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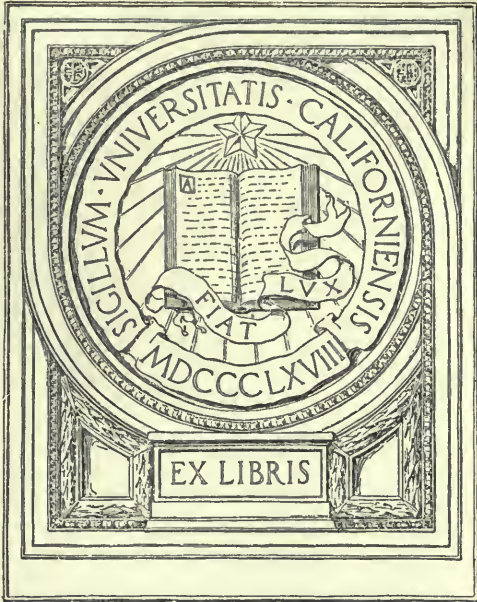
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# German Political Designs with Reference to Brazil

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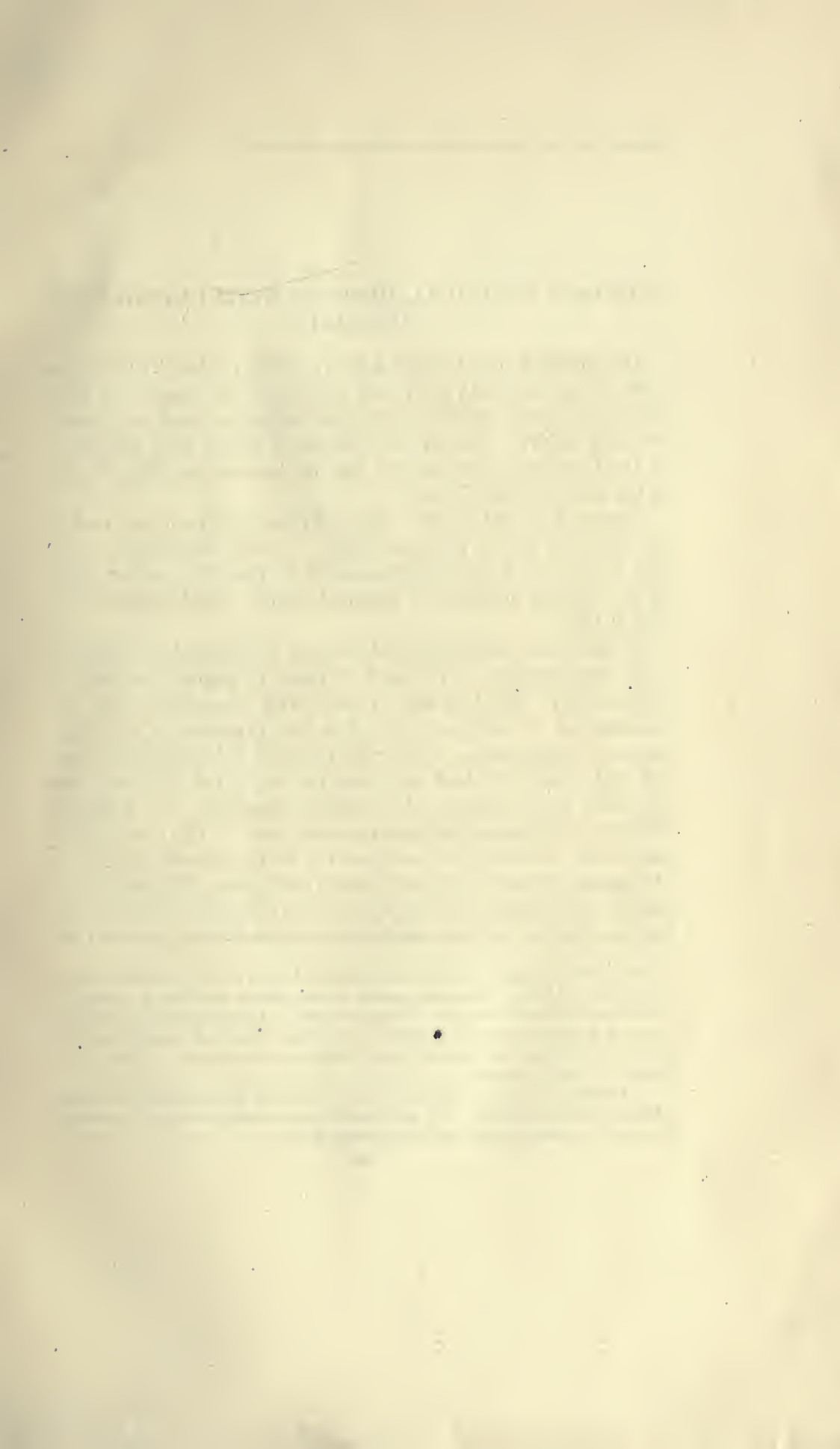
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## GERMAN POLITICAL DESIGNS WITH REFERENCE TO BRAZIL<sup>1</sup>

This article purports to be a brief, extensive sketch of German political designs with reference to Brazil—the reason for their being, the means employed for their realization, and the reasons for their failure. The article concludes with a brief statement of the influence these designs had in determining Brazil's rôle in the present Great War.

German political designs with reference to Brazil had root in an economic and a political dream. These two dreams came into aggressive being simultaneously in the '90's as the result of the sudden outburst of national energy which followed the war of 1870.

By the end of the nineteenth century Germany had outgrown itself economically. Its rapid increase of population and its extraordinary development of industries dependent upon the importation of raw materials and the exportation of manufactured commodities destroyed German self sufficiency and forced Germany to look out over the world for some resource to offset the handicap of restricted territory. As Professor Wagner, a prominent Berlin economist, said: "The most important task Germany has to perform in the future consists in obtaining control of regions where raw products necessary to her life and industry are produced".<sup>2</sup> The creation of a Greater Germany across the sea, self-feeding, self-sufficient, and shut out

<sup>1</sup> This paper, prepared in my seminar at the University of California, makes no pretense of being a thorough survey of the subject of which it treats. In particular it has not drawn upon German sources. It is merely a seminar report, but as it gives an excellent summary of periodical articles in English and some works in French, it has seemed worth while to offer it to the readers of the *Review*.—C. E. CHAPMAN.

<sup>2</sup> "Germany and Pan Germany," in *Contemporary Review* (New York, July, 1903), LXXXIV. 173-188. This article gives an excellent account of Germany's economic position in the world and German aims.

to all foreign trade therefore became the dream of German economists.

