling of homelessness (*Heimatlos*), she wrote of leaving Germany and heading off for the unknown:

I do not want to speak of all the pain and suffering of the farewell: I felt homesick for my country even before leaving it. All the women who have experienced the harsh fate of emigration may share this feeling. We become just like a child looking for the first time on a distant world, already feeling homeless (*Heimatlos*). (In: *Blumenau em Cadernos*, 51(6):19).

Describing the ship’s departure, she notes the same feeling of rupture present in other accounts:

We arrived in time to see the last rope fall to the ground, the one still connecting the ship to the land. The old and loved German flag rose on the main mast. [...]The last tie with my land was broken. (In: *Blumenau em Cadernos*, 51(6):23).

The text shows the author’s frustration with emigration, reflected in her use of the term *Auswanderer* (emigrant) as a criterion for identification, and in the constant reference to the desired return, which she admits to being her

26 Full text published in a bilingual edition in six issues of the magazine *Blumenau em Cadernos*, in the ‘Original documents’ section. See *Blumenau em Cadernos*, 51(6), 2010 and 52(1-5), 2011.

27 In the 1920s Brazil received more than 60,000 German emigrants. Many returned before the Second World War, but even so the number of entrants was the highest for a single decade since the beginning of German immigration.

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only thought, finally achieved almost five years later. At no moment did she imagine her situation to be irreversible. She does not describe herself as an immigrant (*Einwanderer*), making it clear at the end of her account that she never found a 'new homeland' because this destiny requires more than finding work and food in a foreign country.

Her residence in a colonial nucleus recently founded in the interior of Rio Grande do Sul, which lacked the same degree of Germanic singularity evinced, for example, in the writings of Ottokar Dörffel and Clara Hermann, was probably the determining factor in her decision to return, more so than the difficulty of the settler's life. On this point Emilie Heinrichs's account coincides with that of João Weiss, an Austrian who emigrated to the same colony region with his family in 1912 at the age of 15. Both stress the lack of information as to the true situation of colonies located in the middle of the forest, denouncing the illusory propaganda used by agencies that promised lands in abundance and other benefits, but omitted the 'untamed forest', the painful work of clearing the land, and the fact that settlers would be left to their own devices in an unknown environment. The confrontation with the forest, a recurrent theme in this type of literature, involves the description of a sombre, almost impenetrable space with gigantic trees and dangerous animals, which must be put into a condition to be cultivated through the labour of the settler and his family alone. The forest, finally vanquished, gives way to crop cultivation and self-sufficiency in food, but the arduous task of clearing and planting fails to lead to the desired social improvement. Or, in terms of Weiss (1949: 10), the emigrant "devotes himself to his exhausting work, drowning the intense bouts of homesickness" (for the homeland and civilization) but remains facing an indefinite future in the new country. Weiss did not return 'to the homeland,' but left the colony in search of a better life in the city. Return and internal migration did not represent failure, therefore, since the taming of the forest was made possible by 'arduous work': nonetheless, the emigrant needs to know exactly what he or she will find, a place far from civilization.

Another point in common in the two accounts is the immigrants connection to poverty, employing the same principle of classification found in the Brazilian legislation during the same period: a third class passenger, travelling on the lower decks of the ships. Emilie Heinrichs makes the connection when describing the embarkation of three thousand Polish and Russian to

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the United States, identified by the word *Zwischendecker* (a reference to the passages on the middle deck, located right above the cargo hold). João Weiss makes more direct use of the expression ‘third class’ to describe the family’s voyage from the port of Trieste, precisely in this situation. The Heinrichs travelled in a cabin shared with other immigrants, possibly second class, showing that poverty was not the reason for emigration, perhaps a form of ignoring the common sense premise concerning the definitiveness of immigration present in Weiss’s discourse.²⁸ Describing the transatlantic journey, he depicts the third class berths in a dramatic manner:

We numbered about five hundred emigrants [...] third class passengers, huddled in collective dormitories, separated into men and women, poorly ventilated and dark (Weiss 1949: 13).

The connection between immigration and poverty is usually made clear. In an anonymous text by an immigrant who arrived in the colony of Blumenau in 1856, we find a useful summary that reinforces the poverty argument. After mentioning the precarious dwellings of the *Stadtplatz*²⁹ and the shelter of ‘deplorable appearance’ allocated to newly-arrived settlers, people who had already experienced many difficulties during the Atlantic crossing, the unidentified author remarks:

Really I know numerous travel and immigration companions who even today have tears in their eyes when they recall the homeland and the friends left behind. And so many years have already gone by! The land where one was born and grew up stirs deep feelings. I’m sure nobody manages to forget completely. But most people have no wish to return, even if they could, since here they find what it is impossible for the poor back in Germany to obtain: freedom and property.³⁰

The colony’s founder, Hermann Blumenau, thought likewise since his colonization project, which was initially planned for mass immigration that

28 Heinrichs does not state the profession of her husband, apparently seduced by the prospect of having ‘his own tract’ and become a farmer in the new country. Her intention was to dissuade potential emigrants, expressing the joy of setting foot once more on the ‘homeland soil.’ João Weiss’s father owned a shoe shop and, it seems, was equally captivated by the idea of land.

29 A term commonly used in the colonization period to designate the ‘urban centre’ of a ‘German colony.’ Blumenau, in 1856, was merely a small village on the shore of the Itajaí-Açu River.

30 Extracted from the original document published in *Blumenau em Cadernos*, XLVIII (3-4), 2007: 13-14.

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failed to occur, had sought to help compatriots with no future in Germany, believing in the viability of a new homeland in Brazil while maintaining the German language, customs and culture. The proposal to colonize a large area of unoccupied land in the south, mentioned in the letters sent to the Brazilian Consul in Prussia, J. J. Sturz, between 1844 and 1852,³¹ was rejected by the imperial government, which only approved the project for the middle Itajaí-açu Valley, where the colony was founded in 1850. In the letters he takes on the immigrants' 'cause,' associating emigration with the limitations placed on the social mobility of the subaltern classes and on demographics, an issue widely debated, including in academic circles, in Germany before unification.

The anonymous immigrant, describing the precarious infrastructure of the colony established in the middle of the 'dense jungle', asserted that everything could be overcome through the work of 'brave settlers,' the majority 'extremely poor'³² who would never become landowners in Germany. The reference to freedom, on the other hand, also reflects the historical period of mass German emigration: the crisis among the peasantry caused by the advance of capitalism into rural areas, the growth of the lumpen proletariat, and the defeat of the revolutionary movements of 1848 by Prussian militarism.

There are no indications of a political kind in the anonymous text, but the Itajaí Valley saw the establishment of immigrants coming from the German peasantry who had left the country following the outcome of the 1848 revolution. In colonial nucleuses where collective demonstrations were held to demand better conditions, the leaders of the settlers were associated with the revolution and identified by the administrators as 'communists' (see Seyferth 1999). This type of locally confined social movement, even during the Empire, contradicted the idea of the morally upstanding immigrant, dedicated to work, and, settled on his/her colonial lot. Socialists, communists and criminals in general had been considered a risk to the State's security since the mid-nineteenth century.

However there were socialists among the immigrants, such as Josef Umann, another 'settler in the jungle', and author of a memoir whose central theme is the poverty that induced the search for a new homeland, which to

31 Hermann Blumenau's letters are reproduced in the work edited by Vogt (2004).

32 The original word is *Blutarm*, anaemic, and was probably used in a double sense: poverty and physical exhaustion. The text contains many references to diseases and rotten food, common complaints during the so-called 'pioneer phase.'

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a certain extent responds to the question “Who should emigrate?” Umann³³ tells his life story from his childhood in Bohemia to the arduous settlement in Linha Cecília, a colonial region located in the municipality of Venâncio Aires (Rio Grande do Sul). As described in his account, the immigration process excludes any prospect of return and the immigrant is left to build his own world, in this case, the community called Linha Cecília.

Umann writes that he came from a poor family and needed to labour hard from childhood in a situation of “rationed food and abundant work” (Umann 1981: 9). He became an orphan at the age of thirteen and, separated from his siblings, was sent to Vienna as a tinker’s apprentice. On returning to Bohemia he learnt glass polishing, an insalubrious 14 hours a day job. In this harsh context, socialist activism was the only positive element, allowing him to dream of improving the fate of the working class. However his despair over the living conditions of workers, with no prospect of better days to come, eventually persuaded him to emigrate. He left the homeland with his wife and daughter to try his luck as a settler in the Brazilian south, along with another 150 Bohemians, most of them workers from the glass factories.

The Umann family emigrated in 1877, a period when the expression ‘third class’ was yet to form part of the definition of the immigrant. In fact the crossing of the Atlantic was considered good, leaving aside the seasickness. The subaltern position of the immigrants became clear, though, on the coastal steamer taking the group from Rio de Janeiro to the port of Rio Grande: the Bohemians were moved from their berths to make way for wealthier passengers who paid more, leaving them ‘packaged’ in a small area with barely space to sit.

Umann’s exposition of the colonization process talks of the difficulties of clearing the land as other writers: the exhausting land journey to the colonial nucleus, the felling of the “dark virgin forest with its colossal trees”, the construction of the “first tiny and improvised shack”, the food rationed before the first harvest and other “miserable circumstances” during Linha Cecília’s beginnings.

Though not adopting the critical stance of Emilie Heinrichs concerning the lack of information provided on the true conditions of the settlement deep

33 Umann’s (incomplete) memoirs, with additions made by his children, was published in a bilingual edition, translated, introduced and annotated by Hilda A. Hübner Flores. She observes that the text was actually published in German during the Second World War but almost all the copies were confiscated. See Umann 1981.

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in the forest, Umann (1981: 61–62) explains that “few immigrants know exactly what the term jungle means” and even these “will find the initial period in the forest much more difficult than they had imagined.” Hence the forest is a formidable obstacle for “a man in a foreign land who wishes to build a home for himself and his family.” A poem he wrote, called “Who should emigrate?” (*Wer soll wandern?*) elaborates on the immigrants’ problems. The individual who migrates is without hope and without future, unable to provide a home for his family, a situation that justifies travelling to the unknown where there might be a tract of land for him and where, despite the initial difficulties, “he can console himself with the hope that everything will be better in the future.” The last part of the poem expresses the definitiveness of immigration and the transmutation of the socialist factory worker into an immigrant settler:

And when he has his own house,
And his land farmed,
He finds himself happy amid
A world built by himself.
(Umann 1981: 82).

Umann’s memoirs refer to the beginnings of colonization, but the biographical information added by his children contain records of his cultural activities and his important role as a community leader and co-founder of associations that celebrated German ethnic belonging, such as the Song, Reading and Shooting Societies. The ‘constructed world’ is depicted, therefore, as a place of tranquil community life after the arduous phase of colonization, a new homeland (*Heimat*) in Brazil adapted to the principles of Germanness contested by Brazilian nationalism.

The lack of perspectives prompted the search for better existential conditions in another country as immigrants, far from the homeland, and the difficult crossing in inadequate berths (which at the end of the nineteenth century became part of the discourses of immigrants in the expression ‘third class’ as a synonym of poverty), are topics that form part of the set of representations relating to immigration, the immigrant and the ‘pioneer’ life, observable in the letters and memoirs of settlers of other nationalities. Italian and Polish immigrants also played an important role in the expansion of the colonization process after 1875, and their mode of understanding immigration is practically identical to the Germans (who preceded them), presuming

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the definitive nature of their move to Brazil and a new community life enabled by hard work, later *ethnicized* through cultural distinctions.

The letters of Polish immigrants, published in a volume edited by Kula (1977), and the letters and occasional memoir written by Italians, Germans and Poles, transcribed by Stoltz (1997), provide good examples of this perception of immigration. The settlers who write of their experiences, generally to family members, emphasize the feeling of rupture with the homeland, sometimes mentioning boarding the ship in the country of origin, or landing in Brazil, the initial difficulties involved in clearing the forest, the precarious dwelling conditions in the lots, the high mortality rates, the diseases, the lack of doctors, the poor diet and other problems of the 'pioneer' life (cited even today as one of the diacritics of ethnicity). However they also declare their belief in future progress, a better life than back in their homeland, something that presumes immigration as a definitive process. This belief is particularly evident in the letters written by Polish immigrants, most of them from the 1890s (see Kula 1977). These were sent to the wives and other relatives close to the letter writers, telling them how they left the homeland, at the time still under the political control of the Czarist Empire.³⁴ Despite the problems faced during the voyage and, later, in the colonial areas where they were sent by the Brazilian government, particularly in Rio Grande do Sul where epidemic outbreaks of small pox and other diseases occurred, with a high mortality rate among the newly arrivals, the letters encouraged others to emigrate to Brazil, speaking of the freedom found there, religious support and the possibility of becoming landowners. Some letters reveal the intention of bringing women and children, without the knowledge of the Russian government, after they had become properly settled on a 'colonial line' (written, therefore, by family fathers who had travelled alone). But the more frequent argument is simple: even the most adverse circumstances could be surmounted and life in Brazil was better than in the homeland. These are letters with a strong religious tone and in them we can also perceive the importance of Catholicism in shaping the identity of the Polish immigrants.

34 Most of the Poles who entered Brazil between 1890 and 1914 came from so-called 'Russian Poland' and figured in Brazilian statistics as 'Russians.' Emigration was motivated by economic reasons and equally by the absence of political freedom aggravated by the assimilationist process of 'Russification' (which also affected the Germanic national minorities from the same area, the motive behind the emigration of the group led by Pastor Lange, cited previously).

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The prosperity of the settlers who arrived in earlier periods and the coexistence with compatriots, sometimes coming from the same region, or acquaintances met during the voyage across, are emphasized in these personal documents, indicating the formation of a community with shared cultural attributes. Linha Cecília, where many of the Bohemians emigrated at the same time as Josef Umann had settled, is a good example of this kind of community organization. In practice the 'communities' formed in the colonial nucleuses received national adjectives (as 'German,' 'Italian' or 'Polish' colonies), expressing not only the numerical prevalence, but also cultural and ethnic distinctions.

IV

Foreign colonization in Brazil, begun prior to independence – resumed in 1824 and further extended after 1850, principally in the three southern provinces – was designed as a policy for occupying public lands as part of a civilizing process. The Imperial State wanted settlers, a category implying small family producers directly linked to taming uncultivated lands. They should be civilized (and thus European), and able to work in agriculture, arts and trades. The terms immigration and immigrant only appear occasionally, even in legislation where the predominant references are to colonization and *colonos* (settlers) sometimes qualified by a particular European nationality. Restrictive measures underlay the definition of the ideal settler, who should be morally upstanding, healthy, a qualified worker without a criminal history. Problems relating to the integration and assimilation of the immigrants were pushed into the background during the implementation of the immigration policy consistent with the sense of progress implied by the double meaning of the term *inculto* – uncultivated lands and the absence of culture or civilization. Hence immigration was defined as a directed and definitive process of settling European *colonos*, without restricting the entry of immigrants with another occupational profile.

However the nationalist principle of Luso-Brazilianness formed the basis for a critique of the model of foreign colonization favoured by the State since the mid-twentieth century, introducing an intense debate on the difficulties of assimilating foreigners who remained isolated in the colonial nucleuses. As far as nationalism was concerned, immigration could only be perceived as

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a definitive process of integrating foreigners into Brazilian society and culture, when they renounced their linguistic, religious and cultural singularity. German immigrants were the main targets of a nationalism that argued in favour of 'Latin' immigration and repudiated Lutheran Protestantism and the use of a language excessively distant from the dialect flourishing in the 'German colonies.'

At the start of the Republic the axis of the discussion over assimilation shifted more clearly to the racial question, a theme absent in this essay except for my references to the idea that immigration could contribute to the Brazilian nation through selective miscegenation.³⁵ The ideal immigrant, then, is a white foreigner established in the country, who allows himself to become amalgamated in the national 'melting pot' and adjusts to the Luso-Brazilian cultural canons. This way of seeing immigration and the integration of the immigrant persisted under the New State, a period when xenophobia abounded, condemning 'aliens' and their descendants to forced assimilation. Alien, *alienígena* in Portuguese, is a word with an ambiguous meaning used to designate both the immigrants (naturalized or otherwise) and their descendants, Brazilians by *jus soli*, but non-assimilated.

The 'problem of assimilation' reappeared in the Republic, though this failed to produce radical changes in colonization policy, still focused on immigration despite the opening up to include national settlers (*colonos*), even under the New State (with its plans for occupying the Brazilian central west). The fact that stands out is the identification of immigration with poverty, the immigrant classified as a third class passenger. The most visible consequence of this form of (dis)qualification is the greater detail on the list of undesirables, including beggars, the destitute, indigents, prostitutes and so on. The acceptable poor were those who demonstrated a professional and moral aptitude and were healthy and able to work. On the other hand, the assimilationist pressure might not have been visible in the legislation, but it existed in society and in politics, translated into practice by the 'nationalization

35 Despite considering black slavery to be a component of the nation's formation, the ideal of whitening sustained that this influence would eventually disappear in a process begun with the end of the slave trade in 1850 and the consequent increase in European immigration. Black people could not, therefore, be acceptable immigrants and for many thinkers (see Menezes & Souza 1875, Oliveira Vianna 1938) accepting them into this category would mean an indirect re-establishment of the slave trade and the renunciation of western civilization.

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campaign' of the New State. After all immigration presumed a definitive process of settlement³⁶ in the country without leeway for cultural plurality, an item included in the field of action of 'national security.'

The sense of definitive residence contained in the representation of immigration is shared by immigrants when they describe the feeling of rupture with the country of birth, expressed in different manners (in the cases presented here, dominated by the image of the ship sailing away from the port of departure or arrival), allowing margin for the embarrassment faced in this liminal situation. The 'bastard' place cited by Bourdieu is more evident in Dörffel's outburst over his statelessness, a 'German settler' without rights, subject to the dictates of the legislation on foreign colonization. However other testimonies are based on the same principle of a loss of identity (in this case, national), although momentary, on disembarking in an unknown place, later superseded by the familiarity encountered in the final destination. For some this destination was already a reality, places that recalled little 'German' towns, where the maternal language was heard. For others the arduous work of clearing the forest was the beginning of the formation of self-contained communities living alongside compatriots, a concrete possibility enabled by the model of 'foreign' colonization.

The probability of staying permanently, however, fades away in the dejected testimony on the difficult life in a colonial nucleus in the process of being formed in the south of Brazil, written by a migrant who later returns to the homeland. Indeed the return, and the way of describing it, show a rejection of the status of immigrant, since the undesired emigration did not lead to settling for good in another country. The problems of colonization, observable in the reports and other documents by colonial administrations (official or private) and in the relevant literature produced by immigrants and others, are not always cited in such a dramatic form to justify the return or even the search for a better life in a town. João Weiss's text, for example, reveals his puzzlement when he saw first-hand the localization of the lot deep in the forest, criticizing the propaganda of the agencies, considering it (like Emilie Heinrichs) overly idyllic, emphasizing above all the ease of access to

³⁶ The idea of definitive settlement, present in some discourses on immigration, certainly does not include the high numbers leaving (and returning). In any case, the returnees ceased to be immigrants, although they remained in the statistical records of entries into Brazil. In the 1940s, the volume of returnees was calculated at 40%, albeit with many qualifications of this figure (see Carneiro 1950: 63).

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land. Weiss did not return, but neither did he stay in the colony to where he had been sent with his family, and sent a copy of his text to the Immigration and Colonization Council in 1949, as a contribution to improving the colonization projects involving immigrants. In the end he argued in favour of cultural plurality, saying that a single national culture does not exist in Brazil, a country with regional differences and great cultural distinctiveness produced by many immigratory flows; but the immigrants and their descendants should honour patriotic feelings as Brazilians. Thereze Stutzer, for her part, criticized the colonization system imposed by the State, expounding on her problems, though she lived for some years in a 'German colony,' and thus in a *heimisch* place, a small and familiar homeland (*Heimat*). Her writings (and those of her husband) published on their return to Germany, with new editions in the 1920s, served as part of the propaganda encouraging emigration to Brazil with the Germanized Blumenau on the horizon.

Definitive settlement, assuming the identity of an immigrant, and the connection between the process of transnational change and poverty, which appear in the letters and memoirs of individuals we could call common settlers, form points of convergence with the Brazilian discourse on immigration. The form of territorialization of the 'new homeland' – hinted at in immigrants' writings through the familiar image of the older colonies, or connected to an identity that presumes a dual belonging, observable in the desire to overcome the stateless condition, for example, in the hopeful expression of Dörffel – differs radically, though, from the assimilationist imaginary of Brazilian nationalism on European immigration. In this case the awkward immigrants are those who persist in retaining their ethnic, national and cultural difference. A foreigner, an inconvenient 'other', especially when he or she assumes immigration as a definitive process, becoming naturalized, accepting citizenship, while simultaneously rejecting an unrestricted Brazilianness. For the immigrant, naturalization is primarily a political act of social and economic integration, shifting loyalty to the new homeland, yet it does not suppose the passive acceptance of another culture. These are irreconcilable positions that reinforce the embarrassment caused by dual belonging, disrupting the desired unity of the nation state.

Brazilian nationalism produced an image of the ideal immigrant willing to accept the unified formation of the nation, yet immigration in fact produced cultural plurality, or more precisely 'hybrid' cultures. Indeed the

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Germanic configuration observed by new immigrants was being constructed in the subtropical Brazilian landscape in contact (not always immediate in the colonization regions) with Brazilians. Nonetheless the assimilationist precept of nationalism, which flourished under the Republic and became exacerbated as a State policy from the 1930s onwards, allowed the Nation to impose itself on the State, or simply to conceive the State as a manifestation of the Nation, a circumstance signalled by scholars of nationalism (see Arendt 1976, Hobsbawm 1990). In this case the political and social concept of citizenship was augmented by unequivocal criteria of language, race and culture, shaping a premise of 'national community' that supported the extreme measures of 'nationalism' of the New State. The disquiet caused by the irreconcilable immigrant was even manifested in the seizure of the first edition of the *Memoirs of Josef Umann*, probably due to their quality as a symbol of the colonizing 'epic' and its outcome, an ethnic community.

The *ethnicization* of the nationality of immigrants, despite the totalizing integration advocated by double-sided assimilationism, was maintained over the long course of foreign colonization, the continuation of which was ensured by the New State's legislation on foreigners. In fact the symbolism of cultural singularity is the main feature of ethnicities, something incompatible with the luso-brazilian configuration of the nation state.

Finally, among the memoirs of immigration we can highlight Clara Hermann's brief mention of her husband, an emigrant born in Germany, an immigrant in Brazil, identified by his supposed compatriots as Brazilian. The narrative does not extend beyond this information, but the attribution of another identity gives an idea of the permanent nature of immigration, associated, in the everyday ideas of German society, with the loss of Germanness, as observed by Willi Ule, the traveller captivated by the 'Germany' discovered in Brazil, the epithet given to the 'Blumenau colony,' by the Brazilians themselves. In reality the paradoxical situation of the Brazilian in Germany and the German in Brazil does not reflect German-Brazilianness and the consequent ethnic identity: on the contrary, the attribution of (apparently) conflicting identities by others (Brazilians and Germans) situates immigrants in the same awkward position as the stateless.

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Brief des Mathias Franzen aus Brasilien an seine Verwandten in Pünderich

Mathias Franzen

An meinen Schwager Mathias Rockenbach in Pünderich samt seiner Frau und 5 Stiefkindern: Herzgeliebter Schwager – Wenn Euch die Allerheiligste Dreifaltigkeit mit meinen und meiner Frau Susanna Mas ihren vielgeliebten Anverwandten und unsern Freunden alle daheim bis heute, bis das dieser Brief Euch kömmt, in bester Gesundheit erhalten hat, so würden wir uns sehr darüber freuen. Wir kamen nach einer viertägigen Reise über Land am 21. Juni 1828 in Bremen an. Am 26. September 1828 segelten wir von Bremen aus; am 17. Dezember 1828 kamen wir in Rio de Janeiro an. Nach Stationen bei Rio Grande und Porto Alegre landeten wir am 10. März 1829 in der Region, besiedelten zunächst São Leopoldo und zogen dann in die Kolonie nahe dem Rio Cadeia. Die ersten Monate waren hart: Fieber befiel mich und meine Tochter Katharina, doch die Familie erholte sich. Wir bauten eine Notunterkunft und später ein ordentliches Haus; die Kolonie ist fruchtbar, viele Pflanzen wachsen ohne Düngung. Wir konnten Vieh und Geflügel anschaffen und betreiben Landwirtschaft, Tabakanbau und andere Feldfrüchte. Die Subsidiensysteme halfen in der Anfangszeit. Das Land bietet reichlich Nahrung: Maniok, Bananen, Feigen, Reis, Mais, Bohnen, Tabak und vieles mehr. Das Klima gilt als gesund; es gibt vielfältige Tier- und Pflanzenwelt. Gleichzeitig gibt es Gefahren durch lokale indigene Gruppen, die vereinzelt Angriffe verüben; in unserer Gegend wurden in einem Vorfall 11 Personen getötet. Religiöses Leben und Schulen fehlen weitgehend: Deutsche Gottesdienste und Lehrer sind selten und weit entfernt; die Kolonisten bitten um Gebete in der Heimat. Der Autor bittet eindringlich um Nachrichten aus Pünderich, nennt Verwandte und Nachbarn vor Ort und sendet viele Grüße.

Schlussformel: Lebt wohl, betet für mich; euer herzlicher Schwager.

Neues Heimatland Brasilien – Texte und Bilder zur kulturellen Entwicklung der deutschbrasilianischen Bevölkerung in Südbrasilien

Sandra Messele-Wieser & Lothar Wieser

Neues Heimatland Brasilien
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1880-84	864,266	7,979
1885-89	498,152	8,315
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1900-04	140,774	2,175
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Germans in Brazil: A Comparative History of Cultural Conflict During World War I

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A Comparative History of Cultural and Material Heritage

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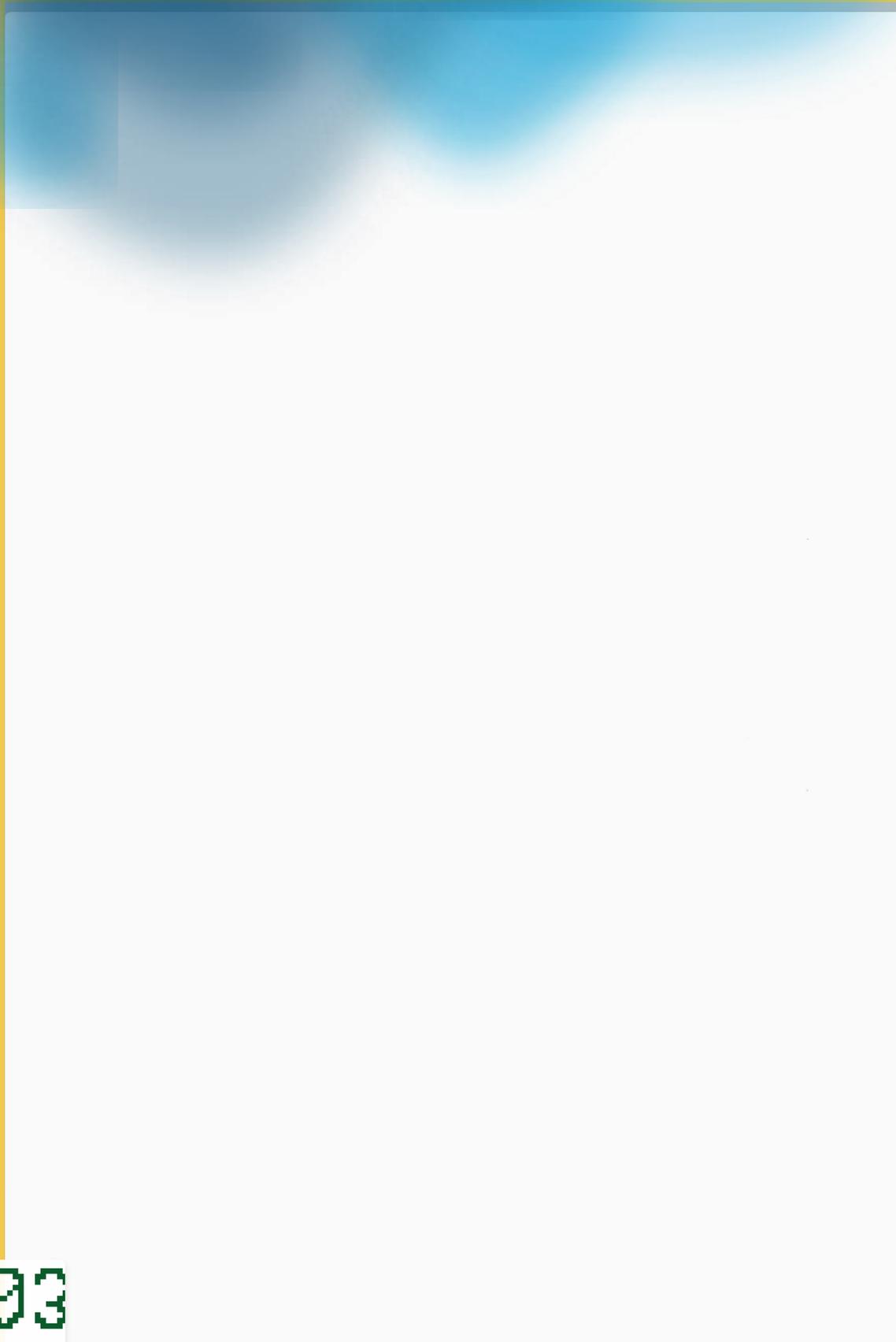
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Germans in Brazil: A Comparative History of Cultural Conflict During World War I

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I have also profited enormously from the assistance of two members of my family. My son, David, a graduate student in history at Yale University, was both an amiable companion and an efficient research assistant on my visit to Brazil. His proficiency in German greatly increased the quantity and quality of the research I was able to do at that time. My wife, Norma, has supported me constantly through the long history of this project, offering en-

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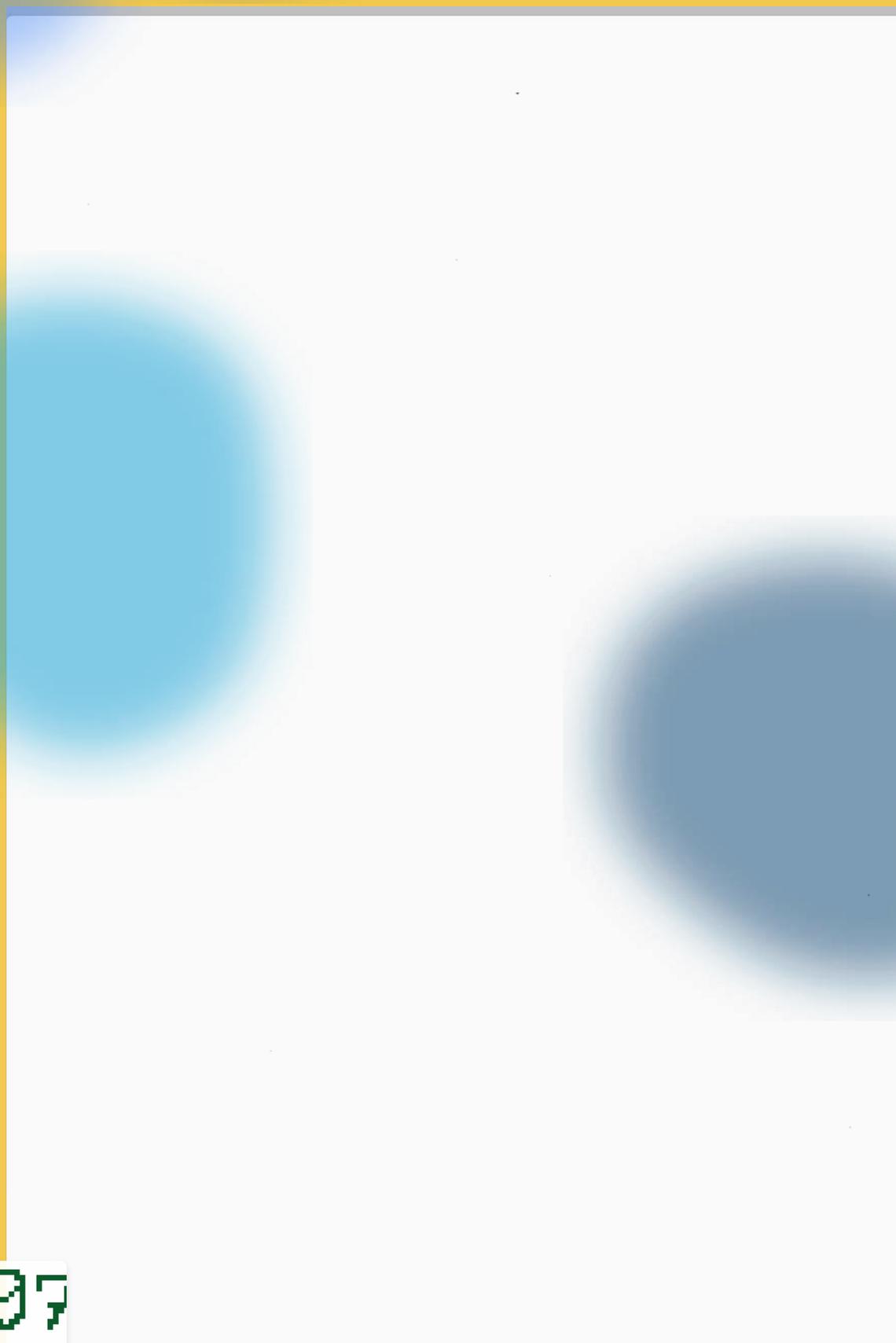
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couragement when needed and criticism when deserved. Professionally an editor, she has given generously of her time and energy to invest my writing with greater clarity, cogency, and directness of expression than it could otherwise have. This book is gratefully dedicated to her in recognition of the centrality of her life in mine.

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Introduction

THIS BOOK has been a long time in the making. More than a decade ago, as I completed *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I*, I began to examine other countries for parallels to the American experience. I was particularly attracted by the possibilities offered by Brazil as another historical case study to illuminate social behaviors in periods of national crises, especially war, as they relate to immigrant peoples. Like the United States, Brazil had received a large European immigration in proportion to its total population, beginning about 1825 and building up somewhat inconsistently until World War I. As a Latin and Catholic country, Brazil was especially attractive to immigrants from Spain, Italy, and Portugal, but a large contingent of Germans, substantially Protestant in religion and north European in culture, settled in the southernmost states of Brazil—Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná—and in major cities such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and São Salvador (Bahia). By 1914, when war in Europe began, nearly 400,000 persons of German origin resided in Brazil. Most lived in relatively exclusive ethnic enclaves located in both urban and rural districts. Although some German immigrants were well integrated into Brazilian society, the majority remained largely unassimilated in language, culture, and politics.

Studying Brazil was attractive to me for several reasons. Years ago I had offered Latin American history as a minor field in my doctoral program. Thus, Brazil was not entirely *terra incognita* for

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me. Moreover, the German-Brazilian experience was unique in that Brazil was the only South American country that declared war on Germany in World War I. Its history seemed especially suited for comparisons with the United States with respect to its treatment of its German ethnic minority.

As I explored the relevant bibliography I soon discovered that American scholars had published very little on German immigration to Brazil and that they knew practically nothing about the German-Brazilian experience in World War I. I remembered a hastily produced book, *The Germans in South America*, by Clarence H. Haring, that included a long chapter on the Germans in Brazil during the war. Haring had written this book immediately following his return from a trip to Brazil, Argentina, and Chile in 1918 or 1919. Although his vision was clouded by the intense emotions generated by the Great War, his fragmentary study has remained until now the fullest account in the English language of the impact of the war on German-Brazilian society.

English-language materials treating the Germans in Brazil generally were almost as sparse—a paragraph here, an article there. By far the best work was a series of articles by the Brazilian-American anthropologist, Emílio Willems, an authority on the assimilation of German Brazilians. Virtually all other secondary sources are in either German or Portuguese, though one of the truly outstanding works on the subject is in French: *La colonisation allemande et le Rio Grande do Sul* (1959), by Jean Roche. A glance at Roche's eighty-page bibliography reveals the extent of books and articles, as well as primary sources, published on the German Brazilians in the German language. Since many of these titles are not available in the United States, it became clear that if I were to study Germans in Brazil, I needed to go to Germany, where much of this extensive material could be found.

Research in Germany was made possible by the award of a Fulbright senior research fellowship in 1974–75. I worked primarily at the Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen in Stuttgart, which has an outstanding collection on Germans who emigrated to other lands, including Brazil.

While in Stuttgart I was able to examine a substantial body of material in the German language—newspapers, reminiscences,

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letters, anniversary booklets, and publications such as yearbooks, annuals or calendars, reports, bulletins, and catalogs, produced by German-Brazilian individuals, churches, schools, societies, publishers, and commercial associations, in addition to an extensive collection of secondary works on German immigration. This research was later supplemented by work in Brazil, chiefly at the Instituto Hans Staden in São Paulo, made possible by grants from the American Philosophical Society and the University of Nebraska.

It had long since become obvious to me that the idea of a brief comparative study, such as I had originally planned, was not viable. In order to make meaningful comparisons between the experiences of Germans in the United States and in Brazil, I needed to discover and synthesize basic information about the latter country that was not otherwise available in the English language. Events that emerged from ethnocultural conflict cannot be understood without some command of the context—the social structure, the institutions, and the attitudes and beliefs of the immigrants, in addition to the responses of the most or receiving society to these strangers in their midst. Obviously, no attempt can be made here to provide a comprehensive profile of the German Brazilians in the manner of Jean Roche and the French *annalistes* or other advocates of systematic social history. Instead, my purpose is to provide enough information to render German-Brazilian behavior understandable. Thus my project was transformed from an article in comparative history to a book treating the German ethnic experience in Brazil in the era of World War I—a parallel volume to *Bonds of Loyalty*.

Comparisons between the Brazilian and the American experiences are by no means absent from the book, but they are less central, comprehensive, and systematic than I had originally intended. Before I could draw any meaningful contrasts, I found that I had to present basic historical information about German immigrants in Brazil and their place in Brazilian society. Comparisons are therefore included, not to provide the bases for generalizations about ethnic group conflict in time of national crises, but rather to examine this period of Brazilian history from another perspective.

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The first three chapters establish the historical context for understanding what happened to the Germans in Brazil during the period of the war in Europe and its immediate aftermath, 1914 to 1920. The large pattern of German settlement in Brazil, offered in Chapter 1, is followed by a study of German ethnic institutions—churches, schools, societies—and the German-language press to reveal literacy levels, religious and linguistic characteristics, and the measure of assimilation (or lack thereof) into Brazilian society. Ethnic group relations, perceptions, and images, along with attendant concerns and fears, are analyzed next to show how and why the Brazilian majority (or, more properly, the governing elite) acquired a distorted image of the Germans.

The long period of Brazilian neutrality in the European war from 1914 to 1917 is treated in the next section, beginning with Chapter 4. It was a time of incubation of ethnic tensions as the Portuguese-language press became a vehicle for anti-German atrocity propaganda and as the German-language press countered with propagandistic efforts of its own. The German ethnic community was rejuvenated with a new sense of self-esteem as the verbal conflict caused German-Brazilian institutions to surge with vitality. The climax of this trend, treated in Chapter 5, came in April, 1917, as the Brazilian government broke off diplomatic relations with Germany in response to its policy of unrestricted submarine warfare. German districts in several Brazilian cities were thereupon visited by riotous mobs. Homes were ransacked, commercial structures put to the torch, and German-language printing presses were destroyed. This wave of anti-Germanism, which came at a time when Brazil was technically still neutral, was much more destructive than anything experienced by Germans in the United States. The events of the summer of 1917 leading to the declaration of war are treated briefly in Chapter 6.

The war itself and its aftermath are treated in the final section, beginning with Chapter 7, which describes a second round of destructive anti-German riots and the efforts of the Brazilian government to cope with the problem of the German ethnic minority, many members of which were enemy aliens. This is followed by an analysis of the German Brazilians' response to the wartime repression that they were forced to endure, and the final chapter in-

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cludes a series of comparisons with the experiences of Germans in the United States.

My usage of certain terms requires explanation. I think of this book as *cultural history* or, perhaps more precisely, as *sociocultural*, in the way that anthropologists might use the term. That means having some understanding of how a people think—or having some notion of their hierarchy of values, how they make sense of the world, and how their perception of reality is manifested in their behavior. The specific problem of the Germans in Brazil during World War I is first of all a matter of differing cultures in conflict. Having studied German immigrant culture in America for many years, I have felt reasonably confident in interpreting the behavior of the German Brazilians. It is another matter, however, to understand the history of a people—non-German Brazilians in this case—whose language and wellsprings of culture are much different from one's own. Consequently, some errors of fact or interpretation undoubtedly remain in my text.

Brazilian society, like the American, is an extraordinary amalgam of Indian, African, European, and Asian elements. Yet one must cut through this complex heterogeneity to identify in a rather simplistic way the characteristics of its core culture. The term *Luso-Brazilian* is often used for this purpose in much the same way that the foundation of American culture is frequently called *Anglo-Saxon Protestant*. Thus, *Luso-Brazilian* identifies the Portuguese origins of Brazilian culture, modified by five centuries of development in the New World. The Portuguese language and Latin Catholic culture remain at the heart of Brazilian diversity. This has been especially true of the educated, wealthy classes that have dominated the country throughout most of its history. Although *Luso-Brazilian* may refer to specifically Portuguese elements in the Brazilian population, I do not intend generally to suggest such an exclusive meaning in my usage of the term. As various Brazilian and American scholars have shown, members of non-Portuguese subgroups, including mulattoes and *caboclos*, could be fully accepted by Brazil's dominant classes, provided that standards of wealth and education were met. Thus, I use *Luso-Brazilian* to identify (rather than to define) the dominant culture of Brazil and its representatives, and to distinguish it from the *Teuto-Brazilian*,

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which is the term the German Brazilians use to identify themselves and their culture. *Teuto-Brazilian* is itself a “shorthand” term, made in Brazil, that masks a rich diversity of provincial origin, dialect, religion, custom, and habit, as I hope to make clear in the chapters that follow.

A Century of German Settlement in Brazil A Survey, 1818–1918

THE IMMIGRATION of Germans to Brazil began in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars. The Peace of Vienna (1815) introduced an extended period of relative stability that was favorable for the relocation of persons who were looking for ways to improve their economic condition in other lands. Germans, especially in the southwestern states, were on the move. Russia was attractive to many at first, but others went to the United States and a few chose to settle in Brazil, where the ruling house of Portugal had found refuge in 1808 when one of Napoleon's armies entered Lisbon. Dom Pedro, crown prince of Portugal at the time and later the first emperor of Brazil, was married to Archduchess Leopoldina of Austria. Inevitably her retinue included German-speaking persons, many of whom remained permanently in Brazil. They were followed by several hundred immigrants from Switzerland and the Rhineland who in 1818 established the small colonies of Leopoldina and São Jorge dos Ilheus in the province of Bahia and, in 1820, Nova Friburgo near Rio de Janeiro.¹

1. Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607–1860*, ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), 107–14; Carlos Fouquet, *Der deutsche Einwanderer und seine Nachkommen in Brasilien: 1808–1824–1974* (São Paulo, 1974), 23–24, 46–47, 57; Karl Heinrich Oberacker, Jr., *Der deutsche Beitrag zum Aufbau der brasilianischen Nation* (3rd ed., revised and expanded; São Leopoldo, 1978), 195–203; Karl Heinrich Oberacker, Jr., “Die Deutschen in Brasilien,” in Hartmut Fröschle (ed.), *Die Deutschen in Lateinamerika* (Tübingen, 1979), 184–87; Ferdinand Schröder, *Brasilien und Wittenberg: Ursprung und Gestaltung deutschen evangelischen Kirchentums in Brasilien* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1936), 13–23; George P. Browne, “Government Immigration Policy in Imperial Brazil, 1822–1870” (Ph.D. dissertation,

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This movement, though generally opposed by the Brazilian planter aristocracy, had been sponsored by the Portuguese king, João VI. At first, immigration was limited to persons who professed the Roman Catholic faith, but this restriction was later removed when the first Brazilian constitution was promulgated in 1824, two years after Dom Pedro declared Brazilian independence.²

The Historical Pattern of German Immigration

The first truly German settlement in Brazil received its impetus from Dom Pedro I, who was eager to increase the population of Brazil's southern frontier, a region that bordered on the former Spanish colonies of La Plata. He hoped to establish a class of farmers who would engage in diversified agriculture to balance the huge cattle-raising operations in the area and the large-scale sugar and coffee plantations farther north. Dom Pedro initially feared that units of the Portuguese army stationed in Brazil would resist the independence movement. He therefore believed that he had to enlarge the number of Brazilian troops. To this end he dispatched Major Georg Schäffer, a German adventurer in his service, to Hamburg to recruit soldiers and settlers. Both groups were expected to become permanent residents of Brazil. Schäffer promised free passage and free land on the imperial domain on the banks of the Rio dos Sinos at São Leopoldo, which was located about twenty miles north of Porto Alegre in Rio Grande do Sul.³ One hundred twenty-four persons—peasants, artisans, mer-

Catholic University of America, 1972), 38–56. Although the settlers at Nova Friburgo were chiefly French Swiss of the Catholic faith, they were joined in 1823 by a contingent of German Protestant families. Ferdinand Schröder, *Die deutsche Einwanderung nach Südbrasilien bis zum Jahre 1859* (Berlin, 1931), 31. Michael M. Hall, "The Origins of Mass Immigration in Brazil, 1871–1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1969), treats Italian immigration primarily. For a general guide to the literature, see Manfred Illi, *Die deutsche Auswanderung nach Lateinamerika: Eine Literaturübersicht*, Lateinamerika-Studien, II (Munich, 1977), 44–87.

2. Schröder, *Die deutsche Einwanderung*, 33–34, 46; Fritz Sudhaus, *Deutschland und die Auswanderung nach Brasilien im 19. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1940), 21; Wilhelm Mönckmeier, *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung* (Jena, Germany: 1912), 209.

3. Carlos H. Oberacker, Jr., *Jorge Antonio von Schaeffer: Criador da primeira corrente emigratória alemã para o Brasil* (Porto Alegre, 1957); Browne, "Government Immigration Policy," 64–91; Dr. [Paul] Aldinger, *Deutsche Mitarbeit in Brasilien* (Curi-

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chants, and their families, plus a Protestant minister—constituted the first contingent of settlers. Arriving late in 1824, they were greeted by the emperor and his wife as they stopped in Rio de Janeiro on their way south. In Porto Alegre they were received by José Pinheiro, president of the frontier province of Rio Grande do Sul.⁴ Unlike several other colonies of immigrants founded in the 1820s, this one prospered, though not easily.

