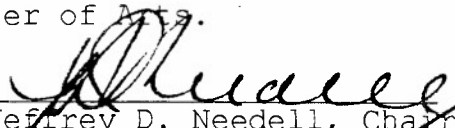
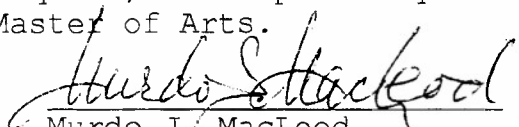


REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188), Washington, DC 20503.				
1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave blank)		2. REPORT DATE 7 Apr 97		3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Intraregional Migration and Social Mobility: A Study of Europeans in the Southern Cone, 1880-1914			5. FUNDING NUMBERS	
6. AUTHOR(S) Christine Marie Wollard				
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) University of Florida			8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER 97-013	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) AFIT/CIA 2950 P Street Wright-Patterson AFB OH 45433-7765			10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER	
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES				
12a. DISTRIBUTION AVAILABILITY STATEMENT DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A Approved for public release; Distribution Unlimited			12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE	
13. ABSTRACT (Maximum 200 words)				
14. SUBJECT TERMS			15. NUMBER OF PAGES 113	
			16. PRICE CODE	
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	

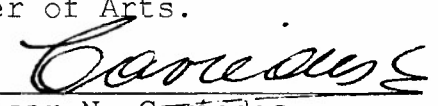
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.


Jeffrey D. Needell, Chairman
Associate Professor of Latin
American Studies

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.


Murdo J. MacLeod
Graduate Research Professor in
History

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.


César N. Caviédes
Professor of Geography

This thesis was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Center for Latin American Studies, to the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, and the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

December 1996

Director, Center for Latin
American Studies

Dean, Graduate School

19970411 012

INTRAREGIONAL MIGRATION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY:
A STUDY OF EUROPEANS IN THE SOUTHERN CONE, 1880-1914

By

CHRISTINE MARIE WOLLARD

A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1996

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank sincerely the members of my committee, Dr. Murdo J. MacLeod, Dr. César N. Caviedes and especially Dr. Jeffrey D. Needell, who has also served as my academic advisor, for the time and attention given to this thesis. In addition, I have learned something unique from each of them through their roles as my professors. As a student, I appreciate their dedication to passing on their knowledge to those of us aspiring to continue their work. This thesis has certainly benefited from their knowledge and attention.

Second, I would like to thank my former teachers at the History Department at the United States Air Force Academy for giving me this opportunity to attend graduate school so soon after being commissioned. The foundation of knowledge they built has enabled me to successfully reach this point in my academic career.

Finally, I would like to thank all of my family and friends who have helped me to write this thesis whether by reading it time and again, or by simply letting me vent my frustrations and ideas to them. I would especially like to

thank my husband, Jason, who has always believed in me more than I have ever believed in myself.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES.....	vi
ABSTRACT.....	vii
 CHAPTERS	
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
Problem Statement.....	2
Significance.....	5
Objectives.....	6
Research Design.....	8
2 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	10
Prologue.....	10
Literature on Brazil.....	11
Literature on Argentina.....	24
3 THE IMMIGRANTS IN BRAZIL.....	30
Emigration from Italy.....	32
Emigration from Portugal.....	33
Emigration from Spain.....	34
Emigration from Northern Europe.....	35
Strategic Immigration.....	36
Impact of Emancipation.....	41
The Role of Provincial Government.....	42
The Experiences of Immigrants.....	46
Emigration from Brazil.....	52
Continental Aliens Entering Brazil.....	54
Alternative Explanations for Immigration.....	57
4 THE IMMIGRANTS IN ARGENTINA.....	59
Toward Economic Liberalism.....	59
Early Sponsorship of Immigration.....	61
The Generation of 1837.....	63
Italian Immigration.....	71
Spanish Immigration.....	72
Other Ethnic Groups.....	73
The Experiences of Immigrants.....	78
Emigration from Argentina.....	83

Immigrants and Citizenship.....	84
5 ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS.....	87
Immigrants and Republicanism.....	88
Anarcho-Sindicalism.....	90
World War I.....	92
Reasons for the Intraregional Migration.....	94
Chronology.....	97
Conclusions.....	100
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	105
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.....	113

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>page</u>
1 Immigration to Brazil by Country of Origin.....	30
2 Emigrants Departing from Rio de Janeiro and Santos	53
3 Argentines Entering Brazil.....	55
4 Immigrants Traveling to and from Argentina.....	69
5 National Origin of Immigrants.....	70

Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts

INTRAREGIONAL MIGRATION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY:
A STUDY OF EUROPEANS IN THE SOUTHERN CONE, 1880-1914

By

Christine Marie Wollard

December 1996

Chairman: Jeffrey D. Needell
Major Department: Latin American Studies

The migration of Europeans to the New World at the end of the nineteenth century has been documented by numerous historians. Few, however, have addressed the second migration which occurred between the countries of the Western Hemisphere, especially that which took place between Brazil and Argentina. This thesis uses primary and secondary sources, including diplomatic reports, government records and newspaper articles, to define the magnitude of the migration and shows that, between 1880 and 1914, a substantially larger number of people left Brazil for Argentina than left Argentina for Brazil.

This thesis also offers a number of explanations for the phenomenon described above, including a difference in

economic opportunities and possibilities for social mobility between the two countries. After providing background information on the immigration of Europeans to the Southern Cone during the period in question, this thesis examines key events including emancipation, political changes, labor organization and war and explains their impact on migration within the region. The differing colonial foundations of the two countries is also presented as playing a critical role in the development of elite attitudes toward free labor.

In conclusion, a variety of factors allowed for increased social mobility, or at least the perception of social mobility, in Argentina, which is reflected in the magnitude of new immigrants who moved from Brazil across the Río de la Plata in search of a better life.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1993, I traveled to Argentina as an exchange cadet to the Escuela de Aviación Militar, located in the city of Córdoba, as a member of the first contingent of cadets since the Malvinas War. This was my first trip to another country, and after my initial culture shock wore off, I was able to gain an appreciation for how strikingly different this culture was from what I had expected. Instead of the ethnic mixture I had anticipated, I found myself in the middle of what could have been any major European city. It seemed as though almost everyone was of European descent.

When I returned to the United States, I began to inquire further about this phenomenon of European immigration to the Southern Cone, but did not find the answers I sought. Although a great deal of research has been done on this general subject, much has been written in haphazard manner, failing to tie together the most important historical elements in order to explain the events which occurred. There are numerous topics in the current body of

knowledge which have not been thoroughly researched, one of which will be addressed in this thesis. Although it is common knowledge among historians that the vast migration of Europeans at the close of the nineteenth century greatly affected the futures of both Argentina and Brazil, it is not as well known that a second intraregional migration among this same group also occurred. Just as the spatial migration of Europeans ignited a desire for social mobility once in the Southern Cone, this desire for social mobility resulted in another territorial migration. For the new arrivals, the mere perception of increased social mobility in another part of the region resulted in a desire to move once again. Touched on, but never explained, by immigration historians, it has been said that a substantial number of immigrants to Brazil subsequently moved on to Argentina, but few moved from Argentina to Brazil. This thesis will accomplish two tasks; it will define the magnitude of this migration and it will offer an explanation for its occurrence.

Problem Statement

This thesis will examine the period between 1880 and 1914, during which most of the immigrants arrived in Argentina and Brazil. Although the economic histories of these two nations have always been extremely different, they

found themselves facing similar economic prospects and challenging political situations in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, both found a solution to their labor crisis across the Atlantic: the poor overcrowded masses of Europe. The solution they had in common allows the two countries to be effectively compared in many ways, including factors such as the social mobility and living conditions the new immigrants enjoyed upon arrival.

This thesis will summarize the economic problems and political situations which existed in the two countries on the eve of the migration and will demonstrate how both arrived at the same solution for their economic problems. Demographic information on the two groups of immigrants will be briefly presented. Once these two tasks have been accomplished, it will be possible to compare what opportunities the two groups of immigrants confronted. I will focus on basic measures of mobility: immigrants' ability to take part in politics, to take part in labor organization, to hold land and to enjoy a certain measure of comfort and security. With this analysis in place, I will be able to offer an explanation for the question central to this thesis: why did immigrants leave Brazil for Argentina?

As was previously mentioned, numerous historians have done research on the immigration which occurred in this

region, but they have not been able to address every aspect of this facet of history. Only a few historians even mention the intraregional migration which is the focus of this thesis,¹ and none offer an explanation for what occurred. An intraregional migration implies that an inequality existed between immigrant conditions in the two countries, something which is not explored in the literature.

In order to understand how the information presented in this thesis was analyzed, it is necessary to have some idea of the hypothesis the data was being evaluated against. After reading an initial sampling of the literature available on this subject, I hypothesized that immigrants moved from Brazil to Argentina because a greater chance for social mobility, or at least the perception of greater social mobility, existed in that country. This most likely manifested itself in better living conditions, greater political participation and worker organization, and other factors, and was in turn affected by attitudes in the host

¹ The authors who mention this intraregional migration include: Thomas H. Holloway, Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980), Ann Marie Pescatello, "Both Ends of the Journey: An Historical Study of Migration and Change in Brazil and Portugal, 1889-1914." (Diss. University of California, Los Angeles, 1970), and Carl Solberg, "The Response to Immigration in Argentina and Chile, 1890-1914." (Diss. Stanford University, 1966).

countries which differed because of a vastly different colonial heritage, including, in Brazil, an economic and social tradition based on slavery.² In addition, the dissimilar contemporary economies of Brazil and Argentina created a differing set of economic conditions which also impacted the lives and opportunities the immigrants could make for themselves.

Significance

The primary scholarly significance of this study is that it adds to the body of knowledge on the subject by addressing a topic which is problematic simply because it has not been adequately explored. This is evident when one reviews the current literature available on this subject. Much of the previous research done on the broader subject of

² Brazil did not abolish slavery until 1888, after this migration was well under way. It is likely that the mentality associated with this type of strict hierarchical system could account for a lower standard of living for free labor as well, resulting in an outmigration to areas free from such conditions. Additional information on this turbulent time in Brazilian History can be found in these bibliographic essays: Warren Dean, "The Brazilian Economy, 1870-1930," Emilia Viotta da Costa, "Brazil: The Age of Reform 1870-1889," and Boris Fausto, "Brazil: The Social and Political Structure of the Republic" Cambridge History of Latin America (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) p. 904-923. Similar information on this time period in Argentina can be found in the same source in essays by Roberto Cortés Conde, "The Growth of the Argentine Economy c. 1870-1914" and Ezequiel Gallo, "Argentina: Society and Politics, 1880-1916," found on pages 864-873.

immigration to the Southern Cone is flawed because its authors have failed to place this occurrence in the broader historical, political and economic context of the era. While this thesis cannot hope to correct these past problems, it can provide direction to those wishing to pursue further research in this aspect of the field.

Objectives

There are three general categories of objectives which can be applied to this thesis: descriptive, analytical and prescriptive. Although history lends itself to descriptive objectives more than many other disciplines, analysis certainly strengthens any historical work when it is solidly based on fact. Prescriptive objectives will naturally be least important in this particular thesis as it is not the job of the historian to extrapolate policy recommendations from historical research.

The primary descriptive objective of this thesis is to provide the reader with a reasonable background on the period in this particular region, so that the reader will be able to understand the context for the study and appreciate the discoveries made within it. Such an understanding will allow the reader to interpret the data presented within the study and understand the analysis and conclusions made within the work. The reader will clearly see those social

factors, such as living conditions and political participation, as they were represented in the newspapers and travelers' accounts of that time. The importance of such factors is, of course, that they may have contributed to an immigrant's decision to stay in a particular country or to move on. The reader will also understand the magnitude of the migration, which may contribute to his/her overall appreciation of the subject.

The primary analytical objective of this thesis is to clearly demonstrate the connection between social mobility,³ either inherent or perceived, and intraregional migration.

As was previously mentioned, this thesis does not seek to prescribe any sort of policy. It is also hoped, however, that this thesis will be a springboard for further academic study in related fields.

Research Design

While there are few specific terms which will need to be defined prior to this study, there are a number of concepts which the reader will have to understand in order to place the study into the proper context. A review of

³ This will be assessed using tools such as income differentials and land ownership data to indicate living conditions and opportunities for upward mobility.

some of the most important literature on this subject is accomplished in chapter two. Introductory concepts will be addressed in the third and fourth chapters of the thesis and include those factors which cause a migrant to leave his country, the factors which draw him into a new one, the situations (political, historical and economic) of the countries of the Southern Cone at the beginning of the period in question, and an introduction to migration from Europe to this region. Those variables which will be also be explored in the third and fourth chapters include the conditions which existed for the immigrants in the various countries of the Southern Cone as seen in periodicals and diplomatic accounts from the period. The fifth and final chapter contains both analysis and conclusions. This format will allow the reader to gain an understanding of the literature which already exists, understand the nature of the migrations to Brazil and Argentina, compare the situations in the two countries and then offer an explanation for the questions outlined in this chapter.

Because of practical constraints, travel to the archives in these countries to gather data was impossible. I have, instead, relied upon the microfilm collection of the Latin American Collection at the University of Florida. This collection is made up of Brazilian newspapers (starting in the 1820s) and United States and British consular reports

for both Brazil and Argentina. These primary sources have been placed in the proper context through the use of travelers' accounts and various secondary sources.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

It takes forces of tremendous magnitude to uproot a group of people from their homeland and entice them to move to another. In the late nineteenth century, however, there were a number of forces which, when combined, caused Europeans to migrate to the New World in astonishing numbers. Between 1846 and 1932, over fifty million Europeans crossed the Atlantic in search of a better life.¹ The next chapter will begin to identify those factors which played a role in "pushing" immigrants away from their native lands as well as those factors which "pulled" them toward certain receptor countries. The historical immigrations to Brazil and Argentina will then be examined in further detail, including the role immigrants played in settling the frontiers and as a substitute labor force for the newly-freed slaves. First, however, it is necessary to review the

¹ Fernando Bastos de Avila S.J., Economic Impacts of Immigration: The Brazilian Immigration Problem (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1954), p. 49. Of this number, approximately sixty percent went to the United States, eleven percent to Argentina, almost nine percent to Canada and over seven percent to Brazil.

literature which has already been written on the subject. The most important works concerning Brazil will be discussed first.²

The literature on immigration to Brazil has experienced a number of cycles in its time. First, there were authors who had only a personal tie to immigration, but no historical training. They would typically write an account of one group of immigrants in Brazil with poor documentation and little primary source work. Eventually, European historians became interested in the topic, and again they would write on the experiences of one particular group, albeit with more credibility and better documentation. As historians became better trained in Latin American history, comprehensive accounts of immigration to the region were written. Finally, authors with an interest in one particular segment of the history, such as the history of women, began to write on immigration to Brazil.

² Excellent background information can be found in the three chapters of the Cambridge History of Latin America which address Brazil in this period of time: Warren Dean, "The Brazilian Economy, 1870-1930" Cambridge History of Latin America (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) p. 685-724, Emilia Viotta da Costa, "Brazil: The Age of Reform 1870-1889" Cambridge History of Latin America (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) p. 725-778 and Boris Fausto, "Brazil: The Social and Political Structure of the First Republic, 1889-1930" Cambridge History of Latin America (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) p. 779-829.

The book by Joseph Nellis is a more recent example of the first category of writings.³ In his book, the author describes the social, economic and political framework of Italy and Brazil which apply to the period in question. He explores the major reasons why people left their homeland, although he is only marginally successful because of his lack of citations and reliance on secondary sources. His pro-Italian bias is also very clear, and taints his interpretation of the facts he presents. This work contains many errors in fact, which is a result of the author's lack of familiarity with both the writing of history and the historical timetable of events in Brazil.

More credible histories of specific immigrant groups have also been written. The book entitled Germans in Brazil⁴ describes the German-Brazilian ethnic experience during the First World War. Although the main thrust of the book is outside the scope of this thesis, his first three chapters develop the historical context of his argument, which takes place inside a framework of socio-cultural history. He uses both primary and secondary sources including immigration figures from German archival

³ Joseph Nellis, Emigration of Italians to Brazil (Salt Lake City, Utah: Nellis Enterprises, 1992).

⁴ Luebke, Frederick C. Germans in Brazil (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987).

documents. Luebke does, however, tend to idealize the German immigrant society, so as to suggest that the rest of Brazil was jealous of their quality of life. The author makes many new contributions to the field of knowledge by tracing the plight of the German immigrant from the time of the Napoleonic Wars and shows how the portrayal of Brazil in the German press affected immigration. A work such as this would be even more valuable if it were expanded to include a comparison with other German enclaves in Latin America, such as existed in Argentina.