Writings of all sorts and conditions of Germans pointed to South America, particularly Brazil, as the "land of promise", the land where this Greater Germany might rise and render Germany economically independent of other countries, might provide it with raw materials and secure its position as a great world power.<sup>3</sup> Brazil looked more attractive than other lands because that country was sparsely settled, had immense material resources, had a healthful climate, and was poorly governed, but primarily because it had already received a large influx of German immigrants.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Herman Leyser, an enthusiastic German traveler, in his recently published book about Santa Catharina said in regard to these immigrants: "Nowhere are our colonies, those loyal offshoots from the mother root, so promising as here. Today in these provinces over 30 per cent of the inhabitants are German or of German descent and the ratio of their natural increase far exceeds that of the Portuguese. Surely to us belongs the future of this part of the world. . . . Here indeed in South Brazil is a land where the German emigrant may retain his nationality, where for all that is comprised in the word 'Germanismus' a glorious future smiles".<sup>5</sup>

Professor Schmoller, a prominent lecturer on political economy at the Berlin University, in the first volume of *Handels und Machtpolitik* wrote: "We must desire that at all cost a German

<sup>3</sup> *The Pan Germanic Doctrine* (ed. by Percy W. Bunting, London and New York, 1904), p. 261. This book is an anonymous study of German political aims and aspirations. It is probably the best book on the above subject on account of its translations of many pertinent original documents and speeches, and its full discussion of German colonization in South America.

<sup>4</sup> J. Holland Rose, *The Origins of the War, 1871-1914* (London and New York, 1915), p. 54. This gives a clear outline of conditions leading to the Great War, valuable for the above subject on account of its explanation of the sudden outburst of German energy.

<sup>5</sup> Stephen Bonsal, "Greater Germany in South America," in *North American Review* (New York, January, 1903), CLXXVI. 58-67. This is an excellent article on German activity in South America, written by a newspaper correspondent (who, as it happens, was with Hindenberg's army on the east front in 1915). It gives helpful information concerning German exploring expeditions in Brazil, and activity in Germany, favoring the colonizing movement.

country containing some 20 to 30 million Germans may grow in the twentieth century in Brazil, and that, no matter whether it remains a portion of Brazil or becomes a self-containing state or enters into close relations with our empire. Unless our connection with Brazil is always secured by ships of war and unless Germany is able to exercise pressure there, our development is threatened".<sup>6</sup>

An anonymous writer in *Die Grenzboten*, by far the most influential political weekly in Germany,<sup>7</sup> advocated the concentration of German effort upon the three states, Parana, Santa Catharina, Rio Grande do Sul, in Brazil, where German colonists were most numerous and most flourishing, saying: "As soon as Germany has drawn South Brazil within her sphere of interest, she can offer emigrants an absolute guarantee that their interests will be safe guarded. A colonial army should be organized among the settlers so that they need not return to Germany to perform their military service. Then in a few years a young German colonial empire will grow up there as mighty as, if not mightier than, any other that ever emanated from Europe".<sup>8</sup>

Many other Germans wrote in a similar vein, but in addition to these writers, the great German colonizing concerns, the Hanseatic Colonizing Company of Hamburg and the German Colonial Society of Berlin, had for their avowed purpose the creation of a German nation in Brazil. These concerns had become lords and masters of over 8000 square miles of Brazilian territory. This land they aimed to people with immigrants willing to be kept German, to perpetuate the German language and German customs, and to maintain an unyielding loyalty to German economic hopes. They sent out whole libraries of material in the form of pamphlets, maps, and newspaper publi-

<sup>6</sup> *Pan Germanic Doctrine*, p. 239.

<sup>7</sup> J. Ellis Barker, *Modern Germany* (3 ed., London, 1909), p. 139. In this book J. Ellis Barker, an English journalist and author, clearly sets forth Germany's political and economic problems, its foreign and domestic policy, its ambitions and the causes of its success. The volume contains a brief summary of German activity in Brazil and some valuable information about prominent German writers and German periodicals.

<sup>8</sup> *Pan Germanic Doctrine*, p. 242.

cations each vying with the other in painting Brazil as the land of the glorious future. They had public lectures delivered from time to time, dwelling upon the desirabilities of Germanizing Brazil.<sup>9</sup> The German Colonial Society alone published the *Colonial Zeitschrift*, a weekly, maintained a permanent museum of the colonies in Berlin, promoted a tropical proving ground in Hamburg and a school of agriculture in Wilhemshof, and founded in many of the colleges chairs for the propagation of colonial knowledge and languages.<sup>10</sup>

But German writers and German colonizing concerns were not the only ones to see in Brazil the "land of promise." There were the industrialists in general, shipbuilders, iron and steel manufacturers, owners of textile mills, etc., who had visions of a time when coal, iron, copper, petroleum, rubber, and cotton from a land worked and owned by Germans, namely Brazil, should furnish an endless supply of raw stuffs. There were finally Germany's growing millions, compelled to import 20 per cent of their sustenance, who had visions of a "horn of plenty—corn, sugar, coffee, cocoa, rice, filled in Brazil from Germanized soil".<sup>11</sup>

Thus Brazil glowed as the "land of promise" in Germany's economic dream of a Greater Germany across the sea. She also played a part in Germany's political dream—Pangermanism.

Pangermanism was no new notion, for generations of students had enthusiastically intoned the famous line at the end of Arndt's national song of 1813, "*Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein*",<sup>12</sup> but in the '90s, under the uniquely-stimulating influence of Wilhelm II, it became the dominant ideal of the German race.<sup>13</sup> He gave formal expression to this ideal in 1896 when he said: "Out

<sup>9</sup> Frederick William Wile, "German Colonization in Brazil", in *Fortnightly Review* (New York, January, 1906), LXXXV. 129. This is an excellent article of German activity in Brazil, full of concrete detail. Its author was the resident Berlin correspondent of the New York and Chicago dailies for ten years preceding the war.