In the decades that followed, thousands of immigrants from the German states settled in southern Brazil. By the end of the century, according to Jean Roche, between 150,000 and 200,000 German immigrants and their descendants resided in Rio Grande do Sul alone.⁵ It should be noted, however, that estimates of ethnic populations by less meticulous scholars than Roche are sometimes inflated by including the children of exogamous marriages and by failing to exclude the number of returnees.

The Brazilian government continued to foster immigration from Europe in a variety of ways throughout the nineteenth century. Among the earliest incentives it offered were free passage, plus seeds, animals, and implements. Non-Catholics were tolerated so long as their houses of worship did not bear the standard insignia of churches—crosses, spires, and the like. At times, immigrants were also lured by exemption from certain taxes or from military service for a period of years. Later the government provided transportation from the port of entry to an immigrant settlement; loans and grants went to colonization companies; salaries of clergymen

tiba, 1923); Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration, 1816–1885* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 38–41; Albert Schmid, *Deutsches Söldnerschicksal in Brasilien: Die Fremdenbataillone des Kaisers Dom Pedro I, ihre Revolte und ihre Auflösung* (Porto Alegre, 1951).

4. For detailed data on founders, locations, crops raised, and exports of São Leopoldo, see Ernesto Pellanda, *A colonização germanica no Rio Grande do Sul, 1824–1924 (Repartição de estatística do estado do Rio Grande do Sul)* (Porto Alegre, 1925), 31–76.

5. Jean Roche, *La colonisation allemande et le Rio Grande do Sul* (Paris, 1959), 133–35; Fouquet, *Der deutsche Einwanderer*, 27–31; Oberacker, *Der deutsche Beitrag*, 289–92; Oskar Canstatt, *Die deutsche Auswanderung, Auswandererfürsorge und Auswandererziele* (Berlin-Schöneberg, 1904), 253; Joachim Fischer, “Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche Lutherischen Bekenntnisses,” in Joachim Fischer and Christoph Jahn (eds.), *Es begann am Rio dos Sinos: Geschichte und Gegenwart der Ev. Kirche Lutherischen Bekenntnisses in Brasilien* (Erlangen, W. Germany, 1970), 90–92.

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and teachers in certain colonies were paid; and various public buildings were erected at government expense.⁶

For several years after the establishment of the São Leopoldo colony (until Dom Pedro was forced to abdicate in 1831), European immigration to Brazil numbered about a thousand persons per year.⁷ Then, during the turbulent first year of the regency, it ceased altogether. In the late 1830s and 1840s, immigration resumed as the government attracted several hundred persons each year, chiefly from Germany and Portugal. Following the European revolutions of 1848, however, the annual totals spiraled to ten or fifteen thousand persons, of whom one-fifth were German. By the 1870s, Brazilian immigration had expanded to include thousands of persons from Portugal, Italy, and Spain, as well as Austria, Russia, and Switzerland, many of whom were German-speaking. The high point was reached in 1891, when 216,000 persons were received from all sources. This substantial increase was related to the abolition of slavery. As the children of slave mothers were freed in 1871 and the slaves themselves were emancipated in 1888, immigration provided an adequate, inexpensive supply of laborers to perform the manual work on the sugar and coffee plantations. Moreover, there were some Brazilians with racist sentiments who welcomed the immigration as a means to augment the white proportion of the population and thereby counterbalance the huge, newly freed black population.⁸

6. For a summary of various Brazilian laws at the imperial as well as provincial level, see Schröder, *Brasilien und Wittenberg*, 27–45. For a full analysis, see Browne, “Government Immigration Policy.” See also Fischer, “Geschichte der EKLB,” 87–88; and Mönckmeier, *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung*, 209.

7. See table summarizing Brazilian immigration from all countries, José Fernando Carneiro, *Imigração e colonização no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1950), facing p. 60; Schröder, *Die deutsche Einwanderung*, 155.

8. Imre Ferenczi (comp.) and Walter F. Willcox (ed.), *International Migrations*, Vol. I, *Statistics* (New York, 1929), 549–50; George P. Browne, “Política Imigratória no Brasil Regência,” *Blumenau em Cadernos*, XVI (1975), 3–14; T. Lynn Smith, *Brazil: People and Institutions* (Rev. ed.; Baton Rouge, 1963), 118–33; Oberacker, *Der deutsche Beitrag*, 286–89; Thomas Holloway, “Immigration and Abolition: The Transition from Slave to Free Labor in the São Paulo Coffee Zone,” in Dauril Alden and Warren Dean (eds.), *Essays Concerning the Socioeconomic History of Brazil and Portuguese India* (Gainesville, 1977), 150–77. Carneiro, *Imigração e colonização no Brasil*, also relates immigration to slavery and its abolition. F. de Leonardo Truda, *A colonização alemã no Rio Grande do Sul* (Porto Alegre, 1930), 111–28; Thomas E. Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (New York, 1974).

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During these decades of the late nineteenth century, German immigration averaged only about two thousand per year, briefly rising to five thousand in 1890 and 1891. No doubt the numbers would have been higher had it not been for much bad publicity in the German press about Brazil as a place for emigrants to settle. The problem had come to a head in the 1850s and was directly related to the fact that more than half of the Germans in Brazil were Protestants, a tiny minority in an officially Catholic country. Throughout the latter half of the century, many emigration pamphlets, books, and periodicals published in Germany, such as *Der Deutsche Auswanderer*, described Brazil as undesirable or unattractive for Germans. Criticism was repeatedly leveled at abuses attributable to unscrupulous recruiting agents and the *parceria* system (a sharecropping arrangement that perpetuated land monopoly), but problems emerging from religious differences were perceived as being especially troublesome. Moreover, at that time a Protestant marriage had no legality in Brazil and was treated as concubinage. Prussia, the large and powerful state from which a substantial proportion of the German emigration originated, saw itself as the protector of Protestantism and hence instructed its minister to Brazil to negotiate for the introduction of civil marriage. Several such bills were introduced in the Brazilian legislature in the late 1850s, but none was passed, due to conservative opposition.⁹

The Prussian government responded in 1859 to this inaction with a directive sponsored by August von der Heydt, the minister of the interior, that officially discouraged emigration to Brazil. The Heydt'sche Reskript, as it was called in German, also curtailed the recruitment activities of agents and shipowners. Prussia encouraged other German states to join in a united effort to get Brazil (1) to recognize the legality of Protestant marriage, (2) to guarantee inheritance rights of immigrants and their children, (3) to grant Protestants equal rights with Catholics to erect their own churches and schools, and (4) to end the *parceria* system.

9. Carneiro, *Imigração e colonização no Brasil*, table facing p. 60; Walker, *Germany and the Emigration*, 127–29, 177–81; Sudhaus, *Deutschland und die Auswanderung*, 61–62; Hall, “The Origins of Mass Immigration,” 13–20; Roche, *La colonisation allemande*, 515–17; Fischer, “Geschichte der EKL B,” 89; George P. Browne, “Secularization and Modernization in Imperial Brazil: The Question of Non-Catholic Marriage,” *Revista de História de América*, LXXXIII (1977), 121–33.

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In 1861, Brazil moderated its marriage law sufficiently to recognize the validity of Protestant marriages contracted before the immigrant partners arrived in Brazil. The new law, which went into effect in 1863, also permitted Protestant clergymen to perform civil marriage ceremonies, provided they were properly licensed by the government. Nothing else was done about the German complaints until 1890 after the emperor was exiled and the new republican constitution was promulgated, and with it the institution of civil marriage. Thus Prussia did not withdraw the Heydt'sche Reskript until 1895.¹⁰

Nothing in the Prussian regulation actually prevented a person from emigrating to Brazil if he wanted to do so. Hence there is no reliable way of estimating the effect of such policies. Surely most German emigrants of the late nineteenth century recognized that the United States, rather than Brazil, offered the more congenial cultural and economic environment. In the early 1880s, when German emigration to the United States attained unprecedented heights (250,000 in 1882), there was no comparable increase in the numbers of persons who chose to go to Brazil. Yet after 1896, when the German government no longer officially discouraged the movement, the number of emigrants to Brazil dropped to less than 1,000 per year. Not until just before World War I, from 1908 to 1914, did the volume increase to nearly 5,000 per year. The highest ever recorded was 8,004 in 1913.¹¹

The census of 1920 provides a statistical summary of German-born persons in Brazil in the era of World War I. It shows that Germany ranked a distant fourth behind Italy, Portugal, and Spain as a source of immigrants. It demonstrates further that Germans were highly concentrated in the southern states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná and in major cities, most notably Porto Alegre, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro. Nearly 53,000 per-

10. Sudhaus, *Deutschland und die Auswanderung*, 99, 113, 119, 126, 177; Browne, "Secularization and Modernization," 131; Schröder, *Die deutsche Einwanderung*, 79; Fouquet, *Der deutsche Einwanderer*, 71; Fischer, "Geschichte der EKL B," 89; Canstatt, *Die deutsche Auswanderung*, 252. For a full discussion of the position of the German government regarding emigration to Brazil, see Gerhard Brunn, *Deutschland und Brasilien (1889–1914)* (Cologne and Vienna, 1971), 127–54.

11. Ferenczi (comp.) and Willcox (ed.), *Statistics*, 550–51; Carneiro, *Imigração e colonização no Brasil*, table facing p. 60.

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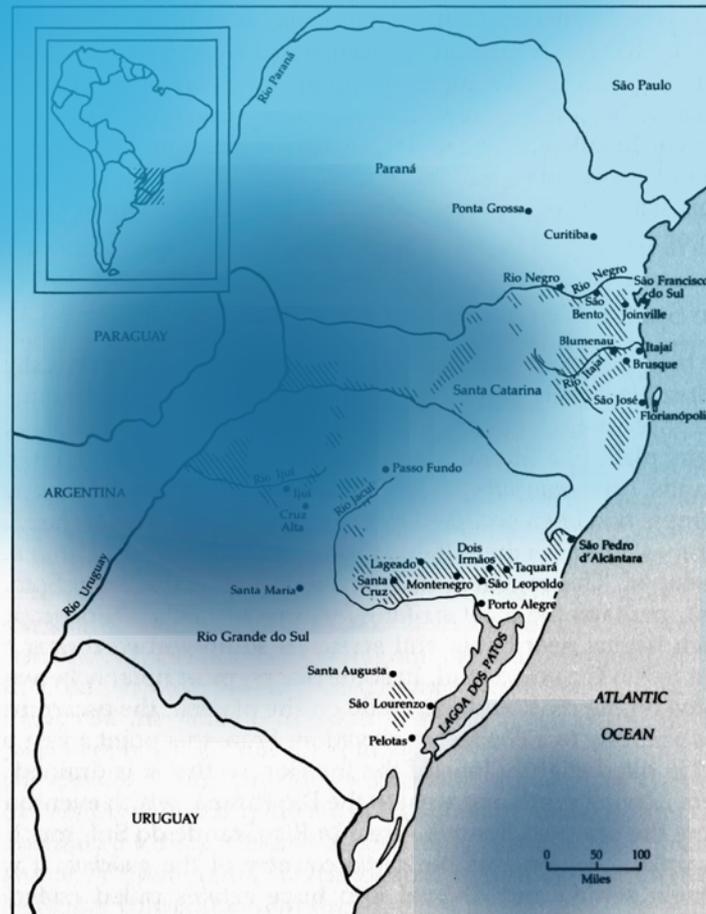
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sons were counted as German nationals (*Reichsdeutsche*), but such a datum has limited meaning because membership in the German cultural group was far more important than was place of birth or actual citizenship. According to one generous estimate made by a German Brazilian, the number of persons of German birth and descent in 1920 in Rio Grande do Sul, the most German of the Brazilian states, was between 360,000 and 400,000 in a total population of 2,142,000.¹²

The Spatial Distribution of German Settlements

The historical pattern of German settlement in the southern states of Brazil is closely connected to the geography of the region. At least three major topographic features must be considered—the coastal plain (the littoral), the Great Escarpment, and the interior uplands (the *campanha*). The coastal plains, often narrow and swampy, had been occupied by Portuguese settlers from the earliest times. Here is where the seaports and most of the major cities developed. This region is sharply delineated by the Great Escarpment, perhaps the most striking feature of Brazilian topography, which begins near Bahia and stretches southwestward near the coast to Rio Grande do Sul. In some places, most notably between Santos on the coast and São Paulo on the plateau, the escarpment rises abruptly to 2,600 feet in elevation. From this point a vast upland is tilted slightly toward the interior, so that it is drained by rivers flowing north and west to the Rio Paraná, which eventually enters the sea near Buenos Aires. In Rio Grande do Sul, much of this upland region was the cattle country of the *gaúchos*; it was sparsely settled and divided into huge estates called *estâncias*. South of the state of São Paulo, the escarpment tends to broaden into a hilly, heavily forested region called the *serra*. A series of

12. Karl Heinrich Oberacker, [Sr.], *Die volkspolitische Lage des Deutschtums in Rio Grande do Sul* (Jena, Germany, 1936), 92–95. Heinz Kloss has summarized these and other estimates in *Statistisches Handbuch der Volksdeutschen in Übersee* (Stuttgart, 1943), 61–67. The larger context of European immigration to Brazil has been studied carefully in recent years. For useful introductions, see Smith, *Brazil*, 118–43; and Thomas W. Merrick and Douglas H. Graham, *Population and Economic Development in Brazil: 1800 to the Present* (Baltimore, 1979), 80–117. See also Hall, “The Origins of Mass Immigration”; and Browne, “Government Immigration Policy.”



Map 1. Areas of nineteenth-century German settlement in southern Brazil. Shaded areas indicate heavy rural settlement. Names of cities and towns are restricted to those mentioned in the text.

smaller ridges, less clearly defined, are broken by valleys and rushing streams. North of Porto Alegre, the escarpment turns inland and crosses the state of Rio Grande do Sul from the coast nearly to the Argentine boundary at the Rio Uruguay.¹³ This hilly region, located in the central part of the state, is drained by the

13. Preston James, *Latin America* (4th ed.; New York, 1969), 698–99, 800–804.

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Rio Jacuí, which flows eastward into a huge coastal lagoon, Lagoa dos Patos, at Porto Alegre.

RIO GRANDE DO SUL

The largest number of German immigrants settled in Brazil's southernmost state, Rio Grande do Sul, which is roughly the size of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey combined. The first of the many German settlements there was São Leopoldo, which is located on the Rio dos Sinos, the first of several tributaries that flow south out of the *serra* into the Rio Jacuí. The region north and west of São Leopoldo became the heartland of the German settlements, most of which were located along the terraces on the north side of the Jacuí Valley. An area of nearly four thousand square miles, the district stretches from Taquará at the eastern end to Santa Cruz in the west, a distance of more than one hundred miles. Its average width is twenty-five miles.¹⁴

The Germans were the first Europeans to settle this region. Since it was unsuited for grazing cattle and contained no lodes of precious minerals or gems, it had been ignored by the Portuguese, whose interest in the area had been limited to raising rice on the Jacuí plain. Similarly, early immigrants from the Azores were attracted to the prairie grasslands south of the Rio Jacuí. The Germans, in contrast, were strongly drawn to the forested lands. The landscape was somewhat reminiscent of Germany and they liked the abundance of wood, the reasonably fertile soil, the more than adequate rainfall, and the opportunity to live as they pleased in virtual isolation from other social and cultural groups. In the decades following the founding of São Leopoldo, the Germans spread out across the *serra* to Santa Maria and eventually to Cruz Alta on

14. Truda, *A colonização alemã*, 31–44; Browne, "Government Immigration Policy," 92–101. The most detailed study of the German settlements in Rio Grande do Sul is *La colonisation allemande* by Roche, a French historian of the *annaliste* school. Roche provides an integrated analysis of the topography, climate, plant life, and history of the region. His maps (pp. 91, 92, 107) are especially helpful. Aurélio Porto, *Die deutsche Arbeit in Rio Grande do Sul* (São Leopoldo, 1934), is a detailed account, especially for the early years. Many statistics are provided in Pellanda, *A colonização germanica no Rio Grande do Sul*. For a study that places the German ethnic group within the context of general European immigration to Rio Grande do Sul, see Dietrich von Delhaes-Guenther, "La influencia de la inmigración en el desarrollo y composición étnica de la población de Rio Grande do Sul," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas*, XIII (1976), 420–33.

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the plateau. From there they descended into the valley of the Rio Ijuí on the western slope near the Argentine border, establishing colonies there and across the Rio Uruguay in the Misiones territory of Argentina. Some pushed on into Paraguay.¹⁵

The early years were especially difficult for the Germans in southern Brazil. Inevitably the immigrant group included a number of vagrants, impostors, and assorted scoundrels. The Teuto-Brazilians, as they came to be called, were frequently threatened by bands of thieves, hostile Indians, and inhospitable Luso-Brazilians. Often harassed and exploited by corrupt local officials, they had little legal protection and, except for paying taxes, they were usually excluded from participation in government.¹⁶ Often they were caught up in frontier wars; at least four major conflicts involved Rio Grande do Sul during the imperial era. In one instance, the Paraguayan War of 1867, more than forty soldiers were recruited in the German settlement of Dois Irmãos, but only three survived.¹⁷

The majority of the Germans in Rio Grande do Sul were small farmers who cultivated the soil with primitive equipment and with the help of their typically large families. Living in isolated clearings in the subtropical forest or in small, almost exclusively German rural villages, they did not have to conform to established

15. Preston E. James, "The Expanding Settlements of Southern Brazil," *Geographical Review*, XXX (1940), 608–16; Porto, *Die deutsche Arbeit*, 64–91, 181–87. Schröder, *Die deutsche Einwanderung*, 81–92, offers brief descriptions of each colony and gives the names of settlers, their products, churches, origins in Germany, population data, etc. For an example of a study of a single colony, see Klaus Becker, "A fundação e os primeiros 30 anos de Teutônia," in *I. Colóquio de Estudos Teuto-Brasileiros* (Porto Alegre, 1963), 217–27; and João Guilherme Corrêa de Souza, "Uma comunidade Teuto-Brasileira: Aspectos de sua estrutura e organização sociais," in *I. Colóquio*, 181–201.

16. Karl von Koseritz, *Bilder aus Brasilien* (Leipzig, 1885), 138; Truda, *A colonização alemã*, 27; Joseph L. Love, *Rio Grande do Sul and Brazilian Regionalism, 1882–1930* (Stanford, Calif., 1971), 13. For examples of friction in São Leopoldo, see Porto, *Die deutsche Arbeit*, 158, 162, 240.

17. Porto, *Die deutsche Arbeit*, 104–12, 208–29; Heinz Dressel, *Der deutsch-brasilianische Kolonist im alten Siedlungsgebiet von São Leopoldo, Rio Grande do Sul: Eine soziologische Studie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Dois Irmãos* (Neuendettelsau, W. Germany, 1967), 18. A local uprising called the Muckerkrieg involved German religious radicals with government troops in 1874. See Roche, *La colonisation allemande*, 511; and Canstatt, *Die deutsche Auswanderung*, 423–25.

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or preexisting social and cultural standards, except in border areas. Linguistic acculturation was unnecessary. In general, their situation required only minimal adaptation to the larger social environment.¹⁸

The physical environment was another matter. If a settler came into the area and devoted all his energy to clearing the forest so that he could farm as he had in Europe, he was almost sure to fail. By the time he could accomplish the task of clearing the land of trees, crucial planting seasons would have passed. Instead, the German pioneers typically adapted the primitive slash-and-burn techniques that they had learned from the *caboclos*, who were poor, despised natives of mixed Indian and Portuguese blood. Lacking capital and credit, as well as effective means of transportation, the typical German *colono* also turned to indigenous crops such as manioc and maize, which he planted among the partially carbonized tree trunks. When the fertility of a given clearing was exhausted after several years, the pioneer would move to another spot and start the process over again. Such primitive, subsistence agriculture often became a more or less permanent part of the German-Brazilian way of life and was sometimes continued long after improvements in transportation and access to credit and world markets rendered such methods obsolete. Emílio Willems, an anthropologist who is the foremost student of German-Brazilian life, declares that the physical environment of the subtropical rain forest had forced a radical break with German peasant traditions. "Technology, food habits, dress, and housing patterns," he observes, "had changed almost beyond recognition; instead of a peasant village there were widely scattered farmsteads, transportation was by ox cart or mule train, and the settler's participation in the money economy was marginal at best."¹⁹

18. Liene Maria Martins Schütz, "Imigração alemã: Processo, costume e influências," in *Anais do 1º simpósio de história de imigração e colonização alemã no Rio Grande do Sul* (São Leopoldo, 1974), 275.

19. Love, *Rio Grande do Sul*, 18; James, "Expanding Settlements," 608; Emílio Willems, *A aculturação dos alemães no Brasil: Estudo antropológico dos imigrantes alemães e seus descendentes no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1946), 329ff. See also Emílio Willems, "Social Change on the Latin American Frontier," in David H. Miller and Jerome O. Steffen (eds.), *The Frontier: Comparative Studies* (Norman, 1977), 262–63 (quotation on p. 264). Cf. Terry Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth Century Texas* (Austin, 1966).

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A German-Brazilian farmer with his family in temporary quarters in the forested *serra* of southern Brazil

Reprinted from Kahle, *Deutsche Heimat in Brasilien*

Nevertheless, the German cultural landscape remained distinctive.²⁰ In areas where Germans were more densely clustered and after decades of development, there were sharp contrasts between different ethnic group settlements. The landscape of the Jacuí floodplain, where Luso-Brazilians cultivated rice and customarily lived in temporary camplike structures, was noticeably different from that of the German settlements to the north. Architectural forms and styles; the care bestowed upon the land, buildings, and flower gardens; and the types of crops raised—all reflected the cultural values of the Teuto-Brazilian community in the

20. I have analyzed the relative importance of environmental forces, such as those emphasized by Emilio Willems, and the persistence of cultural forms in my essay, "Regionalism and the Great Plains: Problems of Concept and Method," *Western Historical Quarterly*, XV (1984), 19–38. See also my comments on conceptual schemas based on the environmentalism of Frederick Jackson Turner in "Ethnic Minority Groups in the American West," in Michael P. Malone (ed.), *Historians and the American West* (Lincoln, 1983), 387–413.

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A German-Brazilian school building in Neu-Bremen, with the teacher's residence attached. Note the use of German *Fachwerk* (timbered framework with spaces filled with bricks).

Reprinted from Kahle, *Deutsche Heimat in Brasilien*

serra. Similarly, the German district varied in appearance from the zone of Italian colonies that formed on the crest of the transitional area. There, extensive vineyards were the dominant feature. The Italian homesteads were more substantial than the Luso-Brazilian, but generally less neat than the German.²¹

German cultural characteristics were most clearly evident in the *Schneiss* or *Pikade*, the names the Germans gave to the form of agricultural settlement common in the *serra*. The founders of a colony would make a long, straight cut through the forest (*Urwald*) that would subsequently become a road. Individual settlers would

21. Roche, *La colonisation allemande*, provides a full description of German-Brazilian housing forms. See also Alba Maria B. Gomes *et al.*, "A colonização alemã na área de Joaneta," in *I. Colóquio*, 166–76; and Oberacker, "Die Deutschen in Brasilien," 190–93. James, "Expanding Settlements," 616; Dressel, *Der deutsch-brasilianische Kolonist*, 30; Roy Nash, *The Conquest of Brazil* (New York, 1926), 182–83.

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Germans in Brazil



A view of Estrêla, Rio Grande do Sul, a strongly German community located in the *serra* approximately fifty miles west of Porto Alegre on the Rio Taquari
Reprinted from Kahle, *Deutsche Heimat in Brasilien*

then receive long, narrow plots of land of one or two hundred acres that stretched out at right angles from the road. Farmhouses were built at the side of the road, thereby creating a strung-out rural village. Several such *Pikaden* would constitute a colony. The center of the colony was the *Stadtplatz*, a cluster of buildings including the church, school, civil offices, stores, workshops, and the mill. This form of spatial organization was imported from central Germany, where the *Waldhufendorf* or *Strassendorf* was common. Occasionally German settlers in the United States attempted to establish colonies organized in this way, but they certainly were not typical, chiefly because the pattern of land sales as specified by American law, beginning with the Land Ordinance of 1785 through to the Homestead Act of 1862 and subsequent amendatory legislation, worked against their formation. The first structures erected by the German colonists in Brazil were primitive, and slash-and-burn techniques were used, but gradually over a period of many years the people built more substantial structures and adopted more conventional agricultural methods. Nevertheless, as Emílio Willems has emphasized, many of these commu-

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nities remained in poverty and extreme cultural isolation for generations, well into the twentieth century.²²

SANTA CATARINA

Isolation was also typical of many German colonies that were founded in Santa Catarina, a state the size of Indiana that lies directly north of Rio Grande do Sul. Here the Great Escarpment was broken by the Rio Itajaí and, on its northern border, the Rio Negro. These rivers, plus several smaller streams, formed heavily forested valleys between the coast and the interior plateau. As in Rio Grande do Sul, wooded areas had been avoided by the Luso-Brazilians, who preferred the coastal lowlands or the cattle-grazing lands of the upland. Because the terrain did not encourage contiguous settlements like those on the terraces of Rio Grande do Sul, the German colonies tended to be separated by intervening ridges and valleys occupied by other ethnic groups, most frequently Italians. *Pikaden* were therefore less common in Santa Catarina and individual holdings tended to be smaller than those in Rio Grande do Sul.²³ Here also the Germans tended to concentrate in towns and hence to dominate the economic and social structures of their local communities.

The earliest German settlements in Santa Catarina, such as São

22. Alfred Hettner, "Das Deutschtum in Südbrasilien," *Geographische Zeitschrift*, VIII (1902), 612–14; Roche, *La colonisation allemande*, 175–82; Leo Waibel, "European Colonization in Southern Brazil," *Geographical Review*, XL (1950), 529–47; Oberacker, "Die Deutschen in Brasilien," 189–90; Hanns Porzelt, *Der deutsche Bauer in Rio Grande do Sul* (Ochsenfurt am Main, Germany, 1937), 41–43. For studies of specific communities, see Gomes *et al.*, "A colonização alemã," 151–62; Giralda Seyferth, *A colonização alemã no vale do Itajaí-Mirim: Um estudo do desenvolvimento econômico* (Porto Alegre, 1974), 47–51; and Dressel, *Der deutsch-brasilianische Kolonist*. The latter is a detailed sociological study of the inhabitants of Dois Irmãos, a *Pikade* called Baumschneis by the Germans, located on the Rio dos Sinos upstream from São Leopoldo. For a brief description of the *Pikade* in English, see Terry G. Jordan, "Aspects of German Colonization in Southern Brazil," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, XLII (1962), 346–53. Cf. Robert C. Eidt, *Pioneer Settlement in Northeast Argentina* (Madison, 1971), 163–65, 199–200 (Eidt's list of advantages of the *Waldhufendorf* settlement form).

23. James, "Expanding Settlements," 616–17; Jordan, "Aspects of Colonization," 351. Carneiro, *Imigração e colonização no Brasil*, 67–68, draws contrasts in patterns of colonization between Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina.

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Pedro d'Alcântara and Rio Negro, were established in the late 1820s on strategically important routes that led southward from São Paulo to the southern border of Brazil. Virtually abandoned by the Brazilian government in the 1830s, these settlements barely survived until Santa Catarina captured the attention of a new generation of colonizers at mid-century.²⁴

The most renowned of the later colonies to be established in Santa Catarina and perhaps the most successful in all Brazil was Blumenau, founded in 1850 on the banks of the Rio Itajaí by Dr. Hermann Blumenau, who served as director of the colony until he returned to Germany in 1880, by which time his colony had grown to fifteen thousand inhabitants. It was thoroughly, though not exclusively, German. The German language was spoken everywhere in Blumenau—in the homes, on the streets, and in stores, hotels, schools, and churches. As late as World War I, at least two-thirds of all the inhabitants of Blumenau spoke German as their mother tongue, even though by that time few were German-born. The proportion was even higher in the surrounding rural districts. The two local newspapers were published in German; imported German goods were everywhere in evidence. Even official government records were kept in German in the early days of the settlement. Like many of the Rio Grande do Sul colonies, Blumenau was isolated well into the twentieth century by lack of transportation connections. Although roads within the district were satisfactory for the times, connections with coastal communities were miserable. Water transportation on the Rio Itajaí was the standard mode, but the harbor facilities in the port city of Itajaí were inadequate. In short, the isolated district of Blumenau was well suited for the flowering of an immigrant German society on Brazilian soil.²⁵

24. Percy E. Schramm, "Die deutsche Siedlungskolonie Dona Francisca (Brasilien: St. Catharina) im Rahmen gleichzeitiger Projekte und Verhandlungen," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas*, I (1964), 309; José Deeke, "Erste Anfänge der Kolonisation Santa Catharinas. Periode bis 1848," in Gottfried Entres (ed.), *Der Staat Santa Catharina in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart unter besonder Berücksichtigung des Deutschtums: Gedenkbuch zur 100-Jahrfeier deutscher einwanderung in Sta. Catharina* (Florianópolis, 1929), 28–35, hereinafter cited as *Gedenkbuch*; Browne, "Government Immigration Policy," 101–104.

25. R. A. Hehl, "Die deutsche Colonisation in Süd-Brasilien," *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, XXVIII (1882), 464; José Deeke, *Das Munizip Blumenau* (São Leopoldo, 1917); José Deeke, "Die intensiviere deutsche Kolonisation in Santa Catharina," in

Joinville, founded at the same time as Blumenau, was the second major German colony in Santa Catarina. Located on the coast in the northeastern corner of the province near São Francisco do Sul, this settlement occupied lands purchased by the Hamburg Colonization Company from the Prince of Joinville, son of the recently deposed King Louis Philippe of France. The prince had acquired the land as part of the dowry of his wife, Dona Francisca, the sister of the Brazilian emperor, Dom Pedro II. From the beginning this colony, known at first as Dona Francisca, attracted not farmers but urban dwellers—craftsmen whose skills provided a foundation for industrial development—in addition to a number of well-educated persons who left Germany for political reasons. Like Blumenau, Joinville developed many voluntary associations, a German-language newspaper, and numerous ethnic businesses. By 1880, its population reached eighteen thousand.²⁶

By no means were the German settlements in Santa Catarina limited to the Blumenau and Joinville districts. As in Rio Grande do Sul, German frontiersmen spread throughout the forested areas southward to Brusque and other communities, northward to São Bento, and westward past the cattle country to the valley of the Rio Uruguay, where in some districts they constituted as much as a quarter of the population. Between 1880 and 1915, a substantial immigration of German artisans contributed to the further industrialization of Joinville, Blumenau, and other strongly German cities of Santa Catarina.

Late in the nineteenth century the Germans were joined by large numbers of other immigrants—Russians, Poles, Ukrainians, as well as Italians—especially in the northern part of the province

Entres (ed.), *Gedenkbuch*, 40–52; José Ferreira da Silva, “História de Blumenau,” in *Centenário de Blumenau, 1850–2 de Setembro–1950* (N.p., [1950]); José Ferreira da Silva, *História de Blumenau* (Florianópolis, [ca. 1972]); Oberacker, “Die Deutschen in Brasilien,” 185; Clarence H. Haring, *The Germans in South America: A Contribution to the Economic History of the World War* (New York, 1920), 27–31; Fouquet, *Der deutsche Einwanderer*, 31–37; Seyferth, *A colonização alemã no vale do Itajaí-Mirim*, 87–98.

26. Hehl, “Die deutsche Colonisation in Süd-Brasilien,” 461–62; Ernesto Niemeyer, *Die Deutschen in Brasilien* (Curitiba, 1926), 33–37; Sudhaus, *Deutschland und die Auswanderung*, 69–75; Schramm, “Die deutsche Siedlungskolonie Dona Francisca,” 308–22.

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A view of São Bento, Santa Catarina, located on the Rio Negro. Many German settlers moved north from São Bento into the state of Paraná.

Reprinted from Kahle, *Deutsche Heimat in Brasilien*

near the Rio Negro. By the time of World War I, there were approximately 100,000 persons of German heritage in Santa Catarina; most were of Brazilian birth and citizenship. The total population of the state was 669,000, according to the census of 1920.²⁷

PARANÁ

The third southern Brazilian state with many German inhabitants is Paraná, located north of Santa Catarina across the Rio Negro. Paraná, a state about the size of Nebraska, was still a frontier region as late as 1920, when its population had reached only 685,000.

27. Carneiro, *Imigração e colonização no Brasil*, 54–59; Gerd Kohlhepp, "Die deutschstämmigen Siedlungsgebiete im südbrasilianischen Staate Santa Catarina," in *Heidelberger Studien zur Kulturgeographie* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 219–44. See especially his maps (pp. 224, 230). For the economic development of the German district in Santa Catarina, see Gerd Kohlhepp, *Industriegeographie des nordöstlichen Santa Catarina (Südbrasilien): Ein Beitrag zur Geographie eines deutschbrasilianischen Siedlungsgebietes* (Heidelberg, 1968), 77–100.

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Although a German colony had been founded on the Rio Negro as early as 1829, most settlements after 1870 consisted of extensions from São Bento and other German concentrations in Santa Catarina. Other clusters of German families developed in the big cities of the state, especially in Curitiba, the capital.

Outnumbered by Italian and Russian (*i.e.*, Polish, Ruthenian, and Ukrainian) immigrants, the German element in Paraná was enlarged by the arrival of *Wolgadeutsche* and *Schwartzmeerdeutsche* from Russia, beginning in 1877. Many of these Germans from Russia were Mennonite pacifists fleeing conscription into the Russian army. Accustomed to the rich soils and open spaces of the Russian steppes, many farmers among them settled on the *campos*, the grasslands of the plateau, where they tried, without much success, to raise wheat. As in the United States, the Germans from Russia sought to establish colonies that were exclusively Mennonite, Evangelical, Lutheran, or Catholic. Many of these early settlers experienced severe problems, causing a strong emigration across the western border into Argentina and Paraguay. In general, however, the Germans in Paraná were either concentrated in the areas of Curitiba and Ponta Grossa or were widely scattered across the state. More urban than rural and always a small minority in this state, the Germans tended to assimilate more rapidly here than they did in Santa Catarina or Rio Grande do Sul.²⁸

OTHER GERMAN COLONIES IN BRAZIL

Compared with the huge settlements in the southern states, other German colonies in Brazil were numerically insignificant. There were clusters of German immigrants in the states of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Espírito Santo, and even as far north as Bahia and Per-

28. Wilhelm Fugmann, *Die Deutschen in Paraná: Das deutsche Jahrhundertbuch* (Curitiba, 1929), 3–33; Werner Aulich, *Paraná und die Deutschen: Versuch einer charakterologischen Geschichtsschreibung* (Curitiba, 1953); Friedrich W. Brepohl and Wilhelm Fugmann, *Die Wolgadeutschen im brasilianischen Staate Paraná* (Stuttgart, 1927); Fouquet, *Der deutsche Einwanderer*, 37–39; Altiva Pilatti Balhana and Cecilia Maria Westphalen, "O Censo dos Alemães do Paraná em 1917," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas*, XIII (1976), 404–19; Joseph W. Fretz, *Immigrant Group Settlements in Paraguay* (North Newton, Kan., 1962).

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nambuco, but in most places their numbers were small, except in the city of São Paulo. They were usually so mixed with immigrants from other countries that they usually failed to achieve a strong identity in any given locality.

Espírito Santo, a small mountainous state located on the coast northeast of Rio de Janeiro, provides an important exception. Here the German-speaking people numbered seventeen or eighteen thousand in 1914, according to one estimate. Most were farmers living in isolated areas and practicing a primitive agriculture. Few were engaged in commerce or industry. Except for their churches, the Espírito Santo Germans and their descendants were unable to create the complex organizational structures typical of their compatriots in the southern states.²⁹

Most German immigrants avoided the huge coffee plantations of São Paulo and the other states of the middle region. There were some, of course, who tried to operate under the prevailing *parceria* system, as, for example, at Rio Claro. A few were successful; after several years of sharecropping, they acquired the means to settle elsewhere. One of the largest coffee planters of São Paulo in the pre-World War I period was Francisco Schmidt, who immigrated from Germany as a youth, amassed one fortune as a coffee merchant, and made another as a planter. By 1914 his trees numbered in the millions and his agricultural employees in the thousands.³⁰

29. Ernst Wagemann, "Das Deutschtum in Südamerika. II. Die deutschen Kolonisten in den tropischen Urwäldern Brasiliens," *Deutsche Rundschau*, CLXIII (1915), 162 and *passim*; see also Ernst Wagemann, *Die deutschen Kolonisten im brasilianischen Staate Espírito Santo*, Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik, Vol. CXLVII, pt. 5 (Munich and Leipzig: 1915), 1–151. A translation into Portuguese, *A colonização alemã no Espírito Santo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1949), was also published serially in *Boletim Geográfico*, VI (1948–49). Fouquet, *Der deutsche Einwanderer*, 50–53. For a folkloric study of the Espírito Santo Germans, see Renato José Costa Pacheco, "Assimilação de alemães no Espírito Santo," *Sociologia*, XVI (June, 1954), 183–201; Renato José Costa Pacheco, "Colonos alemães no Espírito Santo: Progresso ou estagnação?" in *I. Colóquio*, 239–45. This volume also contains two studies of German communities in Pernambuco.

30. Warren Dean, *Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820–1920* (Stanford, Calif., 1976), 92–104; Joseph L. Love, *São Paulo in the Brazilian Federation, 1889–1937* (Stanford, Calif., 1980), 49, 79, 203; Gilberto Freyre, *New World in the Tropics: The Culture of Modern Brazil* (New York, 1966), 131; "Die grösste Kaffeepflanzung der Welt," in *Uhle's Kalender für das Jahr 1918* (Rio de Janeiro and Curitiba, [1917]),

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Map 2. Nineteenth-century German settlement in the coastal regions of Brazil from São Paulo to Salvador (Bahia). Names of cities and towns are restricted to those mentioned in the text.

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URBAN CONCENTRATIONS OF GERMANS

Such rural societies were a world apart from the ethnic communities that developed in the large towns where Germans constituted a majority, such as São Leopoldo, Blumenau, Joinville, Brusque, and São Bento. In such places they were able to evolve self-contained socioeconomic structures that included all the strata—rich entrepreneurs and professional persons at the top, supported by small merchants, clerks, skilled industrial workers, and, at the lower levels, unskilled laborers and the farming population in the surrounding countryside. In such a society, as Emílio Willems has pointed out, there was little economic interdependence and few incentives to develop social intercourse with Luso-Brazilian society.³¹

In some of the large coastal cities, most notably in Porto Alegre, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro, the Germans were numerous enough to develop the complex of supporting voluntary organizations that gave coherence to their immigrant society—churches, schools, commercial associations, and social clubs of many kinds, as well as German-language newspapers and a variety of commercial enterprises catering to the ethnic trade. Both Porto Alegre and São Paulo had approximately twenty thousand German-speaking inhabitants in 1920; in Rio de Janeiro the number was considerably less, about four thousand.³² In such cities, however, the Germans inevitably had many more interpersonal contacts with members of the dominant Luso-Brazilian society as they went about their daily tasks as merchants, industrialists, craftsmen, and laborers. They learned Portuguese much more rapidly than did their isolated brethren. Assimilation in such a setting was relatively easy for persons so inclined.

From the Brazilian point of view, these urban Germans were important because, together with Italians and other immigrants,

155–57; Oberacker, *Der deutsche Beitrag*, 420–21; Thomas Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886–1934* (Chapel Hill, 1980), 139.

31. Siegfried Endress, *Blumenau: Werden und Wesen einer deutschbrasilianischen Landschaft* (Tübingen, 1938); Emílio Willems, "Some Aspects of Cultural Conflict and Acculturation in Southern Rural Brazil," *Rural Sociology*, VII (1942), 379.

32. Kloss, *Statistisches Handbuch*, 66; Fouquet, *Der deutsche Einwanderer*, 49.

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they influenced the developing structure of the receiving society in a positive way. Gilberto Freyre, the eminent Brazilian sociologist and historian, has noted that traditionalist "old stock" Brazilians of the upper classes preferred intellectual and bureaucratic pursuits and often felt that they were above competing in the materialistic business world. They were thus unwilling to assume the functions of the middle class in a dynamic, modernizing society. By contrast, the skills and attitudes of the upwardly mobile urban immigrants allowed them to move easily into the breach, thereby expanding the emerging middle class and adding validity and prestige to middle-class values through their accomplishments.³³

The commercial and industrial elite among the urban German group experienced remarkable success. In 1915, firms in Rio Grande do Sul that were identifiably German accounted for almost as much value of industrial production as did all firms owned or managed by persons with Portuguese names. Germans dominated the production of shoes, nails, glass, leather goods, hats, candles, and chocolate.³⁴

Problems of Teuto-Brazilian Leadership

The leadership of the urban ethnic subsocieties naturally fell to the wealthy, educated owners and managers of Teuto-Brazilian or German-owned commercial and industrial firms; to engineers and technicians; and to prominent clergymen, journalists, and other professional persons. Business leaders especially were subject to strong cross pressures. Their daily activity in commerce or industry automatically encouraged rapid assimilation, and, as upwardly mobile persons in an increasingly industrialized and urbanized country, they understood that the achievement and maintenance of economic, social, and political power depended upon high status within the larger society, not within the ethnic subgroup. Moreover, they readily sensed that psychological dependence upon their fellow Germans could inhibit advancement. It

33. Freyre, *New World in the Tropics*, 89–90, 186; Gilberto Freyre, *Order and Progress: Brazil from Monarchy to Republic*, ed. and trans. Rod W. Horton (New York, 1970), 251.

34. Roche, *La colonisation allemande*, 391–92.

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could, in fact, become a source of social deprivation. At the same time, as Emílio Willems has observed, such persons were expected by their ethnic subsociety to defend the group interest against the dominant native society. Thus, if they exercised leadership among their fellow Germans, they could hinder their own upward movement within the larger social structure; if they failed to defend their ethnic group interest, they would naturally lose prestige and status within the subsociety.³⁵ The alternative chosen by persons who were thus trapped depended, of course, on unique circumstances and individual social and psychological needs.

For leaders such as clergymen, whose ties with the German subsociety were personally intimate, and for those whose interests were economically intertwined with the group, such as publishers of German-language newspapers, the dilemma scarcely existed. For them, the maintenance of the German language, cultural traditions, and various ethnic institutions and associations was essential. Inevitably they became the champions of immigrant ethnocentrism. Because they controlled the pulpits, the editorial columns, and the speakers' rostrums, their views were usually identified by the host society as those of the entire group.

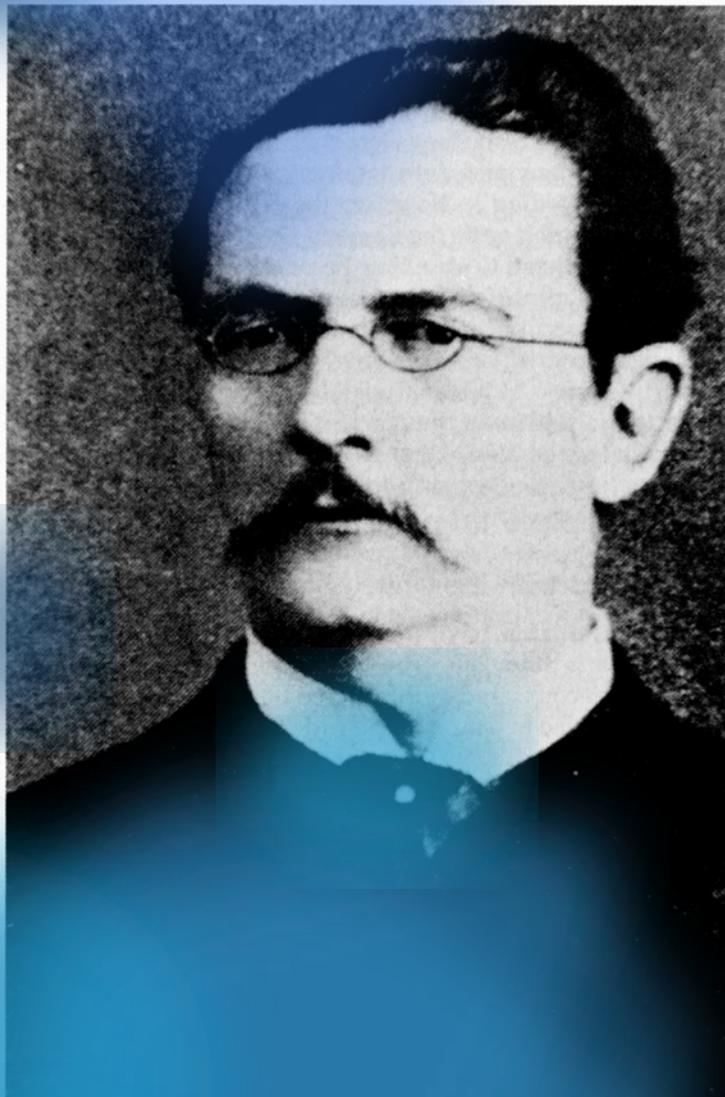
Reichsdeutsche

The attitudes of the clergy resembled those of many Reichsdeutsche—subjects of the German kaiser—who disdained Brazilian citizenship. Many in this group were educated, middle-class persons. Not a few were associated with German firms in Brazil and displayed the attitudes of sojourners in a strange land who looked forward to the day when they could return to their mother country. Some were excessively proud of their German culture, which, they were convinced, was certainly superior to Brazilian. Karl von Koseritz, a talented refugee of the revolutions of 1848 who became an outstanding leader of the Germans in the southern provinces, complained bitterly about the Rio de Janeiro

35. Emílio Willems, "Immigrants and Their Assimilation in Brazil," in T. Lynn Smith and Alexander Marchant (eds.), *Brazil: Portrait of Half a Continent* (1951; rpr. Westport, Conn., 1972), 214.

Germans in Brazil: A Comparative History of Cultural Conflict During World War I

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Karl von Koseritz, a refugee of the revolutions of 1848 in Germany. He became a leading figure among the German Brazilians of the nineteenth century.

Reprinted from [Hans-Joachim Deuschler](#)

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Germans, many of whom were *Reichsdeutsche*. They know nothing of the Germans in Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, he said, and they cared even less; they involved themselves in Brazilian affairs only insofar as such matters impinged upon their immediate economic interests; they were concerned chiefly with circumstances in Germany and with international politics as it affected commerce. According to Koseritz, the Rio Germans had almost nothing in common with the Germans of the south, who, he asserted, were in Brazil to stay; they became naturalized and participated in the political life of the state, won economic influence, and earned the respect of Luso-Brazilians.³⁶

Although Koseritz drew his lines rather too sharply, he was at least partly correct in his analysis of the urban Germans in comparison to the settlers of the *Urwald*. It is unlikely, however, that Koseritz understood the extent to which both groups were merely responding in their own way to radically different physical and social circumstances.