The dissertation written by Ann Marie Pescatello⁵ examines the migration which occurred between Portugal and Brazil within the framework of labor needs. She uses primary sources such as autobiographies and travel accounts, as well as secondary sources such as literary and oral accounts. Pescatello is clearly skeptical of all those in power and traditional sources, and elevates forms of popular oral history as a higher truth. Despite these disadvantages, she makes a number of contributions to the field of knowledge. The author presents good research on the situation which existed in Portugal at the time of the migration and explores how the Portuguese immigrants

⁵ Ann Marie Pescatello, "Both Ends of the Journey: An Historical Study of Migration and Change in Brazil and Portugal 1889-1914." (Diss. University of California, Los Angeles, 1970).

assimilated to the Brazilian social situation by looking at factors such as public health and housing. Like the other writers who have a background in European history, Pescatello's major weakness is her lack of understanding of the larger scope of Brazilian history.

Michael McDonald Hall made one of the first attempts at a comprehensive immigration study.⁶ The purpose of his dissertation was to portray Italian immigration to São Paulo as the solution to keep down labor costs as slavery became a less feasible option. He claims that immigrants experienced little actual increase in their standard of living compared to their former country. He uses many primary sources including government reports, newspapers and personal letters and uses a top-down approach. This results, however, in a tendency to idealize the elite class of Brazilian society. His largest contribution to the existing body of knowledge was making the distinction between the earliest attempts to foster immigration, usually for strategic reasons, and later attempts, which were usually motivated by labor needs. Hall also does a fine job of analyzing the role of the Sociedade Central de Imigração.⁷

⁶Michael McDonald Hall, "Origins of Mass Immigration in Brazil, 1871-1914." (Diss. Columbia University, 1969).

⁷This organization was responsible for all imperial efforts to attract immigrants to Brazil.

The dissertation written by George Brown⁸ also attempts to place immigration into the larger context of Brazilian history. The author's purpose is to describe the immigration policy of Brazil during the imperial period with particular emphasis placed on both the attempt to establish a Swiss colony and the importation of mercenaries from Europe under the guise of immigration. He also discusses the role of immigration in the shift of the balance of power to the southern part of Brazil. Brown uses memoirs, official correspondence and other primary and secondary sources to reinforce his argument. Unlike the last author, Brown does not differentiate between strategic and economic motivations for immigration, and thus his framework, consisting of only strategic immigration, does not always fit his data. Nonetheless, this author does make a valuable contribution to the field of knowledge on immigration in Brazil.

One very important book which deals with the immigrants who worked on the coffee fazendas was written by Thomas Holloway.⁹ This study is basically a history of immigrant

⁸ George P. Brown, "Government Immigration Policy in Imperial Brazil, 1822-1870." (Diss. Catholic University of America, 1972).

⁹ Thomas H. Holloway, Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

labor in São Paulo, but originated as an effort to explain the economic problems associated with the large coffee crop of 1906. The author reaches two controversial conclusions in this book. First, Holloway states that many first generation immigrants became owner-operators of small and medium-sized farms, and that for those immigrants who were able to save some money, there were basically no barriers to mobility and land ownership. Second, the author claims that planters yielded to pressures by the immigrants to plant more acres of coffee, resulting in the drop in prices in 1906. In order to support these claims, the author cites reports of Italian consular services, newspapers, information from planters and their organizations and travel accounts. Holloway's work presents a problem for this study because it implicitly claims that conditions were good enough for immigrants in Brazil that they could become landowners, which opposes the premise of this study, which will show that conditions were not as good as could be found elsewhere, resulting in an outmigration to Argentina.

One of the earliest books written on the subject of Brazilian immigration was not a historical work, but rather an economic one. Fernando Bastos de Avila's¹⁰ book was

¹⁰ Fernando Bastos de Avila, S.J., Economic Impacts of Immigration: The Brazilian Immigration Problem (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1954).

written to convince Brazilians that it would be beneficial, from an economic perspective, to allow immigration and direct this labor and capital toward specific sectors of the economy. It deals primarily with the problem of finding a place in newer nations for the many people displaced by the Second World War, but makes a larger connection between economic flux and migration. The author does, however, tend to idealize the "new Brazil," which he portrays as cleansed of its old racist ways and therefore excellently poised to lead the world in an idealistic quest to absorb the less fortunate members of other societies. Such idealization detracts from the credibility of this work. Nonetheless, the author does present a convincing argument, and clearly establishes a relationship between immigration and business cycles. With respect to our present concerns, however, this study falls short. It fails to place the argument in the proper historical context, a task which remains to be done by future economic historians.

Lorraine Slomp Giron¹¹ looks at immigration to one part of Brazil. She places Italian immigration to Rio Grande do Sul in the context of the social, political and economic transformations which were occurring in the western world at

¹¹ Lorraine Slomp Giron, "A Imigração Italiana no RS: Fatores Determinantes," in RS: Imigração e Colonização (Porto Alegre: Mercado Aberto, 1980), p. 47-66.

the time of the migration. One other argument which the author introduces in this chapter is the idea that the political elite in Brazil subscribed to the idea of "whitening" the population, and, when combined with the politics of strategic colonization, this justified immigration. This chapter is a good place to start for someone just becoming acquainted with the immigration era because it discusses fundamental principals such as push and pull factors and the impact of industrialization and European capitalism. However, in terms of the concerns of this study, this chapter lacks the broader view of European immigration to Brazil as a whole.

The book by Lúcio Kowarick¹² marks the beginning of the trend towards specialization in Brazilian immigration. The primary focus of his book is the transition from slavery to free labor at the end of the nineteenth century. He cites few primary sources, and relies heavily on Gilberto Freyre's concept of masters and slaves, extrapolating it to include the immigrants as the new slaves in the society. The analysis is accomplished within a socialist framework. Unfortunately, by looking at this topic from solely an

¹² Lúcio Kowarick, The Subjugation of Labour: The Constitution of Capitalism in Brazil, trans. Kevin Mundi (Amsterdam: Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation, 1987).

economic perspective, the author has lost sight of many of the social factors which also precipitated abolition in Brazil. This lack of attention to social conditions in this article presents a problem for this particular study.

The role the immigrants played in urban labor is the topic of an article written by Sheldon Maram.¹³ He examines the forces that retarded and, ultimately, destroyed early trade unionism in Brazil. This is relevant to the topic here because immigrants dominated Brazil's first labor movement. He presents newspaper articles and government reports to bolster his argument, and comes across as a champion of labor. He examines four major categories of factors which weakened the movement, then defines a general pattern by which unions were created. He then compares the early labor movements of Brazil to those in Argentina, which is especially useful in this analysis.

This final group of writers, the specialists, are perhaps best exemplified by a recent article written by Verena Stolcke.¹⁴ Her purpose is to provide an

¹³ Sheldon L. Maram, "Labor and the Left in Brazil, 1890-1921: A Movement Aborted," Hispanic American Historical Review (57:2, 1977) p. 254-272.

¹⁴ Verena Stolcke, "The Introduction of Free Labour on São Paulo Coffee Plantation, 1850-90," in Coffee Planters, Workers and Wives: Class Conflict and Gender Relations on São Paulo Plantations, 1850-1980 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988) p. 1-22.

anthropological history of changing productive relations on the Paulista plantation by focusing on what she sees as the most dominant element of production, the worker. The book is based on a field study, although the first chapter draws on primary and secondary sources. She frames the study within the larger subject of the worldwide development of capitalism. Her contributions to this field are numerous because they provide information on topics not previously focused upon, including the role of women and the role of the family within the labor system. Studies such as this one seem to be the current focus of historians who study immigration. This article does, however, fall short with respect to our current concern because it is based on a field study, not the primary source research needed in a serious historical study of immigration.

There are also a number of more general works which also include relevant information about immigrants. The book by Warren Dean¹⁵ studies plantation labor in the county of Rio Claro, which is located in the western part of São Paulo. The study begins with the expropriation of the frontier lands and terminates in an era of soil exhaustion, where capital is then transferred to plantations further

¹⁵Warren Dean, Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820-1920 (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1976).

inland. It also deals with the transition from slavery to wage labor. Using legal documents, county newspapers, correspondence and estate accounts, the author tells of early experiments with free labor in the 1850s and gives reasons for its failure. He says that immigrants were eventually retained on the land because they were given better positions on the fazendas than were the freedmen. The author concludes by stating that economic development occurred in Rio Claro because of the concessions made by the planters to lesser groups in order to keep from losing their plantations entirely. This study does not, however, benefit more fully from Dean's work because of his limited focus on only one county in São Paulo.

Two important works provide insight into the roles of immigrants in the urban setting. The first, by June Hahner,¹⁶ examines the urban poor in Rio de Janeiro and their daily struggle to survive. She uses a bottom-up approach, using the workers' daily lives to build up to larger ideas and explanations such as unions and labor organizations. She uses minutes from government sessions, government reports, newspaper and magazine articles and travelers' accounts to tie together a number of important

¹⁶June E. Hahner, Poverty and Politics: The Urban Poor in Brazil, 1870-1920 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986).

ideas including the impact of immigration and internal migration on the labor supply, the treatment of male and female workers and the characteristics of urban radicalism and social protests. Hahner's book would have been much more relevant to this study if it would have dealt with urban labor in other cities as well, such as São Paulo.

An article written by Jeffrey Needell¹⁷ outlines reasons why the urban poor, including many Portuguese immigrants, supported the 1904 revolt which challenged the modernization efforts of the president, Francisco de Paula Rodrigues Alves (1902-1906), and almost resulted in a coup. Although the revolt was catalyzed by a policy requiring mandatory smallpox vaccinations, it was more a challenge to modernization and change, which never benefited the lower classes. This article, relying on primary sources such as newspaper accounts and census data, places the urban poor in the larger picture of the Belle-Époque of Rio de Janeiro, which occurred between 1898 and 1914. This article also aids in explaining the connection between the immigrant and native elements of labor organization. However, it is not completely relevant to this study because it deals with only a minority of all immigrants who came to Brazil.

¹⁷Jeffrey D. Needell, "The Revolta Contra Vacina of 1904: The Revolt Against 'Modernization' in Belle-Époque Rio de Janeiro," in Hispanic American Historical Review (67:2, 1987), p. 233-269.

One final work, by Steven Topik,¹⁸ explores the role of the Brazilian state in the economy during the Old Republic (1889-1930). He examines the four key sectors of the economy, finance, coffee, railways and industrialization, using admittedly unreliable figures on foreign investment, gross domestic produce and the census. The chapter on the coffee trade is most relevant to this study, and investigates topics such as the historical role of the state (non-intervention) during the nineteenth century, the process of bringing coffee under state control with programs such as subsidized immigration, and legislative plans to aid the industry by decreasing control of foreign exporters, decreasing production and increasing demand and decreasing production costs. Although this book helps place coffee in the larger context of the state economy, these topics are, for the most part, of only peripheral concern for this study.

While this review of pertinent literature on Brazilian immigration is by no means comprehensive, it is presented in order to give the reader an idea of what has been studied in the past. From the works presented, one can see how the topic has achieved a certain degree of refinement, as more serious and better prepared scholars are now studying and

¹⁸Steven Topik, The Political Economy of the Brazilian State, 1889-1930 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987).

writing about this topic than was the case in the middle of this century. However, while the problem of immigrants leaving Brazil for Argentina or other parts of the New World is mentioned by a few of these authors, it is not explicitly addressed.

A number of studies have also been accomplished dealing with immigration in Argentina.¹⁹ An excellent comprehensive history of Argentina exists in Argentina, 1516-1982.²⁰ The author's purpose is to explore the impact of changing external partnerships and the development of colonial forms throughout the various stages of Argentina's history. Within an interpretive framework, the author analyzes many secondary sources and some primary ones, although he admits that much of the data is weak until the middle of the nineteenth century. He makes many contributions to the field of knowledge including a unique look at the transition from a tribute-based social hierarchy to a rent-based one.

¹⁹ Background information on the changes in the Argentine economy at the end of the nineteenth century can be found in Roberto Cortés Conde, "The Growth of the Argentine Economy c. 1870-1914" Cambridge History of Latin America (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) p. 327-358. Information on society and politics can be found in Ezequiel Gallo, "Argentina: Society and Politics, 1880-1916" Cambridge History of Latin America (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) p. 359-392.

²⁰ David Rock, Argentina, 1516-1982: From Spanish Colonization to the Falklands War (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

This book is a good place to start; it contains some discussion of immigration, but focuses mainly on other issues.

The new book by William Katra²¹ provides the reader with an alternative way to understand how Argentine society changed over the later half of the nineteenth century. This author attempts to trace the intellectual and philosophical evolution of Argentina by documenting the ideas and public profiles of the 1837 activists, including Sarmiento. The ideas of this group formed the basis of the liberal Argentina of 1880, after the consolidation of central power. Katra looks at these leaders in their formative years, their time in exile, the struggle between Buenos Aires and the Confederation, and the national consolidation accomplished by the ruling bourgeoisie in 1880. By using literature, personal letters and the writings of the individuals emphasized in the book, Katra provides the reader with a different approach to explaining the evolution of Argentina into a modern, liberal nation: an intellectual one. This is particularly important because it explains the period of time just prior to the arrival of most of the immigrants,

²¹ William H. Katra, The Argentine Generation of 1837: Echeverría, Alberdi, Sarmiento, Mitre. (Cranbury, New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1996).

and thus provides some insight into how immigration policy might have likewise been affected by these ideas.

One of the major authors in Argentine historiography is James Scobie, whose first book, Revolution on the Pampas,²² explores the social history of the agricultural heartland of Argentina. He asserts that the foundation of contemporary Argentina lies in the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the government was hoping for a sort of revolution within the country, so as to transform it from a nation of "scrawny cattle and sheep"²³ to an important agricultural producer. Scobie shows how wheat production became one of the most important elements of the economy, and likewise explains the role immigration, as well as the government's attitude towards immigration, played in this process. Using a mixture of primary and secondary sources, the author describes the geography of the pampas, the people who lived there, and government policies toward the wheat growers, providing the reader with an excellent account of how the modern Argentina came about.

²² James Scobie, Revolution on the Pampas: A Social History of Argentine Wheat, 1860-1910 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964).

²³ Ibid., p. 30.

Another book by Scobie, Buenos Aires: Plaza to Suburb, 1870-1910,²⁴ tells of the development of the "Paris of the South," and its role as a dual capital for both the province and the nation. Scobie tells how wealth remained in the city as Argentina prospered, instead of filtering out to the provinces for improvements. While he does analyze some statistics, such as census reports, to make his argument, this book is by no means a comprehensive statistical study of the city. This book is a descriptive, interpretive view of how Buenos Aires changed from a "Gran Aldea"²⁵ in 1870 to a major metropolitan city in 1910. Scobie makes numerous contributions to the field of immigration studies because he focuses on the immigrant as the vehicle for many of the city's changes throughout the period in question. Scobie successfully shows how immigration and the development of the nation were intertwined.

The last major author to be discussed is Carl Solberg.²⁶ In his works, Solberg's purpose is to study the

²⁴ James R. Scobie, Buenos Aires: Plaza to Suburb, 1870-1910 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).

²⁵ Literally, "Gran Aldea" means "Great Village."

²⁶ Carl Solberg has published both his dissertation and a book based on his dissertation which are relevant to the topic of immigration in Argentina. The dissertation is: Carl Solberg, "The Response to Immigration in Argentina and Chile, 1890-1914." (Diss. Stanford University, 1966). The book based on this research can be found under Carl Solberg, Immigration and Nationalism: Argentina and Chile, 1890-1914 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970).

response of native-born Argentines and Chileans to the impact of immigration during the specified years, during which time the largest supporters of immigration, the elite class, became the most vocal critic. Obviously, this study focuses on the elite segment of society and may therefore contain a bias. The author has relied on parliamentary debates, newspapers, journals of key economic interest groups and writings of intellectuals to support his claims in both works. He provides insight into justifications for the importation of immigrants, the social and economic impacts of immigration, the use of immigrants as scapegoats for urban social problems and the rise of, and response to, immigrant involvement in politics. His most important contribution, however, is his explanation of the rise of nationalist ideologies to counteract immigration, a concept which is better supported in the book than in his dissertation.

The reader should notice that the literature available on Argentina is of a slightly different nature than that which is available on Brazil. In addition to the types of sources discussed above, a number of regional studies have been conducted in Argentina, something which is noticeably

absent in the literature on Brazil.²⁷ One does not see, however, a high degree of specialization in the literature on Argentina, such as a study focusing on women or on the urban poor. Despite these differences, it is possible to compare the situations in the two countries.

With an understanding of what has already been written on this subject, it is possible to focus on the specifics of European immigration to Brazil.

²⁷While regional studies do exist on immigration to São Paulo, the other regions of Brazil are not generally focused upon. In the literature on Argentina, many regions are studied, including ones which received surprisingly few immigrants.