<sup>10</sup> Bonsal, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> Wile, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> Rose, p. 64.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

of the German empire a world empire has arisen. Everywhere in all parts of the earth thousands of our countrymen reside. German riches, German knowledge, German activity make their way across the ocean. The value of German possessions on the seas is some thousands of millions. Gentlemen, the serious duty devolves on you to help me link this Greater German Empire close to the home country by helping me in complete unity to fulfill my duty towards the Germans in foreign parts."<sup>14</sup>

In brief, the idea of Pangermanism seems to have been "the welding together and consolidating the Germans in Europe and across the seas ethnologically, economically, and even politically so that where the German language is spoken there too may German interests and authority be paramount".<sup>15</sup> But André Cheradame, an authority on Pangermanism, having made a study of it for twenty-two years, claims that it had for its aim "not only to annex regions inhabited by masses of Germans on the border of the empire, not only to gather within the same political fold peoples who are more or less German by origin, but to annex all regions, irrespective of race or language, of which the possession is deemed useful to the power of the Hohenzollerns".<sup>16</sup> He says further that the doctrine is composed of both economic and political cupidity. It is a scheme of piracy to be carried on for the Prussian monarchy. Its object is by successive and indefinite expansions of territory to include within the same boundaries at first economically, but afterwards politically, such land and such peoples as are likely to prove a profitable possession to the Hohenzollerns themselves and to the support of German aristocracy.<sup>17</sup> He quotes as proof Richard Tannen-berg's book, *Grosse-Deutschland die Arbeit des 20. Jahrhunderts*

<sup>14</sup> *Pan Germanic Doctrine*, p. 13.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>16</sup> Cheradame, *The Pan Germanic Plot Unmasked* (transl. and ed. by Lady Fraser, London, 1917), p. 2. The author aims in this book to prove that the Pangerman plot is the dominating cause of the war. She makes special use of *Grosse-Deutschland die Arbeit des 20. Jahrhunderts*, drawing the conclusion from this and other German documents that Germany had political designs with reference to South America. It is an excellent and helpful exposé of Germany's plans.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

(Greater Germany Work of the 20th Century) which appeared in Leipzig in 1911. This book contains the exact program of annexations to be made in Europe and Turkey by 1950, and also the exact enumerations of protectorates to be established in South America by that date.<sup>18</sup>

"Germany," Tannenberg said, "takes under her protection the Republics of Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, the south third of Bolivia, as far as South Brazil in which German culture is dominant." "German South America," he concludes, "will provide for us in the temperate zone a colonial region where our emigrants will be able to settle as farmers. Chili and Argentina will preserve their language and autonomy. But we shall require that in the schools German shall be taught as a second language. South Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay are countries of German culture. German will there be the national tongue."<sup>19</sup>

Thus Brazil played a part in a political as well as an economic dream. The logical antecedent to Germany's means of realizing these dreams is to be found in the fortunes of her colonization in Brazil. German emigration to Brazil dates from the year 1825 when colonies were founded in Santa Catharina and Rio Grande do Sul at the invitation of the Brazilian government. At first Brazil was open only to Portuguese immigrants, but realizing that it was necessary to counterbalance the black population by the importation of white people and that Portugal was incapable of sending a sufficiently large number of colonists to do this, the government under Dom Pedro I. opened the country to immigrants other than Portuguese.<sup>20</sup> As an inducement this government provided passage for immigrants, transported them on arrival far into the country, and provided them the first year with a sum of money to be paid back when the first harvests were gathered.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>20</sup> E. Tonnelat, *L'Expansion Allemande hors d'Europe* (Paris, 1908), pp. 92-94. This book contains articles on German expansion to the United States, Brazil, Chantung, and South Africa. The article on Brazil is particularly valuable on account of its concrete discussion of the first colonies in Brazil.

<sup>21</sup> *Pan Germanic Doctrine*, p. 273.

In 1849 the Hamburg Colonizing Association founded a colony in Donna Francisca on the northern boundary of Santa Catharina and a few years later the Blumenau colony was founded by Dr. Blumenau of Brunswick.<sup>22</sup> Had Germany been awake to its opportunities then, South Brazil might now have been peopled by millions of well-to-do German farmers, but by the Von der Heydt rescript of 1859 Germany closed South America to German immigrants and therefore lost its great chance. As a result of this edict Von der Heydt, the Prussian minister, prohibited all propaganda in favor of immigration.<sup>23</sup> Therefore in 1874, when Brazil appealed to Germany to direct immigration there, no response was made. Italy, however, when asked, sent thousands. This bill was repealed in 1896. Germany, realizing its great mistake, tried to make it good, and just at the time when other nations were tacitly bowing to the Monroe Doctrine, began to organize its activity in Brazil.<sup>24</sup> The German program comprised, (1) the colonization of South Brazil with settlers who should remain German in language, trade, ideals, and surroundings; (2) the expansion of German commercial, industrial, and financial activity, with control of the means of communication both inland and oceanic; (3) the abandonment or modification of the Monroe Doctrine by the United States, which would then permit German economic predominance to be turned to political account without war.<sup>25</sup>

As regards the first part of this program Germany was ideally successful, as is shown by the following statement in the *Suda-merikanische Rundschau*, a Berlin paper devoted exclusively to the furtherance of German interests in South America. "North America is not fitted for a rational emigration, for there the peculiarities, language, and customs of the Germans, in other words Germanism, are lost by way of assimilation. There the

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

<sup>23</sup> Edgardo de Magalhaes, "Germany and South America," in *Nineteenth Century and after* (New York, January, 1917), LXXXI. 67-80. This article, representing the opinion of a Brazilian, gives a valuable concrete discussion of Germany's activities in South America.

<sup>24</sup> *Pan Germanic Doctrine*, p. 273.

<sup>25</sup> Wile, *op. cit.*



relations of the emigrant with the mother country are dissolved; there he even promotes competition with the agriculture and industry of his own native country. It is not so in South America particularly in South Brazil. There German nationality is preserved; there conditions for a prosperous existence are better; there the German emigrant becomes a consumer of German products of industry and in this way becomes an intermediary of commercial and political relations between his new home and his mother country."<sup>26</sup>

In South Brazil Germans became the leading citizens, being found everywhere as local officials, merchants, pastors, teachers, and artisans.<sup>27</sup> Germans practically populated the state of Santa Catharina. There one heard five times more German spoken than Portuguese and saw such advertisements as "For sale, first class land, on easy terms to Germans only."<sup>28</sup> In numerous communities where this German element was practically exclusive, German self-government existed. Road building, irrigation, and general public utilities were all under German supervision, and Germans were even permitted to maintain a system of taxation for the support of exclusive German schools and churches. There were several hundred of these schools in South America, twenty in Santa Catharina alone. In Germany, the "Society for the Perpetuation of the German Language Abroad" devoted funds to the endowment of these schools, churches, and libraries in Brazil. Only in the external affairs of the municipalities was it apparent that the country was Brazilian.<sup>29</sup>

The German Mutual Protection Society, membership in which was open to all persons of the German race, was an important

<sup>26</sup> "German Expansion", in *Outlook* (New York, May, 1901), LCVIII. 15001. This article in discussing German expansion quotes from an unnamed Berlin newspaper and the *Deutsche Post*, both quotations proving valuable for the above.

<sup>27</sup> Wile, *op. cit.*

<sup>28</sup> C. N. Mackintosh, "German Aims in Southern Brazil", in *South American* (New York, November, 1917). This article, which is taken from the *River Plate Observer*, treats of the growth of the German colonies, their loyalty to their native country, and the possibility of a South American German empire.