Comparisons with the United States

The urban and rural environments of Brazil were different not only from each other but even more from what the immigrants would have encountered in the United States, had they chosen to go there.³⁷ Located in temperate latitudes, the United States offered a physical setting that was similar to what the immigrants had known in Germany. But most of Brazil is in the tropics; inevitably most Germans were attracted to the subtropical provinces of the south where the differences, sharp though they were, seemed less pronounced. In some respects, the German districts of Rio Grande do Sul resemble the hill country of central Texas, which also had many Germans among its earliest settlers.

36. Koseritz, *Bilder aus Brasilien*, 137–38; Carlos H. Oberacker, Jr., *Carlos von Koseritz* (São Paulo, 1961), 52; Porto, *Die deutsche Arbeit*, 198–201.

37. The best introduction to the history of Germans in the United States is the brilliant essay, "The Germans," by Kathleen N. Conzen, in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 405–25. But see also LaVern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston, 1976); and Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I* (DeKalb, Ill., 1974), 27–81.

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There were other differences as well. Americans were accustomed to German immigrants in ways Brazilians were not. Although both the American and the Brazilian Germans emigrated from the same parts of Germany and often for the same reasons, America had received a substantial contingent in the colonial period who were well assimilated into American society by the time the mass movement in the nineteenth century got under way.

Numerically the German-Brazilian immigration was only a small fraction—less than a twentieth—of the 5.5 million Germans who streamed to the United States between 1820 and 1920. But in Brazil the Germans clustered in isolated rural colonies that easily and naturally fostered the retention of immigrant language and culture. It is true that in the United States, Germans were also strongly attracted to farming; only Scandinavians exceeded them in this respect. But it is also true that they were more urban than was the American population generally in the nineteenth century and much more so than were the German Brazilians, who, despite their relatively small numbers, became a sharply defined society within society and retained an identity as a separate people that was much stronger than what was typical of Germans in the United States.

The exclusive, rural concentrations of German immigrants were at least partly the consequence of government policies. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, the Brazilian government pursued policies aimed at attracting immigrants. Subsidies were granted; transportation costs were sometimes paid; settlements were founded and administered by the government; and the image of Brazil as a desirable place for immigrants was deliberately developed. The United States government, by contrast, did nothing directly to promote immigration. Throughout much of the century, it was an unrestricted activity, neither aided nor hindered. Moreover, while American land policy worked against the creation of exclusive settlements, Brazilian policy had the effect of encouraging it, especially in isolated areas.³⁸ Thus, the *Strassendorf* mode of settlement was common in Brazil, especially Rio Grande do Sul, but was rarely even attempted in the United States,

38. Browne, "Government Immigration Policy," 217–47.

This source exceeds fifty pages — for the complete text, continue via the entry listed in the bibliography.

Neue Heimat Brasilien – 200 Jahre deutsche
Einwanderung
DW Dokumentation

Sequence 01



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Sequence 01



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ihren Verstand verloren haben viele
Frauen sind schwanger eingewandert sie



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mussten sich um fünf sechs oder gar Zehn
Kinder kümmern

The bicentennial of German immigration to Brazil (O bicentenário da imigração alemã no Brasil)

Reinaldo J. Themoteo

The bicentennial of German immigration to Brazil – Full text not available in the databank. Placeholder inserted so the 'text' layout has structured content.

that steam ships (independent of the winds) began to be effectively used only from the second half of the 19th century (1850 onwards).

In turn, coastal ships were smaller, usually with two (2) masts and suitable for voyages close to the Brazilian coast (i.e. not suitable for voyages on the high seas).

Upon arriving at the port of destination by transatlantic ship, in our case usually the port of Rio de Janeiro, the immigrants were sent to a temporary location (usually Ponta de Armação, or simply Armação, in present-day Niterói/RJ), where they remained waiting (between 15 days and 3 months) to be sent to their final destination, on a trip made by coastal ship.

There were several types of both transatlantic and coastal ships, each with its own name and characteristics. Transatlantic ships could be a galley, galiot, brig, among others. The most common coastal ships were the sumaca, brigantine, schooner, brig-schooner and patacho. Below we show a summary table containing the transatlantic ships that brought German immigrants to Brazil, ordered by date of arrival.

TABLE 1. List of transatlantic ships from 1824 to 1830, German immigrants

N.	Ships	Date of Departure	Arrival RJ	Number of Settlers	Number of Soldiers	Total	Port of Departure
01	Argus	21/01/1823	13/01/1824	134	150	284	Amsterdam
02	Caroline (1ª)	25/01/1824	13/04/1824	180	51	231	Hamburg
03	Anna Louise (1ª)	24/03/1824	04/06/1824	125	200	326	Hamburg
04	Germania	03/06/1824	14/09/1824	70	213	283	Hamburg
05	Georg Friedrich (1ª)	27/07/1824	11/10/1824	145	330	475	Hamburg
06	Peter & Maria	27/07/1824	12/11/1824	74	206	280	Hamburg
07	Der Kranich (1ª)	25/09/1824	15/01/1825	145	121	267	Hamburg
08	Inton	16/01/1825	13/03/1825	Min. 8	Min. 6	100	Hamburg
09	Caroline (2ª)	17/01/1825	04/04/1825	112	170	282	Hamburg
10	Wilhelmine	16/02/1825	21/04/1825	204	90	294	Hamburg

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Brasil

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O bicentenário da imigração alemã no Brasil

*The bicentennial of German
immigration to Brazil*



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O bicentenário da imigração alemã no Brasil

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Introdução

A história da imigração alemã no Brasil é um capítulo fascinante da construção da identidade brasileira. Desde o século XIX, alemães têm encontrado no Brasil um lar, trazendo consigo tradições, valores e conhecimentos que se entrelaçaram com a cultura local. Enfrentando muitas dificuldades na viagem, e buscando no Brasil melhores condições de vida e um novo lar, muitos imigrantes alemães aportaram no Brasil, contribuindo de maneira valiosa para o desenvolvimento em diversas áreas, como educação, agricultura, música, arquitetura e outros mais. Além da imigração propriamente dita, as relações entre o Brasil e a Alemanha possuem uma história, repleta de acordos e cooperação mútua, constituindo relações frutíferas entre ambos os países. A imigração alemã no Brasil foi motivada por fatores econômicos, políticos e religiosos. A busca por oportunidades, a fuga de conflitos e a perseguição religiosa levaram milhares de alemães a cruzar o Atlântico. O Brasil, com sua vasta terra e recursos naturais, ofereceu um cenário propício para o desenvolvimento de colônias agrícolas e industriais.

O novo número da série relações Brasil-Europa é dedicado ao bicentenário da imigração alemã no Brasil, bem como à relação entre a Alemanha e o Brasil, trazendo reflexões sobre alguns aspectos da cooperação entre os dois países, de modo a celebrar os 200 anos da chegada dos primeiros imigrantes em terras brasileiras.

Esta obra busca explorar essa rica história, e está organizada em três capítulos que abordam diferentes fases e aspectos da imigração alemã no Brasil: A Primeira Onda da Imigração Alemã – este capítulo explo-

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ra as origens da imigração alemã no Brasil, desde as primeiras levas de imigrantes até o final do século XIX. Serão analisados os motivos que levaram os alemães a deixar sua pátria e os desafios enfrentados durante a jornada e a adaptação no Brasil; Aspectos Culturais das Relações entre Brasil e Alemanha – este capítulo examina a troca cultural entre os dois países, incluindo a influência da língua, educação, arte, arquitetura e tradições. Serão discutidas contribuições alemãs para a formação da identidade brasileira. As Fundações Alemãs – o último capítulo destaca o legado das fundações políticas alemãs no Brasil, trazendo informações sobre suas origens e missão democrática, bem como analisando a sua atuação e contribuições no fortalecimento da democracia no Brasil.

Através desta jornada histórica e cultural, esperamos que leitoras e leitores possam apreciar a riqueza da imigração alemã no Brasil e sua contribuição para a diversidade e complexidade da sociedade brasileira.

Maximilian Hedrich

Diretor da Fundação Konrad Adenauer no Brasil

Introduction

The history of German immigration to Brazil is a fascinating chapter in the construction of Brazilian identity. Since the 19th century, Germans have found a home in Brazil, bringing traditions, values, and knowledge that have become intertwined with the local culture. Facing many difficulties on the journey, seeking better living conditions and a new home in Brazil, many German immigrants arrived in Brazil, making a valuable contribution to development in various areas, such as education, agriculture, music, architecture and more. In addition to immigration, relations between Brazil and Germany have a history of agreements and mutual cooperation, constituting fruitful relations between the two countries. German immigration to Brazil was motivated by economic, political and religious factors. The search for opportunities, the flight from conflicts and religious persecution led thousands of Germans to cross the Atlantic. Brazil, with its vast land and natural resources, offered a favorable setting for the development of agricultural and industrial colonies.

The new issue of the Brazil-Europe relations series is dedicated to the bicentenary of German immigration to Brazil, as well as to the relationship between Germany and Brazil, bringing reflections on some aspects of cooperation between the two countries, to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the arrival of the first immigrants in Brazilian lands.

This book seeks to explore this rich history and is organized into three chapters that address different phases and aspects of German immigration in Brazil: The First Wave of German Immigration – this chapter explores the origins of German immigration in Brazil, from the first waves of immigrants to the end of the 19th century. It analyzes the reasons that led

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the Germans to leave their homeland and the challenges they faced during their journey and adaptation in Brazil; Cultural Aspects of Relations between Brazil and Germany – this chapter examines the cultural exchange between the two countries, including the influence of language, education, art, architecture and traditions. German contributions to the formation of Brazilian identity will be discussed. German Foundations – the last chapter highlights the legacy of German political foundations in Brazil, providing information on their origins and democratic mission, as well as analyzing their performance and contributions to strengthening democracy in Brazil.

Through this historical and cultural journey, we hope that readers will be able to appreciate the richness of German immigration to Brazil and its contribution to the diversity and complexity of Brazilian society.

Maximilian Hedrich

Director of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Brazil

A primeira fase oficial da Imigração Alemã no Brasil (1824 a 1830)

Ademar Felipe Fey

Resumo

A história da Imigração Alemã no Brasil está completando em 2024 o bicentenário desta efeméride. Embora os imigrantes alemães já tenham vindo antes para colônias na então província da Bahia, oficialmente o primeiro período oficial da imigração alemã ocorre com a vinda de duas levas em 1824 (Nova Friburgo) e encerra no ano de 1830, quando foi proibida a vinda de novos imigrantes por conta do governo imperial (Lei do Orçamento). A data para a comemoração do dia dos colonos e da Imigração Alemã acontece no dia 25 de julho de cada ano, data da chegada dos colonos alemães em São Leopoldo, no atual estado do Rio Grande do Sul. No período de 1824 a 1830, recorte de nossa pesquisa, catalogamos e organizamos 42 expedições que trouxeram imigrantes alemães para o Brasil transportados por navios veleiros. Estes navios partiram de portos da antiga Alemanha, da Holanda e da Antuérpia. Apesar das inúmeras dificuldades na travessia, apenas um navio não completou sua viagem, não resistindo às intempéries em alto mar (caso do navio veleiro Helena & Maria, também citado como Helena em Maria, ou Helena Maria, cujos antigos historiadores se referiam como “Cäcilia”). A grande maioria destes navios aportava no Rio de Janeiro. Dali os imigrantes seguiam por navios costeiros para as colônias que lhes eram destinadas. Um destes navios aportou no litoral do Rio Grande do Norte

(Actif) e outro na Bahia (Betsy & Marianne). Nestas 42 expedições, entre soldados para o exército imperial e colonos para ocupação de terras no sul do Brasil e produção de alimentos, foram cerca de 10.600 imigrantes que aqui chegaram. Uma boa parte destes soldados, após cumprir seu compromisso com o exército de D. Pedro I, se estabeleceu no Brasil. Neste artigo pretendemos dar uma visão geral de como ocorreu a primeira fase da imigração Alemã no Brasil, incluindo, de forma resumida, a origem e o destino dos imigrantes.

1. Introdução

Este artigo visa apresentar alguns dados relevantes sobre a primeira fase da imigração alemã no Brasil, no período de 1824 a 1830, em face das atuais comemorações do Bicentenário da Imigração Alemã no Brasil (2024).

O Brasil imperial no ano de 1823 recém havia conquistado a sua independência de Portugal, reinando D. Pedro I ao lado de sua esposa, a princesa Leopoldina, de origem austríaca. D. Pedro I decidiu recrutar soldados para sua guarda imperial e posteriormente para o exército imperial e a escolha da origem destes soldados recaiu sobre aqueles dos antigos reinos da liga germânica, por ideia do conselheiro de D. Pedro I, José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva,¹ que na ocasião era ministro de Negócios Estrangeiros, de criar colônias rural-militares para proteger as fronteiras do sul do Brasil, além da necessidade de que não fossem súditos de determinados países, especialmente de Portugal, Holanda e Espanha (disputa política e territorial).

Para arregimentar soldados para o exército imperial, D. Pedro I enviou para a Europa o Major Georg Anton von Schaeffer, conhecido de sua esposa e de José Bonifácio, sendo que com este último Schaeffer

1 TRESPACH, 2019, p. 74.

A primeira

compartilhava muitas ideias sobre a imigração alemã para o Brasil. Como alguns reinos não permitiam a arregimentação de soldados para outros impérios, criou-se a figura de imigrantes de 1ª classe (soldados) e 2ª classe (colonos) para contornar as restrições de vindas de soldados para o Brasil. O fato é que Schaeffer, apesar de algumas dificuldades relatadas pelos historiadores, obteve sucesso na sua missão de angariar tanto soldados como colonos imigrantes para o império brasileiro. O autor Carlos H. Oberacker Jr.³ na sua obra “Jorge Antônio Von Schaeffer: criador da primeira corrente emigratória alemã para o Brasil” trata da importância do Major Schaeffer para a imigração alemã no Brasil, revelando aspectos importantes desta personalidade.

A história da Imigração Alemã no Brasil foi tratada por diversos historiadores no Brasil e na Alemanha, compondo um acervo sobre este tema bastante extenso, com uma ampla relação de livros e artigos para quem deseja se aprofundar nos estudos pertinentes.

2. As diferentes fases da imigração alemã no Brasil.

A imigração Alemã ao Brasil ocorreu em diversas fases. Relacionamos abaixo um exemplo de classificação destas fases para uma orientação geral sobre este assunto específico (FEY,⁴ SIRIANI,⁵ DW⁶ e IBGE⁷):

2 Idem, p. 89-90.

3 OBERACKER Jr., 1975.

4 FEY, 2024, p. 27.

5 SIRIANI, 2003, p. 298.

6 DEUTSCHE WELLE (DW). As diferentes fases da imigração alemã no Brasil. Neusa Soliz. 2004. Disponível em: <<https://www.dw.com/pt-br/as-diferentes-fases-da-imigra%C3%A7%C3%A3o-alem%C3%A3-no-brasil/a-1195367>> . Acesso em: 11/11/2022.

7 IBGE. Imigração Alemã no Brasil. Disponível em: <<https://brasil500anos.ibge.gov.br/territorio-brasileiro-e-povoamento/alemaes.html>>. Acesso em: 15/09/2024.

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- **1ª Fase** – Anos 1824 a 1830 – Império do Brasil – Aproximadamente **10.600** imigrantes (colonos, artesãos e militares);
- **2ª Fase** – Anos 1831 a 1870 – Pré Unificação da Alemanha – Aproximadamente **22. 700** imigrantes (colonos, artesãos e militares);
- **3ª Fase** – Anos 1871 a 1913 – Da Unificação da Alemanha até a véspera da 1ª Guerra Mundial – Aproximadamente **86.000** imigrantes;
- **4ª Fase** – Anos 1914 a 1938 – Da 1ª Guerra Mundial até a véspera da 2ª Guerra Mundial – Aproximadamente **105.400** imigrantes;
- **5ª Fase** – Anos 1939 a 1970 – Da 2ª Guerra Mundial até 1970 – Aproximadamente **31.700** imigrantes.

O total de imigrantes alemães nestas 5 fases alcançaria aproximadamente **256.400 indivíduos** (valor orientativo, pois existem divergências deste total em diversas fontes consultadas; atualização de 17/09/2024).

Conforme os dados do artigo “German Immigration to Brazil – periods from 1824 to 1969” durante o século XIX a maioria dos imigrantes alemães veio trabalhar ou se estabelecer nas colônias (áreas rurais) que foram fundadas no Brasil. Durante o século XX este perfil mudou e a maioria dos imigrantes veio trabalhar ou se estabelecer nas grandes cidades brasileiras (áreas urbanas).⁸

Como já mencionado, o foco de nosso presente trabalho vai se concentrar justamente na chamada 1ª fase oficial da Imigração Alemã no Brasil, compreendendo o período de 1824 a 1830.

Nesta fase, o objetivo era colonizar o sul do país (ante a ameaça dos espanhóis dos países vizinhos do extremo sul do continente sul-americano em ocupar o território brasileiro) e estabelecer uma agricultura familiar (para prover alimentos diversificados para os soldados e prin-

8 DWVB. German Immigration to Brazil – periods from 1824 to 1969. 2006. Disponível em: <<https://www.dvvh.org/dta/brazil/1824-1969.htm>>. Acesso em: 12/11/2022.

A primeira fase oficial da Imigração Alemã no Brasil (1824 a 1830)

cipais centros urbanos da época, devido à carência de produção de alimentos, pois a agricultura era baseada em latifúndios e monocultura).

3. As causas para emigrar da Alemanha e o incentivo do Brasil para a imigração

Wieser,⁹ ao analisar os motivos da emigração, traz a seguinte reflexão

Por quais motivos as pessoas, muitas vezes famílias inteiras, às vezes metade de uma aldeia deixam sua pátria, seu ambiente familiar, seus amigos, conhecidos, famílias? À procura de motivos, os pesquisadores discutem normalmente uma gama de possibilidades, seja perseguição por motivo religioso, opressão política, incerteza econômica ou puro espírito aventureiro. Para muitos emigrantes podem ser várias as razões.

Como a emigração dos indivíduos de origem alemã para o Brasil ocorreu em várias etapas, de reinos de origem e épocas diferentes, é sempre fundamental considerar estas duas questões para se buscar as causas da emigração: local de origem e ano da emigração.

Dentre várias causas citadas pelos historiadores, quatro delas se destacam: escassez de terra para cultivo, falta de trabalho, colheitas escassas e baixa expectativa de melhorias de condições de subsistência.

Wieser (Op. cit., p.71) cita “Desconsiderando-se poucas exceções, eram, sobretudo, condições socioeconômicas que motivaram as pessoas a procurar sua sorte no longínquo”.

4. As condições das viagens transatlânticas

A viagem de um navio veleiro do início do século XIX dependia basicamente de ventos favoráveis para iniciar e realizar a travessia tran-

⁹ WIESER, 2014, p. 71.

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atlântica, a qual em média durava 3 meses entre a antiga Alemanha e o Brasil. Os alojamentos dos passageiros durante a viagem ficavam no convés intermediário do veleiro e normalmente consistiam em beliches rústicos.¹⁰ Um parâmetro adotado para liberar a viagem a partir de portos na Holanda (ano 1827), por exemplo, exigia um espaço de aproximadamente de 0,9 m² para cada pessoa adulta a bordo (relatório policial encontrado na pesquisa sobre o veleiro Epaminondas). Mas o espaço de um pouco menos de 0,25 m² também é citado,¹¹ ou até menor (0,18 m²)¹². A dieta a bordo consistia basicamente em água doce, peixe seco ou salgado, carne seca, bolacha, e, esporadicamente, uma pequena dose de vinho ou aguardente. Ocasionalmente, e possivelmente em raros casos, podia-se obter açúcar, arroz, feijão, cebolas, azeite, legumes, mel, farinha e frutas que eram transportadas. Eram comuns epidemias a bordo dos navios veleiros e o número de mortes chegava a uma média de 10 % dos passageiros, em viagens no período estudado.

5. As quarenta e duas viagens dos períodos: sucessos e insucessos na travessia

No início do século XIX os imigrantes alemães eram trazidos para o Brasil através de navios transatlânticos (FEY, p. 44, op. cit.), na sua maioria navios munidos com três (3) mastros, apropriados para viagens em alto mar, chamados de forma geral como navios veleiros (propulsão à vela – dependentes dos bons ventos para a realização da viagem). Lembramos que os navios a vapor (autônomos em relação aos ventos) começaram a ser utilizados efetivamente apenas a partir da segunda metade do século XIX (1850 em diante).

10 ZAHN, 2002, p. 51.

11 ZAHN, 2002, p. 51.

12 EUROPEANA.EU. Europeana, 2024. *Leaving Europe: a new life in America. Departure and Arrival*. Disponível em: < <https://www.europeana.eu/en/exhibitions/leaving-europe/departure-and-arrival>>. Acesso em: 02/10/2024.

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Por sua vez, os navios costeiros eram de menor porte, normalmente de dois (2) mastros e apropriados para viagens próximas da costa brasileira (ou seja, não apropriados para viagens em alto mar).

Ao chegar ao porto de destino através de um navio transatlântico, em nosso caso, normalmente o porto do Rio de Janeiro, os imigrantes eram enviados para um local provisório (normalmente Ponta de Armação, ou simplesmente Armação, na atual Niterói/RJ), onde permaneciam aguardando (entre 15 dias a 3 meses) o envio para seu destino final, em viagem realizada por um navio costeiro.

Tanto os navios transatlânticos quanto os costeiros possuíam vários tipos, cada um com suas denominações e características próprias. Os transatlânticos podiam ser do tipo galeota, galera, brigue, entre outros. Já os navios costeiros mais comuns eram a sumaca, bergantim, escuna, brigue-escuna e patacho.

A seguir exibimos uma tabela resumida contendo os navios transatlânticos que trouxeram os imigrantes alemães para o Brasil, ordenados pela data de chegada.

TABELA 1. Relação dos navios transatlânticos anos 1824 a 1830, imigrantes alemães

Nr.	Navios	Data Saída	Chegada RJ	Número Colonos	Número Soldados	Total	Porto de Partida
01	Argus	27/07/1823	13/01/1824	134	150	284	Amsterdã
02	Caroline (1ª)	25/01/1824	13/04/1824	180	51	231	Hamburgo
03	Anna Louise (1ª)	24/03/1824	04/06/1824	126	200	326	Hamburgo
04	Germania	03/06/1824	14/09/1824	70	213	283	Hamburgo
05	Georg Friedrich (1ª)	27/06/1824	11/10/1824	145	330	475	Hamburgo
06	Peter & Maria	27/07/1824	12/11/1824	74	206	280	Hamburgo
07	Der Kranich (1ª)	25/09/1824	15/01/1825	146	121	267	Hamburgo
08	Triton	16/01/1825	13/03/1825	Min. 8	Min. 6	100	Hamburgo
09	Caroline (2ª)	17/01/1825	04/04/1825	112	170	282	Hamburgo
10	Wilhelmine	16/02/1825	21/04/1825	294	90	384	Hamburgo

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Nr.	Navios	Data Saída	Chegada RJ	Número Colonos	Número Soldados	Total	Porto de Partida
11	Fortuna (1ª)	09/06/1825	02/10/1825	71	129	200	Hamburgo
12	Friedrich Heinrich	25/08/1825	08/11/1825	376	-	376	Amsterdã
13	Georg Friedrich (2ª)	20/08/1825	20/11/1825	72	373	445	Hamburgo
14	Creole (1ª)	09/09/1825	28/11/1825	294	78	372	Hamburgo
15	Der Kranich (2ª)	04/10/1825	19/01/1826	216	85	301	Hamburgo
16	Anna Louise (2ª)	13/10/1825	27/02/1826	186	187	373	Hamburgo
17	Caroline (3ª)	16/11/1825	26/02/1826	57	27	77	Hamburgo
18	Company Patie	10/10/1825	27/04/1826	82	0	82	Amsterdã
19	Friedrich	01/06/1826	04/08/1826	73	165	238	Bremen
20	Brodtrae	07/07/1826	28/09/1826	106	144	250	Bremen
21	Creole (2ª)	22/07/1826	11/11/1826	226	162	388	Bremen
22	Betz & Marianne	16/11/1826	02/1827 *1	6	32	38	Bremen
23	Epaminondas	07/07/1827	28/09/1827	526	0	526	Amsterdã
24	Maria	31/07/1827	24/10/1827	226	0	226	Amsterdã
25	Creole (3ª)	01/10/1827	03/12/1827	54	173	227	Bremen
26	Union	14/08/1827	14/12/1827	76	0	76	Antuérpia
27	Reward	19/12/1827	28/01/1828	18	0	18	Ilha Canária
28	Fortuna (2ª)	23/12/1827	30/03/1828	52	200	252	Bremen
29	Alexander	07/04/1828	02/06/1828	168	0	168	Amsterdã
30	Harmonie	01/05/1828	02/07/1828	24	225	249	Bremen
31	Johanna Jacoba	29/04/1828	15/07/1828	318	0?	318	Amsterdã
32	Actif	29/04/1828	08/1828 *2	122?	0?	122	Amsterdã
33	Creole (4ª)	15/06/1828	17/08/1828	169	230	399	Bremen
34	Charlotte & Louise	19/06/1828	23/08/1828	217	6	223	Bremen
35	Louise	27/07/1828	20/10/1828	260	40	300	Bremen
36	Goldfinch	22/09/1828	08/11/1828	5	0	5	Falmouth
37	Olbers	03/10/1828	13/12/1828	752	28	780	Bremen
38	James Laing	02/01/1829	08/02/1829	313	0	313	Falmouth
39	Fortuna (3ª)	13/11/1829	13/03/1829	0	262	262	Bremen
40	Louise Barbara	08/01/1829	23/03/1829	99	0	99	Amsterdã
41	Creole (5ª)	29/06/1829	01/09/1829	13	0	13	Bremen
42	Olbers (2ª)	26/05/1830	26/07/1830	30	0	30	Bremen

Fonte: FEY (2024), Op. cit., p. 44-49.

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5.1 Porto de saída e de entrada

Das 42 viagens relacionadas com os imigrantes, 40 delas terminaram no porto do Rio de Janeiro. Apenas o veleiro Betzy & Marianne (*1) aportou em Salvador, na Bahia, e o veleiro Actif (*2) ancorou no litoral do Rio Grande do Norte.

Em relação aos portos de saída na Europa, elaboramos a seguinte tabela explicativa (ordenada pelo número de viagens e ano da viagem):

TABELA 2. Portos de saída na Europa com os imigrantes alemães

Porto saída	Qtde. viagens	Observação
Hamburgo	14	1824 e 1825.
Bremen	14	1826 em diante.
Amsterdã	10	Helena & Maria (naufragado Inglaterra) e Actif (1828). 1823-1829.
Falmouth	2	Goldfinch e James Laing (náufragos do Helena & Maria). 1828 e 1829, respectivamente.
Antuérpia	1	Union. 1827.
Ilhas Canárias	1	Reward (substituiu o Eliza, naufragado na costa africana). 1828.

Fonte: FEY (2024), Op. cit., p. 44-49.

5.2 Viagens Desastradas

Durante o período de 1824 a 1830 tivemos algumas viagens desastradas no transporte dos imigrantes alemães para o Brasil. O veleiro Germânia (1824) sofreu um motim a bordo e os insurgentes foram julgados e alguns deles fuzilados e jogados ao mar. O veleiro Company Patie (1826) foi aprisionado no rio de La Plata e levado para o porto de Montevidéu pela marinha brasileira, durante a guerra Cisplatina. Em Montevidéu, dos 306 colonos a bordo, 202 fugiram para a Argentina, seu destino original, e 82 seguiram com o navio para o Brasil, tornando-se imigrantes brasileiros. O veleiro Actif (1827), supostamente por problemas de alimentação a bordo, teve seu itinerário alterado e o capitão desembarcou os imigrantes na costa do Nordeste brasileiro, tendo eles que

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viajarem a pé desde o Rio Grande do Norte até Recife, onde a colônia alemã Santa Amélia foi implantada. O veleiro Helena & Maria (1828) sofreu um naufrágio na costa da Inglaterra, sendo que os imigrantes, depois de socorridos, tiveram que ficar em Falmouth por 1 ano até serem embarcados ao Brasil (o veleiro foi apelidado de “Cécilia” pelos imigrantes) e tornou-se uma lenda da Imigração Alemã no estado do RGS).

Quantidade e origem dos imigrantes nos anos de 1824 a 1830

Para analisar as origens conhecidas dos colonos e soldados que vieram ao Brasil entre 1824 a 1830 (FEY, 2024, op. cit.), nós identificamos uma divisão na linha do tempo, especialmente quanto aos países, conforme exibido na tabela a seguir.

TABELA 3: Quantidade e origem dos imigrantes alemães período de 1824 a 1830

Período	Colonos	Soldados	Total	Procedência dos colonos (principais reinos/regiões)
1824 a 1826	2996	2862	4644	Hessen, Mecklemburgo, Württemberg, Holstein, Prússia, Saxônia, Baden.
1827 a 1830	3448	1196	5858	Região da Renânia, incluindo parte da Rheinprovinz, a região de Mosel, a cidade de Trier, a maior parte da província do Sarre, a sub-região do Hunsrück, as quais na época pertenciam à Prússia, e o Principado de Birkenfeld, pertencente ao estado de Oldemburgo; província do Palatinado, que pertencia à Baviera, e o Grão Ducado de Luxemburgo, na época estado do Deutscher Bund.
Total	6444	4058	10502	

Fonte: FEY (2024), Op. cit.

Os números exibidos são estimativos. Em alguns poucos navios não temos o número exato de colonos e soldados que chegaram no Brasil.

Os soldados vieram de vários países europeus da época (Suíça, Holanda, Dinamarca, França, etc.) e de vários países e reinos da liga germânica (Württemberg, Baden, Saxônia, Baviera, Hannover, Prússia, Hessen, Oldemburgo, Mecklemburgo, etc.), além da cidade hanseática de Hamburgo.

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Não se conhece um estudo completo sobre a origem dos soldados imperiais. De forma introdutória, podemos dizer que a origem na Prússia é a mais citada na obra de Helmut Andrä,¹³ onde são relacionados os soldados conhecidos que vieram para o império do Brasil, devendo constituir a origem da maioria desses soldados.

Os colonos que chegaram entre 1824 e 1830 também vieram de vários reinos da liga Germânica, tais como Mecklemburgo, Baviera, Württemberg, Baden, Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, entre outros, mas a maioria veio do Hessen entre 1824 a 1826, e da Prússia Renana (Rheinprovinz) entre 1827 a 1830.

No entanto, o local de origem dos imigrantes muitas vezes não é devidamente definido. Por exemplo, a Prússia era formada por cerca de 10 províncias distintas (sendo a Rheinprovinz, uma delas). Num outro exemplo, o reino do Hessen (Hesse) era formada por 4 estados distintos: Hessen-Darmstadt, Hessen-Kassel, Hessen-Nassau e Hessen-Homburg.

É importante considerar que a estrutura geopolítica da época de nosso estudo era bem diferente da atual, o que exige cuidado na correta identificação da origem do imigrante (e na procura de documentos relativos a um determinado imigrante).

7. O destino dos imigrantes nos anos de 1824 a 1830

Antes do considerado primeiro período oficial da imigração alemã no Brasil, foram criadas algumas colônias com imigrantes alemães,¹⁴ que citamos brevemente: Almada (1816; empreendimento particular, criada por Pedro Weyll, no sul da Bahia), Colônia Leopoldina, (1818; particular, por Jorge G. Freyreiss, com apoio de D. João VI, sul da Bahia), São Jorge de Ilhéus, (1818; particular, por Pedro Weyll, Bahia), Rio da Salsa (1818, governo, Bahia), Nova Friburgo (1818/1819, governo, Rio de

13 ANDRÄ, 2000.

14 HUNSCHÉ, Carlos H. & ASTOLFI, Maria, 2004, p. 4.

Janeiro, colonos suíços), Frankenthal (1822, particular, de Georg Anton von Schäffer/Schaeffer, Bahia), Colônia da Mandioca (1822; particular, do Barão Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, Rio de Janeiro).

Durante o período oficial da 1ª fase da Imigração alemã no Brasil foram criadas as seguintes colônias (FEY, 2024, Op. cit., p. 38):

- 1824 Nova Friburgo/RJ (D. Pedro I – Utilizaram as mesmas moradias dos colonos suíços que por lá chegaram em 1818);
- 1824 São Leopoldo/RS (D. Pedro I);
- 1825 São João das Missões (Governo Provincial do Rio Grande do Sul);
- 1825/1826 Torres/Dom Pedro de Alcântara/RS (D. Pedro I);
- 1826 Três Forquilhas/RS (D. Pedro I);
- 1828/1829 Colônia Santa Amélia, Recife (Governo Provincial Pernambuco);
- 1829 Santo Amaro/SP (D. Pedro I);
- 1829 Itapeberica/SP (D. Pedro I);
- 1829 Rio Negro/SP – atualmente PR – (D. Pedro I);
- 1829 São Pedro de Alcântara/SC (D. Pedro I).

Em 16 de março de 1820, foi promulgado um “Decreto sobre colonização”,¹⁵ que visava promover a emigração alemã para o Brasil, e prometia a cada imigrante católico uma doação de terras, sendo que os cuidados e despesas da viagem ficavam a cargo de cada imigrante.

Quase todas as colônias citadas acima foram baseadas nessa doação de terras aos imigrantes e custeadas durante certo tempo pelo tesouro do império.

Em 15 de dezembro de 1830 a Lei do Orçamento foi promulgada, determinando no seu Artigo 4º das Disposições Comuns do Capítulo

15 SCHRÖDER, 2003, p. 42.

II que “Fica abolida em todas as Províncias do Império a despeza com a colonisação estrangeira”.¹⁶

Como era de se esperar, toda a imigração cessou a partir da lei citada.

A partir da metade do século XIX a imigração alemã reiniciou, indo até a segunda metade do século XX, com a característica de agora serem de iniciativa de particulares ou das províncias, não mais do governo imperial. O auge da imigração ocorreu entre os anos de 1924 e 1933 quando 61.723 imigrantes entraram no Brasil (DW.COM, 2020, Op. cit.).

8. Considerações finais

No período considerado como a primeira fase oficial da imigração Alemã no Brasil, de 1824 a 1830, verificamos que cerca de 10.600 imigrantes, entres soldados, artesãos e colonos, chegaram ao Brasil através de quarenta e dois veleiros transatlânticos. A maioria deles foi enviada para o Sul do país.

Emigraram na Alemanha para fugir das condições adversas no campo e nas cidades e imigraram ao Brasil para compor o exército imperial de D. Pedro I e princesa Leopoldina como soldados, e para povoar o extremo sul do Império Brasileiro e criar a pequena propriedade rural (agricultura familiar), fornecendo suprimentos para o exército e população urbana, como colonos.

Embora das cinco fases da imigração alemã enumeradas neste trabalho a quantidade de imigrantes na 1ª fase tenha sido a de menor número, esses imigrantes conseguiram superar as adversidades encontradas nas viagens e para se estabelecerem em solo brasileiro, rapidamente constituindo um grande número de descendentes (alto índice de fertilidade), servindo de inspiração para as fases posteriores.

Os primeiros imigrantes foram verdadeiros desbravadores das selvas brasileiras, pois através de picadas abertas foram estabelecendo suas

¹⁶ Brasil. Coleção de Leis do Império. Parte primeira, p. 108.

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colônias, com as quais, com muito suor e lágrimas, conquistaram condições de trabalho dignas para prover as necessidades de suas famílias e se tornarem cidadãos teuto-brasileiros.

Durante as comemorações dos 200 anos da Imigração Alemã no Brasil no site do Centro Alemão de Ciência e Inovação São Paulo (DWIH São Paulo; acesso em 08/07/2024) foi publicada uma matéria sobre a língua alemã no Brasil onde consta a informação de que 5% da população brasileira da atualidade são de origem alemã, ou seja, seriam 10 milhões de pessoas, muitos deles descendentes destes imigrantes pioneiros que chegaram na primeira fase da imigração alemã no Brasil.

Para concluir, como uma espécie de homenagem aos pioneiros da imigração alemã no Brasil, cabe bem uma passagem do livro de Petry,¹⁷ onde ele escreveu, na década de 1950, sobre Novo Hamburgo, município vizinho de São Leopoldo (sede da colônia alemã no Rio Grande do Sul que recebeu os primeiros imigrantes em 25 de julho de 1824):

Quem hoje viaja pela zona colonial do nosso município, deleita a vista com a contemplação dos belos edifícios, dos verdejantes campos, povoados de fogosos corcéis e bem nutridos bovinos, das plantações que se estendem de horizonte a horizonte, não se lembra, talvez, dos trabalhos passados, das dificuldades vencidas, dos obstáculos superados pelos primeiros imigrantes, que por aqui aportaram.

17 PETRY, 1959, p. 22.

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The first official phase of German immigration to Brazil (1824 to 1830)

Ademar Felipe Fey

Summary

The history of German immigration to Brazil will be celebrating its bicentennial in 2024. Although German immigrants had already come to colonies in the then province of Bahia, the first official period of German immigration began in 1824 (Nova Friburgo) and ended in 1830, when the arrival of new immigrants was prohibited by the imperial government (Budget Law). July 25th was established as the date to celebrate German immigration, marking the day that German immigrants arrived in São Leopoldo, in the current state of Rio Grande do Sul. In the period from 1824 to 1830, the scope of our research, we cataloged and organized 42 expeditions that brought German immigrants to Brazil transported by sailing ships. These ships departed from ports in old Germany, the Netherlands, and Antwerp. Despite the many difficulties encountered during the crossing, only one ship did not complete its journey, unable to withstand the harsh weather conditions on the high seas (the sailing ship Helena & Maria, also known as Helena en Maria or Helena Maria, which ancient historians referred to as “Cécilia”). The vast majority of these ships docked in Rio de Janeiro. From there, the immigrants traveled by coastal ships to the colonies they were destined for. One of these ships docked on the coast of Rio Grande do Norte (Actif) and another in Bahia (Betsy & Marianne). In these 42 expedi-

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tions, which included soldiers for the imperial army and settlers to occupy land in southern Brazil and produce food, approximately 10,600 immigrants arrived here. A good number of these soldiers, after fulfilling their commitment to the army of D. Pedro I, settled in Brazil. In this article, we intend to provide an overview of how the first phase of German immigration to Brazil occurred, including, in summary, the origin and destination of the immigrants.

1. Introduction

This article aims to present some relevant data on the first phase of German immigration to Brazil, in the period from 1824 to 1830, in view of the current celebrations of the Bicentennial of German Immigration to Brazil (2024).

Imperial Brazil had just gained its independence from Portugal in 1823, with D. Pedro I reigning alongside his wife, Princess Leopoldina, of Austrian origin. D. Pedro I decided to recruit soldiers for his imperial guard and later for the imperial army, and chose that these soldiers came from the former kingdoms of the Germanic league, based on the idea of D. Pedro I's advisor, José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva¹, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, to create rural-military colonies to protect the borders of southern Brazil, in addition to the need for them not to be subjects of certain countries, especially Portugal, Holland and Spain (political and territorial dispute).

To recruit soldiers for the imperial army, D. Pedro I sent Major Georg Anton von Schaeffer to Europe, an acquaintance of his wife and José Bonifácio, with whom Schaeffer shared many ideas about German immigration to Brazil². Since some kingdoms did not allow the recruitment of soldiers for other empires, the figure of 1st class immigrants

1 TRESPACH, 2019, p. 74.

2 Idem, p. 89-90.

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(soldiers) and 2nd class immigrants (settlers) was created to get around the restrictions on soldiers coming to Brazil. The fact is that Schaeffer, despite some difficulties reported by historians, was successful in his mission of recruiting both soldiers and immigrant settlers for the Brazilian empire. The author Carlos H. Oberacker Jr.³ in his work “Jorge Antônio Von Schaeffer: criador da primeira corrente emigratória alemã para o Brasil” (Jorge Antônio Von Schaeffer: creator of the first German emigration current to Brazil) deals with the importance of Major Schaeffer for German immigration to Brazil, revealing important aspects of this personality.

The history of German immigration to Brazil has been covered by several historians in Brazil and Germany, creating a very extensive collection on this topic, with a wide range of books and articles for those who wish to delve deeper into the relevant studies.

2. The different phases of German immigration to Brazil

German immigration to Brazil occurred in several phases. We list below an example of the classification of these phases for general guidance on this specific subject (FEY,⁴ SIRIANI,⁵ DW⁶ e IBGE⁷):

- 1st Phase – Years 1824 to 1830 – Empire of Brazil – Approximately 10,600 immigrants (settlers, artisans and military personnel);

3 OBERACKER Jr., 1975.

4 FEY, 2024, p. 27.

5 SIRIANI, 2003, p. 298.

6 DEUTSCHE WELLE (DW). As diferentes fases da imigração alemã no Brasil. Ne-usa Soliz. 2004. : Available at: < <https://www.dw.com/pt-br/as-diferentes-fases-da-imigra%C3%A7%C3%A3o-alem%C3%A3-no-brasil/a-1195367> > . Accessed: 11/11/2022.

7 IBGE. Imigração Alemã no Brasil. Available at <<https://brasil500anos.ibge.gov.br/territorio-brasileiro-e-povoamento/alemaes.html>>. Accessed: 09/15/2024.

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- **2nd Phase** – Years 1831 to 1870 – Pre-Unification of Germany – Approximately **22,700** immigrants (settlers, artisans and military personnel);
- **3rd Phase** – Years 1871 to 1913 – From the Unification of Germany until the eve of World War I – Approximately **86,000** immigrants;
- **4th Phase** – Years 1914 to 1938 – From World War I until the eve of World War II – Approximately **105,400** immigrants;
- **5th Phase** – Years 1939 to 1970 – From World War II to 1970 – Approximately **31,700** immigrants.

The total number of German immigrants in these five phases would reach approximately **256,400 individuals** (a guideline value, as there are discrepancies in this total in various sources consulted; updated on 09/17/2024).

According to data from the article “German Immigration to Brazil – periods from 1824 to 1969”, during the 19th century, the majority of German immigrants came to work or settle in the colonies (rural areas) that were founded in Brazil. During the 20th century, this profile changed and the majority of immigrants came to work or settle in the large Brazilian cities (urban areas).⁸

As already mentioned, the focus of our present work will be precisely on the so-called 1st official phase of German immigration to Brazil, covering the period from 1824 to 1830.

In this phase, the objective was to colonize the country’s southernmost region (in view of the threat of the Spanish from neighboring countries in the extreme south of the South American continent occupying Brazilian territory) and to establish family farming (to provide diversified food for the soldiers and main urban centers of the time, due

8 DWVB. German Immigration to Brazil – periods from 1824 to 1969. 2006. Available at: <<https://www.dvvh.org/dta/brazil/1824-1969.htm>> . Accessed: 11/12/2022.

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to the lack of food production, as agriculture was based on large estates and monoculture).

3. Reasons for emigrating from Germany and Brazil's incentive for immigration

Wieser⁹, when analyzing the reasons for emigration, brings the following reflection

Why do people, often entire families, sometimes half a village, leave their homeland, their familiar surroundings, their friends, acquaintances and families? When looking for reasons, researchers usually discuss a range of possibilities, whether it be religious persecution, political oppression, economic uncertainty or pure adventurousness. For many emigrants, the reasons may be many.

Seeing that the emigration of individuals of German origin to Brazil occurred in several stages, from different kingdoms of origin and at different times, it is always essential to consider these two issues when seeking the causes of emigration: place of origin and year of emigration.

Among the various causes cited by historians, four stand out: scarcity of land for cultivation, lack of work, poor harvests and low expectations of improvement in livelihood conditions.

Wieser (Op. cit., p.71) states, "With a few exceptions, it was, above all, socioeconomic conditions that motivated people to seek their fate far away."

⁹ WIESER, 2014, p. 71.

4. The conditions of transatlantic travel

The journey of a sailing ship in the early 19th century depended basically on favorable winds to begin and complete the transatlantic crossing between old Germany and Brazil, which on average took three months. Passenger accommodation during the voyage was on the middle deck of the sailboat and normally consisted of rustic bunks¹⁰. A parameter adopted to authorize the voyage from ports in the Netherlands (year 1827), for example, required a space of approximately 0.9 m² for each adult on board (police report found in research on the sailboat Epaminondas). However, a space of a little less than 0.25 m² is also cited¹¹, or even smaller (0.18 m²)¹². The diet on board consisted basically of fresh water, dried or salted fish, dried meat, biscuits, and, sporadically, a small dose of wine or brandy. Occasionally, and possibly in rare cases, it was possible to obtain sugar, rice, beans, onions, olive oil, vegetables, honey, flour and fruit that were transported. Epidemics were common on board sailing ships and the number of deaths reached an average of 10% of passengers on voyages during the period studied.

5. The forty-two voyages of the period: successes and failures in the crossing

At the beginning of the 19th century, German immigrants were brought to Brazil via transatlantic ships (FEY, p. 44, op. cit.), most of which were vessels equipped with three (3) masts, suitable for voyages on the high seas, generally called sailing ships (propelled by sails – dependent on good winds to make the voyage). It is worth remembering

10 ZAHN, 2002, p. 51.

11 ZAHN, 2002, p. 51.

12 ZAHN, 2002, p. 51.

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that steam ships (independent of the winds) began to be effectively used only from the second half of the 19th century (1850 onwards).

In turn, coastal ships were smaller, usually with two (2) masts and suitable for voyages close to the Brazilian coast (i.e. not suitable for voyages on the high seas).

Upon arriving at the port of destination by transatlantic ship, in our case usually the port of Rio de Janeiro, the immigrants were sent to a temporary location (usually Ponta de Armação, or simply Armação, in present-day Niterói/RJ), where they remained waiting (between 15 days and 3 months) to be sent to their final destination, on a trip made by coastal ship.

There were several types of both transatlantic and coastal ships, each with its own name and characteristics. Transatlantic ships could be a galley, galiot, brig, among others. The most common coastal ships were the sumaca, brigantine, schooner, brig-schooner and patacho. Below we show a summary table containing the transatlantic ships that brought German immigrants to Brazil, ordered by date of arrival.