CHAPTER 3

THE IMMIGRANTS IN BRAZIL

Europeans came to Brazil as immigrants in staggering numbers between 1880 and 1914. This cannot, however, be solely attributed to the better conditions which existed, or were believed to exist, in Brazil. There are a number of problems occurring within a native country which may cause a person to seek a better life elsewhere. In Table 1, the total number of immigrants which arrived in Brazil for each of the years from 1880 to 1914, as well as their countries of origin, are noted. In the table, it can be seen that, although Italians were the largest group which came to Brazil, the rate of Portuguese immigration grew steadily after 1900 to eventually overtake it.

Table 1
Immigration to Brazil by Country of Origin, 1880-1914

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Spain</u>	<u>Italy</u>	<u>Portugal</u>	<u>Other</u>
1880	30,355	1,275	12,936	12,101	363
1881	11,548	2,677	2,705	3,144	400
1882	29,589	3,961	12,428	10,621	139
1883	34,015	2,660	15,724	12,509	77
1884	24,890	710	10,102	8,683	2,120
1885	35,440	952	21,765	7,611	1,024
1886	33,486	1,317	20,430	6,287	1,356
1887	55,965	1,766	20,157	10,205	1,891
1888	133,253	4,736	104,353	18,289	2,248

1889	65,246	9,012	36,124	15,240	1,295
1890	107,474	12,008	31,275	25,174	881
1891	216,760	22,146	132,326	32,349	2,033
1892	86,203	10,471	55,049	17,797	593
1893	134,805	38,998	58,552	28,986	3,216
1894	60,984	5,986	34,872	17,041	1,002
1895	167,618	17,641	97,344	36,055	4,787
1896	158,132	24,154	96,505	22,299	1,575
1897	146,362	19,466	104,510	13,558	2,553
1898	78,109	8,024	49,086	15,105	2,700
1899	54,629	5,399	30,846	10,989	2,453
1900	40,300	4,834	19,671	8,250	3,775
1901	85,306	8,584	59,869	11,261	3,535
1902	52,204	3,588	32,111	11,606	3,010
1903	34,062	4,466	12,970	11,378	2,239
1904	46,164	10,046	12,857	17,318	2,658
1905	70,295	25,329	17,360	20,181	3,473
1906	73,672	24,441	20,777	21,706	2,251
1907	67,787	9,235	18,238	25,681	10,716
1908	90,536	14,862	13,873	37,628	4,159
1909	84,090	16,219	13,668	30,577	1,320
1910	86,751	20,843	14,163	30,857	1,813
1911	133,575	27,141	22,914	47,493	2,392
1912	177,887	35,492	31,785	76,530	2,295
1913	190,333	41,064	30,886	76,701	2,350
1914	79,232	18,945	15,542	27,935	3,340

Source: Pescatello, Both Ends of the Journey, pp. 421-424.¹

It is also important to notice that the years just prior to World War I were peak years for European immigration. This rate dropped off dramatically, as is indicated by the decrease in immigration for 1914, for the

¹ This table is based on data collected from the Relatórios of the Ministério of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce. The reader may notice that many of the numbers do not add up. This reflects the inaccurate nature of the data collection. These numbers can, therefore, only be used as indicators of the general trend and not as an exact representation of the number of immigrants entering Brazil.

remainder of the war as travel became too dangerous to attempt.

The conditions which led to the emigration of the various national groups varied. One country which experienced significant political change just before the period in question was Italy, whose unification had brought about a period of political, and associated economic, instability.² The largest national group which came to the Southern Cone in the period from 1880 to 1914 was Italian.³ Italy, like the rest of Europe, was suffering during the Great Depression of 1873 associated with the ascent of European capitalism and from a severe drought in the 1870s. When this was combined with its population increase and heavy tax burden, it is easy to see why the standard of living for many Italians was rapidly deteriorating.⁴ The

² Loraine Slomp Giron, "Imigração Italiana no RS: Fatores Determinantes," RS: Imigração e Colonização (Porto Alegre: Mercado Aberto, 1980), p. 50. Excellent background material on the migration and how it fits into the context of world history can be found in this article.

³ Luebke, Germans in Brazil, p. 12. In his research, which addresses only the migration to Brazil, Luebke found that Italians were, by far, the largest ethnic group represented in the migration. They were followed by Portuguese, Spanish and Germans, who were a distant fourth.

⁴ This view, held by most scholars, is presented in Ann Marie Pescatello, "Both Ends of the Journey: An Historical Study of Migration and Change in Brazil and Portugal, 1889-1914." (Diss. University of California, Los Angeles, 1970). Some historians, such as Thomas Holloway, disagree and maintain that only "pull" factors were responsible for the

first wave of Italians came prior to 1901 from the northern part of Italy and were primarily seeking higher wages. After 1901, when conditions worsened in the south and in Sicily, most came from these areas to escape oppressive conditions including high taxes and rents, low wages and overpopulation.⁵ With these problems threatening their homeland, it is easy to see why a life in the New World might be considered as a possible solution.

For Brazil, Portugal seemed to be a more logical place from which to obtain a new labor force, since the two countries are the most culturally similar. As was the case in Italy, Portugal, a tiny country, was experiencing a rapid increase in its population. Many of these people had no access to education⁶ and all were subject to mandatory

migration. Holloway states that "The early beginnings of immigration to São Paulo were not primarily the result of 'push' factors in Europe, although long-term demographic pressure and short-term economic depressions helped make people available when they were needed in Brazil." Thomas H. Holloway, Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980), p. 35.

⁵ Pescatello, "Both Ends of the Journey," p. 128. In her article, Loraine Slomp Giron disagrees that overpopulation was the major reason for the migration and maintains, after describing the conditions under which most Italians lived after reunification, that "This misery was the principal factor of the Italian emigration" (p. 51).

⁶ Ibid., p. 64. Approximately three-fourths of the population was illiterate.

conscription, a policy which was highly unpopular.⁷ The large population, found primarily in the agriculturally productive north, would not have been as much of a problem if their opportunities to work had remained constant. However, in 1890 a disease called phyloxera, or plant diphtheria, ravaged the vineyards, causing income and labor demands to plummet.⁸ These factors combined to force many Portuguese to consider a new life across the sea. Once in the New World, however, the Portuguese immigrants were much less likely to become part of the agricultural labor force and usually settled into jobs as managers and middlemen in the coffee and textile trades.⁹

The third largest group of immigrants came to Brazil from Spain at a rate of approximately 10,000 per year.¹⁰ While it may be initially surprising that these people did

⁷ For an excellent discussion of the situation in Portugal at the time of the migration, see Pescatello.

⁸ Ibid., p. 53.

⁹ Ibid. Portuguese immigrants had many opportunities which were not available to immigrants from other European countries. Portuguese merchants who were already established in Brazil preferred to hire Portuguese immigrants to work in commerce over other immigrants. Such work was preferable to the more difficult work environment found on the coffee plantations because it offered more mobility and stability, which will be discussed in Chapter Five.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 128.

not go to a Spanish-speaking country in the New World, it is easier to understand since sixty percent came from the northwestern part of Spain, where the language is actually closer to Portuguese.¹¹ Approximately three-fourths of these immigrants went to the state of São Paulo, while the rest went to the city of Rio de Janeiro and other urban areas. This group took the lowest jobs upon arrival, such as garbage collection and unskilled agricultural work.¹²

Northern Europeans came to Brazil as a result of a slightly different process, and were the first non-Portuguese group of immigrants to the land.¹³ For Europeans, a period of general upheaval began with the Napoleonic Wars, initiating an age of migration and political change throughout Europe upon their conclusion.¹⁴ A settlement of

¹¹ Ibid. Many of these immigrants came from Galicia, where the language, Gallego, is the basis of Portuguese.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ While some people would argue that the first Portuguese to set foot in Brazil was the first immigrant, I think it is important to differentiate between colonists and immigrants. For the purpose of this thesis, a colonist will be defined as someone who settles a new country. By the nineteenth century, this was hardly the case for Portuguese in Brazil. Instead, the term "immigrant" will be applied. Northern European settlements of the late Kingdom of Brazil will be treated as the first immigrants.

¹⁴ Frederick C. Luebke, Germans in Brazil: A Comparative History of Cultural Conflict During World War I (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), p. 7. The Peace of Vienna (1815) introduced a period of relative stability which was favorable for the relocation of those

Swiss immigrants was set up by the government of Dom João VI in 1818 in an isolated location one hundred miles northwest of Rio de Janeiro at Nova Friburgo.¹⁵ Although this settlement only lasted two years, primarily because it did not have a market for its goods, it set an important precedent for the coming years: that of government sponsorship of immigration.

In 1822, those factions who were pushing for independence had good reason to sponsor immigration to Brazil. Afraid that Portuguese troops stationed in and around Brazil would resist the declaration of independence, they wished to strengthen their own defenses by hiring Swiss and Irish mercenaries.¹⁶ Since the laws of those countries forbid such action, it was suggested that the mercenaries be brought to Brazil under the guise of immigration.¹⁷

persons wishing to improve their economic condition in new lands. In wartime, it is often too dangerous for these persons to travel to the ports. Many authors address this topic, but one of the best explanations is provided by Luebke.

¹⁵ George P. Brown, "Government Immigration Policy in Imperial Brazil, 1822-1870." (Diss. The Catholic University of America, 1972), p. 61.

¹⁶ The Swiss and Irish mercenaries were eventually brought to Brazil to quell the revolts which occurred in the Northeast in 1824, the Confederation of the Equator. However, after these troops mutinied in Rio, their further importation was halted.

¹⁷ Under this proposal, the Swiss and Irish would be called "immigrants" to allow for their legal departure from

Instead, José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, the conservative head of the Brazilian cabinet, opted to bring four thousand Germans to Brazil, one third of whom would be soldiers. He thought their preference to remain small farmers would be an effective way to buffer the threat from the south and could be called up to act as soldiers if necessary. This began the earliest form of European immigration to Brazil: that which was done for purely strategic reasons. Over time, other such strategic settlements were set up, including São Leopoldo, the most successful. This type of immigration was favored by the government of the First Reign, but was quickly forgotten during the politically turbulent Regency, during which no such government sponsorship existed.¹⁸

During the Second Reign, government sponsorship of immigration again took place in earnest. In order to attract more German settlers to the southern part of Brazil,

Europe, but used as mercenaries upon arrival in Brazil. A complete treatment of this event can be found in Brown, "Government Immigration Policy," p. 64-86.

¹⁸ Not all of the new colonies were based on mercenary defense. In addition, the three separate phases of the monarchy in Brazil deserve some attention. The first phase, known as the First Reign, began in 1822 with independence and ended in 1831 with the abdication of Dom Pedro I. The second phase, known as the Regency, was the period in which regents governed Brazil in the place of the child-emperor, Dom Pedro II. By 1840, the young emperor had been brought to power as a minor by a coup, and the monarchy had entered the third phase, known as the Second Reign, which endured until the declaration of the Republic in 1889.

to secure the Brazilian claim to the Rio de la Plata basin, the government focused on three major programs.¹⁹ First, they tried to make access to Brazil easier and safer, and passed legislation to lower the cost of travel to Brazil and to improve the conditions during travel. Second, they tried to enhance the image of Brazil in Europe. Third, they took responsibility for the funding and administration of a number of German settlements such as Santa Isabel and Petrópolis.²⁰ However, not all legislation was aimed exclusively at increasing German immigration. An 1848 law required that six square leagues of land be set aside in each province for colonization, which would not be deeded permanently until the colonists had shown effective cultivation.²¹ This law strictly stated that no slaves were to be used. An 1854 relatorio stated that the imperial government's official position was that it was not

¹⁹ Brown, "Government Immigration Policy," p. 132.

²⁰ Many of these efforts were, however, in vain, since by the 1850s Brazil was receiving a great deal of bad press in Germany. Although a great deal of this image was because of the problems in the parecia system (sharecropping), the reputation was primarily a result of religious factors: Protestant marriage had no legality in Brazil. Bills were introduced to legalize civil marriage in the 1850s, but were struck down by the conservative members of the legislature. Drastic improvements in this reputation were not achieved until the end of the Monarchy.

²¹ Pescatello, "Both Ends of the Journey," p. 23.

subsidizing immigration to be used as fazenda labor,²² further emphasizing the strategic nature of immigration²³ in this period. In the second half of the nineteenth century, however, this would begin to change. Instead of encouraging small farmers to emigrate to Brazil, the need for new labor was the primary focus of immigration policy.

Brazil had always been a society of planters who had come to rely upon African slave labor to produce lucrative export crops, which by the late nineteenth century consisted of coffee, and to a lesser extent, sugar, cacao and tobacco.²⁴ After 1850, the direct slave trade with Africa

²² Ibid.

²³ The term "strategic immigration" is meant to describe immigration for the purpose of settlement or to secure Brazil's borders, not immigration as a source of cheap labor.

²⁴ There are two notable exceptions to this general rule: the gold and diamond mining industries in Minas Gerais and the rubber boom in the north. The discovery of fluvial gold, as well as diamonds, in this area in the mid-eighteenth century resulted in an influx of people to Minas, including many poorer Portuguese and West African slaves who labored in this industry. As a result of the mining boom, Minas Gerais became the most populous captaincy and province of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After gold mining went into decline, ranching and agriculture became the main economic activities of the region. For more information on the impact this had on land availability in Minas Gerais, see Emilia Viotta da Costa, The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 99. The rubber boom lasted from approximately 1870 to 1914, and attracted native immigrants from the Northeast, as well as some Portuguese, Syrio-Lebanese and Jewish immigrants. Information on the Amazon rubber boom can be found in Barbara Weinstein, The Amazon

came to an end, and an internal shift in the slave population began to take place.²⁵ African slaves were sold from the northeastern part of Brazil, which had previously sustained the country both socially and economically,²⁶ to the south-central regions, where coffee was being grown;²⁷ and also from the urban to the rural areas. Once the supply

Rubber Boom, 1850-1920 (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1983).

²⁵ Warren Dean, Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820-1920 (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1976), p. 54. A complete discussion of this regional migration within Brazil, as well as the impact of the end of the slave trade on Brazil, can be found in this source.

²⁶ Brazil, along with Cuba, was well-poised to take over the premier place as the world's leading sugar producer after the Haitian Revolution, which eliminated the former Saint Domingue from the world market. A number of factors resulted in Cuba's rise as the preeminent sugar producer, including the influx of capital and expertise from Saint Domingue planters after the revolution. The result for Cuba was more modern, efficient mills without outdated technology; more efficient production in Cuba resulted in a decrease in the market share for the less-efficient planters of Brazil. Just after independence, however, coffee began to rise as the most important Brazilian crop. A more complete treatment of this subject can be found in Eleazar Córdova-Bello, La Independencia de Haití y su Influencia en Hispanoamérica (Caracas: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía y Historia, 1964), p. 223.

²⁷ Coffee production was first brought to Rio de Janeiro province in the 1790s, and spread into the Paraíba valley by the 1830s. An excellent account of the coffee economy in this region can be found in Stanley J. Stein, Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850-1900 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957). By the 1840s, production had spread into the new coffee lands west of São Paulo, especially once the old lands became tired and less productive. Dean, Rio Claro, p. 30.

of slaves from Africa was cut off, only the wealthy planters were able to afford such gang labor. This movement of slave labor to the countryside created a vacuum in the urban, skilled labor supply, and the need for individuals to fill these types of jobs was especially great.²⁸ This situation, which was most prevalent between 1870 and 1880, resulted in the beginnings of mass immigration from Europe, as poor Portuguese immigrants filled those sectors of the urban labor market which slaves had previously occupied.²⁹

Many planters and statesmen began to realize that slavery would soon come to an end, because of the lack of new laborers from Africa and because of the growing strength of the abolition movement in their own country. In 1870, the imperial government took on the responsibility of paying the transportation costs of immigrants hired to work on the coffee fazendas and assured the immigrants that the fazendeiro would pay their first year's expenses as well as provide them with a subsistence plot.³⁰ By 1876, forty-five plantations in Rio Claro employed both free and slave labor,

²⁸ This actually resulted in a lower standard of living for freedmen and their descendents, since poor immigrants were willing to compete with them for these lower jobs. Pescatello, "Both Ends of the Journey," p. 53.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 24.

while twenty-two plantations had yet to attempt a transition.³¹ Paulista planters divided the work between these two groups, with the care of the newly-planted trees entrusted to the European immigrants, and the tasks of weeding, pruning and harvesting the mature trees relegated to the slaves.³²

It was not just the imperial government which was involved in this process of sponsoring immigration: many of the provincial governments formed associations to encourage immigration to their particular province. São Paulo and Santa Catarina are two of the provinces which took this responsibility very seriously. In August of 1871, one month prior to the passage of the Ventre Libre Law,³³ São Paulo's Associação Auxiliadora de Colonização contracted for more

³¹ Dean, Rio Claro, p. 122.

³² Ibid., p. 195.