<sup>29</sup> Wile, *op. cit.* and *Tonnelat, op. cit.*, p. 118.

organization in cementing the German element in Brazil and in fostering a feeling of unity among Germans.<sup>30</sup> This feeling was further fostered by Lutheran pastors who came from Germany, remained a few years, and, preaching a gospel of the divine right of the emperor, carried on a German national movement, as well as by local German newspapers edited and managed by Germans, but more especially by the German clubs, the Vereinen and the inevitable rifle clubs.<sup>31</sup> Incidentally these clubs became the controlling centers of well-organized propaganda, and, carefully nurtured by the imperial government, proved a powerful aid in furthering the aims of the Fatherland.<sup>32</sup> After the outbreak of the Great War it was proved that these rifle clubs constituted a real military organization destined for future conquest. Indeed 80,000 rifles were confiscated by the government.<sup>33</sup>

The final aid to German nationalism was the Delbrück law, formulated by Hans Delbrück, a distinguished professor of history at Berlin,<sup>34</sup> and promulgated July 2, 1913. It is stated in the preamble that "this law was made for the need of those who relinquished their nationality in order to earn their living in other countries." The second part of article 25 stated that "if any person before acquiring nationality in a foreign state shall have received the written permission of a competent authority of his native state to retain his nationality of that state he shall not lose his nationality of the said native state. The German consul shall be consulted before granting the said permission." Thus by this provision a German could become a naturalized subject of a foreign state and at the same time enjoy for himself and his descendants all the rights of a German citizen and all the protection of the German empire.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Pan Germanic Doctrine*, p. 286.

<sup>31</sup> Magalhaes, *op. cit.*

<sup>32</sup> Brasfortlu, "Germany and South Brazil", in *The Spectator* (London, October, 1918), CXVI. 375-376. This article gives a brief and clear exposition of Germany in Brazil from 1892 to after the outbreak of the Great War, showing by its concrete detail the aggressiveness and cupidity of the Germans.

<sup>33</sup> Magalhaes, *op. cit.*

<sup>34</sup> Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

<sup>35</sup> Chéradame, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

Thus German nationality was secured in South Brazil and success in the first part of the German program in that country ideally realized. Germany was equally successful with the second part of its program, namely, commercial, industrial, and financial expansion. Acting upon the idea that the control of communications was the most effective guarantee of economic predominance, Germany secured control of the Brazilian carrying trade. Its three great lines, the Hamburg American, the North German Lloyd, and the Hamburg South American Steam Ship Company divided the Atlantic frontage of Brazil into well defined, non-conflicting sections and centralized commerce in their hands.<sup>36</sup> Germany also secured a monopoly of tonnage, lighterage, and water transportation in general, and attempted to secure control of inland communications by sending out numerous exploring expeditions, which were to be followed by the construction of pioneer railways. Dr. Karl Von Steinen's expedition into West Brazil was of this type, for it was followed up by the construction of the Rio Grande Northwest Railway.<sup>37</sup> It has been suggested that this latter activity was strongly reminiscent of the devices used by Russia to break the way for political aggrandisement along the Russo-Asiatic frontier.<sup>38</sup>

Through German banking houses, especially the Brazilian Bank of Germany, Germany considerably developed its trade and industry in Brazil. In all the busy trade centers of Central and North, as well as South, Brazil, the German flag waved over important commercial establishments whose headquarters were either in Berlin or Hamburg.<sup>39</sup> In short, Germany entered every field of economic activity in Brazil and was preëminent in most.

Having secured national and economic predominance in South Brazil, Germany revealed the next step in a significant editorial

<sup>36</sup> Wile, *op. cit.*

<sup>37</sup> Bonsal, *op. cit.*

<sup>38</sup> Frederick Austin Ogg, "German Interests and Tendencies in South America", in *World's Work* (New York, March, 1903), I. p. 169. This is a comprehensive sketch of German designs with reference to South America. It gives a detailed and particularly significant interpretation of the German exploring expeditions in South America.

<sup>39</sup> Wile, *op. cit.*

in the *Deutsche Post*, "we observe that a love for the individual states is growing at the expense of Brazil's unity. We should not wonder if, especially in consequence of mal-administration at Rio Janeiro, the Federal capital, the states of Parana, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul at least some day should declare for secession and independence. Then a new outlook would be open to Germany."<sup>40</sup> Thus a situation might have arisen in which these states would suddenly consider themselves misgoverned, as the *Deutsche Post* suggested, and they would then appeal to Berlin for redress by force of arms and for future protection. Perhaps that protection could be secured only by placing the colonists and their territory under the German flag. But here Germany would encounter the Monroe Doctrine, the abandonment or modification of which formed the third and most vital part of the German program.

Germany failed in accomplishing this last part of its program, though German rulers and writers called the Monroe Doctrine an "empty pretension". Hugo Münsterberg, a professor of Harvard University, in his book, *The Americans* even cited it as the cause for a future war between the United States and Europe, saying: "The Yankee will soon realize the folly and error of his arguments. . . . If South America were set free from this tutelage, if its bearing were limited to Central America, the possibilities of a conflict between the United States and Europe would be considerably diminished".<sup>41</sup>

The Monroe Doctrine, as is well known, virtually asserted that henceforth the Americas were not to be regarded as fields for future colonization, that European countries must not extend their monarchical systems here, and that they must refrain from interfering in general with the new republics. Thus this doctrine by its very nature, backed by the force of the United States, was the greatest obstacle in the way of Germany's realizing its

<sup>40</sup> "German Expansion", *op. cit.*

<sup>41</sup> Francisco García-Calderón, *Latin America: Its Rise and Progress* (New York, 1915), p. 294. The author, a young Peruvian in the diplomatic service, aims to set forth in this book the entire evolution of the South American Republics. He devotes an excellent chapter to a discussion of the "German Peril", stating what it is and why it cannot be realized.

politico-economic dream of a Greater Germany in South America. Another obstacle was found in the Brazilians themselves, for they recognized in the German's determination to remain German in everything but formal citizenship a decided peril to their country. Ruy Barbosa, the great liberal of Brazil, in an address to the federal congress at Rio de Janeiro referred scathingly to this organized, unyielding foreign invasion, and alleged that through it South Brazil was undergoing gradual, but thorough, denationalization.<sup>42</sup> Dr. Murтинho, the most prominent publicist in Brazil, also set forth the danger in a stirring speech, calling upon his countrymen to stand shoulder to shoulder in defense of their nationality.<sup>43</sup>

Thus, although Germany dreamed of a Greater Germany in Brazil, and although that dream was realized to the extent of the German colonists becoming nationally and economically predominant, the great plan was doomed to final failure by the Monroe Doctrine, the resistance of the Brazilians, and finally by the relatively small German population in Brazil, for the 400,000 or more colonists (Parana, 60,000 Germans; Santa Catharina, 170,000; Rio Grande do Sul, 220,000) were lost in the national mass of 19,000,000 Brazilians. But the definite aspirations of Germany in Brazil proved a vital force in determining Brazil's rôle in the Great War.