TABLE 1. List of transatlantic ships from 1824 to 1830, German immigrants

N.	Ships	Date of Departure	Arrival RJ	Number of Settlers	Number of Soldiers	Total	Port of Departure
01	Argus	27/07/1823	13/01/1824	134	150	284	Amsterdam
02	Caroline (1ª)	25/01/1824	13/04/1824	180	51	231	Hamburg
03	Anna Louise (1ª)	24/03/1824	04/06/1824	126	200	326	Hamburg
04	Germania	03/06/1824	14/09/1824	70	213	283	Hamburg
05	Georg Friedrich (1ª)	27/06/1824	11/10/1824	145	330	475	Hamburg
06	Peter & Maria	27/07/1824	12/11/1824	74	206	280	Hamburg
07	Der Kranich (1ª)	25/09/1824	15/01/1825	146	121	267	Hamburg
08	Triton	16/01/1825	13/03/1825	Min. 8	Min. 6	100	Hamburg
09	Caroline (2ª)	17/01/1825	04/04/1825	112	170	282	Hamburg
10	Wilhelmine	16/02/1825	21/04/1825	294	90	384	Hamburg
11	Fortuna (1ª)	09/06/1825	02/10/1825	71	129	200	Hamburg

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N.	Ships	Date of Departure	Arrival RJ	Number of Settlers	Number of Soldiers	Total	Port of Departure
12	Friedrich Heinrich	25/08/1825	08/11/1825	376	-	376	Amsterdam
13	Georg Friedrich (2ª)	20/08/1825	20/11/1825	72	373	445	Hamburg
14	Creole (1ª)	09/09/1825	28/11/1825	294	78	372	Hamburg
15	Der Kranich (2ª)	04/10/1825	19/01/1826	216	85	301	Hamburg
16	Anna Louise (2ª)	13/10/1825	27/02/1826	186	187	373	Hamburg
17	Caroline (3ª)	16/11/1825	26/02/1826	57	27	77	Hamburg
18	Company Patie	10/10/1825	27/04/1826	82	0	82	Amsterdam
19	Friedrich	01/06/1826	04/08/1826	73	165	238	Bremen
20	Brodtrae	07/07/1826	28/09/1826	106	144	250	Bremen
21	Creole (2ª)	22/07/1826	11/11/1826	226	162	388	Bremen
22	Betzy & Marianne	16/11/1826	02/1827 *1	6	32	38	Bremen
23	Epaminondas	07/07/1827	28/09/1827	526	0	526	Amsterdam
24	Maria	31/07/1827	24/10/1827	226	0	226	Amsterdam
25	Creole (3ª)	01/10/1827	03/12/1827	54	173	227	Bremen
26	Union	14/08/1827	14/12/1827	76	0	76	Antwerp
27	Reward	19/12/1827	28/01/1828	18	0	18	Canary Islands
28	Fortuna (2ª)	23/12/1827	30/03/1828	52	200	252	Bremen
29	Alexander	07/04/1828	02/06/1828	168	0	168	Amsterdam
30	Harmonie	01/05/1828	02/07/1828	24	225	249	Bremen
31	Johanna Jacoba	29/04/1828	15/07/1828	318	0?	318	Amsterdam
32	Actif	29/04/1828	08/1828 *2	122?	0?	122	Amsterdam
33	Creole (4ª)	15/06/1828	17/08/1828	169	230	399	Bremen
34	Charlotte & Louise	19/06/1828	23/08/1828	217	6	223	Bremen
35	Louise	27/07/1828	20/10/1828	260	40	300	Bremen
36	Goldfinch	22/09/1828	08/11/1828	5	0	5	Falmouth
37	Olbers	03/10/1828	13/12/1828	752	28	780	Bremen
38	James Laing	02/01/1829	08/02/1929	313	0	313	Falmouth
39	Fortuna (3ª)	13/11/1829	13/03/1829	0	262	262	Bremen
40	Louise Barbara	08/01/1829	23/03/1829	99	0	99	Amsterdam
41	Creole (5ª)	29/06/1829	01/09/1829	13	0	13	Bremen
42	Olbers (2ª)	26/05/1830	26/07/1830	30	0	30	Bremen

Source: FEY (2024), Op. cit., p. 44-49.

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5.1 Port of departure and arrival

Of the 42 immigrant voyages, 40 of them had the port of Rio de Janeiro as their final destination. Only the sailboat Betzy & Marianne (*1) docked in Salvador, Bahia, and the sailboat Actif (*2) anchored on the coast of Rio Grande do Norte.

Regarding the ports of departure in Europe, we have prepared the following explanatory table (ordered by number of trips and year of trip):

TABLE 2. Departure ports in Europe for German immigrants

Port of departure	Number of trips	Observation
Hamburg	14	1824 and 1825.
Bremen	14	1826 onward.
Amsterdam	10	Helena & Maria (wrecked England) and Actif (1828). 1823-1829.
Falmouth	2	Goldfinch and James Laing (wrecked of Helena & Maria). 1828 and 1829, respectively
Antwerp	1	Union. 1827.
Canary Islands	1	Reward (replaced the Eliza, wrecked on the African coast). 1828.

Source: FEY (2024), Op. cit., p. 44-49.

5.3 Unfortunate Trips

During the period from 1824 to 1830, there were some disastrous voyages in the transport of German immigrants to Brazil. The sailing ship *Germânia* (1824) suffered a mutiny on board and the insurgents were tried and some of them were shot and thrown overboard. The sailing ship *Company Patie* (1826) was captured in the Rio de la Plata river and taken to the port of Montevideo by the Brazilian navy during the Cisplatine War. In Montevideo, of the 306 settlers on board, 202 fled to Argentina, their original destination, and 82 continued on the ship to Brazil, becoming Brazilian immigrants. The sailing ship *Actif* (1827), supposedly due to food problems on board, had its itinerary changed and the captain disembarked the immigrants on the coast of

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Northeast Brazil, forcing them to travel on foot from Rio Grande do Norte to Recife, where the German colony Santa Amélia was established. The sailboat *Helena & Maria* (1828) suffered a shipwreck off the coast of England, and the immigrants, after being rescued, had to stay in Falmouth for a year until they were taken to Brazil (the sailboat was nicknamed “Cäcilia” by the immigrants and became a legend of German Immigration in the state of Rio Grande do Sul).

6. Immigrants’ origins in the years 1824 to 1830

When analyzing the known origins of the settlers and soldiers who came to Brazil between 1824 and 1830 (FEY, 2024, op. cit.), we clearly identify a division in the timeline, especially regarding the settlers, as shown in the following table.

TABLE 3. Number and origin of German immigrants from 1824 to 1830

Period	Settlers	Soldiers	Total	Origin of the settlers (main kingdoms/regions)
1824 to 1826	2996	2862	4644	Hessen, Mecklenburg, Württemberg, Holstein, Prussia, Saxony, Baden
1827 to 1830	3448	1196	5858	Rhineland region, including part of the Rheinprovinz, the Mosel region, the city of Trier, most of the province of Saarland, the Hunsrück subregion, which at the time belonged to Prussia, and the Principality of Birkenfeld, which belonged to the state of Oldenburg; the province of the Palatinate, which belonged to Bavaria, and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, at the time a state of the Deutscher Bund.
Total	6444	4058	10502	

Source: FEY (2024), Op. cit.

The numbers shown are estimates. In some ships we do not have the exact number of settlers and soldiers who arrived in Brazil.

The soldiers came from various European countries of the time (Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, France, etc.) and from various countries and kingdoms of the Germanic League (Württemberg, Baden, Saxony, Bavaria, Hannover, Prussia, Hessen, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, etc.), in addition to the Hanseatic city of Hamburg.

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There is no complete study on the origin of the imperial soldiers. As an introduction, we can say that Prussia is the most cited origin in Helmut Andrä's work¹³, where the known soldiers who came to the Empire of Brazil are listed, and, therefore, must constitute the origin of the majority of these soldiers.

The settlers who arrived between 1824 and 1830 also came from various kingdoms of the Germanic League, such as Mecklenburg, Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld, among others, but the majority came from Hessen between 1824 and 1826, and from Rhenish Prussia (Rheinprovinz) between 1827 and 1830.

However, the precise place of origin of the immigrants is often not properly defined. For example, Prussia was made up of about 10 distinct provinces (Rheinprovinz being one of them). In another example, the Kingdom of Hessen (Hesse) was made up of 4 distinct states: Hessen-Darmstadt, Hessen-Kassel, Hessen-Nassau and Hessen-Homburg.

It is important to consider that the geopolitical structure at the time covered by our study was very different from the current one, which requires caution in correctly identifying the immigrants' origins (and in searching for documents relating to a specific immigrant).

7. The destination of immigrants in the years 1824 to 1830

Before the first official period of German immigration in Brazil, some colonies with German immigrants were created¹⁴, which we briefly mention: Almada (1816; private enterprise, created by Pedro Weyll, in the south of Bahia), Colônia Leopoldina, (1818; private, by Jorge G. Freyreiss, with support from D. João VI, south of Bahia), São Jorge de Ilhéus, (1818; private, by Pedro Weyll, Bahia), Rio da Salsa (1818, government, Bahia), Nova Friburgo (1818/1819, government, Rio de Janeiro,

13 ANDRÄ, 2000.

14 HUNSCHÉ, Carlos H. & ASTOLFI, Maria, 2004, p. 4.

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Swiss settlers), Frankenthal (1822, private, by Georg Anton von Schäffer/Schaeffer, Bahia), Colônia da Mandioca (1822; private, by Baron Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, Rio de Janeiro).

During the official period of the 1st phase of German immigration in Brazil, the following settlements were created (FEY, 2024, Op. cit., p. 38):

- 1824 Nova Friburgo/RJ (D. Pedro I – They used the same houses as the Swiss settlers who arrived there in 1818);
- 1824 São Leopoldo/RS (D. Pedro I);
- 1825 São João das Missões (Provincial Government of Rio Grande do Sul);
- 1825/1826 Torres/Dom Pedro de Alcântara/RS (D. Pedro I);
- 1826 Três Forquilhas/RS (D. Pedro I);
- 1828/1829 Santa Amélia Colony, Recife (Provincial Government of Pernambuco);
- 1829 Santo Amaro/SP (D. Pedro I);
- 1829 Itapecerica/SP (D. Pedro I);

On March 16, 1820, a “Decree on Colonization” was enacted¹⁵, which aimed to promote German emigration to Brazil, and promised each Catholic immigrant a donation of land, with the care and expenses of the voyage being the responsibility of each immigrant.

Almost all of the settlements mentioned above were based on this donation of land to immigrants and funded for a certain time by the imperial treasury.

On December 15, 1830, the Budget Law was enacted, determining in its Article 4 of the Common Provisions of Chapter II that “The expend-

15 SCHRÖDER, 2003, p. 42.

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iture on foreign colonization is hereby abolished in all Provinces of the Empire.”¹⁶

As expected, all immigration ceased after the aforementioned law was passed.

From the middle of the 19th century, German immigration resumed, lasting until the second half of the 20th century, with the characteristic of now being initiated by private individuals or provinces, no longer by the imperial government. The peak of immigration occurred between 1924 and 1933 when 61,723 immigrants entered Brazil (DW.COM, 2020, Op. cit.).

8. Final remarks

In the first official phase of German immigration to Brazil, from 1824 to 1830, around 10,600 immigrants, including soldiers, artisans and settlers, arrived in Brazil on forty-two transatlantic sailing ships. Most of them were sent to the South of the country.

They emigrated from Germany to escape the adverse conditions in the countryside and cities, and immigrated to Brazil to join the imperial army of D. Pedro I and Princess Leopoldina as soldiers, and to populate the extreme south of the Brazilian Empire and create small rural properties (family farming), providing supplies for the army and urban population, as settlers.

Although the number of immigrants in the first of the five phases of German immigration listed in this work was the smallest, these immigrants managed to overcome the adversities encountered during their journeys and to settle on Brazilian soil, quickly creating a large number of descendants (high fertility rates), serving as inspiration for later phases.

¹⁶ Brasil. Coleção de Leis do Império. Parte primeira, p. 108.

The first immigrants were true pioneers of the Brazilian jungles, as they established their settlements through opening trails, and with much sweat and tears, were able to achieve decent working conditions to provide for the needs of their families and become German-Brazilian citizens.

During the celebrations of the 200th anniversary of German immigration to Brazil, an article about the German language in Brazil was published on the website of the German Center for Science and Innovation in São Paulo (DWIH São Paulo; accessed on 08/07/2024) stating that 5% of the current Brazilian population is of German origin, that is, 10 million people, many of them descendants of these pioneering immigrants who arrived in the first phase of German immigration to Brazil.

To conclude, as a kind of tribute to the pioneers of German immigration to Brazil, a passage from Petry's book¹⁷ is appropriate. In it, he wrote, in the 1950s, about Novo Hamburgo, a neighboring city of São Leopoldo (site of the German colony in Rio Grande do Sul that received the first immigrants on July 25, 1824):

Anyone who travels through the colonial area of our municipality today, is delighted by the view of the beautiful buildings, the verdant fields, populated by spirited horses and well-fed cattle, the crops that stretch from horizon to horizon, and perhaps does not remember the past work, the difficulties and obstacles overcome by the first immigrants who arrived here.

17 PETRY, 1959, p. 22.

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Alemanha e Brasil: política, economia, história, cultura e valores entrelaçados¹

Estevão de Rezende Martins

Desde 1951, o Brasil e a República Federal da Alemanha – estabelecida em 1949, após as tempestades e os sofrimentos do nazismo, da 2ª Guerra Mundial, em que renasceu o que de melhor havia na cultura alemã – entretêm relações políticas, econômicas e culturais intensas e entrelaçadas com base em uma longa tradição de compartilhamento de vivências e valores. Sabe-se que as relações político-culturais hoje subsistentes entre os dois países se esteiam em uma aproximação paulatina no tempo histórico, gradual e formalmente instalada no início do século 19, com a imigração de grupos sociais de língua e cultura alemã para o Brasil, fomentada com o objetivo princeps de desenvolver a ocupação territorial brasileira em terras aptas ao aproveitamento agrícola. As relações diplomáticas entre o Brasil e a Alemanha foram estabelecidas em 1871, logo após a unificação alemã em torno da Prússia e a criação do Império Alemão. Rompidas na 2ª Guerra Mundial, as relações retomadas em 1951; florescem desde então com constância e abrangência não apenas política e econômica, mas igualmente cultural, científica e tecnológica.

1 Esta obra foi publicada poucos dias após o falecimento do professor Estevão de Rezende Martins. A Fundação Konrad Adenauer externa gratidão e reconhecimento pelas suas significativas contribuições tanto no contexto da KAS Brasil, escrevendo artigos para publicações e como o membro de nosso conselho editorial, e em sentido mais amplo, colaborando com reflexões sobre as relações teuto-brasileiras.

É no decurso da segunda metade do século 20 que se consolida, de forma indiscutivelmente positiva, uma longa história de amizade entre a Alemanha e o Brasil.

Política e territorialmente, muitas Alemanhas existiram na Europa central desde a consolidação do reino da Prússia até a República Federal da Alemanha, em sua versão reunificada de 1990. De certa forma, também mais de um Brasil subsiste ainda hoje, mesmo que o território brasileiro não tenha mudado substancialmente desde os tratados de Santo Ildefonso em 1777.

Ambas as sociedades dedicaram notável parte do século 19 a consolidar suas nações, a construir seus estados, formar suas instituições. Recorreram, para tanto, a muitos modelos de reflexão. Político, econômico, comercial, militar. Em todos os modelos, um ingrediente fundamental e, aparentemente, incontornável para a constituição, a consolidação, o aprofundamento e a difusão das respectivas identidades: sua cultura histórica.

A diversidade dos formatos políticos por que passou a Alemanha tem importância para entender-se o modo como ela é hoje concretamente, e a maneira como Brasil e Alemanha se relacionam.

As disparidades sociais e econômicas surgidas ao longo das fases da história do Brasil necessitam igualmente estar presentes na reflexão para se compreender de que forma o Brasil é atualmente, e de que maneira ele se relaciona com parceiros como a Alemanha.

A imigração cujo bicentenário se celebra em 2024 é por certo alemã pela cultura e pela língua – mas bem marcada pela origem territorial dos migrantes, cuja implantação no Brasil acabou por preservar modos de falar, pensar e viver de uma ‘Alemanha’ que nos legou riquezas apreciáveis, mas que de longe ainda não era a Alemanha como a que temos em nossos dias, sob a forma de uma república federal, composta de dezesseis estados federados, com as fronteiras a oeste e a leste atuais, que existe como tal somente desde 3 de outubro de 1990. Mais do que a implantação territorial, contudo, historicamente importa ressaltar a qualidade política do regime,

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a competência e a densidade econômica do sistema produtivo, a excelência intelectual das instituições de pesquisa e ensino, a vibrante cooperação indústria-academia, a criatividade e a vitalidade cultural, a consciência pública da responsabilidade interna e externa da sociedade alemã e de seu país, notadamente no âmbito da integração europeia.

O Brasil de 2024 tem suas fronteiras territoriais consolidadas desde 1906, não mais se envolveu em conflitos regionais desde 1870, aparenta possuir uma consciência razoavelmente sólida de si enquanto unidade e diversidade. Curiosamente poder-se-ia imaginar que o Estado brasileiro tem uma estabilidade, do ponto de vista formal, mais longa do que a Alemanha, por curioso que isso possa parecer.

Será que é mesmo desse modo? Certamente não é bem assim. Percorramos algumas estações dos respectivos itinerários. Não se pode, eficazmente, cobrir a totalidade da rede de relações que sustenta os paralelos e as divergências entre Brasil e Alemanha. É possível porém fazer uma escolha significativa, de um fator relevante para ambas as sociedades: que papel tem a cultura histórica na construção de suas identidades.

Com efeito, no período da história europeia em que o *ciclone* Napoleão varreu o continente, a contar de 1806 para o até então existente Sacro Império Romano-Germânico, e a contar de 1807 para o Reino de Portugal, puseram-se a muitos países, e aos nossos em particular, questões cruciais de afirmação e sobrevivência.

A unidade ou a unificação do espaço “alemão” era disputada pela Prússia e pela Áustria. Somente após a derrota austríaca de Königgrätz, em 1866, o movimento pende definitivamente para o lado prussiano. A conhecida fórmula da “kleindeutsche Lösung” – uma ‘versão pequena’ da Alemanha – se consagra: a Alemanha que se constitui o faz sem a Áustria, sob a liderança da Prússia.

O império multinacional dos Habsburgo definitivamente se volta para o leste e para o sudeste europeus. A Prússia incarna a germanidade triunfante, sob o comando de um líder político e militar incontornável: Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898). Bismarck comanda a Prússia e o

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Império Alemão de 1862 a 1890. Nascido em 1815, ano em que se afastou Napoleão de vez do cenário europeu e mundial, Bismarck logrou êxito, no espaço alemão, em implantar o projeto da unidade que Klemens von Metternich (1773-1859), o todo poderoso chanceler da Áustria, não conseguiu ver realizado.

O Brasil beneficiou-se, indiretamente, de uma ‘promoção política’, ao ser elevado a Reino Unido com Portugal, em 1815, por esperta manobra de Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754-1838). Talleyrand tornou-se um representante francês onipresente e onipotente, ativo em todas as grandes fases da vida europeia de seu tempo, ao abandonar de vez o sacerdócio (havia sido ordenado em 1778) e o episcopado (fora feito bispo de Autun em 1788) a que a família o havia destinado, para mergulhar plenamente no turbilhão político de 1789 e para sobreviver a ele e sobrenadar nos regimes seguintes, até sua morte.

Liberal convicto, partidário de um “equilíbrio europeu”, cuja instauração parecia tanto mais difícil quanto a Revolução e Napoleão haviam custado caro a todas as demais potências, Talleyrand negocia com Metternich e obtém dele a presença de Portugal no Congresso de Viena, “reforçada” com a “promoção” do Brasil a reino unido. Essa elevação representou um aumento (mesmo se algo abstrato) político, econômico e comercial de Portugal, aliado histórico da Grã-Bretanha, que não se opôs à manobra.

No Congresso de Viena triunfam, pois, o princípio da legitimidade, defendido por Talleyrand, que culmina nas diversas restaurações, e o princípio do equilíbrio político, defendido por Metternich, que impõe a partilha territorial e formata o concerto europeu das nações, dominado pela pentarquia. Esse sistema flexível, multipolar, das relações internacionais centradas na e para a Europa, é integrado pela Áustria, pela França, pela Grã-Bretanha, pela Prússia (Alemanha a partir de 1871) e pela Rússia. O universo extra europeu, embora não esteja ausente do ambiente do Congresso de Viena – notadamente por causa das sucessivas independências políticas nas Américas – ainda conta relativamente

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pouco para o processo decisório. O fenômeno mais antigo, nesse momento, é o das Treze Colônias, declarados em 4 de julho de 1776 os Treze Estados Unidos da América, cuja constituição entra em vigor no simbólico ano de 1789.

Se a tradição oitocentista fará prevalecer no espaço brasileiro a política e o comércio de inspiração britânica e a cultura de sotaque francês, em 1827, o Brasil incipiente já firma um tratado de comércio com as três cidades hanseáticas do norte alemão, Hamburgo, Bremen e Lübeck. O tratado refere-se às cidades como “repúblicas”, na medida em que seu governo incumbe a um colegiado, o respectivo Senado. Os quatorze artigos do tratado com um versam sobre navegação, tráfego nos portos e regime aduaneiro de cargas.

O interesse orientador desse tratado provém de um objetivo econômico pragmático. O Brasil recém-nascido carecia de rede própria de relações internacionais. Sua autonomia política, contudo, não o retirou desde logo das malhas britânicas, dominantes em todo o século 19. O tratado pelo qual a Inglaterra reconhece a independência, em 1825, logo é acompanhado de um tratado análogo, pelo qual Portugal enfim reconhece o fato irreversível da autonomia do Brasil. As cláusulas de ambos os tratados foram objeto de reações contraditórias. Diversas correntes políticas saúdam a liberação política afinal consagrada. Outras queixam-se duramente das condições financeiras e das modificações anunciadas (e prometidas) no regime econômico da escravidão. A construção política e internacional do país custou notável esforço, e os resultados mais marcantes somente são medidos anos depois, quando a monarquia – pode-se dizer – se firma com a antecipação da maioria de D. Pedro II, em 1840. Ou seja: por dezoito anos, passando pela crise que leva à abdicação de Pedro I em 1831 e ao para-republicanismo da Regência, o Brasil parece estar à procura de si.²

2 O ‘sistema de tratados’ inicialmente adotado pelo Império com esses objetivos pragmáticos encerra-se na década de 1840, com a política de não renovação. O

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Não é por nada que, internamente, a busca daquilo em que consistiria o Brasil, daquilo em que consistiria ser brasileiro, se acentua e acelera. E a esse tipo de questão existencial que quer responder a famosa pergunta do concurso do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, sobre como se deve escrever a história do Brasil, anteriormente mencionada.³ A pergunta é posta no mesmo ano em que Pedro II é declarado maior. A resposta ganhadora do certame é de autoria de um alemão, bávaro: Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius (1794-1868). A interconexão brasileira com o espaço cultural alemão tem nesse naturalista e viajante, cujo conhecimento do Brasil o colocou em posição de destaque, um de seus primeiros sinais marcantes.⁴

A constituição da nação brasileira, pelo menos *in spe*, é colocada em perspectiva como programa e como missão. Programa, pois a percepção geral é a de que o Brasil continua a necessitar ser inventado. Missão, pois as pessoas cultas do país, relativamente poucas em número, consideram-se chamadas a fazer o país de acordo com um molde europeu. José Bonifácio, o patriarca dos tempos iniciais cuja formação inclui um período de estudos mineralógicos e metalúrgicos em Freiberg (Saxônia)], provavelmente tão tutelar quanto os que com ele conviveram ou depois

tratado com a Áustria sequer chegou a ser ratificado e o com a Inglaterra, malgrado forte pressão, não foi além de 1844.

- 3 “Nascido em meio a uma conjuntura em que se lutava pela preservação da soberania do país, o IHGB identificou-se com a política centralizadora daquele período, mantendo desde a origem a finalidade explícita de construir uma ‘memória nacional’ em que produção intelectual e relações de poder estivessem tão irmanadas que não haveria lugar para a discórdia”. Lília M. Schwarcz. *O espetáculo das raças: cientistas, institutos, instituições e questão racial no Brasil: 1870-1930*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1993, p. 135.
- 4 A missão austro-alemã que acompanhou a Imperatriz Leopoldina de Habsburgo inclui também outro bávaro, Johann Baptist von Spix (1781-1826). O engenheiro mineralogista Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege (1777-1855), originário de Hesse, foi também um protagonista de relevo nos primeiros passos do Brasil no campo científico.

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vieram, entendia que o Brasil não deveria emular a Europa, nem querer tornar-se uma Inglaterra ou uma França.

No plano historiográfico, a autonomia e a maturidade crítica demoraram a alcançar o grau de independência que José Bonifácio almejava. Novamente: como para a Alemanha, é a segunda metade do século 20 a chave da identidade historicamente formada e consolidada dentro da moldura inovadora das comunidades europeias (a partir de 1952) e da hoje União Europeia (institucionalizada pelo Tratado de Maastricht, em 1993). A modelização inicial da cultura histórica no Brasil, mesmo se a “Escola do Recife” pensava, lia e escrevia em alemão com Tobias Barreto (1838-1889), foi mais francesa. A historiografia brasileira foi, por longo período e, em certo sentido é ainda hoje, um departamento francês do ultramar, tomando emprestada a fórmula a Paulo Arantes.⁵ Não é esse, contudo, nosso ponto aqui, já que a autonomia crítica ganhou velocidade e espaço contemporaneamente e as fontes de inspiração e contraste se diversificaram notavelmente.⁶

Tobias Barreto é autor de um opúsculo representativo, escrito em alemão, em 1876: *Brasilien, wie es ist. O Brasil, como ele é*: um misto de descrição etnográfica restrita e de ontologia da brasilidade nacional. O viés filosófico, jurídico e literário prevalece nos escritos da Escola do Recife e nos leitores dos alemães da ‘escola metódica’ no final do século 19. Farias Brito, Sílvio Romero, Clóvis Bevilacqua seguem esse caminho. A relação com a cultura alemã e a admiração pelos feitos de Bismarck na consagração do império alemão não deixam traços na quadra final do império nem influenciam de modo perceptível os balbucios republicanos.

O krausismo jurídico, pela via espanhola e portuguesa, aparece nos floreios dos jurisconsultos; a filosofia transcendental de Kant fala, no

5 Paulo Eduardo Arantes. *Um Departamento Francês de Ultramar: estudos sobre a formação da cultura filosófica uspiana*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e terra, 1994.

6 E. de Rezende Martins. Conhecimento histórico e historiografia brasileira contemporânea. *Revista Portuguesa de História*, v. 42, p. 197-219, 2011.

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Brasil, um misto de português e castelhano.⁷ A república, tirada da cartola em 1889, às barbas dos bestializados, aspira aos ideais americanos e sonha com a harmonia positivista da estética política, urbanística e literária francesa.⁸

O rigor e o método alemães estão presentes de forma marcante em Capistrano de Abreu. Estamos ao largo do positivismo comteano que grassa em vários setores da vida política e intelectual brasileira. De Varnhagen se diz amiúde ter realizado, como amanuense, o programa de von Martius para responder à famosa questão do IHGB. Capistrano encarna uma atitude de reflexão e ponderação, na produção de seus capítulos de história colonial, que sorveu em amplo espectro de autores alemães, do século 16 até seu tempo, para formar sua visão analítica da realidade colonial brasileira. Alice P. Cannabrava (1911-2003), em sua conhecida *História econômica*, explica, com base na correspondência pessoal e nas publicações de Capistrano, que

A iniciação de Capistrano de Abreu na seara dos mestres alemães havia partido da História e, mais especialmente, do tema de sua tese de concurso à cadeira de História do Brasil do Colégio Pedro II, no Rio de Janeiro, realizado em 1883, o descobrimento do Brasil. A este tempo já publicava traduções de artigos escritos em língua alemã. O assunto pertencia a uma área de pesquisas que desfrutava de grande interesse, e para a qual vários autores alemães haviam dado contribuições notáveis. Estas subsistiram em todos escritos de Capistrano de Abreu com respeito às descobertas e explorações da época moderna.⁹

7 Antonio Paim. O krausismo brasileiro. Londrina: Cefil, 1999, 2ª. edição [<http://www.institutodehumanidades.com.br/arquivos/krausismo.pdf>].

8 José Murilo de Carvalho. *Os bestializados: o Rio de Janeiro e a República que não foi*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1987.

9 Alice P. Cannabrava. *História econômica: estudos e pesquisas*. São Paulo: Ed. Unesp/Hucitec, 2005, p. 259. Originalmente o texto intitulado “Varnhagen, Mar-

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Neue Heimat Brasilien – 200 Jahre deutsche
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den indigenen Völkern blutige
Auseinandersetzungen bei denen die



Ureinwohner Brasiliens den Waffen der
Kolonisten unterlegen waren die

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gezwungen zwei Drittel der indigenen
Bevölkerung wurde so ausgerottet



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Ende der 1920er Jahre gab es laut
walleris nur noch etwa 100 Ureinwohner

Peter Paul Müller aus Ohlweiler beschreibt seine Überfahrt und den Lebensalltag in Brasilien

Peter Paul Müller

Der Verfasser berichtet die Reiseroute: Abfahrt in Bingen am 29. Juli, weiter über Amsterdam und Muiden, Passage durch die Nordsee und verschiedene Inselstationen, schließlich Ankunft in Rio de Janeiro am 28. Oktober. Dort wurden die Auswanderer feierlich empfangen; der Minister und der Direktor der Kolonisation (Miranda) sorgten für Unterkunft und Versorgung. Nach einer Zwischenzeit in Rio wurden die Siedler nach St. Leopoldo weitergebracht. Bei der Landverteilung erhielt die Familie Müller sehr gutes Land: ein Haus und etwa 1200 Morgen Land, mit einem Garten und Wiesen in Flussnähe. Außerdem stellte der Kaiser Ausstattungen und Vieh (Pferde, Ochsen, Kühe) sowie Werkzeuge bereit, ebenso tägliche Zuschüsse für zwei Jahre. Das Klima und die Landwirtschaft werden positiv beschrieben: vielfältige und ertragreiche Kulturpflanzen (Korn, Reis, Tabak, Baumwolle, Kartoffeln u.v.m.), kaum Winter, gesunde Luft, gute Lebensverhältnisse und reichliche Nahrung. Es gibt Tierwelt, Insekten und einige Gefahren, aber insgesamt keine weit verbreiteten Seuchen. Religiöses und soziales Leben: es gibt Kirchen und Schulen (deutsche und portugiesische). Der Autor lernte Portugiesisch und gibt nun Unterricht. Er erwähnt Todesfälle (z. B. seine Schwester Maria Magdalena, gestorben in Rio) und warnt vor Vorschüssen an Einzelne. Er gibt praktische Hinweise für Ausreisewillige (Kontakt zu Majors/Capitänen in Hamburg/Amsterdam) und listet Nachbarn und bekannte Personen. Schluss: Grüße an Freunde und Familie, Bitte um Nachricht aus der Heimat; ausdrückliche Zufriedenheit mit dem neuen Leben in Brasilien.

Subsidies to the history of the German-speaking immigration to the province / State of São Paulo, Brazil.

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Nr. 233

**Subsidies to the History of the German-Speaking
Immigration to the Province / State of São Paulo, Brazil
(1840-1920)**

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February 2016

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Subsidies to the History of the German-Speaking Immigration to the Province / State of São Paulo, Brazil (1840-1920)

Subsídios à História da Imigração de Povos de Língua Alemã na Província / Estado de São Paulo, Brasil (1840-1920)

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Resumo

O presente artigo propõe uma cronologia para a imigração de povos de língua alemã em São Paulo, Brasil (1840-1920), identificando quatro tipos principais: (i) imigração individual espontânea; (ii) trabalhadores especializados contratados para obras públicas, principalmente para construção de estradas; (iii) trabalhadores envidados para as plantations, especialmente sob o sistema de parceria; (iv) imigrantes em colônias rurais oficiais e privadas. Na sequência, as ondas imigratórias dos últimos dois tipos são estudadas em detalhe, demonstrando como se interconectaram ao longo do tempo, bem como quão similares foram seus processos de integração. Tal cronologia objetiva prover um referencial para estudos futuros sobre as ondas imigratórias em São Paulo, de maneira geral, e de povos de língua alemã, em particular, complementando duas linhas da literatura. Primeiramente, fornece uma perspectiva mais dinâmica para a literatura clássica sobre a história dos contratos de trabalho, que é indiretamente relacionada à imigração de povos de língua alemã, sendo, contudo, estática ao listar eventos episódicos relacionados àquela. Em segundo lugar, o artigo emoldura, sob uma perspectiva mais geral, estudos especializados que se focam em impactos específicos dos imigrantes, como monografias atuais a respeito da história da educação e de escolas/instituições alemãs.

Palavras-chave: imigrantes de língua alemã, imigração, cafeicultura, parceria, colônias oficiais

Abstract

This paper proposes a chronology for the German-speaking immigration to São Paulo, Brazil (1840-1920) by identifying four main types: (i) spontaneous individual immigration; (ii) specialized laborers in public works, mainly road construction; (iii) indentured laborers in the plantations, mainly under the sharecropping system; (iv) settlers in official and private rural colonies. In the sequence, the immigration waves of the last two types are studied in detail, showing how they interconnected over time and how similar their processes of integration were. Such chronology aims to provide a framework for future studies about immigration waves to São Paulo, in general, and of German-speakers, in particular, complementing two strands in the literature. First, it provides a more dynamic perspective for the classical literature on the history of labor contracts, which is indirectly related to the immigration of German-speakers, but static in listing episodic events related to the latter. Second, it frames, under a more general perspective, specialized studies focused on specific impacts of the immigrants, such as current monographs about the history of education and German schools/institutions.

Palavras-chave: German-speaking immigrants, immigration, coffee plantations, sharecropping, official colonies

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Subsidies to the history of the German-speaking immigration to the province / State of São Paulo, Brazil.

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1. Introduction

In the introduction of the first Portuguese translation of the book by Thomas Davatz, Rubens Borba de Moraes (1941, p. 1) critically stated that “the history of immigration to São Paulo is still completely to be written”. Much progress in describing different immigration waves and in analyzing their socio-economic impacts has been attained since then. Nevertheless, the chronology of different immigration waves, especially when separated by nationalities, still presents significant gaps. This limitation is particularly severe for the case of German-speaking immigrants. In this case, immigration processes are usually described only episodically, generally focusing on the Sharecropper’s Riot of 1856, the consular missions of Heusser and Tschudi, and the diplomatic consequences of the Heydt’s Rescript. Although certainly important, these episodic descriptions overlook a more dynamic interpretation necessary to comprehend the processes of immigration and integration.

In the current paper, we provide a review of classical and current studies related (usually indirectly) to the immigration of German-speakers to São Paulo. Two interconnected limitations in this literature are pointed out: (i) its usual static character, focused on episodic events; and (ii) the lack of a complete chronology of immigration processes of specific nationalities. Based on this recognition, the paper then aims at providing a more complete and dynamic chronology for the German-speaking immigration to São Paulo, covering the period 1840 to 1920. In this way, we identify four main types of German-speaking immigrants: individuals spontaneously immigrated, laborers in public works, indentured laborers in the plantations, and settlers in rural colonies. By focusing on the last two types, we argue that their mechanisms of integration were similar, especially in terms of the economic niches explored by them after leaving the rural areas. Despite these commonalities in their processes of integration, we nevertheless stress the need to differentiate the cultural and socio-economic statuses of different immigration waves.

The paper is organized as follows. After discussing the historiography of the German-speaking immigration to São Paulo in section 2, we introduce the categories used to classify those immigrants in section 3. In section 4, a chronology for the indentured laborers in coffee plantations (1840-1870) and for the settlers in official and private colonies (1870-1920) is presented. In this section, we focus on the interconnections among different immigration waves and how subsequent processes of immigration and integration were influenced by previous ones. Before concluding, section 5 reunites these waves, observing the similitude in their processes of integration, especially in economic terms.

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2. A Review of the Literature

The most complete chronology of the German-speaking immigration to São Paulo was written in the 1950s by Friedrich Sommer. In a series of ten outreach articles entitled “S. Paulo und die Deutschen”, published in the Newspaper “Die Deutsche Zeitung”, in 1953, this author studies the presence of German-speakers in São Paulo from the foundation of the Captaincy of São Vicente until the beginning of World War II². The “Erstes Jahrbuch für die deutschsprechende Kolonie im Staate São Paulo”, published in 1905, provides, in addition, one of the most complete primary sources about the immigration of German-speakers. This is a publication in the format of an almanac edited by the German community of São Paulo. Beyond usual nominal lists found in almanacs, it includes a series of articles about the state and the German influence in diverse types of associations. Particularly relevant for our purposes are the texts of E. Heinke, A. Kuhlmann, and C. F. Scheler about the state of São Paulo in general, and T. Jahn, about Campinas.

Beyond these works, there is no academic study, to our knowledge, aiming to provide a general and systematic chronology of this particular immigration wave. Naturally, this does not mean that the history of German-speakers in São Paulo has not yet been properly studied: classical works by Sommer, Fouquet (1974), and a vast literature specialized on southern Brazil prove that this is not the case³. The point made here is that a unified and dynamic description of the German-speaking presence in São Paulo is still missing in the academic literature, especially when the objective is to link different immigration waves and episodic events associated with them. In this sense, academic studies either investigated the topic under a more static approach, by listing isolated events, or specialized in some ramifications of the immigration process, ignoring the more general context of the immigration processes.

Regarding the more static approach, particularly important are the classical works which link immigration to the formation of free-labor relations in the province. These include Dean (1977), Stolcke and Hall (1983), Lamounier (1986), and Viotti da Costa (1998). Although none of them is specifically focused on German-speaking immigrants, the processes overlap, given that Germans, Swiss, and Portuguese were the first main immigrants to whom sharecropping contracts were proposed at the period. Therefore, given the nature of their

² Source: Sommer (1953) - Instituto Martius-Staden. The Institute also preserves the index of a manuscript by Sommer, from 1945, in which three books with the complete history of German-speakers in São Paulo were planned. For details about it: Rothfuss (2014, pp. 124-130).

³ For a survey: Kupfer, Kutschat, Rothfuss, and Rüsche (2014).

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research question, it is not surprising that such studies deal with the history of this immigration punctually, only as long as it was relevant for modifications in the labor contracts and in the working conditions in São Paulo. For this reason, some particular events have been studied in detail, such as the first hiring of Germans in 1847, the Sharecroppers' Riot in 1856, and the international inspections of 1857 and 1860.

The other limitation of the literature, namely the continuous specialization that tend to lose sight of the general characteristics of the immigration processes, can be separated into two strands: (i) studies focused on specific municipalities or farms and (ii) the more recent literature dealing with the history of educational associations founded by German-speaking immigrants.

In the first case, given the historical prominence of Senator Vergueiro and the farm Ibicaba, it is natural that the abundance of primary sources leads to studies concentrated on them (Witter, 1982; Heflinger Jr., 2007, 2009)⁴. In this direction, new archival research by José Eduardo Heflinger Jr. deserves attention, especially because it shows that even well known episodic events can be re-interpreted under the light of new primary sources⁵.

The second refers to pivotal studies, especially monographs, focused on specific educational institutions⁶. This specialization deepens our understanding of the dynamics associated with the integration of immigrants into local societies. Given their research question, however, these studies do not intend to provide a general view of the associated immigration processes, making it difficult, if not impossible, to compare the historical phases of immigration just by juxtaposing their case studies. More recently, a related literature focused on Brazilian states emerged in Economic History and Development Economics. This has made use of immigration processes as an external shock on the demand for education and on institutional quality, impacting, as a consequence, long run economic development. In this line, Carvalho Filho and Colistete (2010) and Rocha, Ferraz, and Soares (2010) find a strong association between immigration and the historical accumulation of human capital in São Paulo. Stolz,

⁴ In addition, the books by Davatz (1941) and Tschudi (1980) provide readily available primary sources that have been largely explored in the literature. A less known, but also readily available, is Perret-Gentil (1851).

⁵ Heflinger Jr. (2007, 2009) published, among others, the open letter of Samuel Kerst against immigration to Brazil, manuscripts of Dr. Heusser and Tschudi, as well as the manuscript of the latter to Senator Sinimbu. Those sources bridge the perspectives of public authorities in Brazil, German-States, and Switzerland, as well of immigrants. An academic re-evaluation of the Sharecropper's Riot and of the official inspections of Heusser and Tschudi is urgent under the light of these new sources.

⁶ These include the works of Bezerra (2001) for Bairro dos Pires (Limeira); Ribeiro (2005) for the proletarian and German school in Vila Carioba (Santa Bárbara); Gouvêa (2011) for Colégio Koelle (Rio Claro); Silva (2010) for Colonies Riograndense and Nova Riograndense (Maracá). Nobre (2004) and Bezerra (2007), in addition, concentrate in constructing a general panorama for the German schools and their histories.

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Baten, and Botelho (2013) discuss a similar positive impact of immigration on numeracy, considering an extended dataset for the whole country. For Rio Grande do Sul, on the other hand, Carvalho Filho and Monasterio (2012) argue that lower inequality associated with immigrants, rather than human capital accumulation, is their primary contribution for long run development outcomes. The most dissonant perspective in this literature is Musacchio, Martínez-Fritscher, and Viarengo (2014), who defend that the political economy of financing education offsets the impact of immigration in terms of human capital formation.

Before advancing, a word of caution about the nature of our critique is necessary. The aforementioned studies have significantly advanced our understanding of the history of immigration to São Paulo. However, given their objectives and research agendas (more focused on labor relations and on specific associations, respectively), they did not provide a complete evaluation of the specific immigration of German-speakers to São Paulo. The novelty of our proposition, in this sense, is to frame the latter literature in a broader context and to provide the dynamic links for the episodic events well-studied in the first. Under this perspective, we now turn to the proposal of a chronological framework for the German-speaking immigration to São Paulo.

3. German-speakers: Individual Immigrants, Laborers in Public Works, Indentured Laborers, and Official Settlers

It is very problematic, if not completely incorrect, to define a “German-speaking immigration process” to São Paulo in general and indistinct terms. Rather, what occurred were waves of immigrants with different characteristics, who can be labeled as “German-speakers” because of their regions of origin, language, and, potentially, cultural traits (which, as will be discussed, also varied). Such distinctions are particularly important when analyzing the impacts of these immigrants on the receiving society of São Paulo⁷.

Two ways to categorize these different waves are to determine the motivations and possibilities to immigrate, as well as the immigrants’ mechanisms of integration. In the period 1840-1920, four main types of German-speaking immigrants in São Paulo can be identified, namely those who: (i) spontaneously immigrated, on an individual basis; (ii) were officially

⁷ Kreutz (2000), for instance, differentiates the demand for education among different waves of German-speaking immigrants, taking into account their regions of origin and religious bases.

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contracted by the provincial government for specialized activities in public works⁸; (iii) were privately contracted as labor force for the plantations, mainly as sharecroppers in coffee harvesting; and (iv) entered the province/state for settlement in official or private rural colonies.

The first two were especially relevant at the beginning of the 19th century, but tended to decline in numerical importance after the second half of that century, supplanted by the third and fourth types, which were at the core of the political agenda related to immigration. This paper therefore focuses on the indentured laborers (1840-1870) and the official settlers (1870-1920). By explaining the mechanisms of their economic integration, we argue that both faced similar experiences after leaving the rural areas, despite strong socio-economic differences between them.

Although such categorization implies a series of abstractions in terms of the characteristics of the immigrants, we nonetheless consider it useful for three reasons. First, the timing of the predominance of indentured work (1840-1870) and official colonies (1870-1920) overlaps with the pre- and post-Unification of Germany⁹. This element can be used in future research to link the push and pull factors which determined international migration between German-speaking regions and São Paulo. Second, the classification by immigrants' types provides a dynamic thread that can be used to link them. This point can be illustrated in terms of the human capital accumulation process: although we separate indentured workers from official settlers, they showed a certain degree of continuity in the process of creating ethnic schools¹⁰. A similar argument could be made in terms of the regions where they settled and clustered, as well as in terms of the economic activities in which they engaged after leaving the farms or official colonies. Finally, the categorization provides the tools for a chronological framework to which new episodic events can be added and well established ones, re-evaluated.

⁸ See especially Lamounier (2000). Bezerra (2001, Appendix 10, pp. 239-242) brings a report written by the German engineer Hermann Guenther, responsible for road construction in Santa Bárbara (1856). Karastojanov (1998, p. 62, note 193) mentions the presence of German-speaking road constructors in Campinas. It is noteworthy the parallels that can be traced between these workers and the sharecroppers in the coffee farms, especially in terms of their complaints about the non-fulfillment of their contracts.

⁹ Some tension existed among Germans immigrated previously to the Unification, post-1871, and the first generation of German-Brazilians. Differences among them included: (i) use of standardized German, local dialects or Portuguese; (ii) feelings of nationalism vs. belonging to local communities; (iii) religious perspectives (Magalhães, 1993, pp. 27, 28, as cited in Karastojanov, 1998, p. 56).

¹⁰ Our evaluation is, at this point, dissonant from Rocha, Ferraz, and Soares (2010, p. 3), who argue that immigrants to official colonies in São Paulo self-selected as the most skilled, "much in contrast with the [...] mass of relatively lower skilled immigrants that went after the coffee frontiers". Even though the authors find robust empirical support for this claim, there is strong qualitative evidence in our historical setting that earlier immigrants (sharecroppers), not related to official colonies, were pivotal to the creation of the first associative schools. Whether this is a nationality-based feature remains unanswered.

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It is also necessary, on the other hand, to recognize that the chronology based on this categorization is not exempt of shortcomings. First, by focusing on the last two types of immigrants, we deliberately do not deepen the history of German-speakers contracted by the government for certain specialized activities, a modality of immigration which seems particularly important in the 1850s¹¹. Second, our spatial cut focuses only on the countryside of São Paulo, excluding the capital. Therefore, other relevant historical events, such as the first official colonies in Santo Amaro and Itapeceira, are only mentioned insofar as they are related to immigration in the countryside. Third, the period coverage excludes immigration waves posterior to the critical years following World War I and starts with the sharecropping colonies, in 1847. The latter implies that autonomous immigration before the 1840s, as well as organized immigration waves, such as with the employees of the Iron Fabric Ipanema, in Sorocaba, are not taken into account. Such episodes are, nevertheless, all interconnected to some extent. Senator Vergueiro's public opposition to the colony in Santo Amaro, for instance, certainly influenced the political debate that led to the adoption of the sharecropping system in the 1840s. In addition, there is evidence that some immigrants to Santo Amaro and Itapeceira in the 1820s later migrated to sharecropping colonies in the countryside, in the 1850s.

4. From Indentured Laborers (1840-1870) to Official Settlers (1870-1920)

4.1. Slavery, Coffee Plantations, and German-speaking Sharecroppers in São Paulo

From the 1840s to the 1870s, between 5,000 and 8,000 immigrants arrived at the countryside of São Paulo to work as colonists¹² in the coffee plantations, the majority from German States and Switzerland (Heinke, 1905, p. 267; Buarque de Holanda, 1941, pp. 27, 28; Methner, 1962, p. 49)¹³. This initial rush toward new sources of labor can be understood under the light

¹¹ Sources: "Resumo da despeza feita pela caza Vergueiro & Cia. com o engajamento de colonos para o serviço das estradas dessa Província, em virtude do Acto do Governo de 27 de Dezembro de 1854", Contadoria Provincial, 06.10.1857. Contrato para obtenção de 350 trabalhadores estrangeiros para as estradas de São Paulo, "O Presidente da Província de São Paulo considerando a falta extraordinária de trabalhadores para o serviço das estradas [...]", Palácio do Governo de São Paulo, 27.12.1854 – APESP: Lata C07213 – Colônias.