³³ Law of the Free Womb, or the Rio Branco Law, from the name of the statesman who successfully promoted it as prime minister. This law was passed on 28 September 1871 and was the first step towards abolition. It, stated that any child born of a slave after that point in time would be free, but that the master could keep the child in a state of "apprenticeship" until he or she turned twenty-one. This effectively continued slavery, although for a finite period of time. The realization that slavery would someday end certainly propelled many planters into action in order to find another source of labor. See Robert Conrad, The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), ch. 7.

than fifteen thousand workers per year beginning in 1871.³⁴ In addition, provincial laws of 30 March 1871 and 26 April 1872 were intended to help planters who wanted to obtain immigrant labor as well as provide financial support to them.³⁵

Some Brazilians experimented with the use of free labor during this period, but their experiment often failed. The harsh mentality of the slave system held within it an implicit promise of violence; the slaveowner had no obligation to treat his labor force well. As slaves, they were beneath the owners' respect, and the slaveowner certainly had no obligation towards them. This lack of contract would make it very difficult for the planter to successfully make the transition to free labor, which implies a mutual obligation between the employer and employee. For this reason, early experiments with free labor failed.³⁶ The failure of these experiments reinforced

³⁴ Pescatello, "Both Ends of the Journey," p. 21.

³⁵ Holloway, Immigrants on the Land, p. 45.

³⁶ The first attempt at transitioning to wage labor was made by Nicolau Vergueiro, who was a liberal and was born in Portugal. He took in peasants from Central Europe, especially Germany, as indentured laborers, trying to demonstrate that wage labor had a future in Brazil. Vergueiro had very high expectations, and his experiment failed. He accounted for this failure by stating that wage laborers were incapable of handling the tasks appropriated to them, and that even if they could, he was unable to make sufficient profit after paying his expenses. A full

the traditional mentality of the planters, which believed that African slave labor was the only labor force capable of cultivating plantation-export crops, and thus temporarily delayed abolition. Only in the severe crisis of the 1880s did the São Paulo planters begin to support the mass immigration of Europeans as a substitute labor force.³⁷ Despite the traditional outlook of these planters, they finally supported the abolition of slavery (which occurred in 1888) in order to secure a relatively orderly transition to free labor in an atmosphere of rising resistance, rebellion and flight.³⁸

Individual and provincial involvement in immigration sponsorship does not mean that the imperial government stopped its efforts. The Sociedade Promotora de Imigração was responsible for all imperial efforts to attract immigrants to Brazil. These efforts included improving Brazil's image in those European nations which were supplying immigrants³⁹ as well as later signing exclusive

treatment of this experiment may be found in Dean, Rio Claro, p. 88-102.

³⁷ Conrad, The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, p. 35.

³⁸ Viotta da Costa, The Brazilian Empire, p. 161.

³⁹ By the 1880s Brazil was beginning to receive a bad reputation back in Italy. According to Thomas Holloway, immigrants returned to Italy and spread stories of the terrible conditions for workers in Brazil, which by 1885 was having an impact on the number of people leaving for Brazil.

contracts with individual shipping companies to transport the immigrants to Brazil.⁴⁰ The Sociedade Promotora was especially important in that it provided a consistent immigration policy throughout the political crisis of the formation of the Republic;⁴¹ during this time, the supply of immigrants to work in the coffee fazendas remained constant, allowing coffee production to continue to sustain the country economically throughout the crisis. In 1895 the Sociedade Promotora was dissolved and its responsibilities were taken over by the Department of Agriculture, although many of the precedents set by the Sociedade, including the shipping contracts were followed.⁴² Its work was aided throughout the late 1890s by the fact that while the

This sentiment was formalized by the Italian government in the Prinetti Decree in the following decade, which officially prohibited Italians from taking part in subsidized immigration as a result of the complaints from returning immigrants over the quality of life in Brazil. Holloway, Immigrants on the Land, p. 42-43.

⁴⁰ The first of these exclusive contracts received its authorization from an 1893 law allowing for the importation of fifty thousand immigrants, to be awarded to the lowest bidder. Ibid., p. 45.

⁴¹ Information on the formation of the Republic can be found in Emilia Viotta da Costa, "The Fall of the Monarchy," The Brazilian Empire, p. 202-233.

⁴² Holloway, Immigrants on the Land, p. 39. The long-time receptor of these contracts was Angelo Fiorita and Company.

Brazilian coffee industry was experiencing growth,⁴³ the countries with which it competed for immigrants⁴⁴ were still suffering from the recession of the early 1890s, making Brazil a more attractive place for immigrants who wished to improve their quality of life.

So what was the typical immigration experience like? After receiving their passport from the donor country, the immigrant would board one of the contracted ships for passage to Brazil. Often, this passage was paid for by the imperial or provincial government, but sometimes, if being sponsored by a private group, the immigrant would be forced to repay the sum over the time he was working for the planter.⁴⁵ This kept the immigrant in a state of debt-

⁴³ The 1890s were not a period of general economic prosperity in Brazil. While most exports, including sugar and rubber, were suffering from a decline in prices, the number of coffee plants doubled. There are two reasons for this. First, foreign investment in the coffee industry increased in the 1890s, and, second, the cheap money of the Republican provincial government allowed planters to buy more coffee trees and place more acreage under cultivation. The result was a doubling of output by 1901. This process of increasing cultivation required the labor of many additional immigrants. Ibid., p. 79.

⁴⁴ Most of the competition for immigrants occurred between Brazil, Argentina and the United States.

⁴⁵ Holloway, Immigrants on the Land, p. 40. The author estimates that eighty percent of Italians who arrived between 1890 and 1900 received assistance from the Brazilian government in paying their passage. This number decreased as 1900 approached, since coffee then experienced a period of overproduction. Because less laborers were needed, such incentives for immigration were withheld.

peonage upon arrival in Brazil. The trip across the Atlantic was long, and many times mutiny or illness would take its toll on the passengers. After 1870, however, these risks decreased as steamships replaced the older, slower ships, allowing the immigrants a speedier trip to their destination.

Regardless of nationality or method of travel, the trip to the New World was by no means pleasant, and concern over the conditions under which immigrants traveled existed at the highest levels of government. In a despatch from the British consul in Rio de Janeiro, this concern is readily apparent:

Deluded with false promises in Europe, the poor people arrive in Rio after a more or less uncomfortable voyage. Then their troubles commence in earnest. Shipped thence by the hundred in small and ill-arranged steamers, they spend seven to ten days of complete misery, with next to no shelter from wind, sun, and rain, with bad food and worse water. I can assure you, from personal experience, that it is almost sickening to go on board of one of the emigrant vessels in this port before the passengers have left her.⁴⁶

The immigrants arrived at various ports in Brazil; Rio de Janeiro if being sponsored by the imperial government,

⁴⁶ Despatch to Mr. Hugh Wyndham, from Consul Bennett, British Consul to Brazil. Rio Grande do Sul, 24 March 1889.

or, if not, provincial ports such as Santos.⁴⁷ Upon arrival, they stayed in a hostel⁴⁸ where the immigrants were boarded four thousand at a time.

Many immigrants did not have a job lined up for them when they arrived in Brazil. Such immigrants were directed towards certain areas in which their labor was needed most. This trend was noted in a newspaper report from the time:

Of the 2,333 immigrants [who arrived during December] who entered through the port of Rio, there were 903 who had an unknown destination, [the government] was directing them towards the following localities: São Paulo, 323, Rio Grande do Sul, 371, Minas, 260.⁴⁹

From the hostel, the immigrants traveled to the various coffee fazendas to which they had been assigned. The trip and stay in Rio was, as they would find, only the beginning of their many disappointments.

⁴⁷ Additionally, all immigrants whose destination was São Paulo state arrived at this port.

⁴⁸ Holloway, Immigrants on the Land, p. 52. Sixty percent of people sent to São Paulo passed through the hostel in Santos.

⁴⁹ Jornal do Comercio, 6 Jan. 1889. Government agents assured that immigrants without sponsorship were sent to those areas which needed their labor the most. Although a large number of immigrants were sent to Rio Grande do Sul in this example, the majority of immigrants still were needed to work on the coffee fazendas. Additionally, this and subsequent translations were accomplished by the author.

For many immigrants, the promises made by agents located in Europe were quickly broken. Sentiments of betrayal and disappointment are reflected in many accounts, and sometimes made their way to their consular representatives. Passing on information about a discussion with the Italian Chargé d'Affairs and the Belgian Minister, the British consul, Hugh Wyndham, wrote:

He [the Belgian Minister] said that Belgian subjects were being shipped from Antwerp to Rio de Janeiro under the impression that they would find employment in trades to which they were adapted, or that they would be given plots of land to settle on, whereas they were sent off to different "fazendas" (properties) in the above-mentioned provinces, where they are called upon to do the work in the plantations which has been hitherto done by negros.⁵⁰

Once the immigrant overcame his initial disappointment of not getting that which he was promised in Europe, he faced a harsh set of conditions under which he had to survive and, supposedly, prosper. Taking into account the lethal diseases, heat and disillusionment, it is easy to see why an immigrant might decide his life in Europe had been better, and long to return there. The harsh conditions are described in the following letter:

The drought and heat are still increasing in intensity. Every kind of fever is raging in epidemic form, and people are dying from two to

⁵⁰ Despatch to the Marquis of Salisbury, from Mr. Hugh Wyndham. Rio de Janeiro, 19 January 1889.

three hours after the appearance of the first symptoms. In fact, I believe a black plague is raging. All the cases are fatal. Yesterday there were 2,000 cases of fever under treatment in this city out of a population of 18,000. There are not sufficient medical men to care for the sick....The spectacle at the cemetery is horrible. Coffins with dead and decomposed corpses are laying about uninterred, because there are no grave diggers. All the labouring classes are on strike, and all work is now suspended.⁵¹

Those immigrants who were sponsored by the government lacked the security of even being able to remain in one place. One newspaper article recounts a deliberations undertaken by the Minister of Agriculture to move one such group of immigrants during a daily account of government happenings:

Movement of Immigrants - The Minister of Agriculture deliberated on the paying of passages from Minas Geraes to Rio Grande do Sul for various Italian immigrants.⁵²

Many landowners realized they were in danger of losing their new free labor supply because of the conditions which existed in Brazil. One landowner, in a newspaper article, suggested making land available to the colonos at low prices with long-term credit in order to keep the immigrants in São

⁵¹ Personal letter to Mr. Hugh Wyndham, from F. H. Cowper, British Consul. Santos, 09 March 1889.

⁵² Jornal do Comercio, 3 Jan. 1889.

Paulo. He said this was in the best interest of the government and the landowners because:

Only in this way will we achieve the stability of the Italian colono on Paulista soil as a farmer, instead of seeing him leave with his savings for Italy, or, many times, for the La Plata republics, where he establishes himself as a rural proprietor with money earned here in the coffee industry.⁵³

As the price of agricultural exports fell, so did wages, and with the rising cost of living, caused by the inflationary practices of the provisional Republican government,⁵⁴ planters who tried to further reduce their cost of labor became acutely aware of a movement of workers out of Brazil. This was even more of a problem for those planters in the older coffee growing areas of São Paulo province, where the land was growing tired and therefore less productive. In a letter from Eduardo da Silva Prado, a coffee planter in the older coffee area of Campinas, to Rui Barbosa, Prado said:

It is not possible to think about reducing production costs. At the least attempt in that direction the colonos would respond by abandoning the plantations, returning to Italy or going to the Rio de la Plata.⁵⁵

⁵³ The name of this landowner is not specified in the excerpt. From Revista Agricola, 1898, quoted in Holloway, Immigrants on the Land, p. 124.

⁵⁴ This economic recession of the 1890s was previously discussed in this chapter. The reader will recall that the planters were able to use the cheap money of the provisional government to plant additional acreage in coffee.

⁵⁵ Quoted in Holloway, Immigrants on the Land, p. 92.

Concern over improving the conditions under which the immigrants lived resulted in pressure to make unpopular changes as well. One concern which was mentioned many times by the German community was that Protestant marriages were not recognized by the government, and civil marriage was not a legal alternative. After the formation of the Republic, the situation for the non-Catholic immigrants gradually began to improve. In an 1890 editorial in a Brazilian newspaper, the Sociedade Central de Imigração lobbied for religious rights for the immigrants:

In order to respond to the desires of the social milieu...and to agree that next to the blossoming economic prosperity comes moral serenity, the religious security of the family, and thus worship, should be free and the marriage contract registered civilly.⁵⁶

With the civil recognition of Protestant marriage, one of the major concerns of German immigrants had been addressed.

As the quotations above suggest, it seems as though it were common knowledge that an exodus to Argentina was underway. Government statistics made this impression

⁵⁶ Jornal do Comercio, 4 Jan. 1890.

clearer still.⁵⁷ These numbers can be found in the table below.

Table 2

National Origin of Emigrants Departing from Rio de Janeiro and Santos, 1899-1907, Compared to Arrivals (in Parentheses)

	Italy	Portugal	Spain
1899	20,406 (30,846)	4,317 (10,989)	1,194 (5,399)
1900	26,046 (19,671)	5,084 (8,250)	2,556 (4,834)
1901	29,181 (59,869)	4,640 (11,261)	1,687 (212)
1902	21,687 (32,111)	---- (11,606)	---- (3,588)
1903	32,757 (12,970)	4,330 (11,378)	2,842 (4,466)
1904	27,676 (12,857)	10,742 (17,318)	5,304 (10,046)
1905	30,459 (17,360)	11,039 (20,181)	5,037 (25,239)
1906	37,763 (20,777)	13,063 (21,706)	10,862 (24,441)
1907	27,368 (18,238)	14,272 (25,681)	8,520 (9,235)

Sources: Pescatello, "Both Ends of the Journey," pp. 453-454, and Inmigración y Estadísticas en el Cono Sur de América, Serie Inmigración, vol. 6. México, D.F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1990. p. 151.⁵⁸

From this table, it is evident that the majority of those who left Brazil were Italian.⁵⁹ In every year beyond 1902, more Italians left Brazil than arrived, although some of these may have been the golondrinas, who came to Brazil

⁵⁷ No distinction is made in the Brazilian emigration records between the destinations of the emigrants. The Brazilian records also do not distinguish between those leaving the country temporarily and those leaving permanently.

⁵⁸ The editors of this work used data from the "Revista de Colonização e Imigração."

⁵⁹ Using the numbers from this table, 120 percent of the number of Italians who arrived during this period did not remain (which implies that many who arrived before 1899 also left Brazil), compared to 38 percent of the Portuguese and 45 percent of the Spaniards.

multiple times in their lifetimes to work the harvest, then returned to Italy. Since most of the Italian immigrants worked in agriculture, as was discussed previously in this chapter, this indicates that there was more dissatisfaction over the conditions on the fazendas than in the other economic sectors. Given the immigrants' initial ambitions, it may be assumed that many immigrants would be willing to try living in another Latin American country before making the dangerous and expensive journey home. For over thirty thousand one-time Brazilian residents, this may have meant a second migration to Argentina.⁶⁰

Ironically, people also emigrated to Brazil from still other Latin American countries in the hope of establishing a better life. By 1908, Brazilian immigration documents acknowledged the existence of this group and counted them as "continental aliens," defined as citizens of other Latin American countries coming into Brazil. These included one-time residents of Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Mexico, Panama,

⁶⁰ According to Solberg, "Response to Immigration," p. 18, 34,442 Brazilians were present in Argentina when the 1914 census was calculated. While one can not be sure how many of this group were recent immigrants, it is likely that this group was represented in this figure. The exact wording of the 1914 census is not available to add insight as to how an immigrant might be likely to categorize himself: as a Brazilian, or as a person from his or her native land.

Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. This thesis is only concerned, however, with the number of Argentine residents who entered Brazil.⁶¹

Table 3
Argentines Entering Brazil, 1884-1914

1884-1889	906
1890-1899	1378
1900-1909	3523
1910-1914	2282
Total	7893

Source: Inmigración y Estadísticas, p. 155.

This table shows that the number of Argentine residents entering Brazil is significantly less than the number of Brazilian residents entering Argentina in the same period of time. Even though in both cases these migrants may not have remained in their new country, the large disparity between the two numbers is enough indication of the general movement of the population.

By 1914 there was good reason for many Germans to consider leaving Brazil. Since Brazil was the only country in Latin America to declare war on Germany, many Germans began to feel resentment in Brazil. Most survived by creating an illusion of assimilation in Brazilian society,

⁶¹ As with the data from Argentina, it is impossible to know how many of this group were natives of a different country.

but this did not stop rumors from being started over their supposed involvement in the war. It seems logical that some Germans would be willing to consider moving to another Latin American country which had not declared war on their homeland in order to escape the prejudice associated with being the enemy.⁶² This migration would, however, occur outside the time period covered in this paper.