At first Brazil diligently strove to maintain a policy of neutrality toward all belligerents, but this was very difficult for several reasons. In the first place the remarkable ascendancy which French culture exerted over many Brazilian thinkers was a potent influence in ranging public opinion on the side of the Allies, and this was reinforced by the entrance of the mother country, Portugal, into the war. In the second place, in Rio de Janeiro the Brazilian capital, public sentiment was overwhelmingly against the Germans. This sentiment was aggravated by rumors of wireless stations being erected on the south coast of Brazil by German sympathizers and of fishing smacks spying upon the movements of English steamships, but particularly by

<sup>42</sup> Wile, *op. cit.*

<sup>43</sup> Bonsal, *op. cit.*

the German newspapers, which tried to counteract and contradict all news favorable to the Allies and freely expressed German hopes concerning Brazil in the event of a German victory.<sup>44</sup>

The actual declaration of war was brought about by the torpedoing of the Brazilian ships *Parana* and *Macau* by German U-boats, and by the Luxburg dispatches, which revealed a plot to violate Brazilian sovereignty by consolidating the German settlement in Brazil. These dispatches were made known to the Brazilian authorities by Secretary Lansing. As is well known, they had been sent to the German foreign office by Count Luxburg, German Chargé d'Affaires of the Argentine Legation.<sup>45</sup> But perhaps the underlying and goading force back of this declaration of war was the fear that Germany would some day plant a colonial empire in Brazil, for it had long been evident that "the Hohenzollerns will begin their fight for a place in the Hispanic American sun by entering her southern province, where a colony of over 400,000 Germans, who have never allowed themselves to be Brazilian to the slightest extent, are waiting to receive the Vaterland with open arms".<sup>46</sup> At Rio de Janeiro no secret was made of the fact that it was for protection against Germany that the two great dreadnoughts *Minas Geraes* and *Sao Paulo* were built ten years ago and at the same time a universal military service law was enacted.<sup>47</sup> Ruy Barbosa in

<sup>44</sup> William Spence Robertson, "The Position of Brazil", in *Nation* (New York, February 22, 1917), CIV. 208-209. This is an elucidating article setting forth Brazil's quandary, whether or not to enter the Great War. It contains two interesting quotations from speeches made by Ruy Barbosa showing his realization of the German peril in Brazil after the war should the Germans prove victorious.

<sup>45</sup> "Brazil at War", in *New York Times Current History* (New York, December, 1917), VII. pt. I. 439-440. This article contains an account of Brazil's declaration of war, and the reproduction of two dispatches sent by Count Luxburg to the foreign office.

<sup>46</sup> Frederick Bliss Luquiens, "Latin America and the War", in *Century Magazine* (New York, October, 1918), XCVI. 859-864. This article explains the Hispanic American Countries' attitude towards the Great War, weighing in the balance the pro-Ally elements and the pro-German elements.

<sup>47</sup> "Brazil's Interest in the War", in *North American Review* (New York, March, 1918), CCVII. 339-342. This article gives an excellent discussion of the German peril in Brazil and the reasons for Brazilian entrance into the war, stressing particularly the fear of Germany.

a stirring speech delivered in the municipal theater in Rio de Janeiro made these designs one basis of an appeal to the Brazilians to revoke their neutrality, saying: "The juridical questions of the present war and the burning problem of neutrality afford common ground for all America, especially South America where is found on Teutonic maps a South Germany. . . . If the Central Powers are victorious in this war the German nation, intoxicated by pride of the triumph, with Europe prostrate at her feet, will not hesitate to settle accounts with the United States and violating the Monroe Doctrine, which the United States has not the means to preserve, will proceed to obtain in South America those regions which the cartography of Pan Germanism has often designated as the natural seat of her leonine sovereignty. Such is my mature, profound, and liberal conviction".<sup>48</sup> Strangely enough this speech of Barbosa's echoed one made by the German Admiral Von Goetz to Admiral Dewey in 1898, in which Von Goetz said: "About fifteen years from now my country will start a great war. She will be in Paris about two months after the commencement of hostilities. Her move on Paris will be but a step to her real project, the crushing of England. Some months after we finish our work in Europe, we will take New York and probably Washington. . . . The Monroe Doctrine will be taken charge of by us and we will dispose of South America as we wish".<sup>49</sup>

Thus the German element in Brazil with its aggressive pro-German propaganda and its great potentialities proved a vital factor in causing Brazil's decision to enter the war against Germany. The Great War brought German political designs with reference to Brazil well into the foreground and the issue was presented clearly and forcefully to such Brazilian leaders as Ruy Barbosa. But the realization of those designs was destroyed forever by the outcome of the conflict.

LORETTA BAUM.

<sup>48</sup> Robertson, *op. cit.*

<sup>49</sup> Edward Perry, "The New World after the War", in *South American* (New York, January, 1918). This article sets forth the political, financial, and commercial problems confronting the statesmen of Hispanic America. It refers to the German designs in South America urging the reality of these designs.

The following excerpt is taken from an undated manuscript in the Library of Congress by R. Cleary, A.M., M.D., entitled "Brazil under the Monarchy. A record of Facts and Observations, From notes taken in Brazil during a period of more than twenty years". Its author, who was married to a German woman in Brazil, exercised his profession in the country, and appears to have had an excellent opportunity to study the people and country. What he says of German colonization in Brazil is of interest in connection with Miss Baum's article.—J. A. R.

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### Chap. III

#### *Colonization. Foreigners in Brazil and their social status*

Perhaps it is well to commence with the vital question of Colonization in Brazil under the Empire. The writers on Brazil alluded to in the last chapter as interested speculators are those who published exaggerated and glowing accounts of the country to aid the expensive and imbecile scheme of German Colonization which at an enormous and extraordinary outlay, introduced *fifty-two thousand immigrants in fifty-two years*; "by their fruits shall ye know them," and this *official* result ought to be enough to condemn the whole fabric, but facts and figures are too weak to force the harpy from his prey, though the Republicans, and the better classes of the land *not in the Government*, made themselves heard incessantly against the iniquitous expenditures of the public funds to fee the supporters of an effete government.