¹² The term "colony" is somewhat imprecisely defined both in primary sources and in the historiography. It may refer to all immigration types previously listed: (i) to any community of immigrants, both in rural and urban centers; (ii) to official settlements of immigrants in rural areas; (iii) to areas in the farms which had the houses of immigrants. Unless otherwise specified, we use it to refer to free workers in the coffee plantations, hired under free labor systems, such as sharecropping, fixed payments, daily payments, mixed contracts etc.

¹³ Sommer (1953, V) provides smaller estimates: 2,930 Germans, 817 Swiss, and another 364 German-speakers for the period 1847-1862. Scheler (1905, p. 171) reports the immigration of 5,329 people to São Paulo in the period 1827-1855, of which 3,093 were German-speakers. For 1853-1857, Grininger (1991, p. 38, based on

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of the increasing costs in the African slave trade and of the initial phase of expansion of the coffee plantation in the central plateau of São Paulo. International pressure, mainly from Britain, culminated in the official prohibition of the African slave trade in 1850. The prices of captive labor skyrocketed in the inter-provincial trade: not only had the demand for labor increased, but the international supply was threatened (Dean, 1977).

The original proposer of immigration based on indentured labor was the firm Vergueiro & Cia., from Senator Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro. His first larger-scale experiment with free labor was carried out with Portuguese in 1840, but failed soon thereafter¹⁴. In 1847, with immigrants from Mainz, Rhenish Prussia, and Holstein, Senator Vergueiro initiated a new chapter in the history of immigration to São Paulo (Perret-Gentil, 1851; Heflinger Jr., 2007, 2009). The main type of contract at the period was based on the sharecropping system: immigrant families, once in the coffee plantations, used a percentage (usually half) of their annual revenues from the harvested coffee to amortize the initial debt (loans for the transatlantic travel) and further loans received throughout the year.

Although problems with the incentive structure in sharecropping contracts are theoretically well-established today, at the time, they worked to eliminate the barriers constraining the emigration of the poorest parcels of the population in the German States and Switzerland (Dean, 1977, p. 113; Heflinger Jr., 2007, p. 37). This allowed the system to drastically expand in the following years. In São Paulo, there was a significant increase in the number of farmers who proposed their own contracts directly in Europe, as well as others who started to hire workers who had already immigrated. As a result, around 1860, more than 100 agricultural producers employed workers under free labor contracts (Witzel-Souza, 2012, p. 85). Vergueiro & Cia. turned out to be the leading force in the immigration business, having signed and fulfilled two contracts with the provincial government of São Paulo to introduce about 4,500 workers into the countryside from 1852 to 1856. The chains of the immigration business were intricate and increased in complexity over time, transforming itself into an activity specialized in contracting, transporting, and establishing immigrants from Europe to Brazil. In this system of indentured work, the farmer, who usually held high ranked political positions, proposed contracts through an agent in Europe. This agent hired the families to

Ziegler, 1985, pp. 103-107) cites 1,823 Swiss immigrants. These numbers are in line with previous estimations, but underestimate the entries accordingly to official reports, such as the contracts of Vergueiro & Cia. with the Provincial Government of São Paulo (Witzel-Souza, 2012, p. 85).

¹⁴ The Senator attributed the failure of this experiment to the political hostilities caused by the Liberal Revolution, in 1842. More accurate accounts, however, point out problems in the contracts and management of the Portuguese (Tschudi, 1980, p. 137; Calógeras, 1998, pp. 353,354; Heflinger Jr., 2007, pp. 26-34).

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work in the coffee plantations and provided them with a loan to cover the travel costs to Brazil. The agent also directed the families to the ship-owners who controlled the transatlantic transportation¹⁵. In Europe, the number of agents and ship-owners increased steadily at the period, which led to an early political opposition to the emigration rush (Heflinger Jr., 2007, pp. 60-65)

4.2. A Chronology Based on Contracts: Four Phases of Immigration in the Period 1847-1870

Although the objective of the current paper is not to track the history of labor relations in São Paulo, the evolution of indentured labor contracts (especially of sharecropping) provides a useful chronology for the immigration of German-speakers in the period 1840-1870¹⁶. This first wave can be sub-categorized into four phases¹⁷: (i) the initial experiments of Vergueiro & Cia. (1847-1852); (ii) the expansion period (1852-1856); (iii) the riots and international inspections (1856-1861); (iv) the fade out period of sharecropping (1861-1870).

From 1847 to 1852, Vergueiro & Cia. was the only to propose its own sharecropping contracts directly in Europe. It was followed thereafter by Senator Souza Queiroz, brother-in-law of Senator Vergueiro, in 1852. As a consequence, immigrants were concentrated around the farm Ibicaba (Limeira-Cordeirópolis), where the so-called Colony Senador Vergueiro was constituted¹⁸. This first experiment with a larger-scale and systematic immigration agenda was financially supported by the provincial government, allowing the firm to provide the loans for indentured laborers (Dean, 1977, pp. 95, 96).

Senator Vergueiro and his son José Vergueiro (member of the firm, who assumed the position of the father after his death)¹⁹ were involved with immigration policies since the 1820s. Senator Vergueiro was not only a staunch political opponent of the settlement colonies established in São Paulo in the 1820s, but was also the coordinator of the road construction

¹⁵ In Switzerland, the process involved one agent more. Municipalities offered loans and subsidies to those interested in emigrating. The farmer compromised to pay back the municipalities once the contributions of the immigrants were cashed in (Davatz, 1941, especially pp. 142-143).

¹⁶ This section expands the historical argument presented in Witzel-Souza (2012).

¹⁷ Haach (1999) proposes a similar chronology. Her analysis, however, is concentrated in just one municipality (Rio Claro), is extended until 1945, and is based more on local economic conditions.

¹⁸ Sources: "Rio de Janeiro, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 10.02.1855; Visconde de Abaeté a S. Exc. Presidente da Província de São Paulo" e "Cópia Anexa ao Aviso n. 1 dirigida pelo Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros [...]" – APESP: Lata C07755; Perret-Gentil (1851, pp. 32-33).

¹⁹ Anexo 13 – "Contrato Social" – in Witter (1982, pp. 107-116).

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project that employed German-speaking immigrants in 1838-1839²⁰. In those years, about 270 Germans were contracted by Major Bloem to work in the reforms of the roads leading from Cubatão to the countryside²¹. This experience provided Senator Vergueiro with the political authority and management capacity to hire immigrants to work in road construction later, in the 1850s, when the government of the province contracted his firm to engage this specialized workforce in the German States, Switzerland, and Portugal²². Moreover, José Vergueiro assumed the responsibility of managing the police force that suppressed the strike of German-speaking road workers in 1839²³. This can be seen as an important precedent to his handling of the Sharecroppers' Riot of 1856, as discussed in the sequence²⁴.

Given his previous expertise in the 1820s and 1830s, it is therefore not surprising that Senator Vergueiro concentrated his efforts on hiring workers in the German States in the 1850s. It is reasonable to argue that he already had the know-how and the contacts to establish his own agents in Europe. This is a relevant historical proposition, because in the aftermath of the Sharecroppers' Riot, farmers accused the agents in Europe of being responsible for hiring people who were morally degenerated and unable to work in rural areas²⁵. Although a problem of economic agency is evident here, it is not reasonable to think that farmers would keep these agents if problems with the people they contracted continued to happen in a systematic way. This argument becomes even more implausible if we take into account the previous relations farmers such as Senator Vergueiro had with the policies and business of immigration.

Apart from the exacerbated pro-emigration propaganda released in a specialized European press, the sharecropping system seems to have indeed progressed in the period 1847-1852 (Perret-Gentil, 1851; Heflinger Jr., 2009, pp. 25-40). This allowed for the expansion period (1852-1856), with an increase in the international migration between the German States, Switzerland, and São Paulo. In Europe, agents enlarged their networks by covering broader

²⁰ Source: Sommer (1953 - IV).

²¹ Others were directed to the Iron Fabric Ipanema, in Sorocaba (Idem).

²² Sources: "O Presidente da Província de São Paulo considerando a falta extraordinária de trabalhadores para o serviço das estradas [...]", 27.12.1854 – APESP: lata C07213: Colônias; Heinke (1905, p. 266).

²³ Ibidem.

²⁴ Sources: Davatz (1941, pp. 175-178); "Carta de José Vergueiro apresentando ao conselheiro Nabuco de Araújo [...]", appendix to Davatz (1941, pp. 261-263).

²⁵ Sources: Carta de Nicolau de Campos Vergueiro ao Presidente da Província de São Paulo em 6 de Janeiro de 1856 – APESP, Lata C07213 – Colônias. For a critical discussion about the type of immigrant and these accusations: Dean (1977, pp. 112-114).

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regions and by involving themselves in deeper political relations²⁶. The consular activity was increasingly related to the business of immigration, with constant inquiries between Brazilian and German authorities²⁷. In São Paulo, in turn, the dynamic center of coffee production faced a completely new phenomenon in a society still based on slavery: farmers started to negotiate the best contractual terms with laborers, though with much resistance from both sides²⁸.

Given that it was the first systematic experiment with free labor to take place at the core of a slave-based economy, it is not hard to conceptualize what economic and institutional difficulties there were in designing the contracts and in effectively applying them – both by farmers and by colonists. Conflicts occurred throughout the whole decade of the 1850s²⁹. This is an example of how misleading the static approach of listing punctual events can be. If one considers just the events of 1847 (the first hiring of German-speakers by Vergueiro & Cia) and 1856 (the Sharecroppers' Riot), the false perspective is given that the indentured labor system progressed linearly up to that date and then declined steadily. From a more dynamic perspective, it is possible to observe that conflicts and the fulfillment of contracts occurred throughout the whole decade. For instance, official complaints from German-speakers in Constituição (Piracicaba) had occurred already in 1853. And the Sharecroppers' Riot was preceded by another strike, in Ubatuba, just some months beforehand (Witzel-Souza, 2011, p. 50).

The main divisor for this second phase occurred in 1856, with the Sharecroppers' Riot. The schoolmaster Thomas Davatz received instructions from the municipalities of Canton Graubünden asking him to write a report about the working and living conditions of the colonists. His critical view strongly opposed the propaganda maintained by the pro-emigration press in Europe, mainly sourced with letters which had been previously censored by the farmers. The riot started to mature in August 1856, initiated by an announcement from the director of Ibicaba, who had expected higher prices for the coffee in that season's harvest. A sequence of unpleasantness among colonists, the directors of the colony, and the farmers

²⁶ The expansion went from the Rhine region towards the south, moving in the direction of Switzerland especially, and from Schleswig-Holstein toward the south-eastern provinces of Prussia.

²⁷ For an early assessment on the potentiality of the German States as territory for hiring labor, including a discussion about the most suitable geographic regions, see Visconde de Abrantes (1846).

²⁸ For a detailed discussion, see Dean (1977), Lamounier (1986), and Viotti da Costa (1998).

²⁹ Sources: Ofício do Juiz Municipal da Constituição, Manoel de Moraes Barros, ao Presidente da Província de São Paulo - Constituição, 08.12.1853 – APESP: Lata C07212 – Colônias; APESP: Lata C07755 – Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros contains a series of documents about the strike in colony Nova Olinda (Ubatuba), among which “Rio de Janeiro. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 6 d junho de 1856”, “N. 17, Idem, Palácio do overno de S. Paulo, 13.12.1856, Vasconcellos”; Portaria de Bernardo Correa Mosragão, Delegado de Polícia, 31.07.1856, Ubatuba.

instigated the riot in December, when Davatz announced to the colonists that he had sent his report to Europe, without the consent of the farmer (Davatz, 1941, chapter IV).

The event triggered three Brazilian inspections and the official Swiss consular missions of Dr. Heusser (1857) and Tschudi (1861)³¹, sent to São Paulo to evaluate the living conditions in Ibicaba and other farms employing Swiss immigrants, respectively. Although the situation in Ibicaba was temporarily pacified after Dr. Heusser's mission, structural problems with the application of contracts were not resolved (Davatz, 1941, pp. 137, 204; Dean, 1977). Nonetheless, the riot had two long-lasting effects. First, it marked the transition from the sharecropping system to new types of contracts, especially fixed payments, gradually leading to labor relations more similar to a modern wage system. Second, it led to an intense diplomatic communication between Switzerland and the German States, especially Prussia and the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. This diplomatic communication culminated in the Heydt's Rescript in Prussia, which prohibited propaganda promoting immigration to São Paulo and was later extended to southern Brazil (Heflinger Jr., 2009, pp. 55-63). At the same time, the consular activity in the Campinas' region intensified, with the objective of defending German and Swiss immigrants in the aftermath of the riot (Heflinger Jr., 2013, p. 28, 29)³².

Heydt's Rescript did not prohibit emigration itself, but it had major impacts in diminishing the inflow of German-speakers to São Paulo. In the period 1881-1886, only 630 Germans (2% of total immigrants), 221 Austrians (0.7%), and 64 Swiss (0.2%) officially entered the province (Seckler, 1888, p. 101). In 1881, no officially registered Swiss immigrated to Brazil. And only 0.4% and 1.5% of Swiss emigrants went to Brazil in 1889 and 1909, respectively³³. Nevertheless, spontaneous individual immigration continued, especially from Switzerland.

³⁰ A growing mistrust between colonists and farmers was at the core of most conflicts at the period. As a response, the design of contracts tended to improve (Lamounier, 1986). Institutionally, however, the effective application of these improved clauses was harmed by a biased rule of law in favor of the farmers. Furthermore, colonists had exaggerated expectations, caused by the propaganda in Europe (Witzel-Souza, 2012, pp. 83, 104).

³¹ Two contradictory reports were written by Dr. Heusser. The uncertainty about the conditions in São Paulo finally led Swiss authorities to send Johann Jakob von Tschudi, in 1860 (Heflinger Jr., 2007, pp. 63-65). Tschudi's reports are among the most tempered, recognizing the role played by both farmers and immigrants in the existing conflicts. Back in Europe, he also interceded for the religious and educational assistance of the immigrants. Source: "Johann Jacob von Tschudi, ausserordentlicher [...]", Bundesarchiv Bern, E2#2103#101.

³² Another intense period of consular communications in the countryside of São Paulo took place at the end of the 1860s, during the dissolution of Colony Senador Vergueiro. In the minutes of the "Reading and School Association of Campinas", members of the immigrant community proposed to support the colonists of Ibicaba with articles in the Brazilian press and even to petition the German Kaiser (Minutes, 4 (or 7).03.1866, in Karastojanov, 1998, p. 193). The main leader of this plan was Vice-Consul Jorge Krug, whose family had prominent positions in the social and economic life of Campinas.

³³ In 1922, a second boom was observed, with 10.8% of all emigrated Swiss going to Brazil (only behind the United States and Argentina). In the period 1922-1928, however, the average reached only 6.16%. Calculations based on Liniger (1948, p. 18).

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Schoolmaster N. Krähenbühl, for example, provided detailed instructions for members of his family who wished to migrate; in his reports, the regular operation of steamship and vessel lines between Hamburg and Santos is mentioned, showing that this channel of international migration was still active³⁴.

Immigration policies assumed new features in the period 1860-1870. Institutionally, the process became more complex, including the establishment of official contract agencies, such as the Sociedade Auxiliadora da Imigração (Witzel-Souza, 2011, p. 30). In later decades, these efforts culminated in official institutions held by the provincial and national governments to promote immigration, as discussed in the next section. The international political scenario received more attention, with the Brazilian consulates in Europe more aligned with the objectives of hiring labor force. At the same time, individual initiatives attempted to increase the immigration of German-speakers. Two are of particular interest. First, colony Campos Salles was conceptualized by the Swiss community of São Paulo as a place to settle their compatriots³⁵. Second, in the period 1881-1895, about 300 Swiss immigrated to the farm of Queiroz Telles' family, exact the same farm where sharecroppers had worked, back in 1854³⁶. These new immigrants later founded colony Helvetia, in Indaiatuba (Grininge, 1991, p. 18).

The influx of German-speakers, however, was kept low. At the beginning of the mass immigration period to São Paulo, 1877-1892, from a total of 373,930 immigrants who arrived in Santos, just 8,360 (2.24%) and 5,784 (1.55%) were Germans and Austrians, respectively (Sommer, 1953, V)³⁷. And even in 1905, the events and consequences of the riot from 1856 were still recurrently recovered in the German press, especially with respect to the working conditions in São Paulo. Scheler (1905, pp. 168-175) discusses whether immigration to Brazil still resembled slavery (already in the 20th century), an argument that seems to have been largely accepted in Germany. The general perception about São Paulo was very negative for decades. The same was true in Switzerland: in the 1880s, the ex-colonist von Zuben was sent back in the attempt to recruit new immigrants and to initiate a second phase of Swiss immigration (Grininge, 1991, pp. 52-55). In this depressed scenario, the stage was set for a type of immigration long abandoned in São Paulo: official settlement colonies.

³⁴ Source: Niklaus Krähenbühl, 21.11.1873 and 23.04.1875 in Krähenbühl (2006, p. 49).

³⁵ Sources: Scheler (1905, pp. 171, 176); Deutsche Zeitung São Paulo, 23.02.1935 – Instituto Martius-Staden.

³⁶ The practice of Swiss municipalities of providing loans to people who wished to emigrate, as a policy to alleviate local poverty, prevailed until the 1880s, despite previous problems (Grininge, 1991, p. 41).

³⁷ In line, while Germans represented 50% of immigrants in Rio Claro in 1872, they were only 1.3% and 8% of the foreigners who entered the city in the periods 1886-1900 and 1901-1920 (Gouvêa, 2011, pp. 27, 44, 49).

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4.3. Official Settlement Colonies (1870-1920)

In the 1870s, a new wave of immigration was fostered with official settlements launched by the Brazilian Empire and by the province of São Paulo (Kreutz, 2000, p. 349; Rocha, Ferraz, and Soares, 2010). This type of immigration was no novelty, though. Already in the 1820s, an economically disastrous experiment had been carried out with official settlements of German-speakers in Santo Amaro and Itapeçerica³⁸, as well as in Rio Negro (this municipality is currently in the state Paraná)³⁹ (Scheler, 1905, p. 171; Sommer, 1953, IV). Economic isolation and institutional problems in creating and implementing the property rights to landownership in the colony led to their dispersion and fueled critics. To argue that the debate in the 1840s was won by the proposals of establishing workers in the plantations, rather than in settlement colonies, partially due to this experience would not be an exaggeration (Siriani, 2003, pp. 45-56).

During the 1850s and 1860s, the municipality Cananeia also had a colony with direct links to the German-speaking community of the province. Although Kuhlmann (1905, p. 90) reports that this colony was mostly inhabited by Englishmen, its board of directors was continuously under German administration, with Julio Grothe as its commissioner, in 1862, and Godofredo Augusto Schmidt as its president, in 1864. The presence of foreigners in its administration was kept over time: in 1873, the vice-director was Luiz Donker Wander Heoff⁴⁰. Of particular interest are the ties between this official colony and the sharecroppers. In 1862, Swiss colonists faced an acute crisis with the farmers Dr. Pacheco Jordão and Elias Silveira, in Rio Claro and Piracicaba. To solve it, the Brazilian Empire offered their settlement in Cananeia in September 1862, with subsidies from the Brazilian government and the Swiss Consulate. Among the transferred colonists was Samuel Krähenbühl, brother of the schoolmaster of

³⁸ Heinke (1905, p. 253) brings precise numbers for this immigration process: 926 Rheinländer, Schlesier, and Ostpreussen, of whom 336 went to the colony in Itapeçerica, under direction of Dr. Justiniano de Mello Franco. This director studied medicine at the University of Göttingen, in Germany, and was the first professional doctor to live in Campinas. His daughter, Ms. Elisa Justina de Melo Oliveira, became the Baroness of Rio Claro and Countess of Araraquara (Sommer, 1953 - IV; Begliomini, without date; Karastojanov, 1998, p. 118, note 388).

³⁹ Karastojanov (1998, p. 29, note 78) argues that the Baron von Langsdorff, in Rio de Janeiro, intended to send German-speaking immigrants to São Paulo already at the beginning of the 1820s. However, given that the attempt failed, immigrants settled on his own farm, in Rio de Janeiro, but dispersed soon after.

⁴⁰ Sources: "Lista, O Encarregado do Núcleo Colonial Cananeia", 07.09.1862; "Ofício Directoria da Imperial Colônia de Cananeia", em 12.05.1864, APESP: lata C07212: Colônias; "Lista, O Encarregado do Núcleo Colonial Cananeia, 07.09.1862".

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Friedrich Krähenbühl, a Swiss immigrant, was the first to propose the settlement of German-speakers in the interior of São Paulo, Brazil. He was a pioneer in the process of making immigration to the interior of São Paulo, Brazil. He was a pioneer in the process of making immigration to the interior of São Paulo, Brazil.

The process of making immigration to the interior of São Paulo, Brazil, was a complex one. It involved the settlement of German-speakers in the interior of São Paulo, Brazil. It was a process that was shaped by the needs of the colony and the interests of the government.

Given the problems of the interior of São Paulo, Brazil, the government decided to settle German-speakers in the interior of São Paulo, Brazil. This was done through the creation of colonies, from 1857 to 1864. The government provided transportation facilities, with better and quicker routes. Ferraz, and Soares (2010, pp. 7-9) identified 30 colonies, established by both national and provincial/state governments in the interior of São Paulo, Brazil, constituted with immigrants from diverse nationalities.

Colonies Campos Salles (Cosmópolis) and Nova Europa (Itibura) were the most relevant to the immigration of German-speakers. The first was established in 1857 as an initiative of the Swiss community, whose members asked the Brazilian government to sell land to

⁴¹ Krähenbühl mentions an attempt to create a new colony in Itamburé, along the stream of River Piracicaba: "A municipality was expected to be founded there, but there was an epidemic of [yellow] fever. For a long time, no one has mentioned it; I even think it has been abandoned" (N. Krähenbühl, Campinas, 25.12.1862, in Krähenbühl, 2006, p. 29). No further information was found on this attempt. Kuhlmann (1905, p. 90) cites, in addition, a colony named "Pariquera-Assú", in the region of Ribeira Valley.

⁴² In official communication with the General Consul of Switzerland in Rio de Janeiro, the German Vice-Consul in Campinas, Jorge Krug, also reproached the behavior and morality of some colonists transferred to Cananéia. Sources: "Lista, O Encarregado do Núcleo Colonial Cananéia", 07.09.1862 – APESP: lata C07212: Colônias; Heflinger Jr. (2013, p. 27).

⁴³ Sources: "O Delegado da Diretoria das Terras Públicas, José Joaquim Machado de Oliveira, 07.06.1864"; "Ofício Directoria da Imperial Colônia de Cananéia", em 12.05.1864, APESP: lata C07212: Colônias.

⁴⁴ Sources: "Cópia. Opinião de C. Perret Gentil sobre as queixas apresentadas pelos Colonos da Colônia Senador Vergueiro" – Iticaba, 01.05.1857 – APESP: Lata C07214 – Colônias; Heflinger Jr. (2009, p. 40, 2013, p. 19).

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economically disfavored Swiss. Schoolmaster J. Keller, who later became a prominent figure in educational questions of the state, led the establishment of the first 11 Swiss families. Many left the colony in the coming years and were mostly substituted by Germans, Austrians, and Brazilians⁴⁵. Nova Europa, in turn, was among the biggest settlement centers of São Paulo, with Spaniards and Germans as the most prominent nationalities; the latter counted at least 140 families in that colony⁴⁶.

Other official and private settlements with a large influx of German-speakers were created during the Republican period, in the further out western parcels of the state reached by the agricultural frontier in the first decades of the 20th century. In the municipality Presidente Venceslau, about 70 German families settled in different colonies, including Quellentau, Thanenberg, and Aimoré⁴⁷. In the nearby municipality of Assis, colonies Riograndense and Nova Riograndense were created by private land sellers, with the settlement of native Germans and German-Brazilians (Silva, 2010, p. 53). In the same decade, colony Paulista was established close to Araçatuba, with approximately 300 Germans. Finally, about 20 Austrian families settled in Itararé and 80 Germans in colony Costa Machado (Dreier, 1996, pp. 9-12, 18-19; Bezerra, 2007, pp. 74-77).

Propaganda in favor of immigration to São Paulo recovered ground after the abrogation of the Heydt's Rescript, in 1893. We found a series of public and private advertisements for the sale of land in the first decades of the 20th century. The parallels between these renewed propaganda efforts and the old pro-emigration propaganda from the 1850s and 1860s are remarkable, especially due to their structure and potentiality to create exaggerated expectations. One of them was officially published in German and Portuguese by the Companhia Geral de Imigração e Colonização do Brasil, aimed at selling land in Ribeirão Preto for the German community in the 1920s⁴⁸. Especially problematic, however, were the private advertisements by Carlos Steinberg and Carlos Lehmann, who were selling land in the Paraíba Valley and São José dos Campos, as well as the selling of properties in Colony Riograndense by the Colonizer Enterprise of Isernhagen and Malve⁴⁹. The announcements of the latter included false promises to the immigrants, since property rights were not initially set in this colony (Silva, 2010, pp. 54-58).

⁴⁵ Sources: Keller (1919, p. 14); Deutsche Zeitung S.P., 23.02.1935; HWF, Deutsche Zeitung (01.07.1994, p. 3) – Instituto Martius-Staden.

⁴⁶ Source: Keller (1919, pp. 10, 11).

⁴⁷ Bezerra (2007, pp. 76, 77) mentions 170 families with German origins in the region of Presidente Venceslau.

⁴⁸ Source: "Landwirte!" - Doc. GIVh, n. 72/2 - Instituto Martius-Staden.

⁴⁹ Source: Deutsche Zeitung S.P., 28.10.1924 und 08.10.1925 – Doc. GIVn, n. 198 - Instituto Martius-Staden.

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These initiatives allowed the German-speaking immigration to recover some pace, although it never reassumed the relatively large representativeness it had in the period 1840-1860. The conditions for German-speaking immigration had undergone deep modifications in those decades: influxes were more associated with official colonies, private land selling, and spontaneous immigration to the economically most dynamic urban centers, such as Campinas, Santos, and the capital. In 1905, about 25,000 people with German-speaking origins lived in the state (Kuhlmann, 1905, p. 33; Scheler, 1905, p. 167). Right before World War I, the number had augmented to about 30,000 German-speakers, and further grew to about 35,000 Germans and 15,000 Austrians in the years following the war – without taking into account German-Brazilians. Including German-speakers of the Baltic States, Hungary, Poland, and Yugoslavia, the number of German-speaking immigrants right before World War II peaked at 100,000 in São Paulo (Sommer, 1953, VIII)⁵⁰.

5. The Process of Economic Integration of German-Speaking Immigrants

To indentured laborers who fulfilled their contracts' obligations and paid back their loans, there were four main alternatives that could be pursued to get integrated into the economic and social life of the countryside of São Paulo: (i) to sign a new contract with farmers, in order to better learn the Brazilian production conditions and to accumulate capital with credits on earnings (rather than re-paying loans with interest); (ii) to further migrate, either in direction of the coffee frontier, or to other regions with immigrant clusters, especially to southern Brazil; (iii) to buy their own land; (iv) to move to urban centers, where they could apply their on-the-job skills learned in Europe (which were only sporadically used on the farms). The integration of immigrants from official settlement colonies was different just initially. For this type, settlement would have already taken place in rural areas. However, official colonies worked as an “entrance door” to the economy of São Paulo, and most left their own land in search of better economic opportunities, including in urban centers (Haach, 1999; Rocha, Ferraz, and Soares, 2010, pp. 15, 18). Therefore, most immigrants faced similar processes of integration. As a consequence, it is frequent to find surnames of both indentured laborers and official settlers in the same associations founded by immigrants. Some of the most prominent examples include the membership of ex-sharecroppers and spontaneous immigrants in the “Reading and School Association of Campinas” and in the singing

⁵⁰ Kreutz (2000, p. 350) brings some dissonant statistics: from 1824 to 1947, around 253,000 Germans and 95,000 Austrians entered Brazil as a whole, going mostly to the southern provinces/states.

association “Sängerbund 1880”, from Rio Claro⁵¹. This also points out the fact that new immigration waves tended to cluster around areas already settled by older immigrants, benefiting and contributing to associations that were already established.

The cases in which colonists decided to stay on the farms as sharecroppers were highlighted by the landowners as evidence of how satisfied their workers were and of the benefits of sharecropping. Although the mobility of free labor among different farms was a fundamental novelty in economic and social terms, the emphasis put on these cases by the reports written by farmers, as well as comparisons of lists accounting for the mobility of immigrants who finished their contracts, allow us to classify the permanence as sharecroppers as an exception. The mobility of free labor among different farms was, however, an important novelty in the period⁵². Moreover, it is hardly arguable that a colonist would permanently stay as a sharecropper by his own choice: it should be remembered that immigration at the time was family-based and that each member was jointly responsible for the debts of the whole family. Under this structure, marriages and deaths would imply the dissolution of the old core families and the spreading of households over time⁵³. Therefore, there is no reason to assume that the new families that originated from the core ones would have an incentive to jointly sign new contracts.

As a second alternative, foreigners could internally migrate and there is strong evidence of high mobility of immigrants within Brazil. Although no systematic study has yet been carried out in terms of the inter-provincial mobility of immigrants from the same nationality, there is much anecdotal evidence confirming that it was an important phenomenon (Bezerra, 2001, p. 41, citing Seyferth, 1994, p. 12). For example, the German-speakers who led a strike on the Saltinho farm in 1873 had been contracted not in Germany, but in Santa Catarina⁵⁴. Many of the German-speakers settled in colonies Riograndense and Nova Riograndense were actually born in Rio Grande do Sul and Espírito Santo (Silva, 2010, pp. 53, 66). Additionally, in the southern states, there were common references to the “Coffee Pickers” [Kaffeepflücker], and

⁵¹ Sources: “Statuten des deutschen Sängerbundes. Deutscher Sängerbund 1880. Rio-Claro am 10. Mai” - Instituto Martius-Staden; von Simson (without date, pp. 7-9); Karastojanov (1998, pp. 66, 67).

⁵² For a discussion of this phenomenon and primary sources regarding the perceptions of farmers, please refer to Witzel-Souza (2011, pp. 15-16).

⁵³ This so-called “solidarity clause” was introduced in the 1850s. It also implied that individuals who wanted to immigrate alone were forcefully allocated to a family. It is very hard to see any reason as to why this family would keep this structure after finishing the initial contract.

⁵⁴ Source: “Abaixo assinado de doze colonos alemães presos, provenientes de Santa Catarina para a Colônia Saltinho, do Barão de Indaiatuba”, Campinas, 25.08.1877 – APESP: Lata C07214 – Colônias.

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local songs reminded them of the life in the countryside of São Paulo (Krähenbühl, without date, pp. 139, 140; Witzel-Souza, 2011, pp. 44, 45).

In general, given older and larger clusters of German-speaking immigrants in southern Brazil, especially in Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, it would be theoretically reasonable to hypothesize that German-speaking immigrants in São Paulo had socio-economic and cultural incentives to migrate to those provinces/states⁵⁵. However, historical evidence suggests that São Paulo was actually a net receiver of German-speakers. That is exactly the argument by Scheler (1905, pp. 167, 172), who observes that São Paulo had a strong pull effect due to its economic dynamism. He reports two episodes of interest. The first is the migration of Germans from Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná toward the coffee zones, which even fostered the creation of a German-Paranaense association in São Paulo. The second is the immigration of foreigners (especially Italians, but also Germans) from Argentina to São Paulo, especially to the capital of the state, from 1890 to 1892. The attractiveness of the state can also be grasped by the number of German teachers from southern Brazil who applied for the vacancies of the Associative School of Campinas (Karastojanov, 1998, p. 100). Heinke (1905, p. 264) notices, in addition, the high mobility of German immigrants within São Paulo. Such decisions to migrate across different municipalities created the spatial patterns of immigrants' agglomerations that influenced the later foundation of schools and other associative groups by them (Witzel-Souza, 2014, pp. 23-29).

The third integration mechanism refers to the acquisition of rural properties. Access to land was limited, at least in the coffee plantations around Campinas (Dean, 1977, p. 122). High costs, poor financial conditions (initial indebtedness for sharecroppers), poorly working financial markets, and high inequality⁵⁶ were economic impediments that kept immigrants from realizing their most common aspiration at the time, namely to become landowners. In addition, it is not exaggerated to say that access to land had a socio-political status granted just to a minority of immigrants. As shown in Table 1 (Appendix), in 1873, the share of German surnames represented about 2% of total economic activities in the province, but less than 1% of farmers⁵⁷. Fifteen years later, their share in total activities was estimated to be 2.36%, but only 1.28% of the farmers. Even in regions where their ratio to native Brazilians

⁵⁵ For a survey of theoretical discussions about agglomeration centers and clusters of immigrants: Haas (2008).

⁵⁶ In terms of land inequality and immigration, please refer to Summerhill, 2010; Colistete and Lamounier, 2014.

⁵⁷ This compilation is based on the almanacs by Luné and Fonseca (1873) and Seckler (1888), which bring nominal lists of professions for each municipality. "Total activities", therefore, refers to the total number of individuals listed in those sources. Naturally, it covers only the names cited, having, for that reason, some bias toward urban activities.

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was the highest, access to land was minor, as shown with the disaggregated data for a sample of municipalities⁵⁸.

The averages for the province and the variation at the municipal level show that access to land was not impossible; in addition, the variation of shares over time seems to point out some dynamism in the process of land acquisition (discounting the issues of comparability between the two sources). Nevertheless, the general picture of a minor access to land among German-speaking immigrants is strongly supported by the statistical evidence. In a report on the situation of immigrants around 1856, the administration of farm Ibicaba noticed that, from 65 German-speaking families who had fulfilled their contracts, 16 had become landowners⁵⁹. In addition, Grininger (1991, pp. 76-83) cites 46 rural properties owned by Swiss families from different immigration waves. There were also notorious individual examples of landowners with German-speaking origins. Colonel Francisco Schmidt, also called the “Emperor of Coffee”, owned, in 1905, 15 farms employing 5,500 people in a total area of 22,461 hectares (Erstes Jahrbuch, 1905, p. 394). He was a son of Franz Schmidt, an ex-sharecropper in Ibicaba. Farm Ibicaba, in turn, was bought by the Levy family, who had previously worked there as colonists (Heflinger Jr., 2007, p. 97). These, however, were exceptions. A more common strategy among immigrants was to buy land jointly: a group of families divided the purchased area according to their individual contributions, solving a problem of collective action to cope with financial constraints. This occurred in Pires (Limeira), Helvetia (Campinas), Ferraz, and Corumbatai⁶⁰. Heinke (1905, p. 267) notices that land was acquired mostly by immigrants from Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania, who had been involved with agricultural activities already in Europe⁶¹.

The main insertion channel of German-speakers, however, was to migrate to the economically dynamic urban centers around the farms and original settlement areas, in order to explore economic niches of specialized activities, mainly in craftsmanship. As Table 1 suggests,

⁵⁸ With the exception of Santo Amaro (1873). This can be explained by the fact that German surnames were already associated with Brazilian descendants of second (and maybe even of third) generation from the original German-speaking settlers of the 1820s.

⁵⁹ Source: “Annexo I”, in Heflinger Jr. (2009, p. 62).

⁶⁰ Sources: Scheler (1905, pp. 180-192); Keller (1919, pp. 6-10); “Resumo Histórico do Município de Rio Claro” in O Estado de S.P., 06.10.1939; Sommer (1953) – Instituto Martius-Staden; Krähenbühl (without date, p. 14). The case of colony Helvetia is illustrative as a solution to the collective action problem: the first four families who decided to buy a farm had joint savings summing 5:000\$000 rs, but the aimed farm cost 23:000\$000 rs. The difference was covered with a loan obtained with a Swiss family in Campinas and a mortgage, showing the importance of intra-group networks (Grininger, 1991, pp. 67-76).

⁶¹ Notice how this remark by Heinke also casts doubt on the argument, usually propagated at the time of the riots, that European agents contracted an excessively large number of individuals who were unable to properly work in agricultural activities. For this topic, please also refer to section 4.2.

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German-speaking immigrants were overrepresented in manufactures and services in some municipalities, controlling a local share of those sectors much above their average in the total economic activity. This phenomenon is particularly strong in Rio Claro and Constituição, where about half of those two sectors were controlled by individuals with a German surname, in 1873. Such proportion tended to diminish over time, as becomes clear when comparing municipal data from 1873 and 1888. Nevertheless, the overrepresentation of German-speakers in those sectors seems to have endured: for the mean share of the province, the proportion of German-speakers in manufacturing even increased (from 4.79% to 5.38%) between 1873 and 1888, although the proportion in total activities also increased (from 1.93% to 2.36%), leaving the ratio $\frac{(\% \text{Manufactures}_t)}{(\% \text{Total activities}_t)}$ practically unaltered.

This relative easiness of German-speaking immigrants in integrating into urban activities can be explained in terms of the scarcity of specialized labor in the context of a booming rural economy, which still showed an excessively high concentration of assets, but which had potential spillovers in terms of income for the neighboring urban centers. This allowed an increased demand of specialized trades and services from the local society, which was then met by the supply of those immigrants. It should also be recovered that a potentially high share of German-speakers were incentivized to emigrate from Europe due to their losses in economic and social positions caused by the early phases of industrialization, which progressively made traditional craftsmanship obsolete (Petroni, 1984, p. 11, as cited in Bezerra, 2007). Heinke (1905, p. 267) can be cited again as a testimony of this fact: when describing the sharecroppers, he mentions the presence of weavers from Silesia, knitters from Saxony, and miners from Rhineland and Bohemia, who migrated to urban centers in order to exercise their old professions⁶². In addition, as argued by Buarque de Holanda (1941, p. 23), German-speaking immigrants in São Paulo had different features than in southern Brazil, especially because of the smoother process of integration caused by non-isolationism. This fact made their newly brought skills readily available in a prosperous economic scenario⁶³.

⁶² Becker and Woessmann (2007, Table 1) show that, in 1871, the mean shares of Prussian male workers in manufacturing and services were 32.74% and 7.31%, respectively. However, these values varied significantly by Prussian counties: the minimum and maximum shares for these sectors were [7.20% ; 80.89%] and [2.04% ; 33.24%], respectively.

⁶³ This does not imply that integration occurred without setbacks. Social conflicts (such as those related to contracts), cultural shocks (especially religious), lack of public goods (applied to the Brazilian population in general), and homesickness were always present (Perret-Gentil, 1851, p. 55; Heflinger Jr., 2009, pp. 90-105). Furthermore, although European immigrants were socially welcomed, xenophobia also occurred. Schoolmaster Krähenbühl complained about the debauchery sometimes faced by immigrants (N. Krähenbühl, Campinas, 02.06.1871 and Friburgo, 30.12.1891, in Krähenbühl, 2006, p. 40). These problems had persisted since the

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6. Concluding Remarks

The main objective of this paper was to provide a chronology for the German-speaking immigration to the countryside of São Paulo in the period 1840-1920. We focused on different immigration waves in an attempt to frame them in a more dynamic perspective, especially by connecting events and episodes which are well-established in the literature, but which tend to be studied in a more isolated manner. One of the core elements in connecting these different immigration waves was to study their integration processes, which were shown to be rather similar, despite the differentiation in the immigration waves.

Under this framework, we identified four main types of German-speaking immigrants and tracked the history of two of them, namely, indentured laborers in coffee plantations (1840-1870) and settlers in official and private rural colonies (1870-1920).

The history of the first type is closely linked to the emergence of free labor relations in São Paulo. Therefore, we linked the chronology for this first period to the history of labor contracts and showed how they were related to other immigration waves. In particular, it was discussed how the previous experience with settlements in Santo Amaro and Itapeçerica influenced the political scenario in favor of the sharecropping system. Moreover, some ties among the German-speakers in the coffee plantations and official colonies in the 1850s were pointed out, with the official colony in Cananeia as an illustrative case. The second type of immigrant, *i.e.*, settlers in official and private rural colonies, is a result of the decline of the first wave and of the adoption of new strategies to attract immigrants at the end of the 19th century. They were mainly fostered by land selling by different layers of the Brazilian government, as well as by private companies and individuals, being associated with the expansion of the agricultural frontier toward the western parcels of the state. It is also noteworthy to observe how the pro-immigration propaganda in this period resembled the exaggerated optimism of the 1850s (including false promises to immigrants) and how the negative experiences with the sharecropping continued to influence German and Swiss perceptions of immigration to São Paulo, even at the beginning of the 20th century.

1820s, when German-speakers in Santo Amaro were observed just as a costly experiment, and lasted until World War I, when some violent episodes occurred among Brazilians, Germans, and German-Brazilians in the countryside (Keller, 1919; Sommer, 1953 – V).

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Three contributions can be derived from the chronology proposed here and they also point out different research possibilities regarding the immigration of German-speakers. First, the proposed classification of four types of immigrants allows for comparisons over time of different immigration waves. In this way, it was possible to observe whether and how early experiences with official colonies were associated with the adoption of the sharecropping system and how this one, in turn, influenced later policies associated with settlement colonies. Second, a general chronological framework makes it possible to compare this specific immigration wave to those of other nationalities and toward other regions in Brazil. This line of research is particularly interesting for studies in comparative development across different Brazilian regions, since it allows to either keep constant the unit of analysis and its institutional characteristics (such as the province or state), while varying the cultural element associated with different immigration waves, or to focus on a specific type of immigrant (holding constant the associated cultural element), while studying their performance across different provinces/states. Finally, the chronology provides a backbone to which extensions can be easily incorporated. In this sense, the paper briefly mentions other important episodes which deserve further research, such as immigration waves previous to 1840 and posterior to 1920, the spontaneous individual immigration to urban centers throughout the period, and the German-speakers officially contracted to specialized public works.

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Brief der Familie Fischer aus Brasilien an ihre alte Heimat Briedel

Johann Peter Fischer (Schreiber)

Santa Cruz, den 4. November 1882 – Lieber Freund Baptist: Ich habe deinen Brief am 3. November erhalten. Ich war froh, ich dachte er wäre von Wilhelm Fischer, dem ich schon am 28. Mai geschrieben habe und bis jetzt noch keine Antwort habe. Aber wie ich ihn las sah ich, dass er von dir war. Es war deine Pflicht und Schuldigkeit mir dies zu schreiben.

Du schreibst mir wegen Martin Kroth, ob ich mit den 15 Mark verrechnet hätte. Das ist nicht wahr; das Geld, das ich dem schuldig war, habe ich ihm schon bezahlt. Ob ich das Land versteigert habe – der war viel zu gierig darauf. Er hat uns bald die Tür eingelaufen, als er hörte, dass wir fortziehen wollten. Es waren noch 13 Thaler offen; sonst habe ich nichts verrechnet. Die 15 Mark gehörten ja in Krothiba; die konnte ich nicht einziehen. Wenn ich eingezogen hätte, so hätte ich das Herrn Kalfels gegenüber noch nicht getan; so viel Geld hatte ich noch, das weiß Wilhelm Fischer. Der schlaue Martin dachte, wenn wir fort wären, dann könnte er schwätzen, was er.

Brief der Familie Fischer aus Brasilien an ihre alte Heimat
Briedel

Johann Peter Fischer (Schreiber)

Liebes Freund August
Wenn wir gut sein lassen den Wein die Frucht
unserer Mühe und Arbeit in dem Lande Brasilien
kann ich kaum das uns für die Gegend
Brasilien das wir in 15 Meilen weit
von uns entfernt ist für so gut und schön und so viele
Acker und was wir dazu sagen wir sind wohl nicht
wissen wir es nicht denn Joseph Wein die Namen
gemeinlich hat den Namen auf dem Namen eine
die Lage sehr schön.
Die Wein weise nicht als man fort ist
weil wir nicht sehr für die Wein Lande und
Kastel der sehr schön für Acker und zu
den Wein sehr sehr schön und sehr
ganz schön wie in dem Lande auch
die so gut und schön die Namen sehr mit
seinen Augen sehen und sagen wir man nicht
nicht ganz schön sehr schön und sehr schön
Was wir sehr schön alle die Namen sehr
wir sind nicht alle sind wir sehr schön
den Namen sehr sehr schön
Geben auch unser Lieben Wein und sagen
für wir nicht bald wieder sehr schön
Geben wir unser ganze Namen sehr
die auf dem Namen

Joseph Peter Fischer
Geben wir unser Wein sehr schön sehr schön

Brief der Familie Fischer aus Brasilien an ihre alte Heimat Briedel

Johann Peter Fischer (Schreiber)

Wollte. Ich glaube, ihr kennt doch alle den Jude Martin – das könnt ihr
in Fragen.

Lieber Freund Baptist: Nun sei gut und lasse den Martin Kroth rufen und
fragen, ob er das beschwören könnte. Ich kann das auf Eid und
Gewissen beschwören, dass er mir die 15 Mark nicht verrechnet hat.
Sei so gut und schreibe mir darüber Antwort, was er dazu gesagt. Er
wird wohl noch wissen, wie er es dem Joseph Martin Sehnem gemacht
hat; da wollte er auch zweimal eine Kuh bezahlt haben.

Viel Neues weiß ich nicht; bei euch ist es wohl wieder schlecht für arme
Leute. Bei uns steht alles sehr schön; wer hier Arbeit hat, hat auch zu
essen. Wir haben hier schon mehr Fleisch und Eier gegessen als in
Deutschland in zehn Jahren. Sei so gut und grüße Wilhelm Fischer mit
seinen Angehörigen und sage ihm, wenn er noch nicht geschrieben
hätte, sollte er doch gleich schreiben. Wir wünschen euch alle die beste
Gesundheit und grüßen euch von Herzen vielfach. Grüße auch unsere
liebe Mutter – wir würden bald wieder schreiben. Bis auf.