By the end of the period in question, some felt as though the tide of migrants leaving Brazil was beginning to ebb. The Annual Report on Brazil for the Year 1913, written by the British consul, stated:

There is now a marked tendency on the part of immigrants to make Brazil their fixed abode, and in 1912 the percentage of immigrants remaining in the country was 64 per cent as compared with 29 per cent in 1907.⁶³

Unfortunately, the data presented in Table 2 does not extend forward to cover this period in time. Without such data, it is impossible to know if the British consul was correct in his assessment of the situation.⁶⁴

⁶² Solberg, "Response to Immigration," p. 18.

⁶³ M.A. Robertson, Annual Report on Brazil for the Year 1913 (Rio de Janeiro: British Consul, [1914]).

⁶⁴ The annual report does not mention the source of its numbers.

It may also be argued that the Brazilian government desired to increase immigration from Europe in order to accelerate the process of "whitening" Brazil.⁶⁵ In an age where some Brazilian elites expressed doubt about the viability of a post-abolition Brazil, "whitening" offered some degree of reassurance. A whiter country would be better able to sustain liberalism, and the laissez-faire portion of this ideology turned into a justification for the neglect of the masses, which was predominately made up of non-whites.⁶⁶ In her article, Loraine Slomp Giron agrees that the theory of "whitening" was an important reason to sponsor immigration:

It is not, on the other hand, unknown that the position assumed by a majority of the Brazilian intellectual elites is that immigration was a question of "whitening" the Brazilian population.⁶⁷

Thus immigration helped to relieve the two major pressures which burdened the Brazilian elite on the eve of abolition. In an economic sense, immigrants could work as a

⁶⁵ The history of racial thought in Brazil, as well as the "scientific" formula of "whitening" is discussed in Thomas Skidmore, Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 64-69. A similar movement was also found during this period in Argentina.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 137.

⁶⁷ Slomp Giron, "Imigração Italiana no RS," p. 55.

substitute labor force to ensure the survival of the coffee industry. Although I would argue that the issue of "whitening" the population is secondary in nature, it nonetheless gave the planters hope that their country would be better fit for liberalism once abolition was accomplished and this process of "whitening" through immigration began to take place.

This is the framework into which immigrant labor was introduced in Brazil. With abolition came a need to fill the vacuum left by the departure of the slaves from the coffee regions. Without labor, the coffee crop would not be harvested. Therefore, planters had a very good reason to pressure the government into sponsoring immigration. With an understanding of the complex nature of the situation in Brazil in the beginning of this period in question, we can now compare this case to a very different one, that of Argentina.

CHAPTER 4

THE IMMIGRANTS IN ARGENTINA

The migration to Argentina can perhaps best be explained as part of a greater Argentine movement toward the theory of economic liberalism, rather than as part of the extreme labor crisis found in Brazil as a result of the end of the slavery system. Economic liberalism at the time included the idea that prosperity will be found when goods cross international boundaries in response to world supply and demand, and that countries should specialize in the production of those goods they can produce most efficiently. For Europe, this meant the production of manufactured goods, in light of the advances of the Industrial Revolution. It was argued that England, for example, could produce textiles in mass at a price much cheaper than, say, Portugal could. For new countries like Argentina, this meant the production of raw materials to feed the industrial engines of Europe. Immigration played a vital role in this exchange since a European country could send out its people to produce these goods in a new land for shipment back to the donor nation. Although countries like Brazil had long been producing raw

materials, such as sugar and coffee, for export to Europe, Argentina was a relatively new arrival as a producer in the integrated Atlantic economy.¹

Born in 1776 as a new viceroyalty, the previous two and one-half centuries of Argentine history painted the picture of an uninhabited, wild land which served the Spanish crown only as a colonial frontier area. It was not until ownership of the land was threatened by the well-established colony of Brazil, then already two-and-a-half centuries old, that Spanish statesmen paid attention to the Rio de la Plata region.²

¹ Argentina had been integrated into the Atlantic economy earlier than other Spanish American colonies, as a consumer, because of its easy access to contraband trade coming directly from Europe. As a result, these goods were cheaper than those arriving through legal Spanish channels. It emerged as a producer in the 1770s after the Bourbon Reforms, when free trade with other Spanish American ports, and with Europe, became legal. At this time, Argentina shifted its concern away from Potosí as its main economic center and refocused on Buenos Aires, poising it for more rapid integration into the Atlantic economy. Information on this change can be found in Jeremy Stahl, "Production, Commerce and Transportation in a Regional Economy: Tucumán, 1776-1810." (Diss. University of Florida, 1994). Argentina had not been fully integrated into this economy as long as had Brazil, nor to the same extent. David Rock, Argentina, 1516-1982: From Spanish Colonization to the Falklands War (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 6. An additional discussion on the growth of the economy during this period can be found in Thomas Whigham, The Politics of River Trade: Tradition and Development in the Upper Plata, 1780-1870 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991).

² Ibid., p. 40. He cites four reasons why Brazil desired to maintain a strong presence in the Río de la Plata

As early as the 1820s, members of the Argentine government recognized the need to colonize their vast interior. Bernardino Rivadavia, while still working as the chief minister for a regional caudillo, called for the formation of plans to promote foreign colonization of the interior. Later, as president,³ he sent recruiters to Europe to find the people to do so.⁴ This fit perfectly into his philosophy that Argentina was most likely to grow economically through free trade, foreign investment and immigration.⁵ As the early, stable governments, based on the continued rule of strongmen such as Juan Manuel de Rosas,⁶ deteriorated into the chaos of regional struggles for power, plans for the sponsorship of immigration fell by the wayside. Such plans were reintroduced by the members of

region: to have access to Spanish silver coming from Potosí, to export a higher quality of hides as came from that region, to better communicate with the bandeirantes in Minas Gerais, and to put increased Portuguese pressure on the Jesuit missions found in the upper Paraná.

³ An intelligent liberal, Bernardino Rivadavia became President of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata on 7 February 1826.

⁴ Robert F. Foerster, The Italian Emigration of our Times (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1924), p. 255.

⁵ Rock, Argentina, p. 86.

⁶ Rosas rejected these ideas in favor of a more simple plan based on the production of cattle for the export of their meat and hides.

the Generation of 1880,⁷ which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Argentina's first experiments with immigration came as a result of the rise of the sheep-breeding industry in the less-settled areas of the country. In order to find people willing to tend the flocks, immigration was encouraged from areas familiar with this type of work, especially Ireland, as well as the Basque and Galician provinces of Spain.⁸ As payment for their work, these immigrants received one-third of the increases in the flocks as well as one-third of the wool, enabling them to save enough money to own their own flocks after a few years.⁹

Legal changes also began to favor immigration. Article 25 of the Constitution of the Argentine Nation guaranteed that the federal government would not limit immigration by

⁷ This group of writers based many of their ideas on another group of intellectuals, the Generation of 1837. Additional information on these intellectuals can be found in William H. Katra, The Argentine Generation of 1837: Echeverría, Alberdi, Sarmiento, Mitre. (Cranbury, New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1996).

⁸ Rock, Argentina, p. 133. Many Basque and Galician immigrants had been displaced from their homes in Spain as a result of the Carlist Wars (1837-1842). The Potato Famine, which occurred in Ireland in 1846, forced many Irish to leave Ireland for the New World, including Argentina where they became shepherds.

⁹ Ibid., p. 57. A few Irish immigrants were even able to become landholders within a few years.

imposing taxes or other barriers on those individuals wishing to work on the land, improve industry or teach the arts or sciences.¹⁰ By 1854 the Ministry of the Interior issued a decree stating that the national government would pay the passage of artisans in Montevideo wishing to emigrate to Argentina.¹¹

Like Brazil, not all sponsorship came from the national government. From 1856 to 1870 many European families were brought by the provincial government of Santa Fé to form agricultural colonies in that underpopulated province.¹²

Liberal economic and immigration policies associated with the Generation of 1837 were initially resurrected by a series of Argentine presidents beginning in the 1860s. This process of encouraging foreign investment¹³ was begun during

¹⁰ "Constitución de la Nación Argentina, Article 25," in Adriana Beatriz Gerpe, ed., "Apéndice Legal," in Legislación y Política Inmigratoria en el Cono Sur de America, Serie Inmigración, vol. 3 (México, Distrito Federal: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1987), p. 121.

¹¹ Ibid. - - -

¹² James Scobie, Revolution on the Pampas: A Social History of Argentine Wheat, 1860-1910 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), p. 33.

¹³ Rock, Argentina, p. 125. The money invested in Argentina came primarily from Great Britain and led to improvements in the banking system, factories and public utilities. Although the development of railroads had already begun, it was greatly expanded in this period of time.

the presidency of Bartolomé Mitre (1862-1868) and continued during the presidency of Domingo F. Sarmiento (1868-1874), a principle figure of the Generation. By 1862, the national government became involved by opening offices in Europe to facilitate immigration, but never gave financial support in the way that the Brazilian government did.¹⁴ In 1869, the Comisión Central de Inmigración was established by the national government.¹⁵ In 1874 this office was replaced by the Comisaría General de Inmigración, whose job was to work closely with the Oficina Nacional de Trabajo, which had been created in 1872.¹⁶ When Sarmiento's term as president ended in 1874, he was succeeded by Dr. Nicolás Avellaneda, whose primary concern was the problem of the frontier. This focus meshed nicely with the concerns of the past two presidents and allowed for the continuation of the immigration programs

¹⁴ This topic has been disputed among historians. Although Lynch maintains that the Argentine government did not financially sponsor immigrants from Europe, it is argued in Ana María Cignetti, Inmigración Española en Patagonia (México, Distrito Federal: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía y Historia, 1989), p. 29, that these overseas offices did provide financial assistance.

¹⁵ The document outlining the responsibilities of this organization can be found in Gerpe, "Apendice Legal," p. 123.

¹⁶ Cignetti, Inmigración Española en la Patagonia, p. 29.

which had been started during their terms of office.¹⁷

Under Avellaneda, the congress passed the Immigration and Colonization Law, which outlined policies regarding every aspect of the immigrant experience, including the responsibilities of the agents in Europe, transportation of immigrants, arrival procedures and rules regarding the colonization of land and the governance of the national colonies.¹⁸

The group of writers and social thinkers associated with the Generation of 1880 blamed many of Argentina's woes on the native traditions of the "uncivilized" land. Many felt that Argentina's only hope of breaking the cycle of caudillaje, which was a feature of many of the newly-independent Latin American republics, was to bring in immigrants who would bring their European traditions to the most uncivilized parts of Argentina.¹⁹

¹⁷ The two previous presidents had believed that national unity was best achieved through economic expansion, in which immigration played a major role. Avellaneda's concern over the Indian frontier allowed these regions to become the logical extension of expansionist policies. Rock, Argentina, p. 131.

¹⁸ "Ley de Inmigración y Colonización (1876)," in Gerpe, "Apéndice Legal," p. 130.

¹⁹ These sentiments are reflected in the important work by the future president of Argentina, Domingo F. Sarmiento, Civilización y Barbarie (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961). This book was first published in 1845.

One of the most respected Argentine sociologists of the period, Lucas Ayarragaray, agreed that the mestizo masses were morally and physically degenerate, but did not think that just any European immigrant could succeed in bringing order to the country. On the contrary, he thought that Northern Europeans had much more to contribute to Argentina than did immigrants from the southern and eastern parts of Europe.²⁰

There were also more practical reasons for Argentina to desire an influx of immigrants. With a population of less than two million at the time of the 1869 census, there were not enough Argentines to truly secure the borders of this relatively new nation. Although this was not a problem in the historically troublesome Rio de la Plata basin, outlying regions such as Patagonia and Neuquen were sparsely populated by Argentines. In Neuquen, for example, approximately three-fourths of the inhabitants were Chilean.²¹

²⁰ Carl Edward Solberg, "The Response to Immigration in Argentina and Chile, 1890-1914." (Diss. Stanford University, 1966), p. 60. A complete discussion of the preferred hierarchy of immigrants can be found in this source. As was discussed in the literature review, the same author also wrote a book based on his dissertation, Carl E. Solberg, Immigration and Nationalism: Argentina and Chile, 1890-1914 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970).

²¹ Ibid., p. 49.

The fertile pampas also increased in importance over time. With the rise of industrial cities in Europe came the need to feed the urban masses. Demands for Argentine beef and wheat rose dramatically, as did the need for cattle feed such as alfalfa.²² In addition, the development of railroads and the frigoríficos²³ made it easier to transport fresh beef to Europe, rather than the jerked form sent in previous days. People were needed to produce these new goods, especially the temperate cereals needed to sustain a growing, valuable cattle industry.²⁴

Despite the passage of the first Argentine legislation regarding immigration in 1876, which opened the country to all except the insane and those with communicable diseases,²⁵ the government did not undertake an active role in promoting immigration policy, as was the case in Brazil. Support came mainly from the agricultural and stock raising interests which ultimately controlled, or at least influenced, the government. These individuals supported the most liberal immigration policies, which benefited them most

²² Solberg, "Response to Immigration," p. 5.

²³ Frigoríficos were refrigerated ships used to transport beef to Europe.

²⁴ Scobie, Revolution on the Pampas, p. 35.

²⁵ Solberg, "Response to Immigration," p. 3.

by increasing the labor supply and thus their productivity. One such private group was the Sociedad Rural.²⁶

A well organized system to place immigrants with land owners who requested their labor, like that of Brazil, simply did not exist in Argentina. By 1904, the Sociedad Rural had expressed an interest to the government in building a hostel to provide temporary lodging for the new arrivals,²⁷ and the money to start the project was allocated by the congress. By 1911 the project was finished, but had been delayed many years by corruption within the government. It had not been completed out of concern for the immigrants but rather in the best interest of the landed elites.²⁸

Many individuals also sponsored immigrants who were willing to work for them. A reference to this type of sponsorship can be found in the following letter from an Italian immigrant who arrived in Buenos Aires in 1901, noting, "the boss advanced me money for the trip."²⁹

²⁶ The Sociedad Rural was the most influential lobbying organization in Argentina. Made up of cattle owners, this group advocated unrestricted immigration between 1890 and 1914. More information on this topic can be found in Solberg, Immigration and Nationalism, p. 12.

²⁷ Solberg, "Response to Immigration," p. 73.

²⁸ Ibid. This was, of course, no different in Brazil.

²⁹ Oreste Sola, "To Parents," 18 September 1901, in Samuel L. Bailey and Franco Ramella, eds., One Family, Two Worlds: An Italian Family's Correspondence Across the

Although a breakdown of immigrants to Argentina by national origin is not available on a yearly basis, as was the case for Brazil, the following two tables will serve the same purpose of providing general information on immigration trends in Argentina. In Table Four, the reader will note that, like Brazil, immigration dropped off dramatically in the first year of World War I. In Table Five, the reader can see the number of immigrants from each of the various donor nations who were present in Argentina during the 1914 census, as well as the overall percentage of immigrants this number represented. Each of these national groups will be discussed in detail in the following sections. Like the data from Brazil, it is unlikely that these numbers are completely accurate and should be viewed as an indication of overall trends, not as absolute representations of the number of immigrants.³⁰

Table 4
Immigrants Traveling to and from Argentina, 1889-1914

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>
<u>Atlantic, 1901-1922</u> , John Lenaghan, trans., (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988), p. 37.	

³⁰ The reader may note that these numbers are not taken directly from the 1914 census. The actual document is very detailed and difficult to understand, so I have used numbers already compiled by another historian. The interested reader may reference the Argentina Comisión Directiva del Censo, Segundo Censo de la República Argentina, Mayo 10 de 1895 (Buenos Aires, 1896). 3 vols.

1889	220,260
1890	30,375
1891	-29,835
1892	29,441
1893	35,626
1894	39,272
1895	44,169
1896	89,282
1897	47,686
1898	41,656
1899	48,842
1900	50,485
1901	45,700
1902	37,653
1903	37,895
1904	94,841
1905	138,850
1906	198,397
1907	119,861
1908	176,080
1909	140,640
1910	208,870
1911	109,581
1912	206,121
1913	172,628
1914	38,349

Source: Solberg, Response to Immigration, p. 14.

Table 5
National Origin of Immigrants in 1914 Census

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Italy	929,863	39.43
Spain	829,701	35.19
Russia	96,634	4.10
Uruguay	86,428	3.66
France	79,491	3.37
Ottoman	64,369	2.73
Austria	38,123	1.62
Brazil	34,442	1.46
Chile	34,217	1.45
Paraguay	28,049	1.19
Britain	27,692	1.17
Germany	26,995	1.14

Source: Solberg, Response to Immigration, p. 17.

By 1914 Argentina's population had quadrupled as a result of this massive immigration, and over 29 percent of Argentine residents had been born in another country. As in Brazil, the largest group of immigrants came from Italy, accounting for almost 40 percent of all immigrants. One-fourth of these remained in Buenos Aires, where they formed most of the urban working class.³¹ Italian immigrants were also responsible for the birth of the Mendoza wine industry and a significant portion of the labor which built the railroads. In Argentine towns they owned small businesses.³² The cultural contribution of the Italians can be seen in many ways in Argentina, such as the prevalence of the accordion in popular music such as the tango,³³ the use of "Ciao" instead of "adios" in the language and the influence of Italian cuisine on the diet. In addition to the numerous Italian immigrants who only crossed the Atlantic one time, thousands of Italians came to Argentina

³¹ Solberg, "Response to Immigration," p. 15.