Certain contractors, such as Pinto and Holtzwessig of Porto Alegre, received from the Imperial Government fifteen dollars a head for colonists, without regard to their quality, and for a long time, so long as the speculation paid, these worthy contractors succeeded in emptying European jails (if we may believe the contemporaneous newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic), and inducing the most ignorant of the farm laborers and vagabonds of Germany to go to the Brazilian Utopia, where disappointment and disgust awaited them, and in too many cases, a life of misery and hard labor crowned their efforts to extract a living from the sterile hills, swampy bottoms, and dried plains of South Brazil. Not that there is not a great deal of fairly good land throughout that section, but it is all taken up by the natives and the newcomers have only the reversion of the *refuse* (the "*refuga*" the people called it). Nor do I mean to say that all the Germans there are of the character above stated, but the great mass of them are, and their *progress* proves it.



On the arrival of *Colonists*, by the regulations of the Imperial Government, they were consigned, without much choice in the matter, to the different colonies or settlements on the public domain, under the tender mercies of an *Imperial Director*, who, *according to law*, managed to keep them for years in the worst kind of servitude, I mean *debt*, working on the rudimentary roads at the cheapest rates, to assist the poor results of their agricultural labors, and thus to be able to poorly sustain their families, until no more could be squeezed from the poor colonist, when, to use the very words of the law, they were *manumitted*. Many and many times I have seen these poor men in the Colony of Taguary, and of the Cedro, and Rancho Queimado, and elsewhere, laboring on the almost vertical hillsides of the rough country of Sta. Catharina, scratching up the sparse soil to plant a few beans in order to feed their children, and all under a vertical boiling sun. It makes my heart ache to remember it. As a proof of the unfitness of the large majority of the German colonists, take the fact that in the large and much praised colony of S. Leopoldo in Rio Grande do Sul, which today counts perhaps some twenty-five thousand souls or more, though they have been settled there for more than fifty years, they have made no real progress, nor have they introduced anything new, except a wretched quality of undrinkable small beer, and a villainously sour wine, but in general plant only what they found amongst the Brazilians on their arrival, and exactly in the same *Adamic* manner. I knew an Irishman in Porto Alegre, Scotchman he called himself, as if the latter was more honorable than the former, in the province of Rio Grande do Sul, who tried in vain to introduce amongst the Germans the general use of *ploughs*: they would not accept them, but preferred hoes and spades, and in the great majority of cases, *sticks*, to make holes with in the ground, for seeds. This remark needs explanation, and certainly our agricultural laborers will look aghast when they learn that a great part of the cultivation is performed with the *hoe*, in rare instances with the *spade*, and this only when the farmer has had his eyes opened enough to abandon the regular custom of *making a hole in the ground with a stick, dropping therein the seed, and covering it by a scrape of his foot*. It is true, as above stated, that a few, a very few, used the spade, which is but a poor substitute for that grand symbol of civilization, the last perfected work of Tubal Cain, the saviour of the world, the *plough*. Why is it that such abnormalities are not found amongst us? Is it not because we are not paternally cared for by such a paternal government as that of the Empire, when

the protective system entered everywhere; nothing was too minute for it, and the colonists, or Brazilian laborers, were saved the trouble of thinking for themselves. and had to serve as contributors to the wealth of their masters. Many Brazilian gentlemen have complained to me of this state of things.

There are thousands and thousands of these people, born in the country, who speak neither the vernacular tongue of the land, nor correct German, and as a consequence, as a rule, the authorities over them were Brazilian Imperialists. They never had their due proportion of representation in the National or Provincial councils, and only once in a while, (once that I know of) a German entirely Imperialized would be elected to serve without influence. . Thus they were at the mercy of agents grossly ignorant and bitterly bigoted, who despised, envied, and oppressed them, whose only recommendations were their partisanship for the monarchy. Allemão became a word of reproach, and Allemãozinho (*little* German, meaning a man born in the country of German parents) was always an alien even to the third generation, and was never considered equal to his Portuguese descended fellow countrymen, even when they were of the stock of slave-hunters mixed with negroes from the African coast. There are a few, alas a very few, exceptions to the above rule, where the intelligent German colonists learned the language of the land, and passed a tranquil life almost free from persecutions and disgusts; and also there were many Brazilians, better informed, and generally republicans, who fully comprehended the question, but unfortunately they could not lift the weight of governmental pressure which kept them down, and thus were totally powerless to instruct the badly disposed of their fellow countrymen, or to repress the tendencies of the ignorant that judged themselves offended in their rights and interests by the superiority of the more intelligent of the foreigners, and the preference they sometimes received from the more advanced of the natives. I say *sometimes*, for the preference was so unpopular with the masses, that it required some courage to exercise it, more indeed, than will be generally found anywhere. This state of things, of course, brought about, amongst a people held forcibly in ignorance by the government of the Empire, a steady and a sturdy opposition to foreigners, and hence immigrants were not received with open arms, not even when they were Portuguese; nor even with indifference at all times, but they too frequently encountered repulsive and insulting gestures, threatening looks, and sometimes curses, all of which I have witnessed in Porto Alegre. They

say that the foreigner goes to Brazil to "*ganhar a nosso dinheiro*" (to earn our money), a common expression which every Brazilian will recognize at once.

Besides the impotent and expensive provisions of the government for colonization, they have committed the grave error of allowing their exaggerated nationalism to become too apparent even in the legislative halls of the country. A well known and much esteemed delegate in the National Assembly, amidst the enthusiastic applause of his fellow monarchists declared that "we ought to preserve the national sentiment against foreignerism," and also that the said foreignerism "invades and smothers the country"—which burst of eloquence was utterly condemned by every Republican in the land.

Such sentiments "out-Herod Herod," and withal, there are men who tell us of the friendly hospitality of Imperial Brazil; it is perfectly absurd to so distort facts, and though the Imperialists would feign and cringe when it was to their interest or shame so to do, they felt nothing but apprehension of freer ideas from foreigners, and in consequence, a malicious repulsion, which was an eternal stopper on the progress of the land. In the words of the most respected and wealthy merchant (a German) in the Province of Sta. Catharina, "you may be a murderer, a robber, a swindler, anything, but do not be a foreigner in Brazil when you sue out a question with the government." This gentleman, together with almost all the other Germans in the provincial capital, formed a society apart, and lived as much separated from the Brazilians as possible. I have found this the practice in every part of Brazil I have visited, the foreigners forming colonies apart, and so slow was the process of amalgamation that it hardly existed at all. And here let me state that once in a while could be found a monarchist who would lift up his voice against the colonization abuses and work hard for a reform and denounce the errors or injustice of the government even in the legislative halls. Senator Jaunay was one of these bright exceptions, but even he became less enthusiastic after he became a senator.

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I am today persuaded that the great mass of the Brazilians of the present generation are indifferent if not hostile to the colonists whom they need, and that they are always dissatisfied when a foreigner emerges from a lower level, and that they only wish for immigrants as substitutes for the freed slaves, to perform the hardest labor, a wish that fortunately is difficult to realize. The case could hardly be otherwise with a jealous people, whose instruction had been neglected

by the government, and who were kept in error, apparently, purposely to keep them besotted, in their docility to their grasping masters. Do not blame the poor people, blame their Imperial governors!