Brief der Familie Fischer aus Brasilien an ihre alte Heimat Briedel

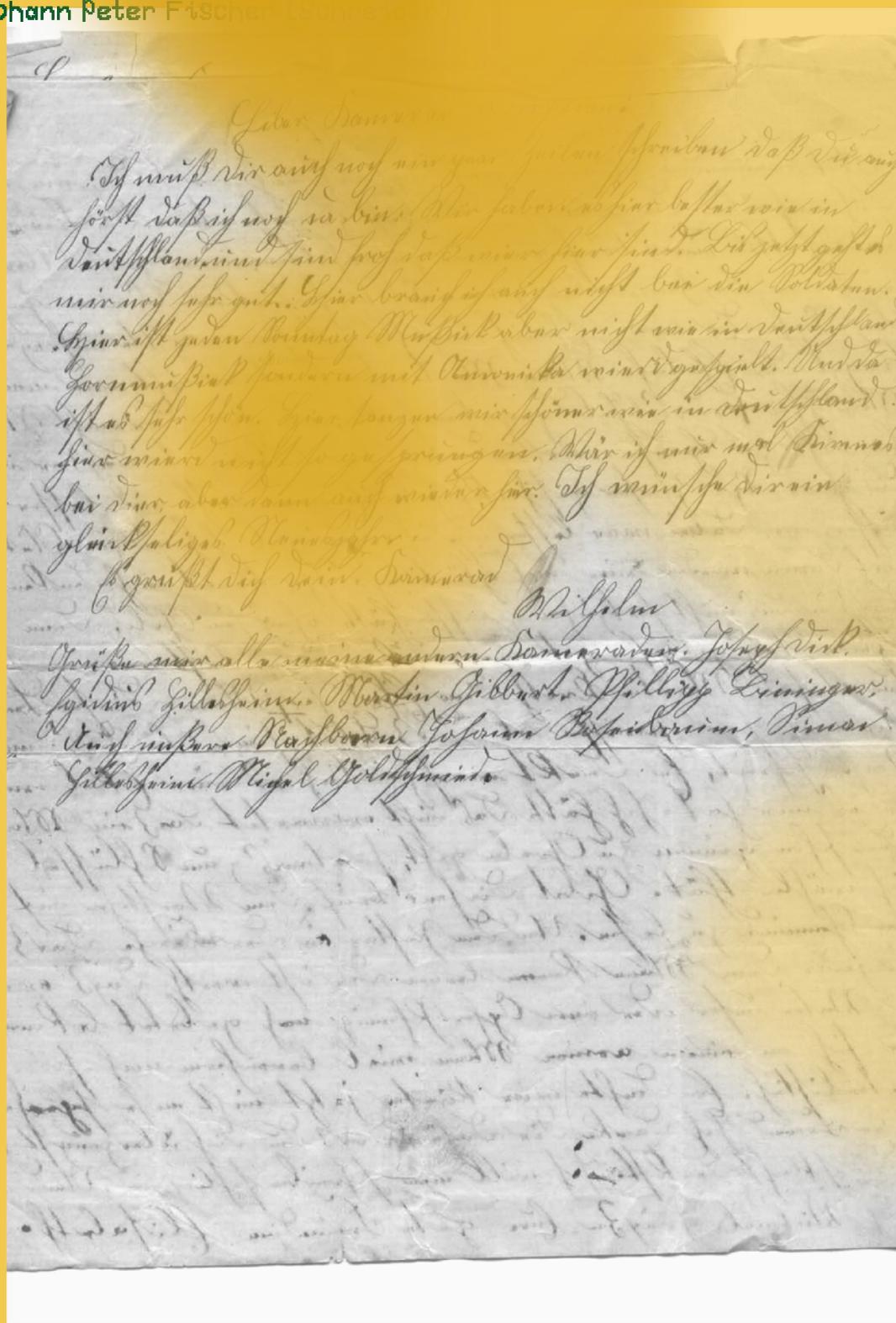
Johann Peter Fischer (Schreiber)

Antwort, Johann Peter Fischer. Grüße mir besonders Nachbar Wilhelm
Goldschmidt.

Mit weinenden Augen ergreife ich die Feder, um euch noch über die
drückende Nachricht zu antworten. Die Freude, einen Brief von dir zu
erhalten, war groß, aber auch voller Zorn. Sollte ich denken, dass man
sich über Sachen, die man ehrlich bezahlt hat, hier müsste aufregen.
Fragt den ehrlichen Mann Martin Kroth, ob er nicht einem Mann das
Geld gegeben hätte; er wird wohl noch besser wissen, wer dabei war. Da
gab ich ihm zur Antwort, davon werden wir auch nicht glücklich. Ihr
könnt euch denken, dass er uns nicht fortziehen gelassen hätte ohne
sein Geld, denn er ist jeden Tag gelaufen und war uns zur Last. Nun lest
Martin Kroth den ehrlichen Mann diesen Brief vor auf sein Gewissen,
ob das Blut seines Bruders nach Rache schreit. Er dachte wohl, es wäre
egal, wenn er es nur hat. Ich hätte das nicht erwartet, dass ein Mann,
der schon grummelig zu Grabe geht, so etwas zum Schlüssel sich wäh-
lät. Gebt diesen Brief dem.

Brief der Familie Fischer an ihre alte Heimat Briedel

Johann Peter Fischer (Schneidersohn)



Brief der Familie Fischer aus Brasilien an ihre alte Heimat Briedel

Johann Peter Fischer (Schreiber)

Vorsteher der Gemeinde und dem Pastor in der Kirche zu lesen, damit Jeder den Mann kennen lerne. Der sich an einem armen Mann berechnern will, ist hinterlistig. Lieben Freund, ich danke dir dafür, dass du mich überzeugst, ob du schlecht denkst.

Lieber Kamerad Christian: Ich muss dir noch ein paar Zeilen schreiben, dass du hörst, dass ich noch da bin. Wir haben es hier besser als in Deutschland und sind froh, hier zu sein. Bis jetzt geht es mir sehr gut; hier brauche ich auch nicht bei den Soldaten zu dienen. Hier ist jeden Sonntag Musik, nicht Hornmusik wie in Deutschland, sondern mit Harmonika; es wird musiziert und getanzt, schöner als in Deutschland. Hier wird nicht so gesprungen. Wäre ich nur mal Kirmeß bei dir – aber dann doch wieder hier. Ich wünsche dir ein glückliches Neues Jahr. Es grüßt dich dein Kamerad Wilhelm. Grüße mir alle meine anderen Kameraden: Joseph Dick, Egidius Hillesheim, Martin Gibbert, Philipp Binninger; auch unsere Nachbarn Johann Rosenbaum, Simon Hillesheim, Michel Goldschmidt.

Ein neues Leben in Brasilien

Christine Wollowski

Arbeiten sollten die Deutschen in Brasilien. Und kämpfen, falls es nötig werden sollte. Es ist der Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts und das Kolonialreich Brasilien braucht Einwanderer, um sich gegen das Mutterland Portugal zu behaupten. Dom Pedro I. war zum Kronprinzen ernannt worden; seine Frau Leopoldina hielt es für

klüger, zu bleiben und die Unabhängigkeit anzustreben. Also brauchte Pedro I. eigene Streitkräfte – und Siedler, die das Land bevölkern und bearbeiten. Jahrhundertlang leisteten versklavte Menschen aus Afrika und Indigene die Schwerstarbeit. Allmählich wurde in Europa und Brasilien Kritik an der Sklaverei laut. José

Ein neues Leben in Brasilien

Christine Wollowski

hielten die Sklaverei für ein ‚Krebsgeschwür‘. Der deutsche Arzt Georg Anton von Schaeffer warb unter anderem um Siedler und setzte sich für Veränderungen ein. Leopoldina und Bonifácio entwickelten Pläne zur Besiedlung: Landschenkungen (z. B. 99 Hektar), Steuerbefreiungen und materielle Unterstützung sollten

aus Deutschland ab; nach langer Überfahrt trafen 39 Personen im Juli 1824 in Rio Grande do Sul ein. Die Neuankömmlinge mussten Schneisen in den Urwald schlagen („picadas“), Häuser bauen und Felder anlegen. Die Anfangsjahre waren geprägt von Entbehrungen, klimatischen Herausforderungen und fehlendem Wissen über tro-

Ein neues Leben in Brasilien

Christine Wollowski

Widrigkeiten erreichten
viele Familien bescheidenen Wohlstand.
Handwerkliche Fähigkeiten
und Selbstversorgung
führten zu Überschüssen;
regionale Industrien wie
Schuh-, Konserven-, Tabak-
und Textilproduktion entstanden. Deutsche Vereine,
Schulen und
Bildungsangebote prägten
die Kultur in vielen
Siedlungsgebieten. Im

Netzwerke. Bis 1924 blickte
man auf 100 Jahre deutscher
Einwanderung zurück;
den 200. Jahrestag 2024
beging man mit
Veranstaltungen und
Ehrungen. Die
Nationalisierungsphase der
1930er Jahre brachte
Repression: Schulen,
Zeitungen wurden
geschlossen und die
deutsche Sprache

Ein neues Leben in Brasilien

Christine Wollowski

erholten sich nicht vollständig. Heute sind deutsch-brasilianische Traditionen teils folkloristisch geprägt (Feste, Trachten, Küche), zugleich bestehen intensive bilaterale Kooperationen in Wissenschaft, Bildung und Wirtschaft. Brasilien ist ein wichtiger Handelspartner Deutschlands in Südamerika.

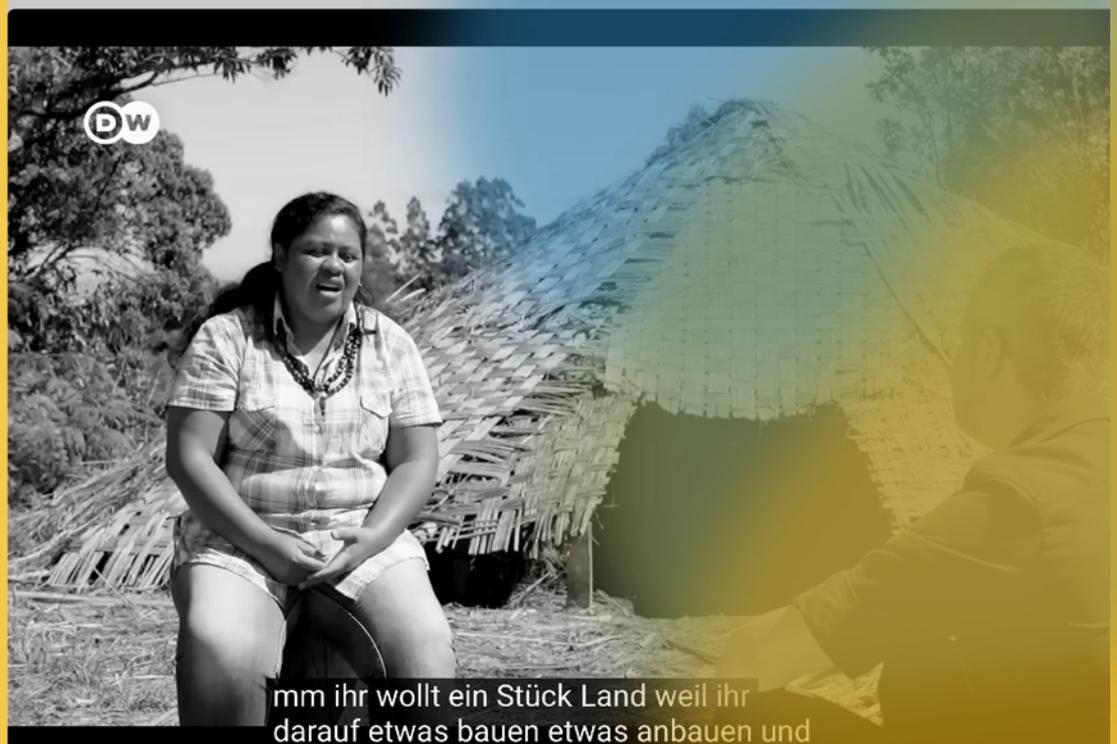
Neue Heimat Brasilien – 200 Jahre deutsche
Einwanderung
DW Dokumentation

Sequence 01



Neue Heimat Brasilien – 200 Jahre deutsche
Einwanderung
DW Dokumentation

Sequence 01



Neue Heimat Brasilien – 200 Jahre deutsche
Einwanderung
DW Dokumentation

Sequence 01



Neue Heimat Brasilien
Erneuerung
Dauerhaftigkeit

Sequence 01

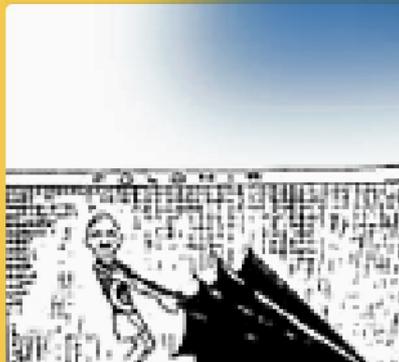


From 'feijoada' to 'chucrute'

by Andrew Ross

When someone mentions Nazis in Brazil, the first image that comes to mind is that of a ridiculous group of Nazis from the State of Rio Grande do Sul raised their right arms in the air, the smoke coming out of a barbecue pit. But the fact is

that the Nazi presence was not as picturesque and was of noteworthy political importance, especially with regard to the strengthening of the Estado Novo (New State), the dictatorial regime of President Getulio Vargas. 'Tropical Nazism: The Nazi Party in Brazil' is the title of Ana Maria Dietrich's doctoral



From 'feijoada' to 'chucrute'

Carlos Haag



thesis. Dietrich re-searched German archives, interviewed former Nazi Party members in Brazil and contacted descendants; she shows that Nazism adapted to local tropical conditions and customs. Celebrations blended German and Brazilian rituals: Hitler's birthday and the Feast of St. John could be celebrated together, drinking German beer and

eating candiço. The Brazilian Nazi Party operated for about ten years across 17 states and reached some 2,900 members – a larger diaspora presence than in many other countries. It was organised via the Auslandorganisation der NSDAP and had direct links to the Reich. Local realities, however, created

From 'feijoada' to 'chucrute'

Carlos Haag

divisions: 'pure Germans' and German-Brazilians were treated differently, and a local movement (Integralismo) attracted many who were excluded by transnational Nazism. The Third Reich promoted scientific expeditions and racist studies in Brazil. Research projects investigated the viability of colonisation and 'racial' theories in tropical climates and pro-

and reports that were sent back to Germany. Dietrich highlights how politics, funding networks and social ties shaped the movement. Some local elites engaged with German organisations for pragmatic reasons, while others resisted. Relations with the Vargas regime were ambivalent and at times collaborative. Communities often inter-

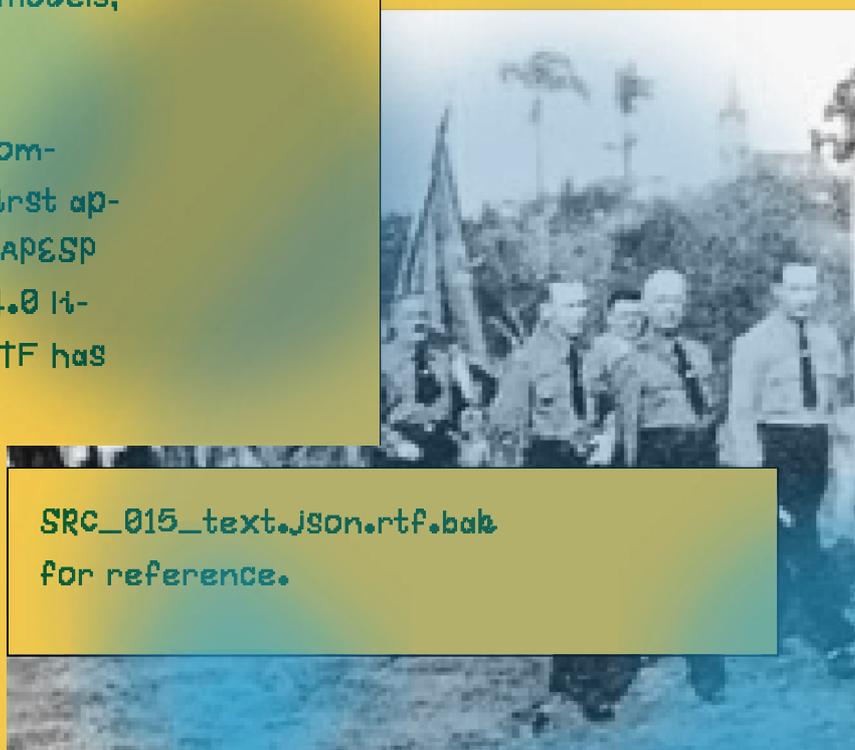


From 'feijoada' to 'chucrute'

Carlos Haag

the wider society, with cases of intermarriage and cultural adaptation. Anti-Semitic discourse existed but often differed in form from European models; prejudice against Afro-Brazilians and mestiços was also prominent. This article first appeared on Pesquisa FAPESP under a CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0 license. The original RTF has been preserved as

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for reference.



Kostenlose Zusammenfassende Liste deutscher Einwanderer nach Brasilien 1824-1830

imigracões alemãs

Imigrantes alemães no Brasil 1824-1830 - Lista simplificada/resumida para busca do Ancestral (avulso ou chefe de família)

Atualizado em 16/03/2025 por: [Armando de Azevedo](#), 2025

Sujeito a alterações sem aviso prévio

Os dados contidos neste arquivo disponibilizados, estão disponíveis nos seguintes Tomos (livros) da Coleção "Imigrantes Alemães no Brasil 1824-1830":

Tomo I - Imigrantes com sobrenomes de "A" a "H" neste link:

<https://imigracaoalemembrazil.com/2025/03/17/imigrantes-alemaes-no-brasil-1824-a-1830-tomo-i-sobrenomes-de-a-a-h/>

Tomo II - Imigrantes com sobrenome de "I" a "P" neste link:

<https://imigracaoalemembrazil.com/2025/03/17/imigrantes-alemaes-no-brasil-1824-a-1830-tomo-ii-sobrenomes-de-i-a-p/>

Tomo III - Imigrantes com sobrenomes de "Q" a "Z" neste link:

<https://imigracaoalemembrazil.com/2025/03/17/imigrantes-alemaes-no-brasil-1824-a-1830-tomo-iii-sobrenomes-de-q-a-z/>

Confira nossos demais livros neste link:

<https://imigracaoalemembrazil.com/livros-imigracao-alema-no-brasil-anos-1824-1830/>

Nr.	Sobrenome	Sobrenome alternativo	Ano de chegada no Brasil
1	777, Carlos Frederico		1828
2	7777, José Maria		1824
3	ABEL, Christian Ludwig Erard/Ehrard?		1825
4	ABEL, Gottfried		1826
5	ABELÉ, Sebastian Carl BC André		1824_1830?
6	ABLAS, Carl		1824_1836
7	ABRAHAM, Samuel		1826
8	ACHILLES, Heinrich Olters? BC		1824_1830?
9	ACKEMANN, Eduard		1827
10	ACKER, Georg		1825
11	ADAM, (Johann) Jacob		1827
12	ADAM, Carl		1826
13	ADAM, Carl		1826
14	ADAM, Georg	Jürgen	1825
15	ADAM, Magdalena,	(Adams)	1828
16	ADAM, Michael,		1828
17	ADAMI, Jacob (Adamy)		1828
18	ADAMI, Johann Michael (Adamy)		1828
19	ADELUNG, Johann Leonhard		1824
20	ADENBURG, Friedrich		1825
21	AGNER, Johann Jacob BC		1824_1830?
22	AGNES, Johann		1824_1830?
23	AHLBAUM, Georg Heinrich		1824
24	AHLERS, Johann Wilhelm,		1824
25	AHLERS, Wilhelm		1824
26	AHLGRÜN, Johann Friedrich		1824
27	AHRENS, Friedrich,.		1828
28	AHRENS, Heinrich (Ahrens)		1824
29	AHRENS, Peter, (Arend)		1824_1830?
30	AHRENS, Carl cc Maria Elis. Hinrichs BC		1824_1830?
31	AHRENS, Christoph		1825
32	AHRENS, Heinrich Christoph		1824
33	AHRENS, Johannes (Christoph)		1824
34	AHRENS, Ludwig		1824
35	AHRENS, Wilhelm, (Ahrends)		1824
36	AHRENSCHIED, ???		1824_1830?
37	AHRENSDORF, Friedrich		1824_1830?
38	ALAGA, Johann marlin, Olters?		1824_1830?
39	ALART, Franz		1824_1830?
40	ALBERS, Heinrich, (Alberg(s)) BC	(Albert)	1824_1830?
41	ALBRECHT, (Maria) Margaretha		1828
42	ALBRECHT, Carl Johann Cristian,.		1824
43	ALBRECHT, Carl,		1825
44	ALBRECHT, Friedrich		1828
45	ALBRECHT, Friedrich Christoph,.		1824
46	ALBRECHT, Friedrich, (Albert)		1828
47	ALFLEN, Johann,.		1828
48	ALGREIN, ???? André		1824_1830?
49	ALLOT, Abraham,		1825
50	ALLES, Johannes/Johann, bc		1824_1830?
51	ALLES, Nikolaus		1828
52	ALLFELD, Georg,	(Alfeld/Alfect)	1825
53	ALLGAYER, Johann Philipp		1829

Kostenlose zusammenfassende Liste deutscher Einwanderer in Brasilien 1824-1830

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54 ALLGAYER, Nicolo	1829
55 ALSBACH, Johann Jakob	1826
56 ALT, Peter	1824
57 ALTEM, Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand,	1825
58 ALTENHOFEN, Adam (Altenhofer)	1827
59 ALTENHOFEN, Friedrich	1827
60 ALTMANN, Georg,	1824
61 ALTMAYER, Heinrich Jacob	1827
62 ALTMAYER, Johann Mathias (Altmey.)	1827
63 ALTMAYER, Johannes (Altmeyer)	1827
64 ALTMAYER, Johannes (Heinrich)	1827
65 ALTRAHNAGER, Ludwig Mathias	1825
66 ALTSCHWABE, (nome desconh)	1824_1830?
67 ALTSCHWAGER, Ludwig	1825
68 ALWENS, Wilhelm,	1824
69 AMELUNG, Daniel	1826
70 ANDERS, Christian	1824
71 ANDERSEN, Andreas/Anders?, bc	1824_1830?
72 ANDERSEN, Christian	1824_1830?
73 ANDERSON, Sebastian	1824_1830?
74 ANDREAS, Heinrich? ,	1824_1830?
75 ANDRESSON, Sebastian Amandus,	1828
76 ANDRESSON, André	1824_1830?
77 ANDREWS, Johann,	1828
78 ANGELSTEIN, Friedrich,,	1828
79 ANGERMANN, Friedrich,,	1828
80 ANGHOFF, Wilhelm	1825
81 ANKELER, Peter, (Angele)	1828
82 ANKER, Carl,	1824_1830?
83 ANSTEY, Martin	1824_1830?
84 ANSTIGEN, Johannes	1828
85 ANTES, Johann imig Münsdorf	1824_1830?
86 ANTHONI, Philipp,,	1828
87 ANTRÉS(D), Frederico	(Anthony) (Andrés)
88 APMEYER, Jacob (Altmeyer) bc	1824_1830?
89 APPEL, Daniel,, (Ape/Arpel)	1828
90 APPEL, J. C.	1824
91 APPEL, Johann	1824_1830?
92 APPEL, Johann (onas, cc Anna)	1824_1830?
93 APPEL, Philipp,	1826
94 APPELQUIST, ???	1824_1830?
95 ARBIGAUS, Catharina (n. Ludwig)	1828
96 AREND, Peter imig Münsdorf	1824_1830?
97 ARENDS, Johann,, (Ahrends)	1828
98 ARENDT, Georg	1825
99 ARENDT, Jacob (Ahrend(s)/Arent)	1828
100 ARENDT, Wilhelm	1825
101 ARENHARDT, Johann (Ahrenhardt)	1828
102 ARENT, Josef documento de jun militar	1824_1830?
103 ARENZ, Peter,, (Arens/Arend)	1828
104 ARNHOLD, Johann Gottlieb Carl	1826
105 ARNDLD, Carl Epaminondas?&aditae?	1824_1830?
106 ARNDLD, Frederico	August (arnhold)
107 ARNSTADT, Johann,, (Arnstaed)	1824
108 ARTH, Georg Peter imig Münsd	1824_1830?
109 ARTLER, Adolf	(Artles)
110 ASBACH, ???	1824_1830?
111 ASCH, J. Gottlieb,,	1828
112 ASCHERMANN, August	1824
113 ASMINOFF, Alex/Atel,	1828
114 ASMUS, Johann Caesar	1826
115 ASMUS, Johann Friedrich	1825
116 ASMUS, Johann Friedrich	(Assmus)
117 ASMUS, W.	1824
118 ASSMUS, Johann Jacob	1824
119 ASTER, Carl (Astir)	1826
120 ASTOUL, Johann Baptiste	1826
121 AUGIER, ???	1824_1830?
122 AUGUSTIN, Paul,	1827
123 AUGUSTIN, Peter	1827
124 AULER, Peter,	1827
125 AUSRECHT, ???	1824_1830?
126 AUSWEH, E.	1824

Kostenlos heruntergeladene umfassende Liste deutscher Einwanderer nach Brasilien 1824-1830

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127 BATE, Gerhard	(Basse/Basse)	1825
128 BAASE, Johann,	bc	1824_1830?
129 BABEL, Conrad,		1825
130 BACH, Georg,		1825
131 BACH, Johannes		1824_1830?
132 BACH, Mathias,		1827
133 BACHS, Jacob		1824_1830?
134 BACHMANN, G. J.		1824
135 BACHMANN, Gottlieb/Gottlob,		1828
136 BACHMANN, Pf.Fipp		1826
137 BACHWITZ, C.		1824
138 BACK, Franz Josef		1826
139 BACK, Wilhelm,		1824_1830?
140 BACKES, Adam		1824_1830?
141 BACKES, Jacob		1829
142 BACKES, Johann Thomas		1827
143 BACKES, Nicolaus, (Backs/Pack)		1828
144 BACKES, Stephan,		1826
145 BACKHAUS, Ernst Kasper G.		1824
146 BACKHAUS, L. W.		1824
147 BACKMANN, Philipp,		1824_1830?
148 BADINGER, J.,,		1827
149 BADTKE, ???,		1824_1830?
150 BAECKER, Anton, (Bäcker) SAM		1824_1830?
151 BAETHE, ???, (Bäthe)		1824_1830?
152 BAHL, Martin Friedrich,		1828
153 BAHR, Johann,		1824_1830?
154 BAIER, Fr.		1824
155 BALDAU, Philipp		1826
156 BALDAUF, Philipp		1824_1830?
157 BALDT, Franz Wilhelmine Johann Baldt		1824_1830?
158 BALDT, Johann		1825
159 BALK, Bernhard		1824_1830?
160 BALK, Johannes (Bach)		1824_1830?
161 BALK, Ludwig		1824_1830?
162 BÄLKE, Eduard	(Bölke)	1824_1830?
163 BALLUS, Johann Michael	(Balus)	1828
164 BALTZ, Christoph		1825
165 BALLUS, Michaelm		1824_1830?
166 BALZER, Peter		1824_1830?
167 BAMBERGER, Andreas		1824_1830?
168 BAMBERGER, Josef		1824_1830?
169 BANDELORS, Ludwig		1824_1830?
170 BANDLOU, Johann Ludwig		1824
171 BANKOW, Jacob Friedrich,		1824
172 BÄR, Johann Friedrich, (Baer)		1828
173 BARBARA, Daniel		1824_1830?
174 BARD, Neamstão (?)		1826
175 BARDENS, Johann Friedrich Conrad,		1825
176 BARFUSS, Andreas Friedrich		1824
177 BARKE, August Theodor		1826
178 BARMANN, ???		1824_1830?
179 BARN, Harow/Aaron		1824_1830?
180 BARNS, Wilhelm		1824_1830?
181 BARREY, Redmund		1824_1830?
182 BART, Ludwig		1824_1830?
183 BARTELS, F. W.		1824
184 BARTEN, Johann Peter (Barth Barté)		1827
185 BARTH, Anton		1824_1830?
186 BARTH, Christian,	o	1828
187 BARTH, Georg Justus Ludwig,		1825
188 BARTH, Jacob II		1824_1830?
189 BARTH, Johann Jacob	(Brath)	1828
190 BARTH, Johann,		1825
191 BARTH, Michael		1827
192 BARTH, Venceslau		1824_1830?
193 BARTH, Wenzel		1824_1830?
194 BARTHENHORST, Friedrich,		1828
195 BARTHES, Heinrich,	(Barthen)	1828
196 BARTT, Ludwig,	(Bart)	1828
197 BASCH, Simon		1824_1830?
198 BASENER, Johann		1824_1830?
199 BASTIAN, Carl,		1828

Kostenlose Zusammenfassung Einwanderer in Brasilien imigracaoalemanObraSf1.com

200 BASTIAN, Johann Philipp,	1825
201 BATIDE, A. H. BN //	1824_1830?
202 BATITZ, ???	1824_1830?
203 BATTERMANN, ???	1826
204 BATTMANN, Gottfried	1825
205 BAUER, Frederico	1824_1830?
206 BAUER, Jacob	1824_1830?
207 BAUER, Joh. (Johann?),	1824_1830?
208 BAUER, Johann Georg	1826
209 BAUER, Johann Josef	1824_1830?
210 BAUER, Joseph cc Madalena Bf, de Bayern	1824_1830?
211 BAUER, Margarethe,	1828
212 BAUER, Peter	1828
213 BAUER, Peter	1828
214 BAUER, Peter	1824_1830?
215 BAUER, Peter Jacob,	1825
216 BAUERMANN, Gerhard (Pauermann)	1827
217 BAUERMANN, Johann Gerhard,	1827
218 BAUERMANN, Johann Michael	1827
219 BAUERMANN, Michael (Pauermann)	1827
220 BAUERS, ???	1824_1830?
221 BAUKER, Joseph	1824_1830?
222 BAUM, Heinrich,	1824
223 BAUM, Jacob	1825
224 BAUM, Johann Nicolaus,	1824
225 BAUM, Peter	1825
226 BAUMANN, ???	1824_1830?
227 BAUMBACH, Ludwig	1824
228 BAUMGARTEN, ???	1824_1830?
229 BAUMGARTEN, Pasqual (Baumgard)	1826
230 BAUMM, P ou J., (Baumen?)	1828
231 BAUR, Francisco Roque	1824_1830?
232 BEBBER, Daniel	1824_1830?
233 BECH, Wilhelm	1826
234 BECHERER, Martin	1824_1830?
235 BECHLE, ???	1826
236 BECHLE, Johann	1825
237 BECHLER, Jacob	1824
238 BECHTEL, Nicolau	1824_1830?
239 BECHTOLO, Henrique	1824_1830?
240 BECK, Andreas, (Besk)	1824
241 BECK, Carl	1825
242 BECK, Ernst	1824
243 BECK, Friedrich	1824_1830?
244 BECK, Johan Ernst	1825
245 BECK, Johann Christoph,	1824
246 BECK, Johann,, (Becker)	1828
247 BECK, Johannes, (n.)	1825
248 BECK, Johannes, (n.)	1825
249 BECKEL, Christian,	1825
250 BECKER, Aldof	1824_1830?
251 BECKER, Alwang	1825
252 BECKER, Anna Margaretha,	1824_1830?
253 BECKER, Anton	1827
254 BECKER, Carl	1826
255 BECKER, Carl,	1824
256 BECKER, Catharina (vva?)	1828
257 BECKER, Christina Margaretha,	1824
258 BECKER, Christina,	1826
259 BECKER, Christoph	1826
260 BECKER, Daniel	1828
261 BECKER, Friedrich Inig Mörnsdorf	1824_1830?
262 BECKER, Georg	1827
263 BECKER, Georg	1825
264 BECKER, Heinrich	1828
265 BECKER, Heinrich,,	1826
266 BECKER, Heinrich, (Bleuler)	1826
267 BECKER, Jacob	1828
268 BECKER, Jacob	1825
269 BECKER, Jacob cc Catharina Schäffer	1824_1830?
270 BECKER, Jacob,	1828
271 BECKER, Jakob	1826
272 BECKER, Johann	1826

Kostenlose zusammenfassende Liste deutscher Einwanderer in Brasilien 1824-1830

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273	BECKER, Johann Adam		1828
274	BECKER, Johann Adam,		1828
275	BECKER, Johann Alwang,		1825
276	BECKER, Johann Christoph		1825
277	BECKER, Johann Georg		1826
278	BECKER, Johann Heinrich,		1826
279	BECKER, Johann Nicolaus		1828
280	BECKER, Johann Peter		1828
281	BECKER, Johann Thielmann		1827
282	BECKER, Johann,	(pai)	1828
283	BECKER, Johann,	(filho)	1828
284	BECKER, Johannes Ludwig,,		1828
285	BECKER, Joseph,		1828
286	BECKER, Jürgen		1825
287	BECKER, M.,,		1827
288	BECKER, Mathias,		1828
289	BECKER, Mathias,		1828
290	BECKER, Nicolaus		1828
291	BECKER, Nicolaus		1828
292	BECKER, Peter		1828
293	BECKER, Peter Daniel,		1828
294	BECKER, Peter,,		1828
295	BECKER, u. Gostin		1824_1830?
296	BECKER, Valentin (Berker)		1826
297	BECKER, Wilhelm		1827
298	BECKING, Ludewico (Luís Augusto),		1824_1830?
299	BECKLER, Hermann,,	(Bechler)	1828
300	BECKMANN, Heinrich		1826
301	BECKMANN, Johannes,		1824_1830?
302	BEDA, Ludwig,		1824_1830?
303	BEGHAM, Frederico		1824_1830?
304	BEHLM, Ludwig,	(Behlem)	1825
305	BEHLING, Johann,		1828
306	BEHN, Anton,		1824_1830?
307	BEHN, Hermann Nicolas		1824
308	BEHNEKE, Karl Joachim Jakob		1825
309	BEHNKE, Franz,	(Behncke)	1824
310	BEHRENDT, ???		1824
311	BEHRENS, Friedrich nll a,cat, Oldenburg		1824_1830?
312	BEHRENS, Heinrich,,		1828
313	BEHRENS, Jacob,,		1828
314	BEHRENS, Johann Benj., (Bere.)		1824
315	BEHRENS, Johann Friedrich		1825
316	BEHRENS, Johann Heinrich, (Berens)		1824
317	BEHRENS, Johann Jacob, (Berens)		1824
318	BEHRENS, Joseph,		1828
319	BEHRENS, Martin Heinrich		1826
320	BEHRENS, Matous/Mattheo,,		1828
321	BEHRENS, Nicolaus,,		1828
322	BEHRING, Daniel		1825
323	BEHS, Franz Nicolaus (Boes/Böse)		1824_1830?
324	BEHTIGE, H. L.		1824
325	BEIDNER, ???		1826
326	BEIDNER, Mathäus		1825
327	BEIL, Theodor,		1824_1830?
328	BEILING, Peter		1824_1830?
329	BEIMLER, Johannes	(Beimler)	1828
330	BEINBRUCH, Heinrich		1825
331	BEINHARD, Joh ann		1824_1830?
332	BEIRINGER, Joseph (Berzinger)		1826
333	BELTZ, Heinrich,,		1828
334	BELLOIS, Philipp		1826
335	BELLSMANN, Johann Fried. Wilhelm,		1824
336	BELS, Adam, (Beltz/Peltz)		1825
337	BELSSMANN, João Fred. Guilherme		1824_1830?
338	BENCKE, Johane Heinrich (Behncke)		1824
339	BENDER, Johann Philipp	(Benter?)	1828
340	BENDER, Thaphil		1826
341	BENDER, Wilhelm		1827
342	BENDIO, ?		1824_1830?
343	BENDIX, ???		1824_1830?
344	BENDIXEN, Nicolaus Daniel,		1824
345	BENECK(ER), ???		1824_1830?

Kostenlos zusammengeführte Liste deutscher Einwanderer in Brasilien

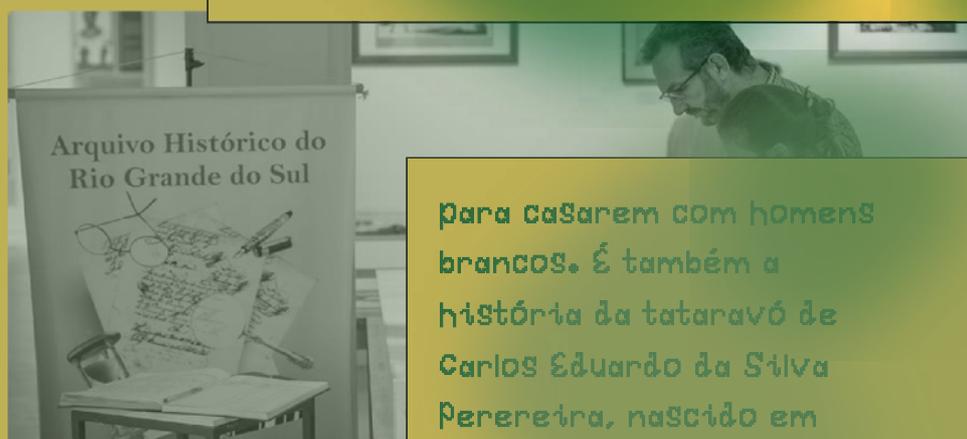
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346 BENNIG, Heinrich, (Beinink)	1828
347 BENKENSTEIN, Johann Simon Fried. oib?	1824_1830?
348 BENN, Christian, ..	1828
349 BENNE, Heinrich	1824_1830?
350 BENNIT, Robert, (Benit) bc	1824_1830?
351 BENTER, Johann, .. bc	1824_1830?
352 BENTIN, Karl	1825
353 BENTZEN, Jasper Heinrich (Bensen)	1824
354 BERBERT, Peter, ..	1824
355 BERCHTHOLD, Jacob	1825
356 BERG, Johann Georg, ..	1826
357 BERGEN, J. C. H. von	1824
358 BERGEN, Johann Wilhelm von,	1824
359 BERGHAHN, Heinrich	1825
360 BERGHAN, Friedrich	1824
361 BERGHAN, Johann Heinrich, ..	1824
362 BERGIN, Immanuel	1826
363 BERGMANN, A. ..	1824
364 BERGMANN, Christian	1826
365 BERGMANN, Georg	1825
366 BERGMANN, Georg Ernst	1824
367 BERGMANN, (Joachim) C(hristoph)	1824
368 BERGMANN, J. G(eorg) C. ..	1824
369 BERGMANN, Joaquin Cristoph,	1825
370 BERGMANN, Martin, ..	1824_1830?
371 BERGT, August	1824_1830?
372 BERKER, Georg	1826
373 BERKLE, Leopold	1824
374 BERKLING, Johann Carl August	1825
375 BERKOW, Adolph, ..	1824_1830?
376 BERLING, Peter, (Benling/Barling)	1828
377 BERLINSKY, August	1824_1830?
378 BERLITZ, Jacob, ..	1826
379 BERLIZ, Friedrich von,	1825
380 BERLOW, Peter	1824_1830?
381 BERNARDI, Jacob	1824_1830?
382 BERNAU, Jacob	1824
383 BERNEMANN, Friederich	1824
384 BERNER, August	1824
385 BERNER, Wilhelm	1824_1830?
386 BERNET, Franz Anton	1824_1830?
387 BERNHARD, Michael, ..	1828
388 BERNHARD, Otto, ..	1825
389 BERNIS, Jacob	1824_1830?
390 BERNIS, Teófilo/Gottlieb	1824_1830?
391 BERNSTORF, ???	1824_1830?
392 BERRON, Daniel	1824_1830?
393 BERTLING, Philipp	1825
394 BERVEDER, ???	1824_1830?
395 BERWANGER, Johane Peter	1828
396 BERWANGER, Johannes	1828
397 BERWANGER, Peter Joseph	1828
398 BESSMANN, Heinrich	1824_1830?
399 BETHE, August, ..	(Beete) 1828
400 BETHE, Friedrich Jakob, (Beede)	1828
401 BETHE, Johann Christian Ludwig	1825
402 BETZ, Eduard	1826
403 BEUDEL, Conrad, ..	1825
404 BEUTHIEN, ???	1824_1830?
405 BEUTNER, Joseph	1824_1830?
406 BEYER, Anton Nicolaus	1826
407 BEYER, Peter	1824_1830?
408 BEYER, Theodor (Bayer)	1824
409 BHLZ, Carl	1827
410 BIAROWSKY, Maximilian von	1824_1830?
411 BIBOU, Ernst	1824_1830?
412 BIEHL, Joseph, ..	(Biehel) 1828
413 BIELENBERG, Fr. ..	1824
414 BIER, Jacob, ..	(Biber) 1827
415 BIERKAMP, Heinrich, ..	1828
416 BIERMAN(N?), Benjamin	1824_1830?
417 BIERMANN, Heinrich	1824
418 BIERMANN, Johann Carl	1824

Mostra conta história de opressão e luta por direitos indígenas no RS

Annie Castro

Na Brasil Colônia, uma mulher indígena foi retirada de sua tribo por um europeu e levada para outra tribo. Depois ser obrigada a casar com ele, acabou tendo filhos. Esse é um cenário que se repetiu diversas vezes na formação do país: indígenas retiradas de suas etnias



Para casarem com homens brancos. É também a história da tataravó de Carlos Eduardo da Silva Pereneira, nascido em Guaíba, que durante a infância descobriu sua descendência indígena. Esse apagamento da verdadeira história dos povos originários do Rio Grande do Sul, marcada por opressões, silenciamentos e retirada

Mostra conta história de opressão e luta por direitos dos povos indígenas no RS

Annie Castro

direitos, é o tema do Abril Indígena no Memorial do Rio Grande do Sul, uma edição especial do projeto Mês a Mês na História, criado pelo Arquivo Histórico do RS. Carlos Eduardo, que é graduando em história, integra a equipe que realizou a produção e a curadoria de



documentos e fotografias que compõem a exposição 'Índios no Rio Grande: uma História de lutas, dificuldades e resistência', em cartaz entre os dias 09 de abril e 31 de maio, no primeiro andar do Memorial. Trechos de cartas ou anotações, mapas, arquivo de matrícula, fotos, ilustrações e concessões

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Annie Castro

de sesmarias em territórios indígenas, são algumas das documentações que estão presentes na mostra. Nós reunimos um pouco de documentos históricos que falam sobre aldeamentos, catequeses e histórias de cotidiano justamente para mostrar essa opressão. Nenhum dos documentos é escrito pelos indígenas que viviam na região, uma vez

que não existem esses arquivos. Quando se trabalha com categorias que sofreram opressões, como negros, índios, crianças, tu não consegue encontrar um documento que seja a própria voz deles. Nesse contexto, os curadores procuraram na fala 'daqueles que dominaram e escravizaram' os povos indígenas relatos que contassem



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Sobre a história dos índios.



Segundo a historiógrafa Rejane Penna Martins, no relato dos colonizadores também fica evidente como foi criada a visão pejorativa que ainda se tem hoje em dia acerca dos índios. 'É uma visão de que eles eram preguiçosos, ferozes, feios.' Para Rejane, os europeus enxergavam os índios somente de

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duas formas: como inconvenientes ou como utilitários, mas nunca como 'um ser humano pleno'.

Dentre os arquivos presente na mostra, destacam-se um livro de registros datado de 1768, documentos sobre terras de aldeamentos transferidos para colônias europeias, relatos sobre incursões militares para exterminar indígenas e documentos sobre trabalho

compulsório na coleta da erva mate. Ainda, um mapa de 1757 mostra a participação indígena na configuração cartográfica do Rio Grande do Sul. Para Rejane, a história dos povos indígenas não pode aparecer somente em uma situação pontual; estudar o índio deve ser incorporado à nossa história do



Mostra conta história de opressão e luta por direitos dos povos indígenas no RS

Annie Castro

dia a dia. Em um contexto político de ataques cada vez maiores aos direitos indígenas, Rejane afirma o quanto urgente se faz entender a história indígena. 'O que tu conhece é mais difícil de ignorar do que a aniquilação'. Na mostra, a edição de vídeos também irá ter prioridade.

dos documentários apresentados na III Mostra Tela Indígena, que aconteceu em Porto Alegre, em setembro de 2018, e com debates sobre o tema. É possível acompanhar a programação na página do Memorial.

Ein Brief eines rheinhessischen Auswanderers aus dem Jahre 1827

Valentin Knopf (AUSWANDERER)

Der Verfasser beschreibt die lange Reise: Abfahrt von Steinfeld, Passage über Hamburg, Abfahrt am 1. Oktober auf dem Schiff 'Kranich', Verzögerung bei Cowes, und Ankunft in Rio de Janeiro am 18. Januar 1826. Auf der Überfahrt starben mehrere Passagiere, darunter Kinder des Verfassers. Nach der Ankunft wurde die Gruppe zunächst in São Leopoldo stationiert; wegen ungeeignetem Land wurden sie mehrfach umgesiedelt, erhielten aber Subsidien (Kopfgelder) von Monatssätzen, die die erste Zeit sicherten. Am 1. August 1827 bezogen sie schließlich eine Kolonie, bauten Wohnhaus und Pflanzungen und erwarten bald eine ertragreiche zweite Ernte. Das Schreiben schildert die Fruchtbarkeit des Bodens, mögliche Feldfrüchte (Zuckerrohr, Kaffee, Bananen, Maniok), Viehankünfte und landwirtschaftliche Werkzeuge, aber auch die anfänglichen Entbehrungen sowie die gesundheitlichen Risiken und Todesfälle an Bord und in der Kolonie. Der Autor nennt Verwandte und Nachbarn, erwähnt Tausch und Streitigkeiten um Land/Geld, die Geburt eines Sohnes (Carl, 4. Mai 1827) und bittet eindringlich um Nachrichten aus der Heimat. Er erläutert auch Hinweise zur Adressierung von Briefen über offizielle Kanäle (Direktor der Kolonisation in Rio de Janeiro). Schluss: herzliche Grüße, Bitte um baldige Post und Segenswünsche für Eltern, Freunde und Nachbarn.

Die Deutschen in Brasilien

A. von Ey (aka Alexander von Ey or similar – German author, 1825–1896)

Die Deutschen in Brasilien
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Siedler mit deutschem Migrationshintergrund: 200 Jahre Auswanderung nach Brasilien

Hanneloret Kullmann

Die Geschichte klingt unglaublich, ist aber wahr: In der „Ansta-Geschichte für die Kläden History“ erzählt Philipp Bonato von seiner Mutter, die auf einer Brasilien-Reise zufällig einer Einheimischen begegnete, die ihr verblüffend ähnlich sah. Die beiden fanden heraus, dass sie gemeinsame Ur-Ur-Ur-Ur-Großeltern an der Mosel haben. Ihr gemeinsamer

Philipp Winter kam 1829 nach einer lebensgefährlichen Reise mit seiner Familie in Brasilien an. Dort gründete seine Familie im Urwald ein Dorf, das heute Bom Principio heißt, im heutigen Bundesstaat Rio Grande do Sul. Auch in der Familie von Gerhard Franz gibt es eine solche Migrationsgeschichte, die

Siedler mit deutschem Migrationshintergrund: 200 Jahre Auswanderung nach Brasilien

Hannegret Kullmann



Die deutsche Siedlung Blumenau in den 1920er Jahren. Foto: picture-alliance

Auch in der Familie von Gerhard Franz, die in der Ausstellung „Neuland“ dokumentiert wird. Er besitzt mehr als 50 Briefe seines Vorfahren aus dem Hunsrückdorf Raverst



Wie aus Hunsrückern Brasiliens. 5 Min

Peter Tatschs Reise nach Brasilien, der, nur der älteste Sohn blieb in der Heimat. Er bedauert, dass er seine Heimat

Der Traum von einer besseren Zukunft

Für die Familie Tatsch war die Auswanderung ein Traum. Sie wollten eine Tabakfabrik in Santa Cruz gründen. Peter Tatsch bedauert, dass er seine Heimat

der Ausstellung „Neuland“ im Hunsrück-Museum in Simmern dokumentiert wird. Er besitzt mehr als 50 Briefe seines Vorfahren Peter Tatsch, der 1827 aus dem Hunsrückdorf Raversbeuren nach Brasilien auswanderte. Peter Tatschs Reise nach Brasilien dauerte sechs Monate. Er hatte sieben Kinder, nur der älteste Sohn blieb im Hunsrück zurück.