³² Ibid.

³³ A full treatment of the development of tango, both as a music and dance form, can be found in Simon Collier, ed., Tango! The Dance, the Song, the Story (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1995).

each year to work the harvest, then returned to Italy in time to work the harvest in the Northern Hemisphere.³⁴

The second largest group of immigrants which came from Europe were Spanish.³⁵ Arriving primarily after the depreciation of the peseta which took place in Spain in the 1890s,³⁶ the flow of immigrants from Spain actually outnumbered those coming from Italy during the period from 1909 to 1913. Over one-third of these remained in the city of Buenos Aires and, like the Spanish immigrants to Brazil, took the most menial jobs, such as cleaning the docks. For this reason, they were looked upon with disdain by many Argentines. The cultural contribution of this group can be seen in many ways, including in the development of the tango which, when meshed with the Italian elements which also

³⁴ Ibid., p. 19. Known as golondrinas, or swallows, this group came in the period following 1900.

³⁵ It is interesting to note here that, like Brazil, sixty percent of these immigrants were from Galicia in the north of Spain, where overcrowded conditions existed. Further discussion on the origins of this group can be found in Solberg, "Response to Immigration," p. 20, or in the comprehensive work on Italian immigration by Robert Foerster.

³⁶ Hebe Clementi, ed., Inmigración Española en la Argentina (Buenos Aires: Compañía Impresora Argentina, 1991), p. 19. The value of the peseta again began to rise between 1902 and 1910 resulting in a temporary decline in the relative number of Spaniards entering Argentina.

influenced it, produced a cultural form uniquely Argentine.³⁷

Surprisingly, the next largest group of immigrants who came to Argentina were of Russian extraction. Approximately half of these were Russian Jews fleeing the persecution of the Russian empire and arrived after 1891.³⁸ The other half of the Russians were actually various German-speaking peoples who lived within the Russian Empire. They were usually members of small Protestant denominations.³⁹

Another important group which came to Argentina was Syrians and Lebanese, commonly referred to as "Turcos."⁴⁰ They usually went into jobs in the informal sector, such as selling trinkets. Germans,⁴¹ Serbo-Croatians, and, after

³⁷ A discussion of the influence of Spanish and Italian immigrants can be found in Carl E. Solberg, Immigration and Nationalism: Argentina and Chile, 1890-1914 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970), p. 38.

³⁸ Solberg, "Response to Immigration," p. 20. This group of Russian Jews numbered around twenty-five thousand. An account of one Russian agricultural colony can be found in Morton D. Winsberg, Colonia Baron Hirsch, A Jewish Agricultural Colony in Argentina (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964).

³⁹ Solberg, Immigration and Nationalism, p. 40.

⁴⁰ Although they are not Turkish, other Middle Eastern peoples are often referred to as "Turcos" in spoken Spanish.

⁴¹ According to Solberg, the presence of Germans did not become significant until the 1930s, which is different from the experience of other countries in the Southern Cone such as Brazil and Chile, where Germans were instrumental in the settlement of frontier regions from a much earlier date.

1910, Japanese and Okinawans also came to Argentina in significant numbers.⁴²

Although some would argue that immigration to Argentina was not propelled by labor demands to the extent experienced by Brazil, the new immigrant labor force was the key to the country's future success. Although just under 30 percent of the country had been born elsewhere by 1914, this group made up 50 percent of the country's labor force, since it was comprised of predominately younger males.⁴³

As can be seen from the above discussion, the set of problems which plagued these two countries in the latter half of the eighteenth century were vastly different, but called for a similar solution. Although the two governments both participated in the facilitation of immigration to their countries, they did so to different degrees. It is clear from the information presented above that the situation was much more critical for Brazil; they did not have the luxury of time which Argentina seemed to have in

More information on Germans in Argentina can be found in Ronald C. Newton, German Buenos Aires, 1900-1930: Social Change and Cultural Crisis (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977).

⁴² Solberg, Immigration and Nationalism, p. 42.

⁴³ Solberg, Response to Immigration, p. 29. Between 1891 and 1910 seventy percent of all immigrants to Argentina were male. Between 1857 and 1924, seventy-three percent were between thirteen and forty years of age.

crop, coffee, and if a substitute labor force was not found, the coffee industry would be lost in the wake of abolition.⁴⁴ For Argentina, the vast lands, filled only with cattle, could be populated and "civilized" more slowly.

With an understanding of the motivation for immigration to Argentina, it should not be surprising that immigrant farmers were absorbed into the social structure with relatively little friction.⁴⁵ Although the arrival of new

⁴⁴ The key distinction here is that it was the coffee crop, not other exports such as sugar, tobacco or rubber, which were thought to be most affected by a labor shortage. The reason for this is that the planters in the new coffee regions had no faith in the dependability of the freedmen and had the most money, enabling them to hire wage laborers and sponsor immigration. The sugar planters of the northeast, whose production had been marginalized because of the successes of Cuban sugar, were, for the most part, less wealthy, and had been making a slow and successful transition to abolition. The workers on these sugar and tobacco plantations, as well as those in the rubber industry, were those so poor that they were willing to work largely for food and shelter. The planters had found that they had a ready supply of labor for the cultivation of these less lucrative crops. A discussion of the migration of Nordestinos to the rubber plantations can be found in Barbara Weinstein, "The Politics of Prosperity," in The Amazon Rubber Boom, 1850-1920 (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1983), p. 99-136.

⁴⁵ Immigrants who had become tenants in Chivilcoy, a wheat-producing area one hundred miles west of Buenos Aires, were given the opportunity to become the proprietors of their lands by Buenos Aires legislation in 1857. Scobie, Revolution on the Pampas, p. 35. It is important to keep in mind that the number of immigrants engaged in farming was always a minority, and the number who actually came to own their land was even smaller. Nonetheless, many early immigrants, especially those who arrived prior to 1870 as shepherds or farmers in Santa Fé, were quite successful, as described in Rock, Argentina, p. 137. Stories such as these

people desiring land may be initially perceived as a threat to the social order embraced by Argentina's elites, the immigrants actually represented little problem for the land-owning aristocrats. Argentina's elite engaged mostly in lucrative pastoral activities, mainly sheep and cattle, for which they did not have to be present. As a result, many lived in the cities for the majority of the year. As long as the new immigrants engaged in subsistence agriculture, or even in the cultivation of cereals as a cash crop, in new lands⁴⁶ where pastoral activities were not occurring, they did not threaten the old, landed elite.⁴⁷ Instead, their presence was beneficial because it provided a protective buffer between the older range lands and the Indians still living on the pampas.⁴⁸ In addition, the inclusion of more farmers allowed the tax base to be broadened, resulting in a decrease in taxes for the elite land holders.⁴⁹ In effect,

could have provided hope to other prospective immigrants also desiring such mobility.

⁴⁶ These new lands were usually the result of indian conquests. Rock, Argentina, p. 140.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 137.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

as long as the immigrants did not participate in politics, they posed no threat to the landholders.⁵⁰

The Argentine elite did, however, feel threatened by the growing discontent of the urban working class in Buenos Aires, which was made up primarily by immigrants. In 1890, the city of Buenos Aires had a population of only 300,000, which rose to 1.5 million by 1920.⁵¹ With this urbanization came many of the problems associated with large cities, such as alcoholism, crime and prostitution.⁵² Unfortunately, many of government officials blamed these problems on the immigrants, instead of looking further into the complex social changes occurring with urbanization to cause such problems. In reality, the immigrants committed less than their share of the crimes.⁵³ In addition to these common

⁵⁰ Since most immigrants did not become naturalized citizens, a topic which will be discussed later, political participation was not a probability.

⁵¹ Solberg, Immigration and Nationalism, p. 93.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 96. While 77.2 percent of the population of Buenos Aires in 1914 was made up of men 20 years and older, the segment of the population most likely to commit crimes, only two-thirds of the crimes were committed by this group. This fact should not be surprising since an immigrant who was convicted of a crime could be exported. In reality, the immigrants had the most to lose by engaging in petty crime. The situation was, however, very different with prostitution. Immigration was a great source for urban prostitution; Buenos Aires was the preeminent center for South American white slavery and had over two thousand registered, legal prostitutes in 1889. Rock, Argentina, p.

urban problems, the alienated proletariat was becoming increasingly drawn to the anarchist movement.⁵⁴ This certainly was a concern for the upper classes, who responded by passing the Law of Social Defense in 1910, which allowed for members of these groups to be expelled from Argentina.⁵⁵

In general, two very different situations awaited the immigrant arriving from their long voyage across the Atlantic to Brazil and Argentina. Although the immigrants who came to Argentina faced similar conditions during the voyage across the Atlantic as their counterparts journeying to Brazil, their situation upon arrival was not nearly as bleak. Argentina was a country with a more optimistic outlook, and this attitude translated into a better quality of life for the new arrivals.

Regardless of a better quality of life, conditions were still less than desirable, and unfavorable reports

176 speculates that prostitution occurred more frequently because of the lack of female immigrants. The link between immigrant women and prostitution is fully discussed in Donna L. Guy, Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family and Nation in Argentina (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

⁵⁴ Since many of the urban workers were Italian, it should not be surprising that anarchism would cross the Atlantic with this group from Italy, where it had previously garnered widespread support.

⁵⁵ "Ley de Defensa Social (1910)," in Gerpe, "Apéndice Legal," p. 143.

concerning the conditions upon arrival for the immigrants made their way back to the donor countries. These poor conditions were, however, attributed to slightly different sources. A letter from a Belgian diplomat explains the situation:

The Radical and Socialist newspapers are striving to stem this tide of emigration by publishing very unfavorable accounts, founded on letters from Buenos Ayres, of the position and prospects of emigrants in the Argentine confederation, and by warnings that they would find their position there far worse even than at home, while the Government did not view with favour the loss of the useful class of persons who have lately been emigrating.⁵⁶

It seems as though the same promises were being broken on both sides of the Rio de la Plata. Not only were the immigrants promised jobs in their own trades in Argentina, but other items as well. Clarity is added to this subject by the following account:

Sir, I was present when the Irish emigrants, who came by the 'Dresden,' landed on the sixteenth, and spoke to several of them. They said that they had been told at home that they would get free grants of land, stock, machinery, seed, etc., on arrival here. They were, therefore, bitterly disappointed when they found that they had been deceived, especially as nine out of ten had come without a penny, and had very large families depending on them....⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Despatch to the Marquis of Salisbury, from Lord Vivian. Brussels, 09 February 1889.

⁵⁷ Letter to the editor of the Irish Times, from Mr. J. McAllister. Buenos Aires, 28 February 1889.

Many of the immigrants who arrived on the Dresden were taken in or assisted by individual families. Although they were not given all that had been promised to them, the situation was much better in Argentina than in Brazil. . After all, although initial hardship may have been normal for many immigrants, a glimmer of hope did exist in the near future.

It seems as though success, not just survival, was thought possible by many immigrants arriving in Argentina. The ownership of land was not even an unachievable goal:

To sum up, great advantages are offered to small capitalists who, under proper direction, would probably become owners of land producing a fair subsistence in a pleasant climate on as easy terms as in any country in the world...I am told that such men [farm laborers], after they understand the country, would find little difficulty in obtaining land for farming purposes on the half-profit or other similar principle, with the option of purchase in a certain number of years.⁵⁸

Numerous documents exist reporting back to the British government that all British immigrants coming off the boats had been easily placed in jobs. These letters specify that agricultural laborers were the easiest to place, and that masons and other craftsmen were more difficult. They also

⁵⁸ Memorandum on the Facilities Offered by the Argentine Republic for British Colonists, from G. Jennings. Buenos Aires, 22 June 1889.

mention that female houseservants were needed in Argentina. The ease with which jobs were found is emphasized in the following letter:

I know of no British subjects without employment in Buenos Ayres beyond the few who are dealt with by the well-organized British and American Benevolent Society and the British Hospital.⁵⁹

By the end of 1889 the situation was improving even more for the immigrants who stayed in Argentina. The government decided to sell a large amount of land for settlement. This event is reported in the following despatch:

Herewith I have the honour to inclose copy of a Decree of yesterday's date ordering the sale of 24,000 square leagues of the national land in various territories to the purpose of foreign colonization. Eight thousand square leagues are devoted to English, as also the same to Italian immigration; other nationalities, French, Belgian, and Swiss receiving a smaller proportion.⁶⁰

British consulate reports on immigration end in that year. There are other indications, however, that immigrants could have reasonable expectations of success as time went on. A letter from an immigrant named Sola indicates a stable, promising life of work soon after arrival:

⁵⁹ Despatch to the Marquis of Salisbury, from G. Jennings. Buenos Aires, 13 April 1889.

⁶⁰ Despatch to the Marquis of Salisbury, from Mr. F.J. Pakenham. Buenos Aires, 22 September 1889.

I have already said on other occasions don't worry so much on my account - I know how to come out all right - and don't be afraid that I am suffering from poverty. No, I am not swimming in wealth, but I am perfectly able to take care of myself.⁶¹

In less than two years, Sola had advanced from manual labor to a salaried position as a draftsman. As consular reports and correspondence suggest, the dream of social mobility was certainly a perception and a reality for many immigrants arriving at this time.

By 1912, when Argentina's annual report began publication, the cost of living had risen considerably, a trend noted also in the report on Brazil. Those who had not found a sound way to make a living were falling further and further behind. Land, however, was more readily available in Argentina, as has been discussed in detail above. Not only could the immigrant purchase it from the government, he could also work towards it over time. Such facility was not apparent in Brazil, where the old landed elite were less willing to share their land, a symbol of their power and

⁶¹ Oreste Sola, "To Parents," 5 January 1903, in Bailey, One Family, Two Worlds, p. 54. Another good source for first-hand immigrant accounts is Nicolas Ciria, España en mi Corazón (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Campo Soriano, 1978), although it deals with a later period in history: Ciria arrived in Buenos Aires in 1917.

wealth, with the new arrivals.⁶² Moreover, those immigrants who had obtained land in Argentina noticed that land values were rising considerably, and by 1912 land was a source of wealth for many. In the 1912 Annual Report, Sir Reginald Tower mentions a prevailing sense of optimism and faith in the future of Argentina. With such a favorable climate, it would seem unlikely that very many people would leave for a better life elsewhere. Indeed, the government did not want people to leave, and took measures to ensure that they stayed. In late 1911, the Director General of Emigration mandated that all third-class tickets to European ports from Argentina be priced at no less than seventy-five dollars. This was officially enacted to discourage emigration during

⁶² This attitude is reflected in the debate concerning the Land Law of 1850 in Brazil. Those who supported the law, including many planters, felt that no one would voluntarily work on the fazendas if land was available for them to buy. They advocated the sale of available small holdings to the large estates, making it more difficult for immigrants to buy land. Those who opposed the law felt that the best way to attract immigrants to work was to offer them land. This issue was very pertinent because the legal slave trade was coming to a close, and planters knew that attracting laborers would soon become an issue. Eventually, the government took control of these holdings in an effort to keep land prices from falling, which would have made available land easier for immigrants to purchase. A complete discussion of this law can be found in Emilia Viotta da Costa, The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 83-85.

the harvest, but remained in place long after the harvest season ended.⁶³

Nonetheless, some people decided to leave.⁶⁴ Indeed in 1908, only 28.02 percent of immigrants remained in Argentina.⁶⁵ By 1912, however, this number had risen to 62.81 percent, probably as a result of the 1911 action of the Argentine government which made it more difficult to emigrate. Despite the fact that immigrants remained in Argentina, many did not apply for citizenship. By 1914, only 2.25 percent of the foreign-born male population had become naturalized citizens.⁶⁶ This indicates that most

⁶³ Sir Reginald Tower, Annual Report on Argentina for the Year 1912 (Buenos Aires: British Consul, [1913]).

⁶⁴ While many immigrants left Argentina, some moved around within the country. A full treatment of this subject can be found in Zulma L. Recchini de Lattes and Alfredo E. Lattes, Migraciones en la Argentina: Estudio de las Migraciones Internas e Internacionales, Basado en Datos Censales, 1869-1960 (Buenos Aires: Editorial del Instituto, 1969).

⁶⁵ This percentage is based on immigration figures for the first half of the year, as were presented in the Annual Report. The percentage for 1912, to which this number is compared, is based on the numbers for the entire year. Although the calculation is based on different numbers, the overall percentage would change little for the year, and still serves as a valuable comparison. For the first half of 1908, 65,523 people left Argentina while 91,030 arrived. For 1912, 120,260 people left while a staggering 323,405 arrived in Argentina.