When the peculiar management of the German colonists daily proved more and more abortive, and it became palpable that slavery was fast dying out, in spite of the experience of more energetic races, they commenced using every effort to inflict the curse of Chinese labor upon their unhappy land.

It is hard to believe that Brazil, a country almost as large as Europe, and fairly favored by nature, was created by God and then discovered by Columbus and Cabral merely as an asylum for the offshoots of one of the smallest and most insignificant monarchies of Europe, and the descendants of the imported African negroes. That little backward monarchy is today nearly exhausted of its superfluous population, and perhaps because it is rich in colonies, it can not furnish sufficient emigrants for Brazil; the six thousand who go from there to Brazil annually form but a drop in the sea and is insignificant as a mode of increasing the population; moreover, the African fountain is happily dried up forever. As for Germany, England, Italy, France, and Austria, they have shown themselves hostile to the emigration of their subjects to Brazil, on account of the unhappy state of affairs narrated above, and because the children of those nations have derived no sterling benefit in the "land of the Holy Cross," whilst on the contrary, a fair proportion of the Portuguese immigrants have always done well, many of them exceedingly well; because they receive no favors or subsidies from the government, and besides they are more closely allied to their new fellowcountrymen than other foreigners; they assimilate with the natives more easily, they speak the same language, they have the same religion and traditions, and become the fathers of what are considered genuine Brazilians. Yet even the Portuguese have been roughly treated for the crime of being foreigners, especially and notoriously in Pernambuco. The better class of them were monarchists to a man, which is not the case with most of the other foreigners. I can not express the popular sentiment on this subject under monarchical teachings better than in the following words of a caustic sarcastic writer in Rio de Janeiro on the subject.

"The Portuguese are the only foreigners who possess well sounding names; this is what, in truth, is desired, and nothing else, except to perpetuate the State and the actual population. We want no intrusion of foreigners with barbarous names, which are less melodious than

our own; we want no people who do not belong to our own land, and above all, we do not want the children of Protestant foreigners to seat themselves with us at the banquet of fifty-three thousand dollars (public funds expended); we have advanced well enough without a deluge of intruding and unnecessary foreigners, and forward still! Let us feign to want them as heretofore, Brazil is great enough for the Brazilians!" If it were not for the black shadow of the monarchy, in a land rich enough in general if well cultivated, enormous would have been the number of emigrants to its shores, helped by favorable administration of the laws, and a friendly reception on an equal footing. If it were not so, the owner of an illustrious name would not have cried aloud in the periodical *The Aurora*, No. 3, April, 1863, against Brazil's occupation of the lowest place in the list of nations, etc., etc.

Knowing well his country and the circumstances of the case, and that the immigrants who have reached the country have failed to impel it forward on the road to a more advanced civilization, and contemplating a heterogeneous population of more than ten millions of people, and knowing to what an extent the sycophantism of the Empire benumbed progress, the intelligent writer in *The Aurora* could arrive at no other conclusion.

The wise government of the Prince von Bismarck, correctly informed in the case, prohibited the shameless seduction of the lower orders of its subjects into emigration to Brazil, under heavy penalties, and cherishing the interests of the poor people, it is to be hoped that one day such *exodi* will cease entirely.\* Then the contractors tried for any and every kind of material: Russians, Tyrolese, Neapolitans, French, etc., etc., and God keep those who fall into the snares of these blood-sucking speculators.

EFFECTS OF GERMAN COLONIZATION. CHARACTER OF COLONISTS.  
MUCKERS. CIVIL EMPLOYMENTS. IRISH COLONISTS. FRENCH  
AND RUSSIAN COLONISTS. CHINESE LABOR. ITALIANS.

Though German colonization is in the condition I have stated, if not worse, Brazil, in spite of the narrow-minded policy of the Imperial Government, owes very much to the Germans, as many of the principal professional men, merchants, and artisans; and in the South, the best of the bad cultivators of the soil, are of that nation; and by their intelligence, industry, and talents, have made their mark so indelibly, that it

\* This was written in imperial times.

is impossible to describe anything commendable there, without including the industrious people under consideration; yet as far as I have conversed with them, to a man, they condemn the odious system of colonization in practice, unless one or another who is deriving profit from speculation in the flesh and blood of his own countrymen. The only woollen goods factory in the South is in Rio Grande do Sul, and is a very large and flourishing concern which supports some hundreds of people, and is the German factory of Rheinganz & Co.

Thus much in favor of the Germans and no more, for their peculiar clannish prejudices, and unwillingness to learn of others, have ever prevented them from being successful colonists, even under the most favorable circumstances, nor as a body have they ever radically benefitted those countries to which they have emigrated.

Their one great industry is industry, but plodding industry, which in Brazil in the midst of stagnant surroundings, has not advanced one jot beyond what was its condition in the beginning, except such advancement as naturally resulted from increased numbers. Just as they introduced "Anarchists" into the United States, they introduced "Muckerism" into Brazil. The Muckers, as the respectable Germans called the fanatics, were a gang of *soi-disant* religionists who appeared in the Country of São Leopoldo in the year 1874, under the apparent leadership of a woman, named Jacobina, an old soldier, one André Tupper, and Einsfeldt, a blacksmith, though they were all moved to action by a fanatic person named Klein. This Klein had been in the United States, and failed to do well, and went to Porto Alegre, and taking advantage of the ignorance of the colonists, soon found suitable instruments and formed a new religion after the model of Johan von Leiden and Knipperdolling, and improved on Mormonism. Jacobina was Prophetess or Christ as she called herself, and the sect soon numbered more than 250 persons. They abolished marriage, and as a substitute, arranged a solemn ceremony to finish up their regular religious exercises. The lights in the temple would be extinguished, and the congregation left in utter darkness, when they would dance around the building until all was confused, when each man would seize the nearest woman for his happy partner.

In order to revenge a desertion from their sect, Einsfeldt murdered a young man in the main street of São Leopoldo in broad daylight, and fled; he, it appears, being the "Danite" of the Muckers. This was going too far, and the Imperial authorities who had all along been very indifferent about the business, sent to arrest Einsfeldt, but failed

to do so. In the end they sent 600 infantry and four pieces of artillery against the Muckers, and after losing several men and officers including their commander, this little army managed to capture all that were left alive of the *twenty-seven* who had resisted. Klein and Einsfeldt were tried; Klein was acquitted for want of evidence, and Einsfeldt by one of the tricks usual in Imperial Courts of Justice: there were some eight or ten witnesses who had seen him going to São Leopoldo, but he produced seventy who swore they had not seen him, and the jury was instructed to accept this testimony, and it did so and acquitted him. This was Muckerism.