Er habe dort für seine Familie keine Perspektive mehr gesehen, sagt sein Nachfahre Gerhard Franz. Für die Familie Tatsch war die Auswanderung eine Erfolgsgeschichte. Sie gründeten eine Tabakfabrik in Santa Cruz. In seinen Briefen habe es Peter Tatsch nie bedauert, dass er seine Heimat verlassen habe, betont Gerhard

Siedler mit deutschem Migrationshintergrund: 200 Jahre Beginn der massenhaften Auswanderung nach Brasilien

Hannegret Kullmann

Franz. Viele Deutsche waren wirtschaftlich erfolgreich, zum Beispiel die Brauerei Ritten in Porto Alegre. Am 25. Juli 1824 kamen die ersten deutschen Migranten in der späteren Stadt Sao Leopoldo an. Sie hatten sich vom brasilianischen Kaiser Dom Pedro I. anwerben lassen. Seine Agenturen in Deutschland lockten damals mit

eigenem Landbesitz und finanzieller Unterstützung. Nach ihrer Ankunft mussten die deutschen Kolonisten im dünn besiedelten Süden Brasiliens hart arbeiten: Sie rodeten den Regenwald, bauten Straßen, Häuser, Kirchen und Schulen und sorgten damit für eine Infrastruktur. Außerdem betrieben sie Landwirtschaft und

Siedler mit deutschem Migrationshintergrund: 200 Jahre Auswanderung nach Brasilien

Hannegret Kullmann

von Deutschland nach Brasilien. In dieser Zeit kamen mehrere Tausend Menschen aus dem deutschen Südwesten, um sich eine neue Existenz aufzubauen. Der deutsche Regisseur Edgar Reitz, der selbst aus dem Hunsrück stammt, hat der damaligen Auswanderung mit seinem Kinofilm ‚Die andere Heimat – Chronik einer Sehnsucht‘ ein filmisches

Denkmal gesetzt. Der Film kam 2013 in die deutschen Kinos und erzählt die Vorgeschichte zu Reitz‘ legendärer Filmtrilogie ‚Heimat‘.

Siedler mit deutschem Migrationshintergrund: 200 Jahre Auswanderung nach Brasilien

Hannegret Kullmann

In meinen Hunsrück-
Jugendjahren war die
Erinnerung an den
Brasilien-Exodus in allen
Familien noch wach. Heute
wird leicht vergessen, dass
auch wir ein Volk von
Migranten waren, das sich
Seenot, Anfeindungen und
Elend ausgeliefert sah und
sich nur leidvoll in den
Ankunftsländern integri-
eren konnte. Die
Brasilianer erinnern am

25. Juli 2024 mit einem
nationalen Gedenktag an
die Ankunft der ersten
Deutschen vor 200 Jahren.
Und auch in Rheinland-Pfalz
gibt es zu diesem spannen-
den Kapitel der Geschichte
Ausstellungen und
Veranstaltungen. Sie laden
dazu ein, über die
Bedeutung von Migration,
Identität und kulturellem
Erbe nachzudenken.

Young activists of the radical right bet on antagonism and understand themselves as counterculture

Patricia Fachin

Researchers from various areas of knowledge are trying to understand the motivations that lead young people to identify with conservative, right-wing or far-right groups. Some research associates adherence to the socio-political resentment of recent decades with a stereotyped culture of violence. However, these young people do not see themselves as violent. Researcher Patricia Fachin

characterized based on a biographical survey with young Brazilians and Germans identified with the radical right, understood as 'actors, groups and movements that are straining liberal democracy'. The doctoral research 'On the thresholds of the politician: (de/re)building trajectories and narratives of young activists of the

Young activists of the radical right bet on antagonism and understand themselves as counterculture

Patricia Fachin

Brazil and Germany', carried out at the University of São Paulo (USP), was published in 2023. Among the conclusions, the psychologist is categorical: 'We are not talking about something homogeneous or cohesive: the entrance doors to the radical right are very diverse'. According to the researcher, the theoretical

framework presented by right-wing groups finds resonance among young people. The defense of the family, civil weapons, more restricted laws for immigration, criticism of the hegemony of the left and anti-feminist discourses are some of the agendas that have attracted the attention of the new generations. These agendas,

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Patricia Fachin

explains the interviewee in an interview granted to the Humanitas Unisinos Institute - IHU by phone, are born from a common root: the threat of the Other and pessimism about the future. 'There is a set of ideas, a system of representation of the world that, for them,

is coherent; it is not irrational. So, the idea of saying that they are crazy or in a pathological situation does not help at all to build a dialogue and establish bridges. Not listening to them a priori, which is what is happening at the moment, is an

Young activists of the radical right bet on antagonism and understand themselves as counterculture

Patricia Fachin

element that strengthens polarization,' he argues.

Beatriz Besen has a master's degree in Social Psychology from the University of São Paulo (USP) and in State Government and Public Policies from the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), a doctor from the Social Change and Political Participation Program from USP, with research stays at

Young activists of the radical right bet on antagonism and understand themselves as counterculture

Patricia Fachin

Goethe University in Frankfurt and Humboldt in Berlin. Currently, she is a postdoctoral student at the Violence Studies Center (NEV-USP). The interview covers definitions (Far Right, Extreme Right, Radical Right), national differences between Brazil and Germany, the range of agendas that attract youth (anti-feminism, weapons, immigration), and

notes about the use of biographical interviews to capture heterogeneity rather than stereotyping. The article emphasizes that young activists come from diverse trajectories, that the figure of threat (the Other) is a common root, and that these young people often see themselves as a counterculture in opposition to

Young activists of the radical right bet on antagonism and understand themselves as counterculture

Patricia Fachin

perceived hegemony of leftist cultural agendas. The piece also discusses political stigmas, pathways of radicalization, and the need for negotiation and public debate.

200 Jahre Auswanderung nach Brasilien aus Südwestdeutschland (1824–2024)

Lothar Wieser

Die wirtschaftlichen und politischen Verwerfungen im Zuge der napoleonischen Kriege, Wetterextreme und geringe Bodenenerträge bei zunehmender Bevölkerung hatten gravierende Auswirkungen auf das tägliche Leben im deutschen Südwesten. Die vorherrschende Realteilung führte zu Parzellierung und Zersplitterung des Besitzes; hinzu kamen



200 Jahre Auswanderung nach Brasilien aus Südwestdeutschland (1824–2024)

Lothar Wieser, 16.09.2024, Kategorien: Sta

In zahlreichen Veranstaltungen wird die Einwanderung von Deutschen in Brasilien im Jahr 1824 kam ein erstes größeres Kontingent angeworbener Siedler in São Leopoldo an. Dieses Datum wird in allen Gemeinden mit einem hohen Anteil deutschstämmiger Bevölkerung am 16. September als Tag des Kolonisten, begangen.

in Regionen wie Odenwald, Vogelsberg, Westerwald, Taunus, Hunsrück und Eifel. Als klimatische Veränderungen zu Ernteaussfällen führten, waren Armut, Not und Hunger allgegenwärtig – viele Familien beschlossen deshalb, auszuwandern und „ein besseres Brot unter einem anderen Himmelsstrich zu suchen“.

200 Jahre Auswanderung nach Brasilien aus Südwestdeutschland (1824–2024)

Lothar Wiesner

Zwar normalisierte sich die Situation im
Weltkrieges recht schnell wieder, doch
Vereinigungen habe die Einschränkungen
Zeitungswesen erfuhr empfindliche Einbußen.
Was in Brasilien heute als "deutsche Klischees"
verstanden wird, hat deutlich folkloristische
fantasievollen Trachten, Blasmusik, V
Landesweit bekannt sind die großen C
do Sul oder Porto Alegre. Mit Klischees
Deren Sondermarke zeigt einen Tuka



"Typisch Deutsch", Abbildung Sammler

napoleonische Truppen nach
Rio de Janeiro geflüchtet.
Portugal öffnete in der
Folge seine Kolonien für
den Welthandel; 1808/09
wurden Gesetze zur
Besiedlung und
Reiseerlaubnis erlassen, und
1815 wurde Brasilien zum
gleichberechtigten Teil des
Vereinigten Königreichs
erhoben. Nach der Rückkehr
des Königshauses nach
Lissabon erklärte Brasilien

und später wurde ein
Kaiserreich gebildet. Unter
der Leitung des deutschen
Majors Georg Anton von
Schaeffer wurden in Europa
Kolonisten angeworben –
teils Soldaten, teils
Familien, teils Abenteurer
und sogar Sträflinge.
Anwerber wie Philipp Jakob
Cretzschmar warben im
deutschen Südwesten;
Musiker und Schausteller

200 Jahre Auswanderung nach Brasilien aus Südwestdeutschland (1824–2024)

Lothar Wiesner



paradiesische Bedingungen
in Übersee.

Vertragsbedingungen für
Siedler waren oft verlock-
end: Landschenkungen von
bis zu circa 75 Hektar,
zehn Jahre
Steuerbefreiung, kosten-
lose Erstausrüstung mit
Vieh und Geräten sowie fi-
nanzielle Hilfen bis zur er-
sten Ernte. Andererseits
mussten sich Siedler
gegebenenfalls zur

es gab aber Ausnahmen für
Legionäre.

Die deutsche Auswanderung nach Brasilien aus Südwestdeutschland (1824–2024)

Lothar Wieser

Die erste größere Gruppe deutscher Siedler traf am 25. Juli 1824 in São Leopoldo (Rio Grande do Sul) ein. Die systematische Besiedlung erstreckte sich später auf Santa Catarina, Paraná, São Paulo sowie Regionen um Joinville und Blumenau; deutsche Ansiedlungen entstanden auch in Espírito Santo, Minas Gerais und im

Hochland von Rio de Janeiro. Die Anfangsjahre waren durch harte Arbeit geprägt: Rodung, Errichtung einfacher Behausungen und Entbehrungen. Kriegerische Auseinandersetzungen und revolutionäre Unruhen erschwerten die Entwicklung; zudem ging die Besiedlung oft mit der Vertreibung und Vernichtung indigener Gruppen einher. Trotz der



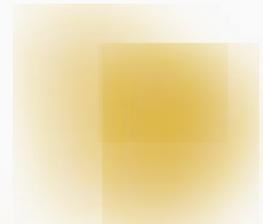
200 Jahre Auswanderung nach Brasilien aus Südwestdeutschland (1824–2024)

Lothar Wiesner

Die zuerst auf Selbstversorgung ausgerichtete Wirtschaft richtete sich zunehmend auf regionale Märkte, insbesondere Porto Alegre. Handwerkliche Fähigkeiten ermöglichten vielen den Aufstieg zu Kleinunternehmern; in der Kolonie entwickelten sich Schuh-, Konserven-, Tabak- und Textilindustrien. Im 19. Jahrhundert etablierten

Sportvereine. Protestantische Gemeinden und Kolonieschulen trugen zur Bildung bei; Rio Grande do Sul und Santa Catarina erzielten hohe Alphabetisierungsraten. Eine südwestdeutsche Dialektmischung überlebte, und zahlreiche deutschsprachige Zeitschriften und Kalender erschienen lokal. Regionalökonomisch

und Bier.
menau, Santa Cruz
e Deutsche Post.
n den Krallen hält.



200 Jahre Auswanderung nach Brasilien aus Südwestdeutschland (1824–2024)

Lothar Wiesner

1924 konnte man auf 100 Jahre deutscher Einwanderung zurückblicken; in São Leopoldo wurde ein Denkmal errichtet. Die Nationalisierungsphase in den 1930er Jahren brachte einschneidende Maßnahmen: Schulen wurden geschlossen, Zeitungen und Verlage unterdrückt und die deutsche Sprache im öffentlichen Raum zeitweilig verboten; es kam zu

dem Zweiten Weltkrieg normalisierte sich die Lage weitgehend, doch manche Institutionen hatten irreversiblen Schaden erlitten. Heute sind Elemente der deutsch-brasilianischen Kultur stark folkloristisch geprägt: Trachten, Blasmusik, Volkstanz, typische Feste wie das Oktoberfest in Blumenau oder Porto Alegre sowie

200 Jahre Auswanderung nach Brasilien aus Südwestdeutschland (1824–2024)

Lothar Wiesner

Am 25. Juli läuteten in Rio Grande do Sul die Kirchenglocken zur Erinnerung an die Ersteinwanderung. Veranstaltungen, wissenschaftliche Symposien und Publikationen widmeten sich dem Jubiläum, und in São Leopoldo wurde der Beitrag der deutschen Siedler für die wirtschaftliche, soziale und kulturelle Entwicklung der

Die Vertragsbedingungen waren wirklich verlockend: Eine Landschenkung von nahezu 75 Hektar für jede Familie, zehn Jahre Befreiung von allen Steuern, kostenlose Ersteusstattung mit Vieh und Geräten, je nach Familiengröße, finanzielle Unterstützung bis zur ersten Ernte. Dafür jedoch die Verpflichtung, ggf. das Land gegen Eindringlinge zu verteidigen. Die Kosten für die Überfahrt waren selbst zu bestreiten. Wer sich zum Eintritt in die Legion verpflichtete, erhielt freie Überfahrt.

Die Weber priesen Brasilien als Paradies, in dem die Straßen mit Gold gepflastert seien und einem die gebratenen Tauben in den Mund flögen. Man wunderte es, dass sich viele Familien auf den Weg machten? Die Horden sprachen von einem "Fieber", das die Menschen befallen habe.

Ursprung in Hessen und Nassau

Die Auswanderung begann in den bergigen Regionen Kurhessens, den kargen Höhen des Odenwäldes, verbreitete sich aber auch in andere Gebiete, nach Norden in die Provinz Starkenburg und bis ins Rheinhessische, in die Gegend des Odenwaldes und den weiter südlich gelegenen Kraichgau. In der Pfalz, im Hunsrück, Teile der Nordpfalz und des Westrich, die Mosel- und Rheingebirgsniederungen, die Eifel bis ins Luxemburgische, folgten um 1828/30 weitere Auswanderer.

Das Gebiet teilte sich politisch in wenigstens zehn Anrainerstaaten, die sich untereinander als Ausland verstanden. Sprachlich gehörten alle zum

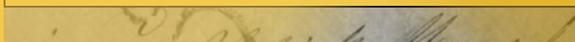


Als Deutsche nach Brasilien auswanderten

Suzanne Gonda

Die Nachwehen der napoleonischen Kriege, Missernten und drückende Steuerlasten machen den Menschen Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland das Leben schwer. Da kommt ein verlockendes Angebot vom anderen Ende der Welt: 77 Hektar Land bekommt jede Familie, die bereit ist, sich in Brasilien anzusiedeln. Dazu Vieh,

landwirtschaftliche Geräte, und eine finanzielle Hilfe in den ersten zwei Jahren. Es ist mehr als, die Bauern, Handwerker und Tagelöhner sich zu Hause je zu erhoffen wagten. Schon bald folgen die ersten dem Ruf, es heißt Abschied nehmen von der alten Heimat. "Leb wohl mein teures Teutschland Es



Als Deutsche nach Brasilien auswanderten

Suzanne Cords

„gibt kein Wiedersehn. Wir
schaun zurück vom
Sandstrand Zum letzten
Abschiedsnehm. Es wellen
nun die Segel Zerschnitten
ist das Band. Die Flucht
führt übers Meere In das
Brasilienland.“ Im Januar
1824 läuft das Schiff Argus
im Hafen von Rio de
Janeiro ein, rund 280
Personen sind an Bord.



Es ist das erste Schiff mit
Deutschen "im Dienst des
brasilianischen
Kaiserreichs". Die
Anbömmlinge lassen sich in
den Staaten Santa Catarina
bei Rio Grande do Sul
nieder und gründen die er-
ste deutsche Kolonie, São
Leopoldo, benannt nach der
österreichischen Gattin
des Kaisers, Leopoldine.
Seit zwei Jahren ist das

Als Deutsche nach Brasilien auswanderten

Suzanne Cords

Land keine portugiesische Kolonie mehr. Kaiser Dom Pedro I. nimmt die Einwanderer nicht aus reiner Selbstlosigkeit auf. Sie sollen – wenn nötig – gegen die Feinde Brasiliens kämpfen, aber vor allem braucht er Siedler, die im Süden des Landes Ackerbau betreiben. Das Ende der Sklaverei ist absehbar, und



da stellte sich die Frage, wo man neue Arbeitskräfte herbekommt. Die Elite Brasiliens verfolgt mit ihrer Einwanderungspolitik noch ein anderes Ziel: Sie will ihr Land "aufweißen". Fortschritt wurde gleichgesetzt mit Europäisierung, sowohl der Sitten und Gebräuche, aber eben auch ganz konkret der Bevölkerung. Man wollte vor

Als Deutsche nach Brasilien auswanderten

Suzanne Cords

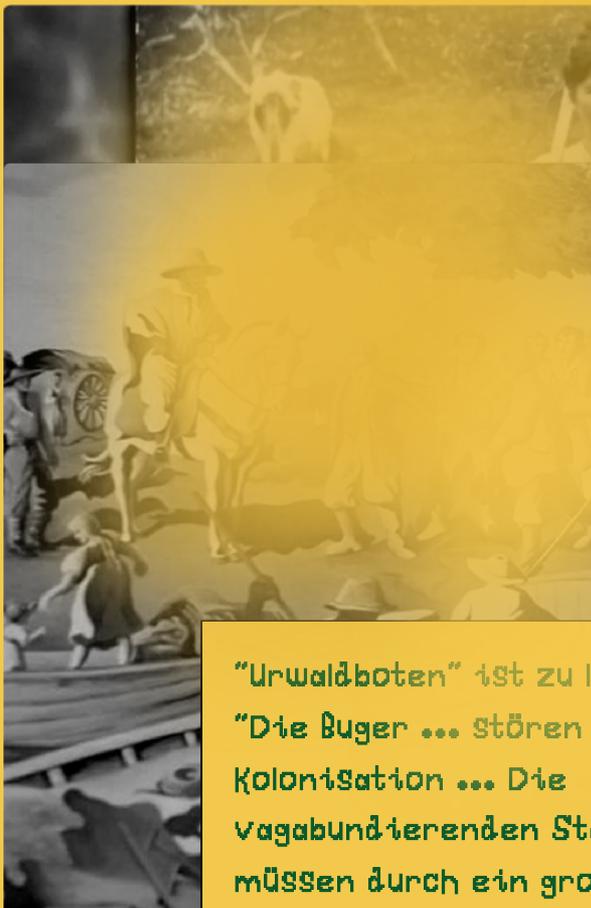
Die als besonders tugend-
sam, fleißig und gehorsam
galten.

Im Laufe des nächsten
Jahrhunderts werden rund
250.000 Deutsche über
10.000 Kilometer von zu
Hause eine neue Heimat
finden. "Hier erhält man
ein Stück Land, dessen
Größe in Deutschland der
einer Grafschaft
entspricht", schreibt ein
nach Brasilien ausgewan-
deter Siedler 1827 begeistert
an seine Familie. Die



Als Deutsche nach Brasilien auswanderten

Suzanne Cords



– für ihre Häuser, ihre Felder und ihr Vieh. Allerdings ist der Urwald, in den die Neuankömmlinge ihre Schneisen schlagen, nicht unbewohnt. Die indigenen Ureinwohner verteidigen ihr Territorium und liefern sich blutige Auseinandersetzungen mit den Deutschen. Bald heuert die Regierung Söldnertruppen an, die die Indigenen erbarmungslos Ja-

“Urwaldboten“ ist zu lesen: “Die Buder ... stören die Kolonisation ... Die vagabundierenden Stämme müssen durch ein großes Aufgebot von Buderjägern und Waldläufern aufgehoben und so mit einem Schlage unschädlich gemacht werden.“ Die Ureinwohner haben keine Chance gegen ihre Jäger, zwei Drittel der indigenen Bevölkerung

Als Deutsche nach Brasilien auswanderten

Suzanne Cords

deutschen Siedlungen
hingegen prosperieren. Die
Einwanderer halten die
Bräuche aus der alten
Heimat hoch und sprechen
weiterhin Deutsch. Die
Landessprache
Portugiesisch beherrschen
nur wenige, man bleibt
unter sich.



Diese Abschottung weckt
zunehmend das Misstrauen
der alteingesessenen, von
Portugiesen abstammenden
Bevölkerung. Als in
Deutschland die
Nationalsozialisten auf dem
Vormarsch sind, begeistern
sich nicht wenige
deutschstämmige
Einwanderer für Hitler.
Brasilien hat die größte NS-
Partei außerhalb

Als Deutsche nach Brasilien auswanderten

Suzanne Cords

hart durch: Die NSDAP und die deutschsprachige Presse werden verboten, deutsche Vereine und Schulen werden geschlossen, und der Gebrauch der deutschen Sprache wird unter Strafe gestellt. 1945 liegt Nazi-Deutschland am Boden, die deutsche Kultur ist in Misskredit geraten. Der Kontakt der Deutschbrasilianer zur Heimat ihrer Vorfahren

Zur deutschen Einwanderung in Brasilien

VALDIR GREGORY

EINFÜHRUNG

■ Die Thematik der deutschen Einwanderung in Brasilien soll in einer Sonderausgabe der *Cadernos Adenauer* über „Die deutsch-brasilianischen Beziehungen“ im Rahmen des Deutschlandjahres in Brasilien aufgenommen werden, denn sie erklärt die langfristigen Aspekte in den Beziehungen zwischen beiden Ländern. Diese Beziehungen reichen lange zurück, denn Brasilien wurde von Deutschsprachigen „besucht, erforscht und studiert“ seitdem die Europäer den amerikanischen Kontinent betraten.¹

Die Anwesenheit der Deutschen in Brasilien setzt Migrationen voraus. Deutsche sind von Deutschland nach Brasilien ausgewandert und sind demnach gleichzeitig Auswanderer und Einwanderer, also Migranten.

Migration an sich ist also die Umsiedlung eines Menschen von einem Ort zum anderen, eine Erfahrung, die sowohl die alte wie auch die neue Welt mit einschließt und deren Auswirkungen sich während des gesamten Lebens der Migranten sowie der nachfolgenden Generationen zeigen. Wenn sich die Migranten in neuen Ländern niederlassen, müssen althergebrachte Lebensweisen neu überdacht und verändert werden.²

1 Siehe <http://www.rodrigotespach.com/2013/01/01/ano-da-alemanha-no-brasil-2013-2014/>, Zugriff am 17.04.2013.

2 THOMSON, Alistair. *Bewegende Geschichten: mündliche Geschichte und Migrationsstudien*. *Revista Brasileira de História*. SP, Ausgabe 22, Nr. 44, (Seite 341-363), 2002, Seite 341.

Zur deutschen Einwanderung in Brasilien.

Valdir Gregory

Wir können Migration unter verschiedenen Aspekten beleuchten. In diesem Text möchte ich aufzeigen, was die Auswanderung aus Deutschland motivierte und welche Faktoren Brasilien als Ziel besonders attraktiv machte, es soll ein Panorama dieses Phänomens, die Migrationsflüsse sowie die Anzahl von Einwanderern in den verschiedenen Perioden gezeichnet werden. Es sollen individuelle und gemeinschaftliche Erlebnisse in Brasilien herausgestellt werden. Es werden die Beziehungen zwischen deutschen Einwanderern und der brasilianischen Bevölkerung sowie zwischen Deutschen und Einwanderern anderer Nationalitäten beleuchtet. Es können kulturelle Aspekte, Identitätsfindung und viele weitere Aspekte diskutiert werden.

Dieser Text liefert also einige Daten über die Einwanderung in Brasilien, eine kurze Analyse und die Einschätzung des Autors.

ALLGEMEINES PANORAMA

■ Die Migrationen von Deutschen lassen sich in den Rahmen von europäischen Migrationen anlässlich der Expansion durch Seefahrt und Handel und der Europäisierung von Amerika einordnen. Das Territorium des heutigen Brasiliens war von unterschiedlichen Kulturen bevölkert, wir können sie unter dem Sammelbegriff indigene Völker zusammenfassen. Ab dem 16. Jahrhundert kamen Einwanderer aus Europa, Afrika, dem Mittleren Osten und später aus Asien nach Südamerika. Insofern war die Bildung des brasilianischen Volkes ein komplexer Prozess mit Menschen verschiedener Herkunft, vielfältiger Kulturen, die das brasilianische Gebiet besetzten und ethnische/ kulturelle Gruppen bildeten. Dieser Prozess erstreckte sich nicht nur auf bestimmte Räume sondern auch auf fünf Jahrhunderte, ein Zeitraum der in dieser Bevölkerungsdynamik ein wichtiges Element ist. So kann man die Entstehung des brasilianischen Volkes als einen Prozess aus Zusammenleben, Konflikten, Austausch, Einflüssen, Widerstände und Beiträge sehen, die in die Verhandlung der Identitäten Einfluss nahmen. Wir sollten uns die Niederlassung der Deutschen vor diesem Hintergrund ansehen.

ÜBERLIEFERUNGEN AUS DER KOLONIALZEIT

■ Erste Hinweise über die Einwanderung Deutscher sind bereits aus dem 16. Jahrhundert überliefert, aus der Zeit als Brasilien portugiesische Kolonie war. Zwei Deutsche begleiteten Pedro Álvares Cabral in seiner Flotte, ein Koch und ein Navigator (Meister Johann). Es gibt auch Unterlagen über religiöse Missio-

nare in der Kolonie. Eroberer, Reisende, Schriftsteller, Intellektuelle, Künstler, deutsche Wissenschaftler sind in verschiedenen Dokumenten aufgeführt. Ulrich Schmidel, Hans Staden, Johan Baptist von Spix, Karl Friederich Philipp von Martius, Alexander von Humbold (dem der Aufenthalt in Brasilien verweigert wurde, weil er unter Spionageverdacht stand), Johan Moritz Rugendas, Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, Otto Grashoff und noch andere werden in vielen Büchern genannt, ihnen wurde bei der Bildung der brasilianischen Nation eine wichtige Rolle zugeschrieben.³ Die Anwesenheit von Deutschen zu diesem Zeitpunkt sei nur kurz erwähnt, ich werde in einem anderen Zusammenhang hierauf noch näher eingehen, obgleich sie zahlenmäßig im Vergleich zu Indianern, Portugiesen und Afrikanern relativ wenige waren.

DIE DEUTSCHE EINWANDERUNG IN BRASILIEN

■ Ab dem 19. Jahrhundert und vor allem mit der politischen Emanzipation in Brasilien in den 1820er Jahren kam die Einwanderung auf die (geo)politische Tagesordnung des brasilianischen Kaiserreiches. Auf politischer Ebene versuchte man die Sklaven durch europäische Einwanderer zu ersetzen, um Arbeitskräfte für die Kaffeeplantagen zu erhalten, Landwirte in den sich bildenden Kolonialzentren bereitzustellen und die so genannten „demographischen Leerräume“ in den Grenzgebieten zu besiedeln. Die Unternehmen und Infrastrukturen, die aus dem Sklavenhandel stammten, beispielsweise Unternehmen, Reedereien, Kontakt- und Geschäftsnetze wurden genutzt, um den massiven Migrationsströmen von Europäern nach Amerika Herr zu werden. Es handelt sich um Phänomene eines sich selbst verändernden Systems.

Allerdings ging nur ein kleiner Anteil der europäischen Auswanderer, darunter auch Deutsche, nach Brasilien: es waren etwa 4500000 aus einer Gesamtzahl von etwa 35000000 europäischen Auswanderern. Laut Lúcio Kreutz⁴, „sind bis 1929 in Brasilien 1485000 Italiener, 1321000 Portugiesen, 583000 Spanier, 223000 Deutsche (*vermutlich deutschsprachige* – Ergänzung von uns), 86000 Japaner eingewandert.“ Die weiteren sind in die Vereinigten Staaten, nach Uruguay, Argentinien, Australien u.a. ausgewandert.

3 Siehe *As relações Alemanha-América Latina no passado e no presente*. In: *Perfil da Alemanha* (Veröffentlicht von der Abteilung für Presse und Information der Bundesregierung, Text: Dr. Arno Kepler, 1997, Seite 570 bis 584.

4 KREUTZ, Lúcio. *Magistério e Imigração Alemã: o professor católico teuto-brasileiro da Restauração*. São Paulo, 1985. Doktorarbeit (Promotion in Erziehungswissenschaft) – Pontifícia Universidade Católica, Seite 62.

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REVISTA DE HISTÓRIA DA UFPA – CADERNOS ADENAUER XIV (2014) EDIÇÃO ESPECIAL

Die Beweggründe deutscher Auswanderer lassen sich in den Kontext der allgemeinen europäischen Auswanderung einordnen, sie waren von politischen, wirtschaftlichen, sozialen und kulturellen Veränderungen motiviert. Mit dem Voranschreiten des industriellen Kapitalismus und der damit einhergehenden Auflösung von Feudalstrukturen setzte sich der Auswanderungsgedanke und der amerikanische Traum angesichts einer offenen Grenze durch. Gefördert wurde dies durch die Entwicklung des Schienentransports und der Dampfschiffahrt sowie des Verbots des Sklavenhandels.⁵ Die sozialen Probleme im Zusammenhang mit dem mangelnden Zugang zu Landbesitz sowie der Schwierigkeit, in den Städten angemessene Beschäftigung zu finden, führte dazu, dass große Teile der Bevölkerung bereit waren auszuwandern. Dies kam den Interessen von Schiffahrtsunternehmen, Ausreiseagenten sowie der Einschätzung politischer, sozialer und religiöser Organisationen entgegen, die ein günstiges Klima zur Auswanderung der Deutschen geschaffen haben. Dennoch wurde diese Politik, die die Auswanderung begünstigte, auch in Frage gestellt. Bei den Auswanderungen von Deutschland nach Brasilien bewirkten Berichte über die prekäre Lebenssituation der Migranten, dass die Migrationsströme eingeschränkt wurden. Millionen Menschen sind ohne eine genaue Planung wegen des demographischen Wachstums, persönlicher Umstände, Unzufriedenheit und dem Impuls, sich auf die Suche nach einem besseren Leben zu machen, ausgewandert.

Nach Aussage von Arno Keppler erfolgte die deutsche Auswanderung nach Lateinamerika nachdem die südamerikanischen Länder ihre Unabhängigkeit erlangten. Hauptzielland war „Brasilien, als günstigster Option“ weil das Land von den europäischen Mächten, einschließlich Preußen „früher anerkannt wurde als die ehemaligen spanischen Kolonien“. Er erwähnt ferner „eine organisierte Politik der Besiedlung durch deutsche Einwanderer“. Georg von Schäffer habe „ein Netz von Stützpunkten aus kleinen landwirtschaftlichen Betrieben geplant“, um die Grenzen zu schützen und landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse zu liefern.⁶ In Brasilien erfolgte die Einwanderung vorwiegend in den Südosten und Süden des Landes und nahm ab 1824, als die deutsche Kolonie São Leopoldo in Rio Grande do Sul gegründet wurde, an Bedeutung zu. Am Ende jenes Jahrzehnts, ließen sich deutsche Einwanderer auf Initiative der kaiserlichen Regierung im Jahr 1829 auch in São Pedro de Alcântara und Mafra (SC) sowie in Rio Negro (PR) nieder.

Neben diesen Gruppen von Deutschen, die sich im Süden des Landes niedergelassen haben, wurden weitere Kolonien über das Land verteilt gegründet,

5 Siehe CROUZET, Maurice (Hrg.) *História Geral das Civilizações*. São Paulo, DIFEL, 1969.

6 Siehe *As relações Alemanha-América Latina*, a. a. O., Seite. 582 und 583.

beispielsweise Nova Friburgo (RJ) im Jahr 1818, Santo Amaro (SP) 1828, Santa Izabel und Santa Leopoldina (ES) wurden jeweils 1847 und 1857 gegründet; Nova Friburgo und Petrópolis (RJ) jeweils 1819 und 1845; Teófilo Otoni und Juiz de Fora (MG) jeweils 1847 und 1852 sowie São Jorge dos Ilhéus (BA) 1818. Von diesen Kolonien haben, neben den Gemeinden im Süden des Landes, die im Staat Espírito Santo am meisten die deutsche Identität bewahrt.⁷ Die meisten deutschen Einwanderer in Espírito Santo in dieser Anfangsphase, stammten aus Pommern (Santa Maria und Domingos Martins) sowie aus dem Rheinland.

Eine verstärkte Einwanderung erfolgte nach 1850, als die Regierungen der Bundesstaaten die Verantwortung für die Kolonialisierung übernahmen und die deutschen Einwanderer, die anfangs fast alleine und in steigenden Zahlen kamen, von anderen Völkern, darunter Portugiesen, Italiener und Spanier abgelöst wurden. Die Privatinitiative leistete einen Beitrag zur Gründung von Kolonien in Santa Catarina vor allem der Kolonie Blumenau (Hermann Blumenau und Ferdinand Hackradt) im Jahr 1850, und der Kolonie Dona Francisca, heute Joinville (Sociedade Hamburguesa) im Jahr 1851.

Im Staat Paraná gab es Einwanderungen nach Castro 1855, und von 1877 bis 1879 kam eine beachtliche Zahl Wolgadeutscher und Deutschrussen. Die deutsch-russischen Einwanderer gründeten Kolonien in der Nähe von Curitiba und in Teilen von Campos Gerais. Estevão Müller⁸ untersucht die Einwanderer deutscher Herkunft in Paraná. Sie stammten „aus anderen Gegenden Europas, vor allem Russland und aus dem Wolgagebiet“. Er nennt in seiner Arbeit die Buchen aus dem Buchenland, die Schwaben aus dem Donaugebiet sowie Einwanderer aus dem Wolgagebiet, aus Sibirien, aus der Ukraine und anderen Gegenden des grossen sowjetischen Reiches. Nach Aussage des Autors sind 1887/1888 die Buchen nach Rio Negro gekommen. Sie seien 1840/1841 von Bayern ins Buchenland ausgewandert. Von Rio Negro zogen sie nach Lapa und in die Nachbarkolonien. Sie waren vorwiegend katholisch. In der Gemeinde Palmeira wurden weitere Siedlungen deutsch-russischer Einwanderer gegründet. Sie teilten sich nach Konfession auf: die Katholiken gingen in die Zentren Pugas, Lago, Santa Quitéria und Alegrete und die Protestanten nach Papagaios Novos und Quero-Quero.

Die meisten Deutschen kamen zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts und ließen sich in Curitiba, Ponta Grossa, Palmeira, Rio Negro, Ivaí, Irati, Cruz Machado

7 MAGALHÃES, Marionilde Dias Brehol de. *Alemanha, mãe-pátria distante: utopia pangermanista no Sul do Brasil*. Campinas: 1993. Doktorarbeit, UNICAMP, 1993, Seite 12

8 MÜLLER, Estevão. *De Marienthal (Alemanha, Rússia) a Mariental (Lapa, PR)*. Curitiba, Editora Champagnat, 2005, Seite 19 und 38 bis 40.

nieder. Später sind im Rahmen der Kriegswirren noch die Schwaben aus dem Donaugebiet nach Guarapuava ausgewandert, sie haben sich in Entre Rios niedergelassen und die Einwanderer aus Danzig gingen nach Cambé und Rolândia.⁹

UNTERSCHIEDLICHE HEIMATORTE UND ZIELE

■ Diese Einwanderung orientierte sich an der Siedlungspolitik der kaiserlichen Regierung mit dem Ziel, das Land mit seinen „demografischen Leerräumen“ zu besiedeln. Auch die Provinzen verfolgten eine Einwanderungspolitik um ihr Land zu besiedeln und „verfügbare“ Arbeitskräfte für die Kaffeepflanzungen zu gewinnen. Regierungen, Kolonisationsgesellschaften und Agenten investierten in Werbung, um Einwanderer anzulocken. Die Vermittlung, der Transport, die Einwanderung, die Erfüllung von Pflichten, die Akzeptanz von Bräuchen und religiösen Praktiken gestalteten sich schwierig, was zu Reaktionen und Kritik führte bis hin zu Versuchen, die Einwanderung Deutscher nach Brasilien zu verbieten und zu verhindern.

Tabelle 02. *Herkunft einiger deutschen Gruppen nach Brasilien*

Ort	Gründung	Herkunft
São Leopoldo RS	1824	Hunsrück, Sachsen, Württemberg, Sachsen-Coburg
Santa Cruz RS	1849	Rheinland, Pommern, Schlesien
Santo Ângelo RS	1857	Rheinland, Sachsen, Pommern
Nova Petrópolis RS	1859	Pommern, Sachsen, Böhmen
Teutônia RS	1868	Westfalen
São Lourenço RS	1857	Pommern, Rheinland
Blumenau SC	1850	Pommern, Holstein, Hannover, Braunschweig, Sachsen
Brusque SC	1860	Baden, Oldenburg, Rheinland, Pommern, Schleswig-Holstein, Braunschweig
Joinville SC	1851	Preussen, Oldenburg, Schleswig-Holstein, Hannover, Schweiz
Curitiba PR	1878	Wolgadeutsche
Santa Isabel ES	1847	Hunsrück, Pommern, Rheinland, Preussen, Sachsen
Santa Leopoldina ES	1857	Pommern, Rheinland, Preussen, Sachsen

Hinweis: Die Tabelle wurde von Autor mit Grundlage auf den Informationen von Willems, 1980, Seite 38-39 organisiert.

Die deutschen Gruppen, die im 19. Jahrhundert nach Brasilien kamen, stammten aus verschiedenen Regionen, was zu einer großen kulturellen Vielfalt führte. In der Tabelle 02 finden Sie Informationen über die Herkunft der ersten

9 Siehe STEIN, Marcos. In: VITEC, Harto. *Imigração alemã no Paraná: 180 anos (1929-2009)*. Marechal Cândido Rondon, Editora Germânica, 2011.

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Einwanderer in verschiedenen Kolonien in Brasilien im 19. Jahrhundert gemäss den Forschungen von Emílio Willems.

Die Zusammensetzung der Auswanderergruppen und die Zielorte hingen von den deutschen Agenten – die diese überreden, organisieren und auf den Weg bringen sollten – und von den brasilianischen Auffangstellen ab, die die Einwanderer nach ihren Fähigkeiten sowie (geo)politischen und wirtschaftlichen Interessen aufteilten. Die Einreise der Deutschen nach Brasilien während des ersten Kaiserreiches erfolgte über Rio de Janeiro. Von da aus wurden sie aufgeteilt und zu ihren jeweiligen Zielorten geleitet. Später kamen andere Häfen hinzu, wie zum Beispiel Santos, Itajaí und Rio Grande. Nachdem die Kolonien einmal gegründet waren, kamen Einwanderer unterschiedlicher Herkunftsländer hinzu. Auf diese Weise konnten Kolonien aus deutschsprachigen Einwanderern entstehen, die aus verschiedenen Orten Europas kamen. Aus dem Hunsrück kam eine beachtliche Anzahl von Landarbeitern in die Kolonien in den Süden von Brasilien. Die meisten von ihnen waren katholisch und sprachen hunsrücker Dialekt.

Was die Heterogenität und Pluralität der in Brasilien vertretenen Nationalitäten durch die fast durchgängigen Einwanderungsströme bis 1940 betrifft, so zeigt der Einwanderungs- und Kolonisationsprozess in den Staaten Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina und Paraná einige besondere Eigenschaften. Hier führte die Ankunft von nicht-portugiesischen Europäern zur Bildung von Zentren ethnischer Gruppierungen mit eigener Identität und unterschiedlichen Kulturen. Wichtigen Einfluss hatten auch die Ziele und Formen der Kolonialisierung des brasilianischen Südens, man strebte eine Besiedlung durch Siedler und Kleinbauern an, die auf ihrem eigenen Gut Nahrungsmittel anbauen sollten. Die Einwanderungspolitik in der Provinz São Paulo sollte wiederum den Mangel an Arbeitskräften in den großen Kaffeepflanzungen ausgleichen. Im Süden sollten Waldgebiete in der Nähe der Flussläufe besiedelt werden, insbesondere der Flüsse Jacuí und Itajaí und durch Besiedelung und Kolonialisierung diese Gebiete erschließen und nutzbar machen.

Wichtig ist auch, dass die Konzentration von Siedlern gleicher ethnischer Herkunft zur Bildung von relativ homogenen und isolierten Gruppen innerhalb der Kolonien beitrug. Die Integration von anderen Ethnien oder von Brasilianern erfolgte vor allem nach der Gründung der Republik 1889. Zu dieser Zeit strebten die Behörden die Bildung von gemischten Kolonien an, was den privaten Kolonialgesellschaften sowohl in Rio Grande do Sul als auch in Santa Catarina zuwider lief, da Grundstücke in homogenen Kolonien erfahrungsgemäss leichter zu verkaufen waren. Die Gemeinden, die sich in den Kolonialisationszentren

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bildeten, neigten dazu, Kolonisten ähnlicher ethnischer und religiöser Herkunft aufzunehmen, was die Bildung von homogenen Gemeinden förderte.

Dieses Thema finden wir im Kontext der Rassendiskussion in Brasilien wieder. Auf der einen Seite sah die Ideologie der „Aufhellung“ durch die Mischung zwischen Brasilianern und Deutschen eine Möglichkeit die „brasilianische Rasse“ zu verbessern. Andererseits stieg die Sorge um die Gefahr der Bildung von „ethnischen Zysten“ in Brasilien. Der kulturelle Widerstand und der Assimilierungsversuch in die brasilianische Nation führte zu Spannungen, die je nach nationaler und internationaler (geo)politischer Situationen unterschiedliche Intensität und Schwere aufwiesen. Der Einflussbereich dieser Kolonialzentren umfasste und beeinflusste sehr viel mehr Gebiete als nur die jeweiligen Gemeinden. Außerdem besetzten Nachkommen die umliegenden Gebiete in sehr viel größerem Maße als in den nachfolgenden Jahrzehnten und Jahrhunderten.

EINIGE ANGABEN UND DEREN BEDEUTUNGEN

■ Dokumente und Quellen über die Anwesenheit Deutscher an den verschiedenen Orten zeigen, dass die Einwanderung Deutscher nach Brasilien vor allem im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert erfolgte. Diese Quellen stammen einerseits aus unterschiedlichen Institutionen und Behörden und gelten als authentische Zeitdokumente. Die Informationen und Daten können als echt angesehen werden. Andererseits sind Migrationen komplexe Phänomene und die Unterlagen hierzu sind meist unzureichend. Die Statistiken über Einwanderungszahlen stammen aus zuverlässigen Quellen, allerdings sind diese im Fall der deutschen Einwanderung auch recht komplex. Die Bemühungen, die deutschen Migrationsbewegungen nach Brasilien zu erfassen und in Statistiken, Berichten und Dokumenten festzuhalten, brachte Unterlagen in Deutschland, Brasilien und anderen Orten zu Tage. Daher weise ich in diesem Zusammenhang auf den großen Informationsumfang mit unterschiedlichen Dokumenten hin, die in einen Zusammenhang gebracht werden müssen und die Herkunft der Unterlagen ist nur ein Aspekt.

Wichtig sind natürlich auch die Zeit- und Raumbedingungen. Ich habe keine genaue Antwort auf die Frage: Was bedeutet es, im 19. Jahrhundert oder Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts deutscher Einwanderer zu sein? Deutschlands Grenzen und Hoheitsgebiet wechselte in den letzten Jahrhunderten häufig. Da gab es beispielsweise die deutsche Reichsgründung (1870), die instabilen Landesgrenzen in Europa, Menschen mit unterschiedlichen deutschen Sprachvarianten und Dialekten, außerdem die historischen Grenzen Deutschlands, die Binnenmigrationen

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in Europa und die ethnisch-kulturellen Destabilisierungen durch Konflikte und Entwurzelte aus Mitteleuropa. Auf diese Fragen werde ich später näher eingehen.

Dennoch können wir die Daten von Mauch aus der Tabelle 01, für die Zeit zwischen 1824 und 1969, als Parameter verwenden, um die Dynamik der deutschen Migrationsflüsse nach Brasilien zu verschiedenen Zeiten darzustellen. Wenn man sich die Zeiträume, die Gesamtzahlen und die Jahresdurchschnitte betrachtet, kann man feststellen, dass die Migration zwischen 1872 und 1939 am stärksten war. In den Jahrzehnten zwischen 1910 und 1939 fallen besonders die Zahlen im Jahresdurchschnitt auf.

Tabelle 01. Deutsche Einwanderung in Brasilien

Zeitraum	Gesamtzahl	Jahresdurchschnitte
1824-47	8.176	355
1848-72	19.523	813
1873-97	14.325	2046
1898-1909	18.901	2100
1910-19	17.084	1898
1920-29	13.848	1539
1930-39	25.902	2878
1940-49	75.801	8422
1950-59	27.497	3055
1960-69	6.807	756
1970-79	16.643	1849
1980-89	5.659	629

Quelle: Mauch et al., 1994, Seite 165.

Laut brasilianischem Statistikamt IBGE lag die Bevölkerung deutschstämmiger Herkunft in den 1940er und 1950er Jahren bei etwa 20% der Gesamtbevölkerung in den Staaten Santa Catarina und Rio Grande do Sul, 7% in Paraná und 2,5% in São Paulo. Diese Hunderttausenden deutschen Einwanderer in Brasilien lassen sich natürlich nicht über einen Kamm scheren. Hier finden wir – und das ist sicher – Gruppen und Individuen aus unterschiedlichen wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnissen, mit unterschiedlichen Fähigkeiten und Berufen. Sie unterscheiden sich in Glauben, politischen Meinungen, usw. Es sind Landwirte ohne eigenes Land, Handwerker, freie Arbeiter, Fachleute, Unternehmer, politisch Verfolgte sowie Menschen, die angeworben wurden, um in den Kolonien in

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Regierungen zu arbeiten oder zu kämpfen. Wir sehen Migranten mit vielfältigen Erfahrungen.