⁶⁶ Solberg, "Response to Immigration," p. 29. The actual number is 33,219 Argentine immigrants who became citizens.

immigrants came to Argentina for personal gain, and often expected to leave if success could not be found. They were not coming to Argentina to settle, as was the hope of the Argentine government. Although their decision to not apply for citizenship may seem puzzling at first, since most immigrants who came to the United States did become citizens within the first five years, there is a simple explanation for their decision. Argentine law gave full protection to both citizens and non-citizens, so the immigrant could expect no additional rights by applying for citizenship.⁶⁷ In addition, if the immigrant became an Argentine citizen, he would then be eligible for military conscription.⁶⁸ Given this information, it is easy to see why an immigrant would not see any benefit to attaining citizenship. Although the data can be interpreted as an indication of willingness to move on if success were not found, it is more likely just a maximization of benefits from the immigrant's point of view.

The information presented in this chapter has shown a sharp contrast between conditions in Argentina and the conditions in Brazil under which the immigrants lived and

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 30.

⁶⁸ Rock, Argentina, p. 143. This differs from the United States where immigrants could be conscripted even if they had not yet become citizens.

worked. Unfortunately, immigrants often come from the lowest sectors of society, and thus had neither the literacy nor the leisure to have left us with a record of their day-to-day living. For this reason, we must rely on what the more elite segments of society have said about them, although such accounts may not be a full representation of the true scenario.

In both countries, the immigrants left a legacy and changed forever the face of the Southern Cone. In the following chapter, some of these changes will be discussed and evaluated.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

The immigrants who came to the Southern Cone in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had an enormous impact on the region which has changed its way of life forever. While some of the more obvious influences, such as demographic, have been illustrated in the previous chapters, there are numerous other ways which remain to be discussed. Some of these include political influences and the impact of immigration on labor organization.

Government leaders were aware of the demographic impact immigration would have, which was considered a positive side of the issue. They were probably even aware of the cultural change which would take place because of the introduction of new European influences into everyday life. Some examples of this transfer of culture were discussed in the two previous chapters.

What the politicians could not have foreseen, however, were the changes about to take place within the political system. Only one year after the dramatic transformation associated with the abolition of slavery, the monarchy was

also abolished and a republic proclaimed on 15 November 1889.

The formation of the Republic had a unmistakable impact on the lives of many recent immigrants. The 1890s were a decade characterized by a feeling of Lusophobia in Brazilian cities. For years the Portuguese community had been the object of jest and slurs concerning their alleged reluctance to spend money and their tendency to hire only among themselves. This resentment, however, turned violent as the Brazilian economy worsened throughout the decade. Many of the Portuguese immigrants were involved in merchant enterprises, which placed them in a better position to endure times of economic hardship than many of the Brazilians employed in other economic sectors.¹ Although a Portuguese immigrant whose business failed would obviously be worse off, the group, as a whole, was able to do

¹ Most of the Portuguese immigrants were concentrated in the port cities, such as Rio and Santos, and engaged in commerce. In Needell, "Revolta Contra Vacina," p. 250, the author estimates that two-thirds of the foreigners in Rio de Janeiro during the 1890 and 1906 census were Portuguese. Pescatello also discusses this subject throughout her dissertation. The Portuguese were not at the mercy of the local economy, as were the Brazilians, who were more likely to be employed by the state apparatus as civil servants, or in domestic, manual or industrial labor. These jobs were more likely to be affected by bad economic conditions than those dealing with foreign commerce, especially since many of the Portuguese-run stores were selling staples, which people needed regardless of the economic situation within Brazil.

marginally better than other sectors of the population in times of economic crisis.

The resentment of Portuguese immigrants was made worse by their known support of the monarchy. Many Brazilians were suspicious of their support for the crown and feared that this community could be the base for an attempt to overthrow the republic and re-establish the crown in Brazil. Even those Portuguese who did support the new Republic were not trusted, as it was always feared that they had ulterior motives.² As the decade progressed, riots broke out against the monarchist elements and, eventually, also the Portuguese in Brazil.

Thus, from the information discussed above, it can be seen that the establishment of the Republic in Brazil had a unique impact on one immigrant group. There is one other important movement which affected the quality of life for

² Social movements, such as the Jacobinist movement in Rio, were made up of a broad range of individuals whose discontent was rooted in inflation and poor living conditions. Needell, "Revolta Contra Vacina," p. 241 discusses the roots of the Jacobinos. For these groups, the tangible cause of their problems was that commerce was almost completely controlled by the Portuguese. In addition to distrust caused by the Portuguese link to monarchism, this blame for poor living conditions added to sentiments of Lusophobia in Brazil. Lusophobia is also addressed in Pescatello, "Both Ends of the Journey," p. 250 concerning Rio de Janeiro, and in Jeffrey Carl Mosher, "Pernambuco and the Construction of the Brazilian Nation-State, 1831-1850." (Diss. University of Florida, 1996), p. 152 for an earlier period of time.

some immigrants, although in this they also played a key role: that of labor organization, which occurred in both Brazil and Argentina.³

In Brazil, the labor movements of both Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo took on anarcho-sindicalist characteristics, and organization and unionization consequently took on a more militant air.⁴ This was much more the case in São Paulo, where urban Italian immigrants led the movement. Anarcho-sindicalism was common in the late nineteenth century in both Italy and Spain, so a significant portion of the immigrants to Brazil were familiar with this ideology as it existed in Europe.⁵ Portuguese immigrants generally did not organize in the same manner because they assimilated

³ According to Sheldon Maram, "Labor and the Left in Brazil, 1890-1921: A Movement Aborted" in Hispanic American Historical Review (57:2, 1977) p. 271, workers were more successful at organizing in Argentina, because the largest corporations employed skilled and semi-skilled workers, whereas in Brazil, most workers were employed in the textile industry, which generally took place in smaller shops. As a result, these workers remained isolated and unorganized until after World War I.

⁴ By 1906, anarcho-sindicalism was the dominant force in the Brazilian labor movement. Maram identifies three stages of labor organization in Brazil: 1906-1908, a period of growth, 1908-1912, characterized by inactivity, and 1912-1913, when the movement reached a peak of over 60,000 members. Ibid., p. 255. Labor movements, made up of native Brazilians, had been strong in Brazil before this era, but were crushed in 1904.

⁵ This link between Old World and New World anarcho-sindicalism is established in Solberg, Immigration and Nationalism, p. 108.

more quickly into Brazilian society, mainly because they enjoyed more social mobility.⁶ Since people whose standard of living is improving are less likely to organize, these immigrants did not make up most of the elements involved in labor organization.

For the same reason, Rio de Janeiro experienced a much less militant form of anarcho-sindicalism. More Portuguese immigrants had settled in Rio, while most of the Italians had proceeded to São Paulo. Afro-Brazilian elements were an important part of labor organization in both cities.⁷ When violent repression put down anarcho-sindicalism in Brazil, however, it was the Portuguese elements which suffered least because of their lack of involvement in the labor movement.

In both Brazil and Argentina, labor organization was easily put down because the agitators, usually immigrants and therefore not citizens, could simply be thrown out of

⁶ Pescatello, "Both Ends of the Journey," p. 322. This social mobility manifested itself in preference for Portuguese immigrants by Portuguese employers, for example. Portuguese immigrants played little role in politics, mainly because their businesses of fifteen to twenty employees, while large enough to play a dominant role in commerce, failed to acquire economic or political power on a national scale.

⁷ Needell, "Revolta Contra Vacina," p. 255 describes the influence of native elements, not immigrant elements, in the labor movement in Rio de Janeiro.

the country.⁸ In both cases, labor militancy was seen as a foreign cancer which had to be kept out or contained. Periods of discrimination occurred as a result, and conditions worsened for those elements of society associated with these trends.⁹

Unlike the establishment of the Republic, there is no immigrant group which benefited from this situation. The rise of militant labor organization resulted in a general distrust of all things foreign,¹⁰ which made assimilation more difficult for all groups, whether or not they were actually involved in the process.¹¹

⁸ This is true especially for São Paulo, where many of the agitators were Italian immigrants, not native Brazilians.

⁹ One example of this is the Residence Law of 1910, discussed in Solberg, Immigration and Nationalism, p. 110, which allowed non-citizens to be deported without the judicial proceedings guaranteed to them under the constitution if involved in a crime or labor agitation.

¹⁰ The link between labor organization and xenophobia is described in Sheldon Maram, "Anarchists, Immigrants, and the Brazilian Labor Movement, 1890-1920" (Diss. University of California, Santa Barbara, 1972) and in Solberg, Immigration and Nationalism.

¹¹ Labor protests resulted in few improvements for the workers during the time period addressed in this paper. Significant social changes were not achieved until after the unrest of 1917-1920. In Argentina, six major strikes occurred between 1899 and 1910, but not until a 1916 strike of Buenos Aires port workers were their demands fully met. Rock, Argentina, p. 187, 201.

There is one other event which adversely affected the immigrants. Unlike the two items discussed above, they played no role in its precipitation. This event was World War I.

The Great War had a huge impact on immigration in a number of ways. Not only did its actual occurrence make it more difficult for people to cross the Atlantic, it also made it more difficult for people to return. The seas were a dangerous place, and travel became more expensive in order to compensate for the increased risk. Although the destruction brought about in Europe by the war may have caused more people to wish for a new chance at life, the probability that they could actually pursue that dream was very remote. This is reflected in the low number of immigrants entering both Brazil and Argentina in the first year of the war, a trend which continued until well after its conclusion.¹²

There are two facets of this issue which have direct impact on this thesis. First, those Italians who were used to traveling back and forth from Europe to South America each year to work both harvests may have been unable to do so. Many such immigrants, along with those who were disappointed in the conditions in the New World were forced

¹² Ibid., p. 261.

to remain and consider alternatives to simply returning to their native land. For this reason, it can be assumed that more people would consider moving to another Latin American country before risking both their lives and their savings in returning to their war-torn homelands.

The second aspect of the war which directly impacts intraregional migration pertains to one specific ethnic group: the large number of German-Brazilians who had settled the southeastern part of Brazil in the early and mid-nineteenth century. As the war dragged on, Brazil became the only Latin American country to declare war on Germany,¹³ and as a result, conditions worsened for Brazilians of German descent. Routinely distrusted and discriminated against, it is easy to see why this group would move to another country where the situation had not reached such a level. With a substantial German population of its own, Argentina may have seemed to be the perfect alternative.

While many immigrants may have had a reason to leave as soon as they stepped off the boat, the majority stayed in the receptor countries for at least a short period of time. Obviously the reason for leaving, for the first emigrants, had to have been the living conditions they experienced.

¹³ Luebke, Germans in Brazil, p. 141. On 26 October 1917, the Chamber of Deputies voted 149 to 1 and the Senate approved a resolution proclaiming a state of war between Brazil and Germany.

There ~~was~~, however, no guarantee that a higher standard of living would be enough to make them stay. From the above discussion, the reader can see that many other factors were at work contributing to an immigrant's decision to leave.

Unfortunately, data does not exist in a simple form to tell us about those who decided to move on. There is no book or government report which tells us precisely who left and why, as well as where they had come from and where they were going to. Many of the immigrants were illiterate, and those who were not were probably more concerned with putting bread in their families' mouths than providing us with an historical account of their experience. Given the information we do have, however, we can begin to piece together what the intraregional migration may have looked like.

In Chapter Three the issue of continental aliens in Brazil and Argentina was discussed. The reader will recall that over thirty-four thousand Brazilians were present in Argentina when the 1914 census was counted. While we do not know for sure how many of these people were native Brazilians, we can be sure that they all held one thing in common: the hope for a better life in Argentina. Unfortunately, the census results do not provide us with enough information to find out how many of this number were

immigrants because we do not know how the immigration officials posed the question to the migrants. If the government official simply asked, "From where did you enter Argentina" he would get a very different response than if he asked, "What is your national origin." Of course, we do not know how the immigrants would answer. Would an Italian who has been in Brazil for twenty years answer that he was Brazilian or Italian? Would the new arrival even understand the question? At this time, it is impossible to know the answers to such questions. It is possible that future studies, including archival research in Argentina and Brazil, may uncover their solution.

Unlike the large number of people who moved from Brazil to Argentina, less than eight thousand people entered Brazil from Argentina. Once again, it is not possible to differentiate between Argentine immigrants and citizens, or between naturalized and native-born citizens, in these numbers. For the purpose of this thesis, it will be assumed that immigrants made up a proportion of both groups, those moving to Argentina and those moving to Brazil. Nonetheless, it is safe to say that a substantially smaller number of immigrants moved to Brazil from Argentina. Although poor working conditions may have affected all Brazilians, not just the immigrants, many of the problems

(including the formation of the Republic, labor organization and the First World War) discussed earlier in this chapter uniquely affected the immigrant community. For this reason, we can be sure the immigrants had more of a reason to move on than did a person who had been born in Brazil.

From our understanding of the conditions which did create instability for the immigrant community, we can theorize which groups would have taken part in such a movement and why. The first of these groups would have been the Italians.

It is likely that Italian immigrants would have participated in the intraregional migration in much larger numbers than other immigrant groups. This is a result of their sheer numbers as well as the nature of their labor. Most of the Italians did the backbreaking work of the former slaves on the coffee plantations of São Paulo. They were present in this role during a time of transition, when the former masters were just getting used to the concept of a free-labor force, to whom they had obligations and whom they could not control by violence. We know for certain that these planters, born into a system of social hierarchy which had not changed for hundreds of years, did not change their ways overnight, and the poor Italian agricultural workers fell victim to this out-of-date system. The research

presented in this thesis has shown a remarkable contrast in the situation in Argentina. It is likely that many of these immigrants heard rumors of a land across the river where they could get a decent job and own their own land, and were willing to risk whatever was necessary to make that kind of an improvement in their lives.¹⁴

The next group to consider leaving Brazil would be the most recent Portuguese immigrants, who arrived during the 1890s.¹⁵ As a result of the Republican movement, these people were viewed with distrust, and their small businesses undoubtedly suffered. Rather than face the day-to-day discrimination they must have experienced, it is likely that some would consider moving elsewhere. They probably did not, however, move on in such large numbers as to approach that of the Italians, whose reason for leaving was present regardless of year or location. Also, the Portuguese immigrants were much more firmly rooted in Brazil, by ties of culture and marriage. These alone were often enough to

¹⁴ The possibility of land ownership was more realistic for immigrants in Argentina than in Brazil. According to Warren Dean, Rio Claro, p. 190, only 6 percent of immigrants were owning their own land by 1914. This is compared to 8 percent of immigrants who owned their own land in Argentina as early as 1870, as presented by David Rock, Argentina, 1516-1982, p. 140.

¹⁵ Since Portuguese immigrants had been coming to Brazil throughout its history, this would only apply to the most recent immigrants who had not yet been absorbed into the mainstream Brazilian society.

help them get through the rough times and prosper in the future.¹⁶

Between 1890 and 1914 the Italian community would have yet another reason to leave Brazil. This, however, would affect the urban community more than the rural agricultural laborers, who undoubtedly made up the majority of the initial wave of migrants.¹⁷ With the rise of labor organization and the associated social unrest, many urban Italians may have tried to escape the xenophobia which resulted by moving on to another country. Unfortunately, members of this group may have been disappointed by the situation they found upon arrival in urban Argentina, which was plagued by similar problems.

The last group of immigrants who may have decided to leave Brazil would have been the Germans. Although they had

¹⁶ Many Portuguese immigrants regularly returned to Portugal if they were successful in Brazil. Since many Portuguese immigrants engaged in urban mercantile business, it is unlikely that unsuccessful immigrants could expect to do better in Argentina. Unlike the agricultural workers of São Paulo, this group had very little to gain by migrating to Argentina.

¹⁷ Direct immigration to the cities of Brazil did not occur until after World War I, according to Boris Fausto, "Society and Politics," p. 287. Those immigrants, especially Italians, who were residing in the cities prior to this time probably migrated to urban areas during times of labor surpluses on the coffee plantations of São Paulo. In contrast, post-1870 immigration to Argentina was predominately urban in nature, as is discussed in David Rock, Argentina, 1516-1982, p. 141.

nothing to do with precipitating the war, they suffered nonetheless from being on the wrong side of it by descent. Pushing up against the end of the period which concerns this thesis, this would have been the final wave of immigrants making up this significant intraregional migration. Once again, however, there is no specific data available to confirm the movement of German-Brazilians into Argentina, and further archival research is needed.¹⁸

Additionally, it is likely that many of the migrants who moved on to Argentina from Brazil, as an alternative to moving back to Europe, would have consisted of families, not the single male workers who characterized the new wave of immigrants who came directly to Argentina from Europe. A family would find it more difficult and costly to attempt to reemigrate across the ocean, and may see a shorter move as an alternative.¹⁹ It is unlikely that those immigrants who arrived in Brazil without a family and subsequently married Brazilians would undertake this type of migration.²⁰

¹⁸ Argentine government documents, including papers from the Ministry of the Interior and laws passed by the Congress, do not specifically mention this group. It is possible, however, that government documents kept in Argentina could be found to support this idea.