The only public employment open to men of foreign birth in South Brazil was that of Surveyor of the Colonial Lands, who were charged also with opening the mule tracks called roads in the colonies. These positions are mostly filled by Germans who united with some of their Brazilian colleagues and made war on all other foreigners, except now and then a Frenchman who, having family connections amongst the people of the country, could not be ousted.

Perhaps I may appear somewhat discursive, but I am taking the facts from my notes as they come, and they will as well be understood thus as in a better form.

In the Province of Santa Catharina there are colonies or parts of colonies, which have been abandoned, as the land is very mountainous, heavily wooded and without proper communications, and the soil not being more than of a very ordinary quality, only with the most severe labor will it yield a bare subsistence to those who work it. When the land is more flat, it is subject to floods frequently, and the whole country swarms with vermin, such as ants, rats, locusts, birds, etc., and so it goes. Besides these drawbacks colonists and their families, men, but generally women and children were frequently murdered by the Indians: not a year passed without several of those cases occurring, yet the Imperial Government serenely smiled indifferent to the suffering and misery of its own guests. I remember a peculiarly touching case at Taguary: a poor colonist sent three of his children, a girl of 14 years, and two little tots to a planted field some few hundred yards from his house, when the Indians came up and after horribly mutilating the two eldest, murdered them; the youngest escaped by hiding under a bush. The poor father in despair, broke up and went back to Germany, and the Imperial authorities did nothing.

As an example of the working of the Imperial system (and note that almost every person not of the government party or employ in the

land was opposed to it) take the fact that in August of the year 1879, some hundreds of people from an Italian colony, in a body, abandoned the model colony of Itajahy in the Province of Santa Catharina, and returned to their homes in disgust, protesting strongly in the public newspapers against the bad treatment they had suffered, and the deceptions practiced on them by the Imperial officers. This soon became a party question and for weeks the newspapers were filled with long articles attacking or defending the Imperial Director, various reasons having been given as the cause of the exodus. In fine the debate was taken up by the National Assembly, who with the usual lucidity which characterized that body under the Empire, failed to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, whilst the cause was as apparent as the day to outside observers. It was the natural outcome of an attempt to force arbitrary Imperial measures on a hasty and impetuous people, which had been often successfully tried with others more docile and more helpless in such a case.

Such outbreaks amongst the colonists were continually occurring, as the Imperial Director almost invariably swindled them in their payments and once in a while the authorities would send a military force to hold them in order.

Such after the war in the United States, a colony of so-called Americans was formed near Blumenau in the same Province; it was composed almost in its entirety of Irish, many of them ex-soldiers from the two armies, who soon quarreled with the Director, rowed with the Imperial authorities, and abandoned the colony one by one, until not an Irishman remained to tell the tale.

Near Curityba in the Province of Paraná, was formed a French colony, and in less than two years afterwards, I passed through the place, and saw the empty houses which had been abandoned by the colonists, and a dreary commentary it was on the Imperial system of colonization: roofs fallen in, grass growing on the hearthstones, the ruined huts being shelters for vermin, and the buzzards in flocks brooding over the picture of wretchedness. I knew of two other failures in the same province. At Assungu, on the richest and fairest public lands in the Empire, a colony was founded in 1867 or 8, and now it presents a more dreary appearance than the French colonial site above mentioned; not even the ruins are to be discovered.

And in 1879, the government imported a lot of long coated Russian peasants to start a colony in the Province of Paraná, but hardly had they landed when the row commenced, they positively refusing to the



least insolence, and now it is hard to find one of them. Well did the Imperial authorities know these facts, and after such constant failures it was concluded that a docile race was necessary for success, and as a "dernier ressort," the Liberal (?) Prime Minister of Brazil, Mr. Sinimbu, in September of the year 1879, recommended a measure which was fatuously believed would sustain the large landed proprietors by furnishing them slaves or their substitutes to take the place of the negroes who were rapidly becoming enfranchised. He proposed the acquisition of Chinese labor by contract, singularly ignoring American and English experience, singularly ignoring the fact that he would thus repel European labor from the Brazilian shores, and singularly ignoring that he would thus give a fearful blow at the national progress, but this question was most ably treated by the talented editor of the "Rio News" in the number of October 15th, 1879, to which I would refer those who would wish to continue the sickening question.

After many imbecile failures, as will be readily understood from the foregoing pages, at last, in the eighth decade of the century, the Imperial Government, noting the refusal of the United States to receive them promiscuously, succeeded in inducing some thousands of Italians to come to their country as colonists, and to this end large sums of money and immense misrepresentations were expended. But the treatment of these people was so negligent, not to say barbarous, that numbers of them demanded to be sent back again, and numbers deserted Brazil and went on to the La Plata River. The colony of "Rodrigo da Silva," as well as several other points in the interior, was in a state of revolution because of bad treatment and impossibility to obtain payment for work done for the government. In one place they paraded the streets demanding food to save them from starvation, and threatened to sack the town if the people did not do something to appease their hunger. A military force was sent there, and with this and temporarily giving them some coarse food, they were quieted enough to be dispersed, over the land to die, if they chose, singly; what cared the Imperial Government! Many were crowded into small, unhealthy, and badly fitted coast steamers and sent off to the southern provinces, many dying on the voyage from filth and neglect, and for those who reached their destination, the same neglect and wretchedness awaited them, so that hundreds became beggars in the streets of the towns, so much so that the Rio Grande newspapers made a vain and great outcry against this foul inhuman abuse. The military escorted 266 of them prisoners from the interior to Rio de

Janeiro, because they had revolted against the Imperial Director who failed to pay them for work done and left them to starve.

In Rio de Janeiro in May, 1889, hundreds were wandering through the streets, and begging alms, sleeping at night in that pest ridden city in doorways or on the side walks, or in the public parks. Under the office of the British Consulate in D. Manoce Street was a place for extending the imperial national hospitality to these *invited* guests; it was an old warehouse without windows or flooring, where some hundreds of men, women, and children were *pigged* together, in all their filth and wretchedness, without beds or clothing, and allowed to starve, that is those who were too sick to march off to a bakery and receive one small piece of bread as a daily allowance. Mr. Nicolini, the British Consul, told me that the stench was terrible, and that one day *he saw three dead bodies carried out*; and also that one poor woman whose milk had dried for want of food complained that her babe was starving, when the imperial policeman on duty threatened to take her off to jail if she did not be quiet.

These are only a very few of the hardships to which these poor people were subjected, and if any one should imagine the picture exaggerated, he can refer to the daily newspapers of Rio of the time. The *O Paiz*, the Republican paper, was particularly interesting, especially for the date, 4th May, 1889.

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