Aber auch ihre Erlebnisse in Brasilien waren vielfältig. Eine signifikante Anzahl von deutschen Einwanderern in Brasilien waren Landwirte. Ein Teil der deutschen Einwanderer in Brasilien erwarb bei seiner Ankunft und/oder später Landbesitz. Es wurden auch verschiedene Berufe ausgeübt: als Handwerker, Industrielle, Händler, Pächter in den Städten sowie Theologen und Lehrer. Andere blieben in den Städten, teils wegen der mangelnden Infrastruktur in den Kolonien, wegen Anpassungsschwierigkeiten an die Lebensbedingungen auf dem Land und die landwirtschaftliche Tätigkeit in Brasilien oder einfach, weil sie keine Erfahrungen in der Landwirtschaft hatten. Insgesamt verteilen sich die deutschen Nachkommen innerhalb der brasilianischen Landesgrenzen ähnlich wie andere ethnische/kulturelle Gruppen aus Europa. Auch sie sind von der ungleichen Verteilung von Einkommen und Landbesitz nicht ausgeschlossen. Sie sind in das brasilianische Sozialgefüge integriert. Sie haben in der Regel Zugang zu höheren Einkommens- und Bildungsebenen im Vergleich zu den Nachfahren von afrikanischen Sklaven, Indianern und Caboclos.¹⁰

DIE BINNENMIGRATIONEN

■ Die eingewanderten Siedler (Deutsche, Italiener, Polen, Ukrainer und andere) haben ihre Werte, Kulturen und Lebensstile mitgebracht. Vor diesem Hintergrund haben sie sich angepasst und einen neuen sozialen Raum errichtet, der in einen weiteren Kontext integriert ist, der das Leben der Migranten und deren Nachfahren bis heute bestimmt.

Zahlenmäßig heben sich die Einwanderer, die sich als Landwirte in den Kolonien im Süden Brasiliens niedergelassen haben, nicht in der brasilianischen Einwanderung hervor. Es muss aber auch die Zeit der Gründung der Kolonien, vor allem der deutschen, berücksichtigt werden, die fünf Jahrzehnte vor den anderen Ethnien kamen. Sie begannen, die bewaldeten Gebiete im Süden zu kolonialisieren und angesichts der Nachkommen kommt ihrer Anwesenheit eine andere Bedeutung zu. Die Deutschen wanderten Jahrzehnte vor den anderen ethnischen Gruppen nach Brasilien aus und gründeten ihre Kolonien. Als Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts Einwanderer anderer Nationalitäten ihre massiven Migra-

10 Siehe ROCHE, Jean. *A Colonização Alemã e o Rio Grande do Sul*. Porto Alegre, Globo, 1969.
E WAIBEL, Léo. *Capítulos de Geografia Tropical e do Brasil*. 2. Auflage Rio de Janeiro, IBGE, 1979.

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tionswellen nach Brasilien begannen, hatten sich bereits verschiedene deutsche Gemeinden fest etabliert. Es gab bereits in Brasilien geborene Nachkommen. Magalhães¹¹ zeigt, ohne sich auf eine gewisse Zeit festzulegen, dass die Fruchtbarkeit der deutschen bei etwa 8 bis 9 Kindern lagen, wenn die Frauen zwischen 15 und 19 Jahren heirateten und bei 7 Kindern, wenn sie zwischen 20 und 24 Jahren heirateten. Dieses Wachstum war, zusammen mit den sozioökonomischen Bedingungen, verantwortlich für die steigende Anzahl von Kolonien und für die Migration nach Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina und Paraná sowie in andere brasilianische Regionen. Erwähnenswert ist auch die Migratione von deutschen Nachfahren von Brasilien nach Argentinien, Paraguay und Bolivien.

Diese Binnenmigratione begann zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts und verstärkte sich noch nach dem zweiten Jahrzehnt des 20. Jahrhunderts. Die Ländereien für die Nachkommen europäischer Einwanderer von Rio Grande do Sul und Santa Catarina wurden knapp und die Eliten des Südens versuchten die Besiedelung der Waldgebiete durch Einwanderer und deren Nachkommen in dieser Gegend einzuschränken. Die deutschen, italienischen und polnischen Einwanderer, die bereits Kolonien in Rio Grande do Sul gebildet und durch einen sogenannten *Schwarmtrieb*¹² erweitert haben, besetzten die Waldgebiete im Norden und Nordosten von Rio Grande do Sul bis Ende 1940. Die landwirtschaftlichen Nutzflächen in der Mitte und im Süden gehörten Viehzüchtern und Großgrundbesitzern und standen zur Bildung von Kolonien für die Nachfahren von Einwanderern nicht zur Verfügung. Für die Viehzucht in der gemischten Landwirtschaft stand wenig Land zur Verfügung nachdem die Weideländer vor der Ankunft der Einwanderer traditionell bewirtschaftet wurden, so dass diese die Kolonien mit den neuen Generationen teilen oder in den Westen von Santa Catarina, sowie in den Südwesten und Westen von Paraná auswandern mussten. In Santa Catarina und in Paraná gab es ähnliche Situationen wie in den Kolonien von Rio Grande do Sul, allerdings waren die Ländereien und Felder proportional kleiner.

Aus diesem Grund führte die Suche nach neuen Ländern zu einer Binnenmigration von Rio Grande do Sul nach Paraná. In Santa Catarina waren die Einwanderer in der Küstenregion nicht gern gesehen, wohl aber im Westen des Staates. Paraná war ein Einwanderungsstaat *par excellence*.¹³ Dieser Prozess hat

11 MAGALHÃES, a.a. O., 1993, Seite 12.

12 ROCHE, a.a. O.

13 GREGORY, Valdir. *Os eurobrasileiros e o espaço colonial: migrações e identidades no Oeste do Paraná*. Cascavel, Edunioeste, 2002, Seite 68.

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sich nach 1920 noch verstärkt und die Binnenmigration in den Staat Paraná erhöht. In den 60er und 70er Jahren sind neben den Einwanderungswellen nach Paraguay, in den Norden von Argentinien und in Bolivien, Kolonialisierungsfronten im mittleren Westen und im Norden Brasiliens, vor allem in den Staaten Mato Grosso und Rondônia entstanden. Mit den Einwanderungsströmen aus dem Süden kam eine große Anzahl Europa-Brasilianer in die Expansionsfronten. So finden wir Nachfahren deutscher Einwanderer in großer Zahl im ganzen Land verteilt, zwar nicht mehr in homogenen Gruppen, die aber dennoch die deutsche Identität beibehalten, anpassen oder wiederaufbauen.

Wichtig ist ferner die Tatsache, dass deutsche Einwanderer auch in die Stadtzentren der Kolonien oder in die großen Städte des Landes eingewandert sind und im Handel, in der Industrie und im Dienstleistungssektor tätig waren. Nach der Entwicklung der Kolonien und des demographischen Wachstums erfolgte, neben den Umsiedlungen in neue Kolonien und Expansionsfronten auch eine konstante Landflucht, die ab der landwirtschaftlichen Mechanisierung in den sechziger Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts noch zunahm. In einigen Kolonien war die deutsche Bevölkerung in der Mehrheit und hielt ihre kulturellen Wesensmerkmale aufrecht. Häufig werden diese Wesensmerkmale deutscher Einwanderer glorifiziert. Die deutschen Architekturstile werden sowohl in den öffentlichen als auch privaten Häusern beibehalten, angepasst und weiterentwickelt. In den Familien sowie in Gemeindetreffen und Familienfeiern wird die Sprache weiter gepflegt. An einigen Orten werden Volksfeste zu ethnisch-touristischen Manifestationen der deutschen Einwanderung.¹⁴

Einige Daten sind wichtig, um den geographischen Expansionsprozesses deutscher Einwanderer in Brasilien zu verstehen. Das eine ist die Anwesenheit der „ethnischen Religionsgemeinschaften“ in Brasilien, beispielsweise der evangelischen Glaubensgemeinschaften Igreja Evangélica Luterana do Brasil (ICLB), der Igreja Evangélica de Confissão Luterana no Brasil (IECLB) sowie der Igreja Evangélica Congregacional do Brasil (IECB). 1992 gab es 375 Pfarreien der IECLB in Brasilien, von denen 237 (63%) im Süden des Landes lagen, 64 im Südosten (31 im Staat Espírito Santo), 29 im Norden, 26 im Mittleren Westen, 18 im Nordosten. Die IECLB gründete in den letzten Jahrzehnten Pfarreien in den Kolonisationsfronten im mittleren Westen: Mato Grosso, Rondomat (Südosten von Rondônia und Nordosten von Mato Grosso), Alto Rio Madeira (Norden von Rondônia und Acre) sowie Rio Machado (Zentrum von Rondônia): Goiá-

¹⁴ Siehe STEIN und GREGORY. In: VITEC, Harto. *Imigração alemã no Paraná: 180 anos (1929-2009)*. Marechal Cândido Rondon, Editora Germânica, 2011.

nia (1953), Brasília (1958), Taguatinga (1969), Mineiros (1982), Planaltina (1985), Barreiras (1986), Porto dos Gaúchos (1961), Cuiabá (1971, Sinop (1975), Jaciara (1978), Alta Floresta (1985), Canarana, Matupá, Primavera do Leste und Sorriso (nach 1986), Vilhena (1976), Colorado d Oeste (1977), Juína und Juruena (nach 1986), Cacoal (vier Pfarreien: 1974, 77, 78), Pimenta Bueno (1976), Rolim de Moura und Alta Floresta d Oeste (1978), Espigão d Oeste und Nova Brasilândia d Oeste (pós-1986), Ji-Paraná (1976), Porto Velho (1983), Itapuá d Oeste und Rio Branco (nach 1986).¹⁵

An der Binnenmigration aus den Kolonialisierungsgebieten und anderen Teilen des Landes in die neuen landwirtschaftlichen Expansionsgebiete beteiligten sich Nachfahren unterschiedlicher Ethnien und viele deutsche Nachfahren waren auch keine Protestanten, sondern katholisch, konfessionslos oder andersgläubig. Dennoch ist die Bildung eines lutherischen Kirchennetzes in den Kolonisationsfronten bezeichnend für die Anwesenheit Deutscher und ihrer Nachfahren, auch von Katholiken in Brasilien und den umfassenden deutschen Einfluss.

DIE VERHANDLUNG VON IDENTITÄTEN

■ Die Deutschen haben sich über das Land und in der brasilianischen Bevölkerung verteilt, manche Gegenden sind durch sie stark gekennzeichnet, andere beeinflusst. Diese Verbreitung machte also die Integration und das Zusammenleben mit Brasilianern anderer Ethnien notwendig, so dass die brasilianischen kulturellen Elemente vorherrschend werden. Dies erinnert an die Debatten der ethnischen Grenzen von Frederick Barth, wenn auch diese in einem anderen Kontext zu sehen sind.¹⁶ Außerdem nehmen Massenkommunikationsmittel und die Globalisierung stark auf die Identität von Minderheiten Einfluss.

Häufig haben Familienstrukturen und der Wunsch, auch nach der Gründung einer eigenen Familie in der Nähe von Familienmitgliedern und Bekannten zu bleiben, dazu beigetragen, dass Großfamilien Ländereien in den neuen Expansionsfronten erwerben und als Gruppe umsiedeln. Dies konnten wir vor allem in den Kolonien im Nordosten von Rio Grande do Sul, im Westen von Santa Catarina und im Südwesten von Paraná beobachten. Die Großfamilie kann auch durch Nachbarschaftsbeziehungen erweitert und/oder ersetzt werden. Auf

15 HAESBERT, Rogério. Des-territorialização e identidade: a rede gaúcha no Nordeste. Niteroi, EDUFF, 1997.

16 BARTH, Fredrick. Grupos étnicos e suas fronteiras. In POUTIGNAT, Philippe. Teorias de etnicidade. São Paulo UNESP, 1998.

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der anderen Seite bemühten sich die in den alten Kolonien verbliebenen, die nahe gelegenen Ländereien der auswandernden Siedler für die eigenen Kinder und Enkelkinder aufzukaufen.

Sowohl die Einwanderer als auch deren Nachfahren behielten im Allgemeinen unabhängig vom Assimilationsdruck eine Verbindung zur Herkunftskultur und -gesellschaft. Giralda Seyferth¹⁷ bestätigt, dass „sie immer eine Art ethnischer Identifikation aufrechterhalten hat, auch wenn sich die Beziehungen zu den Herkunftsländern verwässern. Insofern verhindern die von den Fachleuten ‚Absorption‘, ‚Assimilation‘ und ‚kulturelle Integration‘ genannten Phänomene nicht die Aufrechterhaltung der ethnisch-sozialen Identität der Nachfahren der Einwanderer, auch wenn diese in der neuen Gesellschaft integriert sind.“

Meistens wird die Zugehörigkeit zu einer ethnischen Identität durch Elemente wie die innerhalb der Familie gesprochene Sprache, Gewohnheiten und Bräuche, Stereotypen der ethnischen Situation und anderen Faktoren definiert. So weist Seiferth¹⁸ darauf hin, dass „der Einsatz der deutschen Sprache in den Familien, bestimmte Ernährungsgewohnheiten und andere Eigenschaften der deutsch-brasilianischen ethnischen Ideologie (wie die Vorstellung, dass Effizienz und Arbeitseifer deutsche Eigenschaften sind, das Ideal der *Wohnkultur* – der Tradition gut zu wohnen und zu leben) Elemente sind, die deutschstämmige Kolonisten ihrer eigenen Ansicht nach von den Anderen unterscheiden.“

Eine „Assimilation“ und die „kulturelle Integration“ der ursprünglichen Kultur der Einwanderer findet dennoch statt. Einige kulturelle und ideologische Werte wurden aufgegeben, andere wurden beibehalten oder angepasst. Die meistgeschätzten kulturellen Elemente sind, sowohl für die Siedler als auch für die Stadtbewohner, die Sprache und bestimmte Traditionen. Unterschiede finden wir in religiöser, moralischer und familiärer Hinsicht, sowohl zwischen den Einwanderern verschiedener Ethnien als auch zu Brasilianern. Das Zusammenleben ist gekennzeichnet durch mehr und/oder weniger starke Spannungen, Vorurteile, Interaktionen, die auch von der innerpolitischen Situation in Brasilien und/oder den geopolitischen Krisen der westlichen Welt zusammen hängen. Das heißt, der Aufbau und die Entwicklung von Identitäten schwanken im Kampf um Hegemonien und diskursive Ideologien im sozialen Gefüge in Brasilien. Hier sei besonders der Diskurs auf politischer und akademischer Ebene zu nennen. Wer neue oder fremde Werte in die Kultur einer Gruppe einführt, muss mit Instabi-

17 SEYFERTH, a. a.O., Seite 79.

18 SEIFERTH, a. a.O., Seite 91.

lität und Verhaltensänderungen rechnen. Laut Emílio Willems¹⁹ wirken die Versuche, bestimmte kulturelle Werte aus dem Herkunftsland aufrecht zu erhalten manchmal wie Widerstandszentren gegen eine Assimilation, beispielsweise, die Schule, die deutsche evangelische Kirche und die Presse. So führte die Verteidigung der ethnischen und kulturellen Identität von bestimmten Bevölkerungsschichten deutscher Herkunft oder ihrer Nachfahren zu einer Art Ideologie: dem *Deutschtum* oder „Germanismus“. Dieser Begriff hat in den Texten zu diesem Thema zuweilen eine ethisch-nationale Bedeutung übernommen und zuweilen eine kulturelle.

Eines der wichtigsten Beispiele kulturellen Widerstandes war die Gründung und Aufrechterhaltung von Schulen in den evangelischen und katholischen Gemeinden der deutschen Kolonien.

Tabelle 03. Statistik deutscher Schulen in Brasilien – 1931

Staat	Evangelisch		Katholisch		Gemischt		GESAMT	
	Schule	Schüler	Schule	Schüler	Schule	Schüler	Schule	Schüler
RS	549	18.938	362	16.666	41	1474	952	37.078
SC	116	4.874	80	4.920	82	3.052	297	12.346
PR	10	309	7	1.142	17	731	34	2.182
SP	6	295	2	609	21	2.261	29	3.165
RJ	1	307	-	-	4	400?	5	430?
ES	21	705	-	-	1	12	22	717
MG	2	76	-	-	-	-	2	76
BA	-	-	-	-	2	67	2	67
PE	-	-	-	-	1	20?	1	20?
GO	-	-	-	-	1	15?	1	15?
GESAMT	705	25.227	451	23.337	169	8.032	1.345	56.596

Quelle: Mauch et al., 1994, Seite 157.

Um die Schule, die Kirche und die Vereine erstreckten sich die Pflege und die Wahrung kultureller Elemente auf verschiedene Generationen bis zum heutigen Tag. Man kann sagen, dass die Gründung von Schulen, Presse, das Vereinsleben, die Organisation der Kirchengemeinden und ähnliches wichtige Elemente darstellten zur Pflege und Verbreitung der deutschen Sprache und Kultur durch die deutschen Einwanderer und deren Nachfahren. Nachdem die deutschen Einwanderer und ihre Nachkommen einige Jahrzehnte lang relativ isoliert gelebt ha-

19 WILLEMS, Emílio. *A Aculturação dos Alemães no Brasil. Estudo antropológico dos imigrantes alemães e seus descendentes no Brasil.* 2. ed. São Paulo : Ed. Nacional, 1980, S. 149.

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ben, wurden die ersten Schulen und Kirchengemeinden von ihnen selbst organisiert. Die Lehrkräfte waren meist die Siedler selbst, aber im Laufe der Zeit kamen Geistliche, die dann häufig auch den Unterricht übernahmen. Aus Deutschland kamen Lehrer, die von den Siedlern angestellt waren um Lesen und Schreiben zu unterrichten und gemeinschaftliche und kulturelle Werte zu vermitteln, also Bräuche und Traditionen aufrechtzuerhalten und zu stärken.

Die kaiserliche Regierung und die Regierungen der Provinzen haben zur Erziehung in den Kolonien nicht wirklich Initiative ergriffen. Seyferth²⁰ erinnert, dass „die Schulen nicht aus ethnischen Gründen gegründet wurden, sondern vor allem, weil die brasilianische Regierung sich nicht um die Erziehung in den von Einwanderern besiedelten Gebieten kümmerte. Um Analphabetentum zu verhindern, haben sie selbst die Initiative ergriffen und Schulen gegründet, anfangs öffentliche und später private, die sich im Laufe der Zeit zu ‚ethnischen Schulen‘ entwickelt haben.“ In der Folge wurden Tausende von Nachkommen der Einwanderer auf Deutsch unterrichtet und hatten nur prekäre Kenntnisse der brasilianischen Landessprache.

Das Ergebnis dieses Prozesses lässt sich unter dem Begriff „Deutschbrasilianer“ zusammenfassen, das heißt Menschen, die Rechte und Pflichten in der Gesellschaft haben und sich gleichzeitig für die Sprache und die kulturellen Traditionen des Herkunftslandes begeistern. Nach und nach wurde die deutsche Sprache zu einer Art Symbol. So wurde sie nicht nur in fast allen Kolonien unterrichtet, sondern es führte zu wachsenden Publikationen von Literatur und Lyrik, von Zeitungen, Zeitschriften und Jahrbücher in einem Zeitraum bis zum sogenannten Estado Novo (1937-1945) als die Nationalisierungskampagne verstärkt wurde. Nach diesem Einbruch konnte ein großer Teil der deutschsprachigen Zeitungen, Zeitschriften und Jahrbücher ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung nicht wiedererlangen, es gibt nur noch einige Wochenzeitungen, Beilagen und religiöse Veröffentlichungen, die bis heute fortbestehen. Diese Schriften wurden sowohl im Inneren der Kolonien wie auch in anderen Provinzen veröffentlicht. Man muss beachten, dass diese Publikationen, Produktions- und Vertriebsstrukturen von Kirchen, Verbänden, religiösen Kongregationen, politischen Bewegungen und kulturellen Engagements nutzten. Insofern gibt es deutschsprachige Leser in allen Gebieten, in denen es deutsche Einwanderer und deren Nachfahren gab.

So wie die Schulen hatten auch die Kapellen eine große Bedeutung im Leben der Einwanderer und deren Nachkommen, denn es waren Orte an denen Gottes-

20 SEYFERTH, a. a.O. Seite 82. siehe auch Kreuz, a.a. O.

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dienste und Feste gefeiert und Unterricht abgehalten wurde. Diese Organisation um die Kapelle herum hat eine ähnliche Funktion wie die Hilfs- und Freizeitverbände. Laut Seyferth²¹ „hatten die Verbände eine Doppelrolle: sie nahmen einen Freizeit- und/oder Unterstützungscharakter an und förderten den Zusammenhalt ethnischer Gruppen.“ Ein Beispiel hierfür sind die Freizeit- und Sporteinrichtungen (Jagd- und Schützenvereine, Ballsäle, Kegelveine). Es handelte sich um Freizeitaktivitäten, die gleichzeitig die Möglichkeit boten, Traditionen und Gewohnheiten der Einwanderer zu pflegen, die nach und nach auch von Brasilianern übernommen wurden. Allerdings wurden viele andere Verbände ab 1939 zurückgedrängt, da sie die Veröffentlichung besonderer ethnischer Ideologien übernommen haben.

WESENSMERKMALE DES DEUTSCHTUMS

■ Besondere Eigenschaften, unterschiedliche und homogene Gemeinden, Sprache und Religion, die geopolitische Situation und die internationalen Beziehungen Deutschlands sind Themen, die Behörden und Gelehrte über die Rolle der Deutschen in Brasilien besonders interessierte. Diese Situation verschärfte sich während der Krisenzeiten, beispielsweise während der beiden Weltkriege. So gab es verschiedene Aktionen während des Estado Novo. In dieser Zeit gab es Repressionen und Verfolgungen aus ethnisch-kulturellen Gründen, motiviert durch politische und nationalistische Beweggründe.

Im Zuge dieses Nationalisierungsprozesses sind die öffentlichen Manifestationen des Deutschtums zurückgegangen. Die deutsche Sprache wurde in der Öffentlichkeit weniger gesprochen, auch die Aktivitäten der Gesellschaften und Freizeitvereine sind zurückgegangen. Der Unterricht erfolgte auf portugiesisch. In bestimmten Kreisen wurden Deutsche gering geschätzt, verleugnet und ausgeschlossen. Dennoch manifestierten sich die Erinnerungen, die nicht mehr öffentlich geäußert werden durften, weiterhin auch im Untergrund. Sie wurden aufrechterhalten und von Generation zu Generation weitergeleitet.

Die Einwanderung und die deutsche Kolonialisierung spielte in Brasilien eine wichtige Rolle in der Diversifizierung der Landwirtschaft, der Besiedelung der Städte, Industrialisierung und Kultur. Das heißt, es wurden zum großen Teil die nicht in der traditionellen brasilianischen Besiedlungsstruktur besetzten Räume ausgefüllt und ergänzt. Auch im Bereich der Religion sind viele Pasto-

21 SEYFERTH, a. a.O., Seite 53.

ren, Priester und Geistliche Nachfahren von Deutschen. Es gab und gibt Nachrichten deutscher Einwanderer in der Hierarchie verschiedener religiöser Institutionen in Brasilien. Mit der Ankunft der Einwanderer wurden verschiedene lutherische Kirchengemeinden gegründet und auch die katholischen Gemeinden waren stark von den deutschen Traditionen beeinflusst. Das kulturelle Leben der Einwanderer hat auch in vielfältiger Weise die brasilianische Gesellschaft beeinflusst, beispielsweise durch Ernährungsgewohnheiten, Theaterstücke, Lieder, Kirchenchöre, Musikkapellen, Radioprogramme und anderes.

Ciro Damke²² untersuchte deutsche Volkslieder im Süden von Brasilien, die bis zum heutigen Tag gesungen werden. Ihm zufolge sei Heimweh das häufigste Thema in den Musiktexten, beispielsweise, „die Sehnsucht nach der *Heimat*. *Liebe Heimatland, ade, Tirol, Tirol, Du bist mein Heimatland*“.

Weitere typische Beispiele sind das traditionelle *Kerbfest* und das *Oktobertfest*. Das *Oktobertfest* entstand als eine Art von Protest gegen die Assimilierungspolitik des Estado Novo, welche kulturelle Aktivitäten, die Deutschtum zeigten, verboten hatte. Heute symbolisiert dieses Fest die deutsche Lebensfreude und hat – wenn auch mit Anpassungen, Veränderungen und Erfindungen – die deutsche Gastronomie, Musik und Sprache übernommen.²³

ABSCHLIESSENDE ÜBERLEGUNGEN

■ Der deutsche Beitrag zur Kolonialisierung und Bildung der brasilianischen Gesellschaft war in verschiedenen Aspekten prägend und charakteristisch. Es war die erste organisierte Einwanderung und bis in die 70er Jahre des 19. Jahrhunderts die bedeutendste. Durch ihre (nicht-lateinische) Sprache, ihre Schule und ihre Religion zeigen diese Einwanderer einen starken Widerstand und sie unterscheiden sich dadurch, dass sie weiterhin Deutsch sprechen. Von deutschen Traditionen gekennzeichnete religiöse Institutionen finden sich in weiten Teilen des Landes. Die deutsche Schule und die Presse haben dazu beigetragen, die Alphabetisierungszahlen zu erhöhen und die Lesegewohnheiten zu stärken. Die Bildung einer typischen Landbevölkerung mit einem starken zentraleuropäischen Erbe leistete einen signifikanten Beitrag zur Entwicklung von Familienbetrieben in Brasilien, zur Züchtung bestimmter Arten und zum Anbau landwirtschaftli-

22 DAMKE, Ciro. *Volkslieder* (músicas populares alemãs) no sul do Brasil: aspectos linguísticos, socioculturais e identitários. São Carlos: Pedro & João Editores, 2013.

23 Siehe Text von GREGORY und STEIN. In: VITEC, Harto. *Imigração alemã no Paraná: 180 anos (1929-2009)*. Marechal Cândido Rondon, Editora Germânica, 2011, Seite 360ss.

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cher Produkte, beispielsweise die Schweinezucht und der Weizenanbau und die Strukturierung einer starken genossenschaftlichen und privaten Landwirtschaft. Wissenschaftstechnologischer Austausch zwischen Deutschland und Brasilien trägt zum Fortschritt der Akademie und der wissenschaftlich-technischen Entwicklung bei.

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Neue Heimat Brasilien - 200 Jahre deutsche
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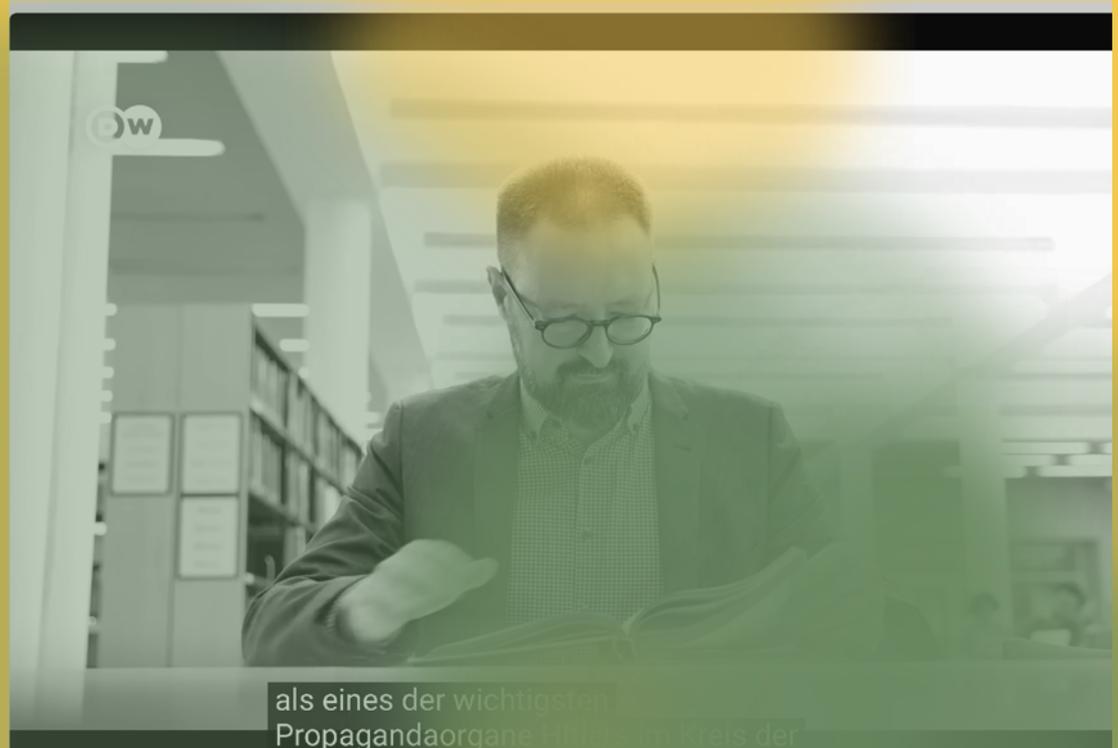
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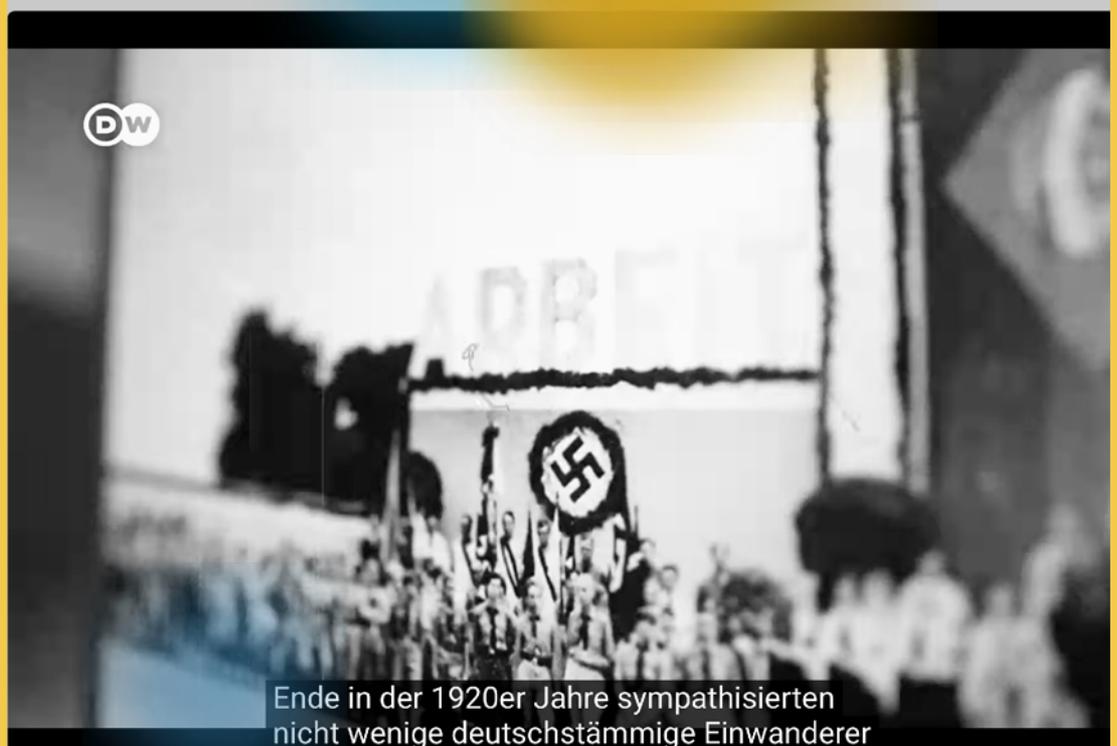
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Sequence 01



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Einwanderung
DW Dokumentation

Sequence 01



Weltkriegs und auf Druck der Amerikaner
verstärkte shetulio Vargas dann sein



mit den Nationalsozialisten in
Deutschland NSDAP Ortsverbände wurden

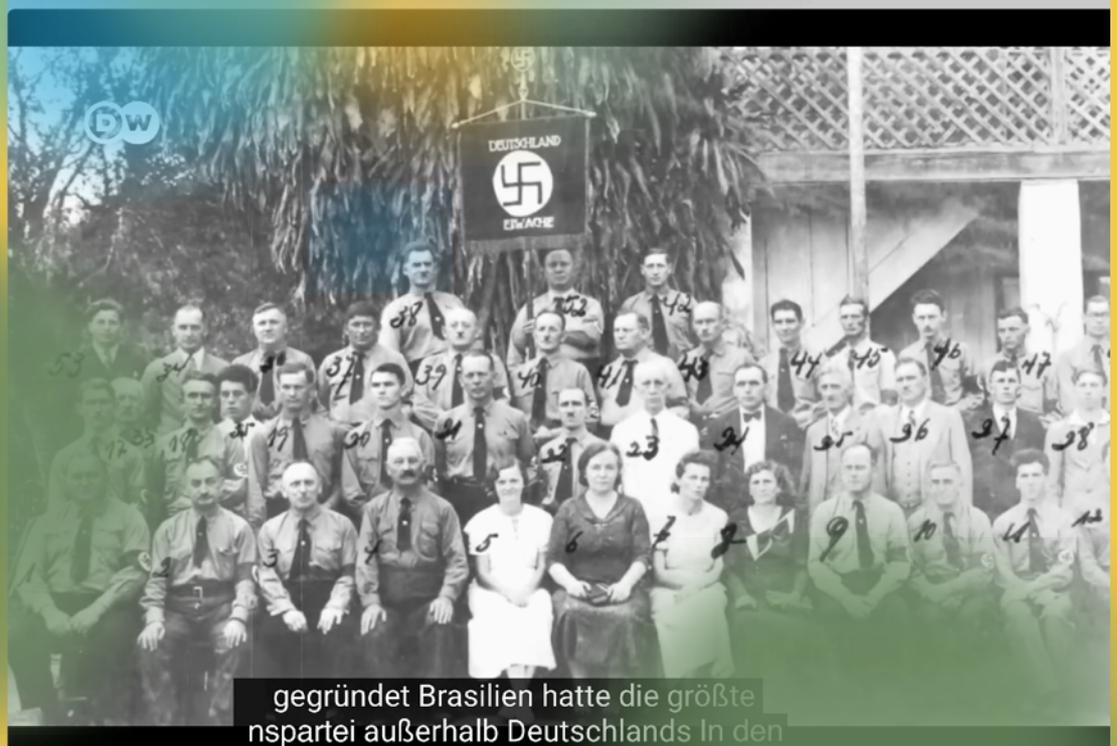
Neue Heimat Brasilien – 200 Jahre deutsche Einwanderung

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Sequence 01



assimilationsprogramm die NSDAP wurde verboten deutsche Vereine und Schulen



gegründet Brasilien hatte die größte nspartei außerhalb Deutschlands In den

Last opened: 15/01

SRC_001 – Essay

Imigração alemã no Brasil

Valdir Gregory

2013 · pt · Brasil · 1824–1939 · $\xi\#\theta3\eta\pm$ 6000 - 6200 $\xi\#\theta3\eta\pm$ · 0 images

https://www.kas.de/documents/265553/265602/7_file_storage_file_10985_5.pdf/6784b18c-388e-36b9-7404-2f6de3f23a16

Last opened: 15/01

SRC_002 – Essay

German Immigrants (Brazil).

Frederik Schulze

2014 · en · Germany · 1820s to the 1930s · ~1,800 – 2,200 words (approximate) · 0 images

https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/german-immigrants-brazil/?format=pdf&utm_source=chatgpt.com

Last opened: 15/01

SRC_003 – Essay

O bicentenário da imigração alemã no Brasil

Fundação Konrad Adenauer.

2024 · pt,en · Brasil · 1824-2024 · ~23,000–31,000 words (approximate) · 10~25 images

https://www.kas.de/documents/265553/265602/SRBE%2B14%2Bweb.pdf/b8a7cb00-8894-ab69-72ea-5cbd78869858?t=1737735764131&version=1.0&utm_source=chatgpt.com

Last opened: 15/01

SRC_004 – Essay

The diverse understandings of foreign migration to the South of Brazil (1818-1950).

Ginalda Seyferth

2014 · pt,en · Brasil · 1818 - 1950 · ~6,000 – 8,000 words (approx.) · 0 images

https://journals.openedition.org/vibrant/1567?utm_source=chatgpt.com

Last opened: 15/01

SRC_005 – Essay

Germans in Brazil: A Comparative History of Cultural Conflict During World War I

Frederick C. Luebke

1987 · en · USA · 1914–1920 · ~65,000–75,000 words · 0 images

https://digitalcommons.uni.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?params=/context/historyfacpub/article/1176/&path_info=Luebke_1987_Germans_in_Brazil.pdf&utm_source=chatgpt.com

Last opened: 15/01

SRC_006 – Essay

Subsidies to the history of the German-speaking immigration to the province / State of São Paulo, Brazil.

de Souza, Bruno Gabriel Witzel

2016 · pt,en · Germany · 1840-1920 · ~9,000 – 11,000 words (approximate) · 0 images

https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/129513/1/852161174.pdf?utm_source=chatgpt.com

Last opened: 15/01

SRC_007 – Essay

International Migration and the History of Education in the Brazilian Countryside: Interview and Book Review - Flavia Renata da Silva Varolo, Luiz Mateus da Silva Ferreira & Bruno Gabriel Witzel de Souza

Flavia Renata da Silva Varolo, Luiz Mateus da Silva Ferreira & Bruno Gabriel Witzel de Souza

2022 · en · Germany · 1824–mid-20th century · ~9 900 – 13 200 words (approx.) · 0 images

https://www.uni-goettingen.de/de/document/download/e566a2087f01b2f14ef49c00c8043628.pdf/article-2022-cemla-05-brazil%2B%2Bv1.2%2B%2Bweb.pdf?utm_source=chatgpt.com

Last opened: 15/01

SRC_008 – Essay

'Auslandsdeutschtum' in Brazil (1919–1941): Global Discourses and Local Histories

Frederik Schulze

Last opened: 15:01

SRC_009 – Essay

Immigration and the Origins of Regional Inequality: Government-Sponsored European Migration to Southern Brazil Before World War I

Inênu de Carvalho Filho & Leonardo M. Monasterio

2011 · en · Germany · 1824 and 1918 · ~9,800 – 12,100 words (approximate) · ~6–12 tables and figures images

https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/27954/4/MPra_paper_27954.pdf?utm_source=chatgpt.com

Last opened: 15:01

SRC_010 – news article/book

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land- 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien / Katalog im IAI-Publikationsprogramm

Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut

2025 · de · Germany · 1824–2024 · ~300–450 words (approx.) · ~2–3 images images

https://www.iai.spk-berlin.de/iai/presse/pressemitteilungen/detail/28-01-2025_200-jahre-deutschsprachige-einwanderung-nach-brasilien-katalog-im-iai-publikationsprogramm.html?utm_source=chatgpt.com

Last opened: 15:01

SRC_011 – news article

Aufbruch in ein fremdes Land. Eine Ausstellung über 200 Jahre deutschsprachige Einwanderung nach Brasilien.

Karen Macknow Lisboa

2024 · de,pt · Germany · 1824 – early 20th century · ~13,000 – 20,000 words · 30–60+ images

https://publications.iai.spk-berlin.de/receive/iai_mods_00000421

Last opened: 15:01

SRC_012 – NEWS ARTICLE

200 Jahre Auswanderung nach Brasilien aus Südwestdeutschland (1824–2024)

Lothar Wieser

2024 · de · GERMANY · 1824–2024 · ~700–1,200 words · 2–4 images

<https://www.marchivum.de/de/geschichte/blog/200-jahre-auswanderung-nach-brasilien-aus-suedwestdeutschland-1824-2024>

Last opened: 15:01

SRC_013 – NEWS ARTICLE

„Brasilien: 200 Jahre deutsche Einwanderung“

Christine Wollowsk

2024 · de · Germany · 1824–2024 · ~600 – 900 words · ~3–5 images

<https://www.deutschland.de/de/topic/leben/brasilien-200-jahre-deutsche-einwanderung>

Last opened: 15:01

SRC_014 – NEWS ARTICLE

Als Deutsche nach Brasilien auswanderten

Suzanne Corde

2023 · de · Germany · 1818–2025 · ~800–1,000 words · ~3–5 images

<https://www.dw.com/de/als-deutsche-nach-brasilien-auswanderten/a-69701414>

Last opened: 15:01

SRC_015 – NEWS ARTICLE

From “feijoadá” to “chucrute”

Carlos Haag

2007 · en · Brazil · 1880 – 1945 · ~3,500 – 5,000 words · ~4–8 images

<https://revistapesquisa.fapesp.br/en/from-feijoadá-to-chucrute/>

Last opened: 15:01

SRC_016 – NEWS ARTICLE

Siedler mit deutschem Migrationshintergrund: 200 Jahre Auswanderung nach Brasilien

Hannegret Kullmann

2025 · de · Germany · 1818–2025 · ~1,000 – 1,300 words · ~4 – 6 images images

<https://www.swr.de/kultur/gesellschaft/200-jahre-auswanderung-brasilien-100.html>

Last opened: 15:01

SRC_017 – NEWS ARTICLE

Mostra conta história de opressão e luta por direitos dos povos indígenas no RS

Link opened: 15/01

SRC_018 – Scientific Document

Kostenlose zusammenfassende Liste deutscher Einwanderer in Brasilien 1824-1830

imigracaoalemanobrasil.com

2025 · de,pt · Brasil · 1824 – 1830 · ~250 – 400 words · ~0 – 2 images images

Link opened: 15/01

SRC_019 – Scientific Document

Neues Heimatland Brasilien – Texte und Bilder zur kulturellen Entwicklung der deutschbrasilianischen Bevölkerung in Südbrasilien

Sandra Messele-Wieser & Lothar Wieser

1993 · de · Germany · 1824 – late 20th century · ~21.000 – 25.000 words · ~40 – 60 images

Link opened: 15/01

SRC_020 – Website

Konsulatsmatrikel

Deutsche Vertretungen in Brasilien

2025 · de · Germany · ~1800s – 1904 · ~450 – 650 words · ~1 – 2 visual elements images

Link opened: 15/01

SRC_021 – Book

Die Deutsche Colonie Dona Francisca in Brasilien. Der vortheilhafteste punkt für deutsche Auswanderer

L. von Alvensleben (Ludwig von Alvensleben)

1854 · de · Germany · 1854 – mid 1850s · ~10.000 – 14.000 words (approx.) · ~3 institutional graphics images

Link opened: 15/01

SRC_022 – Digital search portal

Results for query “Brasilien deutsche”

Deutsche Digitale Bibliothek

de · Germany · ~1887 – 1945 · 0 · 0 images

Link opened: 15/01

SRC_023 – Book

Die Deutschen in Brasilien

A. von Eye (likely Alexander von Eye or similar – German author, 1825–1896)

1884 · de · Prague · 1824 – 1884 · ~10.000 – 14.000 words (approx.) · 0 – 2 images

Link opened: 15/01

SRC_024 – webpage

Nazis and Nazi Sympathizers in Latin America after 1945

edited by Linda Erker and Raanan Rein

2024 · de · Austria · 1945 – 1970s/Cold War era · ~400 – 550 words (approx., based on visible text) · ~4 – 6 images images

Link opened: 15/01

SRC_025 – Interview

Jovens ativistas das direitas radicais apostam no antagonismo e se compreendem como contracultura – entrevista especial com Beatriz Besen

Beatriz Besen

2025 · pt · Brasil · ~2010 – 2025 · ~7.000 – 9.000 words · ~1–2 images

SRC_026 – Book

List opened: 15/01

Invisíveis: O lugar de indígenas e negros na história da imigração alemã

Gilson Camargo and Dominga Menezes

2019 · pt · Brasil · 1824 – mid-20th century (ca1950) · ~55,000 – 70,000 words · ~5 – 15 images

<https://www.cartaeditora.com.br/product-page/invisiveis-o-lugar-de-indigenas-e-negros-na-historia-da-imigracao-alema>

List opened: 15/01

SRC_027 – e-Book

Acervo Digital do Museu da Imigração

Acervo Digital do Museu da Imigração

pt · Brasil · ~1882 – 1958 · ~6,400 – 8,500 words (approx.) · ~15 – 30 images

https://museudaimigracao.org.br/assets/download/ebook/MUSEU-DA-IMIGRACAO_EBOOK_Acervo-Digital-compressed.pdf

List opened: 15/01

SRC_028 – e-booklet

Zur deutschen Einwanderung in Brasilien.

Valdir Gregory

2013 · de · Germany · 1900 – ~1969 · ~4,700 – 6,300 words · ~2 – 4 images

https://www.kas.de/documents/265553/265602/7_file_storage_file_10985_1.pdf/5254fd5f-5c5c-09fd-351f-3b8a54989864

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SRC_029 – pdf

The bicentennial of German immigration to Brazil (O bicentenário da imigração alemã no Brasil)

Reinaldo J. Themoto

2025 · en,pt · Germany · 1824 – 1969 · ~14,000 – 18,000 words · ~3 – 7 images

https://www.kas.de/en/web/brasilien/brazil-europe-series/detail/-/content/o-bicentenario-da-imigracao-alema-no-brasil?utm_source=chatgpt.com

List opened: 15/01

SRC_030 – Video-Doku

Neue Heimat Brasilien - 200 Jahre deutsche Einwanderung

DW Dokumentation

2024 · de,pt,en · Germany · 1824 – 2024 · 53 minutes · 12 images

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=heX_zSW_-GM

List opened: 15/01

SRC_031 – Brief

Peter Paul Müller aus Ohlweiler beschreibt seine Überfahrt und den Lebensalltag in Brasilien

Peter Paul Müller

de · Brasil · 1826 · 1.879 · 0 images

<https://www.regionalgeschichte.net/bibliothek/recherche/quellen-und-datenbanken/quellen-zu-auswanderern/auswandererbriefe/peter-paul-mueller.html>

List opened: 15/01

SRC_032 – Brief

Ein Brief eines rheinhessischen Auswanderers aus dem Jahre 1827

unknown

1915 · de · Brasil · 1827 · ca. 2000 · 0 images

<https://www.regionalgeschichte.net/bibliothek/recherche/quellen-und-datenbanken/quellen-zu-auswanderern/auswandererbriefe/valentin-knapp.html>

List opened: 15/01

SRC_033 – Brief

Brief des ehemaligen Pündericher Mathias Franzen aus Brasilien von 1832"

Mathias Franzen

2025 · de · Brasil · 1832 · ca.3000 · 0 images

<https://www.regionalgeschichte.net/bibliothek/recherche/quellen-und-datenbanken/quellen-zu-auswanderern/auswandererbriefe/mathias-franzen-quenderich.html>

List opened: 15/01

SRC_034 – Brief

Brief der Familie Fischer aus Brasilien in ihre alte Heimat Briedel (Brief 2 / Seite 2)

Familie Fischer

2025 · de · Brasil · 1832 · 190 · 1 images

<https://www.regionalgeschichte.net/bibliothek/recherche/quellen-und-datenbanken/quellen-zu-auswanderern/auswandererbriefe/familie-fischer-briedel.html>