¹⁹ The link between marital status and reemigration is established in Magnus Mörner and Harold Sims, Adventurers and Proletarians: The Story of Migrants in Latin America (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), p. 69.

²⁰ Ibid.

There is no single reason for the intraregional migration between Brazil and Argentina from 1880 to 1914. Many factors are responsible for it, some of which the immigrants affected and others which they did not. The promises made to them in Europe by immigration agents from the governments were broken upon arrival, and instead of becoming land owners, many found themselves doing the humiliating work of the newly-emancipated slaves. For some, this was reason enough to leave.

Others may have heard rumors of easy access to land and jobs in Argentina, and whether or not all these rumors were true, the hope they gave may have been enough to draw settlers from Brazil into the fertile Pampas. For others, the discrimination and distrust they faced as a result of their political loyalties to the Monarchy, their ties to labor organizations or their relationship to the Great War forced them to live elsewhere. For each individual, his or her decision to leave may have been one or a combination of any of these factors.

This thesis has shown that the magnitude of the migration was indeed significant, and has offered a number of explanations for why it occurred. Additionally, it has identified those factors which played a role in "pushing" immigrants out of Europe and "pulled" them to the Southern

Cone. ← All the factors listed above do, however, have one thing in common: the colonial heritage established years before between the two very different countries which share the Southern Cone. Brazil was a country dominated by social hierarchy, where land was needed to reach the top of the social structure. For this reason, very little of the most fertile land was available for the new arrivals to claim. The elite planters knew very little about how to treat a free labor force, and in the absence of other guidance, followed the only methods they knew: those of the slavery system.

Argentina had been a relatively unimportant territory in the colonial era. As a frontier area, few people were willing to brave the uncivilized land to tame it, and as the era of independence closed, Argentina had few people to fill its vast lands. Since the Argentine elite had its basis in ranching, many of the best farm lands remained available for people to claim, as long as they were willing to work hard. Unlike the planter class of Brazil, the very elitist Argentines were not threatened by the presence of small farmers on the periphery of their grazing lands. On the contrary, their presence was viewed as advantageous because of the buffer they created against the Indians and because

they increased the tax base.²¹ Opportunities abounded, and laborers were not held shackled to an old system from an era long past. At least for the period covered in this paper, the existence of immigrant landholders was not a threat to the ruling class as long as they did not become involved in politics.

The differences in social and economic priorities in these two nations resulted in very different roles for immigrants. Brazil needed immigrants to bring in the coffee crop in the absence of its slave labor force. Argentina, however, believed that national unity could only be achieved through economic expansion, which required immigrant labor in both the cities and the rural areas. It is easy to see why an immigrant would be happier in one than the other. The decision for it to be this way was not made, however, by statesmen in Buenos Aires or Rio de Janeiro, nor by immigration officials in offices over in Europe. The role of the immigrant for these two countries was prescribed by the colonial heritage each had developed over the previous centuries, long before this wave of immigration had begun.

The movement of people from Europe to the New World in this era is one of the most massive migrations of all time.

²¹ David Rock, Argentina, 1516-1982, p. 137.

The conditions which the immigrants found upon arrival were, however, very different depending on the country to which the immigrant came. For the new arrival to Argentina, a realistic chance for mobility existed both on the plains and in the growing capital. For many of the immigrants arriving in Brazil, the future held only agricultural labor and a very remote chance of ever owning land. It is easy to see why so many Brazilians, or immigrants to Brazil, would have perceived a better chance for mobility in Argentina. With further research, we may someday know exactly who these people were who moved on within the Southern Cone, as well as the impact they had on the subsequent development of the distinct culture found within the region. It is clear that the immigrants created a new class which would eventually desire a voice in politics, and a clash with the old elite was inevitable. The impact the immigrants had on political developments in the region in the latter part of the twentieth century, in the era of authoritarianism, could be studied by future scholars. For now, it is sufficient to know that many immigrants did accomplish a second migration within the Southern Cone, for a variety of reasons which have been discussed in this thesis. Their decision to do so has helped create the unique mixture of culture which is present in the Southern Cone today.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

- Argentina Comisión Directiva del Censo. Segundo Censo de la República Argentina, Mayo 10 de 1895. Buenos Aires: Comisión Directiva del Censo, 1896.
- Bailey, Samuel L. and Franco Ramella, eds. One Family, Two Worlds: An Italian Family's Correspondence Across the Atlantic, 1901-1922. Trans. John Lenaghan. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988.
- Bennett, Consul. "Despatch to Hugh Wyndham." 24 Mar. 1889. in British Documents on Foreign Affairs. Vol. 1. Ed. George Philip. London: University Publications of America, 1991: 323-324.
- Ciria, Nicolas. España en mi Corazón. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Campo Soriano, 1978.
- "Constitución de la Nación Argentina, Article 25."
Legislación y Política Inmigratoria en el Cono Sur de América, Serie Inmigración, vol. 3. México, Distrito Federal: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1987. p. 121.
- Cowper, F.H. "Letter to Mr. Hugh Wyndham." 09 Mar. 1889. in British Documents on Foreign Affairs. Vol. 1. Ed. George Philip. London: University Publications of America, 1991: 315-316.
- Fergusson, James. "Minute to Lord Salisbury." 30 Mar. 1889. in British Documents on Foreign Affairs. Vol. 9. Ed. George Philip. London: University Publications of America, 1991: 313.
- "Imigração." Jornal do Comercio 06 Jan. 1890: 2.
- Jenner, G. "Memorandum." 21 Jan. 1889. in British Documents on Foreign Affairs. Vol. 9. Ed. George Philip. London: University Publications of America, 1991: 307-310.

- Jenner, G. "Despatch to the Marquis of Salisbury." 13 Apr. 1889. in British Documents on Foreign Affairs. Vol. 9. Ed. George Philip. London: University Publications of America, 1991: 324-325.
- Jennings, G. "Memorandum on the Facilities Offered by the Argentine Republic for British Colonists." 22 Jun. 1889. in British Documents on Foreign Affairs. Vol. 9. Ed. George Philip. London: University Publications of America, 1991: 332-333.
- "Ley de Defensa Social (1910)." Legislación y Política Inmigratoria en el Cono Sur de América, Serie Inmigración, vol. 3. México, Distrito Federal: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1987. p. 121.
- "Ley de Inmigración y Colonización (1876)." Legislación y Política Inmigratoria en el Cono Sur de América, Serie Inmigración, vol. 3. México, Distrito Federal: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1987. p. 121.
- McAllister, J. "Letter to the Editor of the Irish Times." 28 Feb. 1889. in British Documents on Foreign Affairs. Vol. 9. Ed. George Philip. London: University Publications of America, 1991: 312-313.
- "Movimento de imigrantes." Jornal do Comercio 03 Jan. 1890: 2.
- Pakenham, F.J. "Despatch to the Marquis of Salisbury." 22 Sep. 1889. in British Documents on Foreign Affairs. Vol. 1. Ed. George Philip. London: University Publications of America, 1991: 338-339.
- Robertson, M.A. "Annual Report on Brazil for the Year 1913." 15 Jan. 1914. in British Documents on Foreign Affairs. Vol. 1. Ed. George Philip. London: University Publications of America, 1991: 156-181.
- "Sociedade Central de Imigração." Jornal do Comercio 04 Jan. 1890: 3.
- Tower, Sir Reginald. "Annual Report on Argentina for the Year 1912." 03 Jan. 1913. in British Documents on Foreign Affairs. Vol. 9. Ed. George Philip. London: University Publications of America, 1991: 253-289.

Vivian, Lord. "Despatch to the Marquis of Salisbury." 09 Feb. 1889. in British Documents on Foreign Affairs. Vol. 9. Ed. George Philip. London: University Publications of America, 1991: 303-304.

Wyndham, Hugh. "Despatch to the Marquis of Salisbury." 19 Jan. 1889. in British Documents on Foreign Affairs. Vol. 1. Ed. George Philip. London: University Publications of America, 1991: 306-307.

Secondary Sources

Barman, Roderick J. Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, 1798-1852. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1988.

Bastos de Avila, Fernando, S. J. Economic Impacts of Immigration: The Brazilian Immigration Problem. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1954.

Bolsi, Alfredo S.C. Realidad y Política Migratoria en el Nordeste Argentino. Corrientes: Instituto de Investigaciones Geohistóricas, 1982.

Brown, George P. Government Immigration Policy in Imperial Brazil, 1822-1870. Diss. The Catholic University of America, 1972. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1977. 72-21,793.

Caviedes, César. The Southern Cone: Realities of the Authoritarian State in South America. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Allanheld, Publishers, 1984.

Cignetti, Ana María. La Inmigración Española en la Patagonia. Vol. 4. México, Distrito Federal: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía y Historia, 1989.

Clementi, Hebe, compiler. La Inmigración Española en la Argentina. Buenos Aires: Compañía Impresora Argentina, 1991.

Collier, Simon, ed. Tango! The Dance, the Song, the Story. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1995.

Conrad, Robert E. The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

- Córdova-Bello, Eleazar. La Independencia de Haití y su Influencia en Hispanoamérica. Caracas: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía y Historia, 1964.
- Cortés Conde, Roberto. "The Growth of the Argentine Economy c. 1870-1914." Cambridge History of Latin America. vol. 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. 327-358.
- Cruz Costa, João. A History of Ideas in Brazil. Trans. Suzette Machado. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964.
- Dean, Warren. "The Brazilian Economy, 1870-1930." Cambridge History of Latin America. vol. 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. 685-724.
- Dean, Warren. "Economy," in Brazil: Empire and Republic, 1822-1930. ed. Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. p. 217-256.
- Dean, Warren. "Remittances of Italian Immigrants from Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and U.S.A." Occasional Papers, #14, Ibero-American Language and Area Center, New York University, 1974.
- Dean, Warren. Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820-1920. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1976.
- DeMarco, Graciela M. Movilidad Geográfica de los Inmigrantes Limotrífes: Su Impacto en la Frontera Argentina. Buenos Aires: Oikos Asociación Para la Promoción de los Estudios Territoriales y Ambientales, 1983.
- Fausto, Boris. "Brazil: The Social and Political Structure of the First Republic, 1889-1930." Cambridge History of Latin America. vol. 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. 779-829.
- Fausto, Boris. "Society and Politics," in Brazil: Empire and Republic, 1822-1930. ed. Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. p. 257-307.
- Foerster, Robert F. The Italian Emigration of our Times. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1924.

- Gallo, Ezequiel. "Argentina: Society and Politics, 1880-1916." Cambridge History of Latin America. vol. 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. 359-392.
- Guy, Donna J. Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family and Nation in Argentina. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1991.
- Hahner, June E. Poverty and Politics: The Urban Poor in Brazil, 1870-1920. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986.
- Hall, Michael McDonald. Origins of Mass Immigration in Brazil, 1871-1914. Diss. Columbia University, 1969. Ann Arbor: Xerox University Microfilms, 1975.
- Halperín Donghi, Tulio. "Economics and Society," in Spanish America After Independence, 1820-1870. ed. Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. p. 1-47.
- Halperín Donghi, Tulio. Politics, Economics and Society in Argentina in the Revolutionary Period. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.
- Holloway, Thomas H. Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980.
- Inmigración y Estadísticas en el Cono Sur de América, Serie Inmigración, vol. 6. México, Distrito Federal: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1990.
- Jefferson, Mark Sylvester William. Peopling the Argentine Pampa. New York: American Geographical Society, 1926.
- Katra, William H. The Argentine Generation of 1837: Echeverría, Alberdi, Sarmiento, Mitre. Cranbury, New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1996.
- Klein, Herbert S. African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Kowarick, Lúcio. The Subjugation of Labour: The Constitution of Capitalism in Brazil. Trans. Kevin Múndi. Amsterdam: Center for Latin American Research and Documentation, 1987.

- Lockhart, James and Stuart B. Schwartz. Early Latin America: A History of Colonial Spanish America and Brazil. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Luebke, Frederick C. Germans in Brazil: A Comparative History of the Cultural Conflict During World War I. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987.
- Lynch, John. "The River Plate Republics." In Spanish America After Independence, c. 1820-1870, edited by Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Maram, Sheldon L. Anarchists, Immigrants, and the Brazilian Labor Movement, 1890-1920. Diss. University of California, Santa Barbara, 1972.
- Maram, Sheldon L. "Labor and the Left in Brazil, 1890-1921: A Movement Aborted" in Hispanic American Historical Review. 57:2, 1977: 254-272.
- Mörner, Magnus and Harold Sims. Adventurers and Proletarians: The Story of Migrants in Latin America. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985.
- Mosher, Jeffrey Carl. Pernambuco and the Construction of the Brazilian Nation-State, 1831-1850. Diss. University of Florida, 1996.
- Needell, Jeffrey D. "The Revolta Contra Vacina of 1904: The Revolt Against 'Modernization' in Belle-Époque Rio de Janeiro" in Hispanic American Historical Review. 67:2, 1987: 233-269.
- Nellis, Joseph. Emigration of Italians to Brazil. Salt Lake City, Utah: Nellis Enterprises, 1992.
- Newton, Ronald C. German Buenos Aires, 1900-1930: Social Change and Cultural Crisis. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977.
- Panettieri, José. Inmigración en la Argentina. Buenos Aires, Ediciones Macchi, 1970.
- Panettieri, José. Los Trabajadores en Tiempos de la Inmigración Masiva en Argentina: 1870-1910. La Plata: Universidad Nacional de La Plata, 1966.

- Pescatello, Ann Marie. Both Ends of the Journey: An Historical Study of Migration and Change in Brazil and Portugal, 1889-1914. Diss. University of California, Los Angeles, 1970. Ann Arbor: Xerox University Microfilms, 1975. 70-19,884.
- Rey Balmaceda, R. C. "La Argentina Durante la Época de la Gran Inmigración," in Emigrazione e Presenza Italiana in Argentina. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale Delle Ricerche, 1992. p. 45-51.
- Rock, David. Argentina 1516-1982: From Spanish Colonization to the Falklands War. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1985.
- Russell-Wood, A.J.R. "The Gold Cycle," in Colonial Brazil. ed. Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. p. 236-243.
- Sarmiento, Domingo F. Facundo. Buenos Aires: Librería 'Elateneo' Editorial, 1974.
- Scobie, James R. Buenos Aires: Plaza to Suburb, 1870-1910. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Scobie, James R. Revolution on the Pampas: A Social History of Argentine Wheat, 1860-1910. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964.
- Skidmore, Thomas E. Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.
- Slomp Giron, Loraine. "Imigração Italiana no RS: Fatores Determinantes." RS: Imigração e Colonização. Porto Alegre: Mercado Aberto, 1980. 47-66.
- Smith, T. Lynn. Brazil: People and Institutions. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1954.
- Solberg, Carl E. Immigration and Nationalism, Argentina and Chile 1890-1914. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970.
- Solberg, Carl Edward. The Response to Immigration in Argentina and Chile, 1890-1914. Diss. Stanford University, 1966. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1967. 67-7976.

- Stahl, Jeremy D. Production, Commerce and Transportation in a Regional Economy: Tucumán, 1776-1810. Diss. University of Florida, 1994.
- Stein, Stanley J. Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850-1900. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957.
- Stolcke, Verena. Coffee Planters, Workers and Wives: Class Conflict and Gender Relations on São Paulo Plantations, 1850-1980. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988.
- Topik, Steven. The Political Economy of the Brazilian State, 1889-1930. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987.
- Viotta da Costa, Emilia. "Brazil: The Age of Reform, 1870-1889." Cambridge History of Latin America. vol. 5. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. 725-778.
- Viotta da Costa, Emilia. The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985.
- Viotta da Costa, Emilia. "1870-1889," in Brazil: Empire and Republic, 1822-1930. ed. Leslie Bethell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. p. 161-213.
- Weinstein, Barbara. The Amazon Rubber Boom, 1850-1920. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1983.
- Whigham, Thomas. The Politics of River Trade: Tradition and Development in the Upper Plata, 1780-1870. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991.
- Winsberg, Morton D. Colonia Baron Hirsch, A Jewish Agricultural Colony in Argentina. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Christine Marie Wollard was born 20 February 1973 in Alexandria, Virginia, to Charles and Arlene Kerick. She was raised in Centreville, Virginia, and was graduated from Thomas Jefferson High School in 1991. She received a Bachelor of Science degree in history from the United States Air Force Academy in 1995. Upon graduation, she was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the United States Air Force.

Upon receiving her Master of Arts degree, she will be assigned to Malmstrom Air Force Base in Great Falls, Montana, as a public affairs officer. She hopes to return someday to the Air Force Academy as an instructor in Latin American history.

Christine is married and her husband, Jason, is also an Air Force officer.